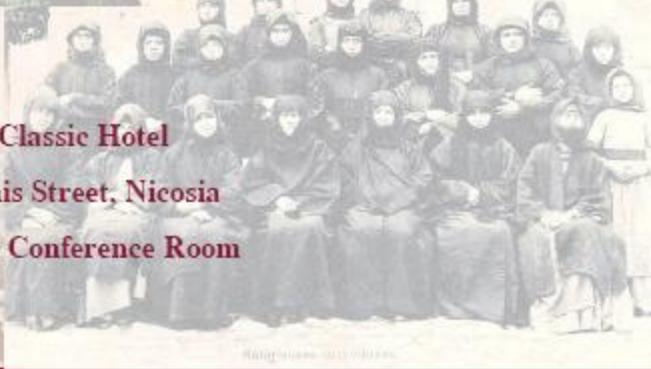


*International Conference*  
**Religious community and modern statehood:  
The passage from the Ottoman Empire  
to modern states**



**October 29-30, 2010  
Nicosia**



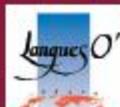
**The Classic Hotel  
94 Rigenis Street, Nicosia  
Van Gogh Conference Room**



Department of Turkish and  
Middle Eastern Studies



École française d'Athènes



Institut National des Langues et  
Civilisations Orientales

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Conference Organization:

Michalis N. Michael, University of Cyprus, Nicosia

Tassos Anastasiades, École française d'Athènes/Sciences-Po, Paris

Chantal Verdeil, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, Paris

**Religious community and modern statehood:  
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**PROGRAMME**

**October 29, Friday**

16:30 - 16:45 Welcoming

16:45 - 17:00 STROHMEIER Martin, Chairman of the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies, Welcome Speech

17:00 - 17:30 DERINGIL Selim, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul -  
Keynote Speech  
*Re-configuring Ottoman citizenship in the Tanzimat state: conversion, religion and identity politics in the late Ottoman Empire*

17:30 - 18:00 Coffee Break

**Session I**

**Christians and Muslims in the late Ottoman Empire**

Chairperson: VARNAVAS Andrekos

18:00 - 18:20 KECHRIOTIS Vangelis, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul  
*Bayonets and Bullets in the name of the Constitution: Post-colonial criticism and Muslim-Christian relations in the late Ottoman Empire*

- 18:20 - 18:40 ANASTASSIADOU Meropi, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris  
*Non-Muslim communities and state control in the late Ottoman Empire. Administrative practice and decision-making within the Greek orthodox parishes of Istanbul*
- 18:40 - 19:00 MICHAEL N. Michalis, University of Cyprus, Nicosia  
*The Orthodox community of Cyprus between the Ottoman and the British colonial perceptions of modernity*
- 19:00 - 19:20 ANAGNOSTOPOULOU Sia, Panteion University, Athens  
*The millet system as a tool of a “differentiated modernity”, 19th c.-beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.*
- 19:20 - 20:00 Discussion
- 20:15 - 22:00 Dinner

## **October 30, Saturday**

### **Session I**

#### **The Ottoman religious community and Nationalism**

Chairperson: KECHRIOTIS Vangelis

- 9:00 - 9:20 VARNAVAS Andrekos, Flinders University, Adelaide  
*Cypriots transforming from a class, religious and regional identity, to an ethnic national identity*
- 9:20 - 9:40 KONORTAS Paraskevas, National and Capodistrian University of Athens, Athens  
*Greek nationalism vs Greek orthodox milli establishment in Ottoman Thrace in educational matters during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century*

9:40 - 10:00 KIZILYÜREK Niyazi, University of Cyprus, Nicosia  
*The Turkish Cypriots, modernity and religion*

10:00 - 10:30 Discussion

10:30 - 11:00 Coffee Break

## **Session II**

### **Religious community, education and statehood**

Chairperson: KONORTAS Paraskevas

11:00 - 11:20 FORTNA Benjamin, School of Oriental and African  
Studies, London  
*Education between Empire and nation: spaces, lives and  
commodities*

