PERSPECTIVES ON GREEK NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE LIGHT OF AN

ISTANBUL GREEK NEWSPAPER, 1908-1911

by

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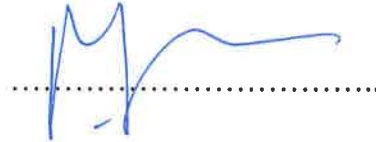
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ABSTRACT

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Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Selçuk Akşin Somel

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National identity is a complex concept that among others, is relevant to a historical period, significant events and geographical location. It is particularly difficult to define national identity in the context of such a diverse entity as the Ottoman Empire especially in the 19th century empire, with all the social, economic and political changes that affected it. This thesis assesses the way the Ottoman Greeks residing in Istanbul of the 1908-1911 period perceived themselves in relation to their location and in relation to outside entities such the Hellenic Kingdom, established in 1830. Whatever their significant stances during the historical events such as the Young Turks Revolution of 1908 and the policies that were adopted in the aftermath. The Press is a valuable tool employed here, to discover and illustrate how the Ottoman Greeks evaluated and reacted to the changes affecting it. The primary sources are articles from a Greek newspaper written in the Greek language, *Politiki Epitheorisis* that provided analysis of domestic and foreign issues of the empire. With analysis of both primary and secondary sources, I illustrate the politicization of the Ottoman Greeks and the realization of their change from a significant minority to a nationalized entity. The diversity of views within the Ottoman Greek community of Istanbul, as well as the continuous changes that are taking place before and during the period studied, make it hard to define a single identity that is close to the identity of the Greeks residing in Hellenic Kingdom at the time.

ÖZET

PERSPECTIVES ON GREEK NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE LIGHT OF AN ISTANBUL GREEK NEWSPAPER, 1908-1911

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Anahtar Sözcukler: Ulusal kimlik, Osmanlı Rumlarıları, Gazete, Politiki Epitheorisis

Ulusal kimlik, birçok faktörün yanında, tarihsel dönem, önemli olaylar ve coğrafi konum ile ilişkili karmaşık bir kavramdır. Ulusal kimliği tanımlamak birçok sosyal, ekonomik ve politik dönüşümlerin yaşandığı ve çeşitli farklılıkları içinde barındıran Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda, özellikle de 19. yüzyılda, bilhassa zordur. Bu tezde, 1908-1911 döneminde İstanbul'da yaşayan Osmanlı Rumlarının bulundukları konum, 1830'da kurulan Yunan ulus-devleti gibi dış faktörler ve 1908 Jön Türkler Devrimi ve sonrasında uygulanan politikalar gibi önemli tarihsel olaylarla ilişkili olarak kendilerini nasıl algıladıkları incelenmektedir. Osmanlı Rumlarının imparatorluğu etkileyen bu değişiklikleri nasıl değerlendirdiklerini ve bunlara ne şekilde tepki verdiklerini anlamak ve açıklamak için basın kullanılmaktadır. Birincil kaynakları imparatorluğun iç ve dış işleri hakkında analizler yapan ve Yunanca yazılan bir Yunan gazete olan *Politiki Epitheorisis*'ten alınan makaleler oluşturmaktadır. Birincil ve ikincil kaynaklar üzerinden, Osmanlı Rumlarının politikleşme süreci ve önemli bir azınlıktan ulusallaşmış bir varlığa dönüşümü açıklanmaktadır. İstanbul'daki Osmanlı Rum cemaati içerisindeki görüşlerin farklılığı ve çalışılan dönem öncesi ve süresince gerçekleşen sürekli değişimler, cemaatin dönemin Yunan ulus-devletinde yaşayan Yunanların kimliğine yakın ve tek bir kimlik olarak tanımlanmasını zorlaştırmaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

National Identity is a complex concept that includes numerous variables such as social class, ethnicity, language and religion. It is also a concept that changes over time and the understanding of it, is related to a historic period, a group of people, certain political developments and geographic location. In this thesis, the goal is to evaluate how the Ottoman Greeks residing in Istanbul during the 1908-1911 period perceived themselves in relation to their location and outside factors such as the establishment of the Hellenic Kingdom in 1830, and significant historical events such as the Young Turks' Revolution. These relationships and the way they affected this group of people are a showcase of how national identity is a variable and the result of numerous historical developments and circumstances as well as individual contributions.

The research question I am attempting to assess here is "The nature of the Ottoman Greek national identity according to Greek press representations in Ottoman Istanbul". Specifically, I will be examining this question under the light of the political newspaper, *Politiki Epitheorisis*. The Press is one of the main ways that ideas were spread among people, contributing to the exchange of views that became the core of nationalist ideologies. The existence of numerous newspapers and magazines in Istanbul since the early 19th century illustrates the fact that there was a significant literate population interested in reading the analyses and articles published by the Greek Press. The significance behind the period 1908-1911 and the reason for the focus of this thesis is that these are the first years of what has become known in Turkish history as the Second Constitutional period that began with the Young Turks Revolution of 1908. In addition to the significant political developments that occurred during the period examined here, such as the revival of the Ottoman Parliament and its first sessions, there were policies implemented that affected the minority populations of the empire in various ways. One noteworthy example of these policies is the implementation of the law that made military service mandatory for non-Muslims. An assessment of all these historical events and the

agents involved, makes a study of the Ottoman Greeks' identity possible and contributes to our understanding of their perceptions of who they were.

There are major differences between the way the state and the Greek nation were perceived by the populations inhabiting the newly founded Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greek populations living in Istanbul at the time. What plays an important role for understanding these differences is the examination of some visionaries and their ideas about the Greek state and its relationship to the Greek populations living in Istanbul. Given the wide geography and the range of diversity in terms of ethnicities, religious and linguistic elements that were present in the Ottoman lands, it should be kept in mind that the way the Greeks of Anatolia perceived themselves might be different from the way the Ottoman Greek community of Istanbul did. Therefore, it should be clarified that the focus here is on the Greeks residing in Istanbul and their own culture that derived from the location and history of the city as well as the economic and social opportunities that existed in the cities located on the Aegean coast.

When I first began my research by looking for primary sources, I visited the Patriarchate's library in Fener and obtained a list of the Ottoman Greek newspapers that exist in that archive. I compared it with the list that I downloaded from the official website of the Greek Parliament's archive. I also attended a lecture on the Greek Press of 19 Century Istanbul at the Greek Cultural Center, Sismanogleio that took place in Fall 2016, where I obtained some general information and realized that there was a large number of newspaper archives, many of them were in private collections. After checking the lists, I managed to collect, I narrowed down my options based on the historical period that I was considering. I had very limited options since there were only three newspapers/periodicals available in Greek for the period I was looking at. I decided to focus on *Politiki Epitheorisis* (Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης) because it provided a political perspective on the events of the time, and, as I discovered later, despite the censorship laws and the change of names, the newspaper kept the same structure and publication did not stop. In addition, there was a good number of articles from this newspaper available in the digital archives of the Greek Parliament. Most of the articles and references to Greek Istanbul Press I was able to find were specifically about publications and newspapers of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. I noticed that a lot of research had been done on the subject of the Greek Orthodox church and its relevant newspapers, but there was not much discussion about other newspapers. Perhaps because of the leading role of the Greek Patriarchate in the life

of Greeks inside and, to some extent, outside the Ottoman Empire, most of the research has been focused on church or Patriarchate press to study this period. On a different note, this newspaper's director, Georgios Mpousions was a member of the Ottoman Parliament and although he was not the only one, it is interesting to see how his newspaper covered the parliament proceedings as well as other significant event that took place during the aftermath of the 1908 Young Turks Revolution. Mpousions was a very active Parliament member with significant work and that makes his newspaper even more interesting for a researcher.

1.2 Nationalism and Nation

Both Eric Hobsbawm and Ernest Gellner argue that nations are both conceptually and historically, products of nationalism and not the other way around.[1] Objective definitions of the nation, based on criteria for 'nationhood' such as language or ethnicity or a combination of criteria such as language, common history, common territory and others have often failed because there are always exceptions among the groups or entities that fit the definitions.[2] Furthermore, the criteria mentioned above are always shifting and ambiguous.[3]

As far as nationalism is concerned, Gellner argues that it is primarily a political principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent.[4] The violation of this principle, arouses a feeling of anger called nationalist sentiment, whereas its fulfillment arouses a feeling of satisfaction. An example of violation of this political principle is the failure of the political boundary of a given state to include all the members of the appropriate nation, or it can include them all but also include some foreigners.[5] Hobsbawm agrees that nationalism is a political program, but he adds that nationalism's main characteristic and goal is to build a 'nation-state'. Without this goal, nationalism is of no interest or consequence.[6]

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[1] Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, (London; Penguin Books, 1991),121.
[2] E.J. Hobsbawm, "Introduction" and "Popular proto-nationalism" *in Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press,1990,5.
[3] Hobsbawm,6
[4] Gellner, Definitions in 'Nations and Nationalism', Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1983,1
[5] Gellner, Ernest, Definitions in 'Nations and Nationalism', Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1983,1
[6] Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, 121

Categorization of the concept of nation and nationalism is a method that scholars use to analyze these complex concepts. For example, Hobsbawm has come up with two categories of nationalism. The first one is that of mass, civic and democratic political nationalism. It follows the model of the French Revolution, which was a model of citizen nation like the model that flourished in Germany, Italy and Hungary in the period 1830-1870. According to the principle that determined this model, only nations that had large enough territories and populations to support a large capitalist market economy, could claim self-determination as sovereign, independent states. A second category is the 'ethno-linguistic' nationalism. In this category, smaller groups claimed their right to separate from large empires and establish their own states based on ethnic and/or linguistic ties. This type of nationalism dominated in Eastern Europe in the period 1870-1914.[7]

The concepts mentioned above such as political nationalism and 'ethno-linguistic' nationalism can be further analyzed to show how people connect to each other through the elements these concepts contain. Before the establishment of the modern states, the proto-national bonds were the bonds that created a sense of collective belonging. One category of proto-national bonds are the supra-local bonds and another one is the political bonds. The supra-local bonds go beyond the spaces where people have spent most of their lives and the political bonds are linked to the government and state institutions and are thus, a little closer to the concept of the modern nation.[8] It should be clarified that none of these bonds had necessary relation to the unit of territorial political organization, which is an important criterion of the current understanding of a nation and therefore, neither bond can be identified with the modern nationalism. [9]

There are three kinds of supra-local bonds: language, ethnicity and religion. National languages, according to Hobsbawm are almost always constructs and "they are the opposite of what nationalist mythology supposes them to be, namely primordial foundations of national culture and the matrices of national mind". What they are, is an attempt to create a homogenized language out of all the idioms that are spoken in a region. [10] Except for special cases, it should not be presumed that language was more than one, among several criteria, based on which people showed their membership in a human collectivity. [11] As far as ethnicity is concerned, it is not irrelevant to modern nationalism, since visible differences in physique cannot be ignored and have too often be used to make distinctions between people or groups of people, and, in some cases,

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[7] Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, 121
[8] Hobsbawm,46-47
[9] Hobsbawm,47
[10]Hobsbawm,54
[11]Hobsbawm, 62

they have been used to make national distinctions. [12] In the ancient times, Herodotus considered Greeks as one people, despite their geographical differences because of their common descent, common language and customs.[13] In this Herodotean sense, ethnicity can and does act as a connecting bond between populations living in large territories or dispersed and bring them together into something called a proto-nation. However, this type of ethnicity has no historic relation to the main point of the modern nation.[14]

While, according to Hobsbawm, religion is an ancient and well-tried method of establishing communion and brotherhood, it is a paradoxical factor for proto-nationalism and for modern nationalism. It has been usually treated with significant reserve since it was considered as a potential challenge to the nation's monopoly over its members' loyalty. [15]

Carlton Hayes has drawn a parallel between nationalism and religion arguing that nationalism mobilizes 'a deep and compelling emotion' that is 'essentially religious'. Like other religions, nationalism involves faith in some external power, feeling of awe and honor.[16] Sometimes nationalist claims are formulated as directly opposite to religious claims. Even in these cases, most importantly in the French Revolution, nationalism might assume a religious quality by taking on some forms and functions of religion. Proto-nationalist politics and proto-national consciousness emerged in a period of intensified religiosity.[17]

One way to imagine the nation is to imagine it as composed of all and only those who belong to a particular religion. In the realm of Orthodox Christianity, especially in south-eastern Europe, the nationalization of Christianity involved the fragmentation of Eastern Christendom into a series of autocephalous national churches, which provided a key institutional framework for nationalist movements and promoted a strong symbiosis of religious and national traditions.[18]

1.3 Civic versus Ethnic Nationalism

Western nationalisms can be seen as ideological movements for consolidating and enhancing state power, largely as state-oriented movements. The Dutch, Irish and even French bourgeois nationalism in the Revolution however, constituted oppositional movements opposed to the state authorities. A factor that contributed to the start of ethnic nationalisms within the borders of the Romanov, the Habsburg and the Ottoman empires,

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[12] Hobsbawm, 65
[13] Hobsbawm, 59
[14] Hobsbawm, 57
[15] Hobsbawm 68
[16] Rogers, Brubaker, " Religion and Nationalism : Four Approaches" *Nations and Nationalism,* no. 18 (1), (2012): 2
[17] Brubaker, 8
[18] Brubaker, 9

was the attempts to modernize their administration. In these cases, the nationalisms that were produced with the help of these attempts for modernization as well as the nations that they aspired to were not simply 'oppositional'. These nationalisms' form was largely shaped by pre-existing ethnic, linguistic and religious heritages. Similarly, the creation of the desired nations was based- in varying degrees - on pre-existing to the imperial reforms, ties and networks and occasionally on the empires themselves. [19]

Nations and nationalism cannot be simply understood as an ideology or form of politics according to Anthony Smith, but they must be treated as cultural phenomena as well. Nationalism, the ideology and movement must be closely related to national identity which is a multidimensional concept that also includes a specific language, sentiments and symbolism. [20]

According to Benedict Anderson, a nation is an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. The nation is imagined as limited, since it has finite boundaries beyond of which lie other nations.[21]The idea of the nation though, incorporates more ideas than the idea of a political community. It incorporates the idea of a community with a distinctive culture, a 'people' in their 'homeland', a historic society and a community. One of nationalism's significant components, is the desire for political autonomy in a specific territory, but it is certainly not the last of its ideals. [22]

The idea of the political community is also incorporated in the concept of national identity since it involves some sense of political community. This claim is based on the example of ancient Greece. Politically, there was no 'nation' in ancient Greece but only a collection of city-states. However, culturally, an ancient Greek community, Hellas existed that, for example, Pericles could bring about in the political sphere, usually for Athenian purposes. Shortly, Anthony Smith claims that we can speak of a Greek cultural and ethnic community, but not of an ancient Greek 'nation'.[23]

An ethnic community, or *ethnie,* has certain characteristics that a given population shares such as a collective proper name, shared historical memories, a myth of common ancestry, elements of common culture and an association with a specific 'homeland'.

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[19] Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, 74
[20] Smith, Anthony National Identity, vii
[21]Anderson, Benedict, "Imagined Communities", 7
[22]Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, 74-75
[23] Smith, Anthony, 'National Identity',11

When these elements are shared and an *ethnie* is present, there is clearly a community of historical culture with a sense of common identity.[24]

To answer the question 'What is ethnic nationalism,' Smith has divided the definition of ethnic nationalism into two parts, one pre-independence and one post-independence. In both movements, the concept of the nation is ethnic and genealogical. In the pre-independence movements, the concept of the nation, will seek to secede from a larger political unit (or secede and gather together in a designated ethnic homeland) and set up a new political "ethno-nation" in its place; these are *secession* and *diaspora* nationalisms. In the p*ost-independence* movements, the concept of the nation will seek to expand by including ethnic 'kinsmen' outside of the present boundaries of the 'ethno-nation' and the lands they inhabit or by forming a much larger 'ethno-national' state through the union of culturally and ethnically similar ethno-national states; these are *irredentist* and *'pan'* nationalisms.[25] An example of an early 'pan-nationalism' was Yugoslavism and there were several irredentist movements such as Pan-Bulgarianism and Pan-Germanism.[26]

The Greeks are a good example of ethnic change. In fact, modern Greeks are taught that their descent lies both in the Greek Byzantium and in ancient Greece with the classical Hellenic civilization. Despite the demographic and cultural changes that have affected the Greek peoples during the centuries and the shift of the center of a truly Hellenic civilization from Athens and other areas of central Greece and the Peloponnese (south Greece), a sense of Greek identity and common sentiments of ethnicity can be said to have endured throughout the numerous social and political changes of the last two thousand years. [27]

Anthony Smith uses the concept of ethnic nationalism to explain the idea of the non-Western model of the nation. The non-Western model is named an 'ethnic' conception of the nation. Its main characteristic is its emphasis on a community of birth and native culture. According to this model, a nation was principally, a community of common descent. On the other hand, in the Western civic model, the people are seen as a political community subject to common laws and institutions whereas in the ethnic or non-Western model, people have presumed family ties that linked back to their presumed

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[24] Smith, 'National Identity',21
[25] Smith, 'National Identity',82
[26] Smith, 'National Identity',171
[27] Smith, 'National Identity',29-30

common ancestry and this connection differentiates them from the outsiders. Furthermore, the place of law in the Western civic model, is taken by vernacular culture, usually languages and customs in the ethnic model. This is the reason why lexicographers, philologists and folklorists have played a significant role in the early nationalisms in Eastern Europe and Asia. [28]

1.4 Nationalism, Religion and Religious Identity

Nationalism and religion are often deeply involved with each other. That is the reason why political actors may make demands both in the name of the nation and in the name of God. In the same way that nationalist politics can contain the claims of religion and adopt religious language in nationalist rhetoric, religion can contain the nation-state's claims and adopt nationalist language.[29]

There are multiple self-identities such as gender, territory, social class, religion etc. Religious identity, is based on different criteria from those of social class that emerges from various spheres of communication and socialization. These criteria are based on culture and its elements such as values, symbols, myths, customs and rituals. Thus, people who are members of the same religious community believe that they have common symbolic codes, value systems, traditions of belief and ritual. The religious communities are often closely related to ethnic identities. While the world religions aimed on abolishing ethnic boundaries, most religious communities such as the Armenians and Jews, accorded with ethnic groups. In even closer relationships, what in the past started as a religious community may turn out an exclusive ethnic community.[30]

The only way to understand the relationship between Orthodoxy and nationality is to understand it as a historical problem. The assumption that Orthodoxy is the guardian of nationality is neither a straightforward nor a conceptually unproblematic issue. However, the guardianship of Orthodoxy over nationality, can be shown through evidence in certain historical contexts and in specific levels of analysis. [31] Ethnic and

