

Disciples of the State Secularization and State Building in the Former Ottoman World

by

Kristin Elisabeth Fabbe

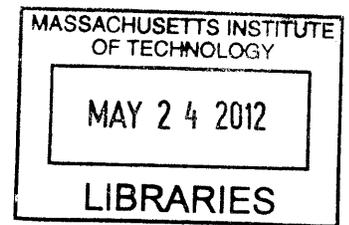
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SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
AT THE
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

FEBRUARY 2012



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Signature of Author

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Kristin Fabbe", written over a dotted line.

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Submitted to the Department of Political Science
on February 10, 2012 in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ABSTRACT

Disciples of the State seeks to explain why some former Ottoman states succeeded in effectively secularizing schooling and law and regulating religion upon independence — thereby consolidating state power— whereas others did not. The bulk of the project centers on a detailed investigation of three former-Ottoman country cases: Turkey, Greece, and Egypt.

The main argument is built around a comparison of the critical historical antecedents that preceded independence in these three countries. My findings suggest that when manpower for early modernizing reforms in the 19th century was severely constrained, state-builders were more likely to employ strategies of institutional reform based on coöptation, thereby integrating religious elites into nascent state structures in a piecemeal fashion. This turbulent (and at times violent) process of integration and coöptation spawned a dynamic of differential growth that severely weakened religious institutions. When religious institutions were weakened in this way in the 19th century, it became possible for states to exert full control over the religious establishment upon independence, producing what we consider today to be successful “secular revolutions”. I find that this dynamic played out in places as different as Greece and late Ottoman Turkey.

Conversely, when manpower for modernizing reforms was more readily available (often as a result of colonial occupation) state-building strategies took a different form. Instead of coöptating religious actors, state-builders created new sets of “parallel” disciplinary institutions that largely excluded traditional elites. In this context, rather than sharing expertise, religious institutions became largely insulated from the state, re-entrenched themselves, and grew in size over the late 19th and early 20th century. Upon independence, founding regimes thus inherited a deeply fractured system of disciplinary control making “secular revolutions” much more difficult to impose. I find that this dynamic characterized state-building trajectories in Egypt.

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Acknowledgments

The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the help of many people. First and foremost I would like to thank my dissertation committee at MIT. Roger Petersen, who served as chair, saw the project through from start to finish. His guidance struck the perfect balance: he gave me the space and independence I needed to do something entirely my own while also providing valuable insight and advice when things got difficult, especially while I was in the field. I could not have asked for a better mentor. The other members of my committee were equally helpful and supportive. Kathleen Thelen helped me to situate my ideas in the broader framework of historical institutionalism and pushed me toward a better understanding of the types of processes I wanted to explain. She often found the perfect words for things that I was struggling to express. Melissa Nobles provided excellent feedback and criticism on how my arguments related to larger questions of nationalism, identity and legitimacy. With her advice, I was able to better understand what was at stake with my project and what needed to be left out. Fotini Christia inspired me to work hard and to transform the more obscure aspects of my research into something appealing to a wider social science audience. I would also like to thank Department Chair Rick Locke, who brought an amazing energy and vitality to the department while I was writing and on the job market. The supportive intellectual environment that he fostered motivated me to see things through to the end. John Tirman and the Center for International Studies also helped immensely to create a positive working environment.

I was lucky to be surrounded by such intelligent fellow graduate students at MIT. Matthew Amengual, Nathan Cisneros, Akshay Mangla, Andrew Radin, Evan Liaras, Paul Staniland, Peter Krause, Stephanie Kaplan, Caitlin Talmadge, Gabi Kruks-Wisner, Brendan Green, Reo Matsuzaki and Adam Ziegfeld among others have all been amazing colleagues.

I am indebted to many people outside of MIT too. The faculty in the History Department at Sabanci University in Turkey, especially Halil Berktaç, provided a welcome home for much of my stay in Turkey, as did the staff and my friends at ISAM in Istanbul. The Turkish studies community and especially Cemal Kafadar, Hakan Karateke, Erica Gilson have been amazing teachers and supporters. Young historians Henry Shapiro and Josh White were both wonderful friends and research buddies while in Turkey. Sebnem Gumuscu, Ovgu Ulucay, and Georges Fahmi provided valuable research assistance at various points. Had it not been for the advice of my friend and former boss Dimitris Keridis I probably never would have began studying Turkey at all. Had it not been for Stathis Kalyvas I probably never would have come to graduate school. Had it not been for Giorgos Zervas I never would have never learned Greek or come to Cambridge.

I am also grateful for funding support from numerous organizations and institutions to conduct work in Turkey, Greece and Egypt, including the Smith Richardson Foundation, the Carroll Wilson Award, the Project on Middle East Political Science, MIT Center for International Studies, the Institute of Turkish Studies, the Harvard University Center for European Studies, the American Research Institute in Turkey, and the National Security Education Program.

Finally I would like to thank the people closest to me: my mother and father, my dear friends Jennae Swiergula and Alexis Meyn, and most of all Arda Ayvaz. Needless to say, any mistakes, oversights or omissions are entirely my own.

Chapter One

Disciples of the State? A Theory of Secularization and State Building for the former Ottoman World

In an interview originally published in the Istanbul newspaper *Vakit* in 1922, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the war hero who would later become the founder of the Turkish Republic, recounted his first memory from childhood.

My first childhood memory concerns the issue of my schooling. This caused a bitter dispute between my parents. My mother wanted me to go to the neighborhood [Koran] school after initial prayers. My father, who was an official in the customs and excise department, was in favor of sending me to Şemsi Efendi's school, which had newly opened, and having me educated in the new manner. In the end, my father found a clever way out. First, I started at the neighborhood school with the usual ceremony. This satisfied my mother. A few days later, I left the neighborhood school and was entered in Şemsi Efendi's school.¹

This disagreement between Mustafa Kemal's parents is indicative of the changing nature of everyday life in the Ottoman world at the turn of the 20th century. At the local level, the social force of religion remained pervasive. Public demonstrations of piety were still a prerequisite for being considered an upstanding member of the community, hence a mother's natural concerns about having her son participate in the religious ceremony that marked the beginning of the traditional Koranic school year. With the proliferation of new state institutions, however, alternative paths to upward mobility that were distinct from religious structures became increasingly available. For people living at the time, the grand sweep of modernization and state centralization manifested itself in the very type of decision that Kemal's family faced.

Traditional religious institutions of education and law and new state institutions existed simultaneously. Individuals and families faced a dilemma about which set of institutions should structure their lives.

In retrospect, it is easy to see that Kemal's father bet on the right side of history when choosing to educate his son “in the new manner”. By the late 1920s the Turkish Republic had captured or abolished all the institutions through which the religious establishment had traditionally exercised its moral authority and influence. Koranic education, sharia law, the religious orders (*tarikatar*) and religious charitable foundations (*vakıflar*) all became a thing of the past. In the transition from empire to republic, Turkey's founding regime demonstrated a remarkable ability to impose revolutionary secular reforms, especially in schooling and law, without inciting collective resistance by religious elites. Popular protest against state reforms was minimal, disorganized, sporadic and thus ultimately unsuccessful.

Today, Atatürk's policies are widely (and naively) credited as the source of Turkey's “unique” status as a democratic and secular Muslim country in the Middle East. An article in the *Washington Times* recently attributed to Iraq's perpetual instability to the fact that it lacked an Atatürk. “The asset Iraq lacks today is what its next-door neighbor, Turkey, enjoyed after the crushing defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I: an intelligent but secular-minded leader, Kemal Atatürk”, argues the writer, who then goes on to say that the “contrast between the two adjacent countries is startling in its implications.”² This journalist is certainly not the first to consider Atatürk's secularizing reforms as blueprint for successful modernization. Egypt's Free Officers, Algeria's Colonel Houari Boumedienne and Tunisia's Habib Bourguiba —to name just a few— all considered the formation of the Turkish Republic as a template for their own subsequent state-led reform movements.³ Today, in the aftermath of the Arab Spring revolutions, leaders in the Middle East are again looking to Turkey to provide a model for change.

Speaking historically with the benefit of hindsight, it is difficult to ignore the fact that remarkably similar “modernizing” revolutions designed to achieve state control over schooling, law and religion (a set of institutions that I refer to as disciplinary institutions) produced vastly different outcomes across countries. The comparative example of Turkey and Egypt is illustrative in this respect. Nasser and Egypt's Free Officers may have mimicked Mustafa Kemal's policies—abolishing the charitable foundations (*waqfs*) and sharia courts, asserting state control over the religious establishment and its mosques by decree, reforming primary education—but they did not achieve the same results. State control of mosques only reached 18 percent in 1961 and 20 percent in 1979 and religious institutions maintained a comparatively large degree of autonomy.⁴ In the realm of law, “the principles of Islamic jurisprudence are *the* chief sources of legislation” according to the most recent Egyptian constitution.⁵ Recent developments since the fall of Hosni Mubarak lead some to fear that the country could be teetering on the brink of full-blow theocracy. Indeed, with the passage of time, it is becoming increasingly difficult to argue that Egypt's 1952 revolution was much of a revolution at all. Today, religious authorities clamor for even greater influence in Egyptian national politics—many advocating for the complete abandonment of secular principles and thereby directly challenging the state's right to exert sovereignty over disciplinary institutions. *What explains the varying ability of regimes to impose secular revolutions that give the state exclusive sovereignty over the realms of schooling, law and religious regulation?*

This dissertation answers the question above by using the countries that emerged from the Ottoman Empire as a laboratory for comparative historical analysis. I provide both a macro-level theoretical argument to explain variation across countries and a micro-level argument to

explain dynamics within countries. At the macro-level I argue that a newly independent state's ability to achieve exclusive sovereignty over institutions of social discipline is determined by the interaction of two factors—whether the regime can leverage *religious moral authority* and whether religious institutions are *self-reinforcing* or *self-undermining* at the time of independence. At the micro-level I then trace the process that leads to self-reinforcing as opposed to self-undermining religious institutions by analyzing patterns of strategic interaction between the religious establishment and early modernizing reformers. Here I contend that the availability of manpower for early modernizing reforms led to different patterns of institutional change, some of which set religious institutions onto a self-undermining trajectory and some of which allowed religious institutions to remain self-reinforcing. Self-reinforcing religious institutions were resilient against the dramatic secularizing revolutions launched by founding regimes decades later whereas self-undermining institutions caved under the pressure generated by such movements.

My argument presents a picture of institutional change during processes of state-building that runs counter to much of the conventional wisdom on the topic. First, although critical junctures and those who preside over them usually take the credit (or blame) for the actualization of dramatic institutional change, my analysis shows that historical antecedents, not just seminal events, determine whether a given institutional change will or will not occur. Second, I observe that early modernizing reforms that embedded religious elites in (as opposed to excluding them from) nascent state structures ultimately facilitated the growth of states' disciplinary authority. This finding stands in stark contrast to generally accepted ideas about modernization, which posit a direct link between “secularization” (defined as the separation of religion and state) and the

other processes of state-centralization. Instead, I show that places where early modernizing reformers allowed for considerable overlap between religious institutions and nascent state institutions in the fields of education and law

- 1) eventually produced states with exclusive sovereignty over disciplinary realms in the aftermath of secular revolutions;
- 2) and these states have been better able to convince religious leaders to circumscribe their own independence/authority and remain servants of the state over the long-term.

Taken together, it follows that the forces behind successful secular revolutions are neither particularly “secular” nor are they really very “revolutionary.” Exclusive state sovereignty over education, law and religion instead is the result of a *gradual accumulation of disciplinary authority propelled by the layering of institutions and the coöptation of religious elites*. Through the piecemeal coöptation of religion reformers slowly amassed a robust cultural machinery for the dissemination of state ideology and silenced religious competitors in the process. In other words, in the former Ottoman world, so-called “secular” states are actually anchored by very deep religious roots.

It is also worth noting that this dissertation's focus on religion, schooling and law as institutions crucial to state-formation provides counterbalance in a field dominated by studies of the state's extractive (taxation) and purely coercive (military) arms. Schooling and law are institutions that span the state's coercive and persuasive function, actively linking processes of social discipline to state centralization. Conceding a role for religious leaders in education and

law during the early state-formation period in exchange for their subservience thus lessened or removed the need for force against a collective religious resistance. In addition, joining forces with the religious establishment facilitated state centralization by providing scarce resources and valuable networks for the expansion of authority. Consequently, a calculated level of dependence on religious authorities' symbolic and tangible resources was often pivotal for the state's overall development—and the way in which this dependence was managed (or mismanaged), in turn, shaped the state's ability to silence competitors, win moral authority and achieve exclusive sovereignty over disciplinary institutions.

The rest of this chapter proceeds as follows. Section one clarifies the “dependent variable” of the study—*whether or not secular revolutions result in exclusive state sovereignty over institutions of social discipline*—and shows how such sovereignty is central to overall state authority and other political processes of interest to social scientists. Section two briefly surveys the existing literature to explain why past studies fail to account for the varying success of secular revolutions in post-Ottoman states. This section is less about who I am arguing against (i.e. people who have gotten it wrong) and more about what I am arguing for—the comparative study of how the state expanded its scope to include schooling, law and the regulation of religion. In section three I detail the macro-level argument, focusing on the paradox at the heart of post-Ottoman state-building efforts: the inherent tension between regimes' need to accrue the symbolic power of religion and the administrative necessities of state centralization. From this discussion I derive two key explanatory variables to explain whether or not secularizing revolutions result in successful state control of disciplinary institutions—the ability to leverage religious moral authority and whether or not religious institutions are self-reinforcing or self-

undermining at independence. In section four I shift the level of analysis to the micro-level and theorize on the processes that cause religious institutions to be self-reinforcing or self-undermining within a given location.

I. State Control of Social Discipline: Schooling, Law and the Regulation of Religion

Building a country-wide system of schools and legal institutions is an extremely costly and daunting task for any state, let alone a former Ottoman state recently emerged from imperial domination and the wreckage of war. Nonetheless, upon independence, erecting a system of mass education and a coherent legal structure are among the top priorities for virtually every young governments. This section outlines how and why a desire for social discipline (or mass socialization) drives the state to build such elaborate and expensive bureaucratic structures.

In the relevant social scientific literature the term social discipline is used loosely to describe a set of institutional techniques employed to facilitate control over large groups. Scholars including Max Weber, Michel Foucault, Eugen Weber, Norbert Elias, Timothy Mitchell and Philip Gorski have all considered the relationship between process of social disciplining and state authority —though with varying emphasis.⁶ Gorski, who goes the furthest towards laying out a comprehensive approach to the study of the relationship between social discipline and the state, defines social disciplining as “an organizational and communal process in which the activities and goals of group members are shaped by institutional restraints and shared values so as to generate highly uniform patterns of collective life.”⁷ This is the definition that will be used here.

The most stunning examples of states' efforts to consolidate control over social discipline can be seen in institutional reforms designed to regulate, centralize and standardize schooling, law and religion. Although today the provision of mass schooling and law are often taken for granted as the obvious, inevitable, natural (and even benign) duties of states, this was not always the case. Over the course of the 19th and 20th century, the elites at the helm of emerging states engaged in fierce debates about how best to use compulsory schooling, law and religious regulation to maximize central authority. To be sure, the historical records of early political debates in countries as diverse as Greece, Turkey and Egypt all demonstrate that states approached the (now distinct) issues areas of mass public education, law and religious regulation all together as a bundle of similar problems joined by virtue of their connection to larger issues of secularization, socialization and centralized authority.⁸ My decision to focus on these three sets of institutions is therefore not arbitrary; it is an organic reflection of how state-builders actually envisioned the challenges of socialization and the production of values and beliefs. Exclusive control over the institutional reigns of social discipline is the ultimate objective of “secular revolutions.”

Moving forward, a few words about each institutional realm and its respective relationship to issues of socialization and state sovereignty are in order. Considering first the importance of a centralized legal system, it is well established that coherent legal systems create a uniform set of social rules that outline the bounds of acceptable human behavior and stipulate the punishments to be doled out to potential transgressors. These functions often get grouped under references to the importance of secure “rule-of-law” in functioning states. But there is more at stake. Control over a centralized legal system, especially with respect to issues of

constitutionalism and judicial review, is the *sine qua non* of the nation states' sovereignty, legitimacy and authority. Without such control, it is virtually impossible to establish the fundamental hegemony of any state sponsored “civil religion”. Ran Hirschl's work on the relationship between religion and constitutionalism as competing “comprehensive doctrines” illustrates this point with remarkable clarity.

*The very logic of constitutional law, with its reasoned set of core tenets, prevalent modes of interpretation, and embedded emphasis on overarching state authority, makes it an attractive enterprise to those who wish to contain religiosity and assert state or civil society authority over religious texts, world-views and interpretive hierarchies.*⁹

According to Hirschl, states by their very nature demonstrate an “unyielding reluctance . . . to accept as binding or even cognizable any potentially competing legal order that originates in sacred or customary sources of identity and authority.” Such competing orders threaten to undermine a state's very right to rule.¹⁰ It is through the establishment of constitutional authority as *the* highest form of social authority that states cement their hegemony and sovereignty.

This brings us to the institutional construct of mass schooling. Schools are not just about skill building, they also inculcate children with a set of norms about (state-established) rules and laws that they then carry with them throughout life.¹¹ In other words, schools specialize in the instruction of beliefs and morals—or, more cynically speaking, indoctrination—a highly prized commodity for any would-be ruler. States with exclusive sovereignty over the realm of schooling possess unrivaled infrastructure and venues necessary for the successful dissemination of state ideology. It is perhaps not so surprising then that ideologically driven totalitarian regimes, which are certainly not known for their benevolence, tend to invest more heavily in

public schooling than do their democratic counterparts.¹²

Regardless of the ideological disposition of a given regime, nationalist sentiments are an especially effective ideational glue and can be a potent force for engendering loyalty. The copious literature on the topic clearly conveys this fact.¹³ What often gets lost in discussions on nationalism, however, is that behind any set of nationalist ideas lays a network of actual brick and mortar educational institutions. It is within these institutions that ideologies become salient and identities are anchored into official policy, law and state curricula. As Ernest Gellner writes:

*Nationalism emerges only in a milieu [sic.] in which the existence of the state is already very much taken for granted. The existence of politically centralized units, and of a moral-political climate in which such centralized units are taken for granted and treated as normative, is a necessary . . . condition for nationalism.*¹⁴

Consequently, using nationalism alone to explain a given state's ability to garner authority, secure order and build legitimacy is a quintessential case of putting the cart before the horse. The “invented traditions” of nationalism—and constitutionalism for that matter—gain traction and popular resonance only to the extent that they can be standardized, repeated and fused with every-day practices through state controlled institutions and structures.¹⁵

Examined together, establishing control over both law and schooling is particularly appealing to emerging states because governance by coercion alone is inefficient, prohibitively costly and potentially destabilizing. Without the kind of order created through social discipline, the act of ruling becomes infinitely more difficult.¹⁶ Migdal puts it well when he writes that, “No matter how vaunted the bureaucracy, police, and military, officers of the state cannot stand on every corner ensuring that each person stop at the red light, drive on the right side of the road,

stop at the cross walk and refrain from stealing, drug dealing and so on.”¹⁷ The argument here is a familiar one, based on the “costs” of ruling. The physical coercion of large populations by way of repression, policing, and constant monitoring requires tremendous resources. Rulers thus feel a need to instill social discipline in order to reduce the transaction costs of governing and to cement their status and domination. Gorski is thus correct when he argues that, all else being equal, “discipline increases state power insofar as it increases overall levels of administrative efficiency and social order because a more orderly society is cheaper to govern and a more efficient administration is easier to run.”¹⁸

Centralized regulation of religious institutions through the construction of state sanctioned “ministries of religion” or similar bureaucracies can potentially serve a complimentary function to—and, as I will argue in the following pages, are largely a byproduct of—expanding state control over legal and educational realms. Under arrangements such as a “nationalized church” or a “religion ministry” religion is certainly not eradicated (a tall, and dangerous, task!). Instead religion is subordinated to the state through normalized, hierarchical and bureaucratic channels that, under the right conditions conditions, can successfully limit the ability of religious challengers to question the ultimate moral authority of the state. The argument developed below illustrates how similar efforts to formally order religion-state relations in this fashion produce varying results depending upon the strategies of institutional reform deployed.

Having established that states seek control over disciplinary institutions under the guise of political programs of “secularization”, next on the agenda is laying out how to comparatively

assess the results of these political programs. The secular/religious divide is almost never black and white. Modern Turkey, for example, which is often cited as the prototypical “secular” state has actually institutionalized religion in curious ways (to be detailed in chapters 3 and 6).

Across the former Ottoman world, intriguing amalgams that defy the conventional, dichotomous classification of secular vs. religious abound.¹⁹ Nonetheless, some religion-state configurations have proven to be more durable, state-centric, and moderating than others. Although the religious and the secular are not necessarily binary—it is perhaps more helpful to think of “varieties of secularism”—a critical threshold does seem to separate societies in which religion poses a direct challenge to state authority vs. those in which religious actors play a more submissive and docile function. Put simply, some states exercise exclusive sovereignty—i.e. have the final say—on issues of schooling, law and religious regulation while other states are ensnared in a fierce battle with religious elements that seek to overthrow (or fundamentally alter) state authority in these spheres. Loveman's concept of 'routine control' (somewhat similar to the colloquial idea of “politics as usual”) helps illustrate the critical difference separating the two camps. In the aftermath of *successful* secular revolutions states exert 'routine control' over schooling, law and religion without substantial opposition. It must be emphasized that the exercise of 'routine control' does not mean that struggles and debates about religion disappear entirely. To the contrary. Rather, the key point here is that struggles and debates assume a different form. They will be “struggles over the mechanics or techniques of state practices that are recognized without question as such” as opposed to fundamental struggles over what counts as a legitimate state practice.²⁰ After successful secular revolutions religious elites may still be politically active, but they work through the system, gradually instead of trying to overthrow it.

Table I. summarizes the observable implications of variation in the dependent variable across eight post-Ottoman cases.

[Insert Table One About Here]

II. Literature

The discussion in the previous pages defined secularizing revolutions as a state-building strategy aimed to augment authority via control of schooling, law and religion. Given what we know about existing states, it should hardly come as a surprise that regimes seek to bolster their power through the control of disciplinary institutions. Several generations of scholarship clearly demonstrates that states are more than just material and/or political-military organizations— they are also “pedagogical, corrective and ideological organizations” engaged in the politics of socialization.²¹ We know that all states exercise (or seek to exercise) disciplinary power through an array of institutionalized practices— national ideology, compulsory schooling, passports, censuses, map-making, building museums and monuments.²²

Unfortunately, the existing literature on state building has tended to privilege the study of certain dimensions of state power at the expense of others. There is certainly no scarcity of literature on the processes by which states came to acquire military and extractive powers. For example, a competent body of work on the rise of the state in the West clearly details how a series of “extraction-coercion cycles” fueled by the threat of war and the drive for military armament worked to form states in the heart of Europe.²³ Hence Tilly's memorable and often cited observation that “War made the state, and the state made war”.²⁴ Likewise, there have been

a number of convincing studies that document how political economy factors, such as the formation of cross-class coalitions, policies of land reform and the incorporation of economic notables into political structures, have led to varying extractive capabilities and thus state-building trajectories.²⁵

The underlying assumption of much of the work cited above is that superior tactics of organized violence, economic co-option and/or extraction can largely explain the degree to which states achieve predominance and order in the societies over which they rule. With only a handful of exceptions, little attention has been given to the process by which states build their strength through the capture of disciplinary institutions.²⁶ The result of this overemphasis on coercion via brute force and the politics of revenue extraction is that theories of state-building have become detached from an important part of what we know about how state power actually functions. Scholars have largely ignored the cultural dimensions of state building and the mundane (but powerful) disciplinary strategies that underpin the expansion of state authority.

This disjuncture between theories of state-building and existing knowledge about how power works in states has been further perpetuated by the evolution of a popular rhetorical device used to describe the state-building process: state “penetration”. This well-worn trope suggests that states generate their overall strength in direct proportion to their ability to “penetrate” society. Michael Mann originally coined the term infrastructural power in 1984 to describe “the capacity of the state to actually penetrate civil society and implement its actions across its territories.”²⁷ Yet in the two decades since, many of the important nuances behind Mann's ideas about infrastructural power have been eclipsed by a reliance on the catch-all idea of

state penetration. As Torpey observes, “the now standard imagery of penetration suggests more or less weak societies simply receive the advances of more or less powerful states. Having been penetrated, societies give up—to a greater or lesser extent— what states demand of them.”²⁸

The idea that states “penetrate” society is not entirely incorrect; but nor is it a particularly helpful rhetorical device for understanding the multidimensional process behind the expansion and growth of state power and control. At the most rudimentary level we must ask ourselves, How does this so-called “penetration” actually happen? All too often the term is used as shorthand to explain the means by which states institute authority when what is actually being described is the end result of a bundle of other processes—military dominance, standardized education, bureaucratic expansion, documenting citizens, the spread of nationalism and secular law etc.—that then go unexamined. Only recently has the study of the expansion of state infrastructural power been revived in all its complexities by a group of scholars working to disentangle the various dimension of state power through careful research in the historical tradition.²⁹ My dissertation makes a contribution to this growing body of literature by detailing how religious actors and symbols figure into and can shape processes of institutional change during state-building.

By focusing on the relationship between religious institutions and state institutions during periods of great change, this study also adds to an existing—but nebulous—literature on the study of secularization. Scholars have long viewed modernization (and everything that supposedly goes with it, including state consolidation) as a somehow inherently secular process. As Gill has pointed out, “secularization theory” is probably “the most durable, yet outdated,

theoretical perspective in the social sciences.”³⁰ At its most basic, secularization theory is built around the prediction that an all-encompassing process of modernization will replace religion. Using evidence drawn almost exclusively from the Western European experience, advocates of the secularization thesis contend that modernization and secularization unfold in tandem and that the separation of religion and the state is not only the inevitable outcome of modernization but also a precondition for political development.³¹

If explored more closely, the classic secularization thesis actually contains two distinct types of argumentation. The first line of reasoning, which gained popularity in the 1960's and 1970's, argues that the rise of rational consciousness fundamentally discredits the central claims of religious organizations.³² The advancement of scientific inquiry and the breakneck pace of technological development are thought to cause a loss in faith, which is eventually reflected in declining church attendance. The idea here is that the metaphysical underpinnings of religion simply cannot compete with fields like medicine and engineering, which now offer rational answers to the questions that used to drive people to religion. As a result, religious participation decreases and religious institutions are weakened.

A second variety of the secularization argument looks not at the erosion of individual belief but at the diminishing social function of religious organizations. Although this tradition has roots that extend back to the work of Durkheim³³, in the 1960's it was advocated by scholars like Luckmann³⁴ and more recently has been revived by Bruce³⁵. According to the functionalist reasoning of these authors, religion exists because it holds societies together by providing meaning and necessary services. Religion is not primarily about belief; rather, it is first and

foremost a social system of culture and action that revolves around rituals, ceremonies and charity work. As the reach of the modern state expands and comes to include schooling, welfare systems and patriotic ceremonies, the social need for religion evaporates. Once the state is capable of mediating births, marriages, deaths and holidays, people inevitably lose touch with religion because their basic social needs are being fulfilled elsewhere. Echos of this kind of thinking reverberate in more recent literature on the how nationalism has filled the religious void as a kind of new “secular religion.”³⁶ Clearly, the problem here is a logic that takes the triumph of the state and nationalism for granted, thereby leaving little room for problematizing the various configurations in religion state relations that actually exist in the world today.

Such teleological approaches to the study of secularization dominate much of the literature on Western Europe, which tends to ignore the critical points of intersection linking process of state-building and religious regulation. Tilly laments this oversight in his introduction to *The Formation of Nation States in Western Europe*. He writes:

Churches and religious organization should have received more direct attention from the start, for two reasons: 1) churches and churchmen were significant political actors at the national and international levels throughout most of the period we are examining; at times they comprised the most formidable rivals, allies, enemies or instruments of the great state-makers and 2) for several centuries of our era, nationalism, and anti-nationalism alike customarily wore the mantel of religious faith; great states like France and the Netherlands were rent by struggles which inextricably combined religion and politics. For those reasons, control of belief and devotion should probably have been on our initial agenda.³⁷

The old cliché that “winners write history” rings true for the history of state-building. Church history plays such a minor role in today’s narratives about European state-formation (and thus

state formation in general) not because it was unimportant, but because the church eventually lost-out in the struggle to control disciplinary institutions in most European states.

Closely related to the “exceptionalism” of European cases is the rise of what can be termed cultural or civilizational approaches to the study of religion. Civilizational approaches attempt to explain the nature of the religion-state relationship in terms of the dominant religious doctrines and traditions of the country in question. Works in this genre contend that, in the European or Western world, religion is relatively tame since societies are built around a clear separation of state and religious institutions, a result that is thought to be a uniquely Christian solution to the problem of church-state struggles.³⁸ In the Muslim world, by contrast, the role of religion is thought to be fundamentally different, and more dangerous, by virtue of the fact that Islamic doctrine claims to encompass all domains, including law and politics.³⁹ The most popular proponent of this view is Samuel Huntington, who repeatedly compares the rigidity and backwardness of Islam to the progressive and malleable ideology of the “West” in his well-known “clash of civilizations” thesis.⁴⁰ This dichotomous view ignores the variety and complexity of both the European and Middle-Eastern cases. In viewing Christianity or Islam as monolithic, civilizational approaches have no way of explaining any type of intra-civilizational variation, of which there is plenty. Another flaw with civilizational approaches is, as Ahmet Kuru points out, that it discounts the role of human agency when, in actuality, states and “religious groups generally design their political preferences regarding socio-political considerations.”⁴¹

It is perhaps because of the overwhelming influence of civilizational arguments that,

despite the multi-religious nature of the Ottoman Empire, scholars have failed to embrace a comparative approach that looks at religion-state relations in both Muslim and Christian successor countries.⁴² This lack of comparative work has only reinforced essentialist interpretations of Muslim and Christian religious organizations in this part of the world. Bucking this trend, work by Kalyvas, for instance, has shown that comparisons between Muslim and Christian organizations are fruitful. By contrasting the Islamic fundamentalist movement in Algeria with a fundamentalist Catholic movement in 19th century Belgium (both of which were hostile to democracy), Kalyvas shows how the design of religious institutions, not theology or doctrine, conditioned outcomes.⁴³

Overall, the concept of secularization as it stands now offers little traction for understanding exactly how modern states triumphed (or failed to triumph) over religious institutions through politically motivated secular revolutions. Beyond the teleological and ahistorical fallacies of modernization/secularization theory and civilizational approaches, a large part of the problem boils down to the fact that there is too much conceptual ambiguity surrounding what it actually means to “secularize”. Secularization is used to describe phenomena as diverse as: 1) the loss of faith at the individual level; 2) a given religious organizations' loss of prestige and vitality; 3) the privatization of religion (religion become a matter for individual concern); 4) non-religious entities, namely the nation state, taking on a quasi-religious role; and 5) the legal separation of church and state.⁴⁴ Clearly, a consensus as to whether or not secularization is a reality cannot be achieved when scholars are talking past one another.

This dissertation sidesteps many of these problems by studying secularization solely as the outcome of specific *political projects* that aims to achieving exclusive state sovereignty over the disciplinary institutions of education and law. This approach corresponds with Gorski and Ates' suggestion to study secularization as an “analytical variable.” Treating secularization as an analytical variable, they argue, requires that one

*. . . define secularization in a particular way for a particular project, and . . . use this definition in an ideal-typical fashion, as a means of identifying variation that is explained by other concepts or mechanisms, instead of invoking secularization as both explanans and explanandum, the traditional practice.*⁴⁵

By this logic, the outcome of programs of secularization are essentially *political settlements* regarding the role that religious institutions and elites will play in a given state. To understand why a certain settlement prevails over a potential alternative, one must compare political processes of contestation and changing patterns of control in specific institutional domains. The next section lays out in detail how the viable “set” of possible settlements for religion and state in former Ottoman states were limited in important ways by historical legacies and contingencies.

Before moving on to detail these limiting factors, it is necessary to consider recent work by Ahmet Kuru which actually seeks to explain varying patterns of secularization by examining historical legacies. To Kuru's credit, he moves beyond civilizational approaches to compare religion state dynamics in both a Muslim and Christian settings. Specifically, his book *Secularism and State Policies toward Religion* attempts to explain why the US has adopted passive secularism (the secular state plays a passive role in avoiding the establishment of religion and allows for public visibility of religion) whereas Turkey and France have opted for assertive

secularism (the state legislated religion's removal from the public sphere and attempts to confine it to the private domain). He attributes these different paths to historical conditions and relations during the country's state-building period. For Kuru, the decisive factor in determining the adoption of passive vs. assertive secularism is the absence or existence of an *ancien regime* that combines monarchy with hegemonic religion. He argues that, if an *ancien regime* exists, it is hard to convince hegemonic religious groups to agree to the disestablishment of their religion and thus conflict, and eventually assertive secularism on the part of the state, results.⁴⁶

Although Kuru's formulation provides a fairly convincing argument for the U.S.'s unique approach to religion, it is hard to see how one can employ his framework more widely across the post-Ottoman cases. If we view only Turkey proper as the inheritor of the Ottoman *ancien regime*, then should expect the other states of the former Ottoman world to perhaps go the way of the United States? This certainly has not been the case. On the flip side, if we consider all former-Ottoman states to be inheritors of an Ottoman *ancien regime* of some sort, then we would expect each state to have a similar trajectory, which also has not been born out in reality. In short, Kuru's *ancien regime* concept is problematic in the post-Ottoman context because there is no simple answer to the question of whether or not there was an *ancien regime* in most post-Ottoman states. Certainly there was an Ottoman administrative legacy, which I will argue below mattered greatly and in variety of ways for the new nation states that emerged. However, untangling the impact of this legacy demands going beyond merely identifying the existence—or the lack there of—of a monarchy tied to the religious establishment. Religion-state relations in the post-Ottoman context are much too complex to be described by this overly simplistic catch phrase.

III. Explanatory Variables

Having defined what I mean by institutions of social discipline and reviewed the relevant literature on state-building and secularization, in this section I put forth a macro-level argument to explain cross-country variation in founding regimes' ability to launch secular revolutions that result in state sovereignty over disciplinary institutions. Based on the general characteristics of post-Ottoman state building, I argue that there are two factors (explanatory variables) that combine to determine a given regime's ability to capture disciplinary institutions via a secular revolution. The first factor is the regime's ability to simultaneously leverage religious moral authority and symbols while secularizing (this appears counter-intuitive but is explained in detail below). The second factor is whether or not religious institutions themselves are *self-reinforcing* or *self-undermining* at the time of independence. To preview the argument, I contend that secular revolutions are most likely to result in exclusive state sovereignty in places where regimes can leverage religious moral authority but religious institutions themselves are on a self-undermining trajectory.

The importance of a regime leveraging religious moral authority so as to associate collective religious identities with new secular institutions stems from the fact that politics is not just about material interests; it is also about what Wedeen refers to as “contests over the symbolic world, over the management and appropriation of meaning.”⁴⁷ As states consolidate, both nascent regimes and their opponents can be bolstered by an advantage in symbolic power. Symbolic power “derives from the recognition of authority as legitimate” and is an invaluable resource because it grants those who hold it with the “ability to make appear as natural,

inevitable, and thus apolitical, that which is a product of historical struggle and human invention.”⁴⁸ Long standing institutions and communal authorities are common reservoirs of the type of symbolic power and moral authority that the leaders of nascent regimes seek out. Tapping into the emotive power of the collective identifications associated with these traditional institutions can help rising regimes cement authority, win followers and secure mass compliance during periods of systemic change.

I argue that in the former Ottoman world religiously based symbolic power and common identities have been particularly potent and thus merit special attention. Surely the link between religion and moral authority has been recognized elsewhere. Anthony Smith, for example, shows that the historical role of priests, clerics and scribes in disseminating moral world-views and transmitting communal memory has rendered religion an influential vehicle of legitimacy for centuries.⁴⁹ Yet in the former-Ottoman world, the importance of religion is perhaps greater as a result of the institutional and cultural legacy of a long standing Ottoman governing arrangement known as the *millet*. The millet was an administrative system that gradually emerged over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries as the answer to the question of how the Ottomans would govern the Empire's increasingly diverse population. Essentially an informal federation of theocracies, the millet system functioned by providing a large degree of religious and cultural autonomy to each major religious group while simultaneously incorporating them into wider Ottoman administrative and economic structures. Over the centuries, this system engendered deeply ingrained patterns of local-level rule and social organization that revolved around religious identity and institutionalized a tradition of political administration by religious elites. Because religious authority was already seen as legitimate by most citizens, utilizing religious

moral authority and symbols became a key feature of state-building in the region.

Post-Ottoman states' ability to capitalize on the benefits of religious moral authority varied substantially across countries. Of course, this is not surprising in and of itself. Reformers working within territorial boundaries that housed a clear majority religion had an easier time seeking out moral authority through an association with the dominant faith. In religiously mixed places like Lebanon or Albania, invoking religious moral authority posed the risk of isolating a substantial segment of the population and upsetting reforms. In more religiously homogeneous societies such as Greece or Turkey, however, linking religious sentiments with the concept of loyalty to an independent and reformed state had the potential to bolster a regime's standing in the eyes of the masses.

Even in those territories of the former Ottoman Empire lucky enough to be relatively religiously homogeneous, however, the secularizing dimension of the state centralization project was not free from complications. Prior to the advent of the nation state, it was religious groups that carried out the functions of social discipline and acted as the arbitrators of public morality through their role in education, charity and law. As states sought to extend their administrative reach into those arenas central to the production and reproduction of belief and morality, they came into direct confrontation with their religious counterparts. Reflecting this position, Mark Juergensemeyer writes:

[New states] had to confront the same competition between religion and nationalism as the West has had to confront, but in a very short period of time . . . If accommodating religion was difficult for the West, efforts to bridle religion in the new nations were a thousand times more problematic. There, the political competition of religion was much more obvious. Given religious histories that

*were part of national heritages, religious institutions that were sometimes the nations' most effective system of communication, and religious leaders who were often more devoted, efficient, and intelligent than government officials, religion could not be ignored. The attempts to accommodate it, however, have not always been successful.*⁵⁰

In post-Ottoman countries the legacies of the millet system only exacerbated the generic difficulties that Juergensemeyer outlines here. As a result, even for regimes presiding over relatively religiously homogeneous populations, state-building was riddled by forces moving in two opposite directions: ***nascent regimes needed to both win religious moral authority and establish sovereignty by eradicating the traditional functions of religious elites.***

To elaborate, the ultimate goal of achieving exclusive sovereignty over institutions of social discipline required that founding regimes demote the authority of religious elites; but, at the same time, open conflict with the religious establishment had the potential to ignite popular revolt and derail reforms from below. Much to their own dismay, new states born from the Ottoman Empire often found themselves pursuing religious legitimization and secularization simultaneously. Religious legitimization and secularization work in opposite directions. Founding regimes' use of religious moral authority reinforces, not undercuts, the power of the religious establishment. Bolstering religious authority, in turn, makes attempts at secular reform increasingly unpopular and problematic. The upshot of this dilemma can be a vicious cycle of religious legitimization vs. secularization that ultimately prevents the state from achieving sovereignty over institutions of social discipline and thereby weakens its overall authority. The more the state tries to secularize, the less popular it becomes; but without secularizing, state sovereignty cannot be achieved. I call this dynamic a *legitimization-secularization spiral*.

Moving now to the second explanatory variable, I argue that a founding regime's ability to avert the descent into a legitimization-secularization spiral and launch a successful secular revolution depended on whether religious institutions were *self-reinforcing* or *self-undermining* at the time of independence. As Greif and Laitin outline in their article on endogenous institutional change, self-reinforcing institutions are durable and robust: "If an institution reinforces itself, more individuals in more situations would find it best to adhere to the behavior associated with it . . . and exogenous changes in the underlying situation that otherwise would have led an institution to change would fail to have this effect." Self-reinforcing institutions create virtuous spirals and lead to institutional survival—even in the face of large external shocks. In contrast, self-undermining institutions "cultivate the seeds of their own demise."⁵¹ An institution on a self-reinforcing trajectory is better predisposed to weather outside attempts at dismantling it; an institution on a self-undermining trajectory will be vulnerable to change. The mechanisms through which religious institutions become self-reinforcing or self-undermining are discussed in the next section. For now, suffice it to say that founding regimes can only successfully leverage religious moral authority to their benefit during secular revolutions if religious institutions themselves have been set on a self-undermining trajectory. When founding regimes use religious moral authority and religious institutions are still self-reinforcing, they are likely to plummet into a legitimization-secularization spiral upon or soon after independence.

It is now possible to layout my macro-level argument in its entirety, explaining a given state's ability to gain sovereignty over disciplinary institutions (and thus build overall authority) as a product of religious legitimization and the institutional trajectory of the religious establishment. Table II. depicts the macro-level argument in a two-by-two table.

[Insert Table II. about here]

Starting from the upper left corner we see that if religious institutions are self-reinforcing at independence and the regime attempts to leverage religious moral authority, the founding regime's secular revolution will typically fail to gain exclusive sovereignty over disciplinary institutions and a legitimization-secularization spiral is likely to follow. Moving to the right, we find that (unsurprisingly) if religious institutions are self-reinforcing at independence and the regime cannot leverage religious moral authority to its advantage, the founding regime will again struggle to control institutions of social discipline. In this quadrant the failure to secularize results from the increased probability of sectarian conflict between religious groups vying for control of the state apparatus. In the lower right quadrant, we have the case in which religious institutions are self-undermining and religious moral authority is not leveraged. In this context, founding regimes struggle to institutionalize authority, not necessarily because of hostile religious competitors, but because a usable reservoir of moral-authority and resources is likely to be lacking. Finally, in the lower-left quadrant we find the proverbial sweet spot for successful secular revolutions: moral-authority can be leveraged but religious institutions themselves are on a self-undermining track, allowing the founding regime to launch a successful campaign to secularize disciplinary structures without massive religious resistance.

IV. Micro-Mechanisms: Manpower, Reform Patterns, and Institutional Trajectories

In some ways the two-by-two table presented above poses more questions than it answers. Specifically, I have argued that whether religious institutions are on a self-reinforcing or self-undermining trajectory at independence partially determines a founding regime's ability to

launch a successful secularizing revolution. The more interesting and critical question therefore remains: What conditions lead to a self-undermining vs. a self-reinforcing religious establishment? This section shifts the level of analysis and theoretically examines the micro-level dynamics of early reform processes in order to answer this question. I argue that the availability of manpower for early state-building reforms creates distinct patterns of institutional change that either aid in the religious establishment's undoing (self-undermining) or allow it to maintain its structural integrity (self-reinforcing). The validity of the general framework presented below will be assessed in subsequent chapters through the case studies. The objective here is to generate an abstract representation of key actors, decisions and conditions.

Actors and Contexts

Our story begins with the advent of modernizing reformers, a phenomenon that emerges in the late 18th and early 19th century. Historical accounts provide a fairly unambiguous answer to the question of when the process is set into motion. For example in Egypt, the reforms of Mehmet Ali Pasha, which began in the first decades of the 19th century, mark the onset of modernizing reforms. In Turkey, the rise of the Young Turks and then Committee for Union and Progress in the wake of the Tanzimat in the later half of the 19th century denotes the start. For Greece, the reformists' origins can be traced back to the revolutionary project of the *Filiki Etaireia* (Friendly Society) and other late 18th and early 19th century Greek “Enlightenment” thinkers.

Reformers are typically a “rising group” of educated elites that admire European administrative practices and seek to transplant them. A climate of widespread political upheaval

combined with changing patterns of social mobility means that prototypical reformers are either the product of military training or members of a diaspora intellectual class. High-modernist reformers are not populists but elitists. They view themselves as above the common man by virtue of their superior education, training and/or life experience. Reformers' connection to the masses is thus tenuous at best. The revolutions and reforms they seek to implement are top down, not bottom up.⁵² Reformers therefore tend to view intermediary power brokers and local authorities as a particularly threatening well-spring of competition because of their close proximity to and influence over the masses. Consequently, even if they are not necessarily “anti-religious”, reformers almost always exhibit anti-clerical “secularist” tendencies and hope to relegate religion's public and administrative role in society.

Reformers do not operate in a vacuum; to maximize social acceptance they need to feel their way through existing power structures rather than work simply via blunt force. There is an already-established cultural machinery that complicates reformers' project to turn high-modernist ideology into a regular product of political and social organization. Nor are the masses a *tabula rasa* devoid of existing cultural imprints. The masses' very identity is a product of and reinforcement to traditionally established cultural forms. A cadre of existing cultural producers that specializes in moral authority and were trained under the previous ideological regime is deeply embedded in the existing cultural machinery. This cadres' professional identity is tied to and heavily invested in established institutions. As such, existing cultural producers are predisposed to resist institutional reforms and ideological changes imposed from above by reformers.⁵³

In our case, the cadre of existing cultural producers is the religious establishment, an aggregate group consisting of individual members of the religious elite. Religious elites are individuals whose profession it is to 1) reinforce and propagate religious symbols through ritual and worship and 2) to uphold the conceptions of the general order of existence through advice, example, normative sanctioning, moral education and religious law. As an organizational entity, the shape of the religious establishment ranges from a strict, hierarchical unit centered around prominent institutional structures to a more loosely organized group of associated or mutually exclusive regional subunits. The size and general competence of the religious establishment (literacy, level of professionalism) also varies by country.

Religious elites are status conscious actors, who are, above all, interested in retaining their dignity. Religious elites' dignity is directly tied to their role as the arbitrators of moral authority. As status conscious individuals, religious elites seek to preserve or improve their own position in society, which tends to be closely linked to maintaining institution(s) and structures that can provide their livelihood. Concern with advancement and promotion is also a central part of the lifestyle for many members of the religious establishment. Generally speaking, promotion and appointment in the religious establishment is a function of education, performance in lower-level positions and the extent of one's connections within the establishment itself. There can be substantial monetary incentives for moving up in the ranks, not to mention increased prestige, respect and influence. Religious elites are not necessarily opposed to modernization as such; but they do take issue with attempts at reform that threaten to infringe upon the institutions from which they derive their professional status, personal dignity and self-respect.

In addition to the existence of a potentially defiant religious elite, there are other major impediments to the actual implementation of reformers' high-modernist agendas in the fields of education and law. The nature of these obstacles falls into two distinct, yet intricately related, categories: a moral authority deficit and (in some cases) a lack of sheer man-power / material resources.

A sizable legitimacy/moral authority deficit is common to reformers across cases since, by definition, they are typically elitists who seek to launch change from above. Because reformers have few prospects for legitimizing their authority on their own, they may attempt to build moral authority and gain popular support by invoking religion. In seeking religious legitimization, reformers reason that breaking deeply instilled patterns of local parochialism among the masses demands that they make an appeal to their religious identity and beliefs. As such, attempts are sometimes made to “sell” reforms through religious imagery, symbols and rhetoric. Reformers seek to use religious rhetoric to convince the masses that compliance with reforms is a moral duty, thereby securing obedience without accruing the costs of enforcement. As mentioned in the discussion above, widespread religious appeals are naturally more difficult to make in religiously diverse settings than in homogenous ones. Therefore not all reformers (or the founding regimes that follow in their footsteps) have recourse to the symbolic power and moral authority of religion.

Reformers' material deficit varies and is dependent upon several factors. First, the size of the cadre and the scope of its geographical spread are important. Small, localized reform factions will face more serious resource constraints than larger, evenly-dispersed organizations.

Second, reformers' resource constraints are conditioned by their ability to procure the buildings and physical infrastructure necessary for housing schools and courts. The final and by most important factor is reformers' access to a local hiring pool of educated and literate professionals capable of providing general administrative expertise as well as staffing schools and courts.

In countries that experience colonial administration at some point following the Ottoman collapse, material and manpower constraints can diminish as administrators, teachers and other professionals from the colonial metropole are brought in to staff secular schools and legal institutions. Not all colonial administrations, however, are created equally. Work by Lange, Mahoney & vom Hau demonstrates that the level of colonialism —defined as “the extent to which a colonizing power installs economic, political, and sociocultural institutions in a colonized territory”— varies substantially across any given imperial power's colonial holdings. In the former Ottoman World we see everything from no colonial imposition at all (ex. Greece, Turkey, Albania), to medium (Egypt) and relatively high (Cyprus) levels of colonialism.⁵⁴

Regardless of access to manpower and resources, reformers would ideally like to secure the religious establishment's blessing to make secularizing and centralizing changes in education and law. For reformers a publicly supportive, compliant, and completely subordinate religious establishment would be optimal. On one hand, such an arrangement maximizes the amount of moral authority that can be derived from religious symbols and rhetoric; on the other, it also circumscribes religious authorities' future ability to win hearts and minds and thereby act as a competitor to reformers and founding regimes. Most religious elites exhibit deep skepticism towards such an arrangement since it threatens their status and potentially their core values as

believers. The reform process therefore becomes contentious, giving rise to patterns of strategic interaction between reformers and religious elites.

