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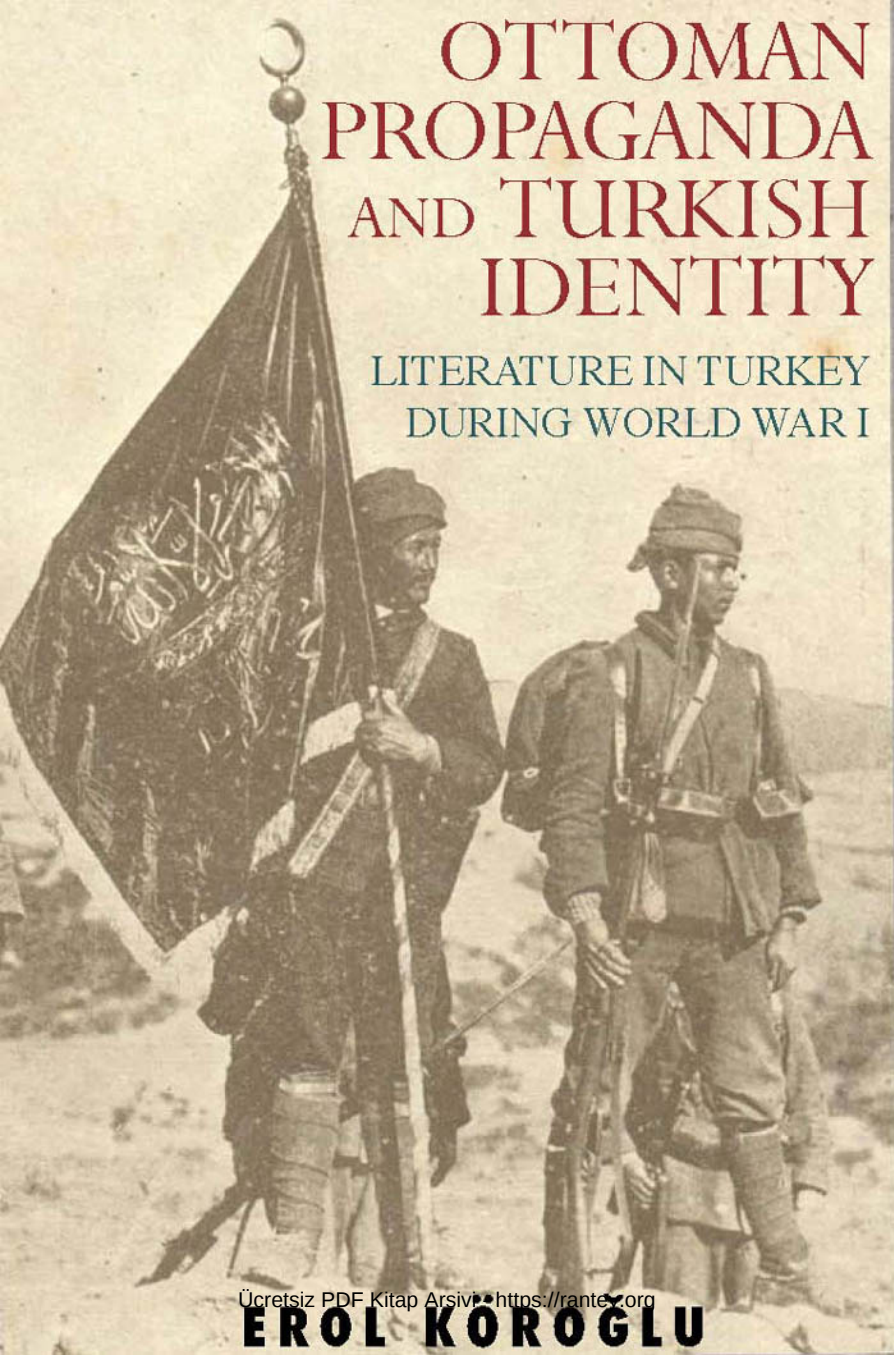
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OTTOMAN PROPAGANDA AND TURKISH IDENTITY

LITERATURE IN TURKEY
DURING WORLD WAR I



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EROL KÖROĞLU

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To the Unknown Victims of Wars,
Just or Unjust, Total or Local, Past or Present

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

In the transliteration of texts from the Arabic script to the Latin script, I mainly used the current Turkish usage, with a major exception for the Arabic letters ا, و and ح in the originals, which are represented by the letters â, û and î. Meanwhile, I did not change the spellings and punctuations of the passages I took from literary sources in order not to interfere with their specific textual structures. I used the forms of personal names according to the current usage, i.e. not *Mehmed* but *Mehmet*; however, I did not alter them if they were in Latin script. On the other hand, I wrote the family names of prominent historical and literary personalities in brackets throughout the text since the usage of family names was institutionalized in Turkey after the Family Names Law of 21 June 1934.

For the dates of books and articles before the acceptance of Christian calendar, I first gave the date in the *Rumi* calendar (an adapted version of the Gregorian calendar) and then its equivalent in the Christian calendar. However, note that the publication years of books in the *Rumi* calendar cannot be exactly represented by Christian years. Therefore, I gave the Christian date in brackets after the *Rumi* date in the case of books, while I first provided the *Rumi* date and then the Christian one after a slash in the case of articles published in newspapers or periodicals.

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PREFACE

In modern historiography, the First World War is accepted as the real beginning of the twentieth century. Consequently, libraries full of works concerning all aspects of this war have been produced in English, French and German, which were the languages of the main belligerents. Since the twentieth century was mainly a century of nation-states, most of these works were based on national perspectives; works based on international perspectives were much fewer in number, although such works did increase in number beginning from the second half of the twentieth century. Because the First World War was a global event, comparative approaches that rise above the boundaries of national perspectives would undoubtedly be more correct and productive. Jay Winter studied the effect of the First World War on European cultural history by means of such a comparative approach. In his seminal work, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, he stresses the fact that even the most qualified works regarding this war could not rise much above their national boundaries and that being able to do so was one of the most important challenges facing the historians of our day.¹

On the other hand, the most important battles of the First World War were fought on European fronts; the events causing and ending the war all happened in Europe. That is why this war was an international event, but a primarily European one. Europe was not only the site where war began but also the geography where its main effects were most strongly felt. It was only later that the war spread to other parts of the world. Due to this absolute fact, the larger perspective reached by comparativists, including Winter, in their quest to rise above national boundaries was limited to a vague conception of Europe. In today's global world, which has been shaken up in so many respects, such an approach has inevitably led to Eurocentrism

and consequently reproduced the very limitations it was supposed to overcome.

In today's world, where scientific research is limited by the power balance of *realpolitik*, as is the case in many other subjects, research on the First World War proceeds according to a certain hierarchy. Language is the most important factor of this hierarchy, according to which first of all, the war experience of the countries speaking English, French or German; secondly, comparativist approaches regarding these countries; thirdly, relatively minor belligerents like Russia, the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan states; and finally, the war experience of former colonies are considered worthy of academic interest. In particular, the last group has been studied in a subordinate position, in relation to the great powers as if they were but movie extras. Until the power discourse implicit in this academic hierarchy is overcome, a real comparison regarding in general global history and in particular the First World War will not be possible.

This book is a study of cultural history, the goal of which is to focus on the Ottoman-Turkish war experience, which is a component of the First World War that has been neglected both by global historiography and by its own national historiography. Ottoman-Turkish cultural history regarding the years 1914-1918 is a field which has been neglected for many reasons. For the above-mentioned reasons, all works of national or international cultural historiography with a European perspective have studied the First World War according to the problematic of 'modern memory'; the subject of the debate has been the question of whether or not the war was really a point of transition between the traditional nineteenth century and the modern twentieth century.² Given such a situation, Ottoman-Turkish culture, which is thought not to have had any relation with modernism, which was another European development, and being also linguistically handicapped, has not been honoured with much international interest. Because the Ottoman Empire was perceived as non-Western and Islamic-Oriental, even though by 1914 it had been trying to Westernize for more than a century, its cultural field, like so many other fields regarding it, was prejudicially considered to be of an imitative or derivative nature and was therefore not included even in comparative studies of the cultural histories of all belligerent countries.

The cultural aspects of the Ottoman-Turkish war experience have been neglected not only by international comparative studies, but

by local historiography as well. In Turkey nowadays, what is conventionally defined as 'modern Turkish cultural history and literature' includes both the late Ottoman period in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the Republican period. Nevertheless, the First World War, which was the determining event that brought about the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the consequent creation of the Republic of Turkey, has generally been neglected, particularly so from a cultural point of view. According to the dominant teleological approach, modern Turkish culture was shaped within the context of the post-1923 nation-state and national identity form; after some vague experimentation in the late Ottoman period, it found its real identity during the Republic. Late Ottoman cultural life, and its last breath in the First World War, are seen only as nuances. According to this perception, the years which make up the subject of this book were relevant only as a transition from the multi-ethnic empire to a nationally defined nation-state.

Notwithstanding this international and national neglect, this book begins with the premise that the four year long Ottoman-Turkish war experience between 1914 and 1918 was important not just from the neglected political, economic and social points of view, but also from the even more neglected cultural point of view. Even though this book presents itself as a study of cultural history, the material it studies consists predominantly of literary texts; it concentrates on literary texts related to the war and written between 1914 and 1918, while the war was happening. The fact that this study nevertheless does not present itself as a conventional or unconventional literary history derives from a distinctive preference: an attempt to make a socio-historical interpretation based on the cultural contextualisation of literary texts.

Up to now Turkish historiography and modern Turkish literary history have preferred to work separately and not just in the cultural field. Within this context, the approach followed thus far has been one in which historians have preferred to use literary texts as secondary sources, supporting denotatively a historical argument or narration. With this approach, the specific textual structure and production mechanisms of a literary text are not considered and are used only as an unproblematic testimony. On the other hand, from the point of view of literary historians, the historical circumstances are important only as a simple context used to position the literary text; also, in this case the complexities of historical processes are not

considered. The result is that the probability that there may be a complex interaction between a literary text and its historical context is overlooked and a relationship, which could turn out to be highly productive for both fields, therefore fails to be established.

The aim of this book is precisely such an interdisciplinarity. Its main methodological preoccupation is the question: 'Is an interdisciplinary literary and/or cultural historiography, which trivializes neither the literary text nor the historical context, possible?' It is with the aim of realizing this possibility that I strive in this work to interpret the literary output concerning the First World War and written during the war, within its cultural history context.

At this point, it may be useful to move on from the methodological preferences on which the book is based, to the hypotheses and explanations thereof. The first hypothesis concerns the perception, recollection and representation of the First World War. We tend to perceive the First World War as a straightforward and singular entity, despite the fact that the war stretched on for almost four and a half years between 1914 and 1918. This 'Great War' was termed the 'First War' after a second war broke out some twenty years later. But when we stop and think about the whole incident, we realise that it was actually a quite complicated historical event. The relatively long duration of the war, the great variety of events that succeeded one another and that, at times, led from one to another and the many direct and indirect actors who played different roles in the whole event make it difficult for us to grasp the First World War as a totality. Even the very minor incidents that occurred during the war do not have one singular telling, and different points of view clash when it comes to interpreting any event.

This conflict in understanding the war directs our attention to an important issue, and that is the question of its recollection and representation. Neither our common world history nor our national histories include a fixed manner of describing war. Innate complexities inhibit such a comprehensive description, thus leading to various interpretations originating from the different narrators of each national culture.

Regardless of the differences, however, among points of view and narrators, the processes of recollection and representation have one common feature: belatedness. A fiction writer, an author of memoirs or even a historian, all rely on retrospection in order to be able to describe a historical event. This retrospection creates an

unbridgeable gap between the historical event and its recollection, interpretation and narration, or in short, its portrayal. However, the narratee cannot distinguish the gap between that which is narrated and the event itself, because the very narrative mechanism that occurs between the event and the narration acts to make the gap invisible. If we consider a written narration, the process that makes this gap *currently* invisible is directly related to the *time at which* the writer is writing. At the moment of retrospection, while recollecting a historical event, the author is under the influence of the political, socio-cultural and psychological conditions of his or her own particular time. The present influences the recollection, interpretation and narration of the past; therefore, although we may think that the interpretation is based on the historical event, we are faced with a situation in which the historical event is based on the interpretation due to the belatedness in the narrative.

The belatedness present in all remembrances and interpretations of historical events is particularly relevant in the case of studies concerning the First World War. For example, in his book titled *Literature at War 1914-1940: Representing "The Time of Greatness" in Germany*, Wolfgang G. Natter presents the representation of the war in German literature in the context of this belatedness. According to Natter, the political, social, economic and cultural conditions at the moment of the creation of the literary work and the institutional relations deriving from these conditions are fundamental elements determining how the war will be remembered and interpreted. Literary works created during the war itself, when the environment was preponderantly nationalist with many elements of propaganda, will underline and develop certain points, while preferring to skip certain other points, which may be oppositional to those being put forward. These same points, which may have been at the time wilfully overlooked because they contrasted with the official way of describing the then current events, may, after a period of being forgotten or set aside, be resurrected in accordance with the changing conditions.³

The way the First World War is described in Turkish literature may also be interpreted within this context. As is the case in other countries, Turkish literature also suffers from belatedness when describing the Ottoman-Turkish Great War experience and the history of this war was rewritten at a moment when different ideologies were struggling for power. On the other hand, the elements and results of this rewriting process have been different in comparison

to what happened in Germany, England, France or Russia, since the agenda of Turkish literature is different in the same way that the Turkish experience of war was different from that of Western nations. The general aim of this book is to describe and explain this difference. To be able to explain this I have to clarify another conceptual point: the difference between literary pieces describing the First World War as an unfolding event and literary pieces describing the First World War as an event of the past.

First of all, I should point out the fact that literary works created during and after the war have one thing in common: in both cases the writer is interpreting the past in the light of the time in which she/he is writing. Thus, while a writer describing the First World War after 1918 will be remembering and interpreting the events of 1914-1918 in the light of the conditions present in her/his time, a writer writing during the war years, while the events described are still unfolding, will interpret them by means of parallels and relations with her/his past. In this way literature created during the years 1914-1918 will represent an attempt to reinterpret the concepts inherited from the past in the light of the conditions of the present time. This effort is common to all cultures, but since all national cultures are based on a different set of traditions, the results of the influence of the past on the present will be different in each country.

Industrialized European countries, which were following colonialist and imperialist policies, used their literary and cultural traditions inherited from the past for propaganda purposes in the context of their 'total war'. Beginning from 1914, in countries like England, France and Germany, state organs took over the job of influencing local and foreign public opinion. With the help of technology and of the most developed cultural institutions, the national cultural repertoire was used for the benefit of a common aim. Essentially the main aim of all warring nations is to create an effective propaganda network, which will first of all secure the home front, and then be used to influence and convince the public opinion of allied and enemy nations. Such a network requires a developed and industrialized infrastructure. That is why the success in the field of propaganda of a warring nation is directly proportionate to its material wealth.

Wartime propaganda derives from national culture. It is a modern development born from the mutual influences between the social and economic infrastructure and institutions of the superstructure

such as national culture, literature, historiography and so on, which depend upon the processes by which nations and nation-states were born. Some social scientists, Ernest Gellner foremost among them, explain the birth of nationalism in conjunction with the industrialization of Western European societies. The modern societies that were a consequence of industrialization required uniformly educated workers to man their complex economic structures. Lloyd Kramer summarizes this approach as such: "Nationalism is ... a product of modernizing economies, and it appears when the social structures of a culture begin to evolve away from the relatively stable, hierarchical relations of peasant communities."⁴ This approach of Gellner's has been criticized by theorists of nationalism, who stress other points, but from our point of view, what counts is not so much whether industrialization has given birth to nationalism or vice versa, but rather the close relationship between the two processes.⁵ As industrialization unfolds and the economic infrastructure strengthens day-by-day, national culture also develops in an organic fashion in accordance with requirements.

As a society changes from a static peasant society to a dynamic capitalist one, elements like industry, commerce, law, class structure, education and culture develop proportionately to each other, or rather, they oblige each other to develop. A nation-state, which is in the process of being formed, will have to educate its workers, artisans and peasants—in other words, all the elements of society—because such a state depends on the existence of a standardized society. Such a nation-state will require a national educational structure; instructors familiar with this new structure; writers/intellectuals to write the books that will be used by both students and instructors to learn the national historical and literary traditions; and a cultural industry consisting of printers, publishers and newspapers and magazines to print the literary and cultural output of these national intellectuals.

The developed European nations, which had already completed their industrialization prior to the outbreak of the First World War, were also very developed from the point of view of national culture. Germany, England and France had literacy and even elementary school completion rates of nearly one hundred percent. On the eve of the war, the national culture of these countries had become regularly functioning industries. These were societies made up of people who read, wrote and knowingly shared common literary and historical traditions and who were renewing their membership in an

'imagined community' regularly by reading newspapers on a daily basis.⁶ These societies treated intellectuals, artists and writers as important members of their communities; the circulation rates of newspapers were expressed in millions, while those of books in the hundreds of thousands. Thanks to a fast and efficient transportation network, books and newspapers were sent to the furthest corners of each country.

National culture or national imagination is absorbed by every single cell of the daily life of the society of an established nation-state. This absorption is possible thanks to the existence of a material infrastructure. During a crisis, like, for example, a state of war, nationalism, which has been absorbed by social life, becomes 'explicit' and is emphasized. The masses can be mobilized by means of strategies and tactics that are simple, easy to understand and superficial, yet well-planned. Propaganda activities ensure that explicit nationalist messages will guide the masses in the desired directions. When organizing propaganda, characteristics like theoretical depth, complexity or a literary language are not required. Since the main aims are to control and to motivate certain ideas, all strategies and plans are established on the basis of a common minimum standard. Messages are communicated to their recipients in the simplest possible way. The important point of a message is its capacity to be easily remembered, and its persuasiveness *vis à vis* the largest possible mass of people. All the fundamental points of propaganda are based on common minimums, but such minimums can be reached only if a national culture with profound roots is present.

The quality and quantity of German and English propaganda during the war is not even comparable with that of the Ottoman Empire, which was an underdeveloped country. The Ottoman Empire, with its semi-colonized, multi-ethnic structure and economic, cultural and social infrastructure typical of a non-industrialized nation, could not compete with England, France or Germany as far as propaganda activities were concerned. In addition to all the economic weaknesses, there was also the absence of political-administrative cadres and of appropriate policies that could have directed Ottoman public opinion to a common aim throughout the four year long war. The governing CUP⁷ administration was a coalition with rather loose ties between its constituent parts, and which encompassed different ideologies not in harmony with each other. It included many kinds of Islamist, Westernist or Turkish nationalist and even separatist ide-

ologies. These very different currents were kept together by means of compromises or, when the need arose, by means of force.

For these reasons, the policies that the government tried to apply during the war also changed frequently. For example, the Pan-Islamic and Ottomanist strategy applied at the beginning of the war lost much of its force after the Arab revolt and the defeats on the Syrian and Iraqi fronts. Beginning from 1917, Turkish nationalism, which was becoming increasingly secular and which was evolving from Turanism—Pan-Turkic nationalism at a global level—to a local Anatolian nationalism, gained the upper hand.

This book will try to create a foundation for these hypotheses and to explain them. At this point, the book's main argument concerning Ottoman-Turkish culture in the years 1914-1918 manifests itself: Because of all these unfavourable conditions, the literary output of the years 1914-1918, even if superficially full of propagandistic aims, was essentially the continuation of a project to build a national culture, inherited from the pre-war years and never completed. Literary nationalists were busy creating a national culture by interpreting the events of the time, while at the same time fighting the representatives of other ideologies. This process unfolded with many difficulties, by trial and error and with various changes in direction. Not being subject to a hegemonic ideology, writers active during the period 1914-1918 tried to interpret and describe events on the basis of their personal ideas or those of the groups of which they were members. We can sum all this up by saying that the literary output of 1914-1918 did not reflect a powerful propaganda like that present in the West, but was more a difficult attempt to create a 'national identity'. The national culture to evolve from these efforts was to be built upon by other writers of the post-war period on the basis of the conditions of their time.

The book consists of six chapters and a conclusion. The first four chapters display a chronological progression with the aim of constructing a context in accordance with the 'contextualization' approach. On the other hand, the remaining two chapters focus on analyzing the literary texts produced between 1914 and 1918, on the basis of the context constructed.

The first two chapters may be considered as an introduction. Chapter One discusses the development of propaganda mechanisms employed by the state in Europe in the years 1914-1918, the lack of such mechanisms in the Ottoman Empire, the debates in the

Ottoman press during the war concerning this lack and the material reasons underlying it. This chapter seeks to provide the argumentation with a foundation and focuses on material reasons.

Chapter Two aims for a thematic explanation of the pre-war ideological background of the wartime Ottoman cultural sphere and of the four mainstream ideologies of the period, which were Ottomanism, Islamism, Westernism and Turkism. Of these four ideologies, since wartime propaganda and the national culture construction process were connected especially to Turkism, in this chapter only Turkism's birth in the pre-Balkan War period has been discussed. The most important characteristic of this chapter is the use of Miroslav Hroch's 'nation-building process' approach in explaining these four ideologies.

Chapters Three and Four, which study the developments in the Ottoman cultural sphere from the Balkan War to the end of the First World War, are related and comprise the core of the book's effort to construct a context. These chapters are based on the three-phased developmental pattern that Hroch formulated with regards to the evolution of national movements. Chapter Three concentrates on the way in which the 'patriotic agitation' phase, as Hroch calls it, was experienced among the post-Balkan War Ottoman public opinion. Turkist public opinion formation efforts, which gained impetus after the 1912 Balkan War, were supported by the government and the losses in the Balkan War created a Pan-Turanist nationalism aiming for unification with the Turks living under the Russian yoke. The Pan-Turanist nationalism saw the First World War as an occasion to realize this dream. This chapter ends with an emphasis on a short and transitory but decisive period. After the Balkan War, the CUP government and the nationalist cultural sphere quickly grew closer and during the three months between the beginning of war in Europe in August 1914 and November 1914, when the Ottoman Empire entered the war, there was a coordinated effort of the two to warm public opinion up to the idea of entering the war.

Chapter Four focuses on the situation of the cultural sphere during the four years of the First World War and it begins with the end of Turkist-nationalist patriotic agitation, which had gained momentum in 1912, but had later grown quiescent because of the unfavourable material conditions. Once confronted with the previously unimagined nature and entity of the war, nationalist public opinion fell silent and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the state,

it proved impossible to establish effective wartime propaganda mechanisms; it was only towards the end of the war, with the establishment of the *Yeni Mecmua* (New Magazine) by the CUP's cultural spokesman Ziya Gökalp, that a movement aiming to develop a national identity and the neglected aspects of a related national culture, instead of simply carrying out patriotic agitation and propaganda, was born. This new orientation was determinative in the context of 1917-1918. The national identity construction process related to the cultural sphere, the foundations of which had been laid by this point, was interrupted at the end of the war; after a period of crisis during the armistice, it would reappear during the Anatolian National Struggle, shorn of its imperial perspectives and with a more nation-state oriented approach in their stead.

Of the last two chapters comprising the book's textual part, Chapter Five focuses on poetry, and Chapter Six on prose. The classification of literary output into these two groups is not arbitrary. In the literary field of that period, distinctions like short-story writer, novelist, poet or playwright were not considered very important and writers created works in almost every field and were generally known as *şair* (poet) or *nâsir* (prose writer).

Chapter Five, after an introductory section explaining the interaction between that period's poetry and its context, concentrates on three representative names: Ziya Gökalp, Mehmet Emin [Yurdakul] and Mehmet Akif [Ersoy]. Literary outputs of these poets are interpreted chronologically by concentrating on the moments of writing and publishing. While all these poets are analysed mainly from the point of view of propaganda and of their relations with the national movement, their relations with that period's official and unofficial Turkish nationalisms are also discussed.

Chapter Six, which studies the field of prose, analyses a relatively smaller range of material in comparison to poetry. Even though this field actually has more sub-fields than poetry does, the fact that these were not very developed and also the material problems tied to the war created a situation of scarcity, especially as far as prose writers representing the war were concerned. That is why the wartime output in non-fiction and fiction prose, which is studied in an introduction, are followed by detailed studies of two important prose writers, Ömer Seyfettin and Refik Halit [Karay], in this chapter.

MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF WAR PROPAGANDA AND THEIR WANT IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

‘War of Words’: War Literature and Propaganda in Europe

Due to its wide scope and to the fact that it lasted for a very long time, the First World War introduced many new concepts and applications. The stalemate that began on the European fronts in 1915 introduced new terms that reflected the situation into the war lexicon, terms like ‘trench warfare’, ‘war of attrition’, ‘total war’, or ‘psychological war’. All these new terms were also a sign that the war was to last much longer than was thought likely at the beginning. The length of the war did not concern just those fighting on the various fronts. The fact that the war lasted longer than expected obliged all the interested countries to adapt their economies, state administrations and cultural and social organizations to the needs arising from the war. That is why the term ‘home front’ becomes particularly relevant. The civilian population on the home front was not fighting the enemy, but nevertheless they were contributing to the war effort by participating in productive activities and making sacrifices, like spending less on food, clothing and other personal needs. Social class and political differences and all related conflicts were suspended, especially during the first years of the war, and all nations had united behind a common objective.

This situation also determined the nature of the literature created during the war. The intellectuals and artists of various countries cooperated with their governments for the benefit of their nations and created their works accordingly. At the beginning of the war, this was due to a patriotism widespread among the population, but as time went by, even though the people started to become disen-

chanted with the war, both national cultural institutions and their writers continued to support their governments' war efforts. This was largely due to the increasing importance given to propaganda as a public opinion forming instrument since the nineteenth century. When the First World War broke out, all countries began, to greater or lesser degrees, to institute systems of state propaganda designed to monitor and control what we may call cultural output.

In 1914, when the war had just begun, the British novelist H. G. Wells, who himself participated in propaganda activities, summarized this need: "The ultimate purpose of this war is propaganda, the destruction of certain beliefs, and the creation of others. It is to this propaganda that reasonable men must address themselves."¹ Another book published in Germany in 1916 with the aim of increasing the importance given to propaganda activities underlined the same objective: "More than any other conflict hitherto, this is a war of words, a war which is about the power of words."²

Propaganda is nothing new, nor was it new even in 1914. Propaganda, as something used to convince and guide people, has been known and used since ancient times. Its novelty value in 1914 and during the First World War derives from other factors. Propaganda grew increasingly important in the nineteenth century. The expansion of the public sector in the Western world had brought about a development of the importance of public opinion. Interest groups became aware of this and started developing propaganda methods with the aim of influencing public opinion and making sure that the public behaved in accordance with their wishes. In Britain, for example, the church, the press, political parties and philanthropic associations tried to influence public opinion by means of newspaper advertisements, brochures and conferences. Propaganda became increasingly sophisticated but remained outside the scope of government activities until the First World War. When the war started, the British government felt the need to use all of the resources at its disposal and, with this in mind, decided to guide public opinion by creating a centralized propaganda network.

Germany had understood the importance of a state controlled propaganda mechanism even before the war. Germany's source of inspiration on this subject was Clausewitz, the famous war theorist. His observation according to which "the morale of soldiers and of the civilian population has become an important variable of the war

equation", instilled into the commanding cadres of the armed forces the importance of propaganda.³

When the war started, the most prestigious operators in the field of public opinion shaping were literary figures. Writers like H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, Rudyard Kipling, Conan Doyle, John Galsworthy and Bernard Shaw in Britain; Mark Twain, Henry James and Upton Sinclair in America; and Thomas Mann, Robert Musil, Gerhart Hauptmann and Hugo v. Hofmannsthal in Germany and in the Austro-Hungarian empire, contributed to the formation of public opinion. Their thoughts on a wide variety of subjects aroused the interest of the educated classes even before 1914.⁴

As the war began, all of the writers, with a couple of exceptions, started to write in accordance with the interests of their own countries. In Britain especially this took on an institutional aspect from the very beginning due to government intervention. This institutionalization became a necessary response to the German propaganda activities, which were effective from the very beginning. Writers participated in visits to the front organized by the government and later described their experiences in reports, short stories and novels. Inevitably, they saw only what they were permitted to see. They were kept well away from the difficulties of life on the front and from the barbaric massacres and the unbearable conditions of the trenches, which later led to the creation of what is known as the movement of *disillusionment* in literature. On their part, the writers were more than ready to overlook such unpleasant situations and describe the imaginary war they had created in their minds. For example, John Masfield describes Gallipoli as if it were not the defeat it actually was, while John Buchan describes the defeat at the Battle of Somme as if it had been a great success. Even though the front, the site of so many difficulties and losses, was very near to Britain, these writers who participated in the propaganda effort created an illusion that lasted until the end of the war. According to this illusion, the blame for starting the war lay squarely with German militarism. The Germans, who were portrayed as the descendants of the Huns, were guilty of spilling blood, instilling fear and committing massacres, rape and destruction everywhere they set foot. The French, on the other hand, were described as the most civilized people on earth, people who were courageously defending their country. Loyal and jolly British troops, under the command of successful generals, were running to the aid of the French people and fighting with the aim of destroying German militarism.⁵

At this point, an examination of German propaganda activities will shed some light on how Germany, which had taken the advice of Clausewitz seriously and at the beginning of the war had the strongest and best-organized propaganda mechanism, lost that war. How did German propaganda fail? During the first days of the war, Germany subjected its own soldiers, the soldiers of enemy nations and the public of all concerned nations, be they allies or adversaries, to a barrage of propaganda. In August 1914, before the war had even started, Germany published 'popular scientific treatises', articles and poems by German writers and intellectuals that analyzed the ethical, military, religious, philosophical, commercial and political reasons for the war. The number of poems published during the first months of the war exceeded one million.⁶ Exactly as in the case of Britain and naturally of all other countries, the Germans claimed that their country had been attacked and that they were simply fighting to defend themselves.

I should touch on a factor that was very important for the effectiveness and success of propaganda, both in Germany and in the other warring countries of Europe. In 1914, except in the case of Russia and of the Ottoman Empire, the literacy rate was very high throughout Europe. Thanks to such a situation, literary output could play an important role in the propaganda effort. There are other elements confirming this. For example, letters written by German soldiers at the front are full of lists of the books they had been reading. Among titles were the New Testament, Goethe, Schiller, Keller, Fichte, Kleist and Nietzsche.⁷ Novels published during the war had circulations in the hundreds of thousands.⁸

This situation underlines how closely related nationalism is to a high literacy rate and in general with the level of education in a country. The nineteenth century was witness to a leap forward especially in the rate of attendance at elementary schools. For example, in the 1860's, even before the creation of a unified German state, the rate of attendance at elementary schools in Prussia was almost one hundred percent.⁹ These children were not just learning how to read and write, but they were also learning the geography, literature and history of their country, thus acquiring a national consciousness.¹⁰

Notwithstanding its developed educational system, its high literacy rate and the fact that it had gained consciousness of the importance of propaganda early on, Germany all the same lost not just the actual war but also the propaganda war. There are two impor-

tant reasons for this. The first one was the fact that German propaganda activities were directed from many different places, with different institutions having their own propaganda organizations. Sometimes coordination between these different institutions proved to be impossible. The second and more important reason was a lack of understanding of foreign public opinion:

There were many causes of the difficulty, including a certain bluntness in the character of many Germans; the extreme nationalism which led Germans to proclaim the superiority of their views and to assume that whatever was good for them ought to be good for others; blustering mannerisms proceeding from overcompensation for the nation's recent arrival as a major power; the consequences of growing up in an autocratic culture, where debate was not always permitted and practice in listening to opposing points of view was limited; and the even more autocratic habits of the military, where propaganda officers worked in an atmosphere which assumed that people would do what they were told to do and that civilians would accept arguments based on claims of military necessity.¹¹

Given this situation, it is not surprising that the less glamorous British, French and American propaganda activities should in the end have been more successful than those of the Germans. For example, the Fourteen Points declared by American president Woodrow Wilson towards the end of the war, when the U.S.A. were already in the war, are by themselves a masterpiece of propaganda. The Fourteen Points convinced not just the Allied public opinion but the public opinion in enemy countries as well that America and its allies were waging the war with noble purposes. This favourable impact was due not just to the content of the declaration but also to its language, which was similar to that employed by advertisers. The declaration was expressed in short, easily understood points.¹²

Ottoman War Propaganda: Destined for Failure

Apart from a few exceptions, the organized, state-led, institutional propaganda activities of the main European countries were absent in the Ottoman State. Ahmed Emin Yalman describes this situation in two short paragraphs of his book written in 1930:

Educational war propaganda was extraordinarily neglected in Turkey. The main activity in this regard was negative. Everything was done to hinder the spreading of the truth. The positive work coexisted in publishing the illustrated and popular War Review and a series of books. Writers were occasionally invited to the various fronts, and asked to write poems and books. An artificial system of trenches, and small models of service stations immediately behind the front were set up in Constantinople to give the public an idea of war conditions. A few information bureaus based on German models were also started.

The Germans were much more active in this regard. There were German exhibitions of war literature and pictures in Constantinople, Konya, Aleppo, Bagdad, etc. And other German organizations both secret and public, were busily engaged in educating the Turks as to the course of the War, —or its course as interpreted by German propaganda.¹³

These two paragraphs are all that Ahmet Emin wrote on the subject of propaganda during the war in his otherwise wide-ranging book and, although what he says is true, it is also a bit of an oversimplification. Even though the Ottoman State was unable to organize a propaganda effort similar to the ones organized by the European states, the need for it and the lack of it were discussed and attempts, even if of a limited and ineffective nature, were made to establish one. All the initiative regarding Ottoman propaganda was in the hands of Enver Pasha, who considered Germany's behaviour a model to be followed after in all respects. The broad-based German propaganda pushed Enver Pasha, and through him all the other politicians and intellectuals of the CUP regime, to do something. What is most interesting is that not only were propaganda works being published, but also a similar quantity of works extolling the usefulness of propaganda itself and bemoaning its lack. This kind of output underlining the lack of a propaganda effort increased especially during 1916, a time which saw deterioration in the fortunes of the war, and continued to increase until the end of the war.

Actually, from the outbreak of war in Europe up to Ottoman entry in the war in November, and even up to the first months of 1915, there were signs pointing to the probability of the emergence of strong propaganda activity in the Empire. In particular, Turkish

nationalist intellectuals discussed the war and participation in it, in approving terms very similar to those used by the leadership of the CUP. For example, Halide Edip, who in later years would distance herself from the CUP because of the Armenian event, began from 1917 onwards to develop an Anatolian nationalism in contrast to Turan nationalism, which was in favour of a Pan-Turkic union. At its very beginnings, however, Halide Edip fully supported the war, as evidenced by her article titled "Halâs Muharebesi" (Battle for Salvation), published in 28 November 1330 (1914) in the newspaper *Tanin*. Ever since her childhood, she had been aware that such a "battle for salvation" was inevitable. Although she had expected such a war to begin after a long period of preparation, she was happy that "by declaring war on Muscovy, Germany and Austria, which have the most modern and scientific military organization and equipment" the Empire had created an opportunity for such a war of deliverance to start immediately. According to Halide Edip, aiding Germany in this war, provided an opportunity to "begin the process of Turkish reunification and create prosperous Turkish states full of modern and hard-working Turks".¹⁴

Simultaneously, Yusuf Akçura echoed his support for the war by expanding on the words of Halide Edip: "Almost all Turkish nationalist authors are unanimous in their thinking that the war that we have entered is a just war of salvation." In the same article, Akçura uses an expression stating that the Ottomans had entered the war with the aim of achieving "the independence and freedom of nationalities and religions".¹⁵ At the beginning of the fiscal year 1331 (March 1915), he wrote an article in *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) evaluating the year 1330, in which he declared that this war had an "atmosphere of idealism" for all Turks and was a sign of the future deliverance of the Turkish community throughout the world.¹⁶

Nevertheless, this approving and optimistic atmosphere, present in the press output of the first months of the war, would not have satisfactory results. For example, at the beginning of 1916, Celâl Sahir [Erozan], a poet with close ties to the ruling CUP, wrote an article titled "Literary Year" in which he evaluated the literary scene of the previous year and observed that literary output had been very poor and that this was due to conditions arising from the war. During a war, he continued, although sentiments are stronger than usual, writers have difficulties expressing them. That is why it was to be expect-

ed that the year 1915 would not see the birth of any literary masterpiece. He also observed that, even if rarely, quality literary output could be seen in magazines and these rare literary works published in 1915 were also characterized by their description of the same subjects in “similar monotonous tunes”.¹⁷

A few months after this evaluation, an article by Hüseyin Cahid [Yalçın] describing contemporary Turkish literature appeared in the German newspaper *Ottomanischer Lloyd* on 7 and 8 July 1916 in both German and French. Translated excerpts from this article were published in *Tanin*, dated 9 July, while the whole article was published in Turkish in *Türk Yurdu*. He stated his belief that the stagnation of Turkish literature was not due to war conditions but to the fact that the search for a new national literature had not yet been successful. Despite this, he stated his belief that once the war conditions and various crises that had afflicted the Ottoman State for the previous seven years came to an end, a real literature would emerge.¹⁸

A few months later, *Türk Yurdu* introduced a series of articles titled “The Thoughts of Our Allies”. These were supposed to be reviews of German books on the subject of war. The unsigned (although most probably written by Yusuf Akçura) introduction to the first review argued that in the present war “mobilization” could not be limited to armies but should encompass the whole society. All writers, intellectuals and scientists published articles in favour of and about the war. The author of this introduction, who made it clear that he was closely following the European literary scene, stressed the importance of writing about war time and post-war conditions. His opinion of the Ottoman situation was not just a recognition of the deficiencies, since Ottoman poets and writers were among those most frequently writing about the war. His main complaint concerned the lack of books and articles on the subject of war and post-war conditions, in the fields of economics, politics, law, history and philosophy.¹⁹

While writers were embroiled in debate as to whether they were ‘doing enough’, the poem “Asker ve Şâir” (The Soldier and the Poet) by Ziya Gökalp, a member of the Central Committee of the CUP and in a sense the representative of the regime in the sphere of culture, was published in issue 14, dated November 1916, of *Harp Mecmuası* (War Journal). This blunt poem admonishes all writers not participating in propaganda activities. The starting point of this poem was a photograph published on the cover of the same issue, showing a Turkish soldier on the Galicia front, sleeping in a trench and

holding a hand grenade to his chest. Gökalp ordered all poets to look carefully at this photograph, because this soldier was the real poet since he was the one who “felt and heard”. With his grenade, which he did not let go of even when sleeping, he was writing a poem inspired by his motherland and dreaming of war even then. Perhaps this soldier was about to be martyred for his country and would thus become part of history. This sacrifice was in complete contrast to the laziness of the poet who could not even be bothered to write an epic on the heroism of this soldier. Gökalp ended his poem with a threat: The pen of the lazy poet should be taken away from him and he should be sent to the front and made to dig the graves of the martyred soldiers.²⁰

The letter of a reader, signed R.T., was published a few months after this poem, in issue 130 of *Türk Yurdu*. This letter referred to the need for reading material felt by the soldiers on the front. The great majority of Turkish soldiers were illiterate but felt a great need for someone to read the newspapers for them. When there was an article written in a comprehensible way, they would read it many times, even if they had by then learned it by heart. Since writers preferred writing in a complex language, the average person had to make do with going to coffee shops and village halls to listen to folk stories of love and heroism. The letter concluded with an implicit call to all writers to write novels, satirical pieces, national poems and books on history, agriculture, military affairs and religion, using a simple language similar to that of the popular literature mentioned in his letter so that people would be certain to read them.²¹

All the same, these ideas under the guise of threats, debates or admonishments had far from satisfactory results. The subject continued to be analysed throughout 1917. During the summer of 1917, ‘war literature’ became conspicuous in its absence. The “Weekly Conversation” published in issue 5 of *Yeni Mecmua* (New Magazine), dated 9 August, called attention to this situation. The starting point of this piece was a short article published in *Tanin*, in which the author reported that the shop windows of Swiss booksellers were “flooded” with “an interminable flow of literary works published continuously, with the aim of awakening in the German and the French a sense of national self-sacrifice and heroism and of keeping their taut nerves in a state of continuous alertness”. He asked why such works were not being created in Turkey and blamed the Turkish intellectuals, writers and poets for this lack. The writer in *Yeni Mecmua*

agreed with the writer of the *Tanin* article and added that all European nations were in the midst of a “taut activity”, not just on the front but also in the fields of philosophy and art: In comparison, the situation in Turkey should shame all artists and writers. The reason for this was that the country’s elite had no national character. As long as the gap between the people and the upper classes remained, not only would there be no war literature, but there would be nothing else as well.²²

By the last year of the war, all the articles analysing the lack of propaganda reflected a loss of hope, because the effort to explain the advantages of propaganda had been in vain. All the same, the year 1918, at the end of which the Ottoman Empire was to lose the war and surrender unconditionally, was not without its moments of hope up until autumn. The Tsar had been removed from power in Russia and the new government had preferred to come to an agreement with its adversaries. As a consequence, the Brest-Litowsk Treaty was signed with Russia on 3 March 1918 and Turkish armies advanced as far as Azerbaijan in the Caucasus, strengthening Pan-Turanism. On 7 May 1918 another treaty was signed with Romania in Bucharest.

During this period, *Yeni Mecmua* published “Çanakkale Nüşa-yı Fevkâlâdesi”, a special issue dedicated to the Battle of Gallipoli, which expounded the Turkish thesis according to which the Russian regime of the tsar had fallen because of the Turkish defense of Gallipoli. This special issue, which was published in May 1918, must have been planned at the end of 1917 or at the beginning of 1918, but its publication was then delayed for various reasons, as explained by magazine editor Mehmet Talat in his introductory article titled “Birkaç Söz” (A Few Words). Talat begins by saying that all belligerent countries attach great importance to war literature, which has become an indispensable instrument. The example he gives is France where a “class of intellectuals” strengthens the front and the general will to fight. The members of this class create an “outcry” as a response to even the smallest incident. For example, when the Germans were defeated at the Battle of Marne, France was the scene of enthusiastic celebrations that lasted not just days but months. In Turkey, however, even though the fronts in Galicia, Dobrudja and especially Gallipoli had been the scenes of heroic events, nothing noteworthy had been written about them. This *hâtıranâme* (commemorative book) had been prepared with the aim of breaking this silence. With this in mind, the aid of Istanbul intellectuals had been sought, but

“they must have been too busy” for they had not “deigned to answer” and this anthology was therefore not as complete as desired.²³

Reasons for the Lack of Propaganda Activities

The Strictness of Censorship

All of these analyses and criticisms of the lack of propaganda activities between 1916 and 1918 have one point in common: None of those criticizing this situation, not even those following and describing the propaganda activities in Europe, advocated state intervention or the necessity for the state to organize the spheres of art and literature. These articles blamed, or in rare cases defended, the writers, artists and intellectuals, describing them as incapable of creating works about the war because of their lack of national characteristics, their detachment from the common people or plain egotism. The critics who themselves had close relations with government circles seemed to be unaware or to ignore that the vivacity of European war literature, which they admired so much, was due to government coordination, which established in advance topics suitable to be taken up by writers and artists.

One of the main culprits of the lack of propaganda activities during the war was the CUP regime. We know that propaganda had been well organized and had become institutionalized in the more developed western countries since the very beginning of the war, and even before the war in the German case. The intervention of the state was the most important factor in this situation. The development and application of master plans were possible only in the presence of well-functioning governmental mechanisms, which was not the case in the Ottoman Empire, where the development of a master plan encompassing all propaganda related activities and of a long-term strategy had not been possible.

There is a complete absence of criticism on the lack of state propaganda activities during the war years. During the armistice and the National Struggle years, nationalist writers never criticized the CUP's incapacity to establish a propaganda mechanism. They only mentioned the strict censorship of the war years, which they had experienced personally and which had deeply influenced all cultural aspects. In fact, the censorship of the war years had really been an important factor in the lack of an effectual Ottoman propaganda mechanism, and the blame for that lay squarely with the regime.

Due to the strict censorship applied by the government, public opinion could not be informed as necessary, and this meant that the psychological aspect of the home front, which in the case of a long war like the First World War is at least as important as the battlefield, could not be managed as required. Ottoman intellectuals, who would have been the ones to manage this process of producing information and providing guidance, were already having great difficulties in finding enough work to subsist on in the pre-war years—when there was no censorship—because of infrastructure problems in the Ottoman economy. During this period of strict censorship, they had great difficulty in finding subject matter and this increased their economic difficulties. There was also the fact that writing even the briefest article that failed to meet the frequently unclear and not very rational government guidelines would land its writer in a difficult situation.

All the governments fighting during the First World War applied censorship; from that point of view, what happened in the Ottoman Empire is normal. What was exceptional was its irrationality and rigidity. The reasons for this lay in the historical events of the years 1908–1914. During the more than fifteen years between the overthrow of the authoritarian Abdülhamid II and the consequent introduction of a constitutional monarchy in July 1908 and October 1923, freedom of the press in Istanbul, which was the cultural as well the political capital, was enjoyed for only one and a half to two years, with the remaining time being spent under a strict regime of censorship, if not outright violence, against the press.²⁴

This situation is reflected in the number of periodicals published. During the last days of Abdülhamid II, there were around 120 newspapers and magazines actively being published in the Ottoman Empire. After the introduction of the constitution, this number shot up to 730 within one year. Of these, 377 were published in Istanbul. By the end of the war in 1918, there were only fourteen newspapers and periodicals left in Istanbul.²⁵ This unfavourable environment in which the press operated was due to the difficult circumstances of the period 1908–1923. Wars, revolts, the imperialist pressures of the great powers and economic difficulties were applying a great deal of pressure on the Unionist or anti-Unionist²⁶ governments, which as a consequence tried to impose their absolute will on the press as they saw this as the only way to guide public opinion. While there were problems concerning economic sources or political legitima-

cy, the publication of even the slightest hint of oppositional ideas was perceived as a grave threat.

During the period of the jealously guarded absolute power of the CUP, beginning with the *Babali* (Sublime Porte) Raid of 23 January 1913 until the defeat of 1918, the government banned the publication in newspapers and periodicals of even the slightest opposition related view. In particular, the outbreak of war in 1914 in Europe and the declaration of a general mobilization in the Ottoman Empire brought about the introduction of military censorship. With the introduction on 7 August 1914 of a temporary law, the existing censorship became even stricter.

Actually, the regime had planned for censorship to be even stricter than the way it ultimately turned out to be in practice. Kâzım Karabekir, who at the time was Chief of Intelligence at the Office of the General Staff, included in his memoirs of the war an event related to the introduction of censorship. He had a meeting on 3 August 1914 with İsmail Canbulat, an undersecretary in the Ministry of Interior, who said that, with the exception of *Tanin*, which was the mouthpiece of the government, all newspapers would be closed to prevent them from publishing anti-war views. Karabekir opposed this move and said that it would destroy the credibility both of *Tanin* and of the constitutional system and would be in conflict with the principle of "armed neutrality". He later complained to Enver Pasha about this proposal. Enver concurred with Karabekir's views and prevented the newspapers from being closed.²⁷

Nevertheless, the official censorship regulation introduced a few days later was also very strict and all encompassing. According to this new regulation, no new newspapers or press agencies were to be founded; newspapers could not publish additional editions; all newspapers were to be distributed only after having been brought to the censorship room at the Istanbul Post Office, where they were to be checked and stamped as being "in accordance with regulations" and finally signed by the censorship official and censorship officer on duty; and no telegrams were to be sent in languages other than Turkish, Arabic or French.²⁸

On the other hand, official censorship was not the only leverage that the government enjoyed over the Ottoman press. Opportunities to import paper into the Ottoman Empire, which was not an industrialized country and thus dependent on foreign sources for all manufactured products, had become almost nil from the very beginning

of the war. Consequently, the supply of newsprint had also become haphazard. Since both Germany and Austria had paper monopolies, it was not possible for newspapers to import paper from those countries directly. Paper had to be distributed by the German and Austrian embassies in Istanbul. The embassies rationed the paper, seeking to gain leverage over the Turkish newspapers. Editors complained about this to the government but failed to receive any response. *Osmanlı Matbuat Cemiyeti* (The Association of Ottoman Press) was created with the aim of breaking the embassies' stranglehold over the supply of newsprint. This association contacted the German Association of Newspaper Publishers, inquiring after the possibility of importing all the necessary newsprint directly.²⁹

All the same, the problems related to supply lasted throughout the war, resulting in a decrease in the number of pages even though circulation rates were increasing in response to the many unfolding events.³⁰ Especially during the first years of the war, the number of pages fell to one third of the pre-war number. Even this reduced number of pages was filled with official military communiqués and the general war news obtained by German and Austrian sources, because there was nothing else to print.³¹

By the time the Ottoman government finally understood that by applying such strict censorship it was losing a very important outlet for frustrations, it was too late. Beginning in 1917, the authorities began to allow some articles critical of unjust profits. On 11 June 1918, military censorship was completely abolished. From that date, newspapers were free to publish whatever they felt like printing. Upon this belated relaxation of the rules, the attitude of the press became more critical but remained prudent at the same time. When the triumvirate abandoned the country after the signing of the armistice, the press became fiercely anti-CUP.

The Triumvirate and the Negative Impact of Cliques

In the post-war period, those subjected to the harshest criticism in all of the works about the First World War were the three leaders of the CUP: Talat, Enver and Cemal Pashas. They were held responsible for all of the internal conflicts of the CUP, which was also an important factor in the inability to put together an effective propaganda network during the war. When in 1916 Said Halim Pasha resigned from his position as grand vizier and Talat Pasha was appointed in his place, it looked as if Talat Pasha had become leader

of the CUP. The truth was that while Talat was the leader of the civilian section of the party, Enver was the leader of the military section. In addition to these two, there was Cemal, who since the First Canal Mission of 1915 had become governor-general of Syria and was governing it as if he were a monarch or a dictator. These three made up what was to become known as the Triumvirate.

These conflicts were also due to the fact that during the decade 1908-1918, all of the internal and external problems and wars had prevented the CUP from consolidating its power; it had always been obliged to govern in times characterized by emergencies. The difficult circumstances deriving from the wars had prevented the leaders of the CUP from acquiring the cool statesmanship required of them and a kind of quasi-feudal structure, developing from top to bottom, had prevented the party from becoming homogeneous.

The leadership, the members of which seemed to be undecided as to whether they were statesmen or members of a revolutionary secret society, was riven by the presence of cliques. Talat did not trust the men close to Enver, while Enver did not trust the men close to Talat. Even the problems related to food rationing, which lasted throughout the war and were one of the main reasons behind the population's hostility towards the government, were influenced by the presence of these cliques. The Istanbul delegate of the CUP, Kara Kemal, who was a member of Talat's group, and İsmail Hakkı Pasha the Lamé, who was commander of the supply corps of the Army and a member of Enver's group, could never get along with one another. Members of the same party were obliged to watch their backs at all times.

One of the main reasons for the heavy criticism aimed at the CUP in the post-war period was the indifference shown by all high level government dignitaries to the sufferings of the population, beginning with Enver Pasha himself, and their reluctance to abstain from luxury expenditures at a time when the population was having difficulty finding bread, which was rationed.³²

These problems, related in particular to the Triumvirate, and in general to the CUP administration, were a reflection of a certain mentality and were closely related to the material circumstances of the time. It has always been discussed how the members of the CUP, who were the heroes of the 1908 revolution, were as a matter of fact completely ignorant of the requirements of statesmanship. The young revolutionary cadres, who in 1908 were placed at the lower levels of

the military or civilian bureaucracy, stopped being in positions controlling the government and suddenly found themselves at the centres of power between 1908 and 1914. It was their misfortune that this transfer of power happened at a time requiring a constant struggle with extremely unfavourable internal and external circumstances. During this struggle, they continuously had to employ extraordinary methods. Actions like murdering journalists, administering elections with the force of sticks and *coup d'états* opened, slowly but surely, an unbridgeable gap between them and the opposition. Every difficulty encountered and the methods used to solve it only served to reinforce CUP's leaders' ties to their respective cliques and to increasingly estrange them from their opponents within and outside the party. In sum, the CUP, which had consolidated its power after the murder in 1913 of Mahmut Şevket Pasha by sending into exile or hanging its opponents, ended up in a situation in which power could be maintained by the use of force.

However, the creation of real power required not just the use of force, but also a capacity to persuade, the latter being a much more effective instrument. During the war, material circumstances became especially harsh and an incapacity to persuade the intellectuals, who would have been the main instrument in any campaign to capture the hearts and minds of the population, brought about an increase in the estrangement between the government and the people.

The CUP was too complicated, too complex and too ambiguous. These may be desirable qualities when struggling against difficult circumstances, but when trying to convince people and to create hegemony, they are not desirable. In particular they are not at all suitable when propaganda activities, which should be based on simple premises and run effectively, are of necessity. Even taking into account all the economic difficulties, the CUP administration was particularly unsuccessful in putting together an all-encompassing and coherent propaganda policy that was capable of managing the psychological circumstances affecting both the battlefield and the home front. All propaganda efforts ended up being ad hoc affairs taken up according to the conditions and requirements of the moment. At times, the concept of *Ottoman-ness* was underlined; when there was the danger of an Arab revolt, Islam was stressed. Moreover, all this while the temporary advance in the Caucasus served as an inspiration for a policy based on Pan-Turanist ideals. They had a hard

time establishing continuity and coordination between these disparate approaches and even when they did manage to do this, they could not explain it to the public. In addition to this, the CUP leaders ran their own propaganda campaigns, which were based on their superficial needs, were not coordinated and were at times even at odds with each other. Consequently, the blame for the ineffective propaganda activity throughout the war years lay in particular with the CUP leadership and in general with all management cadres of the party.

Infrastructure Problems

The crisis, which lasted between 1908 and 1918 and saw the zenith of the Ottoman modernization process, actually had its roots in the late eighteenth century and became a laboratory for the ideas that were to be applied after the foundation of the Republic. This period was very important for the attempts made to find correct applications by learning from the mistakes made. This was a period characterized by the CUP, the party that was blamed for the fall of the Ottoman Empire by the historians of the period encompassing the armistice of 1918, the war of independence and foundation of the Republic in 1923. Even though this judgment was not totally wrong, it was incomplete. The CUP, and in particular the Triumvirate which held power during the First World War, were responsible for much that went wrong. All the same, their problematic mentalities were a product of their age and cannot be explained by way of their individual psychologies alone. As was the case in many problems of the time, it was not only the CUP leadership that was responsible for the failure to set up a propaganda mechanism. The material circumstances, which set limits to their behaviour and in particular the infrastructure problems afflicting the Ottoman State, also call for careful analysis in this regard.

The Ottomans were not ready for the First World War, neither in terms of infrastructure nor superstructure. As a consequence of the infrastructure deficiencies, national culture, which would have contributed to the moral strength of the nation during the war, had not completed its formation process. Let us start to analyze this underdevelopment, beginning with material circumstances. First, the Ottoman Empire had in 1914, just before entering the First World War, a population problem. The Empire had a total area of approximately two million square kilometres and a population of between

twenty and twenty-six million. This population had varying degrees of concentration and was multiethnic; forty to forty-five percent of the total was made up of Turks living mostly in Anatolia and thirty-five to forty percent of Arabs, while the rest was made up of groups such as Kurds, Armenians, Greeks and Jews.³³ During the same period, developed European countries had populations twice or three times as large as that of the Empire. In 1914 Germany had a population of sixty-five million, Britain of forty-five and France of thirty-nine.³⁴

Before 1914, the rate of increase of population in the Ottoman Empire was less than one percent. According to researchers, this rate, which was lower than the world average, was due to unfavourable health conditions, war and revolts. Another reason was the extraordinarily long time men served in the army.³⁵

During the period 1880-1914, the world economy as a whole grew. The yearly growth rate of the Ottoman economy was 2.2 percent. While this rate was satisfactory for developed countries, it was a bit low for a developing country. During this period, the Ottoman economy displayed characteristics similar to those of the world economy, with stable price and monetary conditions and a slight growth. Nevertheless, its dependence on other countries increased, the financial health of the state deteriorated and economic policies were devoid of coherent objectives.³⁶ Even if a certain conversion into a capitalist economy did occur as a result of contact with external markets, the Ottoman economy was still based primarily on agriculture, with eighty percent of the population employed in this sector.³⁷

Nevertheless, the levels of economic activity and of welfare in the port cities of the empire, cities like Istanbul and Izmir that had lively commercial scenes, were much higher in comparison to less developed areas. Ottoman state employees and salaried workers were those that most enjoyed these favourable circumstances, because they had been able to benefit from the price stability present throughout the world during the period 1880-1913. During its modernization process lasting over a century, the Ottoman Empire had acquired, in parallel with the rest of the world, an increasingly vast bureaucracy and a mass of state employees. The salaries received by these employees were higher and the prices they had to pay lower than those in neighbouring countries. Before 1914, a mid-level employee could buy 100 kg of meat with his salary. The richest class was not made up of merchants and industrialists, as was the case in industrialized countries,

but of high-level government employees. As a result of this situation, the highest rates of import in the region, after Romania and Egypt, belonged to the Ottoman Empire.³⁸ Apart from luxury goods, the items imported in the greatest quantities by the Ottoman Empire before the war were basic consumer goods like flour, grains, rice, sugar, coffee and tea. The main export items were tobacco and dried fruit.³⁹

This relatively high level of welfare present in the main cities was in a sense also the source of the discontentment felt during the war years. Prices in the Ottoman Empire were lower in comparison to those in neighbouring countries but varied from one region to another. The main reason for this was that, because of the lack of a satisfactory transport infrastructure, the lands making up the Empire had not been made into a single market.⁴⁰ Once war began, the Ottoman urban classes, who thanks to their high purchasing power had grown accustomed to imported goods, suddenly found themselves in a state of want due to the interruption of imports and to price inflation, which reached incredibly high rates. The job of feeding Istanbul was to become one of the greatest headaches of the wartime government, with the population having to live through great difficulties and becoming increasingly estranged from the governing classes, because of the presence of black-market operators and war profiteers, who used the 'national economy' policies to their own advantage. According to the *Düyûn-u Umumiye* (public debt administration) index, the level of prices in October 1918 was fifteen times the pre-war level; during the four-year war, state employee salaries increased by fifty percent while their purchasing power fell by sixty to eighty percent. The purchasing power of one hundred Ottoman Liras in 1918 was equal to the purchasing power of twenty-five Ottoman Liras of the pre-war period.⁴¹

Between 1914 and 1918, the daily per capita consumption of calories fell and basic foods were rationed in all countries, including the most developed ones.⁴² In the Ottoman Empire bread was the foodstuff that created the greatest trouble from the very beginning of the war, especially in Istanbul. The quality of bread grew increasingly worse as the war progressed. While at the beginning of the war one loaf could be given to each person, this quantity fell to 250 *dirhem*⁴³ in 1916 and to 150 *dirhem* in 1917.

