

TURKISH NATIONALISM
IN THE
YOUNG TURK ERA

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
STUDIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

ÉTUDES SOCIALES, ÉCONOMIQUES ET
POLITIQUES DU MOYEN ORIENT

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TURKISH NATIONALISM IN THE YOUNG TURK ERA

BY

MASAMI ARAI



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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

*To my parents,
Tamiko and Masao Arai*

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PREFACE

The transformation of non-Western countries in response to the impact of Western power and culture has undoubtedly been a subject of high popularity. Studies of the transformation have naturally been inclined to measure non-Western countries by the standard of Westernization, since most researchers, including Asian and African scholars, have been educated according to Western standards. I also regarded this viewpoint as a matter beyond debate. Soon after graduating, however, I read a work by Benjamin I. Schwartz, which struck me forcibly.¹ The author opened up the fresh possibility of finding a new aspect of Western civilization, which Western peoples had never perceived, through a Chinese intellectual's highly individual interpretations of the works of writers such as A. Smith, J. S. Mill, H. Spencer, and so on. In such a way, Schwartz implied that we could measure Western civilization through Asian perspectives. I do not insist at all that I can shed a new light, in this present work, on the subject of Westernization or Western civilization itself. I would, however, be happy if my readers would approach the problem discussed in this volume with a global perspective, especially because I will sometimes albeit unwillingly reveal a relatively unsavory aspect of Ottoman Turkish intellectuals.

Asian countries gradually lost their own older civilizations in the course of adopting a foreign one. The adopted civilization, however, has inevitably been influenced by the older ones, and thereby Western civilization as it is found in Asian countries differs from one country to the next. A comparative study of Westernization in Asian countries is therefore needed not only for clarifying the modernization process of Asian countries but also for grasping some characteristics of the Western civilization itself. I have sometimes tried to compare the modern history of Turkey with that of Japan.² However, I am not able to include such a comparative

¹ Benjamin I. Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West*. Cambridge, Mass., 1964.

² Unpublished papers, for example, presented to some symposia in Turkey: "Continuity and Change in Reformist Ideology in Turkey and Japan," *International Symposium on Atatürk*, held on 21-23 September, 1987, at the Atatürk Research Center; "Turkish Students Sent to the West after the *Tanzimat* and the Importance of Study to Them," *International Symposium in Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the Tanzimat*, held on 25-27 December, 1989, at the Turkish National Library (both in Turkish).

study in this volume; that must be the subject of another book.

In completing this work, I was privileged to benefit from the gracious guidance and assistance of many scholars and colleagues. It was Professor Masao Mori who first awakened my interest in the history of Turks and taught me the Turkish language at the University of Tokyo. At the same university, the late Professor Akira Nagazumi, though his field of specialization was the modern history of Indonesia, always encouraged me to study non-Western countries and to write articles about them in foreign languages. Without their guidance, this work could not have been completed.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Jacob M. Landau of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who read my typescript and gave me helpful advice. I wish to express my deepest thanks to him. I owe a debt of deep gratitude to Professors Selim İlkin and M. Şükrü Hanioglu for their friendly assistance. Professor Ömer Faruk Akün of Istanbul University gave me guidance when I was in Turkey for the first time in 1979. From that time onwards, I have continuously received friendly help from Dr. İskender Pala, the author of a recently published encyclopedia on *Divan* literature.³ I offer my warmest thanks to them. Mr. Arslan Kaynardağ and Mr. Gani Yener of Elif Kitabevi in Istanbul generously afforded me assistance which I continue to appreciate. I would also like to show my gratitude to the directors and staff of the following libraries: the Istanbul Municipal Library; Istanbul University Library; Beyazıt National Library; Hakkı Tarık Us Library; the Turkish National Library; the Library of the Turkish Historical Society. Last but not least, special thanks are due to Dr. David Roberts of Osaka University who read the first typescript and made stylistic corrections. Needless to say, although I have benefited from the above mentioned and many other colleagues in completing this book, I alone am responsible for any of its shortcomings.

Of this volume, the third and the fourth chapters are based on papers previously published in *METU Studies in Development* and accepted by *Turcica* respectively. Thanks are therefore due to the editors of those journals for permission to reprint my papers in an enlarged form.

Nara
February 1990

M.A.

³ *Ansiklopedik Dîvân Şiiri Sözlüğü*. 2 vols., Ankara, 1989.

NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION AND PRONUNCIATION

Ottoman script has been rendered into modern Turkish, in accordance with current Turkish scholarly practice.

Some notes on pronunciation may be useful to readers.

- c English j, as in jacket
- ç English ch, as in chair
- ğ lengthens preceding vowel
- ı similar to u, as in radium
- ö German ö, as in Körper
- ş English sh, as in show
- ü German ü, as in Hütte

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>G.K.</i>	<i>Genç Kalemler</i>
<i>İ.M.</i>	<i>İslâm Mecmuası</i>
<i>S.R.</i>	<i>Sebil'ür-Reşat</i>
<i>S.F.</i>	<i>Servet-i Fünûn</i>
<i>S.M.</i>	<i>Sırat-ı Müstakim</i>
<i>T.D.</i>	<i>Türk Derneği</i>
<i>T.Y.</i>	<i>Türk Yurdu</i>

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The French Revolution was the first Western movement that exerted a great influence upon Ottoman intellectuals. The slogan of the revolution, liberty, equality and fraternity, was, however, not transmitted in its exact form to the Ottomans; it was modified, as Bernard Lewis has correctly pointed out,¹ to liberty, equality and nationality.

Namık Kemal (1840–88), the father of Ottoman liberalism, put the word “la Liberté” beside the title of his newspaper *Hürriyet* as the translation of this Turkish word of Arabic origin. He desired to liberate the Ottoman people from the Sultan’s despotism. He tried then to introduce the concept of *meşveret*, or consultation into Ottoman politics.² His liberalist idea led him further to a search for *müsavat*, or equality of man before Islamic law, although his thoughts on equality were naturally restricted to the realm of Islam.³ Kemal was not only a man of politics but also of letters. He contributed greatly to establishing modern Turkish literature. The first Turkish drama was composed by him (*Vatan Yahud Silistre*, 1873), although Şinasi (1824–71) had tried to write one earlier. In addition, Kemal advocated simplifying the literary language according to the spoken style despised as vulgar Turkish (*kaba Türkçe*);⁴ the modern style of Turkish language began to be established as a result.

What incited him to all these activities was undoubtedly the ardent love of his nation, according to his favorite expression, *vatan*, or fatherland. The motive of his first drama was patriotism, as was that of his antidespotism; that is, the source of Kemal’s liberalist activities was his passionate patriotism. Even his advocacy of language simplification can be connected with patriotism, since it originated from his liberalism; Kemal criticized the literary language of the intellectuals because it was so different from the

¹ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. 2nd ed., London, 1968, p. 54.

² For Kemal’s idea of *meşveret*, see his serial: “Wa Shawirhum fi al-amri,” *Hürriyet*, no. 4; “Usûl-i meşverete dair...,” *Hürriyet*, nos. 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, and 22; and also Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*. Princeton, 1962, pp. 287–313.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁴ Namık Kemal, *Bahar-ı Daniş*. 3rd ed., Istanbul, 1311, pp. 8–9.

colloquial style of the common people so that they could not understand the ruling elite at all.⁵

One keystone of the Ottoman liberalist movement, and even of Ottoman history of the latter half of the nineteenth century, was therefore Ottoman patriotism, or the concept of fatherland (*vatan*). Accordingly, we must analyze this concept with care, because it emerged in the course of changes in the Ottoman imperial rule from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards.

By suppressing local leaders, Sultan Mahmut II (1808–39) succeeded in restoring the government's authority in the provinces.⁶ Certainly the concentration of power in central government would make possible the future despotism of Sultan Abdülaziz, but this policy of centralization could lay the foundation for the subsequent series of reforms leading to modernization. The *Tanzimat* (reforms) followed the centralization policy. In the Imperial Rescript of *Gülhane* (1839), the most crucial point for the issue of "nationality" or Ottoman patriotism was the affirmation of the equality of all Ottoman subjects before the law regardless of religion.⁷ This innovation of the Ottoman government that had been indifferent to the domestic affairs of non-Muslim subjects under the *millet* system had a great effect on the Ottoman community; together with a new idea of French origin, the concept of nation, it prepared a new principle of Ottomanism. The principle aimed at creating a free and equal nation like France. National unity would naturally be required. This was the feature of the Ottoman fatherland Namık Kemal loved; Kemal was an ardent patriot longing for liberty and equality of the "Ottoman nation", at least among Muslim subjects.

As is well known, in many countries, even in France that had accomplished nation-building through a slow process centuries long, separatist movements of ethnic groups have emerged. This fact indicates that in the concept of equality there exists a negative aspect demanding the assimilation of minorities. In the Ottoman Empire, the process of nation-building was exceedingly short; problems of nation-building may hence be keenly perceived in the

⁵ *Ibid.*; Ziya Paşa, Kemal's partner in publishing the newspaper *Hürriyet*, wrote that the bureaucrats used artificial language which deviated from the original Turkish and state affairs were accordingly conducted utterly beyond the comprehension of the common people. See Ziya, "Şiir ve İnşa," *Hürriyet*, no. 11, 1868, p. 7; and Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 309.

⁶ For the reforms of Mahmut II, see Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. vol. II, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 1–54, esp. pp. 14–15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 59–61; Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 109.

modern history of the empire. Namık Kemal wrote in 1878 some interesting letters concerning the matter. These letters, addressed to Menemenli Rifat, were written in Lesbos, his place of exile in the Aegean. Concerning the reform of Arabic characters and adoption of Latin letters Kemal wrote on August 30 as follows:

While we must try to annihilate all languages in our country except Turkish, shall we give Albanians, Lazes and Kurds a spiritual weapon by adopting their own characters? ... Language ... may be the firmest barrier—perhaps firmer than religion—against national unity.⁸

and on September 13:

Certainly it is impossible to encourage the spread of our language among Greeks or Bulgarians, but it is surely possible among Albanians and Lazes, namely, Muslims. If we set up regular schools in their countries and carry out the programs which are now not fulfilled, Laz and Albanian languages will be utterly forgotten in twenty years.⁹

Greece had gained her independence in 1829. Bulgaria had received autonomy by the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin in 1878, when Kemal wrote his letters. Under the treaty of Berlin, Rumania, Montenegro and Serbia had proclaimed their independence; Bosnia-Hercegovina was under Austrian occupation. The Ottoman Empire had thereby lost most of his Balkan territories *de facto*; Albania, together with Macedonia, was the only Balkan country that remained under Ottoman rule during that period.

The idea of an Ottoman nation was so brilliant that it would not be easily given up by Ottoman intellectuals. Almost all of the Young Turks displaying antidespotic activities in Europe held this idea too; they regarded the unity of the nation as a matter of course.¹⁰ Even Ahmet Ferit (1877–1971), a closer friend of Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935) who was the author of the first manifesto of Turkish nationalism, “*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*” (Three Ways of Policy, 1904), could not accept the central tenet of his friend’s article: rejection of the idea of an Ottoman nation. Indeed, criticizing another correspondent, Ali Kemal (1867–1922), Ferit supported the framework of the article. He could not, however, approve of the conclusion. The fact was that he justly perceived the nature of

⁸ Fevziye Abdullah Tansel (ed.), *Namık Kemal’in Husûsî Mektupları*. vol. II, Ankara, 1969, p. 231.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹⁰ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi*. Istanbul, n.d. (1981), pp. 209–210.

Ottoman nationalist policy. The purpose of reforms such as *Tanzimat* and Midhat Constitution was, according to him, forming the Ottoman nation; Ottoman government had endeavored to assimilate all subjects within one Turkish nation (*hâkim millet*).¹¹ Ferit then weighed up the policy:

The Ottoman nationalist policy is the most useful and easily followed at present, although it doesn't promise very excellent results for the future.¹²

He understood that an Ottoman government could not protect all "Turkish" borders or subjects, nor could it make Turks of all the subjects that remained within the borders; nevertheless, Ferit had to continue his argument as follows:

We devote our thoughts to pursuing the Ottoman policy, that is, to protecting and assimilating all the subjects that remain under our rule. Those whom we succeed in protecting and assimilating remain among us; those who don't remain leave.¹³

The received wisdom is that the idea of an Ottoman nation was superseded by the emerging Turkish nationalism that dispelled the illusion of that idea. Certainly Yusuf Akçura rejected the policy of an Ottoman nation in his 1904 article and the Turkish nationalist idea acquired great influence over Ottoman politics in the 1910s. However, the reason for the easy conversion of Ottoman intellectuals to Turkish nationalism has not really been clarified. In the present work, accordingly, the development of the Turkish nationalist idea in the Young Turk era will be investigated.

The development of Turkish nationalism was one of the prominent phenomena in the Young Turk era. Existing studies of this subject, however, show a serious deficiency: they do not perceive the difference between the thought of two groups who co-operated in diffusing the nationalist idea, i.e. the Ottoman Turks and immigrants from Russia. The latter directed nationalist movements to free themselves from czarist rule prior to their emigration to the Ottoman Empire. In the Ottoman Empire, as we have seen, there was the brilliant idea of an Ottoman nation, which aimed at construction of a pseudo-nation-state from among various subjects of the multi-national empire. This leads to another key to the solution of the problem. There were two aspects in Turkish nationalism: the search for a national Turkish identity which among

¹¹ Ahmet Ferit, "Bir Mektup," in *Üç Tarz -i Siyaset*. Istanbul, 1327, pp. 51–55.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Ottoman Turks had been lost for a long time; and the construction or reinforcement of a social unity by the awakened Turks. The former aspect was common to every nationalist. However, in 1923, Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924) enumerated three principles as the goals of Turkish nationalism: *Türkiyacılık*, *Oğuzculuk* (*Türkmencilik*) and *Turancılık*.¹⁴ If the principles could be so variable even after the Liberation War, we must carefully examine the second aspect of nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The most effective means for comprehending the ideas of nationalists of these two groups is to analyze the periodicals they issued. Study of these periodicals has generally been regarded as a subject for literary scholars. But actually, they can contribute toward history and even political science studies.¹⁵ In this work, four main periodicals will be analyzed: *Türk Derneği* (Turkish Association), *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens), *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) and *İslâm Mecmuası* (Islamic Review). In addition, the organization process of nationalist students studying in Switzerland will also be investigated; in the course of the investigation, we will gain some new clues to the foundation of the *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth), the most important nationalist organization in the Young Turk era.

¹⁴ Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*. Ankara, 1923, p. 25.

¹⁵ Some Turkish researchers have recently succeeded in using periodicals in their studies on history. See Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de “Millî İktisat” (1908–1918)*. Ankara, 1982; and Hanioglu, *Abdullah Cevdet*.

CHAPTER TWO

TÜRK DERNEĞİ

Yusuf Akçura moved to Istanbul in November, 1908, just four months after the Young Turk Revolution.¹ He had striven mightily, but in vain, for Muslim-Turkic rights under czarist rule, after the Russian 1905 Revolution in particular;² he consequently decided to emigrate to the capital of the Ottoman Empire in which freedom of the press had been permitted since July, 1908. Seeking a new light for the nationalist movement, he was able to set up an organization named *Türk Derneği*, or the Turkish Association, at the end of the year.³ This was a noteworthy organization not only as the first nationalist organ in the Young Turk era but also as a joint body of Turks both inside and outside the Ottoman Empire.

In spite of its significance, *Türk Derneği* has almost been ignored, with the exception of the works of Jacob M. Landau and Ağah Sırrı Levend. J. M. Landau has regarded the Association, in his extensive study on Pan-Turkism, as an organ of cultural Pan-Turkism; he also qualified the members as Pan-Turkists.⁴ A. S. Levend has referred to the Association from the standpoint of the development of Turkish language. He attached, however, little value to the Association, since, he thought, it had no fundamental principle; there even seemed to be discord among its members.⁵ However, in reality, one must find the significance of the Association in this very discord, since, as indicated above, there were two groups striving to diffuse the nationalist idea. What is perceived at first glance as

¹ Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, *Türk Yılı: 1928*. Istanbul, 1928, p. 435.

² For Akçura's activities prior to his emigration to Istanbul, see François Georgeon, *Aux origines du nationalisme turc: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)*. Paris, 1981, pp. 12-40; Serge A. Zenkovsky, *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia*. Cambridge, Mass., 1960, (2nd impression, 1967), pp. 38-54.

³ Akçura recorded, in his extensive research on the history of Turkish nationalism, that the statute of the Association was issued on December 25. (Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 435.) On the other hand, in the seal of the Association's headquarters, there can be seen the date of 13 *Zilhicce*, 1326, under the name of the Association. ("Şübelerimize," *T.D.*, V, p. 168.) F. Tevetoğlu has judged accordingly that the date of foundation was January 6, 1909. (Fethi Tevetoğlu, *Müftüoğlu Ahmed Hikmet*. Ankara, 1986, p. 80; id., *Hamdullah Subhi Tanrıöver*. Ankara, 1986, p. 83.)

⁴ Jacob M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism in Turkey: A Study of Irredentism*. London, 1981, pp. 38-39.

⁵ Ağah Sırrı Levend, *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri*. 3rd ed., Ankara, 1972, pp. 300-303.

discord may therefore be a symptom of the two currents of Turkish nationalism. Consequently, detailed study of the Association, and especially of its journal, will necessarily expose the character of the members, and more, the currents of nationalism.

FOUNDATION OF *TÜRK DERNEĞİ*

Immediately after settling in Istanbul, Akçura visited two widely known Turcologues with whom he had been acquainted since his school days: Necip Âsım ([Yazıksız], 1861–1935) and Velet Çelebi ([İzbudak], 1869–1950). He told them of his wish to organize a cultural, and non-political, nationalist movement; he requested them to guide the movement. Toward the end of the year, Akçura called them and other outstanding intellectuals of nationalist leanings to the office of Mehmet Celâl, the director of the Civil Service School (*Mülkiye Mektebi*). They decided there to set up an association named *Türk Derneği*; its statute was issued on December 25.⁶

The first article of the statute defined the Association as completely scientific.⁷ The second declared that the purpose of the Association was to research past and present monuments, activities and situations of all ethnic groups (*kavimler*) regarded as Turks and to spread the fruits of this research all over the world; in addition, the article stated, the Association was to accomplish a reform in the Turkish language.⁸ The Association therefore reflected, at least in part and in the beginning, Akçura's idea, "the unity of Turks" (*tevhid-i Etrak*) in his 1904 article, "Three Ways of Policy" (*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*). In order to achieve its aims, the Association would arrange public lectures, and issue its journal and pamphlets.⁹

⁶ For the foundation of *Türk Derneği*, see Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 435; Tevetoğlu, *Ahmed Hikmet*, p. 78.

⁷ "«Türk Derneği» adlı merkezi İstanbul'da olmak üzere sırf ilim ile uğraşır bir cemiyet kurulmuştur." ("Türk Derneği Nizamnamesi," *S.M.*, XXI (1st year), January 14, 1909, p. 331.)

⁸ "Cemiyetin maksadı Türk diye anılan bütün kavimlerin mazi ve haldeki âsar, ef'al, ahvalini ve muhitini öğrenmeye ve öğretmeye çalışmak yani Türklerin âsar-ı atikasını, tarihini, lisanlarını, avam ve havas edebiyatını, etnografya ve etnologi-yasını, ahval-i ictimaiye ve medeniyet-i hazıralarını, Türk memleketlerinin eski ve yeni coğrafyasını araştırıp tarıştırıp ortaya çıkararak bütün dünyaya yayıp tanıtmak, ayrıca da dilimizin açık, sade, güzel, ilim lisanı olabilecek surette geniş ve medeniyete elverişli bir dereceye gelmesine çalışmak ve imlâsını ana göre tedkik etmektir." (*ibid.*)

⁹ Akçura gave a lecture on Genghis Khan, later published in the journal *Türk Yurdu*; pamphlets by Necip Âsım on an old Turkic inscription and by Bursalı Mehmet Tahir on Turks' contributions to sciences were published. (See Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 436.)

An analysis of the members can facilitate grasping the Association's character. In the third issue of the journal, bearing the same name as the Association itself, there appeared a list of members as of publication day (Table 1).¹⁰ The table shows that the leading intellectuals of the day, including teaching staff from Istanbul University, formed the greater part of the forty-two members of the Association, which fact demonstrates the Association's cultural and scientific character. Fuat Raif, appointed as the president, is better known as Fuat Köseraif (1872–1949), a son of Köse Raif Paşa.¹¹ Since Turkish nationalism had not been so widespread, the actual founder of the first nationalist organization, that is Akçura, had to proceed cautiously. He emphasized the organization's non-political character; furthermore, the presidency was thus assumed by a man from the Establishment, and the organization had Prince Yusuf İzzettin for honorary president.¹²

After the foundation, some foreign Turcologues like V. Gordlevski joined the Association and contributed their articles to the journal. Those Turks who were in or from Russia, like İ. Gasprinski, held membership too. Six personalities other than those recorded in Table 1 contributed to the journal *Türk Derneği*: Celâl Sahir, Mehmet Salih, Ömer Halis, Mişeroğlu Zarif Beşri, Baron Carra de Vaux, and another having the initial "A. R.". Accordingly, there seemed to be some sympathizers with the Association not recorded in the table; Akçura stated the number of paying members amounted to sixty-three.¹³

Branches were also opened in Rusçuck, Izmir, Kastamonu, and Budapest. The president of the Budapest branch was Ignacz Kunos.¹⁴ The number of members of the Izmir and Kastamonu branches were respectively just fourteen and twelve; the greater part of these were local officials.¹⁵

¹⁰ The organ was undated. Akçura stated that the organ was first published in 1911 and the last issue's publication was just before the foundation of the journal *Türk Yurdu*, i.e. November of that year. Furthermore, he confessed that the Turkish Association could not publish its journal, *Türk Derneği*, once a month. The publication day of the third issue of *Türk Derneği* was accordingly at latest—perhaps earlier than—July, 1911.

¹¹ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, pp. 369–371; and see also the article "Köseraif, Fuad," in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5, Istanbul, 1982, pp. 420–421. His field of specialization was linguistics; he contributed many articles on Turkish language to the journal *Türk Derneği* under the pseudonyms of "R. M. Fuat", "R. M. F.", and "R. F."

¹² "Bugün Türk Derneği'nde Âzâ Bulunan Zatlar," *T.D.*, III, p. 103.

¹³ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, pp. 435–436.

¹⁴ "Şübelerimiz," *T.D.*, V, p. 167.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 164–165.

Table 1
Members of the Turkish Association (Türk Derneği)

Name	Occupation
* <u>Necip Âsim</u> (<i>Vice-President</i>)	Lieutenant Colonel; Professor of Linguistics
* Ahmet Midhat	Professor of General History
* <u>Velet Çelebi</u> (<i>Editor of the Journal</i>)	Professor of Persian Language
<u>Ahmet Hikmet</u>	Professor of Ottoman Literature
* <u>Akçura[oğlu] Yusuf</u> (<i>Secretary-General</i>)	Teacher of Political History at the Military Academy, and the School of Civil Service
* [Korkmazoğlu] Celâl	Governor of Erzurum
* Ârif	Member of the Historical Society
* [<u>Bursalı Mehmet</u>] Tahir	Assemblyman
* Boyacıyan Agop	Vice-Chairman of Department of Mathematics and Natural Science at Istanbul University
* Emrullah	Assemblyman; Professor of Philosophy
* <u>Fuat Raif</u> (<i>President</i>)	Commander of the First Artillery Regiment
* <u>Akyığıtzade Musa</u>	Teacher of Russian Language at the Military Academy
* Rıza Tevfik	Assemblyman; Professor of Ottoman History of Literature
<u>İspartalı Hakkı</u>	Writer
<u>Maan Mahmut Nedim</u> (<i>Cashier; Journal Manager</i>)	Adjutant Major
Âkif	Cavalry Captain
Nurettin	Assemblyman
<u>Vladimir Gordlevski</u>	Teacher at the Oriental Languages School in St. Petersburg
<u>Rahip Karaçun</u>	Hungarian Orientalist
İsmail Hakkı	Lawyer
Rıza Paşa	Assemblyman
İzzet	Chief of the Third Quartermaster Corps of the Fifth Army
<u>Mustafa Zühdü</u> (<i>Vice-Secretary</i>)	Teacher of Economics at Law School and of Statistics at the School of Civil Service
Ahmet Refik	Military Writer; Captain
<u>Mehmet Ayaz [İshaki]</u>	Writer
<u>[Mehmet] Emin</u>	Nationalist Poet
<u>Mahmut Cevat</u>	Library Inspector of the Education Ministry
<u>Antvan Tıngır</u>	Linguist
<u>Çanakaleli Âtuf</u>	Gendarme Lieutenant
<u>Milashlı Doktor İsmail</u> Vasili Vasiliyeviç Vodovozov	Owner of the Newspaper <i>Teceddüt</i> (Living in St. Petersburg)
Hüseyin Cahit	Assemblyman
Ömer Fevzi	Assemblyman
Ahmet Hilmi	(Living in Eğin)

(continued on p. 10)

Table 1 continued

Name	Occupation
Mehmet Masum	Teacher at a High School in Rusçuk
İsmail Gasprinski	Owner of the <i>Tercüman</i>
Mehmet Şahtahtinski	Writer
Nasip Yusufbekov	Writer
Necip	Scholar in Izmir
Halil	Adjutant Major
Doktor Hazik	
<u>Saffet</u>	Lieutenant Commander

Source: "Bugün Türk Derneği'nde Âzâ Bulunan Zatlar," *Türk Derneği*, III, pp. 103–104.

* Asterisks show the founding members listed in Yusuf Akçura's work. (Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, *Türk Yılı: 1928*. Istanbul, 1928, p. 435.) Mehmet Emin was reportedly absent from Istanbul when the founding members were assembled in the School of Civil Service. (See Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, *Türk Yılı*, p. 436.) Ahmet Ferit, whom Akçura listed as a founding member, was not recorded in this table. The reason is unexplained.

** The names of those who contributed article(s) or poem(s) to the journal are underlined.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE JOURNAL *TÜRK DERNEĞİ*

The journal *Türk Derneği*, which includes many articles of Turcology, has been utterly ignored because of the infinite variety of its contents. Certainly its variety cannot persuade readers to consider it as the journal of an organization pursuing a single object. But anyone who aims at comprehending the character of the Association, and further, the trends of Turkish nationalism, must value such variety. Hence, I classify all the articles and poems in the journal by subject: the present situation of the Ottoman country; past events relating to the country; the present situation of Central Asia; past events relating to Central Asia (Table 2). The classification is, needless to say, based on the principle of distinguishing the thoughts of Ottomans from those of immigrants from Russia.

1 *The Present Situation of the Ottoman Country (Type A)*

I – ⑤ Ahmet Hikmet, "Our Language" (Continued to II – ②)

The author criticized the present condition of Ottoman-Turkish: it contained many Arabic and Persian words so that the common people could not read any books or newspapers; government officials and even Grand Vezirs occasionally met with incomprehensible sentences. Furthermore, Ottoman-Turkish was lacking in national feeling (*milliyet duygusu*). This was crucial since, he argued, in such

Table 2
Classification of Articles and Poems Published in the Journal Türk Derneği

Subject	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Others
I	(5)(10)	(3)(4)	(7)		(1)(2)(6)(8)(9)(11)
II	(2)(3)(5)	(1)(6)	(3)(5)	(7)	(8)
III	(1)(4)(7)	(6)	(1)	(3)	(2)(5)(8)(9)
IV	(2)(3)(5)(7)	(1)(6)	(7)	(4)	
V	(1)(2)(3)(4)(10)	(5)		(6)(7)	(8)(9)(11)(12)(13)
VI	(1)(5)(6)(7)	(3)	(5)	(4)	(2)(8)(9)
VII	(1)(4)	(5)	(6)(7)	(3)	(2)(8)

Type A: The present situation of the Ottoman territory.

Type B: Past events relating to the Ottoman territory.

Type C: The present situation of Central Asia.

Type D: Past events relating to Central Asia.

* Article numbers are equivalent to those in the table of contents in our appendices. (See below pp. 98–100)

** Articles and poems of which themes are related to both inside and outside the Ottoman territory are double-listed in Type A and C.

*** Those whose themes include both present and past events are listed in the present section, i.e. Type A and C.

conditions, a nation could not appear from among various elements forming the Ottomans (*Osmanlılık*). He proposed then to revive common Turkish which had been despised as vulgar Turkish (*kaba Türkçe*) but was understandable to the common people. He also directed his notice to Anatolian peasants, speakers of the “vulgar” Turkish. Thus, the mentality of Ottoman patriotism was surely compatible with that of Turkish nationalism in this *nationalist*'s article. It was noteworthy too that the author touched neither Turkic languages other than Ottoman-Turkish, nor ancient Turkic.

I – (10) R. F., “Accent in Ottoman-Turkish” (Continued to II – (4))

Beginning with the definition of accent, the author explained the accent in monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and loan words.

II – (5) (Double-listed in Type C)

III – (1) Ahmet Hikmet, “Entreaty”

Hikmet entreated God, in this poem, to protect and rescue Turks who had been fighting for Islam since their conversion, even though they worshiped in ancient times the sun and the moon. In contrast with his preceding article on Turkish language, he preferred pure, or ancient Turkish to the “vulgar” language. He used the words “*Tanrı*”, “*Oğun*”, “*Yalavaç*” and “*kim*”, for example, in

place of “Allah”, “Peygamber” and “ki”; he put seven footnotes for explaining the meanings of these “new” words. This poetry could be thus regarded as a forerunner of the “pure Turkish” (*öz Türkçe*) in the Republican era.