Reform Patterns

In this general context, early modernizing reform processes can take several shapes based on the level of manpower and expertise available to reformers. Streeck & Thelen's work on the mechanisms behind gradual institutional change provides a helpful starting point for characterizing these various patterns. The discussion below draws on their insights and elaborates upon their typology to map out the strategies of modernizing institutional change that existed in the Ottoman world.⁵⁵

Conversion: Most reformers will first attempt to restructure disciplinary institutions from the outside in an incremental fashion via conversion, demanding that religious schools introduce some secular elements to their curriculum, or requiring religious courts to apply a new set of secular legal codes. Conversion is favored in any context because it is cost effective, allowing reformers to work with existing infrastructure and experts at minimal cost. Also, reformers envision that institutional change via conversion signals a willingness to work with, rather than completely against, the religious establishment.

Despite its appeal, conversion rarely achieves the desired outcome because it is vulnerable to subversion from below. When reformers (in some cases together with colonial administrators) employ conversion, the religious establishment remains firmly planted on its home turf, free to reinterpret new reforms and rules as they see fit or simply ignore them entirely.

Paper reforms or verbal dictates are not strong enough to alter the dominant culture of religious institutions or the habits and behavior of those elites that work in them. The inertia of long-standing institutions—in some contexts further reinforced by reformers' appeals to religious moral authority—tends to block any efforts to redeploy religious institutions for secular purposes. As a result, the religious establishment retains its integrity and religious institutions continue on a self-reinforcing trajectory during attempts at institutional change by conversion.

Displacement: Institutional change via displacement occurs when resources and manpower for reforms are plentiful. Through an “invasion” of these resources, traditional institutions are successfully supplanted by new (and sometimes foreign) ones. Displacement can occur after conversion fails or conversion can be bypassed entirely. The critical dimension of institutional change via displacement is that it requires active and sustained cultivation by committed, affluent and enterprising actors who are able and willing to expend the large amount of resources required to overwhelm traditional structures. The superior resources and manpower of reformers during institutional change via displacement overtakes traditional institutions and, with time, can engender new beliefs that erode the authority of traditional structures and send them onto a self-undermining trajectory. When resources and commitment are high enough to make displacement possible, the importance of religious legitimacy decreases substantially as new norms about legitimate governance are gradually instilled in the population.

Coöptation: Less costly than displacement but more costly than conversion is a strategy of piecemeal coöptation, whereby reformers create a nascent set of rival institutions that are not directly under the religious establishment's control but somehow include existing religious

structures. The initial introduction of these institutions is likely to be poorly received by the religious establishment, who view them as an encroachment on their sphere of influence. The general public also looks upon these new institutional creations with a degree of suspicion at the outset.

Under strategies of piecemeal coöptation, new institutions are “created on the edge of old ones” in such a way that the “new fringe eats into the old core.”⁵⁶ In other words, a new institutional layer siphons off support and expertise from the old/ traditional layer, grows, and gradually crowds it out over time. This process involves some degree of compromise between old and new which eventually turns into the defeat of the old. As Selznick observes the “coöptative mechanism” involves a “process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence.”⁵⁷ As will be explained in greater detail below, piecemeal coöptation strategies—but not all coöptation strategies—beget a process that sends religious institutions onto a self-undermining trajectory.

Successful piecemeal coöptation requires that reformers initiate a process of strategic compromise with religious elites and use targeted incentives to bring religious expertise into the new institutions. These incentives take the form of offering individual religious leaders secure positions in the new, centralized, and ostensibly “secular” institutions of education, law, and politics in return for their compliance with the reforms and new institutional structures. Forging this link with the religious establishment necessitates that reformers make a number of compromises that run contrary to their high-modernist ideological principles. For instance,

securing a compromise with the religious elite might require that reformers retain religious curricula in primary schools when they would rather dispose of most (or even all) of these lessons outright. Put simply, reformers do not consider this trade-off ideal. Rather strategies of piecemeal coöptation emerge somewhat begrudgingly and largely out of necessity when the resources and manpower for reform are scarce.

Parallel Structures: Under this scenario, the material resources and manpower available for reforms are in the middle range: substantial material support and expertise may be available, but it is not plentiful or concentrated enough to displace existing institutions. The availability of some resources and manpower means that there is little incentive for reformers to extensively integrate traditional elites into the reform process and a strategy of building parallel structures as opposed to piecemeal coöptation ensues. With parallel structures a new but fairly weak institutional layer is created largely in isolation from existing institutional structures. The new structure is relatively self-sufficient and is staffed largely by outsiders (ie non-traditional elites). There is minimal borrowing and/or interaction between the old and new institutional structures and over time they become estranged, polarized and potentially even competitors.

In some instances of strategies based on parallel structures the exclusion of old institutional elements from new structures results more from mundane colonial administrative practices than from any deliberate attempts at such exclusion. For example, a colonial administration might unwittingly design entrance exams for new law and teacher-training schools in such a way that members of the religious elite are not qualified to sit them. Regardless of intentions, new disciplinary institutions will be built in isolation from traditional

structures. In rare cases when new institutional structures manages to successfully “over-power” older institutions through a combination of superior resources and expertise as well as prolonged presence parallel structures eventually gives way to displacement. The majority of colonial occupations are done “on the cheap”, however, and material resources seldom go beyond the middle range—i.e. initially available but not sufficient to create durable, nation-wide systems. Unless parallel structures give way to institutional displacement, religious institutions will remain self-reinforcing.

Summary

Although reformers themselves do not recognize it at the time, the piecemeal coöptation of religious elites ultimately primes founding regimes for successful “secular” revolutions for several reasons. Most basically, creating space for religious elites in a new, centralized system lends much needed expertise and legitimacy to fledgling state institutions seeking to root themselves in a rapidly changing society. The public views new institutions staffed by religious authorities as an organic development, not a foreign imposition. This pattern of institutional reform therefore gives the illusion of continuity in a period of massive social upheaval and change. When making basic decisions about where to send their children to school or where to settle a dispute, the masses are not forced to choose decisively between loyalty to religion and obedience to a rising trend of reforms. Here it is telling to return to the anecdote about Mustafa Kemal's schooling introduced at the beginning of this chapter. After Semsî Efendi's school, Mustafa Kemal's mother went on to enroll him at another “new school” know as a *Mülkiye Rüştiyesi*. There Kemal recalls being beaten by Kaymak Hafîz, a devout Arabic teacher who was

also member of the religious establishment. It was this event that prompted Mustafa Kemal to abandon his civilian education and pursue a military career.⁵⁸

Second, by opening up new career pathways for religious elites, gradual coöptation sends the religious establishment onto a self-undermining trajectory. Religious elites are integrated into the new system on an individual, case-by-case basis rather than by simply slapping a state label onto old religious institutions. Consequently, the power of the religious establishment as a potential source of collective action is fractured and dispersed in the process. By moving some religious elites into the “secular” system and making their livelihood dependent on payouts from a new set of coffers, their interests become aligned with the interests of reformers. Altering the interests of a sizable portion of the religious establishment in turn shifts disputes about the role of religion in modernizing disciplinary reforms out of the lime-light. Under such conditions, debates about the future of the religion-state relationship do not become a head to head showdown with the religious establishment on one side and nefarious, atheist reformers on the other. Instead, such disputes are waged behind closed doors within the religious establishment itself—and ultimately aid its undoing. Curiously then, a lack of manpower and resources for the early reform of disciplinary institutions can actually abet a state's future ability secure disciplinary control by sending religious structures onto a self-undermining path and thereby priming founding regimes for successful secular revolutions.

Access to manpower and expertise therefore significantly alters the dynamics of early institutional reform. When manpower and expertise are *not* scarce (but also not plentiful) and reformers are *not* forced to invite religious elites into new institutions, the religious establishment

easily retains both its coherence and *raison d'être*. Lange, Mahoney & Vom Hau, cited above, have uncovered a general pattern in the relationship between the level of colonialism and development. They find that whereas “[e]xtensive British colonialism introduced a rule of law, effective administration, and competitive markets, promoting development . . . limited forms of British colonialism distorted existing institutions in ways that greatly hindered future development.”⁵⁹ This general observation also holds true for the reform of disciplinary structures and manifests itself in the divergent institutional scenarios of parallel systems vs. displacement.

To elaborate, limited colonial involvement characterized by parallel systems creates a new set of institutions that largely excludes traditional elites but also falls short of installing effective disciplinary institutions in its own right. Often these parallel structures cannot gain traction because of their inorganic/elitist nature, sporadic performance and/or limited duration. Post independence, founding regimes will therefore inherit a deeply fractured system of disciplinary control. In this context religious elites’ interests have not been sufficiently aligned with the objectives of the “secularizing” reforms because colonial occupation excluded these elites from the early phases of the reform process. As a result, if and when reformers and state elites seek religious moral authority, they only reinforce the power of a group of religious elites who remain outside of new secular structures and thus can threaten these structures’ survival. By contrast, under displacement, new institutions are backed and sustained by substantial resources and an unwavering commitment, allowing them to gain the strength necessary to change beliefs, norms and habits. The presence of overwhelming manpower and resources, although rare, can diminish the importance (both perceived and actual) of religious moral authority and instill significant change via other channels.

Table III. summarizes the general linkages this section has drawn between the level of manpower resources, reform patterns and the trajectory of religious institutions. Figure I. contains an arrow diagram that depicts the entire argument step-by-step leading to variation in the outcome of secular revolutions.

[Insert Table III about Here]

[Insert Figure I about Here]

The Religious Response to Reform by Piecemeal Coöptation

Institutional change via gradual coöptation weakens religious institutions, but we still need a plausible explanation for why religious elites agree to be coöpted at all. Is the religious establishment oblivious to reformers' ultimate intentions? Or, believing that there is no viable alternative, have they simply accepted defeat as a *fait accompli*?

The religious establishment is certainly not looking to be intentionally duped into forfeiting all of its authority to civil control. Religious-elites are cognizant of the threat to their authority and alert to the fact that reformers do not always have the religious establishment's best interests at heart. Nor are religious elites entirely defeatist and uniformly yielding to reformers demands. Even when a large segment of the religious elite willingly joins new disciplinary structures, a group of dissenters who openly resists such incorporation/coöptation almost always exists. More will be said below about the reasons why some religious elites resist incorporation and why some comply. For now, suffice it to say that we can not entirely attribute the religious establishment's response to ignorance, backwardness or a sense of defeatism.

Religious elites fail to collectively resist strategies of piecemeal coöptation because in this context fundamental and value-laden decisions (whether or not to resist secularization) are converted into a punctuated series of marginal decisions (whether or not to supplement one's income by picking up an extra shift teaching religion in a state school; whether or not to openly resist when, ten years later, that same school drops 2 of your 10 teaching hours). The first type of tradeoff directly pits religious elites' sacred values (and thus their dignity) against material considerations, inciting resistance since renouncing a sacred value for material gain is considered equivalent to renouncing one's self-respect.⁶⁰ This is why secular revolutions that try to “coöpt” the a large portion of the religious establishment in one fell-swoop at independence are doomed to failure. With mundane and marginal tradeoffs, however, religious elites make rational calculations based on more immediate considerations. Since, in the short-term, religious elites are primarily focused on narrow goals, such as their personal career pathways and maintaining a foothold in any institution through which they can act as arbitrators of moral consciousness (education and law), coöptation is able to take root, religious institutions begin to unwind and the process of state expansion slowly creeps forward into the realm of social discipline.

When inherently value-laden decisions become framed as marginal-trade-offs through strategies of piecemeal coöptation, the religious elite appear (especially in retrospect) as if they are collectively blind to the long-term consequences of their immediate decisions. In other words, they (as a group) seem to fail to grasp the larger reality of how their individual choices can make the religious establishment vulnerable *en masse* to manipulation that will eventually strip their entire class of much of its tangible power and influence. Once a sizable portion of the religious establishment is ensconced in the new institutional structure and dependent on a

paycheck issued by a new set of authorities, reformers can gradually go on to phase out religious elements of school curricula and law, again without inciting massive resistance. Gradually instituted changes via coöptation can partially mask the real long-term threats of reform since the impact on any given elites' dignity at each step in the process appears negligible.

Divide and Conquer? Coöptation and Selective Violence

It was stated above that it is rare in scenarios of piecemeal coöptation for *all* religious elites to be incorporated into newly created institutional structures. Some will choose to resist. Who will choose which path? Whether or not a given member of the religious establishment resists coöptation depends largely on his position in the religious establishment's hierarchy. Upper-mid level and mid level religious elites with a relatively secure but not excessively visible position in the religious establishment's hierarchy tend to view themselves as better off joining new institutions (or at least not resisting their creation). Very low level religious functionaries and religious students tend to choose to openly protest institutional reforms and, as a result, often become the victims of selective violence together with top-level symbolic figureheads.

People occupying the upper and middle echelons of the religious establishment believe that they can preserve their authority in a reformed institutional context for several reasons. For one, as a result of reformers' lack of moral authority, there is a sizable market for religious leaders who are willing to engage in acts of legitimization —such as issuing fatwas to justify political decisions, accompanying politicians to rallies, backing/joining political parties or writing religious treatises in support of constitutionalism. Upper-mid level religious elites can thus side-step the threats of reform by opting to join the political fray and use their moral

authority to justify policies of reform and centralization. Mid level religious actors who are one step down may lack the public-persona, authority and/or charisma to enter politics directly, but they are not devoid of options in a reformed system either. As was mentioned above, when reformers lack expertise and man-power it inadvertently provides new and often lucrative career pathways for people with traditional religious training. Upper-mid and mid level religious elites see their own individual opportunities for career advancement and status increase —not decrease — with the introduction of new institutional structures in this context.

Such options are not open, however, to those individuals at the very bottom of the religious hierarchy. The entire future of aspiring young religious students rests on the maintenance of religious institutions that can serve as pathways for upward mobility and status generation. The creation of new institutions not only directly threatens this future but also offers few alternatives. When institutional change via collaborative layering is underway, religious students and very low level functionaries see the institutions that were supposed to afford them upward mobility being neglected, hemorrhaging staff and diminishing in status as a large number of their superiors gradually abandon them in favor of new disciplinary structures. New opportunities are not forthcoming, since reformers are in search of moral authority and expertise and these religious novices and underdogs cannot effectively offer either given their limited experience and training, lack of prestige and questionable capacity to wield any kin of moral prowess.

Low-level religious functionaries and students will therefore often attempt to protest, resist and/or sabotage new institutional creations. These agitators normally take a fundamentalist

stance and cite the purity of religion as their driving cause. But such low level attempts to launch religious resistance from below typically fail to gain momentum if the coöptation of upper-ranking religious elites is simultaneously underway. This failure derives from the fact religious resistance becomes completely deprived of a unique *raison d'être* as reformers actively appropriate religious constructs and schema and team-up with upper-level segments of the religious elite. Disgruntled, low-level religious students can hardly launch a counter revolution in the name of protecting religion when reformers are mounting their own quiet revolution on the very same terms and now with the backing of some of the religious establishment's most prominent players!

Religious elites who have joined new disciplinary institutions and hence have a vested interest in these new structures will never endorse low level attempts at religious agitation. In fact, mid level elites will cite their authoritative position in the religious establishment and publicly come out against such religious resistance movements, branding them as recalcitrant, dangerous and extremist. In some instances, the split in the religious establishment will become so deep that a group of reform-aligned religious elites will even sanction the use of selective violence to repress extremist uprisings. Institutional change by gradual coöptation— which originates as a makeshift solution for how undertake reform when faced with a dearth of resources and expertise— ultimately allows reformers to gradually divide and conquer the religious establishment, paving the way for successful secularizing revolutions upon independence.

V. Moving Forward

Although many contemporary troubles in the Balkans and the Middle East seem to revolve around religion, the theoretical discussion in this chapter has illustrated that the problem is not religion *per se* but a more systemic dilemma reflecting the deep complications that have arisen as a result of trying to carve legitimate and secular nation-states out of a federation of theocracies like the Ottoman Empire. To summarize, I have shown that politically driven secularization movements to control schooling, law and, ultimately, religion itself are a key (but often ignored) component of the overall state building process. Variation in the success of secularizing revolutions at independence therefore have significant consequences for the consolidation of state sovereignty over the *longue durée*. To explain the variation in the success of secularizing revolutions in post-Ottoman states, I have provided an argument built at two levels of analysis. At the country level, I contend that the success or failure of radical political programs of secularization can be explained by a regime's ability to utilize religious moral authority and by the institutional trajectory of religious institutions (self-reinforcing vs. self-undermining). Put simply, when regimes can gain popular support by leveraging religious symbols but religious institutions themselves are weak (self-undermining), secularization movements are likely to succeed. To build the second prong of the argument I shifted the level of analysis to theorize within country. Here I argued that the level of manpower and resources for early modernizing reforms creates distinct patterns of institutional change that either allow religious institutions to self-reinforce or cause them to come undone through self-undermining dynamics. Taken as a whole, the analysis provides a unique interpretation of the historical process by which some post-Ottoman states were successfully able to mold their populations into disciples of the state, while others continue to struggle to assert sovereignty.

To evaluate the validity of macro and micro-level dynamics proposed in this chapter it is important to clearly set the scope conditions for this study. In the next chapter I explain why I consider the former-Ottoman world to be a distinct historical geography with conditions sufficiently similar to warrant comparison but outcomes variant enough to prompt interesting puzzles. This entails defining what I mean by the term “former Ottoman world”, explaining the logic of the research design and case selection, and providing some important contextual background to the cases. It is to this task that I now turn.

Table I: Observable Implications of Dependent Variable

Outcome	Exclusive State Sovereignty	Regime engages in:	Opposition takes the form of:	Example
Failed secular revolution	No, or only partial sovereignty	Continued attempts to extend legitimate state practices to include schooling, law and regulation of religion mechanisms: administrative innovation, imitation, coöptation, and/or usurpation	Struggles over whether or not the state has the exclusive right to control schooling, administer law and regulate religious institutions	Egypt Iraq Lebanon Tunisia
Successful secular revolution	Yes, state exercises exclusive sovereignty	Instilling desired categories, cognitive schemes, and social practices through state controlled institutions of schooling, law and religion mechanisms: regulation, codification, routinization, and socialization.	Debates regarding the mechanics, techniques or style of state practices regarding schooling, law and religion but little debate about the state's actual right to exercise control over these institutional realms	Turkey Greece Albania Cyprus

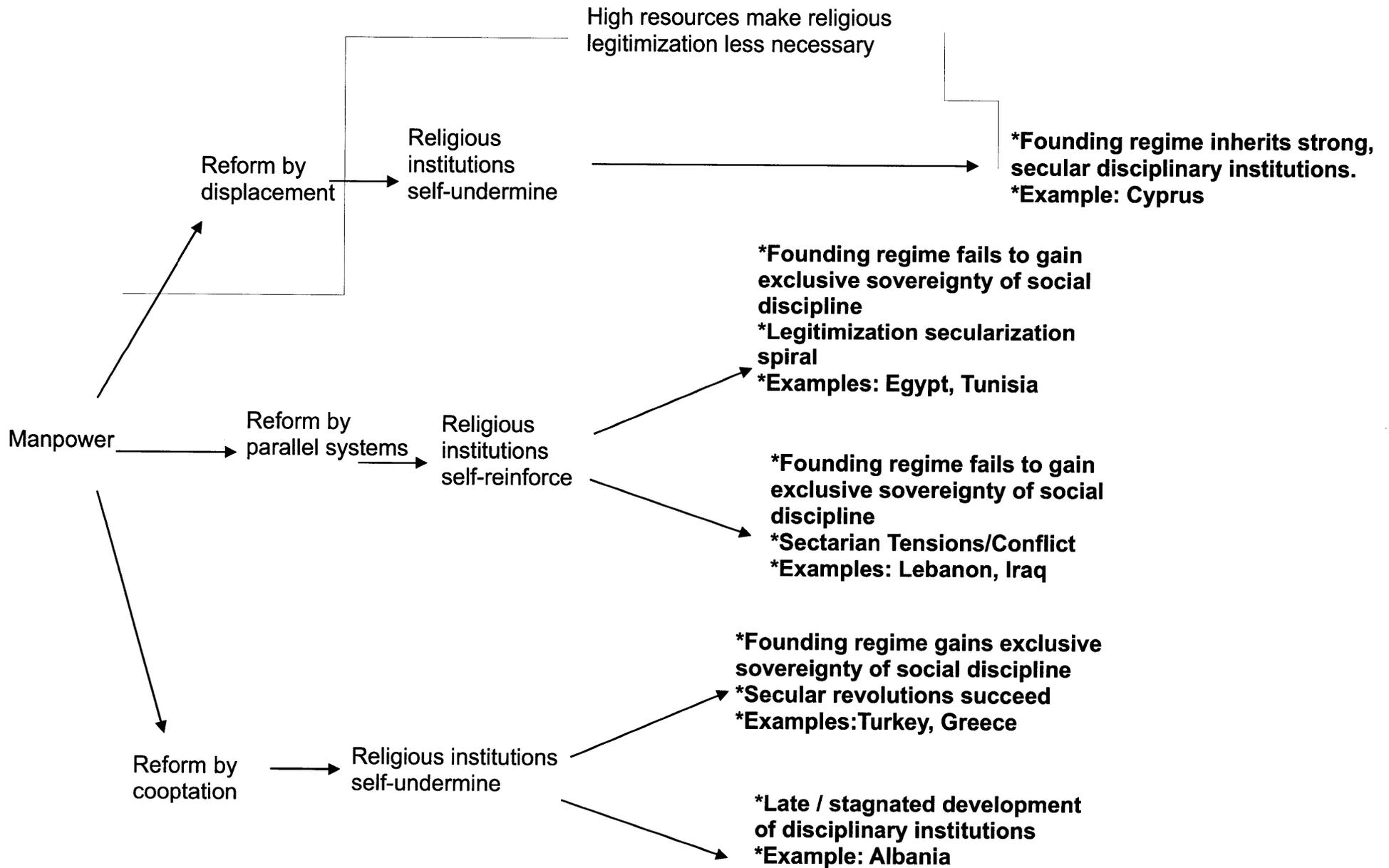
Table II. Religious Moral Authority, Institutional Trajectories and Control of Social Discipline

	Leveraging of Religious Moral Authority	No Leveraging of Religious Moral Authority
Religious Institutions Self-reinforcing	<p>Outcome: founding regime fails to gain sovereignty over disciplinary institutions</p> <p>Dynamic: legitimization-secularization spiral / constitution-theocracies</p> <p>Example: Egypt, Tunisia</p>	<p>Outcome: founding regime fails to gain (or foregoes attempting to gain) sovereignty over disciplinary institutions</p> <p>Dynamic: sectarian tensions, increased likelihood of religious civil war</p> <p>Example: Lebanon</p>
Religious Institutions Self-undermining	<p>Outcome: founding regime gains exclusive sovereignty over disciplinary institutions</p> <p>Dynamic: state consolidation is facilitated / weak form of religious establishment</p> <p>Example: Turkey, Greece</p>	<p>Outcome: late development of disciplinary institutions</p> <p>Dynamic: state consolidation is weak but civil war is averted</p> <p>Example: Albania</p>

Table III. Resources, Reform Patterns and Institutional Trajectories

Level of External Resources	Pattern of Early Institutional Reform	Trajectory of Religious Institutions
Any/All	Conversion	Self-reinforcing
Low	Piecemeal Coöptation	Self-undermining
Medium	Parallel Systems	Self-reinforcing
High	Displacement	Self-undermining

Figure I. Arrow Diagram of Argument



Chapter Two

Imperial Footprints and Historical Legacies

Most academic literature distills the legacy of the Ottoman Empire down to its impact in a single successor state, modern Turkey. True, in terms of cultural and linguistic continuity, Turkey is a primary inheritor of the Ottoman past. Modern Turkish is the clear successor language of Ottoman Turkish (despite the heavy influence of Arabic and Persian in Ottoman writing) and the former Ottoman capital of Istanbul is located in modern Turkey (although it is not the capital of the new Turkish state). As Black & Brown point out, however, only considering the influence of Ottoman legacies in Turkey unwittingly lends credence to the anachronistic myth-histories of nationalism in the Balkans, Turkey and the Arab world.⁶¹ Not all states celebrate their “Ottoman legacy” —surely, many states define themselves in opposition to anything and everything Ottoman —but this does not mean that such a legacy is absent or unimportant.

The Ottoman imperial footprint extends beyond the geographical confines of modern-day Turkey to areas in the the Balkans, the Fertile Crescent and North Africa, all of which shared centuries of experience under Ottoman rule. Albert Hourani puts it well, writing that “[m]any of the things Middle Eastern countries have in common can be explained by their having been ruled for so long by the Ottomans; many of the things which differentiate them can be explained by the different ways in which they emerged from the Ottoman Empire.”⁶² Maria Todorova, makes a similar argument for the Balkans, stating that the “the most striking feature of the dominant discourses in the different Balkan countries is the remarkable similarity between them” and that “[T]he perception of the Ottoman legacy is at the center of securing present social arrangements,

and above all legitimizing the state and searching for identity . . . ”⁶³ Despite the profound influence that Ottoman rule (and collapse) have had on the modern trajectory of states in the Balkans and Middle East, we lack systematic research about the precise political, institutional and cultural imprints left by over 600 years of Ottoman domination.

This chapter sets out to define the former Ottoman world as a region with unique characteristics that warrant a revision of the current wisdom on state-building and secularization. First, I set the boundaries for the current study and provide a historical justification for “the world of possible cases” that I should expect to exhibit the dynamics outlined in the previous chapter. Next I explain my decision to focus research on three country case studies —Turkey, Egypt and Greece— and show how this research design helps to cast doubt on potential alternative explanations for why secular revolutions fail or succeed. In the second half of the chapter, I provide necessary historical background and contextualization that will help situate the empirical chapters that follow. Specifically I highlight the general importance of religion in Ottoman and administrative practices and everyday life.

I. Defining the Former Ottoman World

The Ottoman Empire was a multi-ethnic, multi-religious “state”⁶⁴ in existence from roughly 1300-1922. The Empire began as a ghazi principality headed by Osman Ghazi in northwestern Anatolia that began expanding through the Galipoli Peninsula into the Balkans. In the 16th century, Ottoman armies went on to conquer parts of the Middle East, Mesopotamia and Northern Africa.⁶⁵ At its height, the empire encompassed vast amounts of territory and spanned three continents. Over the 600-year course of Ottoman rule, wars of expansion and rebellions led

to territorial acquisitions and losses, causing the scope of Ottoman influence to expand and contract. Nonetheless, at the start of the nineteenth century, the Empire still included all of North Africa except Morocco, the entire Balkan Peninsula, Anatolia, Syria, Iraq and parts of the Arabian Peninsula.⁶⁶

Given the ever-shifting boundaries on the frontiers of Ottoman authority, which current countries should be considered part of the former Ottoman world for this study? Opting to include any territory on which Ottoman administrators ever set foot would produce upward on 27 present day countries to consider.⁶⁷ Yet such a study would be unwieldy and of dubious quality. Present day Hungary was under the Ottomans for a time during the 16th and 17th centuries and today's Kuwait was under the Ottoman's thumb for a brief 30-year stint at the end of the 19th century; but it would be a hard sell to convince anyone that these two states share much of anything, let alone a common path into the modern world. Answering this basic question is further complicated by the fact that the territorial divisions of the past do not directly map on to the lines that separate nations today.

To simplify, I use the following basic criteria to determine whether or not a given state qualifies as “former-Ottoman.” First, the majority of the territory encompassed by the present state must not have dropped out of the Empire prior to the military reforms of Selim III in 1795. This date is commonly recognized by historians as the point at which the Empire began to modernize both its military structure and some of its methods of governance.⁶⁸ Thus, territories that were not under Ottoman control after 1795 are likely to have undergone significantly different paths toward modernization, making their “comparability” with territories still in the

Empire and after 1795 doubtful. Second, the territory must have been under effective Ottoman control for a total of at least fifty years. I include this criterion because it takes time for institutions to diffuse and take root. Short stints of Ottoman rule do not instill the type of cultural and administrative legacies that are central to the arguments I am making here.

Comparing the borders of modern nation states with the criteria mentioned above leaves the following “former-Ottoman” states as potential candidates for in-depth study: Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Israel, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Macedonia, Serbia, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey. In nearly all of these countries “secularizing” regimes came to power at one point or another —typically after the achievement of national independence. These regimes were armed with an aggressive agenda for direct intervention in religious affairs, the ultimate aim of which was relegating religion to state control. As Mansoor Moaddel has observed, across the Middle East secular agendas were fused with political ideologies of varying stripes and colors. A “secular outlook was crafted to fit various forms of radical Arab nationalism and socialism”(Egypt, Syria)⁶⁹ as well as Fascism (Turkey) and monarchical rule (Greece). Table IV. provides a (non-exhaustive) list of the approximate start dates for political programs of intensive secularization in several former Ottoman countries.

[Insert Table IV. about Here]

Before moving forward to case selection, a few caveats are in order. First, given the unique conditions associated with the formation of Israel/Palestine, this case requires particular attention. The roots of Zionism do not lie in the Ottoman Middle East: “Zionism grew up in Europe (especially Eastern Europe and Russia) as a European Jewish response to distinctively

European experiences".⁷⁰ Moreover, the nature of the events surrounding the creation of the Israel state, as well as the place that this state occupies on the stage of Middle Eastern and world politics is in many ways so manifestly unique that it is a difficult partner in any comparison. Thus, this study refrains from including the Israel/Palestine in the list of candidates for intensive cases studies.

Second, Egypt and Tunisia should also both be singled out since these two regions experienced exceptional political autonomy from the beginning of the modernization process in the Middle East: the beylik of Tunis from 1705-1957 and Egypt under the Muhammad Ali dynasty from 1805-1952. Each had its own local, although not native, ruling dynasty as well as an independent bureaucracy and army. Given that the model of these autonomous structures were to a very large degree similar to Ottoman institutions, and that these two places also shared a common Ottoman political culture, they are certainly comparable with provinces that were under more direct forms of Ottoman control. In fact, in many ways these two cases probably most closely resemble modern Turkey's inheritance given that an independent bureaucracy and army were in place in all three places. These cases will therefore be retained.⁷¹

II. Research Design and Theoretical Expectations

The bulk of my research centers on detailed investigation of three country-level case studies: Turkey, Greece, and Egypt. The selection of these cases seems peculiar at first glance, but it abides by the following logic. First, the study of Turkey represents the natural starting point for any investigation of post-Ottoman politics. The bureaucratic and cultural center of the Ottoman Empire and the seat of the Islamic Caliphate both became part of the territory of

modern Turkey. In Turkey, therefore, breaking with the Ottoman past and building mass compliance for a new regime is believed to have been particularly difficult—hence the barrage of glorifying myth-histories on Atatürk's accomplishments. When judged against the other founding regimes in the region, the secular revolution in Kemalist Turkey was remarkably successful, and has led to a high degree of state sovereignty over disciplinary institutions by the standards of most former Ottoman states. As mentioned in the introduction, still today policy makers cite Turkish modernization and secularization as a model to be emulated. These factors make Turkey both a critical case and one with immense policy relevance.

Greece and Egypt were selected on the basis of their potential to yield powerful and generalizable causal insights through two sets of paired comparisons with Turkey. The selection of Greece and Egypt also helps “rule-out” some plausible alternative explanations for why secular revolutions succeed or fail in achieving state sovereignty over education and law. Casting doubt on alternative theoretical explanations through case selection is particularly important in qualitative studies based on thick-description where the rigorous “testing” of multiple theories is infeasible.

The first comparison “set” leverages the method of agreement to uncover why two countries in the region that ostensibly share very little in common, Turkey and Greece, both succeeded in achieving sovereignty over schooling and law, thereby laying the foundation for state sovereignty and control. Greece and Turkey differ in terms of religion, size, class structure, and timing of independence from the Empire. These differences immediately cast doubts on plausible alternative explanations that rely exclusively on the role of Islam, structural variables,

or the nature of late Ottoman reforms.

A second comparison then utilizes the method of difference to juxtapose the inductive findings produced in the Greece-Turkey comparison with the Egyptian case. Turkey and Egypt share many key features —both are large, Sunni Muslim majority states highly influenced by Sufism and dominated (at least until recently) by a powerful military class— but the outcomes of their secular revolutions have been markedly different. Whereas Turkey largely succeeded in forging mass compliance with new institutions and gaining exclusive state-sovereignty post-independence, Egypt remains hobbled by the persistence of powerful religious challengers to state sovereignty. From the reign of Nasser on, successive Egyptian regimes have attempted various strategies to end the destabilizing political dynamics of legitimization-secularization spiraling; none succeeded. The harder the Egyptian state fights to impose its sovereignty, the harder various religious factions hit-back with moves to undermine state authority.

Table V combines the logic of case selection with information from the literature review presented in the previous chapter to show exactly why the study of Turkey, Greece and Egypt, when taken together, challenges many theoretical expectations.

[Insert Table V. about Here]

The information in Table V by no means decisively proves that any of the theories listed above are false or entirely incorrect. What it does suggest, however, is that these theories cannot be the “whole story” when it comes to explaining the success and failure of secular revolutions in the former Ottoman world.

The remainder of this chapter serves to contextualize the case studies that follow. Late Ottoman history has been written many times and in much greater detail elsewhere; the objective here is thus not to present an exhaustive account of late Ottoman governance but to provide necessary background for readers not familiar with the region or period. Beyond these basics, the other objective of the historical overview below is to take a deeper look at the *millet* system and paint a generalized picture of everyday life for Ottoman subjects. The hope is that the descriptive information will give readers a feel for the types of differences that set the Ottoman world apart from the Western Europe experience, as well as the similarities within the Ottoman world that render many former Ottoman cases comparable.

III. Ottoman Governance

In order to administer the Empire's expansive territorial holdings, Ottoman sultans gradually developed a complex system of government that combined elements of theocracy, hierarchy, centralization and tradition.⁷² The result was a “patrimonial state” radically different both from early European governments and modern states as we conceive of them today. At the center of this government was the Sublime Porte (Bab-ı Ali) and its scribal service. The Sublime Porte was a large administrative organization headed by the Sultan, who in turn was assisted by the Grand Vizer. The power of the Sultan was immense and governance of the Empire was thus often a product of his personal discretion. Surrounding the Sultan was an elite Ottoman ruling class, called the *askeri*. The *askeri* class was created by the state and its members were so dependent on the Sultan for their status that they were essentially a slave-servant elite. This class included officers of the court, the army, civil servants and the *ulema* (or *ilmiye*), a corps of

learned men who had been formally trained in Islamic theology and law.⁷³

The nature of pre-capitalist social formation in the Ottoman Empire is the subject of a heated, and largely inconclusive, historical debate which is well beyond the objectives of this chapter.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, A few words should also be said about macro-level socio-economic and class structures, especially since they form the backbone of many Marxists and society driven explanations of state formation and modernization trajectories in Europe.⁷⁵ At the most basic, there is general consensus that the Ottoman experience was indeed distinct from that of Europe. For one, under the initial Ottoman *timar* system there was no land-based aristocracy, for the fief holders (*sipahi*) were a military-service gentry who were paid by the state only indirectly in taxes collected from peasants. This created the inverse of developments in Europe. Ergün Özbudun describes Ottoman realities well:

Instead of economic power (ownership of the means of production) leading to political power, political power (position in the state bureaucracy) gave access to material wealth. The wealth thus accumulated, however, could not be converted into permanent economic assets, because it was liable, both in theory and in practice, to confiscation by the state.⁷⁶

Furthermore, as Karen Barkey has illustrated, the Ottoman's unique predicament can largely be traced back to the inertia of tax farming practices that crytalized in the 18th century. The Ottoman practice of granting life-term tax-farming contracts created an elite class that were rentiers, as opposed to the financiers that emerged in France and England. Overtime, large tax-farmers delegated financial and administrative power to local notables, which deprived the state of the ability to negotiate directly. For these reasons, unlike England and France, the Ottomans never succeeded in centralizing tax farms “into one large, bureaucratic entity with increasingly

refined modes of collection and control.”⁷⁷ Attempts to circumvent tax farmers through direct taxation also failed. As Barkey writes:

*. . . when they [the Ottoman state] tried to bypass the tax farmers and hire an entirely new staff of salaried officials (muhasils) to go to the provinces to collect taxes instead of the tax farmers, they had practically no success. There were not enough officials ready to accept a salary and collect taxes, and the tax farmers were certainly not willing to relinquish their positions to become salaried officials.*⁷⁸

This was especially true since many tax farmers themselves were already members of the military or somehow affiliated with other branches of the Ottoman elite.

As a result, we do not see the emergence of the *bourgeoisie*, or its functional equivalent, that is so central to Barrington Moore's classic story about the path to modernization in Britain.⁷⁹

This observation is also echoed in work by Hanioglu, who writes that:

*. . .the comparison with Europe underscores the weakness of industry, the consequent lack of an industrial working class, and the failure of a vital bourgeois class to emerge in the late Ottoman Empire. . . Whereas the emergence of a bourgeoisie and industry in such European countries as Great Britain and Belgium was a result of unplanned economic, social, legal, and intellectual developments, Ottoman administrations set out to create them.*⁸⁰

The “creation” of a new bourgeois class that Hanioglu mentions went part and parcel with a violent shredding of the traditional Ottoman social fabric and an elimination of diversity. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. For now, the point is that class-based theoretical accounts of European modernization are not easily transported to the Ottoman context.

Turning now to the “masses” (*reaya*), the expansive geography of the Ottoman state means that demographic generalizations should be issued with caution. That said, some basic

observations can be made. The subjects of the empire included a mixture of landed peasant farmers, coastal fishing communities, urban merchants and petty tradesmen, and, though to a much lesser extent in the late periods, pastoral-nomadic tribes. Among all of these groups literacy rates were very low. For example, in Anatolia, even as late as the 1910, it is estimated that only 15% of the population could read and write.⁸¹ Demographically the population was spread between provincial cities, market towns and small villages. Cities and towns were divided into relatively self-sufficient neighborhoods, which typically congregated around religious sites (mosque, church, *tarikats*, synagogue). Village life resembled the neighborhood structure.⁸²

Most importantly, the subjects of the Ottoman Empire included followers of three of the major world religions (Islam, Judaism and Christianity), which were, in turn, each divided into various denominations, branches and sects. Ottoman attitudes toward minority groups prior to the 19th century *Tanzimat* reforms were embodied in the early Islamic notion of *zimmi/dhimmi* (literally, a “protected person”). As *zimmi* non-Muslims subjects of the Ottoman empire were guaranteed protection and the freedom of worship in exchange for “an inferior status which included humiliating disabilities and the payment of an annual capitation tax”.⁸³ In terms of general administration, it was part organically and part by design that the *millet* system emerged as the institutional means used by the Ottomans to manage the complexities associated with governing the Empire's diverse religious groups.⁸⁴ Although our historical knowledge is still limited, it appears that the system began as an informal set of arrangements that operated primarily at the local level only to later be formalized and recognized with 19th century reforms.⁸⁵ In many ways, the ruling class also considered the Sunni religious community to be a *millet* in

its own right, albeit one that was not subjected to the same discrimination suffered by Christians and Jews. For this reason it is important to provide some background information on the official religious establishment linked to Sunni Islam (*the ulema*) and on the organization and status of the other confessional communities. After discussing the structure and function of religious institutions and elites, I draw some general conclusions about the role of religion in everyday life in the Empire and what that meant for post-Ottoman state-building. I conclude with a brief discussion of Ottoman decline and the issue of research methods.

IV. The Ulema

The ulema played crucial roles in the official Ottoman ruling apparatus since the Empire's formative years. Arguably the ulema was the most independent section of the ruling class, for the Sultan derived and maintained his legitimacy through the performance of religiously valued functions, and thus was somewhat beholden to these religious leaders. Led by their most powerful and prominent member, the *Şeyh-ül-islam* (the chief Mufti), the ulema were responsible for teaching religion, upholding the *Şeriat* (the holy law of Islam) and preserving imperial tradition. One of the most important avenues through which the ulema lent legitimacy to the office of the sultanate was through its pronouncements at mosques during the Friday prayer. Furthermore, Ottoman military campaigns and foreign interventions were nearly always accompanied by a *fetva* (fatwa, legal opinion) issued by the *Şeyh-ül-islam* that provided religious justification for the war.⁸⁶ Ottoman rulers organized the ulema and their duties under a robust and hierarchical structure referred to as the *ilmiye*. Figure II. depicts the structure of the *ilmiye* hierarchy in the classical age.

[Insert Figure Two About here]⁸⁷

The ulema also found themselves occupying a position in the upper-ranks of the social hierarchy by virtue of the group's unique economic situation. According to Zilfi, “by the 18th century an ulema aristocracy, its members strikingly similar in parentage, had settled into place.”

⁸⁸ Still, the religious “aristocracy” was not completely impenetrable to outsiders. Many men of modest origins entered the *ilmiye* and rose to the top ranks, making it an attractive pathway for upward mobility.⁸⁹ The ulema's comparative economic security and wealth derived from several factors. For one, they were exempt from taxation and their properties were rarely seized by the state. Furthermore the ulema's economic fortunes were cushioned by the so called *arpalık* allowance they could receive for overseeing judicial-religious affairs at the local level. Finally, the ulema could provide for their daily expenses and sustain wealth through their official oversight of *vakıflar*.⁹⁰ The *Vakıf* institution, deriving from the Arabic term waqf (pl. evkaf) and normally translated roughly as “pious foundation” is widespread in the Islamic world. Stated simply, it refers to “revenue-bearing property that is withdrawn from commercial transaction and is made inalienable for some beneficent end . . . the property is said to belong to God, and its revenue is assigned for some religious or charitable purpose”.⁹¹ The ulema's ability to maintain and transfer property, and thus income and wealth, across generations through the *vakıf* institutions that they supervised and administered bestowed them with a great advantage over other segments of society.

Under the ulema were also various ranks of judges know as *kadi* who were assigned regional posts in rotation and practiced a combination of secular law (*kanun*) and the *şeriat*

(sharia). Kadis were responsible for regulating and registering all “property transactions, leases, legal documents, money lending agreements, commercial transactions, and tax payments; they also announced and carried out Imperial and local government orders” and supervised certain public services.⁹² The religious class also directed, monitored and taught in the Empires' network of Koran schools and medreses.⁹³ As İsmail Kara then fittingly argues, it is difficult to overestimate the extent of ulema's influence simply by virtue of the fact that they exercised authority and/or maintained a presence in so many realms of society and governance.⁹⁴

Whereas the Ottoman ilmiye hierarchy was concentrated in Istanbul around the Aya Sofia, Suleymaniye, Beyazid and Fatih mosques, Egypt was home to its own Islamic religious establishment centered around the al-Azhar mosque and center for Islamic learning. Although at the height of the Ottoman occupation Turkish-speaking Ottoman ulema members dominated some of the highest ranking judgeship positions in Egypt, al-Azhar's size and stature grew remarkably under the Ottoman occupation. Ethnically, the ulema class in Egypt was relatively homogeneous, the vast majority of members being Arabic-speaking Egyptians (with smaller numbers from Syria and the Maghreb). Over the course of the eighteenth century, as Ottoman influence ebbed, the position of *Shaykh al-Azhar* (the supreme leader of al-Azhar) was founded, signaling the strength, autonomy and budding hierarchical organization of the Egyptian religious establishment.⁹⁵ Like the Ottoman ulema, their Egyptian peers were engaged in administering education, courts, and the evkaf (charitable foundations) throughout the centuries.

A few words should also be mentioned about the large presence of “religious orders” in both Ottoman Turkey and Egypt, which somewhat offset the clearly structured hierarchy of the

Ottoman and Egyptian ulema. Also referred to in the literature as Sufi orders, brotherhoods, or *tarikats*, the rise of large-scale religious orders began sometime in the 12th and 13th centuries. Although Niki Keddie's claim that "nearly every urban adult male in the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century belonged to a Sufi order," is probably exaggerated, these institutions were wildly popular and cast a wide net across Ottoman and Egyptian society.⁹⁶

In the Ottoman period *tarikats* (literally meaning "way" or "path") congregated around building compounds known as a *tekke* or *dargah*. In most cases the *shaykh*, or the spiritual master, of the main *dargah* appointed the *meshayikh* (*shaykhs*) of the other, smaller, branches. The moral authority of the shaykh derived from his perceived role as an heir of the Prophet and representative of God on earth and his interpersonal connection with his disciples.⁹⁷ The brotherhoods fulfilled a variety of functions: religious, social, charitable, intellectual, psychological, and sometimes political. The most important Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire were the Mawlawiyya (mevlevi), the Nakshbandiyya, the Djilwatiyya (or Djelwetiyye in Turkish), the Khalwatiyya (Halveti), the Bayramiyya, the Kadiriyya, the Rifa'iyya and the Bektashiyya.⁹⁸ In Egypt the Shadhiliyya, the Ahmadiyya, the Burhamiyya, the Rifa'iyya, the Qadiriyya, the al-Bayyumiyya, and the Khalawatiyya all had a sizable presence at one point or another.⁹⁹

As Hülya Küçük points out, each order was "distinguished by its particular rituals far more than by its doctrine."¹⁰⁰ Above all, the *tarikats*'s diverse functions and malleable institutional structure also allowed them to develop a certain closeness with the masses and to adapt to very different social environments. For one, local shaykhs and meshayikhs tended to be

less rigid and dogmatic than the ulema in their religious teachings. Whereas the learned ulema studied and practiced a textual based Islam that was prohibitively difficult for the illiterate mass to grasp and relate too, the tarikats made religion more approachable and “human” through ritual practices that included music, dance and the veneration of saints.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, in many cases, shaykhs were thought to possess magical powers and the ability to preform miracles, which made them even more revered.

It is extremely difficult to generalize about the links and tensions between Sunni “orthodoxy” and Sufism given the complex and subtle ways in which the two overlapped. Many members of the Ottoman and Egyptian ulema themselves belonged to religious orders. Furthermore, in some areas, it was normal for an individual to be initiated into multiple orders. It is equally difficult to generalize about the relationship between the various religious orders and governing authorities.¹⁰² Although tarikats' often claimed to be politically neutral, by virtue of their ability to draw-in and command the masses, they had an inherently political dimension and function. Throughout the Ottoman period tarikats' intimate link with the masses made them a potent source of potential collective action: they motivated soldiers, mobilized armies of their own and they were occasionally used by the Sultans to shape public opinion. As Karen Barkey points out “The Sufi orders —some of which were heterodox in belief— were probably the most potentially organized force in society and were neutralized by the state either through co-option of their leadership or through the counterforce of the Sunni religious establishment.”¹⁰³ Even in Kurdish regions with strong tribal loyalties, the religious orders played a significant role. As Çetinsaya writes, in Mosul “the structure of tribal leadership gradually became intertwined with Sufism so that shaykhly families came to exercise both religious and world power on a

hereditary basis.”¹⁰⁴ The religious challenge in both late Ottoman Turkey and Egypt thus extended beyond the official ranks of the ulema to include the more amorphous networks of religious orders.

V. The Autonomous Confessional Communities

Whereas the ulema and tarikats were the dominate forces of moral authority in predominately Muslim areas, the Rum Orthodox (or “Greek”), the Armenian and the Jewish millets all had semi-autonomous religious establishments of their own. At the top of the Rum millet was the Ecumenical Patriarch, who was granted official leadership over the entire Orthodox Christian population of the Empire through an Ottoman *berat* issued by Mehmet II in the 15th century.¹⁰⁵ Centered in Istanbul, the Patriarch initially held administrative authority over the Empire's entire Orthodox population regardless of ethnicity, language, etc. One could be Serb, Bulgarian, Greeks, Vlach, Orthodox Albanian or Arab and still be under the thumb of Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Holy Synod and the high seats of the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy. Diversity thus characterized the Orthodox Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire; but atop this diversity sat a rigidly organized, hierarchical institutional establishment. The older sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem all came under the authority of the Patriarch in Istanbul. Figure III depicts the hierarchical structure of Orthodox religious institutions.

