A STUDY ON THE FORMATION OF EARLY TURKISH NATIONALISM

By Eun Kyung Jeong*

Historians describe the early years of the 20th century as a period of "nationalism." During this period, Turkish nationalism transformed into a thought movement which emerged to defend Turkish national sovereignty during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Approaches towards nationalism in Turkey are based on the idea of national sovereignty and the ideas of national independence that developed subsequently.

Nationalism in Turkey first transformed from Pan-Islamism into multinational Ottomanism, and finally developed into Turkish nationalism and patriotism. This process emerged as a movement of self-discovery in the multicultural structure of the Ottoman Empire and transformed into Turkism. The Balkan Wars (1912-1913) destroyed the foundation upon which Ottomanism was based, and led to the rise of Turkish nationalism, in other words, Turkism. The idea of nation in modern terms in the recent history of thought and nationalism subsequently developed based on this idea and emerged with the Turkism movement. Thus, Turkism became the movement of Turks in the empire, combined with political Turkism which was supported by the intellectuals who came to the Ottoman Empire from Russia.

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In this article, the formation of Turkist movements and the leading intellectuals of Turkish nationalism, who emerged at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of 20th century in the Ottoman Empire, are investigated in order to examine the historical progress of nationalist approaches in a period in which a new national state was established and improved.

Keywords: Nationalism, Turkism, Ottoman Empire, Pan-Turkism, Foreign Turks

DEFINITION OF NATIONALISM

"Nationalism" is a word derived from the word "nation," and it is possible to see nationalism in a tribal sense in primal human communities. However, the evolution of the concept to the level of a nationalistic idea took place in the West during the 18th century.

Theories of nationalism are represented by Western scholars such as Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Anthony D. Smith and Benedict Anderson, who are social scientists of modern theory. These social scientists interpreted nationalism through the paradigm of modernity that dominated the historical period in which they lived.

Ernest Gellner describes nationalism as a means of expressing one's belonging and opposition to the inequalities produced by developed countries. According to Gellner, people's identities had more of a structured foundation in traditional pre-industrial societies. A person's identity was determined by a relatively stable and strong structure of family and relatives.[1]

Anthony D. Smith approached nationalism as a doctrine rather than a theorem and emphasized the need for a more comprehensive study on nationalism, especially in its modernist meaning. When transforming from a traditional society into a modern society, culture, not old structures, comes to the forefront. Thus, a strong cultural consciousness that was not seen in traditional society emerges.[2] Family, relatives and local ties rapidly weaken in a traditional society in which a whole civilizational change is experienced. In this way, a semi-modern, semi-traditional person who has not yet properly acquired a modern cultural identity has a great feeling of rootlessness and a

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[1] Ernest Gellner, *Encounters with Nationalism*, trans. Simten Cosar (Istanbul: İletişim Yay, 1994), 72.

[2] According to Smith, nationalism operates at many levels, and he explains that it can be seen as a form of culture as well as a kind of political ideology and social movement. Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, trans. Bahadır Seher (İstanbul: İletişimYay, 1994), 114.

sense of uncertainty.

British historian Eric Hobsbawm approaches the nation and nationalism as a product of social conditions in a similar way. Hobsbawm states that the national consciousness is the most concrete and, at the same time, the most common example of invented traditions.[3] Moreover, he expresses that the contradiction between the constant change and renewal of the modern world and the attempts to place certain parts of social life on a dogmatic and stable structure in this world have placed "the invention of tradition" on an extremely interesting level for historians.

Imagined Communities, written in 1983 by British political scientist Benedict Anderson, states that the nation is an imagined political community which at the same time inherently limits sovereignty as well. According to Anderson, all communities (including ethnic communities) are culturally constituted. He saw mass communication (developed by capitalism) and mass immigration of people as the main historical factors in the formation of an imaginary community called the "nation." Anderson especially emphasized the interaction between the common national language and printing technologies. Development of the printing press led capital investors to invest in the mass publishing of books which then increased the patriotism of the ethnic community.[4]

Utilizing these frames of view to understand the history of Turkish nationalism, it is important to consider the background behind the cultural identity of Turks. It was, even before the beginning of nationalism, something that caused the nation to exist and the similar characteristics appearing in nationalist thoughts can be understood as modern products.

THE BIRTH OF TURKISH NATIONALISM

Pan-Slavism

The Turanism and Turkism movements advocated among the Turks living in the Ottoman Empire and abroad emerged as a response to nationalist movements (particularly Pan-Slavism) that surfaced in the West. For this reason, I believe it would be useful to explain Pan-Slavism first.

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[3] Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2.

[4] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991), 56-57.

Hans Kohn describes the "Pan" movements as a process that ensures solidarity among communities, both politically and culturally related, as they share a common language, race, tradition and territory.[5]

Slavs, which form the foundation of the Russian state, are considered the ancestors of the Russians. The Varangians, who had come from Sweden and ruled over the Slavs, were called "Rusi" (Russian). The name "Rus"[6] gradually became associated with the Slavs and the society which brought together the Slavs and established a state. The Russians strengthened their sovereignty over the Slavic people in the region and built cities and trade centers. As a result, the name "Rus" gained political importance. The Russians were well integrated with the Slavs, and the Slavs in the region from then on were also called Russians.[7]

The Pan-Slavist movement began around the year 1820 among the Western Slavs. The Slavic movement was initiated by German scientists and was later continued by Czech, Slovak, Croatian, Polish and Slovenian scientists. The Slavic movement was especially active amongst the Czechs (as a response to Austro-German rule). In this period (19th and early 20th centuries), Russia, which was trying to head south through the Balkans and the Caucasus with the weakening of the Ottoman Empire, and Britain, which was trying to prevent it, caused the Eastern Question. The Eastern Question, starting from Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and East Turkistan and extending over to the Korean peninsula, developed mainly in the form of competition between Britain and Russia. European leaders argued that the total collapse of the Ottoman Empire was a danger to general peace while also supporting the Ottoman state's disintegration by assisting the rebels among the Ottoman subjects.

The Pan-Slavist movement spread rapidly in the Balkans in the mid-19th century. The movement's slogan was "Rescuing Slavic brothers who groan under the oppression of the Turks," and the main purpose of the movement was to unite all Slavs under Ottoman rule and seize Istanbul. For this purpose, the Pan-Slavists developed another slogan: "To put a cross on Hagia Sophia." From then on, this slogan became the political password of the Russians and the Pan-Slavists. The Russian government did not support this movement. However, over time, during the reign of Tsar Alexan-

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[5] Hans Kohn, "Pan Movements," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, (Paris, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,1963), 544-545.

[6] Nimet A. Kurat, *Turkic Tribes and States in the North of the Black Sea between the 4th and 18th Centuries* (Ankara: Murat Kitapevi Yay, 2002), 3-16.