III –④ Mehmet Emin, “At Turkomans’ Tents, or Industry”

The national poet (*millî şair*) Emin uncharacteristically wrote an interesting essay on economics. He began this essay by describing a scene where nomads sheared sheep at their summer camp in Karagöl, and ended the description with a boy questioning his mother, “What will be made from the big load of wool dad took away?” and mother’s answer: “I don’t know.” Then, the poet answered the question: “From that load, fezzes that we, Ottomans, wear, and your mother’s shawl will be made. Turbans and shirts are made from cotton you cultivate.” Who makes them? “Europeans. They buy raw materials we cultivate and process them in their factories, and then sell the products to us.” Why don’t we produce these things? “Because we have been living as soldiers. We earned our living by collecting revenues and booties, and consequently we hated the idea of industry or commerce. Nevertheless, we must now produce all things we use and thereby rescue ourselves.” Ottoman-Turkish nationalists hardly referred to socio-economic matters at the time this essay was written, which is what makes it so unusual.

III –⑦ Mahmut Maan, “Adjective for Praise”

The author blamed Ottomans for their excessive use of diffuse adjectives, and urged them to write clearer sentences.

IV –② R. M. F. “Chant for Union”

Raif Fuat praised, in this poem, the abolition of despotism and the rising of the new sun, i.e. constitutionalism. He urged his compatriots (*vatandaş*) on to go ahead in unison, using the term “we are Ottomans” (*Osmanlıyız*).

IV –③ Mehmet Emin, “To Executioners of Culture”

This was also a poem applauding the Young Turk Revolution, with the subtitle “Dear Halil Bey, one of the conquerors of July 10”.¹⁶ The national poet affirmed that the Revolution broke out to overthrow the despot suppressing freedom of the press and speech.

IV –⑤ R. M. Fuat, “Prosody in Turkish” (Continued to V –④, VI –⑥, and VII –④)

Advocating studies of Turkish prosody for composing poetry like

¹⁶ Needless to say, the Revolution broke out on July 10, 1908. This poem would be republished, with some modifications, in the journal *Türk Yurdu*. (Mehmet Emin, “On Temmuzdan Evvel,” *T.Y.*, IV/8, p. 641.)

Mehmet Emin's, Raif Fuat made a study of the subject.¹⁷

IV –⑦ İspartalı Hakkı, "Simplification of Turkish"

The author proposed the simplification of Ottoman-Turkish, a literary language thoroughly apart from the colloquial style and Turkishness (*Türklük*). The reform was, according to him, not so difficult: a single word was enough to express a concept; for example, *şems* being Arabic origin must be abandoned since there was a Turkish word *güneş* for expressing the sun. But he did not touch on reform of technical terms, nor did he deny the possibility of reviving ancient words forgotten, although he rejected a return to ancient Uighur. However, he did not reject either the unification in language with Turkic peoples in Central Asia. His idea was thus poorly-considered and obscurely expressed.

V –① *Türk Derneği*, "To the Glorious War Ministry"

In the beginning, the Association's assertion was confirmed as follows: since the constitution was made, all Ottomans had been unified in thought, hope, and being, so language must also be unified and simplified. Then, the Association valued, with gratitude, the War Ministry's determination to give provisions their simpler, Turkish names, and requested the Ministry to enlarge the policy.

V –② *Türk Derneği*, "Dear Senator, Besarya"

The senator was praised because he proposed, at the Senate, that any address to the Sultan must be presented in simple Turkish comprehensible to all Ottomans. It is worth noting that the author regarded the Turkish language as the means for the mutual recognition and unification of various elements of "our fatherland".

V –③ R. M. Fuat, "Entreaty of Nation"

Fuat entreated God, in this poem, to protect the Sultan and to prolong his sultanate.¹⁸

V –⑩ "New Letter and Alphabet"

This was a notice of the new alphabet designed by Milâslı Doktor İsmail Hakkı, a member of the Association.

VI –① *Türk Derneği*, "Your Excellency Grand Vezir"

The Association applied for the reform in language: e.g., simplifi-

¹⁷ Contrary to the accepted wisdom, Raif Fuat, the "purist", published no article concerning the purification of Turkish in the journal *Türk Derneği*. (Cf. Sakin Öner's note in Yusuf Akçura, *Türkçülük: Türkçülüğün Tarihi Gelişimi*. Istanbul, 1978, p. 240.) His article on the purification would appear in the *Türk Yurdu*. (Raif Mehmet Fuat, "Türk Dilini Sadeleştirmek Meselesi," *T.Y.*, V/12, pp. 1209–1215; VI/1, pp. 2058–2063.)

¹⁸ For the significance of the sultanate in Ottomans' political, even in antigovernment movements, see M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi*. Istanbul, n.d. [1981], pp. 216–217.

cation of honorific titles, and adoption of phonetic orthography.
VI –⑤ Antvan Tıngır, “Orthographies Used up to the Present in Turkish”

The author minutely explained the orthographies of Turkish words, mainly contemporary ones, according to their syllabic structure.

VI –⑦ Milâşlı İsmail Hakkı, “The *Tasvir-i Efkâr* and Our Alphabet”

This was the response to the criticism by the newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkâr* of the new alphabet the author designed. The criticism was directed first to the uncomfortable possibility of the Ottomans’ separation from other Muslim peoples on the occasion of adopting the new letters. İsmail Hakkı answered in an “optimistic” manner, which was peculiar, in some degree, to Ottomans: he asserted that the new letters must be adopted by all Muslims and they would be willing to accept the letters of Ottomans who were supporting the Caliph. The second point of the criticism was that the low rate of literacy was the fault of the education system, not the letters themselves. But, according to the author, the essential reason for the Ottomans’ low rate of literacy was the language itself. There was no letter for vowels; a cursive form of writing was used. He accordingly designed a new system of letters having vowel marks and written separately. His real intention in proposing the new letters was to prevent the adoption of the Latin alphabet by reforming the Arabic one. Furthermore, he did not mind the naturalization of Arabic and Persian words and styles. He might intend to protect the present condition of language, or at least, to prevent radical reforms.¹⁹

VII –① Antvan Tıngır, “Reform of Letters, Determination of Orthography, and Simplification of Sentence Structure”

The author pointed out the problems of each matter, and proposed to entrust these matters to specialists.

Now that the examination of Type A items has been conducted, the great significance of the language issue becomes clear: all the items except four poems, III –①, IV –②, IV –③, and V –③, and Mehmet Emin’s essay, III –④, discussed the subject of Turkish language; all the articles discussing the subject advocated the simplification of Ottoman-Turkish, except three scholarly writings on accent, prosody and orthography of Turkish (I –⑩, IV –⑤, VI –⑤), and one explaining objectively the

¹⁹ İsmail Hakkı’s new letters would also be mentioned in the journal *Türk Yurdu* by İspartalı Hakkı. (“Harflerimizin Islâhı” *T.Y.*, 1/9, pp. 276–280.)

need of language reform (VII –①). This was certainly in accord with one purpose of the Association as stated in its statute.²⁰ However, the fundamental principle of simplification could not be established. Ahmet Hikmet, for example, urged, in one article, the simplification of Ottoman-Turkish to resemble the spoken style of the common people, referring to neither ancient Turkic nor Central Asian Turkic languages. He used, however, in another poem, “pure” words needing footnotes for comprehension. Furthermore, some contributors such as Milâşlı İsmail Hakkı, did not necessarily support the simplification of language, although he asserted the need to reform Arabic characters.

The crucial point is that the idea of Ottoman nation was firmly offered in some articles of this type. The purpose of the simplification of Turkish was, according to the authors of such articles as I –⑤ and V –②, the unification of different ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire. Poems, IV –② and IV –③, applauded the Young Turk Revolution, and IV –②, in particular, advocated the unity of all the Ottomans. In contrast to these patriotic sentiments, contributors of Type A items did not refer to Turkic peoples outside the Empire with the exception of İspartalı Hakkı, who touched briefly on the possibility of unity in language with Turkic peoples in Central Asia.

2 Past Events Relating to the Ottoman Country (Type B)

I –③ Velet Çelebi, “Turkish Poems of His Excellency Sultan Velet”

The author researched into Turkish poems composed by Sultan Velet, the successor of the founder of the Mevlevî order, Cemalettin Rûmî. This was the first step of his study of this subject, which would result in the publication of *Dîvân-ı Türki-i Sultan Velet* in 1925. I –④ Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, “Âşık Paşa”

Searching after the oldest pure Turkish, the author met with Âşık (Ali) Paşa (1272?-1333) and explained his life and poems.

II –⑥ Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, “Hibrî Ali Efendi”

Tahir studies this time the life and works of a *ulema* of the 17th century. While he enumerated seven works in this article, he would afterward add three works in his *Osmanlı Müellifleri*.²¹

III –⑥ Doktor Karaçun, “Biography of Peçevî İbrahim”

A Hungarian orientalist introduced an Ottoman historian of

²⁰ See note 8.

²¹ Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*. vol. 1, Istanbul, 1333, pp. 278-279.

Hungarian origin, referring to his *History of Peçevî (Tarih-i Peçevî)*. IV –⑥ Saffet, “Historical Geography of the Ottoman Country” (Continued to V –⑤, VI –③, and VII –⑤)

The author, one of the members of the Ottoman Historical Society (*Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni*), studied the historical geography of the Mediterranean and the Aegean regions. He surveyed first the natural condition and history from classical times, and then made a list, with explanations, of names of places in each region, classifying them into three divisions: ancient names, names in the Western languages, and those in Ottoman-Turkish. The work was not completed although the author wrote “to be continued” in the seventh issue, the last issue of the journal *Türk Derneği*.

As seen above, all the articles in Type B were scholarly works of quality; Velet Çelebi and Bursalı Tahir, for example, would publish valuable works of which preliminaries were begun in the journal.

3 *The Present Situation of Central Asia (Type C)*

I –⑦ Necip Âsım, “Numerals in Turkic Languages”

At first, the author, a widely-known Turcologue, stated that Hungarian numerals *ezer*, or thousand, *szaz*, or hundred, and *tiz*, or ten, were of Persian origin. The reason was, the author said, the similarity in pronunciation. Then, he selected various numerals at random and formed the conclusion, through similar procedures, that Turkish, Chuvash, Yakut, and Lappish languages had the same origin.

II –③ Akyiğitoğlu Musa, “Proverbs in Kazan Dialect”

Two proverbs in Kazan dialect were analyzed. The author showed the Ottoman equivalents of every word and suffix in these proverbs to conclude that Kazan dialect preserved the older style of the Turkish language. The object of this study was to demonstrate the unity of Ottoman Turks and Kazan Tatars.

II –⑤ M. Zühdü, “The Rule of Vowel Harmony”

The author reported the discovery of the rule of vowel harmony, which demonstrated the relationship having the same origin among Turkish, Hungarian, Finnish, and Mongolian languages; they were called Ural-Altaiic. He then explained the rule, chiefly according to Radloff, using the term in Persian style, *kanun-ı ahenk*, instead of Turkish style, *ahenk kanunu* adopted as the title.

III –①, IV –⑦, and VI –⑤ are double-listed in Type A.

VII –⑥ Ömer Halis, “A Poem in Turkish”

This was an ardent poem beginning with the line: Turks should

perceive their territory and history.²² According to the poet, the territory of Turks was:

Crimea, Caucasia, Kirghizia, Kharezmi, Bukhara and Turkestan.
Kazan, Kashgar, Ferghana, Shirvan, Azerbaijan Dagestan.

Furthermore, footprints of Oghuz Khan could be found in China and India. Turks should perceive the reason for the division of their vast territory. Those who could not comprehend their history could never release themselves from slavery. "Let us learn to rise by knowing each other and by striving."²³

VII – ⑦ Mişeroğlu Zarif Beşri, "Chuvash Peoples"

The daily life of the Chuvash, one of the forgotten peoples, was introduced in detail. The object of the report was, of course, to prove them to be members of the Turkic nation. The orthography used was extremely phonetic and dialectal; e.g., *etmak* and *anlataçak*.

Although the number of articles was inconsiderable, Type C articles are, as we have seen, distinctly pan-Turkic oriented. The advocacy was rooted in the authors' native places. Akyığıtoğlu Musa (1865–1923) was a story-writer and thinker of Kazan origin. The author of the report on Chuvash peoples was a Tatar of the Volga valley, as shown by his name "Mişeroğlu".²⁴ Mustafa Zühdü [İnhan] was an Ottoman born in Philippopolis in 1881; he studied at the Civil Service School (*Mülkiye*). However, he afterward went to Russia where he became acquainted with Yusuf Akçura and worked at a German bank in St. Petersburg.²⁵ Certainly, Necip Âsım was an Ottoman too. Nevertheless, his home town was on the Turco-Arab frontier; that is Kilis. Living among Arabic-speaking Muslims who despised Turks, he developed his national pride as a Turk.²⁶ He translated into Turkish Léon Cahun's work, which exerted great influence upon the rise of Turkish nationalism;²⁷ he also published some books on ancient Turkic inscriptions. There is no information about the author of the ardent poem, Ömer Halis. He wrote down, however, his residence in front of his signature: Trabzon, Ortasaray. If he lived in this port, which was open to Russia, he could be assumed to be Russian origin, especially

²² Türk illerin Türk tarihin bilmek gerek Türklere.

²³ Tanışarak, çalışarak yükselmeği bilelim.

²⁴ For Mişer, see Alexandre Bennigsen et Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay, *La presse et le mouvement national chez les musulmans de russie avant 1920*. Paris, 1964, p. 77.

²⁵ Georgeon, *Origines*, p. 130, n.3.

²⁶ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 356.

²⁷ Léon Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*. Paris, 1896; Necip Âsım, *Türk Tarihi*. Istanbul, 1316.

judging from his grammatical peculiarity.²⁸ All the articles in Type C were therefore written by those from, or at least having great interest in, Russia. In Russian territory, nationalists had been striving for Muslim-Turkic rights; they searched for the unity of Muslim-Turkic subjects to attain their objectives. The articles advocated the unity of Turks as a result.

4 *Past Events Relating to Central Asia (Type D)*

II – ⑦ Necip Âsım, “The Paradise of Good Fortune” (Continued to III – ③)

The title was the name of a Chagatai chronicle of the Khiva Khanate. The nationalist historian first surveyed the history of Khiva from the Uzbeks’ going south of the steppe to the relation between the khanate and the Ottoman Empire under the reign of Mahmut II. Then he explained the contents of the chronicle and expressed his wish that the Association would publish it.

IV – ④ Carra de Vaux, “The Etrurian Inscription of Torre di San Mano”

This was a contribution by a widely-known French Islamist with Turkish translation and short comment by Antvan Tıngır. Annotating word by word an ancient inscription found in Italy, the author pointed out the relation between Etrurian and Turkic as evidenced in Chagatai, Yakut, and Uighur.

V – ⑥ Kazanlı Ayaz, “Short History of Tatar Literature”

The author, Kazanlı Ayaz, must be identified as Mehmet Ayaz İshakî (1878–1954). It was not clear, according to him, what the state of Tatar literature was in 1552 when the Kazan Khanate was absorbed into Russian Empire, since, according to İshakî, Russians burnt all the books, killed *ulemas* and banished Muslims from the town, and destroyed mosques and Muslim schools. Starting excitedly in this manner, the author afterwards asserted that Tatars began to strive for Islamic wisdom in eighteenth century and consequently Tatar literature entered into the new age. In proof of this statement, he quoted works of Abdulkaium an-Nasirî.

V – ⑦ Y. Akçuraoğlu, “A Newly Excavated Ancient Turkic Castle Town”

²⁸ See note 22. The given name of General Bıyıktaı, the author of some historical works, in particular on the history of war in Iran and Central Asia is Ömer Halis. We have regrettably no information on the relation between General Bıyıktaı and the author of the poem. The masterpieces of General Bıyıktaı are as follows: *1827–1828 Rus-İran Harbi*. İstanbul, 1933; *Yedi Yıl Harbi İçinde Timurun Anadolu Seferi ve Ankara Savaşı*. İstanbul, 1934.

This was a report on the remains of Khara Khoto newly excavated by Kozlov. Describing graphically the state of remains, Akçura naturally regarded the castle town of Tanguts as Turkish. VI –④ Necip Âsım, “The Archeological Exploration at Turfan”

Necip Âsım translated von Le Coq’s article, which had originally appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*.²⁹

Articles of Type D were written for showing the monuments which Turks left in Central Asia. Like those of Type C, however, they must be judged to be somewhat romantic rather than rational, in comparison with articles of Type B in particular.

5 Others

This section includes some items declaring the Association’s policy.

I –② “Declaration of the Turkish Association”

Citing the Ottoman constitution, which was “the warrant for the freedom and unity of Ottomans”, the declaration affirmed the following matter: all members of the Ottoman nation (*millet-i Osmaniye*) admitted that Ottoman-Turkish, a product of Turks and a cohesive force (*kuvve-i lusukiye*—cohésion) for binding and uniting the members and their countries, must be spread among all Ottomans although the Ottoman nation comprised various members each of which rightly felt pride because of its genealogy and ethnic virtue. This was the same idea as the Ottoman nation policy which Yusuf Akçura had rejected in his 1904 article. Even the term of *millet-i Osmaniye* was adopted in the declaration of the Association, the actual founder of which was Akçura himself.

The declaration confessed the low level of generalization of Ottoman-Turkish but rejected the common idea that Turkish was difficult to learn; in order to disprove this notion once and for all it was necessary to clarify the essence of the language. In order to do that it was necessary to research the history of the language. This was one reason for establishing the Association. Then the declaration announced the Association’s policy of fourteen articles, which can be summarized as follows:

1. The Association will popularize knowledge of Turkish among all Ottomans by introducing every research on Turkish conducted in both the West and the East. In the course of this process, the simplification of Turkish will be investigated.
2. Studies of sociology, ethnology, and archaeology, which are the

²⁹ von Le Coq, “Exploration archéologique à Tourfan,” *Journal Asiatique*, X^e série, XIV, 1909, pp. 321–334.

complements of linguistics, will also be promoted.

3. The Association will strive to revive Turkish classic works.

4. The Association will publish books suitable to the century of evolution, in order to complete the education of all Turks, whether they are independent or not.

5. The Association will endeavor to encourage the use of Ottoman-Turkish among foreign peoples. At first, Turks in the Balkan states, Austria, Russia, Iran, Africa, Central Asia and China will be familiarized with Ottoman-Turkish; non-Turkish peoples will be then familiarized with Turkish by contact with them, and consequently, Ottomans will gain the advantage in their trade and industrial enterprises.

6. Languages in Azerbaijan, Kashgar, Bukhara, Khiva, etc. will be reformed to be like Ottoman-Turkish for the benefit of Ottoman trade.

7. By opening branches in key Turkic cities, the Association will try to spread Ottoman-Turkish and Ottoman civilization among these regions, since Ottoman language and civilization are developing through the Ottomans' close connection with Europe.

8. Public libraries comprising volumes on Turkish and Turkism (*Türklük*) will be established.

9. It is not deniable that Ottoman-Turkish derives benefits from the Arabic and Persian languages, so that words of these languages cannot be abandoned. The Association will accordingly practice language simplification through choosing Arabic and Persian words used by all Ottomans.

10. The Association will request the government to abandon such foreign official terms as have equivalents in Turkish and even in Arabic or Persian.

11. The Association will yield obedience to the Press Law.

12. The Association will request the government to simplify in Turkish all official notifications so that they are comprehensible to the common people.

13. The Association will devote attention to the teaching of Turkish to Turks residing in non-Turkish areas.

14. All those who want to help the Association can be granted membership irrespective of their race (*ırk*), religion (*din*), nationality (*millet*) and ethnic origin (*kavim*).

The articles reflected, on the whole, the ideas of Ottoman nationalists, whose urgent task was to awaken Turkish national identity, which among Ottoman Turks had been lost for a long time. Certainly some articles such as 5 and 6 advocated the unification of Turks. However, the object of unification was to assure the

advantage of Ottoman Turks. On the other hand, the advantage was defined as commercial and industrial; this idea must be attributed to immigrants, or Tatars given the lack of interest shown in social-economic matters by Ottoman Turkish nationalists.³⁰

Beside the declaration, an article explained the object of the Association. The author of the article, I –⑥, entitled “We must learn Turkism and acquaint one another with it”, can be presumed to be Yusuf Akçura.³¹ As the secretary-general, and further the actual founder of the Association, Akçura tried to explain the reason of founding the Association in this article, the title of which could be regarded as the slogan of the Association.

Starting with a discussion of the kind of political thought exerting a crucial influence on world politics, that is nationalism (*milliyet ve irkiyet fikirleri*) Akçura pointed out the fact that Ottomans, “the most powerful and civilized part of Turks”,³² forgot their national identity; even those young intellectuals who graduated from college (*Mekteb-i Aliye*) did not know that the oldest civilization—even older than the Egyptian—was created by one of the Turanian peoples, that is Sumerians and Akkadians. Turks, the real rulers of Asia and the Islamic world, from China to Tunis, from Bukhara to Sudan, would consequently be absorbed by European nations. In order to prevent this absorption, or annihilation, Turks had to learn Turkism. In some European countries such as Germany, Hungary, and Russia, Turcological studies were energetically conducted, and some Turks began to follow them too. Their activities were, however, not sufficient. It was necessary, according to Akçura, to communicate with one another in order to produce results; the Association was established for this purpose.

In comparison with the declaration of the Association above mentioned, the consciousness of crisis was far more serious in Akçura’s article (I –⑥), although both of them promoted Turco-

³⁰ See Georgeon, *Origines*, pp. 58–59.

³¹ The author put at the end of the article only the initial “A” (the Arabic letter *alif* with the sign *madda*) in place of his full name. All the leading members of the Association except the secretary-general—president, vice-president, editor of the journal, and vice-secretary—contributed their articles to the premier or the second issues; furthermore, an article of Akyığıtoğlu Musa, the only personality in the member except Akçura having the initial “A”, appeared in the second issue. In addition, in the I –⑥ article, the author touched on European political thought including Marx, Lassale, and Jean Jaurès; he also referred to the intellectual standard of an average French shopkeeper. Considering these facts, the author of the I –⑥ article must be Akçura, the secretary-general of the Association, who studied political thought in France.

³² Türklüğün en kavî ve en medenî kısmı.

logical studies; Akçura clearly thought about the vast region of Turks facing Western imperialism. Most probably, Akçura recognized the need for the unification of Turks in order to prevent absorption by Europe. This is evident in the poems and articles of Type C and D, which were published in the journal *Türk Demeği*, as we have seen, although the number of these items was inconsiderable.

The rest of the items in the section of "Others", i.e. such poems as I -⑧, II -⑧, III -⑤, III -⑧, V -⑧, V -⑨, VI -②, VII -②, and VII -⑧ in particular, were of little importance to our analysis. I -⑨ and III -② praised Radloff; the former reported that the Association congratulated him by telegraph on his birthday; the latter, the author of which was V. Gordevski, explained his works. I -⑪ was the notice of publication of the new research into the Turkish language by İbn Mühenna.³³ III -⑨ was the list of members shown in Table 1. V -⑪ informed readers that the Association was authorized by the government under the Association Law (*Cemiyetler Kanunu*). V -⑫ was a list of branches. The Association stated that seals of each branch must be uniform; the seal of the Istanbul headquarters was shown as a model in V -⑬. VI -⑨ notified branches that dues were eighty *Kuruşes* per year, thirty percent of which must be sent to the headquarters.³⁴ VI -⑧ required each branch to conduct the following researches:

1. The alphabetical collection of words the common peoples were speaking. If possible, the study into their derivatives and etimologies.
2. Research into examples of words recorded in the dictionaries of Şemsettin Sami and A. Vefik Paşa.³⁵
3. The collection of old folk songs (*türkü*), proverbs, and tales (*hikâye*).
4. Research into the common peoples' blood relationships with Turkishness (*Türklük*), and their national (*kavmî*) customs and morals. Research into Turkish nomads.
5. The historical study of old Turkish rulers.
6. Research into the genealogies of old Turkish notables.

³³ "*El-kitâb'ül-Lûgat'it-Türkiye*" was serialized as a supplement to the Journal from the premier until the seventh issue. The total number of page amounted to fifty-six. Antvan Tıngır's study, "*Sarf-ı Tahlil-i Lisan-ı Türkî*" was also published from the second to the seventh issue; the number of pages was forty-eight.

³⁴ According to the advertisement in the newspaper *Yeni Tasvir-i Efkâr*, dated February 11, 1911, the prices of an overcoat made of English cloth and a sailor suit were respectively 100 *Kuruşes* and 40 *Kuruşes*; an annual subscription of the *Yeni Tasvir-i Efkâr* was 100 *Kuruşes*.

³⁵ Şemsettin Sami, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî*. Istanbul, 1317; Ahmet Vefik Paşa, *Lehçe-i Osmani*. Istanbul, 1306.

7. Research into documents in libraries concerning Turkish language and Turkism.
8. Research on Turkish remains.
9. Research on folk medicines.
10. Research on folk remedies.

These were fundamental subjects for Turcology, all of which would, however, be entrusted to a future generation. At any rate these requirements clearly showed one of the Association's objects: the promotion of Turcological studies.

This analysis of *Türk Derneği* has shown that the journal published various studies of Turcology according to the policy of the Association, which aimed at promoting research into Turkism and publishing its results. There seems to have been no common purpose in these studies. Furthermore, the greater part of Ottomans' articles, including the declaration of the Association itself, dealt with the simplification of language to maintain the unity of the "Ottoman nation", comprising various ethnic groups. Ottoman-Turkish was regarded as the most effective means of unifying subjects in the Ottoman Empire. Along with these items which were under the great influence of Ottoman patriotism, however, some articles and poems asserted the unity, in both the past and the present, of Turks including Ottoman Turks and those in Central Asia. Most of the authors of these items were of Central Asian origin. The variety of aims in the journal originated in the circumstances of establishing the Association. Yusuf Akçura brought into the Ottoman Empire the nationalist idea, aiming at liberation of Muslim-Turkic peoples from czarist rule by unifying all of these peoples. In Istanbul, on the other hand, there had already been several Ottoman scholars conducting Turcological research since the Hamidian era. The unity of the Ottoman subjects was a given condition for Ottomans including these Turcologues.

Akçura, and other nationalists from, or in, Russia as well, could not publish their ideas in the journal *Türk Derneği* as they liked; it is remarkable too, from such a viewpoint, that the report on Chuvash peoples and the ardent poem both of which advocated the unity of Turkic peoples appeared in the last issue of the journal. Several months after its publication, the journal *Türk Yurdu* would begin being published. In the new periodical, immigrants from Russia such as Akçura, Ağaoğlu Ahmet would actively diffuse their ideas.

Apart from the activities in Istanbul, another movement was started about the same time in Salonica. The organ of the movement was *Genç Kalemler*.

CHAPTER THREE

GENÇ KALEMLER

FOUNDATION OF *GENÇ KALEMLER*

The founding date of *Genç Kalemler* is not clear since all six issues of its first volume are undated. On the cover of each issue of the first volume, however, one can find a clue to the sequence of publication: a set of two numbers in which the second is always bigger than the first by eight, e.g. 1–9, 2–10, 3–11, and so on. This leads to a presumption that the first issue of *Genç Kalemler* appeared as the ninth issue of another periodical which it succeeded.

The name of this other periodical is *Hüsn ü Şiir* (Beauty and Poetry), which, after the 1908 revolution, along with some other literary magazines such as *Bahçe* (Garden) and *Kadın* (Woman), published the work of young writers in Rumelia.¹ *Hüsn ü Şiir* was issued in Manastır by two nephews of Doktor Nâzım, one of the influential members of the Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress (hereinafter called CUP).²

The mastermind of *Hüsn ü Şiir* was Ali Canip, who, together with Ömer Seyfettin, was to start the campaign for the simplification and purification of Ottoman Turkish in *Genç Kalemler*.³ In addition to such regular items as literary works, reviews and translated short stories, an introduction to the theory of evolution (in Nos. 4 and 5) and the interpretation of sociology (Nos. 1 through 4 and 6) are worth noting. Until the third issue, the *Hüsn ü Şiir* was published undated from Manastır; from the fourth issue onward, it came to be published in Salonica and was dated. The dates of publication from the fourth to the eighth issues are as follows:⁴

The fourth issue: July 23, 1910

The fifth issue: August 14, 1910

The sixth issue: August 29, 1910

The seventh issue: September 16, 1910

The eighth issue: October 4, 1910

¹ Tahir Alangu, *Ömer Seyfeddin: Ülkücü bir Yazarın Romanı*. Istanbul, 1968, p. 127.

² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

³ *Ibid.*; Ali Canib Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin: Hayatı, Eserleri*. Istanbul, 1947, p. 9.

⁴ There are two kinds of calendar shown in the periodical: *Malî* and *Hicrî-Kamerî*. For the change from these calendars to the Gregorian one, see Faik Reşit Unat, *Hicrî Tarihleri Milâdî Tarihe Çevirme Kılavuzu*. 4th ed., Ankara, 1974.