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[28] Smith, National Identity, 11-12
[29] Brubaker,17
[30] Smith, National Identity, 6-7
[31] Kitromilides, Paschalis, "Imagine Communities and the Origins of the national Question in the Balkans" in the *Modern Greece: Nationalism & Nationality*, ed. Blinkhorn, Martin and Veremis, (Athens: SAGE-ELIAMEP, 1990)52.

religious identities emerge from similar cultural criteria of classification. They can, together or separately, mobilize and sustain strong communities.[32]

In the early 19th century, religion was the last component in the creation of new national identities and did not become a functional element in national definition until the nation-states had nationalized their churches. Orthodoxy's powerful psychological and symbolic force helped to establish the unity of the new nations which the states had created.[33] For example, the Greek church broke away from the Greek controlled Patriarchate of Constantinople, and it set the example for other churches such as the Bulgarian and the Romanian churches to break away. In the case of the Church of liberated Greece, the break was encouraged quite early in the War of Independence by Enlightenment's leading political thinker, Adamantios Korais. Korais insisted that it was unthinkable for the clergy of free Greece to submit and obey the instructions of a Patriarch still held captive by the nation's oppressors.[34] The assumption that the Orthodox Christianity and the Orthodox Church contributed into the nation-building by preserving collective identity under the Ottomans was not unique in the case of liberated Greece. A whole tradition of Balkan national historiography is based on the same assumption in addition to preserving the collective identity, the Orthodox Church also prepared the ground for independence. [35]

1.5 Enlightenment and Greek identity

When Enlightenment emerged, it was Enlightenment and the ideas it represented versus Orthodoxy. Later, in the 19th century, a complete nationalist doctrine was formulated. At that point in time, Orthodoxy, was included within the ethnic definition of Hellenism. This was, according to Paschalis Kitromilides, how Greek nationalism met the political aspirations of the Greek state.[36]

The Enlightenment, as the ideological expression of the temper of modernity represented a new cultural configuration which emerged from the intellectual and

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[32] Smith, National Identity, 7-8
[33] Kitromilides, "Imagine Communities and the Origins of the national Question in the Balkans",59
[34] Kitromilides, "Imagine Communities and the Origins of the national Question in the Balkans",54
[35] Kitromilides, "Imagine Communities and the Origins of the national Question in the Balkans",52
[36] Kitromilides, "Imagine Communities and the Origins of the national Question in the Balkans",60

political fractures marking European civilization in the early modern period.[37] It constitutes the first time in European history that a shared intellectual and moral outlook was applied to the consideration and evaluation of the problems of societies distinguished by diverse structural conditions from each other.[38]

The values and ideas that represented Enlightenment were major components of a cultural perspective connected with the process of social change, the Western society's transformation and development in the era of the 'democratic revolution'. There were regional Enlightenments that emerged out of these processes. In the case of the Balkan Enlightenment, factors that contributed to the ideological changes that took place in the region were influenced by the character of the Ottoman sovereignty that was a theocratic empire, with ideologies and values that were the opposite of modern liberal values.[39]

The ideas of Enlightenment that were spread to the European periphery in the Southeast in the 18th century, in contrast to the way they were received in the European cultural provinces of the Atlantic world, clashed with deeply rooted traditional social structures and mentalities completely different from the values and implications of the new philosophy. In Southeastern Europe, the Enlightenment was met with strong structural and cultural resistance. Enlightenment's ideas were shaped by their confrontation with the established Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Church was the main proponent of the traditional culture that had not been affected by Protestantism and secularization. [40] Furthermore, the Enlightenment was submerged by the major force it caused to come into existence and for which it provided political expression, nationalism. The introduction of the concept of achieving national independence that was also a product of the ideological changes that were initiated by the Enlightenment, at the end demanded compromises as well as domestic and external partnerships that downplayed the new culture's liberal aspirations. [41]

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[37] Kitromilides, "The Enlightenment East and West: a comparative perspective on the ideological origins of the Balkan political traditions" in *Enlightenment, nationalism, orthodoxy: studies in the culture and political thought of South-eastern Europe*, 51-70, Brookfield, Vt: Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1994, 51.

[38] Kitromilides, "The Enlightenment East and West: a comparative perspective on the ideological origins of the Balkan political traditions",52

[39] Kitromilides, "The Enlightenment East and West: a comparative perspective on the ideological origins of the Balkan political traditions" ,54

[40] Kitromilides, "The Enlightenment East and West: a comparative perspective on the ideological origins of the Balkan political traditions" 53-54

[41] Kitromilides, "The Formation of Modern Greek Historical Consciousness", in *Enlightenment and Revolution, "The Making of Modern Greece"*, Harvard University Press, 2013, 65

According to Kitromilides, the Enlightenment was not the cause of the revolts on the 19th century, but the Serbian and Greek Revolution were peasant wars that were the result of social changes.[42] The cultural heritage and the intellectual and political conditions dominating the Greek society of the 18th century, resulted in the emergence of a secular historical consciousness among the modern Greeks. The whole movement of modern Greek historiography in the 18th century reflected the influences of that time's changes and the effects of those on the redefinition of collective identity.[43] It should be mentioned that the Enlightenment itself cannot be approached as being immune to religion because religion was not necessarily rejected but it was occasionally seen as having reached a stage where it was ready for reform and modernization.[44]

The Modern Greek Enlightenment as Kitromilides names it, is the period which builds the context in the Greek intellectual history, where gradually the self-definition of the Greeks as a modern nation emerges. [45] There are various Greek intellectuals whose ideas influenced the perception and development of what constituted the Greek identity. Clergymen such as Evgenios Voulgaris, Iosipos Moisiodax and Daniel Philippidis represented an Orthodox perspective on Enlightenment that promoted ecclesiastical tradition and developed a special interest in new intellectual and political ideas.[46] Voulgaris, Moisiodax as well as Adamantios Korais and Rigas Velestinlis were preoccupied with numerous issues including the language and education of the populations.[47]

Adamantios Korais and Rigas Velestinlis (or Pheraios) were Greek men who embodied Enlightenment's values. Rigas Pheraios in his famous revolutionary song "Thourios" called for a departure from the religious distinctions and called for freedom of faith for all enslaved peoples, Christians or Moslem, white or of color to revolt at the same time from areas in the Balkans to the Arab Peninsula. Korais was an educator from Smyrna who studied medicine in Paris, where he came in touch with enlightened people and realized the ignorance of the Greeks and the clergy in Greece in comparison to the learned Europeans. [48]

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[42] Kitromilides, The Formation of Modern Greek Historical Consciousness, 64
[43] Kitromilides, The Formation of Modern Greek Historical Consciousness, 65
[44] Gazi, Effi in Ricks and Beaton, The Making of Modern Greece, Centre for Hellenic Studies, 98
[45] Kitromilides, History of European Ideas, 3
[46] Gazi, 97
[47] Samara, Konstandia,61
[48] Stavrianos, The Balkans since 1453,149

During the 18th century, one intellectual whose writings contributed into the spreading of information about the past that served as basis for the rise of a secular historical consciousness was the worldly monk Constantinos Kaisarios Dapontes (1713/14-1784). His most important book was the book *Mirror of Women* and in contrast to Voulgari's important book, *Logic*, was written in vernacular Greek in order to reach a wide audience and not only the elite and addressed the issue of morals for women in a comprehensive way. The significance of Deponte's work is that he brought into his writing passages from classical history and thus started to create a connection between ancient and modern Hellenism in the consciousness of the broader public of his time. That became the basis for the later making of the Neohellenic historical consciousness.[49]

The Enlightenment grew in Modern Greek culture mainly in the form of a reorientation towards classical Hellenism. This reorientation became possible through works such as Adamantios Korais' extensive editorial project on Greek classics, called the *Hellenic Library*. Given that the other core ideas of the Enlightenment such as modern science and rationalist philosophy faced resistance by the Church, the classicism could not be easily denounced since for a long period of time the Church had either cultivated or tolerated it.[50]

The place of the Byzantium in relation to the Enlightenment is another important point of discussion where Greek intellectuals took different positions. Korais, the most known and intellectually accomplished exponent of the Enlightenment in the Greek culture, rejected Byzantium adopting the attitude of the French Enlightenment that he had embraced. Eugenios Voulgaris Gregorios Constantas and on the other hand, produced significant editions of Byzantine sources, which were works by Joseph Bryennios Synesius of Cyrene respectively in 1768-1784 and 1792. This is an example of important works that brought Byzantine literature into the overall picture of the Greek intellectual tradition, making it a bridge between Ancients and Moderns.[51]

What the Orthodox Eats considered a part of its heritage was radically affected and altered by the impact of the European political classicism and of the French Revolution's republican models. Rhigas Velestinlis and Adamantios Korais are the most well-known intellectuals of the later phases of the Enlightenment and they both represented the revolutionary classicism in Greek thought. Their actions and ideas shaped

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[49] Kitromilides, Enlightenment and Revolution in the Formation of Modern Greek Historical Consciousness, 68-69
[50] Kitromilides, History of European Ideas,11
[51] Kitromilides, History of European Ideas,12

a new section of the Greek culture with a secular modern identity. This identity was based on classicism that was directed against the Orthodox tradition that up to that point in history was believed to have preserved the Greek heritage for centuries. Any attempts of powerful clergy such as Constantinople's Patriarch Gregory V (1818-1821) failed because the ideas that inspired the 1821 Greek Revolution had already been established and spread among people. This time marked the beginning of new chapter in Modern Greek history.[52]

1.6 Significant Terminology

Vangelis Kechriotis argues that the deconstruction of the meaning of certain terms describing collective identities or historical procedures is useful in examining their dynamics or communicative efficiency. In the topic at hand, the terms 'nation' and the terms 'Greek', 'Ottoman', and 'Turkish' nation need to be deconstructed within the given historical context discussed in this thesis.[53]

It is as hard to define national identity in the context of the Ottoman Empire as it is to discuss minority issues in an empire that was extremely diverse and complex. It is no news that trying to put Ottoman identities into theoretical frameworks or categories to more closely assess them, is hard, if not an obstacle in fully appreciating the significance of the complicated identities.

There are two alternative views of the past in the Greek nationalism historiography that describe the Greek national identity. On the one hand, there are the supporters of Hellenism who prefer the rhetoric according to which Greece's past and identity lie in Ancient Greece. On the other hand, there are those who preferred the Byzantine tradition and the Revolutionary period that started in 1821 when, according to the Greek national rhetoric, the Greeks fought against the Turks and acquired their independence. These two views have been developed into the "conflict" between Hellenism and Romiosyne, words that come from the way Greeks called themselves, *Hellens* or *Romioi*.[54]

Before we move into providing more details about the topic in hand, we should

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[52] Kitromilides, History of European Ideas, 13
[53] Vangelis.Kechriotis, "Greek-Orthodox, Ottoman Greeks or just Greeks? Theories of Coexistence in the Aftermath of the Young Turk Revolution", *Etudes Balkaniques,*no 1, (2005), 55
[54]Livanios, Dimitris, "Religion, Nationalism and Collective Identities", 267

put some important terms in context. Given the plurality and the mix of identities existing in the Ottoman Empire terms such as *Rum,* Greek and Orthodox tend to be used in a variety of ways and carry a specific significance depending on which period of the Ottoman Empire is being discussed and the particular circumstances of that time. The word Rum (*Romioi)* is one way to describe the Greek speaking populations in the Ottoman lands and has a lot of ethnic and religious connotations. The establishment of the Greek state (The Hellenic Kingdom) in 1830 in some of the territories of today's modern Greece, affected the relationship of the Rum community of Istanbul with the Ottoman State since there was a connection based on common linguistics, trade and economic relations and shared cultural heritage between them and the Greek populations who were inhabitants of the Hellenic Kingdom. The concept of Rum, used to either refer to the Greek speakers of the empire or to the geographical hegemony of the Ottoman state, enriches the content of Ottoman identity and enables a common ground for Turkish and Greek nationalism, isolated from nationalist history writings.[55] In addition to describing the *millet,* Rum had a much more complex meaning that went beyond Orthodoxy or Greekness. It underlined the privileged socio-cultural identity of the Ottoman ruling elites.[56]

During the Ottoman years, the Ottoman state established the millet system that granted to non-Muslim minorities residing in the Ottoman lands the right to administer their own communities. These communities were separated not based on ethnic terms but based on religious affiliation. The term *millet* means people or nation. The Ecumenical Patriarch was a *millet başı*, that is, the head of the Orthodox millet called in Ottoman *Rum millet* or *millet-i-Rum.* The Ottomans used the term Rum (Romans) to identify all the Orthodox, Greeks and non-Greeks of the empire. The Patriarch of Constantinople, in addition to being the religious leader, was responsible for all the administrative matters concerning the Orthodox religious community. That is the reason why the Greek scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries named the Patriarch, *Ethnarches* (leader of the nation). These scholars were influenced by the nationalist ideals of the time and they identified the Greek nation with the "Roman," or in other words the Orthodox religious community.[57]

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[55]Ergul, The Ottoman Identity, Turkish Muslim or Rum, 630
[56]Ergul, 630
[57]Konortas, Paraskevas, From Ta'ife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Community, in Gondicas,Dimitri and Issawi.Charles,eds. *Ottoman Greeks in the age of nationalism : politics, economy, and society in the nineteenth century.*Princeton, N.J. : Darwin Press, 1999, 170

This identification of the Greek nation with the Orthodox religious community, are seen in the use of the terms Orthodox genos or ethnos. The way these terms are used in combination with the important role of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch over the Orthodox millet, legitimize an Ecumenical Greek Orthodox nationalism. It is this Ottoman Orthodox ecumenicity, centering on the Patriarchate that was threatened by the Greek irredentism of the 19th century that centered on the Greek state established in 1830. Therefore, there were two rival nationalisms: the Ecumenical Greek Orthodox nationalism in which *genos/ethnos* were identified with the *millet* and the Greek nationalism in which the term millet was included in the Greek irredentism framework.[58]

While the term Turk was synonymous with the term Muslim, during the period of national awakening in the Balkans, the term became a designation for the Muslims in parallel with the non-Muslim millets until later that it began to mean nation. The *millet* of Muslims, now believed to be the sovereign *millet* of the Ottoman Empire, still meant a religious community, which is the correct meaning of the term. The consolidation of the Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian and Romanian nationalities into separate and independent nation-states signified the secularization of the millets.[59]

Because of the given complexity and fluidity of identity during the period examined here, a discussion of terms that frequently come up in both primary and secondary sources, can provide some guidance. The term *millet başı* for example, is crucial because it illustrates the extent of the Patriarch's powers over people of same religion but different ethnicities. In order to put the complex relationship of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Hellenic Kingdom into perspective, one should consider the significance of the terms *ethnos* and *genos* that are frequently used in discussions and analysis of the historical issues discussed here. The terms as well as the Patriarchate and the Hellenic Kingdom relation should be examined within the Ottoman framework since this is the time they belong to. As Sia Anagnostopoulou very well points out, the Ottoman factor is the dominant one, therefore the historicity of the terms *genos* or *ethnos* and *ethnarches* should be examined as part of the Ottoman reality. She further argues that the complex nature of these terms' content as well as the complexity of the relationship mentioned above and the relationship between nation and religion are not

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[58]Anagnostopoulou, "The terms Millet, Genos, Ethnos, Oikoumenikothta, Alytrotismos in Greek Historiography", in "The Passage from the Ottoman Empire to the Nation States, A long and difficult process: The Greek Case, ISIS Press, Istanbul, 40-41

[59] Berkes, Niyazi. *The development of secularism in Turkey.* Niyazi Berkes; with a new introduction by Feroz Ahmad London: Hurst and Company, 1998,380

exclusively Greek historical problems. On the contrary, they shed light on the Greek national reality of the historical problems of an entire age and region, the problems of the whole world's transition into the reality of a nation-state.[60]

1.7 Literature Review

There are quite a few studies which discuss Greek and Ottoman Greek national identities. But I will discuss those works which have made a significant academic impact on this topic.

Konstantinos Papparigopoulos who is considered the Greek national historian left a lot of important work, but his most significant contribution is the series of books *History of the Greek Nation (1860-1874).*This is the product of his appropriation of the Byzantium, which he established as the connecting link between Ancient and Modern Greece and constructed as the continuity in the Greek national paradigm.[61] His work is extremely significant and referenced by most scholars of Greek national history. The book, *"The Greek Struggle for Independence 1821-1833,"*written by Douglas Dakin, a British scholar, and published in 1973, provides a quite "nationalistic" perspective on Greek history and the revolution of 1831 since he uses the rhetoric of the "Turkified" Ottomans who were oppressing the Greeks, despite the fact that, at the time, Greek nationalism had just been born and the concept of Turkish identity had not yet been a popular concept. However, Dakin illustrates the way the Great Powers contributed to the Greek struggle for independence, something that is sometimes not extensively discussed in various books of Greek national history.

In the book, "*The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations, 1918-1974"*, published in 1992, Alexis Alexandris offers a thorough review of the Greek community of Istanbul. He provides a chronological and thorough account of the relations and actors that have shaped the Greek community of Istanbul and his research is definitely most helpful for a researcher of the Ottoman Greek community of Istanbul or of the Greek-Turkish relations. However, the author, judging from his frequent use of the term Hellenes and Ottoman Hellenism when he is referring to the period 1913 does not necessarily take into account the different views on how the Greek nationalism and Greek

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[60]Anagonostopoulou,38
[61]Liakos, Antonis, Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece: Time, Language, Space,208

identity are defined.

The essay, *"The Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greeks: The Experiment of the Society of Constantinople,"* by Thanos Veremis,[62] not only provides valuable information on the relationship between the Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greeks but also provides information on a less traditional perspective of Greek identity and a vision for a Hellenic nation that is not connected to religion. Veremis provides a celebratory commentary on Ionas Dragoumis' and Souliotis-Nikolaidis' attempts to build a diverse Greek state that can be characterized as a more modern and perhaps progressive approach on Greek nationalism.

Antonis Liakos, in his work, *"Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece: Time, Language, Space,"*[63] argues that a nation constructs "its image regarding history, time and space". He argues that national identity, because of its temporal structure imposes a unification and restructuring of the perception of time that is expressed in the narration that makes the national history. Liakos is clearly a constructivist, and while he recognizes and seems to approve of the modernization of the history of the nation and its substitution with a history of the society, he insists that the idea of the construction of historical time is still relevant.