[Insert Figure Three About Here]

The institutionalized power of the Patriarchate in Istanbul meant that the church and religious elites as a whole took on functions and positions of authority that they had not

previously enjoyed. As Runciman remarks, “The Muslim conquest had not resulted in the disestablishment of the Church. On the contrary, it was firmly established with new powers of jurisdiction that it had never enjoyed in Byzantine times.”¹⁰⁶ These new powers descended down to the local level, as the church and village community functioned as the centers of education, language acquisition, and more. Some bishops were even uncomfortable with their new found responsibilities.¹⁰⁷ Bishop Theophilos of Kampania complained in his *Nomikon* of 1788 that, “At the times [sic.] of the Christian Kingdom (alas) . . . prelates governed only the priesthood and matters of the church and did not interfere with the civil ones . . . But now . . . the prelates in the provinces accept the mundane lawsuits and trials, for inheritances, for debts and almost all that deal [sic.] with the Christian civil law.”¹⁰⁸

Indeed, in Ottoman times, Orthodox church officials consumed much of their time with legislative and judicial activities that revolved around family law. Although family law is typically thought of in the context of the sharia and Islamic culture, it also played a major role in lives of the Ottoman Empire's Christian population. By the 18th century, the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts had spread to include all of personal Law. The clergy also helped preside over civil, criminal and commercial law cases when Christian parties were involved. Religious elites even issued new legislation on some issues.¹⁰⁹ Cases involving the institutions of *trachoma* (a type of dowry) and *trimoiria* (a class of inheritances) became particularly burdensome for the clergy. *Trachoma* refers to the gift of money given from a brides family to the groom. The institution of *trachoma* differed from the traditional dowry (*proika*), which was sanctified by the church and usually gifted in the form of immovable property. The key distinction between the dowry and *trachoma* (both of which existed at the time) was that, in the case that the husband

deserted his wife, the dowry had to be returned in full whereas the *trachoma* did not. Many a Greek families found themselves destitute and bankrupt after loosing their life savings in a marriage gone bad. Much to its own dismay, the Church found itself responsible for adjudicating the windfall of disputes between families over issues of *trachoma* (as well as dowry) and began issuing Canonical Edicts to impose regulations and order on these practices.¹¹⁰ Similar steps were taken with respect to *trimoiria* (inheritance) institutions, which had become equally unruly.¹¹¹

Although the Orthodox millet clearly then did enjoy a great deal of autonomy and responsibility at the local level, the Patriarchate was ultimately beholden to the Sultan, and was thereby forced to curry the favor of Ottoman officials. Gradually this process of currying favor, which began with elaborate gift-giving practices, evolved into a semi- institutionalized system of office buying, in which various bishops would collect money from the masses in order to compete amongst one other and gain “preferred status” from the Ottomans. A small group of Greeks, as the wealthiest and most populous group, dominated this competition, which eventually led to deep resentment among lower level religious officials and the masses. It was, after all, the Christian masses who had to actually cough-up the money to fund this elaborate and deeply corrupt religious popularity contest. Understandably, such a system paved the way for internal divisions. Eventually, when the Orthodox Church began to fracture with the declaration of an autocephalous church of Greece in 1833—which was in turn followed by similar declarations by Serbia, Rumania and Bulagaria as well as tension between the sees of Jerusalem and Constantinople— it broke along the already well-defined lines of the hierarchy established under the Ottomans.¹¹²

Armenians followed the Greeks in receiving their own *millet* for community organization. Although the Gregorian Apostolic church was formally Orthodox like that of the Greeks, its members preserved Armenian traditions, religious beliefs, language and rituals and thus refused to submit to the authority of the Greek dominated Ecumenical Patriarchate. Instead, the Armenians pressured the sultan to recognize them as an autonomous group, eventually receiving such status in 1461 when Mehmed the II authorized a separate Armenian Orthodox community organized under the chief bishop in Istanbul.¹¹³

The Jewish community of the Ottoman Empire was a diverse group, including but not limited to *Romaniotes/Griegos* Jews who used Greek as their secular language, *Musta'rab* Jews who had adopted Arabic, *Ashkenazi* Jews who had fled Europe and *Sephardic* Jews from Spain and Portugal. Unlike the Gregorian Apostolic Armenian and Rum millets, the Jewish millet initially took shape not as a single unified institution headed by a predominant religious leader but rather a conglomeration of smaller self-governing congregations organized into *kahals* that were only to coalesce gradually over the centuries. In small towns and villages there were only single *kahals*; but in large cities with significant Jewish populations such as Istanbul and Salonika, there were numerous *kahals*, each of which had their own chief rabbi, synagogue, hospital, cemetery, schools and slaughterhouse. Locally elected rabbis in turn acted as the mayors of the individual *kahals*. In addition to his role as a spiritual leader, rabbis were normally also the chief educator, directing primary and higher education, and the head of the religious court (*Bet Din*). Thus, while individual *kahals* certainly retained a degree of local particularity, the more general imposition of Jewish law, customs and regulations across *kahals* meant that common practices of governance contributed the Ottoman Jewish community's sense of oneness.

In terms of economic considerations, it should be added that like the ulema and the Christian clergy, that rabbis were exempt from most Ottoman and Jewish community taxes. Furthermore, as evidence from Jewish community budgets in Izmir and other locations demonstrate, community payments for the maintenance of the rabbis (in the form of salaries) and their courts often far exceeded the amount payed out to the poor or even to civil clerks.¹¹⁵ Thus, rabbis enjoyed not only religious and civil authority but also found themselves in a comfortable economic position relative to other members of their community.

VI. Religious Authority and Everyday Life

The further intricacies of the Armenian and Jewish *millet*s are beyond the scope of this project and shall not be dealt with here; however these cases do help to illustrate the central theme of this chapter, which should by now be clear. Whether one be a Muslim, Christian or Jew, religion played a large role in everyday life via numerous institutional channels. Furthermore, religious leaders enjoyed protected positions in the Ottoman administrative structure, which riefied their own authority as the well as the differences across religious groups.

For the individual Ottoman subject, religion was an almost omnipresent source of authority. In most localities, religious communities would live together in neighborhoods and have their own schools, hospitals, charitable organizations and public infrastructure. As Stanford Shaw writes, “Whether in religion or economic regulation, justice, education or social security, or cleaning and lighting the streets and putting out fires, the subject managed these affairs through these self-governing entities directed by their religious leaders. . .”¹¹⁶ At the local level, the priest/rabbi/imam/sheik not only exercised this kind of spiritual and civic leadership but also

acted as the intermediary between the village or neighborhood and upper religious leaders, who in turn oversaw control of larger towns and served as a connection to the higher-up Ottoman authorities. In all Ottoman territories, then, religious authorities operating at the village and town level enjoyed significant power and influence. These religious individuals acted as a liaison between the millet and Ottoman administrators and were responsible for the distribution of state-lands, tax collection and general order and security.¹¹⁷ As a result, an individual could hardly live his or her life without coming into contact with religious authority at some level on a regular basis.

Deference to religion, religious elites and religious boundaries was a widespread norm, not only habitual but largely unquestioned. Religion forged a division between groups that was at once both formal and informal, both obvious and subtle. Barkey persuasively argues that Ottoman administrative practices played a strong role in delineating collective identities. She writes that

*because religious identity determined a persons' legal and political status, boundaries and belonging were essential; . . . Social boundaries existed between religious communities, in which people knew where they belonged, were clear about their religious identity, and entered into relationships fully cognizant of who the other was, and what was expect of him or her.*¹¹⁸

The ascriptive identity markers used to signal one's religion varied across the expansive geography of the Empire; but these markers extended well beyond phenotype or dialect, which were often ambiguous and thus uninformative. In some areas, for example, Jews and Christians were forbidden from wearing the color green and/or from wearing any type of white head gear that might be mistaken for a turban. In the bathhouses of Aleppo different sets of towels were

used to identify one's religious faith. Similarly, in the bathhouses of Cairo, Christians and Jews were required to wear a special color string or a religious amulet to signify their faith when clothing could not do this job. As Bruce Masters illustrates in his book on minorities in the Empire, there existed “a sartorial code whereby one would often know what faith the person approaching on the street professed. Simply put, you were what you wore.”¹¹⁹ Whether getting dressed, attending school, or paying taxes, an inhabitant of the Ottoman was continuously reminded of his or her religiously defined “place” in the system.

Although it would be completely unwarranted to assume a single, uniform model of interaction between state, religion and daily life across the Empire—for variations did exist—a clear pattern that transcends many regional differences can be discerned: members of the religious establishment of all three major faiths possessed tremendous moral and spiritual authority. Religious elites were deeply embedded in governmental, legal, economic, educational and social institutions—many of these institutions being the exact same ones that we today associate with the modern nation state. As a result, when the secular state sought to achieve uncontested sovereignty over education and law it confronted two obstacles: First, the state had to displace the local religious elites who controlled these functions and had been empowered by the millet system for centuries; second, the state had to convince the masses, who were long accustomed to the primacy of religious authority, that the authority of the nation state was now superior.

VII. The International Context and Ottoman Decline

The system of decentralized governance based on autonomous religious communities that

I have described above served the Ottomans well for centuries; but as the Empire faced growing threats from outside, strategies that had been once been beneficial for governing such a wide territory became increasingly disadvantageous. Military setbacks in the 17th and 18th centuries had created a prolonged crisis in Ottoman state authority, resulting in the emergence of a new alliance between the ulema and the military class of janissaries. The janissaries had provided for Ottoman power, literally from the barrels of their guns, while the ulema provided ideological legitimacy and local administrative authority. By the beginning on the 19th century, the janissaries began to lose their influence as a result of economic constraints and the development of superior military technologies in Europe. It was not so much that the janissaries became weaker but rather that European forces became much more powerful.

As a result of this military inferiority, the Ottoman Empire found itself in dire straits: the Hapsburgs had claimed Belgrade, Napoleon landed in Egypt, Wahabbis were gaining strength in the Hijaz, and Ali Pasha of Janina was launching rebellion from what is now Greece. Multiple failures by the janissaries in the face of both rebel insurgents and organized European armies also resulted in autonomy for lower Greece and Serbia. Gradually, it came to be realized that if the Empire was to survive, it would have to adopt “western” strategies. The root of the Ottoman's problems went much deeper than a simple lag in military technologies and organization. Şükrü Hanioglu describes the depth and interconnectedness of the Ottoman modernization dilemma beautifully:

The old order, under new circumstances, no longer afforded a cost-effective solution to the problem of ruling over a vast empire; it reduced the center to penury and powerlessness. Defense of the empire in the age of modern warfare demanded a large and professional army and navy equipped with advanced

*weaponry; the maintenance of such military focus depended on effective taxation; and effective taxation was not commensurate with the rule of local notables. Instead it required an effective, centralized bureaucracy—hence the centralizing, bureaucratizing impulse that runs as a common thread through late Ottoman history.*¹²⁰

The Janissaries' military impotence and prolonged recalcitrance finally spurred Sultan Mahmut II to have them systematically eliminated through massacres and replaced by a modern army in 1826. Ottoman governance was in a period of fast and furious reform. Sultan Mahmut's actions paved the way for a period of sustained legislation and restructuring under Abdülmecit known as the Tanzimat-i Hayriye “Auspicious Re-orderings”, which attempted to modernize the Ottoman state, centralize Ottoman administration over its territories, and increase direct state participation in society.

What is more, the institutional reforms brought about with the Tanzimat also sought to fundamentally alter the Ottoman state's relationship with its subjects. Up until this point, Ottoman subjects had never been granted “rights” beyond those guaranteed to Muslims by Islamic law and the so-called “protective” status of the autonomous confessional communities mentioned above. In conjunction with his Westernizing reforms, Abdülmecit declared through the Hatt-i Şerif of Gülhane in 1839 that all Ottoman subjects, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, also had secular rights that transcended any religious, ethnic or linguistic affiliation. Many have interpreted this declaration of “secular” rights as a factor that weakened the autonomous religious communities grip on power; however quite the contrary was the case, for it was with the *Tanzimat* that the millet system actually became more clearly defined and formalized.¹²¹ Schroeter puts it eloquently, showing how *Tanzimat* reforms

*...created two opposing and essentially incompatible models of the relationship between religious groups and the state. One model, derived from European notions of a civil society, saw individuals, regardless of religion, as citizens of the nation-state—all having equal rights based on secular, universal principles. The opposing model, derived more from the theoretical construct of the Islamic polity than from Western principle, formalized the new relationship between the state and non-Muslim communities by reifying the separate, group identity through the millet.*¹²²

The paradoxical result was that new policies intended to alleviate segmentation actually only served to further reinforce existing divisions.

Ultimately, Ottoman reforms were cut short by the demise of the Empire itself. Internal and external threats had overwhelmed the Ottoman state: it was fighting a rear-guard battle against the various nationalist independence movements that had sprouted up within its borders while at the same time facing European imperial ambitions that threatened the Empire from the outside. Throughout the late 19th and early 20th century, financial crisis, domestic revolt and great-power rivalry, ultimately culminating in vast territorial losses after World War I, led to the Ottoman Empire's collapse. This final chapter in Ottoman history came to a close with the 1919-23 Turkish War of Independence, which resulted in a Kemalist victory against Allied plans to partition the remains of the Ottoman state. It was in the wake of this Kemalist victory that the Sultanate was abolished and the new Turkish Republic was born.

Given the gradual and tumultuous unraveling of the Ottoman state over the course of a century, it would be disingenuous to borrow the logic of statistical inference and describe the Ottoman collapse as an “exogenous shock.” There is no quasi-experimental setting to be manipulated here. To try to impose one upon such a complex situation would be clumsy, not to mention the definition of bad science. Throughout the study that follows, it will be important to

keep in mind that each state under consideration has a history of its own characterized by unique conditions and events.

Still, acknowledging that histories are in many ways unique does not mean that they are not comparable. “[C]omparative historical analysis,” writes Skocpol “serves as an ideal strategy for mediating between theory and history.”¹²³ Working in an intellectual tradition that is probably most accurately labeled “comparative historical sociology”, this dissertation emphasizes the understanding of processes over time. In the chapters that follow systematic comparisons make it possible to locate common processes. Locating common processes then helps to identify the key factors and contexts most determinative of a state's ability to execute a successful secular revolution and establish exclusive sovereignty over schooling and law. Macro-level comparative arguments at the country level are anchored against more fine-grained evidence drawn from the local history of religious regulation, schooling and legal reform in Turkey, Egypt and Greece.

In summary, this historical overview of Ottoman administration has outlined some of the major structural constraints that came to characterize post Ottoman paths to statehood in the 19th and 20th centuries. At one level, there were constraints and tensions that developed between the Western European example of statehood and the legacies of Ottoman imperial administration. The countries carved out of Ottoman territory were born into a world system in which the ideology of the secular nation-state had come to dominate. Western European states had simultaneously become increasingly secular and increasingly powerful. Europe's unparalleled military prowess meant that the European state structure was viewed as model to be mimicked, a

blue-print to be followed—that is, when it was not enforced directly through the barrel of a gun by European colonial powers themselves.

Even if the regimes in former Ottoman countries did not aspire to Western ideals or standards, military realities left them with little choice. Reform or perish was the dilemma of the day. Thus, Ottoman institutional legacies and the demands of state sovereignty and survival were in great tension with one another. Powerful European states had, almost by definition, succeeded in gradually disenfranchising (or at least subduing) their religious elites; in former-Ottoman states religious elites' privileged position (and moral authority) had been crystallized by the millet system and religious identities were still very much “live” and “politically charged”. The ability of former Ottoman states to achieve sovereignty over the disciplinary institutions central to the production of state authority was thereby contingent on stripping religious elites of their worldly authority (and customary roles) without provoking the ire of a deeply religious populace. The next chapter, which explores the religious roots of the secular state in late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkey, provides an example of how such a feat could be achieved.

Table IV. Political Programs of Secularization by Country

Greece:	Bavarian Regency under King Otto (starting ~1832)
Turkey:	Kemalist Rule (starting ~1923)
Albania:	Ahmet Zogu (King Zog) (starting ~1925)
Egypt:	Nasser's Free Officers (starting ~1952)
Tunisia:	Habib Bourguiba (starting ~1957)
Iraq:	Ba'athist Rule (starting ~1963)

Table V. Case Selection and Theoretical Expectations

Theory	Challenge
Islam impedes secularization (e.g. Huntington 2006)	<i>Turkey</i> : (Muslim majority country with successful secular revolution)
Strong military can force centralization/secularization (e.g. Tilly 1992)	<i>Greece</i> : (had extremely weak—almost non-existent—military the time of secular revolution) <i>Turkey and Egypt</i> : (had comparably sized armies at independence / Egypt had larger army in the 19 th century ¹²⁴)
Extractive capacity helps states centralize / secularize (e.g. Levi 1988)	<i>Greece</i> : (very weak revenue collection capacity at time of secular revolution) <i>Late Ottoman Turkey</i> : (failed to centralize revenue collection/went bankrupt)
Non-hierarchical religious establishments harder to silence/bargain with/secularize (e.g. Kalyvas 2000)	<i>Greece, Turkey, Egypt</i> (all had defined religious hierarchies) <i>Turkey, Egypt</i> (both had large and diverse presence of sufi religious orders, which could undermine hierarchy)
Tanzimat Reforms in late Ottoman Turkey paved the way for a secular state (e.g. Lewis 1968)	<i>Greece</i> (dropped out of the Empire long before Tanzimat was imposed)
Assertive secularism prevails if there is an <i>ancien regime</i> (e.g. Kuru 2009)	Impossible to characterize former Ottoman states as having or not having an <i>ancien regime</i> / Former Ottoman states with a religious majority all try to impose assertive secularism
Class structures/ Pre-capitalist social formation determine modernization trajectories. (e.g. Moore 1966)	Ottoman Empire and successors exhibit weakness of industry, lack of an industrial working class, and the failure of a vital bourgeois class to emerge (see below)

Chapter 3

The Religious Roots of the Secular State in Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkey

This chapter offers a detailed historical study of how the relationship between state-builders and religious elites shaped the transformation to modern state institutions made in late Ottoman and early Republican Turkey, focusing specifically on the period between roughly 1895 – 1924. The objective here is to bring the general theory presented in the previous chapters to life by identifying the actual actors of interest (reformers and religious elites) in the Turkish case and providing empirical evidence of their preferences. As the actors are introduced and their preferences outlined, historical sources and some basic statistics are also used to trace strategic interaction between these two groups with respect to state centralization of schooling and law, as well as the creation of a bureaucratic ministry whose objective was to regulate religious leaders and their practices.

Through this discussion, I present an argument for why Mustafa Kemal's founding regime was able to assert control over institutions of schooling, law, and religion so decisively in the 1920s. Secular-minded Ottoman reformers working in the late 19th and early 20th century had grand designs for a total makeover of society based on a high-modern (rational, positivist, scientific) ideology of social order and control. Yet these reformers lacked the resources, manpower and expertise to immediately turn their ideas into action. A lack of manpower for initial reforms drove these early modernizers to offer religious elites incentives in exchange for their assistance/cooperation in the state centralization and secularization process. To use the language of chapter one, a lack of manpower created patterns of reform based on the piecemeal coöptation religious elites. Reformers' successful co-optation of some segments of the religious

establishment in this early period set religious institutions on a self-undermining trajectory. Over the course of several decades the religious establishment became fraught with internal divisions, hemorrhaged expertise and ultimately became so weak that it was extremely vulnerable to outside attempts to dismantle it. Put simply, early Ottoman reform strategies caused the religious establishment to cultivate the seeds of its own demise, making it impossible for religious elites to collectively defend themselves against the Kemalists' aggressive designs for social change and “secular revolution” in the 1920s.

The bulk of this chapter documents the precise historical mechanisms through which religious institutions became self-undermining in late Ottoman Turkey and thus susceptible to change in the Kemalist period. Whereas most histories of modern Turkey reflect the religious-secular cleavage currently dividing the nation and interpret modernization as a force entirely at odds with the religious establishment, this chapter provides an important corrective to such trends by asserting that modern Turkish history must be written to include religious elites and their institutions rather than in spite of them. Instead of centering the story of Turkish modernization on the Kemalist phenomenon and its accoutrements, I focus on critical historical antecedents from late Ottoman history. Specifically, understanding changes that occurred during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II and later with the Committee for Union and Progress (CUP) are essential to understanding Turkish state-building. Thorough histories of the Abdülhamid's rule and the Committee for Union and Progress have been written before, so there is little need to rehash the same observations here. Instead, it should suffice to provide brief historical introduction and then jump directly into the question of the CUP's objectives as a political movement and the obstacles that it faced.

I. The Young Turks

In its final years the Ottoman Empire was beleaguered by external threats and convulsed with mounting internal tensions and political chaos. Bankrupted by its war in Russia, the Empire also had to confront Austrian rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the French occupation of Tunisia, the British occupation of Egypt, conflicts with nearly all the Balkan states and mounting domestic tensions among minority groups such as the Albanians and the Armenians. In the words of Mithat Şükrü Bleda, who came to play an influential role in late Ottoman and early Republican politics, “the 600 year-old Empire was tottering like gigantic plane tree with a rotten trunk.”¹²⁵

Sultan Abdülhamid II., who ascended to the throne in 1876 at the young age of 34, came to power in the midst of this storm, inheriting a host of political and fiscal problems. Ruling as an absolute monarch for 30 years, the Sultan managed to make great strides towards centralizing the empire and developing modern infrastructure. The blunt edge of the Sultan's autocratic approach was in part softened by his appeal to conservative Islam and his alliance with the certain elements of the conservative ulema and other shaykhs. Yet iron-fist tendencies and a penchant for the brutal suppression of potential opponents earned him a good number of enemies. While discontent with the seemingly endless military campaigns and economic crises brewed among the lower ranks of the bureaucracy and military, organized opposition to the Sultan and his policies began to take shape.¹²⁶

It was under these conditions that Young Turk movement appeared on the scene in the late 19th century. Historians trace the Young Turk movement, the organization from which Committee for Union and Progress eventually emerged, back to 1889, when it began as an

intellectual opposition to the regime of Sultan Abdülhamid II based out of the Military Medical School at Gülhane. Slowly, the organization spread, with some members fleeing to Paris, Cairo and Athens in order to avoid persecution by the Sultan, who had become aware of a conspiracy forming against him.¹²⁷ Pamphlets and periodicals decrying Hamidian rule proliferated from these émigré outposts.¹²⁸ These early Young Turk writings exhibited a commitment to the ideas of Social Darwinism, materialism, positivism and elitism.¹²⁹ Furthermore, this emerging bureaucratic and intellectual elite was becoming increasingly influenced by the anti-religious ideas that were circulating in Europe, as evidenced by their strong belief in the power of importing secular Western institutions of education and law, whether wholesale or in some variant.¹³⁰ Not all Young Turks were necessarily anti-religious and some even tried to bridge the gap between Islam and materialism in their writings—but anti-clericalism was rampant within their ranks. As the historian Şükrü Hanioglu has astutely observed, there was a growing sentiment within CUP circles that the ulema's social position and its role in state affairs should be substantially curtailed.¹³¹

It is also important to make clear from the outset that the CUP was a clandestine, not a populist, organization. Membership was by invitation only.¹³² The vast majority of CUP members were Muslim, with a large number coming from either Macedonia or Istanbul. Although precise membership figures are difficult to come by, there is evidence that by 1908 numbers were somewhere in the low thousands.¹³³ Socio-economically speaking, members' backgrounds varied. This diversity in part stemmed from the fact that the Young Turk ideas came to fruition and circulated most widely at the War College in Istanbul, where tuition and board were free, providing an avenue for upward mobility.¹³⁴ This observation also brings us to

the most importation characteristic of the CUP movement: it was a militarized political organization where the overwhelming bulk of its members were army officers.

Like any political faction, the CUP exhibited internal disagreements, certain ideological inconsistencies and a zigzagging political evolution. Nonetheless, what cannot be disputed is that the preferences and goals of individual CUP members, and by extrapolation the movement as an aggregate actor, were intimately linked with the organizations' militaristic character and composition. The organization's self-proclaimed immediate goal was the reinstatement of the constitutional monarchy that Abdülhamid II had abolished. Yet research into CUP members' memoirs, biographies, and published letters as well as official CUP publications reveals that one objective trumped all others: the desire to preserve an effectively centralized independent state regulated by law and order with the military as its ultimate protector.¹³⁵ In his dairy, Enver Paşa, a leading figure in the movement, fittingly describes an event that occurred while serving in the 16th Cavalry Regiment in Üsküp that alerted him to the importance of constructing a state in which order and the rule of law prevailed:

Once I had to order an imprisonment charge against a man because he failed to turn up to duty. Here, I was forced to change my previous beliefs, because apparently, it is not correct to assume that civil servants will work voluntarily. If it was, there would be no need for laws and the punishments they contain. Therefore, in order for government to function properly, before anything else, it is essential to implement the law, word for word.¹³⁶

The immediate means for creating order would be military action; over the long term, however, this militarily imposed order was to be sustained by the systematic disciplining of the masses through an effective system of law and education. In the words of historian the Sinan Meydan:

*The Young Turk intellectuals viewed themselves as “elitists” maintaining order in society. Until society had obtained a certain degree of political maturity, they would show society the correct path and steer it in that direction. In short, they would shape society from the top-down . . . in other words, they would engage in social engineering.*¹³⁷

The linchpin of the CUP's approach can be summarized as the imposition of a centralized and hierarchical and sovereign authority structure that would allow them to achieve and maintain both military and political dominance over the empire.

Resource Constraints: Reformer's Moral Authority and Manpower Deficit

In July 1908, the Committee for Union and Progress effectively transformed itself from a mere opposition organization into a formidable force in Ottoman politics with the so-called Young Turk Revolution. It can hardly be said, however, that the revolution and first round of victorious elections that followed provided the CUP with a free hand to rule as it saw fit. There were major impediments to the actual implementation of the CUP's agenda. The organization lacked, to a certain degree, both the moral authority and the material resources necessary for running a state. The CUP was not unaware of the fact that it lacked the type of widespread, mass credibility needed to completely take-over control of the Empire. After all, prior to the revolution the CUP had been a secret society—albeit a growing one—that trumpeted elitist, not populist, political ideals. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, a Unionist Deputy from Istanbul and prominent journalist, recalled the CUP's predicament thus:

This country could not have accepted a young man without rank, decorations, a beard, glory and reputation, rising to the Grand Vizierate. Since the public opinion of the country was such, and since the Young Turks themselves were made up of the same stuff, it would be unfair to blame them for not assuming power . . . In July 1908, the CUP could not make a captain or a major Minister of War, not

*Talat Bey, a head postal clerk, Grand Vizier. Conditions and circumstances made this impossible. . . If this in fact had happened, anarchy would certainly have broken out in the country.*¹³⁸

The tangible counter-part to the CUP's deficit of moral authority was the fact that it also lacked actual manpower, organizational capacity and institutional presence. As mentioned above, the CUP had begun as a relatively small umbrella organization harboring the various groups formed in opposition to the Sultan, meaning that its internal organizational structure was weak and its scope was limited and uneven, with most active CUP centers located in the Macedonian provinces.¹³⁹ Obviously the organization had a strong foothold in certain military circles, namely the 3rd Army in Macedonia. The CUP's more general material authority, however, was in dispute, and it did not control institutions of law and schooling to the extent necessary to fully and irreversibly institutionalize its power. Military coercion might force temporary compliance, but the CUP sought to construct a modern, ordered and disciplined society. To this end, control of education and law were crucial and the CUP did not enjoy such control.

Just what was the CUP up against in its bid to centralize and dominate education and law? Historical sources reveal that the task facing the CUP was daunting. To begin with schooling: The first seeds of reform and centralization had been laid as early as the Tanzimat and were accelerated following the Ottoman Education Regulation of 1869, which was modeled on the French experience.¹⁴⁰ Safvet Pasha, the Minister of Public Education in 1868-69 even enacted a policy of sending temporary instructors to Koran schools in an attempt to train local teachers from the religious establishment in modern methods. Likewise, in 1892 Abdülhamid II made an aborted attempt to bring the medreses under more formalized state control.¹⁴¹ But these

strategies to reform religious educational institutions from the outside by converting them into secular establishments were remarkably unsuccessful; and the futility of such an approach prompted reformers to start designing their own primary schools.¹⁴² The upshot was the birth of the new *ibtidai mektebi/Mekatib Iptidaiyye*, or state primary/elementary school, in 1872 and a continued policy of benign neglect toward the medreses throughout Abdülhamid II's reign.¹⁴³ Attempts were made to multiply the number of these new primary schools in the decades that followed, but such efforts were far from complete by the time the CUP came onto the scene.

In an ideal world we would have precise data tallying the number of Koran schools vs. state-run primary schools for the period of interest. From these figures, it would then be possible to calculate the scope of institutional penetration of both the “state” and the religious establishment in the field of education.¹⁴⁴ In fact, this was the research strategy I tried to employ when first undertaking the study of this case. A closer investigation into the actual nature of late Ottoman schools puts a wrinkle in such a seemingly straight-forward approach, for the supposedly dual-nature of late Ottoman education is more of a myth than a historical reality. Modernizing reforms through collaborative layering from 1872 onwards blurred the distinction between “secular” and “religious” institutional structures. Despite the tendency in the literature to refer to the schools founded by the Ottoman state in the late 19th and early 20th century as “modern”, “secular” and/or “Western”, these new institutions are actually not so easily distinguishable from the schools run by the religious establishment.¹⁴⁵ Toward the end of the Hamidian period, the term *ibtidai mektebi*, which is often used interchangeably with the terms “modern”, “secular” or “state” schools in the secondary literature, was actually also the standard term for traditional Koran schools in many official government documents. Such ambiguity

makes it impossible to distinguish traditional schools from state-schools in many official records. This “. . .usage of the term *ibtidai mektebi* both for Koran schools as well as for government schools in official documents,” argues this historian Akşın Somel, is “related to the 'historical relict ' of considering primary education as an integral part of religious instruction.”¹⁴⁶

More than just a historical relic, however, one of the primary reasons for the blurring of the lines between religious and “state” institutions in the field of education during this period resulted from the severe shortages in civilian-trained (i.e. non-religiously trained) teachers. The Ottoman state, and equally then the CUP, did not have at its disposal a cadre of qualified civilians capable of instructing even primary school students. This can be illustrated by the following figures compiled by the Ottoman statistical office for the year 1897/8 (1313). The total number of “state-founded” schools is listed as 29,081; consisting of 55 “high schools” (*Mekatib-i idadiyye*), 412 “middle schools” (*Mekatib-i Rüşdiyye*) and 28, 614 “primary/elementary schools” (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyye*). However, the same records do not indicate there being anywhere near an adequate amount of teachers to fill these schools: the total number of teaching staff and other personal was listed as only 3,613! Furthermore, the number of students enrolled at the Empire's 14 training programs for elementary school teachers (*Darulmuallimin*) was only 277 that same year, meaning that a new crop of available teachers was not on the horizon.¹⁴⁷ Even by the year 1905-6, when the number of teacher training schools had increased to 32, there were still only 1,000 projected graduates.¹⁴⁸

The Ottoman state and foreigners too were well aware of the manpower predicament. An 1888 document by the Ottoman Commission for Education reported that

. . . regarding the appointment of individuals capable of teaching in the new method, because of serious concerns about empty teaching slots and the absence of teachers, recourse has to be taken by continuing [to appoint] those with traditional training in existing methods.¹⁴⁹

Grace Ellision, a renowned British journalist who was one of the only Westerners given permission to report from behind enemy lines during the Turkish War of Independence, made a similar observation several decades later, remarking specifically on the Turks unwillingness to employ use foreigners to staff state institutions.

The Turk to-day, whether he can, as he says he can, or whether he cannot, as the foreign school says he cannot, declares himself the best person to undertake education 'They haven't enough teachers!' says the foreigner. 'We will have.' the Turk replies '... in the meantime we will manage the best we can.'¹⁵⁰

Teachers were not the only thing in short supply. Sufficient building space was equally difficult to come by. In his extensive history of Turkish education, Ergin claims that “there had never been a time when there was so much disarray and such a need for buildings” as then at the turn of the century. “Especially following the 1908 revolution,” he writes “buildings that were supposed to alleviate the immediate need for new schools were not built nor were there budgets allocated for such an effort.” As a result, “schools, big and small, were forced to meet in rental homes, ruined barracks and police stations.”¹⁵¹ In other instances, neighborhood mosques or abandoned churches were temporarily turned-into schools.¹⁵² It is apparent then that, in the period when the CUP rose to power, mass education exhibited a certain make-shift quality. Our typical, modern idea of a school with its well equipped, spacious classrooms and neatly aligned desks was not the norm—even in the so called “state” and “secular” schools. Early modernizing reforms were collaborative reforms, that layered “new” and so-called “secular” institutions onto

existing religious institutional structures.

In the legal realm too, centralizing reforms had only come so far by the end of the 19th century. Experimental reforms in the Tanzimat era that were, again, modeled after the French system, initiated the institutional antecedents to the development of the *nizamiye*¹⁵³ court institution as separate from the sharia courts. Fueled by the work of prominent reformers, such as Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, these developments culminated in 1879, when a Code of Civil Procedure and Code of Criminal Procedure (which were almost exact translations of their French counterpart) were finally introduced into, and thus solidified, the new *nizamiye* system.¹⁵⁴ These codes were a milestone in the centralization of the legal apparatus in that they substantially limited an individual judge's discretion by creating a uniformity of procedure that did not exist for the religiously trained *kadi* operating in sharia courts. 1878 also marked the opening of the first Ottoman Law School (*Mekteb-i Hukuk*) designed to train judges and lawyers for the *nizamiye* courts.

Still, the beginning of the new *nizamiye* system did not immediately herald the end of the traditional sharia courts and religious legal order. In fact, over the course of the late 19th and early 20th century, the two sets of institutions coexisted simultaneously and with significant overlap as a result of reform via collaborative layering. Data derived from the catalog of Ottoman court records shows that in 1908, the year of the Young Turk revolution, 121 of the 166 established judicial centers for sharia law (73%) were still producing bound volumes of witness testimony and judicial verdicts, meaning, of course, that they were still active and hearing cases. By 1922, however, that number had dropped to 32, meaning that only 19% of these centers were

still active.¹⁵⁵ The interesting question then is not *How did Mustafa Kemal close the sharia courts in 1924 ?* but rather *How were these courts successfully phased out in the period before he rose to power?*

To summarize, the standardization and centralization of schooling and law were underway but far from complete when the CUP leadership assumed power in 1908. Furthermore, the religious establishment had retained a substantial foothold in both sets of institutions since initial reforms were largely collaborative and coöptative, building new institutions on the edge of traditional structures. Given the CUP's determination to impose order, centralize control and eradicate the influence of intermediary power-brokers situated between the state and society, the question of what was to become of the sizable religious elite populating Empire and its key bureaucratic institutions loomed large. Keeping in mind the CUP's preferences and the obstacles that it faced in the pursuit of its goals, I now turn to examine the other side of the equation: the nature and preferences of religious elites in the late Ottoman period.

II. The Religious Elite: Identity, Motives and Preferences

The religious establishment in the late Ottoman period can be characterized as a rather heterogeneous mix of official ulema members organized under the Office of the Şeyhülislam as well as informal sheikhs and *hocas* from the various religious orders, with substantial cross-over between the “formal” and “informal” realm. Precise numbers for the religious establishment as a whole, and even the formal ulema, are difficult to come by. Still, some data from 1913 helps provide a sense of what the organization looked like, at least in the eyes of the Ottoman state.

Generally speaking, ulema members were separated into the subcategories of *kadi* (Islamic judge), *müftü* (legal official working at the district level) and *naib* (lower ranking judicial officials). In the year 1913 the Empire was divided into the administrative units listed in Table VI.

[Insert Table VI. About Here]

Based on the Ottoman policy that each *vilayet*, *liva* and *kaza* have both a *kadi* and a *müftü*, and that each *nahiye* have a *naib* and a *müftü*, we can assume that some 3,278 upper-level ulema members were, at least in theory, on the state's books.¹⁵⁶

What this figure does not take into consideration is the number of medrese instructors, *talebeler/softa* students, *imamlar* (prayer leaders), *müezzinler* (call to prayer reciters), and *Hafizler* (Koran reciters). Again, precise numbers are elusive but some basic estimates are possible. First, in 1892 Ottoman authorities estimated the number of medrese students in the capital alone to be near to 12,000, a sizable number indeed.¹⁵⁷ And, by another estimate the combined number of *imamlar*, *müezzinler* and *hafizler* empire-wide was 188,000.¹⁵⁸ Surely then, the religious elite was more than a mere nuisance for secular-minded reformers; it was a potential breeding ground for collective resistance to the forces of state-centralization that had to be taken very seriously.

When investigating religious elites' motives, we find that concern over career advancement and promotion were a central part of the lifestyle for many ulema members. As Table VI. demonstrates, there were monetary incentives for moving up in the ranks, as well as

the allure of increased prestige and influence. Promotion was function of training, experience in lower-level positions and the extent of one's connections within the establishment.¹⁵⁹ From a compilation of the career biographies of nearly 2,000 ulema members from the final decades of the empire, we find that promotions and rotations are a frequent occurrence in the ulema lifestyle.¹⁶⁰ Yet the serious financial crisis besieging the Empire in this period had dried up many of the sources of funding for religious causes and institutions, which in turn came to imperil the avenues that had been traditionally used by religious functionaries to rise up the ranks. Nowhere was this reality more clearly reflected than in the rapidly deteriorating conditions at the centers for higher religious learning, the medreses. According to Ismail Kara, “Medreses had serious problems that stemmed from their own foundation and internal workings,” the most detrimental of which were the institution's “inability to renew itself as needed and . . . needing to seek external support to ensure its existence and status.”¹⁶¹ The ulema's resentfulness over the fact that funds were being channeled away from religious centers of learning and, instead, toward secular-sponsored education projects, is exhibited in their initial resistance to the opening of a new university for social sciences and humanities. Interestingly, most of these complaints subsided once it became clear that the university would be recruiting heavily from the ranks of the religious elite for qualified teachers.¹⁶²

Like the ulema, the leaders of religious orders and brotherhoods were equally concerned with being able to at least maintain the basic functioning of the institution that provided them with their daily bread. In many cases, we find that a simple desire to maintain their current position, which most often also entailed preserving the institution to which they belong, trumps other ideological or political preference. To illustrate, an empirical example of such logic

emerges in the story of a certain medrese educated affiliate of a Mevlevi dergah in Beyazit, Istanbul, Veled Çelebi İzbudak. Veled Çelebi had originally backed the CUP and the dergah with which he was affiliated had even been the site of CUP gatherings and meetings. But Veled Çelebi eventually attempted to cut his ties with the local CUP branch not because he necessarily disagreed with their cause or politics, but because he resented the fact that they did not pay proper attention to the upkeep of the dergah.

The CUP had a couple of branches in Istanbul and one of those branches was ours. We met in Derviş Kemalettin Bey's house, which was across from the House of Zabiye Nazırı Ziya Paşa in Beyazit, since it was the safest location. The police wouldn't go in there. They couldn't hear us from the windows. Since our postman Bedevi Sheikh Naili Efendi was incredibly brave, he was undeterred from leaving Meşveret newspapers that came from Paris and other circulating [CUP] writings in the dergah. The dergah was investigated after they [Ottoman authorities] suspected a letter coming from Europe. Although they tortured the sheikh and his brother in various ways, they did not give us away....

...CUP members liked me and I saw respect from them too. . . But they weren't interested in the revitalization of dergahs. Whatever I attempted, they always changed the subject by kindness and rewarding me with badges and medals. A couple of times when I insisted further, they threatened me . . . Since some of my wishes were not met, I [tried to] resign.¹⁶³

As this passage reveals, and as we will see in greater detail below, the primary preferences of religious elites lay not in some fundamental, religiously dictated distaste for modernization and progress, but in a more basic desire to preserve their own position in society, their institutions and their livelihood.

III. Religious Legitimization: Courting the Masses and the Religious Elite

The CUP, above all, wanted to centralize the state and impose stability and order through modernizing reforms; the religious establishment, for its part, was concerned with retaining its

position and status in society and remaining active in the fields of education and law as the arbitrators of public morality. Given these sets preferences and the obstacles to state centralization outlined above, how did relations between the CUP and the religious establishment unfold?

The first and most obvious observation to be made is that the CUP extensively used religious language and rhetoric to broaden its mass appeal, to placate the religious establishment and to try to win over certain elements of the ulema. The CUP leadership wanted to make allies with members of the religious establishment for its own political purposes but had absolutely no intention of letting religious figures assume a dominant role in the centralized state structure. The CUP's general approach to the religious establishment can thus be described a two-pronged strategy that involved offering kind words and tangible incentives to those religious elites who complied with their authority and working to marginalize and discredit—and in extreme cases exterminate—the elements of the religious establishment that it could not co-opt.

Şükrü Hanioglu has aptly described the CUP's “ideological flexibility”—or perhaps cunning is the more correct term—as a “revolutionary tactic”, arguing that the organization “told diverse opposition groups whatever they wished to hear. . . For devout Muslims, it was a Muslim organization piously striving to change the regime in accordance with the *hadiths*.”¹⁶⁴ In CUP publications, evidence to this effect abounds. Despite the fact that CUP leaders tended to be ideological positivists/materialists seeking the secularization of the state, in public arenas they often claimed to be better Muslims than the Sultan-Caliph himself. In short, the CUP leadership embraced religious discourse out of recognition that bringing Islam onto the CUP's side—or at

least not totally isolating it—was necessary for political success.

Murad (Mizancı) Bey, who was initially based out of Geneva, stands as one example of a CUP opposition member who blended his politics with Islam and Islamic rhetoric in the years prior to the Young Turk Revolution. Born in Tiflis and educated in Russia, he taught history at the *Mülkiye* before devoting his attention entirely to the opposition.¹⁶⁵ He gained much of his prominence in the movement through the publication of his journal *Mizan* (Balance), the popularity of which stemmed from the fact that it placed a strong emphasis on the role of the Caliphate and the Islamic nature of the Empire.¹⁶⁶ In a pamphlet written in French, entitled “La Force et La Faiblesse de La Turquie”, Murad provided an extensive argument outlining why Islam was not to blame for the Empires' failures. He argued that Islam was by nature a liberal religion, both in its mentality and its politics. In the past, according to the “old” and “true” Islam, it was possible to engage in free and open debates. To demonstrate the inherently modern aspects of Islam Murad even went on at lengths to explain how the Cartesian method had actually been conceived of by great Islamic thinkers centuries earlier with the concept of “tatbiki.” The problem, according to Murad, was not religion; it was the Hamidian regime, which “was violating not only those in favor of freedom but also the praise-worthy efforts and integrity of conservatives as well.”¹⁶⁷ The CUP opposition's center in Istanbul also circulated appeals in which it cited ulema support in an effort to further to legitimate its cause:

Thank Heaven, our cry has not been in vain. Now the time has come for the good news. We have all understood that the greatest enemy of the Islamic and Ottoman world is the great assassin Abd-ul-Hamid and his crew . . . brothers, most of the ulema of our faith and the chiefs of our army belong to our Society, they share our ideals and aspirations . . . We have obtained from the ulema a fetva authorizing the destruction of the traitors. The ulema of the four sects agree that

*the strife is lawful in order to free our faith and state and country. They have given us the permit of victory. The victory will be ours, for God is the helper of the oppressed.*¹⁶⁸

Likewise, we find similar accusations casting Abdülhamid II as an enemy of religion in the writings of Abdullah Cevdet, one of the most stringent positivists of the period who later became known for his atheism, published in his journal *Osmanlı* in 1898.

*Sultan Hamit is Godless . . . He disbanded the counsel parliament. Sultan Hamit is a heretic for he gives himself the title “righteous” while it is a blasphemy to call a contemporary sultan “righteous”, as is established by sacred fatwa. He is engaging in intense blasphemy by partaking in the holy and high title and saying “I’m the benefactor of the people.”*¹⁶⁹

This claim that the “true” Islam had become corrupted by indolent *hocas* and fraudulent sheikhs and the demand that this situation be rectified was also a constant feature in *Şura-yı Ümmet* (Council of the Muslim Nation), another popular Young Turk journal.¹⁷⁰ In the pages of this journal, even Ahmet Rıza, who is typically branded as a rigid positivist in the historical literature, claimed that Islam itself presented no direct obstacle to successful modernization and was not “the enemy of a republican regime”.¹⁷¹ In a piece published in *La Revue Occidentale* Ahmet Rıza even likens the Caliphate and the ulema to a constitutional monarchy, citing the fact that the ulema have the right to overthrow the Caliph if he violates the law.¹⁷² For Rıza, it was not Islam itself, but its degradation at the hands of irresponsible leaders that was the true barrier to progress.¹⁷³

IV. The Absence of a Unified Religious Front

The CUP's attempts to leverage religious moral authority for its own political gain was no doubt facilitated by the fact that the religious establishment failed to take any clear or unified line

of action in response to CUP's initiatives. In the period leading up to 1908 we find that as a result of early reform strategies, the religious establishment had become almost endlessly divided, both within the official ranks of the ulema and at the local level among the various tarikats, tekkes and and sufi orders. On the one hand, numerous members of the ulema served as advisers to the Hamidian regime, and were thus closely aligned with it.¹⁷⁴ Sheikhs from the Arab world and the Maghreb were in particularly close alignment with the Sultan.¹⁷⁵ Abdülhamid II also won the favor of numerous ulema members through the allocation of generous funds for the building and restoration of mosques and religious sites.¹⁷⁶ Such gestures made him popular with numerous low-level ulema members in the provinces, who interpreted these improvements as a sign that Hamid was indeed committed to preserving the livelihood of the religious class.¹⁷⁷

On the other hand, members of the ulema were also at the forefront of the opposition movement against the Sultan, backing the cause of modern reforms. For example, the Egypt branch of the CUP was actually under the effective control of conservative religious forces from 1886-88: prominent ulema members such as Hoca Muhiddin and Hoca Kadri came to assume leadership roles and were backed by a flock of religious pupils from the famous center for Islamic learning *al-Azhar*. The dominance of these religious figures created a large degree of ambiguity; up until 1898 the Egyptian society claimed at once to be both a CUP affiliated opposition movement and a “society composed of ulema and students (*talebe-i ulum*)”, as professed through its official journal *Kanun-i Esasi* (Constitution).¹⁷⁸ Another prominent ulema member Ubeydullah Efgani also repeatedly stood up against fellow clerics who attempted to denounce CUP activities.¹⁷⁹ Finally, there is evidence that, during a trip made to Istanbul prior to the Young Turk revolution of 1908, CUP members Talat Bey and Karasu Efendi were engaged in

meetings and negotiations with a number of prominent members of the ulema.¹⁸⁰

As for the Sufi orders, generally speaking heterodox groups tended to side with the CUP and more Orthodox and conservative factions supported the Palace, though this is not a generalization that should be seen as set in stone. The Bektashi¹⁸¹, Melamis, Mevlevis, Badawi, Khalwati, and Sünbül orders, as well as elements of the Qadiryyah orders backed the CUP. The level of backing varied by religious order and by location, but in many instances tekkes and dergahs came to serve as functioning bases for Young Turk propaganda. Albay Hüsamettin (Ertürk), a member of the Bektashi order who also came to direct one of the CUP's affiliate organizations the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* describes the degree of collaboration between the religious order and the Young Turks:

In Samatya the work of the sheikh of the Imrahor [dergah] was also impressive. The sheikh of this dergah, Vehbi Efendi, who was from the law school, also had relations with Paris. After they were excused, the students from the medical and pharmacy schools would come to this dergah on Friday nights. It was in this way that, secretly, they would procure newspapers and magazines. Especially our hairdresser in Yenicami, Hacı Haşim Efendi from the Bektaşî order was one of the Young Turks. Huseyin Ulvi Bey, the son of the sheikh Münir Baba of Sütlüce dergah, would shave here and would always bring newspapers. Hacı Haşim would send these newspapers to Bektaşî poet Harabi in the Merdivenköy dergah, and he would read it to the followers of the dervish lodge there.¹⁸²

The more conservative Tijaniyyah, Sanusiyyah, Rifa'iyah and Madaniyyah orders typically allied themselves with the Sultan. The Naqshabandiyyah order too generally tended to the favor the Sultan, though several prominent sheikhs deviated from this trend and backed the CUP, such as Şevki Celaleddin who joined the Young Turk cause.¹⁸³ We also see that various active CUP members were themselves affiliated with and openly supported different religious orders. Tal'at Paşa, for example, supported the Bektashi order¹⁸⁴ and in Edirne, a religious figure by the name

of İpek İbrahim Hoca was one of his close associates.¹⁸⁵ Or take Naili Efendi, who was a member of CUP's Istanbul branch in 1896 and was also a Badawi sheikh.¹⁸⁶

This is not to say that the religious orders and the ulema were entirely oblivious to the need to put up a unified front against potential threats of the secular-minded CUP leadership. In 1911 an attempt was made to gather all the members of the various tarikats into one organization under the name *Cemiyet Sufiye* (Society of Sufis). Yet this group failed to gain serious political leverage on the account of the internal divisions and differences of opinion within in the Sufi community.¹⁸⁷ Likewise, even in the wake of the Young Turk Revolution, when the secularizing agenda of the CUP became increasingly apparent, the ulema itself remained divided. Some religious elites forged strong ties with the CUP and even launched harsh tirades against their religious colleagues and the very institutions in which they had been educated in trained. Other religious leaders were more reluctant in their dealings with the CUP and remained highly suspicious of the CUP's ultimate intentions toward the religious establishment. They conceded that religious institutions needed to be reformed and were not opposed to modernization *per se*, but they also wanted to maintain the ulema's dignity and position. Finally a much smaller but vociferously defensive segment of the ulema advocated direct resistance to CUP policies.

Taking these divisions into consideration, it is entirely a-historical to speak of a religious opposition unified against the CUP's modernization philosophy and attempts at state centralization. This finding casts doubt on arguments that depict religion in general, and Islam in particular, as inherently hostile to modernization and its agents. In fact, numerous sections of the religious establishment were willing to walk hand in hand with modernizers, provided that their

social position and status were not immediately jeopardized in the process. Ironically, it was in part this willingness to embrace the modernists and modernization that ultimately weakened the religious establishment as a whole in late Ottoman Turkey. As Ismail Kara has observed:

There were important consequences of the ulema moving away from an oppositional stance, seeking a new identity in parallel with modernization, and finding a new existence in fields foreign to their traditional area of competence. First of all, the people and organizations that could oppose the secular acts and thoughts of the sultan, bureaucracy and intellectuals weakened. In connection, the ulema's political and social place, activity and status fell behind that of the intellectuals; they became followers as opposed to the leaders they once were.¹⁸⁸

Because immediate political conditions demanded that it do so, the CUP leveraged religious moral authority, genuflected in the direction of religious sentiments and utilized religious actors—all of which ultimately made it all the easier for the Kemalists to deal the religious establishment a death blow from behind with its secular revolution upon independence.