It was in April 1911 that the second volume of *Genç Kalemler* began being published with new contents.⁵ Publication of its first issue is accordingly assumed to have been at the end of 1910, since some preparatory period for the publication of the second volume must have been needed. Until the eighth issue, the periodical was called *Hüsn ü Şiir*; it was then renamed *Genç Kalemler* at the suggestion of Âkil Koyuncu,⁶ and the ninth issue was published in the end of 1910 as the first issue of *Genç Kalemler*. The editor-in-chief was Nesimî Sarım, a secretary of the central council of the CUP.⁷ Pagination was consecutive from *Hüsn ü Şiir*; the first page of *Genç Kalemler* was numbered 81. There is a Latin transliteration, GUAINDJ-KALEMLAIR, under the title in Arabic characters. The editor(s) explained, in the first page of the premier issue, that *Genç Kalemler* was the successor of *Hüsn ü Şiir* in a developed form; the previous name was too aesthetically-oriented and less suitable for its many articles on thought.⁸

Table 3 shows the number of lines in the articles, classified according to subject, of the first volume. As is clear from the table, the first volume was, after all, a literary magazine. Many historians have hence, with some justice, ignored this periodical so far. We can, however, find clues to the characteristics of Turkish nationalism in this literary magazine.

First of all, what did the founders of this periodical intend to reform in literature, and what did they not? Ali Canip aptly answered this question. His article, "The Future of Our Literature",⁹ evaluated the trend toward renewal in Ottoman literature after the *Tanzimat*: the *Tanzimat* works that intended to establish modern literature could not portray real people. The literary works of Tevfik Fikret, Halit Ziya and Cenap Şahabettin, the leading figures of the "New Literature" (*Edebiyat-ı Cedide*), were surely human (*beşerî*) but were just done in imitation of Western literature. They had cosmopolitan characters without the consciousness and atmosphere proper to the Ottomans; that is, they were not individual (*şahsî*) but universal (*umumî*). It was a distinctive consciousness that Canip expected in the literature of the future.

⁵ The first issue of the second volume was also undated. According to Ali Canip, the first issue was published on April 11. (Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, p. 13.) Tahir Alangu recorded, however, that the day was the 18th. (Alangu, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, p. 160.)

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁷ *Ibid.*; Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, p. 9.

⁸ Müdiriyyet, "Sevgili Karilerimize," *G.K.*, I/1, pp. 81–82.

⁹ Ali Canip, "Edebiyat-ı Müstakbelemiz," *G.K.*, I/1, pp. 84–85.

Table 3
 Classification of Articles Published in the First Volume of the Genç Kalemler¹

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total	Percentage
Criticism	182.5	82.5	112	55.5	218	265.5	916	39.6
Poem	51	49.5	38.5	117	71.5	66.5	394	17.1
Politics	38	35	161	—	—	—	234	10.1
History	42.5	88.5	—	—	65	—	196	8.5
Short Story	—	116.5	30	27.5	—	—	174	7.5
Turkish ²	—	—	—	72	42	56	170	7.4
Profile	20	23.5	32	18	22	22	137.5	5.9
Drama	—	—	34	—	—	—	34	1.5
Editorial Policy etc.	27.5	—	—	—	—	—	27.5	1.2
Technology	—	—	27	—	—	—	27	1.2
Total	361.5	395.5	434.5	290	418.5	410	2,310.5	100
Total Number of Pages	16	16	16	12 ³	16	16	16	

¹ Neither the number of pages used for a certain subject nor that of items used in our chapter 4 and 5 necessarily indicates their significance in the analysis of the *Genç Kalemler*, since the number of lines differs with each page and each issue; pages often contain decorative designs. Furthermore, poems tended to be crammed onto a single page. Hence, I have to give just the number of lines. In case of double-column setting in the first and second issues, the numbers shown here are converted into single-column setting, i.e. two lines in double-column setting is counted as one line.

² It is not easy to distinguish the subject of Turkish language from that of literature. I classified only three articles in the subject of Turkish: the article titled "Turkish or Osmani?" (*Türkçe mi, Osmanlıca mı?*) and those intended to be written with only simplified and purified Turkish and carrying the subtitle, "an experiment of pen concerning style".

³ The fourth issue's decrease in pages resulted from the loss of pages in the copy of the Hakkı Tanrı Us Library's collection, the only collection of the first volume in Turkey. Probably the lost pages had contained Cemalettin's contribution, "Combatants of Science and Religion and Despotism" (*Mücahidin-i İlim ve Din ve İstibdat*), because the third issue carries a preface to the contribution stating "to be continued" in the last line, but actually it is not continued.

This allows us to surmise that the consciousness he thought of was that of Turks. But actually he did not use the term "Turk" at all in this article. Certainly he used the phrase "spirit of nation" (*ruh-i millet*), but this term was replaced elsewhere by "spirit that dominates the common people" (*kütle-i avamı idare eden hissiyat*). This was consequently not necessarily the spirit of Turks, but of the common people in the Ottoman Empire. It is clear, however, that Canip wanted to create a new literature inspired by a spirit and consciousness of their own, replacing the cosmopolitan and noble characters of the literature at that time, although it remains obscure whether the spirit and consciousness were those of Ottomans, Ottoman Turks, or Turkic peoples.

Canip's desire to rejuvenate literature was the very reason that *Genç Kalemler* had been founded. Answers to a questionnaire which appeared in the first issue demonstrate this.¹⁰ Many young men of letters at that time answered the questionnaire, which dealt with the literary works of Tevfik Fikret, Halit Ziya and Cenap Şahabettin. Most of the young writers valued these three predecessors, but, at the same time, they dismissed their predecessors as men of the past.

In Table 3, the most interesting subjects for our study are "Politics" and "History". The former includes the columns of "Political Notes", which are the opening articles from the first through the third issues, except for the explanation of editorial policy in the first issue and the obituary for Ahmet Şuayıp in the third. There is, however, no discussion of Turkish nationalism in these columns. In the first issue,¹¹ the need for the accuracy and neutrality of the press was advocated after three topics had been briefly treated: the debt problem of the Ottoman government, the Crete problem, and a report that the French press had published some articles which slandered the Ottoman Empire. Except for these, there is a piece of news about Venizelos forming a cabinet in Greece. In the second issue,¹² the author reported the proceedings of the Ottoman Parliament. It is noteworthy in this report that the Parliament members were criticized for their laziness and incompetence, and consequently the efforts of youths were rallied for the

¹⁰ "Hüsün ü Şiir'e," *G.K.*, I/1, pp. 86-87, 90-92. The responders were as follows: Celal Sahir, Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, Ahmet Haşim, Tahsin Nahit, Yakub Kadri, Refik Halit, Baha Tevfik, Ahmet Nebil, Nafiz, M. Bahaettin, Mehmet Behçet, Fehmi Razi, M. Nermi, Ali Canip, Rasim Haşmet, Yekta Bahir, Behlül, Mübin, Ethem Hidayet, Müfid Ratib, Ali Safa, H. Hüsni.

¹¹ Rumeli Sermuharriri, "Siyasî Notlar," *G.K.*, I/1, pp. 82-84.

¹² K. N., "Siyasî Notlar," *G.K.*, I/2, pp. 97-98.

reconstruction of the Empire. This enables us to assume that the youths (*gençler*) included the author himself¹³ and the Young Turks, who had been aware that they were not capable of ruling, nor would be accepted as rulers by society at that time.¹⁴ In the third issue,¹⁵ the Crete problem and the plan to build up the Ottoman military forces were discussed briefly. Subsequent to these writings, the author reported on the Greco-Bulgarian alliance, which would of course develop into the Balkan League by which the Ottoman Army would be ignominiously defeated. The author exhibited, however, optimistic views: the alliance he thought would not expand to include all Balkan countries.

It is significant that there was no reference at all to the Turks residing outside the Ottoman Empire. The author was exclusively interested in the internal administration of the Empire and the Balkans.

The articles classified under "History" in Table 3 did not take up the history of Turkic peoples either. The article published in the first issue was entitled "Bismarck: Prussia from 1786 to 1862".¹⁶ The subject treated here was, however, limited to the development of Prussia until 1805, the year before the defeat by Napoléon. The editors of *Genç Kalemler* probably intended to give an example for the reconstruction and development of the Ottoman Empire by examining the history of Prussia's expeditious progress. Such an intention appears in other articles; for example, a piece in the third issue concerning technological progress.¹⁷ The author introduced the United States of America as a model of progress and reported on a multi-storied building constructed in that country.¹⁸ In the

¹³ We cannot easily identify "K. N.". It may, however, well be that he is Kâzım Nami. The editorial committee of the *Türk Yurdu* showed, in the table of contents of the fourth volume, the name "Kâzım Nami" as the author of a book review published in the sixth issue of the volume although the author used a pseudonym "K. N.". (K. N., "Zulmetten Nura," *T.Y.*, IV/6, pp. 601-605.)

¹⁴ Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914*. London, 1969., p. 17.

¹⁵ K. N., "Siyasî Notlar," *G.K.*, I/3, pp. 114-115.

¹⁶ Mehmet Şeref, "Bismarck: 1786dan 1862ye Prusya," *G.K.*, I/1, pp. 94-96.

¹⁷ M. Zühdü, "Asar-ı Cesime Meraki," *G.K.*, I/3, p. 122.

¹⁸ The United States was much admired by Ottoman intellectuals. Ziya Gökalp showed America, in his 1909 article, as a model for Ottomans having two aims: union of Ottomans, and progress in civilization. According to him, all Americans considered themselves Americans regardless of their ethnic origins; the Ottoman country was the oriental America that desired liberty and progress. ([Ziya Gökalp], "Yeni Osmanlılar," *Peyman*, III; see Şevket Beysanoğlu, *Ziya Gökalp'in İlk Yazı Hayatı: 1894-1909*. Istanbul, 1956, p. 105.) As is well known, Yusuf Akçura had rejected such an idea in his 1904 article. See Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, "Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset," in *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*. Istanbul, 1327, p. 4.

second issue religious life in ancient Mesopotamia was surveyed.¹⁹

In the fifth issue Kâzım Nami published his article entitled "Why is History not Written in Our Country?"²⁰ The author deplored the fact that a history founded on adequate consideration of the climate of the country and the people's characteristics had never been written. He attributed this to the absence of able historians and to a government which did not give any financial aids to the study of history. The crucial point is that the history Kâzım Nami referred to was that of the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, the knowledge which he thought was needed for writing history did not concern the general character of the Turkish or Turkic people, but of the Ottomans.

One may doubt, from the foregoing analyses, whether *Genç Kalemler* was a nationalist periodical or not. Certainly the initial issues of *Genç Kalemler* were dominated by articles connected with the qualities of the Ottomans (*Osmanlılık*). However, symptoms of transformation gradually emerged.

THE TURNING POINT OF GENÇ KALEMLER

The transformation began to appear in the fourth issue. In place of the "Political Notes", the opening article until the third issue, Kâzım Nami contributed an article entitled "Turkish, or Osmanlı?"²¹ This was the first article on the Turkish language in *Genç Kalemler*, which was recognized as an organ of linguistic nationalism, supporting the simplification and purification of Ottoman Turkish.

First, the author admitted that the essence (*asıl*) of the language of his compatriots was Turkish; the Ottoman Turks were parts of "the Turanian family expanding from the Mediterranean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, i.e. living in parts of Europe, Africa, and the North and Central Asia".²² After advancing such a daring idea, however, he emphasized the fact that Ottoman Turkish had been greatly influenced by Arabic and Persian, and naturalized many words and styles of these languages subsequent to the Ottoman Turks' settling in Asia Minor. Nevertheless, he affirmed the essence of Ottoman Turkish to be Turkish since it had continued to keep its originality in verb, mood, and even style throughout its evolution.²³

¹⁹ M. Nermi, "Keldanilerin Hayat-ı Diniyeleri," *G.K.*, I/2, pp. 102-103, 106.

²⁰ Kâzım Nami, "Bizde Niçin Tarih Yazılmıyor?" *G.K.*, I/5, pp. 146-148.

²¹ Kâzım Nami, "Türkçe mi, Osmanlıca mı?" *G.K.*, I/4, pp. 132-133, 136.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

Kâzım Nami's outlook on the language problem was thus fairly conservative. He first explained and accepted the present condition of Ottoman Turkish, and afterwards proposed that the language was certainly Turkish. Consequently, there was no question of removing Arabic and Persian elements, criticizing the present state of Ottoman Turkish.

He also referred to the fact that the common people (*avam*) could not understand the language written by "us", but the simple language could be comprehended by those who received just a primary education.²⁴ At the same time, however, his idea was more conservative than that of the leaders of the second volume of *Genç Kalemler* which would be published later. They advocated the abandonment of Arabic and Persian words, that is the Turkification of Ottoman Turkish, whereas he admitted the naturalization of words and styles deriving from foreign tongues because, he thought, they exerted no influence upon the originality of Turkish.²⁵ The main theme of his article—whether Ottoman Turkish must be called Turkish or Osmanli—necessarily became as a result a superficial one. We can find, however, in his outlook, the essential quality of the Turkish nationalism of the Ottoman Turks.

He wrote that originally the nature of the Ottomans (*Osmanlılık*) had been a political and social reality established by the Turks, but during his time, it became an attribute of all people within the Empire except non-Muslim subjects who had peculiar languages and literatures of their own;²⁶ the language of the Ottomans had to be called Turkish since almost all the foreign tongues called the homeland of the Ottomans "Turkey".²⁷ In addition, he advocated that the nature of the Turks (*Türklük*) had always been sacrificed to the *Osmanlılık*, but such a political idea did not apply to the case of language.²⁸ The crucial point he emphasized was therefore that language used by Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who politically and socially had to be Ottomans, was Turkish.

Subsequently to these arguments, the author advocated simplification of Ottoman Turkish because, he thought, if Ottoman Turkish could be simplified, its nature as one of the Turkic languages could be clearer.²⁹ However, there was still more urgent need for simplification. He wrote that simplification was needed since "30

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

million Ottomans” had to be taught the language in a short period.³⁰ This was undoubtedly the same argument as that of Namık Kemal, as we have seen; only, unlike Kemal, Kâzım Nami was clearly aware of the world of Turks; for example, by placing Ottoman Turkish on the same level as Uighur Turkish, he could regard Ottoman Turkish as one of the Turkic languages.³¹ Furthermore, as indicated above, he regarded the Ottoman Turks as one of the “Turanian family”. In short, he was deeply conscious of being a Turk and thereby advocated the simplification of Ottoman Turkish, regarded as one of the Turkic languages, while he politically and socially stuck to the Ottoman Empire and the nature of the Ottomans (*Osmanlılık*).

About that time, Ömer Seyfettin sent a letter to Ali Canip.³² In this letter, dated January 28, 1911, Seyfettin confessed that he hated the present condition of Ottoman Turkish and characterized it as being “destroyed, confused, and contrary to science and logic.” He wished to start a movement for the purification of Ottoman Turkish “so as not to take the Turks who need light and truth to the darkness of Asia.” He proposed carrying on the campaign for abandoning Arabic and Persian compound words (*terkip*) with Canip.

Ömer Seyfettin was of course more revolutionary than Kâzım Nami. Kâzım Nami advocated simplification mainly for educational reasons after allowing the need for the naturalization of foreign words and styles. Ömer Seyfettin in contrast rejected the present condition of Ottoman Turkish in the first place.

Ali Canip responded to Seyfettin’s proposal by publishing an article, “Art and Its Nature”, subtitled “an experiment of the pen concerning style”, in the fifth issue of *Genç Kalemler*.³³ In this article Canip put Seyfettin’s suggestion into practice; he wrote it almost only with purified and simplified Turkish. Thus, *Genç Kalemler* gradually modified its character.

One more prominent figure emerged about that time: Ziya Gökalp, being chosen a member of the central council of the CUP, sent his poem “Turan” to Canip by the hand of Nesimî Sarım, a secretary of the central council and the editor-in-chief of *Genç Kalemler*. This poem is widely known for its last stanza:

The fatherland for Turks is not Turkey, nor yet Turkestan,
The fatherland is a vast and eternal land: Turan!

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Alangu, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, pp. 157–158; Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, p. 11.

³³ Ali Canip, “Sanat ve Mahiyeti,” *G.K.*, I/5, pp. 144–145.

Canip published this poem in the sixth issue of the journal.³⁴ Several days after the publication of this issue, Canip met with Gökalp for the first time.³⁵ Canip showed Seyfettin's letter to Gökalp and said that they would enlarge *Genç Kalemler* on their own account and publish it with the motto "Defender of the New Language" (*Yeni Lisan Müdafî*).³⁶ Gökalp immediately approved their plan and proposed his participation in it. Just after that, on March 25, 1911, Canip received a letter from the central council of the CUP, which informed him that the central council had appointed him the editor-in-chief (*sermuharrirlik*) of *Genç Kalemler* and that 10 *Liras* would be given as financial help for the task.³⁷ Canip went to Gökalp on the next day to express his gratitude; he accepted the offer on condition that the central council, especially Doktor Nâzım, would not meddle in the contents of the periodical.³⁸ The second volume of *Genç Kalemler* began being published in this way.

PUBLICATION OF THE SECOND VOLUME OF *GENÇ KALEMLER*

The second volume began being published in April 1911. The first issue was undated; from the second issue onwards, it came to be dated. Within about eight months only twelve issues appeared although there is a statement on the cover of each issue that the periodical is "a literary and scientific magazine published every 15 days on Thursday."³⁹ Table 4 shows, in the same manner as Table 3, the number of lines of the articles in the second volume classified according to subject. The table indicates that the subject of Turkish ranks first, accounting for 22 percent. Furthermore, the greater part of the criticism, short stories and poems have a subtitle "with new language" (*Yeni lisanla*). This enables us to suggest that these items are practical demonstrations of the theory advanced in the columns of "New Language" classified as "Turkish" in Table 4,

³⁴ Tefvik Sedat, "Turan," *G.K.*, I/6, p. 167. There is a dedication, in this poem, "To Talat and Canip". "Canip" must be Ali Canip; "Talat" can be Mehmet Talat who was one of the leaders of the CUP and would afterwards become the Grandvezir.

³⁵ Alangu, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, pp. 158–159.

³⁶ *Ibid.*; Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, pp. 11–12. The CUP intended to exert its influence upon all the cultural movements in the Empire. Ziya Gökalp reportedly played the rôle of a contact man. See Alangu, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, p. 428; Enver Behnan Şaplıo, *Ziya Gökalp: İttihad ve Terakki ve Meşrutiyet Tarihi*. İstanbul, 1943, p. 94; Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, *Türk Yılı: 1928*. İstanbul, 1928, p. 445.

³⁷ Alangu, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, pp. 159–160; Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, p. 12.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ "On beş günde bir Pençsembih günleri intişar eder, edebî, ilmî mecmuadır." The third volume began to appear on 7 January 1912.

Table 4
Classification of Articles Published in the Second Volume of the Genç Kalemler

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total	Percentage
Turkish	213	157	133	110	178.5	80.5	154	73	83.5	139.5	99.5	98 ¹	1,519.5	21.6
Short Story	221	—	—	—	—	196	106.5	53.5	323.5	—	—	146	1,046.5	14.8
Criticism	165.5	44.5	106.5	—	147	144.5	—	175	—	124.5	104	—	1,011.5	14.4
Philosophy, Sociology, etc.	23	101	95.5	110.5	—	—	—	107	—	113	97	155.5	802.5	11.4
Poem	64	64	67.5	74.5	71.5	52.5	42	33	57	—	24	29	579	8.2
Conditions of Foreign Countries	—	—	—	—	102.5	—	200.5	32.5	—	72.5	121.5	—	529.5	7.5
Foreign Literature (Translation)	72.5	65.5	13.5	34.5	—	35.5	—	—	—	84.5	78	66	450	6.4
Controversy	51.5	84	100.5	191.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	427.5	6.1
Drama	—	—	—	235	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	235	3.3
Profile	19.5	15.5	19	19	19	19	17.5	14	16.5	18	18	—	195	2.8
Current Events	17.5	18.5	16.5	16	18.5	14.5	16	15.5	18.5	18.5	15.5	—	185.5	2.6
Others ²	—	—	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	64	0.9
Total	847.5	550	552	815	537	542.5	536.5	503.5	499	570.5	557.5	534.5	7,045.5	100
Total Number of Pages	24	16	16	24	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16

¹ In the twelfth issue, Hamdullah Suphi's letter concerning the new language appeared.

² "Others" contains a eulogy on the Sultan and a notice to the readers in the fourth issue; a table of contents of the second volume in the twelfth issue.

which are the opening articles except in the fourth, eleventh, and twelfth issues. The purpose of the publication of the second volume becomes clear as a result: showing the theory and practice of the “new language”.

What was the “new language”? What reforms of Ottoman Turkish were needed to create the “new language”? Ali Canip aptly summed up the answers in his memoirs on Ömer Seyfettin. The outline of his answers is as follows:⁴⁰

1. Arabic and Persian compound words and plurals should not be used, except for technical terms and plurals use as singulars; e.g. *ahlâk, kâinât, sadriâzam*.
2. Arabic and Persian particles should not be used, except for words being taken root as colloquial expressions; e.g. *amma, şâyet, yâni, lâkin*.
3. Orthographies of Arabic and Persian words should follow their original styles, for the present. However, those words whose pronunciations had altered to the Turkish styles in the common language should be written in these Turkish styles; e.g. *kalabalık, hoca*.
4. Arabic and Persian words which had equivalents in Turkish should not be used; e.g. *güneş* for *şems* and *mihir*, *ay* for *kamer* and *mah*.
5. The written language should be based on Turkish simple grammar.
6. The spoken language in Istanbul should be the example for both verse and prose.

In respect to abandoning compound words, plurals and particles of Arabic and Persian naturalized in Ottoman Turkish, these opinions of *Genç Kalemler* were certainly purist and nationalist. On the other hand, however, their view that words of Arabic or Persian origin which had taken root in the common people’s language should be used as before, differed from the movement in the Republican era, which revived many ancient and obsolete words, and even from the opinions of some contributors to the Turkish Association in Istanbul.⁴¹ The crucial point is thus it was not the Turkic nation’s long and old history but the common people of the

⁴⁰ Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, p. 14. These were not published in *Genç Kalemler* itself. *Türk Yurdu* put a similar summary in 1912. (P. Risal, “Türkler bir Ruh-i Millî Arıyorlar,” *T.Y.*, III/3, pp. 78–79.) As one of the origins of language reform, i.e. the simplification and purification of the Turkish language, one can cite the advocacy of Şemsettin Sami. This seems, however, to have been less systematic than the *Genç Kalemler*’s. See David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876–1908*. London, 1977, chap. VI.

⁴¹ See, for example, Ahmet Hikmet, “Yakarış,” *T.D.*, III, pp. 73–75.

day that was regarded as important by the founding members of *Genç Kalemler*.

Then, why was such a new language required? Someone presumed to be Ömer Seyfettin⁴² responded clearly to this question in the opening article of the first issue. After mentioning the present conditions of Ottoman Turkish and its literature, he referred to the purpose of creating the new language, saying “Now, a new and natural—and indigenous—language is needed for Turks who have entered a new life, an age of awakening.”⁴³ At first, correct understanding of the present state of the Ottoman Empire was required in order to comprehend the need for the new language.⁴⁴ He emphasized that the Empire was invaded by the great powers of Europe and was expected by the Balkan countries to die out. He asserted accordingly that self-help was the only way to reconstruct the Empire and that:

Turks, the Turanian family, who live on this continent, the Ottoman country from Scutari (in Albania) to Baghdad, can protect their sovereignties and lives only through powerful (*kuvvetti*) and serious (*ciddi*) progress. Progress consists in diffusing knowledge, science and literature among all of us; it is a national (*millî*) and common language that is first necessary for diffusing these things.⁴⁵

Thus, Seyfettin’s view was that in order to rescue the Ottoman Empire a new language understandable to the common people was needed. There was consequently no reference to the Turks outside the Ottoman Empire; “the Turanian family” meant the Turks living in the Ottoman Empire “from Scutari to Baghdad”. In this way, the opening article did not express so clearly nationalistic sentiments even if it was patriotic. In the second issue, however, another leader of the journal analytically explained their nationalism and patriotism.⁴⁶

The author supported the new language from various viewpoints. It is worth noticing, in these arguments, that the new language was regarded as not only a literary issue but also a general one connected with lives of Turks; he termed the Young Turk Revolution

⁴² The author put just a mark “?” as the pseudonym at the end of this article. There seems no doubt, however, he is Ömer Seyfettin. See Alangu, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, p. 160; Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, pp. 12–13.

⁴³ ?, “Yeni Lisan,” *G.K.*, II/1, p. 3b. Of course, the “age of awakening” began with the 1908 revolution.

⁴⁴ The author did not write clearly “the Ottoman Empire”, but just “a nation” (*bir millet*). It is clear, however, from the succeeding sentences that the nation meant “the Ottoman nation”, inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire.

⁴⁵ ?, *op. cit.*, p. 6b.

⁴⁶ ?, “Yeni Lisan,” *G.K.*, II/2, pp. 25a–29b. The author may be Ziya Gökalp.

“a revolution by sword” and asserted that after the revolution, the “pen” should accomplish another one, which probably meant a revolution of consciousness and, more generally, of society. The author accentuated that the new revolution had not yet been carried out. As proof, he pointed to the desolation of Anatolia.⁴⁷ This obviously showed that the author was moved by the emotion of nationalism; Anatolia, which the Ottomans had been apt to ignore, and whose inhabitants had been scorned as yokels,⁴⁸ was in reality a treasury of *Türklük*.

After expressing his feeling of nationalism, the author analyzed the relation of the Ottoman Empire and Turkish peoples under the subtitle “internationality, nationality, ethnicity” (*beynelmîleliyet, milliyet, kavmiyet*). According to him, science (*ilim*) was international, and the concepts of nationality and ethnicity could not enter into this field.⁴⁹ Politics, however, was a matter of nationality; Englishmen and Frenchmen belonged to their own political societies, or homeland.⁵⁰ Nationality meant a society governed by a power.⁵¹ In the Ottoman Empire, Turks, Cretans, Albanians, Bulgarians, etc. were regarded as being of Ottoman nationality.⁵² The author continued that each unit—Turks, Greeks, etc.—was an ethnic reality, and:

The Ottoman politics is a national politics. To pursue a politics based on ethnicity is a crime.⁵³

The only things that could be ethnic were then language and literature. We can consequently understand the author’s embarrassing position: culturally, he pursued self-consciousness as a Turk; on the other hand, he desired the unity of the Ottoman Empire, rejecting political separatism. The result of this complex outlook is this:

The Turkish language must not absolutely lose its social and ethnic character for the reason that it is an official language of the Ottoman nation (*millet*).⁵⁴

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26a.

⁴⁸ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. 2nd ed., London, 1968, pp. 332–333; Roderic H. Davison, “Environmental and Foreign Contribution: Turkey,” in Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (eds.), *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*. Princeton, 1964, paperback ed., 1968, p. 109.

⁴⁹ ?, “Yeni Lisan,” *G.K.*, II /2, p. 28a.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 28a–b.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 28b.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

It is just a step from this idea to forcing Turkish, an “official language”, on other ethnic groups in the Empire.

While attaching great importance to the Ottoman state, the author touched also on the connection between the Ottoman Turks and Turkic peoples residing outside the Ottoman Empire. According to him, the Ottoman state had certainly been founded by *Osman Gazi*, but the Turkic nation (*kavim*), language, and literature were older than *Osman Gazi*. Furthermore, the Turkic language had 100 million speakers at that time. He asked:

Is it a sin (*günah*) to give (our) own name to the language that is the only bond of these 100 million blood brothers?⁵⁵

He added that one of the purposes of advocating the new language was not to encourage the use of Chagatai Turkish or the Anatolian dialect, but to spread the dialect of Istanbul to all the Turks.⁵⁶ In this manner, this article clearly showed the distinctive situation of the Ottoman Turkish nationalists, who could disclaim an interest in neither the Ottoman state nor the Turkic nation exceeding the boundaries of the state.

A eulogy on the Sultan, published with a photograph on the first page of the fourth issue,⁵⁷ also demonstrated the Turkish nationalist character of the Ottoman Turks. The eulogy, written in the name of the editorial committee of *Genç Kalemler*, began by addressing “our Sultan who is the ruler of all Ottomans, the Caliph of all Muslims, and the Khan of all Turks”. It eulogized him because he enforced a constitutional regime which had been restored after a long period of despotism. It continued:

The editorial committee of *Genç Kalemler* regarded the present time of these children who are genuine descendants of the great Turan as the most sacred time in their lives. Please give them permission to express gratitude and praise from the bottoms of their young and free hearts to you, a great Khan. Ah our honored father. Let your nation (*millet*) and the great and happy *Osmanlılık* prosper and live long.⁵⁸

The complex attitude of the Ottoman Turkish nationalists was well shown in the term “*Osmanlılık*” added at the end while “Turan” and “Khan” are used in the preceding sentences.

We will now survey some other remarkable items of the second volume besides the articles concerning the Turkish problem. Table 5 shows the number of lines of the articles and poems composed by

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 27b–28a.

