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## Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire

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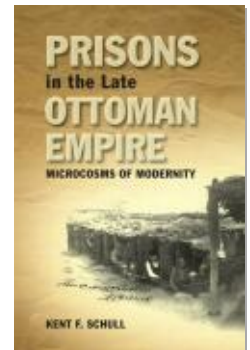
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## Counting the Incarcerated: Knowledge, Power and the Prison Population

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As mentioned in Chapter 2, soon after its creation in May 1911, the Prison Administration began to organise a detailed prison survey. This survey commenced on 18 January 1912 by eliciting information regarding every aspect of prisons, including budgets, health care, employees, prison labour, and inmates. Categories of inquiry associated with prisoners included crimes committed, gender, date of incarceration, marital and familial status, recidivism, punishment, social class and occupation, ethno-religious/national identity, age, and literacy. The survey broke down each of these categories further into lists of specific items related to the prisoner's identity. For example, familial status differentiated its various categories according to gender. Under each gender, categories included – single, married with children, married without children, widowed with children, and widowed without children. Another example concerns the prisoner's social class and occupation. This group divided the population into twelve categories not differentiated by gender: state employees, teachers, physicians, merchants, money changers, land owners, artisans, farmers, workers, sailors, servants, and unemployed.<sup>1</sup>

The level of information collected and tabulated by means of this survey fits the description of what Michel Foucault called a '*tableaux vivants*'. According to Foucault, this table is 'the first of the great operations of discipline . . . which transforms the confused, useless or dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities'. The organising of seemingly disparate bits of information about inmates from more than a thousand prisons across a vast empire into a rational system made this questionnaire 'both a technique of power and a procedure of knowledge'.<sup>2</sup> The Prison Administration arranged the questionnaire to link the singular and the multiple together within one document. Foucault claimed that this combination simultaneously provided knowledge of the individual and the group. This process divided the prison population into comprehensible parts while simultaneously totalising it into an intelligible whole that Ottoman authorities could understand, control, and discipline. The

knowledge and power gained by this and subsequent prison surveys conducted in the Second Constitutional Period not only shaped CUP penal reform, but also helped fashion the prison into one of the premier institutions for social control, social engineering, and modern state construction within the empire, surpassed only by the military and perhaps the police.

Building off the overview of prison reform provided in Chapter 2, this chapter explores the various ways that the Prison Administration and later the Directorate of Prisons gathered information about its prisons and inmates during the Second Constitutional Period. The chief focus of this chapter is the description and analysis of the creation, conduct, content, and results of the 1912 prison survey. Its various categories of identity provide insights into the composition of the prison population; Ottoman administrative and societal sensibilities towards crime, criminality, and punishment; and its conceptualisation of difference according to ethno-religious, communal, and national identities assigned to the incarcerated.<sup>3</sup> This survey provides the most detailed picture of the prison population during the empire's entire existence and its results are woven throughout this chapter in order to provide a clearer picture of the incarcerated.

### ***The 1912 Ottoman Prison Survey and Prison Population***

Population surveys provide valuable insights into the dynamics and composition of a particular institution, region, or society. The 1912 prison survey provides these kinds of insights not only for the prison population but for society as a whole. This section first discusses the development, use, and importance of statistics and censuses for the Ottoman bureaucracy during the long nineteenth century, thus providing the historical context of the 1912 prison survey. The next part analyses the development, structure, conduct, and limitations of the 1912 prison survey in order to facilitate the subsequent analysis of specific categories of the survey and the constitution of the prison population found in sections two and three.

Over the course of the nineteenth century the collection, analysis, and use of statistics in Europe developed into the standard means by which institutions studied, organised, predicted, and, ultimately, controlled large, variable, complex phenomena such as 'societies'. For social scientists and bureaucrats, statistics provided scientific authenticity to their conclusions. Society was not a passive entity to be shaped and moulded with ease by bureaucratic directives and legislation, but a dynamic force of conflicting interests and actions. In fact, statisticians were among the first to fully personify and reify the concept of 'society'. Statistics became the rational method of scientific analysis that facilitated the consolidation of power in

the hands of another reified and personified entity: the 'state'. The state viewed statistics as the chief means of gaining knowledge and power to shape, control, and reform society. This, in turn, facilitated the creation of a modern nation-state. Understanding complex phenomena, such as a nation-state's population, economy, agriculture, and trade, provides the means to shape and control them for the common good.<sup>4</sup> Foucault even points out that 'statistics' has 'state' as its root.<sup>5</sup>

Throughout its existence, the Ottoman Empire conducted extensive cadastral surveys and collected population statistics for taxation, military, and security purposes. In the 1830s, the framework, scope, regularity, and efficiency of statistical collection changed as modernising reforms began in earnest. The entire population increasingly became the object of these campaigns as the bureaucracy needed to further harness social power. The administration utilised statistics for practical purposes, such as tax levies, military conscription, infrastructural improvements, land surveys, administrative organisation, and social engineering projects. It stressed efficiency and accuracy as essential elements of governance, thus laying an important foundation for the centralising reforms of the Tanzimat, Hamidian, and CUP eras. The military became the driving force behind the administration's efforts to keep accurate statistics of the numbers and ages of Muslim males eligible for conscription.<sup>6</sup>

Administrators increasingly recognised the importance of statistics as guides for imperial transformation. Nevertheless, no centralised statistics bureau existed before 1891. Prior to the 1870s, the Sublime Porte attempted only one major census in 1828/29–31. It was, however, not systematic, continuous, or comprehensive. In some areas officials counted individuals, but in many cases they obtained their information from population registries published by provincial bureaucracies in previous annual reports. Many of these figures were out of date and did not reflect population fluctuations resulting from migrations, war, territorial loss, and pastoral-nomadism.

One result of this census, however, was the establishment of the Office of Population Registers (*Ceride-i Nüfus Nezareti*). In 1839, census responsibilities were divided among various ministries. This system appointed population officials on the district level who were 'required to register all births, deaths, and migrations and to report several times a year to the central office in Istanbul'.<sup>7</sup> During its time in operation (1839–53), this system produced nearly 21,000 population registers from across the empire.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the existence of extensive raw population statistics, the data was not systematic or comprehensive. Population surveys were,

however, conducted with chronological regularity. Provincial administrators reported these statistics to Istanbul in annual 'yearbooks' (*salname-ler*). It was from these records that Ottoman and foreign officials compiled imperial population figures, although they varied in detail, accuracy, and reliability depending on where and when they were collected, for example, in pastoral-nomadic areas or before, during, or after wars and treaties.<sup>9</sup> Also, provincial officials rarely counted individual women and children, or the elderly. Their chief concern was military age Muslim males and the total number of individuals in a particular region or religious (*millet*) community.<sup>10</sup>

In 1874 the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) ordered the establishment of a new system for collecting population statistics and called for a new census. It was never conducted, however, because of political instability (1876 was the year of three sultans), the Russo-Ottoman War, and the promulgation and suspension of the 1876 Ottoman Constitution. These new orders and regulations pertaining to censuses, however, established the basis for developing a more advanced system during the Hamidian era.<sup>11</sup> In 1879 Grand Vizier Küçük Said Pasha recommended the creation of a 'statistical system' to monitor bureaucratic activities and provide the government with accurate information for making policy decisions.<sup>12</sup> As soon as the political situation stabilised, Abdülhamid II ordered a new census to be conducted jointly by the Ministries of War and the Interior for military and taxation purposes.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to basing the new census on the 1874 regulations, Sultan Abdülhamid II and the Council of State actively appropriated census policies and procedures from foreign governments. They shared the same world view concerning the benefits that accurate and comprehensive population statistics brought to good governance, economic development, state stability, and imperial power.<sup>14</sup> In 1886 Abdülhamid II approached American Ambassador Samuel Cox for assistance with the Ottoman census. Ambassador Cox had chaired the US congressional census committee and played an instrumental role in successfully completing the 1880 US Census.<sup>15</sup>

Conducted from 1881–93, the new Ottoman census called for every imperial subject to be counted, described, and issued an identity card (*nüfus tezkeresi*), which was required to conduct any official state business including land transactions, tax payments, and obtaining travel visas. Collected personal data included given name, nickname, surname name, address, age, religion, profession, civic, tax, voting status, and any disabilities. This level of information was unprecedented for Ottoman population surveys.<sup>16</sup> To expedite its completion and continue the work of recording

population changes, Abdülhamid II established the Statistical Council of the Sublime Porte in 1891 and ordered it to 'collect . . . information on everything that happened in the provinces . . . down to the smallest detail'.<sup>17</sup>

The census of 1881–3/1893 resulted in a clear picture of the empire's diverse population. The government utilised this data to facilitate reform programmes throughout the empire, including prisons, and to shape society for the empire's common good. These efforts laid the foundation for CUP policies and programmes concerning the collection and exploitation of population statistics.

CUP members recognised the potential power of statistics. Many of its members possessed the same affinity for statistical information as their Western counterparts, having been educated in modern schools with European curriculums. As a result of their Comtian Positivist world view, CUP members saw themselves as the elite class of technocrats, responsible for reshaping the empire according to the scientific principles upon which all modern, civilised, and rational societies should be based.<sup>18</sup> For Positivists, statistics represented the pre-eminent scientific tool for 'totalising and individuating' the empire's population, including its inmates.<sup>19</sup> The breadth and depth of the Prison Administration's 1912 prison survey represents a culmination of the inheritance of these long-term administrative practices and CUP innovations.

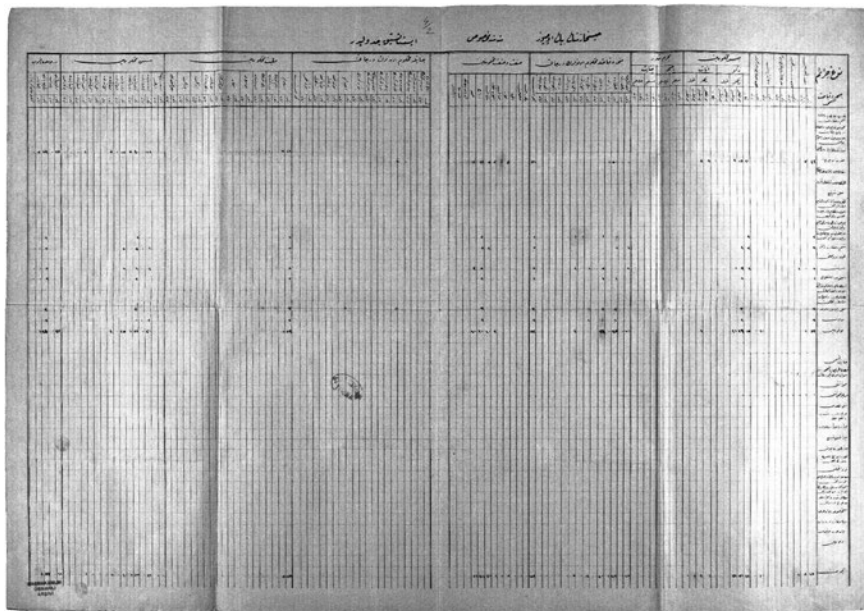
As stated above, the 1912 prison survey collected information from every house of detention in the empire. The survey requested precise information on inmates, including their numbers, whether they were convicted or accused, age, gender, marital and familial status, ethno-religious and national identity, literacy, recidivism, social class and occupation, crime committed, date of incarceration, and prison sentence. The survey also requested information concerning deaths, sickness, disease, injuries, which prisons had hospitals or clinics, the types of diseases treated, and surgical procedures performed. Details concerning prison budgets were collected, including details such as projected and actual expenditures, employee salaries, repair and construction costs, and medical expenses. It also asked for data on prison factories, production, expenditures, and profits. Additional factory data on the quantity and type of goods manufactured and how many inmates it employed was also collected. The survey directive provided clear instructions on how the survey was to be conducted and how the results should be returned, and it threatened those who failed to comply with 'serious consequences'. All prisons were required to confirm with the Prison Administration that they had received their copy of the survey, and the Prison Administration went so far as to