[7] Hans Kohn, *Pan-Slavism and Russian Nationalism*, trans. Agah Güner (Ankara: Türk Dünyası Studies Foundation, 1991), 5-10.

der II, the Pan-Slavic movement began to influence Russian politics.[8]

The population census after the Russian Revolution of 1905 revealed that 107 different nations lived in Russia and that the Russians made up only 43.3% of the population. Therefore, a new type of Slavism called "Neo-Slavism" was born. This new movement was the recreation of the Pan-Slavic movement in a new fashion and though it may seem that they focused on the fields of culture and economics at first, they soon began to get involved in politics. Tsar Nicolas II supported Pan-Slavism, which constituted the basis of the Russian government's foreign policy. It can be argued that pro Pan-Slavist propaganda initiated the Balkan Wars. Volunteers from Russia enlisted in the Bulgarian army, and relevant communities such as the Czechs and the Austrian Slavs supplied monetary aid. It was emphasized by the Pan-Slavists that "the time had come for Turks to be expelled from Europe to Asia."[9] Russia's pursuit of Pan-Slavist goals had a significant influence on the outbreak of World War I. Pan-Slavism was also at the heart of the Russo-Turkish wars that caused Ottoman lands to be reduced from 10 million square kilometers to 770,000 square kilometers by the end of World War I.[10]

Turkism Abroad by "External Turks"

While the Pan-Slavism movement ensured the formation of Slav nationalism, it received negative reactions. Furthermore, the tension between Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism also provided opportunities for Russian Turks to develop stronger ties with the West. In the first quarter of the 20th century, the Turkish-Tatar society, which had taken up major reform movements, began to make reforms in education to transform Islam into a powerful religion and spread modern science among the Tatars. Attempts to develop the influence of the Tatar bourgeoisie were also accelerated to withstand Russification policies. The "unity of language and religion" was brought to the forefront in order for these reforms to include other Turkish communities in Russia, especially the Tatars. For this purpose, Pan-Turkism and Islamic modernization tried to be more effective among the "Foreign Turks" through the power of the Tatar intellectual class.[11]

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[8] Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, 10-13.

[9] Nimet Kurat, *The History of Russia, Beginning to 1971,* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 1993), 343.

[10] Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, 13-15.

[11] François Georgeon, *The Origins of Turkish Nationalism, Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935),* trans. Alev Er (Is-

"External Turks" is a term used by Turkists in Turkey to define Turkish people with foreign origins. About two thirds of the Turkish communities in the world live outside the Republic of Turkey. The Turkish communities that have the most demographic, economic and perhaps political potential outside Turkey live in Central Asia. These are followed by Turkish communities living in Iran, China, the Balkan countries, Arabic countries and Western European countries.[12]

The national movement period of Turkish nationalists usually goes through three phases. These movements begin with a cultural awakening, then become a form of political movement, and finally formulate as an economic program.

Turkish intellectual Ismail Gaspirali, a Crimean Tatar, educator, publisher, and politician, was one of the great thinkers and Jadids[13] of the Turkish world. Gaspirali continuously defended the enrichment of Turkish dialects by supporting a common written language based on the Istanbul dialect of Turkish. Also, he proclaimed the "unity in language, thought and work" of all the Turkish-speaking peoples in the Russian and Ottoman empires. Gaspirali advocated the idea of all-out reform, not only in the language but in every field required for Turkish culture to be in "unity" and also established the Turkish newspaper *Tercüman* (1883-1917)[14] in the Crimea.

Gaspirali wanted to spread his idea of unity by making cultural reform in the Russian Empire. Gaspirali, through the use of the Turkish language in the publication of *Tercüman*, wanted to express his life-long goal of creating a common written language amongst the Turkish community. The basic principles of this reform were just below the motto of *Tercüman*. This expression can be briefly explained as follows: reforming the schools with European methods, establishing charities for liberty, education and training of women, and forming a common written language for the whole Turkish world.

In order to create a common language for the Turks, Gaspirali paid attention to these fundamentals: 1) Tasteful regional words from living Turkish dialects should be

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tanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay, 2005) 17.

[12] When considered generally, Central Asia consists of these regions: the Balkans, Turkey, Iran, Caucasia, Idil-Ural, Soviet Central Asia (West Turkestan), and Shincang (East Turkestan) of the People's Republic of China. Nadir Devlet, *Turkey and Foreign Turks* (Istanbul: Türk Yurdu Yay, 1991), 28.

[13] Jadids: Intellectual groups which emerged under the influence of the educational movement named "usûl-İ cedîd," which was oriented toward the reflection of Western enlightenment philosophy on the Islamic world among Muslims under Russian rule.

[14] At the same time, while advocating the language union with the *Tercüman* newspaper, he brought in important figures from the Turkish world with the new education system applied in the first Usulul-Jadid school which Bahchesaray opened in Jadidism. Cihan Yalvar, "Turkish Word's Eternal Flame İsmail Bey Gaspıralı (1851-1914)," *History Research Journal of Yeditepe University* 1, no. 2 (2017): 87.

used in conjunction with the Istanbul dialect, which was the most developed form of Ottoman Turkish. 2) Foreign languages and precepts should be removed from Turkish as much as possible. 3) Arabic and Farsi expressions that were not understood by literates should be discharged. Today, these principles of Gaspirali carry the value of being the ideal and principle of the entire Turkish world.[15]

He found a solution for this in his own way and wanted to apply his solution by taking advantage of opportunities available to him (newspaper, extensive elementary education and printed books).[16] Gaspirali was very successful in his struggle related to the Turkish language. Turkish became a well-known language everywhere through the distribution of the *Tercüman* newspaper which was read widely by Turks living in Kazan, Eastern and Western Turkistan, Azerbaijan, the Balkans, and Ottoman Turkey.[17]

Ziya Gökalp, in his work named *Principles of Turkism* (1923), says this regarding the newspaper: "*Tercüman* newspaper is understood by Eastern Turks and Western Turks as well as Northern Turks. The existence of this newspaper is living proof of the fact that the unification of all Turks under the same language is possible."[18]

According to Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935, Tatar-origin politician and writer), Gaspirali considered the fate of Central Asian Turks to be tied to Russians. Gaspirali held this view because it was forbidden to practice nationalism in Russia. Therefore, he battled in the cultural domain rather than the political domain and adopted moderate policies in order to prioritize the unification of Turks in terms of language and culture. In *Tercüman*, he verbalized his aims by saying: "Works for the evolution of education and the improvement of Islamic schools among all of the Turkish tribes, consisting of Turkish, Azeri, Kumuk, Noghai, Bashkir, Uzbek, Kashgari, Turkmen, etc. use a simple, clear, and understandable style."[19]

He also regarded women's role as significant in Western lifestyles and progress

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[15] Ismail Gaspirali, *Ismail Gaspıralı Thought Works: Selected Works II* (Istanbul: Otuken Yay, 2003), 52.