Nowhere is this observation more clearly evidenced than in the divisions that beset the religious establishment during the so-called 31st of March Incident (*31 Mart Olayı*), when a contingent of religious functionaries and army members marched against the capital demanding sharia and attempting to unseat the CUP in the Spring of 1909. But before turning to the event itself, it is necessary to provide some background about circumstances in the run-up.

V. A Widening Divide: The Religious Establishment and the 31st of March Incident

While the CUP fumbled to formalize its influence in the political arena with Abdülhamid II still on the throne, opposition to the Committee began to rear its head and political factions opposed to the CUP's takeover and new-found influence began to consolidate. On 14 September

1908 the Liberal Union (*Osmanlı Ahrar Fırkası*), a liberal group popular with minorities and in favor of decentralization—as opposed to the CUP's centralization policy—was founded.¹⁸⁹ And on 5 April 1909 the *İttihad-ı Muhammedi Fırkası* (The Society of Muhammadan/Moslem Union), a religiously conservative Islamic faction demanding the full implementation of the sharia, also appeared on the scene.¹⁹⁰ The Society of Muhammadan Union was founded by a man of obscure origins, Hafız Derviş Vahdeti, who is believed to have been a *sâlik* (affiliate) of either the Nakşibendi or Bektâşi order. The Society's political objectives were pronounced in its official publication *Volkan*.¹⁹¹

The Muhammadan Union's leading man Derviş Vahdeti is thought to have been the mastermind behind the 31st of March Uprising. Backing Vahdeti were a flock of lower-level religious *softa* students and an army contingent. The *softa* students had been riled-up by rumors that, as result of new CUP policies, they would no longer be exempt from military service. The military men, on the other hand, had been irked by recent army purges launched by the CUP in an effort to centralize control. Vahdeti and his followers marched on the capital demanding a full implementation of the sharia.¹⁹² Evidence suggests that the Liberal Union largely supported the “religious” demonstrators. On the day of the uprising Prince Sabahattin even implied in an open letter addressed to the army and the ulema that neither he nor the Liberal Union was actively opposed to the uprising and that they would instead attempt to use it to their advantage.¹⁹³

Interestingly, despite the emergence of an “Islamic party” and the existence of a “religious uprising” at this juncture in 1909, the religious establishment itself did not fully coalesce behind either; rather, it remained completely fractured. And, while exceptions certainly

did exist, the lines of these fractures began to take a somewhat clearer form. To begin with, when it comes to the actual composition of the Muhammadan Union, it is curious to note that we find no senior ulema members or kadi judges operating in the Society's central committee.¹⁹⁴ Instead we find lower level religious functionaries, *şerifs* and *sufi dervişes* as well as a handful of low ranking civil officials and army officers. For example, the MU's Central Committee list included imams and *vaizes* of several important mosques, a *naib* from a provincial city, sufi dervişes from the Halveti and Kadiri Orders, the son of a former Şeyhülislam, and a number of retired military and civilian Paşas.¹⁹⁵

This lack of distinguished ulema and kadi presence is not because the Society failed to seek out the ulema's blessing. Attempts were made to contact ulema members in the provinces and solicit their support.¹⁹⁶ The organization's paper, *Volkan*, also repeatedly mentions the Society's respect for the high-ranking ulema. On the day of the revolution, for example, the paper ran a piece calling for the army to respect the religious establishment and the ulema class.

Here, just a few days ago, at what appeared to be a disciplinary meeting in a barrack held at two or three in the morning, an officer advised his troops: "Soldiers! You have seen these hocas with turbaned heads on these streets, have you not? When we give the command, you will drive the ends of your bayonets through them!!"

Could there really be someone giving such commands in the army? If there is, the mistake is a rare one. Because in our country (millet), a soldier fights to become either a martyr or a victorious fighter for the Islamic faith. Rather than squabbling over land, a soldier sacrifices for the lofty word of Allah.

The ulema, who are turbaned, are the ones who will preach these facts and make them known to the army. If the ulema suffer an affront in the eyes of the army, what value will remain for the imams in the battalions and the muftis of the regiments? If the soldier views the ulema as an enemy, how will the army's spiritual force be sustained?¹⁹⁷

Despite such appeals, it appears that many high ranking ulema members were simply opposed to the MU's agenda, even though it centered on demands for sharia law. For its part, the religious journal *Sirat Müstakim*, stood behind the constitution and the CUP, calling the CUP an inorable and sacred society.¹⁹⁸ Also, a piece that appeared in a journal fittingly named *İttihad-ı İslam* (Muslim Unity / Unity of Islam) several weeks before the uprising expressed alarm at how the MU toyed with religion for political purposes and thus threatened Muslim religious unity.

*Not long after the victory of the constitutionalists, some within our ranks deviated and apparently formed a faction in the name of the Muhammadan Union. What is the reason for this? What kind of movement is this that is against the community of Islam which already falls under the name Community of Muhammad? Is this a religious faction? If it is religious, then why have they deviated? If it is political, is the mighty name of the Prophet just some toy?*¹⁹⁹

Other evidence of high-ranking ulema opposition to the incident abounds. Just two days after the uprising the Islamic Society of Ulema (*Cemiyet-i İmiye-yi İslamiye*) released a statement condemning the protesters. The Society demanded that the constitution be upheld and that the army heed the advice of competent ulema members rather than follow fraudulent imposters.²⁰⁰ Likewise, the same organization's leading journal *Beyanü'l-Hak* decried the protesters, citing the fact that such divisive behavior threatened to imperil the entire religious establishment and its mission.

You all were out there demanding the sharia [and] we said: "that is our duty!". But who knows with what intent and purpose you were told that the ulema isn't protecting sharia, so rise up and demand it yourselves. But my children, let us see, do you actually know what the sharia is? Is it not said that the sharia is "finer than a hair, sharper than a sword." Our homeland has fallen ill from the damaging blows of an age of tyranny. It is virtually in the throes of death. From all sides, enemies have fixed their gaze on us in anticipation. One doesn't partake in such a noisy fracas with the most sacred of words, now, when the patient is on his death bed. Do you know that, in our sharia, a point is made: when a sick man

*is dying, you do not pronounce his last words for him! Are you paying attention now!? The ulema says, "secure your position, then speak" . . . What are we working for, day in and day out? Why have we studied long and hard in the Medreses? . . . today we will all rise from our deathbed together. For that reason, we shouldn't malign one another. . . with you going in one direction, and us going in another, our sharia will be torn apart and destroyed.*²⁰¹

Ulema members who also served as members of parliament such as Elmalılı Muhammed (Hamdi) Efendi, and Sahib Molla also stood behind the CUP, vociferously defending the constitutional regime and advocating for the persecution those who participated in the March 31 incident.²⁰²

The CUP's response to the uprising was as swift as it was brutal, replete with arrests, public-hangings and widespread, general repression. First, the Committee organized a paramilitary force named the Action Army (*Hareket Ordusu*) that descended on the city and effectively silenced the demonstrators in a matter of days. The uprising itself was then used as a pretext by the CUP to justify purging opponents and ousting Abdulhamid II.

Although this crack-down against opposition was accomplished largely through force, the demonstration of force alone could not legitimate the CUP or its centralizing mission. Moral and cultural clout of the kind that could only be provided by religion also had to be exercised. The CUP accomplished this through several avenues. First, the CUP was obliged to create an ulema branch of its organization in order to demonstrate the seriousness of its commitment to the religious establishment.²⁰³ Second, the organization maneuvered to acquire a fatwa providing an official justification for Abdülhamid II's dismissal on religious grounds. The text of the fatwa was prepared by Elmalı Hamdi Efendi. The Fetva Emini at that time, Hacı Nuri Efendi initially tried to resist signing it but he was cajoled into doing so, thus sealing Abdülhamid II's fate²⁰⁴

To summarize, despite the ostensibly Islamic aims of the Mart 31 uprising, it seems that, at its very base, the real subject of dispute was whether state administration should be centralized or decentralized; for there were would-be winners and losers associated with each approach. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the strange merging of political bedfellows that led the Liberal Union, a party backed by Christian and Jewish minorities, to support demonstrators protesting for the full implementation of the sharia.

Upper-level ulema members with a secure position in the religious establishment's hierarchy tended to view themselves as better off defending the CUP's modernization efforts and the constitution, for they wanted to maintain their social status and position, which was still possible in the current political climate as a result of the incentives being offered by the CUP leadership in return for compliance. Put simply, upper-level religious elites were more vulnerable to coöptation. Ironically, then, many ulema members came out against low-level attempts to agitate in the name of religion. Low level religious functionaries and students of religion, on the other-hand, had much less to gain by siding with the CUP. The CUP was in search of sources of legitimacy and these novices could not effectively offer it.

Furthermore, religious students and low-level functionaries saw the very institutions that we supposed to afford them upward mobility being neglected, as upper-level ulema joined the political fray. Lower level members of the religious establishment had no place in the new, centralized state system from the outset, and thus they attempted to resist as the CUP tightened its grip on power. This simple observation that some elements of the religious establishment viewed policies aimed at centralization more favorably than others —and were thereby more

likely to be coöpted— demonstrates that religious opposition to modern state centralization was by no means a foregone conclusion. The issue is instead a matter of strategic consideration regarding what one's own personal fate will be in a significantly more centralized, and state-controlled political system.

VI. Reform by coöptation Continues: Coercion, Compromise and Cooperation

The 1909 spring uprising had served as convenient pretext, enabling the CUP to flush many of its religious and non-religious enemies alike from the corridors of power. For the time being, the opposition had been effectively silenced. The CUP had also significantly expanded its reach and augmented its membership figures. “By late 1909, the number of CUP branches across the empire had multiplied from 83 on the eve of the revolution (several of them minor cells) to 360, while membership had grown roughly from 2,250 to 850,000.”²⁰⁵ Still, the committee's control over key segments of the bureaucracy, including law and education, remained far from complete, and thus its strategic courtship with the religious establishment continued in earnest.

For one, even though the constitution (*Kamun Esasi*) had been reinstated, the reforms of 1909 made the document substantially more “Islamic” in both tone and content than the 1876 original. For example, an alteration to article 10 added a reference to sharia in connection with the lawful reasons for arrest and a change in article 118 made Hanafi *fiqh* a major source for new legislation.²⁰⁶ For the most part, such references were mere window dressing aimed at making the constitution acceptable to a public that was deeply religious and to the supportive sections of the ulema, who the CUP was still reliant upon for legitimacy and support. Elmalı Hamdi Efendi, a member of the ulema and the Parliament who also sat on the 1909 reform commission,

portrayed the situation as follows:

. . . Everyone knows that a government, an administration or a code of law that did not assume the guise of the sharia would not last long. Therefore . . . the sharia embraced freedom and constitutionalism as its grand love. . . It was said that the constitution was in compliance with the sacred sharia. Immediately, it was welcomed and defended. Without a doubt, a constitution that was not wrapped in the cloak of the sharia would not have received respect nor endured.
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Facade or no facade, this approach did garner success, as is reflected in the large number of religious figures who lined-up in support of “constitutionalism” and went to great lengths to justify the new constitutional regime in Islamic terms. Musa Kazim, who later served as Şeyhulislam, claimed that the “The constitution is nothing but the embodiment of some parts of the fundamental provisions of the Koran.” And Ömer Ziyaeddin dedicated an entire volume to demonstrating the Constitution's conformity with provisions of the sharia.²⁰⁸ In the context of late Ottoman modernization, the concept of constitutionalism thus came to acquire a distinctively Islamic bent.

As has been demonstrated, the CUP was not only cognizant of the strength of the general public's religious ties; from the outset the organization had been privy to the fact that religion could serve as a powerful psychological and symbolic force capable of cementing the bond between itself and the masses. By virtue of its lack of moral authority, CUP leadership not only attempted to counter the influence of the religious establishment with threats and force, they also vied to claim a share of the symbolic power of religious institutions through the clever and calculated use of Islamic rhetoric and logic to defend the CUP's political agenda. Because the CUP was not yet recognized by the masses as having any real independent moral authority of its

own, the organization largely opted to meet the old religious system on its own terms in hopes of successfully coöpting its elites and usurping its following. Demanding outright that people exchange religious ties for state ties was out of the question, for it would have undoubtedly been met with widespread resistance. Fusing religious imagery, symbolism and structures with the CUP agenda, on the other hand, offered a viable alternative.

Furthermore, because the CUP lacked “capacity” and resources in the sense that its administrative and bureaucratic penetration was weak, piggy-backing on the religious establishment had tangible advantages that extended beyond mere symbolic clout. Evidence below will demonstrate that the CUP used religious elites to staff the very institutions that they hoped would one day be the machines of centralized state control and sovereignty for the simple reason that few other qualified candidates existed. Forging this link through the coöptation of religious elites required the CUP to make a number of compromises that ran contrary to the organization's “positivist” and “secular” ideological principles. These compromises and overtures directed toward the religious establishment were, in principle, not necessarily ones that the CUP wanted to make. Rather, the organization's primary objective of state centralization necessitated a calculated collaboration with religion that was both rhetorical and material. The rhetorical compromise helped the CUP to win moral authority in the eyes of the masses and the material compromise via coöptation unwittingly helped the CUP to mitigate the ability of the religious establishment to act as a united force of resistance against centralizing reforms.

The religious establishment, for its part, was certainly not looking to forfeit authority to civil control. Yet, because religious elites were primarily focused on narrow and individualist

goals, the religious establishment as a whole failed to grasp the larger reality of how piecemeal cooperation of some individuals could make everyone vulnerable to manipulation. For both parties—and to the detriment of the religious establishment—shortsighted decisions had unintended consequences. A continuation of modernizing reform via coöptation had further deepened existing splits and cleavages within the religious establishment and eventually facilitated the states' capture of religious institutions.

VII. Understanding Incentives: Embedding Religious Elites in the New “Secular” System

The previous pages have repeatedly mentioned that in addition to the calculated use of religious rhetoric, certain material incentives were being directed toward the religious establishment in an effort to coöpt them and thereby secure their compliance with centralizing reforms. The section that follows will show that such incentives took the form of offering religious leaders secure positions in the new, centralized, and ostensibly “secular” institutions of education, law, and politics. It is difficult to assess whether these incentives were part of a conscious policy on the part of the CUP leadership to integrate religious elites into the system and thus defuse a source of potential resistance or whether these incentives emerged as a result of the fact the CUP was, in many ways, begrudgingly reliant on the religious establishment for furthering its goal of centralization. The truth probably lies in the gray-area somewhere between these two interpretations. Regardless, the availability of new professional avenues for traditional religious elites in the early reform period facilitated coöptation and prepared Turkey's founding Kemalist regime for a successful secularizing revolution by setting the religious establishment onto a self-undermining trajectory. The sections that follow briefly describe the process by which

religious elites became integrated into new institutions of schooling and law, and how, as a result, the coherence of religious power was gradually undermined.

Schooling: Religious Elites as the Pillar of a New “Secular” System

The CUP did its fair-share of grandstanding about the necessities of instantly reforming all primary educational facilities to meet the standards set by the French and other major European powers. In its political platform of 1908, the CUP makes specific reference to the reform, centralization and proliferation of mass education in article 17, which stipulated that “all schools should come under the control of the state” and exhibit “unity and order”.²⁰⁹ Yet the civil staffing shortages and lack of infrastructure described above rendered the immediate “secularization” and “centralization” of schooling physically impossible, which in turn meant that late Ottoman schooling took-on a hybrid-like quality placing it somewhere in-between the traditional Islamic Koran school on the one side and the modern, state-run classroom on the other. Such a transitional step in the development of centralized state control of education was a necessary compromise that many CUP members would have rather avoided. Nonetheless, I argue that this short-term and, in the eyes of the CUP, less-than-optimal solution, actually went on to serve the interests of the state and its centralizing agenda.

Just how deeply embedded members of the ulema became in the state-built educational apparatus as a result of coöptation is demonstrated by the positions that they held in the new bureaucracy. Ottoman statistical data in the form of the *Salname* (yearbook) show that ulema members held key positions in various departments of the Ministry of Education and, in the provinces, kadis and muftis often doubled as presidents of local education committees.²¹⁰ The

career biographies of some 2,000 ulema members also show that many of them ended their careers working in field of education, teaching religion, morality and/or language in state-founded elementary, middle and high-schools as well as the newly established universities.²¹¹ Finally, local records, paint a similar picture. For example, records from the Annual Education Yearbooks (*Marrif Salnamesi*) from the Diyarbakir Vilayet from 1898-1903, show that the vast majority of teachers at all levels came from the learned religious class.²¹²

Furthermore, it is instructive to observe that the religious content of official primary school curricula is not immediately eradicated—even with the Kemalist Revolution—but rather slowly phased out over the course of 30 to 40 years. Tracing staffing figures, changes in textbook content and class scheduling as well as the observations of primary school students all emphasizes that religious messages and morality actually began to be stripped away from educational texts long before schools were stripped of their “religious” teachers. In other words, in the Second Constitutional Period we have a cadre of religious functionaries teaching on the basis of materials that are slowly moving away from Islamic traditions and rhetoric.

Data from the very end of the 19th century shows that 1,025 of the 3,613 registered teaching-staff and personal documented by the Ottoman state were teachers of religion and morality (*ulum-u diniyye ve ahlakıye muallimleri*), meaning that they had a religious background and training. This figure also excludes the large number of Arabic and Persian instructors employed in the schools, most of whom also had undoubtedly received a religious education, suggesting that the proportion would be even larger.²¹³ Not to mention the fact that many of the students who attended the teacher training schools had also actually originated from the

medreses.²¹⁴ Even for “non-religious” courses, when no teacher was available, fill-ins were plucked from the medreses and mosques.

Aside from those who had attended the teacher's training school, the chief resource for securing teachers was the medreses and those who had attended them. As had occurred in the Tanzimat period, from 1876-1909 a large proportion of available teaching positions in the primary and middle schools were occupied by people from the medreses. The village and neighborhood primary schools generally utilized people such as imams, pray leaders (muezzin) and clerics (vaiz).²¹⁵

Accounts from students from the period as well as photographs confirm this observation, as both depict classrooms led by “turbaned” teachers. Aksin Somel, who has examined the writings of students from the era in detail, notes that “the school masters (*muallim-i evvel*) of the public *ibtidai* schools and most of the instructors were wearing white turbans, i.e. were probably members of the ulema.”²¹⁶ In sum, as much as the CUP may have wished for the spread of an increasingly standardized system of mass schooling devoid of religious influence, conditions were such that they actually had to rely heavily on the assistance of the religious functionaries to staff the very institutions that would eventually help to break religions' monopoly over learning.

But even if religious teachers were coöpted and became a mainstay in the primary schools for the time being, religious instruction itself was on the decline. Here there are two trends worth noting. First, there is a gradual reduction in the number of hours of religious instruction given to primary school students. As Graph I. indicates, the hours of religious instruction decrease incrementally, not in one fell-swoop with Kemalist reforms.

[Insert Graph I. about Here]

Second, there is also a gradual shift away from the use of religiously inspired teaching materials. For example, in the Hamidian period, the majority of texts, regardless of the subject, emphasized religious values, Islamic ethics and conformity with the Sharia. For example, a primary school text from 1905 designed to provide an introduction to the natural sciences also contains passages citing the religious importance of obedience, such as: “It is our religious duty as Muslims to obey the commands of our elders and those who are wiser than us which comply with the sacred sharia. In other words, the Supreme Being commands us to be obedient.”²¹⁷ In addition to such religious references, of the 34 official text books used in primary and secondary education in the Hamidian era, 15 begin with what is called the “*besmele*” in Turkish (or *Basmala/Bismillah* in Arabic), a powerful religious symbol.²¹⁸ The *besmele* is the reoccurring phrase “In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful”(*bismi-llāhi ar-raḥmāni ar-raḥīmi*). This phrase is the first line in the Koran and also begins each subsequent chapter (except the 9th). According to Islamic tradition, a devout Muslim should recite this phrase throughout the day when completing basic tasks, such as entering the house or beginning ones' studies. The existence of the *besmele* in a sizable portion of text books in this period is therefore indicative of the fact that religious indoctrination and instruction played a dominant role in primary schooling in this period.

Contrast this with the school text books used in the Second Constitutional Period, 1908-1918. Only 2 of the 35 official texts produced and used in this period (one designed to teach reading published in 1911 and one designed to teach Islamic history published in 1914) began with the *besmele*. Similarly, purely religious justifications for the social norms associated with good and morally upstanding behavior are increasingly replaced with justifications grounded in concern for health and hygiene. For example, in text books from the Hamidian era, personal

routine and hygiene practices are rationalized through the teachings of the Koran with argument patterns to the effect that Allah does not love “unclean” people, therefore one must maintain hygiene because Allah demands it.²¹⁹ Conversely, in the second constitutional period, the maintenance of good health, not religion, becomes the dominant rationale for proper behavior. Fittingly, in texts published between 1908 and 1918, even the Muslim practice of daily prayer is framed as part of a healthy lifestyle and no longer depicted as a religious directive from Allah or the Koran. For instance, a text book on morality (*Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye*) penned by Ali Seydi and published in 1916 (1332), instructs students that “. . . to maintain our health, we should wake up early and go to bed early. As soon as we wake up, we should wash our hands and our face well; or, rather, we should perform an ablution. After that, we should do five minutes of exercise in the garden and room.”²²⁰

Interestingly then, the story of state-centralization in late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkey is not one in which the doors of “secular” educational institutions are suddenly slammed in the face of religious elites. Rather, these religious elites are invited in by reformers, even courted, through strategies of coöptation; then once formally ensconced in new institutional structures their role is eliminated ever so gradually. It is difficult to assess the degree to which this gradual shift was a conscious strategy pursued intentionally on the part of the CUP; but the stark reality of staffing and resource shortages suggests that the process was, at least in part, the unintended consequence of decisions necessary in the short-term. Intended or not, however, this gradual unseating of the religious elite through coöptation diminished the probability of a resistance being launched from the top-levels of the religious leadership, a sizable group potentially capable of rousing public sentiment against state centralization initiatives.

To summarize, some state-run schools were so remarkably similar to schools run by the religious establishment in the late Ottoman era that they are often indistinguishable: both were staffed by the ulema and religious functionaries and had curricula that included a sizable dose of moral and religious instruction, at least in the beginning. One therefore might be prompted to ask: If the message reaching the student was largely the same, should it even matter whether the environment in which it was delivered was “state-run” or “religious-run”? I contend that it matters a great deal. Once reformers create their own institutions, religious elites become the employees of and thus dependent on a new set of authorities, not only for their livelihood but also for the maintenance of their social status. In such an atmosphere, religious instruction can be slowly sliced away from the curriculum and the hiring of religious instructors can drop gradually, year by year, without anyone embedded in the institution creating much of a fuss. Such is the beauty of strategies of piecemeal coöptation. Such would hardly be the case if religious leaders were all ousted from the world of schooling all at once or suddenly required to submit to the state. Put otherwise, the act of “institutional creation” gives reformers an advantage, even if a majority of the “components” in the new institution are initially relics coöpted from the old guard.

Courts: Religious Elites Deliver Civil Justice (and Religious Justice too)

In the legal realm similar dynamics played out as reformers slowly phased out sharia courts and grew a system of centralized *nizamiye* courts. In 1909 there was a move toward increased secularization with the enactment of a law that banned the hearing of private cases by sharia courts in instances where a judgment from a *nizamiye* court already existed.²²¹ Historians

have also found evidence that the “dual” system of sharia and the *nizamiye* domains was increasingly perceived as an impediment to centralization and development, especially following the Young Turk Revolution in 1908.²²² Nonetheless, the degree of ambiguity and overlap between the sharia and *nizamiye* systems in during early modernizing reforms was substantial, as was the extent to which traditional religious elites were coöpted and integrated into the *nizamiye* system.

For one, despite laws intended to officially delineate the legitimate domains of both systems, many cases that should have been heard in *nizamiye* courts continued to be presented at sharia courts.²²³ In large part this was because “litigants perceived the sharia court as the preferred judicial forum as far as social justice was concerned” since the role of the judge in such courts was to arbitrate between parties and procedures were more “user-friendly.”²²⁴ Furthermore, from 1879 until the end of the Empire, *nizamiye* courts (as well as some sharia courts) employed the *Mecelle*, a type of civil law based on the first-ever codified version of the sharia, alongside the French procedural codes.²²⁵ Clearly, then, it is somewhat of a misnomer to refer to these courts as “secular.”

Furthermore, there is ample evidence suggesting that, in the short term, the advent of the new *nizamiye* system actually opened up new avenues of employment for ulema members rather than driving them out of the legal business. Here again, it is difficult to disentangle whether the ulema were intentionally targeted for these positions by the administration in an effort to secure their compliance with modernizing reforms or whether coöptation through the large number of ulema hires into the new system was the unintended consequences of a shortage of qualified

lawyers and judges with civil training. Yet in either case, historical evidences shows that that in lower courts, “the same judges from the ranks of the ulema often served in both the *nizamiye* and the sharia courts”.²²⁶ Work on the new Ottoman State Law school also demonstrates that nearly half of the students that enrolled had actually had come from a religious background, rather than from state-schools, and that special policies were even made to accommodate the sizeable number of ulema members studying at the law school.²²⁷

Additionally, we find that the incorporation of religious elites into the new systems via coöptation was by no means a phenomenon that occurred only amongst students at the law school with mid-level positions. The previously mentioned collection of ulema biographies compiled by Albayrak contains numerous examples of religious elites taking positions at all levels of the new legal hierarchy in the *nizamiye* system, ranging from scribe to president of the highest provincial criminal council.²²⁸ Many ulema even secured competitive postings in large urban centers.²²⁹ Moving into the *nizamiye* system also does not seem to have connoted a “status” down-grade of any sort, at least in terms of salary. Ottoman officials (intentionally?) made working in the *nizamiye* system as profitable as working as a kadi in the sharia courts, and the pay-scale for *nizamiye* posts closely mirrored the pay-scale for sharia courts presented previously in Table IV.²³⁰

In order to summarize the data presented above about religious coöptation into new state-founded institutions for law and schooling, it is helpful to cite one final piece of evidence from the collection of ulema biographies that is particularly suggestive of the way in which centralization occurred in late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkey. Of the 78 biographies of

ulema members that extend into the Republican period, we see the following trajectory for members of the religious establishment:

- 22 went on to work in the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Religious Endowments/Diyanet
- 24 went on to work in the Justice Ministry
- 14 went on to secure teaching positions
- 11 remained unemployed
- 6 were imprisoned or fled the country
- 1 committed suicide²³¹

In other words, these biographies depict a situation in which a large majority of ulema members were given the opportunity to incorporate themselves into the nascent institutional framework of the centralized state and, as a result, opted for tacit coöperation with rather than active resistance to the forces of state centralization once the Kemalist's seized power. As the figures above demonstrate, work in the judiciary and education system were popular alternatives to obsolescence but so too was serving as a bureaucrat in what came to be the equivalent of a Turkish Ministry of Religion. The creation of this bureaucracy, its objectives, and its subsequent growth and entrenchment stands as perhaps the best example that the secular Turkish state is anchored by deep religious roots. Before concluding, I briefly analyze of the birth and evolution of Turkey's cadre of professionalized religious civil servants (whose modern influence is also discussed in more detail in Chapter Six).

Institutionalizing the Religious Bureaucrat

The immediate roots of Turkey's religious bureaucracy and bureaucrats can be traced to 1920, when the *Şeriye ve Evkaf Vekaleti* (Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Religious Endowments) was established after the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly by the newly established shadow government in Ankara. Amit Bein's excellent history of the Turkish ulema shows that the short lived Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Religious Endowments “served as a de facto alternative to the Sheikh ul-Islam and was primarily staffed by reform minded ulema.”²³² Quickly on the heels of Lausanne treaty in August 1923, the Kemalist assembly approved a resolution to make Ankara the capital of the new state while retaining Istanbul as the seat of the actual Caliphate.²³³ In doing so, the assembly managed to temporarily preserve the symbolic authority of Islamic leaders while isolating them ever further from the inner workings of the new government. When the Caliph wrote to Ankara in the fall of 1923 requesting an increased say in government decisions, Kemal issued a stringent response:

*Let the Caliph and the whole world know that the Caliph and the Caliphate which have been preserved have no real meaning and no real existence. We cannot expose the Turkish Republic to any sort of danger to its independence by its continued existence. The position of the Caliphate in the end has for us no more importance than a historic memory.*²³⁴

Regardless, in the crucial period between August 1923 and the spring of 1924, the Caliphate remained in place as token of the Kemalists' link to Islam. Yet its actual influence diminished daily. Finally, in March of 1924, in a demonstration of national authority Kemal abolished the Caliphate completely. Simultaneously the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Religious Endowments was shuttered and replaced by the even more 'domesticated' *Diyanet İşleri Reisliğinin* (Presidency of Religious Affairs/ later to become the *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı* and from now on simply referred to as the *Diyanet*). With the abolition of the Caliphate and the

creation of the Diyanet a Rubicon was indeed crossed. Soon thereafter the Kemalist government abolished sharia courts, forced medreses to their close doors, and imposed a number of other aggressive secularizing decrees. By the 1930s, the term ulema itself was even banished from the official lexicon.²³⁵

The Diyanet, however, remained. With an official budget and state protection, the Diyanet created something akin to a bureaucratic shelter for those religious elites who were, if not entirely comfortable, than at least somewhat secure working in the service of the state. That said, the Diyaent's position relative to the government was made very weak over the course of the next decade. As Bein has documented, “The reforms of the early republic relegated the religious administration to a subsidiary of the Prime Minister's office and left it without any jurisdiction over religious education, judicial affairs, and Islamic endowments.” At its absolute nadir in 1931, the Diyanet “lost even the administrative authority over mosque officials and employees” for a significant period of time.²³⁶

Table XIV contains data on amount of state-funding for the Diyanet from its creation up until 1970. Table XV contains data on the number of people employed at the Diyanet from 1927-1980. The data in these tables reflects the fact that by the 1930s, the Diyanet's size and authority had been shrunk and severely weakened.

[Insert Table XIV about Here]

[Insert Table XV about Here]

Although largely powerless, what remained of the Diyanet was not without purpose. Now at the

almost complete behest of Republic, religious administrators and civil servants were given a clear new mission: turning the masses into disciples of the state through state-sponsored and religiously-grounded Turkification and nationalization initiatives. Immediately after the Caliphate's demise in March 1924, the Kemalist government released a circular requiring all religious elites to use the occasion as an opportunity to proselytize on the virtues of the nation state in the public prayers and sermons.²³⁷ In the 1920s and 1930s the government tasked religious elites in the Diyanet (as well as some “freelance subcontractors”) with producing modern Turkish translations of the Koran and other sacred texts as well as publishing sermons for use in mosques across the country.²³⁸ Weak and diminished though they were, the ulema retained a steady foothold as civil servants. This form of institutionalization not only cemented the peculiar synergies between Kemalism and Islam (and thus religion and state) but also set the stage for the religious establishments' eventual renaissance and reemergence as a state-centric, capitalist, and moderate force for change once the Turkish political system began to open in the 1950s.

VIII. Conclusion

Herein I have argued that the story of institutional transformations to the modern state in late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkey needs to be written with an eye towards the role that religious elites played in the process. Although clashes between the religious establishment and the proponents of state centralization did erupt, such events do not in-and-of-themselves constitute the history of the period in its entirety. In fact, narratives that focus overwhelmingly on such clashes have missed the bigger picture of how state-builders successfully coöpted,

employed and eventually captured religious rhetoric, together with a sizable portion of the religious establishment itself, and directed it towards its own aims.

As religious elites worked to maintain their livelihood, social function and status in a changing world, major shifts in the institutional structure of the state were underway all around them. In time, these shifts would severely curtail the religious establishment's role as the arbitrators of morality via education and justice. Yet in the period under investigation, the reality of these larger, long-term structural shifts appears to have been eclipsed by a concern for the more immediate future in the minds of many religious leaders, making them vulnerable to coöptation.

State builders, for their part, were facing a severe shortage of manpower and moral authority and had solid reasons for enlisting the religious elite to help further their centralizing reforms. Despite the ideological in-congruence between reformers ideology and that of religious actors (staunch positivism vs a belief in celestial authority), a surprisingly large number of religious elites aligned themselves with the CUP. Religious elites succumbed to coöptation strategies, not out of ignorance, but rather because being coöpted provided the advantages of a seemingly secure position—at least temporarily—in a period where the future of religious institutions was becoming increasingly uncertain. Dwindling resources for medreses and other religious institutions had meant the threat of dwindling social status at the local level for anyone affiliated with them. Men who possessed religious standing and substantial training in the principles of Islam were able to temporarily side-step this impending crisis by allowing themselves to be coöpted into the state system and using the skill to help further consolidate the

nation state.

As attractive as government jobs may have been to religious actors in this period of upheaval in the late 19th and early 20th century, piecemeal coöptation by the state ultimately sent the religious establishment into a self-undermining spiral that was difficult to reverse. Under the Kemalist's rule in the 1920s-30s, state-driven secularization became increasingly aggressive. Under other circumstances, widespread religious resistance to Kemalist reforms would likely have erupted; but many late Ottoman ulema were now civil servants and as such, they were unlikely to risk their jobs for the uncertainty that would inevitably accompany a life political activism and violent resistance.

Like it or not, the ulema were now disciples of the state, who directed their efforts toward bolstering the unlikely (and, in many ways, contradictory) fusion of Kemalism and Sunni Islam that became *the* enduring form Turkish nationalism for decades. Gradual coöptation, though far from complete or seamless, tempered and eventually “Turkified” many significant religious figures—and isolated those who refused to abide. In the words of Ömer Nasuhi (Bilmen), who served as the Mufti of Istanbul for almost two decades under the Republic, in Turkey “the duty of genuine men of religion is to pray for the welfare of the nation and the homeland. . . .”²³⁹ Of course, as recent events attest to, coöptation by the state does not preclude religious elites' from resurrecting a substantial role for themselves by working legally, through various bureaucratic channels, from within the state. The steady expansion of Turkey's Diyanet stands as a clear example. Strategies of piecemeal coöptation have, however, make it unlikely that these religious actors will challenge state sovereignty head-on through the type of ultra-

conservative religious “fundamentalist” movements that have emerged elsewhere—such as in Egypt, which is the subject of the next chapter.

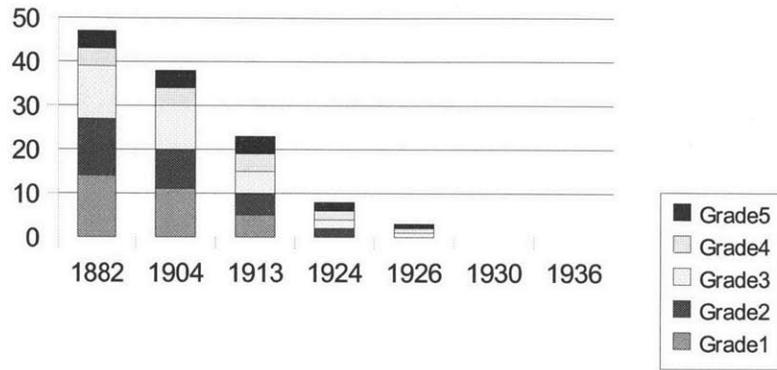
Table VI. Ulema Member Salaries by Administrative Unit

Administrative Unit (from largest to smallest)	No. of Units	Typical Kadi or Naib salary (per month)	Typical müftü salary (per month)
1 st class vilayet	18	5000 kuruş	1000 kuruş
2 nd class vilayet	7	4500 kuruş	900 kuruş
3 rd class vilayet	10	4000 kuruş	800 kuruş
1 st class liva	29	2500 kuruş	700 kuruş
2 nd class liva	26	2250 kuruş	600 kuruş
3 rd class liva	19	2000 kuruş	500 kuruş
Kaza	540	1000–1500 kuruş	400 kuruş
Nahiye	990	250 kuruş	----

Graph I.²⁴⁰

Hours of Religious Education

Hours of Religious Education



Year

Table XIV: Diyanet's Budget by Year (1924-1970)²⁴¹

YEAR	BUDGET (TL)
1340 (1924)	1.422.650
1341 (1925)	1.687.401
1926	1.598.600
1927	1.796.240
1928	1.719.587
1929	1.677.157
1930	1.653.119
1931	640.350.
1932	607.196.
1933	616.586.
1934	611.986.
1935	610.616.
1936	607.630.
1937	608.241.
1938	608.100.
1939	625.640.
1940	672.518.
1941	697.518.
1942	880.835.
1943	905.404.
1944	927.044.
1945	753.907.
1946	1.500.669.
1947	2.716.106.
1948	2.879.573.
1949	2.859.215.
1950	2.912.720.
1951	7.819.071.

1952	9.149.072.
1953	10.738.940.
1954	11.550.926.
1955	15.225.497.
1956	21.156.661.
1957	23.232.635.
1958	24.431.136.
1959	25.250.381.
1960	39.353.031.
1961	45.472.800.
1962	51.825.610.
1963	57.978.948.
1964	59.792.168.
1965	83.369.673.
1966	157.147.377.
1967	168.476.097.
1968	184.403.459.
1969	194.760.810.
1970	201.062.400.

Table XV: Number of Diyanet Employees (1927-1980)²⁴²

Year	No. of Employees
1927	7172
1928	6316
1929	6097
1930	5861
1931	1268
1932	1250
1933	1193
1934	1154
1935	~1110
1936	1057
1937	1060
1938	1068
1939	~1085
1940	1102
1941	1103
1942	1103
1943	1116
1944	1121
1945	1121
1946	1251
1947	1237
1948	1207
1949	1204
1950	5839
1951	6245
1952	7298
1953	8383
1954	9265

1955	10630
1956	11101
1957	12201
1958	12474
1959	12976
1960	13835
1961	13471
1962	13470
1963	13471
1964	13547
1965	----
1966	35557
1967	30240
1968	29846
1969	31222
1970	33060
1971	31149
1972	33876
1973	36572
1974	41450
1975	41452
1976	45042
1977	46542
1979	48732
1980	50765

Chapter 4

The Problem of Parallel Systems: Nasser's Inheritance and State Consolidation in Egypt

On August 24, 1962 the popular Egyptian newspaper *al-Jumhuriyah* ran a headline that captured the mood of the Nasser reform era: “THE STATE DOES NOT SUBMIT TO A SPECIAL GROUP IN THE NAME OF RELIGION!” The message was clear—or so it seemed. State authority was hegemonic and complete. No exceptions, even those rooted in sacred tradition, would be allowed. As it turned out, however, the headline rang hollow. Behind such proclamations of unrivaled state sovereignty lay a fractured and unruly tangle of disciplinary institutions that were largely impervious to centralized state control. Indeed, much to its own chagrin, the Egyptian state would repeatedly “submit to a special group in the name of religion” on a number of issues related to schooling, legal authority and the regulation of faith-based institutions.

This chapter sets out to show just how and why the pathway of state expansion and consolidation in post-independence Egypt diverged so markedly from that in post-independence Turkey. As readers will recall from the previous chapter, the Turkish Kemalist's final push for centralization through a self proclaimed “secular revolution” in the 1920s and 1930s resulted in strongly consolidated state sovereignty over institutions of schooling, law and religious regulation. I made the case that the catastrophic success of the Kemalists' so-called “secular revolution” was highly conditioned by a set of critical historical antecedents. Although the Kemalists themselves were adamant in depicting their political program as a critical juncture — and even employed an army of historians to reinforce the impression of a clean break with the Ottoman past— the protracted process by which Turkish state-builders actually established their

disciplinary authority was much more gradual and contingent. Ultimately, religion state institutional synergies driven by coöptation strategies during the reforms of the late Ottoman period (1860-1922), not religion state separations, yielded the well consolidated and ostensibly “secular” modern Turkish state for which the Kemalist’s have claimed so much credit.

I argued that the decision to pursue coöptative strategies was largely the product of structural conditions in late Ottoman Turkey in the 19th century, namely the availability of the manpower needed to staff new institutions of schooling and law. Because the manpower needed to launch centralizing reforms was scarce, reformers implemented strategies of institutional change based on linkages with religious structures via piecemeal coöptation. Enlisting religious elites for the national cause was not considered optimal by Turkish reformers or the religious elites themselves at the time. Nevertheless, gradual coöptation at the individual level set into motion a dynamic of “differential growth” that served to weaken the religious establishment, ultimately allowing a cadre of secular-minded politicians to near completely coöpt religious symbols and structures and redeploy them for their own nationalist purposes.²⁴³ I contended that this process of coöptation and redeployment is best conceived of as a *gradual accumulation of disciplinary sovereignty* (not a sudden secular revolution).

The objective of this chapter is to demonstrate that the causal chain linking manpower shortages to religion-state institutional synergies via successful state coöptation of religion in Turkey simply does not obtain in the Egyptian case. The intricacies of the argument are developed below, but for the sake of clarity it is worth previewing the main claims here at the outset. This chapter argues that the Turkey-Egypt divergence was much less about the actions of

individual leaders or their capabilities in the 20th century than it was about the accumulated momentum of institutional inheritances from the past. Although reform strategies in Turkey and Egypt exhibited numerous parallels, such as the shared spate of failed attempts to simply convert religious institutions into modern disciplinary structures subservient to the state, one crucial difference trumped all similarities. In Egypt, extensive foreign competition and, eventually, occupation meant that manpower—the exact type of manpower that late Ottoman Turkey lacked—actually became much more abundant from the 1850s onwards.

As a result, in Egypt new disciplinary institutions were created in almost complete isolation from the religious establishment in a way that resembled the pattern of parallel systems described in Chapter One. Rather than sharing expertise, Egyptian religious institutions became largely insulated from the state, re-entrenched themselves, and grew in size over the late 19th and early 20th century. Furthermore, pathways for the upward mobility of individual members of the religious establishment became greatly constricted in Egypt as graduates of the new secular schools began usurping jobs traditionally held by men with religious training. The Kemalist's could relegate religion by decree and forge durable religion-state synergies because they were confronting a greatly weakened religious establishment, many members of which already had one foot in the state system. In Nasser's Egypt containing religion would prove much more difficult to achieve, for by the 1950s, the religious establishment was not only strong and isolated, it had also grown hostile to the state for continually limiting its sphere of influence without providing new opportunities for upward mobility.

The logic of the rest of the chapter proceeds as follows. I start by showing that Nasser's

political program for state consolidation in the 1950s and 1960s closely mirrored the Kemalist project of the 1920s and 1930s. Most importantly, both programs “ruled by decree” and shared the ultimate aim of bringing the religious establishment under state sovereignty. The objective was not religion state separation (as secularism is often understood) but rather the complete relegation of religious institutions and elites to state authority. Next, I provide evidence to show that whereas the Kemalists' largely succeeded in their pursuit of this objective Nasser and his Free Officers largely failed. Finally, after first briefly considering some potential alternative explanations, I move on to my own argument and evidence, tracing the trajectory of modernizing reforms in education and law in Egypt from its beginning in the late early 19th century. Specifically, I seek to illustrate how the type and sequencing of institutional reform strategies (coöpatation, conversion and parallel systems) applied in Egypt made it impossible to reproduce the Kemalist outcome. For the sake of clarity, Figure IV uses a time line to juxtapose key dates and the divergent strategies of institutional reform in Turkey and Egypt.

[Insert Figure IV about here]

I. Nasser Attempts a “Secular Revolution”

Although a quarter of a century separated the onset of Turkey and Egypt's respective attempts at secular revolution, a number of similarities makes these two events comparable. Just as in Republican Turkey, in Egypt too, it was a clandestine political-military organization that forged the independent nation state. Egypt's Free Officers Movement was founded in the wake of the 1948 defeat in the Arab-Israeli war and at its helm was Gamal Nasser. Like Mustafa Kemal Atatürk before him, Nasser quickly endeavored to launch an extreme make-over of

Egyptian society forged from the top down. The “secular” disciplinary objectives of Nasser's reforms took a direct cue from the CUP (Committee for Union and Progress) and Kemalists in Turkey: bring the religious establishment's institutional structure completely under the mantle of the state and fully centralize education and law under state sovereignty. Indeed, CUP accomplishments had been greatly admired by a certain class of Egyptians. It was, after all, no coincidence that the first two leaders of independent Egypt had been named after the two most influential Turkish reformers, Cemal and Enver Pasha. In fact, Nasser explicitly fancied himself as the Egyptian Atatürk, often directly citing the Kemalists as the inspiration for his own reform initiatives.²⁴⁴

When it came to disciplinary institutions, Nasser's political program closely adhered to the Kemalist blueprint of ruling through a series of government decrees. Immediately after seizing power in 1952 Nasser ordained Law No.180 abolishing religious family endowments and asserting state control over all Islamic charities.²⁴⁵ In 1955, he issued a decree to permanently close all shari'a courts.²⁴⁶ In a memorandum accompanying the decree, the state justified the courts' closure by arguing that “the government cannot suffer the existence on the national territory of judiciary autonomies which impose their will upon it, oppose its policy of reform, or, lastly, choose their own way of reform.”²⁴⁷ Then, in 1961 Nasser unilaterally enacted a series of laws designed to force al-Azhar, the preeminent institution for Muslim learning (described in Chapter Two), to completely submit to state authority. For centuries al-Azhar had both trained the ulema and ran an extensive network of schools. Just as with creation of the Diyanet in Turkey, the 1961 al-Azhar reform in Egypt turned religious elites into state-subsidized bureaucrats.²⁴⁸ Mosques were to become state property; imams and muftis were to become civil

servants.

Another similarity between Turkey and Egypt was that a full frontal attack aimed at annihilating the religious establishment was out of the question in both places since it risked inciting popular resistance to the state. Both Nasser and Atatürk sought to capture the legitimacy and institutional networks of the religious establishment and then use them to bolster the moral authority of the nation state. Fittingly then, the 1956 Egyptian Constitution—just like its 1924 Turkish counterpart—specified Islam as the official state religion.²⁴⁹ Egyptian secularists were not atheist or anti-religious but anti-clerical, much like their Kemalist predecessors.

Contemporary pundits and academics looked favorably upon Nasser's ambitious reform project as it unfolded. Above all, they had faith in Nasser's potential to recreate the Turkish experiment in grand societal transformation. At a lecture delivered at the Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies in 1958, Richard Robinson hopefully opined that “Just as Kemal Atatürk's dictatorship (1923-1938) prepared Turkey for a limited form of democracy, so perhaps Nasser's authoritarian regime will prepare Egypt for eventual democratization.”²⁵⁰ Nothing could have been further from the truth.

The Destabilizing Dynamics of Sudden Coöptation by Decree

Despite the wishes of western observers, Egyptian attempts to copy the Turkish experience did not come to fruition. As we saw in Chapter 3, the Kemalists' anti-clerical policies resulted in what might be called the successful state capture of the religious establishment and thereby state sovereignty over disciplinary institutions. Religious elites traded

their turbans and beards for the suits and mustaches of the typical state bureaucrat. Resistance was minimal, demands for the return of the shari'a were completely abandoned, and public education became the exclusive preserve of the state. Simultaneously, however, the ideational glue binding the individual members of the new "secular" Turkish nation state was curiously religious in nature: to be of Turkish nationality was essentially to be a Sunni Muslim and the Diyanet played an active role in the Turkification of the state. Religious institutions had been tamed while religious identity markers had been reconfigured and redeployed for secular purposes. Turkish reformers had managed to both win religious legitimacy *and* eradicate the traditional functions of the religious elite in the realms of schooling and law.

In Egypt the results of Nasser's anti-clerical politics by decree were much more mixed and ultimately destabilizing for the state. In a way, attempts at the formal coöptation of religion post independence only served to paint Nasser's regime (and those that followed) into an increasingly tight corner. By virtue of the fact the religious elite in Egypt was brought under the state mantle much more suddenly and en masse in the 1950s, religious actors were able to maintain a comparatively large degree of autonomy and power. A formidable and unified force, religious actors exploited their new position to encroach on state power and decision making in various ways from the start. Some religious elites aggressively pushed back against the state from within, demanding more power and influence over state policy. Others attacked the state from the outside, spurring on unofficial Islamic organizations that were explicitly hostile to the state's newly asserted role as a sovereign disciplinary and moral authority.

Over time, these two types of challenges eroded the moral authority of the Egyptian state

and its spokesmen. Although state sovereignty had been formally declared on paper (as evidenced by the parade of military men subsequently appointed as Directors of *al-Azhar* Affairs), in reality state control over religious elements was deeply problematic.²⁵¹ The state found itself ensnared in a treacherous cycle of alternatively pandering to and violently suppressing religious challengers. The upshot of this dilemma was a destabilizing spiral of religious legitimization vs. secularization that ultimately prevented the state from achieving a monopoly over institutions of social discipline. The more the Egyptian state tried to control religious elites, the less popular it became; but without demoting the position of religious elites, hegemonic state sovereignty and moral authority could not be achieved. Clear evidence of this spiraling dynamic (and thus the limited nature of Nasser's reforms) can be found in the institutional domains of education, law and religious regulation.