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send out periodic reminders concerning the survey's due date.<sup>20</sup> In the end, the majority of prisons returned their completed surveys on time, but some of the completed surveys have been subsequently lost, destroyed, or withheld.<sup>21</sup>

The questionnaire possessed a particular organisational logic that both facilitated and hindered the usefulness of its data. It was not organised according to individual prisoners, but according to the crime committed and the prisoner's gender. The thirty-three specific crimes for which data was collected drove the rest of the tabulation process. All subsequent categories followed a particular crime in this order: gender, year of incarceration, marital status, recidivism, prison sentence (lesser crimes), socio-economic status and occupation, prison sentence (felonies), ethno-religious and national identity, age, and literacy. All categories, except for socio-economic status and occupation, differentiated according to gender (see Figure 3.1).<sup>22</sup>

For example, in the district prison of Cebele, located in the Trablusşam administrative sub-division of the Beirut province, the total prison population consisted of 159 individuals in 1912. Of those 159, eighty-three were awaiting trial and seventy-six were convicted and serving their prison sentences. Among the seventy-six sentenced criminals, fifty-one



**Figure 3.1** 1912 prison survey questionnaire, Beirut province's Cebele prison.

Source BOA, DHMBHPS 5/9, doc. 4

### *Counting the Incarcerated*

(forty-four males and seven females) were incarcerated for assault and battery (*darb ve cerh*) with sentences ranging from one week to one month. Twenty males were single, fifteen males were married with children, and nine males were married without children. Of the seven females convicted of assault, four were married with children and the other three were married without children. The assault convicts consisted of twenty-one farmers (*zürra*), thirteen labourers (*amele*), nine artisans (*esnaf*), five merchants (*tüccar*), and three land owners (*ashab-ı akar*). All fifty-one inmates were Muslim. The ages of the male prisoners break-down accordingly: Eighteen were aged from 14 to 20, ten were aged from 21 to 30, twelve were aged from 31 to 40, three were aged from 41 to 50, and one was aged from 61 to 70 years of age. The seven female prisoners were all aged from 21 to 30 years. Finally, twenty-five males were literate while the other twenty-six convicted of assault and battery were illiterate.<sup>23</sup>

The various limitations of this data result from the questionnaire's organisation and content. Since no names were recorded, it is impossible to match a specific prisoner incarcerated for a particular crime with her or his age, occupation, literacy level, or ethno-religious and national identity unless he or she was the only person incarcerated for a particular crime. Recording errors as well as omissions of pieces of information are additional limitations to the usefulness of these surveys. On many occasions prison officials regularly and purposely omitted certain information; for example, some forms do not include details on prisoners' ages or ethno-religious and national identities. On others, officials incorrectly recorded a prisoner's ethno-religious and national identity by assigning multiple conflicting identities. Confusion is to be expected, however, since the empire was so geographically, linguistically, ethnically, and religiously diverse.

Outside of raw numbers, it is impossible to reconstruct the entire Ottoman prison population at any time during the empire's existence. The surviving prison surveys, however, allow the reconstruction of more than two-thirds of the 1911–12 prison population in great detail. In fact, these surveys make it possible to reconstruct the prison population for the provinces and independent administrative sub-divisions of Istanbul, Baghdad, Beirut, Canik, Edirne, the Hijaz, Kastamonu, Mamüretülaziz, Manastır, Mosul, and Yanya.<sup>24</sup> General prison population statistics broken down by province are also available for 1914, 1916–17, 1918–19, and 1919–20, but they do not have nearly the level of detail as can be found in the 1912 survey (see Charts 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5).<sup>25</sup>



### ***Conceptualising Crime and Socio-economic Status***

This section investigates the categories found in the 1912 prison survey regarding crime and socio-economic status. It also utilises the prisoner data collected from these two categories to partially reconstruct the Ottoman prison population. In so doing, this section reveals important insights into CUP and broader Ottoman sensibilities towards class, crime, and social control by shedding light on which crimes were most commonly prosecuted by the state and the socio-economic status of these criminals.

As part of CUP attempts to impose social order and discipline, the prison survey collected information on each prisoner's socio-economic status and occupation. This category provides clear data on which crimes particular segments of society committed and what percentage of the prison population came from a specific social class. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of the Ottoman prison population was from the lower class. The 1912 prison survey, however, was not very specific or exhaustive in its socio-economic classifications.<sup>26</sup> It did, however, attempt to organise the entire prison population into twelve different categories representing both broad and specific types of employment and class status:

1. State Officials (*memurin*).
2. Teachers (*muallimin*).
3. Physicians (*atubba*).
4. Merchants (*tiiccar*).
5. Money Changers & Bankers (*sarrafa*).
6. Land Owners (*ashab-ı akar*).
7. Artisans (*esnaf*).
8. Farmers (*zürra*).
9. Labourers (*amele*).
10. Ship Captains & Sailors (*kapudan ve taife*).
11. Servants (*hademe*).
12. Unemployed (*işsiz*).<sup>27</sup>

The survey makes interesting distinctions regarding socio-economic status and occupation, such as differentiating between skilled and unskilled workers (*esnaf* and *amele*) and between rural and urban workers (*zürra* and *esnaf/amele*). It also collected information on very specific types of occupations, such as sailors, money changers and bankers, teachers, and medical doctors, thus constituting an interesting mixture of professionals and unskilled workers filling quite specific occupations. Government employees (*memurin*), however, were grouped all together in a generic category. It seems strange that the CUP would not collect

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Province and independent sub-division	Male	Female	Total
Baghdad	1,660	80	1,740
Beirut	3,930	90	4,020
Bitlis	578	43	621
Canik	1,722	45	1,767
Edirne	6,787	362	7,149
The Hijaz	414	45	459
Istanbul	5,670	272	5,942
Kastamonu	1,051	143	1,194
Mamuretülaziz	2,099	106	2,205
Manastır	3,998	168	4,173
Mosul	2,808	26	2,834
Yanya	1,867	114	1,981
<b>Totals</b>	32,584	1,494	34,085

**Chart 3.1** 1911–12 prison statistics.

**Note** Several provinces and independent administrative sub-divisions are not represented here because their results are not available to researchers.

**Source** BOA, DHMBHPSM 3/36, 4/4, 4/20, 4/21, 5/1, 5/9, 6/27, and 12/70; BOA, DHMBHPS 145/2, 145/56, 145/78, 146/69, and 146/70

more specific information on incarcerated government employees, since its ideological and pragmatic approaches to politics and state administration favoured centralisation, rule of law, professionalisation, and accountability. Concerning the organisation of this category, there appears to be a definite separation and gradation in socio-economic status with professionals and the higher-skilled occupations preceding the less skilled. The final two categories (servants and the unemployed) represent the lowest rungs of the Ottoman socio-economic ladder.

Despite the broad nature of these occupational divisions, these categories do provide significant insights into the composition of the Ottoman prison population. It also sheds light on the socio-economic groups about which the CUP was most concerned, such as bankers and money changers, merchants, skilled and unskilled labourers, artisans, farmers, and ship captains and their crew members, all of whom occupied vital positions in the Ottoman economy. It also provides insights into the groups that the CUP was least concerned with, such as religious scholars and clerics (*ulema*,

Province (Vilayet)	Less serious crimes (Cinîha ve Kabahat)			Serious crimes (Cinayet)			Awaiting trial (Mevkûfîn)			Totals
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Istanbul	871	47	918	47	1	48	127	4	131	1,097
Edirne	264	14	278	90	0	90	274	9	283	651
Erzurum	113	21	134	229	6	235	229	11	240	609
Adana	367	14	381	272	1	273	478	18	496	1,150
Ankara	762	38	800	1,375	21	1,396	1,626	51	1,677	3,873
Aydın	558	65	623	454	12	466	875	27	902	1,991
Bitlis	66	0	66	155	3	158	447	6	453	677
Basra (limited data)	2	0	2	3	0	3	1	0	1	6
Baghdad	58	1	59	302	2	304	304	4	308	671
Hijaz	32	0	32	10	0	10	21	0	21	63
Haleb	449	10	459	871	7	878	1,190	9	1,199	2,536
Hüdavendigâr	491	50	541	807	6	813	803	24	827	2,181
Diyarbakir	173	2	175	349	1	350	431	24	455	980
Suriye	241	14	255	69	3	72	364	6	370	697
Sivas (limited data)							1	0	1	1
Trabzon	129	14	143	141	8	149	628	13	641	933
Kastamonu	648	59	707	731	12	743	388	24	412	1,862
Konya	618	51	669	531	14	545	1,151	25	1,176	2,390
Mamuretülaziz	327	44	371	117	4	121	339	8	347	839

	Less serious crimes ( <i>Cînha ve Kabahat</i> )			Serious crimes ( <i>Cinayet</i> )			Awaiting trial ( <i>Mevkûfîn</i> )			Totals
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
<b>Province (Vilayet)</b>										
Van (limited data)	53	2	55	50	1	51	186	2	188	294
<b>Independent sub-division (Sancak)</b>										
Urfa	49	0	49	72	0	72	173	1	174	295
İzmid	164	10	174	114	0	114	213	1	214	502
Bolu (limited data)	225	35	260	23	0	23	171	2	173	456
Canik	121	20	141	51	0	51	234	10	244	436
Çatalca (limited data)	9	0	9	9	0	9	15	0	15	33
Zor	51	0	51	12	2	14	42	0	42	107
Asir	52	0	52	2	0	2	54	0	54	108
Kala-i Sultaniye	109	2	111	396	0	396	249	3	252	759
Medina (limited data)	37	2	39	9	0	9	10	0	10	58
Tekke	42	1	43	40	7	47	180	8	188	278
Karahisar-ı Sahib	305	20	325	475	5	480	406	10	416	1,221
Menteşe	215	17	232	467	4	471	233	3	236	939
<b>Totals</b>	7,601	553	8,154	8,273	120	8,393	11,843	303	12,146	28,693

**Chart 3.2** 1914 prison statistics.

**Note** The provinces and independent administrative sub-divisions of Beirut, Karesi, Kayseri, Küds-i Şerif (Jerusalem), Kütahya, Maraş, Mosul, and Yemen did not report any statistics.

**Source** BOA, *DHMBHPSM 12/38 and 17/24*; and *DHMBHPS 17/32*

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<b>Province (<i>Vilayet</i>)</b>	<b>Male prisoners</b>	<b>Female prisoners</b>	<b>Provincial totals</b>
Istanbul	919	48	967
Edirne	558	49	607
Adana	996	53	1,049
Ankara	1,242	143	1,385
Aydın	2,618	225	2,843
Beirut	1,221	30	1,251
Hüdavendigâr	799	50	849
Suriye	1,116	33	1,149
Sivas	1,141	73	1,214
Kastamonu	1,137	118	1,255
Konya	901	84	985
Bitlis	85	11	96
Haleb	646	18	664
Trabzon	180	3	183
Mosul	499	4	503
Diyarbakir	1,097	31	1,128
Mamuretülaziz	218	16	234
<b>Independent sub-division (<i>Sancak</i>)</b>			
Urfa	281	4	285
İzmid	266	13	279
İçil	81	4	85
Eskişehir	164	0	164
Bolu	455	47	502
Canik	280	9	289
Çatalca	13	6	19
Zor	100	2	102
Kudüs-i Şerif	628	15	643
Karesi	712	45	757
Kala-i Sultaniye	133	18	151

**Chart 3.3** 1916–17 prison statistics.

**Note** Several provinces and independent sub-divisions did not report their prison statistics in full. These include Trabzon, Bitlis, Mamuretülaziz, Edirne, Mosul, Çatalca, and Kütahya.