The Ottoman economy, which suffered from financial mismanagement and a consequent need of foreign credits vital for the state

budget, was not ready for the First World War from the point of view of its level of industrialization either, especially as the world had just emerged from a period of intense technological innovation. In the Ottoman Empire there were only 269 companies employing more than five workers in 1913. By 1915, this number had increased by only a fraction to 282 companies. A total of fifty-five percent of the companies operating in the food, construction, leather working and printing sectors were located in Istanbul. Most were small and eighty-one percent of them were private. In 1913, 16,975 people were employed in the industrial sector, a figure which decreased to 14,060 by 1915 because of the war.⁴⁴ With the exception of the defence industry, all industrial sectors shrank throughout the war. While before the war only three thousand people were employed by the defence sector, this number had risen to over ten thousand by the end of the war.⁴⁵

Within this general picture, the Ottoman transport infrastructure was also very primitive. The Ottoman economy was static. Commercial activity was limited to ports like Istanbul, Izmir, Salonika and Beirut and their hinterlands. People ventured outside their hometowns only to serve in the army and for work purposes. Never mind the transportation between cities and different areas, even transportation between different districts of the same city was very low.⁴⁶ In Istanbul, which had a population of approximately one million in 1914, there were eighty-four million single transport operations, with a per capita yearly average of eighty-six. In 1914, there were only 187 motor vehicles throughout the empire.⁴⁷ Foreign vessels carried out ninety percent of maritime transportation, and the Ottoman commercial fleet largely was made up of small sailboats. There were few highways and the few existing ones were in a state of disrepair.

The greatest deficiency of the Ottoman transport infrastructure was to be found in its railroad network. The railroad was to be the most important means of transportation during the First World War. By 1914, all industrialized countries had completed their railroad networks, both from a military and an economic point of view. Germany had a 64 thousand kilometre network covering an area of 540 thousand km², France a 51 thousand kilometre network covering an area of 536 thousand km², India a 55 thousand kilometre network covering an area of 3,160,000 km², and the U.S.A. a 388,330 kilometre network covering an area of 7,739,524 km². In contrast to all this, the Ottoman Empire, with an area of approximately two

million km², had a railroad network of only 5,759 kilometres.⁴⁸ In addition to this, most of the Ottoman railroads were foreign-owned and most of their employees were not Turkish.

Apart from all the negative aspects of the situation, there was also the fact that these railroads built with foreign capital had been planned only for commercial advantage and without taking into consideration military requirements.⁴⁹ The railroad, which began in Istanbul, was interrupted in Southern Anatolia at two points, first in Pozantı in the Taurus Mountain Range and then at Osmaniye in the Amanos Mountains. At these points, the connection with the next station was made via very unsuitable mountain roads. The Amanos Tunnel was completed only in January 1917, while the Taurus Tunnel had still not been completed by the end of the war.⁵⁰ There was no railroad connection between the western and eastern parts of the country. That is why military units leaving Istanbul reached the eastern front only after a journey lasting almost two months.

The Ottoman armies had to rely on animals for their transportation needs throughout the war. Unfortunately, the animal population was also quite limited in number and was under the constant threat of contagious diseases like the bubonic plague. In 1913, there were only 250 veterinary surgeons.⁵¹

The communication network of the Empire was also very limited, even though the country was not unfamiliar with the telegram, which was the main communication medium of that time. The first telegram line had been set up in 1854 during the Crimean War. Just before the First World War, there was a network of 50 thousand kilometres. During the war, this network would turn out to be insufficient, with censorship adding to the inefficiencies arising due to technical reasons. The phone, which was another communication medium of the time, was definitely a novelty. It had begun to be extensively used in Europe in 1877, but in the Ottoman Empire it came into use only in 1909 and then only by the state bureaucracy. In 1911 the Istanbul Phone Company, which had been created with British and American capital, began putting up a phone network, which by 1914 had 4,159 subscribers.⁵² The underdevelopment in this sector had adverse effects during the war; while someone in Istanbul could communicate with Berlin, Vienna or Sofia, no phone communication was possible between Istanbul and the various battlefronts.⁵³

The difficult material circumstances present in the Ottoman Empire meant that public education, which has a vital importance

as far as the formation of a national culture and the existence of an environment receptive to war time propaganda is concerned, also did not develop sufficiently. The Ottoman modernization process had begun at the end of the eighteenth century in the military field, and the greatest part of these reforms consisted in the creation of modern military schools. In a sense, the modernization of the Ottoman Empire had begun in the field of education. Unfortunately, by 1914 education had become one of the fields in which the efforts to modernize had been least successful. In relation to the fact that Ottoman reforms had always been a top to bottom effort, the reform of education began at the university level and proceeded down towards the elementary level. Since the reform of Ottoman elementary schools would have required enormous financial resources, it was always neglected.

There were efforts in the field of education, which began in 1908 and continued on after 1914, but they were unfortunately not destined to be successful. The fact that the Balkan and First World Wars began just as these efforts were starting to produce results prevented the education reforms from taking root. The lack of a well-organized elementary school system in the Ottoman Empire prevented the formation of a national unified curriculum.

The low literacy rate was also an obstacle to the efforts to support the morale of the soldiers in the Ottoman army and the civilians on the home front. There is no precise data concerning the literacy rates, but it is thought to have been less than ten percent in the period 1914-1918.⁵⁴

Another of the reasons for the wartime Ottoman governments' incapacity to put together an effective propaganda network was the lack of development in the publishing sector. Printing presses reached the Empire some hundred years after being invented by Gutenberg, and then via non-Muslim communities. For religious reasons, they were not used to print books in Turkish until 1729. After this date, the Turkish publishing sector began to develop very slowly and during the two centuries between 1729 and 1928 managed to print only about thirty thousand books.⁵⁵ As in the case of education, it is a known fact that by the time the war began the process of creating a national consensus also had not achieved the desired results in this sector.

The Ottoman Empire was in very unfavorable circumstances from the point of view of its material infrastructure and superstructure

at the beginning of the twentieth century. All the efforts undertaken to eliminate these disadvantages prevented the organization of an effective propaganda network during the war. Therefore, the Ottoman State had not even the strength left to understand the importance of propaganda and to establish what its requirements were and to try and fulfil them.

THE IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF OTTOMAN WAR PROPAGANDA

The Competitors of Turkism: Ottomanism, Islamism, Westernism

The revolution of 1908, which ended the absolute monarchy of Abdülhamid II and ushered in a period of constitutional monarchy, was a defining moment, not just from the political and social points of view but also from the points of view of the Ottoman intellectual and cultural scenes. Ottoman intellectuals, who before the events of 1908 had been obliged to be extremely prudent, if not completely silent, because of pressures originating from the palace, were suddenly inebriated by the post-1908 freedoms. Especially during the period of freedom until the revolt of 31 March 1909, hundreds of newspapers and periodicals were published and debates raged on all subjects imaginable. This heady transitional period also saw the first glimmers of the ideologies that would dominate the political scene until the foundation of the Republic in 1923. The personalities and publications tied to the main ideologies of this period appeared immediately after the events of 1908. Actually many different ideologies, ranging from socialism to feminism, were aired at the time, but only four of them dominated the intellectual and political scenes: Ottomanism, Islamism, Westernism and Turkism.

The roots of these four main ideologies of the constitutional period reached back almost to the roots of the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire. An idea of Ottoman-ness had been official state policy since the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839) and even though it displayed changing features over time, it continued to be the determining factor until after 1918. The aim of the Ottomanist state ideology was to guarantee equality between Muslim and non-Muslim citizens, thus ensuring the integrity of the state and prevent-

ing the birth of separatist nationalisms among the constituent communities of the Empire. Paradoxically, it would also give birth to the national identity of the Turkish community, which in the western imported medium of the press was described as the *millet-i hâkime* (dominant nation). From the 1860s, newspapers became a daily tradition, especially in Istanbul. This gave rise to the birth of an 'audience' for literary output, with the side effect that language became an 'element defining the identity of a community'. Writers like Şemseddin Sami, Veled Çelebi [İzbudak], Fuad [Köse Raif] and Bursalı Tahir, who were writing for the *İkdam* (Perseverance) newspaper founded in 1894, gave birth to cultural Turkism, which was the first phase of the ideological and political Turkism of the post-1908 period.¹

All the efforts made by the state to modernize Ottoman society basically were inspired by Western societies. In the years leading up to 1908, all details typical of western life had been slowly penetrating Ottoman daily life with the result that things typical to the West and to the East were present at the same time, creating thus a duality of lifestyles. All the same, even though western influences were increasingly strong in the pre-1908 period, both among the population and at the state administration level, it was not an ideology with supporters on an action program. On the other hand, Islamism, even though it evolved after 1908, looked like an ideology, at least at the state administration level. The state particularly followed an Islamist policy during the thirty-three year reign of Abdülhamid II. Sultan Abdülhamid used the Islamist movement both in the Empire and outside it; on the one hand, he tried to rally his Muslim subjects behind the flag of Islam against the social-Darwinist ideologies which were gaining popularity in Europe, and on the other hand, he tried to rally the Muslim populations living outside the borders of the Empire behind his status of caliph, as a defence against the increasingly aggressive attitudes of the European colonialist countries.²

Ottomanism

Each of these four movements, which had their roots in the pre-1908 period, can be subdivided. Ottomanism, which was continuously being eroded by the increase of separatist nationalisms and the intervention of the great powers, assumed a defensive attitude in the post-1908 period, while the other three ideologies were increasingly on

the offensive. Even though the Islamist, Westernist and Turkist ideologies had well-known publications, ideologists and writers, there was no publication or ideologist tied to the Ottomanist thought. The Ottomanist thought or ideal was to be present on the political scene and in the works of writers with ties to different ideologies. This presence would sometimes be dominant but always implicit. Even in times when it was strongly criticized as an ideology, Ottomanism would always be the main reference point of Ottoman political life. The reason for this was the need for the survival of the state. This need was felt even by Turkists trying to create a nation state.

When looked at from this point of view, Ottomanism appears to be a protective reflex of the state. The proponents of the *Tanzimat*, the Young Turk (or Young Ottoman, to distinguish them from the post-1876 *Jeune Turcs*) supporters of a constitution and the CUP heroes of the revolution of 1908 may have been in their hearts Islamists, Westernists or Turkists, but when one after the other they came to power, they became Ottomanists so as not to enfeeble the multiethnic Empire.³ Throughout the Ottoman modernization process until the beginning of the Anatolian based struggle for independence, no political movement ever directly opposed Ottomanism. On the other hand, each loss of territory, each war and each separatist nationalist movement made the continuation of an Ottomanist policy increasingly difficult.

Among all nationalisms of the Muslim Ottoman communities, Turkish nationalism was the last to appear. Especially after the Balkan War, people reached the conclusion that 'Ottomanism was just a lot of empty words, which did not prevent anybody, but the Turks, from trying to break away'. Ziya Gökalp himself stated that in the latest war Turks had fought not as a "community", but as "individuals".⁴ This attitude is clearly described in Halide Edip [Adıvar]'s novel *Yeni Turan* (New Turan), which is one of the most interesting manifestations of the nationalism of those years.⁵ This novel describes a utopia consisting of an imaginary Ottoman State, which was developing rapidly by stressing its Turkishness. Most intriguing is that the author, who tries to see into the future by considering the present as a starting point, cannot abandon the multinational characteristic of the state and thinks that even in a state based on Turkish nationalism, all other communities will be able to go on living happily by keeping their national identities. This line of reasoning, which is a reflection of the above-mentioned 'state reflex', was to survive until

after 1918, notwithstanding all the unfavourable events. In particular during the First World War, when the CUP governments, in coordination with Germany's Eastern Policy, followed policies of *ittihad-ı İslâm* (union of Islam) and of *Turan*, they nonetheless went on arguing that these were not in conflict with the *Millet-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman Nation) ideal, but on the contrary were new points of support for this ideal.⁶

Given the difficulties faced by the state, Ottomanism was always expressed timidly. The other three ideologies of the post-1908 period were much more assertive. The main factor according to which these other three ideologies were strengthened and grew more confident was the nature of their observations regarding the circumstances in which the Ottomanist state found itself. Westernism criticised the state for not being secular and contemporary, Islamism for not being a real Muslim state and Turkism for not being national.⁷

Islamism

Islamism only became a political current once *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (Straight Road, and also the name of the bridge leading to paradise) began to be published in Istanbul on 14 August 1908. The fact that this ideology could not be developed from a conceptual point of view during the reign of Abdülhamid II, even though at the time it was the dominant ideology, was due to the Sultan's rather authoritarian style. This magazine had a critical attitude towards Sultan Abdülhamid and increased the visibility of Islamism, which can be considered "a progress and liberation ideology deriving from Ottomanism and later giving birth to nationalism and up to a point to Turkish nationalism".⁸

The representatives of the Islamist movement were Eşref Edib, Manastırlı İsmail Hakkı, Babanzâde Ahmed Naim, Halim Sabit [Şibay], Ömer Ferit [Kam], Mehmet Akif [Ersoy], Şemsettin [Günaltay] and Ebu'lûla Mardin. They were involved in the publication of *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and later *Sebilürreşad* (The Straight Path). The sources of inspiration for this group were the Iranian Cemâleddin Efgânî (1839-1897), who for a time lived in Istanbul, and his Egyptian disciple Muhammed Abduh (1845-1905). In addition to the above-mentioned magazines, periodicals and newspapers like *Beyanü'l-Hak* (Declaration of Truth) and *Volkan* (Volcano) were also advocates of Islamist politics at different times.

Islamists began their political journey in the post-1908 period, in a spirit of harmony with the CUP regime and the constitutional system. They were generally sympathetic to westernization, were eclectic and had a defensive attitude.⁹ In later years their heated arguments with the writers of *İc̣tihad* (Effort), a newspaper with Westernist sympathies, the growth of Turkism, which strove for a reform of religion leading to secularism, and unfavourable foreign and domestic political developments created divisions among the Islamists and they acquired more extreme views. Before the creation of the main publications representing Turkism, the *Türk Derneği* (Turkish Association), founded on 25 December 1908, considered the *Sırat-ı Müstakim* as its own mouthpiece until it founded its own newspaper.¹⁰

Turkists like Ahmet Agayef and Yusuf Akçura also wrote for this magazine. When the Turkist movement got stronger and started publishing its own periodicals, the CUP sensed the importance of religion as an ideological factor and a long running debate concerning the way religion should be interpreted started between the Turkists and Islamists.¹¹ After the Babiali Raid, the CUP stopped being just a controlling force and obtained real executive power. At the same time, it also started developing an "Islamic policy".

In 1914 publication began of a magazine called *İslâm*, which adopted the slogan "a life with religion and a lively religion" and whose approach to religion was similar to that of the CUP.¹² The ideas put forward by this magazine were in opposition to traditionalist Islamism as represented by *Sebilürreşad*. Its Turkist writers were of the opinion that religion could be reformed from many points of view. Among the writers of *İslâm* were Turkists like Ziya Gökalp but also writers who had resigned from *Sebilürreşad*, like Musa Kâzım, Mehmed Şemseddin [Günaltay] and Halim Sabit. These latter three were ideologically situated somewhere in between *Türk Yurdu* and *Sebilürreşad* and consequently were known as 'Turkist Islamists'.¹³ This situation created a conflict between the Islamists of *Sebilürreşad* and the Turkists. In 1914, Ahmed Naim published a long article titled "İslâm'da Dava-yı Kavmiyet" (The Question of Nation in Islam) in *Sebilürreşad*, which was later published as a book and in which he was sharply critical of Turkist Islamists.¹⁴

The Islamist-Turkish conflict continued, becoming increasingly bitter, throughout the period from 1908 to 1918. During the First World War, *Sebilürreşad* was closed twice, with the second closure last-

ing twenty months. Especially after the Arab revolt, which began in 1916, and the consequent gradual loss of the Arab lands of the empire, Islamism lost ground to Turkism. Nevertheless, the important space occupied by religion in society and the 'Union of Islam' policies followed by the state ensured its survival as a strong ideology for a long time. No matter how intensely Islamist writers criticized Turkism and nationalism, they were careful at the same time to act according to the wishes of the government. By the end of the First World War it had become clear that Islamist policies were a failure, but *Sebilürreşad* nevertheless continued to be published in Ankara throughout the War of Independence, with important Islamists like Mehmed Akif serving under the banner of the government in Ankara. No matter how much they criticized "nationalism", Islamists became part of the religious nationalism of the War of Independence.¹⁵

Westernism

Another important competitor of Turkism, which appeared after 1908 and became increasingly strong, was Westernism. Westernism was an acceptable attitude, at both the state and society level, since the Ottomans had started looking for inspiration in the West back in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, as a political ideology it was weaker than the others. All the same, its main publications and personalities were closely watched by public opinion.

The main publication of this current of thought was the magazine *İctihad* and its main representative was the owner and editor of this magazine, Dr. Abdullah Cevdet.¹⁶ *İctihad* had been published by Abdullah Cevdet since 1904, but its first issue to be published in Istanbul was issue 24 dated 1 June 1324/1911. *İctihad*, which counted among its contributors' names like Celal Nuri and Kılıçzâde Hakkı, was waging a war against traditional values and religion, considered as obstacles to the development of Ottoman society and to the process of westernization.¹⁷ In 1912, a detailed action program was published in the 55th and 56th issues of *İctihad*. This included such steps as the substitution of the traditional fez with western style hats and the closure of *tekkes* and *zaviyes* (kinds of dervish lodges), all steps which were to be undertaken later by Atatürk during his post-1923 reforms.

Abdullah Cevdet wanted religious reforms similar to those desired by the Turkists. According to data provided by *İctihad*, in 1914 there

were 178 *medreses* (theological schools) in Istanbul, with a total of seven thousand students, while in the Theology and Literature Faculties of the University there were only 348 students, in the Science Faculty, 200, and in the Faculty of Law, 2119, respectively. The average age of the *medrese* students was thirty-five. The *medreses*, which were nests of unemployed vagrants and draft evaders, needed to be modernized and transformed into places where religious scholars with a modern mentality could be trained.¹⁸

The great defeat resulting from the Balkan War sharpened the edges of the ideologies, making them concentrate much more on the matters of specific interest to them. The shock and emotional trauma everybody went through at the time increased the intensity of the debates and of the ideological clashes. It was inevitable that in such an atmosphere everybody's tolerance towards different ideas should be lessened. Westernism was inevitably among the victims of this attitude; both the criticisms directed at Westernists and the Westernists' responses to this criticism intensified.

As it happened in the case of the Islamists, the Balkan War brought about a division among the ranks of Westernists. A group headed by Celâl Nuri had become partially estranged from the west because of its hostile attitude during recent events and started to request a 'partial westernization' that would be more inclusive of national values. Abdullah Cevdet was against this approach. As a result, Celâl Nuri left *İctihad* and in 1914 joined the ranks of the magazine *Serbest Fikir* (Free Idea). Abdullah Cevdet, who in any case did not feel much sympathy for the members of the CUP or for the Turkists, felt even more vindicated in his uncompromising stance. He started attacking both the partial westernizers and the Turkists, notwithstanding the fact that Ziya Gökalp had begun in 1913 to write in *Türk Yurdu* a series of articles titled "Turkification, Islamization and Modernization", and the fact that the CUP had initiated a series of reforms in accordance with the views of the Westernists, which would be continued throughout the war. All this was not enough to push Abdullah Cevdet towards a more moderate stance and as a result, both *İctihad* and *Serbest Fikir* were closed during 1914. Throughout the war Celâl Nuri wrote for *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası* (Journal of General Literature) and Abdullah Cevdet for various newspapers, but the Westernists had by now lost their pre-1914 strength.

Positioning Turkism According to Miroslav Hroch's 'Nation-Building Process' Approach

Turkish historiography and the way recent history is perceived have a teleological appearance. Also applicable in this case is the principle that the way the past is remembered and interpreted in a written text depends upon the moment of writing. The fact that the multiethnic Ottoman Empire fell as a result of the events between 1908-1918, that Anatolia was the scene of a struggle for independence in the period 1918-1922 and that as a result a nation-state called the Republic of Turkey based on the Turkish ethnic group was founded in 1923, were all in themselves important factors determining the way the past is interpreted. Since the point of arrival is a nation-state, even in the case of different interpretations, the historical flow of events has been perceived in a determinist way; since the result reached was in a way preordained, it is imagined that even during the earliest days of empire, long before the creation of a republic, there should have been groups consciously choosing such an aim or at least sensing it and groups opposing it. Use of the term 'imagining' in this context does not necessarily mean that this is a lie or an invention, but only that there is a complex perception of the history of a national character, in which subjective interpretations and choices play an important part.

Is it possible to subdivide the dominant ideologies of the constitutional period as precisely as in the above-mentioned instance? Such a subdivision would be practical, but if the above-mentioned overlapping ideologies are taken into consideration, instead of considering them as clear-cut positions, a danger of oversimplifying reality emerges. The evolution of these ideologies depends upon historical circumstances changing on a daily basis; approaches and estrangement, conflict and compromise make precise subdivisions impossible. Thus we cannot simplify by asserting that Ottomanism, Islamism and Westernism are anti-nationalist while Turkism is nationalist. Instead of adopting a simultaneous differentiation between nationalist and anti-nationalist, we would do better if we recognized the presence of a historical *nation building process* as a starting point.

Nowadays theories about nationalism constitute a very productive and variegated field of study. Notwithstanding, the greatest problem encountered by theorization in this field is the obstinacy in perceiving this variable and varied process as a fixed structure. That is why even though there are many descriptions and taxonomies con-

cerning nationalism, it has not been possible to explain specific processes in an exhaustive way. Due to many difficulties, the field of comparative studies of 'nationalism cases', which could have aided this requirement for explanation, has been neglected. The 'nation-building process' approach of Miroslav Hroch, who operates in this neglected field and focuses on comparing the nationalisms of small European nations, may be enlightening from the point of view of a more precise positioning of the Turkist ideology.¹⁹

The starting point of Hroch's approach is to be found first of all in the "specific social settings" of the nation building process and this approach underlines "certain objective preconditions" and not the "inventions" or "imaginings" of intellectuals. The nation building process is influenced by equally important economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical and historical "objective relationships." Among these, three are particularly "irreplaceable": a memory concerning the shared past, linguistic or cultural ties guaranteeing social connections among an ethnic group and the concept of equality among the ethnic group members who will make up the society.²⁰

On the other hand, Hroch calls the result of these objective circumstances a "national movement", implying a differentiation from "nationalism." According to Hroch, nationalism is the attitude that pushes people to stress national values to the detriment of all other values and interests, even if this means becoming irrational; "nationalism was only one of many forms of national consciousness to emerge in the course of these movements."²¹ All the members of a national movement may be "patriots", but not all patriots have to be nationalists; among them there may even be those who are against nationalism.

During their evolution, national movements, which will have many different kinds of patriots as their members, ranging from nationalists to anti-nationalists, will establish certain "deficits" concerning "national existence" and in their efforts to compensate these deficits, will put forward and use as a basis three main demand groups:

- (1) the development of a national culture based on the local language, and its normal use in education, administration and economic life;
- (2) the achievement of civil rights and political self-administration, initially in the form of autonomy and ultimately (usually quite late, as an express demand) of independ-

ence; (3) the creation of a complete social structure from out of the ethnic group, including educated elites, an officialdom and an entrepreneurial class, but also—where necessary—free peasants and organized workers. The relative priority and timing of these three sets of demands varied in each case. But the trajectory of any national movement was only consumed when all were fulfilled.²²

After having compared the various examples of European national movements, Hroch reaches the conclusion that there are three main phases. According to this, the first phase (Phase A) is made up of a scientific study of the linguistic, cultural, social and sometimes historic characteristics of the ethnic group, and the dissemination of a group consciousness related to these points. Phase B marks the appearance of a new kind of activist who will organize a “patriotic agitation” aiming to “awaken” the national consciousness of the ethnic group to which he belongs and to recruit the greatest number of people to the cause of creating a future nation. Even though this effort may not be very successful at the beginning, it will attract an ever-greater audience. During Phase C this movement will acquire mass movement characteristics and a social structure will start to appear. During this phase the movement will start to subdivide into its constituent ideological parts, like conservatives, liberals, democrats etc., each of which will have its own program.

A movement which has gone through these phases and at the end been successful will have four characteristics: a legitimacy crisis related to social, ethical and cultural problems; a certain amount of vertical mobility; a rather developed social communication structure (rate of literacy and of schooling, market relations); and “nationally relevant” conflicts of interest.²³

If we try to apply the approach of Hroch to the study of the process of building the Turkish nation, we see that it directs the spotlight toward some previously neglected points, but also that it cannot be used to explain some other points. First of all, let us analyse the points on which it sheds light. The historiography of nationalism in Turkey excludes many elements, preferring to include only Turkists as far as the ‘pre-Republican’ past is concerned. This approach has been the same since the times of Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura, who were the first great personalities of Turkish nationalism. Both of them state that the birth of Turkish nationalism happened during the middle

of the nineteenth century and both formulate a history of the development of this movement on the basis of certain books, names and organizations. These formulations describe how the birth of nationalism was a process that accelerated as time went by but totally neglect all the related conflicts, defeats and doubts, making it look like an effortless process. According to their descriptions, the nation building process appears to have been the result only of the nationalist's efforts; the activities of those who did not consider themselves nationalist or were not considered as such are not taken seriously. Even though the contributions of Ottomanists, Islamists or Westernists are not completely excluded, they are seen more in the context of modernization / secularization / westernization rather than in the context of nation building.

Applying the Hroch approach, the history of Ottoman-Turkish modernization may be perceived as a slowly progressing nation-building process based on certain objective pre-conditions. The first element of a typical national movement is a 'legitimacy crisis related to social, ethical and cultural problems'. The problem of the 'survival of the state', which especially during the post-1908 period was the common preoccupation of all four dominant ideologies, can be seen as a fundamental legitimacy crisis related to the process of building the Turkish nation. The representatives of all four ideologies tried to resolve this crisis. During these attempts, there appeared not only conflicts and subdivisions but mergers and overlapping as well. Westernists like Abdullah Cevdet and Islamists like Mehmed Akif were against Turkish nationalism, but at the same time they were part of the national movement, insofar as they tried to find solutions to social, political and cultural problems. This search for solutions did not happen because they were influenced by or felt a need to compromise with the national movement, which had developed independently from them, but because they found themselves in the midst of this movement, which also included Turkish nationalists. Consequently, Ottomanism, Islamism and Westernism can all be considered part of the Turkish national movement.

Seen from this point of view, the period from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the 1920s, which modernization theories consider as their own, can be seen, notwithstanding all empirical and theoretical reservations, as an 'Ottoman-Turkish national movement'. This period, which lasted over a century, evolved in the way theorized by Hroch in his formulation of the various phases.

According to his theory, the period up to 1908 would be Phase A, the period 1908-1923 Phase B, and the period beginning in 1923 and continuing into the 1940s, Phase C.

The attempts to modernize, which began with the Tanzimat reforms, also included the first *scholarly* attempts to research Turkish national identity; during this period more importance was given to the Turkish language and a Turkish history, as opposed to an Ottoman or Islamic history, was also cited for the first time. The novelties brought about by the introduction of literary genres new to the Ottoman Empire, like newspapers, novels, short stories, plays and modern poetry, were also almost inadvertently to create a single audience around common notions like a language, a history and a culture. During the transition to a constitutional monarchy and the short-lived period of freedoms immediately after 1908, this audience developed, in terms of both quantity and quality. It was due to this development that amidst the confusion generated by the wars fought during 1908-1918, the revolts, the coup d'états and all the political and economic difficulties, that an activity of 'patriotic agitation' and a class of *literati* responsive to this agitation emerged. The intellectuals, who after 1923 would convey to the masses the ideology of the new nation-based regime, were the writers who worked in the period 1908-1918 in the context of one of the four ideologies and later increasingly in the context of a Turkish nationalist ideology.

Nevertheless, the evolution of the Turkish national movement did not always follow the path theorized by Hroch. Being based on the observation of the birth of small European national movements, Hroch inevitably includes the 'dominant nation-ethnic minority' binary opposition, according to which a minority slowly acquires a national consciousness. In the case of the Turkish national movement, however, the situation was more complex. Here we have an empire in which, notwithstanding the 'oppressed Turks' terminology of the Turkish nationalists, the Turkish ethnic group was perceived by almost all of public opinion to be the *millet-i hakime* (dominant nation).²⁴ Every request related to a national movement and to nationalism was able to express itself by continuously clashing with the requirements of the Empire.

Efforts were made to prevent any mention of a Turkish nation or of Turkish nationalism, because it was thought at first that it would provoke the nationalism of the Christian elements in the Balkans and later that of the Muslim elements like the Albanians, Arabs and

Kurds, enfeebling the principle of *ittihad-ı anasır* (unity of the elements). As a result, both the national movement and nationalism, an important and defining element of the former, progressed slowly and belatedly.

This situation had the following result: Because of the belatedness, and especially because of the post-1908 events that acted to hasten the fall of the Empire, the Turkish national movement saw each of its phases overlap with the next. After 1908 there was still an urgent need for scholarly output concerning a common historical memory, cultural/linguistic ties and the creation of a citizen profile since the output created up to that point was far from satisfying the requirements. On the one hand there was the need to develop and spread among all social classes a written language responsive to national requirements and to prepare 'national' history books to be used especially in schools. On the other hand, there was the need to organize 'patriotic agitation' even though the instruments for this did not yet exist. Thus the post-1908 national movement needed both cool-headed people to conduct scientific research and people to organize agitation aiming to create the emotional atmosphere required to transform society into a national community.

The beginning of the First World War and the Ottoman Empire's, albeit unprepared, entry into it pushed the Turkish national movement towards the activities included in Phase C. The developed European countries, which at the onset of war had already formed their cultural infrastructures and spread nationalism among the masses, were able to use their cultural sectors in a pragmatic way. The industrialization and the highly developed technology of the warring parties made this an inescapable necessity. On the other hand, in the Ottoman Empire, the cultural sector, which had still not been able to complete Phases A and B, was put to the enormous task of guiding the psychology of the masses. The main reasons for the deficiencies and lack of effectiveness of Ottoman propaganda boil down to this: a complete lack of proportion between the request and the means to fulfill it.

As a result, the national movement found itself with the need to complete at the same time, during the 1908-1918 period, all the developments of the three different phases and, naturally enough, it was not able to do this. The national movement did prove, especially during the Balkan War of 1912-1913, to be successful in the field of patriotic agitation, but then it fell completely silent during 1914-1918,

simply because of the magnitude of the task. Only with the intervention of Ziya Gökalp towards the end of the war did it start working for an aim—the creation of a cultural infrastructure that would be effective in the long-term. Precedence went to the creation of the elements of a national culture and to the prefiguration, on the basis of these elements, of the nature of a future Turkish national mass. That is why precedence was never given, despite all the pressing requests, to propaganda.

Even patriotic agitation really only became effective during the national struggle for independence of 1919-1922, which was both closer to, and felt more directly by, 'us'. During the period of 1908-1918, the national movement gave precedence to the research and imagination of the cultural, linguistic and historic foundations of national identity and not to other requirements, even if at times these efforts did actually take the form of patriotic agitation or of pragmatic propaganda directed at the masses.

The efforts made during 1908-1918 by the national movement to choose between the various demands made upon it and the pursuance of its own objectives had another important result: the premature subdivision between the various movements, which Hroch places in Phase C, due among other reasons to the confusion the movement was experiencing—after 1923, the movement would subdivide into conservative, left-Kemalist, extreme nationalist and so on. Even researchers specializing in Turkish nationalism have difficulty in understanding and clearly explaining this premature subdivision.

Turkism before the Balkan War:

The Prehistory of Turkism According to Turkists

The historical development of Turkism as a current was studied relatively early, at the beginning of the Republic, by this movement's most important ideologists of the post-1908 period, Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura. Ziya Gökalp published his *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Principles of Turkism) in 1923 in Ankara, the capital of the new regime. In this book, commonly accepted as his masterpiece, Gökalp attempts to adapt the late Ottoman ideology of Turkism to the circumstances of the new regime. Here he also offers a rather short chapter on a concentrated view of the "History of Turkism".²⁵ Since Gökalp's reason for writing this book was to formulate a conceptu-

al manifesto, this situation does not disturb its readers. Notwithstanding the brevity and the summarization, which does not even contain many dates, Gökalp's subdivision into periods of the history of Turkism has been accepted uncritically in all subsequent works. According to Gökalp, Turkism began in Europe as an "Admiration for Turkish Things" —what he calls *Turquerie*. This later took the shape of more serious research in the field of Turkology, with studies in this new field also becoming common in Turkey after the Tanzimat reforms. During the reign of Abdülhamid II, Turkism developed only slowly because of the Sultan's opposition but later gained momentum with the efforts of the Turks in Russia; it then continued developing after 1908 before finally reaching fruition at the end of the struggle for independence.

Yusuf Akçura, who was a Turk with origins in Kazan, published an article titled "Türkçülük" (Turkism) in the *Türk Yılı* (Turkish Year) annual published in Istanbul in 1928 by the *Türk Ocakları*. In this article, in which he concentrates on the pre-1908 developments, he provides a more detailed history of Turkism.²⁶ All the same, his field of interest is limited to the history of thought and to the lists of the works and short biographies of the main personalities of this movement, hence his work fails to really explain the historical cause-effect relationships.

The approach common to both of these important personalities is that they give relatively little importance to the historical context but focus rather upon establishing a coherent set of connections between the thoughts related to Turkism. Others who have written about this subject have also followed this approach. As a result, an improvised process, evolving unpredictably in the midst of conflicts, is explained in a simplified manner. This oversimplification led to the disregard of both the contribution to Turkism of 'mid-level intellectuals'—who, even though relatively less important than Gökalp or Akçura, were better equipped to communicate with the people—, and the evolution in a historical context of the philosophical output of these two personalities. All related studies have a similar approach; that is why all studies in the field of Turkism are devoid of a historical context and are, in a way, free-floating, independent boxes of thought.

All historians of Turkism or Turkish nationalism who take as a starting point the approach of Gökalp and Akçura underline three important elements that were influential in the development of the

movement: old Turkists from the period of Sultan Abdülhamid, nationalist circles formed in Salonika after 1908 and Turks who emigrated from Russia.²⁷ There were foreign influences also in the evolution of these three elements. Turkists like Mehmed Tahir, Necip Asım, Veled Çelebi and Fuad Raif, who were active both during and after the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid, and people of the preceding periods, like Ahmet Vefik Paşa (1823-1891), Mustafa Celaledin Paşa (Constantin Borzecki, 1826-1876), Süleyman Hüsnü Paşa, Mizancı Murat and Şemsettin Sami, were all influenced by the orientalist studies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Seeing as the nineteenth century was the golden era of national movements and of nationalist ideologies, it was inevitable that even the Ottoman State be influenced by such movements and ideologies, even though its fundamental ideology was the non-national Ottomanism. During this period the use of the word 'Turk' and the importance given to the Turkish language slowly increased; Turkish was even established as the official state language in the 1876 *Kanun-ı Esasî* (Constitution). All the same, the word 'Ottoman' is used more frequently, and more positively, than the word 'Turk', even in the writings of Turkists of the Sultan Abdülhamid period. In all official correspondence the word 'Ottoman' is preferred to the word 'Turk'.²⁸ This arises from the fact that all pre-1908 studies have only a cultural basis. The separatist nationalist movements of the Balkans, the strength of which increased especially after 1908, had an unfavourable but much more instructive effect on Turkism. In this regard, Bulgarian nationalism was especially effective in pushing Turkish officers struggling against the Bulgarian rebels towards nationalism.

A foreign influence was introduced by the Turks who emigrated from Russia to the Ottoman Empire. There were two factors in the increasing strength, beginning from the 1860s, of Turkish nationalism among the Muslims of Crimea, Kazan and Azerbaijan: There was no all-encompassing Ottoman identity pressuring the Turks of Russia, and this made it easier for them, as minorities, to adopt nationalism; since the degree of westernization of Russia was greater than that of the Ottoman Empire, nationalist ideologies could spread more quickly there.²⁹

The last foreign influence on Turkish nationalism was the most political one and was the result of the relations with the *düvel-i muazzama* (great powers). Germany was late in its race to acquire a colo-

nial empire and was thus in a disadvantage against Britain and France. Consequently, as part of its eastern policy, it supported the Islamist and Turkist movements in the Ottoman Empire. Support of Islamism was seen as a way to damage Britain, which held Egypt and India, while support of the Turan ideology was seen as a way to damage Russia, which held the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Turkism after 1908

Despite these local and foreign influences and all the tensions that they bred, Turkism could not make its presence felt until 1908, due to the obstacles created by Abdülhamid II to preclude the functioning of organizations of all kinds. Initial attempts to publish and to organize began in 1908. Towards the end of 1908, the *Türk Derneği* (Turkish Association) was founded in Istanbul. This association was able to include people of a wide variety of different backgrounds because, although it was Turkist from a cultural point of view, it was decidedly Ottomanist from a political point of view.³⁰ After 1911 the association was neglected, with most members losing interest and some moving on to other associations, chief among which was the *Türk Ocağı*.

According to Hroch, the first phases of the development of national cultures are characterized by the importance given to history, language and culture. The development of a Turkish national movement also followed this pattern. The complex and static nature of the *Türk Derneği*, which made it resemble a coalition, prevented it from broaching these subjects in a coherent way and this represented one of the reasons for the rather quick demise of the association. One noteworthy contribution was the *purging* approach (of Arabic and Persian words) of Fuad Raif, who was one of the members of the association; this approach created a starting point on the subject of language, which was at the time the main force behind the Turkish national movement.³¹ Fuad Raif wanted to purge all Arabic and Persian words from the language and replace them with pure Turkish words, or even invent new ones in those cases where no Turkish word existed. This approach terrorized the Ottoman-Turkish cultural spheres. Even Turkish nationalists who considered the simplification of the language an important goal found Fuad Raif's idea extreme and useless. In his *Türkçülüğün Esasları* Ziya Gökalp described this approach "revolting" and something that would lead the language to "chaos and utter darkness".³²

A purging approach similar to that sought by Fuad Raif appeared during the Republic and pure Turkish/old Turkish debates raged among public opinion. From today's perspective it is difficult to imagine the destabilizing effects of these arguments. All the same, it must be kept in mind that these debates on the purification of language and later on a national poetic metre, folk literature and a national literature were the training grounds of the Turkish national movement and of nationalism, which developed using these debates as their foundations. As a matter of fact, the absolute purging approach immediately led to a more moderate and productive current aiming to simplify language. The source of this movement was *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens) magazine published in Salonika.

Hüsün ve Şiir (Beauty and Poetry) was a literary journal published in 1910 in Monastir. Towards the end of 1910 it was renamed *Genç Kalemler* and started to be published in Salonika. Centre of the CUP prior to the Balkan War, Salonika was a commercially developed cosmopolitan port city where young Turkish intellectuals, who were slowly becoming more sympathetic to nationalism, had the occasion to observe closely the world and the enthusiastic nationalisms of the Balkans. A letter written by short story writer Ömer Seyfettin on 28 January 1910, to his friend Ali Canip [Yöntem], who had become editor-in-chief of *Genç Kalemler*, is one of the first instances in which the need to simplify the language and to make it more similar to the one actually spoken by common people is mentioned. "Our language—as we always say—is frightful, miserable and contrary to all principles of science and logic. Whoever knows even a little of Western literature cannot help but hate it," and adds that the first step of an eventual purge in the language should be the elimination of Arabic and Persian composite words.³³

Ömer Seyfettin and Ali Canip wanted to increase the size of *Genç Kalemler* and to use it in their campaign for a 'new language'. In this they received unexpected support from someone at the CUP centre at Salonika: Ziya Gökalp, who had just arrived from Diyarbakır and who believed that the political revolution of 10 July 1908 should be supported and was therefore trying to disseminate this idea with the slogan *yeni hayat* (new life). These three people, assisted by others, started the *yeni lisan* (new language) debate in this magazine on 29 March 1327 (1911). According to the program they propounded throughout the debate, all grammar rules and composite words imported into Turkish from Arabic and Persian should be eliminat-

ed; written language should be made to resemble the spoken language and the Turkish spoken in Istanbul should be imposed as the official standard language.³⁴ This campaign of *Genç Kalemler* was strongly opposed in Istanbul by the older writers of the *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* (New Literature) movement of the time of Abdülhamid II and by the younger writers of the *Fecr-i Âti* (Dawn of the Future) movement, which was the continuation of the former during the constitutional period.

Genç Kalemler managed to establish the country's literary agenda, overcoming the strong opposition it encountered at the beginning, mainly because it did not limit itself to linguistic matters but also propagated a cultural nationalism that had political overtones. Until the day when the Balkan War ended and *Genç Kalemler* moved to Istanbul, it followed an ambiguous political approach combining cultural Turkism with political Ottomanism. Nevertheless, the main points of its post-1912 approach were apparent from the outset, beginning with articles published in the earliest issues of the magazine.

The main objective of the *yeni lisan* movement was to use language and literature as the means of reaching the common people and of bringing daily life and culture closer. The movement neglected the matter of a memory based on a common history, which is at least as important as language and culture in the formation of a national identity. An important contribution to this matter originated from Istanbul. On 31 August 1911, Mehmet Emin, Müftüoğlu Ahmet Hikmet, Ağaoğlu Ahmet, Hüseyinzâde Ali, Âkil Muhtar and Yusuf Akçura founded the *Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti* (Association for the Turkish Homeland).³⁵ Their aim was to publish a magazine that would contribute to the development of Turks from the points of view of intelligence, information and economy, and to found a hostel for Turkish students. Since the foundation of this association coincided with that of the *Türk Ocakları*, it closed a short while afterwards; however, it nevertheless made a lasting contribution to the development of Turkism by creating *Türk Yurdu* magazine, which was to have a powerful influence upon the Turkism movement.³⁶

The first edition of this magazine appeared on 17 Teşrinisani 1327/30 November 1911.³⁷ Its first issue had twenty-four pages, but since it soon became very popular,³⁸ from the second issue onwards, this number increased to thirty-two. According to its program, which was drawn up by Akçura, the language was supposed to be simple

and the magazine was supposed to create an "ideal language acceptable for all Turks". Activities aiming to make Turks know themselves better and to develop them from the points of view of economics, ethics, science and, finally, politics were also to be part of this program.³⁹ *Türk Yurdu* was also supposed to include subjects of interest to the Turks living outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire, in the context of its editorial policy. In this respect, it was a Pan-Turkist magazine.

The *Türk Derneği* and the *Genç Kalemler* and *Türk Yurdu* magazines contributed to the creation of an audience interested in national culture, language, literature and history. The members of this group, which consisted primarily of young people studying at university and mostly living in Istanbul, needed to be recognized by a national identity, and rather than being passive consumers of cultural output expressed a preference to participate in organizations, since that would permit them to be more active. The *Türk Ocağı*, which would have a strong influence on the Turkish national movement throughout the period 1911-1918, was a result of these efforts. The story of how the *Türk Ocağı* was founded is important because it illustrates the hesitant position in which Turkism found itself in 1911 vis à vis Islamism and Ottomanism.

In May 1911 an article by Celal Nuri appeared in the French language newspaper *Jeune Turc*, which was being published in Istanbul, in which he described the damage created by the lack of schools and argued that an educational equivalent of the *Milli Donanma Cemiyeti* (National Fleet Association, created to contribute financially and otherwise to the imperial navy), which had received the strong support of the population, should be founded. This proposal was supported by the newspaper *Tanin*. The students of the military medical school also became enthusiastic about it and started organizing the creation of a nationality-based association aiming to develop public education. They invited other students of higher education institutions, and in particular those of the *Mülkiye* (Political Sciences Faculty, which trained future government personnel), to participate. During a specially convened meeting they established the program of the association.

The three articles of this program are equally important. According to the first article, the association to be created was to be apolitical. In this way both pro- and anti-CUP members could participate. The second article described the situation of the passivity

in which Turkish nationalism found itself: "Public opinion may not approve of the nationalist current. Ottomanist and Islamist thoughts are dominant in our country. Would it therefore be dangerous or not to introduce such a current? Authorities should be consulted on this point."⁴⁰ The third article stated that the association to be created would collect contributions from the population, like the *Milli Donanma Cemiyeti* was already doing. To further the movement, celebrities would be asked to lend their support in the quest for public approval.

A declaration prepared on the basis of this program was sent to the most important people in the Turkish press. The greatest support for the ideas of these young people came from the Member of Parliament for Kütahya, Ahmet Ferit [Tek]. Ahmet Ferit was of the opinion that for such an association to be successful, the people should feel the need for it, as in the case of the *Milli Donanma Cemiyeti*, but unfortunately the common people were still not very conscious of the importance of public education. In any case, schooling was only one of the means used to create a sense of nationality. Therefore a club should be founded with the aim of gathering young people and instilling this sense of nationhood in them. After this, it would be possible to use whatever means necessary to spread this sense throughout the whole population. After having met Ahmet Ferit and having held meetings with people sympathetic to the cause of Turkism, such as Mehmet Emin and Yusuf Akçura, they convened for a last time on 20 June 1911 at the home of Ağaoğlu Ahmed and founded an association based on Ahmed Ferit's ideas, which they named *Türk Ocağı*. Eight months later a meeting, in which Ziya Gökalp participated, was held at the CUP centre. During this meeting the CUP gave its formal blessings and a regulation was prepared. Thus was the association officially founded on 12 March 1328/25 March 1912 with Ahmet Ferit as its chairman and Yusuf Akçura as its vice-chairman.⁴¹

Especially after the Balkan War, the *Türk Ocağı* became one of the centres of patriotic agitation, which, according to Hroch, constitute the second phase of national movements. The failure/success dichotomy described by Hroch as being typical of this phase also appeared in the case of the evolution of the *Türk Ocağı*. The association was not very active in 1912. This passivity reached catastrophic proportions at the beginning of the Balkan War, so much so that it ran the risk of having to close down. This state of affairs

continued until its congress was held on 18 May 1913, in which Hamdullah Suphi [Tanrıöver] was elected as chairman.

There was an important reason underlying the difficulties of the association: the Islamist, Westernist and Ottomanist circles, which were against Turkish nationalism, accused the association of creating divisions among the elements of the Empire. This was especially true during the first months of the Balkan War, a state of affairs which generated an atmosphere of chaos and despair. It was only when everybody had weathered the shock of the defeat in the Balkan War that this unfavourable situation could be presented as a spur for improvement, and the Turkists were better able to respond to these accusations.

The *Türk Ocağı* was most successful in the post-Balkan War period, a time when Turkish nationalist ideology, part of the national movement, started to become more effective. Thanks also to the change in circumstances, from the spring of 1913 onward this ideology would start to surge ahead of the competing ideologies of Ottomanism, Islamism and Westernism.

PATRIOTIC AGITATION IN THE CULTURAL SPHERE: FROM THE BALKAN WAR TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The Balkan War and Its Socio-Cultural Impacts

It is possible to evaluate the Ottoman contribution to the First World War as a ten-year period. Zafer Toprak, a prominent Turkish historian, claims that: "Turkey began the First World War with the Balkan War and ended it with the War of Independence: A total of ten years. In other words, we could also say that the War of Independence thus started in 1912, not in 1919. The national identity, which made this war effort sustainable, was created during the Balkan War."¹ This is a transitional period in which the continuities were as evident as the discontinuities. For example, the terms *İstiklâl* (Independence) and *Kurtuluş Savaşı* (War of Liberation), which have been used to describe the Turkish War of Independence, both when it was still unfolding and in later years, had also been used for the previous two wars of the period 1912-1922.²

The Balkan War, which had deep effects on social and political life, can be subdivided into two. In the first Balkan War Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia were allied against the Ottoman Empire. This war started with Montenegro's declaration of war on 8 October 1912. The eastern section of the Ottoman army was ranged against the Bulgarians, while the western section fought the Serbians. Very soon the Ottoman armies on both fronts were roundly defeated. The eastern army retreated first to Lüleburgaz and then at the beginning of November to the Çatalca line of defence, where trench warfare started. The western army was defeated by the Bulgarians. The Greeks took

Salonika and blockaded the Aegean with their powerful navy. On 3 December the Ottoman State requested an armistice. The war on the Çatalca front entered a period of stalemate. Only Edirne resisted for a long time, before falling finally on 26 March 1913. The first Balkan War ended on 10 June 1913 with the signing of The Treaty of London. The second Balkan War was fought between Bulgaria and the countries that had been its allies in the previous war. Romania and the Ottoman Empire, which wanted to take advantage of Bulgaria's weakness, also entered the war, albeit in a limited capacity. The Ottoman army retook Edirne in July 1913 without firing a shot.³ By the end of the second Balkan War, the Ottoman Empire had lost 83 percent of its European territory.⁴ If we take the period starting from 1877 to 1913 as our reference, this was equal to 32.7 percent of its total territory, while the loss of population was 20 percent.⁵

Another important event that occurred during this period was the CUP's intense struggle with its political foes. As a result of the Babiali Raid of 22 January 1913, it ceased to be a force checking the government and acquired real power, which it increased during the following years. The Balkan War ended all the illusions of the constitutional period, the whiff of liberalism, the brotherhood between the elements of the empire and the quest for Ottoman unity. The newly powerful CUP would quickly make Turkish nationalism its own ideology, in the context of its "mission to save the country at whatever cost".⁶

The greatest effect of the Balkan War was on national identity. The shock, the trauma and the negative impact of the Balkan defeat increased the sympathy towards Turkish nationalism at the levels of state administration, politics, culture and among the common people. A whole new range of nationalisms was created, from pro-Anatolian attitudes and populism to the expansionist and irredentist ideology of Turanism.

The revitalizing effect of the Balkan War on Turkish nationalism was strong and defining. The circumstances favourable to nationalism had already started to take shape prior to this war. An audience with a nationalist outlook towards the events of the time had emerged, especially in Istanbul. At the same time there were more than enough circumstances feeding such an outlook. The battlefield was near Istanbul, and the rumble of artillery could even be heard from the city. Every day, the foreign and local press spread the news concerning each phase of the war throughout Istanbul. In addition

to this, an unending stream of wounded and war refugees, who were being housed in schools and mosques, was traumatizing the people of Istanbul, who up to that point had been relatively unconcerned about the progress of the war, perceived up to then as a distant event.⁷ This trauma drove the people to adopt a more critical approach towards what had been accepted cultural and social truths up to that point and to become more self-critical.

Tarik Zafer Tunaya describes the Balkan War as an “ideological war” and adds:

The Balkan War was not just a war, and its importance does not lie simply in the profound effects it had on the Ottoman army and Turkish society. It is important because it gave rise to a vast collection of literary output asking the question, “Why were we defeated?” Hundreds of articles, pamphlets, books and studies of both a scientific and of a more emotional nature tried to answer this question, and these were churned out by as many writers, local and foreign, civilian and military. *This is a research and disclosure literature.*⁸

This literature was to transform the political and cultural mentality of the period, creating a new vocabulary and a whole new range of concepts, attitudes and expressions that would remain in use for a long time, such as: receiving a blot on the honour, cleaning the blot with blood, revenge, not forgetting, national hatred, union and solidarity. All of this is the sign of a greatly intensified emotional state of mind; enthusiastic lecturers and their heated lectures became much more popular than in the past. The patriotic agitation mentioned by Hroch would become typical of the post-Balkan War period, thanks to which, notwithstanding all the material difficulties, participation in the First World War would be accepted by the people, even if not with the ease with which it had been accepted in Western Europe.

Tunaya stresses the fact that participation in the First World War happened under the influences of the complexes created by the Balkan War.⁹ For example, a writer named Ubeydullah Esat expresses this complex very clearly: “Everything is dead. Our generation has besmirched our proud and glorious history. There is no doubt that sooner or later this blot will be cleaned by the same generation or a future generation.”¹⁰ Another source describes the post-Balkan War situation as follows:

The Turks have not forgotten this pain. They all remember the epics tied to the loss of Rumeli [the European territories of the Ottoman Empire]. By repeating these epics to the students at school, to the children at home and to the soldiers in the barracks, they have awoken a national spirit and a national hatred ... The soldiers have been drilling every day by singing, "Oh in 1328 Turkish honour was stained. Oh, oh, oh, oh, revenge!" After their return to their village, soldiers sang this song while tilling their fields...¹¹

The intensity of this hatred was such that during the first days of the First World War Hüseyin Cahit, in an article titled "The Curse of the Turks" and published on 9 August 1914 in *Tanin*, mentions the fact that the disastrous results of the war in Europe served to partially lessen the feeling of hatred cultivated by the Turks due to their defeat in the Balkans.¹²

All the magazines and newspapers of the period were full of articles, poems and memoirs concerning the defeat in the Balkans and its related sorrows. The main reference period of the literary output of the time was the situation in the Balkans. This effort was, even if only slightly, supported by the state. For example, an association called the *Neşr-i Vesâik Cemiyeti* (Association for the Publication of Documents) was founded with the aim of describing the oppression of Turks in the Balkans. Its most important publication was the *Kırmızı Siyah Kitab, 1328 Fecâyîi* (The Red Black Book, the Disasters of 1328), edited and published in 1913 by Ahmed Cevad.¹³

The population, which had been bombarded with literature about oppression, memories, the presence of refugees and other similar unfavourable factors, had become receptive to the call of a xenophobic nationalism. As a result of the geographic, economic and demographic losses in Europe, the Ottoman political and cultural elite, who had long since been culturally oriented towards the West, started to concentrate instead on Turkish and Muslim elements, both within and beyond the borders. The *İttihad-ı İslâm* (Union of Islam) and Turan policies espoused during the First World War had their roots in the humiliations of the Balkan defeats. The defeats at the hands of the Balkan nations, the former subjects of the empire derisively referred to as nations of former slaves, destroyed the 'fraternité' aspect of the 1908 revolution and the fundamental concept of Ottomanism/Ottoman citizenship, regardless of ethnic or reli-

gious background, was abandoned. Ethnic Greek Ottoman citizens, who were concentrated especially in Istanbul and the Aegean region, started to be perceived as collaborators with Greece. The first attempts to get rid of non-Muslim elements in Anatolia, in particular economically strong Greeks, started in 1913-1914. This government campaign consisted at the beginning of debates concerning a national economy and a 'Boycott by Muslims' organized at the grassroots level.

During the Balkan War, the Greek fleet managed to dominate the Aegean Sea, preventing the Turkish fleet from providing logistical support to its army and thus causing the loss of Salonika. In those years the most powerful ship of the Greek fleet was a battleship called *Averof*, which had been donated to the Greek government by *Averof*, a rich Greek born in Ottoman lands. The claim of propaganda targetting Ottoman-Turkish public opinion in 1913-1914 was that Ottoman citizens of Greek origin were supporting Greece and its army with all their assets. Consequently the Muslim population was asked not to buy anything from non-Muslim merchants.

The propaganda activity towards the boycott manifested itself in poetry as well as newspaper editorials and pamphlets. A long poem published just before the beginning of First World War refers to this subject. In his poem titled *Türkün Destanı* (Epic of the Turks), a poet signing as Nedim, who during those days published national poems in magazines and newspapers, exhorts the people to support the boycott and to contribute to the Navy. The poem also mentions the fates of the *Reşadiye* and *Sultan Osman* battleships, which were being built in British dockyards with money collected from common people, and which would be expropriated by Winston Churchill at the beginning of the First World War.¹⁴

All this propaganda was successful and a short while later almost five hundred shops managed by Muslims were opened. The Greek Patriarch in Fener was disturbed by all this and complained about it, moving Hüseyin Kâzım to write an open letter to him.¹⁵ This letter was highly critical of the Patriarch and of the local Greeks and is pervaded by a sense of self-confidence arising from the newly born policy for a national economy. The nationalist and Pan-Islamist atmosphere of those days was even reflected in the names of many of the shops that opened as a result of such propaganda. There were countless restaurants, tailor shops, barbershops and other establishments called *Turan* or *Kızılelma* (Red Apple); there were even names like

“*İttihad-ı İslâm* (Union of Islam) Tailor Shop” and the “Muslim Brothers Barber Shop”.¹⁶ The word ‘national’ appeared in front of many company names.