[16] Mehmet Saray, *Turkish Language and Culture Union from Gaspirali İsmail Bey to Atatürk* (Istanbul: Nesil Yay, 1993), 50-51.

[17] During the movements for Muslim cultural unity, Gaspirali recommended the acceptance of Ottoman Turkish as a general literary language, both in Muslim schools and in the Russian press. In the *Tercüman* newspaper, he himself used the modernized language of Ottoman Turkey, which was cleansed from Arabic and Farsi words by Young Turks. Serge A. Zenkovsky, *Panturkism and Islam in Russia*, trans İzzet Kantemir (Istanbul: Üçdal neşriyat, 1983), 28.

[18] Ziya Gökalp, *The Principles of Turkism*, 6th ed. (İstanbul: İnkilapYay, 2001), 5.

[19] Yusuf Akçura, "The Great Teacher and Author of the Turks Ismail Bey Gaspirinski," *TürkYurdu*10 (1913): 694-695.

and wanted Muslim women to play an active role in society and business life, too. He praised Turkish women frequently in *Tercüman* while mentioning their activities.[20] Gaspirali published a magazine for women, named *Alem-i Nisvan* (*Women's World*), and his daughter Şefika edited the magazine. For children, he released a publication called *Alem-i Subyan* (*Children's World*).[21]

In that period, the Russian government considered Muslims to be criminal, rebellious, ignorant, and bigoted and was indecisive on how to implement a policy towards these people. In works such as "Bahçesaray Letters," "Russian Muslims," and "Russian-Eastern Agreement," Gaspirali criticized the Russian attitude towards Muslim Turks and the many misconceptions about Muslims by Russian effectual groups, constantly mentioning that Muslims should be entitled to equal rights before the law by the Russian government, and expressing on every occasion that Muslims must perform their legal obligations in return. While Gaspirali said that the Russian government had to determine their exact attitude on this topic, Russians kept oppressing and assimilating Muslims, which led him to argue that Muslims hated Russians and could not possibly embrace them.[22]

Another effectual foreign Turk in the development of Turkish nationalism is Yusuf Akçura.[23] He is one of the most significant persons who left a mark on the idea of Turkism. Akçura was a Tatar Turk who was born in Russia during the Ottoman-Russian war (1877-1878). The Tatars were one of the wealthiest Turkish communities in Russia, and the Tatar's achievements in trade had provided them with a significant position among Russian Turks. Russia's total capture of Central Asia resulted in very important consequences for the Tatar community. First of all, trade in Central Asia was dominated by Russian merchants, which allowed the Russians to increase their cultural pressure. The Tatar community embarked upon reform movements in religion and education in order to withstand this pressure. Tatar reformism and modernism were two very influential elements on Akçura.

Akçura's definition of nationality is "A human society, with a unity and solidar-

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[20] Devlet Nadir, *İsmail Bey (Gaspıralı)* (Ankara: Culture and Tourism Ministry Yay, 1988), 33.

[21] Gaspıralı, *Ismail Gaspıralı Thought*, 36.

[22] Gaspirali, *Ismail Gaspıralı Thought*, 41-42.

[23] Yusuf Akçura's name is Akçuraoğlu Yusuf in some sources, Akçurin in Russia and Akçora in some sources. In 1934, he officially took the name of Yusuf Akçura. Georgeon, *Origins of Turkish Nationalism*, 6.

ity in their social conscience due to their fundamental union in race and language."[24] According to Akçura, every tribe and even every clan felt special among other tribes and mostly claimed its superiority. This feeling and claim is the inception of the idea of nationalism and exists in Turks, too. However, the idea of nationality is a very advanced stage of this emotion and this claim. It is far beyond the idea of clan or tribe, and in today's context, it initially occurred in the West. The idea of nationality involves the right of human communities who form a nation to live by organizing as an independent state.[25]

Akçura's thoughts on Turkism are as follows. A Turkish union would initially start with generating awareness amongst Turkifying Turks in the Ottoman Empire, amongst those who were slightly Turkified despite not being Turkish, and those who were deprived of the national conscience. Then, it would transform into a unification of Turks scattered throughout Asia and Eastern Europe, in order to form a formidable political nationality.

According to Akçura, it was natural that there would be some detrimental effects of Turkism along with its advantages. Communities among the Ottoman public who were Turkish but not Muslim and those who could not possibly be Turkified would want to separate from the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, Russia—with a dense Turkish community—would obviously want to prevent Turkish unity. Despite all these obstacles and the fact that most Turks had forgotten their past, the fact that the majority of Turks were Muslims would be a significant factor in the making of Turkish nationality.[26]

Independent Ottoman Turks were not successful in the modernization attempts that they had been trying to carry out since the Tanzimat Reform. Nonetheless, there was a great state tradition of the Ottoman Empire. Akçura was trying to bring these two facts—namely, state tradition of the Ottoman Empire and the economic and social development of the Tatar community—together.[27] The significance of Yusuf Akçura for Turkish nationalism derives from his strong critical identity which defies dogmatism. Akçura comprehended the emergence of new social, economic, and political forces on the world stage, and perceived that Turkish society would eventually come face to face with these forces.[28]

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[24] Yusuf Akçura, *Turkism* (İstanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat Yay, 2007), 25.

[25] Yusuf Akçura, *History of Turkism* (Istanbul: Kaynak Yay, 1998), 18.

[26] Akçura, *History of Turkism*, 23.

[27] Georgeon, *Origins of Turkish Nationalism,* 112.

[28] Georgeon, *Origins of Turkish Nationalism*, 114.

Hüseyinzade Ali Bey (1864-1940, Azerbaijani Turkish writer and thinker), while studying medicine in St. Petersburg, advocated Turkism as a reaction to Pan-Slavism together with Gaspirali and believed that Turks had formed a unity both religiously and nationally. Turkism, therefore, did not need a separate synthesis in the name of Islamic union. He suggested that intellectual Turks who foresaw the sectarian bigotry which could be an obstacle in this respect should reduce their devotion to the sects of Sunnism, Shiism, etc. and know that the Qur'an makes up the foundation of Islam.[29]

In the major Turkish newspaper in Azerbaijan, the *Hayat* newspaper (1905-1906), in 1905, Hüseyinzade advocated three elements to act by for the development and modernization of Islam-Turk tribes: "Turkification, Islamisation and Europeanisation." According to Hüseyinzade, unification was not enough for the Turks to be strong. First of all, a nation depended on the multiplicity of its population, the health of its members, and the spiritual connection between people of the same kin and origin. Therefore, a low level of education and moral disorder within the nation had to be eliminated first. According to him, the most important issue for the Turks was not the issue of political unity, but the issue of cultural unity.