**Source** BOA, DHMBHPS 143/93, doc. 2

### Counting the Incarcerated

Province ( <i>Vilayet</i> )	Male prisoners	Female prisoners	Provincial totals
<b>Independent sub-division (<i>Sancak</i>)</b>			
Kayseri	242	13	255
Karahisar-ı Sahib	289	13	302
Menteşe	224	23	247
Maraş	350	16	366
Niğde	360	8	368
Kütahya	0	0	0
Cebel-i Lübnan	269	6	275
Tekke	197	18	215
<b>Grand totals</b>	20,417	1,249	21,666

**Chart 3.3** (continued)

Province ( <i>Vilayet</i> )	Sentenced ( <i>Mahkumin</i> )	Awaiting trial ( <i>Mevkufin</i> )	Total
Istanbul	450	500	950
Edirne	600	425	1,025
Adana	750	755	1,505
Ankara	925	810	1,735
Aydın	1,955	1,325	3,280
Bitlis	645	475	1,120
Beirut	1,125	930	2,055
Haleb	1,050	580	1,630
Hüdavendigâr	1,045	625	1,670
Diyarbakir	750	725	1,475
Suriye	1,450	650	2,100
Sivas	880	1,055	1,935
Trabzon	500	350	850
Kastamonu	1,250	640	1,890
Konya	1,140	755	1,895
Mamuretülaziz	650	250	900
Mosul	550	350	900

**Chart 3.4** 1918–19 prison statistics.

Source *BOA, DHMBHPS 163/85*

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<b>Province (Vilayet)</b>	<b>Sentenced (Mahkumin)</b>	<b>Awaiting trial (Mevkufin)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Independent sub-division (Sancak)</b>			
Urfa	200	150	350
İzmid	255	155	410
İçil	100	95	195
Eskişehir	240	105	345
Bolu	550	255	805
Tekke	240	210	450
Canik	50	150	200
Çatalca	55	45	100
Zor	90	85	175
Kudüs-i Şerif	240	255	495
Karesi	640	225	865
Kala-i Sultaniye	125	235	360
Kayseri	250	135	385
Karahisar-ı Sahib	220	145	365
Kütahya	325	275	600
Menteşe	325	145	470
Maraş	220	235	455
Niğde	250	345	595
Cebel-i Lübnan	155	145	300
<b>Totals</b>	20,245	14,590	34,835

**Chart 3.4** (continued)

<b>Province (Vilayet)</b>	<b>Sentenced (Mahkumin)</b>	<b>Awaiting trial (Mevkufin)</b>	<b>Total</b>
Istanbul	178	241	419
Edirne	600	425	1,025
Adana	750	755	1,505
Ankara	925	810	1,735
Aydın	1,955	1,325	3,280

**Chart 3.5** 1919–20 prison statistics.

**Note** The provinces of Erzurum and Van did not report their prison statistics.

**Source** BOA, DHMBHPS 165/97

*Counting the Incarcerated*

<b>Province (Vilayet)</b>	<b>Sentenced (Mahkumin)</b>	<b>Awaiting trial (Mevkufin)</b>	<b>Total</b>
Bitlis	645	475	1,120
Hüdavendigâr	1,045	625	1,670
Diyarbakir	750	725	1,475
Sivas	880	1,055	1,935
Trabzon	500	350	850
Kastamonu	1,250	640	1,890
Konya	1,140	755	1,895
Mamuretülâziz	650	250	900
Mosul	550	350	900
<b>Independent sub-division (Sancak)</b>			
Urfa	200	150	350
İzmid	255	155	410
İçil	100	95	195
Eskişehir	240	105	345
Bolu	550	255	805
Tekke	240	210	450
Canik	50	150	200
Çatalca	55	45	100
Karesi	640	225	865
Kala-i Sultaniye	125	235	360
Kayseri	250	135	385
Karahisar-ı Sahib	220	145	365
Kütahya	325	275	600
Menteşe	325	145	470
Maraş	220	235	455
Niğde	250	345	595
Erzincan	60	150	210
<b>Totals</b>	<b>15,923</b>	<b>11,836</b>	<b>27,759</b>

**Chart 3.5** (continued)



Province and independent sub-district	State officials	Teachers	Physicians	Merchants	Money changers/ Bankers	Land owners	Artisans	Farmers	Labourers	Ship captains and crew	Servants	Unemployed
Baghdad	14	3	0	5	12	86	813	631	127	3	50	154
Beirut	18	4	0	13	0	287	1,281	1,526	237	50	39	332
Bitlis	3	1	0	0	0	61	83	319	103	0	14	33
Canik	0	0	0	0	0	1	42	893	89	5	67	194
Edirne	47	7	3	55	12	219	742	4,073	1,540	178	272	609
The Hijaz	1	0	0	15	0	0	232	20	48	13	34	87
Istanbul	199	81	7	11	0	8	3,053	397	948	127	201	617
Kastamonu	0	0	0	3	0	6	151	609	148	0	7	187
Manastr	7	6	1	20	0	31	269	1,692	553	56	164	302
Mamurettilaziz	3	0	0	0	0	10	172	1,060	188	3	87	166
Mostul	21	0	0	31	0	119	300	721	684	4	29	546
Yanya	8	2	2	6	0	44	53	1,025	191	12	86	326
<b>Totals</b>	321	104	13	159	24	872	7,191	12,966	4,856	451	1,050	3,553

**Chart 3.6** 1911–12 prisoner socio-economic and occupation statistics.

**Note** Several provinces and independent administrative sub-divisions are not represented here because their results are not available to researchers. Not all available surveys provided socio-economic data. These numbers, therefore, do not match total prison population numbers.

**Source** BOA, *DHMBHPSM 3/36, 4/4, 4/20, 4/21, 5/1, 5/9, 6/27, and 12/70*; *DHMBHPS 145/2, 145/56, 145/78, 146/69, and 146/70*

*talebeler, imams, muezzins, and hafizler*). This group, which according to the 1894–5 Ottoman census consisted of more than 583,000 practitioners, was the single largest profession in the empire.<sup>28</sup> Despite its prevalence, the Prison Administration did not collect data on this occupation, even though the CUP was very suspicious of religious professionals and purged many for their anti-constitutional views.<sup>29</sup>

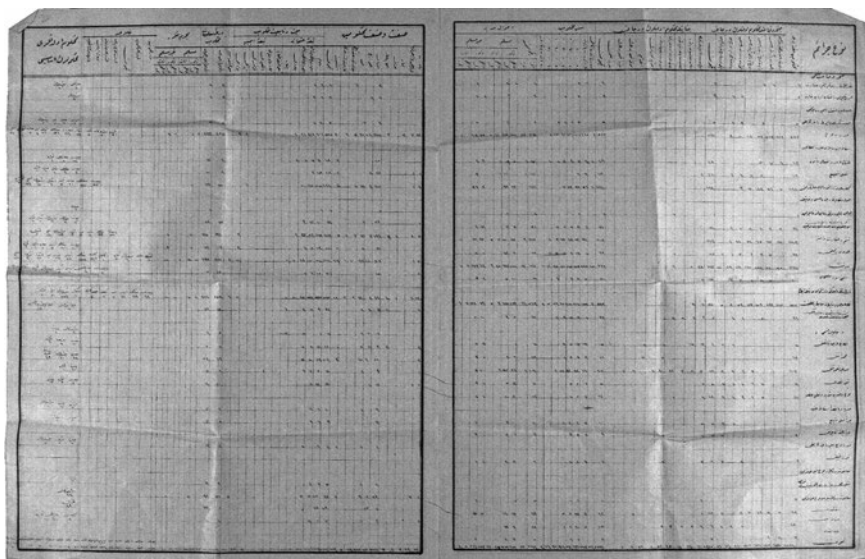
The vast majority of the 1911–12 prison population came from the lowest socio-economic classes. In fact, this group made up more than 90 per cent of the entire prison population. These prisoners were of low status and when employed filled the lowest paying and least prestigious occupations in Ottoman society, such as artisans, labourers, farmers, and servants. Additionally, they represent the largest segments of Ottoman society, and they constitute the local and imperial governments' main base for tax revenues and military conscription. In other words, they are the masses that the CUP feared so intensely. The CUP, therefore, was very keen to monitor and control these segments of society (see Chart 3.6).

The prison statistics for 1912 for the provinces and administrative subdivisions that are listed in Chart 3.6 show that out of a prison population of 34,085 in 1912 there were 321 government officials, 104 teachers, 13 physicians, 159 merchants, 24 bankers and money changers, and 872 land owners. The total number of prisoners from the middle and upper classes was only 1,493. This represents less than 4.4 per cent of the total prison population. Prisoners from lower classes, however, number at least 30,067 individuals (the occupations of 2,525 inmates were not reported) and constitute at least 88 per cent of the Ottoman inmate population. The breakdown of this total number is 7,191 artisans, 12,966 farmers, 4,856 labourers, 451 ship captains and crew members, 1,050 servants, and 3,553 unemployed.<sup>30</sup>

In 1914, the Prison Administration updated the prison survey's questionnaire to reflect the findings of the 1912 survey by reorganising the survey's socio-economic status and occupation section. This change demonstrates a need to devote more space to the most prevalent occupations found among prisoners. In the 1914 version many of the categories for professionals were combined while others were more clearly defined. For example, the categories for physicians (*atibba*) and teachers (*muallimin*) were combined and then expanded to include all learned professions: 'physicians, teachers, and other learned professionals' (*atibba ve muallimin ve sair ehl-i fünun*).<sup>31</sup>

The 1914 questionnaire also augmented and circumscribed the 1912 'servants' category. It changed the title to 'servants of merchants, money changers, bankers, and others' (*tüccar ve sarraf ve saire hademesi*). This

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**Figure 3.2** 1914 prison survey questionnaire, Istanbul province.

**Source** BOA, DHMBHPS 150/3, doc. 2

alteration reflects CUP interests in protecting major actors in its economic plan. Merchants, money changers, and bankers were important financiers of Ottoman industrialisation and economic expansion, not to mention its war effort. Protecting their property and their physical safety was important, especially since theft and assault were the most common crimes committed by servants.<sup>32</sup> Connecting socio-economic status with crimes committed reveals additional insights into CUP and broader Ottoman conceptualisations of criminality, class, and social control.

The ‘crimes committed’ category is the most important section of the questionnaire since it drove the rest of the survey. The survey divides the category ‘Types of Crimes’ (*Nev‘i-i Ceraim*) into two sections ‘Misdemeanours and Less Serious Crimes Section’ (*Cünha ve Kabahat Kısmı*) and ‘Serious Crimes Section’ (*Cinayet Kısmı*). The first section contains twenty-one categories dealing with lesser offences. Nineteen of the categories contain specific ‘less serious crimes’ and the two remaining categories are ‘other lesser crimes’ and prisoners awaiting trial for lesser crimes (*mevkufın*).<sup>33</sup> The ‘Serious Crimes Section’ contains seventeen categories. Fourteen contain specific serious offences. One category concerns those prisoners awaiting trial for serious crimes. The last two categories are for prisoners awaiting trial in martial law courts and a category for totalling all prisoner statistics.<sup>34</sup>

## Counting the Incarcerated

According to the IOPC, there are literally hundreds of *cinayet*, *cünha*, and *kabahat* crimes that are punishable by incarceration. The Prison Administration, however, only requested data for thirty-three crimes. The survey listed some crimes as a general category, such as theft, but most listed crimes were specific. A close analysis of these crimes, their relation to the IOPC, and the number of criminals convicted offers revealing insights into Ottoman society and CUP ideology regarding crime and its threat to public order and safety.