Turan and Mefkûre as Nationalist Apparatus

Ziya Gökalp and Turan

The words that best sum up the Turkish nationalism of the period are *Turan* and *mefkûre* (ideal). Both concepts were popularized by Ziya Gökalp. *Turan* is the title of the first poem by Gökalp published in the *Genç Kalemler* magazine on 22 February 1326/7 March 1911. It was republished twice and was also translated into German and Hungarian. Especially the last two lines of this short sixteen-line poem, which Gökalp put at the beginning of his poetry book *Kızılelma*, published in 1914, popularized the concept of *Turan* by making a slogan of it: “Fatherland is neither Turkey to Turks, nor Turkistan / Fatherland is a great and eternal country: *Turan*...”¹⁷

These two lines and the previous 14 lines are almost separate entities. The first 14 lines are a criticism of the historiography of the time, which is seen as being overly enthralled by western civilization. Instead of Attila and Jenghiz Khan it is Caesar and Alexander the Great who are being treated as heroes. The poem contains expressions like “my outstanding, glorious, noble race” and “in all his glory and splendour does Oğuz Khan live in my veins”. Even if history books do not mention these ancestors, they live on in the heart, vein, pulse and spirit of the Turkish race. Thus the *Turan* mentioned in the poem of Gökalp is not a real country but an imagined country, an ideal—or, as Gökalp would have put it, a *mefkûre*.

In the days when he was a member of the Central Committee of the CUP in Salonika and was active in the *yeni lisan* (new language) campaign of *Genç Kalemler*, Gökalp always mentioned the *yeni hayat* (new life). The 1908 revolution was a political revolution, but it had to be completed by carrying it into the social sphere and by creating a new life, which would be national from every point of view. Gökalp’s nationalist way of thinking lasted until his death in 1924, despite the fact that his nationalistic thought adapted to and evolved under the influence of changing circumstances and even expanded into new fields. Beginning from his Salonika days, Gökalp’s interests were manifold and profound, even though some points had yet to be developed. For example, the concept of *Turan* was instilled

into Gökalp's mind by the Azerbaijani Hüseyinzâde Ali [Turan] (1864-1941), who, like Gökalp himself, was a member of the Central Committee. Hüseyinzâde Ali used this concept as far back as 1900 in a poem about the Hungarians:

O tribe of Hungarians you are our brothers:
 All our ancestors are from Turan...
 We all worship the same just religion;
 Can the Bible and the Quran separate us?
 The Jenghizes have terrified all along the horizon,
 The Timurs alone have governed over the kings of kings,
 Its conquerors have inherited all the lands of the Caesars.¹⁸

This poem by Hüseyinzâde Ali reminds us of the original meaning of this concept. In Gökalp's poem it is an ideal country, while in Hüseyinzâde's poem it is treated as a geographical place of origin. Etymologically speaking, the word 'Turan' derives from ancient Persian mythology. Actually, it really is a geographical concept: It was the name given to lands inhabited by the tribes who were enemies of Persia, i.e. the lands inhabited by Turks. This concept was redefined in the Hungary of the 1890s in the context of a quest for a new political and cultural identity. The Hungarians, who at the time were searching for a point of support against Russia, started claiming descent from Turan, supposedly to constitute a bond among Hungarian, Finnish, Turkish and Mongolian nations. By the 1910s, when Turkish nationalism had begun to strengthen, Hungarian Turanism already had its own association and a magazine. Communication was established between the main Hungarian Turanists and Turkish nationalists, with Count Teleki, president of the Hungarian Turanist Association, visiting Istanbul and many Turkish students going to Hungary to study, especially during the First World War.¹⁹

Notwithstanding all this, in his poem "Turan" Gökalp had no intention of defending Turanism or of trying to underline kinship with Hungarian Turanists; he was trying to attract, first of all, the intellectuals, and secondly, through them, the whole society, towards a national thought. In this period Gökalp was more interested in internal matters and in the necessity of transforming the Turkish community into a Turkish nation than in international Pan-Turkist affairs. That is why in his poem titled "Kızılelma" (Red Apple), first

published in the 31st issue, dated 10 Kanunusani 1328/23 January 1913, of *Türk Yurdu* and later as the title poem of his first poetry book published in 1914, he describes Turan as a given situation, a geographical place from which all Turkish tribes have dispersed and are now living. The main concept underlined by Gökalp is the concept of *Kızılirma*:

Isn't there a *Kızılirma*? Undoubtedly;
But in different lands...
Its ground is an ideal, its sky a vision...
Reality it will be, but for now it's a fable...
Turkish civilization is unique, pure
Until it's born it will a secret remain...

...

The Turk was not interested in Irem or Sheba
He said: "I shall go to *Kızılirma*"
His vision is: reaching union,
*National thought, peace...*²⁰

The main aims of the ideal in Gökalp's mind are national thought and national union. All the same, the interest felt by Gökalp for his community is clearly visible in his series of articles titled *Türkleşmek*, *İslâmlaşmak*, *Muasırlaşmak* (Being Turkified, Islamicized and Modernized), which he published in book form in 1918. The nine articles included in this book were published in intervals in *Türk Yurdu* between 1913 and 1914.

The "Türk Milleti ve Turan" article of this series, published in the 63rd issue of *Türk Yurdu*, dated 16 April 1914, was written in response to a question asked by a Turkish youth from Kazan to another Turkist and implying that in the future the Turks would create a community made up of different nations. Gökalp's claim is that thanks to good communication and to unity in language based on the Turkish spoken in Istanbul, first of all a common *culture* and then a common *civilization* would be created, around which Turks would unite. At the end of his article he repeats the famous lines of his Turan poem and defines Turan. From this definition we can see that the Turan that Gökalp has in mind is a geographical place inhabited by people who possess a common language.²¹ Turan is still an ideal and points to unification: Turan will include only Turkish speakers, Turks; all others will be excluded.

In this article Turan is still an ideal, but it has acquired a much more political aspect in comparison to the poem written in 1912. Actually, the whole series of articles is political and is directly related to the coming to power of the CUP and the latter's adoption of a Turkist ideology. Gökalgp was the ideologist of the party and had overall responsibility for cultural affairs. Consequently, we can consider the definition given by Gökalgp of this concept as being the definition commonly accepted by the CUP members. That is why in his "Millet ve Vatan" article published in the 67th issue of *Türk Yurdu* dated 28 May 1914, not only does he re-evaluate the whole "Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak" series, but he also underlines once more the choices that could guide the policies of the CUP concerning the First World War. At the end of this article Gökalgp comes back to the fatherland concept and puts forward the example of intersecting groups. There are two nations: the one deriving from nationhood and the other deriving from religion.

There is, in fact, a homeland of Islam, which is the beloved land of all Muslims. The other one is the national home, which, for Turks, is what we call *Turan*. The Ottoman territories are that portion of Islamdom that has remained independent. A portion of these is the home of the Turks, and is at the same time a portion of *Turan*. Another portion of them is the homeland of the Arabs, which is again a part of the great Arab fatherland. The fact that the Turks have a special love for the home of the Turks, *Turan*, does not necessitate that they forget the Ottoman land which is a small Muslim homeland, or the great land of all Muslims. For national, political and international ideals are different things and all are sacred ideals.²²

Ziya Gökalgp and Mefkûre

Mefkûre is the key concept that guides not just the idea of Turan, which changes according to the times and the political circumstances, but Gökalgp's whole outlook on nationalism. *Mefkûre* is the axis of the development of Gökalgp's thoughts from 1910 to 1924, but even this concept is not fixed. In any case, even if Gökalgp wrote in a pontificating and declamatory style, his approach to social phenomena was that of an historicist who believes that the essence of life is a creative evolution.²³ On the basis of his belief in creative evolution, he did not hesitate to change or develop the con-

cepts he had put forward according to the circumstances of the time.

In the same way that the word 'ideal' is derived from the French 'idée', Gökâlp created the word *meşkûre* from the Arabic word *fikir* (idea). Gökâlp used the concept of *meşkûre* for the first time in an article titled "Bugünkü Felsefe" (Today's Philosophy), which he completed on 17 April 1327/30 April 1911 and published in *Genç Kalemler* under the pen name Tevfik Sedat. In this article, Gökâlp uses a metaphysical approach and observes that the philosophy of the time stressed ethics and values. Values, which start life as "idée-force" on a conceptual level, later rise to a psychological level and finally become external realities. The evolution of values happens thanks to the *meşkûres*, which are ends that have matured and that derive from historical circumstances. Ends not having these characteristics are just *mevhûmes* (fictions).²⁴

Gökâlp developed his complex metaphysical/ethical approach in an article titled "Yeni Hayat ve Yeni Kıymetler" (New life and new values), which he published the same year in *Genç Kalemler*, this time with the pen name Demirtaş. In this article he describes the transition to a constitutional system in 1908 as a radical political reform, which according to him should be followed by an equally radical social reform that would eliminate all the old values and would create "a new economy, a new family structure, a new concept of aesthetics, a new philosophy, new ethics, a new legal system and new politics". The new life, which would be the consequence of this wave of changes, would be a national life, created on the basis of the *meşkûres*.²⁵

There is only one wish: a new life to be formed on the basis of national characteristics. The realization of this wish will happen thanks to the *meşkûres*, which are mysterious, indefinite but at the same time attractive in equal measure. Due to the then present circumstances, pre-Balkan War nationalism was bound to be indefinite; Gökâlp tries to reverse this handicap and to raise the spirits of his audience. Once the clearer post-Balkan War circumstances were reached, there no longer existed a need for metaphysical reasonings or complex theorizations. Gökâlp was very comfortable, clear and confident in his article "Meşkûre" published at the beginning of 1913, as the 7th of the series "Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak". In this article he described *meşkûre* with an organicist approach:

Germination of a seed takes place in two phases: the first is the act of impregnation, which is a matter of a moment; the second is the period of growth, which is a matter of time. The first phase is the creative event for the seed. Without impregnation it cannot grow into an organism ... A people without a national character is comparable to the seed before it becomes a living organism ... Nations, too, need to pass through the stages of germination and growth. When a nation experiences a great disaster or when it is confronted with grave danger, individual personality disappears and becomes immersed in society. In such times it is only the national personality that lives in the soul of the individual. All souls feel nothing but the great desire to see the continuation of the national personality ... Once a nation creates its own ideals, it never turns its face towards a dark future; on the contrary, a Promised Land, a heralded Garden of Eden, unfolds itself, day by day, in an ever-clearer and more inviting prospect. Nations without ideals think that they are doomed to catastrophes; nations with ideals, on the other hand, are destined for resurrection even if they are politically dead. A nation with a resurrecting and creative ideal never dies.²⁶

Gökalp wrote this article at the beginning of 1914, by which time the Balkan Wars had ended, Edirne had been retaken, and the CUP had gained absolute power. The confidence and ease with which he writes this is due to the fact that he was taking as a starting point the then present circumstances. By that time his point of view had gained power; this was true not just from a political but also from a social and ideological point of view. Due to the defeat, Turkish nationalism had gained enormous influence. Ali Canib, in an article published in 1913 in *Türk Yurdu*, wrote "finally during these last few years this current, *the holy national current, which was born and grew with the Turan mefkûre*, has spread to all Turkish lands."²⁷

The 'Turan Mefkûresi' in Popular Discourse

These two concepts, which originated from Gökalp's thought and which were immediately adopted by nationalist spheres, were extremely influential throughout the period from the Balkan War until the First World War. Even though these concepts have been analysed one by one from the point of view of the history of thought,

in studies concerning Turkish nationalism, the reason why they are analysed here lies in their importance in the context of the patriotic agitation of those days. These two concepts played an important social-psychological and compensating role, especially during 1912-1914, i.e. during the period between the defeat in the Balkan War and the beginning of the First World War. Even if there were differing attempts by the intellectuals of the time to describe and define these concepts, the way they were generally perceived by the nationalist public opinion of the time can be summarized in the following way: "The national *meşkûre* of Turks is to reach Turan, a country/state/nation/fatherland that includes all the Turks in the world."

This way of expressing it is not the way Ziya Gökalp, who presented these two concepts to public opinion, formulated it. When Gökalp explained these concepts to public opinion, he did not indicate such oversimplified meanings. Ottoman-Turkish public opinion, which did not have a well-defined national identity, preferred to perceive these concepts in a simplified way, more suitable to its need, instead of trying to understand their deeper meaning. This need consisted of a search for compensation for the great losses endured by the Balkan War. At first sight one may think that the losses due to the Balkan War were material in nature, but in reality the major unfavourable effects were especially those of a psychological nature. The great material losses influenced society's psychological welfare, creating a situation of anomie with a generalized lack of self-confidence. Since the apparent reason for this lack of self-confidence was the loss of territory due to a military defeat, society tried to compensate for this by adopting the Turan ideal, which seemed to offer a territory even greater than the one the empire had had before the war. Turan was supposed to be a place where all Turks would unite. Before the Balkan War, Turkish nationalists had used it as a foreign policy opportunity, but after the war it became an increasingly undefined and imaginary phantasm. This 'pain-killing', loss-compensating illusion of 1913 evolved into the reckless foreign policy followed by Enver Pasha during the First World War.

At this point a more detailed look at how the *Turan meşkûresi* evolved into a phantasm is imperative, since this will help us to understand the social-psychological mood prevalent in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the First World War. An article titled "1329 Senesinde Türk Dünyası" (The Turkish World in 1913), sum-

marizing the situation of the previous year, was published in the 64th issue, dated 30 April 1914, of *Türk Yurdu*. This article, signed with the initials A. Y., was written by Yusuf Akçura. Its main subject is religion, and in particular the attempts to translate the Quran and the arguments revolving around these attempts, but towards the middle the article begins to address the subject of the Balkan War. What the writer mentions is nothing less than the beginning of a new era: "The Balkan crisis, the defeats, the massacres, the actions of some populations in the Balkans who were considered Ottoman, all of this has brought us to turn our attention to ourselves and to think at length. Slowly we have discovered *emel* (aspiration) and from this *mefkûre* was born."²⁸ One of the first fields in which this national *mefkûre* appeared was public education; public education started to acquire national characteristics beginning in 1913. According to the writer, one of the reasons for this was the defeat in the Balkan War, but the other was the presence of the "vital force of Turkish society, which was going on living, evolving and struggling to survive."²⁹ In those days various institutions catering to the spiritual and physical betterment of people of all ages were being founded. Among the most important were the *Türk Gücü* (Turkish Power), the boy-scout troops and the gymnastics associations.

From this article we learn that the previously mentioned *Türk Derneği* has reappeared as the *Türk Bilgi Derneği* (Turkish Knowledge Association). The writer also relates to us that the *Türk Ocağı* was developing, that the *Türk Yurdu* was proceeding with its activities and that the number of Turkist newspapers and magazines published in Anatolia was increasing. In addition to this, the *Yeni Turan* (New Turan) novel of Halide Edip; the translation of a novel by Leon Cahun, *Gök Bayrak* (La Bannière Bleue); and a summary of Turkish history, *Küçük Türk Tarihi*, were published. A Turkist children's periodical, *Çocuk Dünyası* (World of Children), was introduced.³⁰ A publisher, Tevfik Nureddin, founded the *Türk Yurdu Kütüphanesi* (Library of the Turkish Homeland) with the aim of printing and selling books compatible with the national *mefkûre*.

This was also the period of development of the *Türk Ocağı*. After having gone through a difficult period at the beginning of the Balkan War, the *Türk Ocağı* began to grow and develop quickly in 1913, thanks to Hamdullah Suphi's election to the chairmanship, to the financial contributions of the CUP, and to the fact that public opinion had become much more favourable to Turkism. The speeches

made by Hamdullah Suphi at the beginning and at the end of the congress held in 1913 illustrate the activities of the *Ocak*. Lectures continued to be given in this institution, its building was restored, the library was expanded, students were helped, communication was established with the hearths of Turkish students in Europe and efforts had been made to increase the number of members.³¹

The paramilitary youth associations were among the channels used to spread Turkism in the post-Balkan War period. These scouting associations, founded especially towards the end of the nineteenth century, with names like 'Boy Scouts' in Britain, 'Pfadfinder' in Germany and 'Éclaireur' in France, were presented to Ottoman public opinion by Ragıp Nureddin in an article published in 1910 in the magazine *Sây ve Tettebbu* (Endeavour and Study). In those days some attempts to imitate these institutions were made and called *keşşaflık* (scouting). A real organized scouting activity began in 1913 with the foundation of the *Türk Gücü Cemiyeti* (Turkish Power Association). In 1914 this association was transformed into the *Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri* (Ottoman Power Associations) by the Belgian Parfitte, who had been invited to Istanbul by Enver Pasha. A last change was made in 1916 when the German von Hoff was appointed in place of Parfitte. Von Hoff founded the *Genç Dernekleri* (Youth Associations) in imitation of the German paramilitary youth associations.³²

There is an interesting point concerning the development of paramilitary youth associations: While the *Türk Gücü Cemiyeti*, which was the first one to be founded, was made up completely of volunteers, membership in the *Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri*, which was founded in 1914, was obligatory for students of state schools and *medreses* (Islamic religious schools). In the case of the *Genç Dernekleri*, founded in 1916, things went even further, with membership being obligatory for every Ottoman citizen of a certain age, Muslim and non-Muslim, including those that did not go to school; those at an age between twelve and seventeen were made *Gürbüz* (sturdy), while those between seventeen and twenty were made *Dinç* (vigorous). Another important point was that in all three cases these groups were organized by leaders of the CUP, in other words, men of a military background. The chief of the *Türk Gücü* was Cemal Pasha, whose full title at the time was Colonel Ahmed Cemal Bey, Commander of the Istanbul Garrison; the *başbuğ* (leader) of the *Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri* meanwhile was the War Minister Enver Pasha. Considering the paramilitary

nature of these associations, this was a natural choice and also significant since it shows how the CUP was leaning towards Turkism.

From the very beginning Turkism was the dominant ideology of the paramilitary youth organizations. The official slogan of the *Türk Gücü*, even during its foundation process in 1913, was “the strength of a Turk is enough for anything.” An article published in *Türk Yurdu*, in which the foundation of *Türk Gücü* was announced, began as follows: “My nation should live! My nation should know that health depends upon strength. I want Turks to be vigorous, sturdy, strong, resolute! Not weaklings or miserable! The foot should be quick, the wrist strong!” It proceeded by stressing the fact that life is a struggle in which physical strength is of vital importance. It criticized the tendency of youth to daydream and literature’s preference for drunken raving in place of the much healthier nature. It concluded by exhorting a nationwide effort to become strong and sturdy once more.³³

The use of Turanist-Turkist terminology continued to increase, as evidenced in another article published in *Türk Yurdu* a short while later. Throughout the article there is continuous boasting about ancient Turkish traditions, with particular emphasis on nomadic traditions. Towards the end of the article a national plan to glorify Turkishness is formulated. According to this plan, precedence would be given to reform the language and the alphabet, Turkish identity would be revived, a strong Turkish lineage would be raised and only Turkish goods would be used. There was a lot to be done, but there were also plenty of Turks to do it. The article reminded its readers that there were thirty million Turks in Russia alone, and that Turkish was the third most common language in the world. Thus the article ended on a Turanist note.³⁴

The last article concerning *Türk Gücü* was published in the 66th issue of *Türk Yurdu* dated 28 May 1914. It was titled “Güççülük” (Supporting the Power or ‘*Güç*’) and consisted of the text of a speech made by Kuzucuoğlu Tahsin, the *Türk Gücü* delegate responsible for Istanbul, during a fund-raising meeting for this institution. This exuberant speech was typically Turanist and defined *Türk Gücü*’s main aim in organizing the paramilitary activities as increasing the physical strength of the Turks as a means to reach the “real aim, Turan”. Thus all Turks of both sexes were invited to participate in gymnastics and re-enactments of national Turkish sports as ways to increase the physical strength of the people. It was stated that, with this in

mind, *Türk Gücü*, founded fourteen months previously, had already established twenty-six clubs throughout Anatolia. The speech ended by reminding people once more that the real aim was not just to dabble in sports, but to reach Turan.³⁵

A Critique of Turan: Mehmet Ali Tevfik and Manevi Yurt (Spiritual Homeland)

The main sources of criticism against Turan were, as was to be expected, the natural adversaries of Turkish nationalism, i.e. Islamism, Westernism and Ottomanism; however, this *mefkûre* was also criticized by personalities within the Turkist movement. This criticism either did not draw any attention due to the circumstances of that period or was expressly ignored. Notwithstanding its feebleness, it is necessary to draw attention to one of these, because it underlines the discrepancies and conflicts between the different conceptions of 'fatherland' present in those days. The source of the criticism was Mehmet Ali Tevfik, while the object of criticism was Ziya Gökalp and his description of Turan. Mehmet Ali Tevfik did not agree with Gökalp's statement that "Turan is an ideal homeland including all Turks, and excluding its enemies", on the grounds that it was too restrictive.

The roots of this disagreement are to be found in the concept of 'spiritual homeland', which Mehmet Ali Tevfik himself had developed and was trying to propagate. Mehmet Ali Tevfik had put forward this concept for the first time before the Balkan War, during a conference held at the Pier Club of the CUP in Salonika on 5 Kanunusani 1327/18 January 1912.³⁶ This concept can be summarized using the author's own words: "A homeland is not made up of physical territory; it is a spiritual fiction and consists of an attachment to historical moments of glory."³⁷ Mehmet Ali Tevfik put forward this concept by making references to French sources. He began the conference, which was to be published in *Genç Kalemler*, with an epigraph by Ernest Renan: "Having in common glorious moments in the past, a common set of wishes in the present, having done great things all together and having the desire to repeat such feats; these are the fundamental conditions for being a nation."³⁸

Throughout the conference there were many more references to French sources on the subject of fatherland and patriotism. This is important, because in this way this definition, which was the main support of a national *mefkûre*, acquired a basis in French voluntary

nationalism. Intellectuals with a nationalist approach towards the history of a nation first prepared the literary works that would be the basis of the will of the nation and later compiled the school texts, which were to be used by the national public education system to instil in society a sense of a common will. In this way there was a movement away from the organicist approach of German nationalism and towards an intellectual current aiming for a conscious process of *invention* and *imagination*.

Mehmet Ali Tevfik constantly used such concepts: "We have to *form* this concept, which I call 'spiritual homeland', on an intellectual and spiritual level. The sacred duty of every Turk with a sense of humanity, should be *first of all to invent the concept of a spiritual homeland and then to spread it*."³⁹ M. A. Tevfik explains this process with the examples of Japan and Argentina. Thanks to the 1908 revolution, a Turkish nation had come into being; what remained to be done was to learn about Turkish ethnography, geography, history and its glorious legends and to teach them to children so that the spiritual homeland also could come into being.

M. A. Tevfik's nationalism, which formed around this concept, attributed special importance to intellectual effort, consequently research should be done and books should be written. He repeated these thoughts in his article titled "Yine Manevi Yurt" (Spiritual Nation Once More). There he arrives at the conclusion that there is no national consciousness among young people, who seem not to be able to agree even on what a homeland is exactly. According to him, this problem can be solved only by means of research to be conducted in the field of national history and by the dissemination of its results.

In this way we see that M. A. Tevfik underlined the lack of what Hroch had called Phase A. The Balkan War and the events following it would prevent intellectuals from undertaking this difficult process, because at that point the need to eliminate the loss in self-confidence caused by the traumatic experience of the Balkan War acquired urgency. Consequently, the path chosen would be the easiest one, skipping Phase A and starting directly to organize the patriotic agitation of Phase B. From the point of view of the circumstances of the day, this was inevitable.

M. A. Tevfik opposed Gökalp's definition because he found it to be restrictive and demeaning. In his article titled "Yarınki Harp" (Tomorrow's War), which he completed on 4 May 1330 and pub-

lished first in the newspaper *Tanin*, he criticized Gökalp's organicist approach, which gave too much importance to the matter of language, and puts forward his own historicist approach. If one accepted Gökalp's definition, one would have to resign oneself to the fact that the territorial losses due to the recent wars—of Tripolitania, Crete and of all the other territories in the Balkans—were definitive. Instead, according to M. A. Tevfik, "Every land in which Turkish blood has been spilt is part of the Turkish homeland, because every single drop of blood has given us rights over those lands, which in our hearts have become sacred."⁴⁰ Consequently, if a war started in the near future, Turks would have to fight their enemies in the Balkans and try to recapture these lands.

M. A. Tevfik's irredentist approach seeking redress was not practical in the concrete political circumstances of the years 1913 and 1914. After the great Balkan defeat it had suffered, the Ottoman Empire was in no state to recapture in the short term the lands it had lost. Consequently, Turkish nationalism had two alternatives before it: putting together a patriotic framework to be applied to the lands still controlled by the empire, i.e. Anatolia and the Arab lands, or in addition to this and even before it, putting forward the idea of creating a great Turkish Empire including the Russian lands inhabited by Turks. These two alternatives imply an acceptance of the losses incurred in the Balkans and are thus more realistic, according to Mehmet Ali Tevfik. Or rather, the starting points of both are more realistic. All the same, the first alternative of a nationalism tied to the remaining territories of the empire is by nature defensive while the second Turanist alternative aiming for the unification of all Turks is of an offensive nature and also romantic and dreamlike. We have already seen the second alternative was preferred during 1913-1914.

The Autumn of 1914: Pro-German War Agitation on the Part of Turkists

The CUP and the Cultural Nationalists

The congresses of the CUP are a very important part of its history. By following these congresses one can place in a historical context both the developments within the CUP and the general political situation of the country.⁴¹ Among these congresses, the most important one was the one held in 1913, just after the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha, when the CUP was consolidating its power.

During this congress the CUP decided to become a full-fledged party and its policies concerning the administration of the country and a national economy took a turn towards Turkish nationalism. While the congress was still going on, Yusuf Akçura wrote an article in *Türk Yurdu*, based on a report prepared by party headquarters, in which he evaluated the situation. Akçura expressed his complete agreement with the report's findings concerning a national economy and public education and expressed particular satisfaction with the turn towards nationalism.⁴²

There is another important point among the resolutions taken during this congress: according to the new regulation adopted during the congress, the CUP was to become a party including not just individuals but also newspapers and classes.⁴³ This article was a sign of how the CUP was becoming interested in non-governmental organizations and trying to influence them. Tunaya's list of the organizations reporting to or related to the CUP shows how wide the scope of this interest was in the years up to 1918.⁴⁴

The CUP's intervention in cultural affairs, after its adoption of Turkish nationalism during the congress of 1913, is particularly visible in 1913 and 1914. Parallel to the qualitative cultural development of nationalism, there was also a quantitative development made possible thanks to the support of the CUP. When Salonika, the centre of the CUP, was lost as a result of the Balkan War, all the CUP members came to Istanbul. Among these there were also nationalist intellectuals, chief among whom was Ziya Gökalp. This gave rise to a lively nationalist cultural scene in Istanbul characterized by two important institutions: the *Türk Ocağı* and the *Türk Yurdu* magazine. The CUP's post-1913 congress, with its nationalist inspired intervention in the cultural sphere, revolved around these two institutions. The *Ocak* and the *Türk Yurdu* became centres coordinating the activities of many more associations and publications.

After 1913 the CUP started to contribute financially to the *Türk Ocağı*.⁴⁵ Also, the fact that the *Ocak* was able, after 1913, to open offices in Anatolia was due to the party, since all of these Anatolian offices of the *Türk Ocakları* operated in the buildings of the CUP. This was a case of symbiosis with the *Ocak* receiving the help of the party in Anatolia and the party receiving the help of the *Ocak* in Istanbul. Organizations like *Bilgi Derneği* and *Türk Gücü*, which were founded after 1913 and were reporting to, or at least related to, the CUP, were all located in the headquarters of the *Türk Ocağı*. Cultural poli-

cies decided in the CUP headquarters, mainly by Ziya Gökalp, were then implemented in the *Türk Ocağı* building.

The most important association sharing the building of the *Türk Yurdu* and related to the *Ocak* was the *Türk Bilgi Derneği* (Turkish Knowledge Association). This association was presented as a revised version of the previously existing *Türk Derneği* and was planned as a scientific academy that would operate according to nationalist guidelines. The association included sections devoted to Turkish Studies, Islamic Studies, Biology, Philosophy and Sociology, Mathematics and Physics and, finally, Turkism. This association, which from a political point of view was Turkist, adopted a positivist scientific approach.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, because of first the effects of the Balkan War and then the exceptional circumstances of the First World War, the association was unable to achieve any successful scientific results. Its only successful activity was the publication in 1913-1914 of seven issues of the monthly *Bilgi Mecmuası* (Journal of Knowledge). All the same, as Toprak points out, the people revolving around this association published many philosophical magazines during the period lasting until the armistice.⁴⁷

Apart from these magazines deriving from the *Bilgi Derneği* there were also two important ones founded, one after the other, in 1913 and 1914 that were related to *Türk Yurdu*: *Halka Doğru* (Towards the People) and *Türk Sözü* (The Voice of the Turk). *Halka Doğru* was founded on 11 April 1329 (1913) as a weekly and closed after fifty-two issues. The editor-in-chief of this populist magazine was Celâl Sahir. *Türk Sözü* was founded on 12 April 1330 (1914), with the slogan "Getting Closer to the People-Working for the People" (*Halka Doğru Gitmek-Halk İçin Çalışmak*). This magazine was also managed by Celâl Sâhir and its chief writer was Ömer Seyfettin. The magazine closed on 24 July 1330 after sixteen issues.

The contribution of both the *Bilgi Derneği* and of these two magazines was not as important as that of the *Türk Ocağı* and of the *Türk Yurdu*. Their main contribution was to provide a means to the CUP for its penetration into the cultural sphere. As time went by the leadership of the CUP increased its participation in the cultural activities and meetings of the *Türk Ocakları*. Many members of the CUP, chief among them the Cemal and Talat Pashas, participated in the *Ocak* meetings, as if to declare, "we too are members of the *Ocak*". Party members "were stressing their membership in the CUP when in parliament and their Turanism when in the *Türk Ocağı*".⁴⁸ This

closeness would provide the *Ocak* with the financial assistance and the freedom of action that it needed. During the dictatorship established after the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha and consolidated during the First World War, both the *Türk Yurdu* and the *Türk Ocağı* could not have survived without getting closer to the party and somehow serving its interests.⁴⁹ This relationship continued smoothly until 1915. In this context, some of the members of the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* were recruited within the membership of the *Ocak*. In 1915 Enver Pasha asked Hamdullah Suphi to provide him with the number and names of officer members of the *Ocak* that he might send to the Eastern Front. Vehip Pasha sang the praises of officer members of the *Ocak* to the journalists at Gallipoli.⁵⁰ The reason for Gökalp's statement concerning the *Türk Ocağı*, which had lived through a revival during 1913-1914, in which he stated that, "apart from bigots and snobs fixed on Eastern or Western internationalism, everybody has become a member of the *Ocak* or at least a sympathizer thereof,"⁵¹ is to be found in the symbiotic relationship between the *Ocak* and the CUP.

Symbiosis with the CUP's Unfavourable Effects on Turkism

All these developments created the expectation that the critical and enthusiastic national awakening that followed the Balkan defeat would be further channelled and that by means of cultural associations and publications and the support of the government, it would become much more effective. All the same, a small observation can be seen as a harbinger of the failure of the cultural sector during the First World War. At the end of 1913, Ömer Seyfettin was released from his imprisonment in Greece and returned to Istanbul where he became part of the Turkist publishing scene. An undated letter of his, most probably written in the middle of 1914, just before the start of the World War and addressed to Ali Canib, shows that things were not quite perfect. After his year-long imprisonment, the writer was somewhat depressed and complained about the lack of sincerity of the people around him. Although the letter may be considered a subjective comment, his observations concerning Turkism, which follow in the same letter, are objective and have to be taken seriously. In the letter, Ömer Seyfettin states that Turkism had become awkward, and though it remained superficially attractive, in reality it was far from having any genuine appeal. He points out that while the circulation of *Türk Yurdu*, "the Turks' only patriotic magazine", was once

six thousand, this number had fallen drastically to a meagre six hundred. In addition, Ömer Seyfettin also makes reference to the issue of misunderstandings and conflicts amongst nationalist writers, which only serve to compound the problem at hand.⁵²

Actually, such a situation was inevitable; the circumstances deriving from the Balkan War brought about a strengthening of Turkism relative to other ideologies and an increasingly enthusiastic attitude on the part of its followers. In addition to this, the fact that the newly in-power CUP had started showing sympathy towards Turkism had slightly lessened the problem of finding financial resources, making it possible for new organizations and publications to appear. All the same, the deficiencies were still there and were even increasing. The reformist intentions of the government and of the Turkists present in the cultural sphere regarding these deficiencies were still simple and unsupported. Given these conditions, it was inevitable that the once burgeoning Turkism should fade away once things got more difficult.

Consolidation of the nationalist ideological revival seen in 1913-1914 most likely would have required a long period of peace with favourable economic and political conditions. Unfortunately, global circumstances made this impossible. The period between the 1890s and 1914 was a time when everything pointed to the disappearance of the stable environment of the nineteenth century and the entrance of a chaotic age characterized by nationalist and international conflicts, an arms race and a general preference for warmongering. In 1914, with Europe slowly sliding towards the Great War, the Ottoman State was on the one hand feeling the weight of the material and psychological effects of the Balkan defeat, and on the other, seeing that it was being excluded from the alliances forming in Europe. These two factors are the main reasons explaining the Ottoman participation in the World War as an ally of Germany. The *Turan* and *Cihad-ı Ekber* (Great Holy War) policies followed during the First World War were nothing more than ideological rationalizations of these reasons. All this brings us to the conclusion that the Ottoman State had no chance of remaining outside the First World War, but also that the rushed way in which it entered the war and its conduct with respect to the war were the fault of the governing CUP and in particular of the Enver-Talat-Cemal Pashas.

The use of combative Islamic and Turanist ideologies to hide the state's anxiety for its survival was not an invention of the CUP lead-

ership. There was a social psychological structure tending towards the above-mentioned phantasm and a German propaganda provoking it. Kâzım Karabekir, in pages 119-140 of his book *Birinci Cihan Harbine Nasıl Girdik?* (How Was It That We Entered the First World War?), describes how German publications of an imperialist and colonialist nature provoked the policies of Turanism and of *İttihad-ı İslâm*. This provocation was quickly taken up, especially by that part of Ottoman public opinion with Pan-Islamic sympathies. One of the best examples of this is a book published in 1913, titled *İttihad-ı İslâm* and written by the journalist Celâl Nuri, who was previously considered a 'Turkist-Westernist'.⁵³ This book is not a study or analysis of the union of Islam, but a collection of newspaper articles by Celâl Nuri on this subject. According to Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, "like all his other works it is a simple book, which just mentions matters, rushed and with no scientific value. One might even call it a fantasy."⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the declaration by the Ottoman Empire of *Cihad-ı Ekber* at the beginning of the war and the policy of Islamic union, which was actively pursued until the end of the war, provided the occasion for publications that were far weightier than the 'fantasy' of Celâl Nuri.

The summer of 1914 began with the impact that the rapid developments in Europe were having on the Ottoman State. The assassination of the Austro-Hungarian crown prince Franz Ferdinand and of his wife by a Serbian terrorist in Sarajevo at the end of June pushed the CUP government towards a search for an alliance with one of the great powers. Cemal Pasha's attempt to forge an alliance with Britain and France ended unsuccessfully in mid-July, upon which negotiations with Germany started and culminated with the signing of an Ottoman-German Alliance Treaty on 2 August, just as war was starting in Europe.

The three-month period between the beginning of August and the beginning of November, when the Ottoman Empire entered the war, has been debated extensively by historians. The declaration of mobilization during this period and its difficult execution; the unilateral abrogation taking advantage of wartime circumstances and of economic privileges previously conceded to foreigners (*kapitülasyonlar*); the escape of the German *Goeben* and *Breslau* battleships under the command of Admiral Souchon from the British fleet in the Mediterranean and their subsequent refuge in Istanbul; the purchase by the Ottoman State of these two ships and its subsequent renaming

ing of them as the *Yavuz* and the *Midilli*; the entry into the Black Sea of these two ships, which appeared to be part of the Ottoman Navy but in reality were still under the command of Souchon and his German crew, and their subsequent bombardment of the Russian fleet, with the consequence that the Ottoman Empire found itself in the war as a result of a 'fait accompli'; and the rush with which the Enver, Talat and Cemal triumvirate entered war and their responsibility are all subjects which are still being debated.⁵⁵

The claim that the CUP and in particular that the triumvirate had prematurely pushed the Ottoman Empire into a war for which it was totally unprepared and unwilling to fight was frequently repeated after 1918, especially in the courts set up by the occupying forces, in which the members of the party were tried, and in the *İstiklâl Mahkemeleri* (Independence courts) set up after the 1926 Izmir Conspiracy.⁵⁶ At the same time, it was also often said that the Ottoman Empire's eventual entry into the war was inevitable and that the real mistake of the CUP leadership had been the timing and the particular way in which the Empire ultimately entered war. Even though the political dimension of this was also often debated, the cultural dimension tended to be overlooked or covered up. This is due to the fact that the Turkist movement was very quickly sliding towards Turanism and becoming immersed in the warmongering and propaganda of a Turanist and Pan-Islamist nature in the months of August-November 1914. There is evidence that the Turkist movement did not begin this activity spontaneously or in an uncoordinated fashion but rather as a result of a concerted effort arising from a single centre and was operating systematically, in accordance with precise orders.

A short cautionary notice was published at the end of the 71st issue of *Türk Yurdu* on 6 August 1914. According to this notice, due to the political situation the *Türk Yurdu*, published once every fifteen days, would henceforth be published monthly, while the weekly *Türk Sözü* would be published once every fifteen days.⁵⁷ Notwithstanding this, the next issue of the *Türk Yurdu* appeared only four and a half months later, on 10 December 1914, with no explanation regarding the delay, while *Türk Sözü* would never again be published. If this delay was the result of paper shortages or other similar difficulties, it would most certainly have been explained in the next issue. Kazım Karabekir interpreted this interruption in the following way: "This means that for some reason the *Türk Yurdu* preferred to keep

silent throughout the general mobilization. In this way *Tanin* newspaper was reinforced with some of the journalists previously working for the *Türk Yurdu*.⁵⁸

Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, in the chapter of his memoirs titled “Summer of 1914”, observes how the political leadership and the cultural sphere were pursuing the same aims. “It was generally felt that we were Germany’s ally and that we would end up entering the war.” He also mentions a conversation he had with Celâl Sahir. According to Celâl Sahir, who was a latecomer to the CUP but nevertheless very close to both Talat Pasha and Ziya Gökalp, the Ottoman State should have conquered Egypt and the Caucasus to get closer both to the Islamic and Turkish worlds, because if it did not, it would inevitably be broken apart. The real aim of this operation would have been of an economic nature, because by then the Ottoman treasury was incapable of finding enough foreign loans even to pay its already existing outstanding debts. In this way it would have gained control of Egypt’s cotton and of Baku’s oil, putting an end to its difficulties. Yahya Kemal was aware that in reality the source of these words was not Celâl Sahir and that they were just words “put out to convince people of the need to enter the war”.

According to Yahya Kemal, in those days there were two approaches, one negative and the other positive. According to the negative approach there was no possibility of trusting the Allied Powers and of opening the Straits because this would have meant giving too much latitude to Russia on this delicate subject. The positive approach, on the other hand, was the one put forward by Celâl Sahir and was also very frequently heard. Enver Pasha used this last approach to justify an offensive war. According to Yahya Kemal, all subsequent disasters were the result of this logic, because if the war had been organized as a defensive one the results would have been very different. He concludes by saying: “In those days, when it was like being left with one horse and three shoes, the conquest of the Caucasus and of Egypt was the most popular currency.”⁵⁹

At that time, Kazım Karabekir was an officer of the general staff and, like Yahya Kemal, a nationalist who thought that precedence should not be given to Turan or to an Islamic union but rather to Anatolia.⁶⁰ Karabekir underlined the fact that the blame for the Ottoman Empire’s entry in the war, as a result of Turanist and Pan-Islamist dreams, lay on the Turkists operating in the cultural sphere and he devoted a great part of his *Birinci Cihan Harbine Nasıl Girdik?*

to the subject of war propaganda during the period of mobilization. According to Karabekir, in those days the press repeated these points: Germany's victory is a sure thing; Muslims should not lose an opportunity to become free; the Islamic world is awaiting the orders of its Caliph to revolt; it is impossible for the Balkan nations of Romania, Greece and Bulgaria to enter the war against Germany; there is no harmony among the Allied Powers and the moment the Ottomans enter the war, revolts by the Turks of Russia and by the Muslims in other parts of the world will put Russia and Britain into a wretched condition.⁶¹

As early as 8 August, Gökalp was claiming, in his poem "Kızıl Destan" (Red Epic) published in *Tanin*, "The lands of the enemy will be ruined! / Turkey will grow and become Turan!" This rather provocative poem was presented by the newspaper with the words "Our readers should keep in mind that 'Gökalp Beyefendi' will continue following the events muddling Europe and describing and analysing them with such national language and a national philosophy".⁶² In his book Karabekir includes an extract from a long poem titled "Türkün Yolu" (The Path of the Turk) and published in *Donanma Mecmuası* (Magazine of the Navy), dated 19 October 1330:

Carefully look and perceive you will
Of the longing spirit of Algeria, Morocco
India, Tunisia, Zanzibar, Java, the Caucasus
There is the love of the Turk

Happily and without awe he will go
He will demolish mountains, even if they be made of steel
If his resolution you don't know, learn you will
The Turk's path is the one leading to the "True homeland".⁶³

OTTOMAN WAR PROPAGANDA AND CULTURE, 1914-1918

Short-Term and Irrational Propaganda

The Turanist and Pan-Islamist propaganda, which appeared in the Ottoman press between August 1914 and March 1915, had been formulated for the short-term and was both very simplistic and full of unrealistic aims. What is even more tragic is that this wartime propaganda, made up of poems and of articles appearing in newspapers and magazines, was the product of Ottoman elites. Not much is known about lower level propaganda, like for example the propaganda activities aimed at the common people. What is known about this period comes from autobiographical works written after 1918 by people who were part of the cultural and political elites of those days.

To learn about the irrationality of the propaganda to which the people were exposed in those days and about the lack of a systematic mechanism, we can take a look at two autobiographies and a work of popular history. The autobiographical works are the above-mentioned book by Kazım Karabekir and the first volume of the four volume, First World War memoirs of Ali İhsan Sâbis, who also was a general staff officer during the period in question.¹ The work of popular history is the book *1914-1918 Cihan Harbini Nasıl İdare Ettik?* (How Did We Conduct the World War of 1914-1918?) by Ziya Şakir, who wrote these kinds of mass consumption history books in the 1930s and '40s. Ziya Şakir does not specify his sources and makes it clear that he is writing on the basis of his memoirs and imagination, as he describes the irrational atmosphere prevalent in those days with a very lively and novel-like style. The clubs of the CUP, which have not been sufficiently studied, were the party's main conduit with the

common people and also the main creators of irrationality on the eve of war. All the lower level cadres of the party used to gather in these clubs, make speeches as if the war had already been won and shower the leadership with compliments in order to curry favour. On this subject Ziya Şakir describes vivid scenes. For example, in one such scene a religious leader tells about his dream in one of the clubs as follows:

— A flat and green plain... In its centre a river of blood and pus. Enver Pasha arrives running. In his hand a double-bladed sword. Just like *Zülfikar*² ... Enver Pasha stands for a while near that river of blood and pus. His face is troubled. Just then a voice from the unknown says, "Walk, oh Enver..". Enver Pasha crosses the river in one step. Starts to run towards east. Just then the sword in his hand starts to lengthen.. more and more and more... until it reaches the eastern horizon...

Just then this illustrious person wakes up. Immediately he starts to interpret his dream.. after a little thought the result is:

— The green plain symbolizes the magnificent lands of the empire. That river of blood and pus is the Balkan disaster. Enver Pasha has left this river behind him. The *Zülfikar* in his hand is the war just beginning. The lengthening of the *Zülfikar* towards the east is evidence that Enver Pasha will conquer Iran and Turan.³

Another member of the party at the club spreads open a map and makes his very own war plans: "This is the Caucasian frontier... We shall advance from here. We shall cross Iran. From there we shall proceed in two different directions. Our right flank will finish off Afghanistan while our left flank enters Turan... Turan will be conquered quickly. After this, our forces will reunite. Like lightning they will cross the Himalaya Mountains and enter into India..."⁴

Such preposterous comments were uttered not only by the lower level members of the CUP, but they were encouraged by headquarters and by the Ministry of the Interior as well. The most significant example of this is the then-widespread rumour that some manuscripts purportedly showing predictions concerning Ottoman victories had been found. A memoir of Karabekir on this subject is very interesting. Karabekir was director of the intelligence office of the general staff. One day he called Hikmet Bey, the then director of the Press

Office, to caution him about all the pro-war articles appearing in the newspapers, even though war had not yet started. With a jolly expression on his face, Hikmet Bey handed a document to Karabekir and asked him to read it. On this paper, there were predictions in verses concerning the year 1330/1914, copied from the *Şeceretü'n-Numaniye* (Genealogy of the Blood) by Muhyiddin Arabi, found in the Edirne Library. These verses mentioned the Ottoman-German alliance, stating that this alliance would make all Muslims revolt and that within two years Turan and all Asia would be conquered. With increasing enthusiasm Hikmet Bey added that there was also a book titled *Tevâlî'ül-Müluk* (Succession of Kingdoms), full of predictions, some of which had already come true and some of which, like the conquest of Egypt in case of war, would come true. Karabekir scolded Hikmet Bey for his attempt to fool him with such clearly false and childish things. For many days, the authorities had been trying to spread such rumours among the population and people like Hikmet Bey were making an effort to convince people at higher levels. The Press Director was saddened by Karabekir's scolding and justified himself by saying, "What can I do. This is what they want!"⁵

Nobody could prevent such irrational propaganda, because even more than the common people it was Enver Pasha himself who believed in it. One day on the eve of the war, Ali İhsan Sâbis, who at the time was a general staff officer, saw a lot of people clad in strange clothes and robes waiting in front of Enver Pasha's office and then entering one by one. He asked the meaning of this gathering and the orderly's answer was very interesting. Enver Pasha was using his secret state funds to pay these people for their predictions, because they were all soothsayers. Some were looking at the gray hair among Enver's eyebrows and understanding that he was a great warrior; still others were reading poems singing his praises as conqueror of Turan.⁶ Such irrational propaganda and efforts to curry favour with Enver and with the rest of the CUP leadership would continue during the war as well. For example, when at the end of 1914 Bahaeddin Şakir was on his way towards the Caucasian Front, where he was supposed to organize the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*, he had signs saying, "The road for Turan passes through here", hung in the eastern side of all the towns and cities he passed through. The local governmental representatives had photographs taken of these signs and sent them to Istanbul.⁷ In 1916, the name of the Abanadan administrative district in Kastamonu İnebolu, which was the hometown of

the family of Enver Pasha, was changed to the Enver Pasha administrative district following a decree of the provincial council.⁸

This irrational and naive propaganda effort did not reach anybody other than those that were already sympathetic to the cause of the CUP. The population was in any case mostly illiterate and therefore exposed to such propaganda to only a limited degree, while those segments that furthermore happened to be living far from the imperial capital would not even have been aware of this short-term and unplanned activity. The population, and in particular the part of it living far from the cities, was trying to recover from the traumatic Balkan War experience and preparing for the 1914 harvest, which luckily was expected to be good and upon general mobilization had, unenthusiastically but obediently, gone to the recruitment offices.⁹

Apart from the common people, the intellectuals, who were the government's main propaganda instrument, were also disturbed by the events leading up to February 1915. The main reason for this was that nobody had asked their opinion, that all initiative had been taken from their hands in a despotic way, that they were expected to accept everything the government did uncritically and, finally, that they were implicitly threatened with pressure. Disasters like the Sarıkamış defeat just after the beginning of hostilities, the fiasco of the Canal Mission and the deportation of the Armenians were being kept secret not just from the population but also from intellectuals; those that happened to hear about them and dared to criticize them were threatened and persecuted. By February 1915, Mehmet Emin [Yurdakul], who during his governorship had behaved tolerantly towards Armenians, was out of favour and Halide Edip, who was critical of these policies, was subjected to police pressure.

A Conflict Among Intellectuals

The newspapers had not been able to write about the Sarıkamış disaster or about the failure of the Canal Mission. To the contrary, due to government pressure they had even had to present them as great victories. All the same, the real state of affairs was somehow known by the people, who as a result were extremely demoralized. The Allied attack on the Dardanelles, which began at the start of 1915, was not something that could be kept hidden. The Dardanelles were the key to Istanbul; consequently, Istanbul was prey to great apprehension from the end of February until the great sea battle fought on 18

March. The evident panic on the part of the government further increased this feeling.

In consideration of the danger that the enemy fleet might succeed in passing the Dardanelles and reaching Istanbul, the government had begun evacuation proceedings. A large part of the gold reserves in the Ottoman Bank had been transferred to Eskişehir and Konya.¹⁰ The evacuation of the Sultan and of his family to Eskişehir or Konya was also being discussed. The families of high-level government employees and wealthy people were trying to move to Anatolian cities like Bursa and Eskişehir. The government's decision to evacuate the islands of Istanbul increased the panic.¹¹

Unfortunately we do not have too many sources on the preparations of cities like Eskişehir in case of Istanbul's evacuation. The same goes for the fears of the inhabitants of Istanbul during the month of March 1915. Concerning the Dardanelles sea battles we have two sources, both of an autobiographical nature, describing the situation of the intellectuals. In their memoirs, Halide Edip and Yahya Kemal mention a series of meetings held during the days in question. The first of these meetings, which turned out to be a turning point as far as the outlook of the Turkist intellectuals towards the war and the CUP government was concerned, was held a few days before 18 March. Halide Edip tells us that this meeting was held at the *Türk Yurdu*, following an invitation by Yusuf Akçura.¹² These nationalist writers had been invited to the meeting so that they could decide on the course of action to be taken in case the enemy fleet should reach Istanbul: Should they remain and support the population in Istanbul, or should they go to the more secure Anatolia and continue with the struggle from there?

The chapter titled "Halide Edip Hanım" of *Siyasî ve Edebî Portreler* (Political and Literary Portraits), written by Yahya Kemal and published posthumously, is more detailed and informative on this subject. According to Yahya Kemal, the government had made a plan to entrust the population of Istanbul to the Turkist intellectuals in case of evacuation to Anatolia. With this in mind, Talat Pasha organized a secret meeting to be held at the *Bilgi Derneği*, which was located at the ground floor of the home of Celâl Sahir.¹³ Yahya Kemal had been invited upon request of Yusuf Akçura and of Halide Edip. Yahya Kemal was extremely distressed when he heard from governmental sources that Istanbul was in danger of falling to the enemy.

There were long discussions on how the intellectuals could help the people of Istanbul. Some, who were in politics, wanted to go to Anatolia to protect their families or, like Mehmet Ali Tevfik, wanted everybody to stay in Istanbul and “fight until the last drop of their blood”, while others like Yahya Kemal more modestly stated that they would remain in Istanbul. At the end of their discussions, the intellectuals agreed on the fact that the greatest help that those of them remaining in Istanbul could give to the population “was guidance”. In addition to this, Halide Edip put forth the proposal to stock flour in secret warehouses so that it could be distributed to the population in case of crisis. This was something the government had not thought about, or at least there are no documents giving the impression that such plans had been considered. The meeting was adjourned, in a generally tense atmosphere, until the following evening.

During the second meeting, a conflict that had remained unnoticed up until that point between a group close to the governing party and another group began to surface. Yahya Kemal said, “We talked once more about the same subject and the atmosphere of the meeting became venomous”.¹⁴ A decision was taken to invite more people to the next meeting. The third meeting must have been held on 18 March, or a few days thereafter, because everybody knew that the immediate danger to the straits had passed and so the atmosphere was much more relaxed. Together with this relaxation concerning the main agenda of the meeting, the conflict between the groups became more evident. The conflict was between those close to party headquarters and non-party Turkists. The second group included Halide Edip, Dr. Adnan, Yusuf Akçura, Mehmet Emin and Hamdullah Suphi, who though undecided, was relatively closer to this second group.

Halide Edip does not mention this conflict in her memoirs and only states that the concept of nationalism had been discussed. Ağaoğlu Ahmet was of the opinion that nationalism was a mentality deriving from language, religion, origin and common customs. Hüseyinzâde Ali, on the other hand, thought that language and religion were more important than origin. According to Halide Edip, Hüseyinzâde was in this way growing closer to Pan-Islamism and moving away from Turanism, which was preferred by younger people.¹⁵

Halide Edip's recounting of the discussion is less clear than Yahya Kemal's and differs from it as well. While it is clear that the atmosphere was tense, Halide Edip seems to prefer not to delve into the

details of this discussion, of which she is the protagonist. By looking at her words only, the conclusion could be reached that Turkish nationalists did not even agree on the definition of a national identity and that they were still at the very beginning of the road.

There was indeed a huge conflict between the Unionists and the rest. It was a very heated argument deriving both from personal matters and from the policies of the party. Things got so out of hand that at one point Ağaoğlu Ahmet, who was a Unionist, declared "with extreme demagoguery that he did not know how much he could trust those present, because he thought that one who was not a Unionist could neither be considered a patriot nor a Turkist".¹⁶ This accusation was directed at Halide Edip and her comrades, but Yahya Kemal got offended and stormed out of the meeting, saying that although he was not a Unionist, he was nonetheless a Turkist. After the necessary apologies were made to him, the "meeting of crows", as Yahya Kemal called it, reconvened the following evening for the last time. According to Yahya Kemal, there was one important conclusion to be arrived at as a result of these meetings: "I should add that the enthusiasm generated by these discussions has opened up new horizons for Turkism, which for the last few years had seemed to be enthralled by Turanism. Finally, those that want a more limited Turkism in the context of today's civilization, or in other words those that defend the claims of patriotism against a coarse dream of Turan, have been able to raise their voices."¹⁷

There was, by the beginning of 1915, a Turkist group which was becoming estranged to a Turanism that had become the banner ideology of the CUP. This minority included Halide Edip, Yahya Kemal and, as far as it is evident from his memoirs, Kazım Karabekir. As it became clear that the War was not going well, this group became bolder, thereby managing to attract the Turanists of the period 1914-1915. All the same, during the first phase of the war, in the years 1915-1916, the Unionist Turkists, followers of Ziya Gökalp, were still a majority. This division into groups brought about the result that these minority intellectuals, but more generally all cultural operators, had to tread carefully when speaking and writing, taking care not to position themselves against the CUP. During this period it was impossible to publish anything against the CUP, but this atmosphere of censorship and repression lessened the effectiveness of the patriotic agitation of the post-Balkan War period. Since important personalities like Halide Edip and Yahya Kemal were expressing their opposition by remain-

ing silent, propaganda and cultural output did not reach the quality and quantity desired by the CUP. The field included only intellectuals who were approved by the party and who toed the party line.

The State in Action

Visual Propaganda and the Harp Mecmuası (War Magazine)

As in the case of written propaganda, the Ottoman Empire lagged far behind the other belligerent countries as far as visual propaganda was concerned. Without doubt this backwardness derived from the fact that fields like painting and photography were relatively new to the empire, while cinema was not yet born, except for a few imported shows. In the 89th issue of *Türk Yurdu*, dated 12 August 1915, an article by Hamdullah Suphi titled “Son Resim Sergisi” (The Latest Painting Exhibition) appeared. From this article, which is the review of an exhibition held in 1915 at the *Galatasaraylılar Yurdu* (Association of Galatasaray Alumni), we learn that the first such exhibition had been held in Istanbul in 1874 and that painting in the empire had developed thanks to exhibitions held in the Beyoğlu district of Istanbul in 1901, 1902, 1903 and 1904.¹⁸ An observation added by the editors of the magazine at the end of this article expresses disapproval of the fact that war scenes comprised only a minority of the paintings.¹⁹

These painters, most of whom had been studying art in Europe and had to return with the outbreak of the war, participated in a propaganda activity in 1917. An atelier was established in the Şişli district of Istanbul with the aim of having young painters create war paintings. These paintings were exhibited first of all in 1917 at the *Galatasaraylılar Yurdu* and a few months later in Vienna. The paintings sent to Vienna were not just those with war as their subjects, but paintings about various other subjects as well, all by Turkish painters. This exhibition was supposed to be repeated in Berlin, but since the war ended before this could happen, the latter remained unrealized.²⁰

Not only was the introduction of cinema in the empire slower than that of painting, but its diffusion was slower as well. In 1915, the *Merkez Ordu Sinema Dairesi* (MOSD) (Central Army Cinema Office) was founded with Weinberg, who was of Romanian origin, and with Fuat Uzkınay, who was a reserve officer, as director and vice-director, respectively. Turkish directors started to shoot short documentaries

with the help of German and Austrian directors. When Romania joined the war in 1916, Fuat Uzkınay was appointed in place of Weinberg. In 1917 the decision to expand the MOSD was taken; Uzkınay was sent to Germany so that he could deepen his knowledge of the subject.²¹

As is evident from the memoirs of Cemil Filmer, who had been trained by Fuat Uzkınay, Enver Pasha wanted to use films as propaganda instruments and with this in mind he had planned for a few reserve officers from each army corps to be trained in cinematography and later sent to the front with all the necessary material to shoot films. Filmer mentions also a few short films he shot in those days, on Enver Pasha's orders.²² Unfortunately the war ended before these efforts could achieve anything and the development of Turkish cinematography was postponed to the republican period. As a result, cinema was never used effectively as an instrument of visual propaganda during the war.