11:20 - 11:40 VERDEIL Chantal, Institut national des langues et  
civilisations orientales, Paris  
*Education in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire  
before the Crimean war*

11:40 - 12:00 STAVRIDES Theoharis, University of Cyprus, Nicosia  
*The Organization and development of Greek orthodox  
education in Cyprus in the 19<sup>th</sup> century*

12:00 - 12:20 LYBERATOS Andreas, Institute for Mediterranean  
Studies - FORTH, University of Crete  
*School, community, state: remarks on the development of  
public education in late Ottoman and post-Ottoman Bul-  
garia (19<sup>th</sup> c. – 1912)*

12:20 - 13:00 Discussion

13:15 - 14:30 Lunch

### **Session III**

#### **Religious communities and colonialism**

Chairperson: FORTNA Benjamin

17:30 - 17:50 HADJIOSSIF Christos, Institute for Mediterranean Studies, University of Crete, Rethymnon  
*Colonial policies and Ottoman reforms*

17:50 - 18:10 COHEN-MULLER Rina, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, Paris  
*Christians and Jews – the French game in Ottoman Jerusalem during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*

18:10 - 18:30 BOCQUET Jérôme, Université d'Orléans, Orléans  
*Missionary presence, diplomatic rivalries and proselytizing among the Ottoman Empire's religious communities: The case of 19<sup>th</sup> c. Ottoman Syria*

18:30 - 18:50 ANASTASSIADES Tassos, École française d'Athènes/Sciences-Po, Paris  
*The ambiguities of a confessional age: lessons from Eastern Mediterranean*

18:50 - 19:30 Discussion

19:30 - 20:00 Conclusions

20:15 - 22:00 Dinner

Selim DERINGIL  
Boğaziçi University, Istanbul

**Re-configuring Ottoman citizenship in the Tanzimat state:  
conversion, religion and identity politics in the late Ottoman  
Empire**



The Tanzimat reforms beginning with the Rescript of the Rose Chamber (*Gülhane Hat-Şerifi* 1839) are without doubt the major political watershed of the Ottoman 19th century. In this “longest century of the empire” many fundamental and lasting changes took place. Unlike the reforms of previous centuries when the Ottoman elite conceived of reform as some sort of return to a quasi-mythical “Golden Age”, (usually taken to mean the time of Süleyman the Magnificent), the Tanzimat reformers realized that if the empire was to survive, there was no looking back. They had to learn from their erstwhile enemies, the western powers. Although a considerable amount of research and writing has been dedicated to the practical, legal aspects of the Tanzimat reforms, much less attention has been focused on how the Tanzimat process altered the relationship of the state with its population as regards matters of religious identity, citizenship, and inter-confessional relations. One of the most fundamental changes occurred in the domain of conversion. Although the Tanzimat Edict declared that all the sultan’s subjects would benefit equally from the newly declared reforms regarding security of person, honor and property, the issue of religious freedom, that is to say, the actual choice of religion was left moot. After the crisis provoked by the conversion to Islam, subsequent apostasy and eventual execution of an Armenian Ottoman subject in 1843; and the outbreak of the diplomatic crisis concerning him, the whole issue became major bone of contention in the public domain. Although the long accepted punishment for apostasy from Islam was death, this ruling now directly contravened the new freedoms apparently guaranteed by the Tanzimat. This case was a prime example of the overlap of domestic and foreign policy in the late Ottoman period, as the Porte came under severe pressure from the ambassadors of the foreign powers. Particularly Stratford Canning, the overbearing and arrogant British ambassador, made the issue a *cause célèbre* and used it to increase his leverage at the Sublime Porte. Primarily as a result of foreign pressure, but also due in no small measure to a realization that such draconian measures did not tally with the new spirit of the times, the Ottoman elite sought a way out of their dilemma. This paper will explore how they dealt with the crisis and what the long term results were for the state’s relationship with its subjects.