The first section of the ‘Types of Crimes’ category (*Cünha ve Kabahat Kısmı*) consists of the following twenty-one categories:

1. Disrespecting civil servants, gendarme, and soldiers (*me'murin, zaptiye ve askere şetm ve hakaret*).
2. Aiding and abetting the escape of a convict and concealing habitual serious offenders (*mahbus kaçırmak ve ihfayı erbab-ı cinayet*).
3. Lacking good character, such as vagrants without skills or profession (*bila salahiyet sanat-ı resmide bulunmak*).
4. Forgery of travel permits and passports (*mürur tezkeresi ve pasaport sahtekarlığı*).
5. Assault and battery (*darb ve cerh*).
6. Offering abortions and harmful medications (*iskat-ı cenin ve eczayı muzırta i'tası*).
7. Seducing and dishonouring a virgin (*hetk-i urz ve iğfal-i bakire*).
8. Indecent sexual behaviour (*fi'il-i şeni*).
9. Verbally and physically molesting youth (*gençlere harf endazlık ve elile sarkıntılık*).
10. Unlawful arrest and incarceration (*usul ve nizam haricinde habs ve tevkif*).
11. Switching, concealing, and stealing a child and kidnapping a girl (*çocuk tebdili, sirkati ve gaybi ve kız kaçırmak*).
12. Providing false witness, oath, or evidence during a judicial proceeding (*umur-ı hukukiyede yalan şehadet ve yemin ve tehdidimiz mektup*).
13. Vituperation, insulting, and slander (*şetm ve hakaret ve iftira*).
14. Fraud (*dolandırıcılık*).
15. Theft (*sirkat*).
16. Corruption/Embezzlement (*emniyet-i suiistimal*).
17. Wasting or destroying a person's goods, property, and documents/papers (*nasın malını ve emlakini ve evrakını iza'a ve telef etmek*).
18. Opposing police directives, announcements, and warnings (*nizamata, bildiri ve tenbihat-ı zaptiyeye muhalefet*).

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19. Miscellaneous lesser crimes and misdemeanours (*ceniha ve kabahat-i mütenevvi'a*).
  20. Debtors (*medyun*).
  21. Those arrested for lesser crimes and misdemeanours awaiting trial (*mevkufin*).<sup>35</sup>
- Less serious offenders constituted roughly two-thirds of the 1911–12 prison population.<sup>36</sup>

Under the second section (*Cinayet Kısmı*) fourteen crimes were listed in the following order, together with three other categories:

1. Aiding and abetting bandits and embezzling state goods (*kat-i tarik yataklığı, zimmete emval-i miri geçirmek*).
2. Premeditated homicide ('*amden katl*).
3. Homicide without premeditation (*min gayri ta'ammüdden katl*).
4. Wilful homicide without premeditation (*katl-i kasdi*).
5. Severe assault and battery and severing a body part (*cerh ve darb-i şedid ve kat'-i uzuv*).
6. The intentional aborting of a foetus (*cebren veya kasden iskat-i cenin*).
7. Violent indecent sexual behaviour (*cebren fi'il-i şeni*).
8. Kidnapping a sexually mature female (*cebren baliğa kaçırmak*).
9. The forgery of seals and official items (*mühür ve enva'-ı resmiye sahtekarlığı*).
10. Arson (*kundakçılık*).
11. Armed theft causing injury (*mu'amele-i şedid icra ve cerh ile hırsızlık*).
12. Theft through breaking and entering (*meskun mahalden duvar delerek veyahut kapı kırarak hırsızlık*).
13. Armed theft without injury (*mu'amele-i şedid icrasıyla bila cerh hırsızlık*).
14. Possession of weapons forbidden by the Ministry of War (*esliha-i memnu'a-i divan-i harbi*).
15. Prisoners awaiting trial in martial law courts (*misafirhaneye vurulmuş iden Divan-i Harb-i Örfiden*).
16. Those arrested for serious offences awaiting trial (*mevkufin*).
17. Total (*yakut*).<sup>37</sup>

Serious offenders made up nearly one-third of the prison population of 1911–12.<sup>38</sup>

The vast majority of the crimes listed on the questionnaire concern property, life, honour, and social order. Eighteen crimes deal with violent

behaviour against an individual, fourteen deal with types of theft, nine crimes are honour related (character and sexual purity), and nine crimes deal with issues related to state responsibilities, authority, and power. Finally, all of the offences, in one way or another, deal with crimes against social order, discipline, and control. None of these crimes, however, are associated with espionage, bribery, the selling of government secrets, dereliction of duty, or state corruption. The *Cinayet* section does not even have a catch-all category similar to the one possessed by the *Cünha ve Kabahat* section in which serious offenders of other crimes not included in the questionnaire could be listed. The CUP collected information on very specific types of crimes that closely correspond with the 1911 changes to the 1858 IOPC.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the CUP furthered the process of consolidating judicial power into the hands of the state and rationalising the practice of Islamic criminal law already begun in previous regimes. Its goal was to reign in the autonomy of Islamic court judges, particularly regarding crime, individual rights, and the protection of property. In so doing, the CUP expanded state consolidation of power and its encroachment into the lives of the population. An analysis of the convergence between the 1911 penal code revisions, the crimes listed on the prison survey, and the statistical results explicates CUP ideology and pragmatism towards crime, preserving and expanding its own power, and a better understanding of criminal behaviour in the empire, particularly concerning crimes against state officials and those associated with honour, theft, and violence.

Throughout history states have placed a high priority on protecting their officials involved in tax collection, law enforcement, regime preservation, and maintaining public order. The Ottoman Empire and the CUP were no different. In fact, the amount of attention given to protecting state officials during the Second Constitutional Period reveals the importance that the CUP placed on it, even though few were incarcerated for these crimes.

The Prison Administration listed two crimes on the prison survey dealing with offences against state officials: 'Disrespecting civil servants, gendarme, and soldiers' and 'Opposing police directives, announcements, and warnings'. IOPC Articles 112–16 address these types of crimes and their respective punishments. The 1911 IOPC reforms significantly modified these articles in order to delineate crimes and punishments more clearly. In fact, only Article 112 was not altered.<sup>39</sup>

The number of prisoners arrested, convicted, and incarcerated for crimes against state officials was very low in comparison to other crimes listed on the prison survey. In 1911–12 the administrative areas of Canik, Istanbul, Beirut, Baghdad, Bitlis, and the Hijaz incarcerated a total of

14,549 prisoners.<sup>40</sup> Out of those prisoners, only 322 were convicted for crimes against state officials.<sup>41</sup>

The vast majority of those incarcerated for crimes against state officials served very light sentences. A total of 281 prisoners were either pardoned or spent from twenty-four hours to one month in prison. The other forty-one prisoners received varying sentences ranging from one month to one year, with just a handful of prisoners being incarcerated for a maximum of two years.<sup>42</sup> Generally these light punishments indicate that violations were not of a serious nature.

Only the independent administrative sub-division of Canik appears to be an exception to the generalities listed above. Out of its 1911–12 prison population of 1,767 inmates, a total of 100 were convicted of ‘Disrespecting civil officials, gendarme, and soldiers’. It is not clear why there were so many arrests and convictions for such an uncommon crime, but in the end it actually did conform to the aforementioned norms. Only eight of these inmates served any jail time (three months to a year). The other ninety-two prisoners convicted of this crime were pardoned.<sup>43</sup> The overall results (few convictions and light sentences) appear staggeringly low for a crime that the CUP heavily modified in 1911 and then closely monitored.

Of those prisoners who served time for crimes against state officials, the vast majority were artisans (ninety-two).<sup>44</sup> The numbers for the rest of the occupations and professions were twenty-one farmers, twenty labourers, eighteen unemployed, nine government officials, five servants, a land owner, a merchant, and a sailor. The high number of artisans indicates the existence of tensions between this segment of society and urban state authorities as manifest by the numerous strikes and protests that happened from 1881 to 1910. As mentioned in Chapter 2, shortly after coming to power in 1908, the CUP-led government enacted a series of laws severely curtailing the right to protest and strike, thus limiting the power of artisans and guild members.<sup>45</sup> Tracking the number of prisoners arrested, convicted, and serving time for disturbing the peace and attempting to abrogate state authority was vitally important to the CUP, especially in the wake of the 1909 countercoup.

As discussed in Chapter 1, in 1911, the Ottoman Parliament significantly altered the section of the IOPC dealing with crimes against an individual’s honour, including sexual offences, perjury, calumny, and vituperation.<sup>46</sup> Although these crimes also do not represent a significant statistical number of actual convictions and incarcerations, they do constitute a significant portion of the crimes for which statistics were collected. Out of the thirty-three crimes listed on the prison survey, ten crimes were related to these types of offences.

## Counting the Incarcerated

Although, the prison survey collected data on a significant number of crimes related to honour, it ignored others, such as kidnapping adults. Instead, it focused on crimes associated with kidnapping children of both sexes (considered a less serious offence) and kidnapping females at the age of puberty (nine to fourteen years old), but not yet manifesting menses (*mürahika*), which was considered a serious criminal offence.<sup>47</sup> With so few prisoners convicted of these crimes it is difficult to understand why the Prison Administration expended such energy tracking them.

The prison survey listed the crimes of slander and vituperation under the same heading and combined their statistics. It is, therefore, impossible to distinguish between these two closely related offences.<sup>48</sup> The state incarcerated only a small percentage of its prison population for these crimes. In Baghdad, the Hijaz, Istanbul, Beirut, Bitlis, and Canik inmates convicted of slander and vituperation represent less than 3 per cent of the prison population (451: 14,549) in 1911–12. More than 90 per cent of these prisoners received and served prison sentences of twenty-four hours to one month.<sup>49</sup>

Their crimes could not have been too serious especially since the maximum penalty for felony slander was ten years' imprisonment with hard labour. If slander or vituperation were of a less serious offence the maximum penalty was one to three years of incarceration, but the survey indicates a prevalence of short prison sentences for these two crimes.<sup>50</sup> This indicates that most of the perpetrators committed vituperation, which according to the IOPC is the lesser of the two offences. Regarding the socio-economic status and occupation of those convicted and incarcerated for slander and vituperation, at least 88 per cent were artisans, labourers, farmers, servants, or unemployed.<sup>51</sup> With so few being incarcerated for this crime it appears odd that the CUP-led Prison Administration considered it important to track. When the inmates' socio-economic backgrounds are taken into consideration, however, it makes more sense. Keeping the masses in check and protecting the reputations of the middle and upper classes, especially for a new administration, are essential to securing and maintaining power.

The second most prevalent type of crime committed in the Ottoman Empire, according to the prison survey, was theft (*sirkat*) in all of its related forms, including petty and violent theft, breaking and entering, fraud, embezzlement, and robbery. Theft-related crimes constituted nine of the thirty-three crimes listed on the questionnaire. More prisoners were convicted and incarcerated for theft-related crimes than any other except assault and battery (*darb ve cerh*). The Ottoman Parliament heavily revised theft-related portions of the IOPC in 1911 as well. The prison



population of 1911–12 in Istanbul, Baghdad, Beirut, Bitlis, the Hijaz, and Canik incarcerated for misdemeanour theft consisted of 2,603 out of a total population of 14,549. Nearly 70 per cent (1,816 out of 2,603) of inmates served sentences of one week to six months incarceration. A total of 2,436 of the prisoners incarcerated for theft (more than 93 per cent) were from the lower classes (artisans, farmers, labourers, servants, and unemployed). Muslims constituted nearly 58 per cent of theft convicts at 1,501 and 449 Christians (Ecumenical, Armenian, and Bulgar Exarchate) rounded out the largest proportions of the prisoners incarcerated for misdemeanour theft.<sup>52</sup> Legal reform, aggressive prosecution, and incarceration for theft demonstrate CUP priorities to protect private property.