To take education first, although al-Azhar's educational facilities (university, secondary, preparatory and primary) all formally came under the control of the Egyptian Ministry of Endowments via a decree in 1961, the al-Azhar system remained as a distinct educational tract under a common umbrella, effectively acting as an alternative to the “national” education system.²⁵² As mentioned above, efforts were made to place “secular” individuals who were loyal to the regime in key positions in the now “nationalized” al-Azhar system, but subversive activity was a more common practice than obedience to this new authority. Men plucked from the military and inserted at the top of the al-Azhar hierarchy (Kemal al-Din Rif'at, Ahmad Abdallha Ta'imah and Husayin al-Shafi'i) all failed to create a constructive working relationship with most prominent ulema. Meanwhile, the al-Azhar school system was actually expanding as the state tried in vain to placate mounting tensions by increasing the institution's funding. Nasser introduced secular

subjects and departments into the Azhari system with the goal of “modernizing” the curriculum by diluting its religious content. These moves, however, failed to weaken the preeminent status of theological studies. Furthermore, between 1955-1960 total student enrollment in the Azhari system increased by over 60% from approximately 25,000 to 41,000.²⁵³ By the early 1980s, enrollment numbers at al-Azhar University surpassed those at Cairo University. At the primary, preparatory and secondary level too, al-Azhar's share of the total student population increased markedly.²⁵⁴

Malika Zeghal astutely observes that Nasser's reforms of the Azhari system created only a “temporary and superficial submission.”²⁵⁵ With time, Nasser and his successors increasingly had to adjust to the ulema's demands. In a way, being formally subjected to state sovereignty at a time when religious institutions were strong actually granted members of al-Azhar with the instruments and positioning needed to gain an even larger political foothold in the 1970s. Many Azharis emerged on the other side of Nasser's reforms as powerful political brokers who sought, first and foremost, to enlarge “their own sphere of intervention as well as their independence vis-a-vis the state” as opposed to foster national unity or honor state sovereignty.²⁵⁶

Nasser's legal reforms produced equally ambiguous results. Despite attempts on the eve of independence to codify a uniform Egyptian Civil Code, family law was eventually dropped from the Civil Code entirely and religious elites quickly came to see family law as one of their last domains of influence.²⁵⁷ As a result, lest the closure of shari'a courts in 1955 provoke the ire of the ulema and *kadi* (judges in shari'a courts) class, Nasser actually absorbed all current *kadis* into the state system in one fell swoop, effectively giving them a privileged position over

personal and family law from within the state.²⁵⁸ Soon after the announcement, on September 27 1955, the Grand Mufti of Egypt, Hasan al-Ma'mum wrote a note in the newspaper *Al-Ahram* urging the staff of the shari'a courts to practice with the same zeal and conviction from within the state system. Furthermore, popular demands for the resurrection of the shari'a, far from fading into oblivion as they did in Turkey, quickly resurfaced in Egypt. Come 1971, in a bid to placate his determined religious competitors, Anwar Sadat issued a new constitution, Article Two of which explicitly mentioned the shari'a as *a* chief source of legislation. By 1980, with religious challengers still posing a serious threat to the regime, the language of Article Two was further strengthened to declare that "...the principles of Islamic jurisprudence are *the* chief sources of legislation."²⁵⁹ A precarious constitutional theocracy was thus born.

Far from satisfying the state's religious opponents, the rewording of Article Two opened the floodgates to a barrage of religiously grounded disputes over the appropriate scope of state authority. Islamists repeatedly confronted the state in its highest courts, making the argument that certain state practices and laws did not conform to the shari'a and were therefore null and void. For example, in one landmark case in 1985 the head Sheikh of al-Azhar actually sued the President and the Prime Minister (among others). The Sheikh's 1985 claim was issued in protest to an earlier, low-level state administrative court ruling. In this earlier ruling, al-Azhar had been ordered to hand over the interest that had accrued following a late payment for some medical equipment. The Sheikh claimed that this low-level court decision violated the shari'a prohibition on *riba* (interest/usury) and thus Al-Azhar should be absolved of any legal and financial responsibility. The monetary amount in question was completely trivial (592 lira!).²⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the case became monumental for it exposed holes in the disciplinary authority of

the state that permeated to the very highest levels of the legal apparatus. Interestingly, in contrast, Turkish Islamists have become capitalists par excellence. Today, as Egyptians flock to the streets to topple what is left of the largely rotten and morally defunct state apparatus, it is unclear which of two political systems, constitutional or theocratic, will win the day.

Finally, in addition to these challenges to the state's authority in the realms of schooling and law, the attempted regulation of religious organizations and sites remained uneven and inconsistent following Nasser's reforms, ultimately enabling the proliferation of enduring challenges to state sovereignty. Non-establishment Islamic organizations like the Muslim Brothers, which professed their primary loyalty to something larger than the state, developed an intricate and complicated relationship with religious civil servants and Azhari institutions. To this day, the leaders of non-establishment Islamic organizations—be they moderate or militant—are often al-Azhar graduates who possess either ongoing ties to the Azhari staff and/or a position in the official establishment themselves. Although these Islamic organizations have been routinely blamed for the state's woes, they actually have “various levels of integration within the [state] establishment—from salaried officials who do not accept the authority of the al-Azhar leadership to complete 'outsiders' who preach in unregulated mosques, in the streets and through the mass media.”²⁶¹

There is no doubt that Islamic organizations critical of the state's right to sovereignty have flourished in part because Nasser's reform program never entirely succeeded in controlling religious venues or education. As Table VII indicates, attempts at mosque regulation yielded limited success in Egypt. Unlike in Turkey, where mosque and sermon regulation became the

norm, the majority of mosques in Egypt have remained free of state interference, providing a venue for the dissemination of religious doctrine that undermines the moral authority and sovereign disciplinary role of the state. In light of these challenges, the state has been left in a precarious position: it cannot openly crackdown on these venues but nor can it sustainably tolerate their existence if it wishes to remain fully sovereign.

[Insert Table VIII on Mosque Control about here]

To summarize, the overall results of Nasser's reforms can hardly be said to have forced the religious establishment into submission. Nasser's Kemalist-inspired attempt at a secular-revolution by decree produced mixed results, failing as it did to secure exclusive state sovereignty over disciplinary structures. As Tamir Moustafa remarks, "Egyptian government policy towards religious institutions appears to be schizophrenic" for it continually "shifted back and forth between strategies of domination and coöperation" without ever reaching a stable equilibrium.²⁶² The Egyptian state's failure to achieve sovereignty over disciplinary institutions has exacerbated conflict over who can legitimately claim to be societies ultimate moral authority. Do representatives of the state, or representatives of Islam possess the right "to have the final word"? In this context, religious challenges to the state have metastasized, the power of the ulema and Islamic challengers grows and religion's role in the production of social discipline has actually increased, bringing momentous political consequences for the political development of the Egyptian state.

II. Explaining Egypt's Failed Secular Revolution

What accounts for Egypt's failed “secular revolution”? Why did anti-clericalism by decree allow for the successful state capture of religious institutions (together with the low-risk redeployment of religious symbols) in Turkey but not in Egypt? At one level the answer may seem obvious: clearly the religious establishment somehow possessed a stronger ability to resist the state's demand for submission and “protect its own turf” in post independence Egypt than it did in Turkey. The puzzle that remains unsolved then, is how and why this disparity in the strength of the religious establishment emerged in the first place, for it was by no means a foregone conclusion.

But before going there, a final order of business. One could conceivably respond to the assertions above by looking at things in reverse. Perhaps it was not so much that the religious establishment in Turkey was weaker, but that the Turkish state was just stronger, be it in terms of military might, resources or some other advantage. While it would be silly to cast a comparison of this scope as any sort of natural experiment or controlled comparison, I believe a number of factors allow us to rule out intuitive and popular arguments based on the notion that one of the two states somehow possessed an intrinsic advantage. I quickly address these factors one by one.

First, if one buys into the teleological underpinnings of modernization theory, it is plausible that there may have been some sort of first mover advantage at play—i.e. the state that begins the reform of disciplinary institutions first will always be one step ahead in the game of consolidating its own control and moral authority. In these two cases, however, the historical record suggests otherwise. Political programs to expand state control over schooling and law

actually originated in Egypt at the turn of the 19th century under Muhammad Ali Pasha (discussed in more detail below). Similar programs did not even appear in the Ottoman Empire until at least two decades later and were only applied in earnest fifty years after Muhammad Ali first began his reforms. Historian Akşın Somel reminds us that the “Egyptians provided the beginning of a public education system” which, when “compared with the contemporary situation in the Ottoman Empire . . . constituted a highly uniform, well organized, and relatively widespread structure.”²⁶³ Likewise, in the field of legal reform, Egypt was actually at the forefront of pioneering change in the 19th century. European legal subjects were first studied in Egypt at the School of Languages and Translation as early as 1836, whereas the Ottomans did not introduce such subjects until several decades later.²⁶⁴

Yardsticks of state power (albeit crude ones) also fail to reveal a distinct advantage for either Turkey or Egypt. Both Nasser and Ataturk were charismatic and popular leaders who enjoyed the full backing of the coercive apparatus. The military in each country, although certainly weak by western standards, had historically been considered among the strongest in the region as measured in terms of troop strength and sheer firepower.²⁶⁵ Furthermore, there had been no shortage of war for either late Ottoman Turkey or Egypt, making it difficult to see how Tilly's insights on how “war made the state” in Western Europe can be applied to explain the uneven expansion of disciplinary authority in these two cases. In terms of monetary power, the two states had come into the modern era in absolute dire straits. Both the Cairo and Istanbul governments went bankrupt in 1875-1876 and became heavily dependent on foreign loans.²⁶⁶

On other indicators too, Egypt and Turkey shared a number of features in the decades

leading up to independence. Both were similarly sized, overwhelmingly populated by a Sunni Muslim majority (upward on 90 percent), housed comparable religious minority populations and had a high number of Sufi religious orders. Although theoretically plausible, there is also no reason to believe that the Egyptian religious establishment was somehow more politicized than its Ottoman counterpart. During his brief occupation of Egypt in the late 18th century, Napoleon thought that the ulema would be excellent allies by virtue of their apolitical nature. He observed that religious elites in Egypt had “gentle manners”, were not “addicted to any sort of military manoeuvrings” and were “ill adapted to the leadership of an armed movement.”²⁶⁷ Furthermore, whereas the Ottoman Shaykh al-Islam issued a plethora of fatwas on political issues in the 19th century, the Egyptian Grand Mufti issued very few. Rudolph Peters' content analysis of Egyptian fatwas issued during this period finds only three fatwas on political topics.²⁶⁸ As the seat of the Caliphate until 1924, it was the Ottoman Empire, not Egypt, that was the center of Islamic *political* influence in the 19th and early 20th century.

In light of these facts it is no wonder that scholars like Ahmet Kuru still find it “puzzling that the Ottoman Empire, where Islamic institutions were so fundamental, gave birth to Turkey, where assertive secularism has been dominant.”²⁶⁹ To be sure, the divergent trajectories of disciplinary authority in Egypt and Turkey can only be understood through a careful analysis of why, in the 19th and early 20th century, the Egyptian religious establishment did not fall victim to the same degree of institutional deterioration and weakening suffered by its Ottoman counterpart. It is to this issue that I now turn.

III. Muhammad Ali Pasha, Coöptation and the Origins of Disciplinary Reform

If anything stands as a testament to the fact that the divergence of Turkey and Egypt was not inevitable, it is evidence from the first phase of centralizing disciplinary reforms in Egypt. As this section will demonstrate, early patterns of institutional change in Egypt initially followed a course that plausibly could have led to a greatly weakened religious establishment and a triumphant and sovereign disciplinary state—that is, had this course not been derailed by the massive swell in the number of foreigners residing in Egypt in the second half of the 19th century and the policies that emerged as a result.

The first phase of Egyptian disciplinary reforms began in 1805, when the ulema of Cairo nominated Muhammad Ali Pasha as the new governor. Determined to consolidate his own authority and to build an army capable of protecting Egypt from imperial predation, Muhammad Ali launched a program to re-order Egyptian society into a self-sufficient military and economic machine. The creation of a centralized schooling system capable of training future military officers, factory heads, teachers, judges and bureaucrats became a key component of his overall reform strategy.

Underpinning this initial bid to centralize disciplinary authority was a strategy of piecemeal coöptation that exhibited patterns strikingly similar to those that would later evolve in Ottoman Turkey. Lacking the qualified individuals needed to staff his new schooling system, Muhammad Ali drew upon the expertise and human resources of the religious elite at al-Azhar, crafting a careful program to make Azhari shaykhs part of the state system and turn them into an indigenous corps of specialists. As part of this project, he sent many high level ulema to Europe on educational missions. During these tours, it was customary for students to learn military

sciences, engineering, printing, mechanics, and political subjects. Upon completion of their tours, the shaykhs were then ushered into top positions in the state bureaucracy. Other high-level ulema were made members of Muhammad Ali's *Diwan* (governing council) and/or employed as propagandists to extol the virtues of military conscription.²⁷⁰ Even low-level shaykhs and promising madrasa students were brought in to either teach or learn in Muhammad Ali's new technical training programs at the Preparatory (*tajhiziyya*) and Special (*khususiyya*) levels.²⁷¹

Beyond solving the problem of expertise, the kind of coöptation pursued by Muhammad Ali had the added benefit of weakening the position of those religious men who resisted his efforts towards state centralization. By locating administrative education outside of the religious system and bringing religious elites into new institutions—as opposed to trying to reform existing religious structures—Muhammad Ali avoided having to place non-Azhari trained teachers in positions of power within al-Azhar itself. This was wise, for most ulema were completely unwilling to accept orders from outsiders on their home turf. In fact, Muhammad Ali never openly tampered with the internal affairs of al-Azhar at all. Instead, his strategy of reform slowly depleted the religious establishment of some of its top talent by presenting them with lucrative outside opportunities. Gradually, “some of the shaykhs and practically all of the students [selected for Muhammad Ali's reform projects] had in the course of their government sponsored training and state employment been alienated, organizationally if not spiritually, from al-Azhar”²⁷² With many prominent religious elites now “on board” with state centralization initiatives, Muhammad Ali found he could move more easily against those recalcitrant shaykhs that insisted on opposing the expansion of the state's disciplinary role. Although definitive numbers are difficult to come by for this period, several contemporary British observers have

remarked that al-Azhar was greatly weakened and enrollment figures decreased substantially as a result of Muhammad Ali's reforms.²⁷³ In 1831, the mufti of Munsura even complained that the ulema —well known for their wealth and authority less than half a century earlier— were quickly becoming a poor people devoid of any autonomous influence.²⁷⁴ Muhammad Ali's reforms had given the ulema new opportunities to join an increasingly centralized state bureaucracy. Ironically, as J.W. Livingston points out, “Muhammad Ali they joined, and in doing so contributed to their own irrelevance.”²⁷⁵

At one level, Muhammad Ali's reforms thus succeeded in changing the complexion of the religious establishment. There emerged a new type of shaykh that straddled the fence between government and religious service. Rifa'a al-Tahtawi —a religious student trained on one of Muhammad Ali's educational missions who, in the 1830s, went on to establish a new government School of Islamic Law & Jurisprudence that taught unorthodox subjects such as French law, foreign languages and mathematics— was emblematic of this new breed. Even after Muhammad Ali's demise, men like al-Tahtawi continued to tirelessly advocate for the modernizing education, law and infrastructure to serve the needs of the state. But general, overarching strategies of reform by coöptation as occurred under Muhammad Ali became a relic of the past.

A series of ultimately unsuccessful military campaigns aimed at expansion had gobbled up an alarming amount of the Egyptian state's resources by the 1840's. Forced to drastically cut back spending, Muhammad Ali's educational institutions quickly fell victim to the budgetary axe, and the vast majority of primary, preparatory and special schools were closed at the urging of his

own son Ibrahim. Muhammad Ali's educational missions to Europe continued on into the 1840s, but the number of students being sent was much reduced. By the time Abbas I became ruler in 1848, only a handful of Muhammad Ali's schools remained intact and those that survived were in dismal condition.²⁷⁶ These rapidly changing conditions on the ground brought the dynamics of differential growth between religious and state disciplinary institutions to a halt and instead ushered in a period of conservative re-entrenchment and explosive growth at al-Azhar. Without the infrastructure put in place by Muhammad Ali, religious men who advocated for reform would be forced to propagate their ideas and agendas from within the walls of al-Azhar itself via strategies of institutional conversion (i.e. directly remolding al-Azhar into a modern disciplinary institution that served the needs of the state). These dynamics will be addressed in the next section.

IV. Shifting Course: Conversion

With Muhammad Ali's schools crumbling, the importance of *al-Azhar* and the madrasa system as an avenue for upward mobility increased. The madrasas had always been one of the best ways for poor young males to improve their economic and social status in Egyptian society.²⁷⁷ Yet Muhammad Ali's institutions had created valuable new exit options for madrasa graduates and thus, upon the closure of his state schools, something of a bottleneck occurred. Madrasa students were no longer being redirected into state disciplinary institutions and this blockage, together with the general atmosphere of economic downturn, led the number of madrasa students to more than double in the mid-nineteenth century. Whereas enrollment at the height of Muhammad Ali's reforms was estimated to be as low as 1,500-3,000 students, by 1846 numbers

had reached nearly 7,500. Enrollment levels did drop momentarily at a point between 1855-1865 because of a change in military conscription policies, but they were soon on the rise again. By 1873 there were 9,441 students and by 1875 there were 11,095 students who called the Azhari madrasa system home.²⁷⁸

[Insert Table IX on al-Azhar enrollment about here]

Growing numbers at al-Azhar eventually created an impending sense of chaos and unrest at the institution. Although Muhammad Ali's immediate successors Abbas I and Sa'id did little to quell the storm, Ismail (who ruled from 1863 – 1879) was so alarmed by the disorder and the possibility that it may spill-out beyond al-Azhar's gates that he abandoned the long-held policy of not interfering directly with the internal affairs of the religious establishment. Instead, he changed course and openly endeavored to convert al-Azhar into an orderly institution tasked with training tomorrow's teachers, lawyers, doctors, civil servants, and engineers through the imposition of a non-religious curriculum and modern teaching and administrative methods.

Ismail found a handful of allies sympathetic to the idea of converting religious institutions to new purposes from among the religious elites that had been groomed in Muhammad Ali's training programs. These individuals —among them the most prominent being Muhammad al-'Inabi, the aforementioned al-Tahtawi, 'Ali Mubarak, Mustafa al-'Arusi and 'Ali al-Qusi— were a minority.²⁷⁹ Nonetheless, they took it upon themselves to redirect the religious establishment to modern disciplinary purposes in the service of the state. To the dismay of most Azhari's, these men sought to transform *al-Azhar* and the *kuttab* (Koran school) system into a productive set of institutions replete with all the harbingers of “the modern”, including a

scientific curriculum, a clear hierarchy of authority, a standardized schedule of operation, qualifying examinations, and completion certificates.

The first direct attempt to convert the religious establishment to new purposes came in 1864, when Shaykh Mustafa al-'Arusi was appointed as the rector of al-Azhar. At the urging of Ismail, who wanted a crop of qualified teachers and judges, al-Arusi launched a controversial reform code for al-Azhar mandating standardized exams, a formalized supervisory hierarchy, and (most polemical of all) the addition of geometry, physics, and history to the curriculum.²⁸⁰ Al-Arusi's ideas were not entirely spontaneous. Indeed, his justifications for reforms built upon the sensibilities of earlier shaykhs like Hasan al-'Attar who had voiced support for such changes (albeit less actively and explicitly).²⁸¹ But now that these ideas were being translated into official policy, they ignited fierce resentment from the majority of ulema who feared that such changes would undermine their own authority. Al-Arusi's program to convert al-Azhar to new practices and purposes incited such venomous attacks from his peers that it was completely abandoned and he was deposed from his seat as rector in a matter of months. According to one historian of the period, this reaction is hardly surprising. Reform by conversion directly “threatened the vested interests of the heads of sects and the heads of the *riwaqs* (groups within al-Azhar), hence their organized opposition to any rector who, albeit feared by all, was in the final analysis only as strong as his backing.”²⁸²

At the forefront of the attacks against al-Arusi was Shaykh Muhammad 'Illaysh, a pious and ascetic Azhari scholar of North African descent. Al-Arusi's successor as rector, Muhammad al-'Abbasi al-Mahdi, had a modicum of success at restructuring al-Azhar's inner-workings after

greatly watering-down the original reform code, but he too was ultimately limited by the backlash and smear tactics instigated by 'Illaysh and his followers.²⁸³ The reform of disciplinary institutions via strategies of conversion was not only falling short at al-Azhar. Soon after coming to power, Ismail convened a group of inspectors to survey the *kuttab* system and draft a program for reform. In 1867, the surveyors began compiling the law of the 7th of November (10th Rajab 1284), which was designed to install a uniform system of rules, exams, and curriculum aimed at transforming the religious primary schools into a centralized and state-run enterprise. However, as the head Inspector Dor Bey later wrote, “there was no real progress” and the introduction of new subjects like arithmetic was never realized because teachers failed to comply with the directives.²⁸⁴

Attempts to change the practices and objectives of religious institutions via conversion continued into the 1880s, 1890s, and 1900s under men such as Muhammad 'Abduh and Muhammad Rashid Rida. For example in 1900 'Abduh and Rasid Rida published a *Report on Reforming the Shari'a Courts*, which opened with a trenchant criticism of the conditions in the shari'a system. “If you are looking for the local shari'a court,” writes Rashid Rida in the introduction to the report, “just approach anyone and ask for the dirtiest, most rundown and despicable building in town. That will surely be the court and you won't even find chairs to sit in there.”²⁸⁵ But even in the face of such criticism, most Azharis thwarted change, for they believed that it would come at their own expense. As one student recalled:

When the Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh came to the Azhar I was one of the younger students. Our professors, may God forgive them, used to constantly criticize the Shaykh in our presence and represent him as being dangerous for religion and for the religious—subtly dangerous. As a consequence our young minds were

influenced by this, and I used to flee from encountering the professor, for the sake of my religion, and to flee from listening to his lessons, even though he was a friend of my father. ²⁸⁶

It is important to note that Abduh primarily advocated for synthesizing the Islamic and the modern—not for the full sale appropriation of European laws and practices.²⁸⁷ Even still, his critics within the religious establishment responded with tabloid style mud-slinging. For example, the publication *Humarat monyati* ran a compromising photo of Abduh in Europe surrounded by a coterie of “scantly-clad” ladies. Similarly, the leaflet *al-Babaghhallo al-Misri* included a cartoon that showed Abduh embracing a “naked” European woman while also being licked by a dog (a symbol of impurity).²⁸⁸

These barriers to change via conversion betrayed an inherent flaw in any attempt to simply redeploy religious institutions to new practices and aims: obstruction from within. When confronted with demands to remold their institutions to serve the interests of the state, many ulema simply hardened against those elements of reform that went against their core beliefs and interests. The majority of ulema eventually embraced some modern techniques of organization and administration in the early 20th century, but repeated conversion-style reform attempts in 1885, 1896, 1908 and 1911 never succeeded in adding non-shari'a subjects to the madrasa curriculum. This was a red-line issue for most members of the religious establishment because it threatened the integrity of the knowledge that the ulema wished to preserve and thus their moral authority and position in society. According to D. Crecelius, in the face of reform by conversion, the ulema “withdrew around their own institutions in an effort to preserve them from contamination.”²⁸⁹

As readers will recall from Chapter Three, late Ottoman reformers met similar hurdles and setbacks when they attempted to convert religious institutions to new purposes in the late 19th century. Reform via conversion rarely yielded the desired result and, when it actually did, the pace of change was glacial. Out of frustration, late Ottoman reformers reluctantly shifted to the more costly strategy of building entirely new disciplinary institutions on the fringe of the religious establishment and then appropriating religious expertise to staff the new structures. Egyptian reformers were equally frustrated with conversion's failures. Abduh, for instance, bemoaned the insidious tendency among religious men to oppress progress and reform by “shunning or avoiding knowledge, or ridiculing men of science to their faces and insulting them and keeping a distance from them.”²⁹⁰ But this is where the similarities with late Ottoman Turkey end. For by the time Egyptians began to redirect efforts toward the creation of new disciplinary institutions again, foreign penetration in Egypt had generated an entirely different set of conditions under which new state and private institutional structures could be built in almost complete isolation of the religious establishment.

V. Reform by Parallel Systems and the Displaced Religious Elite

As the frustrated endeavors to convert al-Azhar to secular purposes continued largely in vain, Ismail initiated a second wave of attempts to fortify the disciplinary capacity of the state by building an independent network of public schools and professional training institutes for teachers and judges in the 1860s and 1870s. Ismail's Egypt, however, was not Muhammad Ali's Egypt. Previously, during the reign of Sa'id (1854-63), momentous changes in economic policy had opened up the country to an influx of foreigners eager to invest in and oversee Egypt's

modernization. Ushering in a series of liberal reforms, Sa'id abolished the government monopolies that had been erected by Muhammad Ali and upheld by Abbas I.²⁹¹ The number of European's in Egypt mushroomed from approximately 3,000 in 1836 to almost 90,000 by 1864 and 121,213 by 1866. From 1882 to approximately 1910 the country-wide ratio of foreigners to Egyptians hovered between 1.5 and 2 percent.²⁹² In key urban centers such as Cairo and Alexandria, where the expansion of the state's disciplinary apparatus originated, foreigners reached 9 percent and 20 percent of the population respectively.²⁹³

Foreigners established banks, which helped to finance the increase in trade with Europe and also provided Sa'id and Ismail with loans to pursue public infrastructure projects. Ismail's own "achievements" —including the construction of the Suez Canal, a nearly 50 million pound program for public infrastructure, a war in the Sudan, and the purchasing (literally) of the title of Khedive from the Ottoman's— had cost him a pretty penny. He owed enormous sums to European creditors and by 1876 it became evident that the only way to stave off bankruptcy would be to hand over control of the economy to European experts.²⁹⁴ Even before Britain's full-blown occupation in 1882, the influence of these European advisers and experts began seeping into the institutional domains of education and law, as various foreign nationals sought to imbue locals with particular loyalties through foreign schools and secure their economic position by retooling the legal system. By World War I the burgeoning of English officialdom reached its zenith in Egypt and the British occupied a dominant position in every ministry and department except those pertaining to religion.²⁹⁵

In the section that follows I show that this foreign presence and influence encroached on

the professional territory of the religious elite, blocked the integration of religiously trained individuals into the state system and ultimately led to a bifurcation of religious and state institutions. Prior to the foreign influx, the ulema had had three channels of upward mobility reserved almost exclusively for them: 1) absorption into the mosque structure as imams, muezzins, khatibs etc.; 2) entrance into the school system as teachers; and 3) entrance into legal system of shari'a courts as judges or clerks.²⁹⁶ Foreign presence and intervention erected major barriers to channels two (education) and three (law) through various mechanisms— some intentional, others unintentional; some mundane, others more dramatic— that will be illustrated below. Faced with ever-diminishing professional and life opportunities, the ulema mounted an increasingly vigorous defense of their remaining positions. What is more, this defense was fortified in almost complete isolation from the state and served to form a “hard core” of institutionalized resistance to the state's acquisition of disciplinary authority that endured through independence. I examine these dynamics first with respect to schooling and then with respect to law.

VI. Education: “Manufacturing Demagogues”

Foreign intervention —and eventually occupation— stunted the upward mobility of Egypt's religious elites by forging an unbridgeable split in the field of education, with foreign and state schools on one side and the educational institutions of the religious establishment on the other. In large part this division stemmed from the fact that the unregulated growth of foreign language and missionary schools in the 1860s and 1870s, together with the concomitant development of new state (or government) schools in the European tradition, began to undermine

Azhari graduates' status and opportunities. To examine the role of foreign schools first: In his authoritative history of the Egyptian education, Heyworth-Dunne refers to the proliferation of European schools during the period of Ismail's rule (1863-1879) as “the most remarkable feature of his reign.”²⁹⁷ Over 150 schools were opened by missionaries and foreign nationals of all stripes. The number of students receiving education in foreign-run centers for learning only increased in the wake of Ismail's abdication. Whereas there were an estimated 7,450 students in foreign schools in 1875, by 1913-14 the number had climbed to 48,204 (the majority of them Egyptian).²⁹⁸ The proliferation of foreign schools is all the more astonishing when one considers that there were only 9 “civil schools” (read state/government and non-Azhari) being run by the government in Ismail's time.²⁹⁹ Private schools thus taught far more students than did government schools in this period.

It is also important to note that foreign schools were an entirely independent or “parallel” enterprise. The Egyptian government did nothing to regulate, administer or staff them. Since money was tight, Egyptian and European officials alike viewed the foreign schools as a blessing, for they partially alleviated the financial burden of having to grow the government's own education system in order to staff the burgeoning civil service. Nonetheless these schools, with curricula entirely structured around foreign languages and devoid of Islamic subjects, did not absorb any graduates of the Azhari system into their ranks. What is more, these schools' “modern curricula gave them great prestige, so their primary sections fed the government secondary schools as well as the private schools while their secondary sections led to the higher professions and many well-paid government posts.”³⁰⁰ As the graduates of foreign schools gained a privileged position in the competition for government jobs and scarce state school slots,

a gulf emerged between the new Europeanized elite and the traditional elite of al-Azhar.

The limited number of government schools operating during Ismail's rule squarely situated themselves in the foreign/European tradition. For one, they were explicitly based on foreign models, such as the British Lancaster model. Tellingly, the Head Inspector of Schools under Ismail, a Swiss man named Dor Bey, habitually referred to the new government system with the French term '*L'instruction publique*'. Dor and his colleagues insisted that the new system be a distinct space, with no connection to the military or the mosque.³⁰¹ The government schooling system did not include courses on religion until the mid 1940s, meaning that between the 1860-1940s Azhari's were unlikely to have anything to contribute to the government system besides teaching Arabic (which would soon be on the decline as the British imposed English). It even appears that the shrinking category of Arab language instruction in the higher paying government schools was largely closed to *al-Azhar* graduates until the late 1930s, when ulema holding the newly created Specialization for Teaching Degree were finally granted the formal right to teach in government schools.³⁰²

Developments in foreign and government schools aside, the vast majority of Egyptian students received their only education in the *kuttab* school system, which was tied to the religious establishment at the local level and staffed primarily by low-level graduates and students from al-Azhar. In 1875, there were an estimated 4,725 such schools with 4,881 teachers and nearly 120,000 students.³⁰³ Beyond the legislation to coordinate these schools with the government system that was drafted in 1868 (referenced above) another attempt was made in 1880 but never put into effect.³⁰⁴ Thereafter European advisers —and later British occupiers—

adhered to an informal norm of not openly tampering with the religious life of the country. Many considered al-Azhar sacrosanct, and Europeans worried that any direct meddling would incite popular resistance to their presence. It is thus no coincidence that the only government ministries to retain autonomy during the British occupation were those tied to the religious establishment—the shari'a and personal courts subdivision of the Ministry of Justice and the Department of Awqaf (Religious Endowments), which was responsible for the kuttabs and *al-Azhar*.³⁰⁵ For decades anything that transpired in the religious establishment and its system of schools occurred largely in isolation from developments in the official government schools (or foreign schools) and vice-versa. The two sets of educational tracks existed as parallel systems.

The only notable exception to this general rule of institutional bifurcation was the creation of *Dar al-'Ulum* in 1872. *Dar al-'Ulum* was essentially a teachers training school that blended Islamic higher education with the study of “modern” topics at the secondary level.³⁰⁶ Since Azharis had not been willing to alter the curriculum within their institutions, *Dar al-'Ulum* represented an attempt to sidestep Azhari resistance. According to Louis Aroian, the institution was unique on a number of levels, most importantly in that it made a concerted effort to draw traditional religious elites into the modern disciplinary structure of the state. Arion writes:

*From its inception, Dar al-'Ulum was envisaged as the transitional institution which would inaugurate the modern age in a socially-acceptable fashion through a group already received by most Egyptians as conveyers of wisdom and truth—the scholars of al-Azhar. The Dar al-'Ulum graduate was seen as the "new man" who would be equally acceptable to Egyptians educated in both the religious and purely secular schools.*³⁰⁷

This all changed as the British began to assume control over the administration of education in

the country. Concerned that *Dar al-'Ulum* was becoming a “rallying point of political and fanatical intrigue” in 1895 Douglas Dunlop (who controlled Egyptian Education policy for nearly three decades) shrank the school's size, attached it directly to the government's model primary schools and changed the curriculum to focus more heavily on “practical” subjects.³⁰⁸ As part of these changes, the British also tightened the entry requirements for *Dar al-'Ulum*. The new entrance exams placed heavy emphasis on subjects like basic math, geometry and geography. As most Azharis had little or no training in these subjects, it became increasingly difficult for them to gain acceptance at *Dar al-'Ulum*. Several years later, to prevent reliance on Azhari recruits altogether, the British created a new preparatory section for the school that was completely independent of the Azhari system. As a result, the “old tie with al-Azhar as a source of students was effectively eroded”³⁰⁹ transforming *Dar al-'Ulum* from conduit for upward mobility for Azharis into yet another challenger in the competition for coveted teaching jobs.

Beyond derailing the one viable conduit of interaction between the Azhari and the government education systems, several other dimensions of British policy had the effect of reifying the dual nature of education in Egypt. The first set of blows came as the combined result of British penny-pinching and the so-called “Indianization” of the Egyptian administration. The Hunter Commission (also known as the India Education Commission), which met in 1882 and 1883, produced a set of findings suggesting that British policy in India had created a class of intellectuals who lacked professional expertise and were highly critical of British rule. Lord Cromer (the British controller-general in Egypt) and his colleagues took the Commission's findings to heart and vowed not to make the same mistakes. Education policy in Egypt, remarked Cromer, must prevent the “manufacturing of demagogues” as had occurred in India

and should only produce as many graduates as there were jobs to be filled in the civil service.³¹⁰

In accordance with these ideas, the British restricted the number of state schools and the number of students who could receive a state education. To make these restrictions more formidable, Cromer also introduced fees into all government schools, forcing student's families to pay for the privilege of a state education. By 1892, nearly 75 percent of students were paying for all of their expenses (tuition, clothes, books, etc) in the state schools.³¹¹ Since the British were only willing to spend less than 1 percent of their overall budget on education, this policy also lessened the financial burden of keeping Ismail's government schooling system afloat during the occupation.³¹² Concomitant with the introduction of fees came the formalization of close links between the state schooling system and the bureaucracy in 1892. The British made employment in the first tier of the Egyptian civil service contingent upon holding a secondary certificate from the state schooling system; in order to gain employment in the second tier, applicants had to at least possess a primary certificate from a state or equivalent private (read foreign) school.³¹³

Additional developments further prevented Azhari integration into the state. In 1893, the Ministry of Public Education (already separate from *Awqaf* ministry that controlled al-Azhar and the kuttab schools) was reduced to a department in the British dominated Ministry of Public Works, where over a quarter of all employees were European.³¹⁴ By 1900, the official language of state primary, secondary, and professional schools had become English, largely removing the need for Arabic teachers.³¹⁵ Furthermore, the British used state primary and secondary schools to train colonial administrators who were fresh-off the boat from England, which further lowered

the demand for native teachers. In the 1890s and 1900s most men who joined the British colonial administration were first brought out to teach English and other subjects in the state schools as part of their initial training and acclimation. These new colonial administrators typically served a two or three year apprenticeship in the schools and then moved on to other posts in the Ministry of the Interior or Finance.³¹⁶ Likewise, positions in the four professional schools (teacher-training, law, medicine and engineering) gradually became dominated by Europeans. In 1896 these schools employed 45 Egyptians and 16 Europeans. By 1906 the ratio had shifted to 34 Egyptians and 47 Europeans.³¹⁷

Taken together, these policies ostracized the religious establishment from the government education system and thus the state more generally. Tignor depicts the resultant dichotomy well:

“[B]y 1914 the gap between the two schools systems was quite distinct. Nowhere did one system lead into the other. The Westernized schools trained young men . . . for service in the modernizing administration. The Islamic schools . . . trained young men basically in religious subjects and prepared them for the . . . roles of shaykh, imam, mufti, and school teacher. Only a few men had the ability, energy, vision or opportunity to move from one system to the other, since regular channels of access did not exist.”³¹⁸

Under these arrangements, a wealthy class would monopolize both higher education and government jobs. By contrast, the Azhari and *kuttab* education system, which continued to service the Egyptian lower classes, became bloated with students who faced scant job prospects upon graduation. Knowing that a state education would bring professional and financial stability, parents were often desperate to enroll their sons in the state system. Few families, however, had the money to do so. In a letter that Muhammad Abduh wrote to the travel writer

and journalist Amédée Baillet de Guerville, he depicted the desperation of such poor families.

*It is pitiful to see, each year, the spectacle of fathers and mothers of families bringing their little boys to the Ministry of Education asking as a favor that they may be accepted for free, invoking their poverty . . . but obliged ultimately to return to their house or to their village deceived, disheartened, disconcerted, not knowing what to do with these little children from whom they had dreamed so many things.*³¹⁹

The alienation of the religious establishment from the state was thereby intensified by the sobering class-based realities of the parallel systems.

With time then, what started out as simply two tracts for education (i.e. two distinct styles of social discipline via schooling) hardened into a rigid institutional bifurcation that had weighty political consequences for the future of state consolidation. The height of these tensions culminated in the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1920s, “a movement largely representing the interests of the more traditionally educated, and aimed at restoration of the group's status and power.”³²⁰ Indeed, the self-proclaimed mission of the Brotherhood, “the education of souls”, signified that the government's exclusionary strategies of disciplinary reform had inadvertently opened-up a political space for opposition to its policies in the name of religion.³²¹ The British “Indianization” of Egyptian education policy did not, therefore, prevent the “manufacturing demagogues” that Cromer so feared. Instead, it manufactured demagogues of a different variety by creating unbridgeable tensions between those educated by the state and those relegated to the religious establishment.

All of these observations are further corroborated by the fact that, as Egypt came into its

independence in the 20th century, the country's policymakers and leaders began to openly lament how the “dual education system” of the 19th century had complicated the nation building project. For example, the famous reformer Taha Husayn dedicated the majority of his 1938 book *Mustaqbal al-thaqafa fi Misr (The Future of Culture in Egypt)* to a critique of the country's disparate educational tracts and the need to unify them so as to teach the young “to love the Egyptian nation.”³²² Similarly an official publication from the Egyptian Ministry of Education released in 1960 bemoaned how the system of “dual education” had “led to the creation of two distinct classes with different culture, trends and tendencies, each of which hardly believed in the other or had any serious understanding of it.”³²³

The administrators of al-Azhar responded to this exclusion from the state by tightening their grip on their own employees and students. In 1911 the High Council of al-Azhar drafted employment rules explicitly banning the workers of al-Azhar from simultaneously holding positions in the state system. According to the 1911 internal law:

*The professors and employees are absolutely forbidden to pursue any profession outside their own profession. They are not permitted to engage in teaching outside the institution, nor accept any such employment, except by special permission from the Administrative Council. The Administrative Council shall not give this permission except in a case of extreme necessity...*³²⁴

Chris Eccel's research into the al-Azhar High Council Proceedings shows that these rules were upheld in a fairly strict manner. Although it was rare for Azharis to find employment in the state system for all of the reasons mentioned above, when a few did manage to gain positions as inspectors or teachers, they were often required to forfeit their post and/or a substantial portion of their salary at al-Azhar.³²⁵ Here readers will recall that this stands in striking contrast with late

Ottoman realities, where many ulema members simultaneously held positions in the religious establishment and the state system with little problem.

In an attempt to further delineate Azhari professional territory, the same 1911 law also clearly stipulated which jobs the ulema could rightfully hold: a primary degree from al-Azhar allowed for teaching in the Koran schools attached to al-Azhar or in the provincial *katatib*; a secondary degree allowed for clerical appointments in the shari'a courts, at al-Azhar, and in the Department of Awqaf as well as mosque employment; the highest *Alimiya* degree allowed for all of the above plus a career as a lawyer or judge in the sharia courts and or as a professor at al-Azhar itself.³²⁶ Despite the claim to exclusive professional privilege in these realms, the reality was that in the legal domain too, the ulema were being displaced as a result of European presence and policies. This is the subject of the next, and final, section.

VII. Legal Reform and the Shrinking Jurisdiction of the Shari'a Courts

Significant developments in the realm of legal reform also took root during Ismail's reign and were thus colored by the presence and actions of European powers competing for markets and influence. The first groundbreaking change was the introduction of the centralized Mixed Courts system, which was established in 1875-6 and assumed jurisdiction in all civil and commercial cases that involved a foreigner. Previously, under the terms of the Capitulations, a dozen or so individual consular courts had rendered judgments in such cases based on their own national legal codes. Under this system, disputes between a foreigner and an Egyptian had to be settled either through diplomatic channels or in a consular court, which rarely granted judgments in favor of Egyptian parties. As foreign debt to Europeans skyrocketed, the number of disputes

of this type rose exponentially, motivating a complex coalition of Egyptians and foreigners to argue in favor of a more unified court system. Ismail agreed to the creation of the Mixed Courts because they would ostensibly allow him to protect the country's financial interests without alienating those foreign bondholders who could bring out the country's complete fiscal collapse. Foreign powers supported the Mixed Courts in part because Ismail agreed to adopt the French *parquet* system, which would be headed by a foreigner and staffed by both foreigners and Europeans.³²⁷

For our purposes here, the relevance of the introduction of the Mixed Courts system was that it created a powerful and centralized disciplinary institution that was primarily staffed by Europeans and had no interaction with the shari'a courts system. The Mixed Courts had adopted French legal codes and the heads of al-Azhar had shunned the idea of teaching any foreign legal subjects as part of its curriculum, meaning that graduates from the madrasa had no place in this new legal framework. As Mark Hoyle has argued, “the first years of the Mixed Courts were a time of judges, mostly newly arrived in Egypt, feeling their way through the new codes and disputes.”³²⁸ Two-thirds of all judges appointed to these courts were foreigners.³²⁹ Furthermore, judges were appointed for life, leaving no room for Azhari incorporation later down the line (the Mixed Courts were not closed until 1937). Soon, a Mixed Bar Association was set up as a professional organization and eventually came to regulate lawyers operating in the Mixed Courts. At the Association's founding in 1876 and at its first election in 1877, not a single Arabic name can be found on the list of the 79 lawyers present.³³⁰ Despite their limited jurisdiction, the Mixed Courts also began to perform the function of registering and issuing land deeds and titles—even when no foreign party was involved—thereby gradually stripping the shari'a courts of

one of its traditional duties.³³¹

More importantly the Mixed Court's, just by virtue of their existence and the foreign expertise that they attracted (some of dubious quality), greatly influenced the subsequent development of the Egyptian National Courts system. The idea for the creation of a centralized system of National Courts emerged in 1880, when several proposals were put forth to extend the jurisdiction of the Mixed Courts to include all disputes between Egyptian parties. The British, who agreed for the need of a centralized national system in principle, feared that simply extending the Mixed Courts to include inter-Egyptian disputes would allow the French to gain even greater influence in the country. For their part, many Egyptian leaders feared that an expansion of the Mixed Courts would just increase foreign domination. As a counter proposal to the idea of extending the Mixed Courts, Muhammad Qadri Pasha (minister of Justice under Tawfiq, Ismail's successor) advocated basing the civil law in the National Courts entirely on Islamic law. To this end, he personally prepared a codification of Hanafi law entitled *Murshid al-hayran* for eventual application in the new system.³³²

With the British occupation in 1882, the new Minister of Justice, Husayn Fakhri Pasha, quickly dismissed Muhammad Qadri Pasha's proposal, arguing that the codification was not sufficiently complete to merit the basis of a new legal system. Instead, he released an influential memorandum that eventually became the foundation for the new National Courts system. The new courts were to be directly modeled after, but structurally separate from, the Mixed Courts. The National Courts would adopt essentially the same legal code as the Mixed Courts, translating the French into Arabic. To the almost complete exclusion of religious legal scholars, the judges for the National Courts would be drawn from several pools, including Egyptians who

had studied law in Europe (primarily France), European residents familiar with the local laws and language, and foreign judges of the Mixed Courts.³³³

The British were not ecstatic about the French basis of the new court system, but habit and the availability of (French-influenced) personnel appears to have trumped other considerations. As Lord Cromer would later recall, although the necessity of relying on French practices was “regrettable”, it was the most efficient solution.

*French law and procedure had already taken root in Egypt. The codes administered by the Mixed Tribunals were French. All the young Egyptians who had received any legal training had been educated in France. It was, therefore, inevitable that the new Tribunals should be based on a French rather than on an English mode.*³³⁴

While it may have been efficient in the short term, basing the National Courts system on the French-inspired Mixed Courts was not free of repercussions.

For the religious establishment, the most significant of these repercussions was the constriction of the jurisdiction of the shari'a courts system. Fakhri considered the question of the shari'a courts specifically in his original 1882 memorandum, opting to greatly limit their sphere of influence. He justified this decision in the following terms.

*An additional question that merits consideration is the existence of the shari'a courts side by side with the national courts. . . . If this were to continue, keeping in mind the differences in the laws and procedures of the two systems, a great danger would result. . . . If one were entirely free to submit his case to the court he desired, then both systems would lose their respect and influence. . . . Thus, it is necessary to define the competence of both systems: to limit the jurisdiction of shari'a courts to personal status and to make the other cases, be they civil, commercial, or criminal, within the jurisdiction of the national courts.*³³⁵

Although this policy almost immediately limited the job opportunities of those ulema seeking a legal career, for the first decade of the National Courts' existence some Azharis did manage to get a foothold in the system as lawyers. In 1893, however, a law was passed making a secular law degree from a state or foreign school a prerequisite to advocacy in the National Courts system, guaranteeing that, like in the field of education, in law too there would be little cross over between the parallel sets of religious and state institutions.³³⁶ Adding insult to injury, judges and lawyers in the National Courts earned much higher salaries than did those working in the shari'a system.³³⁷ In response to these affronts, the kadis of the shari'a courts reluctantly reorganized themselves solely around matters of personal status. Yet, unlike in late Ottoman Turkey where the number of centers for shari'a law decreased drastically in the years before independence as kadis joined the state system, I have found no evidence to suggest that the actual number of shari'a courts was reduced in Egypt —only their scope of jurisdiction was diminished.

As Crecelius illuminates, the religious establishment's objections to the legal reforms in the second half of the 19th century were largely based on economic and professional concerns. For, “by changing the basis of legal interpretation, the state was depriving ulama [sic], who remained unfamiliar with the principle of modern legal interpretation, of one of the few remaining means for entrance into the state bureaucracy.”³³⁸ In the face of shrinking job prospects Azhari students did organize to demand equal opportunity and chances for upward mobility. In the 1920s, a group calling themselves the Committee of Azhar Students published a memo outlining a long list of demands. Most of the group's complaints centered around issues of professional status, including: 1) reorganizing all new state schools under al-Azhars authority; 2) equalizing al-Azhar degrees with those granted by government schools; 3) ending employment

discrimination against Azhari graduates; 4) equalizing Azhari and state pay-scales; and 5) requiring religious courses in state schools that can only be taught by Azharis.³³⁹ Such concerns were amplified as enrollment figures at al-Azhar continued to climb in the 1930s and 1940s (see Table IX), but little was done to meet these demands. As one Azhari professor foreboded in 1945, “we are graduating in a single generation an army of unemployed that will be a source of unrest first of all in the Azhar, and elsewhere; indeed a source of unrest for themselves and everyone else.”³⁴⁰

VIII. Conclusions

To summarize, although the political programs of Nasser and Ataturk exhibited remarkable similarities, the institutional inheritances that they were working with could not have been more disparate. In Turkey, religious institutions had been weakened and dispersed over the course of the 19th century as religious elites were gradually absorbed into the state system as teachers, judges, bureaucrats and politicians through strategies of piecemeal coöptation. A very large number of ulema members in Turkey tacitly supported the states' expanding disciplinary role because the process by which it occurred afforded them with stable professional opportunities. Although largely unintentional and driven by a lack of manpower, strategies of reform based on the coöptation of religious actors created powerful religion-state synergies. These synergies augmented the state's moral authority and paved the way for comprehensive state sovereignty over schooling, law and religious regulation in Republican Turkey.

Had disciplinary reforms in Egypt continued along in the same pattern of gradual coöptation as initiated by Muhammad Ali in the early 1900s, the paths of Egypt and Turkey may

not have diverged so markedly. The increasing manpower supplies and expertise that flooded the country from the mid-19th century onward, however, meant that reform endeavors based on coöptation gave way to attempts at change by conversion and the creation of parallel systems. The effects of creating isolated, parallel systems of education and law were especially harmful for the state over the long term. The existence of parallel systems excluded religious elites from the disciplinary reform process, causing religious and state structures to bifurcate and develop into somewhat hostile, and even competing, systems. The religious establishment centered around al-Azhar and the madrasas remained relatively strong in terms of sheer numbers, as its ranks were not depleted via the piecemeal integration of shaykhs into the state system. Indeed, foreigners and Europeanized Egyptians had monopolized key government positions in education and law, greatly constricting pathways for the upward mobility of individual members of the ulema. Ostracized from the state and confronted with increasingly dismal career prospects, religious elites came to view the state's expanding disciplinary role and claims to sovereignty with suspicion and enmity. Nasser was thus dealing with a large, angry and well-entrenched religious establishment, which made sudden coöptation and strategies of secularization by decree impossible to actualize. The ulema's virtually complete disappearance from public politics in early republican period in Modern Turkey was thus not to be repeated in Egypt.