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Vangelis KECHRIOTIS  
*Boğaziçi University, İstanbul*

**Bayonets and Bullets in the name of the constitution:  
Post-colonial criticism and Muslim-Christian relations in the  
late Ottoman Empire**



This paper tackles in a concise manner an issue more broadly addressed in my thesis entitled *The Greeks of Izmir at the end of the Empire a non-Muslim Ottoman Community between autonomy and Patriotism*. It starts by describing the impact that the debate on post-colonialism had on Late Ottoman studies. This debate, even if it does not look very relevant to the traditional political history accounts on the 1908 Young Turk Constitutional Movement which constitutes my research focus, is nevertheless germane to the experience of the modernization attempts in the Empire and the continuous negotiation between the central authority and the several communities. By referring to the debate on the ‘Ottoman version of colonialism’, I reflect on the implication that Christian subordination to Muslim rule could have in terms of colonial domination. In order to do so, I discuss an incident of political violence through the different accounts provided by the relevant sources, in order to demonstrate the common vocabulary and the parallel concerns tormenting both sides. Eventually, I argue that, unlike the canonical character pertinent to the non-Muslim colonial discourse addressing non-Muslim subjects, in this case we witness a struggle between two mutually colonizing discourses which by offering equality to their opponents wish to prove that the latter do not accomplish the values of civilization and progress and therefore do not deserve to dominate the process of political transformation.



Meropi ANASTASSIADOU

*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris*

**Non-Muslim communities and state control in the late Ottoman Empire. Administrative practice and decision making within the Greek orthodox parishes of Istanbul**



The Regulations adopted during the 1860's provided to the main ottoman *millets* (Greek, Armenian and Jewish) an institutional framework, which permitted them to treat all matters concerning their members and related to religion, education, health or welfare. Paradoxically, during the same last decades of the 19th century, the Ottoman State was seeking to survive through centralization. While recognizing solemnly a large autonomy to the non-Muslim communities as to the organisation of their social and cultural activities, it intended to keep the various elements of the Empire's population under control. However, to which extent was it possible to delegate authority without losing power? This paper aims to evaluate the sphere of decision-making left to the *millets* and, inversely, the presence of the State within the everyday life and administrative practice of the religious communities. It will focus on some Greek orthodox parishes of Istanbul and their functioning from the beginning of the hamidian era to the first years of the Turkish Republic. More particularly, will be analyzed the archives of the "Greek orthodox community of Halkidon" (Kadıköy). Additionally, references to smaller parishes throughout the Ottoman capital (Golden Horn, Bosphorus) should permit us to get a relatively global image as to structures and degree of autonomy of the Greek community, the largest non-Muslim component of the city.



Michalis N. MICHAEL  
*University of Cyprus, Nicosia*

## **The Orthodox community of Cyprus between the Ottoman and the British colonial perceptions of modernity**



During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Orthodox Community of Cyprus experienced two efforts for modernity from above. The Ottoman way for modernity that began a few years before the proclamation of the *Hatt-i Şerif* and the British colonial way for modernity that began after the transition of the island to the British administration in 1878. In both efforts, the major task of the administration was to transform the administrative system according to the framework of the western modernity. If someone examines these two procedures the first impression is that the British modernity was completely different from the efforts of the Ottomans to modernize their state and its structures. But is this the case? Was the British perception of modernity in Cyprus completely different from the Ottoman? The aim of this paper is to examine whether these procedures are different or if their common characteristics eventually cancel their major task that is, to impose a modern perception about the state and the administration of the society. A significant question is in what way the British effort for modernity in Cyprus was similar to the previous Ottoman effort and what impact did these two procedures had in Cyprus society?

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Andrekos VARNAVA,  
*Flinders University, Adelaide*

**Cypriots transforming from a class, religious and regional  
identity, to an ethnic national identity**



The following communication focuses on how it was well into the British rule of Cyprus that an ethnic national identity became institutionalised at the elite level after a struggle between new Hellenised nationalist elite against the cosmopolitan establishment elite who had a class, religious and regional identity. This was the case because of the spread of political modernity to the island under a liberal British approach to ruling in Cyprus. I have made this argument before, but this communication focuses more on how the political elite transformed from members of a ruling elite with a religious and regional identity during Ottoman rule to an opposition group to the ruling elite with an ethnic national identity under British rule, albeit still under Ottoman sovereignty. This paper argues that the controls a modern state places on society in order to manufacture an ethnic national identity long predate the establishment of a modern state in Cyprus, that is, the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, and that such controls and the space for such a development were introduced by the colonial state that the British instituted. Such structures were continued and expanded during the post-colonial period. This contrasts with the controls that the pre-modern state, in the form of the Ottoman Empire, had long instituted which worked against the establishment of an ethnic national identity, with Ottoman social and political structures instead resulting in the formation of class and religious identities.