Sia Anagnostopoulou has written extensively on Turkey and the Ottoman Greeks in English, Greek and French. In her article, *"The tems millet, genos ("Christian orthodox race), ethnos (nation), oikoumenikotita (Ecumenicity), alytrotismos (irredentism) in Greek historiography"* she puts all these terms, essential for the understanding of Greek national history into context and explains the relationship of religion, to what it means to be Greek and how ecumenicity contributed to the Greek Orthodox nationalism. Her most important argument in this work, which is significant for the whole conversation on the Greek nation and nation-state, is her division of the two separate concepts of nationalism, one in which the core is the Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul and she calls ecumenical Greek Orthodox nationalism, and the other one that she calls Greek nationalism, which is defined by Greek irredentism as seen after 1830. In addition, she also puts the role of the Greek Orthodox Church into context and explains its role in the Balkans while showing how the Greek Church nationalizes religion and becomes the link between the Greek

[62] In Gondicas, Dimitri and Issawi. Charles, eds., 181
[63] Zaharia, Katerina, (Editor), *Hellenisms. Culture, Identity and ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008, 201-236

millet and the Greek state in her article *"Eglise (Ecumenique, Eglise Nationale. Le problème de rapports entre religion et nation dans les Balkans, 19e siècle-debut 20e siècle"*.

Among the more recent works on the topic of Greek nationalism and national identity is Dimitris Kamouzis's essay, *"Elites and the formation of national identity, The case of the Greek Orthodox millet (mid-nineteenth century to 1922,"* which brings up the important issue of the social and economic divisions existing within the Ottoman Greek millet that turn into divisions in different political views. His contribution to the relevant historiography is that he provides a different perspective on the millet and his assessment goes beyond the religious identity of the millet's members.

The contribution of this thesis to the available literature on Greek and Ottoman Greek national identities is not an addition to the existing important arguments. The review of the secondary sources confirms some of the most important observations that have already been made. The value of this research lies upon the primary sources used to shed light on Greek national identity in addition to the point of view from which the topic is approached. In particular, the focus is on the political participation of the millet and how politics have shaped or not shaped the perception of national or any sort of identity of the Ottoman Greeks residing in Istanbul in 1908.

1.8 Historical Background

Discussions about identity, specifically, national identity can be complex and should always be particular to the time-period examined. The extensive common past of today's Greece or Hellenic Republic and today's Turkish Republic make discussions even more complicated and rather sensitive. Before one dives into the particularities of the national identity as revealed, presented or even questioned in the Greek Press of Ottoman Istanbul, a short discussion of the most significant events of the period preceding the period 1908-1912 as well the most significant events during that period is necessary.

The Enlightenment that began in Europe in the early 18th century and the ideas of modernism and science it represented clashed with the tradition and religion dominating the Balkans. The Orthodox Church as an institution was hostile to the emergence of secularism and nationalism. That should not come as a surprise considering how

imbedded religion and the Church was in the life of the people in the Balkans. In particular, the church contributed to the preservation of the identity of the Balkan people.[64] In addition, religion forestalled any possible cultural and religious assimilation of the Balkan people since it functioned as a constant reminder of difference between Muslim Turks and their Christian subjects. Religion had always been an essential element of the Balkan historical tradition and constituted a link to an independent and great past. Finally, it was the institution of the church that created a bond between the Balkan Christians until the disruption of nationalism and it was also the institution that had carried through any literacy and cultural activities during the hard times.[65]

The opposition of the Orthodox Church to any elements of the Enlightenment as to the agitation for revolution and for national independence, extended to all Balkans national movements, included to the Greek and not limited to the South Slav and Romanian as it is frequently assumed.[66] At the time, the growth of industry and commerce created a new middle class that was not satisfied with the Ottoman state and thus led the nationalist movements.[67]

Education became the means through which Enlightenment ideas were transferred to the people not only within the Hellenic Kingdom but in other Balkan states. The Greek schools were the first secular schools that introduced humanistic curricula, and the Greeks took the lead in translating foreign authors. In Romania, Greek teachers and administrators had a strong presence, and in Bulgaria, because of lack of quality schools, Bulgarian students attended Greek schools in Athens, Chios, Bucharest and other places. [68]

The three major entities discussed in this thesis is the Ottoman Greeks, the Greek state established after Greek Revolt of 1821 against the Ottoman Turks and the Greek populations residing within the borders of the newly established Greek state. The starting point of the history discussed here is Istanbul, usually referred to as Constantinople- the city's name during the Byzantine years-by Greek scholars since the city, in addition to Athens is considered a historical Greek center within the Greek nationalism paradigm. The millet system, which is the organization of the non-Muslim minorities into different

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[64] Stavrianos, The Balkans since 1453,149
[65] Stavrianos, The Balkans since 1453,149
[66] The Balkans since 1453, 151
[67] Stavrianos, 145-146
[68] The Balkans since 1453, 147

communities based on their religion, was established in the Ottoman Empire in 1454 and remained in place until 1923. The leader of each millet was the one who was holding the highest religious authority which in the case of the Greek Orthodox millet was the Ecumenical Patriarch. The Orthodox Patriarch, besides his spiritual responsibilities, had extensive power over civil matters as well as the administration of the community in collaboration with the Ottoman state. What made the Orthodox Patriarch so powerful though, was that his jurisdiction was spread over non-Greek Orthodox subjects. This element enhanced the traditional ecumenical character of the Patriarchate.[69]

The Ottoman-Orthodox millet, functioned as an ethno-religious entity since by means of the decree of 1856, the division of the Ottoman population into millets was established and they had a recognized right to elect an authority which together with the Patriarch, handled certain privileges of the millet. This change influenced the Patriarch too since, although he was still the head of the millet, after that had to legitimate his power within the framework of this ethno-religious political entity.[70]

Aiming at getting rid of the Ottoman Turks, the armed conflicts of the Greeks (as well as other ethnic groups from the Balkans) started in 1821, lasted until about 1830 and resulted in a small Hellenic (Greek) Kingdom that included about 800,000 Greeks. It should be noted that Greek individuals who were considered part of the Greek nation because of common language and culture, were still living in other regions of the Ottoman Empire. The Greek Revolt of 1821 was part of a Balkan wide nationalist uprising that later spread to Bulgaria and other nearby regions that resulted to the decrease of the territories that belonged to the Ottoman state and the establishment of various nation-states. The Treaty of Adrianople (1829) forced the Sultan to recognize the autonomy of Greece, which, according to Koliopoulos and Veremis, thanks to British-Russian antagonism transformed into independence with the London Protocol of February 3rd1830.[71]

Ioannis Kapodistrias became the first President of Greece in 1828, but he was assassinated in September 1831. Most leaders who took over the Greek state during the first decades of its existence were affiliated with foreign powers. In 1833, Otto, the son of King Ludwig of Bavaria, took over Greece and became the newly born state's monarch.

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[69]Alexis, Alexandris. *The Greek Minority of Istanbul And Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974.*Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992, 23
[70]Anagnostopoulou,59
[71]Koliopoulos John S. and Veremis Thanos M. "Greece the Modern Sequel From 1821 to the Present",12

In 1833, the Church of Greece declared independence from the Ecumenical Patriarch and it came under state jurisdiction. That is when the church became closely associated with the nation.[72]

From the non-Muslim point of view, the establishment of the doctrine of equality that had become official Ottoman policy was very significant. Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) had himself declared that all subjects were equal.[73] The series of reforms that took place in the Ottoman Empire from 1839 and 1876 and included educational, judicial and administrative reforms and underlined the significance of the doctrine of equality, became known as Tanzimat, meaning 'Reorganization'. [74] The reformers embraced a concept of a common Ottoman citizenship and royalty, regardless of religion or origin.[75]

The Imperial Reform Edict (Hatt-I Hümayun) of 1856 required that each millet sets up a commission to reform its own administration and to submit the results to the Porte for its approval. The goal was to bring the millet organization in line "with the progress and enlightenment of the times". This phrase does not really reflect the real reasons behind the Porte's insistence on reformations. In fact, the sultan's government decided to move in this direction hoping that by decreasing the clerical hierarchy's power, they would avoid the European powers' intervention in the empire's affairs in favor of the minorities.[76] Another reason was to push the religious dogma and clerical control away in order to consolidate the empire's population on the basis of Ottomanism, to increase separation of state and religion as well as to avoid sectarian warfare among the Christians that was among the Porte's significant problems.[77]

During the period 1856-1876, the Tanzimat statesmen worked toward adapting western ideas which laid the basis for establishing representative government and its ultimate secularization, in addition to the administrative reform.[78] One major concept that was discussed and included in the reforms was the notion of equality of all Ottoman subjects and the concept of common citizenship known as Ottomanism (Osmanlılık). This is what initiated the introduction of a representative system in provincial and national councils that was a major step that led to the first written constitution in Ottoman history,

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[72]Blinkhorn & Veremis,10
[73]Alexandris,25
[74] https://www.britannica.com/event/Tanzimat
[75]Alexandris,25
[76] Davison, 114
[77] Davison, 115
[78] Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876, 7

the 1876 constitution.[79]The Ottoman statesmen goal was to preserve the Empire with its given diversity, by implementing reforms in a world 'increasingly ordered by European power and civilization'.[80]

The reforms were implemented by the government aiming on creating a flexible administration, therefore they were implemented in the provincial administration and in the non-Muslim communities. The effects on the non-Muslim communities are related to the goal of creating an Ottoman citizenship which meant allegiance to the government of the empire. This concept constituted a shift to a western secular concept and away from the classical Islamic concept that the status, rights and duties of an individual were rooted in the membership in a religious community be it Muslim, Christian or Jewish.[81]

After 1908, the Young Turks intention was to grant equality before the law for all the subjects living in the empire and to strengthen the state by implementing a policy of Ottomanization.[82] They wanted to apply this ideal of Ottomanism, as a nationality in the European sense that was a product of liberal reformism. This was the concept of an Ottoman identity and loyalty embracing all Ottoman subjects irrespective of religion or of ethnic origin in a single Ottoman nation inhabiting the Ottoman fatherland.[83]As Augustinos argues, the Young Turks wanted to end the privileges given to non-Muslim minorities based on their religion. Despite that, there were many people among the minority groups who expected a new era of harmony and brotherhood.[84]

The Sultan proclaimed elections in 1908 which provided all ethnicities with the right of representation in the new Ottoman parliament. In addition, müsavat (ισοπολιτεία -equality before the law) was again officially introduced. Ever since the Tanzimat years, the concept of equality was introduced with the Gülhane Edict of 1839 that in addition to the promise of introducing a system of conscription for the army, it promised "equality before the law of all subjects whatever their religion". With this clause Reşit Pasa who led the reforms, hoped to stop nationalism and separatism from growing among the Christian communities and not provide to foreign states such as Russia, with an excuse to interfere in the Ottoman Empire's affairs.[85]

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[79] Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876, 8
[80] Davison,6
[81] Davison, 8
[82]Augustinos, Gerasimos, Consiousness and History Nationalist Critics of Greek Society 1897-1914, 131
[83]Lewis, Bernard The Ottoman Empire and Its Aftermath, 28
[84]Augustinos, Gerasimos,131
[85]Zürcher, The Making of Modern Turkey, 51

The Tanzimat reforms deeply affected the Greek millet administration since the millet, despite the strong clerical control, achieved a measure of secular, representative administration.[86] This is just part of the changes that affected the role of the Greek Patriarch and the Greek Patriarchate in general. Up to the time that changes took place in the 19th century, the Patriarch of Constantinople and all the religious leaders of the non-Muslims living in the Ottoman Empire, were working and making decisions within the framework established by the Ottoman system.[87]

A lot of the corruption and the suppression of the people of the millets is attributed to the clerical leadership and its power. The reactions to the reforms included in the 1856 Imperial Reform Edict (Hatt-I Hümayun) varied among the individuals who belonged to the millets. Various individuals for example, sought to move from one millet to another for reasons such as avoiding clerical taxation, preserving personal political influence or gaining the support given to a specific millet by a foreign power.[88] The 1856 Imperial Reform Edict that marked the beginning of the secularization process of the millets led to a long battle between the Porte and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Ecumenical Patriarchate did not want to see its power and influence diminish, therefore a strong emphasis was given on education and the Greek language among the members of the Greek Orthodox community in an effort to instill a common ethnic consciousness to the Orthodox people. In this effort, "a strong emphasis on Greek language, became central, which was utilized as a tool to Hellenize the population.[89]

Since the second half of the 19th century, Greek schools of the Ottoman Empire led efforts to improve the cultural level of the community. The ranks of Ottoman Greek irredentists were developed by this very successful educational system established by the Greek millet. Thanks to the lack of any serious government interference, it became possible for the schools to spread Hellenic influences. Numerous educational, cultural and literary associations (syllogoi) were established in Anatolia and in Thrace. In Istanbul, there were about twenty-six syllogoi in the early 1870's. The most important was the Greek Literary Society (Ο 'Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος) that was established in 1861 by a number of important Constantinopolitan

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[86]Zürcher, 2004, 62
[87] Anagnostopoulou, 59
[88] Roderic, Davison, *"Reform in the Ottoman Empire"* 1856-1876, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press,1963),119
[89] Samara Konstandia, Identity Issues of the Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism as reflected in the educational policies of the Greek community of Istanbul (1895-1915), 93

Greeks. Among its prominent founders, were Constantine Kalliadis, director of the press bureau of the Sublime Porte and the Greek ambassador in Istanbul A. Palaiologos and Dr. Iroklis Vasiadis who played a major role in the expansion of the network of syllogos associations in Istanbul and other Ottoman provinces. For his important contribution in education and culture within the Ottoman Hellenism sector he got the title of the "permanent Minister of Education of the unredeemed Greeks". [90]

With the contribution of education, language started to play a significant role in the formation of identity in the second half of the 19th century. Until then, religion was the main element used to differentiate the Ottoman subjects. Linguistic diversity was confined within the millets and was not politicized. [91]The importance attributed on the development of education by the Greek Orthodox community and the Ecumenical Patriarchate are unquestionable. In addition to the Greek language being the means to achieve Hellenization of the population, the strong emphasis on the language in schools, which in the past, was used primarily in the church and religious texts, implies the existence of considerable linguistic division within the Greek Orthodox millet.[92]

The sophisticated and extensive educational system reflected the highly developed corporate life of the Greek millet. The network of the Greek schools expanded quickly and from 105 schools with 15,000 that Greeks of Istanbul had in 1870, by 1910 the number of schools went to 113. Each local community managed its own school and the central agency was located at the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In most Greek schools, the curriculum aimed on teaching about the Hellenic heritage, instill the Orthodox faith and until 1895 when the Ottoman government made the teaching of Turkish language mandatory, little or no Turkish was taught in the Greek schools. During the second half on the 19th century, Ottoman Greek education relied on the Hellenic Kingdom where Ottoman Greeks studied (in Athens) and returned to spread the ideas of Greek nationalism and Hellenic culture.[93]

The reforms of 1839 to 1876 were beneficial for the non-Muslim subjects since it is right after the reform act of 1856 members of the Armenian, Greek and Jewish communities began being assigned to administrative, judiciary, economic and educational posts of the government. For example, out of twenty-eight experts participating in the

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[90] Alexandris, 45
[91] Samara, 14
[92] Samara, 93
[93] Alexandris, 46

constitutional drafting committee two were Greek and out of fifty-one senators who served during the constitutional period 1877-1878 six were Greek. Even though the position of the Greeks had been deeply shaken by the outbreak of the Greek revolt of 1821 in the middle of the 19th century it was restored, and they participated in the new class of Ottoman senior civil servants and diplomats who came to powerful and influential positions. There were Greeks who were loyal to the Ottoman establishment and close to the Tanzimat spirit. An example was Constantinos Mousouros who served as the Porte's ambassador in the Hellenic Kingdom in the period 1840-1848 and even broke off relations with Athens in 1847 defending the empire's interests.[94]

The Istanbul Greeks were important mainly due to the fact that together with the Armenians, and during the second part of the 19th century, they became a part of a bourgeoisie of traders, brokers, money lenders and commissioners in Istanbul and other urban centers of the empire. The Greek element became a core part of the economic and social life of the empire. Ottoman Christians were active participants in quickly expanding fields such as foreign trade with Europe, finance, mechanized transport, and export-oriented agriculture. Ottoman Greeks became the famous Galata bankers who got a lot of power due to their lending to the Porte especially during the Hamidian period and their banking and financial advising services to the Sultans Abdülhamid II and Murat V. Other Greeks along with Armenians, became physicians, pharmacists, engineers, lawyers and others worked for large European companies such as railways and industries. Especially in Istanbul, the largest number of the skilled working class was made up of Greeks. [95]

In 1862 and 1863 the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Gregorian communities were placed under organic laws which diminished the power of the clergy and increased lay influence correspondingly[96]. Both the millets and themselves and the Turkish government initiated the changes. There was an internal upheaval in the middle of the century in each millet and the Porte pushed for a new constitution in each millet.[97]

According to Roderic Davison, the Greek and Armenian millets had become corrupted and ther hierarchies manipulated business and politics to their advantage. The politicization of these millets had already occurred since the patriarch were given

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[94] Alexandris,29
[95] Alexandris,31-32
[96] Davison, 114
[97] Davison, 114

considerable power from the Ottoman authorities and had civil authority in matters of personal status, justirce and taxation. This was the incentive for the religious hierarchy to make sure they kept their flock in relative ignorance, to keep good cooperation with the Ottoman authorities and fight any religious or politcical heresy that could take away members of their community and thus, decrease the tax paying members of their communion.[98]

Comparing to the Armenian millet, the reforms were more slowly implemented in the Greek millet. The first reason why that happened was because the Istanbul Patriarch who was the most powerful among the patriarchs since he had jurisdiction over all Orthodox peoples such as the Bulgarians who wanted to establish and eventually did their own autocephalous church, had no incentive to implement changes that would weaken his position. Another reaction or rather lack of reaction to the reforms was the lack of agitation from the Greek laymen's part. It is possible that the majority of politically conscious Greeks in the empire, were not as interested in reforming the millet as they were interested in the dreal of *megali idea* that incorporated the idea of the Byzantine Empire's revival and thus the expansion of the Greek nation.[99]

Despite the Greek millet's reluctance and the stubborn refusal of the Greek Patriarch of Istanbul as well as the lack of will of the five metropolitants and members of the synod (*gerontes)* who had administrative power and selected the patriarch, the Porte continued to apply pressure on the Greek millet after 1856. Eventually the Greeks were forced to reorganize and that reorganization broke the power of the *gerontes* and resulted to the Porte having a saying on the candidates list of the selection of the patriarch as well as to a provision that the synod should not have an interest in corruption and to the establishment of specific financial rules. [100]