As is to be expected, photography in the Ottoman Empire had a longer past. Many photography studios had been founded in Istanbul beginning in the 1850s. Also the use of photographs and illustrations in the press had started at a relatively early date.²³ For example, the *Resimli Kitap* (Illustrated Book) magazine, published between September 1324 (1908) and February 1329 (1914), printed photographic albums about the war during the Balkan War, under the title of "Weekly War Panorama". We may also mention the *Harb-i Umûmî Panoraması* (Panorama of the Great War) published in 1914 by the *Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti* (Association of National Defence).

Notwithstanding all these developments, the publication of *Harp Mecmuası* constituted a real novelty as far as visual propaganda was concerned. The aim of this magazine was to produce and publish photographs that would show the grandeur of the state and of the army, that would convince people of the fact that everything was all right and that would serve the purpose of raising the spirits both of the soldiers at the front and of the civilians on the home front. The *Harp Mecmuası* became the most important and successful example of Ottoman visual propaganda, even more than the *Donanma Mecmuası*, which had been published before the war and was a semi-official publication. The first issue of this prestigious publication appeared in Teşrinisani 1331.²⁴ The magazine's offices were at Cağaloğlu and it was printed at the Ahmed İhsan Printing House. Although there was no indication of the publisher in the magazine,

it was published by the General Staff Headquarters Intelligence Office.²⁵ This sixteen-page magazine was printed on high quality paper. In the circumstances of the time it could not have been printed by a private company. In those days newspapers were being printed using only one or two sheets of low quality paper because of the lack of paper and, up to a point, the lack of printable news that was able to make it through censorship. The *Harp Mecmuası* did not have any such problem; it consisted mainly of photographs, with the articles looking as if they had been added to embellish the photographs.

Twenty-seven issues of the magazine were published between November 1331 and June 1334 (1918). There was a slight worsening in the quality of the paper in the twenty-fourth issue, dated Kanunuevvel 1333 (December 1917); while for the printing of the last issues a few months later, in May (number 25-26) and in June (number 27) 1334, very low quality paper was used. Clearly the impending end of the war had made itself felt even in the *Harb Mecmuası*.

One of the interesting sections of this magazine was the one or two page long section titled *Yaşayan Ölüler* (Living Dead) containing the names and photographs of officers of various ranks killed in combat. This title must have been considered tasteless; because beginning from the 11th issue dated July 1332 it was changed to *Mübarek Şehitlerimiz* (Our Holy Martyrs). The magazine also featured many heroic poems and real war stories—or stories that were made to seem real. Apart from this, there were news items regarding the fronts, the various commanders, the visits to Istanbul of the sovereigns of Germany and of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and articles about developments in defence technology.

One last matter should be mentioned concerning this magazine. An unsigned article titled “Why Are We Publishing It?” appeared in the first issue. This article is a good summary of the official reasoning of the Ottoman State regarding the reasons why and the manner in which it had entered war.²⁶ It was written in an emotional style, sometimes plaintive, but generally emotionally charged. It begins by stating openly the reason for the Ottoman Empire’s participation in the war. The “Turkish and Islamic lands” had been attacked by their “oldest enemy” the previous year in the Black Sea, which was once an Ottoman lake. The navy had responded by sinking “the ships of Muscovy” and bombarding the “coasts of the Crimea and of the Caucasus, which as fraternal regions had been suffering

under enemy dominion for long years of separation". In any case the World War had started a few months before these events and "the Muscovites and their allies had attacked the heroic nations of Central Europe with the aim of destroying them by encircling them with a ring of fire". In this way, as a result of the attack in the Black Sea, the Ottoman Empire had found itself at war with the Muscovites and its allies. Since then "our heroic army and navy has been defending our beloved country on all four sides with an inexhaustible force and faith".²⁷

Towards the end of the article a rhetorical figure of speech is used to develop an oft-repeated reasoning. The Turks, whose heads had been bowed by the Balkan defeat of three years before, had been able to clean this blot; by then it could be said, "our foreheads are clean for all the world to see." In the last paragraph of the article it was stated that the main reason for publishing the *Harp Mecmuası* was to "immortalize the golden epic of our magnificent army with articles and photographs and to let the whole world know about this". This was the propaganda aim of the magazine as far as the rest of the world was concerned, while its internal aim was to let the people on the home front know about the glory of the army. The last sentence of the article is very interesting: "Turkey will not die; it will live and grow." In this way the CUP's expansionist policies concerning Turan and Egypt were implicitly underlined.

The Gallipoli Trip of the Intellectuals

The publication of the *Harp Mecmuası* began in 1915, one year after the entry into war. This, from the viewpoint of official propaganda, was a rather serious delay. Notwithstanding this delay in official propaganda, there already had been some attempts at propaganda. The most important among these was a trip to Gallipoli, organized by the General Staff Headquarters Intelligence Office with seventeen personalities from the cultural sphere participating. Even though some sources claim that there was more than one such trip to the Gallipoli front, another trip with so many people was never again organized, neither to the Gallipoli front nor to any other front. The Gallipoli trip, organized to encourage a group of writers, painters and musicians to create works related to the war, was the only one of its kind throughout the duration of the war.

In June 1915, the office of the Supreme Commander in Charge²⁸ sent written invitations for this trip to between twenty and

thirty people via the General Staff Headquarters Intelligence Office. The participants were invited to see the battlefield for themselves and to use their impressions to create works of art, which would be “real descriptions concerning the quality of the soldiers and the ability of the population”. Even though most of these people accepted the invitation, on 11 July 1915, the day of departure, there were only eighteen people at the Sirkeci Station: among them were the writers and journalists, Ağaoğlu Ahmet, Ali Canip, Celâl Sahir, Enis Behiç, Hakkı Süha, Hamdullah Suphi, Hıfzı Tevfik, Muhittin, Orhan Seyfi, Selâhattin, Yusuf Razi, Mehmet Emin, Ömer Seyfettin, İbrahim Alâeddin and Müfit Ratip; the painters Çallı İbrahim and Nazmi Ziya; and finally the musician Ahmet Yekta. Many of the people who had expressed their willingness to participate later changed their minds.²⁹

After their return to Istanbul, the participants in this trip described their impressions in various ways, for the benefit of public opinion. Due to the low number of participants and due to the lack of a mechanism that would have ensured the continuity of the sensitivity to propaganda shown by the state and that would have encouraged these people to write, the resulting output was late in arriving and small in quantity. A short while after the end of the trip, Hamdullah Suphi also wrote his impressions of it and they appeared in installments in the newspaper *İkdam*. The most detailed narration concerning the trip is to be found in this series of articles written by Hamdullah Suphi and titled “Çanakkale”.³⁰

All through this long article Hamdullah Suphi describes in a detailed fashion seven days of this trip. Throughout the trip, which began at the Sirkeci Station and, after a certain point, continued on coaches, on horseback and on foot, the Balkan defeat was remembered and compared with the successes of the Gallipoli front, using expressions like “the Balkan blot has been removed with the blood spilt in Gallipoli”. (82) In his article Hamdullah Suphi underlines the fact that everything was done with an optimistic enthusiasm and in a very orderly fashion and that everybody he saw along the way, be they civilians or soldiers, shared this enthusiasm: “The effect of the war, seen on the roads, the towns and everywhere, was almost of a joyous nature. Even though the picture seen was tragic, people did not seem to have been affected by it.” (85) All the officers that they met on the roads mentioned the self-sacrifice of the Anatolian soldiers. The group met one of these soldiers, a certain Sergeant Hüseyin from Kayseri who, although he had a problem concerning

his feet, was impatiently waiting to go to the front and fight. This soldier had fallen into the hands of the Greeks in Salonika during the Balkan War and had been seriously mistreated; the prisoners of war had been obliged to crush lime with their bare feet and then made to walk in the water. That is why his feet were covered with wounds, but he was nevertheless determined to go. (92) Once they reached the front, Hamdullah Suphi, who was chairman of the *Türk Ocakları*, listened to the story of how a reserve officer, whom he loved very much and who was also a member of the *Ocak*, had died in battle. Although the young man had been wounded, the next day he went to battle and was killed. When he was wounded, a soldier tried to bandage his wound, upon which he said, "let it flow, only this blood can erase the blot of the Balkan War". (101-102)

Another point to which Hamdullah Suphi attached a great deal of importance was the fact that many educated men or even students had enrolled as young reserve officers when the war began. Being himself a university teacher and chairman of an association comprised mainly of university students, the writer was very proud of this situation. He even discussed this with one of the pashas at the front. The Anatolian youth, who made up most of the privates, were used to the military service, because they had grown up listening to the stories of the martyrdom and heroism of their ancestors. But the reserve officers, the majority of whom were from Istanbul, had not been brought up as soldiers and had been sent to the front having received very little training. The pasha replied to Hamdullah Suphi's words with a nationalist statement stressing the race factor: "When these young men, who had not lost the characteristics of their ancient warrior race, saw that the survival and honour of their history and nation was at stake, they did and provided everything that we could have wanted and hoped from them, even exaggeratedly so." (119)

Hamdullah Suphi severely criticized the uncivilized war techniques used by British and French forces. He frequently returns to this point throughout the article, mentioning it for the first time while describing the third day of the trip, when the front had not yet been reached. At Bolayır the road leading to the front passed in front of the tombs of Süleyman Pasha and Namık Kemal. Süleyman Pasha was the son of Orhan Gazi, who was the second sultan of the Ottoman Dynasty. It was Süleyman Pasha who led the first Ottoman troops to cross the sea and set foot on European soil in 1354. He later died as a result of an accident during the conquest of Rumeli and was buried at

Bolayır.³¹ Being the first Ottoman commander to come to those places, Turkish literature, both poetic and in prose, of the First World War period mentions him frequently, especially when treating the subject of the Battle of Gallipoli. On the other hand, Namık Kemal was a personality considered to be the 'father of patriotism and poet of liberty' by all progressive Turkish movements and in particular by nationalist movements.

Nationalist officers serving in this area attached particular importance to these two tombs and had made sure that the soldiers passing nearby visited them. During the Gallipoli battle, British cannon balls also damaged the tombs. Hamdullah Suphi mentions the fact that a soldier passing nearby had scribbled on the tomb of Namık Kemal, "We shall avenge you, dear father!" (96-97) The British and the French deserved to be held in contempt, not because they had damaged these tombs nor because they had attacked the straits, but because they used poisonous bombs and dumdum bullets that destroyed the place they penetrated, fired pointed nails from aeroplanes and bombed civilian institutions like hospitals, tombs and mosques. The head doctor of a field hospital, whom they had visited at the front, documented this situation with x-ray shots. (111) Against all this, the Ottomans were fighting in a gentlemanly fashion and showing the utmost care towards wounded prisoners of war.

The Place of Cultural Propaganda Among the CUP's Propaganda Priorities

The CUP's ten years in power began in 1908, when the party was still in a position of overseer. Later, after the Babiali Raid in 1913, it gained absolute power, which lasted until the Mudros Armistice in 1918. These ten years would have been short even in a period of peace, let alone in a period of such internal and external turbulence. The CUP began its ascent to power as a secret revolutionary society and became a party only after gaining power. All the same, even after it became a party it preferred to maintain its habits tied to a situation of illegality and going back to the days when it was a band (known as *komita*) operating in Macedonia and the Balkans. The CUP had an overarching aim: to gain power so as to be able to save the state from disintegrating. Any means to this end were considered legitimate, including shooting oppositional journalists, organizing plots, coup d'état's and even spreading false rumours among the population by means of lower level agents so as to be able to manip-

ulate public opinion. In such a situation, a political struggle conducted in a democratic environment, in other words, an effort to shape public opinion by using legal and legitimate means and doing so in a continuous way in the context of a plan, was considered both very difficult and naïve.

Since problems and structural deficiencies were always very serious, efforts to solve them were not carried out in the context of a strategy but only at a level of tactical manoeuvring; only when problems became unbearable did the concerned governmental units try to solve them. Even then, the attempts made were executed in a disorderly fashion and intended to solve the problems in the quickest way possible and only temporarily, while other problems were simply ignored and therefore allowed to grow more serious in the meantime. Apart from a few exemplary events, such governmental units were not coordinated and conflicts were frequent. These conflicts were solved internally, without making them known to the general public, following the Turkish saying ‘*kol kırılır yen içinde kalır*’ (even if the arm breaks, it won’t show through the sleeve). All the same, this created cliques of like-minded people within the state bureaucracy. There was a continuous quarrel between people close to Talat and those close to Enver, and sometimes even between one of these two and other powerful CUP leaders. One of the more typical examples of the conflicts within the party during the war was about the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*.

The *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* was the Ottoman Empire’s operational intelligence service during the First World War. Even if officially it reported to party headquarters and to the Interior Ministry, in reality it was under the control of Enver Pasha. The most detailed study on this subject has been carried out by Philip H. Stoddard, according to whom the creation of this organization was “the unconscious effort by a leader of the CUP [Enver Pasha] to introduce to the Ottoman State the idea of a political and military intelligence service, along the lines of those present in the West, which would not only collect intelligence, but would also develop responses to its findings”.³² Again according to Stoddard, in the Ottoman State the private intelligence organizations of the Talat, Enver and Cemal Pashas and those similar to European counterparts, reporting to the Interior Ministry and to the General Staff, were all created at the same time. The main operating mentality and leadership cadres of the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*, reporting to Enver, derived from the party’s pre-1908 phase, dur-

ing which it was an illegal society. The members of this organization were known as the *fedais* (bouncers) of the CUP and they were people who had been mixed up in events like the murders of journalists before 1914 or the Babiali Raid and who had fought guerilla wars both in Tripolitania and in Western Rumeli after the end of the Balkan War. According to Stoddard, this organization, which was named *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* in 1914, had many duties during the war. Executed with the aim of ensuring the survival of the state, among these duties were guaranteeing internal security, espionage and intelligence, aiding regular army units and taking their place when the need arose and, according to the changing circumstances and different locations, running Pan-Islamist, Turanist or Ottomanist propaganda activities.

The way the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*, which was absolutely secret and was financed with secret funds, operated during the World War was the mirror image of the CUP leadership. With the survival of the state being their main aim, its agents obeyed loyally and uncritically every order given by their leader Enver Pasha. Among these duties; the ones regarding propaganda are those that interest us most; the agents operated especially in Istanbul but also throughout the Empire—and sometimes beyond its borders. They enrolled important people by paying them and also mixed among common people to run propaganda activities. Some of this propaganda consisted of distributing pamphlets, but most of it consisted of oral transmissions. Propaganda, usually short-term in its outlook, was spread among common people to make them follow a certain aim, like the celebration of the declaration of Jihad.

To give another example, Stoddard mentions information gathered by British Intelligence in October 1914. According to the British ambassador, the Muslims living around Aleppo had been subjected to such effective propaganda that they had become convinced that the German Kaiser had converted to the Muslim religion and that the Germans were fighting Russia in the name of Islam. German and Turkish propagandists referred to the Kaiser as “Hadji Wilhelm (Wilhelm the Muslim pilgrim), friend and protector of Islam”.³³ Naturally enough, such propaganda based on rumours and tricks, lost all its effectiveness once circumstances had changed or when counter propaganda of the same intensity was mounted.

This understanding of propaganda was common not just among the agents of the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* but also among all organizations

reporting to the party. The lack of the necessary infrastructure made the creation of a continuous and credible propaganda mechanism very difficult. The lack of a modern mechanism combined with exaggerated censorship and political repression kept the cultural sector far from propaganda. This situation can be quantified. 228 novels, novellas and long stories were published in book form between 1908 and 1918.³⁴ Most of these were detective or sentimental novels of the kind that can be called pulp fiction. The output of fiction decreases dramatically during the First World War. While seventeen novels and fifty novellas or long stories were published in 1914, mostly during the months before the start of the war, these numbers went down to nine-nine respectively in 1915, three-six in 1916, one-two in 1917 and seven-two in 1918. In other words, with the exclusion of 1914, during the four years of war only eighteen novels and nineteen novellas or long stories were published in the Ottoman Empire. The number of those aiming for patriotic agitation is even lower. A similar situation exists also in the field of poetry, with very few poetry books being published. Especially those concerning the War and generally singing the praises of the army had the dimensions of a pamphlet.

In short, propaganda publications aimed at the home front were almost non-existent. During the first phase of the war, when everybody was struggling with all sorts of difficulties on various fronts, this deficiency went largely unnoticed. On the other hand, once the situation on the fronts stabilized beginning from 1916 and even some successes were attained, the situation on the home front kept worsening each day. Economic difficulties led to an estrangement between the people, who were unhappy about the situation, and the government. It is logical that in such a moment, patriotic literature narrating the heroism of the army could partially lessen the unhappiness of the population. This evident necessity began to be perceived as an absolute must by the leadership of the CUP. The War Ministry began a campaign to support the creation of literary works that would "incite and encourage the officer corps and the soldiery".³⁵ Tahir Alangu, in his biography of Ömer Seyfettin, states that this campaign began in the summer months of 1917, but according to other sources it had begun earlier and, not having been successful, its intensity had been increased in the summer of 1917.

The way this campaign was organized was actually very simple: Book orders were given to the writers; when the book was completed, a generous fee was paid and the book was printed using the best

material available. Since the impoverished population could not buy such a book, it ended up being bought by the War Ministry and distributed within the army. As time went by and the desired results were not reached, the fees paid to the writers increased. The best-known example of this was a book titled *Akından Akına* (From One Raid to Another), by the then young poet Yusuf Ziya [Ortaç]. According to Yusuf Ziya's autobiographical work, *Bizim Yokuş* (Our Sloping Road), one day Celâl Sahir gave all the young poets he knew at the *Türk Ocağı* a message from Enver Pasha, and in it Enver Pasha was asking them to write war poetry. Thus, Yusuf Ziya started to write war poetry and in a few months completed *Akından Akına* and presented it to the Interior Ministry. He was received personally by Talat Pasha, who sent him together with an assistant to a private printing house where all the best quality materials were chosen. Ten thousand copies of the book were printed. Yusuf Ziya was not aware of how these things worked, so he sold the books for a pittance to a bookstore. A short while later, he received a letter from the War Ministry saying that the books would be bought for two hundred and twenty liras and distributed among the soldiers at the front. Upon seeing this, Yusuf Ziya bought back the books at a loss, because according to him in those days for that sum it was possible to buy a four-room house.³⁶

Rıza Tevfik [Bölükbaşı] was another witness of this method. In the introduction to his poetry book *Serab-ı Ömrüm* (Mirage of My Life), Rıza Tevfik recounts an event that happened in 1917. One day he received a letter from Cenap Şahabettin, dated 11 July 1333/1917. The day before, Cenap Şahabettin, Abdülhak Hâmit and Süleyman Nazif had been called to the War Ministry where they were told that Enver Pasha wanted them to create literary works that would encourage the soldiers. Rıza Tevfik, whose specialization was folk literature, was asked to write heroic epics. The phrase at this point of the letter is extremely interesting; with unbounded enthusiasm Cenap Şahabettin says, "For the works to be written, copious and extremely encouraging fees! [sic] have been promised."³⁷ Neither Cenap Şahabettin nor Rıza Tevfik was close to the CUP or to the Turkists. It seems that Enver Pasha was trying to entice famous literary men who had kept their distance from the party, by paying them, and thus kill many birds at one go.

At the beginning, Rıza Tevfik was not at all fond of the idea of writing made-to-order poetry, but he later concluded that his silence

could be interpreted, as he put it, as a lack of courtesy, so he went to the War Ministry. Enver Pasha not being present at that moment, he talked to a certain Hacı Muhittin Bey. Muhittin Bey told Rıza Tevfik that they would print ten thousand copies of his poems and pay two liras for each copy.³⁸ Rıza Tevfik told him that he did not have a complete collection of his poems, but Muhittin Bey insisted that he should collect them and also write new heroic poems and epics. He left the place saying that he would try.

There are a few conclusions that can be reached by looking at the campaign, initiated by Enver Pasha, to have books written by paying authors. The first is that the problems related to propaganda had by then become unbearable; not only was the war effort being sustained with great difficulty, but there were also difficulties in finding works that could be used for the ideological indoctrination of the soldiers and officers fighting the war. The second is that, although writers and poets were finding it almost impossible to make money out of their profession due to the worsening economic conditions, they could be convinced to participate in the propaganda effort only by being paid incredible fees. The third is that, as in all other fields, Enver Pasha was a determining factor in the cultural field as well. Even if we consider the attractiveness of the amounts offered, there remains the fact that even intellectuals of the opposition found it difficult to say no to Enver Pasha. Lastly, there is the fact that Turkist writers and artists, upon whom the leadership of the CUP and its cultural affairs chief Ziya Gökalp depended, were not strong enough in numbers as far as cultural output for propaganda means was concerned. That is why the need had arisen to use the services of everybody, including those that were not close to the party. This is why the *Yeni Mecmua* was founded in 1917. This magazine gathered not just the Turkists close to the CUP but also opponents like Refik Halit [Karay], and it was less political in comparison to the *Türk Yurdu* or to other Turkist periodicals, and closer to cultural Turkism.

The New Orientations: From Short-Term Propaganda to Long-Term National Culture Construction, 1917-1918

Ziya Gökalp and Social Idealism

Ziya Gökalp had acquired a negative attitude towards Yusuf Akçura, the editor-in-chief of the *Türk Yurdu*. According to Yahya Kemal, Gökalp considered Akçura “a man without ideals and a symbol of

doubt” and hated him with an unforgiving resentment for political reasons.³⁹ According to what was said at the time, immediately after his arrival in Istanbul from Salonika at the beginning of the Balkan War, Gökalp tried to make Akçura a member of the CUP, but Akçura refused the offer once he realized that he had to pass an initiation ritual consisting of taking an oath including words like ‘Ottoman’ and ‘Islam’ and to do all this while holding a Quran and a pistol. According to Akçura, these were banalities and he could not take an oath stating that he was ready to die for them. Upon this, Akçura was thrown out of the party headquarters where this ritual was being held. Gökalp, who was one of the main personalities of the party and also the proponent of Akçura’s membership, could not bring himself to forgive Akçura for having shown such a reaction.⁴⁰

On the other hand, the philosophy professor Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, who was a colleague of Gökalp at the university and the writer of one of his main biographies, thought that the estrangement between Gökalp and Akçura and the *Türk Yurdu* was of a more ideological nature. According to Erişirgil, the fact that Akçura considered the Turks of Russia superior to the Ottoman Turks and that he was against the use of Istanbul Turkish as the standard language common to all Turks, preferring to use a completely new language made up of a mixture of all Turkish dialects, met with the disapproval of Gökalp. A short while later, Gökalp reached the conclusion that Akçura and the *Türk Yurdu* were trying to resuscitate traditions of fossilized, dead Turkish civilization, which could not possibly be adapted to Ottoman Turkish traditions. Consequently, he stopped cooperating with the magazine and sending articles to it.⁴¹

Yusuf Akçura analysed the origins of this conflict in an article titled “Gökalp Ziya Bey Hakkında Hatıra ve Mülâhazalar” (Memoirs and Observations About Gökalp Ziya Bey), published in the 164th issue of *Türk Yurdu*, a special issue dedicated completely to Gökalp on the occasion of his death. According to Akçura the main factor causing their conflicts had been the fact that their minds had worked in different ways: Gökalp’s mind had been “synthetical” and “dogmatic” whereas Akçura’s had been “analytical” and “critical”.⁴²

This being a post-mortem article, Akçura tried to be moderate and respectful, but he could not hide, even though he tried not to emphasize it, his criticism of Gökalp, which derived from these different mental attitudes. Although Akçura was a nationalist, he was also an historian, a materialist and a follower of critical “science poli-

tique"; he had been influenced by Smith and Marx. On the other hand, Gökalp had been closer to the idealist philosopher Fichte, father of German nationalism, who like him gave precedence to society over the individual, stating that "there are no rights but duty; there is no individual but society". In addition to this, having been influenced by Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim, Gökalp considered "sociology", which at the time was a new field, as being of great importance, greater even than history and "science politique". He had tried to re-establish the Turkish nation-state, of which he had been in favour, according to the sociological principles of Durkheim and had expressed his ideas on this subject as if he had been giving orders.⁴³

Yusuf Akçura stated that Gökalp's way of working was suitable for philosophy and poetry and in this way emphasized something that he had implied throughout his article with his criticism, but that he had never been able to express openly: Akçura was implying that Gökalp had not been scientific in the way he worked. This point has been stressed, more or less, in all critical studies of Gökalp.⁴⁴ For example, Taha Parla has interpreted Gökalp's methodology as "positivistic idealism".⁴⁵

The approach of Gökalp's sociology, which, to use Parla's words, manifests itself as "positivistic idealism" and has an eclectic look, even though it derives from Durkheim, is a natural result of Gökalp's political activism, which started in 1913. In those years Gökalp was working for the party in his capacity of central committee member of the CUP, writing proposals to the government and other social institutions; teaching sociology at the University, which was being restructured after the Balkan War; encouraging the writing of literary works of patriotic agitation and writing them himself; and writing for various magazines and newspapers on very different subjects ranging from education to the economy and from ethics to religion.⁴⁶

While Gökalp was busy in so many different fields, his main aim was not to study sociology in accordance with scientific conventions, but to institutionalize his *ictimai mefkûrecilik* (social idealism) approach, which was based on sociology. From this point of view, Gökalp's social *mefkûre* was to be able to create a "new life", which he had started to mention as far back as when he had been writing for *Genç Kalemler*. This new life would be based on national foundations and concern every field imaginable, like the economy, the family, aesthetics, philosophy, ethics, law and politics and would be a

‘social revolution’ that would complete the political revolution of 1908. He would not be able to develop this concept during the post-Balkan War period of patriotic agitation, leaving this study to the period beginning in 1915, when there was a *de facto* abandonment of patriotic agitation efforts. In this period the publication in which most of Gökalp’s cultural output would appear and be noticed was *Yeni Mecmua*, which he himself founded in 1917.

Foundation of Yeni Mecmua

During the restructuring of the University, many young people had been included in the academic staff upon the recommendation of Ziya Gökalp, among whom was the poet Yahya Kemal. Yahya Kemal had been appointed as *müderres* (professor) of History of Western Literature on 14 October 1915 and in this way his closeness to Gökalp had increased.⁴⁷ Yahya Kemal used to spend the summer months at Büyükada and in the summer of 1916, he managed to convince Gökalp, who since his arrival in Istanbul had been working very hard, to move to Büyükada. Gökalp, who immediately appreciated the comfortable lifestyle he found there and who very probably was living in such a way for the first time in his life, was resting and meeting Yahya Kemal and other friends invited from Istanbul at the Yacht Club and having a lot of fun. Gökalp enjoyed himself so much that in the spring of 1917 he was once more on the island; however, this time around he was not just having fun, he was also trying to convince his friends to publish a new cultural magazine.

All the same, there was an important problem: They did not have enough money for the publication of the magazine, but at the same time they wanted their magazine to be independent from the government. At this point, Gökalp said that if everybody gave five liras they could easily publish this magazine. Those that were familiar with the world of printing laughed, but Gökalp insisted and everybody was convinced.⁴⁸

Gökalp did not limit this proposal only to his closest friends; he also invited all his younger colleagues at the University. For example, he told Mehmet Emin Erişirgil that faculty and sociology magazines were too specialized and that they wanted to publish a magazine which could easily be understood by everybody and that everybody contributing five liras could become a founder, and thus was he able to convince Mehmet Emin to join in.⁴⁹ Twenty days later, Mehmet Emin was extremely surprised to hear that *Yeni Mecmua*

would be directed by Küçük Talat (Talat the Junior), who was a member of the Central Committee of the CUP, and that it would be published in a specially appointed room at the *Pembe Konak* (Pink Mansion), which at the time served as headquarters to the party. According to Yahya Kemal, this reversal from an independent magazine to one almost completely tied to the party was due to economic reasons. Since, as was to be expected, the capital raised turned out to be insufficient, Talat the Junior and, indirectly, the party assumed all financial responsibility, at the same time promising not to interfere in the editorial line.⁵⁰

Ziya Gökalp's detachment from economic matters is a well-known fact. Thus, in the highly inflationary environment of 1917, when there was also a shortage of paper, he may have not been able to think that it was impossible to publish a magazine with such a small amount of capital. All the same, one gets the idea that he used this as a ruse to attract those who were not very close to the party. That was why it would have been nice, from the point of view of the CUP government, the support of which was eroding, to gather under the umbrella of a single magazine, not just the Unionist intellectuals, but also those that were not too close to the CUP.⁵¹ One could say that this magazine would be founded on some kind of Turkist consensus and that Gökalp would thus have a medium with which to publicize his opinions concerning cultural affairs.

Yeni Mecmua started being published on 12 July 1917 as a weekly. The 66th and final issue was published a few days before the Mudros Armistice, on 26 October 1918.⁵² Since it was being published with the support of the CUP, it could be considered a very privileged magazine. Relatively high quality paper was used in its central pages, which contained photographs illustrating the articles on history and art history. This was a great privilege in a period when even normal paper was fairly scarce. The fact that the magazine was supported by the government gave rise both then and in later years to rumours that great sums were being paid to its writers.⁵³

A defining characteristic of *Yeni Mecmua* was that it gathered among its writers names of the opposition, even if in a limited quantity. For example, the novel *Mev'ud Hüküm* (Predestined Judgement) by Halide Edip, who, having had problems with party headquarters during 1915-1916, was compelled to find refuge in Syria with Cemal Pasha, was being published in this magazine in installments. Yet the most important opposition name to write in this magazine was Refik

Halit [Karay]. When *Yeni Mecmua* was first published, Refik Halit had been in internal exile since 1913 as a result of the purges undertaken following the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha. The general reason for this was his oppositional stance vis-à-vis the party, but the more specific reason therefore was a teasing critique of his directed at Talat Pasha.⁵⁴ It had been very difficult to convince Talat Pasha to let two of his short stories, “Boz Eşek” (Gray Donkey) and “Küs Ömer” (Ömer the Sullen), be published at the beginning of 1918 in the *Türk Yurdu*, and this only on condition that they should appear signed with his initials alone. In those same days Refik Halit had asked the government for temporary leave to return to Istanbul, and this had been possible only because Talat Pasha had gone to Russia for the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations and Cemal Pasha, who was looking after Talat’s duties, had granted the requested permission.

Notwithstanding his difficult political position, the short stories of Refik Halit, written in simple Turkish and concerning the common folk of Anatolia, which he later published in his book *Memleket Hikâyeleri* (Homeland Stories), attracted the attention of Ziya Gökalp and of Ömer Seyfettin. They had discussed the subject among themselves and had reached the conclusion that Refik Halit had better Turkish than any other writer at the time. Thus they had decided to use his work in the *Yeni Mecmua*. Ömer Seyfettin had requested stories from him when he was still in exile and once he was in Istanbul on temporary leave, Ziya Gökalp prevented him from being deported again.⁵⁵ In this way, Refik Halit became part of the staff of writers of *Yeni Mecmua* and a short while later began to write the column on the first page of the magazine, titled *Hafta Musahabesi* (Weekly Conversation). Thus Refik Halit, via Gökalp and *Yeni Mecmua*, became a protégé of the CUP’s Central Committee, of which he was one of the main opponents.

During his time at *Yeni Mecmua* Gökalp acted like a protector for all writers he considered to be good writers, independently of whether they were oppositional or not. This change in Gökalp, who in 1911-1915 was a fanatical member of the CUP and felt something akin to hatred for non-members, was parallel to a similar change in the attitudes of the CUP in the years 1917-1918. It would not be wrong to assume that Gökalp had been influenced by this change or that he had influenced it. As war began to influence society, increasingly and negatively, Gökalp, who even though in a normative way was trying to create a sociological field concerning this society, inevitably

moved away from Turanism and Islamism and towards a more realistic approach aiming to develop the social conditions of the society he found himself in. Even though he favoured the idea of conquests in the Caucasus, which had originated particularly from Enver Pasha and had gained fresh impetus together with the Russian Revolution, by this time he was more concentrated on the need to develop society within the existing borders. This being the case, one of his main aims was to guide intellectuals towards certain common and visible ends, independently of their political affiliation. *Yeni Mecmua* was the basis of this and the gathering within it of oppositional names can be evaluated in this context.

Yeni Mecmua aimed to develop and spread the movements of ‘solidarism’, ‘populism’ and ‘Turkism’ originating from the sociology of Gökâlp, within the cultural structure.⁵⁶ In this magazine persons like Halim Sâbit, Necmeddin Sadık [Sadak], Mehmet Emin [Erişirgil], Tekin Alp, Ahmet Emin [Yalman], M. Zekeriya [Sertel] and M. Fuad [Köprülü] wrote about sociology, ethics, the economy, pedagogical matters, philosophy and the history of literature, and tried to analyse and to develop Gökâlp’s concepts from different points of view.

The Gallipoli Special Issue

In 1918, one year after the introduction of *Yeni Mecmua*, a “Çanakkale Nüsha-yı Fevkalâdesi” (Gallipoli Extraordinary Issue) of this magazine appeared. It contained about seventy works consisting of poems, history, memoirs, short stories, poetic prose and interviews.⁵⁷ There is no indication of the exact date of publishing of the special issue, neither on its cover nor inside it. Nevertheless, one can estimate a date from a few indications. First of all, some of the writers put the date of the completion of their works at the end of them. Most of these dates are in February. Some, however, are attributed a later date. The latest of these is Hüseyin Rahmi [Gürpınar]’s poem titled “Ali’nin Şehadeti (Veda Ederken)” (Ali’s Martyrdom [Farewell]).⁵⁸ At the end of the poem is the date 11 April 1918. The special issue might not have been published before May 1918.

The special issue includes eighteen poems and ten short stories. These literary works were written with nationalist and patriotic sentiment and also reflect the variety and contrasts present in 1918 in Ottoman-Turkish literature. While some are written in a more literary Ottoman language, others are written in a more simple lan-

guage; some of the poems are written with classical Arabic-Persian metres while others are written in syllabic metres; some poems and stories have traces of Turkish nationalism and Turanism while others still attach importance to the idea of an Ottoman identity.

Another characteristic which makes this an interesting issue is that it has articles on a wide variety of subjects related to the Gallipoli defence. There are extensive features describing the Gallipoli battle, with references to the ancient history and geography of the place. Ruşen Eşref's unique interviews with Gallipoli combatants is one important example of such a feature included in this issue. Ruşen Eşref interviewed six combatants ranging from a private to officers of various ranks; the sixth of these was Mustafa Kemal.⁵⁹ The issue also included short stories, poems and letters from soldiers, which later appeared in the book *Ordunun Defteri* (The Army's Notebook) by Ali Ekrem Bolayır, published in 1920.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the element that makes this issue especially significant is a series of articles analysing the meaning of the Gallipoli defence.

The reason for publishing this special issue was explained in few but incisive words by the editor-in-chief, Mehmet Talat, in the introduction titled "Birkaç Söz" (A Few Words). Talat begins by talking about war literature. The philosophers, poets and artists of belligerent nations produce "epics of heroism and abnegation". According to Talat, the reason for this literature was to increase the emotivity and enthusiasm necessary for the continuation of the war effort, because the way the war had unfolded made this vital; he gave the situation of France as an example of this. France's will to go on fighting, notwithstanding its lack of success, was made possible by this kind of literature. At this point, Talat comes back to the situation in the Ottoman Empire and gives as examples the Galicia and Dobrudja fronts, concluding that war literature was lacking in his country. In particular, the defence at Gallipoli had not been mentioned in literary works as much as it deserved, even though it was much more important, for example, than the Battle of Marne.

According to Talat, the superior importance of the Gallipoli defence derives from the following points: "Gallipoli has broken the evil and aggression, the wrath and hatred of the Tsar and of Muscovy; it has become the bearer of the joyful news of the eternal salvation of the Orient. It has given the golden crown of liberty and independence to the noble and pure sons of the sky and of the sun."⁶¹ From this excerpt we understand that both this introduction and the spe-

cial issue itself are related also to the Russian Revolution and consequent retreat of Russia and entry of Ottoman armies into the Caucasus. According to Turkish sources, the Gallipoli Battles were among the main causes of this revolution. "The noble and pure sons of the sky and of the sun, who have obtained liberty and independence" are all the Turks finally free from the Russian yoke.

İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] also stresses the importance and lack of war literature in an article titled "Çanakkale Müdafaası Nedir?" (What Was the Gallipoli Defence?). This article aims to describe the importance of Gallipoli in more detail than Talat's introduction. According to İsmail Hakkı, Gallipoli was a great victory, because it ensured the survival of the nation; it saved Istanbul; it had been possible thanks to the effort of youth, both educated and uneducated; it had been the resistance "of raw strength against science"; it was the success of the Turks' persistence against that of their enemies'; it raised the spirits of the nation, erasing the blot of the Balkan War, and made possible many legal and economic reforms, thanks to the pride it aroused. After this list, İsmail Hakkı concludes his article by saying:

The Gallipoli defence has ended in victory, but only the duty of the soldiers and of their commanders has ended. Ours has not ended; it has not even started. Everybody should know that those that spilt their blood into the Mediterranean cemetery have not died just to die. They have died for this history, this history of honour and virtue. We have a blood debt towards them, which we must pay... Let poets write epics, painters paint, sculptors sculpt, writers write stories and survivors pray for the martyrs' souls.⁶²

In these two cases the styles differ, but both İsmail Hakkı and Talat the Junior stress the need for a *representation* or rather a *commemoration* of the victory. There is a need for artists to increase the significance of the events by representing them with their art and thus ensuring that they are remembered forever.

Another attempt to evaluate the situation can be found in an article titled "Çanakkale Hamaseti ve Medeniyet" (The Gallipoli Heroism and Civilization) by the *Darülfünun Tarih-i Felsefe Muallimi* (Professor of the History of Philosophy) Mehmet Emin [Erişirgil].⁶³ This article by Mehmed Emin is important because he was one of those

nationalist academics introduced by Gökâlp and later transferred to republican institutions. The intellectual attitudes of this group were influenced by Gökâlp's sociology. Thus also Mehmed Emin, at the beginning of his article, explains the Gallipoli success on the basis of Gökâlp's *mefkûre* concept. This success, which had been possible because the soldiers also had this *mefkûre*, was not just a national success but an international one as well. According to Mehmet Emin, Gallipoli was a contribution made by Turks to civilization as a whole. Very probably his starting point was the Russian Revolution.

Necmeddin Sadık [Sadak], who was another follower of Gökâlp, stressed a similar point in his article titled "Çanakkale'nin Terbiye Kuvveti" (The Educational Effect of Gallipoli). N. Sadık's approach to the subject is based totally on *national imagination*. He begins his article by stating the importance of great heroes and of epics of heroism and as a first step analyses the *mefkûre* concept of Gökâlp. Great heroes appear at moments of crisis and establish examples that guide the whole nation towards the *mefkûres*. From this point of view, the Gallipoli Battle had concrete effects in that a powerful enemy had been vanquished, the regime of the Tsar had been destroyed and Istanbul had been saved. N. Sadık goes on by saying that Gallipoli had erased the demoralization and lack of confidence created by the Balkan War and refers to the *millî seciye* (national character), which is another concept of Gökâlp's, saying that this had been demonstrated in the best way in the heroism at Gallipoli. That is why 18 March was a "great festivity of *mefkûre*" and also the greatest present given by the generation that fought to subsequent generations.⁶⁴

It is possible to find points, common to all of the articles in the special issue, which aim to explain the meaning and importance of Gallipoli. Almost all of the writers are proud to underline the material and concrete successes deriving from Gallipoli, but they insist that the moral effects are much more important. The main basis of this insistence is the national sociology of Ziya Gökâlp and in particular his concept of *mefkûre*.

Ambiguous 1918: Limiting National Culture to Anatolia or Including Turan

By 1917, Ziya Gökâlp had *de facto* forgotten his Turan dream and concentrated his efforts on the development of the national culture of the society in which he was living, as required by his normative sociology. The normative approach of Gökâlp brought him to con-

tinuously create definitive classifications of a variety of subjects and in his writings, while on the one hand he was creating definitions for new concepts, on the other he was redefining and enriching concepts that he had already described. This approach was developing within an *alterist* discourse related to nationalism. Gökalp's concepts appeared as binary oppositions, among the elements of which he chose one: culture-civilization, traditions-mores, social conscience-individual conscience, *mefkûre* (ideal)-*mevhum* (fiction). The first concepts of these binary oppositions were ours and had to be preserved and developed, while the second concepts were not completely ours and had to be approached with caution. The second concepts were not completely refuted, but the first concepts were preferred or at least their importance was stressed.⁶⁵

In accordance with this approach, Turanism, popular in 1912-1913, had almost completely disappeared from Gökalp's thought system. In any case, until the 1917 February Revolution, all events on the Eastern (Russian) front were so bad that any Turan dream had become completely unrealistic; the Russians had invaded almost the whole of Eastern Anatolia. The news was bad on the other fronts as well. In addition to this, as was the case in the rest of the world, the fact that the war continued yet and seemed as if it would never end, was depressing. Also, because of this, Gökalp considered national sociology as an art or a normative science that would bridge the gap between the population and the elites and that would ensure unity. In Gökalp's sociology the real representatives of the nation are the geniuses, the heroes and the sages, who best of all understand and reflect public opinion and common sense. All the common usages of a population are visible in such favourite individuals but become especially clear in times of crisis when they constitute the *milli enmüzeç* (national type). In periods of tranquillity individuality took precedence, but in periods of crisis national life was in the forefront. In this respect, Gallipoli was such a crisis, with the *milli enmüzeç* becoming visible and national characteristics expressing themselves by means of heroes.

Gökalp and his colleagues at *Yeni Mecmua* searched for a national sociology that would define the *milli enmüzeç* that had appeared at Gallipoli and would develop a national life by separating common sense and the common traditions forming Turkish culture from fossilized traditions (*mensuhas*) and from survival traditions (*pes-zindes*).⁶⁶ The evaluations in the *Nüsha-ı Fevkalâde* were related to this proj-

ect. In their articles published in this special issue, the *Yeni Mecmua* writers repeatedly requested that the heroism and abnegation seen at Gallipoli be commemorated and represented as it deserved, and they furthermore tried to guide intellectuals towards this aim. What is noteworthy is that by this time, they were doing this not just for simple propaganda as had been the case in the beginning of the war when all that was required was to maintain the support for the war effort both on the battlefield and the home front, because the primary goal at this point was not just to support the war but to speed up the formation of a national culture by using the opportunities provided by the war.

Support for the war effort was no longer the fundamental aim of the cultural nationalists who had gathered around Gökalp, but it was still an important aim. This is very normal if it is considered that those that were financing Gökalp and *Yeni Mecmua* were the CUP authorities that were also responsible for the running of the war. Thus the long-term effects of *Yeni Mecmua* and of its Gallipoli special issue went beyond the war and served the process of formation of a national culture; nevertheless, the political circumstances of 1918 made it necessary for the starting point to be the support of the war effort. In 1918, when the special issue was published, Gallipoli had gained extra significance because of its medium-term effects, which by then had become manifest, i.e. the 1917 revolution that ended the regime of the Tsar and the consequent independence of the Turks living in Russia. In brief, the Gallipoli special issue contributed at the same time both to the process of formation of a national culture and also to the operations in the Caucasus.

The events of 1918 leading to the Mudros Armistice created an ambiguity in both the political and the cultural spheres. For the Ottoman armies the year 1917 had been a year of small losses on all fronts, but even more so it had been a year of stalemate. 1918 was going to be very different from 1917; the increasingly strong British pressure on the south would mean a gradual retreat into southern Anatolia, while the *de facto* demobilization of the Russian forces on the eastern front after the October revolution would bring about advances that reached the Caspian Sea, Baku, and Dagestan. While the Ottoman army was being roundly, even if slowly, defeated on one front, it was making incredible advances on another front. For Enver Pasha, who had had to forsake his Turan dreams after Sarıkamış, these advances in the Caucasus meant a revival of these

dreams, to a degree that even he had not thought possible. As a consequence he would prepare plans whereby his brother Nuri and his uncle Halil Pasha would create a Turkish-Islamic state covering these areas.⁶⁷

The developments in the Caucasus were being reported in newspapers and thus raising the spirits of the population.⁶⁸ All the same, the advances in the Caucasus were not very easy nor completely problem-free. The local and foreign actors present in that region were entering and leaving alliances and participating in conflicts with a pattern that changed according to the circumstances of the day. It was clear that not all the places being occupied by Ottoman forces could become direct dependencies of the Empire; apart from the fact that ally Germany and enemy Britain would not accept it, there was also the fact that the Azeris wanted to create their own nation-state and enter into a relationship with the Ottoman Empire from a position of independence. The new government of Azerbaijan declared its independence on 28 May and on 4 June 1918 signed a cooperation treaty with the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁹ This treaty had two important characteristics: The Azeris requested military aid and teachers for the public education system from the Ottoman government. This would give rise to a heated cultural debate at the end of June in Istanbul.

***Halide Edip's Anatolianist Revolt:
"Let Us Take Care of Our Own Home"***

The debate began when Halide Edip published an article titled, "Evimize Bakalım: Türkçülüğün Faaliyet Sahası," (Let Us Take Care of Our Own Home: The Operation Field of Turkism) in *Vakit* newspaper, dated 30 June 1918. Halide Edip was against the sending of teachers, of whom there were insufficient numbers in any case, to Azerbaijan at a moment when Anatolia was in such dire straits:

The forces of Pan-Turkism seek to induce us to interest ourselves in welfare of all Mohammedan Turks, and of Turanians as well. Our young men now engaged in war are coming more and more to the conclusion that ideals do not mean anything in themselves, that they have a right to existence only as instruments to save this country. Many of its children today have the conviction that the only attractive fields of activity for them lie in their own home country, ruined and gutted as a consequence

of many wars ... A mere handful of our young men can be saved from the firebrand of war. The country can be saved only if these young men remain here and decide to work uninterruptedly ... To work in those lands outside might be very attractive, but it would be work done for an unrealizable utopia. Races are mere theories, nations are realities ... We can give the most help to our brothers beyond our borders by concerning ourselves solely with our own home country.⁷⁰

With this article, the debate to establish whether Turkish nationalism would be limited to Anatolia or if it would consist of a Turanism covering all areas where Turks lived reappeared for the last time during the First World War, but in a very intense way. The complicated political situation in the Caucasus made it impossible for people to embrace an exaggeratedly optimistic Turanism as had been the case at the beginning of the war; it was clear that the places into which the Ottoman army had entered could not have been easily integrated into the Empire. All the same, the majority of the Turkists, with Gökaltıp at their forefront, had begun to believe that a new state including all Turks could be formed, even if this process would be phased and slow. The successes of the army and the Tartar and Azeri delegations visiting Istanbul on different occasions excited many people. Halide Edip and her few supporters like Ahmet Emin, who published her articles in his newspaper, were seen as ruining the happiness of the Turkist public opinion. The strong attacks directed against Halide Edip were a sign of this state of mind.

There was a backdrop to Halide Edip's article; she had written this article as a consequence of a conflict that had arisen during the congress of the *Türk Ocakı*, which was being held at that time. The *Ocak* had not been able to hold its yearly congress since 1913, because of the war and because most of its members were at the front. After a five-year hiatus, the congress was held on 15 June 1918, to discuss the accumulated problems, to change its regulation and to elect a new board of administration. As if to make up for this five-year interval, the congress had four consecutive weekly meetings. During its first meeting on 15 June, the *Ocak* chairman, Hamdullah Suphi, summarized in detail the previous years and submitted a report stressing how the association had developed.⁷¹

After the reading of the report, a commission was chosen to make amendments to the regulation. The main members of this commis-

sion were Halide Edip, Ahmet Ferit and Ziya Gökalp. The commission met three times before the second session of the congress held on 28 June and fixed all the changes that were to be made. During the 28 June session, the commission's proposal for the second article of the regulation met with stiff resistance. The commission's proposal was: "The *Ocak*'s aim is to work for the cultural unity and civil development of Turks. The *Ocak*'s field of operations is especially Turkey."⁷² With Hamdullah Suphi at their forefront, many people vehemently objected to the statement "especially Turkey". They accepted the fact that Anatolia was the place most in need of assistance, but at the same time they thought that such a statement would needlessly alienate the Turks living in other countries.

Nüzhet Sabit, representing the commission, defended its choice, pointing out two factors: First of all, Anatolia was really the region most in need of help, and secondly, the *Türk Ocağı* could not possibly hope to help both Anatolia and the Turks living outside Turkey. From Nüzhet Sabit's explanation one can see that Ziya Gökalp and Halide Edip had cooperated on the formulation of this article. Gökalp was trying to prevent the *Ocak* from attempting to undertake tasks that were above and beyond its capabilities, while Halide Edip thought that Anatolia should be given precedence. All the same, the delegates to the congress agreed with Hamdullah Suphi and did not approve this proposal. Despite Halide Edip's efforts, the limitation proposed by the commission did not pass and the field of operations of the *Ocak* was defined as "all Turkish provinces beginning from the centre", with the centre being comprised of Istanbul and Anatolia. In this way, the Turanist approach was not abandoned.⁷³

Upon this defeat, during the second session of the congress held on 28 June, Halide Edip wrote the article and carried this debate to the public sphere. In response, many views opposing Halide Edip's view started being published in newspapers. One of the first of these came from Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, who was one of Gökalp's followers. In an article titled "*Türkçülüğün Gayeleri*" (Aims of Turkism), published in *Vakit* 16 July 1918, Köprülü stated: "I also reject Pan-Turanism; it has no practical value."⁷⁴ I have a feeling of solidarity only for those who share both my language and my religion. But this great group must be united ... We should not adhere to the maxim of 'sacred selfishness.' Our maxim is 'One for all, and all for one.' ... The great Turkish world of the future cannot be built in any other manner."⁷⁵

There were also harsher responses to Halide Edip. However, the article concluding the debate was written by Ziya Gökalp. Gökalp had tolerated Halide Edip's ideas throughout the *Türk Ocağı* congress, because he felt that it would be useful to somehow limit the scope of activities of this association, but once the position began to be debated in public, he wrote an article that sounded like a manifesto of the opinion of the CUP government on this subject, or rather of the approach upon which this opinion was based.⁷⁶ In this article, titled "Türkçülük ve Türkiyecilik" (Turkism and Turkeyism), which appeared on the 51st issue of *Yeni Mecmua* on 4 July 1918, Gökalp responded to Halide Edip's article and at the same time expressed very clearly what his conception of Turkish nationalism was.

Gökalp begins his article by pointing out that there is a great difference between the concepts of *Türk* (Turk) and *Türkiyeli* (native of Turkey): In the same way that not all natives of Turkey are Turks, not all Turks are natives of Turkey. Most are, but this does not make these two concepts correspond to each other completely, nor does it make of them synonyms. Gökalp states that Turkey is the name of the state, while Turk is the name of the nation and that while being a native of Turkey is a matter of citizenship, being a Turk is a question of nationality. Using this as a starting point he gives many examples and claims that although the concepts of Turkism and Turkeyism have many points in common, their contents are completely different.

When stating this distinction, Gökalp uses as a basis a certain historical model: the Germanism vs. Prussianism of pre-German unification times. Before its unification, instead of Germany there was a powerful Prussia and much smaller German states. According to Gökalp, the Turkish world of 1918 was slowly beginning to resemble Germany's condition in pre-unification times. Gökalp compares Turkey to Prussia and the smaller Turkish states that were in the process of being formed to the German statelets of pre-unification days. The second part of the comparison is between Turkeyism and Prussianism, and Turkism and Germanism. Prussia was a state, but Prussians did not make up a nation, while the total of German states did make up the German nation. The birth of a Germanist ideal, beginning with the philosopher Leibniz, had prevented the birth of Prussian, Bavarian or Saxonian ideals. On the other hand, the existence of a Germanist ideal did not prevent Prussian intellectu-

als from developing a Prussian state. Quite the opposite, Prussia owed its strength to precisely that same Germanist ideal.

According to Gökalp, Turkeyism was something not to be neglected, and this was not Turkish nationalism but patriotism regarding the state of Turkey. Gökalp thought that precursors of patriotism in relation to Turkey, like Namık Kemal or Tevfik Fikret, were not real Turkists. This was clear from the fact that the term with which Europeans described Namık Kemal's generation was "*Jeune Turc*", which means "Young natives of Turkey" and at the time was translated into Turkish as "Young Ottomans". According to Gökalp, the Young Turks were Turkeyists, while Turkists were concerned not just with Turkey, but also with Turks not living in Turkey. Turkists who followed this reasoning also made a distinction between the concepts of *devlet* (state), *ümmet* (religious community) and *millet* (nation). According to Gökalp, "the state is the total of people with a common citizenship, the community that of people with a common religion, and the nation that of people with a common culture". Based on this distinction, Gökalp states that the concept of nation does not correspond to the concepts of state, religious community or race. Since the Turkish nation was a "community with a common culture" and since the most important signs of a culture were the language and the religion, it could be said that it was made up of Turkish speaking Muslims.

For Gökalp, the definition of nation on the basis of Turkism would include all Turkish speaking Muslims, from Anatolia and beyond, including all Azeris, Crimeans, Kazan Turks, Turkmens, Uzbeks, Kirghiz and so on. Nevertheless, being far away from each other, all these various "Turkish branches" had by then developed different literary languages and literatures. Turkism aimed to have the popular Turkish spoken in Istanbul, and its related literature, accepted by all Turkish branches. This was the aim of the first phase of Turkism, i.e. *harsî Türkçülük* (cultural Turkism). Gökalp adds that German unification also started with cultural union. After this, Friedrich List's efforts for a *Zollverein* (customs union) brought about "economic union", and finally, Bismarck's efforts created "political union" and thus Germany as we know it today. In the future there would be such an economic and political union among Turks, but for this to happen it was necessary to establish first of all a "cultural union".

In this context, no Turkist of Turkey wanted to annex Azerbaijan, Crimea or any other Turkish land to Turkey. The only wish of the

Turkists was for these countries to gain their complete independence. Not being strong enough to accomplish this aim by themselves, they needed the help of Turkey. At this point, Gökalg says something very interesting: Since there were many dangers threatening the independence of Turkish states, the greatest help one could give them was not to send them engineers, teachers or doctors, but volunteer soldiers that would help them keep their liberty and independence.⁷⁷ Gökalg ends his article on a *real politik* note by stating that "if we are not able to take a high level of civilization to our brothers, we could at least send them the military organization that managed to defend Gallipoli". Providing such help to foreign Turks would not be without its advantages, since victory for those nations would mean that Turkey would get rid of such bad neighbours as Russia and get better and friendlier ones such as Azerbaijan. The last sentence of the article is an exact response to Halide Edip: "To find the time to care for our houses, we have to have brotherly Turkish homes around us."

With this conclusion, Gökalg has given the final response to Halide Edip within the context of the political circumstances of the time. This was a matter of national security, since the Ottoman Empire needed to be surrounded by friendlier and weaker neighbours. Yet Gökalg just briefly mentions this realistic point of view and only at the end of his article, preferring instead to stress cultural unification. Such unification would start, first of all, with the creation of a common popular language and literature and then naturally evolve until it culminated in economic and political unification. For such a gradual unification to start it was necessary first of all for small Turkish states to gain their independence with Ottoman military help.

When the situation is presented in these terms, everything looks very easy; however, Gökalg reaches these simple conclusions by, consciously or not, overlooking many complicated, paradoxical and conflicting circumstances. The first problem arises from the fact that Gökalg takes German unification as the sole model on which to build a strategy for Turkish unification. This approach reduces a complex historical process to an unrealistically easy recipe and perceives the process without taking into consideration its context, as if it were a formula to be repeated whenever needed. Even if for a moment it is assumed that German unification is something that can be repeated in another context, the application field chosen by Gökalg, i.e.

the Turkish world, is much more complex than he makes it to be. The acceptance of Istanbul Turkish and related literature throughout the Turkish 'branches', which Gökâlp considers as a given fact, was in reality a fiction. This matter had been debated among Azeris and Crimean Turks and been rejected by most of them. Thus, in 1918 the cultural unification mentioned by Gökâlp was far from being realized.

In any case, the way events unfolded was not as Gökâlp had imagined they would. A few months after this article appeared in *Yeni Mecmua*, the war ended very badly for the Ottomans and its allies, and Turkish forces had to evacuate the Caucasus. During the War of Independence, Mustafa Kemal, who according to Gökâlp's classification was a real 'Turkeyist', supported the Red Army's entry into Baku in order to obtain military and financial assistance from the Russian Bolsheviks, thus contributing to the elimination of an independent Azeri state.⁷⁸

All the same, just before these events, during the summer of 1918, Turanism managed to gain once more the upper hand over the Anatolian approach, even if for only a short period. With Gökâlp's article, the debate ended, but this did not mean that the Anatolianists had been convinced and that they had adopted the Turanists' point of view. What had happened was a kind of truce between the two groups, which continued to maintain their respective positions.