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Paraskevas KONORTAS  
*University of Athens, Athens*

**Greek nationalism vs Greek orthodox *milli* establishment in  
Ottoman Thrace in educational matters during the first  
decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century**



The efforts of the Greek state to expand Greek nationalism among the orthodox patriarchist population (mainly hellenophone with local significant hellenophone, bulgarophone, turcophone and albanophone minorities) of Ottoman Thrace were intensified during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century through educational structures. The main aim of the Greek agents was the homogenization of the orthodox *milli* educational system according to the national desiderata as they were elaborated in Athens. This aim would be achieved through the financial control of the schools by the Greek diplomatic agents, the establishment of nationalist-centered educational curricula and the selection of appropriate institutors. The above mentioned efforts were establishing an additional factor in the life of the local patriarchist communities: the Hellenic state disputed the power from the traditional *milli* establishment (the clergy and the local communal leaders). Therefore the Greek consuls in Thrace had to affront not only the exarchist and the Bulgarian activities as well as - to a lesser extent- the reactions of the Ottoman authorities: the inertia or even the hostility of a big number of patriarchist bishops was a very serious negative factor for the achievement of a Greek nationalist educational program in Thrace. On the other hand the local population seemed to be very attached to the traditional order of life and expressed their “resistance” to the new national social and political ideals: loyalty to the Ottoman legal order, firm attachment to the high orthodox patriarchist clergy, coexistence with the Bulgarian-speaking population and -mainly among the agricultural communities- reluctance to send their children to school, mainly because they were needed for the agricultural activities.

Niyazi KIZILYÜREK  
*University of Cyprus, Nicosia*

## **The Turkish Cypriots, modernity and religion**



The Turkish Cypriot identity formation in 20<sup>th</sup> century was influenced by two major factors: the emergency of modern Turkey and secular reforms lead by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and the rise of Greek nationalism in Cyprus which was perceived as a threat by the Turkish Cypriot community. In this dynamic and dialogical process, the Turkish Cypriots in an act of counter nationalism have constructed Turkey as their “motherland” and adopted the Kemalist secular and language reforms. That marks a turning point for the Turkish Cypriot community which in this process turns from a Muslim community into a dynamic secular ethnic community.



Benjamin FORTNA

*School of Oriental and African Studies, London*

## **Education between Empire and nation: spaces, lives and commodities**



This paper attempts to reconsider the role of education in the transition from Ottoman Empire to the nation states that succeeded it by bringing together a number of separate strands of research on educational change, biography and the commodification of learning. It argues that several processes that had begun in the late Ottoman period, including the differentiation of educational space, the stratification of learning, and the supplanting of the religious communities as the sole provider of education, were collectively responsible for the creation of a new educational dispensation, both in terms of conception and lived reality. This new dispensation afforded the nascent states of the post-Ottoman period a number of distinct advantages that they were quick to exploit. Focusing mainly on the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, this paper will demonstrate some of the ways in which education was changing both as a response to the altered desiderata of the state and, in turn, the ways in which the new world of education influenced the late- and post-imperial environment. Special attention will be paid to the spatial, biographical and economic aspects of education as reflecting the transition from empire to nation.