⁵⁷ *G.K.*, II /4, p. 57.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Table 5
Number of Lines of Articles and Poems Written by Ali Canip, Ömer Seyfettin, and Ziya Gökalp in the Second Volume of the Genç Kalemler¹

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total	Percentage
Ali Canip	76	61.5	122.5	10	16	14	7.5	9.5	—	—	—	17	334	
Yekta Bahir	—	51.5	—	191.5	147	144.5	—	—	—	—	104	—	638.5	
<i>Subtotal</i>	76	113	122.5	201.5	163	158.5	7.5	9.5	—	—	104	17	972.5	13.8
Ömer Seyfettin	221	—	—	243.5	—	—	—	—	323.5	—	—	—	788	
Perviz	16.5	—	100.5	—	—	196	—	—	—	—	—	—	313	
<i>Subtotal</i>	237.5	—	100.5	243.5	—	196	—	—	323.5	—	—	—	1,101	15.6
Tevfik Sedat	—	101	—	110.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	211.5	
Gökalp	—	—	95.5 ²	—	—	—	7.5	53.5	—	—	—	—	156.5	
Demirtaş	—	—	—	20	40	—	—	107	—	—	—	—	167	
<i>Subtotal</i>	—	101	95.5	130.5	40	—	7.5	160.5	—	—	—	—	535	7.6
Total	313.5	214	318.5	575.5	203	354.5	15	170	323.5	—	104	17	2,608.5	37.0
<i>“Yeni Lisan”</i> ³	213	157	133	110	178.5	80.5	154	73	83.5	139.5	99.5	—	1,421.5	20.2
Grand Total	526.5	371	451.5	685.5	381.5	435	169	243	407	139.5	203.5	17	4,030	57.2

¹ I follow the received wisdom, for the present, that accepts Yekta Bahir, Perviz, Tevfik Sedat, and Demirtaş as the pseudonyms of Ali Canip, Ömer Seyfettin, and Ziya Gökalp, although some researchers, including myself, don't completely accept these identifications. (cf. İsmet Binark and Nejat Sefercioğlu (eds.), *Ziya Gökalp Bibliyografyası*. Ankara, 1971, p. 14, *et passim*.)

² This article is a translation of an interpretation of Alfred Fouillée's sociology. Although the translator's name is not written in the periodical, İ. Binark and N. Sefercioğlu identified the translator as Ziya Gökalp. (*ibid.*, p. 13.) The contents of this article confirm this identification, so that I classified this article under “Gökalp”.

³ The opening articles, “New Language” (*Yeni Lisan*), were written under the pseudonym of “?” up to the fifth issue; from the sixth onward, these were written in the name of “the editorial committee of the *Genç Kalemler*”. It is sure that the first issue's opening article was written by Ömer Seyfettin. Ziya Gökalp could collaborate on the second issue's with Ali Canip. In this table, however, all the articles titled “New Language” are classified in the special item “*Yeni Lisan*”.

Ali Canip, Ömer Seyfettin and Ziya Gökalp in the second volume. This enables us to comprehend the central rôle of these three personalities in the second volume, for at least 37 percent of the articles and poems were written by them.

It has already been mentioned that almost all of the criticism, short stories and poems were written in conformity with the theory of "new language". Ali Canip wrote almost all the articles classified as criticism in Table 4. Half of the short stories were composed by Ömer Seyfettin. He also contributed a famous drama, "*Pamuk İpliği*" (Cotton Thread) to the fourth issue. We can call him accordingly the pillar of creative literature in *Genç Kalemler*. Incidentally, the short story published in the seventh issue was Kâzım Nami's; that published in the eighth issue was written under the pseudonym of "Gökalp", and that in the twelfth issue was by Aka Gündüz with a subtitle "national (*millî*) short story with new language". Representing foreign literature, the editors included translations of Anatole France from the first until the sixth issue, of Gorki in the tenth, and of Andreyev in the eleventh and twelfth issues.

Articles concerning philosophy and sociology were mostly written by Ziya Gökalp. He introduced Alfred Fouillée's theory of sociology;⁵⁹ it was in the second volume that two famous articles, "Philosophy of Today"⁶⁰ and "New Life and New Values"⁶¹ were first published. In the "New Life and New Values", Gökalp laid his great hope on the future of the *Osmanlılık* that struck a new path through the 1908 revolution, writing that:

New values will be economic, familial, aesthetic, philosophic, moral, legal and political values born out of the spirit of the quality of the Ottomans (*Osmanlılık*). . . . Thanks to these national cultures (*millî irfanlar*), the national civilization of the *Osmanlılık* will inspire the praise of European civilization.⁶²

At the same time, however, as one of the Turkish nationalists, he did not forget his self-assertion as a Turk:

Real civilization means the Turkish civilization that will be created only through the development of a new life.⁶³

In the interpretation of Fouillée's theory of sociology, Gökalp

⁵⁹ Harald Höfding, "Alfred Fouillée'nin Tekâmülcü Felsefesi," *G.K.*, II /3, pp. 45a-47b.

⁶⁰ Tefrik Sedat, "Bugünkü Felsefe," *G.K.*, II /2, pp. 29b-31b.

⁶¹ Demirtaş, "Yeni Hayat ve Yeni Kıymetler," *G.K.*, II /8, pp. 138a-141a.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 140b.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 141a.

mainly introduced the idea of social progress based on the theory of social organicism; this concept of progress was also a topic on which *Genç Kalemler* placed major emphasis. In the first volume, the history of the progress of Prussia was presented, as we have seen. In the second volume, "The Japanese Empire" was serialized in the fifth, seventh and the eighth issues,⁶⁴ this is classified under "Conditions of Foreign Countries" in Table 4. The purpose of publishing this article was surely to learn from the enormous progress of Japan, which had recently gained victory in the Russo-Japanese War.

Finally, the category "Current Events" in Table 4 must be investigated. These were columns of news put at the end of every issue, titled "Event of the Week" (*Haftanın Hadisesi*). In these columns, there was no reference to events that occurred outside the Ottoman Empire. Events referred to occurred in Istanbul and Salonica, and sometimes in Izmir, i.e. in key cities of the Ottoman Empire. In the same manner as the "Political Notes" in the first volume, and in contrast to the journal *Türk Yurdu*,⁶⁵ indifference to the Turks outside the Ottoman Empire was one of the prominent characteristics of *Genç Kalemler*.

CONTROVERSY WITH FUAT KÖPRÜLÜ

Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, or Fuat Köprülü (1890–1966), a young man of twenty-one, severely criticized the new language advocated by *Genç Kalemler*. The periodical naturally returned the attack. In the third volume in particular, strictures against him became more and more severe, as if criticism of him was one of the purposes of publishing the periodical. This is a curious fact, since through the end of 1912 into 1913, the literary works of Ömer Seyfettin, the pillar of creative literature in *Genç Kalemler*, and articles by Fuat Köprülü began to appear in the journal *Türk Yurdu* one after another.⁶⁶ Furthermore, Köprülü would become known all over the world as an authority on Turcology. This controversy between them could therefore be one of the clues for clarifying the characteristics of *Genç Kalemler* and its influence.

⁶⁴ Kaya Alp, "Japonya İmparatorluğu: Yeni Hayat," *G.K.*, II /5, 7, 8, pp. 93a–95b, 123b–124b, 143.

⁶⁵ For *Türk Yurdu*, see Chapter Four.

⁶⁶ It was on July 11, 1912 that the work of Ömer Seyfettin appeared in the *Türk Yurdu* for the first time. ("Gülen Ay," *T.Y.*, II/5, p. 513.) The article of Köprülü was published on February 6, 1913. ("Ümit ve Azim," *T.Y.*, III/8, pp. 240–247.) Contributions of Ali Canib, Kâzım Nami and Ziya Gökalp to the *Türk Yurdu* increased from its third volume onward. (See Chapter Four.)

The controversy began with Köprülü's contribution, "National Literature", to *Servet-i Fünûn*, or Treasure of Science, in May 1911,⁶⁷ a month after the publication of the second volume of *Genç Kalemler*. Köprülü rejected the assertion of *Genç Kalemler* that the literature of the day was lacking in the peculiar spirit of the nation. He cautioned against the easy use of the term "nation" (*ırk*) since he thought the concept was not single or fixed, but was changeable according to geographical and social circumstances.⁶⁸ The conclusion of such an argument was naturally to separate Ottoman Turks from Turkic people residing outside the Ottoman Empire and the ancient history of Turks. He added that there could not be a national literature in the "present time" when international relations were becoming more and more secure and social circumstances were cosmopolitan.⁶⁹

Such a view might have been common, to some degree, among the Ottoman intellectuals of the day, when nationalism was not so widespread. *Genç Kalemler*, however, could not overlook it. Ali Canip immediately wrote a counter-argument under the pseudonym of Yekta Bahir.⁷⁰ This was put in a column, "Quarrel of the Young" (*Gençlik Kavgası*), in the fourth issue, classified under "Controversy" in Table 4.

First, the author reviled Köprülü, for criticizing *Genç Kalemler* on the grounds of its failure to define clearly its policies. He regarded Köprülü's attitude as stupid, fantastic and quixotic.⁷¹ He explained that *Genç Kalemler* aimed at diffusing the new language as a first step, and literary works written with the language would naturally constitute a national literature. Secondly, the author criticized Köprülü's wrong use of the term "*ırk*". He asserted that the concept they were representing was not "*ırk*" but "*kavim*".⁷² According to him, nation (*kavim*) meant a social unit of people using a common language; people living in the Ottoman Empire were

⁶⁷ Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, "Edebiyat-ı Milliye," *S.F.*, XLI/1,041, pp. 3-7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4b-c.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6c-7a.

⁷⁰ Yekta Bahir, "Gençlik Kavgası: Millî Daha Doğrusu Kavmî Edebiyat Ne Demektir?" *G.K.*, II /4, pp. 72-77. "Yekta Bahir" is generally accepted as a pseudonym of Ali Canip. However, one can suppose that Ziya Gökalp wrote this article, judging by both contents and style. For the problem of pseudonym in the history of Turkish modern literature, which has regrettably been ignored, see Naille Binark and Saide Arslanbek (eds.), *Tanzimattan Bugüne Türk Yazı Hayatında Takma Adlar İndeksi*. Ankara, 1971; Fethi Tevetoğlu, "Türk Edebiyatında Takma Adlar," *Kardelen* (Samsun), IX-XII, 1988.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73a.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 74a.

accordingly not the groups of *ırk* (race) but of *kavim* (nation).⁷³

After dismissing Köprülü's criticism in this manner, the author explained his own ideas somewhat one-sidedly. Even in these arguments, however, one can observe the complicated character of Ottoman Turkish nationalism. For example, he defined their time as "a time of revolution" when old values were being pulled down and new ones were being invented;⁷⁴ a certain newness (*yenilik*) was identified with the quality of a Turk (*Türklük*).⁷⁵ He exhorted Turks to make progress themselves, developing their own abilities and rejecting imitation, and to surpass the developed nations as a result of such an endeavor.⁷⁶ He took Germany and Japan as examples.

The crucial point can be seen in the argument concerning lineage. The author asserted that being a Turk was not a matter of lineage, and:

Now, many Circassians, Kurds, Albanians, and half-bloods are endeavoring to improve the *Türklük* since they know that only the *Türklük* can rescue the Oriental nations (*kavimler*) from despotism and exploitation by the West.⁷⁷

This argument is the one which had been traditionally made in favor of the Ottoman state, or the *Osmanlılık*, and hence it holds good, and becomes even more lucid, if the *Türklük* is changed to the *Osmanlılık*. Even though the article was addressed to a cosmopolitan audience, this interchangeability of the *Türklük* and the *Osmanlılık* must be regarded as an important clue for discussing Turkish nationalism of the Ottoman Turks and for comprehending the "conversion" of Köprülü that would occur later.⁷⁸

After the first controversy ended at cross-purposes, Köprülü changed the point at issue to the language itself. He emphasized in his next criticism, "New Language" in *Servet-i Fünûn*,⁷⁹ that the

⁷³ As is well known, Yusuf Akçura uses "ırk" in the sense of "nation", e.g. "*Türk ırkı*".

⁷⁴ Yekta Bahir, *op. cit.*, p. 75a.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75b.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 76a-b.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 77b.

⁷⁸ In 1904, Ali Kemal (1867-1922) called the Ottoman Empire "Turkish state" (*Türk Devleti*) in his critical response to Yusuf Akçura's "Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset". (Ali Kemal, "Cevabımız," in *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*.) As is well known, Kemal rejected Akçura's suggestion of "Union of Turks" (*tevhid-i Etrak*) and even the framework of his argument. However, unlike his predecessors, Kemal did regard himself as a Turk. He praised Turks for their excellent abilities, saying "they are the founders of a state and a sovereignty lasting for six hundred and five years, and its possessors as well." (*Ibid.*, p. 40.) Needless to say, the state was the Ottoman state.

⁷⁹ Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, "Yeni Lisan," *S.F.*, XLII/1,082, pp. 365-370.

language invented by *Genç Kalemler* was not free from the influences of old writers such as Tevfik Fikret whom the masterminds of *Genç Kalemler* intended to surpass. Literary works published in the periodical were consequently mere imitations, very poor imitations, of Fikret's.⁸⁰ Köprülü dismissed them as noise, meaningless aspiration, and fruitless intention.⁸¹

Köprülü's virulent attacks on *Genç Kalemler* may lead to the conclusion that the estrangement between them was almost irreparable. In fact, however, it was not so serious. Köprülü did not criticize the nationalistic quality of the "new language", but criticized the literary works written in it for aesthetic reasons. If an admirable work had appeared, Köprülü might have changed his opinion. The fact is that Köprülü did contribute an article about Ottoman literature to the premier issue of *Genç Kalemler*, as an answer to the questionnaire concerning Tevfik Fikret, Halit Ziya, and Cenap Şahabettin, above mentioned. In this piece, he supported reforming the literature, which was in line with the views of *Genç Kalemler*. He said:

Yesterday, (they were) stars born in the sky of art. But today, (they) already have sunk, and only their memories are left.⁸²

In his next article in *Servet-i Fünûn*, written to refute Kâzım Nami's counter-argument,⁸³ Köprülü at last praised the works of Ömer Seyfettin.⁸⁴ But he refused to budge from his stand against *Genç Kalemler*, saying fine works like Seyfettin's would be rarely created.

Köprülü and *Genç Kalemler*, who seem to have begun to agree with each other on the fundamental point, became, however, more estranged afterward; controversies between them were akin to mudslinging.⁸⁵ But in reality they would join in *Türk Yurdu* in less than a year. Furthermore, Köprülü would write his articles with fairly simplified Turkish, in partial agreement with the theory of

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 365a-b.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 366a.

⁸² Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, "Hüsn ü Şiir'e," *G.K.*, I/1, p. 86.

⁸³ Kâzım Nami, "Yeni Lisan ve Hasta bir Mantığın Psikolojisi," *G.K.*, III /17-18, pp. 128-129, 132-139. This was written to refute Köprülü's preceding article, "Yeni Lisan".

⁸⁴ Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, "Türklük ve Yeni Lisan," *S.F.*, XLII/1,091, p. 581a.

⁸⁵ Articles written criticizing Köprülü were as follows: M. Ali, A. İrfan, et al., "Bir Tarize Cevap: Köprülüzade Fuat Bey'e," *G.K.*, III /17-18, p. 152; Celal Sakıp, "Tetebbu Karşısında Mehmet Fuat Bey," *G.K.*, III /20, pp. 191-194. In addition to these articles, there also appeared, in *Genç Kalemler*, counter-arguments to Yakup Kadri ([Karaosmanoğlu] 1889-1974). For the controversy between the writer and *Genç Kalemler*, see Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri*. 3rd ed., Ankara, 1972.

the new language. Why did he change? First of all, he agreed with *Genç Kalemler* on the fundamental importance of reforming the literature. Secondly, Köprülü, a precocious and gifted youth, would be probably awakened to self-consciousness as a Turk; more concretely, he would have a chance to learn the results of Turcology.⁸⁶ Finally, we must give careful consideration to the interchangeability of the *Türklük* and the *Osmanlılık*, which as we have seen characterized the views of *Genç Kalemler* and the Ottoman Turkish nationalists. The nationalism of the Ottoman Turks, which was advocated after accepting the existence of the Ottoman state as a given condition, was more acceptable to the Ottoman Turks than the nationalism of immigrants from Russia represented by Yusuf Akçura's "*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*", which started the argument by denying the "Ottoman nation" (*Osmanlı milleti* or *millet-i Osmaniye*). Otherwise, the "conversion" of Köprülü and the sudden transformation of Ziya Gökalp cannot be comprehended clearly.⁸⁷

Next, we will analyze the relation between *Genç Kalemler* and the Young Turks, who were deeply concerned in and intended to lead the political life of the Ottoman state, to which goal *Genç Kalemler* directed its best efforts.

GENÇ KALEMLER AND THE YOUNG TURKS

Ziya Gökalp was a member of the central council of the CUP. Nesimî Sarım, the editor-in-chief of the first volume of *Genç Kalemler*, was a secretary of the central council. Ömer Seyfettin was an officer who followed the Operation Army (*Hareket Ordusu*) which was sent to Istanbul to suppress the 1909 counter-revolution.⁸⁸ These facts openly demonstrate the close connection between the *Genç Kalemler* and the Young Turks, more correctly, the CUP. Relations between them were not only official.

The leaders of *Genç Kalemler* held the conviction that just publishing a periodical was not enough for promoting the new language. Possibly through the medium of Ziya Gökalp, they organized a committee, the chief of which was Enver, who afterwards became

⁸⁶ I am grateful to Professor Ömer Faruk Akün at Istanbul University for this suggestion.

⁸⁷ Gökalp confirmed in 1909 that Ottomans had been endeavoring to make various ethnic groups having no blood relations spiritual brothers; the new Ottoman nation meant such a unit as many elements were united. Furthermore, he rejected the unity of Turks. He asserted that if Ottomans dared to reestablish the old khanate of Turks, it was impossible since the khan of Turks was a spiritual monarch of a fanciful country called Turan. See Beysanoğlu, *İlk Yazı Hayatı*, pp. 99, 101, 105.

⁸⁸ Alangu, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, pp. 141-142.

a member of the “triumvirate”. This committee translated into the new language many Western works which they regarded as important; for example, the works of Spencer, Fouillée, Taine, etc.⁸⁹ In addition, they planned to have the new language taught in schools as the most effective means for diffusing it. Perhaps utilizing the political influence of the CUP, they printed four readers and two textbooks for penmanship in Salonica and had them used in schools by permission of the Ministry of Education.⁹⁰

The leading figures of *Genç Kalemler* met together in a CUP club almost every day and argued about issues of literature and philosophy.⁹¹ These arguments fructified not only as articles in *Genç Kalemler* but also lectures at the “Union and Progress School” (*İttihat ve Terakki Mektebi*).⁹² These lectures were in reality one of the important duties entrusted to Ziya Gökalp by the CUP. The duty was born out of a concern of the CUP’s leaders. Certainly, they had been able to carry out a political revolution in 1908, but after that the counter-revolution broke out, and the opposition party emerged as well. They were concerned, in such circumstances, with bringing up capable youngsters who could understand the significance of their task and accomplish a future revolution in consciousness and society.⁹³ Gökalp was entrusted with this urgent matter; he tried to reach the young as the director of the Department of Youth (*Gençlik İşleri*).⁹⁴ Gökalp and other masterminds of *Genç Kalemler* delivered lectures at the “Union and Progress School” for such purposes.

The CUP was, needless to say, a political organization pursuing the unity of the Ottoman state. The educational sections of its regulations adopted in 1908, 1909, and 1913 required that the Turkish language, the official language of the Empire, must be taught to all Ottoman subjects. In 1908 regulation, Turkish was confirmed as the official language of the state, so that every sort of official correspondence and negotiation must be conducted in it.⁹⁵ Concerning education, the regulation affirmed that the “Turkish language must be taught in elementary education.”⁹⁶ In 1909,

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 165–166; ?, “Yeni Lisan,” *G.K.*, II /2, p. 26a.

⁹⁰ Alangu, *Omer Seyfeddin*, p. 166.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁹² The school was also a kind of club opened in Salonica, Istanbul, and other key cities. Liberal arts were the main subject, and they were taught for free.

⁹³ Şapolyo, *Ziya Gökalp*, pp. 78–79.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 77–78.

⁹⁵ Article 7. See Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler*. vol. 1, Istanbul, 1984, p. 66.

⁹⁶ Article 17. See *ibid.*, p. 67.

when Turkish nationalism still had had no effect on Ottoman politics, the regulation said:

Turkish is the language for teaching in elementary and higher education. In secondary schools, however, local languages will also be taught.⁹⁷

After attaining power by *coup d'état* in January and the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Paşa in June, 1913, the CUP published a new political program. As is well known, in this regime Turkish nationalism gradually acquired great influence over politics. The education section of the program was, however, not different from those of the 1908 and 1909 regulations. It guaranteed the instruction of local languages as follows:

Although in elementary public schools and secondary schools Turkish must be taught as the only language, the mother tongues of every province will be used as the medium for teaching.⁹⁸

It seems that the CUP made a concession in response to agitation for local autonomy in Arab provinces.⁹⁹ The new program was, however, in line with the old ones. Furthermore, the program was in accordance not only with the ideas of Ottoman nationalists such as Ahmet Hikmet and the leaders of *Genç Kalemler* but also with those of Namık Kemal, as we have seen.¹⁰⁰ The continuity of ideas on the language issue shows a link between Ottoman patriotism and Turkish nationalism; the policy of enforcing the Turkish language could be executed with such a "moderate" program as that of 1913.

In respect to the relation between *Genç Kalemler* and the Young Turks, it cannot be overlooked too that both attached importance to the common people. *Genç Kalemler* intended to invent a "new language", abandoning Arabic and Persian words and styles. Certainly, their intention can be called a purist movement, but they did not advocate abandoning foreign words which had already taken root among the common people. Furthermore, their endeavors to translate Western works into the new language and to edit and distribute readers and textbooks for penmanship were for the Anatolian people, "who have not known yet what education is."¹⁰¹

The CUP often mobilized the common people to take part in

⁹⁷ Article 10. See *ibid.*, p. 82.

⁹⁸ Article 41. See *ibid.*, p. 110.

⁹⁹ Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, pp. 136-142.

¹⁰⁰ For Kemal's idea, see Chapter One. For Ahmet Hikmet, see pp. 10-11 above.

¹⁰¹ ?, "Yeni Lisan," *G.K.*, II /2, p. 26a.

political activities; for example, they organized a campaign to boycott foreign goods and mass meetings. Why did they stick to the common people? First, the CUP leaders were not the traditional ruling élite, but belonged to the so-called new middle class. They knew that they did not have sufficient ability to administer the Ottoman state, nor would they be accepted as the rulers. Consequently, if they could show that their policy represented the general political will of the common people, it would be a fairly effective measure for asserting the legitimacy of their policies and their political leadership.

Ziya Gökalp clearly illustrates such a situation. In a lecture given at Istanbul University in 1918, "The Common People and the Élite" (*Halk ve Güzideler*), Gökalp said that in the old days it was required for entering the élite to be a member of certain families and to have connections with high officials of the Establishment, but in such a system an able man in the true sense of the word did not emerge.¹⁰² According to him, in an age of democracy such as theirs, paths to every position should be open to everyone. He said:

If someone has sufficient abilities he can become the greatest scholar of the country or anything he wants. Freedom of opportunity will grow, of course, with education. As this happens, even a peasant with great natural abilities will be free to rise above his origins.¹⁰³

Gökalp continued that the common people had subconscious ideas of a Turkish national identity,¹⁰⁴ which had to be brought to light by the élite; the élite hence represented the ideas of the nation.¹⁰⁵ It is clear that Gökalp's "élite" meant the Young Turks, including himself. The scene presented here is that a new class which emerged with changes in the Ottoman society endeavored to reconstruct the Ottoman state while justifying their own position. *Genç Kalemler* was a part of such endeavors, a reflection of their position.

¹⁰² Şapolyo, *Ziya Gökalp*, p. 120.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ In those days, Gökalp began to use the term "*Türk milleti*", in place of "*Osmanlı milleti*" or "*Türk kavmi*".

¹⁰⁵ Şapolyo, *Ziya Gökalp*, pp. 121–123.

CHAPTER FOUR

TÜRK YURDU

As we have seen, at the first stage of the nationalist movement during the 1910s, no nationalist Ottomans rejected the idea of an Ottoman nation, or Ottomanism, as Yusuf Akçura had done long before in his “*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*”. Advocating linguistic nationalism, *Genç Kalemler* of Salonica attached great importance to maintaining the unity of the Ottoman state. Their purpose in launching the periodical was saving the Empire. The journal *Türk Derneği*, the organ of the Turkish Association of which the actual founder was Akçura himself, was still full of items much influenced by Ottoman patriotism. Nevertheless, this cannot diminish the significance of the Association as the first joint organization of Ottomans and Turkic immigrants from Russia. Despite their smaller number of contributions to the journal, immigrants’ articles emphatically asserted the unity of Turkic peoples; the difference was that the immigrants seemed not yet to have diffused their ideas in Istanbul. In the journal *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland), at long last, they began to advocate their views alongside Ottomans.¹

¹ Many researchers have naturally touched on this, the most prominent and influential nationalist periodical in the Young Turk era. Neither the pioneering work on the *Türk Yurdu* of P. Dumont nor those of E. Ju. Gasanova, however, have compared the thought of Ottomans with that of immigrants from Russia. (Paul Dumont, “La Revue *Türk Yurdu* et les musulmans de l’Empire russe: 1911–1914,” *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, XV/3–4, 1974, pp. 315–331; Esmeralda Ju. Gasanova, “Progressivnye Motivy v Zhurnale «Tjurk Jurdu»,” *Izvestija Akademii Nauk Azerbajdzanskoj SSR*, 1961, III, pp. 149–162; id, *Ideologija Burzhuaznogo Natsionalizma v Turtsii v Period Mladoturok (1908–1914gg.)*. Baku, 1966.) Gasanova pointed out the periodical’s deep interest in Anatolian peasants, and regarded it as the feature of populist inclination of the periodical; she further praised the periodical’s recommendation of reforms in language and education, and of the emancipation of women, as the progressive aspect of the periodical. (Gasanova, “Progressivnye Motivy”, pp. 150–154, 160–161.) On the other hand, she referred to the reactionary aspect: the periodical carried on Pan-Turkic, chauvinistic propaganda actively, which led to territorial expansionism. (*ibid*, pp. 154–155.) To her evaluation one can add comments that Pan-Turkic movement began in Russian territory to emancipate Muslim-Turkic subjects from the fetters of Russification; on the other hand, in the Ottoman Empire, as we have seen above, there was the radical idea of the Ottoman nation, which could easily be changed to Ottomanization.

FOUNDATION OF *TÜRK YURDU CEMİYETİ*

In the year 1911, when the Turkish Association began to publish its journal, another nationalist organization emerged. Among the founding members of this body, named *Türk Yurdu*, born on August 31, was Yusuf Akçura, who had taken the initiative in establishing the Association.² This leads to the supposition that Akçura was not satisfied with the contents of the journal *Türk Derneği* or the principles of the Association itself. Indeed, in this new society, immigrants from Russia played a more active rôle than in the preceding Association; half of the six founding members were from Russia, that is, Ağaoglu Ahmet, Hüseyinzade Ali and Akçura.³ Furthermore, a wealthy Tatar in Orenburg, Mahmut Huseynov, gave pecuniary aid "for charities" in the Ottoman Empire.⁴ One of the two objects of the society was thereby to build a boarding house for Turkish students;⁵ another was launching a periodical "for contribution to improving the intellectual standard of Turks and to making them strong-willed and enterprising."⁶

Akçura undertook the editorship of this periodical, *Türk Yurdu*, in addition to being a publisher, after Mehmet Emin was appointed as the governor of Erzurum.⁷ The editorial program was also formed by Akçura:⁸

1. The periodical shall be written in the style read and comprehended by as many Turkic people (*Türk ırkı*) as possible. Hence, a. the language shall be simple; b. the subjects profitable to the majority of the nation (*kavim*) shall be chosen; c. even difficult subjects shall be expounded in easy expressions. At the same time, however, the taste and profit of intellectuals shall not be overlooked.
2. The periodical shall endeavor to promote ideals acceptable to all Turks.

² Akçuraoglu Yusuf, *Türk Yılı: 1928*. Istanbul, 1928, p. 437.

³ *Ibid.* The other three were Mehmet Emin, Ahmet Hikmet and Doktor Âkil Muhtar. Among thirteen founders of the Turkish Association, only two were immigrants: Akyiğitzade Musa and Akçura. (*Ibid.*, p. 435.)

⁴ Muharrem Feyzi Togay, *Yusuf Akçura: Hayatı ve Eserleri*. Istanbul, 1944, p. 61; Dumont, "La Revue *Türk Yurdu*," p. 319; François Georgeon, *Aux origines du nationalisme turc: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)*. Paris, 1980, p. 44; "Mahmut Bay Huseynof," *T.Y.*, II/4, p. 504.

⁵ Akçuraoglu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 437. For the boarding house, see *ibid.*, p. 439, and the following items in *Türk Yurdu*: "Talebe Yurdu," *T.Y.*, I/10, p. 311; "Talebe Yurdu," *T.Y.*, II/6, p. 567; "Talebe Yurdunun Temel taşı Konması," *T.Y.*, V/2, p. 912.

⁶ Akçuraoglu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 437.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 437-439. The program was also referred to in the following works: Togay, *Yusuf Akçura*, pp. 62-63; Dumont, "La Revue *Türk Yurdu*," pp. 319-320.

3. The periodical shall mostly deal with subjects contributing to Turks' mutual awareness, their economic and moral improvement, and their becoming rich in scientific knowledge. Political subjects shall come later (*bunlardan sonra gelecektir*).

4. In order to make Turks aware of their common destiny, the periodical shall record events which arouse fraternal feelings, those occurring in all parts of the Turkic world, and currents of thought produced in various places of the world of Turks. It is hoped that literary works composed by various ethnic groups of Turkic nation shall be circulated among every member of the nation.

5. When dealing with the inner politics of the Ottoman state, the periodical shall not support any particular parties; it will consider the political and economic advantages to all the Turks, while striving to avoid conflict among various elements.