Violent crimes were the most prevalent offence in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, the 1912 prison survey collected statistics on fourteen different violent crimes. Again, the Ottoman Parliament in 1911 heavily modified all IOPC articles relating to violent crime, especially threats, physical assaults, and homicide.<sup>53</sup>

The actual number of prisoners convicted of violent crimes, particularly assault and homicide, constitute almost half of all inmates in 1911–12. For example, 2,926 out of the 5,942 individuals incarcerated in Istanbul prisons in 1911–12 were convicted of violent crimes. In Beirut, out of the 4,020 incarcerated persons, 2,121 were serving time for either assault or homicide, and in Bitlis 347 prisoners out of a total population of 621 were incarcerated for violent crimes. Baghdad, Canik, and the Hijaz all had a lower percentage of violent criminals in their prisons than either Istanbul or Beirut. In all three of them, however, violent crime was still the most prevalent type of offence committed. Out of a prison population of 1,740, there were 799 prisoners convicted of violent crimes in Baghdad, whereas Canik had 631 prisoners out of 1,767, and the Hijaz had the fewest, at 84 out of 460.<sup>54</sup>

The single-most prevalently convicted and incarcerated crime during the Second Constitutional Period was ‘assault and battery’ (*darb ve cerh*). In the provinces and independent administrative sub-divisions of Istanbul, Baghdad, Beirut, Bitlis, Canik, and the Hijaz 5,605 out of a total prison population of 14,549 served time for ‘assault and battery’. Despite accounting for the largest percentage of convictions and incarcerations, most ‘assault and battery’ crimes were minor. A total of 80 per cent of those convicted for ‘assault and battery’ served light sentences (twenty-four hours to one month). Their crime, therefore, was most likely fisticuffs. Nearly 89 per cent of those incarcerated for ‘assault and battery’ were from the lower classes (artisans, farmers, labourers, servants, and the unemployed).<sup>55</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Second Constitutional

Period was a particularly volatile time in terms of war, uprisings, foreign interventions, separatist movements, and political instability. Maintaining public order and social control, especially among the lower classes, was a matter of top priority for the CUP.

Even the crimes for which few individuals were actually incarcerated, but still monitored by the prison surveys (vituperation, slander, and crimes against state officials) add additional insight into Ottoman administrative goals regarding its desire to consolidate power within its hands and protect government officials. Both of these goals are essential for creating and maintaining a strong, centralised, and efficient government that possesses a monopoly on the use of violence to enforce its laws. They are also key elements to imperial transformation and revitalisation. Combining statistics on criminal behaviour with socio-economic status provides even deeper insights into CUP ideology and Ottoman society.

A Marxist and neo-Marxist explanation for the predominance of the lower classes in Ottoman prisons claims that the upper and middle classes utilise prisons as a means of controlling the masses, maintaining political and economic power, protecting their personal well-being and property, and disciplining the labour force. The proletariat of all industrialised and developing countries during the Second Industrial Revolution consisted predominantly of unskilled workers and peasants. The Second Constitutional Period and the CUP fit this Marxist and neo-Marxist interpretation, except that its inner-circle rejected Great Power *laissez-faire* liberal economics and viewed it as the major cause of the empire's economic and political problems. The CUP envisioned achieving an industrialised empire via state-directed developmentalism (*étatisme*), which also required a disciplined labour force to staff the factories and work the fields of a newly created Muslim bourgeoisie.<sup>56</sup> Monitoring and controlling the lower classes and protecting the property and well-being of this emerging bourgeoisie were high priorities for the CUP as manifested by the conceptualisation and results of the 1912 prison survey.

### ***Conceptualising Difference: Identity and the Ottoman Prison Survey***

Socio-economic status and criminality are not the only categories that offer compelling insights into the empire's prison population and CUP ideology. Likewise, the prison questionnaire's category on ethno-religious and national identity provides data on prisoner identity and understanding of CUP conceptualisations of difference, in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality.<sup>57</sup> As stated earlier, governments utilise censuses

to identify, quantify, and categorise their population in order to harness social power and facilitate social control. The process of collecting statistics through population surveys can actually create identities. Ian Hacking coined the term ‘nominalism’ to signify the act of ‘making people up’. According to Hacking, ‘nominalism’ reflects state intentionality as it assigns identity to its various populations through censuses and other population registrations.<sup>58</sup> This concept applies to the Ottoman prison survey, because the state is assigning identity to inmates who lack the power of self-identification.

‘Nominalism’ can have unintended consequences. For example, in Macedonia, European powers forced the Ottoman Empire to conduct a thorough population survey beginning in 1903 that resulted in a great deal of political and social strife.<sup>59</sup> In 1872, the Ottoman administration established the (Bulgarian-dominated) Exarchate and recognised it as a separate religious community (*millet*) from the (Greek-dominated) Ecumenical Patriarchate. This caused intense nationalist struggles between the different Eastern Orthodox communities in the Balkans concerning which religious and/or nationalist community the population belonged, especially among the Bulgarian, Serbian, and Greek-speaking communities. Each group struggled, especially their clergies, for potential control of the religious community and perhaps the future nation. If a certain group within the Macedonian population decided to identify with the Ecumenical Patriarchate then it was choosing to be ‘Greek’, even if it spoke Bulgarian or Serbian and vice versa.<sup>60</sup>

The 1903 census exacerbated this explosive situation of competing nationalist movements identified by religious affiliation. During the census, local religious leaders, nationalists, ideologues, and government officials intimidated and coerced local populations to identify themselves with one party or the other, either the Ecumenical Patriarchate or the Bulgarian Exarchate. The census became a site for naming and identifying elements of the population for taxation, military conscription, and their potential nationalist proclivities. Not only was the Ottoman state trying to impose its own classification upon Macedonia’s population, but the people were actively identifying and naming themselves.<sup>61</sup>

During the first decade of the twentieth century, Macedonia was the central stronghold of the CUP and the staging ground for the 1908 Constitutional Revolution. CUP loyalists entrenched themselves in Macedonia’s administrative and military hierarchy.<sup>62</sup> Even the Inspector General of Rumeli and director of the 1903 census Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha was an active CUP supporter.<sup>63</sup> He was well aware of the explosive potential of the 1903 census for the Macedonian population. For this reason,

he debated whether or not to use the most benign and generic population classifications available: Muslim, Jew, and Christian. He eventually abandoned the idea because those categories went against the 1902 Mürzsteg Programme, which required the Ottomans to implement ‘administrative reorganisation according to national principles’ within Macedonia. According to the Mürzsteg Programme, ‘national principles’ meant nationalist identity based on specific religio-linguistic characteristics.<sup>64</sup> If utilised, perhaps the generic categories could have prevented some of the violence that resulted from the more controversial religious identities delineated in the census.

As a result of its participation in the 1903 Macedonian census and their modern educations, CUP members understood the power of statistics in nation-state construction. European meddling and Christian national-separatist activities galvanised Macedonian Muslim support for the 1908 Constitutional Revolution led by the CUP.<sup>65</sup> What took place in Macedonia demonstrated to CUP members the explosive power of identity appropriation and helps to explain the Prison Administration’s choice of identity categories in the 1912 prison survey.

The identity categories contained in the 1912 prison survey reveal important insights into how the CUP conceptualised difference among the state’s population. As a result of constant warfare and immense social upheaval characterising the Second Constitutional Period, these prison surveys represent the closest attempt to a population census ever carried out by the CUP.<sup>66</sup> The categories of identity found in the prison survey provide the most concrete example available for understanding how the CUP conceptualised difference in terms of ethnicity, religion, and nationality prior to the radicalisation of identity and its brutal demographic engineering programmes post-Balkan Wars and during WWI.<sup>67</sup>

One of the prison survey’s most intriguing categories of identity concerns a prisoner’s *millet* identity. The title of this category is ‘*Milliyet-i Mahkumin*’.<sup>68</sup> According to twentieth-century standards, this title should be translated as ‘the prisoner’s national identity’. This translation, however, actually obfuscates the multiple and contradictory meanings *millet* possessed during the late Ottoman period. Based upon the word’s usage in the survey, ‘*Milliyet-i Mahkumin*’ should be translated as ‘the prisoner’s ethno-religious, communal or national identity’. Under this category the possible *millet* identities of a prisoner consisted of the following ten choices:

1. *İslam*.
2. *Rum Katolik ve Protestan* (Ecumenical Patriarchate Christians who are Catholics or Protestants).<sup>69</sup>

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3. *Ermeni Katolik ve Protestan* (Armenian Christians who are Catholics or Protestants).
4. *Musevi* (Jewish).
5. *Bulgar* (Bulgarian Exarchate).
6. *Milel-i Muhtelif-e-yi Osmaniye* (Other Ottoman Communities).
7. *Alman* (German), *Fransa* (French), *İngiliz* (British), *ve Avustralı* (Austrian).
8. *İranlı* (Iranian/Persian).
9. *Yunanlı* (Citizens of Greece).
10. *Milel-i Muhtelif-e-yi Ecnebi* (Other Foreign Nationals).

This category was broken into two main divisions: Ottoman subjects and foreign nationals. The division related to Ottoman subjects consists of six groupings:

1. Muslims (*İslam*).
2. Ecumenical Patriarchate Christians who are Catholics and Protestants (*Rum Katolik ve Protestan*).
3. Armenian Christians who are Catholics and Protestants (*Ermeni Katolik ve Protestan*).
4. Jews (*Musevi*).
5. Bulgarian Exarchate Christians (*Bulgars*).
6. Other Ottoman Communities (*Milel-i Muhtelif-e-yi Osmaniye*).

The second division, referring to foreign nationals, consists of four groupings:

1. German, French, British, and Austrian foreign nationals (*Alman, Fransa, İngiliz, ve Avustralı*).
2. Iranian foreign nationals (*İranlı*).
3. Greek foreign nationals (*Yunanlı*).
4. Other Foreign Nationals (*Milel-i Muhtelif-e-yi Ecnebi*).<sup>70</sup>

The organisation of this category, the possible *millet* options, and the use and meaning of *millet*, reveal several significant insights into CUP conceptions of difference. First, each of the *millet* categories related to the Ottoman population represents divisions and identities based on sectarian lines and not along linguistic, quasi-racial, or cultural designations. Most of these religious groups represented long-standing Ottoman administrative and bureaucratic designations based largely upon Islamic and customary law (*shari'a* and *örf-i hukuk*), thus dividing the Ottoman population along monotheistic sectarian lines: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.<sup>71</sup> Previous Ottoman attempts to collect population statistics during

the nineteenth century also categorised the empire's population according to these basic sectarian designations.<sup>72</sup>

Of these three monotheistic religions, prison officials only divided Christianity into sectarian sub-categories. These Christian *millet* subdivisions were the Armenian Patriarchate, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the Bulgarian Exarchate,<sup>73</sup> which was originally a subgroup of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but, as mentioned above, was separated in 1872.<sup>74</sup> The grouping of Ottoman subjects according to religious affiliation received official recognition as the 'Millet System' on 25 April 1861.<sup>75</sup> The Ottoman administration founded this system, in part, to implement the Imperial Rescripts of 1839 and 1856, which declared that all Ottoman subjects possessed equal status before the law regardless of religious affiliation. Even the final category for classifying the identity of the prisoners who were Ottoman subjects was organised along confessional lines. The category 'other Ottoman communities' or *mil-i muhtelif-i Osmaniye*, acted as a catch-all category and would have included other religious sects (*mezhepler*) such as Alevis, Druze, Yazidis, Maronites, Assyrians, Latins, and Coptic Christians.<sup>76</sup>

Furthermore, these categories of identity suggest that the concept of ethnicity based upon linguistic, quasi-racial, or cultural designation was either in its infancy within the Ottoman Empire or was consciously being avoided by the CUP at this time. This is illustrated by the inclusion of Catholics and Protestants within the religious *millet* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Armenian populations. This inclusion implies that these two categories were not strictly based on a unified religious identity, because if Catholics and Protestants somehow fell under the category of Ecumenical Patriarchate and Armenian Christianity, then these designations were not purely religious. They also appear to represent a quasi-ethnic identity, one intertwined with religion, culture, and language. That said, within the prison survey only Christian *millets* conveyed any sense of ethnicity outside the lines of strict sectarianism.