Chantal VERDEIL

*Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris*

**Education in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire  
before the Crimean War: new networks and rise of schools  
for girls**



The building of a modern educational system was one of the main objectives of the Ottoman nineteenth century's reforms. This new system aimed to produce new and modern elites in order to transform the Ottoman state into a modern state (according to European standards). In the Arab Provinces of the Empire, the imperial system coexisted with schools opened by the different sectarian authorities or by other local notables. From the 1820's, European and American Missionaries also established numerous schools. Those missionaries' classrooms were not really new in the Ottoman Empire since European Catholics missions flourished for the first time during the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century. But in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the missionaries encompassed European as well as American, Catholics as well as Protestants, and men as well as women. This paper focuses on the foundation of those different classroom's networks. It underlines that they were not fully separated: pupils or teachers belonged sometimes to different systems or went from one to the other. I also seek to underline the influence of those new classrooms and to insist on what was really new at this time: schools for girls which allowed a transformation of the women's place and role in the Society.

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Theoharis STAVRIDES  
*University of Cyprus, Nicosia*

**The organization and development of Greek orthodox  
education in Cyprus in the 19<sup>th</sup> century**



Although the first Greek Orthodox educational institutions in Cyprus date from the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, education was organized and developed more fully by the Greek Orthodox community of the island in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially starting with the reforms of Sultan Mahmud II in the 1830s. The aim of this paper is to study the process of the creation and development of educational institutions by the Greek Orthodox community of Cyprus in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, focusing, in particular, on the role various factors, like the Church, the rising bourgeoisie within the community, the non-Orthodox Christian missionaries, as well as the local and central Ottoman authorities, played (or attempted to play) in this respect. Various aspects of the organization and development of the Greek Orthodox educational institutions of the period will be taken into account, like the criteria for the selection of staff, the social and ideological background of the teachers, the curriculum and the books used, the question of who made the crucial decisions of policy, as well as the ideological orientation promoted by this education.



Andreas LYBERATOS

*Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymnon*

**School, community, state: remarks on the development of  
public education in late Ottoman and post-Ottoman Bulgaria  
(19<sup>th</sup> c. – 1912).**



Despite its universality as a common response to the emergence of new needs, the development of mass public education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century took a different course for the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire. As far as the latter are concerned, and in particular the Orthodox population of the Empire, the lack of state aid and the inadequate support by the church left fair space both to initiatives of local and private character, as well as to external, potentially subversive for Ottoman rule, influences. The establishment and financing of schools was the most crucial node of the emerging public communal domain at the local level, the field par excellence for the institutional crystallization and ideological legitimization of the Orthodox communities. The establishment of the Bulgarian state led, in the period after 1878, to an increasing challenging of the authority of local communities, the educational field forming one of the most important domains where this structural conflict took place. Exploring several particular cases of Greek and Bulgarian schools, the paper will try to offer a rough overview of- and elaborate some critical remarks on the development of public education among the Orthodox Christians in late Ottoman and post-Ottoman Bulgaria.

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Christos HADZIIOSIF  
*University of Crete, Rethymnon*

## **Colonial policies and Ottoman reforms**



According to the prevailing view among the contemporary historians of the Ottoman Empire the reforms of Tanzimat were mainly the result of internal developments. Occasional contradictions in the reform process are explained within the framework of the Ottoman institutions. This approach represents a radical shift from the older historiography that considered the Ottoman reforms as the outcome of foreign powers pressure. Without reversing to the primacy of the external factors this paper will revisit the rationale behind British and French policy towards Ottoman reforms. The Ottoman Empire was not the only form of cultural and institutional alterity statesmen and opinion leaders in Western Europe were confronted with. Russia and Spain in Europe, for example, lagged behind the accepted standards of modernity. Moreover, Great Britain and France ruled over vast empires in India and Africa comprising different ethnic and religious traditions. The paper will try to compare the policy followed by the colonial powers dealing with the problems arising from the cultural heterogeneity of their empires with their attitude towards the Ottoman reforms keeping an eye on possible mutual influences.