The oppression that dominated the Hamidian period, had three byproducts. The secret societies that were started in higher education institutions, the "factional cliques" established by people who went to Paris, Geneva and Cairo and the secret committees that according to Niyazi Berkes were the least known but had significant influence on the events that followed. Berkes argues that these secret committees resembled masonic lodges and were made up primarily by army officers. The most important of these

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[98] Davison, 118
[99] Davison,126
[100]Davison 129

masonic-style committees was the Ottoman Society of Union and Progress.[101] According to the same scholar, the term Young Turks should only be used to refer to those who politically opposed the Hamidian regime, since within the Young Turks movement itself, there were opposing ideologies and this opposition to the Hamidian regime was the only element they had in common.[102] Despite the fact that the Young Turks ultimately adopted a western lifestyle in terms of entertainment, dress code and education they defined themselves in opposition to Christian populations residing in the Empire at the time. In fact, in 1906 when the Ottoman Freedom Society was established in Salonica non-Muslims were excluded.[103]

Paris was the place where some Ottoman constitutionalists who were opposing the sultan Abdülhamid, gathered and produced pamphlets and periodicals that attacked the sultan. It was during this First Congress of Ottoman Opposition where there was Greek participation although it was questionable whether all of them were even Ottoman citizens. They did not manage to represent the Greek element of the Empire and had no ties to the Greek community of Macedonia and no role in the Young Turk Movement.[104]

Ahmet Riza, became the Europe-based leader of the organized opposition group that was originally established in Istanbul in 1889, named Ottoman Unity Society and was renamed to Society or Committee of Union and Progress, CUP (Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) in 1895.[105] At this point there were two branches of CUP one based in Istanbul and one in Paris. In fact, there were various groups that later became part of the CUP and the Young Turks movement. One important event where these numerous groups that had their opposition to Abdülhamid's regime met, was the First Congress of Ottoman Opposition that took place in Paris in 1902. Even there, there was division among the opposition groups, but the Congress is where two of the groups, the activists and the supporters of Ahmed Rıza united both being opposed to foreign intervention in the Ottoman affairs.[106]

In September 1907 the Ottoman Freedom Society that was based in Salonica and Ahmet Riza's Committee of Union and Progress based in Paris merged and formed the Committee of Progress and Union (CPU). There had been increasing discontent within

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[101]Niyazi, Berkes, 305
[102]Berkes,305
[103]Zurcher, The Young Turk Legacy,111
[104]Hanioğlu, Young Turks in Opposition, 183
[105]Zürcher, A Modern History,86
[106]Hanioğlu, 199

the Empire and especially within the army during the years 1906-1908 because of high inflation and late salary payments. In addition, there were also numerous small-scale rebellions and strikes in different parts of the Empire, that revealed discontent. The emerging nationalism in the area of Macedonia that included the Ottoman provinces of Salonica, Kosovo and Monastir and the struggles between the different ethnic groups such as Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and Vlahs as well as the struggle between Greece and Bulgaria for the control of the Orthodox Church, were issues that contributed to the Revolution of July 1908. The revolution organized by the Young Turks, aimed on dethroning sultan Abdülhamid and re-establishing the 1876 constitution which he had abolished. [107]

The period that began in July 1908 was a period of transition, during which there was a lot of opposition to CUP. In particular, there was a struggle for power between the sultan who was supported by conservatives and reactionaries, the bureaucrats who were occupying high positions who supported the Liberals and the Unionists who relied on their strength coming from the army and society. It was during the November-December 1908 elections, when the Committee of Union and Progress won, when this struggle became more evident. The conservatives realized that the CUP's power had to be broken before it was consolidated.[108] At this point, the Grand Vezir Kamil Pasha, dismissed the war and marine ministers and replaced them with his own people in an effort to weaken the CUP. In response to that, the CUP had him voted out of his position by the parliament and replaced. In addition to this opposition, the CUP was also opposed by the religious conservative circles. In April 1909 there was an armed insurrection in the capital aiming on restoring the Islam and şeriat. The insurrection was ultimately suppressed, although the CUP was pushed out of Istanbul for some time but kept its supporters in the provinces of the Empire. Sultan Mehmet the V whose reign started in 1909, was occupying the throne while the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) was more operating like a watchdog rather than participating in the governance. [109]

By 1908, the Hellenic Kingdom did not seem to have a strong voice but the Greek government at the time was acting rather consciously regarding their relationship with the Ottoman state. In particular, they did not really embrace the visions of the Society of Constantinople but were rather skeptical of Souliotis' and Dragoumis' plans. During the

[107]Zürcher, A Modern History,90
[108]Ahmad, Feroz "The Making of Modern Turkey", 35
[109]Zurcher, The Young Turk Legacy, 75

period 1908-1912, the Greek element residing in the Ottoman Empire fought to keep its privileges within the Empire and did not really side with the Hellenic state.110 During this period, there were several legal changes that strengthened central authority and limited individual and collective freedoms. One of the most significant changes that were implemented during this period and affected the Greek community was the military service law that made it mandatory for all male Ottoman subjects to serve, both for Muslims and non-Muslims. That made to a lot of young minority men of Greek descent to either physically leave the country or to adopt a foreign (primarily Greek) nationality. Finally, between 1909 and 1911 opposition to CUP re-emerged and new opposition parties were established. In the 1912 elections, the CUP used violence and intimidation in order to ensure its majority.[111]

In the Hellenic Kingdom, in 1909 there was a the Goudi coup, mounted by the Military League, which was partly a response to the Young Turks revolution of 1908. During that period a memorandum was issued that demanded the removal of the royal princes from the armed forces, the ministries of war and naval reconstruction.[112] The demands were endorsed with popular enthusiasm. At first, the Young Turks' promises for equality for everyone including the non-Muslim minorities aroused the as much enthusiasm in the Hellenic Kingdom as in the Ottoman state.[113] Eleftherios Venizelos, who envisioned and promoted the Great Idea (*Megali Idea*) was moved to the front scene of the political scene and his party, the Liberal Party took over as a result of this turmoil. The Great Idea (*Megali Idea*) became the main idea that defined the Greek nationalism paradigm for the period examined and after that and determined the moves that the Greek state made regarding the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan states.

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[110]Alexandris 44
[111]Zürcher, Turkey a Modern History, 103
[112]Clogg,75
[113]Clogg,73

CHAPTER TWO

19ᵗʰ CENTURY OTTOMAN PRESS, GREEK OTTOMAN PRESS AND INFLUENTIAL FIGURES

Abdülhamid II is known for the extensive censorship he applied on the newspapers and books. The censorship was not selectively applied to specific newspapers and publications, but it affected all Ottoman publications whether they were operated by Muslims or non-Muslims and any ethnic community. When the constitutional monarchy was established in 1908 and the censorship was lifted, the Ottoman press flourished. There was heavy production of newspapers all around the Ottoman Empire and it was almost like a reaction to the inability to write freely, during the previous years. The 19th century was a period of wide-spread social change in Europe as well as in the Ottoman Empire. Newspapers were an important vehicle for this change in both regions that included so many different cultures. Newspapers had an influential role in carrying through change within the empire. During the Hamidian period, books were heavily censored and progressive ideas could not be spread through that medium, so newspapers dominated change in the Ottoman world.[114]

The Ottoman press, including the non-Muslim and different ethnic communities' press was important for the social and political life in the aftermath of the Young Turks Revolution because it facilitated the communication between different entities and contributed to the public dialogue. Due to the influence of the newspapers, and other social and political reforms that took place in the 19ᵗʰ century, there were new religious and cultural freedoms implemented by the Ottoman state. These reforms and freedoms included the permission for publication of newspapers in every language. Consequently, Istanbul became a significant cultural center that profoundly influenced the Near and

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[114] Stamatopoulos Dimitrios ,"Greek newspapers in Constantinople", Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Constantinople

Middle East and housed numerous non-Turkish publications.[115] For example, *Al jawaib*, published in Istanbul, was state-funded and the most influential among the Arabic language newspapers and its circulation increased after 1909.

Under Sultan Abdülhamid, publishing had been tightly controlled rather than completely suppressed. The Ottoman official yearbook for 1908 lists ninety seven publishers active in Istanbul and that list is not complete.[116] He continued to manage the press under the laws and regulations that existed before he took on but in 1888 he implemented a clarification of the laws, named The Printing Houses Regulation (Matbaalar Nizamnamesi).[117]The Press Law required government authorization for all publications, in any language, either through the Ministry of Public Instruction, for Ottomans or through the Foreign Ministry, for foreigners. The Press Bureau, established in 1862, had to receive a copy of each issue of every publication. By 1908 the Domestic Press Bureau included: a director with five assistants, five examining clerks, secretaries and more than twelve inspectors who were responsible for the supervision of newspapers, printing establishments, and theaters.[118] There were also restrictions regarding the content of different publications. "Words of aggression, compromising the security of the state, outraging public morals, customs, or one of the empire's religions, or offending the sultan, his family, government officials, or Ottoman allies were offenses punishable with fines, imprisonment, and suspension of the publication".[119]

There were various methods that Abdülhamid adopted to control the press. When some publications opposed him, he tried to bribe the journalists or get the local governments to close those newspapers that were criticizing him. [120] The sultan did not allow references to his own health or his family's health in the Ottoman press and any discussions about foreign affairs went through careful editing.[121] Pre-print censorship which was a method of removing certain articles or pieces of writing before the issue went into printing was a method of censorship heavily used during the Hamidian period but also used after 1908. [122] Despite the fact the censorship had been lifted and the law

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[115] Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire, 432

[116]Brummett, Palmira Johnson. Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908, 3
[117]Boyar, Ebru, The Press and the Palace: The Two-Way Relationship between Abdülhamid II and the Press-1876-1908. 422
[118]Brummett, Palmira, 4
[119]Brummett, Palmira, 4
[120]Baykal, Erol,"The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)", Phd Dissertation,University of Cambridge, 27
[121]Brummet, 5
[122]Baykal, Erol,89

had been specifically altered to ban pre-printing censorship, there seems to be a general confusion about the amount of time the lift of the censorship was going to last and the procedures that were going to be in place post-1908. For example, during Abdülhamid's rule there were censorship centers (operating in post offices) that were closed after 1908.[123]

Harris Exertzoglou argues that things were fluid in the publishing sector of Istanbul in the 19th century. That fluidity was connected to the political and economic circumstances of that period. There were periods of intense publishing activity and other periods of fluctuating publishing activity. Within few decades, there was a new professional network of editors, owners, editors in chief, journalists and sales men that not particularly well-known. Many journalists worked for more than one publications, and the change of titles as well as the merge of different publications, occurred quite often.[124]

The 1908 Revolution initiated a two-year period of journalistic freedom that existed for the first time in Ottoman history. The restored Constitution contained a clause that said, "the press is independent by law".[125]For Ottoman journalists this revolutionary year was filled with euphoria and disillusionment. Specifically, the satirical press, targeted both the previous autocratic regime as well as the constitutional government. The satirical publication journalists suggested that the revolution was going to facilitate the spread of cultural imperialism by Europeans in the Ottoman lands. According to Palmira Brummett, this "democratization of the printed word" was similar or even more dramatic than the one that was the result of the French Revolution.[126]

The following day of the declaration of the constitutional monarchy in July 23rd, 1908, there was a gathering of journalists where they rejected the censorship on newspapers. Despite the slight differences between sources that provide number of publications in the post-1908 period, it is certain that publication numbers multiplied in the aftermath of the Young Turks Revolution. Another source compares the approximately 103 Turkish language gazettes published in the twenty-eight years between 1879 and

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[123]Baykal, Erol, Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Ottoman Press (1908-1923), University of Cambridge,91

[124]Exertzoglou,Haris, "ΤΥΠΟΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΣ ΧΩΡΟΣ" (Istanbul Press and Public Space) in The Greek Press 1784 until today, Historic and Theoretical Approaches, Institute of Neohellenic Studies of National Institute of Studies, Athens, 2005, 302.

[125]Agoston and Masters, Encyclopedia of Ottoman Empire, 433

[126]Brummett, Palmira, 6

1907 with 240 new gazettes published in a single year immediately following the revolution.[127]

The significance of the press lies upon the fact that it contributed into the establishment of a public sphere in the Ottoman Empire, where public opinion emerged as a mechanism of control of politics and as the final judge of the social and political life. The involvement of the press got complicated in the political and church affairs of the 19th century, such as the case of the Greek publications' intense debates over political and church conflicts of that period.[128] Furthermore, the Greek press, exposed the different perspectives of Istanbul's Greek community's members. In addition, established journalists occasionally staffed publications of Athens.[129] This exchange created a link between the Ottoman Greeks of Istanbul and the Greeks of the Hellenic Kingdom.

In Istanbul, there has been more than one hundred and fifty publications at the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20thcentury. Most of them survived for a short period. The Greek press was a communication tool between the Greeks inside and outside the Ottoman borders. It might not be necessarily unique to the Greek millet, but the role of the Greek press was certainly important in the shaping of the Greek millet's presence and sense of itself especially the period after 1908. According to a source, that year, 109 of 726 magazines that were allowed to be published were in Greek.

The reason why the role of the press was important, is because the different ethnic groups of the empire, such as the Greeks, Arabs, Armenians and Albanians had an opportunity to express their nationalistic aspirations.[130] In other words, the millets were already in the process of being politicized and the press itself did not cause that, but it became the platform that facilitated this process.

In an article published in the Greek newspaper *Politiki Epitheorisis* in April 1910, there is a specific comment about the Turkish press claiming that it in fact, contributed into the creation of mistrust and- suspicion among the various Ottoman elements (Οθωμανικά στοιχεία).[131] The interesting part of the article is the commentary about the

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[127]Brummett,5
[128]Exertzoglou,Haris, 304
[129]Koutsopanagou, Gioula, "Ο Εξωελλαδικός Τύπος και η Ελληνική Διασπορά", (The Press from outside Greece and the Greek Diaspora) in The Greek Press 1784 until today, Historic and Theoretical Approaches, Institute of Neohellenic Studies of National Institute of Studies, Athens, 2005, 360.
[130] Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire
[131]Exact quote translated: "Among sad misunderstandings and misconceptions that were instigated a part of the Turkish Press, had created from early on, distrust and suspicion among the various races that constituted the Ottoman unity".

how the minority deputies of the Ottoman Parliament saw themselves in relation to the other Ottoman subjects. In the article, it is stated that there is a clear sense of fear among the non-Muslim parliament members who being aware of their position as a minority in terms of numbers and thus their inferior position in the public administration, were concerned. This fear and concern expressed here, reveals the reactions of the Greek Orthodox minorities towards the Young Turks regime and their concern of the changes that were somehow threatening to who they were and the life they were living up to that point in time.

The first newspaper published by representatives of the Greek Orthodox community was *Othomanikos Minytor,* published both in Greek and Ottoman in 1835 by Ioannis Mousouros, whose brother was the Ottoman Empire's ambassador in Athens at the time. The newspaper was an official publication of the Ottoman state and it continued being published until 1841.[132] There were also periodicals printed in Turkish with Greek characters, known as *karamanlidika*. Greek-language newspapers ranked second in number behind French-language newspapers, with 109 publications.

The strong presence of newspapers in Greek during the 19 century is closely related to the re-establishment of the religious communities in the middle of the1830's and the beginning of the Tanzimat reforms that started in 1839. There were a lot of important Greek newspapers such as *Neologos*, *Anatolikos Astir* and *Tilegrafos tou Vosporou.* In some cases, the newspapers themselves were used as political tools such as in the case of a conflict between the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and the Mixed Council, the Patriarch Ioakim II favored the newspaper *Omonoia* that ended up publishing only the final decisions of the Holy Synod and the Mixed Council while its rival, *Anatolikos Astir* published all the acts of the Mixed Council.[133]

Politiki Epitheorisis, a political weekly newspaper is not necessarily categorized among the most significant Ottoman Greek newspapers. Most of the discussions around the Greek newspapers usually concern the Patriarchate's publications and newspapers and for good reasons, since the Patriarchate constituted the core of the Greek millet and defined, to a great extent, its identity. *Politiki Epitheorisis,* which is used in this thesis to

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[132]Stamatopoulos Dimitrios , "Greek newspapers in Constantinople", Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Constantinople
[133] Stamatopoulos Dimitrios, "Greek newspapers in Constantinople", Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Constantinople

illustrate the Greek national identity during the period 1908-1911, has an interesting story on its own. It was established by Georgios Mpousios, an Ottoman Parliament deputy and Ion Dragoumis, a Greek diplomat, from the Hellenic Kingdom. In the newspaper, there was weekly commentary on domestic issues such as the discussions in the Ottoman Parliament as well as on foreign affairs. Columns written by Greeks from the Hellenic Kingdom as well correspondence from European capitals such as London and other regions such as the Balkans were published regularly by the newspaper at least in the years 1910 and 1911.

The General Director of this newspaper in Istanbul was Georgios Mpousios (Γεώργιος Μπούσιος) who was born and raised in Greece, studied at the Trade school of Heybeliada and served as an MP in the Ottoman Parliament in 1908. He, together with Ion Dragoumis, was also a member of the Société de Constantinople, a group originally established in Salonica in 1906 and played a role in the relations of the Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greeks of Istanbul.

Mpousios like a lot of other newspaper and magazine editors belonged to the Literature Association that existed in Istanbul. His role as an Ottoman Parliament member (MP), was not uncommon among editors and newspaper owners of the Ottoman Empire. The important role that the ethnic press and in this case the Ottoman Greek press played in the political developments that took place in the empire, is underlined by the fact *Politiki Epitheorisis* was closed down in December 1912 by the Young Turks. Mpousios and another Greek journalist and Ottoman Parliament member, P. Kosmidis were both deported.[134]

Both G. Mpousios and P. Kosmidis, were outspoken and active Parliament members. For example, in the discussions concerning the recruitment of non-Muslims in the army, they both supported the recruitment of the Christians. According to the "Recruitment Law' of 1909, it was necessary for all the "Ottoman people" to serve in the army and Kosmidis considered that the Greek-Orthodox populations belonged to the "Ottoman people".[135] Like Mpousios, Kosmidis was also involved in journalism and he was co-publisher of the newspaper Sada-i-Millet (Voice of the nation).