By contrast prison officials did not request the number of Ottoman subjects considered Turks, Arabs, or Kurds among the prison population. The CUP appears to have been content to include these groups under the rubric of Islam without reference to racial, linguistic, religious, or supposed national differences among these groups. They were not viewed as separate ethno-religious communities possessing national identities of their own. Rather they were conceptualised as part of the core constituency of the Ottoman nation – Muslims. The issue of differentiating the ethno-religious national identity of Muslims that is so pervasive and perversely manipulated in the contemporary Middle East does not appear to have been an important issue

to the Prison Administration.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps the CUP attempted to avoid similar fractious problems with its Muslim population that existed among the Balkan Christians during the 1903 Macedonian census. During the Second Constitutional Period, other CUP attempts to collect statistics on various segments of the Ottoman population regarding crime, military conscription, or taxation, either categorised the population along similar sectarian lines as the prison survey or simply identified them 'Muslim' or 'Non-Muslim'.<sup>78</sup>

The only place in the questionnaire where *millet* possesses the possible meaning of 'national' is in the second division of the '*Milliyet-i Mahkumin*' category. This section deals exclusively with subjects of foreign states incarcerated in Ottoman prisons and contains no sectarian differentiations. As a result, it is clear that *millet* does possess a nationalistic connotation, but only in reference to foreigners and not Ottoman subjects. Therefore, in this one category of the questionnaire ('*Milliyet-i Mahkumin*'), the term *millet* possesses several different meanings: religious, ethno-religious, and national identity. This clearly demonstrates the state of flux in which *millet* found itself during this time. The multiple meanings of *millet* caused confusion among some local prison officials who, while completing the survey, assigned multiple *millet* identities to individual prisoners.

Concepts such as nationalism, race, and ethnicity are not germane to the regions, languages, or cultures of the Middle East. There were no words in Persian, Turkish, or Arabic that adequately described what these concepts meant in the late Ottoman Empire. New words were adopted from European languages or indigenous words were imbued with new significance while still maintaining their traditional meanings. This led to great confusion as to what the terms in question actually meant. *Millet* is one such example. Its inclusion in the prison survey confused many state officials charged with assigning *millet* identity of the empire's prisoners. Sometimes these local officials even gave prisoners multiple *millet* identities within the same category of the survey.

For example, prison officials in Mecca (the provincial capital of the Hijaz) assigned multiple *millet* identities to the same prisoner. Some prisoners were identified both as Muslims and as belonging to 'other Ottoman communities'. Additionally, incarcerated German, French, British, and Austrian subjects were also given dual *millet* identities, but in this instance as simultaneously foreign nationals and Muslims.<sup>79</sup> Hijazi prison officials were not the only ones applying multiple *millet* identities to the incarcerated. In Baghdad province, national and religious identity was also conflated. Officials in the Baghdadi administrative district of Kazimiye felt it necessary to indicate the national, religious, and ethnic identity of its prisoners. Kazimiye prison officials indicated that prisoners who were

Iranian nationals were also Muslims and whether or not Ottoman Muslim subjects belonged to 'other Ottoman communities'.<sup>80</sup>

The Beirut district of Hayfa and the Yanya district of Margılıç are two other examples of this phenomenon.<sup>81</sup> All prisoners, not just Muslims, were given multiple *millet* identities. In fact, all Ottoman subjects who were assigned a religious *millet* identity of Muslim, Ecumenical Patriarchate, or Jewish were also listed as belonging to 'other Ottoman communities'. It appears that the Hayfa and Margılıç prison officials made a clear distinction between religious affiliation and ethnic or communal identity and that the term *millet* possessed these clear and distinct meanings in their minds. These instances are unique in comparison with the rest of the survey.

In other provinces, such as Manastır, Mamüretülaziz, Mosul, and Istanbul, local prison officials did not assign multiple *millet* identities. In fact, only a handful of administrative districts from around the empire made this mistake.<sup>82</sup> In other words, they did not specify the religious affiliation of foreign nationals or those labelled as 'other Ottoman communities'. However, the assigning of multiple *millet* identities to the same prisoner was not limited to one isolated province. It cannot, therefore, be explained away as a strange aberration in one obscure corner of the empire. The areas that did assign multiple *millet* identities were spread across the empire. As a result of this ambiguity and the confusion it caused, the Prison Administration adjusted this category in order to clarify *millet*'s meaning and usage in a subsequent version of the survey.

On 25 May 1914, the province of Istanbul submitted its prison statistics for 1913–14 utilising a similar version of the 1912 questionnaire. There were, however, some significant alterations, particularly regarding the ethno-religious, communal, and national identity of the inmates. The title of the 1914 version of this category was changed from '*Milliyet-i Mahkumin*' to '*Milliyet ve Tabiiyet-i Mahkumin*'. This same category was now separated into two subdivisions not previously contained in the 1912 questionnaire. The two new subdivisions were entitled '*tebaiyeten Osmaniye*' and '*tebaiyeten ecnebiye*'. Instead of ten different choices regarding the prisoner's identity, this version included twelve different designations divided equally between the two new subdivisions. The subdivision of *tebaiyeten Osmaniye* included the following:

1. *İslam*.
2. *Rum ve Rum Katolik ve Protestan* (Ecumenical Patriarchate and Ecumenical Patriarchate Catholic and Protestant).
3. *Ermeni ve Ermeni Katolik ve Protestan* (Armenian and Armenian Catholic and Protestant).



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4. *Musevi* (Jewish).
5. *Bulgar* (Bulgarian Exarchate).
6. *Milel-i Muhtelifiye-yi Osmaniye* (Other Ottoman Communities).

The second subdivision of *tebaiyeten ecnebiye* included the following:

1. *Alman ve Avustralı* (German and Austrian).
2. *İngliz* (British).
3. *Fransa* (French).
4. *İranlı* (Iranian/Persian).
5. *Yunanlı* (Citizens of Greece).
6. *Milel-i Muhtelifiye-yi Ecnebi* (Other Foreign Nationals).

These new titles, subdivisions, and categories represent significant clarifications of the original 1912 questionnaire's ambiguous use of the term *millet* (see Chart 3.7).<sup>83</sup>

The first significant change is the addition of two related words – *tabiiyet* and *tebaiyeten* – found in the title of the entire category related to the ethno-religious, communal, and national identity of the prisoners and in the category's two new subdivisions. The words are, respectively, an adjective and adverb and possess the meanings of 'nationality or allegiance' and 'as a subject'. Both words are also closely associated with *tabi* and *tebaa*, which mean respectively 'a subject of a state or sovereign' and 'subjects; subject (of a state)'. *Tabiiyet*'s antonym *tabiiyetsizlik* means 'statelessness'.<sup>84</sup>

The use of *tabiiyet* and *tebaiyeten* in the 1914 prison survey represents a significant change and clarification in terminology. It indicates that the Ministry of the Interior and the Prison Administration realised the ambiguous nature of *millet* and sought to clarify its meaning regarding national and communal identity between Ottoman and foreign subjects. The 1912 questionnaire conflated the traditional diplomatic usage of the term *millet* (as religious sovereignty) with the more recently developed meaning of 'ethno-religious community' in reference to Ottoman subjects.<sup>85</sup> The confusion caused by this conflation was clearly demonstrated by the prison officials who incorrectly assigned multiple *millet* identities to individual prisoners.

In the 1914 version, the meaning and use of the terms *millet* and *milliyet* are much more circumspect and do not refer to a prisoner's nationality. Instead, the term *tabiiyet* is used to designate national identity, whereas the terms *millet* and *milliyet* only refer to the ethno-religious and communal identity of a prisoner who is an Ottoman subject. This adheres to the traditional usage of the term according to the late Ottoman linguist, Şemseddin

Province and independent sub-division	Muslim		Ecumenical Patriarchate		Armenian		Jewish		Bulgar		Other Ottoman communities		English, German, French, and Austrian		Iranian		Greek		Other nationalities	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Baghdad	1,397	46	0	0	4	0	76	7	0	0	172	11	1	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
Beirut	2,598	67	417	19	6	0	14	0	5	0	155	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bitlis	460	29	0	0	27	8	0	0	0	0	11	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Canik	797	29	200	3	80	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Edirne	3,828	231	2,208	80	155	15	105	4	540	24	638	30	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0
The Hijaz	405	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	297	45	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Istanbul	2,647	131	925	27	319	7	89	3	10	0	32	0	2	0	11	0	38	1	16	0
Kastamonu	873	121	30	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Manastr	1,488	54	542	65	152	0	11	2	250	38	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Mamurettil-aziz	1,268	65	5	0	227	14	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Mosul	2,493	23	43	1	1	0	58	0	0	0	64	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Yanya	785	4	561	68	2	0	1	0	0	0	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	21	9
<b>Totals</b>	19,039	845	4,931	269	974	45	356	16	805	62	1,378	94	10	0	30	0	49	1	37	9

**Chart 3.7** 1911–12 prisoner ethno-religious and national identity statistics.

**Note** Several provinces and independent administrative sub-divisions are not represented here because their results are not available to researchers. Not all available surveys provided ethno-religious and national identity data. These numbers, therefore, do not match total prison population numbers.

**Source** BOA, *DHMBHPSM 3/36, 4/4, 4/20, 4/21, 5/1, 5/9, 6/27, and 12/70*; *DHMBHPS 145/2, 145/56, 145/78, 146/69, and 146/70*

Sami. His definition demonstrates the evolving and dynamic nature of *millet*'s varied meanings during this period. He clearly approves of restricting the meaning of *millet* to identify groups of people based upon religious affiliation. This he claims maintained its original Quranic meaning. He does acknowledge, although disapprovingly, that *millet* was also being used to identify peoples according to language or place of origin.<sup>86</sup>

The 1914 version followed the same format and overall content of the 1912 questionnaire. It did, however, change the Armenian and Ecumenical Patriarchate categories for the sake of clarity and specificity. The 1914 questionnaire altered the 1912 version to read 'Ecumenical Patriarchate and Ecumenical Patriarchate Catholics and Protestants' (*Rum ve Rum Katolik ve Protestan*) and 'Armenian and Armenian Catholics and Protestants' (*Ermeni ve Ermeni Katolik ve Protestan*).<sup>87</sup> The original intent of the 1912 survey was to collect the statistics on all those associated with the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Armenian communities. Ottoman authorities did incarcerate orthodox Christians, but perhaps prison officials did not properly vet the titles of these two categories in the original survey.