6. The periodical shall strive as much as possible to develop the Turkish national spirit among Ottoman Turks, to sweep away their laziness and pessimism, which originates from a lack of ideals, and to rescue this people (*millet*) from the exaggerated and baseless fear of the West.

7. The periodical's principle on international politics is to defend the interests of the Turkic world.

The first article advocated the simplification of language; unlike the declaration of the Turkish Association, the object of simplification was to advance the Turkic nation by attaining as wide a circulation of the journal among Turks as possible. The program, on the whole, can be regarded as an actual means for accomplishing the "unity of Turks" proposed in Akçura's 1904 article, "*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*". As a result, only two articles dealt with Ottoman Turks and their empire. In addition, in contrast to *Türk Derneği* or *Genç Kalemler*, none of these articles touched on the integration of the Ottoman state. These facts allow us to presume the periodical *Türk Yurdu* to be Pan-Turkist and non-Ottomanist.

LAUNCHING OF *TÜRK YURDU*

Türk Yurdu was launched at the end of November, 1911, and continued to be published biweekly except in the four-month period between August 6 and December 10 of 1914, which almost coincides with the term between the outbreak of World War I and Turkey's entering the war. The first issue contained 24 pages; encouraged by a hearty response, from the second issue onward, it grew to 32 pages.⁹

⁹ "Muhterem Okuyucularımıza," *T.Y.*, I/2, p. 25. This item reported that the first issue was reprinted after a week. From a statement in the leaflet distributed in

Table 6 shows the number of items, classified according to subject, from the first to the sixth volumes. This index shows well a characteristic of this periodical as compared with *Genç Kalemler* and *Türk Derneği*: *Türk Yurdu* stressed collecting and diffusing information on Turks residing in various regions, although the table may exaggerate the volume of literature, which consisted mainly of short poems. With what regions were the "information" columns concerned, then? As is shown in Table 7, the number of items on Central Asia was the same as that of those on the Ottoman Empire. It is also interesting that the regions presented were so various, especially because we know *Genç Kalemler* did not show any interest in Central Asia.¹⁰ In addition, Russian and Turkic newspapers were reproduced in the "*Matbuat*" columns in the same quantity as the Istanbul papers. (Table 8)

Who were the contributors? Table 9 shows that the number of contributions by those from, or living in, Russia was far smaller than that of contributions by Ottomans. This demonstrates the immigrants' powerful leadership in *Türk Yurdu*; they made the periodical Pan-Turkic-oriented despite their smaller numbers of contributions. The table also indicates some other characteristics of the periodical: among the immigrants, naturally, the number of contributions bearing Akçura's name was exceptionally high. The actual number of his contributions was even higher, since he wrote not a few articles under the signature "T.Y.". The reason for the sudden decrease in his contribution in the fourth volume was his journey to Arabia.¹¹

No member of *Türk Derneği* except Mehmet Emin played a major rôle in *Türk Yurdu* after its early volumes. Certainly, Ahmet Hikmet, for example, one of the founding members of *Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti*, contributed an essay on "national prosody" and some short stories written with simplified Turkish and phonetic orthography to the journal *Türk Yurdu*, and thereby transmitted *Türk Derneği*'s central feature to its successor;¹² from the second volume onward, however,

commemoration of the first anniversary, we can deduced that the first issue was printed four times, the second three times, and the third to the fifth twice. Its circulation is unknown. However, T. Z. Tunaya has shown that the Istanbul headquarters of *Türk Ocağı* listed 2,743 members. (Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*. vol. 1, Istanbul, 1984, p. 435. See also, Fethi Tevetoğlu, *Mehmet Emin Yurdakul*. Ankara, 1988, pp. 33-34.) The circulation could hence be fairly large, for *Türk Ocağı* opened many branches within the Ottoman Empire; furthermore *Türk Yurdu* may have attained circulation outside the empire as well.

¹⁰ See above, Chapter Three.

¹¹ "İtzar," *T.Y.*, III /12, p. 384; "Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey," *T.Y.*, IV /9, p. 736.

¹² Ahmet Hikmet, "Üzümcü," *T.Y.*, I/1, pp. 3-7; id., "Padişahım Alınız Menekşelerimi, Veriniz Kilemi," *T.Y.*, I/4, pp. 96-105; id., "Millî Aruz," *T.Y.*, I/8, pp. 218-224, I/9, pp. 249-253, I/10, pp. 281-286.

Table 6
 Classification of Articles Published in the *Türk Yurdu* (Vols. 1-6)*

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Literature	35	31	24	31	26	33	180
Information on Turkic Peoples ¹	18	14	21	25	34	37	149
History	18	10	5	9	12	8	62
Profile	1	3	6	12	3	6	31
Travels	1	3	6	7	9	4	30
Politics	9	10	2	—	—	5	26
Economics	3	6	4	3	3	5	24
Sociology	—	1	8	9	2	4	24
Correspondence ²	5	7	3	4	3	2	24
Articles Reprinted from Other Periodicals	2	1	6	2	4	6	21
Language	9	—	1	4	4	1	19
Local News	10	2	3	—	—	1	16
Education	2	6	5	1	—	1	15
History of Turkish Literature	1	2	2	—	4	6	15
Book Review	2	4	3	3	—	2	14
Geography & Ethnography	1	6	—	—	—	1	8
Book Notice ³	2	1	—	1	—	1	5
Hygienics	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
Others ⁴	7	5	6	5	7	4	34

* The classification is mainly based on the headings, such as "Literature", "History", and "Politics", put over the titles, although some modifications have been made according to contents.

¹ This item consists mainly of reports gathered in the "*Türklük Şüunu*" columns at the end of each issue.

² This item contains letters and editor's responses. Responses were, however, not counted when they followed the letters immediately.

³ This is a list of new publications, chiefly on Turcology.

⁴ "Others" include miscellaneous news from the editor, congratulatory notices on the sacrifice festival, etc.

he gave no really distinguished article to this successor. Nor did the other Turcologues such as Necip Âsım and Saffet.¹³ On the other hand, the leaders of *Genç Kalemler* began to contribute their writings in abundance to *Türk Yurdu* from the third volume onward. "Sociology" columns were thus founded under Ziya Gökalp's influence. Articles by Fuat Köprülü, one of the strongest antagonists of *Genç Kalemler*, also began to appear in *Türk Yurdu* about the same time.

Ağaoğlu Ahmet, whose number of contributions was much considerable among immigrants from Russia, began to publish in the premier issue his series of articles entitled "The Turkic World"

¹³ Bursalı Mehmet Tahir contributed quite a number of articles to the fourth, fifth and sixth volumes. They were wholly in the same manner as those in *Türk Derneği*, Turcological studies that would result in his valuable work, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*.

Table 7
Information on Turkic Peoples in the "Türklük Şüunu" Columns in the Türk Yurdu (Vols. 1—6) by Countries, Cities and Towns

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Ottoman Territory	Istanbul 8	Istanbul Other 1	Istanbul Others 3	Istanbul Edirne Izmir Kuruçeşme Other 4 3 1 1 1	Istanbul Others 7	Istanbul Others 12 5	19 4
(Subtotal)	(8)	(4)	(7)	(11)	(17)	(23)	70
Central Asia	Orenburg Bukhara Kansu, Sinkiang Mongolia India (Activities of Ismail Gaprinski) Other 1 1 1 1 1 1	Bukhara Tiflis Astrakhan Baku Other 1 1 1 1 1	St. Petersburg Kazan Orenburg Baku Semipalatinsk (?) Manchuria Chuguchak Other 2 1 1 1 1	Kazan Samar kand St. Petersburg Baku Khiva Merv Others 3 4 3 1 1 1 2	Kazan St. Petersburg Baku Grozny Crimea Simbirsk Samar kand Ufa Orenburg Kulja Others 3 2 1 1 1 1 1	Kazan St. Petersburg Tashkent Khokand Zöyebaşı Other 3 3 2 1 1 1 1	7 2 1 1 1 1 1
(Subtotal)	(6)	(6)	(16)	(11)	(18)	(13)	70
Europe	Athens Budapest Lausanne 1 1 1	Budapest Geneva Clermont-Ferrand Germany Other 2 1 1 1 1	Paris Bosnia Germany Other 1 1 1 1	Paris Bosnia Paris Other 1 1 1 1	Budapest Paris Paris Other 2 1 1 1	Budapest Germany Germany Other 2 1 1 1	1 1 1 1
(Subtotal)	(4)	(1)	(4)	(2)	(3)	(2)	16

* If an item contains information on several different cities, these cities are listed separately.

** If an item contains different events occurring in the same city, the numbers of the events are counted separately.

Table 8
Newspapers Whose Articles Were Reproduced in the "Matbuat" Columns

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Ottoman Territory			<i>Tasvir-i Efkar</i> 1 <i>Iftam</i> 1 <i>Sabah</i> 1 <i>Tanin</i> 1 <i>Jeune Turc</i> 1		<i>Sabah</i> <i>Tanin</i> Armenian Paper	1 1 1	2 1 1 1 1 (4)
(Subtotal)			(6)			(3)	(4)
Russian Territory		1	<i>Utro Rossi</i> (Moscow) <i>Russkaja Molva</i> (Moscow)	1 <i>Yakit</i> <i>Ikkal</i> (Baku)	1 <i>Yakit</i> 1	1 1	1 1 1 1 1 1 (5)
(Subtotal)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(1)	13

* Some items contain articles from different newspapers on the same topic, hence, the total of this table is larger than that of "Articles Reprinted from Other Periodicals" in Table 6.

Table 9
Contributors to the Türk Yurdu (Vols. 1-6) by Their Native Places

		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Contributors to Türk Derneği	Mehmet Emin	5	5	6	1	2	4	23
	Bursalı Mehmet Tahir	—	—	—	5	4	4	13
	Ahmet Hikmet	6	—	—	—	1	—	7
	İspartalı Hakkı	1	4	2	—	—	—	7
	Necip Âsim	2	2	1	—	—	—	5
	Mustafa Zühdü	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
	Rıza Tevfik	1	—	—	—	1	2	4
	Saffet	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
	Raif Mehmet Fuat	—	—	—	—	1	1	2
	Antvan Tıngır	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Ottomans Contributors to Genç Kalemler	Kâzım Nami	—	1	10	7	2	2	22
	Ziya Gökalp	—	—	5	7	2	2	16
	Ali Canip	1	—	—	3	4	—	8
	Ömer Seyfettin ¹	—	1	—	1	2	4	8
	Aka Gündüz	—	—	—	3	—	1	4
	M. Nermi	—	1	1	1	—	—	3
	Mehmet Ali Tevfik	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
Others	Abdülhak Hâmit	—	—	—	12	10	—	22
	Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat	—	—	3	8	2	6	19
	İzzet Ulvi	5	4	1	1	—	—	11
	Celal Sahir	4	2	2	1	1	1	11
	Hamdullah Suphi	—	2	3	—	3	2	10
	Feyzullah Sacit	3	5	1	—	—	1	10
	Abdullah Cevdet	—	1	1	—	1	—	3
	Âkil Muhtar	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
	Ahmet Ferit	—	2	—	—	—	—	2
Celal Nuri	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	
Those Russian Born	Akçuraoğlu Yusuf	19	15	7	1	3	6	51
	Halim Sabit	1	3	4	6	5	4	23
	T. Y.	5	4	1	3	—	9	22
	Ahmet Agayef (Parvus)	7	3	—	6	—	3	19
	Resulzade Mehmet Emin ²	1	5	4	4	3	—	17
	İsmail Gasprinski	2	—	—	—	—	2	4
	Ahmet Zeki Velidi	—	1	—	—	2	—	3
	Sait Sunçaley	—	1	—	1	—	—	2
	Fatih Kerimi	—	—	1	—	—	—	1

¹ Three short stories in the sixth volume carry the signature "A. Seyfettin".

² Those in the third volume are translations of Afghani's article.

(*Türk Âlemi*).¹⁴ This was to last until the sixth issue of the second volume. Aġaoġlu grieved over the conditions of the Turkic world, its disintegration in particular, and sought for remedies. He began with the following sentence:

Nothing is harder than drawing the true demarcation line of the Turkic world, which is as wide and vague as the imagination.¹⁵

Aġaoġlu undertook the most ambitious project. He started his account of the Turkic world from the summit of the highest peak in the Balkan Mountains to Astrakhan via the northern coast of the Black Sea; from Astrakhan he went up the Volga to Kazan, and then began to transverse Siberia. In north-east Asia, he went down to Chinese Turkestan by way of the eastern border of Mogulistan. He then went back to the Caspian Sea across the Helmand River; at last, he reached the starting point after passing Syria and the Aegean Sea. The Turkic world was thus larger than Europe plus America and contained seventy to eighty million people. Why was this vast region so confused? The reason was, according to Aġaoġlu, that the people did not perceive either themselves or their neighbors as Turks, which situation was surely the result of differences of religious sects, political demarcation, dependence on other nations, and lack of knowledge about their national identity (*marifet-i kavmiye*).¹⁶ He strove then to let Turks regain their national pride as Turks.

Two articles by Yusuf Akçura appeared in the premier issue: "In the World of Turks" and "Genghiz Khan as Drawing on the Works of the Historian Léon Cahun and the Teacher Bartold". In the former article, the author argued that the world of Turks consisted of three parts: the Ottoman state, the northern and north-western part of Iran, and the vast continent under Chinese and Russian rule.¹⁷ In the latter article on Genghiz Khan, which was originally a lecture delivered before the Turkish Association, Akçura enumerated four great empires which the Turks built up in Asia: Hsiung-nu, K k Turk, Mongol-Turk, and Timurid. He dealt with the founder of the third, Genghiz, in this long article serialized into eleven parts.¹⁸

¹⁴ Ahmet Agayef, "T rk  lemi," *T.Y.*, I/1, pp. 12-17; I/2, pp. 36-42; I/3, pp. 70-74; I/5, pp. 135-139; I/7, pp. 195-200; I/10, pp. 292-297; II/2, pp. 424-428; II/6, pp. 545-551.

¹⁵ Ahmet Agayef, *op. cit.*, *T.Y.*, I/1, p. 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁷ Akçuraoġlu Yusuf, "T rk  leminde," *T.Y.*, I/1, pp. 23-24.

¹⁸ Akçuraoġlu Yusuf, "M verrih Léon Cahun ve Muallim Bartold'e g re  ingiz Han," *T.Y.*, I/1, pp. 17-22; I/2, pp. 47-53; I/3, pp. 78-82; I/4, pp.

Halim Sabit, Kazan born, whose number of contributions was the highest among immigrants except Akçura, reported on his long travels to Altai Mountains. He reported in this 23-part serial the conditions of Turkic people living in this vast region.¹⁹ Most of the articles written by immigrants could be thus regarded as Pan-Turkic, in accordance with the editorial program.

We must now ask what view the journal held of Ottoman patriotism.

TURKIC NATION AND OTTOMAN STATE

The small column "Matbuat", which appeared in March of 1913 gives a major clue to Akçura's thought on the Ottoman state. In this column titled "Against Tanzimatism", Akçura, under the signature "A.Y.", made some comments on reproduced articles.²⁰ After referring to the vogue for anti-Tanzimatism among Ottomans, Akçura quoted some passages from three intellectuals: Yunus Nadi, Ağaoglu Ahmet, and Fuat Köprülü. Yunus Nadi, a journalist who would launch the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* in 1924, criticized the *Tanzimat* in the paper *Tasvir-i Efkâr*.²¹ Akçura judged the focus of Nadi's criticism to be the duality which the *Tanzimat* produced in the Ottoman community; the reform which the *Tanzimat* leaders intended to initiate meant merely imitating the West.²² Akçura cited then a few sentences from Ağaoglu Ahmet's article which originally appeared in the *Jeune Turc*; this also criticized the *Tanzimat* as a superficial Westernization of Turkish life.²³ Finally, Akçura analyzed in detail an article of Fuat Köprülü. Köprülü criticized the *Tanzimat* for bearing the duality of old and new as a consequence of the hasty Westernization; it was regarded as irreligious by the common people since the reformist ideology was not publicized among them. He said that true reform must have an effect through reactivating traditional institutions.²⁴

114-116; I/5, pp. 139-143; I/6, pp. 177-183; I/7, pp. 202-206; I/8, pp. 240-244; I/9, pp. 268-282; I/10, pp. 303-307; I/11, pp. 326-330.

¹⁹ Halim Sabit, "Altaylara Doğru," *T.Y.*, I/12, pp. 365-369, *et passim*.

²⁰ A.Y., "Tanzimatçılık Aleyhine," *T.Y.*, III/11, pp. 349-352. Usually, in the "Matbuat" columns, no detailed explanations were made, nor did the editor add his signature to his short foreword. In the eighth issue of the third volume, a signature—and it was an initial of the *Türk Yurdu*, "T.Y"—was affixed for the first time. Throughout the "Matbuat" columns, Akçura used the signature "A.Y." only on this occasion. This leads to the assumption that he attached a peculiar significance to the comment.

²¹ Yunus Nadi, "Tanzimatçılığın İfrâsı," *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, 693.

²² A.Y., *op. cit.*, pp. 350-351.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-352. The original was: Köprülü zade Mehmet Fuat, "Mektep-Medrese," *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, no. 696.

Akçura, however, was dissatisfied with these criticisms; this is the reason he made such a careful commentary. Indeed, at the beginning of this column, after referring to the emergence of the anti-*Tanzimat* current among Ottomans, Akçura gently reminded readers of the fact that he had already criticized the *Tanzimat*.²⁵ The crucial point is that Akçura mentioned two articles as examples of his criticism: “*Medreselerin Islâhı*” and “*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*”.²⁶ The point of the articles quoted by Akçura was the same as that of his previous article on reform in religious schools; accordingly, the criticism popularly offered among Ottomans was, according to him, partial.²⁷ For this reason, prior to quoting the articles mentioned, he argued that the time was not right for declaring the bankruptcy of Tanzimatism—and two of three articles were entitled “The Bankruptcy of *Tanzimat*”.²⁸ The criticism of the cited articles was all levelled at superficial and hasty Westernization.

After quoting the articles, Akçura offered a concept of “political and administrative Tanzimatism” (*siyasî ve idarî Tanzimatçılık*), and judged it to be harmful to Ottoman Turks.²⁹ This leads to the conclusion that the point of issue was Ottomanism, which Akçura rejected in the same manner as in his 1904 article. In addition, he might perceive the survival of Ottomanism despite his warning, even among nationalists gathering around *Türk Derneği* and *Genç Kalemler*. He said:

I think the declaration of the bankruptcy of Tanzimatism was premature. There is life in it yet. Most of those regarded as intellectuals are still Tanzimatists.³⁰

It was necessary for declaring its bankruptcy to abandon the Ottoman nation policy or, at least its actual tenet, the policy of assimilation. Akçura praised his close friend, Ahmet Ferit, who had objected to his “*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*” from the Ottomanist stand-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 349. It is interesting that Akçura called the central figure of the current “Diyarbakırlı Ziya Bey”, although he used a pseudonym “Gökalp”.

²⁶ The former was originally published in the journal *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (IV/79, 1910); the latter was, needless to say, in *Türk* (24, 26 and 27, 1904).

²⁷ A similar “partial” criticism of the *Tanzimat* can be seen in the thoughts of Young Ottomans. See, Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*. Princeton, 1962, pp. 163–165; Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. Montreal, 1964, pp. 208–218. This partiality of two generations of Ottoman intellectuals implies the link of Ottomans’ Turkish nationalism with Ottoman patriotism. The cause of the vogue of anti-Tanzimatism in the new generation was defeats in the Balkan War.

²⁸ A.Y., *op. cit.*, p. 350.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

point, since Ferit asserted, in the statement of the National Constitutional Party (*Millî Meşrutiyet Fırkası*) which he had recently founded, that the policy of assimilation had to be abandoned in Arabia, Albania and Rumelia.³¹

Ağaoğlu Ahmet also criticized the “unification of elements” in the Ottoman Empire. In response to Süleyman Nazif’s open letter, Ağaoğlu tried to demonstrate the sterility of the idea of an Ottoman nation. At first, Nazif sought, in his open letter to Ağaoğlu, to show that France, Germany and Britain were formed by a mingling of various ethnic elements, so that there was no need to think of a Turkic nation on purely racial grounds. In the Ottoman Empire, different ethnic elements could be combined.³² Ağaoğlu ably argued against Nazif as follows: certainly the French nation had been built up through the mixture of many elements such as Latins, Gauls, Goths, and Franks. However, was such mixture possible in the Ottoman state (*Osmanlılık*)?³³ Ağaoğlu bantered Nazif on his adopting the future tense when expressing the idea of such a possibility. In the Ottoman Empire, Ağaoğlu affirmed, no ethnic mixture had been made, nor had Ottoman consciousness (*Osmanlı vicdanı*) been bred for six hundred years. Indeed, it was poetic and dreamy to imagine the realization of such hopes. However, incidents happening in Rumelia and even in some parts of Anatolia demonstrated the impossibility of the mixture, and:

(these incidents) demanded that the cause of tragedies lasting several centuries should be the contrast between the poetic idea and the reality.³⁴

The same arguments against the framework of an Ottoman nation can be seen in the controversy conducted in May of 1914 between *Türk Yurdu* and Ali Kemal, who had been a criticizer of Akçura’s “*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*”. The controversy began with Ali Kemal’s criticism, published in the newspaper *Peyam*, of Ağaoğlu’s *Jeune Turc* article. Kemal criticized Akçura and his 1904 article once again. His criticism can be summarized as follows:³⁵ the Ottoman state (*Osmanlılık*) was a reality having its sovereignty,

³¹ “Kemal cesaretle kabul ve ilan olunmalıdır ki Arabistan ve Arnavutluk ile Rumeli temsil-i millî ve tevhid-i anasıra müsait sahalar değildir.” (*Ibid.*). See also, “Millî Meşrutiyet Fırka-ı Siyasiyesi,” *T.Y.*, II/10, pp. 695–696; *T.Y.*, “Osmanlı Devletinin Dahilî ve Haricî Siyasiyata Dair,” *T.Y.*, III/8, pp. 248–249; Tunaya, *Siyasal Partiler*, pp. 351–363.

³² Süleyman Nazif, “Ahmet Agayef Bey Efendiye Cevap,” *İctihad*, 75, p. 1646a–b.

³³ Ahmet Agayef, “Cevaba Cevap,” *T.Y.*, IV/12, pp. 838–839.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 839–840.

³⁵ *T.Y.*, “Türkler içinde Millî Hareket,” *T.Y.*, VI/5, pp. 2,172–2,173.

territory and history etc. He said: “We must nationally (*devletçe, milletçe*) develop and elevate our society through fastening various elements from Arabs to Kurds to this hope of *Osmanlılık*. Turks could derive the greatest profit from the progress of the *Osmanlılık*. Certainly, Turkish nationalism contributed to the *Osmanlılık*: it awoke our national feelings; it simplified and purified our language. We must, however, abstain from rashness in politics.”

This was actually the same argument as that adopted by *Genç Kalemler* and *Türk Derneği*. Those Ottoman nationalists gathering around these periodicals asserted the unity of the Ottoman state, while striving to awaken a Turkish national identity among Ottoman Turks. How did *Türk Yurdu*, more correctly Yusuf Akçura,³⁶ respond to this criticism?

Ali Kemal said that the *Osmanlılık* was a reality, as shown above. Akçura agreed too that it was a reality. But he emphasized that its nature had been changing in the course of time. Formerly, it comprised only Muslims of various ethnic origin speaking Ottoman Turkish. After the *Tanzimat*, however, it began to include non-Muslims; their separatist movements were thereby to be prevented.³⁷ Would the present *Osmanlılık* last as it was? Was it a perversion of truth to say that various elements could be fastened to the hope of *Osmanlılık*?³⁸ As a consequence of national elevation, as Kemal put it, would a nation (*millet*) emerge? Indeed, the French nation comprised various elements in the early stage of the Middle Ages. Did Kemal believe that the same process of ethnic mixing would start in the Ottoman Empire?³⁹ It was, needless to say, the same idea that Ağaoğlu Ahmet had proposed in the response to Süleyman Nazif. Thus, *Türk Yurdu*'s two leading *Russian* contributors criticized the framework of the *Osmanlılık* itself.

In the same manner as Yusuf Akçura, Ziya Gökalp criticized the *Tanzimat*, although he was vague about the relation between the Ottoman state and a national identity for Turks. The criticism appeared, subsequent to the defeats in the Balkan War, in his serial “Turkification, Islamization, Modernization”⁴⁰ He said in the first article of the series that only the *Tanzimat* leaders had believed in

³⁶ The author wrote the response under the pseudonym of “T.Y.”. In it, however, he argued against Ali Kemal by referring to Akçura’s articles, and by explaining the thoughts of “Yusuf Akçuras” (*Yusuf Akçuralar*). Considering these facts, we must identify the author with Akçura, the editor of the periodical.

³⁷ T.Y., “*Peyam’a Cevap*,” T.Y., VI/6, p. 2,204.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2,206.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ The serial comprised nine articles, one of which lacked a title. In the bibliography of Gökalp, İ. Binark and N. Sefercioğlu have recorded 12 articles as

the possibility of constructing a nation-state (*iradî bir millet*, nation de volonté) from among various subjects of an existing one (*vakî bir millet*, nation de fait), that is a multi-national empire.⁴¹ At first glance, this is the same line of thought as the criticism of the *Tanzimat* by Yusuf Akçura. Gökalp's criticism was, however, still partial from Akçura's viewpoint, since his criticism was in fact not levelled at the policy itself. He continued the argument as follows:

If high officials and leaders of political parties lack this feeling (of national identity), it is impossible to govern psychologically various ethnic groups (*cemaat ve kavimler*), each of which is a member of the Ottoman state (*Osmanlılık*).⁴²

In addition, he asserted that only those enjoying the pleasure of nationhood in their minds could govern a country where national feeling was dominant.⁴³ What Gökalp criticized was thus not the aim of the *Tanzimat* leaders but their means.

In the fifth article of his serial, published in August of 1913, he again censured *Tanzimat*. The criticism was also levelled at the *Tanzimat* leaders' attempt to construct the Ottoman nation, a pseudo-nation-state. He offered this criticism after referring to Egyptian and Albanian separatist movements,⁴⁴ one may hence suppose that Gökalp conquered his partiality. In reality, however, he said afterwards:

If the aim of Ottomanism (*Osmanlılık*) was a *state*, all the subjects would actually be members of this state. But if the aim was to construct a new *nation* whose language was the Ottoman language (*Osmanlıca*), the new nation would be a Turkish nation, since the Ottoman language was no other than Turkish.⁴⁵

These ambiguous sentences also indicated that Gökalp's criticism of *Tanzimat* was levelled at its means: construction of the Ottoman nation through Ottomanization without a national Turkish identity. This may lead to the assumption that the bone of contention of Gökalp was exactly the same as that of Akçura. In particular, the latter part of the sentences cited enables us to presume that he abandoned the policy of assimilation. However, the point he criticized

those contributed to *Türk Yurdu* by Gökalp. (İsmet Binark & Nejat Sefercioğlu, *Ziya Gökalp Bibliyografyası*. Ankara, 1971.) In fact, there is another item written under the pseudonym of "Gökalp"; three other items have the signatures of "Mehmet Ziya" and "Ziya".

⁴¹ Gökalp, "Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak," *T.Y.*, III/11, p. 332.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Gökalp, "Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak," *T.Y.*, IV/10, p. 756.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 756-757.

was not the policy itself. He continued as follows: "It was only Turks who fell into this trap of *Tanzimat*."⁴⁶ The point was thus the Turks' lack of national identity. If they awakened to it, he said, friendship (*i'tilaf*) among various subjects could be established.⁴⁷ He even recorded that all the subject nationalists were pleased at the emergence of Turkish nationalism.⁴⁸ Certainly, though none of his arguments was concrete, he advocated that the awakened Turks could comprehend the national feelings of subjects.⁴⁹ However, the problem still remained: the relation between the unity of the Ottoman state and the national feelings of its subjects. Should he deny autonomy or decentralism, his idea could easily change into the policy of assimilation.

The only argument he set forth concretely concerning this problem was about education. He supported a centralistic system of education in a common language. He said:

If the subjects acquire their education based on separate religious and national traditions in their own languages, how can a homogeneous culture like British civilization be created?⁵⁰

He added that interethnic (*beynelanasır*), international (*beynelmilel*) and interreligious (*beynelümem*) ideals were needed as well as a national one; he confessed he was the supporter of all the ideals: *Türklük* (national), *İslâmiyet* (international), *Osmanlılık* (interethnic), and *Beşeriyet* (interreligious).⁵¹ While regarding himself as a humanist, he demonstrated that he was not a supporter of decentralism as a result.

Furthermore, as for the *Osmanlılık*, his idea did not change from that offered in July of 1909. In the newspaper *Peyman* (Oath) which he launched in his hometown Diyarbakır, before moving to Salonica, he lauded the United States of America as a model for the Ottoman state; all Americans preserved self-consciousness as Americans although they were composed of many elements.⁵² In addition, he rejected Pan-Turkism in the same paper, saying that Ottomans endeavored to build a nation with the cooperation of

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 757.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 758; Gökalp, "Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak: 6. Cemaat Medeniyeti, Cemiyet Medeniyeti," *T.Y.*, IV/11, p. 800.