Hüseyinzade invited the Turks to be more active on this path and stated that the Turks needed to support and help each other on the path to civilization and predicted that they could only be strong in this way.[30] The material and moral progress of Turks was interconnected and dependent on mutual support. For example, if Ottoman Turkish had developed as a language, this situation would have affected Crimeans, Kazanians and Azeris in the reformation of their languages.

Hüseyinzade pointed out that there were many Turks who did not know that Uzbeks, Kyrgyzs, and Bashkirs were Turks, and that every person and every nation should claim their own language, religion, history, tradition and morality's past, present and even future. He also denied the existence of Tatar folk saying, "There is Turk, there is Mongol. But there is no Tatar. Crimeans, Kazanis, etc. are always of Turkish descent. When asked which tribe they belong to, they answer 'We are Turkish.'" He also refused to acknowledge the Tatar's kinship with the Mongols.[31]

Hüseyinzade invited the Turkish peoples - Ottoman, Tatars, Azeri, Kyrgyz, and Kazakhs - to come together with the histories of the regions they lived in and to be

[29] Hüseyinzade Ali, "Mektub-ıMahsus," *Turk* 56 (1904); İlham Habibullayev, "Hüseyinzade Ali Bey (Turan): His Life and Ideas," (MA diss., Istanbul University, 2001), 96.

[30] Habibullayev, "Hüseyinzade Ali Bey," 98.

[31] Hüseyinzade Ali Bey, "Turkish Language's Duty for Civilization," *Füyuzat* 9 (1906), 141-142.

responsible for the wider and richer Turanian history. Among Turkish intellectuals, he not only empowered Turkish nationalism by impacting Turkist groups but also played an important role in the Party of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti, 1913-1918). At the time, he saw Turanism and Turkism as identical, and this perspective greatly influenced Ziya Gokalp's Turkish nationalistic theories. Furthermore, Hüseyinzade altered his own family surname from "Ali" to "Turan" to implement Turanistic ideologies.

Turkic elements also existed among the Tajiks, and almost all the leading Turkic groups in this period were Muslims.[32] Peoples of Turkish origin showed a strong reaction against Christianization and Russification, within the framework of their own beliefs and national roots, namely Islam and Turkism. Separately or together, the factors of Islam and Turkism played a role in unifying them. This unification developed to a large extent as a reaction to oppression such as Pan-Slavism and Russification.[33]

Along with creating some of its own original elements, the concept of Turkism took most of its tactics and terms from Pan-Slavism, while being original in itself. This situation explains why Tatars were the leaders of Turkism. Because the Tatars were the people who remained under Russian rule for the longest, they were also the group who had to face the pressure of Pan-Slavism the most. Living close to the Ottoman lands of the Crimean Tatars provided an environment for them to remain under Ottoman influence. In this setting, Ismail Gaspirali (Gasprinski), Hüseyinzade Ali and Yusuf Akçura are the leading names of those who lived abroad and played crucial roles in the development of Turkism.[34]

Consequently, the main motive activating educated Turkists was principally the threat of Pan-Slavism and the negative effects of the Russification policy of Russia. They generally evaluated the Islamic way of life through a reformist perspective and reflected their ignorance of Western sciences and improvements. Therefore, creating a national consciousness and unity among the Turks in accordance with the theories of nationalism in Europe was necessary.

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[32] The communities that had Turkish elements and lived in Russia in this period were, according to population densities, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tatars, Azeris, Turkmens, Kyrgyz, Chuvash, Baskurts, Yakuts, Karakalpaks, Uygurs, Kumuks, Gagauzs, Tuvas, Karachays, Mezhets, Hakass, Balkars, Altays, Crimean Tatars, Nogays, Shors, Karaims, Kundurs, Caucasus Turkmens and Dolgans (Devlet, "Turkey and Foreign Turks," 27).

[33] Jacob M Landau, *Panturkism*, trans. Mesut Akın (Istanbul: Sarmal Yay, 1999), 17-18.

[34] Zenkovsky, *Panturkism and Islam*, 91.

Turanism

Though Turkism and Turanism are often mistakenly used interchangeably, there is an important difference between the two movements according to Landau. The main objective of Turanism is expressed as the ultimate unity and peace of all peoples in an ideal land. In a document dated 1832 from the Khanate of Kokand, Turan can be defined in various forms, such as Turkestan, Tataristan, Uzbekistan, and Mongolia, according to the rulers of this khanate. The borders in this document are determined as China, Tibet, and India in the east, Iran in the south, the Deshti Kipchak Desert in the west, and the Kipchak Desert, again, in the north. As a result, Turanism is a much broader concept than Turkism, which also includes Hungarians, Finns, and Estonians.[35]

According to Zenkovsky, the word "Turan" was mistakenly used to indicate the Turk-Mongolian territory of Central Asia at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. The mistake was largely due to the phonetic similarity between the words "Turk" and "Turan." In the tradition of the Iranian legend and in the "Shahnameh," the poem of Firdevsi, the word "Turan" was not used to define the old place of the Turkish-Mongol peoples, but was rather used in its original meaning of northern Iranian people occupying Central Asia until the 6th century. In conclusion, all experiences are the product of the use of an abandoned geographical expression to represent all the Turkist terminology and an "ancient victorious Turan Land" as a national symbol.[36]

Turkism and Turanism, which were the dominant ideologies of the 20th century in Turkey, were in reality the ideologies that were conveyed outside of Turkey as well. Turkism was developed by Tatar and Crimean Turks, and Turanism was designed and introduced by Hungarians as a world order which included Turks; however, the leader would be the Hungarian nation.[37]

The interest in the Central Asian cognate nations by the Hungarians, a nation of Central Asian origin, developed at a rapid pace in the 1890s. In 1910, the Turanist Society (Turani Tarsasag) was founded in Budapest under the leadership of Count Pal Teleki (1879-1941), an extreme right-wing politician and historian of aristocratic

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[35] Landau, *Panturkism*, 10.

[36] Zenkovsky, *Panturkism and Islam*, 93-96.