A summation of the significant insights into CUP conceptions of difference as revealed by the 1912 and 1914 prison surveys include: 1. Difference among the Ottoman population was classified according to confessional designation, not ethno-nationalist identities. 2. Sectarian identification of Ottoman prisoners is consistent with other forms of population tabulation utilised by the CUP and previous regimes. 3. Designations of ethnicity based upon linguistic, quasi-racial, or cultural designation were generally avoided, except in the case of Ottoman Christian communities, such as Catholic and Protestant Armenians and Ecumenical Patriarchate Christians. 4. No ethnic distinctions were made among Ottoman Muslims, such as Turks, Arabs, and Kurds. 5. The only time the term *millet* does imply the meaning of 'national' is in relation to foreigner prisoners. 6. The Ottoman state did not view any Ottoman communities as distinct nations possessing some form of independent sovereign power. The Ottoman population was still seen as subjects of the state and sultan. 7. Distinctions of identity were based along monotheistic sectarian lines and all were supposedly equal before the law. 8. In the 1912 survey the term *millet* possessed multiple meanings including religious, ethno-religious, communal, and national identity. *Millet* was not a static concept during the late Ottoman period, but remained in a state of flux until well after the demise of the empire when it obtained its present meaning of 'nation' and 'national'. 9. The ambiguity of *millet* in the 1912 survey led to confusion and recording errors among prison officials. Finally, the Prison Administration attempted to solve this confusion by circumscribing the

meaning of *millet* to ‘ethno-religious communal identity’ in a subsequent rendition of the questionnaire.

This investigation into the use and meaning of *millet* in the prison survey possesses the potential for much greater implications regarding late Ottoman ‘nationalist’ history – particularly in terms of the development of Turkish nationalism. It challenges the claim that the CUP was dominated by Turkish nationalists bent on ‘Turkifying’ the empire in order to create a Turkish state.<sup>88</sup> This investigation demonstrates that the CUP conceptualised difference among the Ottoman population according to sectarian lines, in part because its core goals were: to centralise and rationalise power within its hands and the Ottoman bureaucracy; to modernise and transform the empire into an efficient, powerful state; and to maintain its territorial integrity. CUP members were elitists, but not separatists. They were still actively ascribing to and promoting official Ottoman nationalism (*Osmanlılık*) until the end of the empire, even though they became increasingly suspicious of the empire’s Christian subjects after the Balkan Wars and engaged in horrific acts of demographic engineering and genocide during WWI. This official Ottoman nationalism was supposed to transcend linguistic, ethnic, communal, and religious differences, even though its core constituency consisted of the empire’s Muslim population.<sup>89</sup>

## ***Conclusion***

The 1912 prison survey provides important insights into the composition of the Ottoman prison population in terms of numbers, crimes committed, gender, age, marital status, occupation, punishment, recidivism, and ethno-religious identity. This information is vital to reconstructing the population itself and making sense of who was incarcerated at the end of the empire. These statistics reveal that the prison population stayed relatively low throughout the Second Constitutional Period, fluctuating from 21,000 to 40,000 prisoners. The Ottoman prison population, in terms of percentage of its overall population, was comparable to other contemporary states. For example, the United States’ 1910 prison population was 112,362 inmates. According to the 1910 US Census, the country’s total population was 92,228,496. This means that prisoners made up only 0.12 per cent of its population. The Ottoman prison population, at most, was only 0.16 per cent of the empire’s entire population. Even during the height of WWI, the percentage of the Ottoman population that was incarcerated never approached 0.2 per cent. The empire, therefore, should not be characterised as a ‘police state’ even though it exerted tremendous efforts to transform its major penal institutions (see Charts 3.8, 3.9, and 3.10).

Province and independent sub-division	Under 14		14-20		21-30		31-40		41-50		51-60		61-70		71+	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Baghdad	18	2	276	8	664	19	352	22	134	3	86	5	42	0	21	2
Beirut	24	0	680	9	1,362	48	784	18	225	4	51	0	26	0	11	0
Bitlis	5	0	48	6	155	8	150	20	60	41	0	0	0	0	0	0
Canik	12	0	286	14	460	15	239	5	60	0	24	0	0	0	0	0
Edirne	36	2	1,141	61	2,583	222	1,487	86	594	35	188	14	60	3	4	1
The Hijaz	0	0	97	8	218	12	109	19	29	5	19	1	4	0	2	0
Istanbul	38	3	894	62	1,767	55	936	31	293	13	100	2	35	2	7	0
Kastamonu	0	0	222	35	403	40	201	33	64	10	50	4	6	0	1	0
Manastir	70	0	471	13	1,082	62	645	44	260	14	51	3	16	2	3	1
Mannuretilaziz	0	0	158	2	485	57	477	40	200	63	59	0	0	0	0	0
Mostul	18	0	259	0	971	16	627	10	322	4	107	2	50	0	0	0
Yanya	13	0	167	11	646	45	487	38	192	11	65	15	26	2	2	0
<b>Totals</b>	234	7	4,699	229	10,796	599	6,494	366	2,433	203	800	46	265	9	51	4

**Chart 3.8** 1911-12 prisoner age statistics.

**Note** Several provinces and independent administrative sub-divisions are not represented here because their results are not available to researchers. Not all available surveys provided prisoner age data. These numbers, therefore, do not match total prison population numbers.

**Source** BOA, DHMBHPSM 3/36, 4/4, 4/20, 4/21, 5/1, 5/9, 6/27, and 12/70; DHMBHPS 145/2, 145/56, 145/78, 146/69, and 146/70

Province and independent sub-division	Prisoner's gender, marital status, and dependants/no dependants									
	Male					Female				
	Single	Married	Widowed		Single	Married	Widowed		Children	No children
	Children	No children	Children	No children		Children	No children	Children	No children	
Baghdad	779	642	368	81	70	8	30	13	12	15
Beirut	1,687	1,191	331	58	24	23	36	9	1	14
Bitlis	66	374	54	0	0	6	21	7	2	0
Canik	682	365	197	40	10	2	22	8	9	2
Edirne	2,881	3,941	731	178	119	51	239	52	33	29
The Hijaz	267	46	71	3	16	15	2	4	11	14
Istanbul	2,421	631	812	24	31	48	45	33	1	10
Kastamonu	305	245	43	43	25	1	92	18	12	2
Manastir	663	1,042	323	67	46	23	67	12	6	2
Mamurettilaziz	352	506	156	129	113	8	43	17	7	12
Mosul	455	630	285	0	0	0	3	0	0	1
Yanya	513	748	215	21	2	8	41	100	33	2
<b>Totals</b>	11,071	10,361	3,586	644	456	193	641	273	127	103

**Chart 3.9** 1911–12 Prisoner marital status statistics.

**Note** Several provinces and independent administrative sub-divisions are not represented here because their results are not available to researchers. Not all available surveys provided data on prisoner marital status. These numbers, therefore, do not match total prison population numbers.

**Source** BOA, DHMBHPSM 3/36, 4/4, 4/20, 4/21, 5/1, 5/9, 6/27, and 12/70; DHMBHPS 145/2, 145/56, 145/78, 146/69, and 146/70

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Province and independent sub-division	Literate males	Literate females	Illiterate males	Illiterate females
Baghdad	115	0	1,425	56
Beirut	699	3	1,751	46
Bitlis	4	0	316	31
Canik	166	0	821	23
Edirne	1,134	52	5,475	455
The Hijaz	39	0	364	45
Istanbul	1,349	18	2,519	143
Kastamonu	137	2	847	125
Manastr	412	0	1,480	99
Mamuretilaziz	299	0	1,214	79
Mosul	129	0	2,066	26
Yanya	205	5	1,076	88
<b>Totals</b>	4,688	80	19,354	1,216

**Chart 3.10** 1911–12 prisoner literacy statistics.

**Note** Several provinces and independent administrative sub-divisions are not represented here because their results are not available to researchers. Not all available surveys provided data on prisoner literacy. These numbers, therefore, do not match total prison population numbers.

**Source** BOA, DHMBHPSM 3/36, 4/4, 4/20, 4/21, 5/1, 5/9, 6/27, and 12/70; DHMBHPS 145/2, 145/56, 145/78, 146/69, and 146/70

The vast majority of prisoners were male (32,584 out of 34,085), whereas females made up 4.4 per cent of the prison population (1,494 out of 34,085). Nearly 24,500 inmates were under the age of forty with twenty to thirty year-olds making up almost a third of the prison population (11,395). A total of 15 per cent of the population was under the age of twenty. Women and children, therefore, made up more than 19 per cent of the total prison population. Despite their relatively small numbers, Ottoman prison reformers took great interest in these segments of the prison population. Issues of female and juvenile inmates are dealt with in Chapters 4 and 6, respectively. More than 30,000 prisoners were from the lower socio-economic classes with almost 13,000 farmers, 7,191 artisans, and 4,856 labourers. Muslims accounted for nearly 20,000 inmates, more than 7,000 were Christian, and at least 372 were Jewish. The ethno-religious, communal constitution of the prison population was generally in line with overall population percentages in the empire. In other words,

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it does not appear that a particular population was targeted for incarceration over another. In areas that were predominantly Bulgar, Muslim, Armenian, or Ecumenical Patriarchate Christian, they were respectively the majority of the prison population, but in mixed areas, such as Istanbul, the numbers appear to be in line with overall population percentages. Regarding marital status, at least 11,400 were single, nearly 13,000 were married, and 4,400 prisoners had children. Illiteracy was rampant among the prison population. More than 20,500 inmates could not read or write while no less than 4,800 prisoners could. The most common crimes were misdemeanour ‘theft’ and ‘assault and battery’, while roughly one-third of the prison population was imprisoned for serious offences, such as homicide and violent theft. This data is very similar to that available for other European powers during the long nineteenth century, such as Great Britain, France, Germany, or Russia, even though these states, generally, had much larger prison populations.

In addition to understanding the composition of the Ottoman prison population, these prison surveys provide important insights into Ottoman sensibilities towards crime, punishment, and criminality. Prison and criminal legal reforms worked hand in hand during this period. The extensive changes made to the IOPC and to prison policy and practice reveal a vibrant agenda of increased centralisation of power in the hands of the state through the rationalisation of law and legal procedure concerning crime and punishment. The bureaucracy removed intermediaries to its power and the state took a greater role in the lives of its population in an attempt to standardise legal proceedings, law enforcement, and punishment. The correlation between the changes made to the IOPC and the 1912 prison survey demonstrate this close correlation between reform and practice. Most of the information collected on crime in the prison surveys correlated to issues of personal rights, safety, property, and honour, thus demonstrating CUP interests in maintaining social order, public rights, and rationalising punishment in line with contemporary global sensibilities.

Ottoman statistical efforts to understand the background, identity, and criminal behaviour of inmates represent an important progression in Ottoman statecraft. They also demonstrate innovative approaches to long-held Ottoman practices concerning land registries and censuses. This is much less about rupture of practice than about continuity, transformation, and expansion of long-held Ottoman administrative policies and practices. The knowledge gained by Ottoman prison officials and the Ministry of the Interior regarding the composition of the prison population facilitate the exploration of prison conditions, everyday life, and reform efforts to



organise, supervise, discipline, and rehabilitate the empire's convicts. This is the topic of Chapter 4.