Table VIII: Mosque Control In Egypt³⁴¹

Year	No. Government Controlled Mosques	No. Private Mosques	% of Total Mosques that are Government Controlled
1954	2000	14000	13.00%
1962	3006	14212	17.50%
1975	5163	33575	13.30%
1982	6071	26622	18.60%

Table IX: Enrollment at *al-Azhar*³⁴²

Year	Number of Students
1800-1830	~1500-3000
1846	7500
1855	5940
1867	4712
1875	11095
1893	8259
1901	11388
1917	15335
1927	11797
1941	13825
1951	18959
1954	25700

Chapter 5

Building the Disciplinary State in Greece

The divergent paths that characterized the Turkish and Egyptian reform of disciplinary institutions had important consequences for the state's ability to enact secular decrees upon independence. Turkey is, however, often considered to be a unique case; especially in the greater Middle East. Is it? In this chapter I argue that to better identify and verify the generalizable mechanisms behind Turkish strategies of state-building the best comparison lies not to the East but to the West. Greece—although different from Turkey in almost every respect—was confronted with major manpower and moral authority shortages at a formative stage in the state-building process. As a result, Greek reformers used the piecemeal coöptation of religious elites to help expand schooling and legal institutions. Identifying a common source and trajectory for reform strategies in two such dissimilar cases confirms that the mechanisms discovered in the Turkish can indeed operate elsewhere.

For anyone even remotely familiar with Greek history and/or Hellenic nationalism, it is no shock that the Orthodox Church played a formative role in the creation of modern Greece. In fact, the founding myth history of Greek nationalism and independence revolves around the role of the Orthodox Church as both the protector of an oppressed Greek identity during the period of Ottoman rule and the ultimate champion of the modern Greek State. According to this narrative, the Church is viewed as one of the pioneers of Greek independence—a unified force that blessed the anti-Ottoman insurgents and provided unwavering support for the creation of an autonomous Greek State.³⁴³

The image of a natural, holy, and unconditional union between the Greek Orthodox

Church and the Greek State is largely fabricated. Whereas some prelates and church functionaries played a key role in the independence struggle and the forging of an independent Greece, numerous others were hardly enthusiastic nationalist rebels. Many religious elites came on board the Greek national project grudgingly—if at all—lured by the promise that their social position would be as well (or even better) protected in the new Greece as it was under the millet system of Ottoman tutelage. The narrative of a natural and essential connection between Greek nationhood and the Church emerged only as the byproduct of strategic interaction between elites and the resultant institutional compromises regarding legal and educational reform.

This chapter documents the close parallels between Turkish and Greek state-building. Starting with the rise of Greek reformers, I discuss the shortages that they faced in terms of military might, manpower and moral authority. Next, I explore the tumultuous period of church-state relations during the era of revolution and provisional-governments from 1821 to 1832 when the church began to be weakened as a result of both coöptation and international factors. The third section investigates Greece under the Bavarian Regency of King Otto, which sealed the Church's fate as an “independent” entity, but an entity subordinate to the young Greek state. To conclude I consider how the normalization of relations between the Greek Church and the Istanbul Patriarchate helped to propel another half a century of gradual state expansion up until the Ottoman Empire's collapse.

I. Greek Reformers

Just like the Young Turk reformers who were spreading their message from expat hubs in Europe, the seeds of reform and revolutionary sentiment among Greek-speakers also germinated

within the diaspora communities scattered around the periphery of the Empire. At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, an influential Greek-speaking mercantile class based out of locations including Paris, Pisa, Trieste, Venice, Vienna, Budapest, Bucharest, Jassy and Odessa mobilized to support enlightenment through modernized schooling practices and publishing initiatives.³⁴⁴ The nebulous group became involved in founding and sustaining a small number of schools that preached political classicism and new styles of learning. These activities eventually culminated in the founding of the *Philiki Etaireia* [Friendly Society] in 1814, a revolutionary movement deeply influenced by Jacobin-style politics.

The *Philiki Etaireia's* predicament resembled that of the CUP in Turkey in a number of important ways. For one, the *Philiki Etaireia* originated as an elitist secret-society, not as a populist movement. Woodhouse remarks that “a conspiratorial society must have distinctive characteristics: at least a clandestine character and membership, a system of initiation, a secret oath of loyalty, a cellular organization, and the use of code names and ciphers . . . The *Philiki Hetairia* had all of them.”³⁴⁵ In the first two years of the Society's existence (from 1814-1816) it failed to gather a decent following, enrolling only about 30 members, the majority of which came from the Greek merchant class in Russia. Only after devising a system to put 12 so-called “apostles” in charge of recruitment did the organization expand in earnest.³⁴⁶

Growing the Society was made all the more difficult by the fact that the organization was extremely short on infrastructure and manpower. Although Russians covertly backed the Society's venture, the majority of funds they offered-up were only to be released once Greek independence was actually achieved. Furthermore, whether or not the Greek lands were ready

for revolution, independence and statehood remained highly debatable. Nothing even close to resembling a centralized state existed at the time. There was no centralized army so to speak, as the military class was divided into localized and unruly warring factions (kleftes, the *armatoli*, and the *kapi*) who were more like bandits than soldiers. General Alexandros Ipsilantis, who became the head of the Friendly Society and the spearhead of the actual rebellion had at his disposal fewer than 4,500 men, 4 cannons and a few cavalry.³⁴⁷ There was no centralized system of national courts, military or otherwise; just ad-hoc committees to adjudicate cases.³⁴⁸ As Garry Bass has shown, without the largess of idealistic European philhellenists and wealthy London bankers, the revolution may have never even gotten off the ground. The revolutionaries could barely sustain Greek independence, let alone conjure the resources needed to launch a program of universal primary education.³⁴⁹

At the time, a smattering of “Greek” schools were scattered throughout the Empire, in places like Patmos, Smyrna, Mount Athos, Mesolonghi, Dimitiana, Ayvalik, Milies, and Chios.³⁵⁰ Some of these institutions, such as Mount Athos, were primarily theological and firmly under the direct control of the religious establishment. Other schools began exploring ‘progressive’ subjects, including the classics, maths and sciences. Research into the biographies of the early Greek teachers shows that even this second class of schools was overwhelmingly staffed by men with religious backgrounds and trainings.³⁵¹ Access to general education was scant at best and there were few men trained to teach. In 1823 Colonel Leicester Stanhope submitted a “Report on the State of Greece” in which he observed that “there is a great want of educated men in Greece. This is felt in the representative body the administration of justice, in the prefectures, in the army and navy—in short, in every department of the state.”³⁵²

The early Greek reformers and Friendly Society, like the CUP, endeavored to make up for what it lacked in materialist terms through the extensive use of religious symbols and imagery in its propaganda and other published materials. Jacobin politics aside, the organization needed religious moral authority to further its political objectives. Initiation into the group was thus conducted by a priest and printed literature made explicit appeals to the messianic beliefs popular among the Greek-speaking masses.³⁵³ Effi Gazi is therefore correct in her observation that the principles of the Society marked a “relocation of Enlightenment ideas in religious and ecclesiastical contexts.”³⁵⁴

The writings of Adamantios Korais, a major figure in the Greek Enlightenment who dedicated substantial energy to the promotion of education through the classics, provide an excellent window into the way that Greek reformers were careful to make their work appealing to the religious establishment (and the religious populous). One of Korais' most classic works includes his story of “Papa Trechas”, which served as the preface to his translations of the *Iliad*. This story is worth exploring in some detail, for it perfectly depicts the type of fusion—both symbolic and infrastructural—that Greek reformers were seeking from the Church.

The lengthy story takes place in a small village on the Island of Chios and depicts the life of a middle-aged, misguided priest “Papa Trechas.” Early into the story, Papa Trechas is introduced to and begins studying the *Iliad*, eventually coming to the realization that only education can save his village from ignorance, poverty, and tyranny. This realization helps turn his life around and transforms him into a savior of the people and the nation. Papa Trechas works diligently to transmit knowledge about the value schooling, urging his follower to dedicate

themselves to both the Orthodox Church and methods of modern education. One day, after collecting alms at his local church Papa Trechas tells his followers:

God does not reside in stones and timber but in the souls of good Christians . . . The greater number of you do not know how to read and write: we shall perform an action incomparably more pleasing to God if we put out to interest the money that we have collected, so that a teacher of reading and writing can be paid out of it annually. . .

After describing this incident, the narrator implores the reader, “What do you say to this my friend? Does the humble priest of Bolissos [Papa Trechas] appear to you more sensible and more pious than the emperor Justinian, who cut down the pay of the school master to build splendid churches?” The remainder of the story is packed with lavish praise for Papa Trechas' and his good deeds. The morals to be drawn from the tale are obvious: priests and men of faith should join in the mission to modernize society by serving as the apostles for the spread of modern education. In the words of the author himself: “Only education can cure the diseased minds of the masses. In this matter, the members of the clergy are the best doctors.”³⁵⁵

For its own part, the real Orthodox religious establishment, much like the late Ottoman ulema, became deeply divided in reaction to the appearance of reformers advocating for revolutionary sentiments and new-styled institutions of learning. Research on the *Philiki Etaireia's* membership lists reveals that nearly ten-percent of the organization were members of the clergy, including 9 metropolitans, 8 bishops, 10 archimandrites, 9 archdeacons, 12 monks, 7 abbots, and 30 priests.³⁵⁶ The metropolitan Germanos of Old Patras, for example, emerged a pioneering leader, directing the revolt in Patras and bringing many of the clergy in the Peloponnese region over to the revolutionary cause.³⁵⁷ The aforementioned report by Colonel

Leicester Stanhope, documented that priests greatly aided the revolutionary cause. According to Stanhope, “They traversed the country and enlisted their votaries in the honorable plot; they fought in the ranks of the noble insurgents.”³⁵⁸

The initiative’s of Greek reformers and the *Philiki Etaireia*, however, also elicited a strong negative reaction from other parts of the Orthodox church hierarchy. In 1798, Athanasio Paros published his *Khristianiki Apologia*, a text that he said was supposed to be a “preventative medicine for all those who, by the mercy of god, had not yet drunk of the Voltairean poison.”³⁵⁹ Similarly, in 1817, Mikahil Perdikaris lambasted the reformers for their sacrilegious practice of adopting ancient Greek, as opposed to traditional Christian, names. Perdikaris complained that reformers took “no pleasure in the surnames of their family, and take the name of some ancient, or philosopher hero . . . So that one calls himself Empedocles and Thrasyboulos, one calls himself Ass, another Blockhead.” Perdikaris went on to point fingers and name names, specifically criticizing the “impious and abominable Kyritsis in Ioannina” whom he accused of having an agenda to “preach openly atheism and impiety” as well as “mock the divine and supernatural mysteries of our church”.³⁶⁰

In Istanbul, the Church organized heresy trials, book burning and general protests against the increasing emphasis on natural sciences and classical heritage.³⁶¹ In an encyclical of 1819, the Ecumenical Patriarch and Holy Synod clearly signaled their distrust of modernizing school reforms:

What benefit does our youth derive from learning numbers and algebra, cubes and cube roots, triangles and tetragons, logarithms, calculus, ellipses, atoms, vacuums, vortices, power and attraction, gravity, the northern lights, optical and

*acoustic matters and a myriad such things . . . if their writing are full of solecism, if they have no idea of religion, if their moral values are degenerate, if their forms of government are injurious.*³⁶²

As revolutionary ideas gave way to revolutionary bloodshed in the 1820s, the Orthodox religious establishment began to slip into a self-undermining trajectory as some priests were coopted into the ranks of the reformers and 'progressive' teachers while others opted for resistance.

II. Revolution, Provisional-Governments and Continued Religious Coöptation

The decade that followed was characterized by the continued coöptation of religious leaders for the national cause as well as infighting and general disarray within the Church's ranks. At the first Greek national assembly in Epidaurus in December 1821 the new Greek government was eager to establish its religious credentials. The very first article of the new constitution established the Orthodox Church as the official state religion. A Ministry of Religious Affairs was formed under the direction of Bishop Joseph of Androusa in 1822.³⁶³ But relations with the Patriarchate in Istanbul were headed full throttle down a collision course. Upon receiving news of the uprising, Patriarch Grigorios V and 21 other prelates released an encyclical condemning the Greek national cause and excommunicating those who supported it.³⁶⁴ Unfortunately for Grigorios, this show of loyalty did not satisfy Ottoman officials, who executed him soon there after. The crisis gave rise to a wave of violent reprisals against Orthodox religious sights throughout the Empire, depleting the churches ranks and causing many clergy members to flee to the new Greece.

Intra-church relations were quickly approaching their nadir. Joseph of Androusa struggled to put ecclesiastical affairs in order from his Ministry of Religious Affairs but without

guidance from Constantinople, whose leadership had been decapitated and whose ranks had now been thrown into complete confusion, he faced an uphill battle. As Charles Frazee correctly points out, the Greek National Assembly, not the actual Church, had selected Androusa for the post. Androusa therefore had difficulty implementing some of the new regulations set out in the first constitution. For example, the new law that no bishops were to be consecrated without government approval proved particularly tricky to enforce. Episcopal appointments and transfers were nearly impossible to organize.³⁶⁵

Furthermore, the scope of Androusa's jurisdiction was ambiguous, in large part because the succession of provisional governments and national assemblies (up until the arrival of Kapodistrias in 1828) were unclear on exactly what role religion would play in the new Greek state. Initially, Androusa served not just as the head of the Ministry for Religious Affairs but also as the head of the Ministry of Justice. Jacques Visvzizis has called Androusa's dual role a "coincidence", though there is little doubt that Androusa's appointments had more to do with winning religious moral authority and the lack of other qualified candidates than pure happenstance.³⁶⁶ Such concessions to religion and religious sensibilities were commonplace at the time. The first constitution of 1822, the second national Constitution of Astros in 1824 and the third national Constitution of Troezena (1927) all made reference to the use of Byzantine and Christian law until a uniform civil code could be introduced.³⁶⁷ As a result, the delineation between the jurisdiction of the "religious" legal authority of the Church and the "civil" legal of the authority of the state was blurred. For years the two systems were fundamentally intertwined.

The synergies between religion and the courts produced a fair number of disputes during the period of provisional governments which are well documented by Jacques Visvizi. On the one hand, in 1824 Ioannis Theotokes was appointed as the new Minister of Justice, now separate from the Ministry of Religion (which was still in the hands of Androusa). Theotokes attempted to centralize legal jurisdiction, tasking the Ministry of Religion with telling bishops and priests to direct all non-religious disputes to the nascent system of official 'state' courts. However since state courts were very few and far between, religious elites had to take it upon themselves to use or convene courts of their own. Religious involvement in legal issues was so common at the time that the Greek Executive Administration formally came out with explicit approval of the Church's legal role. The Administration explicitly told members of the Church to continue to convene courts and appoint temporary commissions of judges from the Church until the regular courts could be established.

Even in places where regular state courts were founded, heavy use still had to be made of the clergy. Religious officials were routinely employed to decide cases that lacked witnesses, to write petitions and appeals, and to issue the threat of an ecclesiastical penance to law breakers. The religious establishment's involvement in judicial matters was a major source of frustration for Theotokes, as documented by the terse correspondence between the Ministries of Religion and Justice in this period over the issue of legitimate jurisdiction. Religious involvement, however, was also largely unavoidable given the scarce resources of the state and the traditional expertise of the Church.³⁶⁸ No doubt these controversies arose in part because the Ministry of Religion was being used to help support the expansion of a legal system that eventually would supplant religious authority altogether—though this was far from clear at the time.

Similar types of overlap between religion and state also became increasingly apparent in the field of education. On the 5th of July 1823 Theokletos Pharmakides, a devoted member of the clergy was put at the head of the new states' education initiatives (*Eforos for the education and moral upbringing of children*). Pharmakides was a vociferous advocate of breaking with the Patriarchate in Istanbul and establishing an independent Greek church to support education and the national cause. A lack of resources and teachers, however, led Pharmakides to argue that “the times were not right” for the development of a full blown system of education. He felt that the Church first needed to be put in order. He left the post in a matter of months.³⁶⁹

The second Eforos for Education, Gregorios Konstantas, also a clergy member, was similarly discouraged by the lack of man-power and resources. Nonetheless, instead of giving up he at least made an effort to tour existing education institutions and to enlist the support and assistance of some of his colleagues.³⁷⁰ Simultaneously, on 19 May 1824 the Legislative body appointed a Special Committee on Education to look into the issue of existing resources. The President of the Committee was Anthimos Gazis, a learned clergy member. Among the other 4 deputies, one was a former monk.³⁷¹ The Committees' final report appears to have been bleak. In a summary of the report, Nikolaos Dragoumēs writes that the state would definitely have to limit its educational endeavors to only starting basic schools that focused on reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. The best approach for the development of these schools, he wrote, had to be “both inexpensive for the state and free for students.”³⁷²

Dragoumis' summary seems well informed. Data on enrollment in the Ionian Academy from 1824-1825 (probably then the only existing higher-level school for the study of language,

law and medicine) shows that there were only 74 students and that nearly all were either from the clergy or had previously studied with Greek teachers from abroad.³⁷³ Even some Philhellens from London, who aimed to materially support the Greek movement for independence, were frustrated by conditions on the ground. In 1827 the *Quarterly Review* criticized the London Greek Committee in the following manner:

*[P]rinting presses for a nation that cannot read! Constitutions for a country, the purest patriots of which are klephtai, ie robbers! Mathematical instruments for a people who do not know one cipher from another! And whirligig schools for a youth who have hardly a village in which they can rest for a moment without the expectation of having the scymitar at their throats.*³⁷⁴

Confronting difficult circumstances, Greek education reformers opted to draw the religious establishment closer and closer as the years passed.

Given the fact that relations between clergy in the new Greece and church officials in Istanbul were becoming increasingly hostile, those affiliated with the Ministry of Religious Affairs seem to have been happy to do their part to help the cause of national education. A document from the Ministry dated 10 July 1825 says that the Ministry recognized “as one of its duties the enlightenment of youth . . . on a panhellenic basis.”³⁷⁵ Also, Euangelidēs finds documentary evidence that the Ministry of Religion was actively involved in issuing state teaching certificates in 1825.³⁷⁶

By the time Ioannis Kapodistria came to take control as the first head of state in a newly liberated Greece in 1828, there was little if any question of how the state intended to fund the much needed expansion of its primary education and legal system: the only way it could, through the resources of the religious establishment. Soon after assuming power, Kapodistria received a

notice from the Minister of Finance on January 1828 detailing the dire situation of the new Greek state. The report stated that “From the moment when the [provisional] government was installed, there was no direct revenue, even the smallest.”³⁷⁷ Johnathan Miller, a foreign observer of conditions in Greece commented on his visit from 1827-8 by saying that Kapodistria “brought with him no troops, and only \$60,000 in money. If this indeed is all the resources he has to depend upon, I greatly fear the result of his attempt to establish order in Greece.”³⁷⁸ Using the Church was the only solution.

To this effect, on 18 January 1828 *Genikē Ephēmeris* published a version of the new educational plan that Kapodistria's government had submitted to the Legislature. The plan documented that the government had identified two sources of funding for schools that were deemed “appropriate to the present circumstances.” First “half of the revenue of the local monasteries” would be assigned to schools. Second, a tax on the sale of national resources would be levied.³⁷⁹ In 1829 education and religion were both placed under the direction of the same state directorate, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction. That same year, three committees were created to better coordinate the ecclesiastical hierarchy and systematize education. The first committee was tasked with editing prayer books and catechism; the second was charged with the preparation of grammar materials; the third was to study existing primary school textbooks.³⁸⁰

With respect to the legal realm, Kapodistria sought to rely, at least for the time being, on the informal (and primarily religious) system of courts that was already in existence at the local level. He rejected outright the idea of adopting a foreign legal code; but he also rejected the idea

of immediately codifying existing law and custom. Instead, he established a commission “to prepare a modern Greek code, embodying such existing elements as could be assimilated without difficulty.”³⁸¹ The first courts of first instance started functioning around 1829 after the government's publication of Ordinance no 8268 on the “Organization of the Courts.” The content of the law and the question of who could adjudicate were not entirely clear.³⁸² There were still proposals circulating between the ministries that suggested the use of mixed tribunals of lay judges and priests for certain types of cases.

Interestingly, as the relationship between church and state deepened, the Greek government's attitudes toward foreigners—and especially foreign meddling in education, began to sour. Distrust of foreigners had a long pedigree in Greece. For example, as early as 1806 the anomalously published *Elliniki Nomarkhia* warned that “To rely on foreign assistance in securing her liberation Greece would only be substituting one form of alien domination for another.”³⁸³ Given the circumstances, however, even the most patriotic revolutionaries sought out money in the form of loans from foreign governments. That said, just because they sought foreign financing did not mean that they welcomed foreign influence. In his reflections on visiting Greece in 1823-44, G. Waddington observed that “the only key to their [Greek] affection is the loan. They ask neither for our counsels, nor our hospitals, nor our officers, nor our Lancasterian schools.”³⁸⁴

By the late 1820s and early 1830s the mounting hostility to foreign educators began making missionaries and other foreign groups visibly uncomfortable. On 18 April 1828 *Genikē Ephēmeris* ran a piece decrying foreign schools and instruction in languages other than Greek. It

is an “unforgivable sin”, opined the writer,

*. . .if we entrust our ten and fifteen year-old youths—who do not even know their mother tongue, who have not been morally formed, and who have not been initiated, as they should, into the dogmas of our holly religion—to foreigners who teach them foreign languages.*³⁸⁵

In 1830, the *Missionary Herald*, which reported the proceedings of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, warned of the overwhelming presence of religious text books for primary schools as well as what it saw as the increasingly troublesome relationship between religion and state. The *Herald* reported that if

*. . .ignorance and superstition, of which is confessedly much in Greece, are allowed to in for a full share of influence in the settlement of church and state, who can tell what may not occur to retard the process of improvement for half a century to come.*³⁸⁶

The following year, in 1831, the same publican reported the missionaries were actually being pushed out of their own schools by representatives of the Greek Church. Priests were apparently visiting all foreign schools to install Orthodox religious icons, sometimes forcing foreign teachers to allow them to completely takeover religious instruction.³⁸⁷

Kapodistria, for his part, was meanwhile struggling to maintain positive relations with the representatives of the Orthodox Church. As Woodhouse has argued, “[s]ince many schools were based monasteries or otherwise financed by the Orthodox hierarchy, it was important to him [Kapodistria] that relations be good.”³⁸⁸ Kapodistria's assassination in 1831 cut these efforts short, but the general centralizing trends and strategies of reform based on the coöptation of religion lived on. According to Dakin, “the administrative system of the Kapodistrian period survived into the period of the Bavarian regency and throughout the remainder of the nineteenth

century. The same is substantially true of the ecclesiastical system, the legal code, taxation, and education.”³⁸⁹

III. The Regency Period: Greece's Secular Moment

By the time of Kapodistria's death, although officially still one, the church had for all effective purposes ruptured. In 1833, with the advent of the King Otto and the Bavarian Regency in Greece, the Church found itself in a vulnerable position that was strikingly similar to the one that the Ottoman ulema would come to occupy nearly a century later. All the tumult of the last two decades left the Church ill prepared for the radical “secularizing” reforms that lay ahead. On July 15 an independent Synod of prelates was convened and within hours this group had voted to officially cut-off relations with Istanbul and declare its autocephalous status through a formal “Declaration of Independence of the Greek Church.” The schism was now complete. The synod's declaration paved the way for a new ecclesiastical constitution that placed the Greek Church fully under the thumb of the King. The independent Greek Church was officially demoted to the status of a state ministry.³⁹⁰ There was little question of where ultimate sovereignty lay; it was with the state.

The Greek state wasted little time before appropriating Church resources and diverting them to the cause of state-sponsored primary education. A committee of three clergymen, including Spyrido Trikoupis and Theoklitos Farmakidis, and three laymen charged with surveying the Church and monastic properties was quickly assembled. Within a matter of months, Church assets and monastic properties were confiscated by the state and reallocated to the Ministry of Education. The monastic establishment was large and valuable. There was one

monastery for approximately every 1,500 people in the new state and monastic revenues were estimated to put over 2 million drachmas in state coffers.³⁹¹ For the bankrupt Greek state these were major gains. Although this new source of revenue was alone not sufficient to immediately institute high-quality universal primary education, it did help the state make significant progress. As in modern Turkey then, the resources of the religious establishment were used to form the backbone of the state's new education apparatus in Greece.

George von Maurer, a member of the Bavarian Regency, was the primary architect of the both the new Church Constitution and the many changes that followed. In his memoirs/reports von Maurer claims to have consulted with the clergy to come up with an arrangement that was favorable to most, if not all, church officials. This assertion is highly questionable.³⁹² Regardless, von Maurer's influence also extended into the legal realm. Over the course of his 18-month term in Greece he published the Penal Code, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Organization of the Courts. Based on a reading of Maurer's *On the Greek People*, which he published in 1835 and contains a detailed description of his strategies and policies, it becomes evident that the Regency too coopted religious institutions and structures into the new Greek legal system in ways that ultimately undermined Church authority. Despite the fact von Maurer's Regency was a foreign one, the type of parallel institutional structures that came to dominate the Egyptian landscape are nowhere to be seen.

In preparation for implementing his legal program, Maurer seems to have carefully researched (to the best of his ability) the nuances of traditional Greek law and how it was being practiced at the time. Unlike colonizers in Egypt, who kept their distance from religious affairs

and institutions, Maurer directly engaged the religious establishment on legal issues. First, he commissioned local reports by various native informants who could write in French and Italian. Three such reports are published in the *On the Greek People*: one general report for all of Greece; and two more specific reports, one from Chios and one that combines information on Tinos, Syros and other Aegean Islands.³⁹³ Second, Von Maurer orchestrated a massive and detailed survey with the Greek Minister of Justice Klonaris to systematically learn more about the “types of law that had been in application up until now” across all of Greece. The actual questionnaire for the survey was exceedingly detailed, thorough, and regionally specific with a heavy focus on the traditional practice of family law and the role of the Church.³⁹⁴

As a result of his research and conditions on the ground, von Maurer was privy to the fact that religious actors would have to be dealt with in the course of any legal reforms and that issues of family law and religious regulation would be particularly tricky. In many ways von Maurer came to serve as broker between the various competing interests in the new Greece, which included liberal and secular minded reformers, the clergy of the new Greece, and the Patriarchal hierarchy in Istanbul. Following the established Greek trend of coopting the Church to serve the state, Maurer's ultimate solution regarding legal issues also included synergies and fusions with religion that enabled church officials to maintain at least some symbolic influence, if not real authority in the new system. First, although the delineation of legal jurisdictions outlined in the “Declaration of Independence of the Greek Church” firmly put state sovereignty and civil law on top, it also admitted to the existence of issues that “mixed” religious and secular aspects. These mixed areas included things such as founding sites of worship, clerical education, and marriage.³⁹⁵ Second, the very foundations for Greek civil law were drawn from conservative aspects of

Byzantine law, which helped to preserve the symbolic status of the Church in family affairs. In the words of the American Consul in Greece in 1840, in both education and law, “[t]he Church had become the tool for designing men.”³⁹⁶

One question remains: Why did the prelates of the independent Greek synod collectively vote in favor of measures that would relegate their own authority and status on July 15 1833, thereby making their coöptation almost complete? The parallels with the late Ottoman ulema are also relevant here, for the rationale behind this conundrum can be traced to how the decisions of individual religious elites became focused on immediate individual well being and status maintenance once the church had become vulnerable through self-undermining cycles. When the July 1833 vote was made, 18 out of 56 archbishoprics and bishoprics were vacant and most came to be filled by refugee bishops and monks that had recently flooded into the Greek state seeking protection and opportunity.³⁹⁷ Given their poverty and refugee status, these religious leaders were hardly in a position to assert authority against the Greek state, especially in the absence of leadership from Constantinople. As Petropulos observes, the influx of refugee clergy and monks also undermined the religious establishment's authority via a different mechanism.

*Their [the refugees'] presence in Greece also undermined the independence of the autochthonous clerics, who recognized the necessity of courting favor with the secular authorities in order to avoid replacement by the refugee bishops. Separated by conflicting material interests and divergent sectional loyalties, the bishops could not speak or act as a united corporation.*³⁹⁸

What is more, the way that the Regency planned to refashion the diocesan structure of independent church under the Greek state meant that all bishops would retain an official post of some sort. By a decree of 20 November 1833, there would be only ten posts for bishops, one for

each of the *nome*. The remaining bishops were to each be assigned a provisional see, which allowed them to continue their works, albeit at a somewhat lower level. As the clergy died out, the provisional sees were not allowed to be replaced, thereby gradually decreasing the clergy's overall ranks.³⁹⁹

Acts of open rebellion against the Church's increasing subordination were not entirely absent, but they typically emanated from the lower ranks of the religious hierarchy (just like in late Ottoman Turkey). In several popular uprisings that took place in Mani, Pylos, and Argos monks took the opportunity to agitate against the formation of an autocephalous church and the state's appropriation of monastic resources. This type of protest continued into the 1840s and 1850s with monks like Christophoros Papoulakos inciting fervor against the so called "Protestantization" of the Orthodox Church.⁴⁰⁰ Kosmas Flamiatos, another firebrand Orthodox fanatic working from Patras, collaborated with Papoulakos and a handful of other Philorthodox conspirators to protest the spread of state-sponsored public education. The "official" and "independent" Church, now squarely aligned with the Greek state, promptly came out against such individuals so as to safeguard its own position, thereby legitimating the state's efforts to crack-down and arrest religious elites who challenged the status quo.

Koliopoulos and Veremis have observed that the protests of low-level radicals and mavericks actually undermined real opposition to the church-state fusion. "It was perhaps one of the main and lasting weaknesses of the old ecclesiastical order that opposition to the new order was channeled to and voiced by charlatans, and dissipated itself in inconsequential peasant unrest which as a rule alienated the educated Philorthodox thinkers."⁴⁰¹ As in late Ottoman Turkey then,

the split between low-level fanatics and mid/upper-level sympathizers with the state further prevented the religious establishment from regaining its lost sovereignty.

IV. Ecclesiastical Reunification and State Expansion: Coöptation beyond State Borders

The Church had been so weakened by the late 1840s that it was having a genuine difficulty training future clerics. The aforementioned decree issued on November 20 1833 ordering provisional sees not to be restaffed in the instance that a clergy member died had worked all too well. The Greek state was happy to see the power of the Church weaken but was not in a position to let it collapse entirely: the need for religious moral authority was too strong. The state was also going to need the help of the the Church, both in Athens and in Istanbul, to fulfill its nationalist goals of expanding north. As a result, the Greek government took no real efforts to block the reconciliation process that finally normalized relations between the Greek Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1850, a move that revitalized clerical ranks in Greece and the Church's status overall.

In the decades that followed, the Greek government continually reaped the rewards of religious moral authority and even used the resources of the Patriarchate to carry out its irredentist designs in places like Macedonia. Gradually, territories to the north came under the umbrella of the Church of Greece (as opposed to the Patriarchate in Istanbul). In 1866 the dioceses of the Ionian Island were made part of the Greek Orthodox Church. In May 1882 the dioceses of Thessaly, Arta and part of Jannina came under the authority of the Church of Greece. The state's expansion, like the process of piecemeal coöptation itself, was gradual. For example, control of the dioceses of Greek Epiros, Macedonia, and Thrace was not transferred from

Istanbul to the Greek Church until as late as 1928.⁴⁰²

During the second half of the 19th century the Greek irredentist movement worked through religious channels, relying on intelligence from the Patriarchate and cooperation from local bishops and churches. Not all bishops in the northern territories were enthusiastic supporters of the new Greek state and its expansionist policies. When confronted by recalcitrant elements, politicians in the new Greece would win-over some popular lower-level clergy members and attempt to have the problematic bishops replaced.⁴⁰³ By far the strongest weapon of Greek irredentists were the schools connected to the Patriarchate. Statistics from the Patriarchate from 1904 show that the diocese not yet under the control of the Church of Greece were home to hundreds of schools that could be exploited for the irredentist cause. In Jannina there were 184 schools, in Castoria there were 153, in Monastir there were 67, in Vodena there were 72, in Salonika there were 40, in Serres there were 61, in Drama there were 67, in Philippiopolis there were 45 schools and in Adrianopole there were 88 schools.⁴⁰⁴ Text books produced by the Greek state were distributed and in used at many of these schools.⁴⁰⁵

While using religious elites and institutions the Greek state was also extremely careful to prevent church (and especially Patriarchal) authority from ever encroaching on state sovereignty. The ultimate testament to this fact is that when the Ottoman Empire collapsed and the Patriarchate was looking for a new home, the Greek government preferred to have the heads of the Orthodox Church held forever hostage in a “captive” Istanbul than have them wielding real authority from the peaks of Mt. Athos in Greece proper. The hypocrisy was blatant. For decades now Greek leaders had defended the existence of the Ecumenical Patriarch in Istanbul,

arguing that removal of the Patriarch would cause a general crisis of confidence in the Orthodox world and would open the door for permanent Russian domination over the Eastern Orthodox Church.⁴⁰⁶ Greek elites had explicitly linked the legacy of the Patriarch's seat in Constantinople back to the city's "glorious past" as the capital of the Byzantine Empire, giving it a formidable symbolic place in the narrative of Greek national identity. In short, the Patriarch was one of the most heavily used religious symbols in Greek elites' repertoire.

For their part, late Ottoman elites wanted the Ecumenical Patriarch out of Istanbul. For certain, the Ottomans had good reason to question the political loyalties of then Patriarch, Meletios IV, who had served since 1921. Meletios had been thoroughly implicated in anti-Turkish activities during the Greek occupation. As a result, the nascent Turkish state made a considerable diplomatic efforts to see that the Greek Patriarch's headquarters be moved to the Holy Synod on Mount Athos in Halkidiki, a region located within Greek territory. Yet Turkish demands fell on deaf ears and international pressure eventually succeeded in convincing the Turks to agree to a compromise: the Greek state would force Meletios IV to abdicate his position and the Turks would allow for a new Patriarch, who would be stripped of all political and administrative authority, to exercise his spiritual prerogatives over the Greek Orthodox community.⁴⁰⁷

The compromise with the Turks over the fate of the Patriarchate was indicative of the Greek elite's general attitude towards religion. This last wave of Greek reformers, like those who came before, aimed to strip religious authorities of real political power while at the same time appropriating, leveraging and maintaining religious identity markers by linking them to the state

in such a way as to legitimate the state sovereignty. That this was the underlying objective of the Greek state is evidenced by two facts. The first is that the Greeks did not press the Turks to secure the precise conditions under which the Patriarchal institution was to maintain its existence. The Greeks did not demand any written commitment from the Turks on the issue and effectively took the Turkish promise to allow the Patriarch to continue his religious duties at face value.⁴⁰⁸ The fact that the Greeks were so adamant that the Patriarch remain in Turkey but then did so little to formally safeguard the institution demonstrates their preference for symbolic as opposed to real religious authority. The second relevant fact is that Meletios IV himself, together with other religious authorities, fiercely resisted the Greek decision to maintain a politically castrated Patriarchate in Constantinople.⁴⁰⁹ Ironically, Meletios actually sided with the Turks in wanting the church headquarters moved to Mt. Athos or somewhere else within Greece! He realized that the symbolic location of Constantinople was just that—symbolic—and that the best chances for exercising real power would be from within the Greek state itself.

Despite Meletios recalcitrance, he ultimately lost his battle with Greek national authorities and was deposed. Divested of all formal authority, the Patriarchs who came after Meletios were essentially powerless and could not even offer effective protection to the small Orthodox community of Istanbul. Partly as a result, the Orthodox population of Istanbul has declined from 110,000 in 1923 to a mere 2,000 today.⁴¹⁰ The sad fate of the Orthodox Christians in Istanbul was the price that had to be paid to maintain the national-religious symbolism of the Patriarch while simultaneously preventing him from meddling in the political affairs of the new Greek state. The next chapter shows that it was not only the Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul that became the victim of state-expansion strategies based on institutional and symbolic

synergies with religion. Religious minorities throughout both Greece and Turkey have faced similar troubles, precisely because of the role that religious coöptation played in the state-building process.

Chapter 6

Successful Secularization, Failed Pluralism: the Plight of Religious Minorities in Greece and Turkey

In Greece and Turkey modernizing reform strategies that relied on coöpting religious elites into the state's disciplinary institutions—as opposed to constructing parallel systems of education and law that excluded them—tamed potential religious challenges to state centralization and ultimately enabled state sovereignty to reign in these realms. The general predilection for strong, orderly and “secular” states would suggest that the piecemeal coöptation of religion is largely a good thing, in that it benefits overall stability and moderates religious actors. On many levels, as the previous chapters have shown, this is true. There is, however, also a darker side to the religion-state synergies built via coöptation. Over the long term, states that rely on religious elites to help create their disciplinary institutions and provide moral authority have a very difficult time embracing pluralism, multiculturalism and diversity. Secular states with religious roots, like Greece and Turkey, have done well with “nation-building” because of their uncontested sovereignty over education and legal institutions; but the religious-nationalism that they disseminate via these institutions leaves little room for the tolerance of minorities—especially religious minorities. Put simply, strategies of institutional reform significantly shape how both state identities and state enemies come to be defined. When states piggy-back on religion to expand, state-sponsored religious nationalism often triumphs. Under this arrangement, the state is the protector of religion and religion is the guardian of the state. The enemy, almost by default, becomes the religious “other”.

This chapter argues that studying the nature of early reform strategies for disciplinary

institutions can help answer other important questions about nation-building, the creation of state identities, and acceptance of pluralistic norms. It is one thing to acknowledge that states and the people who rule over them try to extend the reach of state control and perfect its implementation. The Greek, Egyptian and Turkish states were certainly no exception to this general rule. But just because state elites exhibit the will to exert and expand their power does not tell us *which* social categories they will chose to reinforce in their bid to perfect control. For this reason it is crucial to explore the issue of how and why certain categories of social identity are defined, imposed, reinforced and linked to the state. In other words: *Why do state elites reinforce certain social categories over others in the state consolidation process?*; and *How do the imperatives of state-building lead state elites to emphasize some aspects of identity and down-play others?*

In this chapter I cite a number of examples from the historical record in Greece and Turkey to show that state elites have privileged religious categories over potential alternatives, such as race, blood-ties or language. Just precisely why religious identity markers assumed this privileged position in Greece and Turkey —and why these same states struggle to embrace norms of pluralism and multiculturalism today— makes sense, I argue, given what we have learned about the coöptative mechanisms of institutional change through which their disciplinary apparatuses were built. Coöpting religious elites into the state structure leaves state elites at least partially beholden to the demands of religious actors, who's own priorities have shifted as they seek to maintain their exclusive, monopolistic link to the state.

I begin the analysis by describing that, even as late as the 1920s, both Greece and Ottoman Turkey (what was to become the modern Turkish state) were home to significant

minority populations. I show that, although minorities of all stripes existed—linguistic, ethnic, etc—it was primarily religious minorities that became the explicit target of state-sponsored ethnic cleansing through population transfers. Next I demonstrate that there are numerous reasons to believe that these states' decision to target the religious “other” in the 20th century did not stem primarily from previous patterns of violence or some kind of deep-seated tradition of ancient hatred. Finally, through several short and specific historical case studies, I provide evidence to show that Turkish and Greek state elites in the 20th century consciously implemented discriminatory policies based on religious categorization. I conclude with some more contemporary examples that illustrate the powerful (and pernicious) legacy with respect to pluralism that can result from building state disciplinary structures through the coöptation of religion.

I. Minority Groups in 20th Century Greece and Ottoman Turkey

Looking back to the 1920's, it is clear that the situation facing state elites in Greece and Ottoman Turkey was one of upheaval and devastation. In the early months of 1922 the lands encircling the Aegean Sea lay in ruins. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13, World War I and finally the Greco-Turkish War and the Turkish War of Independence had completely destroyed what little remained of Ottoman imperial control. Years of fighting had steeped policy makers in an environment of suspicion and hostility. This antagonism was directed both at internal minorities and at land-hungry neighboring powers, creating a spiraling situation in which leaders had become increasingly obsessed with questions of border security and internal dissent.⁴¹¹ As the Greeks, Turks and major European powers confronted one another across the negotiating table at Lausanne in November of 1922, the chief issue at stake was how to create well-fortified states

encapsulating loyal and governable populations. With all parties involved eager to settle the region's conflicts once and for all, considerable leeway existed for the new national leaders to forge states in a way that they saw fit.

The wars had caused substantial ethnic un-mixing and, as a result of migrations, expulsions, and killings, the territories making up the new Greek and Turkish states were much more linguistically, religiously and ethnically homogeneous than they had been just twenty years earlier. Nonetheless, both states still included substantial minority enclaves as well as large swaths of territory that were ethnically, linguistically and religiously mixed. Table X and Table XI provide information on the minorities living in Greece and Turkey respectively when negotiations opened in 1922.⁴¹²

As the tables demonstrate, both territories were really still complex ethnic, linguistic and religious mosaics. In addition to Greek speaking Greek Orthodox Christians, the enlarged Greek state also included Cham Albanians, Arvanites, Gagauz Turks, Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, Doenmeh, Muslim Cretans, Pomaks, Roma, Slavs, Muslim Turks, Valaades, and Vlachs. The new Turkish state, in addition to housing Turkish speaking Sunni Muslims, included Alevis, Arab Christians, Jacobites and Assyrians, Armenians, Circassians, Karamanlides, Greek Orthodox Christians, Kurds, Jews, Laz, Pontics and Roma. The fact that ethnic, linguistic and religious cleavages were cross cutting as opposed to reinforcing further complicated the task of defining citizens. For example, the Valaades spoke Greek but were Muslim. Should they remain in Greece by virtue of linguistic similarity or be sent to Turkey to join their religious brethren? What of communities like the Pontics and Karamanlides, who largely spoke Turkish but were Greek

Orthodox Christians? Were they to keep their homes in Turkey, where they had lived for centuries, or should they be uprooted based on religious difference? Such were the questions confronting Greek and Turkish state elites as they endeavored to secure their borders and strategically reorganize the internal composition of their states. Establishing the boundaries for legitimate membership in the state—and, by the same token, defining enemies and minorities—was perhaps the most pressing issue for political leaders during this period. As Anthony Marx has pointed out, “selective exclusion was not tangential to nation-state building, as liberals argue, but was instead central to how social order was maintained.”⁴¹³

After months of wrangling over the contents of a peace agreement, Greek and Turkish parties concurred that the minority question would be best resolved by implementing a “population exchange” between the two countries.⁴¹⁴ Formally, the treaty mandated that “there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory.”⁴¹⁵ This exchange came to involve the identification and forcible uprooting and relocation of 189,916 individuals living in Greek territory and 355,635 individuals living in the new Turkish state. The agreement further stipulated that an additional 750,000-950,000 people who had left on their own accord to avoid the violence would not be allowed to return to their homes.⁴¹⁶ Although the population exchange did not succeed in completely removing all religious minorities from Greece and Turkey, the results were astounding. According to journalist Bruce Clark, the exchange stood as

proof that it was possible, both practically and morally, to undertake huge exercises in ethnic engineering, and proclaim them a success. Massive population

*exchanges, agreed by governments over the heads of the ordinary people, became a conceivable and often attractive option for world leaders.*⁴¹⁷

Furthermore, as I will illustrate through the series of detailed historical cases presented below, the type of religious categorization used to conduct the population exchange went on to shape the way that the state treated all remaining individuals who were loyal to a religious organization other than the one privileged by the state.

II. Religious Categorization, the Product of Violence?

Before establishing that the use of religious categorization was a conscious, state-driven policy choice, it is important to rule out the possibility that previous patterns of violence somehow determined the identity cleavages around which the Greek and Turkish definitions of citizenship would be constructed. Such a line of reasoning goes as follows. *A vast amount of fighting and bloodshed took place in the region prior to states' formal attempts to define minorities and initiate a population exchange. Was it not simply the case that war-time allegiances were based on religion, making it the logical and natural criterion by which to separate warring parties through a population exchange and to construct new states?* There certainly does exist some evidence to suggest that violence, especially that perpetrated during the Greco-Turkish war, served to harden religious differences. For example, such logic emerges from an interview with Dimitriou Misailidi, a member of a Karamanli community that was forced out of Turkey and sent to Greece. Although Misailidi himself recalls having a fairly positive relationship with his Muslim neighbors, he puts the point thus: “How do you expect a Turk to [go on] loving you when the Greek army stepped into Turkey and killed the child of that Turk on his very own soil.”⁴¹⁸ Conceding that a history of violence is important, there are three reasons why

previous patterns of violence are misleading if used as the only variable for predicting state elites' decision to use religious criterion to define minorities and enemies after the fighting had ended.

For one, the idea of exchanging populations based on religion was not a spontaneous response to the Asia Minor atrocities of the 1920s. The idea of an exchange had first originated in 1913 and had been circulating in Greek and Turkish political and military circles for some time. Furthermore, a minority exchange agreement similar to that which was eventually enacted in 1923 had actually already been reached by the Ottomans and the Greeks in 1913. Under the terms of this earlier agreement, the Muslims in Macedonia and Greek Epirus would be exchanged for the Orthodox Greeks in the *Vilayet* (Province) of Aydın.⁴¹⁹ Soon after the 1913 agreement was concluded the maelstrom of WWI engulfed the region, rendering its execution impossible. Yet the interesting point to be made is that the idea of removing the population of Aydın was not the result of uncontrollable violence between the Greek and Turkish communities living together in the province. In 1913, the citizens of Aydın “were not persons uprooted by the tumult of war and ruined by military campaigns. They were peacefully living people, prosperous and satisfied, feeling secure and having no desire to abandon their homes.”⁴²⁰ Here, state-builders' desire and actual attempts to remove religious minorities preceded the outbreak of violence.

Secondly, a reading of interviews with Orthodox Greek Karamanlides living together with Muslims in the Cappadocian region of central Anatolia also suggests that previous patterns of violence alone did not determine state-builders' decision to remove minorities on a religious

basis. The Karamanlides had maintained peaceful relations with their Muslim neighbors and had been largely unaffected by the type of inter-communal violence brought on by national armies in the Aegean and Black Sea coastal communities; yet they were removed from Turkey nonetheless during the exchange. The interviews demonstrate that, despite being devout religious practitioners, local village identity often trumped religious differences for both the Karamanlides and the Muslims. Although religion was central to everyday life, hostility across religious groups was not the norm. In fact, the native Muslim Turks and the Christian Karamanlides of Cappadocia were, in many instances, actually united in their disdain for the incoming Muslim refugees from Greece.

Evlabias MOUNTZOGLU, who was forced out of the village of Chalbadere (close to what is now Aksaray in Central Anatolia) in the spring of 1924, depicted the native Turks that he lived with as his protectors:

Three months before we left the Turkish refugees from Greece came [to Chalbadere]. They were from Kozani and they knew Greek. They glorified their homeland; but they were terrible people. They beat us up and asked for food. They would have killed us all. The native Turks were the ones that saved us.⁴²¹

Another Cappadocian native, Evanthias GOVISOGLU, contrasts the good will of his native Muslim neighbors with the grabbing-hand of the incoming Muslim refugees. GOVISOGLU wanted to make sure that what he left behind went to a native Muslim Turk whom he trusted, in this case the village leader (*Mouhtari*).

The (refugee) Turk who wanted my house came with a mattress and was waiting to get inside. I just pushed him out of the way, I couldn't speak. He went and sat on the sidewalk. The native Turks were crying: "We ate olives and bread together for six hundred years; this thing that's happening, it's difficult for us too" they

*said. We all told ourselves not to cry . . . I closed all the doors to the house and just after I locked them I took the key and I gave it to the head of the village (mouhtari). He could give the key to whomever he wanted.*⁴²²

G. Xaziliadi, who was forced to leave the village of Soulotzova, which was home to approximately 100 Turkophone Christian Orthodox families, also recalled his Turkish Muslim neighbors with fondness. His testimony shows that both Orthodox Christians and Muslims in some areas resented the way that the exchange tore-apart the fabric of local life.

*We were the last ones to leave and when were leaving the Turks saw us off, crying until the very edge of town. We lived well together with most of the Turks until the very end. They didn't want to let us leave. They didn't even want to hear about the Turks who would be coming from Greece. There, on the edge of town, where we separated, they cried and said: 'my Greek friends, they took silk from our hands and are giving us goat hair.'*⁴²³

The lesson to be drawn from the experience of the Karamanlides is that the identity category around which the population exchange was based was not merely a mechanism intended to separate warring religious factions. Rather, emerging nationalist politicians on both sides recognized the strength that could be garnered by replacing Muslim citizens with Christian Orthodox ones and visa versa. The Greeks saw little harm in taking-in more Greek Orthodox Christians and the Turks remained fearful that the Karamanlides' loyalty to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch would eventually undercut efforts to consolidate state control in this underdeveloped rural region.⁴²⁴ Religion was thus the determining factor that led to the Karamanlides deportation—not because the Karamanlides had engaged in religious conflict with their Muslim neighbors but because Greek statesmen recognized the advantage of diluting other minority strongholds within Greece by importing devout Greek Orthodox individuals. Similarly Turkish statesmen recognized the advantages of removing Christian communities from the heart of the new nation.