Impact of Turanism on the post-1918 Period

Towards the end of the war and immediately after the armistice, while on the one hand 'Turkeyist' efforts increased in number and strength, on the other a nationalist imagination based on Turan survived.⁷⁹ After the armistice, Ziya Gökâlp was arrested by the British and sent into exile to Malta. After his return, he wrote in 1923 *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, in which he limits his conception of a Turkish union but does not abandon it completely. In the "Türkçülük ve Turancılık" (Turkism and Turanism) chapter of this book he expresses less ambitious views than those expressed in his article "Türkçülük ve Türkiyecilik" (Turkism and Turkeyism), which appeared in *Yeni Mecmua*. By this time, Gökâlp had dropped the Arabic-based word for culture *hars* in favour of the French-based *kültür* and while he had established language and religion as being the two elements of *hars*, in this article he does not mention religion: "*Türk* is the name

of a nation, and a nation can be defined as a group which possesses a culture peculiar to itself. Therefore, a Turk can have only one language, only a single culture."⁸⁰

By this time, Gökâlp has reached the conclusion that a Turkish union in the short-term could happen only among the closer Oghuz Turks, which were made up of the Turks of Azerbaijan, Iran, Harezm and Turkey. This was the *yakın mefkûre* (the immediate ideal). According to Gökâlp, a political union among these groups was not immediately possible. For this reason, for the time being it would be better to concentrate on a cultural union. He describes the *uzak mefkûre* (the long-range ideal) as the union of all Turks living to the east of Anatolia. He accepts the fact that with the present circumstances the only feasible option is Turkeyism, but thinks all the same that ideals are important for the building of the future: "The prospect of uniting one hundred million Turks in a single nation is a source of great rapture for Turks. Turkism would not have spread so rapidly if the ideal had not existed. But, who knows? Perhaps it will be possible in the future to make the ideal a reality, for an ideal is the creator of the future. A national state which was only a spectral ideal for the Turks yesterday, has become the reality of Turkey."⁸¹

Considering the wide-ranging scope and variety of his output, it is difficult to interpret or criticize Gökâlp as a whole, because to do so would mean omitting certain points. That is why it is difficult to summarize the above-mentioned chapter, let alone all of *Türkçülüğün Esasları*. All the same, when the principles concerning Turkism-Turkeyism-Turanism stated in *Türkçülüğün Esasları* are taken into consideration, it is easy to see why, even though bits and pieces of his thought have been appropriated, Gökâlp has not been influential in post-1923 republican Turkey and why cultural Turkism, which is the most significant aspect of his thought, has been left outside official canon. The idealism of Gökâlp gives precedence to an optimism that is not based on material circumstances; his interpretation of crises that he observes to exist in social psychology, overlooks history and tries to indoctrinate society solely via his wishes, as if these were a repeatable formula. Even if it cannot be said that Gökâlp's approach is ahistorical, it certainly can be described as 'wishful thinking' historicism.

Gökâlp and the Turanist Turkish nationalism aiming for the union of all Turks were not fully accepted during the republican period. In particular the cultural and philosophical environment of the 1930s

was at pains to strongly emphasize its differences with the pre-1918 cultural environment. In this context, the pre-1923 Turkish nationalism was accused of being Ottoman and the Turkists of the republic were very sensitive on the subject of their differences with the late Ottoman Turkists. Since this sensitivity concerns pre-1918 times, it extends also to the First World War, which saw the end of the empire. During the republic, which was the successor of the empire, the First World War was interpreted as an imperial war and while its theoretical or practical contributions on economics, culture, literature and society were neglected, the difficulties the Turkish community, upon which the nation-state of the Turkish Republic was based, had to endure because of that war, were emphasized in subsequent accounts of it.

Let us put aside for the moment this interpretation and look at the period itself. If we take the 1918 Mudros Armistice as an axis, Turkish culture in that period was very different from what it had been in 1914. The economic deficits and difficulties of the war years not only made the revitalization and enrichment of the cultural world impossible, but they impoverished it in terms of both the quality and the quantity of cultural output as well. All the same, by 1918 the cultural sphere had a much more national character in comparison to the pre-1914 period. Ziya Gökalp and his close followers had tried to describe this field on a theoretical level and had begun the process of forming a national culture, which was to go on after 1918.

THE WAR AND POETRY

In Turkish literature classes held in Turkish institutions of secondary schooling, pre-republican period Turkish poetry is studied within the context of a process of gradual abandonment of classical *divan* poetry and adoption of Western models, in parallel to a general process of sociopolitical modernization. With a dubious heuristics approach, this process of Westernization in poetry is always described as having been accompanied by a debate assumed to have gone on uninterruptedly from the *Tanzimat* to the Republic on the question: 'Should art be for art's sake or for society's sake?' There is almost no student of Turkish high schools who has not written an essay or participated in a debate on this subject.

Even though this is a caricaturization of reality, it is nonetheless true that nineteenth century Ottoman literature, which beginning from the *Tanzimat* came under the influence of Western literatures, especially French or otherwise in a French vein, was full of groups or movements that were actively participating in this debate to varying degrees. Nevertheless, what is important here is that the movements or individuals who were for or against one of these attitudes regarding art, whatever the context of their participation in this debate, were participating in the sphere of 'cultural politics' and thus in the field of sociopolitics. Whichever section or period of the nineteenth century of Turkish literature is studied, it is evident that even those writers with an individualistic conception of art were not able to lock themselves away in an 'ivory tower' but rather found themselves in the centre of a discursive struggle.

The second constitutional period between 1908 and 1918 saw an increase in these interactions. Consequently, when the readers of those days read new literary works, they knew that what they were reading was something more than literature. Writers intervened in

the public sphere with their personalities, their political and ideological positions, their views on literature and their choices regarding form and content. That is why many works, which today appear insignificant, could in those days attract so much attention.

One important example concerning the influence of writers on the public sphere and the importance of it is a book titled *Diyorlar Ki* (They Say That...) by Ruşen Eşref [Ünaydın].¹ The book consists of literary interviews by Ruşen Eşref, conducted in 1917 and published at the end of 1917 and during the first months of 1918 in *Türk Yurdu* and *Vakit*. In these interviews, published in book form towards the end of the war, Ruşen Eşref asked questions regarding the literary environment of those days to eighteen writers of different opinions and members of different movements, adding his own comments to them. The starting point of Ruşen Eşref was literary: he asked the interviewees questions concerning, in this order, *divan* literature, the renewal begun with the *Tanzimat*, the *Edebiyat-ı Cedide*, the *Fecr-i Atı* (The Dawn of the Future) movement born immediately after the 1908 Revolution, the National Literature that gained strength beginning from 1910, and their expectations concerning the future of literature.

Although they may appear to be rather ordinary topics to today's readers, when they were first published in the newspaper these interviews aroused great interest among the readers of the time, notwithstanding widespread economic difficulties and war fatigue. This interest may be due to three factors: First, among the interviewees were the main members of every literary movement from the *Tanzimat* to the present. Second, due to the political situation, the conflict between the members of the National Literature movement who were considered to be representatives of the government and the other writers was politically gripping. And last and most important of all, in those days when wartime censorship was slowly being lifted, the literary comments of celebrities, which referred to society in general and politics, were helpful in the formation of public opinion.

When the interviews by Ruşen Eşref were published at the end of the war in book form, their importance increased even more. The first sign of this increased importance was a highly critical review written by Ömer Seyfettin, one of the interviewees, immediately after the publication of the book.² Ömer Seyfettin started by pointing out the lack of a table of contents, the lack of a classification in sections according to the literary movements, and the absence of people he saw as deserving a place in the book.³ Thus, what looked like a sim-

ple article listing a few deficiencies could be seen for what it truly was: *Diğerler Ki* was not a simple book full of innocuous interviews, it was a very important step in the canon-formation process of Ottoman-Turkish literature; writers with different literary and political positions were describing their literary traditions, the present time, and their predictions of the future in their own words. The fact that this book gave equal space and importance to various views was unacceptable for a writer like Ömer Seyfettin, who was part of a well-defined movement that could be seen as representing political power.⁴

Therefore, the literary output and in particular the poems of this period, the meanings of which reflect their context in a much less explicit way in comparison to prose texts, should be evaluated by taking the historical context into consideration. If we try to evaluate them on the basis of universal values or, even worse, on the basis of today's values, we will be reproducing a fallacy common to Turkish literary criticism. According to this presentist and ahistorical fallacy, the literary work of this period, with only a few exceptions, was made up of awkward and tasteless or, in the best of cases, outdated imitations of Western literature and was essentially a backward literature. This approach is very harmful, especially as far as poems are concerned, since poetry was the most prestigious literary field in Ottoman society between 1910 and 1918. Consequently, one of the most important and characteristic mirrors of the process of national identity construction during the war years was poetry and its evolution during this period; we have to attribute to poetry as much importance as we attribute to fiction or to essays. The importance of this necessity becomes clearer when it is taken into consideration that literary textbooks, which are the principal instrument by which national literature tries to establish its canons, include many more poems than other genres because of their relative brevity.

There is one more point about the historical importance of poetry: The First World War was a period when Turkish poetry was at its most polyphonic, with the greatest number of debates raging around it and full of the search for novelties. It is as if the turbulence and tenseness of society were reflected in poetry.

Ziya Gökalp: A Poetaster Leading National Literature

Yahya Kemal, in his *Siyâsî ve Edebî Portreler*, compared the poetry of Tevfik Fikret and Ziya Gökalp, both of whom he knew very well.

According to Yahya Kemal, Tevfik Fikret is part of Turkish poetry, while Ziya Gökalp is outside it. Fikret saw the direction towards which poetry should have evolved in that period and worked with this aim in mind. Gökalp, on the other hand, was not himself a good poet and could not contribute to the renewal of Turkish poetry, even though he knew poetry well and also understood how a national poetry could be created. Neither Gökalp nor the young poets following him managed to introduce real literary novelties in the poems they wrote using the forms of folk literature.⁵

Yahya Kemal's criticism is true at least as far as the period until 1918 is concerned; in this period both Gökalp and his followers wrote poems with syllabic meters, following folk poetry forms and with nationalist contents, which were generally awkward, didactical and devoid of charm. In the period up to 1918, the poetry wing of National Literature, which was just forming, did not have satisfactory output. Gökalp, who both wrote poems and directed the poets who were supposed to write national poems, was aware of this situation. The brief, one paragraph introduction that he wrote for his poetry anthology, published in 1918 with the title *Yeni Hayat* (New Life), proves that he was conscious of this:

In periods of consciousness poetry remains silent, while in periods of poetry consciousness is only a spectator. I think that our period can be included in the first group: Poets are distant from their inspiring muses; meters and rhymes are in the hands of conscious poetasters... Such a situation exists also in the lives of children: There are intervals of play between lessons... At the same time, part of the education of children is presented in the form of games; would it be a bad idea if we copied from this and, in trying to educate the public, presented some ideas in the form of poetry?⁶

Here Gökalp distinguishes himself from real poets, calling himself a poetaster. All the same, he describes this as a practical necessity: According to Gökalp's national sociology approach, crises like wars are times when social consciousness gains precedence; real poetry is a work for times of peace. Consequently, in a period of consciousness, poetic inspiration will be set aside and didactical poetry will be written with the aim of educating the public according to desired guidelines. Gökalp saw himself as a teacher and his approach to poet-

ry was pragmatic, because he perceived it as an educational instrument, or rather as an indoctrination apparatus.

Nowadays, in parallel to his own evaluation of himself, Gökâlp's poems are not considered an important part of Turkish poetry, with only a few poems or fragments of them remembered for their ideological significance. Consequently, today Gökâlp's poetry is considered to be of value only from an ideological or a literary historiographical point of view. Nevertheless, apart from their ideological significance, these poems are very important, especially as far as literary history and history itself are concerned. As is known from the biographical material concerning him, Gökâlp used three different ways to develop and spread his thoughts: conversations with his acquaintances, articles, and poems. When a new idea appeared in his mind, he first of all discussed it with his opponents or his followers and developed it into a concept; later he would write an abstract article based on this concept and together with the article, or shortly thereafter, he would also write a poem reproducing the main idea of the article in a simpler and more emotional way. From the point of view of this three-pronged approach, the poetry of Gökâlp is very important in the historical evaluation of his literary output.

No study of Gökâlp's prose taking the historical context of its creation into account has ever been done. In general, researchers with backgrounds in sociology or political sciences have not felt the need to make such a study and have preferred instead to interpret Gökâlp's work in a static way. This is a pity, because when we look at his work between 1910 and 1924, it is not just the unchanged ideas which are important but also those that evolved and the way in which they evolved. In any case, the abstract and classificatory essays written by Gökâlp with an *içtimâî mefkûreci* (social idealist) approach and on a wide range of subjects cannot be evaluated independently; they have to be analysed in conjunction with the poems that he composed around the same time. Unfortunately the researchers' approaches and interpretations, symptomatically reflecting their present times, have neglected the philosophical and historical importance of these poems. One of the best examples of such a situation is provided by the work of Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, who edited the publication of Gökâlp's poems and letters. Tansel, in the introduction she wrote for *Şiirler ve Halk Masalları* (Poems and Folk Stories), published in 1952, revised Gökâlp's Turanism in the light of the mentality of the Republican period; basing her observation only on the words

employed by Gökâlp, she states that after his “Lisan” (Language) poem printed in April 1916, Gökâlp never again used the word Turan and that after 1915 he abandoned the *meşkûre* of Turanism. According to Tansel, Gökâlp thought that the fundamental *meşkûre* of Turkism was Turkeyism.⁷

Taha Parla, who was not aware of Tansel’s symptomatic revisionism, repeated this claim in his *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp* and came to the conclusion that what really counted were Gökâlp’s theoretical articles.⁸ Maybe this is a natural assumption for a study underlining social and political thought, but it is not true that his poems are not socially, politically or historically significant. Since Gökâlp thought and wrote in a deductive and normative way, rather than in an inductive and empirical way, his poems cannot be considered to have evolved on a different track; rather, they should be considered a vital element of the totality of his works.

There is one exceptional name that does not belittle Gökâlp’s poems. Mehmet Kaplan, who is among the important personalities of modern Turkish literary scholarship, published two important studies concerning Gökâlp, “Ziya Gökalp ve Saadet Perisi” (Ziya Gökalp and the Muse of Happiness) in 1965 and “Ziya Gökalp ve ‘Yeniden Doğma’ Temi” (Ziya Gökalp and the Theme of ‘Rebirth’) in 1971.⁹ In these two articles Kaplan approaches Gökâlp on the basis of Jungian psychoanalytical theories. In the first article, he defines the literary and philosophical evolution of Gökâlp by means of the “anima” archetype. In the second article, he analyses the archetype with the rebirth theme as reflected in stories and poems. Especially in the first article, Kaplan establishes that both local and foreign researchers have neglected the relations between the psychology of Gökâlp as an individual and his works, adding that, “it is not enough to study just his ideas. His poems are better at showing the relationship between his ‘life philosophy’ and his sentiments and dreams.”

Kaplan also establishes that Gökâlp must have had an introverted psychology, that when outside he saw only the dreams in his mind, that he never had a sense of natural observation and that he was only interested in his thoughts and dreams. As a matter of fact, even in his poem “Turan”, what was important was not the Turan utopia itself, but the voice of history that the poet felt inside himself and the consequent intense emotion.¹⁰ It was because of this introverted psychology that he said in the poem titled “Mefkûre”, “Don’t say it is not present but imagination / Presence is not a text but an interpretation”.¹¹

In the poem titled “Kendine Doğru” (Towards Yourself), Gökalp says, “Don’t think without feeling, don’t see without intuition / Let your feelings lead your wisdom”¹², showing how for him emotion and intuition had precedence over intellect. Here his introverted psychology manifests itself and the main characteristics of his cultural nationalism become clear at the same time. Gökalp’s *hars* is something that accumulates over time, not as a French style *culture*, but more as a German style *kultur*, which grows organically and which is the result of the typical values of the *Volk* being reevaluated by the elite; that is why a teleological and irrational approach based on a mythical time dominates in his poems.

According to Kaplan’s Jungian interpretation, Gökalp lost the happiness of his childhood during his youth and so to be able to recapture it at a mental level, he developed a philosophy of hope that gave precedence to sentiments and intuition over external realities. While the cultural nationalism he built on this philosophy of hope was based for the most part on the concept of *meşkûre*, this last concept’s basis was a belief in “rebirth”. This belief was a theme often repeated in his poems and stories and according to Kaplan, it corresponds to Jung’s definition of “rebirth/renovatio”. What is underlined here is that an individual can, by keeping his real identity, refresh his spirit, rejuvenate and grow stronger. In this case, introversion and extroversion reunite in the theme of rebirth. Kaplan establishes the fact that both cases are present in Gökalp in an extreme form: While on the one hand he is extremely introverted, on the other Gökalp produces a sociology that requires the individual to disappear and dissolve within society. The place where these two intersect is the rebirth theme.¹³ Gökalp’s social idealism is also shaped by this quest: Old life is dying while the new one is rising.

As one can see from Kaplan’s comments, Jung’s ‘collective unconscious’ approach could be very useful in understanding the literary works of Gökalp, who prefers mythical time to historical time, emotion and intuition to intellect and contemplation to observation. Kaplan’s interpretation shows how the literary works of Gökalp are fundamental factors that let us understand him independently or in the context of his period.

Here I shall concentrate on two poetry books by Gökalp, *Kızıllelma*, published in 1914, and *Yeni Hayat*, published in 1918. Before analysing these two books in more detail, one more point should be emphasized. In his articles, Gökalp used abstract classificatory def-

initions, while in his poems he simplified these definitions, aiming to create an emotional response in his audience; consequently, the common point in all his poems is support for *içtimai mefkûrecilik* and its enrichment. Apart from this common characteristic, the desired effects of these two books, which are like the parentheses marks at either end of the First World War, are different. *Kızılalma* is more sentimental and aims to provide content for the patriotic agitation of the period; *Yeni Hayat*, on the other hand, in accordance with Gökâlp's attitudes beginning in 1917 during his *Yeni Mecmua* period, is more normative and aims to provide guidance for society.

Kızılalma

*Kızılalma*¹⁴ is Ziya Gökâlp's first poetry book and includes twenty-seven poems. At the beginning of the book, there is a prose introduction of one paragraph, after which there is the "Turan" poem. The subsequent poems are collected in three sections: *Masallar* (Fairy Tales), *Koşmalar* (Free Form Compositions) and *Destanlar* (Epics). Even though the book's exact date of publication is unknown, Tansel has come up with the date of 16 December 1914 on the basis of a bibliographical article that appeared in *Türk Yurdu*.¹⁵ The paragraph at the beginning of the book seems to indicate the book's printing date as well: "The poet is the one who finds his own spirit. I wrote this after having found your spirit. A creative poetry was drifting around there. I wanted to transform this poetry into an epic; but you could not wait; you started making history out of it. So I stop, you go on!" (3)

The reference to Gökâlp's being a poetaster in the other short introduction at the beginning of *Yeni Hayat*, which was published in 1918, is present in this introduction as well, even if in a different guise. Gökâlp's goal in writing these poems was not to be a poet, but to spur nationalism. The nation being addressed by Gökâlp already had a creative poetry, one that derived from its past. While Gökâlp tried to make an epic out of this spirit, the national spirit stirred. If the book's date of publication is taken into consideration, we reach the conclusion that what he is referring to is the entry into the First World War. Thus Gökâlp is enthusiastic about and approves entry into the war.

Kızılalma consists of Gökâlp's poems published between 1911 and 1914.¹⁶ These are poems suitable to the patriotic agitation of the years 1910-1915. It is also true that a few of the poems in this book contributed greatly to the formation of this atmosphere. "Turan",

“Altın Destan” (Golden Epic), “Ergenekon” (Name of a mythical valley that saw the birth of Turkishness), “Kızılelma” and “Kızıl Destan” (Red Epic) were especially influential when published and contributed to the formation of a Turkist-Turanist public opinion. The oldest poems were “Turan”, “Altın Yurt” (Golden Land) and “Meşhede Doğru” (Towards the Cemetery of Martyrs), all of which were published in 1911 before the beginning of the Balkan War. At the end of “Meşhede Doğru”, there is a note indicating that it was completed on 5 June 1911.

On the other hand, the first poem that Gökalp published in *Genç Kalemler* using his own name was “Altın Destan”.¹⁷ This poem was significant both as a symptom of Gökalp’s interest in Turkish mythology and as a catalyst for the Turanist movement. When it was first published in *Genç Kalemler*, it was preceded by the following note: “The following lines describing Turkish traditions have been sent to us by Gökalp Bey, who is a member of our editorial board and who is now travelling in the calm and infinite deserts of Asia, where he has written these lines.” (343) Actually, in those days Gökalp was in Salonika, but this colourful image had been thought up to increase the dramatic effect of the poem. The poem is a kind of lament for the fact that Turks lived dispersed and far away from their original homeland. The last two lines of each quatrain end with the question “where?” to increase the effect of the lament and to agitate the audience. Another important characteristic is the fact that Gökalp uses some pure Turkish names and concepts, which he had learned while researching ancient Turkish civilization and which at the time nobody knew.¹⁸ At the end of the poem, he added a very long glossary that explained the pure Turkish words in the poem. The glossary was followed, in accordance with the explanation at the beginning of the poem, by the note “Kazvin—3 Kanunuevvel 1327”. This poem defined Gökalp’s and his audience’s emotive Pan-Turanism, and later many Turkist writers followed this fashion by taking pen names deriving from Turkish mythology.

Gökalp increased his poetic output during the Balkan War. Instead of using these poems to describe the frightful way the war was going, he generally described events as he would have liked for them to have been unfolding. Following “Balkanlar Destanı”, he went on to publish “Ergenekon”, “Kendine Doğru” and “Kızılelma”, which were all Pan-Turanist poems describing the ideal of Turkish union. The first of these was “Ergenekon”, which is in a way similar to “Altın

Destan", but, in reaction to the events occurring in the Balkan War, was a more pessimistic poem lamenting the dispersal of the Turks. The Ergenekon image, deriving from Turkish mythology, was used to stress the fact that Turks were once more in difficulty.

Nevertheless, with the poem "Kızılelma" Gökalp abandoned Turan as a mythological concept and started to think of how to build Turan, taking into consideration the real circumstances of the time. This was supposed to be a project stressing education and civilization, young people were supposed to be educated with the most modern methods at a centre,¹⁹ from which they would spread throughout Turan with the aim of realizing the *Kızılelma*, i.e. the union of all Turks. At this point we can conclude that Gökalp's *ictimai mefkûrecilik* was slowly starting to take shape. With this poem, Gökalp started to develop his philosophy of hope and to signal that the bad state in which the Turkish nation found itself could be remedied with the idealistic efforts of young people. From this point of view, this poem is a response to "Altın Destan".

Another poem written in the same period was "Esnaf Destanı" (Epic of the Shopkeepers and Artisans).²⁰ It is a poem, which in the context of the nationalist enthusiasm engendered by the Balkan War, stressed the necessity for commerce to acquire national characteristics and for production and producers to be supported. In this poem one can see the first early signs of a national economy and of solidarism. Gökalp's definition of *esnaf* was rather wide; any activity requiring manual dexterity was included. Included were all peasants, be they female or male, workers, sailors, cart drivers, fruit vendors and grocers. The common characteristic of these low-class *esnaf* was expressed at the beginning of the poem in the following way: "In peacetime we are day labourers, in war, soldiers / We have both a bayonet and a sling." (95) The common point of all professional classes was their patriotism. The *esnaf* considered solidarity and religion as important matters; they were pious. They kept their belief, despite all the difficulties, that by working and progressing they could overcome their enemies.

The subsequent poems by Gökalp, "Şehit Haremi" (A Martyr's Wife), "Asker Duası" (Prayer of a Soldier), "Hayat Yolunda" (On the Way of Life), "Yeni Attila" (New Attila), "İlahi" (Hymn) and "Yeşil Boncuk" (Green Bead) are generally about the Balkan defeat and were published in 1913. These poems resonate with the subject of revenge, treated in accordance with the conception of the time. All

the same, the revenge in Gökâlp's poems is always a means, used as a dynamo that would make society progress. Among these, "Yeni Attila" was written on 17 July 1913 to celebrate the recapture of Edirne and as a march for the *Türk Gücü*. This poem reflected hatred and a desire for revenge, not just against Balkan countries, but towards all of Europe as well.

The three poems written by Gökâlp in 1914, just before the beginning of the war, have a different atmosphere in comparison to the previous ones. The subject of the "Osman Gazi Kurultayda" (Osman Gazi in General Assembly) poem is the fact that a democratic tradition and a consciousness of Turkishness had existed since the foundation of the Ottoman state.²¹ The subsequent poem, "Ötüken Ülkesi" (Country of *Ötüken*)²², is made up of a vivid historical image: in the legendary Turkish homeland, the *Hakan* (Turkish Ruler) was having a debate with young people. The young people want to conquer new lands while the *Hakan* rejects this desire and tries to convince them that trying to develop their own land would be better. (66)

As one can understand from this poem, the Balkan War was followed by a period of a few months of peace, during which the main aim of the country was to keep its then present borders and initiate an economic revival therein. This period was a result of the self-criticism consequent to the Balkan defeat. Ottoman society wished for progress with which it might heal its wounds. In this poem, Gökâlp made clear that he shared this aim.

In a similar way, in the poem "Durma Vur" (Don't Stop, Hit), written a short while later, he seemed to be addressing the Greeks, but actually he was spurring the people to concentrate on manufacturing.²³ In this poem, Greece and the Ottoman Greeks are considered to be equivalent to one another, and it is implied that they are exploiting the Turks. Nevertheless, this is a blessing in disguise, because as a result of Greek aggression, the Turkish nation will awaken and concentrate on commerce and industry; it will develop its army and fleet, learn about the progress in the West and at the same time acquire a consciousness of its Turkishness. It is clear that this poem was written in relation to the Muslim Boycott of 1913-1914.

Unfortunately, the beginning of the First World War in Europe would impede this precedence given to economic progress and spur a desire to enter the war as an ally of Germany so as to realize the dream of Turan and conquer Egypt. The poem "Kızıl Destan" by

Gökalp, published just after the beginning of the war in Europe, but before Ottoman entry into it, was one of the clearer reflections of this new attitude.²⁴ When it was first published in *Tanin*, it was presented as a commentary on the war in Europe and it began with the epigraph, “The lands of the enemy will be in ruin! / Turkey will grow and become Turan!” (102) This epigraph reflects the main underlying idea of the poem, which is made up of twenty-four strophes of five lines each. Gökalp begins by spurring Turks to cooperate in the recently declared general mobilization as early as the first strophe and defines the war as a “moment of heroism”. The poem can be interpreted as a reflection of a cunning happiness. The Ottoman Empire had just signed an alliance treaty with Germany but had not yet entered war. When seen from this point of view, it is clear that Gökalp, remembering all the pain of the Balkan War, was happy for the slaughter in Europe, which he considered the main reason for the bad situation in which the Ottoman Empire found itself: “The land of civilization will be red blood! / Each of its regions will be a new Balkan!” (Ibid.) Even if it was not clearly stated, in this poem it is Germany that is right and Gökalp has the German Kaiser speak as if he were a Muslim: “The Kaiser has declared to the soldiery and population: / Let your heart reunite in chain! / Trampling the enemy is like praying, / Faith will be the guide of my army! / The All-Compassionate will protect us!” (105)

Kızılalma is a good example of the lively patriotic agitation seen in the period leading up to the First World War. Even though all these poems were written at different times, following different political tendencies, they were generally aimed at reviving nationalism within a Pan-Turanist context. That was why when putting together this book, Gökalp preferred to classify his poems according to their genres, without taking into account their chronological order, which was followed in this chapter. In those days, a reader of *Kızılalma* would not have looked at the context within which the poems were written, but only at their emotive coherence. That was exactly what Gökalp wanted: to excite his reader increasingly as he made his way through this book.

Yeni Hayat

Yeni Hayat was printed in Istanbul as a publication of the *Yeni Mecmua*, in 1918. This book is comprised of a short one-paragraph introduction and thirty-two poems written by Gökalp between the years 1915

and 1918. The poems in this book are much calmer, with less fervour and far less agitation, than those in *Kızılalma*. It is as if Gökalp were trying to say with the poems in this book that as of 1915 his role had changed, and that he preferred to let younger poets write propagandist and agitative poems, while he, like a respected sage, would express in his poems simplified versions of the ideas first put forward in his articles. All this shows that with the start of the First World War, he had begun an effort to form a national social life, for which the circumstances had become much more favourable.

The majority of the poems included in the book have one-word titles that express a well-defined concept (like religion, ethics, village, language), while some are comparisons of concepts (like religion and science, Caliph and mufti). Nevertheless, the poems themselves are not conceptual; they are written with the aim of describing subjects that are problematic from the point of view of national life, in a simple and emotional way. The method used by Gökalp in these poems could be called 'emotional description'. The reason why this method was used in this book goes further back, to the period immediately after the publication of *Kızılalma*. Gökalp used this method for the first time in a series of poems that he published at the beginning of 1915 and that he included also in *Yeni Hayat*. Most of these poems were published, beginning in January 1915, in *Tanin* newspaper and in *İslâm Mecmuası* (Journal of Islam).²⁵ When they were first published they had titles like *Yasaya Doğru* (Towards a Law), *Türke Göre* (According to the Turk). Gökalp's goal in using such titles was to frame the social perception level of a Turkist audience.

The poems in *Yeni Hayat* can be classified in a few main groups according to their subjects: religion, solidarist ethics, women, culture, the cultural and social elite and Turkism. Only a few of these poems directly treat the subject of the problems created by the war. In this period Gökalp was not very interested in the concrete political and economic problems existing both on the battlefronts and on the home front, preferring instead to stress the social reforms initiated by the CUP government with his contributions. The same was also reflected in his poems in *Yeni Hayat*. Good examples of such are his poems with religious subjects. These make up the biggest group within the book. In that period, the CUP leadership was trying to apply a secularist policy, according to which religion would slowly be included in the field of authority of the state. The main trajectory of this project, which would be completed by republican Turkey, was developed

in Gökalp's poems about religious subjects. For example, a faith based on love was stressed in the first poem of the book, which was titled "Din" (Religion). Love has an important place in the solidarist social imagination; it is a philosophical field that is with the aim of preventing social conflicts. That is why Gökalp stressed the philosophy of *tasavvuf* (Islamic mysticism), arguing that Turks were *mutasavvif* (Islamic mystics) even before they were converted to Islam. In the first quatrain of the poem, this all-enveloping love is connected to another important point. This point, which would reappear in other poems, is "duty", another important concept of solidarism: "My religion is neither hope, nor fear; / I pray to God, because I love him! / Without paradise, nor fear of hell / I do my duty." (111) In the second poem of the book, "Din ve İlim" (Religion and science), religion as a sentiment is stressed. As long as religion is stressed as a sentiment, its characteristic as a social guide is limited and it is put under the authority of government, which regulates society, as another instrument with which to guide the masses.

The subject of the poems "Halife ve Müftü" (Caliph and Mufti), "Devlet" (State), "Bütçe Birliği" (Unity of Budget), "Vakıf" (Religious Foundation) and "Küllîye" (Religious Institution) is the separation between religion and state within the context of a secularization project and the inclusion of religious institutions within the control of the state. I should also point out that most of the poems with religious subjects in this book were being published for the first time. Clearly Gökalp wrote these poems using the ideas expressed in essays written in periodicals and in speeches he had made during the period when these policies were being applied, but then did not rush to publish them.

Yeni Hayat includes three poems that may be included directly in the solidarist ethics group: "Ahlak" (Ethics), "Vazife" (Duty), and "Vefa" (Loyalty). All three were published at the beginning of 1915. The first poem's "Never say I have the right, / There is no right, there is duty!" lines are famous. (115) According to the conception of ethics implicit in this poem, only the nation, itself an abstract concept, has rights; individuals have only duties. In any case, according to Gökalp's solidarist mysticism, the individual is already the same thing as 'we', i.e. the nation; the individual should dissolve within the nation and be ready to sacrifice his life and belongings for the good of the nation. What is important is the survival of the nation, not of the individual.

“Vazife” is a continuation of the previous poem and is famous for its refrain of “I close my eyes! / And do my duty!” (116) A militarist command chain substitutes the solidarist mysticism underlined in “Ahlak”. The duty deriving from the nation is like an order which cannot be approached critically and has to be followed. Such orders are the same thing as Justice, and so they have to be obeyed uncritically. “I don’t have rights, interests, wishes, / I have a duty; I don’t need anything else. / My mind, soul don’t think, they hear; / They obey every order coming from it...” (Ibid.)

“Vefa” is another poem in which the theme of solidarist ethics is explicated by finding its relations with the war. It starts with the lines, “We Turks in times of peace, / Are quiescent bee hives. / In the bloody mountains of war / We are rapacious hunting falcons” (117), and goes on with the comparison between the individual and the nation. The individual is mild, does not bear grudges, is calm, contented and patient; the nation has a cause, it tries to avenge the wrongs received, it is quarrelsome, ambitious, wrathful. They can be said to be complete opposites. Their common point is that they are both loyal and honest. It is a very interesting poem; what it says is that the Turks, who are very calm as individuals go, as a nation keep their word and even if it is not stated explicitly in the poem, they help their allies as much as they can.

In this book there are four poems on the subject of women: “Kadın” (Woman), “Ev Kadını” (Housewife), “Meslek Kadını” (Professional Woman), and “Aile” (Family). The question of women was one of the more conflictual subjects of the Ottoman-Turkish modernization process. The Turkists, having a more pragmatic approach towards modernization, were in favour of better education for women and their introduction into the work market as a means of enlarging the social space, increasing the productivity of women and bettering the quality of family education provided to children. Even though the circumstances tied to the war had made it necessary for women to work outside their homes, Islamists were against this. These poems were Gökalp’s response to the Islamist resistance to this development.

The poems in *Yeni Hayat* which are about culture, the cultural and social elite and Turkism, are in reality a reflection of Gökalp’s ‘cultural nationalism’. One of the most interesting poems of *Yeni Hayat* to be classified in the culture group is “Medeniyet” (Civilization). In this poem, Gökalp describes in a clear and simple

way the distinction between culture and civilization. What makes up European civilization is the cultures of its constituent nationalities. The relationship between these two concepts is compared to academy-members, university-professors, book-chapters and concert-musical instruments relationships. Even though the poem is titled "Civilization", what is stressed is the fact that the lack of a constituent element, i.e. one of the national cultures, would ruin the quality of the whole. (124)

"Lisan" is one of Gökalp's most famous poems and, seeing as language was of primary importance to Gökalp's understanding of nationalism, it can be said that this poem is related to the subject of nationalism. In this poem, the views concerning language are moderate, with Istanbul Turkish considered to be a standard for the language. There are also references to Turan; Turan, it is said, should have a single language, as this is an absolutely necessary precondition for Turan's existence. (120)

One of the most interesting cultural contributions of Gökalp is the subject of *güzides* (elites). Gökalp saw mores as the source of culture. What he considered *güzides* was that social group in which the mores were more visibly clear. Inside that group he saw a hierarchy made up of three elements: *dahi* (genius), *kahraman* (hero) and *arif* (sage). Scientists or technicians who specialized in a certain subject were not considered part of the *güzides*. Gökalp, being modest, very probably considered himself an *arif*. The groups made up of geniuses and heroes were outstanding for their actions rather than for their mental activities. Gökalp thought that the strongest culture was the one present among common people. He therefore asked the elites to be more receptive to the messages of the common people, for it was among them that culture could be learned and developed.

His poem "Deha" is the one in which his conception of a populist elite is expressed most clearly. This poem indicates closeness to the common people as the precondition for being a genius. Gökalp addressed literate people with the following request: "O literate people, abandon your pride, / Learn the national culture from the nation!... / They are the conscience, you are their mind, / A mind without roots is close to insanity... // Right art, right ethics, right religion / They have it, mingle with them; / To be like a genius without error, / Be inspired by them!" (125)

Gökalp also expresses his populist approach in his poems titled "Köy" (Village) and "Seciye" (Character). In these poems, he empha-

sizes especially the patriotism of peasants and their heroism at Gallipoli. Nevertheless, his poems written to give examples of a genius and of a hero were “Talat Pasha” and “Enver Pasha”, both of which are found at the end of the book. Even though these two poems have generally been perceived as being adulatory of the CUP leaders, their real aim was to give examples of ‘geniuses’. In this case, Talat Pasha is praised for having reconciled social conflicts, having a pure spirit, being honest, having origins among the common people and being a man of faith. Among the party leadership, Ziya Gökalp liked Enver Pasha most of all. Consequently, the statements in “Enver Pasha” are much more brilliant than the compliments directed towards Talat Pasha. In this poem, Enver Pasha is congratulated for the same things for which he would be criticized after 1918. According to Gökalp, Enver was a “heart without hesitations or doubts” and a “soul with an iron will and with faith”. As such, he had given hope to the population, reformed the army defeated in the Balkans, formed alliances and declared *jihad*. At the end of the poem, Gökalp stresses the main characteristics of a genius: “History says: ‘All great conquerors / Like their nations are inspired by their people.’ / Today the people are as joyful as you are, / What is clear only to you is vague for them: // The secret voice of God coming from the skies / With the joyful tidings, ‘The Turks will be free.’” (145)

Gökalp explains his conception of Turkism in two poems. These are “Vatan” (Homeland) and “Millet” (Nation). Published for the first time in this volume, “Vatan” is especially important. Each of the three points being emphasized is explained in a strophe: A national religion, political union and a national economy. The definition of political union in the second strophe is very important: *meşkûre*, language, traditions and unity of religion. Since this poem is a wholesale repudiation of the Ottoman structure, the fact that it had not appeared before the publication of this book is significant. The third strophe defines a national economy. Commercial capital, science and technique are Turkish; the various sectors of the economy support each other with no conflicts among them; all industry and the use of technology are in Turkish hands.

“Millet” is one of the poems in which Gökalp expresses his Pan-Turanist views in the strongest terms. The first lines, “Don’t enquire about my tribe or clan.. / I have been living like a nation for five thousand years” (114), extends the contemporary phenomenon of nationalism back five thousand years. Throughout the poem, the

union of all Turks is stressed. According to Gökalp, all Turks have a single language and religion. In parallel to this community, the following thought is significant as far as the historical context, in which the poem is written, is concerned: "The worry for my state does not make me forget my nation, / Anatolia is an internal region, inseparable from the external ones.." (Ibid.) With these lines, the poet attacks both those that wanted a multi-ethnic Ottoman structure and those that thought that nationalism should be limited to the Turks of Anatolia. All distinctions are supposed to disappear and give birth to a single Turkish nation.

Yeni Hayat was very popular, especially among Turkists. One of the articles that best reflects this admiration is a book review by M. Zekeriya [Sertel] that appeared in the *Türk Yurdu* with the title "Yeni Hayat ve Ziya Gökalp Bey" (New Life and Ziya Gökalp Bey). In accordance with the sociology of Gökalp, M. Zekeriya thought that the period they were living through was a transformation period and that *Yeni Hayat* was not just a poetry compilation but a mirror reflecting the national life of the future.²⁶ These kinds of favourable reviews continued even after the close of the war. For example, when in 1919 a magazine organized a poll to establish who had written the best literary work, the majority of nationalist writers chose Ziya Gökalp with his *Yeni Hayat*.²⁷ With the poems in these two books, Gökalp had impressed the nationalist writers, who were his followers, most of all. This influence lived on after the First World War and continued even after his death.

Mehmet Emin Yurdakul: A One-Man Propaganda Army

Mehmet Emin Yurdakul (1869-1944), the 'National Poet' of the post-1908 period, was one of the most productive writers of the war years. Until 1914, when the war began, he was known for his book *Türkçe Şiirler* (Poems in Turkish), published in 1898, and for his other poems published in various magazines, but not yet in book form. Beginning in 1914 he would publish many poetry books: *Ey Türk Uyan* (O Turk Rise) (1914), *Türk Sazı* (Turkish String Instrument) (1914), *Tan Sesleri* (Voices of the Dawn) (1915), *Ordunun Destanı* (The Epic of the Army) (1915), *Dicle Önünde* (On the Shores of the Tigris) (1916), *Hasta Bakıcı Hanımlar* (Nurses) (1917), *Turana Doğru* (Towards Turan) (1918) and *Zafer Yolunda* (On the Road to Victory) (1918). As one can guess from their titles, the poems Mehmet Emin wrote during the war were nationalistic, enthusiastic and adulatory

towards the army and the state. Thus the productivity of Mehmet Emin and the circumstances of war were related. Thanks to his poems of heroism, full of fervour as they are, Mehmet Emin became the poet who best satisfied the state's need for cultural propaganda during the war years.

The fact that the circumstances related to the war would increase the literary output aiming for propaganda and that many writers would produce such works was inevitable. Writers who before and after the war wrote different kinds of poems, created nationalist and militarist works during the war. All the same, Mehmet Emin's situation was different. Mehmet Emin's pre-war and wartime literary careers were similar. One could even say that his pre-war poetic style determined his work during the war. With his poems collected in *Türkçe Şiirler* and later in *Türk Sazı*, he prepared a foundation that not only determined his wartime output but served as a model for many other poets as well.

Continuities and Discontinuities in Mehmet Emin's Poetry Before and After 1914

To be able to understand Mehmet Emin's wartime poetry better, we have to analyse his pre-1914 career. Mehmet Emin was born in Istanbul in 1869 and published his first poetry book, *Fazilet ve Asalet* (Virtue and Nobility), in 1891. His true literary personality surfaced after 1892, when Cemaleddin Efgani, who was an important Islamist personality of the nineteenth century, moved to Istanbul. Efgani lived in Istanbul until his death in 1897. During these five years he influenced both Mehmet Akif, who was known as an Islamist, and even more so, Mehmet Emin. The Islamic reformist Efgani was the main factor guiding Mehmet Emin towards a populist nationalism tinged with religion.²⁸ This nationalism of Mehmet Emin, which did not reject religion, was in accordance with another post-1914 state policy, i.e. the CUP government's Pan-Islamism.

Another important element of the pre-1914 literary career of Mehmet Emin was his populism; having been born the son of a poor fisherman, he always wrote for the common people, in a language that they could understand and about subjects to which they could relate. In "Biz Nasıl Şiir İsteriz?" (What Kind of Poetry Do We Want?), the first poem of *Türkçe Şiirler*, Mehmet Emin describes his populism in the following way: "We want such poetry that fathers who go ploughing, / Young girls who reap the harvest and mothers who cut wood,

/Should dry their tears when hearing its touching sound // They should put their heads on its bosom; / They should hear their hearts beat for it; / They should understand what that sound means.”²⁹

This was supposed to be first of all a kind of literature that the people could understand. That was why in his poetry, Mehmet Emin used words and sentence structures that were readily comprehensible to the common people. The sound of his poetry was a sound similar to the one of the *güzelleme*s and *koçaklamas*³⁰ of folk literature. In fact, he was close to the oral tradition in those of his narrative poems in which he used an epic style. He, however, differed from folk literature in one important aspect. The forms of folk literature were produced by troubadours, epic writers and poets who lived among common people and who followed certain conventions. In this case, the relationship between the artist and his audience was of a kind that may be termed horizontal. In such a relationship, the artist knows what is expected from him and the audience knows what to expect from the artist. On the other hand, the relationship between Mehmet Emin and his audience was vertical; even though he was one of them, he never forgot that he had been well educated and in the Western style, so he behaved like an intellectual and aimed not just to please but to educate his readers, whom he considered ignorant. Mehmet Emin, not being a traditional folk poet, appropriated only certain parts of the polyphonic folk literature.

The poem quoted above is a prime example of this attitude. The desire of Mehmet Emin was neither to make people laugh nor to amuse them. The peasant reading this poem was supposed to shed tears and go through an emotive *catharsis* thanks to the narrative of his pains. This emotional purification would ready him for a learning process; he would *know* that there were intellectuals thinking about him and that there was something more important than the struggle for life. In short, thanks to the presence of poets speaking his language, he would understand that he was not alone and that there was a nation for which he could make sacrifices.

In this context, another important element of Mehmet Emin's poetry surfaces: war. The circumstances giving rise to the greatest pains suffered by the population were always those present in wartime. Such a situation was inevitable. As a consequence of the victorious struggles waged against the external enemies of the nation and of the state, problems would be solved and the conditions in which people lived could be bettered. For this to happen, it was nec-

essary to raise patriotic individuals who were conscious of their religion and nation and who, if the need arose, could sacrifice their lives and property without hesitation. War was a good way to spread patriotism. This was why Mehmet Emin addressed his readers by means of heroic and patriotic poetry.

In his poem titled "Anadolu'dan Bir Ses yahut Cenge Giderken" (A Voice from Anatolia or Going to Battle), which was published both in *Türkçe Şiirler* and in *Türk Sazı* and later used as the lyrics for the song "Milli Asker Şarkısı" (National Soldier Song), thus becoming his trademark poem, he says, "I am a Turk and my religion and race are sublime, / My spirit is fiery, / Everybody is the servant of his homeland, / A Turk does not sit at home, he goes!" (21) In this way, Mehmet Emin put forward a model on how to act and think for the peasants who were going to war. His perspective remained unchanged during 1914-1918, with only the place and enemy names mentioned in the poems changing.

What has been mentioned up to now was what remained unchanged in Mehmet Emin's poetry. Even though the religiousness of Mehmet Emin, his populist literature and his attitude towards war did not change much between the 1890s and the First World War, there were nevertheless some changes in Mehmet Emin's outlook during that time. The most important of these was Mehmet Emin's conception of nationalism. While in *Türkçe Şiirler*, published in 1898, one sees a limited Turkish nationalism, with Ottoman history as the point of reference and the common people as a source, in his poems written between 1914 and 1918 there is an increase in his Pan-Turanist tendencies.

The increase in Mehmet Emin's Turkish nationalism occurred in parallel to that of the CUP. Notwithstanding all the problems and difficulties it encountered, Ottomanism remained the dominant ideology of the state, but it began to be abandoned *de facto* after entry into war. While at the beginning of the war Pan-Turanism and Pan-Islamism were both followed, the British supported Arab Revolt under the leadership of Şerif Hüseyin and the defeats at the Arabian front made Pan-Islamism obsolete; at the same time, the opportunities provided by the Russian Revolution increased the attractiveness of Pan-Turanism.

All these changes were reflected in Mehmet Emin's poetry. All the same, many writers managed to keep their distance from such exaggerated nationalism. How was it that Mehmet Emin's nation-

alism increased so much? The answer is very complex and needs to be seen from many different viewpoints. Here only one remarkable factor will be stressed. Mehmet Emin, especially in the case of his first books *Fazilet ve Asalet* and *Türkçe Şiirler*, used the then widespread system of 'public relations'. Before publishing his book, he sent a dossier of his poems to the important literary personalities of these days, asking them for their opinions.

Subsequently, the eulogies written by them would be inserted at the beginning of the book. For example, in the case of *Türkçe Şiirler*, eulogies by Recaizâde Ekrem, Şemseddin Sami, Abdülhak Hâmit, Rıza Tevfik and Fazlı Necib were printed in the book.

Mehmet Emin's skills when it came to public relations were not, however, limited to this. After publication, he would send copies to the famous orientalist of the time who specialized in Turkish. Mehmet Emin sent copies to the Hungarian Vambery, the Englishman E. J. W. Gibb, the Austrian Paul Horn and the Russian Minorskiy, all of whom praised *Türkçe Şiirler*, and in particular their populist nationalism, in letters they sent to the poet or in articles published in their countries.³¹ Some of these and later others, like Friedrich Giese, translated the poems of Mehmet Emin into their languages and had them published. This international interest in *Türkçe Şiirler* came from many countries and concentrated on the poems' easily understood language. In the period leading to the World War and during the war itself, it was the Germans who were especially interested. This interest in Mehmet Emin on the parts of various German orientalist derived primarily from his nationalism. The interest shown in Mehmet Emin's work very likely had to do with Germany's eastern policies. It was also one of the factors in Mehmet Emin's transformation from a populist, limited Turkish nationalist to a Pan-Turanist nationalist.

Ey Türk Uyan!

Türk Sazı, published in 1914, contains seventy-three poems in almost three hundred pages. This book not only includes poems written during the Balkan War but also some that had been written previously. On the other hand, all of *Ey Türk Uyan*, published in the same year, was written during the Balkan War. It is made up of a single long poem, in which the glorious life led by the ancient Turks in Turan is compared with the present difficult situation, with nationalism shown as the necessary cure. This book was widely praised

among Turkish nationalists and Enver Pasha ordered that it be distributed among the army. The first printing was of fifteen thousand copies, and with the second printing in 1918, the total amount of copies printed reached twenty five thousand.³²

Ey Türk Uyan reveals its main theme in its frontpiece with the following strophe: "O Turkish race, son of iron and fire, / Founder of thousands of countries, holder of hundreds of crowns, / You who have been born to reign! / God has not written this bad luck as your destiny!..." (127) The first pages are dedicated to remembering the glory of Turkish history and that the latter is not comprised of wars alone; rather, the level of civilization evident throughout Turkish history has been very high in every respect. In this first section, the poet makes it clear that his approach is based on a wide-ranging concept of Turan. Unfortunately, this golden civilization and military power have faded over the last three centuries. What the Turks have gone through is a real catastrophe. Nevertheless, this is no reason for despair. Once all Turks living in the lands of Turan are united, the happy days will return.

This, however, it is claimed, will be possible only with national sentiments. A community that does not perceive its nationhood and that does not look at its geography and history from a nationalist point of view cannot become a nation. Mehmet Emin gives the examples of Prussia, Russia, Italy and Poland as nations that have managed this. These examples prove that the process of becoming a nation is an inevitable destiny: "Nations are torrents coming from centuries ago, / They carry away anything that stays in their path." (139) Once the people reach this consciousness, all Turks and Muslims will unite, defeating all the powers of that period.

Books Published in 1915: Tan Sesleri and Ordunun Destanı

In 1915, Mehmet Emin published *Tan Sesleri*, which includes "Aç Bağrını Biz Geldik" (Open Your Arms We Have Come), a poem comprised of thirty-six sections. He completed this poem on 19 April 1914. The first printing of the book was of nine thousand copies, followed by a second printing of four thousand copies. The second printing included also the twenty-four section poem titled "Ey İğnem, Dik" (O My Needle, Sew). This poem was completed on 2 September 1913, around the end of the First Balkan War. In 1918 the poet would publish these two poems for the third time, together with others, in a volume titled *Turan'a Doğru* (Towards Turan). According to

Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, twenty thousand copies of *Tan Sesleri* were published, many of which were distributed to soldiers.³³ If we consider the low literacy rate of those days, we understand how high these numbers really were.

Even though *Tan Sesleri* was published in 1915, it was not related directly to the World War. One might assume, based upon the date of writing, that it was related to the Balkan War, but even that was not the case. As was true of *Ey Türk Uyan* as well, the main aim of *Tan Sesleri* was to formulate a Turanist ideology. From this point of view, the title *Turan'a Doğru*, used for the third edition, was more appropriate. In particular the poem "Aç Bağrını Biz Geldik" was totally Turanist, with its subjects being hatred of Russia and the realization of Turkish union.

The voice in this poem is the voice of a man, a soldier ready to fight. On the other hand, the voice in "Ey İğnem Dik", which is the second poem of the book, is the voice of a woman sewing. In this poem, a hopeful and determined voice calls out for the Turan ideal. A Turkish woman of faith is sewing shirts and flags for the men on the front and at the same time raising her children. She believes that the Turkish army will liberate Asia, and in the refrain she repeats what every Turkish woman is supposed to do: "O needle sew! For the soldier / Prepare clothing; / To the soldiers on the front / Service is a sacred duty! // O needle sew! The crescent and star flag I am cutting-out, / Will cover with its shadow all the lands of Turan." (160)

Mehmet Emin's book published after *Tan Sesleri* was about the World War. The poet completed his long poem about the Gallipoli Battle, titled "Ordunun Destanı" (Epic of the Army), on 28 September 1915. This long poem is made up of ten sections and is dedicated to the *Çanakkale Kahramanları* (Heroes of Gallipoli). At first, Mehmet Emin had titled this poem "Çanakkale Gazileri" (Gallipoli Veterans) and, after having published its sections in different publications, finally published them all together in 1915 with the title *Ordunun Destanı*. The title of the second edition in 1918 was changed to *Zafer Yolunda* and the poem "Orduya Selam" (Saluting the Army), which had been completed on 9 January 1916 and published the same month in *Harp Mecmuası*, was added to it. The total number of copies of *Ordunun Destanı* reached forty-three thousand with its second printing and the book was distributed in the army.³⁴

The "Orduya Selam" poem, which is included in the second edition of the book, has an enthusiastic narrative. The poet praises the

victorious soldiers who fought in the Çanakkale Battle, because “You are God’s sword; / You dig the grave of cruelty. / The shouts you have silenced / Of two Western kingdoms; / The corpses you have trampled / Of two tyrannies of the century!..” (196) Thanks to these heroic soldiers, he continues, Gallipoli has become the Kaaba of Turks and Muslims. Meanwhile, Istanbul, Syria and Anatolia are rejoicing in this victory, and China, India, Karabagh and Germany are praising the Turkish army.

**1916-1918: Dicle Önünde, Hastabakıcı Hanımlar
and Turan’a Doğru**

The next work published by Mehmet Emin was also a celebration of a victory. It was titled *Dicle Önünde*, dedicated to the “Iraq Army” and written to celebrate the fact that the British army, commanded by General Townsend, had been taken prisoner by Halil Pasha on 29 April 1916 at Kut’al-Amarah. This poem was completed on 9 June 1916 and published in book form the same year. It consists of six sections and is illustrated with charcoal drawings and one photograph. In 1918 Mehmet Emin published this work once more, together with his poems “Ordunun Destanı”, “Orduya Selam” and “Hastabakıcı Hanımlar”, in a book titled *Zafer Yolunda*. On the cover of this second edition there is a note stating that seventeen thousand copies of the work had been printed thus far. (430) This amount tells us that, like the poet’s other books, this, too, had been distributed to the army.

The subject of this poem is Turkish-Arab brotherhood, but its real aim is to stress the idea of the unity of Islam. In the second section, the Turkish army addresses Iraq, reminding it that it is steeped in Turkish history. Subsequently, the effectiveness of the call to *jihad*, made at the beginning of the war, is described in a poetic way. The third section begins with an address to the heroic soldiers and narrates how the Ottoman army has fought side by side with Arab tribes against the enemy and how the enemy has been taken prisoner. The fourth section develops the concept of the Turkish-Arab brotherhood mentioned in the previous section. The Turks and the Arabs are brother nations who are spilling their blood together for common patriotic and Islamic reasons. The Turks and the Arabs are united under a single throne, free from colonialists and living in liberty. They are governed by a single Caliph and are the hope, strength and life (*ümidi, kuvveti, hayatı*) of all three hundred million Muslims in the world.

(216) In the fifth and sixth sections, Mehmet Emin first addresses the Tigris, and then the Turkish army, and finally completes the poem by stressing the greatness of the Kut'al-Amarah victory.

A year later, in 1917, Mehmet Emin published another book made up of a single long poem: *Hastabakıcı Hanımlar*. The poem was completed on 20 March 1917 and is dedicated to the *Hilaliahmer hanımlarına* (Ladies of the Red Crescent). It is significant that at a moment when the war was going badly and the people were growing increasingly tired of it all, Mehmet Emin should prefer treating a subject related to defensive issues, instead of the usual glorious victories. As one can understand from its title, this poem was a eulogy of nurses.

The first book published by Mehmet Emin in 1918 was titled *Turan'a Doğru*. In addition to the reprinting of *Ey Türk Uyan*, this book includes ten short poems written between 1916 and 1917 and printed in various magazines. These ten poems are all related to the question of Turan and express a very strong hatred of Russia. As a consequence of the events following the Russian Revolution, the attractiveness of Turan ideals had increased in the eyes of Enver Pasha and of his team and the dream of being able to reach Central Asia had started to be seen as an antidote to the unfavourable developments in the other fronts. The fact that Mehmet Emin should publish such a book towards the end of the war has to be considered in the light of this attitude. Similar considerations are valid also for *Zafer Yolunda*, which was published during the same year.

Nevertheless, by then the war had been lost. Shortly after its allies had accepted defeat, the Ottoman Empire also requested a cease-fire. Thus the Mudros Armistice was signed and with it a new period of uncertainties, worries and difficulties began. During this depressing period, Mehmet Emin wrote his poems "İsyân" (Revolt), which he dedicated to Halide Edip, and "Dua" (Prayer), which he dedicated to the "saintly memory" of his spiritual teacher Cemaleddin Efgani; in 1919 these two poems were printed in a book titled *İsyân ve Dua* (Revolt and Prayer).

Mehmet Emin's wartime poems are exaggeratedly enthusiastic, and this was part of a propaganda effort closely connected to state ideology. His books were printed in great numbers only because they were distributed to the army, but in point of fact they were neither successful from a literary point of view nor in their approach to their various subjects. In his wartime works, Mehmet Emin kept his dis-

tance from the problems faced by the common people, whom he had set out to educate.