In both case, the newspapers of these two significant Ottoman Greek figures in

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[134] Kechriotis Evangelos, "Greek Orthodox deputies for Constantinople in
the Ottoman Parliament", Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Constantinople *http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=11451*
[135] Kechriotis Evangelos, "Greek Orthodox deputies for Constantinople in the Ottoman Parliament", Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Constantinople*http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=11451*

many cases reflected their political views in some of their articles. For example, in the newspaper Sada-i-Millet, there were published articles about Christian fathers who in some cases forced their children to go to the army, due to their sense of duty to the fatherland.[136] In *Politiki Epitheorisis*, Mpousios was quoted in articles discussing the Ottoman Parliament proceedings and in other cases his own writing appeared in the newspaper.[137]

Kosmidis played a significant role not only in important Parliament discussions over the military service and education but also, together with another Greek Parliament member, in the efforts to reconnect all the Christian parliament groups with the Young Turks when their relations fell apart. Finally, it is important to mention that both Kosmidis and Mpousios, who was also the head of the Greek Political Association, kept a rather uncompromising attitude toward the Young Turk policies and that cost them their reelection in 1912 and is also related to the break of the relations between the Ottoman governments and Greek-Orthodox political and religious leadership.[138]

The publishing activities that took place before and after 1908 in the Ottoman Empire indicate that there was interest in cultural production and learning. The need for press and participation in the public sphere by providing and receiving information was evident among all subjects regardless of their religion, ethnicity or language. *Politiki Epitheorisis* was a weekly newspaper with a focus on politics, issued every Sunday and it did not only provide news coverage, but it also provided commentary on foreign and domestic issues. The newspaper changed its name during the period 1910-1912 because of the censorship that had been applied on the press by the Young Turks.[139] The archives that belong to the digital collection of the Greek Parliament, include newspaper issues starting in April 4th, 1910 and the title of the newspaper is *Politiki Epitheorisis* (Political Review). The newspaper keeps changing its names without chronologically interrupting its publication until December 30th, 1912. The used names are the following: *Ta Dikea ton Ethnon (Δίκαι των Εθνών, Τα), Drasis (Δράσις), Eleftherotypia (Ελευθεροτυπία),*

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[136] Kechriotis Evangelos, "Greek Orthodox deputies for Constantinople in the Ottoman Parliament", Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Constantinople

[137] One example is this article: Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησις (Politiki Epitheorisis) Κυριακή 13 Μαρτίου 1911 (April March 13th, 1911) (Έτος Α) Parliamentary Week (Κοινοβουλευτική Εβδομάς)
Another example was an article published in June 27th1910 when the newspaper had the title Isopoliteia Ισοπολιτεία (Isopoliteia) Η ΕΚΤΕΛΕΣΤΙΚΗ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΠΟΥΚΟΤΑΖ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ Κυριακή 27 Ιουνίου 1910, Executive Authority and the Boycott Committee, Sunday June 27th1910

[138] Kechriotis Evangelos, "Greek Orthodox deputies for Constantinople inthe Ottoman Parliament", Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Constantinople

[139] Κατάλογος Εφημερίδων Βιβλιοθήκης της Βουλής,124 (Newspapaer Archive of the Greek Parliament's Library)

Isopolitia (Ισοπολιτεία), Sinadelfosis (Συναδέλφωσις), Foni (Φωνή), Tribune des nationalites.[140]

The goal of this newspaper was to provide commentary on the political developments that were taking place inside and out of the Ottoman Empire's borders. The newspaper *Politiki Epitheorisis,* was being published until 1916 in Greece but most of the issues found on the digital archives of the Greek Parliament are from the period 1910 to 1911. Most of the articles usually placed on the cover page of the newspaper were "Reviews of the Ottoman Parliament" proceedings and included specific quotes of Parliament members, often of non-Muslim members including Greek Parliament members. In some cases, Mpousios was quoted in articles and some articles of his own were published in the paper.

As far as the language in which the articles are written is concerned, it is a version of Greek called *katharevousa* and it has a lot of elements from the ancient Greek language. It gives the impression of a more official and possibly sophisticated way of expressing ideas. This specific version of the Greek language was used by the official Greek State until 1976 when they switched to *dimotiki* that has been used until the current times.

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[140] Christopoulos, Panayotis Ph.,Newspapers in the Greek Chamber of Deputies Library (1789-1970), Descriptive Catalogue, Library of the Greek Chamber of Deputies, Center for Neohellenic Research/NHRF, 124

CHAPTER THREE

THE GREEK ORTHODOX MILLET IN THE POST 1908 ERA

There are three main actors that shape the relationship of the Ottoman Greeks residing in Istanbul especially in the period 1908-1911 with the Hellenic Kingdom. It's the newly established Hellenic Kingdom's government, few Greek visionaries with different ambitions for the nation than the nation's government itself, named Ionas Dragoumis and Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis and of course the Patriarchate that was the heart of the Ottoman Greek millet. All these actors and their interactions shape the picture of the relations between the two entities examined here. On the one hand, there is a newly found entity, the Hellenic Kingdom, that struggles to connect the state with a constructed national identity and on the other hand there is an ethnic minority in a deeply rooted and privileged position in Ottoman Istanbul. During the period examined here, the relations between the two reveal the process during which one entity slowly becomes important for the other.

The Hellenic Kingdom claimed a historical connection to the Greek populations residing in Istanbul. This connection had been established through the way the Greeks of the Kingdom perceived their identity by creating a historical continuity between the ancient Greek times and the Byzantine times and the Greek Revolt of 1821 that led to the establishment of the Greek state. It was not without debate or questioning that the Greek identity was connected to Ancient Greek times as well as to Byzantine by various historians such as Papparigopoulos who is considered the national Greek historian. Constantinople and the Greek-Orthodox populations historically residing there, were slowly incorporated into an idea of a nation that went beyond the borders of the Hellenic Kingdom.

Sia Anagnostopoulou, provides a framework that helps explain the relationship between the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and the Hellenic Kingdom as it is shaped

throughout the years from the Greek Revolt of 1821 to 1908 and after when the Young Turks revolt and Turkish nationalism is more clearly shaped. She claims that while the existence of two opposite camps (the Greek state and the Patriarchate of Constantinople) is easily established, this fact is given expression only with difficulty in the terms: ethnos and genos (nation). The same terms are used without differentiation by everyone-ethnos and genos, Greek ethnos or genos and Orthodox genos or ethnos of the Rum occur everywhere. As she points out, "The differing functionality, which these terms have in the context of each text suggests to us a claim to legitimation of two rival legitimacies: a Greek national legitimacy and a Greek or Orthodox, ecumenical legitimacy".[141]

In order to create a historical continuity, there was a revisit of ancient Greece that set the tone for the Greek national history. The period of classical antiquity was incorporated into the national feeling of history. The appropriation of this period was established during the period of the Enlightenment's influence on Greece, in the 50 years or so before the 1821 Revolution, and, though not without disagreement or reservation from the post-Byzantine tradition of the Orthodox Church, it proved sufficiently strong as to prevail in the national consciousness of modern Greeks.[142]

In the context of the construction of Greek national history, four centuries of Ottoman rule that cover the period from1453 to 1821 became known as *Tourkokratia* which means "Turkish occupation". In Greek historiography, this period has been considered a period of slavery and at the same time a long prologue to the national revolution. This term excludes four centuries of a longer period of Ottoman presence in northeastern Mediterranean, from the 11th century to the second decade of the twentieth century. Even though for the 19th century Greek society, *Tourkokratia* has been its immediate past which is still existent in the daily culture, in cultural debate it is suppressed since on the hand, it was considered a cause of backwardness of Greece and on the other hand it was used as the breeding ground of national virtues.[143]

The heart of the issue is the relationship of the people of the Hellenic Kingdom with the Church and extensively with the Patriarchate located in Fener, in Istanbul's district Fatih. The significance of this relationship goes beyond religion and its role in the definition of a national identity. It is about the power that the Patriarch had over the Greek

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[141] Anagnostopoulou, Sia, *"The terms Millet, Genos, Ethnos, Oikoumenikothta, Alytrotismos in Greek Historiography"* 39-40
[142] Politis 1998 in Liakos, Antonis, 205
[143] Liakos, Antonis, 213-214

Orthodox populations, it is about economic privileges and the delicate balance between the Patriarchate and the Porte, a balance that had been maintained for hundreds of years. In comparison to the Byzantine times, the Greek Patriarchate's power was increased during the Ottoman years. By the end of the 18th century, the Patriarch had become the ethnarch (millet başı) which means leader of the nation, of approximately 13 million Christians, which was at the time one quarter of the Empire's population.[144] When the circumstances drastically changed in the Balkans and in the rest of the Ottoman Empire, the millets were affected.

In the context of the Macedonia question which was the result of the rise of nationalism in the Balkans in the 19th century, Greek, Bulgarian and other groups that called themselves Macedonian, fought against each other to get the Christian populations to join them. During that period, Greek officers and diplomats organized themselves into networks that supported the "national struggle".[145] The rise of nationalism and the establishment of nation-states resulted to the establishment of national churches. The Patriarchate despised the fact his jurisdiction did not extend over the Christian kingdoms; therefore, his ecumenicity was put under question. The Hellenic Kingdom established its own church, but the Patriarchate only recognized the autonomy of the archbishop of Athens in 1850. The Patriarchate even opposed the efforts made by the Trikoupis government in the early 1880's, to take over the school system of the Greek communities in the European part of Turkey.[146] Before the 1908 Young Turks Revolution the Patriarchate and the largest part of the Orthodox millet opposed the Young Turks ideals, since there was no guarantee that the Greek millet's privileges would be protected. It should be noted that the Unionists, did not recognize *millets* as entities with political or national significance. [147]

The relationship of the Greek Orthodox millet of Istanbul and the Greek government was managed by representatives of the Greek Government and the Greek Patriarchate. However, there were a couple of Greeks coming from the Greek mainland who were carrying different ideas and visions from the Greek state representatives who attempted to approach the Patriarchate o move forward with their vision. There was no clear-cut policy of the Hellenic Kingdom towards the Ottoman state, but one could argue that the newly established Greek government was rather careful with their moves towards the

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[144]Dakin, Douglas,9.
[145]Kechriotis, 52
[146]Arnakis, Georgiadis, 248
[147]Berkes, 331

Porte. According to Thanos Veremis,[148] the government of the Hellenic Kingdom did not really take on a specific position regarding the conflicts within the Ottoman Empire and the rise of the Young Turks. Without intent for speculation, during this critical time for the newly-established Hellenic Kingdom, in a governmental level, it seemed to have taken on the role of the observer. Even during 1907, the Greeks seem to have chosen not to take a side in the conflict between Ottomans. Particularly, members of the Young Turks movement as well as officials of the Imperial government, made some unsuccessful attempts to get Greek diplomats and Orthodox priests to support them against each other.[149] It was the Ecumenical Patriarch who was in pulling the strings and the at this point in history the Greek state was not really taking much initiative. Part of the reason for the absence of clear policies might have been the fact that the Greek state was a newly found state with not many resources and political strength.

The Patriarchate and the Patriarch himself were major variables in the period examined here since it was not only the millet's privileges that could be potentially diminished by the Young Turks policies, but it was the Patriarch's influence that would be directly affected. Ioakim III and the historians who were his contemporaries and champions, had to deal with a difficult reality. The difficulties they faced, included not only the Balkan nationalism and irredentism that had affected various populations-the most important of which at that period in relation to the Patriarchate was Greek irredentism-but also the Hellenization of the millet and the delegitimization of the Patriarch's ecumenicity, which was enacted and implemented by the political authority.[150] As Alexandris points out, the existence of an independent Greek state gave to ethnicity and language priority over religion, thus it somehow decreased the influence of the Patriarchate over the Ottoman Christian millet.[151]It has been argued that internal competition among groups within the Greek Orthodox community, led to the creation of a Greek ethnic community before 1908 that eventually led to the millet's politicization in terms of ethnic line.[152] According to Niyazi Berkes, already since 1908 "the non-Muslim millets were political nationalities aspiring to independent nationhood in which religion would be an instrument of politics". [153]It was especially after the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1872) and through the influence of the Greek State, the

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[148]Veremis, The Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greeks: The Experiment of the Society of Constantinople, 205
[149]Veremis, The Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greeks: The Experiment of the Society of Constantinople, 205
[150]Anagnostopoulou, 59
[151]Alexandris, 37
[152]Kamouzis, "The Greek millet" Chapter 2, Ottoman Greek Elites,1
[153]Berkes, 331

Hellenization of the Orthodox millet became more intensive than before.[154]

Ever since April 1909, the Ottoman Greek elite hoped that the Prince Sabaheddin's Liberal decentralists, would bring him to power during the counterrevolution that took place in Istanbul. According to Feroz Ahmad, the Greek-language press in the capital and the Greek Political Association, founded largely by Greek deputies in the Ottoman parliament, both praised the rebellious soldiers of the Istanbul garrison who they expected to overthrow the constitutional regime.[155] Alexis Alexandris, the historian of the Ottoman Greek community of Istanbul, wrote that "by the 1910s Ottoman Greek self-assertion had become one of the most visible aspects of life in the empire. With their overwhelming emphasis on Hellenic studies, Ottoman-Greek schools overlooked the ideas of liberal Ottoman modernizers who envisaged a multiracial and cohesive Pan-Ottoman state". [156]

Between the years 1908 and 1918, general elections were held in the years 1908, 1912 and 1914. In all three elections the CUP dominated the parliament. According to the electoral law of 1908, all male Ottoman citizens who were 25 years of age had the right to vote. However, this right was restricted to taxpayers. If they were protégés of a foreign government, bankrupt or under legal restriction to dispose their property or had their civil rights removed had no right to vote.

The Ottoman Greek community members, following the Patriarch's lead, aimed on pursuing their interests through their deputies in the parliament. In the elections of November 1908, the Greeks complained of irregularities after the results were not that positive and they did not get the representation they had expected. The Unionists did not accept the Greek demands on proportional representation and suggested that in the provincial subdivisions (*sancak*) where the majority of first degree electors was Greek, an equal number of Greek and Turkish deputies should be elected.[157]

Right after the suppression of the April 1909 counterrevolution in Istanbul, the Young Turks started working on changing the military recruitment law. Up to that point in time, the non-Muslim subjects were exempted from military service and instead they paid a tax. In July 1909, military service became mandatory for all Ottoman subjects. The Christian subjects were not really enthusiastic about serving.[158] The Greeks were the ones

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[154] Samara, 14

[155] Ahmad, *The Young Turks and the Ottoman nationalities, 43*

[156] Alexis Alexandris in Ahmad, Feroz The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities, 43-44

[157] Boura,Catherine, "The Greek Millet in Turkish Politics: Greeks in the Ottoman Parliament (1908-1914) in Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism, 198

[158] Zürcher, Ottoman Conscription System, 447

who objected to the law. They claimed that they wanted Greek officers in the army if they had to perform military service. However, there were no Greek officers at the time, therefore that request was impossible to be met. In addition, they wanted separate Greek units from the Muslim ones. Both requests were denied. By 1910, Greeks had started joining the army along with other non-Muslims.[159] One way the young Christian subjects and particularly wealthy Greeks with overseas connections, found to avoid serving in the military was to either leave the country or purchase a foreign passport.[160]

Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis and Ionas Dragoumis were two individuals with great visions that went beyond the borders of the Hellenic Kingdom. They turned to the prosperous Greek millet, looking for a different approach than the irredentist spirit of the Hellenic Kingdom. They were envisioning a multiethnic state where Hellenism would be spread, and equal rights would be granted to everyone irrespective of their race or origin.[161]

Athanasios Souliotis who was an officer, set up clandestine organizations in Thessaloniki and then in Istanbul. He established the Society of Constantinople (Οργάνωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως) in 1908 with the support of the Greek government and its base in Athens. Right after the 1908 Young Turks Revolution, Souliotis-Nikolaidis and Dragoumis sent a letter to the Greek foreign minister, Georgios Baltatzis. In the letter, they explained their own political program and its goals. They never received a reply. Their proposal was that the government should try to become allies with the Porte. In addition, they argued that in order for the Greek nation to develop on its own within the Ottoman Empire, the Greeks (of the Hellenic Kingdom) should give up claims on Ottoman regions and the Ottoman Greeks should comply with the constitutional reforms. The only exceptions to this compliance should be education and religious affairs that should stay under the Patriarchate's jurisdiction.[162]

On the one hand, the Greek Foreign Minister Baltatzis preferred to establish a cooperation with the Young Turks but on the other hand, he did not trust Souliotis-Nikolaidis and Dragoumis and their activities because they had implied they would instigate violence by arming Istanbul's population. As a result of this mistrust, while Baltatzis gave the Ministry's official approval for Dragoumis and Souliotis-Nikolaidis to

[159]Feroz,The Young Turks and other Nationalities,43
[160]Zürcher, Ottoman Conscription System, 447
[161]Veremis, The Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greeks: The Experiment of the Society of Constantinople,203
[162]Kamouzis, 27

be present in Istanbul he did not send them as official representatives of the Greek government. Instead, he sent Pavlos Karolidis, a University of Athens professor to represent the Greek government's views in the Ottoman Parliament. [163]

It was the Young Turks movement that affected the purpose of the Society of Constantinople, and turned its focus from the Macedonian issue and their concern to fight against Bulgaria, to the new role the SC took on after the political environment changed.[164] The SC took on the role of fulfilling the founders' common view of "connecting" the Greek nation of the Hellenic Kingdom with the Greeks still living in Ottoman lands such as the Istanbul Greeks. In other words, the Young Turks and their policies functioned as a catalyst that turned the SC into a tool used by its founder to achieve their goals. In fact, official relations between the Greek state and the Ottoman state improved in 1908 as it is indicated by the exchanges of official visit and the circulation of Hellenic newspapers in Istanbul. There was one concern though. These changes and openness was dangerous for the Ottoman Greeks because if they expressed their sentiments towards Greece, they risked being accused of not being dedicated to their Ottoman fatherland.[165]

The SC opposed the CUP and while the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Ioakim III was suspicious of the SC, at the end collaborated with them in order to protect the privileges of his Patriarchate that were threatened by the Young Turk policies.[166] The Patriarch knew that his own power laid with the maintenance of the Ottoman system as it was before 1908 when he was the head of the Greek-Orthodox community and his power was recognized by the Ottoman state.

After the 1908 election, an alliance between the Liberals and most of the Greek deputies-twenty-six of whom were elected in 1908-had developed in the parliament. Similar to other minority groups, sixteen Greek deputies formed the Greek Political Association (a "Greek party") during the 1909-1910 parliamentary session. They voted collectively and supported the opposition. The other ten deputies did not participate in this collective effort, since they were either Unionists or independent. In 1911, there was an anti-Unionist alliance that made an electoral pact. In this alliance, Turks, Arabs, Albanians, Armenians, and Greeks joined forces, in order to defeat the government in the election of 1912. The Liberal Union (Entente Libérale, or the Freedom and Accord Party)

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[163]Kamouzis, 27
[164]Kechriotis, 53
[165]Veremis, The Hellnic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greeks, 207
[166]Kamouzis, 28

promised to make important concessions to the Greeks in exchange for their support. They promised to restore the traditional privileges of the patriarchate and decentralize the provinces in the empire.[167]These promised changes, concerned privileges the biggest part of the Greek Orthodox millet wanted to secure.