[37] Tarık Demirkan, *Hungarian Turanists* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay, 2000), 4.

origin.[38] The aim of the society, which included many famous social personalities, scientists and nationalist poets, was "to seek Turan from Europe to Asia, from Budapest to Tokyo, from Kazan to Istanbul to ensure unity between cognate nations under the rule of Hungarians, and to spread the consciousness of Turanist unity. The first task of Turanism, in other words, of being Hungarian, was to learn the ideal of Turan and spread it."[39] The purpose of the society was described as follows in the brochure published by the Turanian Society, which was first established as a science and research community:

> The purpose is to study the science, arts and economy of Asian and related European peoples, to promote them at home and abroad, and to help them develop. It is also our aim to try to integrate the interests of these brother peoples with that of Hungary's.[40]

Turanism created a popular wave in response to the Slavic threat in Hungary, where a magazine titled *Turan* was published regularly from 1913 until 1970. This movement was also adopted by many sections of society at the same time. These people began to use the term Turan in their own writings in a broad sense to describe the Turkish motherland.[41]

The importance that Hungarians placed on Turkology studies originated from the fact that it is also expressed as the scientific foundations of the efforts to expand Hungarian nationalism to Pan-Turanism. Among the publications in the Hungarian language that played a major role in the field of Turkology, the magazine *Turan* is also significant as it shows the importance given by the Hungarians to Turanist literature.[42]

The distinctive difference between Turanism in Hungary and the movement in Turkey was whether it was fictionalized as cultural unity or as political unity. Turkism or Turanism in the Ottoman Empire never developed in a way to include "non-Turkish" peoples. The Turkism movement developed in the Ottoman state only meant the unity of Turks when cultural and political unity was mentioned and accepted the unity

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[38] Pal Teleki of the Telekis, a famous Hungarian family, was born in 1879. He was a member of the Hungarian Academy of Science. He is well known in world geography literature for his scientific, particularly geographical, works related to Turanism and the Turan countries. Nizam Önen, *Two Turans: Turanism in Hungary and Turkey* (İstanbul: İletişim Yay, 2005), 59.

[39] Günay Göksu Özdoğan, *From Turan to Bozkurt*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yay, 2002), 28.

[40] Demirkan, *Hungarian Turanists*, 27-28.

[41] Landau, *Panturkism*, 10.

[42] Suavi Aydın, *Modernization and Nationalism* (Ankara: Gündoğan Yay, 1993), 89.

of origins and linguistic affinity between Turks and Hungarians and other people of Turan origins. Indeed, Ziya Gökalp stated the following in 1911:

> The motherland is neither Turkey nor Turkistan for the Turks.
> The motherland is a vast and eternal land, which is Turan.[43]

There were no issues for Turkists in considering the Hungarians and other people as relatives. However, when it came to a political movement to be built on a work, ethnic and/or linguistic affinity, the Ottoman Turkists excluded the others. The object and subject of any cultural or political activity to be developed through the Turan image was only the Turkish peoples. According to Önen, Turanism in the Ottoman state was synonymous with Turkism. A debate arose at that point regarding which peoples should be considered within the idea of Turkishness and, therefore, Turan.[44]

Bernard Lewis commented on the situation in which Islam determined the borders of Turan with the following words: "Turkists explained that the Turkish family they were advocating was limited to followers of Islam and the rest was excluded."[45]

In conclusion, Russian Turks had influenced Ottoman public opinion with their Turkist and political Turkism developed in the Ottoman Empire. The transformation of Turkist and Turanist ideas into "a political goal" for Ottoman intellectuals and politicians corresponds to a period in which the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, *Ittihad ve Terakki*) was gradually increasing its power towards a nationalist policy. Turkish was reimplemented as the official language of Ottoman society in 1908 through "The Political Programme of the II. Ottoman Constitution."[46]

Constitutional Period (ii. Meşrutiyet Dönemi) and the Emergence of Turkism in Turkey

The word *millet* in Turkish, meaning nation, originated from the Arabic language. *Millet*, which means "religious community," along with words such as *mezhep* (sect) and *secde* (sajdah) in Arabic, is translated as "nation" in major Western languages. The word

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[43] Önen Nizam, *Two Turans, Turanism in Hungary and Turkey* (Istanbul: İletişim Yay, 2005), 112-113.

[44] Nizam, *Two Turans*, 114.

[45] Bernard Lewis, *The Birth of Modern Turkey* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay, 1996), 349.

[46] Actually, Turkish was first accepted as the official language by Article 18 of the Ottoman Constitution (Kanun-i Esasi, 1876), but was put into effect after the II. Ottoman Constitution (1908).

nation, which comes from the word *nasci* in Latin, originally means a group of people born in the same place.[47]

However, this word was used instead of the word *ummah*, which is used today to express the sum of the members of Islam. The word *millet* also means "the main road, the principle" in Arabic and in Turkish meant "the sum of members of a religion or a sect."[48] However, this was mostly used for non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire. All Muslims were considered to be a single community and were called *ummah-i Muhammad*. In order to express the "others" such as Greek, Armenian and Jewish people, the word *millet* was used, not in ethnic, but in religious terms.

This word corresponds to the word *budun* (nation/people) in Turkish historical sources, while Semseddin Sami used the word *millet* with two meanings. The first meaning of the word expresses religion and sect. This can be seen in the example of *millet-i Ibrahim*. Here, *millet* is used in religious terms and means "the religion of Abraham." The second meaning expresses the community of a religion or a sect. When *millet-i Islam* is mentioned, it refers to those who are followers of Islam. According to Sami, in Turkish, the word *millet* is incorrectly used instead of *ummah*, and the word *ummah* is used instead of *millet*.[49]

The definition of *millet* as a word is the same as above, while the meanings implied by this word differ. The most important ones include the following. According to Hilmi Ziya Ülken, the concept of nation is the last phase reached in community life. Just as there was a civilization of regions in the early ages, today there is a civilization of nations. The nation, which is the most advanced form of mankind, is the essential society which makes up the foundation of modern civilization. In other words, it is a conscious community. Being civilized is only possible by being a strong nation.[50]

When examining the emergence of nationalism in Turkey, we see that the rise of nationalism enabled nationalism to manifest itself in the free platform of the Second Constitutional Period. The idea of "nation" and the subsequently developing idea of "nationalism," which emerged in a modern sense in the recent period of the history of thought, were shaped by the form of the Turkism movement in the Ottoman area.

It can be seen in many classical works related to Ottoman history that the efforts

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[47] David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 11 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1968), 8.

[48] Ferit Devellioğlu, *Ottoman-Turkish Encyclopedic Dictionary* (Ankara: Aydın Kitapevi Yay, 2003), 648.

[49] Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki* (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1978), 140.

[50] Hilm Ziya Ülken, *The National and Historical Conscious* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yay, 2008), 169.

of modernization in the fields of politics, economics, military and culture, which became more evident in the Ottoman Empire from the 19th century, emerged because of relations with Europe. It is widely accepted that the defeat of the Ottomans by the West between 1682 and 1798 led the Ottomans to realize their weaknesses and the military superiority of the West.