Third, and finally, the fact that leaders in Greece and Turkey were still debating the definition of a “minority” in the period leading up to the population exchange reinforces the point that a religious definition was not preordained by patterns of violence. In Greece, the nationalist ideas circulating at the elite level were based on irredentism, which had been enshrined in the concept of the *Megali-Idea* (Great Idea). At heart, the *Megali Idea* was “the aspiration to encompass within Greece the territorial expanse of Byzantium and to regain the intellectual supremacy of Ancient Greece.”⁴²⁵ Despite the over-arching goal of territorial expansion, Greek statesmen spoke loftily of attempting to harness the ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity of diverse populations by adopting a flexible notion of Greekness based on Isocrate's dictum: “We consider Greeks all those who partake in our culture.”⁴²⁶ The early nationalist ideals entertained by Greek thinkers were thus similar to those later described by the Benedict Anderson as an imagined community forged through a common language.⁴²⁷ As the historian A.A. Pallis observed at the time:

*[After 1913] the national ideal is not anymore a purely Hellenic Greece but the establishment of a large Hellenic state in which many foreign elements would coexist with the Hellenic one, keeping naturally their particular national consciousness under the sovereignty of the Hellenic element and using as their connecting link the Greek language—the official language of the state.*⁴²⁸

Eleftherios Venizelos, who was the Greek representative at Lausanne and became Prime Minister soon thereafter, had been a vociferous proponent of the *Megali Idea*. Yet the “inclusive” and “pluralistic” ideals of the *Megali Idea* eventually came into conflict with the strategic imperatives that he believed were necessary to establish and maintain control over the population. On the eve of the exchange, this theoretical desire to assimilate diverse elements of society through a common language and Hellenic culture could not be completely reconciled

with the practical concerns of border control and citizen loyalty. Venizelos realized the potentially divisive nature of the minority question and the importance of solving it in a manner that would be beneficial for Greece's long-term security. Prior to the opening of talks at Lausanne he expressed its urgency thus:

Without exaggeration, the future of Greece depends on whether we get the right or wrong solution to this question. If we fail to arrive at the right solution there will be disasters which one trembles even to think of, whereas a successful solution will contribute within in a few years to our recovering from the unbearable burdens which the defeat in the war has bequeathed us, and to our securing, after the collapse of the Greater Greece, the consolidation of the Great Greece, of which the frontiers will never be secure if Western Thrace and Macedonia are not ethnologically as well as politically Greek territories...⁴²⁹

What Venizelos needed was a definition of citizen and minority that would save the state from internal divisions and external exploitations.

Likewise, in Turkey the question of what it actually meant to be a Turk was still unresolved. Although Muslims had held a privileged position under Ottoman rule, the role of religion in the new Turkish state was yet to be determined and leaders had not entirely agreed upon definitions of minority and “Turk”. As in Greece, the most pronounced dilemma faced by Turkish nation builders was that the confines of territorial nationalism as suggested by state land holdings and “ethno-linguistic” nationality by virtue of the Turkish language did not overlap in the slightest.⁴³⁰

Rıza Nur, who was among the envoys sent by the new Turkish national government to Lausanne, recalls the dilemma in his memoirs as follows:

Franks [Europeans] assume that there are three types of minorities in our country: minorities by race, minorities by language and minorities by religion. This is a great danger for us. When they are against us, these men think so deeply and well! By the term 'race' they will put Circassians, Abhazes, Bosnians and Kurds in the same category as Greeks and Armenians. By the term 'language' they will turn those Muslims who speak other languages into minorities. By the term 'religion' they will make two million Kızılbaş, who are pure Turks, into minorities.⁴³¹*

As Nur's exclamation demonstrates, not only would the way in which minority was defined have lasting implications in terms of the consolidation of internal state security, the “correct” decision was not obvious.

Nur credits himself with ultimately imposing a definition of minority that was based on faith rather than on race or language. Although some historians dispute Nur's claim to have coined this definition, at the Lausanne conference he and other negotiators did consistently insist on defining minorities broadly in terms of non-Muslims (*gayri-Muslim*). Using this broad definition made sense in that it aligned with the character of nascent state disciplinary institutions, which had a religious bent as a result of how they were built. Using *gayri-Muslim* to define minority groups was also advantageous because it meant that European powers could not justify a further division of Turkish territory based on the claim that Kurdish and Alevis were ethnically, linguistically or even religiously (being Shi'ite, Bektaşî etc., since these are “types” of Muslims) different. It would also guarantee that surviving Armenians would be permanently relegated to outsider status. Still, there were also less favorable consequences of defining minorities in the broad terms of Greek Orthodox Christian vs. Muslim. For instance, in Turkey it opened the floodgates to Albanians, Roma and other Muslim groups;⁴³² and in Greece it did not solve the question of what to do with the massive Slavic, Orthodox Christian populations in

Macedonia.

Tying these points together, in this section I have demonstrated that previous patterns of violence were not perfectly correlated with religious differences and that they therefore cannot fully explain why state elites opted to define minorities in terms of religion. Rather, at the highest level of politics, there existed an internal debate over the content of national identities and the criteria by which they would be defined from this point on. The nature of this internal struggle within Greece and Turkey is thus well captured by Przeworski's 1977 insight that "cultural struggle is a struggle *about* culture, not a struggle between cultures."⁴³³ Rigidly adhering to any singular definition of "minority" would entail substantial complications (removing populations that had been consistently loyal, e.g. the Karamanlides) and absorbing some undesirable ones (Albanians, Roma). Yet this contingency did not deter Turkish or Greek state elites from selecting a singular, religiously-based category. As I will show below, the proclamations and actions of state elites both demonstrate that they were willing to forsake the instrumental flexibility that a more nuanced system of determining minorities and enemies would have afforded because they realized that: 1) enforcing a single and dominant cultural divide would lower the costs of securing mass compliance with the national idea since religiously influenced disciplinary institutions were already in place; and that 2) such a strategy could also help further cement the subordinate status of majority religious elites under state sovereignty by offering them an exclusive, and monopolistic position as the guardians of faith and nation.

III. Imposing the Religious State

The words and deeds of Greek and Turkish politicians support the contention that state

elites consciously and consistently pursued a policy of reinforcing religious categories in the early 20th century. For example, in a parliamentary debate that took place in May of 1920, Emir Pasha, the representative from Sivas, warned against the too rapid propagation of a racially or ethnically based Turkish identity:

*There is a Caliphate founded in the name of Islam . . . I request that we not act only in the name of the Turks [Turkluk namına istimal etmiyelim] because we did not gather here only in the name of the Turks. If you please, it is more appropriate to say Muslims or even Ottomans not Turks. In our homeland there are Circassians, Chechens, Kurds, Laz and other Islamic peoples. Let us not speak in a divisive manner that will leave [these groups] on the outside.*⁴³⁴

Another prominent Turkish nationalist, Rauf Orbay, put an even more explicit emphasis on the role that religion would play when he declared in 1922:

*It is hard for us to control the general situation. This [state authority] can only be secured by an authority that everyone is accustomed to regard as unapproachably high. Such is the office of the Sultanate and Caliphate. To abolish this office and try to set up an entity of a different character in its place would lead to failure and disaster. It is quite inadmissible.*⁴³⁵

In merging their nationalist agenda with religious symbols, Kemalist leaders claimed to be learning from the “past mistakes” of the *Tanzimat* reformers who had come before them. Ziya Gokalp, the most influential and original thinker behind the emergence of Turkish nationalism, argued that, in trying to completely separate Islam from the modern state, the *Tanzimat* had “reduced it [the state] to an inorganic condition” and made it untenable. “People can neither entirely drop the religion they hold sacred”, wrote Gokalp, “nor can they dispense with the necessities of contemporary civilization. Reason demands, not that one be sacrificed at the expense of the other but that an attempt be made to reconcile the two.”⁴³⁶ In short, even the Kemalists (for who positivism was the true religion) realized that nominal Islam (as a system of

culture and socialization as opposed to purely faith) had to be utilized in the service of the state, not abandoned entirely, given the nature of existing institutions and loyalties.

Greek state elites had come to envision the link between the church and the nation in a similar fashion. One observer writing in *Foreign Affairs* at the time of the population exchange argued that the Greek decision to define minorities by religion was, by this point, an almost natural extension of the historic relationship between religion and politics in Greece:

The choice of a "religious" test as the sole basis for determining nationality seems a singular one; yet . . . in the Near East other tests may be suggested— doubtless were — only to be rejected. . . A test of blood or descent would be useless, for the racial origin of large parts of the population is not traceable . . . A language test would have been still less satisfactory. . . When you make a treaty of exchange it is necessary to have an objective criterion in order to prevent property owners from forswearing themselves for the sake of keeping a foothold with their property. Among the Greeks, Church has been immemorially interwoven with State and all "Hellenes," even if agnostic, have their children baptized in the Orthodox Church and claim membership in it.⁴³⁷

State elites in both Greece and Turkey were not just paying lip service to religious symbols. Their actions also stand as a testament to the fact that religious categorization (and also discrimination) had become, for better or worse, one of the guiding mantras of state-sponsored nationalism. I employ three separate historical examples to demonstrate that state-elites actively implemented discriminatory policies based religious identity categories. The first example recounts how Greek administrators tried to use religious categories as a justification for deporting Muslim Albanians from the contested region of Epirus. The second case demonstrates how Greek politicians imposed religiously based categories in their resettlement policies in order to create an overwhelming Greek Orthodox presence in areas that remained religiously mixed. The third example illustrates the durability of religious categorization and discrimination by

showing how Turkish statesmen employed religious categories in the economic sphere into the 1940s in order to hasten the creation a Muslim middle class that was sympathetic to, and representative of, the state's religio-nationalist identity.

IV. The Cham Albanians: From Friend to Muslim Foe

The evolution in Greek elites' attitudes towards the Cham population of Northern Epirus demonstrates how reform strategies base on synergies with the Orthodox church eventually hardened attitudes against religious minority groups. The overwhelming majority of Cham Albanians were Muslims who belonged to various Sufi orders (primarily Bektashi) and settled around the numerous *tekkes* (houses of worship) situated in the region. In 1923 official Greek documents reported the number of Chams to be 20,319, most of whom were living in Thesprotia, an area close to the Albanian border in the northwest corner of Greek Epirus.⁴³⁸ Referring to the Cham Albanians a “very tough nut to crack”, A.A. Pallis described them as follows:

*By religion Muslims, by decent Greek Epirotes who were converted to Islam in the 17th century, they are linguistically Albanian, and by political sympathy Turkish, as is shown by the desire of many of the them to emigrate to Turkey and by the fact that during the numerous Albanian insurrections against Turkey they have invariably sided with the Turks.*⁴³⁹

Despite Pallis' description, other sources claim that the Chams were in fact divided amongst themselves as to where their loyalties lay. A special envoy of the Council of the League of Nations visited the region and found that a large portion of the Muslim population did not want to be included in the Greco-Turkish population exchange and that most people had no idea of their origin or preferences beyond their local religious affiliations.⁴⁴⁰

The ambiguity of the Chams' self-identification aside, the Greek state originally had

viewed the Chams as a group that could be assimilated to a dominant Hellenic culture.

Immediately following the end of the First World War, Venizelos spoke of the Albanian speakers of Northern Epirus with lofty praise. He claimed that all the residences of Epirus had been Greek long before the Kingdom of Greece was founded. "One may be tempted," remarked Venizelos

to raise the objection that a substantial portion of this Greek population uses Albanian as its mother tongue, and is, consequently, in all probability, of Albanian origin; but the democratic conception of the Allied and Associate Powers cannot admit of any other standard than that of national consciousness . . . It may be useful to add that the present vice-president of the Greek Ministerial Council, Mr. Repoulis; . . . the commander-in-chief of the Greek naval forces and Minister of Marine, Admiral Koundouriotis; and the majority of the crews of the Greek navy speak Albanian as their mother tongue.⁴⁴¹

The close relationship between religion and the Greek state, however, made it difficult to reconcile a favorable view of the Chams with the realities of Greek Orthodox religious nationalism. A review of the official reports that circulated between local administrators in the region and the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens clearly demonstrates that by 1923 the Greek government had come to view the Chams as enemies who should ideally be removed (and if they could not be removed, then at least their influence should be mitigated). This is best evidenced in a memorandum sent from a local Greek administrator in the Dirraho district in northern Epirus to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 31 May 1923. This document reveals that the Greeks had approached the Albanian government with the idea of trading the Muslim Cham populations in Greece with a community of Greek Orthodox people living on the Albanian side of the border. To the dismay of Greek officials, Albanians refused to consider such a

scheme.⁴⁴² The fact that such a diplomatic overtures were being made indicates that Greek statesmen had hardened their thinking on the minority issue, and had done so in religious terms.

This assertion is further bolstered by the fact that such scheming was not limited to diplomatic relations between Greece and Albania. The Greeks also made a considerable effort to include the Chams in the Greco-Turkish population exchange of 1923 simply by virtue of the fact that they were Muslim. After extensive debate, the Chams were officially omitted. Certainly the Greeks would have been happy to see them go; but Italian and Albanian delegates at the Lausanne Conference made a strong case that the Chams primarily self-identified as Albanian nationals (a dubious claim) and thus could not rightfully be sent to Turkey. Nonetheless, local Greek authorities in charge of resettlement did not always honor the Cham's official exemption from the population exchange and this group increasingly became the target of state sponsored repression and unofficial deportations. Reports compiled by League of Nations representatives charged that local Greek authorities were intentionally making life unbearable for the Cham Muslims in order to force them out of Greece.⁴⁴³

Furthermore, Turkish historians have found evidence that somehow a number of Albanian speaking Muslims were actually forcibly subjected to the Greco-Turkish population transfer and wound up in Turkey. For example, in his memoirs, Turkish statesman Rıza Nur claims that a number of Albanians from Janina were transferred and began populating the Erenkoy and Kartal districts of Istanbul.⁴⁴⁴ In light of such reports and evidence, international authorities continued to insist that the Greeks distinguish between “exchangeable” Turkish Muslims and non-exchangeable Albanian Muslims. But Greek authorities were often simply unwilling to

acknowledge that such a distinction existed. In the eyes of the (Orthodox) Greek state, Muslims were Muslims. Documents reveal that local Greek authorities warned the central state that the Muslim Chams were really “Turks” in disguise and that they were seeking to gain a political foothold in the region with help of Albanian authorities.⁴⁴⁵

In mid June of 1925, as a result of international pressure as well as a basic failure to be able to actually distinguish between “true” Cham Albanian Muslims and Turkish Muslims, local Greek administrators temporarily settled on a policy of not deporting anyone unless they outright declared Turkish loyalties.⁴⁴⁶ Nonetheless, this hardly settled the issue and Greek officials remained uncomfortable with the Albanian Muslim minority in its midst. As correspondence records between Greek administrators in Epirus and central authorities in Athens demonstrate, as the 1920's wore on, the Cham question was a constant source of irritation for Greek authorities seeking to impose standardized, Greek language schooling in the region, for the Chams were not associated with the Orthodox churches through which most educational initiatives had been organized.⁴⁴⁷

Low level tensions sparked by religious discrimination simmered well into the 1930's. These tensions finally came to a head with the outbreak of WWII and the Italian invasion of Greece. The Italians are said to have manipulated the Cham issue to stir-up resistance to Greek rule and, indeed, many Chams appear to have collaborated with the Italian occupiers. Once the Greek army succeeded in pushing the Italian forces from its territory, it resolved to remove the Muslim Chams' influence once and for all. Over 100 *tekkes* were burned to the ground and Cham communities were systematically cleansed from the region. The Greek state expropriated

Cham properties and encouraged nomadic Vlachs to settle in these houses and lands.⁴⁴⁸

Unfortunately, the Cham's situation was not unique. As we will see below, numerous other religious minority groups living in Greece and Turkey also suffered at the hands of the state by virtue of their religious affiliations.

V. Religion and Resettlement: Diluting Slavic Exarchate Influence in Macedonia

Much like the shift in attitudes towards the Muslim Chams, Greek resettlement policies also reveal that the state was consciously employing religious categorization to maximize its own access to resources, power, and influence. These resettlement policies had a momentous impact on the religious make-up of Macedonia, an area that was one of the most religiously, ethnically and linguistically mixed in all of Greece. The overwhelming majority of Muslims residing in Macedonia had been subjected to forced deportation as part of the Greco-Turkish population exchange. Yet a sizable number of Slavic speaking peoples remained. These Slavic communities had been living in the area for centuries and even constituted a majority in some provinces. Although a “voluntary” migration scheme with Bulgaria in 1919 had led some Slavs to migrate across the border, there was still a substantial Slavic influence in the region in 1923.⁴⁴⁹

With respect to the state's categorization of the Slav's loyalties, religion was again the guiding mantra. Yet in this case it was internal divisions within the Christian Orthodox world that preoccupied Greek state-makers. The Greek position was that the true “nationalist sentiments” of any given Slavophone was best determined by his ecclesiastical allegiance. Although all Slavs were Christian Orthodox, in official documents the Greek state often divided Slavs into two distinct categories. The first was the *Voulgarizondes* (also referred to as Grecomani by some

Slavs today), who supported the religious rule of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and thus attended “Greek” churches and schools. The second group was the *Skhismatikoi* (Schismatics), who followed the Bulgarian Exarchate (the Bulgarian National Church which had split from the Patriarchate in 1872) and frequented Bulgarian churches and schools.⁴⁵⁰ Despite speaking a Slavic dialect as their first language, the *Voulgarizondes* were considered assimilatable and thus potential “Greeks”. The Greek authorities remained incredibly suspicious, however, of the *Skhismatikoi*. As a result of these suspicions, Greek elites implemented resettlement policies that explicitly aimed to dilute Slavic (and especially the *Schismatikoi*) influence in the borderlands. The ultimate goals of these resettlement policies were to leverage existing links with religious institutions to create a buffer-zone of religious loyalists that could 'protect' the Greek nation from pernicious would-be infiltrators as well as to dilute concentrated pockets of potential resistance to the state.⁴⁵¹

Resettlement statistics, as well as the statements of Greek policy makers and observers made immediately following the population exchange, strongly support the argument that the nationalist Greek government was engaged in a concerted effort to have Greek Orthodox Christians constitute the majority in all of Macedonia's provinces. First, although 54% of the total refugee population that arrived in Greece was classified as urban and only 46% was classified as rural, resettlement funding schemes heavily favored the rural migrants. According to Charles Eddy, a highly disproportionate 86% percent of funds were allocated to rural resettlement, with the remaining 13% going to urban groups.⁴⁵² Furthermore, the vast majority of these rural settlements were set-up in the region of Greek Macedonia, the stretch of land that separated Greece from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey. Although some of the settlements were

constituted from the homes and lands that exchangeable Muslims had evacuated, in many cases new settlements were attached to existing villages or simply started from scratch.⁴⁵³

Beyond these patterns of funding and resettlement, statements by policy makers and observers support the assertion that a primary aim of the refugee resettlement programs was the ethno-religious homogenization of the nation state. In his memoirs, Colonel Stilianos Gonatas, who served as Greek Prime Minister between 1922-4, recalls that “We settled the rural refugees particularly near the borders of the state in order to consolidate the frontier populations so that they could defend themselves against irregular aggressions.”⁴⁵⁴ Outside observers also acknowledged that the goal of religious homogenization underpinned resettlement decisions. Charles P. Howland, writing in *Foreign Affairs* at the time of the resettlement, remarked that the population of Macedonia “has been raised from 513,000 to 1,277,000” and that “more than 1,500 villages have been built, each containing from 100 to 500 families” in order to “eliminate civil or guerrilla war among villages and comitadji, and to reduce appreciably the chances of war between Greece and her neighbors who so often have had or created an excuse for intervening on behalf of non-Greeks in the table-lands and valley-pockets of Macedonia”.⁴⁵⁵

In large part the movement of Greek Orthodox Christian refugees into the Macedonian region achieved the desired effect of forcing Slavs to either adhere to the Greek national cause or abandon their homes and join religious sympathizers in Bulgaria. The population statistics in Table XII. show that by 1926 the Slavs (in this table referred to as Bulgarians) and Muslims had been greatly outnumbered in all Macedonian provinces as a result of the refugee resettlements.

[Insert Table XII. about here]

Like in the case of the Cham Albanians, the historical record of refugee resettlement illuminates the fact that Greek elites enacted policies to undermine the influence of religious minorities not loyal to the Greek Orthodox Church—Muslim and Christian alike. By invoking a concept of the national identity in which religious loyalty equated loyalty to the state, state builders produced a climate within which the achievement of security and order came to be equated with religious homogenization. Earlier linkages between religion and state disciplinary institutions became further reified through forcible policies of resettlement based on religious categories. The Turks, too, followed a similar strategy. It is toward state-sponsored discrimination toward non-Muslim in Turkey that I now turn.

VI. Religious Classification and Economic Discrimination in Turkey

Forcible policies based on religious categories were not limited to deportation and resettlement. The use of religious categories crept into other aspects of administration in the new states and colored the everyday experiences of individuals well into the 1930's and 1940's. This fact is well exemplified by the economic policies of religious discrimination employed by the Turkish state. The taproot of these economic policies can be traced back to the thinking of the Young Turk intellectuals. These scholars had carefully followed Russia's transformation and warned that the prospects of survival for a society composed only of peasants and officials would be dim. To be strong, they argued, the new Turkish state needed a commercial, bourgeoisie class made up of the dominant national group— Turkish Sunni Muslims. One such intellectual, Yusuf Akçura, expressed this point of view as follows:

[The] foundation of the modern state is the bourgeois class. Contemporary

*prosperous states came into existence on the shoulders of the bourgeoisie, of the businessmen and bankers. The national awakening in Turkey is the beginning of the genesis of the Turkish bourgeoisie. And if the natural growth of the Turkish bourgeoisie continues without damage or interruption, we can say that the sound establishment of the Turkish state has been guaranteed.*⁴⁵⁶

Yet Akçura and his contemporaries failed to appreciate the fact that the “natural growth” of the Turkish bourgeoisie remained highly unlikely, for non-Muslim minorities had long cornered the dominant industries of the country's commercial capital, Istanbul.

Statistics compiled on the eve of the exchange clearly demonstrate that the Greek Orthodox Christians had held a major stake in local businesses and were highly active in both Turkish and foreign-owned companies. In 1921, 66% of Istanbul's restaurants and 94% of its beer halls were Greek owned. Furthermore, 528 of the 654 registered wholesale ventures belonged to Greeks.⁴⁵⁷ Likewise, a basic tally of Greek employees in the major companies registered in Istanbul (shown in Table XIII) demonstrates the Greeks played a dominant role in banking, shipping and insurance.

[Insert Table XIII about here]

In addition to the Greeks, the Jews and a small group of Armenians were also influential players in the Istanbul business scene. Despite minority dominance in business, through a series of policies that were indicative of the Turkish states' commitment to reinforcing religious categories, the Turkish government quickly dismantled religious minorities' economic networks and influence. Removing non-Muslims from prominent commercial positions would provide citizens with a constant reminder that the new Turkish state was, above all, one for Muslims and by Muslims. Two of the most infamous laws imposed by the Turkish government were law

#2007 and the capital tax (*varlık vergisi*). Law #2007, which the Turkish Parliament passed in 1932, effectively barred non-Muslims from some thirty trades and professions, including itinerant merchanting, tailoring, insurance and real-estate.⁴⁵⁸ As a follow-up to law #2007, in 1936 the Greek Orthodox Christian minority was also prohibited from acquiring new property.⁴⁵⁹ Many existing minority properties were seized by the state.

The capital tax, which was formally instituted in 1942, dealt a death blow to religious minority involvement in economic life. The tax mandated a levy on property owners, business men, and certain categories of workers who were required to pay based on their earnings. Special local commissions made the actual tax assessments and were afforded much discretion in their audits. In the case of Istanbul, it was the city's *defterdar* (director of finance) Faik Ökte who administered the criteria for tax assessments. Ökte's memoir reveals that the primary factor determining any given taxpayers' assessment was his religion. Ökte's offices placed taxpayers on one of two lists: the "M" list for Muslim or the "G" list for *Gayrimuslim* (Non-Muslim). Citizens on the "G" list were typically taxed ten times more than those on the "M" list.⁴⁶⁰ In addition to the "G" list, later on a "D" list was also instituted for *Donme* Jews, who were to pay twice as much as Muslims.⁴⁶¹ Defaulters, of which there were thousands, were sent to forced labor camps in Aşkale, a region in northern Turkey known as the Turkish Siberia. In a matter of years, these Turkish policies succeed in removing almost all traces of Christian (and to a lesser extent Jewish) influence from economic life. The resultant economic vacuum was filled by an emerging class of Sunni Muslim merchants and business leaders. It perhaps no wonder then that the pious, business-minded Sunni Muslim elite currently running the Turkish state are, first and foremost, purebred capitalists.

At this point a summary is in order. The path of history is a winding one, and I lest I lose my reader in an endless stream of official policies and proclamations, it is worth reminding them of why such a detailed investigation was necessary in the first place. What I have shown through these historical discussions is that religion was consistently and concertedly used as category by state elites to determine which individuals would be considered loyal members of the state and which would be forever deemed enemies and minorities. In other words, religious discrimination was institutionalized, state sponsored and widely practiced in both Greece and Turkey. By virtue of the sheer scope of any state endeavor to categorize an entire population on a singular identity dimension the process by which categorization occurred was not seamless. Nonetheless, given the expected complications, it is remarkable that the Greek and Turkish authorities pursued the aim of imposing a religiously homogeneous state with such consistency and severity. Religious discrimination and categorization colored a wide range of state policies and were implemented through a chain of command that led from top-level national authorities down to local administrators. Religious elites had been a central part of disciplinary reforms in the 19th century in both Greece and Ottoman Turkey; years later, the reverberations of this policy could still be felt as state sanctioned prejudice and exclusionary religious nationalism became the institutionalized norm.

By linking the state-building mission to religion in the early years of reform, Greece and Turkey were able usurp religious institutions of schooling, law and social organization and impose their will through these pre-established networks. The history of Greek and Turkish state-building thus exhibits a peculiar wrinkle: the symbolic function of religion was being preserved and extolled through state imposition of religious identity categories at the same time

that the actual power of religious institutions was being severely undermined. Religious institutions themselves may have been tempered through this process of coöptation and nationalization but, as a direct result, the state assumed a nominal religious identity and state-sponsored religious intolerance became commonplace.

VII. Historical Legacies, Modern Conflicts

The problems associated with pluralism and religious minorities did not end in the 1940s for either Turkey or Greece. If anything, these issues have only come into starker relief as both countries try to assert their European credentials and bring their legal systems into line with international norms on individual rights and freedoms. As Elizabeth Prodromou has observed, “Greece has been grappling with the question of how to reinforce its model of national identity in a way that balances its historical majority religious tradition with a commitment to basic democratic rights and freedoms for all citizens.”⁴⁶² The same goes for Turkey.

Briefly describing a few of the modern day “dilemmas of religious pluralism” at stake in Greece and Turkey goes to show just how durable and deeply entrenched the institutional legacies of state-building can be. In the last several decades Greece has witnessed sensational (albeit mostly peaceful) controversies over the official status of the church, over the inclusion of a “religion” category on identity cards, and over the building of a mosque in the nation's capital. In Turkey, equally contentious disputes about minority and religious properties, about state documentation practices, about the role of the state's Sunni dominated Directorate for Religious Affairs (*Diyanet*), and about the status of minority groups under a new constitution have taken center stage. Quickly documenting these disputes illustrates how strategies of state-building can

continue to “reemerge” and “resurface” in the form of contemporary political conflicts about the viability of pluralist ideals and norms. I look first at Greece and then at Turkey.

Soon after Greece joined in the European Union in 1981, the ruling Panhellenic Socialist Party (PASOK) initiated a number of social and political reforms that challenged the traditional legal role of Church in state and societal affairs. For one, under PASOK, Greek Family Law was radically restructured in 1983 to conform to European principles of gender equality. Most importantly, the divorce law was liberalized, with the introduction of no-fault divorce and divorce by mutual consent— both dramatic departures from the traditional religious roots of Greek Family Law that had prevailed heretofore.⁴⁶³ These changes to the Family Law eventually passed through parliament and faced only minimal resistance from religious authorities. When PASOK made an effort to take things one step further, however, proposing a bill to formally disestablish the Orthodox Church —and thereby break the symbolic and institutional link between religion and nation— the party met extremely fierce resistance. Prominent Orthodox hierarchs and conservative segments of society waged an aggressive campaign in opposition to disestablishment. Concerned about its popularity and electoral future, PASOK quickly backed down, allowing the Church to maintain its privileged position under the state mantle. Greek advocates of pluralist reform lamented PASOK's about-face, arguing that it signified the state's inherent inability to embrace religious tolerance and diversity more generally.⁴⁶⁴ Indeed, maintaining the state's nominal religious identity and institutionalized link to religion proved more important than conformity with European directives.

A similar set of political disputes came to the fore in Greece in 2000-1 over the issue of

whether or not a person's religious affiliation should be printed on the state-issued identification cards. By this point, Greece had become increasingly diverse and religiously heterogeneous as a result of immigration from the Balkans (especially Albania) and elsewhere. Ruling party PASOK argued that religion should be removed from state issued documents because including such a category not only violated EU mandates but also paved the way for inequality and prejudice. In response, the Orthodox religious establishment waged a political battle that ran for months in order to keep religion on Greek identification cards. The Church's tactics included issuing a petition to prevent PASOK's measure, which was ultimately signed by nearly a third of the entire country!⁴⁶⁵ The Church's bellicose campaign culminated in a massive demonstration in the capital (and smaller rallies elsewhere). Oulis et. al. describes the main set of protests as a powerful spectacle.

*The event was a huge success, as it gathered hundreds of thousands of people in Constitution Square in Athens, just opposite the Parliament building ---monks waving black and Byzantine flags, thousands of priests signing hymns at the top of their voices and ordinary people waving Greek flags with the white and blue cross, while the Archbishop declared that no one could steal the identity of his people, no one could push them into forgetting their history and their tradition.*⁴⁶⁶

The rallies and the Archbishop's emotive speech in Constitution Square were broadcast repeatedly on national television.

The Church (which had allied with the conservative opposition) ultimately failed to stymie the ruling party's determination to push through a new “religion-free” format for identity cards. In response, Archbishop Christodoulos ramped-up his rhetoric about the detrimental effect of the EU's pluralist “melting-pot” values on both Hellenism and Orthodoxy. Furthermore, he began causing real trouble for Greek politicians via other avenues, protesting a high-profile

visit by the Pope and stirring up controversy over ecclesiastical jurisdictions.⁴⁶⁷ PASOK, which had learned from its failed attempt to disestablish the Orthodox Church in the 1980s, had little choice but to weather the storm. Identity cards would now be “religion free”, but political disputes about how to best reconcile multiculturalism and the Greece's particular variety of religious nationalism continued, coalescing around other issues.

The protracted controversy over whether or not to build a mosque in Athens provides a third and final piece of evidence indicative of the Greek state's ambivalent stance on issues of religious pluralism and diversity. In recent years Athens' Muslim population has grown to an estimated 120,000-150,000 people. Despite this surge in Muslim residents, for decades, a series of proposals to build a mosque that would accommodate the city's religious minority community have been put in the political pipelines, only to ultimately be jettisoned. In 2006 approval for the construction of a mosque in the Eleonas outskirt of Athens—itsself the product of years of wrangling which culminated in a six hour-long parliamentary debate—was squashed by resistance from local residents and politicians. One force driving local resistance was a law (in place until 2009) stating that metropolitan bishops were required to give their consent before a building license could be given by town planning authorities for any new house of worship other than a Christian Orthodox church.⁴⁶⁸ In the last two years, although the requirement for bishops' approval has been abolished, radical right-wing political groups—occasionally backed by certain religious actors—have succeeded in halting construction plans. Figure V. shows a campaign poster that one such group plastered around Muslim enclaves in Athens in 2010. For now, Athens remains the only capital in the European Union without a mosque—a symbol of the Greek state's inability to reconcile religious dimensions of state identity with the requirements of

pluralism and tolerance.

There are a number of striking parallels between the Greek struggle to embrace tenants of religious tolerance and pluralism and the Turkish struggle to do the same. To begin with, religious minorities' struggle to maintain properties and to secure permission to build places of worship in Turkey has an uncanny resemblance with the “mosque in Athens” controversy described above. As mentioned in the previous section, numerous non-Muslim groups were stripped of their properties in Turkey in 1936 in a wave of state-sponsored religious persecution. Since these religious communities still lack legal status under the Turkish law, it has proven difficult for them to provide formal proof of ownership and rightfully reclaim their properties. Since 2002, Turkish authorities have made four attempts to restore the property rights of non-Muslim communities; but it was only this past August that the Land Registry Law was amended to actually allow for the full reclamation of property by minority foundations.⁴⁶⁹ Still, given that the implementation of zoning legislation differs from province to province, procedural problems and arbitrary decisions connected with minority places of worship and properties abound. For example, the European Commission's 2011 Progress Report on Turkey sites that Alevi places of worship (*cemevis*) are not recognized and that Alevis have faced serious impediments to establishing new ones. Christian groups have come up against similar obstacles. Furthermore, the Turkish law does not allow higher-level religious education for minority groups—the Halki Greek Orthodox Seminary, for example, has been closed since 1971 and the Armenians Patriarchate's proposal to open a university department for its clergy has been pending for years without resolution.⁴⁷⁰

Disputes surrounding the documentation of religion on identity cards stand as another similarity linking the problems of pluralism in Turkey and Greece. State issued identification documents in Turkey still list religion in terms of major faith group, though these documents do not discriminate between types of Muslims (Alevi, etc.). Until 2006 it was obligatory for state id holders' religion to be indicated. For identity cards issued since 2006, individuals have been entitled to request that the religion entry be left blank. This hardly remedies problems of religious prejudice, since leaving the category blank is tantamount to an admission of minority—or even worse, atheist—status. At present, religious discrimination in Turkey is commonplace. As Zeki Basatemir, a member of the board of directors of the Syriac Catholic Church Foundation in Turkey, told a reporter for *Zaman* (Turkey's most popular paper): “Although there are not written rules, I am not allowed to have a career in the police, military and in high levels of the bureaucracy because I am a Christian.”⁴⁷¹

In 2010 a new case was opened in the European Court of Human Rights against Turkey (Sinan Işık vs. Turkey) arguing that Turkish religious identification practices violated individual rights and freedom of consciousness. The case has opened the “black-box” of the Muslim/Islamic category and placed the general Turkish practices of religious documentation under increased scrutiny. In 2004 Mr Işık applied to a local Turkish court in Izmir requesting that his identity card feature the word "Alevi" rather than the word "Islam." The Izmir court dismissed the applicant's request on the basis of an opinion it had sought from the legal adviser at the Diyanet (Turkish Directorate for Religious Affairs). In the Diyanet's opinion, the term "Alevi" referred to a sub-group of Islam and therefore the indication "Islam" on the identity card was correct. The European Court of Human Rights ruled against Turkey on the basis of Article

no. 9, arguing that Mr. Işık's application had led the state to make an assessment of his faith, which clearly violated the state's duty to maintain neutrality and impartiality on religious issues.

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The Diyanet is at the center of most Turkish controversies regarding both pluralism and the relationship between religion and state —and for good reason too. Although the Turkish state is self-avowedly “secular” according to the 1982 constitution, an officially sanctioned version of Sunni Islam still enjoys a privileged —and constitutionally protected— place in the state structure through the Diyanet, which is akin to an established church. Under law no. 633 (last updated in 1965) the Diyanet has a mandate to “operate affairs related to belief, worship, and moral principles of the Islamic Religion, enlighten the public about religious issues and administer places of worship.”⁴⁷³ In practice this means that the Religious Affairs Directorate is responsible for, among other things, the creation of all sermons and mandatory school textbooks on religion. Today the Diyanet employs over 100,000 civil servants and has an annual state-budget approaching 1.6 billion dollars. To get a sense of the magnitude of this expenditure, it is worth considering that, in 1999 for instance, the Diyanet's budget was equal to the amount spent on five other Turkish Ministries combined (Work and Social Services, Industry and Trade, Energy and Natural Resources, Environment, and Tourism).⁴⁷⁴

While some circles accuse the AKP of expanding the Diyanet with the nefarious intention of “Islamicizing” the state, in actuality, the Diyanet's share of the state budget was sizable long before the AKP ever took power. Table XVI shows that, since 1993, the Diyanet's funding has actually remained fairly consistent relative to other government expenditures. Indeed work by

Gözaydın shows that, since as far back as 1951 when the countries political system began to open, the Diyanet's share of the state budget has held fairly steady between approximately 0.5-1%.⁴⁷⁵

[Insert Table XVI about Here]

Financing aside, it is important to point out that under the current constitution, non-Muslim religious groups and Muslim groups that deviate from the Diyanet's Hanafi-inspired version of Sunni Islam, lack legal status and official representation in the Diyanet all together. For over two decades, formal attempts at rapprochement between the Diyanet and various Alevi groups have yielded little resolution. Alevi leaders (*dedes*) still do not enjoy the perks that come with official status, such as state-issued paychecks drawn from tax-payer money. Reha Çamuroğlu, one of the architects behind attempts at establishing formal relations between the Alevi community and the Turkish state, recently initiated discussions on securing state salaries for the country's 100,000 Alevi leaders. In 2009 he abruptly gave up the cause in frustration for lack of progress.⁴⁷⁶ Çamuroğlu told a reporter for the newspaper *Zaman* in an extended interview that the “establishment running the regulation of religious services in Turkey is bizarre.”

If there are objections to giving dedes a state salary, than there also should be objections to making imams civil servants. . . . When you don't want to solve a problem, you find excuses. Just like car-parks are 'new establishments' that should be subject to legal regulation so too are Alevi houses of worship (cemeviler). This is all that we are after.⁴⁷⁷

The change in preferences is dramatic. Religious elites who once sought to escape the state's authority are now fighting to be under it!

The sheer bureaucratic inertia of the Turkish Directorate for Religious Affairs, however,

makes it an institution impervious to change and to the inclusion of minority voice. Since the founding of the Republic, Sunni Islam, and the religious elites that represent it, have always enjoyed a unique degree of protection and sponsorship as part of the state's bureaucratic infrastructure. This is a privilege that the Sunni elite seek to retain, making reconciliation with the Alevis difficult. More important still, under the current Turkish constitution, it is in fact illegal for political parties to contravene the Diyanet. Article 89 of the Political Party Law states:

“Political parties cannot have any intentions that are in contravention of Article 136 of the Constitution, which is concerned with the position of the Presidency of Religious Affairs, which, in keeping with the principle of laicism remains removed from all political views and thoughts, which aims for national solidarity and unification and which fulfills the duties laid out in the special law, in the general administration.”⁴⁷⁸

This makes the eradication of the Diyanet inconceivable under current political and legal arrangements, for any party that seeks to challenge the Diyanet faces the threat of immediate closure by the Turkish Constitutional Court.

The Turkish state is in the midst of preparing an overhaul of its 1982 military constitution. Few observers, however, expect significant—if any—change in the status of Diyanet. The Diyanet is simply too large and too closely linked to the preservation of the sacred ideological fusion of Kemalism and nominal Islam. This has left Turkish minority groups in a quandary. In an interview in September 2011, Lakis Vingas, the Representative of Minority Institutions under Turkey’s General Directorate for Foundations and himself a member of the country’s Greek Orthodox religious minority, expressed a guarded hope for the future of state-minority relations. “All of the positive changes [the return of properties, EU directives]

occurring recently seem to show that the Erdoğan government sincerely wants members of minority groups to play a more active part in the life of the country, ” said Vingas. He emphasized, however, that minority groups’ and religion's formal status under a new constitution will be the ultimate test of real and meaningful change. “We all pay taxes so, if the government is going to help one religion it should help them all . . . Basically, what this all comes down to is how the term “Turkish Citizen” is going to be defined.”⁴⁷⁹

VIII. Conclusions

To conclude, I summarize the objectives, logic, and findings of the study. The project was motivated by a theoretical concern regarding how states come to gain control over the institutional domains of education, law and religious regulation. The mainstream literature on state-formation has largely focused on the coercive and extractive capabilities of states. States, however, are made of more than just tax bureaus and armies. State's are also pedagogical, corrective and ideological organizations engaged in the politics of moral regulation, socialization, and the rule of law. At the project's highest level of abstraction, I have argued that state-making and moral regulation are co-constituting historical processes.

At a more concrete level, I have explained why some former Ottoman states succeeded in achieving exclusive sovereignty over schooling and law and religion upon independence — thereby consolidating state power and moral authority— whereas others did not. To do so, I focused on the phenomenon of “secular revolutions”, which are top-down political programs in which elites aggressively move perfect their sovereignty by relegating the religious establishment to state control.

My main argument was built around a comparison state-building and secularization in

Turkey, Egypt and Greece, focusing on the critical historical antecedents that preceded independence and in these three countries. I found that when manpower for early modernizing reforms in education and law in the 19th century was severely constrained, state-builders were more likely to employ strategies of institutional reform based on the coöptation of religion, thereby integrating religious elites into nascent state structures in a piecemeal fashion. This turbulent (and at times violent) process of integration and coöptation spawned a dynamic of differential growth that severely weakened religious institutions. When religious institutions were weakened in this way in the 19th century, it became possible for nation-states to exert full control over the religious establishment upon independence, producing what we consider today to be successful “secular revolutions”.

Lastly, I explored some of the repercussions that result from the use of cooptative reform strategies. Specifically, I demonstrated that states that rely on the coöptation of religious elites to their build disciplinary institutions also tend to generate a particularly virulent breed of exclusionary religious nationalism. State's built on religious synergies may be powerful and sovereign moral authorities dept at creating “disciples of the state”, but they are also intolerant of minority groups and have extreme difficulty conforming to contemporary multicultural and pluralist norms about how states should operate.

Table X. Minorities in Greece

Group	Language	Religion	Exchanged
Albanian (Cham)	Predominantly Albanian, some Turkish	Muslim (Bektashi)	unclear (in the end most appear to have been exempted but there are Turkish reports of numerous Albanians coming with the exchange)
Arvanites	Arvanika, some Greek speakers	Greek Orthodox	no
Gaga(v)uz Turks	Gagauz (Turkic Language) often written in Greek script	Greek Orthodox	no (but some individuals appear to have been admitted to Turkey)
Jewish (Sephardic)	Ladino, Greek, Italian	Judaism	no
Jewish (Ashkenazi)	Yiddish, Greek, Judeo-Greek	Judaism	no
Jewish (Doenmeh/ <i>Donme</i>)	Ladino and Greek	Explicitly converted to Sunni Islam in the 17th century but often secretly retained Judaic practices	yes
Muslim Cretans	Kritika (a dialect of Greek)	Muslim	yes
Pomaks	Pomak a South Slav language often considered a dialect of Bulgarian	Muslim	no
Roma	Romany	Muslims and very few Orthodox Christians	no
Slavs	Various Slavic dialects closely related to Bulgarian, Greek	Schismatics (supporters of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church) and Patriarchists or Grecomanoi (Supporters of the Greek Orthodox Church)	Voluntary exchange in 1919 but many still left behind as shown by stats. Also, internal displacement, sent to the island to depopulate and help state control
Turks of Macedonia	Turkish and Greek	Sunni Muslim	Yes
Turks of Western Thrace	Turkish and Greek	Sunni Muslim	No
Valaades	Greek	Muslims	Yes
Vlachs (Romanizontes)	Koutsovlach sometimes divided between (Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian)	Greek Orthodox and very small number of Muslims	No

Table XI. Minorities in Ottoman Turkey

Group	Language	Religion	Exchanged
Alevis	Kurdish and Turkish	Bektashi, Shi'ite and Sunni	no
Arab Christians, Jacobites and Other Eastern Christians	Arabic, Assyrian, Chaldean, Turoyo	Various Eastern Christian Churches	no (but the Turks tried to exchange the Arab Orthodox population of Mersin)
Circassians ¹	various dialects of both Circassian and Abkhaz-Abaza	Sunni Muslims	no, (but there are some reports that some 9,000 were transferred to Greece in 1922 as a result of collaboration with the Greek army)
Greeks Karamanlides	Turkish and Greek	Greek Orthodox	yes
Greek Orthodox of Istanbul, Imbros and Tenedos	Greek	Greek Orthodox	no
Kurds	Kurdish (Kurmançî, Zaza-Gorani)	Muslim	no
Jews	Ladino and Turkish	Jewish	no
Laz (<i>Lazlar</i>)	Laz, a language closely related to Georgian and Mingrelian	Sunni Muslims	no
Ponites	Turkish	Greek Orthodox	yes
Roma	Multiple	Nomadic Muslims	no

¹ (called Cherkes in Turkish. The name is in fact a blanket term for various related North Caucasian peoples, primarily Abkhazians, Adighe and Ubigh; although occasionally Chechen and Ingush are also included).

Table XII: Population Breakdown by District in Macedonia: 1912 vs. 1926

Population in 1912	Population in 1926
Elassona	
Greeks 88% Muslims 12% Bulgarians Miscellaneous	Greeks 100% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous
Grevena	
Greeks 78% Muslims 18% Bulgarians 4% Miscellaneous	Greeks 96% Muslims Bulgarians 4% Miscellaneous
Katerini	
Greeks 80% Muslims 18% Bulgarians 2% Miscellaneous	Greeks 100% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous
Kozani	
Greeks 60% Muslims 40% Bulgarians Miscellaneous	Greeks 100% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous
Annasselitsa	
Greeks 75% Muslims 25% Bulgarians Miscellaneous	Greeks 100% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous
Kailaria	
Greeks 20% Muslims 76% Bulgarians 4% Miscellaneous	Greeks 93% Muslims Bulgarians 4% Miscellaneous 3%
Verria	
Greeks 70% Muslims 20% Bulgarians Miscellaneous 10%	Greeks 93% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous 7%
Florina	
Greeks 32% Muslims 32% Bulgarians 35% Miscellaneous 1%	Greeks 61% Muslims Bulgarians 37% Miscellaneous 2%
Edessa	
Greeks 40% Muslims 48% Bulgarians 12% Miscellaneous	Greeks 86% Muslims Bulgarians 14% Miscellaneous

Enotia	
Greeks 54% Muslims Bulgarians 46% Miscellaneous	Greeks 64% Muslims Bulgarians 26% Miscellaneous 5%
Kastoria	
Greeks 56% Muslims 24% Bulgarians 19% Miscellaneous	Greeks 78% Muslims Bulgarians 22% Miscellaneous
Yenitsa	
Greeks 56% Muslims 39% Bulgarians 5% Miscellaneous	Greeks 96% Muslims Bulgarians 4% Miscellaneous
Ghoumendza	
Greeks 36% Muslims 42% Bulgarians 17% Miscellaneous 5%	Greeks 79% Muslims Bulgarians 19% Miscellaneous 2%
Salonique	
Greeks 29% Muslims 26% Bulgarians Miscellaneous 45%	Greeks 80% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous 20%
Kilkis	
Greeks Muslims 66% Bulgarians 29% Miscellaneous 3%	Greeks 97% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous 3%
Langada	
Greeks 36% Muslims 60% Bulgarians 4% Miscellaneous	Greeks 100% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous
Chalcidique	
Greeks 86% Muslims 14% Bulgarians Miscellaneous	Greeks 97% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous 3%
Siderocastro	
Greeks 19% Muslims 40% Bulgarians 37% Miscellaneous 4%	Greeks 84% Muslims Bulgarians 15% Miscellaneous
Serres	
Greeks 47% Muslims 40% Bulgarians 9%	Greeks 94% Muslims Bulgarians

Miscellaneous 4%	Miscellaneous
Zichni	
Greeks 74% Muslims 17% Bulgarians 7% Miscellaneous 2%	Greeks 95% Muslims Bulgarians 5% Miscellaneous
Pravi	
Greeks 40% Muslims 60% Bulgarians Miscellaneous	Greeks 100% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous
Drama	
Greeks 15% Muslims 79% Bulgarians 5% Miscellaneous 1%	Greeks 97% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous 3%
Kavalla	
Greeks 29% Muslims 69% Bulgarians Miscellaneous 2%	Greeks 100% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous
Nestos	
Greeks 98% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous	Greeks 100% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous
Thassos	
Greeks 100% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous	Greeks 100% Muslims Bulgarians Miscellaneous

Table XIII. Greek Employment in Foreign and Turkish Companies in Istanbul 1923⁴⁸⁰

Company	Percent of Greek Employees
Registered Foreign Concessionary Companies	
Commercial Bank of Near East	90%
Orosdi Bank	60%
Deutsche Orientbank	50%
Credit Lyonnais	50%
Compagnie d'Assurances Generales	99%
Banco di Roma	50%
Banca Commerciale Italiana	50%
Banque hollandaise pour la Mediterranee	50%
Banque Fancaise de Pays d'Orient	50%
Ionian Bank	50%
The Adriatic Petroleum	50%
Assicurazioni Generale	50%
Union of Paris	20%
Helvetia (insurance)	20%
Bank and Manson Insurance Co.	25%
Halcyon Line	25.00%
Khedivial Mail Steam Ship	25%
Messageries Maritimes	25%
Paquet	25%
Gelchrist Walker and Co.	25%
Lloyd Triestino	25%
Walter Seager Co.	20%
Registered Turkish Companies	
Societe Cooperative des Marchands de fromage de Constantinople	100%
Minoterie d' Orient	60%
Minoteries Unies	60%
Compagnie d' Assurances Generales de Constantinople	60%
Banque de Salonique	50%
Industrie Chimique et Olifere	40%
Balia-Karaidin	40%
Banque Nationale de Turquie	25%

Societe de Glace de Constantinople	25%
Fabriques Unies de Ciment Arslan et Eski-Hissar	25%
Fabriques Unies de Conserves Hermes et confiance Cartal	25%
Mines de' Heraclee	20%
Society Nationale d' Assurance Turque	20%
Cine-Magic	20%
Docks et Chantiers de Stenia	20%

Table XVI: Directorate of Religious Affairs's Share of Overall State Budget in Turkey⁴⁸¹

Year	Percentage
1993	0.9
1994	1
1995	0.9
1996	0.6
1997	0.7
1998	0.7
1999	0.6
2000	0.5
2001	0.6
2002	0.6
2003	0.5
2004	0.6
2005	0.7
2006	0.8
2007	0.8
2008	0.8
2009	0.7

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Sırat-ı Müstakim

Volkan

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- 2 Arnold Beichman, "The Gaul of Iraq," *The Washington Times*, June 11, 2004.
- 3 Steven A. Cook, *Ruling but not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria and Turkey* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007): 8-13.; Robert Stephens, *Nasser, A Political Biography* (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1971), 577-80.; Ed Webb, "Civilizing Religion: Jacobin Projects Of Secularization In Turkey, France, Tunisia, And Syria" (PhD diss., *University of Pennsylvania*, 2007).
- 4 For government control of mosque in Egypt see Patrick Gaffney, "The Changing Voice of Islam: The Emergence of Professional Preachers in Contemporary Egypt," *Muslim World* (1991) 81.1: 47.; Michael Winter, "Islam in the State: Pragmatism and Growing Commitment," in Shimon Shamir Ed., *Egypt from Monarch to Republic: A Reassessment of Revolution and Change* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 49.
- 5 Shannon M. Roesler, "Modern Legal Reform in Egypt: Shifting Claims to Legal Authority" *Cardozo Journal of International and Comparative Law* (Fall 2006): 393.
- 6 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994 [1939]); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977); Timothy Mitchel, *Colonizing Egypt* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Eugen Weber, *From Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1976); Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Translated by Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1958).
- 7 Philip Gorski, "The Protestant Ethic Revisited: Disciplinary Revolution and State Formation in Holland and Prussia," *American Journal of Sociology*, (1993) 99.2: 271.
- 8 For example see Kemâleddin Nomer, Ed. *Şeriat, hilâfet, cumhuriyet, laiklik: dinî ve tarihî gerçeklerin belgeleri* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1996).
- 9 Ran Hirschl. *Constitutional Theocracy*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 101.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 77.
- 11 Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith Eds., *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (New York: International Publishers, 1971). Gramsci, for example, highlights the value of schooling and law in his work on the ethical state. In order to indoctrinate citizens with the desired world-view and facilitate social order, he argues that "the school as a positive educative function, and the courts as a repressive and negative educative function, are the most important state activities" (258). In a passage published in the same volume (246), Gramsci also writes that "If every state tends to create and maintain a certain type of civilization and of citizen (and hence of collective life and of individual relations), and to eliminate certain customs and attitudes and to disseminate others, then the Law will be its instrument for this purpose (together with the school system, and other institutions and activities)."
- 12 John R. Lott. "Public Schooling, Indoctrination, and Totalitarianism" *Journal of Political Economy* (1999) 107.6: 127-157.
- 13 The literature on nationalism is much too vast to cite here. For some of the most influential works, in addition to Gellner and see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986); Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- 14 Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 4.
- 15 Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914" in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger Eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 263-307.; Mara Loveman, "The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power," *American Journal of Sociology* (2005) 110.6: 1656.
- 16 Tom R. Tyler "Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation," *Annual Review of Psychology* (2006) 57: 376-8.
- 17 Joel Migdal, *State in Society: Studying how States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another* (Cambridge University Press, 2001): 252.
- 18 Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003): 36.
- 19 See Hirschl, 26-40.
- 20 Loveman, 1659. Although the language and the subject matter are distinct from Loveman's discussion of symbolic power in Brazil, Table I utilizes many of the same mechanisms described in Loveman's formulation of how power works in modern states.
- 21 Gorski 2003, 165-6.
- 22 Anderson 1983.; Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983.; Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000); John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); James Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998).