An example of Greeks who did not support the anti-Unionist alliance, was the example of Karolidis, Vasilios Orfanidis and a few others of the 1908 deputies, who formed an opposition to the Society of Constantinople. Their political positions were more accommodating. Karolidis believed that the constitutional monarchy would allow a deep understanding between the Greek and Turkish elements. That understanding, would create an alliance that would fight against the Slavs in |Macedonia who were considered a common enemy. However, Karolidis was not popular among many Greeks due to his interference with the Society of Constantinople, his inability to comprehend the Ottoman reality and the lack of promotion of the Greek government's objectives by him.[168]

Given the existing internal competition within the Greek millet it seems that the SC did not really have a unifying effect on the Ottoman Greeks since it did not really get the support of the Patriarch or of everyone in the millet. In addition to some Greek deputies who did not support the SC[169] the Patriarch Ioakim III was also skeptical of it. Since the 1908 Revolution the Patriarch was cautious towards the Young Turks because the Church was not fond of their plans for a constitutional state, the establishment of equal rights for all citizens and their wish to put an end to the *millet* system. Ioakim had been supported by the Greek embassy in his re-election of 1901 and he saw himself as the national authority of the Greek *millet.* He did not see only danger in the policies of the state and the Young Turks, a danger that could hurt his power over the Greeks, but he also saw the SC as the Greek government's instrument and its efforts as an intrusion into his affairs.[170]

Ioanis Dragoumis rejected the Greek state's irredentism but the Patriarch of Constantinople was not the alternative power figure for the Greeks he was looking for. He had a cultural affinity to the church and supported a secular nationalism that was not in line with the ecumenicity of the Orthodox Patriarch. Both Souliotis and Dragoumis seem to reject the idea of the Turk as the ultimate enemy of the Greeks which was the cored idea that inspired the Greek Revolt of 1821 and ultimately led to the establishment

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[167]Ahmad, "The Young Turks and the Ottoman minorities",44
[168]Kamouzis, 27
[169]Kamouzis, 27-28
[170]Kamouzis,28

of the Kingdom of the Hellenes. Instead, they considered their national identity as opposed to the Slavic element represented in the face of Bulgarians and other Slavs. In fact, they appeared to believe that the Greeks were more compatible with the Muslim Turks than with the Orthodox Bulgarians.[171]

Thousands of Greeks from the Hellenic Kingdom migrated to the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century in search for economic opportunities. However, they kept the Greek citizenship and they could not be differentiated from the Ottoman Greeks.[172] That situation posed a problem to the plans of the Young Turks for the establishment of an Ottoman citizenship. The ability to become protégés of a Great power by purchasing foreign citizenship from an embassy was not unique to the Greeks but extended to all non-Muslims.

A common denominator of this period that led to the Young Turks Revolution and during the period 1908-1912 is the secret societies and committees. Similar to Young Turks who looked for ways to bring into the Ottoman Empire views inspired from the West and get rid of the old system, the Greeks who were not satisfied with the way the Greek state was envisioning itself established the Society of Constantinople in order to promote their own vision and understanding of the Greek national identity.

[171]Veremis, The Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greeks, 204

[172] Ahmad,The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities, 43

POLITIKI EPITHEORISIS: ANALYSIS OF SELECTED ARTICLES ON OTTOMAN AFFAIRS

The changes that took place in the post 1908 Revolution period affected all non-Muslims minorities of the Ottoman Empire including the Ottoman Greeks. Thus, the analysis of the articles concerning the Ottoman Parliament proceedings and discussions over various Young Turks' policies regarding military conscription, census and other topics as they were covered by this Greek newspaper, provides information on the general political circumstances during 1910 and 1911. This information includes the way the Ottoman Greeks were affected, their participation in politics and the perspectives of the Ottoman Greeks and in some cases the Hellenic perspective, on political developments of the time.

4.1 The post 1908 Era

The newspaper *Politiki Epitheorisis* that primarily targeted an audience that belonged in the minority makes a point to express its hope for an inclusive society where all the different peoples (referred to as nations in the article) will co-exist. In an introductory note published on Sunday, April 4[th]1910, the newspaper staff explained the purpose of the publication and their commitment to provide well-informed research, essays and articles. From the very first paragraph, they clarify that "*Politiki Epitheorisis will attempt to keep the readers updated on the political moves in the Ottoman Empire, in the Greek Kingdom, in the rest of the Balkan states and, in general, in the Anatoli*".[173]They point out that they are committed to that, despite the fact that, as they

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[173]Translation note: The word Anatoli (Ανατολή) in this context should be translated as East. I have left it like that on purpose. In the next few paragraphs of the text, I am explaining the meaning of this word. Source: Issue: *Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) 1 Κυριακή 4 Απριλίου 1910 (Ετος Α) Introductory Note of the First Issue of the Newspaper.*

say, for the understanding of the political events in the Ottoman Empire, the Hellenic Kingdom, the Balkans and in "Anatoli", one needs to thoroughly study current political developments - a study that goes beyond he capabilities of a weekly paper. In addition, they express their hope that the newspaper itself will contribute, into making the people of "Anatoli" (East) more knowledgeable. In that way, they will manage to prevent the foreigners[174] from taking over the lands of the people of the Anatoli and exploit them according to their own interests. Instead, the people would be able to come up with an appropriate political program and everyone will live well.

This might be a short introduction, but it sets the tone and clarifies the scope of the newspaper, which is political. The word Anatoli, which is the Greek equivalent of the word Anatolia, can and should be translated as the East. The wording might be indicative of the regions covered by *Politiki Epitheorisis,* given that the newspaper covers news from areas where Arab populations lived that were part of the Ottoman Empire in 1910 and 1911 such as Yemen, Jordan and the Cyrenaiga region, which later became Libya. What is interesting though is that at the last paragraph of this introductory note, the staff members talk about Anatoli as a country, that will hopefully include all its people who will take advantage of their own heritage, meaning their own culture. In other words, they are talking about a whole country of different nations that one could assume means a country that includes subjects of different ethnicities and religions.[175]

The cover page of the first issue of *Politiki Epitheorisis* published on Sunday April 4th, 1910, reflected the excitement of the people for the end of Abdülhamid II's era. It presented the Young Turks' victory as beneficial for all Ottoman subjects. Even though the newspaper was published two years after the Young Turks Revolution, it vividly described the enthusiasm over the reinstatement of the constitution and the beginning of what is known in Turkish national history as the Second Constitutional era. This excitement reflected in the newspaper is indicative of the freedom that the press got for at least the two first years after the 1908 Young Turks Revolution.

In an article titled "Ottoman Parliament's Work-General Review"[176] that was

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[174]The general impression that I got from the whole article was that by foreigners, they mean the Europeans who had their eyes set on Ottoman lands and were trying to be involved in the empire's affairs in order to benefit at the right time.

[175] Issue: *Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) 1 Κυριακή 4 Απριλίου 1910 (Ετος Α) Introductory Note of the First Issue of the Newspaper.*

[176] The article provides a summary of the celebrations after the Revolution, as well as the way the Ottoman Parliament was established to represent all Ottomans. While the Parliament was going to represent all Ottomans including different

included on the front page of the newspaper's first issue, there is a celebratory tone regarding the 1908 Young Turks Revolution and the re-establishment of the 1876 constitution. *"The Ottoman peoples went through a strong shock. They were unexpectedly under a new government system"*. And it continues in the same tone, *"[The people's] celebrations for the abolishment of authoritarianism lasted for many full weeks and they were extremely happy like children".[177]*

While there is a generally welcoming attitude to the switch to the constitutional monarchy, there is an interesting point made in the newspaper regarding Abdülhamid II that might also reflect the diversity of opinions within the Greek millet. The Sultan's manner of ruling is somehow justified in this piece by claiming that his actions were a result of counselors who were close to him and were holding him away from his people.[178] This statement, might give mixed messages but one way to interpret it, is that the newspapers and ultimately the Ottoman Greek politicians who were running it, wanted to keep a balance in the political statements they made. In the same article, they both celebrated the abolition of the monarchy but also provide a very short evaluation of this sultan's reign.

4.2 Unity and division

On the one hand, discussions about the military conscription and the population census, show willingness of all Ottoman elements to work together and show a general feeling of belonging to the Ottoman state, on the other hand, the implementation of a boycott against the Greeks including the Ottoman Greeks, offers grounds for feelings of alienation and creation of divisions among the Ottoman subjects.

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ethnic groups, it is pointed out that the Committee (of Union and Progress), had selected representatives of the "other Ottoman subjects" who were supporters of the Committee. With the term "other Ottoman subjects", the article pointed to the religious and ethnic minorities represented in the Parliament by their own deputies such as Greeks, Jews, Albanians, Arabs and others.

[177] *Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) 1 Κυριακή 4 Απριλίου 1910 (Ετος Α) Ottoman Parliament's Work -Review (Το Έργον της Οθωμανικής Βουλής, Γενική Ανασκόπησις)*

[178]Passage translation: [The people's] celebrations for the abolishment of authoritarianism lasted for many full weeks and they were extremely happy like children. Their justified outrage that they had for a long time kept hidden was revealed and directed towards those directly or indirectly, responsible for the former bad political and social conditions. The political need to prevent serious internal problems in combination with the deeply rooted feeling of people's extreme respect towards the Monarch, dictated more mild thoughts and the former sultan, Abdulhamid II (here the word used to describe this sultan is the Red Sultan-Erithros Soultanos-a characterization given to this sultan) was pronounced as an unlucky Emperor who had been deceived by his magnates and advisors (the actual words used here refer to the wealthy viziers and other men living in the palace and being close to the Sultan) that kept him in a distance from his people. In *Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) 1 Κυριακή 4 Απριλίου 1910 (Ετος Α) Ottoman Parliament's Work -Review (Το Έργον της Οθωμανικής Βουλής, Γενική Ανασκόπησις)*

While Young Turks' goal was to establish "equality for all", who became a member of the Ottoman Parliament, was highly monitored by the Committee. When it came to the first elections, the Parliament members who were elected were the ones promoted by the CUP Committee. The most interesting piece of information is that *"the Committee in collaboration with the various National centers of the other Ottoman elements made the ultimate and unchangeable arrangements and imposed to both the voters and the electors how many and who among the minorities would be the assembly men".[179]* This point indicates that most of the Ottoman Greek deputies serving in the Ottoman Parliament in 1910 were supporters of the Committee established by the Young Turks. In addition, it implies that the non-Muslim deputies were also somehow selected from among the members of the millets. The use of the word "national centers" (ethnika kentra) when referring to the non-Muslim slightly shifts the focus from the religious element that identified the minority Ottomans to a broader category of a nation. That is an observation that can be made, when the quote is read while keeping in mind the broader rise of nationalism in the Balkans at the time. What can be concluded by close reading, is that by national centers, the staff writer refers to the administrative and religious authority of the millets that in the case of the Greek Orthodox people was the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Based on this long analysis on the work of the Ottoman Parliament, published in the first issue of the newspaper in April 4th1910, one observation that can be made is that this newspaper approached the news regime in a positive manner, while not failing to closely monitor the position of the Greek Orthodox community in all the new establishments such as the Parliament. It is also a given that there were limitations to the deputies' freedom to make decisions since there were elements that affected them. The connections of the Ottoman Parliament deputies to the provinces they were elected at and the ethnic group they belonged to, constituted an influential factor for their decision-making as underlined in the following quote: *"...both the electoral province and the ethnicity have their own demands, therefore, the deputy [is expected] to defend their interests".* These connections, according to the source make it difficult for the deputies to fulfill their duties with respect to their vows and their consciousness. [180]

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[179] Source: Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) 1, Κυριακή 4 Απριλίου 1910 (Sunday April 4th1910) (Έτος Α) Ottoman Parliament's Work -Review

[180] *Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) 1 Κυριακή 4 Απριλίου 1910 (Έτος Α) Ottoman Parliament's Work -Review (Το Έργον της Οθωμανικής Βουλής, Γενική Ανασκόπησις)*

Regardless of what side the Greek deputies were on, there were major issues discussed in the Parliament that were directly related to the issue of Ottoman citizenship which was the military conscription and the service of non-Muslims populations in the Ottoman army. The deputy Mpousios, brought up the issue of the military service together with numerous other questions as it was reported in the weekly column titled "Parliamentary Week" published in the issue of Sunday March 13th1911.[181] In the discussion it is reflected that "the equality before the law" has not really been achieved in 1911, since there are significant differences in the way minorities are treated in regard to the military service. The discussion over the military service is significant within the context of the building of any "national consciousness". While the minorities and specifically the Ottoman Greeks are fighting over their privileges and the protection of their religious identity, there is already a clear division between the Ottoman subjects. The Christian subjects are not yet allowed to train in the elite military academies, a fact that might reflect the Unionists' dislike for non-Muslims participating in the military and their wish to homogenize the populations.

While a large part of the article examined here contains questions and debates over the military's budget there are some interesting points regarding the Christians serving in the army. For example, a Greek deputy named Chonaios asked for priests to be sent to the army and asked for the military conscription law to be properly applied in all provinces and not send a specific percentage of all Christians to serve in the army. His requests were rejected by the Minister of Defense. Religion and religious practice in this context is significant. First, it was an important element of what constituted a Greek at the time since the millet was identified as Greek Orthodox and second, even though the members of the Young Turks movement who were inspired by Western ideas and created the movement were not particularly religious, they considered religion an important part of the Ottoman state they were envisioning. That might be one reason why the request for priests was rejected. The goal was to create a sense of unity, by not allowing customs that underlined differences between the subjects within the army. When it came to military education the deputy Mpousios asked for:

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[181] *Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) Κυριακή 13 Μαρτίου 1911 (Ετος Α) Parliamentary Week (Κοινοβουλευτική Εβδομάς)Sunday March 13th 1911*

The Christians to be allowed, by exception for the duration of three years, to enter the advanced military academies (Harbiye), by being examined in their own language, in the assessment of their scientific education and in Turkish only, as much as it's needed to follow the traditions, in order to soon create Christian Lieutenants to encourage the newly admitted Christian soldiers. (Κοινοβουλευτική Εβδομάς, Politiki Epitheorisis, Sunday March 13th, 1911)

Mpousios' claim includes all Christians and the point regarding the language of the entrance exam is an indication that Mpousios was fighting for all Christians subjects. It is worth noting that his persistence must have paid off since the Minister promised that "the language issue will be overlooked wherever possible".[182]

The discussion over the military service is significant because the military, serves a very important purpose which is to encourage feelings of loyalty towards the homeland and inspire the sense of belonging to a nation and being responsible for the protection of the nation and the state. The Ottoman army's diversity reflected the diversity of all Ottoman lands, and the refusal of the ministers to accommodate the non-minority claims when it came to military service were in line with the Young Turks vision to homogenize the Ottoman subjects.

According to an article titled "Parliamentary Week" (Κοινοβουλευτική Εβδομάς-Koinovouleutiki Evdomas published on Sunday March 13th, 1911, the Minister himself recognized the complaints made by the Christian soldiers but ascribes them to the military service's difficulties. The Minister's denial to recognize any truth in the rumors regarding the efforts to implement religious conversion, indicate that there were discussions and questions regarding religious practice within the army. However, the denial of bringing into the army Christian priests does not constitute evidence of efforts to implement religious conversion.

In the same article "Parliamentary Week" (Sunday March 13th, 1911), there is a reference to how the change in the conscription system served the Muslims. Specifically, the Minister praised the new organization of the army and the success of the non-Muslim participation that as he said, "*from now on, the Muslims' burden will be relieved, since the*

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[182] *Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) Κυριακή 13 Μαρτίου 1911 (Ετος Α) Parliamentary Week (Κοινοβουλευτική Εβδομάς) Sunday March 13th 1911*

military service will be reduced to two years".[183]

The military conscription and the lack of laws to regulate it seemed to create economic divisions more than divisions in ethnic terms. Up to 1909 the non-Muslims did not serve but from that year and onward everyone had to serve. However, even after 1909 the lack of proper regulations allowed wealthy people to escape the service. The poor people working in the agricultural sector seemed to get hurt but these circumstances more than anyone else. According to an article, the long military service, without specific start or end as well as the random selection of those who will serve, were detrimental to the economy and the prosperity of the ottoman society. *"...the privileged men did not serve, and they were left to waste their fathers' fortunes without even producing anything whereas others were left in constant uncertainty, since they did not know neither* when they will be called to service nor when they will be dismissed". [184]

While the extension of the military conscription to all Ottomans including non-Muslims was a general policy of homogenization implemented by the Young Turks, there was a 'policy' that was not initially backed by the state that targeted specifically the Greeks. It was a boycott that according to the newspaper targeted both Ottoman Greeks and Greeks from the Hellenic Kingdom, as if they are considered one.[185]

This is an article written by the Ottoman Parliament member and Director of *Politiki Epitheorisis* G. Mpousios and published on the front page of the newspaper now named Isopoliteia in June 27th, 1910.[186] With a critical and a bold tone, Mr. Mpousios brings up the issue of a boycott to the trade and shipping specifically imposed on Ottoman Greeks and Greeks. He wonders who has made this decision since the Grand Vezir and the Minister of Interior both disapprove this boycott and the Minister publishes newsletters asking for the boycott to stop but without success. There is a Boycott committee who

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[183] *Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) Κυριακή 13 Μαρτίου 1911 (Ετος Α) Parliamentary Week (Κοινοβουλευτική Εβδομάς) Sunday March 13th 1911*

[184] Πολιτική Επιθεώρηση Κυριακή 18 Απριλίου 1910,Politiki Epitheorisis Sunday April 18th 1910 Το Περί Σρατολογίας Νομοσχέδιο (Resolution about Military Service): The Greek newspaper, in this article expresses its objection to the way that long military service time was assigned without proper laws to regulate the assignments. In fact, the way the decisions were made regarding this topic were the same with the period before the Constitution was reestablished. The arguments behind this opposition were not only the need for a strong army to to ensure the existence of the Ottoman state but also the social and economic problems it caused. Extending the military service to the non-Muslims, who until recently did not serve and maintained in a way the life and progress of the common homeland, will maintain these detrimental circumstances.