⁵⁰ Cemaat mekteplerinde, hususî lisanlarda, dinî ve kavmî tarihlere istinaden tahsil gören gayr-i mütecanis zekalardan nasıl olur da—meselâ İngiliz medeniyeti gibi—mütecanis bir irfan husule gelebilir. (*Ibid.*, p. 804.)

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 805.

⁵² "Yeni Osmanlılar," *Peyman*, III. (Şevket Beysanoğlu, *Ziya Gökalp'in İlk Yazı Hayatı: 1894-1909*. Istanbul, 1956, p. 105.)

people related spiritually rather than by blood.⁵³ The thing that changed during the four-year term was thus only the model for the Ottoman state: from America to Britain.

A similar “change” occurred in the writings of Fuat Köprülü, who had conducted a bitter debate with *Genç Kalemler*. His first contribution to *Türk Yurdu*, entitled “Hope and Determination”, appeared in February, 1913, while the controversy lasted until the middle of 1912. In his first article, he encouraged Turks who fell into pessimism because of the defeats in the Balkan War to awake; he criticized their resignation on the basis of religion and Darwinism.⁵⁴ This enables us to suppose that the aim of his encouragement was to rescue the Ottoman state, though he did not say so clearly.

It was in his famous article “*Türklük, İslâmlık, Osmanlılık*” that he posited the relation between the Ottoman state and a national Turkish identity. After confirming the fact that the Ottoman state consisted of many elements, he described the combination of these elements as a circle, with Turks (*Türklük*) at the center, Islam (*İslâmlık*) around the center, and Christian elements (*Hıristiyan unsurlar*) at the periphery.⁵⁵ He asserted that the central element lacking in national identity could not prevent separatist movements of the other elements perceiving their own identities.⁵⁶ And:

Only the Turks’ having their national ideal could save the Ottoman state from destruction.⁵⁷

His logic was thus exactly the same as that of his master, Ziya Gökalp. Like Gökalp, Köprülü did not discuss concretely the problem of the relation between the national awakening of Turks and the national identities of other elements.

The element of Islam he identified with Arabs;⁵⁸ the Ottoman state could rise by elevation of Turks and Arabs. He regarded then the separatist movements of Arabs as an obstacle to forming a “true and sincere” Arab nationalism.⁵⁹ He certainly denied the possibility of a merger (*kaynaşma*) of Turks and Arabs. However, immediately after this sentence, he asserted:

⁵³ Mehmet Mehdî, “Türklük ve Osmanlılık,” *Peyman*, II. (*Ibid.*, pp. 99–101.)

⁵⁴ Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, “Ümit ve Azim,” *T.Y.*, III/8, pp. 240–247.

⁵⁵ Id., “Türklük, İslâmlık, Osmanlılık,” *T.Y.*, IV/9, p. 697.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 698.

⁵⁷ Osmanlılığı tecezzi ve inhilalden kurtarmak ancak Türklerin de millî bir mefkûreye malikiyetleriyle mümkün olacaktı. (*Ibid.*)

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 699–700.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 700.

This impossibility of fusion is not an obstacle to accomplishing the unity and alliance of these two elements.⁶⁰

It was of course just a step from “unity” to “fusion”, especially in terms of the political aspect of Arab separatism.

One can find, in *Türk Yurdu*, other Ottoman arguments of the same kind. İzzet Ulvî, a writer from Eskişehir, for example, published an article entitled “Is the National Feeling of Turks an Obstacle to the Ottoman Idea?”⁶¹ In the course of this article, though written before the outbreak of the Balkan War, he concluded that to support Turks (*Türklük*) was to support Ottomans (*Osmanlılık*), since Turks were the glorified bond (*muazzez bir bağ*) tying Ottoman subjects together.⁶² This was the same idea as that of Ali Kemal, which had been rejected by Yusuf Akçura; this can also be regarded as a transitional form of centralism, or the idea of Ottoman nation, and its main tenet, the policy of assimilation, between the sophisticated expressions of Ziya Gökalp and Fuat Köprülü and the naïve ones seen in *Genç Kalemler* and *Türk Derneği*.

Yusuf Akçura, in contrast to Ottomans who seem to have regarded Turkish nationalism as a means of maintaining the Ottoman state, regarded the Ottoman state as a means of preserving the advantages of Turks. Under the signature “T.Y.” in the “*Matbuat*” column published in March of 1913, Akçura stated his idea about the relation between the Ottoman state and the Turkic nation.⁶³ The purpose of this column was, similar to that of Fuat Köprülü, to encourage Turks after the defeats of the Balkan War. The composition of this column was carefully structured too: at the beginning, Akçura cited some passages from his own article “*Türklük*” in *Salname-i Servet-i Fünûn*. Then he explained their meaning. The outline of the cited passages was as follows: certainly it seems to be difficult to forecast the bright future of Turks; however, they are beginning now to awaken; the awakened nation will surely rise from the dead.⁶⁴ He continued:

The author of the idea of “resurrection from death” in this passage wanted to say: “Even if an accident, God forbid, befalls the Ottoman state, the Turkic nation will still survive; it is necessary for

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 701.

⁶¹ İzzet Ulvî, “*Türklük Duygusu Osmanlılık Fikrine Mâni mi?*” *T.Y.*, II/4, pp. 491–493.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 492.

⁶³ T.Y., “*Ba’s Ba’d’ül-Mevt*,” *T.Y.*, III/10, pp. 316–318. We can identify the author with Akçura by reason of the fact that he put forth his argument by tracing and explaining Akçura’s previous article.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

you, beginning now, to endeavor to prolong the nation's life, to make it progress and rise, and afterward, to regain its independence."⁶⁵

This clearly indicates that Akçura, unlike nationalist Ottomans, did not believe in the necessity of maintaining the Ottoman Empire.

Akçura's view on the Ottoman state can also be seen in his article about the Balkan situation. He pointed to two duties entrusted to Turks: preserving the caliphate and protecting the sovereignty of the ancestors in Eastern Europe.⁶⁶ The sovereignty was certainly that of the Ottoman Empire. However, he viewed the Balkan situation as part of the national antagonism between Turks and Slavs;⁶⁷ he concluded that the only power that could reverse the superiority of Slavs was the Ottoman Army.⁶⁸ He therefore regarded the Ottoman state as a means of preserving the advantages of the Turkic nation.

UNITY OF TATARS AND OTTOMAN TURKS

As we have seen above, in chapter three, the terms *Türklük* and *Osmanlılık* were interchangeable in the thought of nationalist Ottomans.⁶⁹ Even the non-nationalist, Ali Kemal, for example, used the term of "Turkish state" (*Türk Devleti*) in place of "Ottoman state"; he considered Turks superior to other Asian peoples, saying: "they are the founder and the owner of a state and sovereignty lasting six hundred and five years."⁷⁰ The interchangeability may have influenced the sophisticated expressions of Ziya Gökalp and Fuat Köprülü about the relation between the Ottoman state and the national Turkish identity, which situation can be attributed to the significance Ottomans attached to the *Osmanlılık*. There can be seen a good example of Ottomans' sentiment in the debate Süleyman Nazif conducted with Ağaoğlu Ahmet.

Nazif at first admitted that he belonged to a national tradition as

⁶⁵ Buradaki "ba's ba'd'ül-mevt" fikrini yazan muharrir: "Osmanlı Devletinin başına, Allah göstermesin, bir kaza gelse bile, Türk milleti baki kalacaktır; o milletin devam-ı hayatını, terakki ve taalisini, ve sonra tekrar iktisab-ı istiklâlini temin için olsun, şimdiden çalışmanız lâzım gelir." demek istiyordu. (*Ibid.*)

⁶⁶ A.Y. "1328 Seferi," *T.Y.*, III/1, p. 31.

⁶⁷ For Akçura's view of history, "Turks versus Slavs", see Georgeon, *Origines*, p. 76.

⁶⁸ A.Y., "1328 Seferi", p. 32.

⁶⁹ See, in particular, a response of *Genç Kalemler* to Fuat Köprülü. (pp. 42-44.)

⁷⁰ Ali Kemal, "Cevabımız," in *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, pp. 40-41. The year when he wrote this article was 1904; this coincides with six hundred and five years after the establishment of the Ottoman state, 1299.

well as a religious one. According to him, however, the national tradition was not retroactive to the pre-1299 period.⁷¹ His “national tradition” was thus that of the Ottoman Turks. Ağaoglu was quick to respond:

Studying Seljuk Turks is indispensable to comprehending and thereby loving the history of Ottomans; it is necessary for studying and understanding the Seljuks to know the past, old institutions, morals, and characters of all Turks.⁷²

This demonstrated very well the fact that Turkish nationalism emerged alongside and partly as a result of the rise of Turcological studies.

One of the motives that led Süleyman Nazif, and Ali Kemal as well, to confine their national tradition to that of Ottomans was undoubtedly their prejudice against “Turks”. As is well known, Ottomans attached to the term “*Türk*” a meaning of contempt for Anatolian peasants and nomads.⁷³ Nazif expressed the feeling as follows:

If we return to Arabs and Persians what is theirs, nothing remains for us but a woollen jacket with long sleeves.⁷⁴

By the phrase “woollen jacket” Nazif meant pre-Ottoman and poor life of Turks. The problem was naturally the relation between the Turks who had only a woollen jacket and the Ottoman Turks. According to Nazif, who admitted *Osman Gazi* was a Turk, *Osman Gazi*'s forefathers and their followers could not establish a great state in Anatolia by themselves; they found their supporters among the natives (*anasır-ı mahalliye*), and hence:

We find among the founders of this great state, with our respect and gratitude, those whose names are unfamiliar in our language but who are very familiar to our minds such as Mihal and Evrenos.⁷⁵

The term of *Osmanlılık* or Ottomans had thus a peculiar meaning; it was the equivalent for a glorious amalgam of various elements. The Ottoman state was a peculiar entity; the *Osmanlılık* should hence be

⁷¹ Süleyman Nazif, “Dar’ül-Fünûn-i Osmanî Türk Tarih-i Medeniyeti Mualimi Ahmet Agayef Bey Efendiye,” *İctihad*, 71, p. 1549b.

⁷² Ahmet Agayef, “Sabık Trabzon Valisi Süleyman Nazif Bey Efendiye,” *T.Y.*, IV/9, p. 705.

⁷³ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. 2nd ed., London, 1968, pp. 332–333; Roderic H. Davison, “Environmental and Foreign Contributions: Turkey,” in Robert E. Ward & Dankwart A. Rustow (eds.), *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*. Paperback ed., Princeton, 1968, p. 109.

⁷⁴ Nazif, *op. cit.*, p. 1551a.

⁷⁵ Süleyman Nazif, “Ahmet Agayef Bey Efendiye,” *İctihad*, 74, p. 1623a.

distinguished from both pre-Ottoman Turks and those living outside the Ottoman state.

Yusuf Akçura asserted the unity of the Ottoman Turks and Tatars; they were, according to him "Turco-Tatar nation", a group in the Ural- Altaic.⁷⁶ Even Genghiz Khan was included in this definition. Turks, Tatars and Mongols constituted the army of Genghiz whose mother was a Tatar; they were afterward made Turks in his empire and became a nation.⁷⁷ These arguments naturally irritated Ottomans.

Ebüzziya Tefvik was criticized by Akçura and other nationalists since he used, in his newspaper *Yeni Tasvir-i Efkâr*, the term "Tatar" as a synonym of "bloodthirsty" (*hunhar*), and was required to publish an apology. Ebüzziya replied, however, that Turks were absolutely different from Tatars and that the adjective "bloodthirsty" had been used for six hundred years when arguing about Tatars; he consequently refused to apologize.⁷⁸ In addition, he pointed out that it was a Tatar who destroyed the sovereignty of Ottomans, a century after its establishment, in Ankara.⁷⁹ As for the nature of Ottomans, Ebüzziya affirmed the establishment of an entity through fusing various elements such as Arabs, Persians, the natives of Anatolia or Greeks, Kurds and Armenians of Eastern provinces. He asked whether there were any pure Turkish families, except the Sultan's, coming from Khorasan or Turan, among those peoples gathered under the name of Ottoman.⁸⁰ One can thereby understand the difficulty in diffusing the idea of the unity of Turkic peoples among Ottomans, and the difficulty in Ottomans' overcoming the idea of Ottoman nation as well.

The Ottomans' fixed idea of Tatars or "Turks" was reflected, with some justice, in *Türk Yurdu*. Among the information on Turkic peoples collected in the "*Türklük Şüunu*" columns, there can be seen many items showing that Turks outside the Ottoman Empire had great sympathy for Ottoman Turks and wanted to help them.⁸¹ On

⁷⁶ Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, "Türk ve Tatar Birdir, Türkler Medeniyete Hizmet Etmiştir," *Altın Armağan*. İstanbul, 1912, pp. 41-42.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

⁷⁸ Ebüzziya Tefvik, "Türklük ve Tatarlık Bahsi," *Mecmua-i Ebüzziya*, 94, pp. 483, 487.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 489.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 485.

⁸¹ For example, Mansur, "Petersburg'dan: Petersburg'da Kurban Bayramının İlk Günü," *T.Y.*, I/5, pp. 145-147; "Türk Irkının Beşiği," *T.Y.*, I/7, p. 213; *T.Y.*, "İmparatorluk Haricindeki Türklerde Türklük Hamiyeti," *T.Y.*, III/4, p. 128; *T.Y.*, "İmparatorluk Haricindeki Türklerin Osmanlılara Yardımları," *T.Y.*, III/5, p. 159; "Hilâl-i Ahmer İnesi," *T.Y.*, III/7, p. 224; Şımalı Hemşirelerimiz," *T.Y.*, IV/2, p. 464; *et passim*.

the one hand, indeed, Yusuf Akçura regarded Tatar society as a model of the progress of Ottomans;⁸² on the other hand, however, *Türk Yurdu* had to try to win the favor for Ottomans because of their pride and contempt for Turks.

ANTI-ISLAM?

There was another factor in the Ottomans' rejection of Turkish nationalism: it was believed to be contrary to Islam. On this point, Ağaoglu Ahmet made a succinct answer to the charge brought by Süleyman Nazif and Babanzade Ahmet Naim. Studying the origin and development of the Shiite sect in his younger days, Ağaoglu could reply to such attacks.⁸³ Furthermore, he got acquainted with Jamal ad-Din al-Afghanî and, most probably, introduced him to the readers of *Türk Yurdu*.⁸⁴

The Islamists' criticisms of nationalism was twofold: Islam essentially excludes nationalism; and nationalism destroys the brotherly feeling in Islam. On the first point, Ahmet Naim emphasized that the assertion of nationalism (*dava-yı kavmiyet*, *dava-yı cinsiyet*) was rejected by the holy law; it was an assertion of pre-Islamic paganism (*cahiliye*).⁸⁵ Süleyman Nazif also said that national and ethnic solidarity was changed into that of religion and religious sects with the rise of Islam.⁸⁶

Ağaoglu focused his counterargument on the grounds of his adversary: the object the Prophet's *hadith* criticized was not nationalism (*milliyet*) but tribalism (*asabiyet*).⁸⁷ The latter urged peoples of the same nation to a murderous battle for a camel; nation, on the other hand, meant a body of peoples sharing a common feeling, comprising religion, language, race (*ırk*), history, tradition, custom, and so on.⁸⁸ Originally, the purpose of Islam was, according to

⁸² See, Georjeon *Origines*, pp. 62–65, and many items put in the “*Türklük Şüunu*” columns.

⁸³ Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*. 2nd ed., Istanbul, 1977, p. 401.

⁸⁴ T.Y., “Şeyh Cemalettin Efgânî,” T.Y., VI/7, pp. 2,263–2,267. Reportedly Afghanî confessed that he was a Turk. See also Ahmet Ağayef, “Türk Âlemi: 5,” T.Y., I/7, p. 200; Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din ‘al-Afghani’: A Political Biography*. Berkeley, 1972, p. 432.

⁸⁵ Ahmet Naim, “İslâmda Daya-yı Kavmiyet,” S.R., 293, p. 114b.

⁸⁶ Süleyman Nazif, “Ahmet Ağayef Bey Efendiye,” *İçtihad*, 74, p. 1,622a.

⁸⁷ Ahmet Ağayef, “İslâmda Dava-yı Milliyet,” T.Y., VI/10, p. 2,323; id., *Cevaba Cevap*,” T.Y., IV/12, p. 827.

⁸⁸ Ahmet Ağayef, “İslâmda Dava-yı Milliyet,” p. 2,323; id., “Türk Âlemi: 6,” T.Y., I/10, p. 293. Ağaoglu’s idea on nation demonstrates that Pan-Turkists did not depend on “race” only. See, Berkes, *Secularism*, pp. 344–345. Berkes distin-

him, to establish the unity of the Arab nation excluding tribalism; that is, Islam built on the basis of nation (*milliyet*).⁸⁹ Aġaoġlu would naturally face to the fact that many other nations than the Arab ones were afterwards included in Islam, which fact could be the counterargument against the second point of the Islamists' criticism of nationalism.⁹⁰

Aġaoġlu pointed out that Islam could not actually exclude the *asabiyet*, which was at first actualized as the conflict between the Hashimites and the Umayyads, and caused afterward the tragedy at Karbala.⁹¹ Furthermore, Aġaoġlu said, brotherly feeling in Islam was an ideal; there was no Islamic sultanate that did not fight against other Islamic nations and their sultanates.⁹² At the same time, however, Islam could spread widely and rapidly in spite of its lack of missionaries since it rose through adapting itself to the milieu of various nations.⁹³ Aġaoġlu consequently reached the following conclusions: serving each nation meant serving Islam since many nations were involved in Islam; brotherly feeling would be created through each nation's striving for Islam in each manner.⁹⁴

Then he touched on the major rôle Turks had fulfilled in the history of Islam. In response to Süleyman Nazif's contention that if Turks returned to Arabs and Persians what was theirs nothing would remain for the Turks. Aġaoġlu emphasized the Turks' rôle as follows:

First, the honor remains with us for having supported Islam and the Islamic world for a thousand years.⁹⁵

Turks moved westwards by divine will at the time when the Islamic world was threatened by political confusion; in Spain to which Turks' long sleeves of woolen jackets did not reach Islam was completely driven away.⁹⁶ Turks strove for Islam, thereby they began to regard themselves as Muslims rather than Turks. They

guished Turkism from Pan-Turkism, saying the latter depended on race while the former depended on culture.

⁸⁹ Ahmet Agayef, "İslâm'da Dava-yı Milliyet," pp. 2,324-2,325; id., "Cevaba Cevap," pp. 827.

⁹⁰ For the second point, see, for example, Ahmet Naim, *op. cit.*, p. 118b.

⁹¹ Ahmet Agayef, "İslâm'da Dava-yı Milliyet," *T.Y.*, VI/11, p. 2,381; id., "Cevaba Cevap," p. 828.

⁹² Ahmet Agayef, "İslâm'da Dava-yı Milliyet," *T.Y.*, VI/11, p. 2,387.

⁹³ Ahmet Agayef, "Türk Âlemi: 5," p. 198.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 199; id., "İslâm'da Dava-yı Milliyet," *T.Y.*, VI/11, p. 2,390.

⁹⁵ Ahmet Agayef, "Sabık Trabzon Valisi Süleyman Nazif Bey Efendiye," *T.Y.*, IV/9, p. 710.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 711. For Turks' such approach to the history of Islam, see also Wilfred C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History*. Princeton, 1957, p. 169.

learnt Arabic and Persian languages and adopted Arabic alphabet in place of their own. Islam therefore became an indispensable religion for Turks. Furthermore, it could paradoxically be called *de facto* national religion of Turks even if Turks forgot their national identity as Turks. Turkish nationalism was hence inseparable from Islam since supporters of nationalism were Turks.⁹⁷

But for Ağaoğlu's response to Nazif, *Türk Yurdu* did not advance much argument on the conditions of Islam and its reform.⁹⁸ Consequently nationalists would found another periodical aiming at the reform of Islam: *İslâm Mecmuası*.

⁹⁷ Ahmet Ağayef, "İslâm'da Dava-yı Milliyet," p. 2,388. For the rôle of Islam for nation building, see also Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, "Türklük, İslâmlık, Osmanlılık," *T.Y.*, IV/9, pp. 692–702.

⁹⁸ Ağaoğlu discussed on Islamist movements such as the Wahhabis and the Sanusis; he also criticized the conflict among religious sects. He asserted that a reform must be conducted by removing alien elements and discovering the truth of Islam. (See Ahmet Ağayef, "Sabık Trabzon Valisi Süleyman Nazif Bey Efendiye," p. 706; id., "İslâm'da Dava-yı Milliyet," p. 2,389; id., "Türk Âlemi 7," *T.Y.*, II/2, pp. 426–428; id., "Türk Âlemi 8," *T.Y.*, II/6, pp. 545–548.

CHAPTER FIVE

TÜRK OCAĞI

The most influential nationalist organization in the Young Turk era, and even in the Republic, was undoubtedly *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth). However, its early history has never been studied thoroughly unlike that of the Kemalist era.¹ All studies which refer to this organization ascribed the date of “actual foundation” to July 1911 and that of “formal foundation” to March 1912.² The predecessor of *Türk Ocağı*, *Türk Derneği*, was formally established only a month after the agreement on the establishment, or the actual foundation.³ Furthermore, another organization, *Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti*, was established and began to publish a periodical bearing the same name as the organization itself between the actual and the formal foundations of *Türk Ocağı*, which periodical would become the organ of *Türk Ocağı*, while *Türk Derneği* began to publish its organ after its “formal foundation”. Conditions were complicated indeed in the nine months between the actual and the formal foundations of *Türk Ocağı*. What negotiations were conducted during that period? What characteristics of Turkish nationalism were reflected in the negotiation?

FOUNDATION OF TÜRK OCAĞI

The initiative was taken by students at the Military Medical School (*Askerî Tıbbiye*). At the end of April, or the beginning of May, 1911, a medical student, Hüseyin Fikret, and a young staff member, Dr. Remzi Osman, were moved by an article by Celâl Nurî in the newspaper *Jeune Turc* advising the establishment of a Turkish educational association with as many members as the Fleet Association (*Donanma Cemiyeti*).⁴ They persuaded their fellows to participate in a plan to found a powerful Turkish educational

¹ François Georgeon, “Les Foyers Turcs à l’époque kémaliste,” *Turcica*, XIV, 1982, pp. 168–215. The cause of the deficiency was a lack of source material. Yusuf Akçura wrote that much was lost at the allied army’s occupation of Istanbul. (Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, *Türk Yılı: 1928*. Istanbul, 1928, pp. 441–442.)

² For example, Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 444; Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler*. vol. 1, Istanbul, 1984, p. 434.

³ See above, chapter two.

⁴ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 442; Hüseyin Namık Orkun, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*. 2nd ed., Istanbul, 1977, p. 99; Fethi Tevetoğlu, *Hamdullah Subhi Tanrıöver*. Ankara, 1986, p. 105.

association (*kavî bir Türk maarif cemiyeti*).⁵ Out of more than 360 medical students, 228 Turkish youths talked in secret at Haydarpaşa where the medical school was, and at Karacaahmet cemetery, near to the school.⁶ They invited Dr. Fuat Sabit of the Gülhane Clinic (*seririyat*) and decided to found a national and social institution for improving the educational standard of Turks.

They could not, however, establish such an enterprise by themselves since they were in military service; they consequently asked for help from nationalist intellectuals. On Saturdays and Sundays of the end of May and the beginning of June, they visited intellectuals in small groups of two or three persons; they gave to them a statement written up by Hüseyin Ragıp Baydır.⁷ The statement, dated on May 24, 1911, can be summarized as follows:⁸ unlike their predecessors, they could not be indifferent to the decline of Turks; the spread of education was indispensable to checking the decline. Respecting the theory of evolution (*kanun-ı tekâmül*), they had preference for social sovereignty (*hâkimiyet-i içtimaiye*) gained through the development of agriculture, commerce, and industry, to political campaigning. They also emphasized the importance of inspiring the coming generation that activity was a piety (*ibâdet*) and idleness was a sin (*günah*). A national and social institution must be founded to conduct such an enterprise, and it must have branches in Anatolia, Rumelia, and even in foreign countries inhabited by Turks. Agricultural, commercial, and industrial schools were also to be opened according to their plan.

The statement, bearing the signature "190 medical students of Turkish descent",⁹ distinctly showed the medical students' intentions concerning social reform following the political one accomplished in 1908; Akçura summed them up as "a struggle against ignorance" (*cehle karşı mücadele*).¹⁰ The terms "social sovereignty"

⁵ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 442.

⁶ Orkun, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, p. 99; Tunaya, *Partiler*, p. 433; Fethi Tevetoğlu, *Mehmet Emin Yurdakul*. Ankara, 1988, p. 30; Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, "Türk Ocağı Hatıraları I: Ocağın Doğduğu Zaman ve Muhit," *T.Y.*, 4th series, I/1, 1954, p. 2.

⁷ Orkun, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, p. 100; Tevetoğlu, *Hamdullah Subhi*, p. 105.

⁸ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, pp. 440–441. Almost all studies on the *Türk Ocağı* followed Akçura's record that attributed the date of the statement to May 11. (Orkun, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, p. 100; Tevetoğlu, *Hamdullah Subhi*, p. 105; Kenen Akyüz, "Türk Ocakları," *Belleten*, L/196, 1986, pp. 201–202.) The truth is, however, that Akçura confused the Gregorian calendar with the Ottoman financial one. He wrote that May 11 was Wednesday; actually the day in the Gregorian calendar was Thursday, and the Gregorian equivalent of May 11 in the Ottoman financial calendar, May 24 was surely Wednesday.

⁹ 190 Tıbbiyeli Türk evlâdi. (Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 441.) The number of students shows a decrease against the previous stage in Haydarpaşa and Karacaahmet.

¹⁰ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 442.

and “the theory of evolution” appear to indicate that the students were under the influence of Ziya Gökalp.¹¹

All intellectuals students invited returned favorable response.¹² It was Ahmet Ferit who responded most heartily and concretely to the students’ consultation. Some students one day visited Mehmet Emin and found at his home Yusuf Akçura and Rıza Tevfik ([Bölükbaşı], 1868–1951). They told them that some other students were in Ferit’s home, near to Emin’s; they moved to Ferit’s, and thereby eight intellectuals, including four students, held the first meeting.¹³ They accepted unanimously the following proposal submitted by Ferit:¹⁴ a club would be formed; Turkish youths would be gathered into the club, and their national feelings would be awakened; then, the common people would be awakened. In order to inspire the rising generation with this feeling, every possible measure would be taken: arranging conferences, publishing books and brochures, offering material and moral aid to schools where Turks studied, and establishing some new schools if possible.

The fundamental principle of *Türk Ocağı* was thus laid down at a very early stage. However, one can perceive some differences between the principle and the statement which the medical students had prepared. The fact was that certainly Ferit had to praise the students’ intentions, at the same time, however, he helpfully criticized their statement that the educational association which students wanted to found could not exert a powerful influence on the masses since ordinary people did not feel the necessity of such an association. Education was not the end but the means; the aim was to awaken a national feeling (*milliyet duygusu*).¹⁵ In such a way, Ferit modified the medical students’ statement and submitted the proposal above mentioned according to his critique; the students’ wishes, formerly lacking in concreteness, took a definite direction as a result.

The second meeting was held in Ağaoglu Ahmet’s house, most

¹¹ Gökalp was, however, not in Istanbul, but in Salonica. In *Genç Kalemler*, he published his “Today’s Philosophy” on May 10, and the translation of “Alfred Fouillée’s evolutionist philosophy” on May 19, 1911. As Bernard Lewis pointed out (Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. 2nd ed., London, 1968, p. 350, n.45.), Gökalp exerted his influence through personal relations rather than through published works; consequently, it may well be that his conferences at the Union and Progress School in Salonica produced an influence on the medical students. See also Tunaya, *Partiler*, p. 433.

¹² Tevetoğlu, *Hamdullah Subhi*, p. 105.

¹³ Orkun, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, p. 101; Tevetoğlu, *Hamdullah Subhi*, p. 106.

¹⁴ Tevetoğlu, *Hamdullah Subhi*, p. 106.

¹⁵ Orkun, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, p. 101.

probably on June 11.¹⁶ On behalf of the CUP, Ahmet Nesimi, an Assemblyman from Istanbul, presided over it.¹⁷ The students again advanced their idea and, after a prolonged argument, the fundamental principle Ahmet Ferit set forth was again accepted as being adequate for the purpose.¹⁸ In the same week, the students visited Ferit to hand in some articles which they wanted to add to the regulations.¹⁹ On July 3, at last, on behalf of the medical students, now numbering 231, Hüseyin Fikret and Remzi Osman invited to a meeting seven intellectuals: Mehmet Emin, Ahmet Ferit, Yusuf Akçura, Mehmet Ali Tevfik, Emin Bülent, Fuat Sabit, and Ağaoğlu Ahmet.²⁰ They decided to found an organization the name of which was *Türk Ocağı*. The name was proposed by Fuat Sabit, who had actively participated in the students' secret consultation in Haydarpaşa and Karacaahmet. The list of the founders and the provisional directors, both of which were accepted in the meeting, was prepared by the students.²¹ These facts indicate that the initiative was taken by the students.

Türk Ocağı was thus founded in practice and its leaders were to prepare the regulations to found it formally in March 22, 1912.²² The interval was, needless to say, too long.