Mehmet Akif Ersoy: Islamic Patriotism versus Nationalism

The importance of Mehmet Akif derives from his two main characteristics: his literary value and his original position within the Turkish national movement. Even though Mehmet Akif continues to be praised by some and condemned by others as the most representative name of political Islamism, his real value from the point of view of modern Turkish literature derives from his being, not necessarily the first, but the first successful writer to introduce *manzum hikâye* (stories in rhyme), which were influential in introducing realism into the Turkish literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His success was due to his mastery of the *aruz* meter and to his ability to construct dialogues. A good example of this is a section of *Asım*, which makes up the "sixth book" of *Safahat*:³⁵

I am a reactionary, let the whole world hear about it!
Even the chief reactionary, just to spite you!
Let your law hang me or rather the *yasa* (of Cengiz Han)!
— The *yasa* is no more.

Why, is it gone?

— Long ago.

— How about our ancestor Cengiz?

— Forget him: He is gone!

— If they need him they will bring him back...

— No, he is gone forever.

— Don't say!

— Yes, apparently he was our enemy...

It was a deceitful Jew who convinced us that he was our ancestor...

— You?

— Yes, a short while later,

Another insignificant infidel told us: "How can Cengiz,
Your ancestor be, you are Turkish, he is a Mongol!..."

— And then?..

— Nothing!

— Nothing?

— Everything was forgotten.

— Just like that!

- Yes, now both the *hakan* and the *yasa* are no more!
 — Whoever he was, he was a sensible infidel.³⁶

This passage is an example of the effective way in which Mehmet Akif used daily language. In it, the two protagonists of *Asım*, Hocaşâde and the religious scholar Kôse İmam, who was a disciple of Hocaşâde's father, are talking among themselves. The one declaring that he was a reactionary was Kôse İmam, while the one answering him is Hocaşâde. Mehmet Akif is making fun of the usages of Pan-Turanist fashions and how they changed. By means of this comical passage, he is trying to show his audience, who per force was familiar with the politics and cultural developments of the day, how baseless the Pan-Turanist movement was.

This ironic passage takes us to the peculiar position occupied by Mehmet Akif within the Turkish national movement. In the post-1908 period, Mehmet Akif was a Pan-Islamist and thus against Pan-Turanism and Turkish nationalism with a Turkist tendency. Throughout the *Safahat*'s various sections there are also other ironic references to Turkish nationalism. For example, in another section of *Asım* there is a funny section making fun of a governor, who is repeating Gökâlp's terminology like a parrot. (370-371) In addition to all this, in *Fatih Kürsüsünde* (On the Pulpit of Fatih Mosque), which is *Safahat*'s fourth book, there is a section written in 1913 and published in 1914, in which Gökâlp is criticized directly but without any mention made to his name: "In the mornings he is a pseudo-philosopher, in the afternoon a religious jurist; / Once the waters darken a vivacious and pleasant man of letters; / Tomorrow a historian; the day after an old hand at politics; / Another day he may even attempt religious interpretation!..." (252)

Mehmet Akif, being a Pan-Islamist, was opposed to Turkish nationalism and was also brave enough not to limit himself to implicit criticism of it. He thought that specific nationalisms would break up the community of Islam and thus destroy the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, Mehmet Akif attacked nationalism openly, even in his propaganda poems written during the First World War. After the Mudros Armistice, he also repeated this criticism in his articles. For example, in an article which appeared in the 280th issue of *Sebilürreşad*, dated 28 November 1334/1918, he discussed the dangers of nationalism. Mehmet Akif begins the article by saying, "how nice it would have been if that accursed nationalist movement had

not acquired a political shape so quickly", and goes on to claim that nationalism has sown discord among Muslims. Moreover, Mehmet Akif says, nationalism has failed to contribute to the language and culture of the masses that it has broken up.³⁷

Mehmet Akif's Literary and Political Choices

When Mehmet Akif first started to show interest in poetry during his youth, his biggest influences were Ziya Pasha, Muallim Naci and Abdülhak Hâmit. Not only did he know Islamic thought and literary traditions very well, but he had also learnt French at school and tried to familiarize himself with Western literature. Maybe because of this, he was also under the influence of Tevfik Fikret and Cenab Şehabettin during the best years of *Edebiyat-ı Cedide*. Later, he was to abandon this movement, which he called *gözyaşı edebiyatı* (tearful literature), and adopt an interest in socio-political problems. In this he had been influenced by Cemaledin Efgani,³⁸ also, the close contact he had with the problems of the common people, since he had begun practicing his profession after graduating from Veterinary College, was a factor determining this change. In a letter he wrote later, Mehmet Akif says, "since the day I felt myself among my nation, I have preferred thinking about society rather than art." In *Fatih Kürsüsünde*, he expresses his populist realism in the following way: "No, I have nothing to do with dreams... / Believe me: Whatever I said, I had previously seen. / This is my favourite profession in the world: / Let my words be awkward; as long as they are true!" (212)

Mehmet Akif was vehemently opposed to Sultan Abdülhamid's authoritarian rule and wrote poems, which were later included in the first book of *Safahat*, about this. Mehmet Akif's hatred towards Sultan Abdülhamit led him to become a member of the CUP after the 1908 revolution. Mehmet Akif remained a member of the CUP until the last years of the First World War, and throughout this period he was a leading name of the Islamist movement within the CUP. He left the CUP when it abandoned its Islamist policies, in favor of more secular nationalist policies.

After the 1908 revolution, he started writing for *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, which was the main publication in Turkey propounding Islamic reformism. Since the beginning, *Sırat-ı Müstakim/Sebilürreşad* had been close to the CUP. Both the personalities of the writers and the articles and poems published in it confirm this. It was for this reason that the magazine became popular among the Muslims of

Russia in the pre-First World War period, and also why important names of the Turkist movement of the CUP like Yusuf Akçura and Ahmet Ağayef wrote articles for it. Nevertheless, when the more secularist and nationalist movement became dominant within the CUP, the Islamist movement became weaker, with the result that the *Sebilürreşad* was closed down twice during the World War. On the first occasion it stayed close for five and a half months, between 25 November 1915 and 10 May 1916, while on the second it was not published for twenty months, between 26 October 1916 and 17 July 1918.

Even though his magazine was closed down by the government for long periods, Mehmet Akif remained at the service of the CUP between 1908 and 1918. Between 1908 and 1913, Mehmet Akif was a professor of Ottoman Literature at the Faculty of Letters of the University. During those same years, he was also teaching Arabic Literature at the *İlmiye Mahfeli* (Club for *İlmiye* Members) of the CUP in the district of Şehzadebaşı. During the Balkan War in 1913, he was a member of the *Müdafaa-i Milliye Heyeti Neşriyat Şubesi* (Committee of National Defence, Publication Branch). Even though the Islamist movement was greatly weakened during the 1917 congress of the CUP, Mehmet Akif did not hesitate to become a member of the *Dar-ül Hikmet-ül İslâmiye* (Islamic Philosophy Institute), which was founded by the government during the same year.

Nevertheless, Akif's biggest service to the CUP, especially during the World War, would be within the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*. The first mission of Mehmet Akif for this organization was a trip to Germany. After his return, Mehmet Akif wrote a report for the *Şeyhülislâm* (the highest authority concerning canon law) Hayri Efendi, but unfortunately this report was lost.³⁹ Thus the only document written by Mehmet Akif concerning this trip remains his poem, "Berlin Hatıraları" (Memoirs of Berlin).

The trip was organized as the result of a request Germany made to Enver Pasha for religious scholars at the beginning of the war. Germany had taken prisoner around a hundred thousand Muslims who had been fighting for the Entente powers and wanted to direct propaganda at them. Kuşçubaşı Eşref, the chief of the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*, had been assigned the duty of organizing this trip and had managed to convince Mehmet Akif to come along as well. They were accompanied by Sheikh Salih El Tunusi. The trip began with the utmost secrecy in December 1914. They were welcomed in Germany

and even received by Hindenburg. To make allies of the prisoners of war, the Germans had built mosques, found imams, and published newspapers in their languages. Mehmet Akif made speeches in the mosques to the prisoners and prepared propaganda bulletins. These bulletins were dropped on enemy lines on the front. Mehmet Akif even personally went to the front to make speeches by megaphone to Muslim soldiers fighting in the enemy trenches. The propaganda bulletins prepared by Mehmet Akif were taken by the Germans as far as Java. These efforts had some practical results, since there were some who deserted from enemy lines and sought refuge among the Germans. As a result, the British and the French had to change the locations of their Muslim soldiers.⁴⁰

“Berlin Hatıraları”

From this poem it is clear that Mehmet Akif had been very impressed by what he had seen during this trip, and that he had become a real admirer of Germany. The poem begins with Mehmet Akif entering a café in Berlin together with a friend. Mehmet Akif compares at length the backwardness of Istanbul with the developed state of Berlin. While Mehmet Akif and his friend are sitting at the café, Mehmet Akif notes a woman in mourning dress and her family. In the following part of the poem, Mehmet Akif holds an imaginary conversation with the woman and consoles her, assuming that she has lost a son in the war. To lighten her sorrow, he mentions the African and Asian Muslims who are being made to fight for the Entente allies. It is clear that the propaganda activity for which the poet had gone to Berlin had touched him profoundly. Muslim soldiers from Tunisia, Algeria and the Caucasus had been taken to the battlefield against their own will to fight for the colonialist French, who were their real enemies. Mehmet Akif's comment is: “Neither for the honour of your nation, nor for your own glory! / You shall sacrifice your life for your greatest enemy! / Die so that: your country, your private honour / Can be trampled by foreign boots!” (309-310)

Mehmet Akif, while approaching the matter from this point of view on the one hand, on the other hand stresses the Germanness of the woman and explains the reasons for Germany's interest in Muslims. According to him, Germany's favourable approach towards the Orient is like “dawn beginning for the first time” for the Muslims, who have long been suffering from the West's cruelty. (311) Germany's importance for Mehmet Akif does not derive solely from its interest in

Muslims. Germany is an object of envy and a reference point for the adjustment of everything that is wrong in the Ottoman and Muslim worlds. According to Akif, two characteristics of Germany are important: union and progress. Undoubtedly the importance of these two features derived from the fact that “we” did not have them. After its victory in 1871, which had brought about its political union, Germany had worked a lot and progressed. (313-316)

In part, Germany manages to progress in this spirit of unity because of its sense of religion and country. Religion and non-religious social life co-exist without conflict; art, education and literature are dynamically productive and aimed at lofty ideals. In addition to this, the Jena defeat has brought Germans closer together, and thus the victory at Sedan has been possible. All of this is the result of patriotism arising from the harmonious relations between religion, art and social life. Unfortunately, nationalism works in a very different way when applied in the Ottoman context. According to Akif, the British are going to use nationalism to separate Arabs from Turks, in this way rendering useless the Caliphate and conquering Istanbul by passing quickly through the Dardanelles. (321-322)

After having expressed his thoughts concerning nationalism, Mehmet Akif stops the monologue directed at the German woman and, with great sorrow, starts to think about the attack at Gallipoli. Imagining the violence of this war, Mehmet Akif is very worried, because he thinks that should Gallipoli fall, the whole country will become a graveyard. At this point, even before the beginning of the Gallipoli ground battles, Mehmet Akif creates a prototype of his “Boğaz Harbi” (War for the Straits) poem, which would be included in *Asım*. An Ottoman soldier confidently addresses the poet and calms him down:

— Don’t be afraid!

Even hell we would stop on our chests;

This is God’s way, there is no returning!

Not a single stone of the private quarters of our families will fall!

Unless the last soldier at war is martyred.

If this great crowd in front of us should attack us viciously;

If armies should arise from the seas, navies rain from the clouds;

If where we are volcanoes

Should erupt and a bitter red wind should envelop the hori-

zons;

Isn't there a single faith on our front;

A common joy, sadness, aim, conscience;

Haven't we all got a single heart in our breasts... It won't surrender!

Even if the world collapsed, this front would resist!

In the same way the craziness of humanity falls to pieces on the horizon,

When trying to overwhelm God,

In the same way that illusions fighting the light of truth

Are after sparks of ardour forgotten,

Thus the Doomsday in front of us will be assembled.

Soon this front will be relieved... (324-325)

As is evident from this poem, Mehmet Akif is happy that the Ottoman Empire has entered war as an ally of Germany. He believes that Germans are sincere in their approach to Muslims and considers them to be a good reference point for patriotism. Nevertheless, the troubles his country is going through and the conflicts arising from 'nationalism' are distressing him. His only hopes rest on the army, which is confronting the enemies, resolved to break up his country. Consequently, in the first poem of *Hatıralar*, which was published in 1917, he praises the fighters not just of Gallipoli but of all fronts in which the Ottoman army is fighting, and he repeats his faith that God will reward this effort with victory. (278-279)

Asım

Asım, Mehmet Akif's most important work concerning the war, was completed after the war and published in book form for the first time in 1924. This 2,500-line book is comprised mainly of a dialogue between Hocaşade, representing Mehmet Akif and Köse İmam, who was a friend of Hocaşade's father. From the subjects taken up in the book, it is clear that the events happen during 1917-1918, when war fatigue has set in. Towards its end, *Asım*, who is the son of Köse İmam and whose name is featured in the title of the work, is used as an excuse to discuss the conditions of youth. Thanks to Mehmet Akif's lively style, *Asım* is easily read; however, the book is generally pessimistic, except for the last part concerning youth.

The Hocaşade-Köse İmam conversation makes clear the destruction and difficulties caused all over the country by the ongoing World

War. In one section, the difficulties the country is experiencing are expressed almost with the intensity of a lament:

The violet sea of my country is spraying blood!
 There are only a few hearths alight... But weakly...
 While I search for a familiar house...
 I feel my eyes burning:
 My horizon is enveloped by thousands of hot ember heaps.

...

The Turk's land is in ruins everywhere;
 Yesterday's happy hearths are no more.

...

Where are the girls beautiful like the moon, playing around?
 Where are the millions of gallant knights, strong like mountains?
 Not one of them exists... It is all a legend, a lie!
 This is an incurable wound in surviving hearts. (355-356)

In another longish section, Hocaîade starts describing the plight of the peasants. Both the health and the ethics of the peasants are gone; they look miserable. Their debts are unpaid, all their properties mortgaged. They have drifted away from religion and have lost their chance of schooling. Malaria, prostitution, alcoholism and gambling are widespread. Together with immorality, the death rate has also increased. In addition to this, the decrease in weddings has reduced the birth rate. (361-362) Köse İmam finds this situation unbearable and starts criticizing the CUP government. (388) Köse İmam is completely without hope; to console him, Hocaîade tries to direct the conversation towards the subject of youth. Nevertheless, Köse İmam does not have faith in "Asım's generation" either. At this point, Hocaîade briefly introduces the subject of the difficulties the army, which is made up of young men, is living through:

The boys are running, hungry, naked,
 From one front to the other, like lions, never stopping,
 Even a lion would be afraid of death;
 These boys have become intimate with death itself!
 Each front is in a different continent, all are encircled by the sea:
 The land is even more terrible: Neither a road, nor a path...

Hoca! As you see the easiest operations are,
 Conquering the Caucasus barefoot, taking the Sinai barehead-
 ed!
 If you think it can be done; try it and let's see...
 This game is not puss-in-the-corner any more, it is puss-in-the-
 continent. (410)

After this brief introductory summary, Hocaîade recites the "Boğaz Harbi" poem, a poem which is at least as famous as Akif's "İstiklal Marşı". In this poem Mehmet Akif manages, with equal success, to both describe the violence of the Gallipoli Battle and address in a lyrical way the soldier martyred on the battlefield. "Boğaz Harbi", the prototype of which was "Berlin Hatıraları", is the strongest poem in Turkish literature with the Gallipoli Battle as its subject. It is also in accordance with the way the Gallipoli Battle has been generally approached, both during and after the World War. As is the case in many other examples, this poem describes Gallipoli as the zenith of Ottoman-Turkish participation in the First World War.

The part of *Asım* following "Boğaz Harbi" is especially important for its description of war fatigue. Köse İmam is touched by what Hocaîade says about Gallipoli and cries; this does not lighten his mood, since the General War is a foolery worse than the *Karagöz* shadow puppet shows. While the people are suffering because of all the difficulties, "a herd of insatiable wolves" is feasting on the dead: "I don't think that this is the way to ultimate glory! / You have entered war with these people saying that it was necessary; / My dear, is also this misery necessary, it would be so nice to know?" (419-420)

In the following sections it becomes clearer that the real problem of Köse İmam is his son, Asım. Wounded in the war, Asım has come back to Istanbul on leave. He is strong and has high moral principles. He cannot stand injustice and impudence. For example, one day, when he is on one of the boats of the urban service, he beats up a few rough types who were eating during the Ramadan fast. He has a lot of these kinds of incidents in the district where he lives. The latest plan he undertakes to realize really scares Köse İmam and convinces him to ask for Hocaîade's assistance. Seeing all the unfavourable developments, Asım and his friends have decided to raid the Babiali. This is no different from committing suicide. Hocaîade sees the danger and calms Köse İmam down by promising that he will talk to Asım.

During his talk with Asım, Hocazâde tries to dissuade him from wasting his energies on such temporary problems, and to direct him towards the essence of the problem. According to Hocazâde, the Ottomans are continuously being disappointed, because they are less knowledgeable than their enemies. "The Orient is backwards, with regard to both virtue and capabilities." (431) Nevertheless, thanks to religion, the roots of the virtue of a nation will never die out. The present unfavourable circumstances are the results of "the acts of a few clowns". At this point, what has to be done is to import the science of the West. Hocazâde convinces Asım to take his friends with him and go to Germany to receive an education. Once Asım and his generation bring back with them the science of the West, all evil will have been destroyed at its roots.

Asım narrates events happening during the period 1917-18, which was the second half of the First World War. Very probably it had also begun to be written in those days. This is a work in which Mehmet Akif's approach to the CUP, of which he was a member, is more critical. Even though Hocazâde, who represents Mehmet Akif, tries to defend the CUP in his discussions with Köse İmam, not only is he not successful in this, but he also does not seem to be very keen on it. Clearly, Akif, who was part of the weaker Islamist branch of the CUP, was drifting away from the party because of the increasing dominance of the nationalist, Turanist movement. Mehmet Akif was of the opinion that nationalism divided a nation based on religion and that, combined with other evils, contributed to the weakening of the state. Although he went to Anatolia and participated in the struggle for independence at the earliest possible opportunity, he was to remain opposed to nationalism until his dying day.

THE WAR AND PROSE

The Turkish writers of the wartime period wrote in almost any literary genre; even writers, whom today we would call short story writers or novelists, wrote non-fiction works and also poetry. All the same, they were subdivided into the two main categories of *nâsir* (prose writer) and *şair* (poet), with prose writers being those whose main output was something other than poetry. The generic distinctions within works in prose were considered less important than the main prose-poetry distinction. The lack of generic distinctions was due to a lack of development of the readership and of the cultural market, as a result of the low literacy rate and of the generally low levels of welfare.

During the war there were two important non-fiction writers outside the National Literature movement: Cenap Şehabettin and Süleyman Nazif.¹ Both these writers were in reality poets. They were opposed to the simple Turkish approach of Gökâlp and were able to use in their works flowery Ottoman Turkish in the most artistic way. Süleyman Nazif and especially Cenap Şehabettin did not create many works particularly important from a propaganda standpoint. The only thing they did was to modify works already published in periodicals, to make them more in accordance with government policies, and to portray the war in a more favourable way.

After the beginning of the war, Cenap Şehabettin's articles, which had appeared in periodicals, were collected in the book titled *Evrâk-ı Eyyam* (The Documents of Days).² His articles directly related to the war and his impressions of the study trip he had undertaken in 1917 in Europe were published in 1917 in the *Tasvîr-i Efşkâr* newspaper. His war-related articles were collected in the book titled *Nesr-i Harp, Nesr-i Sulh ve Tiryaki Sözleri* (Wartime Prose, Peacetime Prose and the Sayings of an Addict) published in 1918, while his *Avrupa*

Mektupları (Letters from Europe), describing his trip to Europe, were printed in book form in 1919.³

Süleyman Nazif, one of the Young Turks of the pre-1908 period, wrote for periodicals throughout the First World War and in particular wrote patriotic articles for *Harp Mecmuası*. When, however, Süleyman Nazif, who had an ambiguous relationship with the CUP, looked as if he were starting to write in ways sympathetic to the opposition, he was appointed governor of distant provinces in order to silence him. He used a flowery Ottoman style. All the same, from the point of view of patriotic agitation, he was more productive than many Turkist writers. During the war, two books of his related to the war were published. The first of these, *Batarya ile Ateş* (Artillery Batteries Firing), was a collection of articles about war, written by him during various Ottoman wars. At the beginning of this book there was a short preface, dated 12 October 1331/25 October 1915, in which the writer dedicates it to the martyrs.⁴

The second book of the writer to be published during the war was *Âsitân-ı Tarihte: Galiçya (Birinci Defter)* (On the Threshold of History: Galicia, the First Notebook). This may have been a work prepared after the meeting with Enver Pasha mentioned in Chapter Four. Since in the preface of the book there was the statement, "The third year of our participation in the World War will be complete in three months", the book was likely published around August 1917. In this preface, the writer mentions the heroic soldiers and says, "I am writing these pages for them. My wish is that they should read these lines, as they resolutely wait for events in their trenches."⁵ From this, one may justifiably conclude that the writer knew that the book would be bought by the army and distributed among the soldiers. This book refers to the historical reasons of Turkish-Russian enmity and mentions the names and acts of the officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves on the Galicia front.

As for the field of non-fiction, one has to mention the name of Falih Rıfkı [Atay], who was a member of the younger generation and who would become famous during the armistice years. Falih Rıfkı had participated in the war as a young reserve officer and had spent these four war years with Cemal Pasha, first at his headquarters in Syria and then as his secretary in Istanbul. For this reason, his articles about the Syrian front were published both in *Harp Mecmuası* and in *Yeni Mecmua*. In these articles, the heroism of the Ottoman

soldiers fighting in the desert was described in masterly fashion. Towards the end of the war, the writer published a book, *Ateş ve Güneş* (Fire and Sun), that also included these articles.⁶ This book described the waste of people and money on the Arab front, at a time when both the CUP government and the state itself were falling apart, but at the same time underlined the heroism of the Anatolian soldiers and officers of lower rank. Its apologetic approach aimed to lighten the uncertainty and low morale of the days just before the armistice. It can be said that it was one of the first signs of the kind of nationalism to appear during the War of Independence years that did not focus on the imperial geography but on Anatolia. In this sense, Falih Rıfkı occupied a different place in comparison to the elder generation of prose writers like Cenap Şehabettin and Süleyman Nazif.

In his preface to the book, Falih Rıfkı makes an important distinction: "We have to distinguish between the war of the government and the war of the nation. We cannot consider in the same way a commander who has made a wrong decision and a peasant who dies while trying to execute that order." (7) Taking this distinction as his starting point, he criticized first of all the writers who were not describing the war of the nation and secondly the government, which he thought was preventing this. (9-11)

Falih Rıfkı explained the reason for the lack of success of the government's superficial propaganda by saying that the war had not been conducted within the borders of the empire, but rather in far flung regions of it, which were not perceived as one's own country. Certainly the matter had more concrete reasons as well. During the long years during which the Anatolian peasants were kept away from their land, country and family, nothing had been done to awaken their national consciousness. Consequently, even though Turkish soldiers did what was required from them on the front, they did not perceive the war as their own. The writer saw this situation even in the words of the songs sung by the soldiers. The Turkish soldiers sent to the fronts of the First World War were not enthusiastic; they did not create and sing songs related to the mobilization. Instead, the rarely heard songs were those created in previous wars. (21-22)

Very few novels were written during the war. Among the novels written in this period and the short stories that were published in book form, there were some concerning Turkish history of pre- and post-Islam times, Ottoman history and also a few about more recent

events. These were poorly written works that are not known in our times. Among the wartime novels one has to mention, even though it was not directly related to the war, Halide Edip's novel *Mev'ud Hüküm* (Predestined Judgement), and the novel by Refik Halit, *İstanbul'un İyüzü* (The Real Face of Istanbul), dated 1918.

On the other hand, I must especially mention the fourty-eight-page long story by Orhan Midhat, published in 1917 with the title *Kanlı Muşaka* (Bloody Love Affair). In this work, Orhan Midhat narrates a transformation. At the beginning of the war, Seyfettin, the hero of the novel, was a snob with no sense of patriotism, who, being afraid of death, did not enlist. Nevertheless, he finally enlisted as a result of the entreaties of his father, a heroic pasha, and of his fiancée, Saliha. During the war his fear made him desert, but on the road he saw an enemy trap, which he blew up. As a result, he was wounded and died in the hospital, proud of having done his duty. His father and fiancée proudly cried at his bedside.⁷

The reason why this story of patriotic agitation is mentioned here is that it is quite similar to the famous novel *Kiralık Konak* (Mansion for Rent) by Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu], which first appeared in installments in the newspaper *İkdam* in 1920, before being published in book form in 1922. In this novel the hero was also a pampered poet. When the war began he was recruited as a reserve officer and he, too, was transformed into a real nationalist and soldier. Contrary to the previous story by Orhan Midhat, in this novel written by Yakup Kadri with the aim of portraying the decay of Ottoman society during the First World War, there was no patriotic father or fiancée; all the characters except the hero were egoistic and degenerate. Thus, just before being martyred at Gallipoli, the protagonist of Yakup Kadri's novel was not happy, but despondent and disillusioned.

During the First World War, the field of short stories was also unproductive, with the exception of Ömer Seyfettin and Refik Halit. The short stories that were being written adhered to a broad spectrum of artistic preferences and targeted a wide variety of audiences. This was not due to the fact that there were many literary audiences, but rather to the subjective choices of writers, who did not have a responsive audience. This can be seen also in the short stories that appeared in the *Yeni Mecmua Çanakkale Nüsha-ı Fevkalâdesi*.

The latter was a special issue of *Yeni Mecmua* containing ten short stories. The most prominent example of these is a story in which

satire is very masterfully combined with patriotism. The writer of this story, which is titled "Mustafa'nın Hilesi" (Mustafa's Trick), was Fahri Celâl [Göktulga], who was also known by his pen name F. Celâleddin. Even though he was not very famous, this writer was an important name in modern Turkish short story writing in the period from the last years of the Ottoman Empire to the Republic. In "Mustafa'nın Hilesi", a major and a lieutenant are conversing in a trench in the desert. The major, remembering Gallipoli, says that the British have been stopped not just with death but also with intelligence and as an example, he recounts an event he witnessed at Ariburnu. One day *Mekkareci* (a soldier in charge of pack animals) Mustafa came back with a mule laden with British food. While Mustafa was transporting water, his mule had slipped and fallen into a British trench. To save himself, Mustafa told the local British commander that his Turkish commander was sending him water. The British commander, touched by this, had repaid the favour by sending back a lot of food. The story is charmingly satirical. It ends as follows: "By now our trenches were near. While I was leaving, they greeted me with thanks and good byes; upon which I turned and shouted '*Guguk...*' [Cuckoo; in imitation of "good by"]".⁸

At this point, before the end of the general outlook concerning prose, another writer has to be mentioned. This was a writer who wrote about the First World War after its end, as an event of the past, in other words, a remembered event. Nevertheless, it would be an injustice to neglect this writer, who has followed us throughout this book like a spectre, just because she has written little about the war during the war itself. This writer is Halide Edip [Adıvar]. Adıvar has been frequently mentioned throughout this work as an influential and tenacious Anatolianist nationalist.

Halide Edip was a Turanist from the end of the Balkan War until the end of 1914; hers, however, was a Turanism without its "pan" elements. Even in that period, her nationalism took precedence over her own time and place. Halide Edip dreamed about a developed, modern homeland. This dream, contrary to the Pan-Turanists' approach, made her concentrate not on a distant and legendary Turkish history, but on the nearer and more easily imagined Ottoman history. For example, in her short story titled "Ocağım-Türk Ocağına" (My Hearth, the Turkish Hearth), which appeared in *Tanin* dated 1 January 1914, one can see an early example of this orientation. This story celebrates the awakening of a national conscience;

a woman, made happy by this national reawakening, converses with the hearth, an entity that represents national ego. The hearth tries to interest the woman in Ottoman history and stresses the importance of the Ottoman Sultans in the construction of Turkishness.⁹

According to Halide Edip, the Sultans who had enlarged and developed the country were also those who for the first time created Turkishness, which in her times was reawakening. We owe today to their efforts in those long gone days. In this way, Halide Edip may have been trying to reject the ideas of the Turanist-Turkists, who looked for nationalism's roots in a distant Central Asian Turkish history.

What was it that distinguished Halide Edip from the nationalist approach of her time? Seeing that she attached so much importance to the ancient Sultans, could it have been Ottomanism? It could not have been, because Ottomanism as a political ideology was opposed to Turkish nationalism and strove to prevent the awakening of similar nationalisms among other ethnic groups existing within the then present borders, and Halide Edip was a Turkish nationalist. She wanted a society and state formed on the basis of national elements. Nevertheless, she believed that this could have been formed with a specifically historicist approach. Her approach did not use legend, did not require pure invention and was based on an intention to form a sentimental liaison between a concrete and historically realistic Ottoman past and the present times.

Halide Edip was not in favour of a revolutionary national imagination, preferring instead an evolutionary romantic historicism that would have activated and developed the existing society. She wrote a novel called *Yeni Turan*, but for her Turan was a symbol, a stepping stone that one could use to reach a better tomorrow. If we looked for a nationalist approach similar from this point of view to Halide Edip's, the best we could find would be Yahya Kemal's cultural nationalism, expressed with the concept of *imtidat* (dureé) taken from Bergson in 1920, according to which one could form the present and the future by taking strength from one's own past.

Halide Edip's nationalist historicism was not pragmatic in that it tried to establish a sentimental tie between the past and the present; it was romantic. At the same time, this conceptual romanticism did not prevent her from taking practical action focused on practical results. In comparison to many of her male intellectual contemporaries, Halide Edip worked more and was more productive. She

worked with the aim of educating the common people and in particular the women and children, because she believed that only an educated society was capable of development. That was why she participated in educational projects both before and during the war. In the context of this effort, she approached the common people and tried to understand them; in general, her approach gave precedence to understanding and reaching an agreement on common ground. Very probably this was the reason why she opposed the CUP's policy of deporting Armenians. She developed this approach in the novels and memoirs she wrote after the war.

Ömer Seyfettin: Practitioner of Nationalism

Ömer Seyfettin, who was born in Gönen on 11 March 1884 and died in Istanbul on 6 March 1920 when he was just thirty-six years old, was a pioneer of modern Turkish short story writing. There were other short story writers both before and after him, but with the hundreds of stories he managed to write in his short life, he was the one who did most for the establishment of this genre in Turkish literature. Ömer Seyfettin's short stories were generally based on observation; his characters were presented in an atmosphere of suspense, and the stories were realistic, mostly satirical and similar to those of Maupassant.¹⁰ The fact that these stories were written in an easy language and were simple and short have made them classics of Turkish literature. For the same reasons, even though he had no such intention, he has been perceived as a writer for children and many editions of his collected complete works have been published.¹¹ Another important reason for the interest shown Ömer Seyfettin is that he reflected in fiction the main problems and events of the first phases of Turkish nationalism; many issues like the anti-Ottoman nationalist turbulence in the Balkans at the beginning of the twentieth century, the post-Balkan War situation, and the existence of groups opposed to Turkism have found their crystallized expression in the modern Turkish collective memory by means of these short stories.

Ömer Seyfettin's father was a soldier and Ömer Seyfettin, too, started his professional life as a soldier. He graduated from a military school in 1903 and while serving in Izmir and in its environs, he also started writing as an amateur. The 1908 Revolution was a determining moment of his life; after the introduction of a constitutional monarchy, Ömer Seyfettin was sent to Macedonia where he personally observed the anti-Ottoman nationalist wind blowing in the

Balkans. As in the case of many other officers, the enthusiastic nationalism of non-Muslim ethnic groups would lead him to gravitate towards Turkish nationalism. During those same times, the fact that he had been writing for the Salonika magazine *Genç Kalemler* and that he was one of the founders of the *yeni lisan* movement convinced him to take an important decision regarding his career, and so he resigned from the army with the aim of becoming a teacher. Unfortunately, the Balkan War broke out at the end of 1912 and he was called up before having had the time to realize his plans. When Yanina, in whose defence he had participated, fell to the Greeks on 18 January 1913, he became a prisoner of war and was held captive for one year.¹² After his release, he came to Istanbul at the end of 1913 and with the support of Ziya Gökalp was appointed as editor-in-chief of *Türk Sözü*, a cultural magazine close to the CUP. During the same period he was also appointed as a teacher to the Kabataş High School, where he worked until his death in 1920.¹³

1914-1917: Nationalist Polemicist

In this period, Ömer Seyfettin's war-related output consisted predominantly of polemicist-propagandist pamphlets, articles and poems addressing both Turkist and non-Turkist public opinion. In all these works he used a very simple language suitable to the *yeni lisan* movement and explicated and reproduced the nationalist thought deriving from Ziya Gökalp in the context of different events. Actually, Ömer Seyfettin had already demonstrated his successful polemicist style as far back as 1911 when he was in Salonika, with a thirty-four-page pamphlet titled *Vatan! Yalnız Vatan...* (Fatherland! Only the Fatherland...) and signed *Genç Kalemler Tahrir Heyeti* (*Genç Kalemler* Editorial Board).¹⁴ This pamphlet referred to a masonic newspaper titled *Güneş* (Sun),¹⁵ which had just started being published. The pamphlet attacked the humanist and internationalist thoughts propounded by this newspaper. According to the writer of the pamphlet, these thoughts were the political results of Freemasonry and they would have had the effect of strengthening antipatriotist and antimilitarist movements at the expense of nationalism, just as had happened in Europe. Another point mentioned was the fact that one of this newspaper's writers had chosen the pen name *Turgut*, which was one of the names that had just started to spread among Turkists. This, according to the pamphlet, meant that propaganda spread-

ing the rumour that Turkists were Freemasons would begin to circulate. There was a long explanation related to the fact that those who were spreading internationalism in Turkey were the same European great powers who had prevented this movement from spreading among their own people and who were now striving to carve up Turkey. The following conclusions were therefore reached: Nations are ruined not by war, but by peace; peaceful nations cannot develop; a nation's denial of its nationhood spells suicide.¹⁶ Thus the most powerful weapon against colonialist Europeans would have been "love of the motherland and a consciousness of nationhood". (*Makaleler* 1, 159)

Turkism was very widespread by the time Ömer Seyfettin was released from his captivity in Greece and had arrived in Istanbul. He immediately found a place within the Turkist press and became editor-in-chief of *Türk Sözü*. Ömer Seyfettin stated the goal of this magazine in the editorial article of the first issue: "*Türk Sözü* will be a door connecting the awakening, educated, noble Turkish youth, who loves its nation, with the Turkish people, who are still sleeping, but waiting to be enlightened. By passing through that door, youth will not descend to a lower level; quite the opposite, it will raise the people, its own essence, its own nation, to its level."¹⁷ All the activities of Ömer Seyfettin during this period, both in this magazine and in other magazines, would be in accordance with the goal stated in this sentence: transmitting nationalist ideology to the people.

During the years 1914-1917, Ömer Seyfettin wrote mostly poems; these were published in periodicals like *Türk Yurdu*, *Halka Doğru*, *Türk Sözü*, *Donanma* and *Tanin*, and were mostly based on ideas of Turan and Turkish union and reflected the mood of the times.¹⁸ In these poems, one can often see an image or image group, which is seen frequently in his stories as well: revival.¹⁹ Examples of this image, which was an important part of nationalist imagination, could be found even in the titles of poems by Ömer Seyfettin: "Yeni Gün" (New Day), "Güneş" (Sun), "Fecir" (Dawn) and "Uyku" (Sleep).

Nevertheless, the articles and pamphlets Ömer Seyfettin published in this period were more important than his poems. In 1914, Ömer Seyfettin published four pamphlets on various occasions: *Millî Tecrübelerden Çıkarılmış Amelî Siyaset* (Practical Politics Derived From National Experiences), *Herkes İçin İktimaiyat: Ticaret ve Nasip* (Sociology for Everybody: Trade and One's Lot in Life), *Mektep Çocuklarında Türklük Mefkûresi* (The Ideal of Turkishness in School

Children) and *Yarınki Turan Devleti* (Tomorrow's Turan State).²⁰ The date at the end of *Yarınki Turan Devleti* shows that it was completed on 11 November 1330/24 November 1914. Thus it is clear that this pamphlet was written after entry into the war. The dates when the other pamphlets were written and published are not known, but from their contents one can deduce that the first two in particular were published during the Muslim Boycott of 1914. Even though *Mektep Çocuklarında Türklük Mefkûresi* is not dated, from the fact that its contents are similar to those of the other pamphlets, one can surmise that it was published more or less at the same time as the others, i.e. before the start of the war in August.

Millî Tecrübelerden Çıkarılmış Amelî Siyaset is a pamphlet that was prepared for the purpose of defending the CUP and attacking its opponents. It begins with a summary of the events that had occurred since the 1908 Revolution, as seen from a nationalist point of view, and continues with a quantitative comparison between the Turkish population and the other ethnic components of the empire. As a result of this comparison, the writer establishes the fact that the great majority of the population is made up of Turks and Arabs. He stresses the point that all the interests of these two components are in accord. The CUP, so the writer maintains, represent the strongest basis of the ideals of Turkishness and Islam that could unite these two elements and guarantee the progress of the country. The writer writes with the tone of a non-CUP impartial observer and attacks the *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Partisi* (Liberty and Agreement Party), which had become a plaything of European imperialism, saying that not supporting the CUP means surrendering to Christian enemies. Thus every citizen should unite under the ideals of Turkishness and Islam and under the leadership of the CUP. (*Makaleler* 1, 350)

In the *Ticaret ve Nasip* pamphlet, Ömer Seyfettin states that the reason for the economic backwardness of the Turkish and Muslim population is its inactiveness in commerce and stresses the fact that the creation of a national economy depends on an increase in the number of Muslim merchants. The writer explains these ideas and shows how Turks are not active enough in commerce and makes an interesting appeal to his writer colleagues:

None of the novels written up to now—Halit Ziya's *Ferdi ve Şürekâsı* [Ferdi and His Partners] being the only exception—has had as its protagonist a merchant type whom the readers

could love ... We like money because we need it, but at the same time we hesitate before mentioning it. This same attitude is also present among novelists. In our novels, the happy and contented heroes are always high-level government employees, pashas, rentiers and inheritors. Never a merchant ... If these writers would only abandon their fixation with "Art for art's sake!" and start to describe, even if only implicitly, the difficulty of living as an employee, its monotony, limitations and for example glorify a bit the position of a grocer... then probably within twenty-five, thirty years a happy transformation would start. (*Makaleler* 1, 306)

Throughout the pamphlet, Ömer Seyfettin makes similar appeals to all educated young people. Ömer Seyfettin considers "economic defeat" as "the beginning of political defeat and of death" and thinks that this could be prevented only if nationalist youth starts to be active in commerce. Probably on the basis of the boycott's success, he came to the conclusion that the ideal of a national economy could also be attained. The birth of the *Türklük mefkûresi* is another factor that brought him to this conviction. Towards the end of the pamphlet, Ömer Seyfettin repeats Gökalp's definition of *mefkûre*: "The *mefkûre* was a seed. It was planted in the conscience of the nation. This was sudden. From now on it will develop." (*Makaleler* 1, 317)

The thirty-page pamphlet *Mektep Çocuklarına Türklük Mefkûresi* appeared with the initials Ö. S., and its goal was the indoctrination of children. This was a matter to which the Turkist movement of the post-Balkan War period attached great importance. The pamphlet is nothing other than an adaptation for children of the thoughts explained in Gökalp's "Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak". The concepts of *mefkûre* (ideal), *millet* (nation), *ümme*t (religious community) and *devlet* (state) are explained in a way that children can easily understand; the community of nationhood and religion are also stressed. One of the most striking parts of the pamphlet is the chapter in which it is explained how a Turkish child can recognize if a book had been written by someone with sentiments of enmity towards the Turkish nation. When children find a book in which the number of Turks in the country has been reduced, they should ask questions concerning the writers identity (A Turkist or someone else?), the conception of nation in the writer's mind and the

sources used by him to discover “the lies and intentions of the enemy”. (*Makaleler 1*, 356) The chapter at the end of the pamphlet, titled “How does a child become a Turkish nationalist?”, was an explanation for children of the principles cherished by the Turkish nationalists of those days: A Turkish child loves the Turkish he speaks, his religion and nation; he tries to learn Turkish history; he is always proud of his Turkishness; and he never forgets that his nation is eternal. (*Makaleler 1*, 362)

The pamphlet *Yarınki Turan Devleti*, which Ömer Seyfettin wrote after the Ottoman Empire’s entry into war and signed with his own name, spells out the Pan-Turanist aims of war. The statement “The natural borders of a state do not consist of mountains and rivers; they consist of the limits to which the language and religion of the nation upon which it is based” that appear on the cover of the pamphlet, is another way of expressing Gökalp’s aim of Turkish unification. (*Makaleler 1*, 319) The pamphlet begins by stating that war is a social institution and also necessary for a nation’s growth and development. It goes on by entering into the details of the descriptions of *millet* and *mefkûre* and recognizing that every nation had its own *mefkûre*. Nevertheless, “Russian and British imperialism can never be considered a *mefkûre* in harmony with nature and truth.” (*Makaleler 1*, 324)

On the other hand, the *mefkûre* of Turkishness is both natural and realistic, because all it wishes for is the unification of all Turks having a common language and religion. In the following part of the pamphlet, the borders of the Turkish world are described at length. Nevertheless, it is claimed, the war aim that most worries the enemies and pleases the Germans is the unification of all the Muslims of the world under the banner of the Caliph by means of a *jihād*. This goal is even more important than the *mefkûre* of Turkishness. According to Ömer Seyfettin, this war was primarily a religious war. (*Makaleler 1*, 328) When propaganda efforts weakened a short while after entry into the war, Ömer Seyfettin stopped writing partisan pamphlets.

1917-1918: Fiction as a Tool for National Identity Construction

Ömer Seyfettin published an article titled “Edebiyatta Durgunluk” (Stagnation in Literature) in the newspaper *Turan* dated 3 November 1331/16 November 1915. This article was written in response to accusations by spheres opposed to Turkism and nation-

al literature, according to which literature was stagnating. It claims that in the post-1908 period, all the problems arising from the strengthening of nationalism, for which solutions were being sought, had become an area of interest for writers. The newly born national movement had not yet been able to find a national style, which it had to find and be based upon, because of these problems and the ongoing war. As this national style was slowly reached, the stagnation in literature would also end. (*Makaleler* 1, 382-383) In this period, when the war was just beginning to make itself felt, Ömer Seyfettin assumed, like many of his colleagues, an apologetic attitude ascribing literary unproductiveness to external factors.

Actually, in 1917 Ömer Seyfettin was about to enter the most productive period of his life, during which he would write most of his short stories. The period that started at the beginning of 1917—especially after the first issue of *Yeni Mecmua* appeared on 12 July 1917—and continued up until the end of 1919 was really the most productive period of Ömer Seyfettin's life. Most of his short stories were published during this period. Each week his stories appeared in more than one magazine. Ömer Seyfettin was continuously researching ways of forming a national identity. Actually, this effort was not something new for him since he and his friends had already worked for similar goals when he was writing for *Genç Kalemler*. Nevertheless, the stories written by Ömer Seyfettin in this period were characterized by a negative nationalism defined in opposition to the 'other'. In this we see the influence of the bitter defeat in the Balkans and of the resulting one year he spent as a prisoner of war. In stories like "Beyaz Lale" (White Tulip) or "Bomba" (Bomb), there was the effort of waking up Turkish nationalism by exposing the evil and cruel nationalism of the Bulgarians and of the Greeks.²¹ The period beginning with *Yeni Mecmua* was different. The enormity of the ongoing war and the necessity to respond more rationally to the challenge of the events guided Ömer Seyfettin towards a more realistic nationalist approach, one that derived from his own past and his own daily life.

From the very beginning, Ömer Seyfettin's stories evolved towards a realistic style. His effort to develop a simple Turkish, easily understandable by the man in the street, was related to this realism. Ömer Seyfettin's choice of realism, however, was not only a professional choice; it was something required by nationalism as a way of giving significance to the world. Erich Auerbach, who analysed in detail

realism's position in Western literature in his *Mimesis*, stated the following point:

The serious treatment of everyday reality, the rise of more extensive and socially inferior human groups to the position of subject matter for problematic-existential representation, on the one hand; on the other, the embedding of random persons and events in the general course of contemporary history, the fluid historical background—these we believe, are the foundations of modern realism, and it is natural that the broad and elastic form of the novel should increasingly impose itself for a rendering comprising so many elements.²²

Another researcher, who looked at the matter from the point of view of nationalism, described Auerbach's analysis in the following way: "In other words, the novel brought together the 'high' and the 'low' within a national framework—not fortuitously, but for specific national reasons."²³

Even though this point was made concerning novels, it can be applied also to Ömer Seyfettin's stories. It can be said that Ömer Seyfettin's main subject was the lower classes and that he tried to insert these classes, their petty lives, their efforts to overcome the difficulties they encountered, into national literature. This was true both when he concentrated on folk literature and thus Anatolian people and when he described the *züppes* (dandies) and *kabadayıs* or *külhanbeyis* (tough chaps) of Istanbul.²⁴

Ömer Seyfettin's realism deriving from nationalism inevitably guided him towards another element: history. Nationalism can be seen as a project aiming to re-organize a society around a new point of view. One of the more important starting points of this re-organization is surely a national history. This history should be a history compatible with the circumstances of the present day and capable of influencing its future attitudes. The history created by the traditional approach, against which the project to build a nation is in opposition, should be used as a basis and reinterpreted in the light of the new conceptions. There were also other works during this period which could have served as a source of inspiration for Ömer Seyfettin in his attempt to apply this approach. For example, studies under the title of *Geçmiş Devirlerde Osmanlı Hayatı* (Ottoman Life in the Past) by the popular historian Ahmet Refik were an impor-

tant source of inspiration for Ömer Seyfettin and other writers close to the CUP.²⁵

There are eleven stories making up the series that Ömer Seyfettin published with the title of *Eski Kahramanlar* (Ancient Heroes).²⁶ The series as a whole has a certain internal coherence, as the stories were published in the same magazine at times not distant from each other, and treated similar subjects. While preparing this series, Ömer Seyfettin based his stories on anecdotes like events recounted in chronicles of the classical period. The method he used when using sources of classical Ottoman historiography like *Peçevî*, was to extract from them the parts that could be used in a short story and adapt them to present circumstances in a way that would offer guidance to the story's readers towards the goal of building a national identity. Confirmation of this guidance's success can be found in the testimony provided by Vâlâ Nurettin, who in those years was a student at the *Galatasaray Sultanisi* (Galatasaray High School): "Ömer Seyfettin made us feel better, as if a window had opened in front of us. We waited impatiently for the publication of each issue of *Yeni Mecmua*. We were its loyal readers. We especially liked the historical stories of heroism, because they answered the needs of those years' youth."²⁷

When the stories are analysed in detail, one can see that "the needs of those years' youth" were not just simple action stories. Even though there was a heroic act in almost every story, the writer's message was not focused on the action itself. Some of the stories focused on the need to obey orders ["Ferman" (Imperial Order), "Kızıl elma Neresi?" (Where is the Red Apple?)]; some were examples of intelligence at the service of patriotism ["Kütük" (The Log), "Vire" (Terms of Surrender), "Topuz" (Mace)]; some described the pride felt for being a member of a national community ["Pembe İncili Kaftan" (The Robe with Pink Pearls), "Diyet" (Blood-Money)]; the force arising from solidarity and unity ["Teke Tek" (One on One), "Vire", "Topuz", "Başını Vermeyen Şehit" (The Martyr Who Did Not Surrender His Head)]; the centrality of a leader representing national identity ["Kızıl elma Neresi?", "Teselli" (Consolation)]; and the need to be a part of a whole and modesty ["Pembe İncili Kaftan", "Büyücü" (The Sorcerer), "Ferman"]. In only one of these, "Başını Vermeyen Şehit", which the writer took from *Peçevî* without making hardly any changes, the nobility of fighting for one's own country and of being martyred for it gained precedence over the above-mentioned points.

Another point common to almost all these stories was the fact that they were set in the times of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. It is clear that Ömer Seyfettin saw Süleyman's reign, during which the Empire was at its largest and strongest, as a golden era. The stories "Ferman", "Başını Vermeyen Şehit", "Kızılalma Neresi?", "Teke Tek", "Topuz", "Kütük", and "Vire" narrated events tied to Sultan Süleyman's conquests in the West, while "Pembe İncili Kaftan" and "Teselli" narrated events in the East, i.e. problems with Persia. The fact that wars of conquest both with the West and the East were being narrated was significant from the point of view of the present war's circumstances. During the period when this series was being published, the Ottoman Empire had on the one hand completed the Gallipoli Battle and helped its allies at the Galicia front in the West, while on the other hand it continued to fight in the East against the Russians on the Caucasian front and against the British on the Iraqi and Syrian fronts. Ömer Seyfettin, by choosing events for his stories both from the west and the east, was referring to the circumstances of the present war.

Among the stories of this series, only "Diyet" and "Büyücü" do not fit into this classification. "Büyücü" is set in the times of Selahattin Eyyübi and its hero is a scientist called Doğan. Due to the ignorance of the people, this scientist was expelled from Damascus on the orders of Eyyübi, who is afraid of disturbances. Thanks to his wisdom, however, Doğan manages to save the city of Acre from the Crusaders. Even though Eyyübi tries to reward him, he prefers to retire to a secluded spot. In this way, Ömer Seyfettin appeals to scientists and intellectuals to be modest and at the same time uses the Crusades and Eyyübi as a reference for the ongoing war. "Diyet" was the last story of the series and narrated an individual event. Interestingly, in this case the moral of the story concerned modesty and pride, but it was different from the others since it concentrated on the individual heroism of the ironsmith and swordmaker Koca Ali.

While this series seemed to be narrating Turkish heroism of ancient times, in reality it always referred to events of the present. From this point of view, the above-mentioned comment by Vâlâ Nurettin was extremely appropriate. By using Ottoman history as a starting point, Ömer Seyfettin was finding teachings for his own age, which basically were the building of a national identity and a unified effort for the attainment of common interests. If the Turks could identify themselves as a whole and if they could, as is stressed in the

story “Kızılelma Neresi?”, manage to give themselves completely to the national cause, then they would be able to overcome the present difficult circumstances. With the stories of this series, Ömer Seyfettin was making the point that the ‘required strength’ could be found in the national identity, which at the same time defined the existence of individuals.

Ömer Seyfettin wanted to support the nationalist reinterpretation of history seen in *Eski Kahramanlar* with stories concerning his own age, and so with this in mind, he began a new series titled *Yeni Kahramanlar* (New Heroes). In this second series he wanted to leave aside for the moment the nationalist reinterpretation of history from the point of view of his own days’ circumstances, because this was an indirect approach, and instead concentrate on the description of the manifestation of national identity during the First World War. Thus a short while after the publication of “Ferman”, which was the first story of *Eski Kahramanlar*, the first story of *Yeni Kahramanlar*, titled “Kaç Yerinden?” (How Many Wounds?), appeared in the ninth issue of *Yeni Mecmua* dated 6 September 1917.

“Kaç Yerinden?” was also an interesting story from the point of view of the narrative technique used. Instead of the third person singular omniscient narrator used in *Eski Kahramanlar*, because of the characteristics of the source material, in this story the first person singular narrator was employed. This narrator is, just like Ömer Seyfettin, a writer narrating the epics of ancient heroes. While on a ship en route to the Anatolian side of Istanbul, he is writing an epic about an old cavalry trooper, who with the aid only of a broken shield has killed two fully armed and mounted enemies. At that moment he meets a relative of his who is serving as a military surgeon. This relative could also be considered a hero, because while serving in various fronts he is also trying to find remedies for various illnesses. The narrator reads his story to his relative, but the young doctor is not impressed with this epic, because according to him, “nowadays, let alone the soldiers, the officers or their commanders, even the surgeons, the sanitary service soldiers, the soldiers serving in transportation and the soldiers in charge of military pack-animals are a thousand times more heroic than the cavalry trooper” described by the writer.²⁸

The writer is hurt by this comment: “He does not know that when an artist cannot find his *mefkûre* in the present he looks for it in his romantic past. In this past there are thousands of spectres living in

eternal legends. The writer gives colour and shape to these spectres within the context of historical imagination. He falls in love with them. He sings their epics." (*Hikâyeler* 2, 74) The doctor counters this romantic approach of the writer, saying, "the present does not have a temperature; it is on fire". The doctor, with a modernist approach, also states that material circumstances have changed a lot and that nowadays one fights with modern equipment. He counters the writer's moral counter argument in the same way. According to him, the same development is also visible in spiritual matters. While in the past one felt love for an individual, a family or for an ethnic group, nowadays one feels love also for the nation, the motherland and humanity.

The doctor explains his positivist and modernist nationalism with an example. He points out an officer, who by chance is travelling in the same ship, and says that he has operated on him at almost every front and asks the writer to guess how many times he has been wounded. When the writer fails to guess correctly despite repeated attempts, the doctor tells him that the man has been wounded exactly forty-nine times and that every time, thanks to his tenacity and inner strength, he has managed to return to the battlefield. This officer is the scion of a rich Istanbul family and even though he has shown such extraordinary heroism, he never boasts about it, saying that he is not a hero, just someone who is doing his duty. The doctor introduces the writer to the heroic Ferhat Ali Bey, and at this point it is said that the last time he was wounded was in Galicia, where he lost a leg. Nevertheless, he has gone on serving. His next mission is supposed to be to fly an aeroplane. This real life heroism makes the writer feel ashamed of his fixation with romantic history.

Is it possible that Ömer Seyfettin was indulging in self-criticism? It does not actually seem the case for, even if it were the case, this self-criticism was lighter than it appears at first glance, because this romantic writer did not correspond exactly to Ömer Seyfettin. Also, Ömer Seyfettin got his inspiration from history, but his approach was utilitarian and selective. He was not taking refuge in history's golden ages in an attempt to flee the difficulties of his time; he was using the imagery related to those golden ages to stress the requirements of his own age and to create moral tales that would make his readers prefer Turkish nationalism. That was why he would go on publishing the *Eski Kahramanlar* series. With this story, Ömer Seyfettin was on the one hand criticizing non-realistic literature and provid-

ing a reading key for the *Eski Kahramanlar* series, while on the other stressing the modern characteristics of the ongoing war and pointing out the fact that such a war required a national identity.

Nevertheless, it was significant that notwithstanding the dialectic established here between the *eski kahramanlar* and the *yeni kahramanlar*, which stressed the second, Ömer Seyfettin would end the *Yeni Kahramanlar* series. The reasons for this were the previously mentioned infrastructural problems of the Ottoman Empire. Ömer Seyfettin was conscious of the fact that this was a modern war, but writing an epic about this modernity was not possible in the circumstances then present in the Ottoman Empire. Mainly this meant that there was not yet a modern state, society and nation, which were evolving economically, politically and culturally. In such circumstances as were present, even the example of Ferhat Ali Bey was exaggerated. We could not even say that the Ottoman Empire had a real air force during the First World War, except for a few aeroplanes bought from the Germans. Not even the image of a doctor developing new vaccinations and successfully fighting illnesses, which in reality were decimating the army, was realistic. With this story Ömer Seyfettin was closer to fiction than he was to his usual historical subjects; it seemed as if he were writing a fantasy, as if he were describing his utopia and a situation that he wished existed.

As the war approached its inevitable end, Ömer Seyfettin's interest in the story, used both as a propaganda medium and as a way of increasing national consciousness, was substituted by a totally different approach. Having observed the penury suffered by the people in their daily life, Ömer Seyfettin started to satirize the policies of the government, which he had supported throughout the war. As the first news concerning an eventual peace began to appear, Ömer Seyfettin started his new series, *Zamane Yiğitleri* (Heroes of Our Time), in which rough and tough types were described. In these stories, and in other stories describing the difficulties encountered during the war, the writer began to abandon his interest in history and started to struggle with the problems of the present time.

1918-1919: Critique of the War Years

A writer made the following observation concerning nationalism: "Nationalism is an urban movement that identifies with the rural areas as a source of authenticity, finding in the 'folk' the attitudes, beliefs, customs and language to create a sense of national unity

among people who have other loyalties. Nationalism aims at ... rejection of cosmopolitan upper classes, intellectuals and others likely to be influenced by foreign ideas.”²⁹ This observation was also true as far as Turkish nationalism was concerned. The persons who contributed to the formation of Turkish nationalism may have been born in different places, but they mainly operated in big cities. In the post-1908 period this meant especially Istanbul, Izmir and Salonika. According to the intellectuals who had received a better than average education and who contributed with their writings to the formation of nationalism, one of the main foci of criticism was the upper classes that forgot their essential national identity, becoming snobbish, and even going so far as to collaborate with the enemy during the years of foreign occupation.