[185] Isopoliteia, Sunday June 27th, 1910, Executive Authority and the Boycott Committee

[186] This was one of the names the newspaper Politiki Epitheorisis had during the time it was published to overcome any prohibition of publication as a result of censorship imposed by the Young Turks. One the front page the name of the person who is now the Director is Charisios Vamvakas (Χαρίσιος Βαμβάκας) who like Mpousias was an active politician, Ottoman Parliament member and a journalist. The change of the newspaper's name is explained by the archivist of the Greek Parliament in a guide he created and that was consulted for this thesis.

makes all the decisions and the police, refuses to provide any sort of protection to foreign or Ottoman citizens. Mpousios questions the use of different laws regarding the unions and strikes and the so-called patriotism of the people imposing the boycott. He poses the question of who represents the ottoman state in this circumstances and points to the division between the Boycott Committee who characterize their actions patriotic and the rest of the Ottoman subjects who were not consulted before the boycott took place. Finally, he reveals that the boycott was not only imposed on Greek citizens but was extended on Ottoman Greeks. A group of Ottoman citizens questioned how 'Ottoman' other Ottoman citizens were. Merchants arriving at the ports were asked to prove they were Ottoman citizens by providing a certificate issued by the Boycott Committee since the proof of residency was not considered enough of evidence. The boycott and its implications prevented not only unity among the Ottoman citizens, but it also did not support the ottoman trade and shipping. For those reasons Mpousios asked through this article for the Ottoman constitutional government to act to put a stop to the boycott.

The boycott on Greek shipping and trading constituted a bold effort to hurt the Greek community. Although one cannot rely only on a specific source to come up with certain results the questions raised here regarding the patriotism of certain ottoman citizens as well as well the unity within the ottoman state are significant given the time and the circumstances. There have been two years since the Young Turks Revolution and in this article, we see that at least some attitudes towards the non-Muslim communities have changed. Interesting questions are raised such as *"Who gave these porters and boatmen the right to represent the Ottoman nation and implement this type of patriotism through this movement?.*[187] By using a lot of questions, Mpousios who wrote this article makes it look like an actual speech and makes his writing more bold and vivid. The most interesting section of this article reads as follows:

Through this boycott, there has been a different type of unity instead of the ottoman that was sought out, the national unity of the greeks, who have for a moment forgotten that they belong to different citizenships and states when they face a common danger, ottomans, greeks, russians, italians, american

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[187] Issue: Ισοπολιτεία (Isopoliteia) Η ΕΚΤΕΛΕΣΤΙΚΗ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΠΟΥΚΟΤΑΖ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ Κυριακή 27 Ιουνίου 1910, Executive Authority and the Boycott Committee, Sunday June 27th1910

citizens were united, realizing that they were persecuted not due to their citizenship but due to their patriotism.[188]

By grouping together all the non-Ottoman citizens with some Ottomans who were the Greek Ottomans, a clear discrimination occurred that 'otherized' in a way the Ottoman Greeks who did not in this case benefit from their rights as citizens of the Ottoman state. In a way the Ottoman Greeks and the Greeks from the Hellenic Kingdom are in this case treated as one group, as if they belonged to the same national community.

Through a slightly different perspective though, one could argue that this was a very specific discrimination that specifically targeted a certain professional section of the Ottoman Greek population who were the merchants and ship owners. Like the unregulated military service system that benefited the wealthy citizens and did not necessarily discriminate based on religious or ethnic affiliations, this boycott created a division that put the emphasis on economic and social class.

The boycott continued until 1911 as indicated from articles published in 1911. According to an article written by a correspondent in London.[189] According to this correspondent, The Young Turks attitude towards their subjects changed during the month of February (1910).[190]This change was attributed to the foreign powers' criticism about the harshness that Turks showed to the Ottoman subjects of different race (nation). At the same time, many requests for reconciliation were done by the Young Turks towards the Albanians and the Bulgarians who were considered the most dangerous elements…As far as the Greeks are concerned, the tendency for reconciliation is smaller. The trade and shipping blockade imposed on Greeks was not reduced and resulted to huge losses to the

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[188] The word used here translated as patriotism is εθνισμός (ethnismos) that essentially means philopatria or patriotism. Issue: Ισοπολιτεία (Isopoliteia) Η ΕΚΤΕΛΕΣΤΙΚΗ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΠΟΥΚΟΤΑΖ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ Κυριακή 27 Ιουνίου 1910, Executive Authority and the Boycott Committee, Sunday June 27th1910
[189] Εκ Λονδίνου, Ειδικού Ανταποκριτού, Λονδίνο, 5 Μαρτίου 1911 Ι. Π. ΧΡ. (From London, Special Correspondent. London March 5th, 1911, I.P.CHR. -the correspondent's initials), Summary of the article: In this column, a special correspondent reported from London and in his commentary, he offers, information that he claims getting from an Armenian who had a contact in the Turkish Embassy about the Sultan's planned visit in Armenia. He quotes an English journalist, named G. Miller, who has written on how the Young Turks treated the Albanian people, the strict reforms they implemented as well as the Christian populations' expectation that the Austrians were going to save them from the Turks. In addition, the correspondent quotes Mr. Baucher who was writing from Thessaloniki for the 'Times'. He writes about the CUP's military and other general decisions regarding Thessaloniki and other Balkan cities. The last part of the article comments on the Young Turks attitudes towards the non-Muslim communities including the Greeks, as well as on foreign policy issues and the relations between foreign powers such as England and the USA as well as France, Germany and Russia.
[190] Given that the article was written and published at the beginning of March 1910 we can assume the writer most probably refers to the month of February 1910.

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Greek shipping companies and great difficulties to the people traveling. The trade blockade although it is not politically motivated, it is still directed by Kerim agha (ağa) the well-known heaver in chief, whose authority extends to all the Turkish ports of the East. This movements continues to the benefit of few "Turkojudahs"[191] ship owners who are trying to defeat their Greek competitors.

The above passage of the article is of great interest, because it brings up the issue of trading blockade which is essentially an economic sanction to the Ottoman Greek ship owners and merchants that was taking place in 1911. There is a strong critical tone towards this move but it is significant that it is not perceived as a general politically motivated attitude to specifically target the Greeks, but it is presented almost as a personal 'vendetta' of a single Muslim individual who seems to try to defend in this way the economic interests of the Muslim ship owners. In other words, the issue here is not that the ship owners are Greek, but the problem seems to be that the Greek ship owners and merchants are doing well, and their competitors are trying to stop this success and benefit themselves.

There are regular columns from correspondents writing form European cities such as London and Vienna that appear in *Politiki Epitheorisis*. The fact that foreign correspondents bring up the issue of the boycott shows that it did not go unnoticed by the foreign diplomats, merchants and ship owners who were traveling to, living or working in the Ottoman lands and particularly at the ports. The consequences of the boycott against the Greeks did not only have an effect on the Ottoman Greeks, who opted for a foreign passport in order to continue their business, but it arguably had negative connotations for the entire country. *"…the Empire, allowed divisive elements to enter its organism"*. By divisive, it refers to the involvement of countries such as Austria, Italy and the USA, that gladly gave citizenship to the Greeks who asked for it since that got them further involved in the domestic affairs of the Ottoman Empire. This is clearly illustrated in an article commenting on the consequences of the boycott, published on Sunday March 20th, 1911.[192]

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[191] This word is a combination of the work Turk, Tourkos in Greek and Ioudaios that in Greek means Jew (Ιουδαίος). As mentioned in the article, the Jews of Thessaloniki had financed the CUP. According to the info in the article, the Ottoman Jews wanted to bring down the Greeks shipping and trading to defeat competition. That is probably why we see this reference.

[192] Πολιτική ιθεώρησης, Politiki Epitheorisis, The Consequences of the Anti-Hellenic Boycott -Αι Συνέπειαι του Ανθελληνικού Μπουκοτάζ, Sunday March 20th, 1911

In the article it is argued that the Young Turks have made the trade boycott at the ports an executive authority matter and they apply it to every foreign power they consider an enemy. Everyone from the Vali (province governor) to the police and the army participated in the boycott and the ambassadors and the ship owners were unable to fight it. The Porte argued they could do nothing about it. These circumstances led a lot of Greeks to ask for the assistance of European powers such as Austria and Italy who gave them citizenship and support so that they have respect from the Ottoman authorities as well as the US that gave their flag to Greek shipping companies. It is underlined that this was detrimental for Turkey, since the foreign powers by getting more population of Christians in its territory will be able to influence its domestic affairs.[193]

A conclusion that can be made from this and the other articles commenting on the boycott is that economic survival, at least among the wealthy Greek merchants and ship owners, were more important than any "national" or any other emotional connection they felt to the land they came from and they Ottoman state. They obviously had the option of getting a different citizenship and this option indicates some sort of privilege since the Greeks, including Ottoman Greeks and the other Greeks had important contacts with citizens of powerful countries.

Like it was explained earlier, the boycott was applied on Greeks, regardless of whether they were Ottoman citizens or not creating the impression that they were all perceived as one group. Given the complexity of the relations of the Ottoman Greek community and particularly the Ottoman Greek community of Istanbul and the Hellenic Kingdom, it is worth looking into the perspective of the people of the Hellenic Kingdom. In an article signed with a nickname "Toxotes" written in Athens in March 10th 1910, the writer provides information on the way the Greeks living in the Hellenic Kingdom perceived themselves and their country, in relation to the Ottoman Empire.

For example, he brings up topics that in his view, constitute, important questions for the bilateral relations of the two states such as the question of Crete[194] and the issue of a tax that Greeks in the Ottoman state had to pay. The article was placed on the cover page of this issue of the newspaper, therefore it the staff members obviously considered it important. Even though the author is unknown, the writing style and the tone indicate

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[193] Πολιτική ιθεώρησης, Politiki Epitheorisis, The Consequences of the Anti-Hellenic Boycott -Αι Συνέπειαι του Ανθελληνικού Μπουκοτάζ, Sunday March 20th, 1911

[194] Because of Crete's aspirations to unite with the Kingdom of Greece there was a Cretan Revolt of 1897-1898 and the Greco-Turkish War of 1897. Crete became an autonomous state in 1898. Crete's independence and the Ottomans claims over the Muslim populations residing there as well as the island itself, had been a hot topic discussed in the Ottoman Parliament in 1910 and 1911 as seen in articles of *Politiki Epitheorisis*.

that the article was written on behalf of the Greek State, that wished to be in good terms with the Ottoman Empire. When talking about the Hellenic Kingdom's government he says: *"It has proved this honest desire that is a result of the acknowledgment of the common interests, in many occasions"*. One major theme addressed here is equality before the law *(isopolitia)* that had been stressed upon by both the Young Turks and the non-Muslim minorities such as the Ottoman Greeks. Another interesting point that the writer underlines is the perceived link between the Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greeks living in the Empire's territories. The argument is that the Greek State, that is *"the natural guardian of the Greeks everywhere, is only asking for a guarantee that the Greeks who are living as indigenous people in foreign territory, enjoy the same rights with the rest of the indigenous peoples"*.[195] It creates an interesting contrast to the majority of the articles included in this publication, that talk about or at least mention the unity among the Ottoman subjects and a new era that has started with the re-establishment of the constitution. On the one hand, there is a clear recognition that the Greeks residing in the Ottoman Empire are indigenous in that region and at the same time there is the assumption that they fall under the jurisdiction of the Greek state. [196]

An article titled "Ecumenical Patriarchate" (Oikoumeniko Patriarchio) published in *Politiki Epitheorisis* in April 25th 1910, elaborates on the concept of Constantinople of Byzantine times that belonged to the Greek nation and was taken over by the Turks in 1453. This is another article that elaborates on the links between the Greek Orthodox community and the Hellenic Kingdom. This narration is part of what is known in Greek national historiography as *Tourkokratia*. The article provides an overview of how the Patriarch remained in charge of the ethnos (nation) and thanks to the preservation of the Orthodox faith through the Patriarchate's activities, the Greek nation managed to survive the "slavery" of the Turks. The article goes on elaborating on the pressure put on the Greek nation because of restricted freedoms and economic sanctions imposed by the rulers.[197]

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[195] The Greek state deeply and beyond doubt desires to be in excellent relations with the reborn, after the constitution, Ottoman Empire. This most honest desire results from the knowledge of the common interests, as it was proved in numerous occasions. The Greek state is not looking into expanding its territory to the expense of the Ottoman Empire. The Greek state, natural guardian (Greeks) everywhere, is only asking for a guarantee that the Greeks who are living as indigenous people in foreign territory, enjoy the same rights with the rest of the indigenous peoples (φυλαί, read as *fele* is directly translated as race but in this case it might mean peoples).

[196] Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) 1 Κυριακή 4 Απριλίου 1910 (Sunday April 4th 1910) (Έτος Α) (Year A) "From Greece" (Εξ Ελλάδος).

[197] Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) Κυριακή 25 Απριλίου 1910 (Sunday April 25th 1910) Οικομενικόν Πατριαρχείον (Ecumenical Patriarchate)

The purpose of the above article that provides a review of the past in a newspaper of 1910, is to cultivate a connection to the Greek state and contribute to the nationalization of the Ottoman Greek community. The contents of the article fit the rhetoric of the Greek nationalism paradigm and underlines the assumed historic continuity of the Greek national doctrine according to which the Greek nation has been present in Istanbul since the Byzantine times. *"In May 29ᵗʰᵗʰ of the salutary year 1453 the State collapsed, and the Nation remained (kept standing)"*.[198] The language used by the writer of this article is significant because he repeatedly uses the word ethnos (nation) as well as the phrase "Romeiko genos" which essentially means the nation of the Rum. By engaging these terms as well as the word Turks referring to the ethnic group of Turks that ended up taking over the Ottoman lands, he manages to differentiate between the state and the nation. The vocabulary used here, highlights the distinction between the Muslim elements-the Turks and the non-Muslim ethnic elements residing in the Ottoman state.

The clear distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, emphasized by the policies of the Young Turks also comes up in the discussions about a population census in 1910. The articles published on Sunday May 9ᵗʰ1910,[199] evaluate the question of the criterion based on which people will be classified according to religion and nationality. In terms of religion, given that based on the constitution there is freedom of religion therefore, everyone will be classified based on what religion they will declare. A question that was posed in the parliament is how nationality or ethnicity[200] will be evaluated and particularly if it should not be based on the language that each person speaks. The articles adopt the view of experts who have argued that the language someone speaks cannot constitute the basis on which his nationality is assessed and classified. It clearly supports the classification of the people based on their religion. *"Among the Christian peoples, the nationality is directly related and dependent on the religious community and above all on the church and the school"*.[201] It is clear that religion-based nationality is what the staff writers support. In addition, the writer of this articles calls for a classification within the religious classification based on ethnic/national characteristics. The argument is that it should be recognized that there are different ethnic groups within the religious communities such as Turks and Kurds. The ethnic/affiliation as a result of the education

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[198] Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) Κυριακή 25 Απριλίου 1910 (Sunday April 25ᵗʰ1910) Οικομενικόν Πατριαρχείον (Ecumenical Patriarchate)
[199] Politiki Epitheorisis: Nationality Based Census, B and C Sunday May 9ᵗʰ1910
[200] Εθνότητα in Greek can be translated either as nationality or ethnicity
[201] Issue: Politiki Epitheorisis Nationality Based Census B, Η ΚΑΤ' ΕΘΝΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ, B Sunday May 9th 1910 Politiki Epitheorisis, Κυριακή 9 Μαΐου 1910

people receive that determine which ethnic group they belong to is also discussed in the article. It is considered an important criterion that has to be considered in the classification process.

The writer of this article strongly objects the division of the Ottoman citizens into two categories, Muslims and non-Muslims and suggests that the legislators of the Ottoman state approve a census that will require all Ottomans to declare their religion and their denomination (mensubiyeti mezhep)[202] in their population certificate (nufus). In that way, all Muslim populations will be united under Islam since they all have the same spiritual dependency on the same religious center. It is critical towards this type of classification because it does not recognize the diversity of the Ottoman society and rather attempts to simplify peoples' identities into the two old and general categories.

The tone and the content of the article clearly illustrate the Ottoman Greeks' desire for a sense of unity among the Ottoman subjects that would be beneficial for all while recognizing and respecting their diversity. However, from the way the authorities decide to implement the census it becomes clear that the classification of the citizens based on their religion is important to the governing party, CUP and the rest of the state. *"A special parliament committee examined this resolution concerning the census and according to recommendations that were made, they changed a lot of articles including article 3, where it is stated that the citizens should be classified based on religion".* [203]

According to this article, the committee divided the Muslims and the Non-Muslims and, in that way, canceled the constitutional equality before the law and went back to the way ottoman citizens were classified under the authoritarian regime: μουσλίμ βε γαίρι μουσλίμ¨ (Muslims and non-Muslims) which means "sheep and lamb". The use of the last idiom with the sheep and the lamb shows that the Ottoman Greeks felt victimized by this classification and in a vulnerable position comparing to the Ottoman Muslims. It is rightfully stated here, that instead of progress, the Ottoman state moves backwards to the days of authoritarianism.

While the decision concerning the criteria used for the implementation of the census did not encourage unity between the Ottoman citizens, a discussion about the Constitutional Law brings up the need for a style of governance that embraces the diversity of the Ottomans and encourage unity. In an article written by an Ottoman Greek

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[202] The following Turkish words were used in the article written with Greek characters. ντιμ (din)= religion μεζχεπ (mezhep)=creed (religious dogma),καβίμ (kavim)=nation, peoples, tribe (or race)
[203] Issue: Politiki Epitheorisis Nationality Based Census Γ, Η ΚΑΤ' ΕΘΝΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ, C Sunday May 9th 1910 Politiki Epitheorisis, Κυριακή 9 Μαΐου 1910

Parliament deputy, Michail Saltas, deputy of Lesvos that was published in April 18th, 1910,[204] the type of governance is assessed. Saltas, in his discussion of the theories concerning the governance of the country, argues that the basis of the governance should be studied. In this study, it is essential to understand that the "*Ottoman state is constituted by various races, but it is self-contained*". He makes an important point by saying that "*It is neither the total nor the sum, but the unity of these parts*". This theory, according to Saltas and other like-minded people, contribute to the knowledge and the solution of a lot of complicated phenomenon of constitutional problems. [205]

Saltas adopts a less bold manner in making his statement, in comparison to Mpousios, but like Mpousios he illustrates the importance of unity in the Ottoman society as perquisite for prosperity. In addition, Saltas argues that "*We do not approve the other theory according to which the Ottoman state is in a way…a corporation by definition, a term taken from the civil law. If this is strictly applied, the results will be unorthodox*". He claims that an Ottoman deputy first talked about this theory of the Ottoman state as a 'corporation' in a speech given in the Parliament a year ago (in 1909), but he could not recall who had said it. [206]

While as seen in the article analyzed earlier, titled "Ottoman Parliament's Work - Review" published on Sunday April 4[th]1910, the Committee picked the Ottoman Parliament deputies, the Ottoman Greek deputies Saltas and Mpousios express their criticism about the policies adopted by the Young Turks. In the article celebrating the one-year anniversary of the newspaper *Politiki Epitheorisis* named "A Story of Two Years", published in April 3rd, 1911 there is a long critical review of the political developments and the policies adopted by the Young Turks regime. The newspaper represents its director's views and it is clear that Mpousios is dissatisfied with the failure of the adopted policies and the lack of real will to bring all the nations of the Ottoman Empire close. In the article, there is strong criticism about the way the State keeps this

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[204] Πολιτική Επιθεώρηση,Προβλήματα του Συνταγματικού Δικαίου, Μιχαήλ Α.Σάλτας βουλευτής Λέσβου 18 Απριλίου 1910 Constitutional Law Problems by Deputy of Lesvos Michail A. Saltas, April 18th, 1910: By using very sophisticated language in his writing, this Deputy writes a column that first approves the efforts of the Politiki Epitheorisis to follow the spirit of this period when science and facts have taken over and makes a serious effort to provide good political analysis and shed light on many dark matters. Pointing to the abolition of the monarchy with the Young Turks Revolution as a turning point, Saltas argues that there are more complicated matters to deal with. He argues that it's necessary to analyze the legal implications of the new type of governance and makes few remarks about that. At the end of the article he promises more analysis in one of the next issues.