Akçura touched slightly on the negotiations conducted during the nine-month period. They discussed on the regulations. The subject taken most seriously was whether they would open a club named *Türk Ocağı*, or whether they would content themselves with publishing periodical and brochures and with opening schools. The medical students objected strongly to opening a club since they thought if this happened the organization would become involved with politics.²³ From the very beginning, the intellectuals, Ahmet Ferit and Akçura in particular, advocated opening a club; the

¹⁶ The date is unknown. Akçura, however, recorded that on May 29, Sunday, a meeting was held at Ağaoğlu's to decide that the program should be drawn up. (Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 443, n.1.) The Gregorian equivalent of May 29 in the Ottoman financial calendar was June 11, Sunday.

¹⁷ Orkun, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, p. 102.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; Tevetoğlu, *Hamdullah Subhi*, p. 106.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 443; Fethi Tevetoğlu, *Mehmet Emin*, p. 31; Tunaya, *Partiler*, pp. 432, 434.

²¹ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 443. The founders were Mehmet Emin, Ahmet Ferit, Ağaoğlu Ahmet, and Fuat Sabit. The provisional directors were Mehmet Emin (president), Yusuf Akçura (vice-president), Mehmet Ali Tevfik (secretary), and Fuat Sabit (treasurer).

²² Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 444; Tunaya, *Partiler*, pp. 434; Tevetoğlu, *Mehmet Emin*, p. 31.

²³ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 444. The expression "they would content themselves with..." allows us to regard Akçura's view as being against the students.

students reaffirmed their idea in the second meeting and after that visited Ferit to hand in some articles to be included in the regulations.

Some students at the Civil Service School (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*) also took part in the medical students' activities. Learning of the medical students' intentions, they had several discussions on the subject at the school in Beyazıt, in which delegates from various schools participated. They at last accepted the regulations; as a student of the Civil Service School said and somewhat abruptly "the organization which at the beginning was in the dream of the medical students was thereby realized through the effort of the students at the Civil Service School."²⁴ This was partly confirmed by a lecture of Hamdullah Suphi ([Tanrıöver], 1885–1966) in 1930: *Türk Ocağı* was at first formed by youths in the Military Medical School, the Civil Service School and the School of Engineering, and a group of young officers and military veterinarians.²⁵ Thus, in the preliminary process of *Türk Ocağı*, the growing energies of young students bearing the future of the Ottoman state were thrown apart from the intention of the intellectuals; they would compete for the initiative. Neither of them would win one-sidedly the competition; both of their wishes were included in the regulations.²⁶

Akçura said: "considering that the *Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti* was formally founded on August 31, 1911, (we must be aware that) it was established after the actual foundation of the *Türk Ocağı*."²⁷ Indeed, Akçura consulted with five colleagues, two of whom were immigrants from Russia to found an association aiming at building a student dormitory and publishing a periodical; the premier issue included many items showing the unity of Turks and their coun-

²⁴ Tevetoğlu, *Hamdullah Subhi*, pp. 106–108.

²⁵ Hamdullah Suphi, "Türk Ocağının Tarihçesi ve İftiralarla karşı Cevaplarımız," *T.Y.*, 3rd series, V/25., 1930, p. 2.

²⁶ The regulations (*Türk Ocağının Esasî ve Dahilî Nizamları*) published for the first time in 1913 run as follows:

Art. 2—The object of the association is to strive for the completeness of Turkish nation (*ırk*) and language through promoting national education and improving intellectual, social and economic standard of Turks who were the most important among Islamic nations.

Art. 3—The association shall open clubs named *Türk Ocağı* to accomplish its objective; lectures and entertainments shall be arranged, books and brochures shall be published, and it is hoped that schools shall also be opened. In order to protect and increase national wealth, the association shall give those pursuing every profession and occupation economic or agricultural encouragement and shall strive to found organizations conducting such activities and give all aid in its power to them.

Art. 4—The *Ocak* shall preserve its national and social position and shall never start political activities; neither shall it serve political parties (Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, pp. 439–440.)

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

tries, and appeared at the end of November. The periodical, *Türk Yurdu*, would certainly become the organ of the *Türk Ocağı*, but the preliminary development of these two organization was not necessarily harmonious.

NEGOTIATION BETWEEN AKÇURA AND LAUSANNE *TÜRK YURDU*

In November 1911, when the newly-founded *Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti* was to publish the premier issue of its periodical while there was still disagreement between intellectuals and medical students, there was founded another *Türk Yurdu* in Lausanne. The predecessor of this organization was *Osmanlı Kütüphanesi* (Ottoman Library) established on January 15, 1910, by Ottoman students in Lausanne.²⁸ The members of this body, including Arabs and Albanians, arranged regular lectures;²⁹ Turkish members who looked carefully at events in their fatherland, however, began to feel the necessity of changing the organization's character in order to awaken to national consciousness and the ideal (*mefkûre*) Turks who were crushed under the political name of Ottoman.³⁰ They consequently separated from *Osmanlı Kütüphanesi* and set up *Türk Yurdu* on November 4.³¹

Members of the Lausanne *Türk Yurdu* gathered every Saturday, from December 2 onwards, at avenue Riant-Mont 19 where Nuretinoğlu İlyas Ragıp, the president, lived.³² They had discussions about the regulations; they sent letters explaining their ideal and activities to various organizations and individuals. The responses were usually not recorded in their minutes. However, the contents of responses from Yusuf Akçura were so serious for the existence of their Homeland (*Yurt*) that they had to record them.

Akçura's letter emerged suddenly in the minutes of the sixth meeting, held on December 30. The minutes run as follows:

Beginning a discussion about the letter from Yusuf Akçura, Hüsnî Bey asked how far new Homelands would be independent of that of

²⁸ *Lozan Türk Yurdu Tutanak Defteri* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yazmaları Y/653, hereinafter called *Tutanak*), p. I. Needless to say, there is no pagination in this minute book; the numbering adopted here is accordingly provisional.

²⁹ *Yurtçular Yasası*. Geneva, 1913, pp. 41–42.

³⁰ Osmanlı nam-ı siyasiyesi altında ezilegelen Türklükte bir vicdan-ı millî uyandırmak. (*ibid.*, p. 42.)

³¹ *Tutanak*, p. I. In Geneva, there was born another *Osmanlı Kütüphanesi* on April 15, 1911, which would change into Geneva *Türk Yurdu* too on October 21, 1911 (*Yurtçular Yasası*, pp. 25, 32.). The term "mefkûre" indicated Ziya Gökalp's influence on these Turkish students. See also Tunaya, *Partiler*, p. 495.

³² See *Catalogue des étudiants de l'Université de Lausanne*. (année universitaire 1911/1912, semestre d'hiver), p. 32.

Akçuraoğlu who said that he would not collaborate with them. İsmail said: "I regard it as indispensable that Homelands depend on the headquarters." Objecting to this, Nazmi said that another measure had to be taken to prevent a conflict in the branch issue among us. Despite much discussion of Akçura's letter, we did not understand why he did not concern, did not want to concern himself with our activities although he (and his followers) pursue the same object as we do. Advocating that headquarters held no privileges, according to (our) regulations, but the independence of each Homeland would be permitted, all the members present did not understand why Akçura proposes to affix his signature (to our statement). They subsequently asked Ragıp about the character and program of *Kabasakal Yurdu*. Ragıp responded that Ahmet Agayef, Ahmet Hikmet, Akçura, etc., who formed the editorial committee of a newspaper, gathered at Kabasakal under the name of *Türk Yurdu* but they did not stop at that; they had a somewhat bigger object. Some members pointed out that the responsibility of the independent Homelands was understood; the *Konya Yurdu*, for example, would naturally assume the responsibility of any fault it committed. Advocating repeatedly that any privilege other than a small one for starting an activity would not be accepted, they advised the necessity of negotiation with Akçura on this subject. It was regarded as proper that Ragıp would begin negotiations personally. They talked about an association the medical students were setting up at Haydarpaşa under the name of *Türk Yurdu*; all directors (of Lausanne *Türk Yurdu*) were requested to ask for their regulations.³³

In response to a letter of Lausanne *Türk Yurdu* asking, most probably, for collaboration and help, Akçura refused to do so. A condition of collaboration was that Lausanne *Yurdu* should obey the Istanbul headquarters (*merkez*). İsmail was inclined to accept this

³³ Hüsnî Bey Yusuf Akçura'dan Ragıp'a gelen mektuptan bahs açarak o konuda [hiç]bir surette çalışmamasını söyleyen Akçuraoğlu'nun Yurdu'nun resmîyetine karşı yeni Yurtların resmîyeti nasıl kâbil olacak diyordu. İsmail: Ben Yurtların bir merkeze taşınmalarını elzem buluyorum, diyordu. Nazmi Bey buna itirazla şûbe meselelerinin aramızda tenâkuz etmemesi için başka bir şey dü[şü]nümesini söylüyordu. Akçura'nın mektubu etrafında epey dolaşarak aynı gayeyi güttükleri halde yine niçin yabancı kalacağı ve kalmak istediği anlaşılıyordu. Nizamnamece merkezler hakkında bir imtiyaz olmayacağını, yalnız bir murahhaslık verileceğini ortaya süren bütün âzâ-yı mevcûde(nin) niçin Akçura'nın imza atmaya geleceğini anlamıyordu. Sonra Ragıp'a Kabasakal Yurdu'nun resmîyet ve programının ne halde olduğu soruldu. Ragıp cevaben bir gazete heyet-i tahririyesini teşkil eden Ahmet Agayef, Ahmet Hikmet, Akçura ilh zevatın Kabasakal'da «Türk Yurdu» altında toplandıklarını, fakat bu halle kalmayıp bir az büyüğe gayeleri olduğunu zannettiğini söylüyordu. Bu murahhaslıktan mes'ûliyet anlaşılacağını, meselâ Konya Yurdu'nun yapacağı bir hatadan o murahhaslık mes'ûl olacağı tabii görüneceğini bir kaç kişi söylemekle, mesaiye başlamak için bir ufak imtiyazdan başka şeyler tanımayacakları tekrar edilerek bu hususta Akçura ile tekrar görüşmek icabettiği söylendi. Ve Ragıp'ın hususî surette Akçura ile müzakere etmesi münasip görüldü. «Türk Yurdu» namıyla Haydarpaşa'da Tıbbiyelilerin tesis etmek üzere oldukları cemiyetten söz açılarak nizamnamelerinin istenilmesi cümle heyet-i idareye tebliğ edildi. (*Tutanak*, pp. 1-2 of the sixth meeting.)

condition. Nazmi immediately objected to him; at the same time, he proposed to take measures to prevent a conflict between Lausanne and Istanbul. Lausanne members believed in the independence of every Homeland; they expressed the state of independence as “*murahhaslık*” and “*resmîyet*”. Akçura’s *Türk Yurdu* was reportedly formed at Kabasakal with the collaboration of Ağaoğlu Ahmet and Ahmet Hikmet etc.³⁴ The crucial point is that the *Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti*, whose aim was publishing a periodical and building a student dormitory, was to interfere in the Lausanne *Türk Yurdu*’s activities, which resembled rather those of *Türk Ocağı*.³⁵ Furthermore, the organization the medical students at Haydarpaşa were to found was also called *Türk Yurdu*.

In the minutes of the seventh meeting, it is recorded that Ragıp sent letters to Akçura and the medical students; he received a response from Haydarpaşa bearing the seal of “Haydarpaşa Branch of Lausanne *Türk Yurdu*” and the regulations. The Lausanne members found that they were forced to accept the regulations of Haydarpaşa; they would not be independent. They decided to work by for themselves, for the present, in order to attain a firm and independent position, and to demand the removal of the words “Lausanne” and “Branch” from the seal. The seal would thereby become “Haydarpaşa *Türk Yurdu*”, with which “Lausanne *Türk Yurdu*” had no formal connection.³⁶

At the eighth meeting, held on January 13, 1912, the Lausanne members discussed a letter from Geneva *Türk Yurdu*, which was

³⁴ Kabasakal was a district near by the Sultanahmet square. See *Meydan-Larousse*. vol. 6, Istanbul, 1971, p. 728.

³⁵ Regulations of the Lausanne *Türk Yurdu* adopted at the first meeting on December 2, 1911 run as follows (*Tutanak*, pp. 1–2 of the first meeting.):

Art. 2—The main objective of the Turkish Homelands is to strive for the principles of social revolution in the Turkish world, and to make clear the past, the tradition, the nationhood of Turks who are crushed under the political currents of Ottomanism.

Art. 3—The official language of the Turkish Homeland is Turkish. The Homeland is not indifferent, at any time, to the progress and evolution of Turkish language.

Art. 4—The Homeland shall strive for spreading education among Turks since the Homeland regards it as its greatest success. The Homeland shall exert all its powers to support any enterprises for this object: opening schools, encouragement from Europe, publishing works meeting our national needs, arranging lectures and conferences, and promoting European-style education.

³⁶ Ragıp kimseye söz vermeden geçen ictimadaki mukarrerâtı yerine getirdiğini, ve bu yolda Akçuraoğlu’na böyle bir ifade gönderdiğini, Haydarpaşalılara ve Tamim-i Maarif Cemiyetine icabettiği üzere mektuplar yazdığını söyleyerek Haydarpaşalıların «Lozan Türk Yurdu Haydarpaşa Şubesi» mührü ve kılışesi altında gelen mektup ve nizamnamelerini ele aldı. Her ikisini de karşılaştırarak nizamnameyi ve mevaddını ne suretle anladıklarını mübeyyin mektupla birlikte

formed on October 21, 1911, out of Geneva *Osmanlı Kütüphanesi* founded on April 15 of the same year.³⁷ The letter contained a draft for the statement of the first Homelanders Association (*Birinci Yurtçular Derneği*) held on December 27 owing to the initiative of the Lausanne *Türk Yurdu*.³⁸ The draft was, according to the Lausanne members, insufficient; Ragıp would accordingly go to Geneva. The fact was that there was another reason, a grave reason for it: the Geneva members had entered without consultation into negotiation with Akçura, which angered the Lausanne members. In the negotiation, Geneva members and Akçura might agree that the headquarters could not do anything except giving permission to branches. According to Ragıp, however, a branch which was forced to get permission from a center was not a delegation enjoying independence but a mere representative. He delivered a long speech on his prospects of solving the small privilege problem. Ridiculing those inclined to accept branch status, Nazmi proposed to negotiate with the medical students since they wanted to advance Turks without forgetting the Ottoman state.³⁹

okuyordu Bu nizamnamedeki mevad, sanki kabûlüne muztar imişiz gibi işlerimizi müşkil gösteriyor, ve bizi korkutuyordu. Meselâ Türkiya'da açılacak her Yurt Haydarpaşa merkez şubesinin nizamnamesini kabûl ederek bil'istizân kendini tanıyıp tanıtılabileceği ve onun Lozan Türk Yurdu Haydarpaşa Şubesinin şubesi halinden ileri gidemeyeceği kaygısı Lozan Türk Yurdu reisi Ragıp'ın gelecek sene İzmir'de aç[ıl]acağ(ı) beşinci Yurtta Lozan Türk Yurdu Haydarpaşa şubesine «Evet efendim!» kozuyla çıkacağı göz önüne geliyordu. [Mes]ele oldukça mühimdi. Şimdilik kendi başlarına çalışarak mevkimizin kat'iyet ve resmîyet kesbetmesiyle uyuşabileceğinden dolayı Lozan Şubesi kaydının klişelerden silinmesine bütün âzâ karar vermekle Ragıp'a icabettiği üzere hareket etmesi söyleni. (*Tutanak*, p. 1 of the seventh meeting.)

³⁷ *Yurtçular Yasası*, pp. 25, 32.

³⁸ For this association, see *ibid.*, pp. 32–37, and also *Tutanak*, p. 2 of the third meeting; pp. 1–2 of the fourth meeting; p. 1 of the fifth meeting.

³⁹ Ragıp gerek mektuptaki diğer mevaddın ve gerek kendine taalu eden o müstebidlik noktasının ve gerekse Akçura ile resmen münakaşaya giriştiği yolsuzluğun cezasını vermek için Pazarda Cenevre'ye gideceğini söyledi. Buna Akçura ile müzakerelerinin yalnız Ragıp'a bırakılarak hususî olduğu, fakat her iki Yurtla alakadar bu merkezîyet meselesinin bize ahbar-ı keyfiyet edilmeden Genevrelilere cür'etkârâne karıştırıldığı, mektuplarını yazdıktan sonra Akçura ile müzakereye giriştiklerini bildirmeleri bütün âzâyı hiddetlendirivermişti Merkeziyetin müsaadeyi tahsisinden başka bir şey yapamayacağı fakat murahhaslıktan ziyade mümessillik. Pervâsız ve korkusuz ifade edeceği küçük imtiyazın işi halledeceği hakkında Ragıp'ın uzunca bir nutku dinlendi. Hüsnî Bey hüsnî intizamdan mahrûm adamlar, bir merkeze bile merbut olsalar, kendi başlarına çalışacakları tabii olur. Bunlar arasında Akçura'nın dediği gibi bir relasyon olacak. Çünkü gaye birdir, lâkin tarz-ı sa'y bir sırada olamayacak. Haydarpaşa'yı ele alalım. Tıbbiyeliler, Türkleri, Osmanlılığı unutmuyarak ilerletmek istiyorlar. Fakat gayeleri yine Türklükte kahyor. Ragıp da Akçura'nın mektubundan bir satırı okuyarak ötede beride açılacak Yurtların kabiliyet-i hayatiyelerini düşündükten sonra formel rabita düşünceikleri tabii olduğunu söyledi. (*Tutanak*, pp. 1–2 of the eighth meeting.)

The medical students responded to the Lausanne members. The contents of their letter formed a subject of the ninth meeting. The minutes run as follows:

Ragıp subsequently changed the subject to the negotiation the students of Haydarpaşa conducted with Akçura; he read the letter which described it. Some of Nail's friends were somewhat disappointed for reasons which were not clear, since, in the previous meeting, they reproved Nail for saying that Akçura did not know about the running of organization and consequently many Homelands could not attain their independence; they tried to persuade him to believe that Akçura was not drunk. At any rate, it was understood that Akçura treated us with an unconcerned attitude; he was not drunk even if he said "Yes, No, I don't know!" As concerns the question of whether many Homelands could work independently, Akçura Bey reportedly told the students of Haydarpaşa that he did not have much information; they could ascertain it by applying for foundation to the government. Hüsnî and Nail then stated that what must be done was to change the name (of their organization) to work independently. It was regarded as reasonable to postpone the subject and to await the coming letter.⁴⁰

The "coming letter" did not come; at least, there cannot be seen in their minutes an item concerning the negotiation with Akçura. Although, the source given was too limited, one can comprehend the following important points from the minutes: 1. The activities of Akçura and those of the medical students were not regarded as united by the Lausanne members. 2. Akçura intended to have all the nationalist movements, and those named *Türk Yurdu* in particular, in his hands. 3. *Türk Yurdu* and *Türk Ocağı* were not clearly distinguished at the end of 1911 through to the beginning of 1912, that is, the term between the actual and the formal foundations of *Türk Ocağı*.

⁴⁰ Bundan sonra Ragıp Haydarpaşalıların Akçura ile yaptıkları mülâkâta nakl-i kelâm ederek Haydarpaşalılarının mektubunu ve bunda münderic sûret-i mülâkâtı okudu. Bir kaç ictima evvel Akçura'nın cemiyetin kanununu bilmediğini ve müteaddit Türk Yurtlarının ayrı ayrı resmîyet kesbedemeyeceklerini söyleyen Nâil'e: Akçura'nın sarhoş olmadığını göstermeyi, yarışarak hatırlatan arkadaşlar, bilinmez neden bir az sukut-ı hayale uğraşmışlardı. Her ne ise Akçura'nın, [«]evet ... hayır ... bilmen!«] lerinden sarhoşluğ değil fakat kolayca kestirilemez bir haletle bize çıktığı görülüyordu. Akçura Bey Haydarpaşalılara müteaddit Yurtların ayrı ayrı resmîyet alıp ayrıca çalışabilecekleri hakkında epey ma'lûmatı olmadığını beyan ile hükümete bil'müracaa bunu tahkik edebileceklerini söylemiş ve bunun üzerine Hüsnî ve Nâil yapılacak işin isim değiştirmek ve müstakillen çalışmak olduğunu beyan ediyorlardı. Âhir bir vakte ta'lik ile gelecek mevzu-i mektuba intizar edilmesi münasip görüldü. (*Tutanak*, p. 1 of the ninth meeting.)

TÜRK YURDU AND TÜRK OCAĞI

As is seen above, the objective and activities of the Lausanne *Türk Yurdu* were very like those of *Türk Ocağı*.⁴¹ Akçura intended to control them under the name of *Türk Yurdu*, of which nature they rightly comprehended: an organization formed by Akçura, Aġaoġlu, Ahmet Hikmet, and others at Kabasakal for publishing a periodical. Furthermore, Akçura's *Türk Yurdu* reportedly had a more important goal; and the organization the medical students were to establish—*Türk Ocağı*—was also called *Türk Yurdu*. The fact was that *Türk Ocağı*'s early meetings were called at Akçura's office of the *Türk Yurdu*.⁴² It is therefore certain that Akçura identified *Türk Ocağı* with *Türk Yurdu*, in which he held the initiative, while he carried on negotiations with the medical students about the nature of *Türk Ocağı*.

As we have seen, neither Akçura nor the students gained the initiative. Akçura's zeal for *Türk Ocağı* seems to have been chilled by the battle to establish control over it. The journal *Türk Yurdu*, which Akçura edited, recorded merely a minor item referring to the formal foundation of *Türk Ocağı* on March 22, 1912, at the very end of the issue published subsequent to it as follows:

We read with pleasure the following lines in the paper *Tanin* dated on March 18, 1328: it is stated that *Türk Ocağı*, founded by the Grace of God, was licensed by the government. The responsible delegates (*murahhas-ı mes'ul*): Kâhya Emin, Aġaoġlu, Halis Turgut.⁴³

Furthermore, contrary to the received wisdom, *Türk Ocağı*, after its formal foundation, was not very active; it even faced the possibility of closing down. In 1913, twenty or thirty medical students were called by Doctor Hüseyin Ertuġrul at Fuat Köprülü's, where they frequently gathered. Ertuġrul transmitted the will of the directors to his colleagues that they could no longer manage the organization. They consulted long, but could not decide how to proceed. Then, at long last, a student, Hasan Ferit [Cansever]

⁴¹ See note 35.

⁴² Orkun, *Türkçülüġün Tarihi*, pp. 102–103; Tevetoġlu, *Hamdullah Subhi*, p. 112.

⁴³ "Türk Ocağı," *T.Y.*, I/10, 1912, p. 312. Indeed, Tunaya recorded that those formal founders putting their signatures to the regulations presented as an appendix to the application were Mehmet Emin, Aġaoġlu Ahmet, and Dr. Fuat Sabit. (Tunaya, *Partiler*, p. 432.) But in the source on which he relied, Akçura's *Türk Yılı*, Akçura only showed the provisional founders accepted at the meeting on July 3, 1911. (Akçuraoġlu, *Türk Yılı*, p. 443.) Tevetoġlu also recorded the same persons as those Akçura showed. (Tevetoġlu, *Mehmet Emin*, p. 32.) On the other hand, a student of the Civil Service School wrote that the responsible delegate (*mes'ul murahhas*) was Halis Turgut. (Tevetoġlu, *Hamdullah Subhi*, p. 108.)

proposed to seek advice from Hamdullah Suphi. Though no one approved of the idea at once, they after all visited Hamdullah, who was teaching pedagogy and Ottoman Turkish at the normal school (*Dar'ül- Muallimîn*) and would move to the University within the year. Asking them who were the directors, he decided to accept their wish that he should be a director after a little consideration.⁴⁴ Needless to say, Akçura was involved in the directors' thinking about the closing down, and it was Hamdullah Suphi who actually developed *Türk Ocağı*, which fact even Akçura admitted.⁴⁵

The journal *Türk Yurdu* published a second item concerning the activity of *Türk Ocağı* in January of 1913; that is, the periodical had published no article on *Türk Ocağı* for about ten months since its formal foundation. The second article reported a tea party which *Türk Ocağı* had arranged on January 2 for Turks coming from such Russian territories as Kazan, Crimea, Orenburg, and Kashgar. They included Fatih Kerimi of the newspaper *Vakit*, and came to Istanbul to nurse soldiers wounded in the Balkan War, and to investigate the situation of the War in general. Akçura of course attended the party and presided over it instead of Ahmet Ferit, the president of the day, who left the party on business.⁴⁶

The party which was arranged by *Türk Ocağı* at the beginning of the year when its directors would intend to close it down reflected Akçura's idea rather than that of the medical students who wanted to improve the intellectual standard of Turks. It leads to a further assumption that Akçura essentially wanted to make *Türk Ocağı* a window on Central Asia, a centre of the interchange between Turks inside and outside the Ottoman state, possibly under the name of *Türk Yurdu*. Akçura's desire would be attained in the vogue of Pan-Turkism. However, in the Turkish Republic, the refounded *Türk Ocağı* effaced the Pan-Turkic character and began to strive for Turks' improvement in social life, which was the course the medical students had intended to follow from the very beginning.

⁴⁴ Ahmed Mazhar Âkifoğlu, "Çok Aziz Örnek İnsan, Ağabeyim Hamdullah Subhî," *T.Y.*, 7th series, LVI/336, 1967, pp. 5-7. (Tevetoğlu, *Hamdullah Subhî*, pp. 113-114.) See also "Türk Ocağı İdare Raporu," *T.Y.*, XIV/9, 1918, pp. 269-270. This report confesses the inactivity of the early *Türk Ocağı*.

⁴⁵ Akçuraoğlu, *Türk Yılı*, pp. 445-447. The members of the board of directors which would be selected in the annual meeting on 28 October, 1913 were, in the order of the number of votes obtained, as follows: Hamdullah Suphi (professor at Istanbul University), Hüseyin Ertuğrul (doctor), Akçuraoğlu Yusuf (editor-in-chief of *Türk Yurdu*), Gökâlâp (professor at Istanbul University), Celâl Sahir (editor-in-chief of *Halka Doğru*), Âkil Muhtar (doctor), Hasan Ferit (doctor). ("Türk Ocağının Derneği," *T.Y.*, V/7, p. 1037.)

⁴⁶ K.N., "Türk Ocağında Ziyafet," *T.Y.*, III/6, pp. 191-192.

CHAPTER SIX

İSLÂM MECMUASI

Turkish nationalists were criticized, as seen above, by some Islamists such as Babanzade Ahmet Naim, and accordingly *Türk Yurdu* as the leading nationalist periodical had to publish responses to such criticisms. These responses were, however, written to demonstrate that nationalism was not contrary to Islam; so they were rather defensive. The nationalists' position in relation to Islam had been insufficiently set out, as a result, in the *Türk Yurdu*. Nationalists therefore founded another periodical for the reform of Islam in 1914: *İslâm Mecmuası* (Islamic Review). Its watchword was "Life with Religion, Religion with Life".¹ This leads to an assumption that the periodical's aim was not secularization, but the revitalization of Islam.²

FOUNDATION OF İSLÂM MECMUASI

İslâm Mecmuası was funded by the CUP;³ the same was true of *Genç Kalemler* and *Yeni Mecmua*, both of which Ziya Gökalp was deeply concerned in. As with *Genç Kalemler*, the founding date of *İslâm Mecmuası* is unknown. Yet, from the twelfth issue onwards, it began to be dated; this issue was published on July 30, 1914. If the early issues were published once every fifteen days, the initial number

¹ "Dinli bir hayat, hayatlı bir din". Beside this watchword, there can be seen, at the top of each issue of the periodical, the phrase of "İslâmların faidasına çalışır, on beş günde bir çıkar", which was an imitation of one seen in *Türk Yurdu*: "Türklerin faidasına çalışır, on beş günde bir çıkar". This fact clearly showed that *İslâm Mecmuası* was a nationalist periodical.

² N. Berkes discussed this periodical, in his valuable work on the development of secularism and, needless to say, regarded it as secularist (Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. Montreal, 1964, pp. 377-384.). T. Z. Tunaya, on the other hand, cited some articles from the periodical along with those from *Sebil'ür-Reşat*, when he argued about Islamists' criticism on *taklid* (imitation of precedent). (Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *İslâmcılık Cereyanı*. Istanbul, 1962, pp. 7-8.) A. Bennigsen and Ch. L.-Quelquejey wrote that Islamic reformism conducted in Russian territories asserted great influence on the periodical, while Berkes characterized it as one founded for expressing the ideas of Ziya Gökalp and his disciples. (Alexandre Bennigsen et Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejey, *La presse et le mouvement national chez les musulmans de russie avant 1920*. Paris et La Haye, 1964, p. 174; Niyazi Berkes (ed.), *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization*. London and New York, 1959, p. 318.)

³ Berkes, *Turkish Nationalism*, p. 318, n.1 to Chapter VI.

may have appeared in February, 1914.⁴ From the twelfth until the forty-first, every issue was published fortnightly, except for an interval of three months between the thirteenth and fourteenth issues. Indeed, it began to appear irregularly from the forty-second issued on March 12, 1916; furthermore, in 1917 there was an interval of about six months. However, it continued to be published until the sixty-third issued on October 30, 1918 when the armistice between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies had just been signed.⁵

Table 10 shows the most important contributors to *İslâm Mecmuası*. As compared with those to *Türk Yurdu* (Table 9), the proportion of those from or in Russia is certainly less, nevertheless, the influence which Islamic reformism in Russia exerted on *İslâm Mecmuası* was still considerable; not a few articles of Rızaettin Fahrettin and Musa Carullah (Bigiev) appeared in this Istanbul periodical. They were pillars of reformism and journals which supported it, such as *Şûra* and *Vakit* in Orenburg. Yusuf Akçura, the pillar of the *Türk Yurdu* contributed no article to the periodical. This fact might be a symptom of discord between Akçura and Ziya Gökalp, most of whose articles on Islam appeared in the *İslâm Mecmuası*. To this periodical, not only Gökalp but also his collaborators and disciples contributed many articles; in the first volume in particular, those of Aka Gündüz, Bursalı Tahir, Fuat Köprülü, and Kâzım Nami can be seen in this newly founded periodical.