- 23 Gianfranco Poggi, *The Development of the Modern State* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1978); Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975); Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European State Formation AD 990-1992* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1992).; Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System, 3 vols.* (New York: Academic Press, 1976-87).
- 24 Tilly 1975, 42.
- 25 On class incorporation and elite conflict under conditions of late development see David Waldner, *State Building and Late Development* (Cornell University Press, 1999); on land tenure reform see Joel Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton University Press, 1988); on revenue maximization see Margaret Levi, *Of Rule and Revenue* (University of California Press, 1988).
- 26 The work of Gorski, Loveman, Torpey and to some degree Migdal—all cited above—stand out as obvious exceptions.
- 27 Michael Mann, "Infrastructural Power Revisited," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (2008) 43.3/4: 355.
- 28 Torpey, 11.
- 29 See *Studies in Comparative International Development* (2008) 43.3/4, which is dedicated to a study of infrastructural power and contains noteworthy contributions by Hillel Soifer, Matthias vom Hau, Dan Slater and Daniel Ziblatt among others.
- 30 Anthony Gill, "Religion and Comparative Politics" *Annual Review of Political Science* (2001) 4: 119.
- 31 For an overview of the literature on relationship between secularization and political development see Jonathan Fox "Do Democracies Have Separation of Church and State" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (March, 2007) 40:1: 1-25.
- 32 Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy* (Garden City, NY: Double Day, 1967); David Martin, *A General Theory of Secularization*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978).
- 33 Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Trans. Karen E. Fields, (New York: The Free Press, 1995 [1912]).
- 34 Thomas Luckman, *The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Religion in Modern Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1967).
- 35 Steve Bruce, *God is Dead: Secularization in the West*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).
- 36 B. Anderson 1983.
- 37 Tilly 1975, 48.
- 38 Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991): 26; Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Touchstone, 1996): 70.
- 39 Jelen, T.G., Wilcox, C. *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective*. (Cambridge University Press, 2002): 321; Gellner, *Muslim Society* 1981, 1-5.
- 40 Huntington 1996, 212.
- 41 Ahmet Kuru, "Passive and assertive secularism: historical conditions, ideological struggles, and state policies towards religion." *World Politics* (2007) 59:4: 577.
- 42 Although there are a handful of comparative studies on state-religion relations in strictly Muslim or strictly Christian settings few studies compare across these two world religions. For the former see Pedro Ramet. *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twentieth Century*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988); M. Moaddel. *Jordanian Exceptionalism: A Comparative Study of State-Religion Relationships in Egypt, Iran, Jordan and Syria* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
- 43 Stathis Kalyvas, "Commitment Problems in Emerging Democracies: The Case of Religious Parties." *Comparative Politics*. (2000) 32:4: 379-399.
- 44 S. Hanson, "The Secularization Thesis: Talking at Cross Purpose," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* (1997) 12:159-79.
- 45 Philip Gorski and Ates Altinordu, "After Secularization?" *Annual Review of Sociology* (April 2008) 34: 75. This excellent article provides of a comprehensive review of the literature on secularization.
- 46 Ahmet Kuru, *Secularism and State Policies toward Religion: The United States, France, and Turkey* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- 47 Lisa Wedeen, *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric and Symbols in Contemporary Syria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999): 30.
- 48 Loveman, 1655.
- 49 Smith, 158.
- 50 Mark Juergensmeyer, "The New Religious State," *Comparative Politics* (July 1995): 384.
- 51 Avner Greif and David D. Laitin, "A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change", *American Political Science Review* (November 2004) 98.4: 634.
- 52 Ellen Kay Trimberger, *Revolutions from Above: Military bureaucrats and Development in Japan, Turkey, Egypt and Peru* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1978).
- 53 Matthias vom Hau makes a similar observation in his article, "State Infrastructural Power and Nationalism: Comparative

- Lessons from Mexico and Argentina” *Studies in Comparative International Development* (2008) 43.3/4: 337.
- 54 Matthew Lange, James Mahoney and Matthias vom Hau, “A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies” *American Journal of Sociology* (March 2006) 111.5: 1414.
- 55 The original typology can be found in Thelen and Streeck's introduction to *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies* (Oxford University Press, 2005): 19-31.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 57 Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots; A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).
- 58 Sinan Meydan, *Ataturk ile Allah Arasında* [Between Ataturk and Allah] (Istanbul: Inkilap, 2009): 92.
- 59 Lange, Mahoney & Matthias vom Hau, 1414.
- 60 For a discussion on the difference between value-laden and marginal decisions see: Philip Tetlock, Thinking the Unthinkable: Sacred Values and Taboo Cognitions,” *Trends in Cognitive Science* (2003) 17.7: 320-4.; Scott Artan and Robert Axelrod, “Re-framing Sacred Values,” *Negotiations Journal* (July 2008): 222-46.
- 61 Cyril E Black and L. Carl Brown, Eds. *Modernization in the Middle East: the Ottoman Empire and its Afro-Asia Successors* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), 2-3.
- 62 *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981): 17.
- 63 *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997): 182.
- 64 Of course, not in the modern sense of a “nation-state”
- 65 A.L. Macfie, *The End of the Ottoman Empire: 1908-23*. (New York: Longman, 1998) 5-6
- 66 Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980): 3-15; also see Gabor Agoston, “A Flexible Empire: Authority and Its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers.” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* (Summer 2003) 9.1/2: 15-29.
- 67 Black and Brown (1992, cited above) put this number at 26 whereas Hanioglu puts it at 27. See Hanioglu's, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- 68 See Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire.*; also see Adil Şen, *Osmanlıda Dönüm noktası: III Selim Hayatı ve Islahatları* [The Ottoman Turning Point: the Life and Work of Selim III] (Ankara: Fecr Yayınları, 2003).
- 69 Mansoor Moaddel, *Islamic Modernism, Nationalism and Fundamentalism: Episode and Discourse*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005): 325.
- 70 Black and Brown, 8.
- 71 Black and Brown, 57-9.
- 72 Macfie, 5
- 73 Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats*, 30.
- 74 Halil Bertay and Suraiya Faroqhi, Eds. *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History* (London: Frank Cass 1991).
- 75 The best of such accounts is probably: Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: Verso, 1979).
- 76 Ergun Özbudun, “The Continuing Ottoman Legacy and the State Tradition in the Middle East” in Leon Carl Brown, Ed. *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): 199.
- 77 Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 271.
- 78 *Ibid.*
- 79 Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon, 1966).
- 80 Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 209-10.
- 81 Richard D. Robinson. *The First Turkish Republic: A Case Study in National Development*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963).
- 82 Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Turks: An Introductory History to 1923* (London: Longman, 1997): 215-82.
- 83 Daniel J. Schroeter, “The Changing Relationship between the Jews of the Arab Middle East and the Ottoman State in the Nineteenth Century” Avigdor Levy, Ed. *Jews, Turks and Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002): 89
- 84 The term *millet* itself is the source of historical controversy, primarily because it has been used to describe realities in the early Ottoman period before the Ottoman's themselves had begun to employ the term. This debate should not concern us, for its the institution and style of governance, whether it be formal or informal, that concerns us, not the name. Clearly the term is a heuristic device used to simplify a very complex reality, nonetheless, I consider this generalization apt and theoretically useful.
- 85 Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, Eds. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, Vol. 1 The Central Lands*. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982): 74; Schroeter, 89-90.
- 86 Recep Çelik, *Milli Mücadelede Din Adamları* (İstanbul: Emre Yayınlar, 1999).
- 87 İlber Ortaylı, *Hukuk ve idare adamı olarak Osmanlı devletinde kadı* (Ankara : Turhan Kitabevi, 1994).

- 88 Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Post Classical Age*, (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988): 46.
- 89 Ibid., 53.
- 90 Ibid., 66-70; Çelik, 19.
- 91 John R. Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1986), 4.
- 92 Stanford Shaw, *From Empire to Republic: The Turkish War of National Liberation, 1918-1923, A Documentary Study* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001): 57
- 93 Madeline C. Zilfi, “The Ilmiye Registers and the Ottoman Medrese System Prior to the Tanzimat” in J-L. Bacque-Grammont and Paul Dumont, *Collection Turcica III*, (Louvain : Peeters, 1983): 318-22.
- 94 İsmail Kara, *İslâmcıların Siyasî Görüşleri* (İstanbul : İz Yayıncılık, 1994): 46.
- 95 Michael Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule, 1517-1798* (London: Routledge, 1992): 109-23.
- 96 Nikki R. Keddie, Ed. *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972): 4.
- 97 Rachida Chih, “What is a sufi order? Revisiting the Concept through a Case Study of the Khalwatiyya in Contemporary Egypt.” in Bruinessen, Martin V. and Julia Howell, Eds. *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007): 22.
- 98 Hülya Küçük. *Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Bektaşiler*. (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003): 19.
- 99 Winter, 128-166.
- 100 Küçük, 17
- 101 Michael Gilsean, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973); Valerie J. Hoffman. *Sufism, Mystics, and Saints in Modern Egypt* (Columbia, S.C. : University of South Carolina Press, 1995).
- 102 Winter, 109-23.
- 103 Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats*, 39.
- 104 Gökhan Çetinsaya, *Ottoman Administration of Iraq, 1890-1908* (New York : Routledge, 2006): 99.
- 105 Halil İnalcık, “The Status Of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans” *Turcica* (1991): 410-11.
- 106 Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968): 181.
- 107 Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 146.
- 108 N.J. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula During the Ottoman Rule*. (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1967): 44-5.
- 109 Ibid., 35-55.
- 110 Sophia Laiou, “Christian Women in an Ottoman World: Interpersonal and Family Cases Brought Before the Shari’a Courts, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries (Cases Involving the Greek Community)” in Amila Buturović and İrvin Cemil Schick Eds., *Women in the Ottoman Balkans : gender, culture and history* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
- 111 The issue of *trimoiria* is discussed in detail in Pantazopoulos, 66-90.
- 112 Richard Clogg, “The Greek Millet in the Ottoman Empire” in Braude and Lewis, Eds., 188. Although Greek-speaking decedents of the Byzantine tradition had dominant authority over the group and controlled its key institutions, even as late as the early nineteenth century, it would be wrong to think of Orthodox Greeks as the linguistically and ethnically homogeneous national group that one finds in present day Greece. To the contrary, a “Greek” Orthodox Christian from the Morea would not have been able to communicate with a “Greek” Orthodox Christian from the Anatolian interior. In some places “Greeks” spoke an amalgam of Greek and Turkish that would be unintelligible unless one knew both languages. In other places, Greek Orthodox Christians wrote a language very close to modern Turkish but in the Greek script. This ethnic and linguistic diversity has led Richard Clogg (ibid., 185) to conclude that, “even in the Ottoman capital in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there were few among the Greek population who could understand the Holy Scriptures or ecclesiastical encyclical written in Greek.”
- 113 Stanford Shaw, Ed., *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991): 41
- 114 Ibid.; Also see Avigdor Levy, Ed. *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth through the Twentieth Century*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002); Avigdor Levy, Ed. *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1994).
- 115 Avner Levi, “Shavat Aniiim: Social Cleavage, Class War and Leadership in the Sephardi Community—The Case of Izmir 1847.” in Aron Rodrigue, Ed. *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry: Community and Leadership*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies 1992).
- 116 Shaw 2001, 43.
- 117 Kemal Karpat, “*Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nations and States in the Post-Ottoman Era*.” in Braude and Lewis, Eds.; William Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
- 118 Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 118.
- 119 Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 6.

- 120 Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 259.
- 121 Schroeter, 92.
- 122 Ibid., 88.
- 123 Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979): 39.
- 124 The size of the Ottoman army was around 120,000 men in 1830 whereas the Egyptian Army was approximately 208,000 men strong in the same period. See Justin A. McCarthy, "Nineteenth-Century Egyptian Population" *Middle Eastern Studies* (1971) 12.3: 15.; Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 269.
- 125 Mithat Şükrü Bleda, *İmparatorluğun Çöküşü* [The Collapse of the Empire] (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1979): 15.
- 126 Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, VIII Cilt. Birinci Meşrutiyet ve İstibdat Devirleri* [Ottoman History, Volume 8 The First Constitutional and Despotism Period] (Ankara, 1962); M. Kemal Pekdemir, *Tarihin en Tartışmalı Padişahı Abdülhamid* [History's Most Controversial Sultan Abdülhamid] (İstanbul: Neden Kitap 2008):17-76; Mustafa Özden, *II. Meşrutiyetin İlanı Önce ve Sonrası* [Declaration of the II Constitutional Period, Before and After] (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000): 13-14; Sommerville Story, ed. *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey* (London: Constable and Company, 1920): 208-219.
- 127 Tarik Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler. Cilt I İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi 1908-1918* [Political Parties in Turkey Vol. 1 The Second Constitutional Period]. *Genişletilmiş İkinci Baskı* [Second Printing, Expanded Version] (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları: 1984): 10.
- 128 The diffuse nature of the Young Turk movement is demonstrated by the geographical spread of their publications. These publications include: *Ahali* (Paris), *Anadolu* (Cairo), *Balkan* (Ruse), *Curcuna* (Cairo), *Doğru Söz* (Cairo), *Efkar-ı Umumiye* (Ruse, Sofia), *La Federation Ottomane-İttihad-ı Osmanı* (Geneva), *Feryad* (Sofia), *Hilafet-Khilafa* (London), *İctihad* (Geneva, Cairo and İstanbul), *İntibah* (Paris), *İntikam* (Geneva), *LakLak* (Cairo), *Kanun-ı Esasi* (Cairo), *Kürdistan* (Geneva), *Mechveret Supplement Français* (Paris), *Mecmua-i Kemal* (Cairo), *Mizan* (Geneva, İstanbul), *Muvazene* (Plovdiv, Varna, and Geneva), *Neyyir-i Hakikat* (Monastir), *Osmanlı* (Folkstone, Cairo, and Geneva), *Osmanlı* (2) (Cairo), *Osmanlı* (3) (The Pireaus), *Rumeli* (Plovdiv), *Sada-yı Girid* (Canea), *Sancak* (Cairo), *Şura-yı Ümmet* (Cairo, Paris, İstanbul and Salonica), *Terakki* (Paris), *Tuna* (Ruse), *Türk* (Cairo), *Uhuvvet* (Ruse), *Yeni Fikir* (Alexandria).
- 129 Şerif Mardin, "Continuity and Change in the Ideas of the Young Turks," *Roberts College School of Business Administration an Economics Occasional Paper Series* (Ankara: Yenişehir Matbaası 1969): 7-10.
- 130 See for example Mizancı Murad, "Yazı ve Kalem" [Pen and Writing] *Mizan* 136 (27 Şubat 1890): 1154 as quoted in Birol Emil, *Mizancı Murad Bey: Hayatı ve Eserleri* [Mizancı Murad: His Life and Work] (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1979): 280-1; Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* [The Educational System in the Hamidian Period] (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1980): 253-4; and İbrahim Temo, *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin teşekkülü ve hidematı vataniye ve inkılabı milliye dair hatıratım* [On the Creation of the Committee for Union and Progress, its National Duties and Reforms] (Mecidiye (Romania): 1939).
- 131 See M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995): 10-16 and 200-3. and M. Şükrü Hanioglu, "Blueprints for a Future Society: Late Ottoman Materialists on Science, Religion and Art" in Elisabeth Özdalga, ed. *Late Ottoman Society: the Intellectual Legacy* (New York: Routledge, 2005): 28-116.
- 132 M. Şükrü Bleda, 22.; Halil Erdoğan Cengiz Ed. *Enver Paşa'nın Anıları 1881-1908* [Enver Pasha's Memoirs: 1881-1908]. (İstanbul: İleştin Yayınlar, 1991): 60-66; Halil Paşah, *İttihat ve Terakki'den Cumhuriyet'e Bitmeyen Savaş* [The Endless War from Union and Progress to Republic], prepared by M. Taylan Sorgun (İstanbul: Kame Yayınları, 1997): 33.
- 133 According to M. Şükrü Bleda, the society numbered 'thousands' in the spring of 1907. See his *İmparatorluğun Çöküşü* [The Collapse of the Empire], 31. Also see Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the National Turkish Movement* (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1984): 39 which states that Enver claims in his memoirs that the CUP had 2000 members in the Third Army alone by 1908.
- 134 For further information on condition at the War College in İstanbul see: Handan Nezir Akmeşe, *The Birth of Modern Turkey: The Ottoman Military and the March to World War I* (London: IB Tauris, 2005): 36-40.
- 135 In addition to the individual CUP journals and publications cited individually below, I have consulted the following biographies, memoirs and letter collections to reconstruct the preferences of the organization. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, *The life of Midhat Pasha: a record of his services political reforms banishment and judicial murder* (London: John Murray Publishers, 1903); Bekir Fikri, *Balkanlarda tedhiş ve gerilla Grebene* [Grebene: Terror and Guerrilla Warfare in the Balkans] (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1976); M. Şükrü Bleda, 1979; Enver Paşa, 1991; M. Şükrü Hanioglu ed. *Kendi Mektuplarında Enver Paşa* [Enver Pasha as show through his Own Letters] (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1989); Halil Paşa, 1997; İbrahim Temo, *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin teşekkülü ve hidematı vataniye ve inkılabı milliye dair hatıratım* [On Creation of the Committee for Union and Progress, its National Duties and Reforms] (Mecidiye (Romania): 1939); İbrahim Temo. *İbrahim Temo'nun İttihad ve Terakki Anıları* [İbrahim Temo's Committee for Union and Progress

- Memoirs] (İstanbul: Arba Araştırma Basım Yayın, 1987); Kazım Karabekir, *Hayatım* [My Life], Faruk Özerengin ed. (İstanbul: Emre Yayınları, 1995); Kazım Karabekir, *İstiklal harbimiz* [Our War of Independence] (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1969); Kazım Karabekir, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti: 1896-1909* [The Committee for Union and Progress] (İstanbul: Emre Yayınları, 1993). Talat Paşa, *Talat Paşa'nın Hatıraları* [Talat Pasha's Memoirs], prepared by Enver Bolayır (İstanbul: Güven Yayınevi, 1946); François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Yusuf Akçura: (1876-1935)* [The Roots of Turkish Nationalism: Yusuf Akçura] Alev Er trans. (Ankara : Yurt Yayınları, 1986). Orhan Çakmak & Atilla Yücel, *Yusuf Akçura* (Ankara: Alternatif Yayınları, 2002); Muharrem Feyzi Togay, *Yusuf Akçura'nın Hayatı* [The Life of Yusu Akçura] (İstanbul: Hüsni Tıbaa Matbaası, 1944).
- 136 Enver Paşa, 49-50.
- 137 Sinan Meydan, *Atatürk İle Allah Arasında* [Between Atatürk and Allah] (İstanbul: İnkıap, 2009).
- 138 Quoted in Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın. *Talat Paşa* (İstanbul: Yedigün Neşriyat, 1943): 4-5. Also quoted in Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969): 17.
- 139 Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, 18.
- 140 Benjamin Fortna. "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman "Secular" Schools," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, (Aug. 2000) 32.3: 372.
- 141 For an excellent description of this attempt see Amit Bein, "Politics, Military Conscription, and Religious Education in The Late Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. (2006) 38.2: 283-301.
- 142 Muallim Cevdet (İnançalp), *Mektep ve Medrese* [Mektep and Medrese], prepared by Erdoğan Erüz. (İstanbul: Çınar Yayınlar 1978): 122. Muallim Cevdet himself was a conservative pedagogue interested in maintaining the link between religion and general education.
- 143 Selcuk Akşin Somel. *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire: 1839-1908 Islamization, Authority and Discipline* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001): 108.
- 144 The historian Kemal Karpat appears to attempt something of this sort in his collection on Ottoman statistics, where he sites the existence of 2,380 "state" elementary schools and 3,970 "community" elementary schools (which are presumably, mostly religious in nature) for the year 1894/5 (1310), suggesting that religious elites still held the upper hand in realm of primary school. See Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1995). However, the reliability of these figures is doubtful, especially given the existence of the Ottoman statistical data cited below citing much higher numbers.
- 145 As Benjamin Fortna points out in his excellent article on late Ottoman education, these terms are employed in some of the major histories on Turkish modernization, including work by Bernard Lewis, Niazi Berkez and Carter Findley. See Fortna's "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman "Secular" Schools," 373 and 390 ft 22.
- 146 Somel, 109.
- 147 Tefvîk Güran, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı 1897* [The Ottoman Empire's First Statistical Year 1897] Tarihi İstatistikler Dizisi Cilt 5 [Historical Statistics Series Vol 5] (Ankara : T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1997), 106-9. Originally published in Arabic script, 1316 [1897].
- 148 Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* [The Educational System in the Hamidian Period] (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1980), 238.
- 149 Qutoed in Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*. (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1980), 240.
- 150 Grace Ellison, *Turkey To-Day* (London: Hutchinson, 1928): 206-7.
- 151 Osman Ergin (İstanbul Vilayeti Mektupçusu), *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi Cilt: 4*. [History of Turkish Education Vol. 4] (İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1942): 1096.
- 152 Many examples can be found in: Davut Güngör and Hüdayi Erten eds. *Cumhuriyet Dönemi ve Öncesinde Balıkesir'de Eğitim* [Education in Balıkesir in the Republican Period and Before] (Balıkesir: Balıkesir Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü, 1998).
- 153 The term *Nizamiye* is derived from the word *nizam* meaning order and regularity.
- 154 Muhammad Khalid Masud, Rudolph Peters and David S. Powers, "Qadis and their Courts: An Historical Survey" in *Dispensing Justice in Islam: Qadis and their judgements* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 35-6.
- 155 Ahmet Akgündüz, *Ser'iyeye Sicilleri: Mahiyeti, Toplu Kataloğu ve Seçme Hükümler, I. Cild I* [sharia Court Records: Their Character, Comprehensive Catalog and a Selection of Verdicts, Volume 1] (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayınları, 1988). This volume contains data for over 90% of the courts that existed in the Ottoman territory that eventually became the Turkish Republic. See pages 85-215 for the actual list of all the court records and where they are located.
- 156 This data is found in Sadık Albayrak, *Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması*. Cilt 1 [The Late Ottoman Ulema, Vol. 1] (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları No. 40., 1996), 39.
- 157 This figure, together with an excellent description of how the medreses became a safe-haven for draft dodgers in the late Ottoman period can be found in Amit Bein "The Ulema, their Institutions, and Politics in the Late Ottoman Empire (1876-1924)" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2006), Chapter 2.
- 158 Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, 218.

- 159 Albayrak, *Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması*. Cilt 1, see the introduction.
- 160 Ibid., see all volumes.
- 161 Ismail Kara, *İslamcıların Siyasi Görüşleri* [The Islamists' Political Views] (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1994), 51.
- 162 David Kushner, "The Place of the Ulema in the Ottoman Empire During the Age of Reform (1939-1918)" *Turcica* XIX (1987), 65; Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 180-88. Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi Cilt: 3*. [History of Turkish Education Vol. 3] (İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1942), 1007.
- 163 Quoted Ismail Kara, *İslamcıların Siyasi Görüşleri* [The Islamists' Political Views], 77-8.
- 164 Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, 177.
- 165 Birol Emil, *Mizancı Murad Bey: Hayatı ve Eserleri* [*Mizancı Murad: His Life and Works*] (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1979), 23-71.
- 166 Zürcher, *Turkey A Modern History*, 87.
- 167 Quoted from the Turkish translation in Birol Emil, 436-7. For the French original also see "La Force et La Faiblesses de La Turquie" *Revue des Revues*, (9 Decembre 1987): 564-571.
- 168 Quoted in Ibid., 92.
- 169 Quoted in Sinan Meydan, *Atatürk İle Allah Arasında* [Between Atatürk and Allah] (İstanbul: İnkıap, 2009), 187. Also see Abdullah Cevdet, *İçtihad'ın İçtihadı: Abdullah Cevdet'den Seçme Yazılar* [Selected Writings from Abdullah Cevdet], Mustafa Gündüz ed. (Ankara: Lotus Yayınevi, 2008).
- 170 This CUP journal was published in Egypt, Paris and Istanbul between 1320-1326.
- 171 Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasî Fikirleri 1895-1908* [The Young Turk's Political Ideas: 1895-1908] (Ankara: Türkiye İş Banası Kültür Yayınları, 1964): 131-2.
- 172 Ibid., 133. Also see *Mechveret*, (February 1, 1903): 3 and Ahmed Rıza "Les Positivistes et la Politique Internationale" *Mechveret*, (September 15, 1896): 6.
- 173 See Mardin *ibid.*, 130.
- 174 H. Anthony Salmone, *The Fall and the Resurrection of Turkey* (London: Methuen, 1896): 71.
- 175 Kara, *İslamcıların Siyasi Görüşleri* [Islamists' Political Views], 74.
- 176 For details on individuals mosques/sites and exact allocations see Aydın Talay, *Eserleri ve Hizmetleriyle Sultan Abdülhamid* (İstanbul: Risale 1991): 341-92.
- 177 Kara, *İslamcıların Siyasi Görüşleri* [Islamists' Political Views], 74.
- 178 Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 101-4.
- 179 Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *İslamcılık Akımı* [The Islamic Movement] (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003): 100.
- 180 Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamit Yıldız Hatıraları* [Abdülhamit: Recollections from Yıldız Palace] (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi 1931), 49.
- 181 This order had been officially banned in 1826 and most of its properties had been transferred to the Naqshabandis. However, Bektashi orders often continued to function even under Naqshabandı supervisors, creating a large degree of confusion as to who was allied with what order. See Hülya Küçük, *Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Bektaşiler* [The Role of the Bektashis in Turkey's National Struggle] (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003): 33-38.
- 182 Samih Nazif Tansu. *İki Devrin Perde Arkası* [The Behind the Scenes Story of Two Periods] Third edition, Hüsamettin Ertürk ed. (İstanbul: Arat Yay., 1969): 19.
- 183 Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 53-7.
- 184 Küçük, 38.
- 185 M. Şükrü Bleda, 20.
- 186 Ibid., 56.
- 187 Tunaya, *İslamcılık Akımı* [The Islamic Movement], 105.
- 188 Kara, *İslamcıların Siyasi Görüşleri* [Islamists' Political Views], 49.
- 189 The roots of the LU had been laid some eight years earlier by a group that gathered around Prince Sabahattin (a nephew of Sultan Abdulhamid) and his League of Private Initiative and Decentralization (*Teşebbüsü Şahsi ve Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti*). Support for administrative decentralization won the LU supporters from among the various religious minority groups; it also, however, opened the LU and Sabahattin to accusations of being "partitionists" working to dismantle the empire. See for example, the letter written by Dr. Bahaeddin in Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, *İnkılap Tarihimiz ve İttihad ve Terakki* [History of Our Revolution and Union and Progress]: 229). In addition to religious minorities, the LU also drew some of its support from CUP defectors who had become either disillusioned by the organization's aims and/or frustrated by their own inability to secure a more prominent position. Because they party was weak compared to the CUP, it occasionally joined forces with the smaller left wing parties such as the center-left Democratic Party (Fırka-i İbad). In essence then, the organization was a strange hodge-podge of political factions united in little more than their opposition to the CUP's aggressive drive toward state centralization. See Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler Cilt I* [Political Parties in Turkey Volume I.]: 142-178.
- 190 Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler Cilt I* [Political Parties in Turkey Volume I.]: 182-200.

- 191 “İttihad-ı Muhammedî Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi” [The Rule and Regulations of the Society of Muhammadan Union], *Volkan*, 3 Mart 1325 (16 Mart 1909). Transcribed into latin characters in M. Ertuğrıř Düzdađ ed. *Volkan Gasetesi 11 Aralık 1908 – 20 Nisan 1909 Tam ve Aynen Metin* Neřri [The Complete and Exact Textual Publication of Volkan Newspaper: February 11, 1908 – April 20, 1909] (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1992): 362-364.
- 192 Sadık Albayrak, *31 Mart Vak'ası Gerici bir Hareket mi?* [Was the 31st of March Incident a Reactionary Movement?] (İstanbul: Bilim – Arařtırma Yayınları, 1987); Cevat Rifat Atilhan, *31 Mart faciası: ilim ışığında ve tarih önünde* [The March 31st Calamity: In the Light of Scholarship and History] (İstanbul: Aykurt Neřriyat, 1956); Cemal Kutay, *31 Mart ihtilalinde Abdülhamid* [Abdülhamid in the 31st of March Revolution] (İstanbul: Kalem Yayınevi, 1977). Süleyman Kani İrtem, *31 Mart İsyanı ve Hareket Ordusu: Abdülhamid'in Selanik Sürgünü* [The 31st of March Uprising and the Action Army: Abdülhamid's Salonika Exile] Osman Selim Kocahanođlu ed. (İstanbul: Temel Yayınları, 2003).
- 193 Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler Cilt I* [Political Parties in Turkey Volume I], 153.
- 194 M. Ertuğrıř Düzdađ ed. *Volkan Gasetesi 11 Aralık 1908 – 20 Nisan 1909 Tam ve Aynen Metin* Neřri [The Complete and Exact Textual Publication of Volkan Newspaper: February 11, 1908 – April 20, 1909] (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1992), 264 lists the following as Members of the Central Committee: Seyadetlu Süheyl Pařa Hazretleri, řehülislâm Feyzullah Efendizade Reřadetlu Mehmet Sadık Efendi Hazretleri, Bayezid Dersiâmlarından Faziletlu Mehmed Emřn Hayreti Efendi, İbrünnâfli' Ahmet Esad Efendi, řeyhülhâc Mehmet Emin Efendi, Karagümrük ikinci imamı Nevşehirli Hafız Mehmed Sabri Efendi, Bandırma Naibi Faziletlu řevket Efendi, Bediüzzeman Saidi Kürdi İbn-i Miraz, Hırka-ı Saadet Hazreti Nebevi Kethüdası Utufetlu Hacı Hayri Bey, Evkaf-ı Hümayun ser veznedan münfasıl Ferik Rıza Pařa, "Volkan" Muharrirlerinden Faruki Ömer řevki Efendi, Darevndeviden Binbařı Refik Beyefendi, Kadiri řeyhi Reřadetlu Muhammed Efgani Efendi, Feriklikten mütekait Hacı İzzet Pařa, Sivas Vilayeti Nakibüleřraf Kaymakamı Seyyid Abdullah El Hařımı El Mekki Efendi Hazretleri, Memurinden İhsan Bey, Memurinden Hayri Bey, Fatih Dersiâmlarından Divrikızade Faziletlu Abdullah Ziyaeddin Efendi, řey Yunu Dergâhı postniřini řeyh Ali Efendi, Beylerbeyi camii-řerifi vâizi Hacı Kâzım Efendi, řeyhzade Hacı Mehmed Efendi Müderrisinden Tevfik Efendi, and Volkan muharriri Derviş Vahdeti.
- 195 David Farhi. “The řeriat as a Political Slogan: or the 'Incident of the 31st Mart’” *Middle Eastern Studies* 7/3 (October 1971), 285.
- 196 İbid, 284.
- 197 “*Volkan*” [Volcano] *Volkan*, 31 Mart 1325 (13 Nisan 1909). Transcribed in M. Ertuğrıř Düzdađ ed. *Volkan Gasetesi 11 Aralık 1908 – 20 Nisan 1909 Tam ve Aynen Metin* Neřri [The Complete and Exact Textual Publication of Volkan Newspaper: February 11, 1908 – April 20, 1909] (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1992): 500.
- 198 See Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *İslamcılık Akamı* [The Islamic Movement]: 99.
- 199 Quoted in İsmail Kara, *İslamcıların Siyasi Görüşleri* [Islamists' Political Views]: 219.
- 200 Quoted in Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, *İkûlap Tarihimiz ve İttihad ve Terakki* [History of Our Revolution and Union and Progress]: 253-4.
- 201 Quoted in Sadık Albayrak, *31 Mart Vak'ası Gerici bir Hareket mi?* [Was the 31st of March Incident a Reactionary Movement?]: 38-9.
- 202 For Elmalılı's (also known as Küçük Hamdi) opinion on the nature of the constitutional regime see İsmail Kara, *Din ile Modernleşme Arasında Çađdař Türk Düşüncesinin Meseleleri* [Issues in Contemporary Turkish Thought : Between Religion and Modernization] (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları 2005): 51. For Sahib Molla's stance see Faik Reřit Unat, Ed., *İkinci Meřrutiyetin İlanı ve Otuzbir Mart Hadisesi* [The Declaration of the Second Constitutional Period and the 31st of March Incident] (2. *Abdülhamid'in son Mabeyn Başkâtibi Ali Cevat Beyin Fezleke'si*) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1960): 142-3.
- 203 Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, 306.
- 204 Ayře Hür, “31 Mart ‘ihtilal-i askeriyesi’” [The Army's Revolution of 31 March] *Taraf*, (April 6, 2008).
- 205 M. S. Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008): 160.
- 206 İbid., 187
- 207 Quoted in Kara, *İslamcıların Siyasi Görüşleri* [Islamists' Political Views], 186.
- 208 Berkes, 368-70.
- 209 For the full text of program see Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler. Cilt I* [Political Parties in Turkey Vol. I] Belge 11 [Document 11], 65.
- 210 Kushner, 66.
- 211 See Sadık Albayrak, *Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması*, vol I-V. Examples include Abdurrahman Hilmi Efendi (see vol. 1 pg. 45) and Abdülcelil Efendi (see vol. pg. 58). Also see: *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye* [Yearbook of the Ministry of Public Education] (İstanbul: 1321 [1903]): pg 71.
- 212 A complete transcription of the relevant salnames is available in Mehmet řimsek, *Amid'den Diyarbekir'e Eđitim Tarihi* [A History of Education from Amid to Diyarbekir] (İstanbul: Kent Yayınları, 2006).
- 213 Guran, 106-9.
- 214 Somel, 260.
- 215 Kodaman, 238.

- 216 Somel, 260.
- 217 Mehmet Arif, *Küçük Kıraat-ı Fenniye* [The Little Science Reader] (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Kütüphane-i Cihan, 1332 (1905)), quoted in Nuri Doğan, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme, 1876-1918* [Primary and Middle School Text Books and Socialization] (İstanbul: Bağlam, 1994): 54.
- 218 Doğan, 71.
- 219 Ibid., 37.
- 220 Ali Seydi, *Müşahabat-i Ahlakiye* [A Discourse on Morality] (İstanbul : Matbaa-yi Orhaniye, 1335 [1916]): 10, as quoted in Doğan, 118. Doğan cites the version published by Necm-i İstikbal Mat. in 1914
- 221 Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 186.
- 222 Fatmagül Demirel. *Adliye Nezareti'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri 1876-1914* [The Founding and Workings of the Ministry of Justice] (Unpublished Dissertation: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2003): 86-9.
- 223 See Iris Agmon. *Family and Court: Legal Culture and Modernity in Late Ottoman Palestine* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006).
- 224 Avi Rubin, *Ottoman Modernity: Nizamiye Courts in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Unpublished Phd Dissertation: Harvard University, 2006): 102.
- 225 Ibid., 68.
- 226 Adolf Heidborn. *Manuel de droit public et administratif de l' Empire Ottoman* (Vienne-Leipzig: CW Stern, 1908): 241.
- 227 Ruth Austin Miller "From Fikh to Fascism: The Turkish Republican Adoption of Mussolini's Criminal Code in the Context of Late Ottoman Legal Reform." (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2003): 24-5 and 44.
- 228 For example see Albayrak, *Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması* [The Late Ottoman Ulema] vol. 3: biography of Mehmet Cemal Efendi, 138; biography of Mazhar Efendi, 49; biography of Mehmet Emin Efendi, 166.
- 229 Miller, 19.
- 230 Heidborn, 265.
- 231 See Albayrak, *Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması* [The Late Ottoman Ulema].
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- 233 Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity* (Oxford: One World, 2003), 87.
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- 238 Bein, 121.
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- 334 Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt* Vol. 2, 516-7.
- 335 *Al-Kitab al-Dhahabi l'il-Mahakim al-Ahliyya* [The Golden Book of the National Courts]: 112.
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- 412 There is no single source that consistently and reliably lists the minority groups living in the region at the turn of the 20th century. The information in Tables I and II has thus been culled from a variety of primary and secondary sources. Furthermore, I have not included the number of members in any given group because reliable data is not available for the time in question. Sources used in building the table are: Miranda Vickers, "The Cham Issue: Albanian National & Property Claims in Greece", Conflict Studies Research Center, ISBN 1-903584-76-0, (April 2002); Dimitris Michalopoulos, "The Moslems of Chamuria and the Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey", *Balkan Studies* (1986) 27.2: 303-13; Ioannes Archimadritis, *Τσάμηδες. Οδόνη και δάκρυα της Θεσπρωτίας* [Chams: Suffering and Tears in Thesprotias] (Athens: Georgiades, 196?); John Bintliff, "The Ethnoarchaeology of a "Passive" Ethnicity: The Arvanites of Central Greece" in K.S. Brown and Yannis Hamilakis, eds., *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories* (Ladham, Md: Lexington Books, 2003); Maria Michail- Dede, *Οι Έλληνες Αρβανίτες*. [The Greek Arvanites] (Athens: Dodonis, 1997); Titos P. Giochalas, *Άνδρας Αρβανίτες και Αρβανίκα* (Andros Arvanites and Arvanika) (Athens: Patakis, 2000); Soner Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?* (London: Routledge, 2006); Steven Bowman, "Jews" in Richard Clogg ed., *Ethnic Minorities in Greece*, (London: Hurst&Company, 2002), 64-80. Giannis Mankriotis, *Πομακοί η Ροδοπαιοι: Οι Έλληνες Μουσουλμάνοι* [Pomaks or Rodopi: The Greek Muslims]

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- 413 Anthony Marx, *Race and Nation* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1998): 3.
- 414 Renee Hirschon, "The Unmixing of Peoples in the Aegean Region" in *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey*, Ed. Renee Hirschon (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004): 3-6; Recently, several good and detailed historical accounts of the diplomatic negotiations have been produced. For the role of the Allies and the League of Nations at Lausanne see Michael William Anthony Dark, "Population Exchange and Peace Making" (PhD Dissertation: Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, 2005); for the Greek and Turkish Perspective see Onur Yildirim, *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922-1934* (New York: Routledge, 2006): chapters 2-3.
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- 417 Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsions that Forged Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).
- 418 Interview with Dimitriou Misailidi, transcribed in P.D. Apostolopoulos, Ed., (The Exodus B Testimonies from Parcheesi of Central and Northern Asia Minor) The Center for Asia Minor Studies (Athens, 1980), 213. It should be noted that Misailidi and all other interviewees employ the terms "Greek" and "Turk" because the interviews were actually conducted nearly 25 years after the exchange occurred.
- 419 Ladas, 27-49; Yildirim, 40.
- 420 Pentzopoulos, 57.
- 421 Interview with Evlampias Moumtzoglou transcribed in P.D. Apostolopoulos, Ed., 30.
- 422 Interview with Evanthias Govisoglou, *ibid.*, 119.
- 423 Interview with G. Xaziliadi, *ibid.*, 244.
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- 425 Adamantis Pollis Koslin, "The Megali Idea—A Study of Greek Nationalism" (PhD. Dissertation: Faculty of Philosophy at Johns Hopkins University, 1958): ii.
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- 428 A. A. Pallis, "The Exchange of Populations from a legal and Historical Viewpoint and its Significance for the International Position of Greece" speech delivered at the Panteios School of Political Sciences in Athens, (April 20, 1933): 18; also quoted in Pentzopoulos, 28.
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- 430 Cagaptay, 14.
- 431 Quoted in the original Turkish and translated to English in Yildirim, *footnote 34*, pg. 250. *Kızılbaş, which literally means "red-head" in Turkish is thought to derive from the Ottoman name given to a wide variety of Shi'ite militant factions. Today the term is used to describe members of the Alevi-Bektashi community who are Shi'ite Muslims but ethnically are Turks, Kurds or Zazas.
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- 437 Charles P. Howland, "Greece and Her Refugees", *Foreign Affairs* (July 1926) 4.4: 618.
- 438 Dimitris Michalopoulos, "The Moslems of Chamuria and the Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey," *Balkan Studies*, (1986) 27:2: 304.
- 439 A. Alexander Pallis, "The Exchange of Populations in the Balkans," *The Nineteenth Century and After*: (1925) 47.576: 1-8.
- 440 Michalopoulos, 308.
- 441 Herbert Adams Gibbons, *Venizelos*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920): 345-6.
- 442 Memorandum from I. Kokotakis in Dirrihio to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 31 May 1923. Istorikon Archeion Yporgeiou Exoterikon (Greek Foreign Ministry Archives) (From now on referred to as A.Y.E), 1924, A/5, άρ. 5382 reprinted in Ελληνισμός της Βόρειου Ήπειρου και Ελληνοαλβανικές Σχέσεις (The Greeks of Northern Epiros and Greek-Albanian Relations) Vol. 3 (The Onasis Foundation: Athens, 1997): 91.
- 443 Also see Memorandum from I. Kokotakis, Greek Embassy in Tirana to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15 June 1928, A.Y.E. 1928, A/21/I, άρ. 7208, *ibid.*, 372. Also see Michalopoulos, 311.
- 444 Yildirim, 112.
- 445 Memorandum from General Commander of Epiros Petihakis to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 14 April, 1925, A.Y.E. 1927-9, A/4/α, άρ. 5854: 210.
- 446 Unsigned Memorandum, 14 June 1925, A.Y.E., 1925, Γ/68, X, άρ. 7691: 224.
- 447 Memorandum from Colonel Y. Fessopoulos to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, A.Y.E., 1926, B/33, άρ. 6668.
- 448 Miranda Vickers, "The Cham Issue: Albanian National and Property Claims in Greece" *Conflict Studies Research Centre* ISBN 1-903584-76-0 (April 2002): 7-8.
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- 450 Anastasia Karakasidou "Cultural Illegitimacy in Greece: The Slavo-Macedonian 'Non-minority'" in Richard Clogg, ed. *Minorities in Greece*, (London: Hurst&Company, 2002): 124; Kotogiorgi, 234.
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- 452 Charles B. Eddy. *Greece and the Greek Refugees* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1931).
- 453 Extract of a Report filed by Colonel Blair in December of 1924, quoted in Kotogiorgi, 100.
- 454 Stilianos Gonatas, *Apomenemonevmata* (Memoirs) (Athens, 1958), 265; also quoted in Petzopoulos, 136.
- 455 Howland, 622.
- 456 Ahmad, 44.
- 457 Clarence Richard Johnson, *Constantinople to-day (The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople: A Study in Oriental Social Life)* (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1922): 263.
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- 459 Prodromou, 15.
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- 462 Elizabeth H. Prodromou. "The Ambivalent Orthodox" *Journal of Democracy* (April 2004)15.2: 68.
- 463 Aspasia Tsaoussis-Hatzis, *The Greek Divorce Law Reform of 1983 and its Impact on Homemakers: A Social and Economic Analysis* (Unpublished Phd Dissertation: University of Chicago, 2000).
- 464 Prodromou, "The Ambivalent Orthodox", 69-70.
- 465 *Ibid.*
- 466 D. Oulis, G. Makris and S. Roussos. "The Orthodox Church of Greece: policies and challenges under Archbishop Christodoulos of Atheen (1998-2008) *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*. (May-August 2010) 10.2/3: 203.
- 467 Elizabeth H. Prodromou. "Negotiating Pluralism and Specifying Modernity in Greece: Reading Church – State Relations in Christodoulos Period." *Social Compass* (2004) 51.4: 471-485.
- 468 Dimitri Sotiropoulos, "Countries at the Crossroads 2011: Greece" *Freedom House Report*. Available at: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/images/File/CaC/2011/GREECEFinal.pdf>
- 469 "AzınlıklarJest" *Hürriyet* (28 August 2011); "Vatandaşlarımızın inancından dolayı başka gördüğü dönemler geride kaldı" *Zaman* (29 August 2011); Ahmet Kıvanç, "İftar öncesinde cemaat vakıflarına tapu müjdesi" *Haber Türk* (28 August 2011). Under the decree, hundreds of minority properties confiscated by the state since 1936 will technically be able to be returned to their rightful owners. Among the properties to be returned are churches, hospitals, houses, houses

and cemeteries. As for any minority land that has since come under private ownership, the Turkish government has vowed to refund the relevant religious group at the current market value. The beneficiaries of the decree include Greek-Orthodox Christians, Armenians, Jews and Chaldean Catholics.

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- 471 Yonca Poyra Doğan, "Non-Muslims demand equal citizenship rights in new constitution" *Today's Zaman* (5 June 2011).
- 472 European Court of Human Rights. *Sinan Isik v. Turkey* Application No:21924/05. Date of Judgment: 02/02/2010.
- 473 See Mine Yıldırım "Turkey: The Diyanet -the elephant in Turkey's religious freedom room." *F18News* (4 May 2011): 1.
- 474 Rıza Zeylut, "5 bakanlık 1 diyanet etmiyor" *Akşam* (27 December 1999).
- 475 İftar Gözaydın, *Diyanet: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Dinin Tanzimi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 224.
- 476 See for example: "Diyanet Aleviye biraz daha yaklaştı" *Cumhuriyet* (24 February 1992).; "Diyanet , Alevilere açılıyor" *Cumhuriyet* (11 December 1991).
- 477 Interview with Reha Çamuroğlu, "Alevilerin kapalı bir cemaat olmasında faydalıyor ve bunun sürmesini istiyorlar." *Zaman* (10 January 2009).
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- 479 Author interview with Lakis Vingas (by email) (30 September 2011).
- 480 Statistics were originally presented in a letter from the Turkish government to the League of Nations on 6 March 1925 (Reprinted in Alexandris, 109).
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