This criticism and rejection was clearly visible in Ömer Seyfettin. Ömer Seyfettin's literary output was in accordance with the points stressed in the above excerpt. He analysed the lives of the lower classes, both in Anatolia and in Istanbul, and tried to understand and describe their mentality. He continued these efforts during wartime as well. Apart from the above-mentioned historical stories, he also wrote and published satirical stories describing the lives of common people. Even in his historical stories, he preferred to narrate little known or unknown heroes among the common people, instead of famous heroes of history. In his stories of the *Eski Kahramanlar* series, written when he was completely in step with the governing authorities, he strongly criticized Ottoman statesmen, like Sokullu Mehmet Pasha, who were portrayed favourably even in later historiography of the republican period. Ömer Seyfettin accepted *a priori* the necessity of an authority, but he generally tended to accuse statesmen at the top of being profiteers or at the very least insincere. For example, the raider in the story “Ferman” had been condemned to death for having criticized the authorities and the grand vizier, by none other than Sokullu, the grand vizier at the time. (*Hikâyeler* 2, 50-61) Or in the story titled “Kızılelma Neresi?”, those that managed to give the correct answers to the Sultan's questions were not his viziers or scholars, but three soldiers chosen randomly. (*Hikâyeler* 2, 160-167)

Also during the armistice period Ömer Seyfettin published two historical stories that reflected a different version of his nationalist historicism of the war years. The first of these was the story titled “Forsa” (The Slave), published after the armistice in *Büyük Mecmua*

(Great Magazine), dated 6 March 1919. This story is characterized in its heading as *Tarihi Hikâye* (Historical Story). The second story is titled "Uzun Ömür" (Long Life), published in the magazine *İfham* (Explanation) dated 31 July 1919, with the heading *Atalarımızın Tuhaflıkları* (Oddities of Our Ancestors). These stories bore some similarities to those in the *Eski Kahramanlar* series. Nevertheless, they were also signs that Ömer Seyfettin's way of interpreting history was changing.

"Forsa"³⁰ was written during the armistice. Even though its plot was made up of a heroic act, this was not stressed and it was defined only as a historical story. In this story, the writer tells of an old captain who is saved by Turkish sailors after a captivity lasting many years. This captain, Kara Memiş, longed for his country, but never lost hope throughout his thirty years of captivity and is finally saved by a group of sailors commanded by his son, whom he has not seen since infancy. Instead of going back home to rest after his deliverance, he prefers to go on fighting the enemies together with the Turkish mariners. The moral of this story is never to accept defeat, and its goal is to increase the combativeness of a nation in a state of low morale.

"Uzun Ömür" (*Hikâyeler* 3, 300-303) was written later than the previous story but again during the armistice period, on 31 July 1919. This was a period when Anatolia was being gradually occupied, but resistance was still scattered and ineffective. In this story, Ömer Seyfettin's positive interpretation of history disappeared and a pessimistic satire, visible also in his other stories of this period, gained the upper hand. "Uzun Ömür" was an anecdote, again very probably set in the 'golden age'. An elderly grand vizier, raised from the ranks of the bureaucracy, is conducting a battle, but it is not going well. The grand vizier does not know anything about the art of warfare and is very timid; nevertheless, he is expected to join the fray so as to raise the spirits of the troops. Very hesitantly, the vizier goes into action, and while he is advancing through a forest with his retinue, he sees a soldier sleeping under a tree. He gets very angry, because the soldier is sleeping rather than fighting, but before having him executed, he wants to learn the reason for such effrontery. The elderly soldier unabashedly confesses that if he had not run away from combat, he would have been dead long ago and never have survived to his present age. This being also the attitude of the timid vizier, and since news that the enemy has been defeated arrives just at that moment, the soldier is spared his life.

Here we have a nihilist approach, which is quite the opposite of the one seen in the *Eski Kahramanlar* series. It was as if Ömer Seyfettin, both in “Uzun Ömür” and in his other stories written in this period, was by means of his cruel satire trying to reawaken the people, who were by then totally demoralized, and trying to remind them of certain virtues that he had previously tried to revive with his *Eski Kahramanlar* series, by stressing how the situation was when these virtues were lacking.

Profiteers and the People

Ömer Seyfettin lived a simple life, never aiming for high office or wealth. He refused to profit from the state’s policies of national economy, which he himself had supported for a time, preferring instead to live from the income he derived from his writing. Given this situation, it was inevitable that in the depressing post-war environment, the difficult life conditions of the people and their abandonment to the profiteers’ whims should become the subjects of Ömer Seyfettin’s stories. The main points criticized by Ömer Seyfettin during the period of the armistice were the economic disparities and the war profiteering.

It is possible to detect his critical approach in almost all the stories written by him in that period. Here, three stories of that period will be analysed. The hero of the first story, “Acaba Ne İdi?” (What Was It?), is Cabi Efendi and it was published in *Şair* (Poet) dated 6 February 1919. The other two stories were “Niçin Zengin Olmamış?” (Why Didn’t He Get Rich?), published in the *Büyük Mecmua* dated 20 March 1919, and “Zeytin Ekmek” (Olive and Bread), published in *Yeni Dünya* (New World) dated 3 July 1919.

Cabi Efendi has the commonsense typical of common folk and can distinguish between right and wrong even though he has not received much education, but then he went a little crazy. He lost his mind and was put into an asylum just before the war. When he got his mental health, he was released from the asylum, at a time that coincided with the war. All the same, he was surprised at the change in circumstances of daily life due to the war. Through Cabi Efendi’s eye the readers observe a society in dire straits where all the balances have been subverted. It is a society in which idiots have become scientists, thieves have become rich, and incompetent people have risen in rank.

Cabi Efendi has a scientist acquaintance of his analyse the bread distributed by the state and is doubly surprised at the results. First

of all, he is surprised at the fact that the scientist has always eaten the bread baked in the hospital and has never before tasted the bread distributed by the state, because this shows how detached from society a scientist could be. Later he is surprised by the fact that the bread contains neither wheat nor barley, and that what is actually in it is indescribably strange. In such a society, the thieves and idiots have become respectable members of society, the good people have either died in the war, moved to Anatolia to escape these circumstances or become bedridden because of the many diseases. At this point, the reader also witnesses the breakdown of the mind of Cabi Efendi, which represents popular commonsense; by then he is no longer able to understand what is happening. (*Hikâyeler* 3, 151-152)

“Niçin Zengin Olmamış?” (*Hikâyeler* 3, 184-192) has a different structure than that of Cabi Efendi’s story. It describes the situation as seen by an intellectual from Istanbul. This intellectual, whose diary we read, is a teacher who feels all of the immense pressure of wartime misery. In order to get by, he has an additional job as a translator. One day, with the help of a friend close to the CUP, he becomes a profiteer and consequently rich. One night towards dawn, while he is leaving a party at the home of another profiteer, he sees some city employees collecting the bodies of dead people from the streets. They are the bodies of people who have died of hunger. Suddenly it dawns upon him that he himself has killed them. This realization throws the intellectual into a state of extreme agitation, and for one moment he thinks about killing all the main profiteers. When he fails to realize this plan, he decides to do something else and distributes all his ill-gotten gains to the people and returns to his life of humble means, but with a clear conscience.

“Zeytin Ekmek” is about wartime poverty and the way it obliges young and beautiful women to choose between prostitution and hunger. (*Hikâyeler* 3, 272-289) In this story, there is a bitter and extremely sad satirical thread; “Zeytin Ekmek” is one of the most touching literary works describing the situation on the home front during the First World War. The heroine is a very beautiful young woman called Naciye. After the death of her parents and brother, Naciye marries a stonemason. Unfortunately, when the war breaks out, her husband is recruited and made to work in the labourer battalions in Istanbul. Naciye is paid a salary of thirty *kuruş* because of her husband; whenever he is on leave, her husband brings her mess soup, and in addition to this, he always somehow manages to find

half an okka of olives. For the last four years Naciye has eaten nothing but the bread distributed by the state and olives; throughout this period, there has never been hot food in her home.

The reader is informed about these facts as Naciye recounts them to her two childhood friends, Sabire and Füsün, who she meets in the street by chance and invites home. Sabire and Füsün are both very elegant and subsequently it is understood that they are prostitutes. These two women would like to turn Naciye into a prostitute and with this in mind invite her to their home. Naciye senses this but accepts all the same, since it means that she will be able to eat a decent meal. On their way home, a young and handsome son of a pasha gets into their coach and, being very attracted to Naciye, purchases her favors from the other two women and takes her to his home. By then the hour is approaching midnight and Naciye, who has not eaten since the morning, is dreaming of a good meal. When she tells the man that she wants to eat, he orders his gardener to prepare something. Unfortunately, because it is already very late, all that the gardener can come up with is a piece of state bread and a saucer full of olives. Upon seeing this, Naciye runs away from that house crying and, losing her way, collapses on the seashore, too tired even to commit suicide. The end of the story is not clear, but one assumes that Naciye dies that night either of hunger or of cold.

By definition, propaganda requires a uniformed and coherent collective activity aimed at achieving pre-determined goals. Even if it can define its goal very clearly and proceed towards it in the most coherent fashion, it will remain subject to criticism from many sides; people who hold opinions different from those being spread by propaganda may be able to find in it errors and inconsistencies. All the same, it can be said that even though propaganda is based on static foundations, it will manifest dynamism in its action plan. In light of these considerations, one can classify Ömer Seyfettin's wartime literary output neither as propaganda nor as guided literature. Even in his most propagandist stories, Ömer Seyfettin's starting point was problematic, since he did not have the luxury of the strong foundations enjoyed by propaganda. That is why Ömer Seyfettin—and the other writers struggling for cultural nationalism—had on the one hand to support the state's war effort and on the other to contribute to the building of a national culture.

If we consider the fact that national culture was in the process of being formed, it becomes clear why, as time went by, there were

changes in the way Ömer Seyfettin approached war in his stories. As a Turkish nationalist, Ömer Seyfettin was trying to evaluate at the same time many fundamental sources like recent and ancient history, the life of the people and the position of intellectuals. While on the one hand he was trying to give a coherent structure to his material, in the light of his ideology, on the other he was trying to establish the position of present events within this structure and their interaction with it. Given such a situation, he could unforgivingly criticize policies like a national economy, which he had previously supported. Since the process was not yet complete, it was normal that there should be differences in the way he approached subjects. In comparison to the intellectuals of the republic, Ömer Seyfettin was disadvantaged because his analysis of the World War had been done without the advantages of belatedness.

Ömer Seyfettin was originally pro-war, but towards the end of the war his stance changed and he became anti-war. Some positions of nationalist imagination, which were 'given data' during the republic, were still being formed at the time when he was writing his stories. He tried, as best as he could, to build a 'national identity' according to fast changing political events. Due to the complex environment that he was trying to reflect in his stories, the First World War entered into Ömer Seyfettin's works, not mainly for propaganda reasons but within the context of the effort to build a national identity.

Refik Halit Karay: An Anti-Nationalist in the National Movement

Refik Halit was born into a rich family of state bureaucrats during the reign of Abdülhamid II and thanks to this had a very comfortable childhood and youth. In the pre-First World War period, high-level bureaucrats were the wealthiest class of society, and so consequently Refik Halit's family had aristocratic pretensions. In relation to this position of his family, he attended the *Galatasaray Sultanisi*, which was the preferred school of his class and where he learned French. Nevertheless, he finished neither this school nor the Faculty of Law, which he attended briefly, and a short while after the declaration of the constitution he began his career as a journalist.³¹

Refik Halit started to become famous when he was still in his early twenties, when he began to write satirical pieces for popular satirical magazines of the period like *Kalem* (Pen) and *Cem*, with the pen name of *Kirpi* (Porcupine).at the beginning of the 1910s.³² Unfortunately, the fame that this success brought cost him dearly,

given that after the assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha in 1913, he, like many other opponents, was exiled to Sinop. During this period, the CUP was repressing the newspapers, and opposition journalists Hasan Fehmi, Ahmet Samim and Zeki Bey were even murdered.³³ Throughout this period Refik Halit, too, received many threats. If the CUP had not managed to consolidate its power after the Babıali Raid, he probably would have gone on with his opposition and been murdered like the above-mentioned journalists.

Refik Halit's internal exile started in June 1913 and lasted four and a half years until the beginning of 1918. At the end of 1915, the CUP government pardoned many of the exiles, sending a small group that was deemed more dangerous, and that included Refik Halit, to Çorum. After staying there for about a year, Refik Halit requested to be sent to Ankara, and his request was accepted. In a long article titled "Ankara", which he wrote in 1938, he stated that he had arrived in Ankara on the day of the 10 July (23 July) festivities commemorating the anniversary of the constitution.³⁴ The year must have been 1916. He stayed there for about three months and because of the difficult conditions arising from the great fire that had destroyed three quarters of Ankara, he requested to be transferred to Bilecik. He stayed in Bilecik until the beginning of 1918 when, because of the pregnancy of his wife, he came back to Istanbul on a ten-day leave.³⁵

In his book *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, which includes his memoirs of the post-armistice period, Refik Halit stated that he returned to Istanbul on a winter day. The man to let him come back to Istanbul, Cemal Pasha, was the same person who sent him to exile in Sinop in the first place. Cemal Pasha gave this permission while he was sitting in for Talat Pasha who had gone to negotiate the Brest-Litowsk Treaty with the Russians and who was the one that was really angry with Refik Halit. He was received personally by Cemal Pasha on the second day of his return and was promised that his leave would be extended if he refrained from his pre-1913 attitude.³⁶ Of course the fact that the CUP government, which up to that point had been very severe against Refik Halit, had changed its mind was not without reason; Ziya Gökalp had liked some of Refik Halit's short stories about Anatolia and wanted to include Refik Halit among the writers of *Yeni Mecmua*.

After his return, Refik Halit visited the offices of *Yeni Mecmua* where he met Gökalp and began writing for the magazine. When at the end of his leave he was arrested and was about to be sent to Bilecik

once more, Gökalt prevented this and ensured that he could stay in Istanbul.³⁷ In this way, Refik Halit was saved by Ziya Gökalt from being sent into internal exile once more; what had made Gökalt become his protector were the above-mentioned short stories. These stories, plus other stories written by him, both before and after his exile, were published in 1919 with the title *Memleket Hikâyeleri*. These stories were ironical but not really satirical, had a simple language and were characterized by empathy towards the common folk of Anatolia and Istanbul and by a realistic style. In this way, the anti-Unionist Refik Halit was creating stories very close to the cultural nationalism conception of the Unionist Ziya Gökalt by recounting the modest lives of the common folk, which were being ignored by the high literature of those days, with a realistic, populist and simple language.

During his first days in the *Yeni Mecmua*, Refik Halit was aware of what was expected of him and wrote accordingly. The best example of this was an article titled "Anadolu'yu Gördüm" (I Saw Anatolia).³⁸ Throughout this article, he lyrically described the solitude of Anatolia, taking care to underline its positive aspects. In this article, the writer was asking his audience to love Anatolia and to use this love as a starting point to work for its development. It was a step towards making the nationalism of those days more concrete. Nevertheless, an obstinate oppositionist like Refik Halit could not be satisfied by writing such innocuous stuff, even though one does not doubt their sincerity, and as censorship gradually lightened until it was abolished completely, he started once more to write in the style to which he was accustomed. Naturally enough, in these articles he did not attack the CUP directly, as he had done before 1913. He proceeded in a more indirect way and started writing about the war profiteers and penury, which had become sources of dissatisfaction because of the increasing economic difficulties.

Refik Halit versus War Profiteers

At the time Refik Halit returned to Istanbul, the problems of rising prices and lack of basic foodstuffs, which had begun with the war and increased since then, and the dissatisfaction rising from the existence of profiteers who used these economic conditions and the government's policy of a 'national economy' to their own advantage, had reached their peak. The gradual lifting of censorship, beginning in 1917 and continuing until its total abolition in 1918, embold-

ened the press, which began to pursue the matter of war profiteering more forcefully. While the people were getting poorer by the day, the fact that some merchants were using this situation to enrich themselves and the fact that they flaunted this wealth had become a sore spot.

While in Anatolia, Refik Halit had been able to live more economically, or at least he had been able to find the food he required, but once back in Istanbul, he was directly affected by high inflation and penury. In addition to this, the long years in exile had tired him both physically and emotionally. Even though he was under the indirect protection of Cemal Pasha and the direct protection of Ziya Gökalp, the labels of former exile and of anti-Unionist were difficult to erase, and so consequently he found it difficult to make a living. The amounts paid by *Yeni Mecmua* were far from sufficient. As he recounted later in *Bir Ömür Boyunca* (In a Lifetime), the real advantage of writing in *Yeni Mecmua* was not what it paid, but the fact that one might be able to get a good position with such a reference. Unfortunately, this was not possible for someone of the opposition like Refik Halit. With the help of a friend, he managed to find a position as teacher of Turkish at Robert College and, thanks to Gökalp, the government did not object.³⁹ Nevertheless, this position provided only enough income to pay for his food and rent expenses. This situation made it necessary for him to take on additional work writing for other periodicals as well.

Vakit (Time) was the first newspaper for which Refik Halit would write, in addition to *Yeni Mecmua*. A short while later, he moved to *Tasvî-i Efkâr* (Description of Ideas), because it paid better. Once his articles on war profiteers and penury proved successful, he moved again, this time to *Zaman* (Time), which was being published by Şükrü Bey, who had been an Education Minister in a former CUP government. The novel *İstanbul'un İcyüzü*, which he published at the end of the war, and his post-armistice anti-Unionist articles appeared in this newspaper.⁴⁰ Refik Halit, being very observant and realistic, noticed the moment he returned to Istanbul that the people had a contradictory opinion of war profiteers: while they hated them, they also envied their lifestyle. Refik Halit was also in this position. Thus, since censorship was more tolerant about this subject, he concluded that one might as well write about war profiteers.

In the 42nd issue of *Yeni Mecmua* dated 2 May 1918, he wrote his strongest and most masterly article about war profiteers in his col-

umn "Hafta Musahabesi". Refik Halit began this article, titled "Harp Zengini" (War Profiteer), by stating that since his return to Istanbul, he had noticed that everybody had been talking about this. According to the writer, the most important subjects of the day were two: War profiteers and typhus carrying lice. The article went on with a comparison between these two, because since war profiteers were getting richer as the rest of the people were getting poorer, they were like parasites. He went on by saying that such parasites were present in all countries and that the best remedy against them was peace.⁴¹

The article went on to make further points about war profiteers. First of all, there was the fact that Refik Halit, who had been born into and raised by a rich and old Ottoman family, noticed that these newly rich people had not got used to their wealth and somehow were not suitable for their new position. The new rich were so unaccustomed to their new wealth that when they talked about it among themselves, they were ridiculous, like poor theatre actors pretending to be rich. The moment they sat at a table during a party, they made it clear that their origin was to be found among the lower classes. Naturally enough, these people, who had got rich thanks to the war, did not want the war to end. From this point of view Refik Halit compared them to looters and scavenging crows.

The limited solidarity existing in society was possible thanks only to those who had been rich or middle class since before the war. Refik Halit was surprised that people who until recently had not been rich could be so heartless. Unfortunately, solidarity and helping the poor were definitely not the concern of these people. The only thing they seemed capable of was putting on airs by over tipping waiters, pimps and prostitutes. In their hands, money was like a threat directed towards society. Even if sometimes they happened to give away their money, they would recoup it by raising the prices of the goods they sold. In conclusion, not only did they not make the least bit of contribution to the country, but they were harmful as well. At the end of his article, Refik Halit said that these people possessed no characteristics worthy of praise and criticized the journalists who nevertheless tried to praise them.⁴²

This article was published in *Yeni Mecmua* with no difficulty, but the real storm broke out later. The writer had mentioned a *kandiloğhu*, an *îdzâde* in the article; clearly, he was referring to a very specific war profiteer. This person was a very famous sugar merchant called

Bayramzâde. Refik Halit, by using the Arabic word “îd”, which means festivity, was referring to *bayram*, which has the same meaning, and thus making a pun, because the Turkish word “it” means dog. This insult made Bayramzâde very angry and he complained to Talat Pasha, who gave orders for Refik Halit to be sent back to internal exile. Gökâlp heard about this at the offices of *Yeni Mecmua*, and after having calmed down Refik Halit, went to Talat Pasha and dissuaded him from his intent.⁴³ Thus was Refik Halit once again saved at the last moment by Gökâlp.

Articles Concerning the Difficulties of War: Until the Armistice

Refik Halit would go on criticizing war profiteers in his subsequent articles, but not with such vehemence until the armistice. His articles written in this period described the penury in Istanbul, but his oppositionist stand was only implied. These articles, which later were collected in the book *Sakin Aldanma, İnanma, Kanma!*,⁴⁴ were the most successful articles in Turkish literature to describe the difficulties war had imposed on civilians. With these articles, Refik Halit expressed the thoughts of the previously well off Istanbul people, who had by now lived through all the difficulties of war to their utmost degree. All these articles were written with slight irony and very fluent, enjoyable Turkish. At first sight, they seemed innocuous enough, but even though much of the criticism was only implied, because of governmental pressures, they very successfully reflected the people's opposition to war and its fatigue. By reading these articles, one gets an idea about the severity of the problems facing the people and the reasons for the strong anti-Unionist sentiment that dominated public opinion after the war.

The article at the very beginning of the book, titled “İmrenmeye, Yutkunmaya Dair” (On Envy and on Swallowing One's Own Desires), reflected very well the half-famished situation of the people. As in the other articles, a first person singular narrator tells us about his desire for food; the style is conversational, the tone partially one of complaint and partially self-deprecatory. For the last year, the narrator had been looking with great desire at the food in the shop windows, feeling an insatiable need for even the simplest things. It was as if three different people were continuously quarrelling in his mind; the most avid of them said “eat” for whenever he saw food of any kind, the second one, who was thrifty, said “think about your purse”, while the third one, who was a moralist, said “resist temptation”. (8)

Given the state of hunger in which he found himself, the narrator looked only at food and at no other object or thing of beauty. He did not look at beautiful and glamorous women in the streets, but if someone walked by with a parcel of *pastırma*, he would feel faint at the smell. By then, the only subjects that interested him were food and drink. He paid no mind to political events, daily developments, ideological conflicts or art, but if one should start describing a recipe for an omelette, he would suddenly be all attention. (9) He was scared at the idea that once spring came, fruit like cherries and strawberries would appear in the marketplaces. He would look at the food in shop windows with an almost sexual desire. (10)

Nevertheless, what the narrator really desired most of all, more than all the other food he mentioned, was bread. The low quality bread that the state distributed in this period to holders of ration cards had transformed the very idea of bread, a commodity that holds an extremely important place in Turkish culinary traditions, into something unpleasant. That was why in the post-First World War period, the wartime difficulty most remembered was that of the bread. What Refik Halit said about bread in this piece is possibly the most intense declaration of love ever made to bread:

Let them give me only one thing, a cheap and simple food, bread. But what kind of bread? That old acquaintance of us, that loyal friend, that sacred and beloved privilege. That is what kind of bread... Its top golden brown, its interior white and soft like cottonwool, just out of the oven a half hour ago, still moist; if I could handle it, open it down its middle with my hands and raise it to my face and smell it, rub my face on its velvety surface. Letting its smell intoxicate me, its warmth boil my heart, the sight of it make me lose my mind. Letting this happiness make me cry, faint and lose myself. (11)

On the other hand, the article titled "Kâğıt Paraya, Altın Akçeye Dair" (On Banknotes and Golden Coins) is a forced propaganda piece. It is clear that it was written during the first Ottoman war bonds campaign in April-June 1918. Thanks to the coordination of the *Osmanlı Matbuat Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Press Association), not just the Turkish press but also the press of the non-Muslim minorities participated in this effort. From this perspective, it was normal that even an opposition writer like Refik Halit should write a propaganda article.

With the article titled “Reçelsiz Ramazana, Şekersiz Bayrama Dair” (On Ramadan Without Jam and Religious Holiday Without Candies), Refik Halit returned to his favourite subject, food; once more he describes the fact that the food he likes is becoming less and less available each year. While before the war the food each person ate in a day was the equivalent of a turkey, during the first year this became a hen, on the second a young chicken, on the third a sparrow and on the fourth and present year, nothing more than a grasshopper. As things went, this would become a fly or ant by next year, and then just as everybody was starting to get used to hunger, they would die, just like the donkey of Nasrettin Hoca. (30)

İstanbul’un İcyüzü: Critique of War Profiteers as a Means of Criticizing the Regime

İstanbul’un İcyüzü was Refik Halit’s first novel.⁴⁵ At the end of the novel are written the dates on which he began and finished the novel, “15 September-15 December 1334/1918”. The writer wrote the novel as it was being published in installments in the newspaper *Zaman*; thus the dates of writing of the novel were just a bit earlier than the dates of publishing.⁴⁶ This meant that Refik Halit had started to write the novel and to publish it a month and a half before the Mudros Armistice of 30 October 1918 and had completed all of it a month and a half after the Armistice. In other words, the novel was written in two different periods. During the last months of the war, just before the Armistice, the government abandoned its policy of protecting war profiteers, making it possible for all writers, both those supporting the government and those opposing it, to criticize them. Nevertheless, until the actual signing of the Armistice, when the triumvirate fled from the country, openly criticizing the CUP remained difficult. Once the Talat, Enver and Cemal Pashas had fled, it became possible to criticize them. Refik Halit’s novel’s structure reflected both these situations. Until the day when the CUP leadership fled, the writer continued to be prudent, but once they fell from power, he became much more critical, not only in the continuation of his novel but also in the articles mentioned below.

Being his first novel and having been written rather hastily—for economic reasons—it is not a very good novel and the plot is rather simple. To summarize it briefly, the first person singular narrator of the novel is a certain İsmet, who by using her femininity managed during the war years to accumulate a small amount of wealth

by means of a commercial activity in Izmir. When she returns to Istanbul she meets her childhood love Kâni, who by then has become one of the main war profiteers. After a dinner party with Kâni and his other war profiteer friends, she goes to Büyükkada to visit Kâni's wife, whom she also knew during her childhood, and the other members of his family. This is just about all there is about the novel's present time, but the real part of the novel consists of İsmet using the present situation to remember the past and in particular her childhood and youth during the reign of Abdülhamid II. İsmet remembers the people of those days and compares them with those of the present. In those days, both İsmet and Kâni were living in the mansion of Fikri Pasha, who was an important person of the time of Sultan Abdülhamid. There was a retinue of servants and clowns to entertain the family. İsmet, who because of her social origins has been constructed as an honest narrator, remembers that the people of those days were not very nice either, because they were intriguers, and she describes their characters at length, narrating their individual stories. Nevertheless, she reaches the conclusion that in comparison with the politicians of the present time, and in particular the newly rich, they were like angels.

The novel is like a real portrait exhibition. During İsmet's comparison of the present with the past, many people are realistically described, simple politicians and statesmen, young and old, rich heirs and war profiteers, but there is no interaction among them, as one would expect in a novel. Thus we have a novel that is easily and enjoyably read, and that is written in a style similar to that of Refik Halit's above-mentioned short stories and articles, yet this work cannot be called a real novel. All the same, the way Refik Halit describes this subject and the war profiteers serves as a model for similar novels written after the war. Nevertheless, none of the novels written after the war on the subject of war profiteers and related scandals would be as successful as the portraits in *İstanbul'un İçyüzü*.

The novel's third chapter titled "Yeni Devir Simaları" (Portraits of the New Era) is dedicated to the portraits of six war profiteers, who are present at Kâni's party, and to the stories of how they became rich.⁴⁷ These types are described in a caricaturized manner, without any connections among them. They reflect all the main kinds of war profiteers. The first of these is an ignorant and foolish lawyer who is spending all his money on his cunning wives. The second is a man who before the World War was a poor real estate agent. When

the war broke out, an Armenian, whose life he had saved during the Armenian disturbances of the time of Sultan Abdülhamid, helped him to start a tin dealing business, which ended up making him rich. His only pleasure is helping unmarried people get married. The third type is a tough *komitadji* of the CUP, of Balkan origin and a former gendarme officer. He became rich by means of threats and the ruthless exploitation of various opportunities. He is a close friend of Talat Pasha, but time has not mellowed him; on the contrary, it has made him even more arrogant. The fourth type was a tough fellow from Istanbul. He also was close to the CUP, and being the chief of the CUP club of his district, has become rich in a way similar to that of the previous character and has spent a major part of his wealth in Germany and Austria, on women. The fifth type is a spoiled snob, who also became rich by means of his acquaintances in the CUP. The sixth type is the son of a low-level poor employee. He married an older woman and has grown rich using her money. In short, none of them became rich thanks to their ability, but thanks only to their opportunism and immorality.

The novel ends with İsmet being disgusted by the scandals of the new period and missing the old times. This is an appropriate ending for a novel by Refik Halit, who was by no means a reactionary missing the authoritarian rule of Sultan Abdülhamid, but who had suffered a lot at the hands of the CUP after having lived very comfortably during the old times. Thus, a novel, which *per se* is not very good, becomes noteworthy for the interesting descriptions of characters in it, and because it reflects the political changes of its time. After the Armistice, Refik Halit would criticize the CUP much more strongly.

After the Armistice: Time for Revenge

The period beginning 29 September 1918, when the Bulgarian front collapsed, thus cutting off communications between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, and continuing up until 30 October 1918 when the Mudros Armistice was signed, can be considered as the time during which Ottoman public opinion mentally passed from a state of war into a state of peace. During this period, military operations were continuing both in Syria and in the Caucasus, but peace had become something that was impatiently desired, especially by the people of Istanbul. Many articles that were pro-peace and critical of the CUP were published during this period; most of these articles were writ-

ten by people that were aware that the period was reaching its end, but nevertheless one can feel that there still was a fear of the CUP. It was only after the triumvirate had fled the country that anti-unionist sentiments were expressed openly. A few political satire articles published by Refik Halit in October and November in *Zaman* expressed this transition very well. While in his earlier articles Refik Halit preferred to criticize both the CUP and the opposition, but without mentioning the leaders of the CUP by name, once the Enver, Talat and Cemal Pashas had fled the country, he attacked with the utmost vehemence.

The first of these articles was "Ortada Kabahatli Yok" (Everybody Is Innocent), published on 21 October in the newspaper *Zaman*.⁴⁸ This article is a lampoon of the fickleness of public opinion. Refik Halit, who had always kept his oppositional attitude, was astounded at how everybody had suddenly become pro-peace. The article began with an expression of this surprise:

I must be the one who caused this war and messed up the country... Nobody is guilty! Everyone I see says, "I told them so, but they did not listen!" or, "Since the first day I have been shouting this for all I am worth, but nobody pays any attention!" It appears that everybody was against the war, everybody had expressed his misgivings, everybody's most sincere wish, nay ideal had always been peace ... Of course I was not aware of this, because clearly they could not trust me enough to tell me about this. They must have thought, "This man is pro-war; he likes to play with his sword and to joke with his pistol; he has blood-spilling tendencies; since the beginning of the war, he has been doing German propaganda, talking about occupying Egypt and conquering India. Let's not talk in his presence!" and been very careful not to reveal their thoughts. ... As I said, I think I was the only one who wanted this war, the only one who fought! I do not see anybody else whom I could blame.⁴⁹

This article, in which anger is more visible than the usual irony, is an important document concerning the state of Ottoman public opinion in October 1918. Clearly, many people who before the war had agitated in its favour and during the war itself had supported the CUP, had suddenly changed their attitudes. Refik Halit reserved his most stinging criticism for parliament, the senate and

the press and condemned their fickleness. In his article titled "Sakin Aldanma, İnanma, Kanma" (Never Be Deceived, Do Not Believe, Do Not Be Taken In), published five days later, he used a much more strict but also more artistic style to try to alert the public, not just against the CUP politicians, but also against the anti-Unionist ones of the new period:⁵⁰ "Do not be deceived, do not believe, do not be taken in; if you have not learned from the lessons of the last ten years, you will never learn, but that would be a pity... Do not trust new parties and do not let yourself be captivated by impossible hopes..." This article looked at what the CUP had done and stressed the fact that new leaders would not be very different.

The Unionists liked these two articles, but those of the opposition thought that Refik Halit had become a Unionist. What Refik Halit said in these articles was true and in any case, even if he did not criticize the leadership directly, he did criticize the CUP in general. Nevertheless, the opponents, who had been repressed and been subjected to all sorts of harassment, were not in favour of moderation but of revenge. Until the triumvirate fled the country, nobody, including Refik Halit, would dare to exaggerate their criticism.

Once the triumvirate had fled, Refik Halit was at the forefront of the hateful campaign of accusations against the three pashas. His article "Efendiler Nereye?" (Effendis, Where To?), dated 5 November, was a volley of accusations, which kept up their intensity throughout the article.⁵¹ The article began by making an implied reference to the poem "Hân-ı Yağma"⁵² (Banquet of Plunder) by Tevfik Fikret, which included the most vehement accusations to be made against the CUP thus far: "Effendis, the banquet is finished, but where are you going without cleaning your mouth, washing your hands or drinking our bitter coffee?"⁵³ After this introduction, Refik Halit compared the triumvirate to bedbugs, wolves attacking sheep, mice in a house without a cat, and naughty children stealing things in a home and selling them, in that order, and added: "They hit, broke, burned, destroyed; they hanged and murdered; they terrorized everybody; in the end, they ran like snakes after leaving our lifeless bodies lying around; they are running away after having let our enemies into the country... Pashas! Where are you running, by jumping from one rooftop to another, you pashas with sticks in your hands, swords hanging from your waists and bloodshot eyes?" The article went on in this tone and concluded by saying that actually the pashas had been rather successful: They had weakened the nation to such

an extent that nobody had the strength left to take revenge. Refik Halit ended his article on a rather paranoid tone: As long as the people are so timorous and the pashas so shameless, there will always be the danger of them some day coming back like victorious commanders and destroying the rest of the people.

These articles and other later ones written by Refik Halit, when the former proved popular, were a real journalistic success. In *Minelbab*, Refik Halit recounted that the issues in which these articles appeared sold like hot cakes, sometimes even at prices higher than their official ones, that they were reprinted and that they were translated into French, Greek and Armenian.⁵⁴ Due to the fact that Refik Halit had managed to express the sentiments of the anti-Unionist opposition so well, he was given important governmental positions both during the armistice and the occupation. As a result of his hostility to the CUP, he would not feel much sympathy for the National Struggle and would oppose Mustafa Kemal, whom he considered to be a Unionist. In a sense, the period of Refik Halit's life from the armistice until the moment in 1922 when he fled to Syria and was included into the *Yüzellilikler* (One hundred and fifty undesirables) list of people forbidden to return to Turkey, had started with these three articles.⁵⁵

After having fled to Syria and having been included into the *Yüzellilikler* list, Refik Halit remained an 'enemy of the regime' until 1938. Even though he did write articles very strongly critical of the new regime during his first years in Syria, with time he grew more moderate. This was in great part due to the purge of the remnants of Unionists, following the 1926 Izmir Plot. The fact that Atatürk was an enemy of the CUP made him and his regime more agreeable in the eyes of Refik Halit, who a short while later started writing articles in support of the new regime. Atatürk was among those who were especially fond of these articles, and it was even said that the 1938 amnesty had been ordered personally by Atatürk as a way of pardoning Refik Halit. On the basis of this, can it be said that Refik Halit, who until the 1930s had remained an anti-nationalist, made an opportunistic u-turn just to be pardoned? The answer has to be no, considering that even though he was strongly anti-nationalist until 1930, and in particular in the late Ottoman period, he had never been anti-national. Refik Halit was against the nationalism of the CUP, not in its essence, but in its methods and ways of being applied; on the other hand, his literary output and his choices regard-

ing form and content were, from every point of view, national. If one recollects Hroch's approach, one must classify Refik Halit as an anti-nationalist national movement agent.

This situation was noted by some, even before Refik Halit's return to Turkey. For example, when in 1931 a journalist asked Aka Gündüz which writer could be considered a *milli edip* (national writer), the answer was "Refik Halit".⁵⁶ This was a correct observation. Even though Refik Halit was a well-known opponent of Unionist Turkism throughout the First World War, he was also one of the writers who did the most for the national identity construction process, because of his simple and agreeable language, realism and closeness to the common people. Except for a few listless propaganda pieces, he refrained from superficial propaganda throughout the First World War, and in the case of an important conflict of interest concerning the formation of a nation-state, the attitude he adopted was close to that of the people. This was an important contribution to a society that had started to identify itself as a nation. In the post-1918 years, whenever the war was remembered and criticised, the style and contents of Refik Halit, who had lived through those years, were used as a model. The fact that after the war, those years were remembered especially for their economic difficulties and for the immorality of the war profiteers owes a lot to the above-mentioned works by Refik Halit.

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this book has been to analyse the reflection in Turkish literature of the Ottoman-Turkish war experience during the years 1914-1918, a subject that up now has been neglected in international and national historiographies. With this in mind, a contextualization effort has been made throughout this book. To understand the production mechanisms of literary works concerning the war, an effort has been made to construct a cultural historiographical context of the years 1908 to 1918. The starting point of this contextualization effort has been the assumption that the main aim of the literature being produced in European countries, which by 1914-1918 were fully developed and had completed their process of becoming nation-states, was to produce propaganda to support the state's war effort. Unlike the situation in Europe, the Ottoman Empire was still developing and for specific historical conditions had not yet completed its process of becoming a nation-state; consequently, the literature produced could not satisfy the propaganda requirements of the state. Notwithstanding this weak propaganda performance on the part of Turkish nationalist intelligentsia, it was able to use the war itself to concentrate on building national culture, which was still in the process of being formed. In this last chapter, the findings and conclusions of this work will be discussed.

The First World War is the first example in history of a total war, and this concept reflects itself in the cultures and literatures of Europe in the shape of propaganda. What begins at the beginning of the war as civic patriotism develops, as the war unfolds, into a wide-ranging mechanism, programmed and organized by the state. Writers are the most important agents of propaganda, which is aimed both at local public opinion, both military and civilian, and at the public opinion of foreign countries. The use of propaganda by non-gov-

ernmental public spheres had increased in nineteenth century Europe and as the war began in 1914, the state also entered this field, finding in writers willing helpers. In almost all countries, writers of different ideological hues were ready to undertake the job of representing the war in accordance with the state's guidance.

On the other hand, Ottoman war propaganda was condemned to failure. Throughout the war years, the Ottoman Empire could not manage to establish an effective propaganda mechanism. Some attempts were made, but these did not have satisfactory results. This situation began to be discussed in the Ottoman press by various writers as early as 1915. There was an ongoing debate in the press during the years 1914-1918 on the lack of propaganda. These debates lead to specific questions: Why did propaganda efforts die after 1915, even though at the beginning of the war it seemed as if a lively, spontaneous and patriotic propaganda effort, depending particularly on nationalist writers, was evolving? Can this be explained with the individual or collective laziness of the cultural agents? Is it true, as the nationalist writers of the period claimed more or less openly, that Ottoman-Turkish intellectuals were all cosmopolitan individualists with no national identity? Or did the lack of propaganda derive from more material reasons?

This last question is especially relevant, and a search for the material reasons underlying a lack of propaganda can be fruitful. The most visible material reason is the strict censorship regime enforced beginning in 1914 and the generally repressive attitude of the government towards freedom of thought. The strict censorship regime of this period made life very difficult for writers. The government preferred to consider the intelligentsia as one of the many untrustworthy elements of society to be kept under control, rather than a partner in the mission to convince and guide the masses. By the time the government understood that this approach was wrong, and abolished censorship in 1918, it was too late.

This situation points to a second material condition, going further back than 1918, which made it impossible to establish a propaganda mechanism: the behavioural characteristics of the CUP, which was in power throughout the war. The CUP, including even its leadership, failed to change the habits and attitudes that had characterized it prior to the 1908 Revolution when it operated illegally in bands, and therefore had likewise failed to normalize its power. This situation created a pyramidal factionalism running from top to bot-

tom. Rather than a modern political institution, the CUP looked like a conglomeration of factions with different agendas and perspectives. The conflicts created by this factionalism were among the most important reasons for the incapacity to form a coordinated propaganda mechanism.

Nevertheless, the most important reason for the incapacity to form this mechanism was the unfavourable infrastructure conditions of the Ottoman Empire, from which derived also the presence of censorship and of Unionist factionalism. Among the most significant of such conditions were: population and health related issues, an unstable economy dependent on foreign countries and credits, a lack of an industrial structure, the lack of a unified national education system and related illiteracy and the backwardness of the publishing sector, which prevented the formation of a national culture, the very thing upon which any propaganda effort depended. All these unfavourable material conditions made of the Ottoman Empire an anachronistic belligerent, not just in the real war, but also in the "war of words".

Due to its unfavourable material conditions, the Ottoman Empire had not been able to form a propaganda mechanism, in the European sense of the word, throughout the war years; nevertheless, notwithstanding all these unfavourable conditions, a cultural sphere that was becoming more national day by day did exist. Especially the Turkish nationalist section of this cultural sphere, which had formed after 1908 and strengthened in the 1910s, tried to produce as much propagandist literature as it could during the First World War. However, once it became clear that these were not successful, this section, which should have aided the war effort, began to use the war as a means of completing the national identity construction process.

This book's effort to interpret this situation is based on two fundamental and related premises: The wartime cultural output was produced by writers who interpreted the past on the basis of the circumstances present at the moment of writing. Thus, we readers, who live in a totally different era, have to also correctly evaluate the past as it was interpreted by the writer if we are to contextualize the actual moment of writing. Consequently, to be able to evaluate wartime cultural output, we have to know the history leading up 1908. The related second premise is that a chronological description would not have sufficed and that the contemporary ideological aspects of history have

to be known. Using the latter premise, we need a thematic distinction and discussion of the four main ideologies—Ottomanism, Islamism, Westernism and Turkism—shaping public opinion in the years 1908-1914.

We have, however, an important theoretical tool concerning the comparative study of these four ideologies: the 'nation-building process' approach of Miroslav Hroch, who is one of the most important names to have formulated a theory of nationalism. This approach can help us understand the interaction between Turkism and the other three ideologies. We need such an understanding because, according to the teleological national historiography, which became dominant especially during the Republic, since late Ottoman times there were those for and against a nation-state. Such an approach is an extreme simplification of a complex historical process. Can these ideologies be neatly separated from each other, as republican national historiography has always done? Can Turkism be defined as pro-nationalist and the other three ideologies as anti-nationalist? Even simply giving negative answers to these questions would not have been sufficient to overcome the reductionist nationalist/anti-nationalist binary opposition of the teleological approach. Hroch's approach makes possible an analysis done according to a different point of view, and one that gives more importance to the historical process.

According to Hroch, the nation-building process derives from specific social settings and is based on certain objective preconditions. The most important of these objective conditions are a common memory concerning the past, linguistic and cultural ties establishing social communication and a citizenship conception based on rights and equality between the individuals forming a nation. The fact that Hroch calls the result of these circumstances "national movement" and makes a distinction between it and "nationalism" creates a means of moving beyond the teleological historiography approach. All patriots within a national movement, both nationalist and non, contribute to the elimination of the deficits they see in the field of national existence. Hroch, on the basis of a comparative study of the European national movements, establishes that there are three main phases. In the first phase, there is the formation of national consciousness at a scholarly level; in the second phase, a new type of activist transforms this scholarly effort into "patriotic agitation" aiming to waken an ethnic group, while in the third phase, the nation-

al movement becomes a mass movement and a social structure is formed.

When all the ideologies arising from the 1908 Revolution are evaluated within a common national movement, and this is called the Turkish nation-formation process, Hroch's approach helps to clarify certain points, while it cannot enlighten others. The first point established within a common national movements pattern, by the nation-formation process, is the existence of a crisis of legitimacy. The common anxiety of all post-1908 dominant ideologies, the problem of the 'survival of the state', was the main crisis of legitimacy in Ottoman-Turkish society. The search for a solution to this problem by the four main ideologies was sometimes in conflict, sometimes in a state of cooperation and compromise, but always in support of the existence of a national movement not limited to nationalism.

During its evolution between the beginning of the nineteenth century and the 1920s, the Ottoman-Turkish national movement followed a pattern similar to Hroch's three phases. Thus, it can be stated that the period until 1908 was dedicated to a scholarly study of national identity, and that the years 1908-1923 were years of patriotic agitation, while the years from 1923 to the 1940s were years during which a national society was built. Nevertheless, this evolution, more or less in accordance with Hroch's phases, is not without its problems. Because Hroch's approach is formulated on the basis of small European national movements, it is based fundamentally on a "dominant nation-ethnic minority" binary opposition. This was not the case of the Turkish national movement, which was much more complex; it was the Turks who were the dominant nation within an imperial structure, and they had to be cautious lest they inflame the separatist nationalisms of the subject ethnic groups. It was the result of this caution plus all sorts of political, economic and social crises that none of the phases of the development of the Turkish national movement were ever completed. That was why the post-1908 national movement, which should have been one of patriotic agitation, by drawing from a theoretically complete national identity reservoir, had in reality to complete also some of the things that should have been prepared during the previous phase. Once the First World War began in 1914, requirements like propaganda, which could be expected only from the cultural sector of a fully formed national society, made it necessary for things typical of the third phase to be done in this phase by the national movement. As a result of these

excessive demands, the cultural agents of the national movement could not be sufficiently effective. This was one of the reasons why the propaganda activities of wartime intellectuals remained limited and listless. In relation to this, the national movement could not for a time execute even its main function of doing patriotic agitation, but especially from 1917 onwards, with the foundation of the *Yeni Mecmua*, it would start doing the things required by Hroch's first phase and contribute in the long run to the formation of a cultural infrastructure.

A more exhaustive and wide-ranging study of primary sources is undoubtedly imperative if we are to be able to discuss these claims more satisfactorily. The main personalities and publications of movements like Ottomanism, Islamism, Westernism, Turkism and other movements like socialism and feminism, which have not been mentioned in this book, need to be evaluated once more in the light of the conceptualizations of Hroch or of other researchers, so as to be able to rise above the cursory and simplified judgments and classifications of existing historiography. Many books, newspapers and magazines, published before the alphabet reform of 1928, are still waiting to be translated from the Ottoman script, which has become a sort of dead language, into the Latin script. Notwithstanding the advanced information processing technologies of our day, the printed materials of those days are left to disintegrate, under the common assumption that they are in any case being kept in libraries, or simply in the belief that they are not important enough to conserve. Until all this material is saved and analysed with a totally new approach, it will not be possible to interpret with any confidence anything that has to do with that period. This analysis on the basis of Hroch's nation-building process approach is not sufficient to be able to define the history of Ottoman modernization as a national movement, but its observations, especially concerning the post-1908 period, are useful as a foundation for the argumentation of this book.

The evolution of the Ottoman cultural sphere in the years between the Balkan War and the First World War and its consequent evolution in the 1914-1918 war years are related and make up the core of the book's effort to contextualize. The three-phased national movement development pattern can be used as a foundation for these years. Hroch's "patriotic agitation" phase was experienced by the post-Balkan War Ottoman public opinion. The Turkist public opinion formation efforts, which gained momentum after the Balkan War

in 1912, were supported at the governmental level and as a consequence of the losses in this war a Pan-Turanist nationalism, aiming to unite the empire with the Turks living under the Russian yoke, was born; the First World War was seen as a means of reaching this goal. The CUP government and the nationalist cultural sphere, which had quickly grown closer after the Balkan War, had in the three month period between the beginning of the war in Europe in August 1914 and the Ottoman Empire's entry in November 1914 made a coordinated effort to convince public opinion about the need to enter the war.

The 'ten year war' concept with reference to the Balkan War's socio-cultural impact, which recently has begun to be accepted by Turkish historiography, is important in this context. This concept is something different from a simple description, since the stress on the length of the period as a homogeneous time frame is different from the dominant approach; what it means is that the period between the 1912 Balkan War and the end of the Independence War in 1922 represents a single long process. Modern Turkish historiography had previously considered the Balkan War, the First World War and the Independence War as separate events, without taking into account the fact that each was the reason for the next. The continuity, however, seen clearly between the Balkan War and the First World War, in the fields of politics, economics and military organization, is even more visible at a socio-cultural level.

The concepts of *Turan* and *mefkûre* were introduced during the pre-Balkan War period by Ziya Gökalp, the main ideologist of the CUP, and were fundamental in getting patriotic agitation, which was generated especially by Turkish nationalism that strengthened during and immediately after the Balkan War, to reach the masses. Gökalp had formed these concepts on the basis of his studies of Western sociologists and philosophers and had developed them through the years according to his own thoughts and his sociological approach deriving from the events of the time, but with the effect of the Balkan War, they would reach the public opinion in a simplified form. *Turan mefkûresi*, born out of the union of these two concepts, was seen as a way of compensating for the territorial losses of the empire in Europe as a result of the Balkan War; it guided public opinion towards acceptance of a phantasm consisting of compensating for all the material and moral losses by means of a unification with the Turks living under the Russian yoke.

Turan mefkûresi is also important as a way of seeing the differences in the various conceptions of *vatan*, which best of all reflect the conflicts of the period concerning Turkish nationalism. In this period, there were many understandings of nationalism based on the opposing views, realist-idealist, romantic-political, voluntarist-historicist and organic-civic. Due to the losses in the Balkans, these conceptions were in conflict, especially with regard to the concept of *vatan*. For instance, we can emphasize the *manevi yurt* concept of Mehmet Ali Tevfik, which is critical of Gökalp's *Turan mefkûresi*. Gökalp's approach, which was more realistic than that of M. A. Tevfik, was the one to be accepted by both public opinion and the government. Consequently, the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War with the aim of uniting with all Turkish groups.

The conflict between the various understandings of Turkish nationalism, focusing on the conception of *vatan*, is one of the threads connecting the post-Balkan War and the First World War periods. This conflict within the nationalist current was relatively lighter until entry into the First World War, because the newly born Turkish nationalist movement was trying to expand its following by using factors like sympathy towards it, which had formed within public opinion in the post-Balkan War period, and the support of the CUP. Nevertheless, this conflict, which did not manifest itself in peacetime, because the CUP government was still in the honeymoon of its absolute political power and trying to form a symbiotic relationship with Turkism, surfaced when the First World War created a crisis. The conflict between an aggressive pro-CUP and Pan-Turanist nationalism and a defensive patriotic nationalism, concentrating upon Anatolia, manifested itself from the very beginning of the war and increased in the years 1915-1918, thus forming the basis of the Ottoman-Turkish cultural sphere's approach to war.

In part, the successful patriotic agitation by the Turkist movement, in the post-Balkan War period was due to the relatively favourable material conditions in those days. In addition to the governmental contribution and the increase in its audience, the subject preferred in those days by the Turkist movement was more suitable material in comparison to that which was available in the First World War. By then the catastrophe of the Balkan War had passed and the only thing left to do was to evaluate the events and to try to extract from them lessons with which to instruct and direct public opinion. On the other hand, the First World War was a crisis, about which one

did not know when it would finish or how it would affect society. Like all belligerent countries, the Ottoman Empire, too, had thought that the war would be short-lived. In reality, as the unprecedented dimensions and nature of the war made themselves clear, it had become impossible to form a propaganda mechanism based on the Turkist cultural sphere, which the government had thought would work effortlessly. The failure to form an effective Ottoman-Turkish propaganda mechanism during the First World War was due not just to material conditions, but also to a failure on the part of politicians and cultural agents to understand the new situation created by the war.

The Turkist movement would begin a strong pro-war campaign in August 1914, but later as the war made itself felt, this campaign would gradually weaken until February 1915 and then end when the Gallipoli Front was established. The ambitious but catastrophic beginning of the war, under the leadership of Enver Pasha, would create a conflict between those among the intelligentsia who supported the government and those who were critical of it. The supporters gained the upper hand, but because of the erroneous intervention of the government and the extremely strict censorship, the impropriety of which would be understood later, an effective propaganda effort could not be established.

Here it is important to emphasize the irrational political and socio-cultural mentality that made it impossible to establish an effective propaganda mechanism. From Enver Pasha down to the lower levels, almost the entire CUP had an extremely visionary view concerning the probable length and results of the war, and this prevented the establishment of a rational plan concerning the propaganda efforts. In particular, what was done under the heading of propaganda between August 1914 and February 1915 was nothing more than an attempt to trick the intellectuals or the common people and was of an extremely sycophantic nature. Especially intellectuals like Halide Edip, Yahya Kemal and Hamdullah Suphi, who were more rational, progressive and tending towards a more moderate nationalism, felt disturbed by actions like the Canal and Sarıkamış failures at the beginning of the war, or the deportation of the Armenians, and after Gallipoli, the anxiety about an Entente attack made them more critical of the CUP and its Pan-Turanist policies.

As a result of all these negative aspects, the spontaneous and lively patriotic agitation of the pre-August 1914 period ended; never-

theless, even after this date, there would be some propaganda efforts initiated by the government. There were weak propaganda efforts in the fields of cinematography, painting and photography; however, the publication meanwhile of the *Harp Mecmuası* was the most successful example of visual propaganda undertaken by the Ottoman Empire in this period. Another propaganda effort was the trip of intellectuals to Gallipoli in June 1915, which had been organized at a moment when the battle at the front had stabilized. The aim of such visits to the battlefield, which would never again be organized in this way, was to ensure that writers would use their impressions of the front to produce propaganda works addressed to the soldiers at the battlefield and to the civilians at the home front. Not only was it not possible to repeat such trips, but it also proved to be very difficult for the writers participating on this single trip to transform their impressions immediately into cultural output. The fact that these writers managed to create works about this only in the medium-term, and even then in a disorderly and unproductive way, is a good example of the difficulties faced as part of the propaganda effort.

The state's efforts in this field could not acquire a rational and systematic nature, even as late as 1917, by which time the war had gone on a long time and the lack of propaganda had become noticeable. Instead of resolving problems like the lack of paper, the low purchasing power and the repression and censorship, which were making cultural production very difficult, the government was ordering famous writers to write books, for which it was paying exorbitantly. For example, for a small poetry book, the writer was paid what could be called a small fortune, the book was printed using the best quality paper and material and, thinking that civilians would not be able to buy it since they were not even able to buy food, all the copies were bought at an exorbitant price and distributed free of charge among the army.

Ziya Gökalp, who since the beginning of the war had produced work that was closer to the interests of society and further away from politics, in the summer of 1917 initiated an important change concerning the cultural sphere. Gökalp, who at one time followed a secular Unionist policy and did not trust those that were not Unionist, founded *Yeni Mecmua*, which included anti-Unionist writers and gave precedence not to propaganda but to the formation of national culture. This magazine was published with the support of the CUP; in

it, there were also works satisfying short-term propaganda requirements, but it was mainly dedicated to national identity construction work, which would have effects only in the long-time term.

Yeni Mecmua's Çanakkale Nüsha-ı Fevkalâdesi, published in May 1918 to commemorate the Gallipoli Sea Battle of 18 March 1915, is an important denominator of the change in the cultural sphere. In this magazine, it was obvious that Gökalp's followers in *Yeni Mecmua* had an approach for understanding the war that was very similar to Gökalp's own approach. This special issue was published after the advances in the Caucasus Front, consequent to the 1917 Russian Revolution, so in a sense it was a work of propaganda; nevertheless, the writers, by retrospectively analysing in 1918 both the Gallipoli Battle and the rest of the Ottoman-Turkish First World War experience with a Gökalpan approach, were focusing on this experience's effects on the formation of a nationally defined society and of a nation-state.

This effort, which began with *Yeni Mecmua* and continued during the National Struggle of 1919-1922 and during the Republic after 1923, was an important step of the national identity construction process. All the same, the favourable developments in 1918 in the Caucasus Front, even though things were going very badly in all other fronts, inflamed the internal conflicts within Turkish nationalism for a last time and very vehemently. By then, the Anatolianists, Halide Edip chief amongst them, could not stand the damage wrought by the war and by irresponsible expansionist dreams, and so they were agitating for an abandonment of Turanist policies and calling upon the government and the people to direct their energies instead 'toward our own home'. Until the Mudros Armistice, the Turanism of Gökalp and of the other Unionist nationalists close to him had the upper hand on Anatolianists, but after the armistice, Pan-Turanism would quickly be substituted by a more restricted Turkish nationalism.

The literary output of those days, which was produced in this context, can be classified as poetry and prose on a basis of the main generic taxonomy of the period. All the same, there is another reason for the poetry-prose taxonomy: These two generic fields represented and interacted with the historical context analysed in this book, in different ways. Even though poetry became westernized after a certain period, it was nevertheless the dominant literary field of Ottoman literary tradition. Thus, a poet handling a subject related

to the national movement had to consider the past of his field and challenge those before him. This situation makes an analysis of representation in the field of poetry more difficult, since finding how the context penetrates the text requires a special effort. On the other hand, an analysis of representation in prose is much easier.

Notwithstanding this distinction, the literary output in poetry or prose follows a similar progression. All the writers analysed—Ziya Gökalp, Mehmet Emin and Mehmet Akif in poetry; Ömer Seyfettin and Refik Halit in prose—are considered part of the same national movement. Even though the writers studied had different opinions concerning the CUP government, Turkish nationalism and the First World War, they all shared a common patriotic approach concerning the survival of the state and of the nation. Nevertheless, the existing differences between them make it impossible to define the national movement of the years 1914-1918 as a unified position; instead, it is more aptly characterized as a spectrum including different positions.