When compared with the *Türk Yurdu*, there were some changes in the Ottoman contributors too: participation of men of religion, who were trusted with translation and interpretation of the Quran. Şerefettin ([Yaltkaya] 1879–1949), who wrote many articles for the journal was a son of *imam-hatip* in Istanbul and acquired a modern school education as well as a traditional religious one. After teaching Arabic in some schools, he was a teacher at the Beyazıt Mosque in the Young Turk era. He would teach at various schools, *medresses*, and the Faculty of Theology and, in 1942, he became the director of the Department of Religious Affairs.⁶ Musa

⁴ While Berkes wrote that the foundation was in 1914, Bennigsen and Quelquejay attributed it to 1911. (Bennigsen et Quelquejay, *La presse*, p. 174.) It is beside the question that Kâzım Nami attributed it to 1916. (Kâzım Nami Duru, *Ziya Gökalp*. 3rd ed., Istanbul, 1975, p. 83.)

⁵ Bennigsen and Quelquejay wrote that the last issue was the fifty-third, published in the summer of 1917; according to Berkes, it was the fifty-fourth, also published in 1917. (Bennigsen et Quelquejay, *La presse*, p. 174; Berkes, *Turkish Nationalism*, p. 318, n.1)

⁶ İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi*. n.p., n.d., p. 401; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*. 2nd ed., Istanbul, 1977, pp. 391–392.

Table 10
Contributors to İslâm Mecmuası

		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Men of Religion	Şerefettin	9	4	2	—	6	4	25
	H. N.	4	—	—	—	—	—	4
	Musa Kâzım	3	—	—	—	—	—	3
	Şeyh Edebali	—	4	—	—	—	—	4
	Manastırlı Rifat	—	2	—	—	—	—	2
	Ahmet Süreyya	—	—	—	—	7	—	7
	(Subtotal)							45
Those Russian Born	Halim Sabit	6	8	9	—	—	—	23
	Rızaettin Fahrettin	4	3	8	5	—	—	20
	Şir İdris	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
	Musa Carullah	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
	Ahmet Agayef	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
	Fatih Emirhan	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
	(Subtotal)							50
Ottomans	Mansurizade Sait	5	7	4	3	2	—	21
	Ahmet Besim	1	4	5	7	2	—	19
	Gökalp	5	5	6	1	—	—	17
	M. Şemsettin	5	2	2	1	1	—	11
	Ragıp Hulûsi	6	1	—	—	—	—	7
	Bursalı Mehmet Tahir	2	2	—	—	—	—	4
	Aka Gündüz	3	—	—	—	—	—	3
	Seyyid	3	—	—	—	—	—	3
	Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
	Mustafa Şeref	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
	Hâşim	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
	Kâzım Nami	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
	Tekin Alp	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	Ömer Seyfettin	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
	İspartalı Hakkı	—	—	—	2	1	—	3
Ahmet Muhyittin	—	—	—	—	2	1	3	
(Subtotal)							100	
Total		69	44	37	23	17	5	195
Number of Pages		384	210	192	194	180	28	

* Each volume comprises twelve issues; only the sixth volume does three.

** Each issue's number of pages is as follows: nos. 1-13: 32 pp.; nos. 14-15: 16 pp.; no. 16: 18 pp.; nos. 17-40: 16 pp.; no. 41: 18 pp.; nos. 42-48: 16 pp.; nos. 49-50: 18 pp.; nos. 51-53: 16 pp.; no. 54: 32 pp.; nos. 55-56: 16 pp.; nos. 57-62: 8 pp.; no. 63: 12 pp.

Kâzım (1858–1919), who serialized an article on Islam and progress from the premier issue to the third, had been the *Şeyh'ül-İslâm* since 1910. He tried to make a Turkish interpretation of the Quran with Ahmet Midhat.⁷

Mansurizade Sait, the most prolific lay Ottoman contributor, was teaching at the Faculty of Law.⁸ Besim ([Atalay] 1882–1965) acquired both a religious and a school education; after graduating from the normal school, he was teaching at local normal schools in the Young Turk era. He would teach, in the Republican era, Persian language at the University of Ankara and become a promoter of language simplification as a member of the Turkish Linguistic Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*).⁹ M. Şemsettin ([Günaltay] 1883–1961) studied physics in Paris after learning at *medresse*, the normal school and the Faculty of Sciences. He gave lectures on the history of religion at the Faculty of Theology in 1913 and on the Turkish history at the Faculty of Letters in 1915. He published various works on the reform in Islam such as *From the Past to the Future* (*Maziden Atıye*, 1913), *From Superstitions to the Truth* (*Hurafattan Hakikate*, 1916), and *From the Dark to the Light* (*Zulmetten Nura*, 1917).¹⁰

The leaders of the *İslâm Mecmuası* therefore had one characteristic in common: they obtained a modern school education alongside a traditional one; they could thereby see into Islam and its conditions in an informed way. *İslâm Mecmuası* was brimful of their earnest desire for the reform of Islam, especially in its early numbers. These numbers were rich in the variety of contributors; in addition, they had a great diversity of information, as shown in Table 11. The contributors' eager desire for reform was well expressed in the use of terms such as "salvation" and "awakening" when referring to Islam.

CRITICISM ON THE CONDITIONS OF ISLAM

M. Şemsettin pointed out in his "Symptoms of Awakening in the Islamic World" in the premier issue that the Islamic world had fallen into poverty and slavery because of the invasion of Christen-

⁷ Ibid., pp. 262–263. For his thought, see his *Külliyat-ı Şeyhülislâm Musa Kâzım: Dinî, İctimâî Makaleler*. Istanbul, 1336.

⁸ Berkes, *Secularism*, p. 309.

⁹ Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları*, p. 49; *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*. vol. 1, Istanbul, 1977, pp. 212–213.

¹⁰ Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları*, pp. 156–157; Ülken, *Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, pp. 388–392; *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*. vol. 3, Istanbul, 1979, pp. 404–405.

Table 11
Classification of Articles Published in the İslâm Mecmuası

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
The Quran ¹	13	12	12	11	15	3	66
Jurisprudence (<i>Fıkıh/Sünnet ve Hadis</i>)	18	10	8	2	2	—	40
Theology (<i>Kelâm</i>)	4	3	2	2	2	—	13
Philosophy (<i>Felsefe</i>)	6	1	—	1	2	3	13
Ethics (<i>Ahlâk</i>)	2	4	4	2	2	—	14
Sociology (<i>İçtimaiyat/İslâm İçtimaiyatı</i>)	5	6	10	4	5	—	30
History (<i>Tarih (virgüle) Tercüme-i Hal</i> (<i>İslâm Havadisı</i>))	6	5	10	17	7	1	46
Information on the Islamic World (<i>İslâm Cemaatlerinin Yaşayışı</i>)	11	11	8	—	—	—	35
Salvation of Islam (<i>İslâmın Nəcəti</i>)	5	—	—	—	—	—	8
Awakening of Islam (<i>İslâmın İntibahı</i> (<i>Din Edebiyatı</i>))	6	2 ²	—	—	—	—	10
Literature (<i>İrk Edebiyatı</i>)	7	1	2	—	—	—	10
Woman in Islam (<i>İslâm Kadını</i>)	4	—	—	2	1	—	11
Economics (<i>İktisat/Millî İktisat</i>)	—	3	1	—	—	—	12
Sermon (<i>Hutbe</i>)	10	1	—	—	1	—	12
Information on publications in the Islamic World (<i>İslâm Matbuatı</i>)	—	1	2	1	2	—	6
Others	1	4	2	—	4	—	11
	7	—	—	—	—	—	7
	3	7	6	7	12	5	40

¹ While some articles on the Quran are involved in this part, most of the items is a Turkish translation and interpretation.

² Şeyh'ül-İslâm's *fetva* and statement of the War Minister, etc. on occasion of the declaration of war include this column in the fifteenth issue. If they are counted separately, the number swells to seven.

dom.¹¹ In sequel to this article which appeared in the fourth issue, he dealt with the life and thought of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghanî who had made the same point many times. Traversing the whole Islamic country, Afghanî saw utter decline: closed and cobwebby *medresses* in Samarkand and Bukhara; nightmarish ignorance in Iran; and Africa captured by the Cross. The cause of the decline, according to Afghanî, was that Muslims were being enslaved by superstitions under the name of religion.¹²

The word of superstition(s) (*hurafe, hurafat*) was one of the leitmotifs in the *İslâm Mecmuası*; one occasionally finds this word

¹¹ M. Şemsettin, "Müslümanlık Âleminde İntibah Emareleri: 1," *İ.M.*, 1, pp. 25–26.

¹² Id., "Müslümanlık Âleminde İntibah Emareleri: 2," *İ.M.*, 4, pp. 110–111. In the column of "Information on the Islamic World", there can be seen an item reporting that *medresses* in Bukhara which was once a cradle of knowledge in the Islamic world became a hotbed of fanatics, reprobates, and opium smokers. ("İslâm Havadisı: Buhara," *İ.M.*, 2, p. 64.)

when reading articles criticising the conditions of Islam. Şir İdris, for example, dared to conclude that sermons delivered at the Hagia Sophia Mosque, “the greatest and the holiest mosque in great Istanbul, the capital of gigantic Turkey (*Türkiye*) which is attracting the attention of all the Islamic world” consisted of shameful superstitions and sheer nonsense, harmful fictions repeated for centuries.¹³ Rızaettin Fahrettin’s article criticising saint worship from the viewpoint of monotheism shares the same ethos.¹⁴

What was the cause of such decline?

Ağaoğlu Ahmet responded to the question in his only contribution to the periodical, entitled “Causes of Decline Seen in the Islamic World”. Ağaoğlu put the responsibility for the decline on three classes of society: rulers (*ümera*); learned men (*ulema*); bureaucrats (*erbab-ı kalem*). All of these peoples neglected their task, although Islam had essentially owed its development to them. Abandoning Islamic principles in public affairs (*masalih-i âmm*), rulers began arbitrary rule. Learned men, who must essentially check rulers, gave legitimacy to them, and bureaucrats made eulogies to protect their positions. Islamic principles were thus lost.¹⁵ Ağaoğlu’s argument was, in the essence, against despotism. Musa Kâzım, in his serial published from the initial issue to the third, showed autocracy as the cause of decline;¹⁶ the word of autocracy (*istibdat*) was one of the key words along with “superstition”.¹⁷

If those in power were criticized, so were those not in power. The latter were portrayed as juntos protesting against orthodoxy and deviating Islam, as a result, from the right way, since they introduced innovations and even invented thousands of false traditions (*hadis*) in order to circulate their ideas and to increase their support. In addition, they were accused of introducing into Islam superstitious beliefs of other religions, which took root through uniting with ignorance and the vice of blind imitation of precedents (*taklit*).¹⁸

The present conditions of Islam were thus regarded as degenerated; the fundamental truth was eclipsed by alien elements. This

¹³ Hoca Şir İdris, “Ulema-i Kiram Hazratına Lozan’dan bir Hitab,” *İ.M.*, 3, p. 88.

¹⁴ Rızaettin Fahrettin, “Tevhid,” *İ.M.*, 3, p. 78.

¹⁵ Ahmet Agayef, “İslâm Âleminde Görülen İnhitatın Sebepleri,” *İ.M.*, 2, pp. 56–58.

¹⁶ Musa Kâzım, “İslâm ve Terakki,” *İ.M.*, 1, p. 1.

¹⁷ For instance, Seyyid, “İçtihad ve Taklid,” *İ.M.*, 4, p. 106; Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, “Nisaiyata ait Eserler,” *İ.M.*, 5, p. 140.

¹⁸ Seyyid, “İçtihad ve Taklid,” *İ.M.*, 5, p. 133.

daring confession was naturally supported by a confidence that Islam was originally clear, progressive, and vital. It was demonstrated by the fact that all the critics of the present conditions touched, in the same articles, on the original form of Islam;¹⁹ they emphasized that Islam was not a barrier to progress. The word “progress” (*terakki*) was a key word alongside “superstition” and “autocracy”. Regaining the original form of Islam was inevitably propounded as the best way of rescuing it from superstitions and autocracy for all its supposedly progressive ideology.²⁰ The serialization of a biography of İbn Taymiya by Rızaettin Fahrettin for sixteen issues must therefore be seen as a symptom of the periodical’s inclination to the *Salafiya* movement.²¹ It is worth noting too that, in other articles, men of religion were trusted to such tasks as regaining the eclipsed truth, and that they were to be trained in school (*mektep*) and the Faculty of Theology.²²

The *İslâm Mecmuası* sought to spread information on various Muslim peoples’ enterprises in regaining the truth. Table 12 shows countries of which conditions were reported in the “Information on Muslims” (*İslâm Havadisı*) columns. The column changed into “Information on the Holy War” (*İki Haftalık Cihad Haberleri*) from the fifteenth issue onwards, and from the thirty-second (published on July 29, 1915), it disappeared, possibly because of the aggravation of the war. The exceptionally high number of Turkic peoples must originate from the nationalist nature of the periodical; the greater part of those items relating to Turks under Russian rule dealt with the reform in education which they accomplished. It is interesting that while Crimean and Egyptian *ulemas* were praised for their endeavor to abolish innovation (*bidat*) and reforming *medresses*, Ottoman *ulemas* and theological students were chastised for their conservatism.²³ The anti-imperialist tendency of the periodical is witnessed in reports on the capture of a Spanish officer in

¹⁹ Musa Kâzım, *loc. cit.*; Ahmet Agayef, *loc. cit.*; Hoca Şir İdris, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91; Seyyid, “İçtihad ve Taklid,” *I.M.*, 4, p. 105; M. Şemsettin, “Müslümanlık Âleminde İntibah Emareleri: 2,” *I.M.*, 5, p. 135.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Seyyid, “İçtihad ve Taklid,” *I.M.*, 5, p. 135.

²¹ In the preface of the serial, the editorial committee of the periodical wrote: “It is one of our wishes to present information on our great predecessors (*selef*) devoting themselves to religion and nation (*millet*).” (Rızaettin Fahrettin, “İmam İbn Taymiya’nın Tercüme-i Hali,” *I.M.*, 6, p. 106.)

²² Kâzım Nami, “Dinî Terbiye,” *I.M.*, 1, p. 19. Ağaoğlu Ahmet made a similar argument in the *Türk Yurdu*. See Ahmet Agayef, “Türk Âlemi:8,” *T.Y.*, II/6, pp. 548–549.

²³ “İslâm Havadisı: Kırım,” *I.M.*, 8, p. 253; “İslâm Havadisı: Mısır,” *I.M.*, 6, p. 192.

Morocco,²⁴ the escape of some Javanese Muslims who had killed a Christian missionary,²⁵ and on the progress of Islam in Africa.²⁶

We have seen that *İslâm Mecmuası* severely criticized the present conditions of Islam; it advocated the regaining of the original truth, and presented information on reformist enterprises of Muslims in various countries. However, if Muslims could not understand the Quran or sermons delivered at prayers, both the Quran and the sermons would become magic formulae; superstitions under the name of religion could be introduced in Islam.²⁷ Accordingly *İslâm Mecmuası* published a translation of the Quran.

TRANSLATION OF THE QURAN

At the top of the first page of every issue, except the forty-eighth, there appeared in the periodical the Arabic text of the Quran with a Turkish translation and occasionally an interpretation (*tefsir ve izah*). From the thirteenth issue onward, however, the Arabic text was omitted. Such an enterprise was consistent with Islamic reformism in Russia and Egypt; Russian reformism, in particular, exerted great influence upon *İslâm Mecmuası*. In addition, this enterprise of the periodical must be regarded as a pioneering work of the Turkish Quran, which would be pursued in the Republican era according to Ziya Gökalp's advocacy. The editors of the periodical must have considered the translation of the Quran as a way to regain the truth of Islam.

JURISPRUDENCE

One of the most important issues the editors wanted to deal with was undoubtedly the jurisprudence (*fıkh*) problem. As we have seen, *İslâm Mecmuası* frequently criticized the *taklit*, or the blind imitation of precedents; the criticism was directed to the Civil Code (*Mecelle*) too, which was devised by the committee whose chief was Cevdet Paşa. The Code was steeped in the vice of *taklit*: first, they had introduced no modifications although more than forty-five years had passed by since it was enacted, and Ottomans' social intercourse, including that with foreigners, had grown considerably during the interval;²⁸ second, there was a serious problem in the very way of arranging the Code: it had been drawn up within the

²⁴ "İslâm Havadisi: Fes," *İ.M.*, 8, p. 256.

²⁵ "İslâm Havadisi: Cava," *İ.M.*, 8, p. 256.

²⁶ Tefrik Süveydi(?), "İslâmiyetin bir İntikamı," *İ.M.*, 8, pp. 241-248.

²⁷ See, for example, "İslâm Havadisi: İdil Havzası," *İ.M.*, 4, p. 126; "İslâm Havadisi: Dicle," *İ.M.*, 5, p. 157.

²⁸ Seyyid, "İçtihad ve Taklid," *İ.M.*, 5, p. 136.

Table 12
Information on the Islamic Peoples in the "İslâm Havadisi" Columns in the İslâm Mecmuası by Countries

Russian Territory	Istanbul	7	China	Chuguchak	1	India	Calcutta	3	
	Total	7		Harbin	1		Delhi	3	

	Tashkent	5	China	General	1	India	Agra	1	
				Total	3		Bombay	1	

	St. Petersburg	3	Afghanistan	Kabul Southern Region	5	1	India	Peshawar (?)	1
	Bukhara	2						General	2
	Kazan	2						Total	11

	Ufa	2	Afghanistan	General	1	Arab Territory	Arab Territory	Cairo	4
	Kazakh	2		Total	7				

	Baku	1	Iran	Iran	6	5	Arab Territory	Tripoli	4
	Troitsk	1						Tabriz	3
	Simferopoli	1						Tehran	1
	Chistopoli	1						Baluchistan	1
	Semipalatinsk	1						Isfahan	1
	Simbirsk	1						Kermanshah	1
	Bakhchisarai	1						Poshtokuh	1
		Total						15	

Kokand	1	Iran	Mohammera	1	Arab Territory	Arab Territory	England	3	
Ekaterinburg	1		General	8			Sarajevo	2	
Khariikov	1		Total	25					

Derbent	1	Other	Other	1	1	Other	Congo	1	
Tiflis	1						Djawa	1	
Elisavetpoli	1						Australia	1	
Orenburg	1						Japan	1	
General	6						Total	9	
Total	36								

narrow limits of the Hanafî School. The legislators may have thought that the Holy Law meant the Hanafî School. However, were other Schools such as the Malikî and the Shafî not the Holy Law?²⁹

One can perceive two intentions from these criticisms of the Civil Code: reopening the gate of *ictihad* according to the diversification of social intercourse; forming flexible judgements regardless of the difference among the Schools.

There was another significant subject handled in *İslâm Mecmuası*: attaching importance to custom (*örf*) as a base of the Law. The advocate of this view was, needless to say, Ziya Gökalp. He wrote

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.

an article entitled "Social Base of the Law" for the third issue. He pointed out, in the first place, that the Zahirî which stuck to literal meanings of the Quran could not attract followers and was doomed to disappear. The reason was clear: rigid theory was rejected by life. Life—and society—included peoples' consciousness, customs, ideas, etc., which were under the control of the natural law; it was Allah who controlled the law. The disappearance of the Zahirî was therefore inevitable.³⁰ Since the evolution of society was a manifestation of the will of Allah, it was necessary to investigate how custom (*örf*), a base of the Law, changed according to social evolution.³¹ Even though Gökalp was a disciple of French sociology, one must not think of the investigation as sociological. Gökalp carefully stated that European sociology was only recently established as a positive science, so that it could not be used to deduce the social base of the Law; that must be done by co-operation between sociologists and legal experts (*fakih*).³² Such an endeavor was needed to keep alive until doomsday the increasingly ineffective Holy Law.³³

After publishing Gökalp's article, *İslâm Mecmuası* printed many items relating to it. Halim Sabit, for example, regarded as harmful the reduced vitality of Muslim jurisprudence and the loss of effectiveness of the Holy Law; he asserted that it was of the greatest importance to find a contact point between the Law and life so as to insure the Law's revitalization (*tekrar canlandırılması*).³⁴ One must not overlook the point that both Gökalp and Sabit seized on the present conditions as harmful and strove for the revitalization of the Holy Law, and Islam in its turn.

EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

In early numbers of *İslâm Mecmuası*, several contributors argued, in the column headed "Muslim Woman" (*İslâm Kadını*), about the emancipation of women and their equality with men. What urged them to these arguments was their experience of the modern world. The first article, published in the second issue, explained the need for women's holding a job along with men as follows: now, knowledges newly discovered followed each other, which knowledges were indispensable in business, bureaucracy, and to oppos-

³⁰ Gökalp, "İçtimâî Usûl-i Fıkh," *İ.M.*, 3, pp. 85, 87.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Halim Sabit, "İçtimâî, Usûl-i Fıkh: Gökalp Beyin Bu Unvan ile Yazdığı Makale Münasebetiyle," *İ.M.*, 5, pp. 149-150.

ing the West as well. In the West, everybody strove for the new knowledge; so did they in the Ottoman Empire, but those working were exclusively men. On the other hand, a series of wars landed not a few women in widowhood; they had to support themselves. Men must therefore afford women opportunities to hold jobs.³⁵ Such jobs as dressmaking, and the sale of Women's accessories could occupy women; woman doctors, obstetricians, and nurses were needed too, and a women's medical collage must be established accordingly.³⁶ After that, some writers contributed related articles. Women's being occupied in trade was demonstrated to be lawful in the light of the Holy Law;³⁷ it was proved that Islam essentially respected women and motherhood compared with other religions.³⁸

The crucial point is that these articles on the woman question were not consistent with Westernization. According to the authors, the emancipation of women and equality between the sexes were not the symptom of Westernization. Certainly women were encouraged to hold a job, but the kind of job was limited according to the assumptions of Muslims. They were not expected to be like Europeans. They must not don a hat instead of veil, nor must they perform dance, in indecent costume.³⁹ The emancipation of women was therefore part of the issue of regaining the original truth of Islam eclipsed by superstitions.

MODERNIZATION AND ISLAMIZATION

As is well known, the CUP government accomplished, on the advice of Ziya Gökalp, many reforms of secularization, which can be regarded as forerunners of those by Atatürk. In 1913, *ulemas* and their religious courts came under State control; they were forced to admit the authority of the secular appeals court (*Mahkeme-i Temyiz*). The Ministry of Justice began to supervise over religious courts and their employees. Then, the State began to interfere in religious education: a State-operated *medresse* was set up in Istanbul and even a state examination was given; *medresses* came under the control of the Ministry of Education, which sent directors to *medresses* to effect reforms in the curriculum and teaching staff. A

³⁵ F.N., "Müracaat Ediyorum," *İ.M.*, 2, pp. 59-61.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

³⁷ Trabzonlu Hacı Kâmil, "Müracaat Ediyorum Makalesi Münasebetiyle Sual," *İ.M.*, 4, pp. 115-118.

³⁸ M. Şemsetin, "İslâm'da Kadının Mevki-i İctimaîsi," *İ.M.*, 5, pp. 142-145.

³⁹ F.N., "Müracaat Ediyorum," p. 59.

Council of *Şeyhs* (*Meclis-i Meşayih*) was organized to supervise all the dervish monasteries and lodges.⁴⁰

These reforms are of the kind normally associated with secularization. However, articles included in *İslâm Mecmuası*, whose leaders were closely connected with the CUP, saw these reforms as religiously motivated. As we have seen, the leaders asserted with emphasis that the original truth of Islam could be regained if alien elements and superstitions could be removed; Islam could thereby restore its clarity it enjoyed in Prophet's days. One of the means of so doing was to establish the "social base of the Law", since change and social evolution were, according to them, a manifestation of the will of Allah. It is worth mentioning that many of these works were entrusted to *ulemas*. They were responsible, according to *İslâm Mecmuası*, for the degeneration of Islam; at the same time, however, they were expected to rescue it. The Young Turks' policy of interfering in religion, establishing a State-control *medresse* for example, can be regarded as a measure for revitalizing Islam, a means of substituting superstition with the true religion. That is, according to them, the policy was not that of secularization but that of Islamization.

This hypothesis is valid for the issue of emancipation of women too. As is well known, in the Young Turk era, reforms in education and law, and the codification of a family law in particular, led women to gaining a foothold in society. While acknowledging the value of emancipation at this time, Stanford Shaw did not forget to point out its limitations, citing the fact that women could still not go to the theater or dine out with men, even their own husbands.⁴¹ In *İslâm Mecmuası*, however, the emancipation of women was asserted in terms of original Islamic truth; it could therefore only proceed as far as Muslims could allow. If one supposes that such reforms aimed at Westernization, they certainly seem insufficient and half-hearted. They did not aim at Westernization, however. They could discern the nature of Western civilization while learning many things from the West. They were not so superficial as to insist—and rest content—that Islam was a basis of Western civilization. The leaders of *İslâm Mecmuası* perceived the violent and religiously fanatical aspect of Western civilization. Christian barbarism and fanaticism were victimizing many Muslims every year

⁴⁰ For these reforms, see Stanford J. Shaw & E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. vol. II, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 305–310.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 307–308.

under the slogan, “Civilizing savageness”⁴² *İslâm Mecmuası* consequently criticized superficial Westernization, or a mania for Western ways.⁴³ Their position was, needless to say, very delicate, since they knew well that they had to learn many things from the West; Ağaoğlu Ahmet felicitously expressed their position as follows: Oriental ignorance, Western injustice (*Şarkın cehaleti, Garbın da adaletsizliği*).⁴⁴ They might pursue a way of modernization other than Westernization. At the very least, one must interpret Ziya Gökalp’s idea of “Turkification, Islamization, Modernization” in such an ambivalent context.

⁴² Sibiryalı Şir İdris, “Avrupa’nın İslâmiyet ve Türklük Hakkındaki Nazarı ve Ona Mukabil Bizim Hareketimiz,” *İ.M.*, 7, pp. 207–208.

⁴³ *Ibid.*; M. Şemsettin, “İslâm’da Kadının Mevki-i İctimaîsi,” *İ.M.*, 5, pp. 144–145; Fatih Emir Han, “Manasız Taklit,” *İ.M.*, 4, pp. 123–124.

⁴⁴ T.Y., “Şeyh Cemalettin Efgani,” *T.Y.*, VI/7, p. 2,264.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

One of the strands of Turkish nationalism inherited the idea of an Ottoman nation from Ottoman patriotism; the aim was, to the last, to build up an Ottoman nation-state. Ziya Gökalp stated in his 1918 article that Ottomanism and Pan-Turkism were interdependent.¹ He asserted that a great Turkic nation would emerge by diffusing Ottoman culture, which had acquired a national Turkic identity; Turks could help one another even if they belonged to different states, since they had already attained unity as a nation.² He concluded his article as follows:

Ottoman Turks must be sincere Turkists in order to offer their own culture to all Turks. Unless Ottomans are made into Turks, all Turks cannot identify themselves with the Ottomans. Antagonists of Turkism and Pan-Turkism have to consider now that they are destroying, first of all, the Ottoman state (*Osmanlılık*).³

The aim of another trend was to make a Turkic nation independent of Russia, although the existence of the nation was also an aim in itself. Neither trend could achieve its aims. The Ottoman Empire collapsed; unification of all Turks became impossible in the course of the October Revolution and the Turkish Liberation War. Turks would afterwards set up a republic in Anatolia. The new nationalism in the Republic, *Milliyetçilik*, intended to rescue and raise Anatolian Turks. The *Milliyetçilik* was therefore vastly different from nationalism of the Young Turk era. The latter could, in reality, contribute to the former in some meaning, that is in the first aspect of nationalism: striving for national identity and the pride of Turks which among Ottoman Turks had been lost for a long time.

Yusuf Akçura did not oppose the policy of assimilation, or Turkification in his 1904 article, “*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*”. Among his list of the advantages of the policy of Turkism (*Tevhid-i Etrak*), one can find the following sentences:

(Thanks to the policy), those Muslim subjects who were essentially not Turks but were made into Turks to some degree would be more

¹ Ziya Gökalp, “Turan Nedir?” *Yeni Mecmua*, XXXI, pp. 82a–84a.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 83c–84a.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84a.

assimilated with Turks, and even those who had never been so assimilated themselves could be made into Turks.⁴

While Akçura abandoned the idea in Istanbul, as we have seen, most of Ottoman nationalists who had rejected Turkish nationalism before the 1908 revolution could hardly overcome the idea of assimilation since they inherited the idea of an Ottoman nation. Needless to say, the problem of assimilation is linked closely with that of centralism; this issue has been actively debated since the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Contrary to the received wisdom, Turkish nationalists did not necessarily pursue secularization or Westernization; they were rather in favor of Islamization and modernization. They searched for a means of regaining the original truth of Islam, and a way of modernization other than Westernization. The relation between their ideas and *lâiklik* is therefore a new issue to be discussed.

⁴ Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, "Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset," in *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, Istanbul, 1327, p. 28.

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