The Second Constitutional period (II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi) was formally proclaimed on July 23, 1908 (July 10, 1324), when Sultan Abdulhamid II declared the re-enactment of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876. When the Second Constitution was declared, even those who lived in Istanbul did not understand its significance because they did not know or understand the concepts of constitutionalism and freedom. In addition, some intellectuals approached the proclamation of the Constitution cautiously and were even suspicious that when the events leading to the proclamation were no longer in place, the old state would return.

The Second Constitutional Revolution emotionally assimilated the concept of humanism in the books of European philosophers and their emphasis on the coexistence and brotherhood of people. One of the major movements of thought in the Second Constitutional period was Westernism. For Westernists, Western civilization was the best civilization that could be thought of. According to them, Western civilization was not only the civilization of unprecedented material progress and success in history, but also a civilization that was completely different from other civilizations in terms of lifestyle, thought and art, which is unique to the history of civilization. The nations under its influence could not escape from their own conditions if they could not see or understand it entirely in its own distinctive aspects.

Westernism had similarities in many fields especially with Ottomanism, and, therefore, it was thought to be two different views of the same idea. Indeed, while many people who were called Westernists defended Ottomanism at the same time, it was also an important influence on Islamism and Turkism. In general, Westernists, who thought that the cause of state regression was ignorance, had radical ideas on issues such as the importance of modern education, women's rights, the acceptance of Latin letters, and secularism. However, Westernists who advocated Ottomanism in the political sense were in favor of benefiting from Islam as a tool for social integration. In the field of economics, the Westernists who defended the establishment of an economy for the entire Ottoman community were defending the "power of science" against the idea of "Turan."[51]

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[51] Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Doctor Abdullah Cevdet and His Period* (Istanbul: Üçdal Yay, 1981), 325-327.

A national sovereignty based on freedom and equality and Ottomanism that would lead to brotherhood and unity were the prominent slogans of this reform period that would provide welfare. After the publication of the *Hürriyet* newspaper, the debate on ideas became clearer, and these ideas, which were expressed in a highly systematic manner, gathered around certain individuals and publications over time. The common aim of these movements was to find a solution that would prevent the collapse of the empire and to give it a respectable position among world states. The Second Constitutional movement was the first movement in which the elements within the state that did not fall under Turkish or Turkism were engaged in a democratic and liberal agreement. For this reason, the ideology at the forefront of the action was Ottomanism. At the same time, the Second Constitution was a movement in which Turkish reformist intellectuals had a strong influence. On the other hand, in the environment of freedom and liberty brought by the Constitution, minorities also wanted to implement a re-administration based on very broad autonomy.

This institution, which included the wish of the Bulgarian autonomy system to depend upon a legal basis, had a similar format to the Greek and Armenian institutions. The common wishes of minorities, such as the reorganization of the constitution in accordance with the principle of "Hakimiyet-i Milliye"(national sovereignty), the protection of minority rights and privileges and the reorganization of provinces on the basis of nationality, were being repeated.[52] Furthermore, the Greeks strived to strengthen the nationalist movements by spreading the Greek language with the help of the Treaty of Berlin and were supported by the Istanbul Greek Patriarchate with the dream of reviving Byzantium.[53]

Indeed, as mentioned above, the word *millet* is an Arabic word that does not have a direct equivalent in Western political terminology. The nations were members of non-Muslim religious communities which were living in the Ottoman state and were given broad cultural and civil autonomy. The nationalities of these nations were certain religious sects that the nations were a part of. In this case, the political identity of the nations under the rule of the sultan was Ottoman and their nationality was their religion. From the 19th century, Western European nationality was not prominent in the Ottoman Empire; not ethnicity, but religion was at the forefront. When examining the official documents of that time, it is stated that religious identity, but not national identity, was written on the identity cards (Tezkire-i Osmaniye) given to people be-

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[52] BOA- EŞA file, D:72 (Istanbul: Ottoman State Archives, 1908), G 7123

[53] BOA- EŞA file, D:16 (Istanbul: Ottoman State Archives, 1908), G 47

longing to various nations within the border of the Ottoman State, and "Orthodox" was written only in the documents of Bulgarian individuals.

It was decided that only "Muslim" would be written for Muslims regardless of the ethnic origin, and non-Muslims would have written the sects of Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Protestantism which they belonged to regardless of their ethnic group, on the identity cards to be given to the public in Bulgaria. This was submitted to the municipality by the registry office.[54]

During this period, the Turkology movement began to emerge in Europe. Because the West (primarily France, Austria-Hungary, England, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Poland) had plans to reach India and share Asia, it showed great interest in the Turkish world and Turkishness, and as a result, Turkology studies were very influential in political and cultural aspects among the Russian Turks. In their work, Western Turkologists pointed out the richness of Turkish history and the fact that Turks established a civilization before the Ottomans. For example, Charles W. Hostler stated that the person who played the most important role in introducing the Turkist vision in Ottoman Turkey was Léon Cahun. In his book, *Introduction al'Historie de l' Asie*, published in 1896, Léon Cahun explained that Turkish and Mongolian tribes bounded the Chinese and Persian civilizations. In addition, Cahun argued that the Mongols were a noble race and that the Turkish tribe was the same race as the Mongols. However, he emphasized that the Arabs, through the religion of Islam, destroyed the tradition of the Turks, causing them to remain weak; therefore, the dream of building a world empire could not be realized.[55]

These views of Cahun received an enormous reaction from Turkish scholars and influenced Ziya Gökalp, who was the most important intellectual, especially in the field of nationalism, up to the early 20th century. Gökalp mentioned that this book was written to support Turkism. Furthermore, when this book was translated into Turkish and printed, it instantly played a crucial role in the development of Turkism in Turkey.[56] In this period, a genre of writing about nationalism in both prose and poetry started to develop as a view of identity that became dominant among many Ottoman intellectuals, or at least based on it.

The work of such Western Turkologists revealed the richness of the history, language and literary culture of the Turks, and how they were scattered around vari-

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[54] BOA-DH.MKT file, D: 2448 (Istanbul: Ottoman State Archives, 1900), G: 39.

[55] Charles Warren Hostler, *The Turks of Central Asia* (London: Praeger Publisher, 1993), 111.

[56] Hostler, *Turks of Central Asia*, 112.

ous parts of the world. Thus, Western Turkology studies had a great influence on the emergence of Turkist understanding, which did not consider Turkish history to be only composed of Ottoman history but showed that it lead back to pre-Islamic periods.[57]

The Ottoman intellectuals influenced by these studies rediscovered the richness of their language and history and the beauty of their literature, and aimed to recognize other people of the same kind living outside the empire. The interpretations and conclusions are clearly different; however, many historians and linguists turned to revealing centuries and even thousands of years of history, including the histories of other related origins.[58] Nevertheless, the information in the works of these Turkologists in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish intellectuals seeking an ideology to find a solution to prevent downfall played an important role in the rise of the Turkishness consciousness.[59]

Between the late 19th century and the early 20th century, the perception of Turks transformed into an honorable and respectable concept in the sense of race, culture and language, and sections of Turkish history were brought to light. From then on, the Turks living in the empire began to see that their language, literature, history, and culture had both an Ottoman and Turkish heritage. Muslims who spoke Turkish outside the Ottoman Empire were accepted as kin and the idea of Turkish unity was slowly expressed in intellectual and cultural terms.