[205] Issue:Politiki Epitheorisis Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης Προβλήματα του Συνταγματικού Δικαίου, Μιχαήλ Α. Σάλτας βουλευτής Λέσβου 18 Απριλίου 1910 Constitutional Law Problems by MP of Lesvos Michail A. Saltas

[206]Issue:Politiki Epitheorisis Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης Προβλήματα του Συνταγματικού Δικαίου, Μιχαήλ Α. Σάλτας βουλευτής Λέσβου 18 Απριλίου 1910 Constitutional Law Problems by MP of Lesvos Michail A. Saltas

"oppressive and suffocating turcomuslim character, within which is restricted the freedom of the people to live and develop". He is basically claiming that the State is still oppressive without making any progress and using the Islamic traditions and religion in a suppressing way. In addition, the minorities are not treated fairly since the *"...Christians, even the Ottoman ones, are always considered the enemy"*. This phrase clearly indicates the perception that the Ottoman state has not managed to achieve the equality among its citizens that the Young Turks had promised after they took over. [207]

The Ottoman Greeks' conviction that the ideas of equality and unity among the Ottoman citizens, is expressed in the *Politiki Epitheorisis' articles.* Especially in its one-year anniversary issue, published in April 3rd, 1911,[208] the newspaper's staff underlines their commitment to spread their convictions to all Ottomans by lowering the price to make it more affordable and pledging to start publishing in Turkish and French. By trying to expand the number of people that the newspaper reaches and by publishing in other languages, it becomes evident that the Ottoman Greeks running that paper embrace the diversity of the Ottoman state.

The Ottoman state's diversity is thanks to the number of different religions, languages and ethnicities co-existing in its lands. The Greek Orthodox peoples' connecting trait was the Orthodox religion and their core institution was the Ecumenical Patriarchate based in Istanbul or Constantinople that the historic name of the city that prevailed in Greek history and tradition. That is why the legal recognition of the Bulgarian Exarchate by the Ottoman state was perceived by the Orthodox Church and by the Orthodox deputies who *"complained and departed from the Parliament when the Muslim Minister said the dogmatic verdict that there is no religious difference between the Orthodox Greeks and the Exarchate Bulgarians, just political…"*[209] as a direct attack against Orthodoxy. The Ecumenic Patriarch's attempt to visit the Sultan was an attempt to protect the centuries-long privileges and rights of the Ecumenic Patriarchate and the Orthodox Church itself. This decision is not that surprising, considering that the Young

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[207] Issue: Politiki Epitheorisis Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης Ιστορία Δύο Ετών, Κυριακή 3 Απριλίου 1911, A Story of Two Years, Sunday April 3rd, 1911

[208] Series of small short announcements on the front page named: "Η Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης" Politiki Epitheorisis, Sunday April 3rd, 1911

[209] Source: Isopoliteia, Oikoumenikon Patriarheion Οικουμενικόν Πατριαρχείον Και Αι Αμφισβητούμεναι Αυτού Εκκλησίαι (Ecumenical Patriarchate and its Churches that are under Question) Sunday June 27th, 1910- This article discusses the disappointment and the reaction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate towards the recognition of the Bulgarian Exarchate in Macedonia by the Ottoman Parliament and Senate arguing that there was religious difference between the Greek Orthodox and the Bulgarian Exarchates. The Ecumenical Patriarch appealed to the Sultan but his request for a meeting was turned out since the Ottoman state institutions had already decided. The article is signed by G. Theoharidis (owner of Politiki Epitheorisis) who argues that this act of recognition of the Bulgarian Exarchate questions the religious consciousness of the Orthodox people.

Turks goal was to eliminate the religious divisions of the Ottoman citizens and instill a sense of Ottoman citizenship and national identity.

The Ottoman army had a manpower problem because of many reasons such as the extremely hard conditions and the long military service. The army conscription exemption made the problem even bigger. There were two types of exemptions, which was individual and collective. The groups that were exempted included women, non-Muslims (formally until 1856 but in practice until 1909), people living in the holy cities of Medina and Mecca, religious institutions, students studying in religious schools and numerous professional groups. The 1856 edict emphasized the equality before the law. It was not until July 1909 when military service became compulsory for all the Ottoman subjects.[210]

Erik Zürcher argues that conscription failed as an instrument of Ottoman nation-building and he suggests that the exemptions through payment or payment instead of serving has contributed into that. The option of paying instead of serving in the army created inequality among the Ottoman subjects.[211] This scholar's opinion supports the evaluation of the articles discussing the military conscription according to which the absence of regulations regarding military service contribute to class-based divisions in the Ottoman society. The divisions based on religion in this case seem to be secondary.

After the 1909 counterrevolution which was carried on by the military, martial law was established, and the military men became responsible for protecting the constitutional regime and act as arbiters between the politicians. In other words, the military took on the role of neutralizing political conflict and its involvement in politics.[212]It should be noted that the institution of the army was critical during the final years of the Ottoman Empire. It was in the process of constant change and while at the beginning it reflected the ruling elite's policies it later reflected the tensions of a society in decline.[213] The army, played an important role in the overthrow of the Hamidian regime and the restoration of the 1876 constitution. As we see by examining the relevant articles, the overthrow was widely celebrated both by Muslims and non-Muslims.

The references to the concept of the "Turkish occupation of the Greek lands",[214] as well as the Greek genos in some of the newspaper articles all reflect the concepts that

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[210]Zürcher, Erik, Ottoman Conscription system, 444
[211]Ibd. 449
[212]Ahmad, Feroz, The Young Turks Revolution, article, 36
[213]Ahmad, Feroz, "The Making of Modern Turkey",4
[214] Issue: Πολιτική Επιθεώρησης (Politiki Epitheorisis) Κυριακή 25 Απριλίου 1910 (Sunday April 25th1910) Οικομενικόν Πατριαρχείον (Ecumenical Patriarchate)

constitute popular ideas of Greek nationalism and were used to create national virtues. These are the ideas that create a historical continuity in the history of the Hellenes and the idea that the Greek nation goes beyond the borders of the Hellenic Kingdom and includes the Ottoman Greeks of Istanbul within the Greek nation.[215] The discussion of these ideas as well as the publication of columns that support the idea of the Greek state being the entity responsible for the Greek Orthodox millet, might indicate the closeness that the Greek Orthodox people feel to the Hellenic Kingdom. One of the determining factors that has created and maintained this bond is the education in the Greek language that preaches the Hellenic morals.

When it comes to the concept of nation, as Miroslav Hroch says, "a truly dialectical conception of the nation is the recognition that the position of the individual in society cannot be defined by any fixed characteristics but only by the apprehension of his relations to society, or, as the case may be, his location in those relations".[216] Concepts such as political participation, religion, military service and education constitute ways individuals relate to society and to each other. These are all topics discussed in the analysis of the articles of *Politiki Epitheorisis* and contribute to a deeper understanding of the Ottoman Greeks and the way they related to the Ottoman society.

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[215] Liakos, Antonis, 213-214
[216] Hroch,Miroslav, "Introduction" In *Social preconditions of national revival in Europe: a comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations,*4.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

Given the fluidity of the Ottoman times and the changes that occurred before and during the period 1908-1911 that is assessed here, coming up with a precise definition of identity of the Ottoman Greeks of Istanbul is almost impossible. In any case, the purpose of my research was to assess the nature of the Ottoman Greeks national identity. The press and particularly the Greek newspaper *Politiki Epitheorisis* examined here, became the platform where the politicization of the millets was exhibited. This was a newspaper that covered the political affairs both domestic as well as foreign, therefore the perspective is political itself.

There is a variety and a fairly large number of newspapers and magazines of Ottoman Istanbul that were produced by members of the Greek Orthodox community. Their target audiences were either their own community, or other Muslim and non-Muslims, as indicated by the language of publications in Greek, Turkish or French. It should be pointed out, that the existence of the press implies that there was a literate and educated class that creates the demand and the supply for it. It is primarily an urban phenomenon within the context of the Ottoman Empire.[217] It was about the 1830s when different publications emerged and depending on the political and economic developments the number and frequency of the publications changed. While the Press is not an objective source of information and the information the articles provide should be assessed with a critical eye, this political newspaper provides a good insight into the changes that were taking place in the Ottoman Empire and the way different entities were interacting in the public life. *Politiki Epitheorisis'* political views do not necessarily express the majority of the Ottoman Greeks of Istanbul, but it definitely reflects some

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[217]Exertzoglou Haris, 301

influential perspectives on political developments and policies adopted in the period 1908-1911. They were influential perspectives because the people who expressed theme, such as G. Mpousios, a prominent Ottoman Parliament and Director of the *Politiki Epitheorisis* were themselves influential.

The analysis of the Politiki Epitheorisis' articles in combination with the short review of the context around the press before and after the Hamidian time as well as the discussion about the newspaper's vision and its staff members careers in Chapter 2, provide an institutional approach of the topic at hand. What was examined here was the perspective of people who belonged to the political sphere, in the Ottoman Parliament as well as in the press sector that are both major institutions. The fact that the activities and opinions of Ottoman Greek deputies were published in the newspaper and became part of a more public discussion show that the millets themselves were being politicized. Even before 1908, the non-Muslim millets were political nationalities that were envisioning to become independent nations. In these nationhoods, religion would be an instrument of politics.[218]

As far as national identity and its construction are concerned, several historical events become the building blocks that shape it. As described in Chapter 1, in the case of the Ottoman Greeks of Istanbul, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodoxy became the core institutions and ideas that defined their identity. The Greek Orthodox millet was identified based on its religious identity up to the early 19th century when things started to change. It was towards the middle of the century when the ideas of the Enlightenment reached the Ottoman lands and the Tanzimat reforms, resulted to the establishment of a better educational system that allowed the virtues of Hellenism and the emphasis on the Greek language to infiltrate the Ottoman Greeks. It was the Enlightenment ideas that inspired and led to the rise of nationalism in the Balkans that resulted among others, to the establishment of the Hellenic Kingdom. When Enlightenment emerged, it was Enlightenment and the ideas it represented versus Orthodoxy. Later, in the 19th century, a complete nationalist doctrine was formulated. It was at that point in time, that according to Paschalis Kitromilides, Orthodoxy, was included within the ethnic definition of Hellenism and this is how Greek nationalism met the political aspirations of the Greek state.[219]

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[218]Berkes, 331

[219] Kitromilides in Blinkhorn and Veremis,60

There are two alternative views of the past in the Greek nationalism historiography that describe the Greek national identity. The one that puts the emphasis on Hellenism and Ancient Greece and other that underlines the significance of the Byzantine tradition an and the Revolutionary period that started in 1821, when the Greeks revolted against the Turks. [220] The historic continuity between these periods has been established as Greek national history doctrine written by Papparigopoulos, the father of modern Greek national history. According to Anthony Smith, this is an example of an ethnic change.[221] According to the same scholar and his analysis of ethnic nationalism, in post-independence movements, the concept of the nation will seek to expand by including ethnic 'kinsmen' outside of the present boundaries of the 'ethno-nation'. That could be one definition to apply to the concept of what constituted the Greek state after 1821 and the discussion about the characteristics that make it a separate nation.

Other important concepts, that lay the ground for the research in this thesis are the concepts of nation and nationalism. Both Eric Hobsbawm and Ernest Gellner argue that nations are both conceptually and historically, products of nationalism and not the other way around.[222] Nationalism is closely related to the concept of national identity which is multidimensional since it includes a specific language, sentiments and symbolism.[223]

There are no ojective definitions of the nation not all entities fit into the definitions made of the criteria tha constitute a nation such a language or ethnicity or a combination of chracteristics such as language, common history, common territory and others.**[224]** An example of shared history, is the link that the Greek Orthodox religion and the Ecumenical Patriarchate provided between the Ottoman Greeks and the Hellenic Kingdom despite the fact that its church separated itself from the Patriarchate after it became an independent state in 1830. The significance of the Patriarchate as well as its ecumenicity for both the Greek Orthodox millet and the Hellenic Kingdom is explained in Chapter 3. In the same chapter, the significance of the concept of the Turks as the enemy who took over, previously possessed Greek lands, that therefore had to be liberated as well as the importance of historical continuity in the Greek history are further explained. The visionaries, Dragoumis and Souliotis-Nikolaidis created the Society of Constantinople

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[220] Livanios, Dimitris, "Religion, Nationalism and Collective Identities", 267
[221] Smith, 'National Identity',29-30
[222] Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, (London; Penguin Books, 1991),121.
[223] Smith, 'National Identity', vii
[224] E.J. Hobsbawm, "Introduction" and "Popular proto-nationalism" *in Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press,1990,5.

based on the same understanding of shared elements between the Hellenic Kingdom and the Greek Ottomans envisioning the expansion of the Greek nation, beyond the Greek state's borders. The reaction to the Young Turks because of their plan to end millet privileges and thus the Ecumenical Patriarchate's power is a very significant part of the developments discussed here.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate's reaction to the changes that were taking place after the Young Turks took over in 1908, is discussed in the articles examined in Chapter 4, illustrating the concern of the Greek Orthodox millet that it will lose its power. The Patriarchate's reaction to the recognition of the Bulgarian Exarchate as published in *Politiki Epitheorisis* as well the discussion about the Greek genos, identified with Orthodoxy are major ideas discussed in the newspaper. These discussions indicate an elaborate awareness of the connection of the Ottoman Greeks to the Hellenic Kingdom. Although the Greek education and therefore, the Hellenization of the Ottoman Greeks as a result of the curriculum they were taught,[225] is not a topic exclusively discussed by articles in *Politiki Epitheorisis* the ideas and concepts that constitute characteristics of the Greek nation are underlined.

The discussion about the Church and the Patriarchate that is not Ecumenical anymore as well as the discussion about the citizens' classification only based on religion and without considering their ethnic characteristics in the implementation of a population census, indicate that progress in terms of equality was not been really achieved in the Ottoman Empire until the year 1911. In combination with the fact that Greek schools had spread all around the Ottoman Empire and they were very well organized, the insistence on classification that recognized ethnic characteristics might indicate the desire of the Greek Ottomans to stand out as a separate ethnicity with numerous members, since a lot of Christians of different ethnic groups were educated in Greek. The insistence on recognizing diverse ethnic groups within the religious communities but not based on linguistic characteristics, might indicate a conscious effort of the Ottoman Greeks to maintain the number of Greek Orthodox people regardless of ethnicity in order to maintain some of the influence the Greek Orthodox millet have had.

The Unionists' understanding of unity, was equal citizenship for all Ottoman subjects irrespective of religion or race. They were envisioning an educationally and

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[225] Alexandris, 46

economically strong central government that was necessary to achieve the Ottoman unity they were most eagerly aiming for. Therefore, they did not think that the way millets were organized was compatible with what they were trying to achieve. All individuals, regardless of the millet they belonged to, would be regarded as equal in terms of political rights and duties and would be therefore represented in parties, elections, government, military service and in the parliament as individual Ottoman citizens and not as members of religious or political entities.[226]

The plan to create Ottoman unity did not seem to work though and as we see in the articles assessed in Chapter 4, the deputy G. Mpousios criticizes both in the discussions about military conscription and in an article reviewing the year 1910 the Young Turks inability to achieve unity among the Ottomans and establish equality for all.

We should accept that there is diversity in political opinions and perspectives within the Greek millet, and as Thanos Veremis argues "Not all Greeks, whether in the empire or even in the kingdom, thought in terms of unification",[227] they were not necessarily aiming on unity. Despite these diverse opinions, it becomes clear from both the policies adopted and the way that the policies are covered in the ethnic Press that the Greek Ottoman community collectively felt some hostility and the perception of the reality in terms of the majority against the minority becomes more visual, more concrete.

The implementation of the boycott in the shipping and trading for all Greeks, both Ottoman Greeks and the citizens of the Hellenic Kingdom, imply that not only they were considered the "other" but for some Ottomans they were perceived as one group. Despite of the boycott not being an official policy of the state the authorities did nothing to stop it. This is a case where the Ottoman Greeks clearly felt excluded by the rest of the Ottoman society. However, the hostility against the Ottoman Greeks in this case, seemed to be an action against their economic status and not their ethnicity. The control of commercial activity by the Ottoman Christian groups stimulated to a large extent the economic nationalism of Young Turks.

There is a paradox here, since it seems that the economic growth observed especially in the second half of the 19th century, was not only responsible for stimulating the Ottoman economy, but it also intensified social differentiation among the various ethnic elements in the empire. The economic imbalance helped divide Muslims and non-

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[226]Berkes, 331
[227]Issawi, Charles, Introduction in "Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism", 13

Muslims into increasingly hostile groups, and ultimately undermined the multi-ethnic and multi-religious foundations of the Ottoman empire.[228] This point also applies to the unregulated military conscription discussed in the Ottoman Parliament, in which case the wealthy Ottomans were able to pay and avoid it.

There are various perspectives that constitute the national identity of the Ottoman Greeks of Istanbul based on the literature and the newspaper articles assessed in this thesis. It is a combination of the historicity of the Greek Orthodox religion and of course the Patriarchate that gives Ottoman Greeks a historically powerful position, it is their economically and socially distinguished position in comparison to Muslims and other non-Muslims as well as a clear engagement and gradually growing affiliation with the Hellenic Kingdom that was a result of ideological, historical and economic, the policies adopted by the Young Turks and of course the Hellenization as well as the politicization of the Greek Orthodox millet.

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[228] Alexandris, 32

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