Rina COHEN-MULLER

*Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris*

## **Christians and Jews – the French game in Ottoman Jerusalem during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**



Ottoman Palestine distinguishes itself by its crucial place in the «Question d' Orient». The modernization of the Ottoman State relates to it through the growing importance of the foreign powers, installed since the 1840s. We propose an analysis of the evolution of the Palestinian reality through French diplomatic texts. The first assessment that one can make is of the obvious transformations occurring in the province's administration. Right up to the implementation of the reforms propelled by Constantinople, the administration of Palestine appears as a long-lasting compromise between the Pachalik governor and the heads of the leading clans. However, since the victory in the Crimean War, one observes the simultaneous implementation of the Tanzimat and the powerful rise of the consuls' influence in the province's management at the expense of the local chiefs. Unable to overtly espouse colonial pretensions - the very basis of their rivalry - the major powers seek to expand their influence and control over the governance of the province by all means within their reach. These strategies focus on Jerusalem and its holy places. If the local population is only of little importance to the big powers, such is not the case with respect to the enlargement of the religious domain, wrestled from Ottoman sovereignty, as well as extension of consular protection, aimed at subjecting the local authority to its tutelle. At the same time, the management of the province by Constantinople spreads progressively over the entire territory. We propose a few illustrations. Firstly, the schools of various Catholic and Jewish religious orders, then the hospital networks serving primarily the Christian populations.

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Jérôme BOCQUET  
*Université d'Orléans, Orléans*

**Missionary presence, diplomatic rivalries and proselytizing  
among the Ottoman Empire's religious communities: the case  
of 19th c. Ottoman Syria**



The aim of this article is to show how missionaries behave when facing several allegiances, nationalities, responsibilities or priorities, and more specifically about the proselytizing question instead of presenting a general overview. This concerns Jews, Orthodox Christians, especially Armenians, Muslims, Sunni but also Shiite and Druze minorities. Using a multi-faceted approach, this paper will focus on the missionaries who formed the majority of the French nationals living in the Bilâd al-Shâm during the second half of the 19th century. The Saint Vincent College of the Congregation de la Mission located in Bab Tûma is a convincing example. Lazarists, who were members of a French congregation sent by the Propaganda Fide, became the intermediaries of France although they were torn between several loyalties: France, Rome and Ottoman Syria.

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Tassos ANASTASSIADES  
École française d'Athènes, Athènes

*The ambiguities of a confessional age: lessons from Eastern  
Mediterranean*



The concepts confessional age and confessionalization coined by the German historiography of Early Modern Europe have now gained global acceptance in the fields dealing with the interaction of religion politics and society. Their growing importance lies with their capacity of dealing comprehensively with the parallel and intertwined processes of modern state formation and modern religions formation in Europe breaking away from the monolithically positivist paradigm of the uniform passage from tradition to modernity, from an enchanted age to a disenchanted one thanks to the development of scientific and rational thought. The confessionalization paradigm allows us to understand a series of apparent paradoxes and ambiguities, such as the apparition of fanatic and at the same time rational religious figures, of intolerant rational modernizers, of rational states more caring but also more repressive of their subjects etc. The success of the concept has been such that as a consequence of this historiographical trend, that in connection with the recent developments in world history and connected history, the 19th c. has also been addressed as a 2nd confessional age. In our paper we will deal with these concepts in regards with Eastern Mediterranean. This is not an exercise of “metakenosis” of concepts, a methodological vision which has largely showed its limits. We will demonstrate that the 19th century was concretely a confessional age in Eastern Mediterranean since modern state formation and modern religion formation were simultaneously taking place in an intertwined and dynamic process. But was it typical of the first or of the second confessional age in Modern Europe? This is the crucial point that has to be addressed. Avoiding the congenital liar, and one cans say flaw, of traditional comparatism as it is practised in the social sciences (i.e. comparing 19th c. Balkans to the “canon” of 19th c. Western Europe in order to show that the former “lag behind”) which considers temporality as a universal, we will examine on the contrary the different temporalities of Western Europe and Eastern Mediterranean. We will try to show that the latter experienced during the second half of the 19th c. a “contraction of time” and thus underwent the process of both the First and the Second confessional age at the same time, this accelerated process being of an extreme violence. As we will also examine, the process was even more violent because of the constant passage of certain actors from one time framework of reference to another (missionaries, intellectual travellers, diplomats) a situation generating ambiguity both on their personal as on the larger social level.