Anatolia began to gain importance as a homeland for Turks. The role of Turkish language and culture, which was the basis of Turkish nationalism, and the need for these to be developed through revitalization was strengthened. An independent Turkish language concept and the necessary environment for reform of the Turkish language started to be established. Thus, Turkism first showed itself in the aspect of language and accepted Turkish as the official language of Turkism by Article 18 of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 (*Kanun-i Esasi*).

In the beginning, the idea of Turkism was not considered to be an administrative and political system such as Ottomanism or Islamism. During the Westernization period which started with the Tanzimat Reform, all the communities in the state had

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[57] Until 1908, if we look at the progress of the idea of Turkishness and Turkism between the Ottoman Turks, the Ottomans who could be regarded as the first Turkists made their studies and research either transferring literally the works of Western Turcologs or basing their ideas upon them.

[58] Landau, *Panturkism*, 47-49.

[59] Hugh Poulton, *Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent,* trans. Yavuz Alagon (Istanbul: Sarmal Yay, 1999), 107.

become interested in their own origins and became increasingly aware of national consciousness. This, along with the concepts of "returning to one's true self" or "self-discovery", were felt significantly through Turkish people's ideologies. Consequently, Turkism among Turkish intellectuals emerged as a movement and started to gain a large number of supporters.

The idea of a nation (tribe) that arose in Europe and provided the birth of nationalist movements in the 19th century could not have been ignored by Turkish intellectuals and statesmen living in Europe. This thought had attracted the attention of some Ottoman intellectuals who sought to establish a new form beyond the traditional Islamic structure of the state and, therefore, wanted to consolidate ties among all ethnic and religious groups within the empire. Certainly, the foundation of nationalism here was based on the concept of a nation established in a certain region.[60]

However, as the constitutional regime, which was a natural habitat of equality and freedom, was subject to disturbances in domestic and foreign policies, and as Ottomanism policies were experiencing failure in the political scene, the end result was that of great disappointment. This was because while nationalism emerged as a rapidly expanding element in Europe and other nation, it also began to develop in non-Turkish communities within the Empire and caused these minorities to revolt. In fact, not only nations close to Greece and Russia, but also Arabs and Albanians who were Muslims, participated in these movements.[61] As a result of all these developments, it became clear that Turks were the unifying and main factor in the Ottoman Empire.

Ziya Gökalp defines the concept of nation, which emerged as a contradictory subject in Turkey, as a community consisting of individuals brought up in the same way, having the same language, religion, morality and comprehension of arts, by saying "A man wants to be with people that share the same language and religion with him, rather than the same blood."[62] In addition, Gökalp called Turkish nationalism Turkism, not Turanism. The far-off ideal of the Turkists was to unify the Oghuzes, Tatars, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Azeris, and Yakuts under the name of Turan, in literature and culture. For this reason, the understanding of the homeland should be taken into account while investigating what Gökalp wanted to express with the concept of Turan.

Gökalp's understanding of nationalism was shaped during a period of very difficult national struggle. His works clearly reflect one of the most important problems

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[60] David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism* (Istanbul: Fener Yay, 1998),15.

[61] Kushner, 13.

[62] Gökalp, *Principles of Turkism,* 16.

of modern Turkish nationalism. This problem was the question of how to recover the respect and self-confidence of a nation that had been deeply shaken by the situation of the Ottoman Empire, whose power and reputation had been weakening continuously against the West. Indeed, our human personality is not in our body, but in our soul. If our physical characteristics come from our race, our moral superiority comes from the society we were brought up in. He said, "An individual serves the ideal of the society in which he/she was raised.... Having Turkish blood and being of Turkish race is not enough to be considered Turkish. Above all, it is imperative to be brought up with Turkish culture and to serve for Turkish ideal."[63] This teaching of Gökalp created a connection between Atatürk's regime and the Young Turks ideology. For Gökalp, Turkism, Islamism and Modernism were the three ideals that the Turks needed to define their identity and the processes of differentiation operating on the levels of culture and civilization defined the planes on which they must do so.[64]

Ibrahim Kafesoğlu interpreted Gökalp's understanding of Turanism as a desire and hope to establish a Turkish homeland at the level of high civilization mixed directly with national culture and to create a consciousness of Turkishness through science, literature, and philosophy. According to him, Gökalp's Turanism included a cultural mobilization that would guarantee the existence of Turkishness, which would enable the gathering of all Turks on the planet under a single will.[65] Ziya Gökalp, having investigated one by one the various problems of the country in *The Principles of Turkism* (1923) and in his poems collected in *The New Life* (1911) and having written articles on science, culture, history, religion, ethics, the family, women, universities, budget, and the economy became the intellectual-spiritual architect of contemporary and revolutionary Turkey.

There is a very wide literature on Turkism that does not only include texts reflecting intellectual opinions in academic works, magazines, and books, but which is also stated in many different forms. In the works of Ömer Seyfettin (1884-1920),[66] simple

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[63] Mustafa Erkal, "Ziya Gökalp and His Ideas," *Türk Yurdu* 360, no. 14 (1988): 15-18.

[64] Umut Uzer, *An Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism* (Utah: Utah Press, 2016), 238.

[65] İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *The Issues of Turkish Nationalism* (Istanbul: Hamle Yay, 2014), 171.

[66] Ömer Seyfettin (1884-1920), who dedicated himself to the field of Turkish nationalism, was of Caucasian origin and was born in Gonen. During his military career, he influenced Panturkist communities and later focused on literature. He wrote poems and articles for *Genç Kalemler*, *Halka Doğru*, *Türk Yurdu* and *Zeka* magazines and wrote stories for *Yeni Mecmua*, *Büyük Mecmua* and others. Ahmet Bozdoğan, "Ömer Seyfeddin. A Biographical Dictionary of Turkish Literature."
(http://www.turkedebiyatiisimlersozlugu.com/index.php?sayfa=detay&detay=6710)

examples of the multi-directional approach adopted by many in Turkey before World War I can be found.[67] According to him, the Turks, while denying their nationality, adopted the name "Ottoman." However, there was no nation under the name of "Ottoman" in the world. "Ottomanism" was the name given to the state established by the Osmanoğullari, who were Turkish. After identifying the three types of homelands of the Turks as the national, religious and actual homelands, Seyfettin defined the boundaries of the national homeland as follows:

> These are places where Muslims speak Turkish. They are called "the Turan." The Turan belongs to Turks, no matter which state administration they are under. Anatolia is a part of the Turan. As for Istanbul, it is the center of the Turkish Khanate, of which there is only one.[68]

However, he rejected the notion of racism because there were "no pure races" left in the world. Therefore, he thought that examining each individual's heritage and bloodline would serve no purpose. Anyone who spoke Turkish, was a Muslim, had a Turkish upbringing, and lived according to Turkish traditions should be considered a Turk.[69] Seyfettin advocated a complete unity of consciousness through common culture and not through bloodline and ethnicity.