### **Notes**

1. BOA, DHMBHPSM 8/3, doc. 13.
2. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 148–9.
3. I have previously published portions of this chapter, particularly regarding the ethno-religious, communal, and national identities of Ottoman prisoners in 'Conceptualizing Difference' and 'Identity in the Ottoman Prison Surveys'.
4. Porter, *Rise of Statistical Thinking*, pp. 3–39.
5. Foucault, 'Essays on Governmentality', pp. 99–100.
6. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp. ix and 6–7.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
8. *Ibid.*
9. McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities*, pp. 163–4, and Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 18.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp. 29–30.
12. Findely, *Bureaucratic Reform*, p. 285.
13. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 30.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
15. *Ibid.* and Cox, *Diversions of a Diplomat*, pp. 37 and 44.
16. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 32.
17. Findely, p. 285.
18. Hanioglu, *Young Turks in Opposition and Preparation for a Revolution*; and Gelvin, *Modern Middle East*, pp. 129–30.
19. Foucault, 'Essays on Governmentality'.
20. BOA, DHMBHPSM 3/5.
21. The catalogues of the Prison Administration (BOA, DHMBHPS and BOA, DHMBHPSM) contain forty-six completed 1912 prison surveys. Provincial centres generally distributed, collected, and then submitted the completed surveys to the Prison Administration. The following references are confirmation receipts that the Prison Administration received completed prison surveys from each province: BOA, DHMBHPS 143/36, 145/22, 145/28, 145/29, 145/34, 145/35, 145/38, 145/39, 145/40, 145/41, 145/42, 145/44, 145/43, 145/48, 145/55, 145/57, 145/59, 145/60, 145/61, 145/62, 145/64, 145/67, 145/68, 145/73, 145/80, 145/81, 145/83, 145/84, 145/87, 146/1, 146/2, 146/4, 146/8, 146/18, 146/20, 146/21, 146/23, 146/24, 146/30, 146/33, 146/34, 146/36, 146/41, 146/43, 146/44, 146/45, 146/51, 146/66, and 146/72. Unfortunately, the completed surveys for the provinces of Van, Sivas, and Ankara are not available.
22. BOA, DHMBHPSM 8/3, doc. 13.

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23. BOA, DHMBHPSM 5/9, doc. 4. See Figure 3.1.
24. BOA, DHMBHPSM 4/4 (Istanbul); DHMBHPSM 4/21 (Baghdad); DHMBHPSM 5/9 (Beirut); DHMBHPSM 5/1 (Canik); DHMBHPSM 4/1 (Edirne); DHMBHPSM 3/36 (the Hijaz); DHMBHPSM 145/56 and 53/34 (Kastamonu); DHMBHPSM 12/70, 14/65, and DHMBHPS 145/26 (Mamüretülaziz); DHMBHPSM 6/27 (Manastır); DHMBHPS 145/2, 146/69, and 146/70 (Mosul); and DHMBHPSM 4/20 (Yanya).
25. For the total number of prisoners from 1912–20, see BOA, DHMBHPS 145/31, 149/45, 143/93, 96/54, 163/85, and 165/97; and DHMBHPSM 12/38 and 17/32.
26. The Ottoman Government collected statistics on a much larger range of possible occupations, see Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp. 214–18.
27. BOA, DHMBHPSM 8/3, doc. 13.
28. Karpat, p. 218, Chart IV.10 ‘Professions in the Ottoman State’.
29. Berkes, pp. 289–95 and 367–410 and Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, pp. 305–8.
30. BOA, DHMBHPSM 3/36, 4/4, 4/20, 4/21, 5/1, 5/9, 6/27, and 12/70; DHMBHPS 145/2, 145/56, 145/78, 146/69, and 146/70. According to these records prison officials did not assign occupations to 2,525 prisoners, however, it is highly unlikely that many of them were from the professional classes. Even if all 2,525 were professionals their percentage of the prison population would only be 11.8 per cent.
31. BOA, DHMBHPS 150/3, doc. 2.
32. Ibid.
33. BOA, DHMBHPSM 8/3, doc. 13.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. BOA, DHMBHPS 145/31.
37. BOA, DHMBHPSM 8/3, doc. 13.
38. BOA, DHMBHPS 145/31.
39. Bucknill and Utidjian, *Imperial Ottoman Penal Code*, pp. 86–92.
40. The breakdown of the prison population in 1911–12 for the provinces of Istanbul, Beirut, Baghdad, the Hijaz, and for the administrative sub-division of Canik are Istanbul: 5,942; Beirut: 4,020; Baghdad: 1,740; the Hijaz: 459; Canik: 1,767; and Bitlis: 621 (BOA, DHMBHPSM 4/4, 5/9, 4/21, 3/36, 5/1; and DHMBHPS 145/78).
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. BOA, DHMBHPSM 5/1.
44. Ibid. Information regarding the socio-economic status and occupation of those pardoned for crimes against state officials was not recorded in the Canik 1912 prison survey.
45. Kansu, *Politics in Post-Revolutionary Turkey* and Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance*.

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46. Bucknill and Utidjian, pp. 149–70.
47. BOA, DHMBHPSM 8/3, doc. 13.
48. Ibid.
49. BOA, DHMBHPSM 5/1, 4/4, 5/9, 4/21, and 3/36; and DHMBHPS 145/78.
50. Bucknill and Utidjian, pp. 165–9.
51. BOA, DHMBHPSM 5/1, 4/4, 5/9, 4/21, and 3/36; and DHMBHPS 145/78.
52. Ibid.
53. Bucknill and Utidjian, pp. 124–45.
54. BOA, DHMBHPSM 5/1, 4/4, 5/9, 4/21, and 3/36; and DHMBHPS 145/78.
55. Ibid.
56. Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie*; Toprak, *Millî İktisat*; and Berkes, *Development of Secularism*, pp. 335–7.
57. BOA, DHMBHPSM 8/3, doc. 13.
58. Hacking, *Historical Ontology*, p. 100.
59. Yosmaoğlu, ‘Counting Bodies, Shaping Souls’.
60. Ibid. and Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 35.
61. Yosmaoğlu.
62. Ahmad, *Young Turks*.
63. Ibid., p.172. He served as Minister of the Interior, Grand Vizier, Minister of Justice, and Ambassador to Vienna during the Second Constitutional Period.
64. Yosmaoğlu, pp. 64–5 and 59–62.
65. Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, pp. 232–3.
66. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 189.
67. There is an intense debate concerning the origins and radicalisation of Turkish nationalism claimed to be the underpinning cause of the genocides, the ethnic cleansings, and the population transfers in the Ottoman Empire post-Balkan Wars and during WWI and the Turkish War of Independence. Many assume a primordial Turkish nationalism while others more convincingly argue that its development and radicalisation resulted most directly from the Balkan Wars and the 1914 Armenian reform agreement. For works on CUP demographic engineering see Akçam, *Young Turk Crimes* and Dündar, *Crime of Numbers*. The contentious nature of the debate concerning the origins of CUP ethnic nationalism is clearly demonstrated in Şükrü Hanioglu and Feroz Ahmad’s public exchange in the *AHR*, 101(5) (December 1996), pp. 1,589–90 and 102(4) (October 1997), pp. 1,301–3.
68. BOA, DHMBHPSM 3/5. *Mahkumin* literally means, ‘convict’.
69. *Rum*, in this context, should be translated as Ecumenical Patriarchate instead of Greek Orthodox. Many scholars often incorrectly construe ‘Greek’ as a national identifier when discussing segments of the Ottoman Empire’s Christian subjects. The word ‘Greek’ is not germane to the Ottoman language. The Turkish word ‘*Grek*’ is borrowed from the West. Ottoman Turkish has a separate germane term for a Greek foreign national – *Yunanlı*, which is a derivative of the Ottoman Turkish name for the Greek nation-state – *Yunanistan*. The Western term ‘Greek’ is itself a Western nationalist con-

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struct that portions of the Greek-speaking, Ottoman Christian population adopted in the early nineteenth century in order to be identified as a 'separate' nation and gain independence from the empire. For these reasons, translating the term *Rum* as Greek Orthodox is confusing and misleading.

70. BOA, DHMBHPS 3/5.
71. Ercan, 'Non-Muslim Communities'.
72. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, Statistical Appendices, pp.108–89. In each of the empire's censuses the categories of identity all ran along confessional lines with the simplest being 'Muslim' and 'Non-Muslim'. The more detailed population surveys requested the numbers of 'Muslims, Cossacks, Greek Orthodox [Ecumenical Patriarchate Christians (*Rumler*)], Armenians, Bulgars, Wallachians, Greek [Ecumenical Patriarchate Christians (*Rumler*)] Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Protestants, Latins, Maronites, Syrians, Chaldeans, Jacobites, Jews, Samaritans, Yezidis, Gypsies, and Foreigners'. This categorisation came from the 1905/6 Ottoman population survey (*Ibid.*, pp.162–3). The CUP prison survey appears to have utilised the 1905/6 format, but simplified it to include what the Prison Administration saw as the largest population groupings while combining the smaller groups under the heading of 'Other Ottoman Communities'.
73. Ercan, p.385.
74. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp.35 and 46.
75. Ercan; and Braude, 'Foundation Myths'.
76. *Milel* is the plural of *millet*.
77. The Prison Administration never collected the 'ethnic' identity of Ottoman prisoners. Throughout Ottoman history, however, the bureaucracy did recognise differences between Muslim groups, such as Albanians, Circassians, Kurds, Arabs, and Turks, but these groups were not officially counted in population censuses, nor were they viewed as distinct racial or national groups. They were part of the Muslim subjects of the empire and depending on contingent circumstances were favoured or fouled by the central administration. The CUP collected demographic information on Kurds, Armenians, and Nestorians in Southeastern Anatolia as part of a larger demographic engineering programme aimed at resettling Muslim refugees and Ottoman Christians around the empire as a result of the Balkan Wars (Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki*, pp.85–6). For examples of the demographic maps produced by the CUP, see Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi*, pp.452–62.
78. BOA, DHEUMMTK 32/13 and 8/23; and Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp.188–9.
79. BOA, DHMBHPSM 3/36, doc. 2.
80. BOA, DHMBHPSM 4/21, doc. 1.
81. BOA, DHMBHPSM 5/9, doc. 20 (Hayfa); DHMBHPSM 5/9 (Beirut); and DHMBHSM 4/20 (Yanya).
82. BOA, DHMBHPSM 6/27 (Manastır), DHMBHPSM 12/70, 14/65, and 145/26

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- (Mamüretülaziz), DHMBHPS 145/2 and 147/59 (Mosul), DHMBHPSM 4/4, DHMBHPS 147/93, and 148/4 (Istanbul).
83. BOA, DHMBHPS 150/3, docs 1–2 (front and back). See Figure 3.9.
  84. Redhouse, *Turkish*, p.488 and *Redhouse Sözlüğü*, pp.1,075 and 1,111; Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca*, p. 1011; and Sami, *Kamus-i Türki*, p. 370.
  85. Braude, pp. 69–88.
  86. Sami, p. 1400.
  87. BOA, DHMBHPS 150/3, docs 1–3 (1914 survey); and DHMBHPS 8/3, doc. 13 (1912 survey).
  88. The seminal works promoting the notion that the CUP was a Turkish nationalist organisation engaged in the Turkification of the Ottoman Empire are Berkes, *Development of Secularism and Turkish Nationalism*; Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism*; Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*; Kushner, *Rise of Turkish Nationalism*; and Hanioglu, *Young Turks in Opposition and Preparation for a Revolution*. More recent works that complicate these primordial nationalist approaches include Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki and Modern Türkiye'nin şifresi*; and Ülker, 'Contextualising "Turkification"'.  
89. Schull, 'Conceptualizing Difference'.
  90. See [www.census.gov/history/www/through\\_the\\_decades/fast\\_facts/1910\\_fast\\_facts.html](http://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1910_fast_facts.html) and [www.justicepolicy.org/images/upload/00-05\\_rep\\_punishingdecade\\_ac.pdf](http://www.justicepolicy.org/images/upload/00-05_rep_punishingdecade_ac.pdf) for details regarding the 1910 US Census and prison population.