Published in 1904, "Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset" (Three Policies) by Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935) is another important work in the history of Turkism that helped the development of the idea of nationalism in Turkey.[70] The process of transformation of Turkism into a political movement from a cultural movement was revealed for the first time by this article of Akçura, which was first published in Cairo, and later in Istanbul, in 1912. This was due to the fact that until that time, Turkish nationalism, in other words Turkism, had not acquired a political status among the Ottoman Turks. For this reason, this article is also considered "a platform for Turkism."[71] According to Akçura, a nation was a community of individuals formed from the social con-

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[67] Murat Belge, "An Ömer Seyfettin Story," *Radikal Gazetesi*, March 27, 2007.

[68] Ömer Seyfettin, *The Ideal of Turkishness* (Istanbul: Hamle Bas Yay, 1997), 45.

[69] Uzer, *Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism*, 25.

[70] Yusuf Akçura's name is stated as Akçuraoğlu in some sources, Akçurin in Russian, and Akçora occasionally. He officially took the name Yusuf Akçura with the Surname Law in 1934.

[71] Hostler said that "ÜçTarz-ıSiyaset for Turkists bears the same significance as the 1848 Communist Manifesto for the Marxists." Eun Kyung Jeong, "A Historical Review of Panturkism," (MA diss., Kyungsang National University, 2001), 21.

science in connection with the unity of race and language.

Moreover, Akçura pointed out that the various communities of tribes who were citizens of the Ottoman Empire differed greatly from other united nations in terms of nationality. As a clear proof of this, the Tanzimat and New Ottomanism movement set out to be both indefinite and unenlightened in the concept of "nation." This was due to the fact that the Reformists and New Ottomanists knowingly and willingly avoided defining the concept of nation theoretically since it would cause impairment in practicing Ottoman social order, and, therefore, called themselves the "New Ottomanists" within the Turkish linguistic context.[72]

Thus, Turkism and the foundations on which it had been laid emerged as an idea of unifying the Turks living within the borders of multinational empires such as the Russian and Ottoman Empires. The purpose of this movement was for communities suggested or proven to be Turkish to provide cultural and geographical unity among all Turks living inside or outside the Ottoman Empire, and then of the Turkish Republic. Furthermore, it became a matter of nationalism to concentrate on the Turkish factor in the Empire when combined with political Turkism which was advocated by the intellectuals who came to the Ottoman Empire from Russia.

CONCLUSION

The idea of "nation" and the subsequently developing idea of "nationalism," which emerged in a modern sense in the recent period of the history of thought, were shaped in the form of the Turkism movement in Turkey. In 1908, following the Second Constitution, the idea of uniting the Turks started to raise interest among some societies, and Turkism transformed from a political movement into an ideological movement. Those who were not Turkist at the beginning started to adopt this thought in time.

The birth of nationalism among Turks had three main elements. First, Turkism erupted onto the world stage as a response to Pan-Slavism and became an influential intellectual and political movement among Turkish and other Turkic intellectuals towards the late 19th century. The development of the Turkology movement in Europe further strengthened the need to enhance the role of the Turkish language and culture, which was the basis of Turkish nationalism. Turkology studies have revealed the

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[72] Yusuf Akçura, *The History of Turkism* (Istanbul: Kaynak Yay, 1998), 17.

richness of historical, linguistic and literary cultures scattered around the world, and have demonstrated that the Turks are a national community.

Second, Turkism in the Ottoman Empire politically emerged in the late 19th century after the immigration of highly educated Russian Turks who were equipped with able academic bases with respect to intellectual activities. The concept of Turk transformed into an honorable and respectable perception in the sense of race and language, and sections of Turkish history were brought to light and a new perspecticve of Turkish history was conceived.

From then on, Turks living in the empire began to realize that language, literature, history and culture had both Ottoman and Turkish heritage. Muslims who spoke Turkish outside the Ottoman Empire were accepted as kin, and the idea of Turkish unity was expressed in intellectual and cultural terms. Thus, Turkism, the foundation of which was laid, became the movement of concentrating on Turks in the empire when combined with political Turkism which was supported by the intellectuals who came to the Ottoman Empire from Russia. Finally, Turkism among Turkish intellectuals emerged as a movement and started to gain supporters.

Thirdly, the rise of mass-circulation newspapers aided the spread of nationalism. In the late 19th and early 20th century, Turkism spread and materialized through the publication of popular books, journals and newspapers by the intellectual nationalists. Anderson's perception of "print capitalism" is on this concept. Publishing was a business: "the book was the first modern style mass-produced industrial commodity." Anderson's view of print capitalism proves fruitful in illuminating the connections among a number of notable phenomena in late Ottoman society.

The nationalist movements in Turkey can be described as the process of embracing the idea of modernization and their systematic process. This process was a quest for the form of the state that would be established when Turkey gained independence. Therefore, we can consider the nationalist movement in Turkey to be closely involved with the movement that led to the foundation of the state.

A nation is formed by the national identity brought by the national conscience. In Turkey, nationalism transformed from Islamism to multicultural Ottomanism, and later to Turkish nationalism based on patriotism. This movement was born as a self-discovery movement within the multinational structure of the Ottoman Empire, composed of various religions and nations, and it was shaped as Turkism. Muslims who spoke Turkish outside the Ottoman Empire were accepted as citizens, and the idea of Turkish unity was expressed in cultural terms.

Turkish nationalist intellectuals based nationalism on "cultural unity" and mod-

ernization as an idea movement. The emphasized elements were "education" and "culture," which were significantly placed in nationalism, for the nationalist pioneers. Education was there to awaken national consciousness and absorb the philosophy of life and politics. High culture, however, was thought to serve all human beings as an example in real life and as a norm. For this reason, the ideology of nationalism was able to behave differently, without becoming polarized in the form of chauvinism or expansionism. Moreover, Turkey's nationalists, while defending the "self-empowerment" concept, stressed independent economic and industrial development by saying "the country's economy is like the blood vessels that nourish the body and the necessity of preserving and strengthening it is not someone else's problem but of the nation itself."

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