Among these writers, Ziya Gökalp, Ömer Seyfettin and Mehmet Emin can be considered Turkish nationalists close to the CUP. Among the other names, Mehmet Akif is against nationalist ideology, but nevertheless a coherently patriotic Pan-Islamist; Refik Halit is an anti-nationalist because of his reaction to Unionist oppression, but a true national author as far as his literary choices are concerned. All the same, one must take into account the fact that all writers underwent, according to changing circumstances, changes or deviations with respect to their fundamental positions. For example, Ziya Gökalp's agitative approach lasted until 1915, but in later years, he became more detached in his work and tried to define a national society. Ömer Seyfettin was a polemicist of Unionist nationalism, but later he got closer to the common people, and his work became more critical of the CUP.

This book is the result of an effort that searches for the possibilities of an effective and enriching interaction between cultural and literary historiographies, without infringing the disciplinary conventions and methodologies of each field. Thus, the starting point has been an attempt to define and answer the doubts arising from historical and literary materials. Whenever the research material required it, the book has included challenges to generally accepted interpretations and approaches. As in all scientific quests, in the case of this study, too, there may be some results that are open to

misunderstandings and findings and interpretations that differ from those in other works. Nevertheless, it is believed that the interdisciplinary approach that has been attempted here will be useful and open up new horizons in particular for cultural and literary historiographies, and in general for all social sciences and humanities.

NOTES

Preface

- 1 Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 10-11.
- 2 The approach, which concentrates on the birth of modernism in art and literature in the post-1918 period and considers the war to be a moment of transition on this matter, is more dominant. For a work that espouses this approach, see Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). For a work developing Fussell's approach, see Samuel Hynes, *The Great War and English Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1991). For a work concentrating on the war's non-modernist literary representations, see Rosa Bracco, *Merchants of Hope: Middlebrow Writers of the First World War* (Oxford: Berg, 1993).
- 3 Wolfgang G. Natter, *Literature at War, 1914-1940: Representing the "Time of Greatness" in Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 6.
- 4 Lloyd Kramer, *Nationalism: Political Cultures in Europe and America, 1775-1865* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 5.
- 5 For a detailed survey on the subject of modernization and nationalism, see Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: a Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).
- 6 For the concept of 'imagined communities' and the importance of publishing regarding this concept, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 37-46.
- 7 'The Committee of Union and Progress' (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* or *Fırkası*). This abbreviation is used hereafter.

1 Material Conditions of War Propaganda and Their Want in the Ottoman Empire

- 1 Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American, and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 21.
- 2 Natter, *Literature at War*, 53.
- 3 Garry S. Messinger, *British Propaganda and the State in the First World War* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1992), 2.
- 4 Buitenhuis, *War of Words*, 1; Franz Karl Stanzel, "Introduction I: War and Literature," in Franz Karl Stanzel and Martin Löschnigg, eds., *Intimate Enemies: English and German Literary Reactions to the Great War 1914-1918* (Heidelberg: Universitäts Verlag C. Winter, 1993), 21.
- 5 Buitenhuis, *War of Words*, xvi.
- 6 Natter, *Literature at War*, 36.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 144.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 130.
- 9 Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (New York: Anchor, 1989), 71.
- 10 At the beginning of the war, the rates of literacy and elementary school attendance were almost one hundred percent in all the main countries. This was true not just in the case of the most advanced European countries but in the case of countries that had just completed their process of transformation into nation-states, such as Bulgaria, as well. When Bulgaria entered the war towards the end of 1915 as an ally of Germany, the literacy rate among its soldiers was 89.9 percent. Evelina Kelbetcheva, "Between Apology and Denial: Bulgarian Culture during World War I," in Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites, eds., *European Culture in the Great War: The Arts, Entertainment, and Propaganda, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 223.
- 11 Messinger, *British Propaganda*, 18. The difficulty encountered by Germans in understanding foreign cultures is confirmed by the account of a Turk. Journalist Ahmet Emin Yalman had completed his doctorate studies in America before the war and had returned to Turkey when the war began. In 1915, the Turkish government assigned him the task of reporting from the Western front. He worked for a few months, during which time he had the occasion of dining and talking with Hindenburg. At the table with Hindenburg was also the Minister for Colonies, Von Dernburg, who had just returned from his propaganda trip in the USA. Ahmet Emin, who knew the USA very well, describes in his memoirs the horror he felt upon hearing what von Dernburg

- had done in the name of propaganda: "Instead of inspiring sympathy, Von Dernburg had done everything imaginable to make enemies of the Americans." Ahmet Emin [Yalman], *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerimiz ve Geçirdiklerimiz. Cilt 1 (1888-1918)* (Istanbul: Rey, 1970), 245-246.
- 12 Messinger, *British Propaganda*, 22.
 - 13 Ahmed Emin [Yalman], *Turkey in the World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), 230.
 - 14 Halide Edip [Adivar], "Halâs Muharebesi," *Tanin*, 28 Teşrinisani 1330/11 December 1914.
 - 15 A. Y. [Akçuraoglu Yusuf], "Cihan Harbi ve Türkler," *Türk Yurdu* 73 (11 Kanunuevvel 1330/24 December 1914) translit. ed., vol. 4, 21.
 - 16 A. Y., "1330 Senesi," *Türk Yurdu* 79 (5 Mart 1331/18 March 1915) translit. ed., vol. 4, 85.
 - 17 C. S. [Celâl Sahir], "Edebi Yıl," *Türk Yurdu* 105 (10 Mart 1332/23 March 1916) translit. ed., vol. 4, 20.
 - 18 Hüseyin Cahid, "Edebiyatımıza Dair," *Türk Yurdu* 116 (18 Ağustos 1332/31 August 1916) translit. ed., vol. 4, p 174-175.
 - 19 "Müttefiklerimizin Düşündükleri," *Türk Yurdu* 119 (29 Eylül 1332/12 October 1916) translit. ed., vol. 4, 223.
 - 20 Ziya Gökalp, "Asker ve Şair," *Harp Mecmuası* 14 (Teşrinisani 1332/November 1916), 214.
 - 21 R. T., "Mektuplar: Giresun'da Bulunan Muhterem Karilerimizden Biri Yazıyor," *Türk Yurdu* 130 (15 March 1333/1917) translit. ed., vol. 5, 36.
 - 22 Quoted by Tahir Alangu, *Ömer Seyfettin: Ülkücü Bir Yazarın Romanı* (Istanbul: May, n.d.), 351.
 - 23 Mehmet Talat, "Birkaç Söz," *Yeni Mecmua Çanakkale Özel Sayısı*, in *Çanakkale: Yeni Mecmua'nın Özel Sayısı'nda Neşredilen Çanakkale Savaşları Üzerine Değerlendirmeler*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel (Çanakkale: Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1996), ix-x.
 - 24 Server İskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları* (N.p.: Başvekalet Basın ve Yayın Umum Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1943), 195.
 - 25 Orhan Koloğlu, *Aydınlarımızın Bunalım Yılı 1918: Zafer-i Nihai'den Tam Teslimiyete* (Istanbul: Boyut, 2000), 59.
 - 26 The 'Unionist' means *İttihatçı* (the member or the sympathizer of the CUP).
 - 27 Kâzım Karabekir, *Birinci Cihan Harbine Nasıl Girdik*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Emre, 1994 [1937]), 166-170.
 - 28 Ibid., 170-171.
 - 29 Ibid., 137-138.
 - 30 İskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat*, 194.

- 31 Yalman, *Turkey*, 104.
- 32 Yalman, *Turkey*, 240-241.
- 33 Ibid., 78; Vedat Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1994), 4. For detailed studies of pre-1914 Ottoman population, see Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Cem Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu, 1500-1927* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1996).
- 34 Edward J. Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War* (Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 2001), 15.
- 35 Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İktisadi Şartları Hakkında Bir Tetkik* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 23.
- 36 Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 235.
- 37 Ibid., 17.
- 38 Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 6-7.
- 39 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke*, 7.
- 40 Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 134.
- 41 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke*, 131.
- 42 The quantity of calories, which was 3,057 in Britain in 1913, fell to 2,740 in 1918; in France it went from 2,850 to 1,870 and in Germany from 2,972 to 1,500. Eldem, *ibid.*, 23.
- 43 The 400th part of an *okka*, which was equal to 2.8 lb. Nevertheless, weights were different in different parts of the Ottoman Empire. A *dirhem* was the equivalent of 3.207 gr. in Istanbul.
- 44 Yalman, *Turkey*, 92.
- 45 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke*, 81.
- 46 Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 92-94.
- 47 110 of these motor vehicles were in Istanbul, 22 in Izmir, 25 in Syria and 30 in other locations. Eldem, *ibid.*, 96.
- 48 Erickson, *Ordered to Die*, 16.
- 49 In the case of Ottoman railroads, there were also commercial problems; because there were few highways feeding them, their rate of utilization was low, even though they crossed rich areas. Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 105.
- 50 Yalman, *Turkey*, 85-86.
- 51 Ibid., 88-89.
- 52 Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 113-114.
- 53 Yalman, *Turkey*, 90.

- 54 Eric Zürcher, "Little Mehmet in the Desert: The Ottoman Soldier's Experience," in *Facing Armageddon: the First World War Experienced*, eds. Hugh Cecil and Peter Liddle (London: Leo Cooper, 1988), 230.
- 55 Meral Alpay, *Harf Devriminin Kütüphanelerde Yansıması* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1976), 47-48.

2 The Ideological Foundations of Ottoman War Propaganda

- 1 Şerif Mardin, "19. yy'da Düşünce Akımları ve Osmanlı Devleti," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: İletişim, 1985), 349.
- 2 Ibid., 348. For a comprehensive work on Abdulhamid II's Islamist politics, see Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- 3 Feroz Ahmad, "The Late Ottoman Empire," in *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Marian Kent (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 9-10.
- 4 Şükrü Hanioglu, "Osmanlıcılık," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: İletişim, 1985), 1393.
- 5 Halide Edip Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 4th ed. (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1973 [1912]).
- 6 Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 4th ed. (Istanbul: Ülken, 1994), 217.
- 7 Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 367-368.
- 8 İsmail Kara, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e İslâmcılık Tartışmaları," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: İletişim, 1985), 1408-1409.
- 9 Ibid., 1405, 1407.
- 10 Yusuf Sarımay, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi Gelişimi ve Türk Ocakları (1912-1931)* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 1994), 96.
- 11 Şerif Mardin, "İslâmcılık," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: İletişim, 1985), 1404.
- 12 For a detailed analysis of *İslâm* magazine, see Masami Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), chapter 6.
- 13 Kara, "İslâmcılık Tartışmaları," 1410. A similar mixture happened in the case of all the other ideologies of the time. According to Peyami Safa, these three currents "mixed up in real life", gave birth to "composite ideological classes" like Turkist Islamists, Turkist Westernists, Turkist-Islamist Westernists and Islamist Westernists. Peyami Safa, *Türk*

İnkılâbına Bakışlar (Istanbul: Ötüken, 1999 [1938]), 29.

- 14 A longish section of this book, published in 1916, in which Turkist Islamists are attacked, is to be found in İsmail Kara, ed., *Türkiye’de İslâmcılık Düşüncesi: Metinler/Kişiler*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Risale, 1986), 283-293.
- 15 Two memoirs of Eşref Edib [Fergan], who was the owner of *Sebilürreşad*, might be helpful in this matter: Eşref Edib [Fergan], *Millî Mücadele Yılları*, ed. Fahrettin Gün (Istanbul: Beyan, 2002); and *İstiklâl Mahkemelerinde: Sebilürreşad’ın Romanı*, ed. Fahrettin Gün (Istanbul: Beyan, 2002).
- 16 The most comprehensive work on Dr. Abdullah Cevdet is written by Şükrü Hanioglu: Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* (Istanbul: Üçdal, 1981).
- 17 Şükrü Hanioglu, “Baticılık,” *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: İletişim, 1985), 1348.
- 18 Berkes, *Secularism in Turkey*, 378.
- 19 For Miroslav Hroch’s approach, see Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); and “From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe,” in *Mapping the Nation*, Gopal Balakrishnan, ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1996), 78-97.
- 20 Hroch, “Nation-Building Process,” 79.
- 21 Ibid., 81.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid., 87–88.
- 24 According to Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, this concept is one of best describing the Turkish nationalism of the constitutional period. Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, “Orta Katman Aydınlar ve Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kitleselleşmesi,” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce*, vol. 4, *Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora (Istanbul: İletişim, 2002), 91-102.
- 25 Ziya Gökalp, *The Principles of Turkism*, trans. Robert Devereux (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968). The above-mentioned chapter is between pages 1–11 of this edition. The main text is 128 pages long.
- 26 Akçura’s article was printed in pages number 289-455 of this annual, which had been printed with the Arabic alphabet and contained a total of 655 pages. Apart from this article, the annual contained also other articles titled “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti” (The Turkish Republic) and “Cumhuriyet Haricinde Bulunan Türkler” (Turks Living Outside the Boundaries of the Republic). Akçura’s article was transliterated and published as a book several times in Turkish. For the edition I used

here, see Yusuf Akçura, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi* (History of Turkism), Sadık Perinçek, ed. (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1998). Akçura gave very little information concerning the post-1908 period, saying that he would publish the history for that period in the following year's *Türk Yılı*. He stated that this article would be even longer and very well documented, but this project could not be completed.

- 27 François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935)*, trans. Alev Er, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996 [1986]), 60.
- 28 Şükrü Hanioglu, "Türkçülük," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: İletişim, 1985), 1396.
- 29 Ibid., 1395.
- 30 Sarıınay, *Türk Milliyetçiliği*, 100.
- 31 For the history of the Turkish Language Reform, see Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). For the relationship of language and nationalism, see Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael, eds., *Language and Nationalism in Europe* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- 32 Ziya Gökalp, *Principles*, 11.
- 33 Ali Canib Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin (1884-1920): Hayatı, Karakteri, Edebiyatı, İdeali ve Eserlerinden Numuneler* (Istanbul: Remzi, 1947), 11.
- 34 Ibid., 14.
- 35 Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, vol. 1, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi, 1908-1918*, enlarged ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 1998), 441–442.
- 36 Sarıınay, *Türk Milliyetçiliği*, 112.
- 37 Ibid., 112-113. According to Sarıınay, 233 issues of the magazine were published between 1911 and 1931, and this period can be subdivided into three phases. The first phase is the one that lasted until the Mudros Armistice and includes 14 volumes and 161 issues published between 1911 and 1918. The second phase is the one between 1924-1927, during which time 6 volumes and 33 issues were published in Ankara. The third phase is the one between 1928-1931, during which time 6 volumes and 39 issues were published using the Latin alphabet. All the issues written with the Arabic alphabet were transliterated into the Latin alphabet. See *Türk Yurdu*, 17 volumes (Ankara: Tutubay Yayınları, 1998-2001). For a bibliographical study encompassing all issues between 1911-1992, see Hüseyin Tuncer, *Türk Yurdu (1911-1992) Bibliyografyası* (Izmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1993). For a study of this magazine by the same writer, see Hüseyin Tuncer, *Türk Yurdu (1911-1931) Üzerinde Bir İnceleme*

(Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990).

- 38 The first issue was printed four times, the second three times, the fourth and the fifth twice. Sarıнай, 116.
- 39 For the entire text of the program, see Akçura, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, 168.
- 40 Hüseyin Namık Orkun, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi* (Istanbul: Berkalp Kitabevi, 1944), 89.
- 41 Ibid., 91.

3 Patriotic Agitation in the Cultural Sphere: From the Balkan War to the First World War

- 1 Zafer Toprak, "Cihan Harbi'nin Provası Balkan Harbi," *Toplumsal Tarih* 104 (August 2002): 45-46.
- 2 Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, vol. 3, İttihat ve Terakki, Bir Çağın, Bir Kuşağın, Bir Partinin Tarihi, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 2000), 587.
- 3 For the military history of the Balkan War, see Edward J. Erickson, *Defeat in Detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans, 1912-1913* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003), and Richard C. Hall, *Balkan Wars, 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).
- 4 Toprak, "Cihan Harbi'nin Provası": 51.
- 5 Erickson, *Ordered to Die*, 19. For a detailed study of the impact of the Balkan War on the Ottoman population, see Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: the Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1995).
- 6 Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Ekonomi ve Toplum (1908-1950): Milli İktisat - Milli Burjuvazi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), 107-108.
- 7 Ibid., 109.
- 8 Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, vol. 3, 583. (Italics are mine.)
- 9 Ibid., 592.
- 10 Ubeydullah Esat, "Felâket Önünde," *Resimli Kitap* 44 (1328/1912), 639-640 quoted in Tunaya, *ibid.*, 562.
- 11 Cemil (Bilsel), *Lozan* quoted in Akşin, *Jön Türkler ve İttihat Terakki*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: İmge, 1998), 386.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Balkan Savaşı'nda Yayımlanmış Osmanlı Propaganda Kitabı *Kırmızı Siyah Kitap*," *Toplumsal Tarih* 104 (August 2002): 60-63.
- 14 Nedim, *Türkün Destanı* (Istanbul: n.p., [hicrî] 1332/1914), 11-13. The poet's real name was Ahmet Nedim Servet [Tör] and he was a bureaucrat. For more information about him, see Ahmet Nedim Servet Tör, *Nevhîz'in Günlüğü: "Defter-i Hâtırât"*, transliterated by Kaya Şahin

- (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2000).
- 15 Toprak, *Milli İktisat*, 181-183.
 - 16 Karabekir, *Cihan Harbi*, 77. Before the beginning of this fashion, shops were named in honour of concepts arising from the revolution of 1908. For example, at the beginning of 1913, names like 'Freedom Coffeehouse', 'Constitution Hotel', '*İttihad-ı Anâsır* (Union of Elements) Milk Shop' and 'Constitution Beerhouse' were extremely popular. For interesting observations on this subject by a Turk from Russia, see "Matbuat," *Türk Yurdu* 33 (7 February 1328/20 February 1913) translit. ed., vol. 2, 159-161.
 - 17 Ziya Gökalp, *Ziya Gökalp Külliyyatı I: Şiirler ve Halk Masalları*, Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1952), 5.
 - 18 Quoted in Yusuf Akçura, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, 141.
 - 19 For more information on Hungarian and Turkish Turanisms, see Joseph Kessler, "Turanism and Pan-Turanism in Hungary: 1890-1945" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1967); Tarık Demirkan, *Macar Turancıları* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000); Béla Horváth, *Anadolu 1913*, trans. Tarık Demirkan, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997); Günay Göksu Özdoğan, "*Turan*"dan "*Bozkurt*"a: *Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük* (1931-1946), trans. İsmail Kaplan (Istanbul: İletişim, 2001), 63-64; same writer, "Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Turancılık," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasal Düşünce*, vol. 4, *Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora, (Istanbul: İletişim, 2002), 388-405; Nizam Önen, *İki Turan: Macaristan ve Türkiye'de Turancılık* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2005).
 - 20 Gökalp, *Şiirler*, 13, 14-15. (Italics are mine)
 - 21 Gökalp, "8. Türk Milleti ve Turan," *Türk Yurdu* 62 (20 Mart 1330/2 April 1914) translit. ed., vol. 3, 240.
 - 22 Ziya Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, trans. and ed. Niyazi Berkes (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1959), 78-79.
 - 23 Gökalp, "3. Anane ve Kaide," *Türk Yurdu* 39 (2 Mayıs 1329/15 May 1913) translit. ed., vol. 2, 268.
 - 24 Ziya Gökalp, "Bugünkü Felsefe," *Genç Kalemler* 2-2 (27 Nisan 1327/10 May 1911), 112.
 - 25 Gökalp, "Yeni Hayat ve Yeni Kıymetler," *Genç Kalemler* 2-8 (10 Ağustos 1327/23 August 1911), 237.
 - 26 Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism*, 66-68.
 - 27 Ali Canib, "Tedkik-i Edebî: *Türkün Kitabı* İçin," *Türk Yurdu* 46 (8 Ağustos

- 1329/21 August 1913) translit. ed., vol. 2, 410. (Italics are mine)
- 28 A. Y. [Yusuf Akçura], "Geçen Yıl: 1329 Senesinde Türk Dünyası," *Türk Yurdu* 64 (17 Nisan 1330/30 April 1914) translit. ed., vol. 3, 279.
- 29 Ibid., 280. The way the concept of "vital force" (*hayat kuvveti* in the original) has been used here reminds us of the concept of 'will to power' used by Nietzsche. In those days Nietzsche was known, because of his 'Übersmensch' concept. Ziya Gökalp, in his above mentioned "Yeni Hayat ve Yeni Kıymetler" article, states, "The supermen imagined by Nietzsche are the Turks. They are the 'new people' of every century." *Genç Kalemler*, ibid., 239. Here I think he has been attracted by the adjective superior rather than by the depth of the philosophical concept. This attraction derives from social Darwinism, popular among the nationalisms of the nineteenth century. For the influence of social Darwinism upon the Ottoman intellectuals, see Atıla Doğan, *Osmanlı Aydınları ve Sosyal Darwinizm* (Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006). On the other hand, in one of his articles, Köprülüzâde Mehmet Fuat mentions the *élan vital* concept of Bergson, which in later years was to become one of the important sources of inspiration of Turkish conservatism and which rejects the strength worshipping aspect of social Darwinism. For this important article, see Köprülüzâde Mehmet Fuat, "Ümit ve Azîm," *Türk Yurdu* 32 (24 Kanunusani 1328/6 February 1913) translit. ed., vol. 2, 139-142.
- 30 A. Y., "Geçen Yıl," 280. Together with the process of giving national characteristics to public education, there was also an increase in the importance given to children. Many Turkist writers, beginning with Ziya Gökalp and Ömer Seyfettin, started to write novels and long poems depicting nationalist stories, in order to indoctrinate children and to develop folk literature. For an article explaining the importance of stories in teaching history to children, see Ali Haydar, "İbtidaiye Mektepleri: Yurt Terbiyesi," *Türk Yurdu* 31 (10 Kanunusani 1328/23 January 1913) translit. ed., vol. 2, 123-127. As for *Çocuk Dünyası*, which is mentioned in Yusuf Akçura's article, as well as for other literary output for children, see Cüneyd Okay, *Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1999); same writer, *Meşrutiyet Çocukları* (Istanbul: Bordo Kitaplar, 2000).
- 31 One of the activities mentioned by Hamdullah Suphi is very interesting. The Ocak had prepared and distributed to the schools a "racial map" showing the places where Turks lived. "Türklük Şuûnu: Türk Ocağı'nın Derneği," *Türk Yurdu* 55 (12 Kanunuevvel 1329/25 December 1913) translit. ed., vol. 3, 125. I think that this map has been

influential in spreading among common people the previously mentioned simplified version of the Turkist *mefkûre*. A reflection of this situation can be seen in the autobiography of Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, who at the time was a student in the school for teachers (Dar-ül müallimin): "Ottoman Africa, Yemen, the Indies, Bosna-Hersek had all become irrelevant to us. We used to put one hand on the Balkan passes and the Danube-Maritza basins. With the other we covered the Crimea, the Caucasus, Bashkordistan, Turkistan, the Altay Mountains, Chinese Turkistan, Changari, and the Golden Mountain ... We were supposed to save all these places. In actual life our borders in Rumeli ended at a distance of only two kilometres from our school door at the Edirne city station, but this was irrelevant for us. All we saw was the other end of the world, the Caucasus, Turkistan, the Chinese frontier. We were supposed to go there. To the villages, to the courtyards, to the tents of the nomads. With a sceptre in our hand, sandals on our feet and a bag full of books on our shoulders, we were going to Anatolia, Azerbaijan, Turkistan... The near past was a terrible nightmare for us. The future was what we took seriously. The water we were searching for, was there, shining..." Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, 10th printing (Istanbul: Remzi, 1997 [1959]), 59-60.

- 32 Zafer Toprak, "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, 531-536.
- 33 "Talim ve Terbiye: Türk Gücü," *Türk Yurdu* 35 (7 Mart 1329/20 March 1913) translit. ed., vol. 2, 186-187.
- 34 Türk Gücü, "Türk Gücü'nün Ne Olduğunu Bildirmek İçin," *Türk Yurdu* 37 (4 Nisan 1329/17 April 1913) translit. ed., vol. 2, 243.
- 35 Kuzucuoğlu Tahsin, "Güççülük," *Türk Yurdu* 66 (15 Mayıs 1330/28 May 1914) translit. ed., vol. 3, 308-309.
- 36 For the entire text of the conference, see Mehmet Ali Tevfik, "Yeni Hayat: Manevi Yurt," *Genç Kalemler* 3-20 (27 Nisan 1328/10 May 1912), 437-444.
- 37 Mehmet Ali Tevfik, "Yine Manevi Yurt," *Türk Yurdu* 25 (18 Teşrinievvel 1328/31 October 1912) translit. ed., vol. 2, 21.
- 38 M. A. Tevfik, "Manevi Yurt," 437.
- 39 Ibid. (Italics are mine).
- 40 Mehmet Ali Tevfik, *Turanlının Defteri* (Dersaadet: Kütüphane-i İslâm ve Askerî, 1330 [1914]), 140.
- 41 Nine congresses were held between 1908 and 1918. The 1908, 1909, 1910 and 1911 congresses were held in Salonika, while the 1912, 1913, 1916, 1917 and 1918 congresses were held in Istanbul. For more infor-

mation concerning these congresses, see Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler*, vol. 3, 283-297.

- 42 A. Y., “‘İttihat ve Terakki’ Cemiyeti’nin Yıllık Kongresi,” *Türk Yurdu* 49 (19 Eylül 1329/2 October 1913) translit. ed., vol. 3, 29.
- 43 Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasi Partiler*, vol. 1, 145. Tunaya published many documents about the CUP in this book, between pages 70 and 162.
- 44 Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasi Partiler*, vol. 3, 337.
- 45 Füsun Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları (1912-1931)* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1997), 74-75.
- 46 Positivism holds a special place in Ottoman modernization history. For this subject, see Murtaza Korlaelçi, *Pozitivizmin Türkiye’ye Girişi ve İlk Etkileri* (Istanbul: İnsan, 1986).
- 47 Zafer Toprak, “Türk Bilgi Derneği (1914) ve Bilgi Mecmuası,” in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri*, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, ed. (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1987), 247-254.
- 48 Üstel, *Türk Ocakları*, 72-73.
- 49 Georgeon, *Yusuf Akçura*, 68.
- 50 Sarımay, *Türk Milliyetçiliği*, 152.
- 51 Quoted in Yusuf Akçura, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, 177.
- 52 Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin*, 27.
- 53 Celal Nuri [İleri], *İttihad-ı İslâm: İslâm’ın Mazisi, Hâli, İstikbâli* (Istanbul: [hicrî] 1331/1913). At the beginning of the book, following the publishing fashion of those days, there were eulogies written by important persons. These were eulogies written by Abdülhak Hâmid, Süleyman Nazif, the Egyptian Mehmed Ferid and Sheikh Abdülaziz Çavuş, the Tunisian Ali Bashanbe and the Indian journalist Zafer Ali Han. With the exception of the first two, all of these persons would actively participate, throughout the First World War, in the Ottoman Jihad propaganda supported by Germany. For more details, see Jacob M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), chapter 2.
- 54 Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Makedonya’dan Ortaasya’ya Enver Paşa*, vol. 3, (1914-1922) (Istanbul: Remzi, 1972), 18.
- 55 For Ottoman mobilization and the entrance into the war, see Erickson, *Ordered to Die*, 51-73. For a book in which the Ottoman entrance into the war is discussed from the British point of view, see Geoffrey Miller, *Straits: British Policy towards the Ottoman Empire and the Origins of the Dardanelles Campaign* (Hull: The University of Hull Press, 1997). For the escape of Goeben and Breslau, see Geoffrey Miller, *Superior Force: The Conspiracy behind the Escape of Goeben and Breslau* (Hull:

- The University of Hull Press, 1996); Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (New York: Balantine Books, 1994), 137-162. For the Ottoman-German relationships, see Ulrich Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918* (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1989); İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1998).
- 56 For the recordings of the CUP's various trials in 1918-1919, see Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu, ed., *İttihat-Terakki'nin Sorgulanması ve Yargılanması (1918-1919): Meclis-i Mebusan Tahkikatı, Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa, Ermeni Tehcirinin İçyüzü, Divan-ı Harb-i Örfî Muhakemesi* (Istanbul: Temel, 1998). For the independence courts of the republican period, see Ergün Aybars, *İstiklâl Mahkemeleri, 1923-1927* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982).
- 57 "İhtar," *Türk Yurdu* 71 (24 Temmuz 1330/6 August 1914) translit. ed., vol. 3, 396.
- 58 Karabekir, *Cihan Harbi*, 172.
- 59 Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyâsî ve Edebî Hâtıralarım*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1976), 132-133.
- 60 At least they both claimed, in their autobiographies written after the war, that they were Anatolian nationalists, even though such an approach was at the time in the minority and very inconspicuous.
- 61 Karabekir, *Cihan Harbi*, 189.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid., 195-196.

4 Ottoman War Propaganda and Culture, 1914-1918

- 1 Ali İhsan Sâbis, *Harp Hatıralarım Birinci Dünya Harbi*, vol. 1, *Birinci Dünya Harbinden Evvelki Hadiseler, Harbin Zuhuru ve Seferberlik İlanı, Harbe Nasıl Sürüklendik?* (Istanbul: Nehir, 1991 [1943]).
- 2 The double-bladed sword of the Caliph Ali.
- 3 Ziya Şakir [Soku], *1914-1918 Cihan Harbini Nasıl İdare Ettik?* (Istanbul: Muallim Fuat Gücüyener Anadolu Türk Kitap Deposu, 1944), 69-70.
- 4 Ibid., 70.
- 5 Karabekir, *Cihan Harbi*, 220-227.
- 6 Sâbis, *Harp Hatıralarım*, 208-209.
- 7 Karabekir, *Cihan Harbi*, 187.
- 8 "Türklük Şuûnu: Enver Paşa Nahiyesi," *Türk Yurdu* 103 (12 Şubat 1331/25 February 1916) translit. ed., vol. 4, 342.
- 9 The notification of the general mobilization by means of posters and the use of recruitment offices happened for the first time in 1914. The

mobilization orders concerned all males between the ages of twenty and forty-five, and together with these orders came the threat of execution for all shirkers and latecomers. The fact that all classes had been recalled at the same time generated great confusion; those that were waiting to be processed were left without food, and in the meantime the fields could not be harvested. For this confusion in the recruitment offices, see Ziya Şakir, *1914-1918*, 27-29. For problems concerning the mobilization, see Karabekir, *Cihan Harbi*, 163; Erickson, *Ordered to Die*, 32-41. For a source describing very well the response of the population in the provinces to the mobilization orders and the way it went to serve, see Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, 61-67.

- 10 Edhem Eldem, *A History of the Ottoman Bank* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Historical Research Center and the Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1999), 332. For a description of those days, see Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *İki Komite İki Kıtıl – Kafkas Yollarında*, O. S. Kocahanoğlu, ed. (Istanbul: Temel, 1997 [1919]), 136.
- 11 Ziya Şakir, *1914-1918*, 226-227.
- 12 Halide Edip [Adivar], *Memoirs* (London: John Murray, 1926), 383.
- 13 Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Siyasî ve Edebî Portreler*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1986), 30-31.
- 14 Ibid., 32.
- 15 Halide Edip, *Memoirs*, 384-385.
- 16 Yahya Kemal, *Portreler*, 33.
- 17 Ibid., 34.
- 18 Hamdullah Suphi [Tanrıöver], “Türklükte Nefis Sanatlar: Son Resim Sergisi,” *Türk Yurdu* 89 (30 Temmuz 1331/12 August 1915) translit. ed., vol. 4, 195.
- 19 Ibid., 197.
- 20 For more information about this atelier and exhibition as well as the photographs of the paintings in the exhibition, see Ahmet Kamil Gören, ed., *Türk Resim Sanatında Şişli Atölyesi ve Viyana Sergisi* (Istanbul: Şişli Belediyesi-Istanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzeleri Derneği, 1997).
- 21 Nijat Özön, *Türk Sineması Kronolojisi (1895-1966)* (Ankara: Bilgi, 1968), 43-48.
- 22 Cemil Filmer, *Hatıralar: Türk Sinemasında 65 Yıl* (Istanbul: n.p., 1984), 85-90.
- 23 For this subject, see Ahmed İhsan Tokgöz, *Matbuat Hatıralarım*, Alpay Kabacalı, ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 1993 [1930-31]). See also Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye’de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (Istanbul: Literatür, 2000).

- 24 A date between 14 November-13 December 1915. Yücel Dağlı ve Cumhure Üçer, *Tarih Çevirme Kılavuzu*, V. Cilt: 01 M. 1201-29 Z. 1500 (24 Ekim 1786-16 Kasım 2077) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1997), 363-364. For a transliterated but not all inclusive edition of the magazine, see A. F. Bilkan and Ö. Çakır, eds., *Harp Mecmuası* (İstanbul: Kaynak Kitaplığı, 2004).
- 25 Muhittin Birgen, *İttihat ve Terakki'de On Sene*, vol. I, *İttihat ve Terakki Neydi?*, ed. Zeki Arıkan (İstanbul: Kitap, 2006), 367.
- 26 According to Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, as the war unfolded, the CUP government used three different official explanations regarding the reasons of its participation in war. In the first phase between 1914-1916, the enmity of Allied Powers towards the Ottomans was underlined and it was claimed that war had started not because the state had wanted it, but because of the unwarranted assault of the Russian navy against the Ottoman navy in the Black Sea. On the other hand, during the second phase, which lasted between 1916-1918, when things went relatively well, the official attitude was that participation in the war had been desired, but only after careful consideration. During the last phase, at the end of 1918, when it had become clear that defeat was inevitable, official statements were once again affirming that Ottoman participation in the war had not been a matter of free choice. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılâbı Tarihi*, vol. 3, section 1, *Savaşın Başından 1914-1915 Kışına Kadar*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1991 [1953]), 274-295.
- 27 "Niçin Çıkıyor?" *Harp Mecmuası* 1 (Teşrinisani 1331/1915), 3-6.
- 28 The sultan was the supreme commander of the Ottoman armies. That is why the title of Enver Pasha, who was both Chief of the General Staff and Minister of War, was 'Supreme Commander in Charge', even though he was the *de facto* supreme commander.
- 29 İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Çanakkale İzleri: Anafartalar'ın Müebbet Kahramanına*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1989), 8-10.
- 30 Not the newspaper version, but a later version of a book edition is used here. See Hamdullah Suphi [Tanrıöver], "Çanakkale," *Günebakan* (Ankara: Türk Ocakları İlim ve Sanat Heyeti Neşriyatı, 1929), 79-123. (Hereafter cited in the text.)
- 31 İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1971), 27-31.
- 32 Philip H. Stoddard, *Teşkilât-ı Mahsusa*, trans. Tansel Demirel, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Arba, 1993), 7.

- 33 Ibid., 59.
- 34 These 228 books were written by 100 different writers. Among these writers, there were few that were known as novelists or short story writers. For the source of this information, see Osman Gündüz, *Meşrutiyet Romanında Yapı ve Tema*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997), 999-1048. Gündüz uses the term “short novel” for shorter works, which in those days had the generic name of “pocket novels”. Ibid., 16.
- 35 Alangu, *Ömer Seyfettin*, 345.
- 36 Yusuf Ziya [Ortaç], *Bizim Yokuş* (Istanbul: Akbaba Yayınları, 1966), 41-45.
- 37 Rıza Tevfik Bölükbaşı, *Serab-ı Ömrüm* (Istanbul: Kenan Matbaası, 1949), 11.
- 38 Ibid., 11-12.
- 39 Beyatlı, *Portreler*, 125.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, *Ziya Gökalp: Bir Fikir Adamının Romanı*, Aykut Kazancıgil and Cem Alpar, eds., 2nd edition (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1984 [1951]), 99.
- 42 Yusuf Akçura, “Gökalp Ziya Bey Hakkında Hatıra ve Mülâhazalar,” *Türk Yurdu* 163-4 (Kanunuevvel 1340/December 1924) translit. ed., vol. 8, 86.
- 43 Akçura, “Mülâhazalar,” 87. For similar criticism towards Gökalp, see Kemal H. Karpat, “Ziya Gökalp’in Korporatifçilik, Millet-Milliyetçilik ve Çağdaş Medeniyet Kavramları Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler,” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce*, vol. 1, *Cumhuriyet’e Devreden Düşünce Mirası, Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet’in Birikimi*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (Istanbul: İletişim, 2001), 332.
- 44 For one of the earliest criticisms, see Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (London: Luzac, 1950). For a more critical but, at the same time, empathic study on Gökalp, see Taha Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985). For a more recent study that approaches Gökalp’s works and their interpretations from the angle of secularism and offers an alternative hermeneutic reading, see Andrew Davison, *Secularism and Revivalism in Turkey: A Hermeneutic Reconsideration* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).
- 45 Parla, *Ziya Gökalp*, 54.
- 46 For a bibliography in which both Gökalp’s works and publications on Gökalp were listed, see İsmet Binark and Nejat Sefercioğlu, *Doğumu-*

- nun 95. Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle *Ziya Gökalp Bibliyografyası: Kitap-Makale* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1971).
- 47 Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Bozgunda Fetih Rüyası: Yahya Kemal'in Biyografik Romanı* (İstanbul: Kabalcı, 2001), 432.
- 48 Beyatlı, *Portreler*, 17-18.
- 49 Erişirgil, *Ziya Gökalp*, 110.
- 50 Beyatlı, *Portreler*, 18.
- 51 Erişirgil, *Ziya Gökalp*, 114.
- 52 The magazine started to be published once more in 1923 in Istanbul, this time under the editorship of Falih Rıfkı [Atay]. The 90th and last issue of this re-edition was published in December the same year.
- 53 The novelist Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar was one of those claiming this. Yahya Kemal responded by saying that this was not true; the best articles and poems were paid with banknotes in the amount of three liras while for the work of younger writers only one and a half lira was being paid. Beyatlı, *Portreler*, 18-19.
- 54 Refik Halit Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab: 1918 Mütarekesi Devrinde Olan Biten İşlere ve Gelip Geçen İnsanlara Dair Bildiklerim*, Ender Karay, ed., 2nd edition (İstanbul: İnkılâp, 1992 [1964]), 43-44.
- 55 Alangu, *Ömer Seyfettin*, 366-367.
- 56 For a study analysing these concepts in general terms within the 'Constitutional period sociology' and in particular within the context of Ziya Gökalp and the *Yeni Mecmua*, see Zafer Toprak, "Osmanlı'da Toplumbilimin Doğuşu," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasî Düşünce*, vol. 1, *Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası, Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001), 310-327.
- 57 The excerpts from this issue have been taken from the book: Abdurrahman Güzel, ed., *Çanakkale [Yeni Mecmua'nın Özel Sayısında Neşredilen Çanakkale Savaşları Üzerine Değerlendirmeler]* (Çanakkale: Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, 1996).
- 58 Hüseyin Rahmi [Gürpınar], "Ali'nin Şehadeti (Veda Ederken)," in *Çanakkale*, 329-331.
- 59 See Ruşen Eşref Üneydin, *Bütün Eserleri. Röportajlar II*, Necat Birinci and Nuri Sağlam, eds. (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2002). Studies of oral recollections concerning Turkey's recent past are very rare. For such a study concerning only the Gallipoli combatants of the First World War, see Nail Ekici, Derman Bayladı and Mahmut Alptekin, eds., *Cumhuriyete Kan Verenler* (İstanbul: Hürriyet Yayınları, 1973).
- 60 Ali Ekrem [Bolayır], *Ordunun Defteri* (İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslâmiye Matbaası, 1336 [1920]). Letters from the front, which are an impor-

tant source with regards to the experience of the common soldier, are almost non-existent in Turkish history because of the low literacy rate of the Ottoman army. For a half-fiction, half-research work based on various memoirs, see Necati İnceoğlu, *Siper Mektupları* (Istanbul: Remzi, 2001). For a work based only on documents found in the archives of the Defence Ministry, the General Staff and the Red Crescent, see Hülya Yarar and Mustafa Delialioğlu, ed., *Cepheden Mektuplar* (Ankara: Milli Savunma Bakanlığı, 1999).

- 61 Mehmet Talat, ix.
- 62 İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu], "Çanakkale Müdafaası Nedir?" in *Çanakkale*, 120-121.
- 63 Mehmed Emin [Erişirgil], "Çanakkale Hamaseti ve Medeniyet," in *Çanakkale*, 129-130.
- 64 Necmeddin Sadık [Sadak], "Çanakkale'nin Terbiye Kuvveti," in *Çanakkale*, 328.
- 65 This alterist approach of Ziya Gökalp appeared especially as a distinction between culture and civilization and after his death was reproduced and appropriated by the Turkish right. That this was not an approach limited to Turkish nationalism can be clearly seen in Partha Chatterjee's studies on the Indian nationalism. Chatterjee presents a symptomatic interpretation, within a "thematic-problematic" conceptual framework, of the "us-them" distinction present in all nationalist discourse. The critical approach present in this interpretation explains how the nationalist evolution, which Gökalp assumes to be automatic, can in reality encounter difficulties and create problems. It could be useful to evaluate Gökalp and Turkish nationalism once more on the basis of Chatterjee's approach, but such a study has yet to be done. For Chatterjee's approach, see Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Discourse and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); R. Radhakrishnan, "Nationalism, Gender, and the Narrative of Identity," in *Nationalism & Sexualities*, Andrew Parker et. al., eds. (New York and London: Routledge, 1992).
- 66 Ziya Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization*, 171-176.
- 67 For the military aspects of these developments, see Erickson, *Ordered to Die*, 179-192. For the diplomatic relationships of the Ottoman Empire with the revolutionary Russian governments, see Stefanos Yerasimos, *Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Türk-Sovyet İlişkileri, 1917-19123*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Boyut, 2000 [1979]), 11-99.

- 68 The May-June 1918 War Bond Emission, which was accompanied by the Ottoman State's most successful propaganda campaign during the First World War, very probably reached its objectives because of the positive atmosphere created by these favourable developments on the eastern front. The press and the intellectuals had mobilized for this first internal debt of the Ottoman State, the preparations of which had begun in April, and the amount collected had been more than satisfactory. For the campaign for this bond emission, see Zafer Toprak, "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde İç Borçlanma," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4 (Istanbul: İletişim, 1985), 942-943.
- 69 For a study that narrates the formation of Azeri national identity in general, and the complex developments in the area after 1917 in particular, see Tadeusz Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan 1905-1920: The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- 70 Quoted in Yalman, *Turkey*, 198.
- 71 Even if it had not been declared openly, it could be felt that one of the reasons for this congress was a conflict between Ziya Gökalp and Hamdullah Suphi. Gökalp thought that the *Ocak*, which was not organized according to his solidarist and corporatist social model and was too amorphous, had exhausted its usefulness and could survive only as a cultural club. By accepting financial contributions from the CUP, Hamdullah Suphi had *de facto* connected the *Ocak* to the party, but was nevertheless keen to keep it as autonomous as possible, notwithstanding the presence of Gökalp. The reason why Hamdullah Suphi had decided to hold this congress and had submitted such a detailed and self-congratulatory report was his hope to sidestep Gökalp and create a new structure that would consolidate his own power. Consequently, during the election for the governing board, Gökalp got only seven votes and was not elected to it. H. Suphi, who with 132 votes was the one to get the most votes during this election, later seemed not to accept the chairmanship of the *Ocak*, but in this way, he was able to accomplish his political manoeuvre. For the Gökalp-Hamdullah Suphi conflict, see Üstel, *Türk Ocakları*, 76-77; Erişirgil, *Ziya Gökalp*, 89-96. It is also claimed that the Gökalp-Hamdullah Suphi conflict was a reflection of conflicts within the CUP leadership. After his return from Syria, Cemal Pasha had become the financial and political protector of the *Ocak*. Hamdullah Suphi had moved away from Talat and Enver, who were the real leaders, and gotten closer to Cemal Pasha. On the other hand, Ziya Gökalp found Cemal Pasha insincere and hated him. For

this subject, see Erişirgil, *Ziya Gökalp*, 156-158.

72 Üstel, *Türk Ocakları*, 93-94.

73 Ibid., 95-97. Discussions on the amendments to the regulation continued in the third session of the Congress on 5 July 1918 and elections for the governing board, the board of controllers, the board of honour and the board of culture were completed in the last session of 11 July. For complete information on the Congress, see Üstel, *Türk Ocakları*, 80-100.

74 Köprülüzâde was probably interpreting the concept of Pan-Turanism as a larger movement, which included the Hungarians and the Finns.

75 Quoted in Yalman, *Turkey*, 199.

76 Ziya Gökalp, "Türkçülük ve Türkiyecilik," *Yeni Mecmua* 2-51 (4 Temmuz 1334/1918), 482.

77 Gökalp mentions volunteer soldiers and officers, because sending soldiers of the official Ottoman army would create diplomatic problems and meet with the disapproval of Germany.

78 For the intricacies of this process, see Yerasimos, *Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda*, especially chapters two and three.

79 For example, Müfide Ferit [Tek], the writer of the famous nationalist novel *Aydemir* (1919), explained her conception of Turkism during an interview in 1924 as such: "As you know I am a Turkist and my Turkism is not limited to Anatolia. I want to conquer the other Turkish lands, not by force, but with love towards Turkishness. Turkey should start even now to build with love a Turkish federation, which will be born in any case." Quoted in Cemal Demircioğlu, "Müfide Ferit Tek ve Romanlarındaki Milliyetçilik," Master's Thesis, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, 1998, 42. (Italics are mine)

80 Ziya Gökalp, *Principles*, 17.

81 Ibid., 20.

5 The War and Poetry

1 See Ünaydın, *Röportajlar II*.

2 Ömer Seyfettin, "Diyorlar ki!...", *Akşam* 13 (2 Teşrinievvel 1334/2 October 1918).

3 For the thoughts of Ruşen Eşref about these criticisms, see Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın, *Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın'dan Hasan Âli Yücel'e "Diyorlar Ki" İçin Bir Mektup*, Nuri Sağlam, ed. (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), 27-31.

4 The most acceptable canon-formation effort for Ömer Seyfettin would have most probably been the one in which the movement of National Literature was given precedence. For such an effort of the same peri-

- od, see Nüzhet Haşim [Sinanoğlu], *Millî Edebiyata Doğru: Birinci Cild* (Istanbul: Cemiyet Kütüphanesi, 1918).
- 5 Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Portreler*, 21–24.
 - 6 Ziya Gökalp, *Yeni Hayat* (Istanbul: Yeni Mecmua, 1918), 3.
 - 7 Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, “Ziya Gökalp’in Şiirleri ve Halk Masalları,” xv-xvi.
 - 8 Parla, *Ziya Gökalp*, 34–35.
 - 9 Mehmet Kaplan, “Ziya Gökalp ve Saadet Perisi,” *Türk Edebiyatı Üzerinde Araştırmalar I*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Dergâh, 1992), 490-516; “Ziya Gökalp ve ‘Yeniden Doğma’ Temi,” *ibid.*, 517–534.
 - 10 Mehmet Kaplan, “Saadet Perisi,” 495–497.
 - 11 Ziya Gökalp, *Şiirler*, 336.
 - 12 Ziya Gökalp, *Şiirler*, 64.
 - 13 Mehmet Kaplan, “Yeniden Doğma Temi,” 520-521.
 - 14 Ziya Gökalp, *Kızılmelema* (Istanbul: Türk Yurdu Kitapları, 1330/1914). Tansel edition is used here instead of this edition. (Hereafter cited in text.)
 - 15 “Yeni Eserler,” *Türk Yurdu* 72 (27 Teşrinisani 1330/10 December 1914) translit. ed., vol.3, 406.
 - 16 “Turan” is the first (7 March 1911) and “Tevhid” is the last (14 August 1914) in chronological order.
 - 17 “Altın Destan” was first published in January 1912 in *Genç Kalemler*. Later, it was republished with “Ergenekon” in the supplement, *Altın Armağan II*, of the 24th issue of *Türk Yurdu* (4 Teşrinievvel 1328/17 October 1912).
 - 18 Gökalp was very careful to use ideologically charged words. For example, even when writing tales for children, into which he could not openly insert ideological matters, he used names like Türkân, Turan, etc. to create a kind of indoctrination effect. Gökalp’s method was later also adopted by poets and novelists who were his followers.
 - 19 Interestingly, this centre was planned to be the Swiss city of Lausanne. In his poem, Gökalp states that this city was preferred over other cities like Istanbul, Baku or Kazan, because these latter cities lacked the political or cultural freedom that would have permitted the co-education of women and men.
 - 20 *Halka Doğru* 4 (2 Mayıs 1329/15 May 1913).
 - 21 *Donanma Nüsha-yı Fevkalâdesi* (4 Mart 1330/17 March 1914).
 - 22 *Türk Sözü* 2 (17 Nisan 1330/30 April 1914).
 - 23 *Türk Sözü* 10 (12 Haziran 1330/25 June 1914).
 - 24 *Tanin*, 8 August 1914.

- 25 For the first publication dates of the poems in *Yeni Hayat*, see Tansel edition's endnotes, 349-358.
- 26 M. Zekeriya [Sertel], "Yeni Hayat ve Ziya Gökalp Bey," *Türk Yurdu* 160 (15 July 1334/1918) translit. ed., vol.7, 238-243.
- 27 Tansel, "Ziya Gökalp'in Şiirleri ve Halk Masalları," xxvi.
- 28 Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, "Mehmed Emin Yurdakul'un Şiirleri," in Mehmed Emin Yurdakul, *Mehmed Emin Yurdakul'un Eserleri-I. Şiirler*, Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1969), xvi-xviii. Efgani supported a nationalism that emphasized the usage of vernaculars. For an article of him on this subject, which was translated from Persian and published in *Türk Yurdu* in 1912, see Cemaledin Efgani, "Vahdet-i Cinsiye (Irkiye) Felsefesi ve İttihad-ı Lisanın Mahiyet-i Hakikiyesi," Resulzâde Mehmet Emin, trans., *Türk Yurdu* 26 (1 Teşrinisani 1328/14 November 1912) translit. ed., vol. 2, 38-42.
- 29 Yurdakul, *Şiirler*, 21. (Hereafter cited in text.)
- 30 Turkish folk poetry genres about love and bravery.
- 31 Tansel, "Yurdakul'un Şiirleri," xxiv-xxvi.
- 32 Ibid., xxxix.
- 33 Ibid., xlv. When *Tan Sesleri* was published, an essay on the book by Hamdullah Suphi appeared in *Türk Yurdu*. This essay is very important, because it is not so much about the book itself as about the ways the book was read. Hamdullah Suphi received a letter from a lieutenant who had been wounded at Gallipoli, and when he visited him he saw that there was a copy of *Tan Sesleri* in his room. At this point he offered to give the lieutenant the other books by Mehmet Emin, but the young officer said "I already have them all." H. Suphi started reflecting on this: "I said to myself, in all the various corners of this country, how many hundreds, nay thousands of young men have these poems in their pockets or on their bedsides? ... After the end of the storm created by cannons and shrapnel, after the dead and wounded have been taken care of, when all is calm and the weapons have been laid down, officers of all ranks will read these poems to the Turkish children of Anatolia. So many wounded brothers of mine have said the same thing: When these poems were read, the soldiers were so touched that they used to cry." Hamdullah Suphi [Tanrıöver], "Tan Sesleri," *Türk Yurdu* 84 (21 May 1331-3 June 1915) translit. ed., vol. 4, 136.
- 34 Tansel, "Yurdakul'un Şiirleri," xlvi.
- 35 Mehmet Akif gave the title of *Safahat* (Phases) to his first poetry book that was published in 1911, and later on he published his subsequent poetry books with the same title, only adding a number such as "Second

- Book", "Third Book", etc. until 1933. For an annotated list of Akif's publications before and after his death, see Zeki Sarıhan, *Mehmet Akif* (Istanbul: Kaynak, 1996) 245–252. Also, see M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Mehmed Âkif Hakkında Araştırmalar I-III* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı, 2000 [1987-1989]).
- 36 Mehmet Akif Ersoy, *Safahat: Eski ve Yeni Harflerle Tenkitli Neşir*, M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, ed. (Istanbul: İz, 1991), 382-383. (Hereafter cited in text.)
- 37 Quoted in Sarıhan, *Mehmet Akif*, 80-81. Nevertheless, here I must stress one point: Even though Mehmet Akif was, vehemently and since the very beginning, opposed to the Turkist movement led by Gökâlp, he was also a national or rather a patriotic poet. His life as well as his ethical and literary choices actually obliged him towards this direction.
- 38 For the influence of Cemaleddin Efgani and his disciple Muhammed Abduh (1849-1905) on Mehmet Akif's Islamism, see Tansel, *Mehmed Akif: Hayatı ve Eserleri* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1945), 51-62.
- 39 Sarıhan, *Mehmet Akif*, 68.
- 40 The exact dates of Akif's trip to Germany are not known. The only things known are that it began in December 1914 and as far as we can understand from the poem "Berlin Hatıraları" included in *Hatıralar*, which was the fifth book of *Safahat*, it lasted until the first phases of the Gallipoli Battle, i.e. at least until March 1915. At the end of the poem there is the date 5 March 1331/18 March 1914. This long poem of Mehmet Akif started to be serialized in *Sebilürreşat* on 26 Mart 1331/5 April 1915 and concluded on 5 September 1334/1918, due to the long periods in which the magazine was shut down.

6 The War and Prose

- 1 Together with these two names in the field of non-fiction prose, one should mention also the historian Ahmet Refik [Altınay] of *Yeni Mecmua* magazine and the journalist Ahmet Rasim, who wrote also about historical subjects.
- 2 Cenap Şehabettin, *Evrâk-ı Eyyam* (Istanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1915).
- 3 Cenap Şehabettin, *Nesr-i Harp, Nesr-i Sulh ve Tiryaki Sözleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334/1918); and *Avrupa Mektupları* (Istanbul: Âşâr-ı Müfide Kütüphanesi, 1335/1919).
- 4 There is the date of *hicri* 1334, i.e. 1916, on the cover of the book.
- 5 This book was printed by the official state printing house *Matbaa-yı Âmire* in Istanbul in *hicri* 1335/1917. For the source of quotation, see Süleyman Nazif, *Malta Geceleri, Firâk-ı Irak, Galicya*, İhsan Erzi, ed. (Istanbul:

Tercüman, 1979), 77.

- 6 Falih Rıfkı [Atay], *Ateş ve Güneş* (Istanbul: Halk Kütüphanesi, 1334/1918). (Hereafter cited in text.)
- 7 Gündüz, *Meşrutiyet Romanı*, 269-271.
- 8 F. Celâleddin, "Mustafa'nın Hilesi," in *Çanakkale*, 270.
- 9 Halide Edip Adıvar, *Kubbeye Kalan Hoş Sada* (Istanbul: Atlas, 1974), 134-135.
- 10 İnci Enginün, "Ömer Seyfettin'in Hikâyeleri," in *Doğumunun Yüzüncü Yılında Ömer Seyfettin*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1992), 47.
- 11 For concise information on Ömer Seyfettin editions, see Müjgân Cunbur, "Ömer Seyfettin'in Hayatı ve Eserleri," in *Doğumunun Yüzüncü Yılında Ömer Seyfettin*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1992), 17. Ömer Seyfettin published his works under various pen names and his bibliography is not yet completed due to the variety and abundance of these pen names. His unknown works may be found while scholarly studies on the periodicals and magazines of his time continue. The most scholarly edition of Ömer Seyfettin's complete works has been done by Hülya Argunşah, who collected and published all of the short stories, articles, poems, prose poems, diaries and translations known to belong to Ömer Seyfettin in seven volumes, *Ömer Seyfettin, Bütün Eserleri*, 7 volumes, Hülya Argunşah, ed. (Istanbul: Dergâh, 1999-2001).
- 12 Ömer Seyfettin kept a diary during the war and his captivity. For this important testimony regarding the Balkan War, see Ömer Seyfettin, "Balkan Harbi Hatıraları," in *Bütün Eserleri: Şiirler, Mensur Şiirler, Fıkralar, Hatıralar, Mektuplar* (Istanbul: Dergâh, 2000), 269-310.
- 13 The most detailed book about Ömer Seyfettin's life is Tahir Alangu's *Ömer Seyfettin: Ülkücü Bir Yazarın Yaşamı*. This important work should be approached with care, because it contains some errors concerning dates and events.
- 14 *Vatan! Yalnız Vatan...* (Selanik: Yeni Hayat Kitapları, 1327 [1911]). See Ömer Seyfettin, *Bütün Eserleri: Makaleler* 1, 141-159.
- 15 The pamphlet mentioned the fact that this newspaper included articles in Turkish, French, Greek and Hebrew. It has not been possible to confirm the existence of this newspaper from other sources. It should also be kept in mind that in the pamphlet, this newspaper was described as a "small pamphlet". (142) Thus it may have been a pamphlet with the dimensions of a magazine or newspaper. The fact that many Unionists may have been Freemasons has been widely debated. On this

- subject, see Paul Dumont, *Osmanlıcılık, Ulusçu Akımlar ve Masonluk*, trans. Ali Berktaş (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2000); Orhan Koloğlu, *İttihatçılar ve Masonlar*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Eylül, 2002).
- 16 *Bütün Eserleri: Makaleler 1*, 149. (Hereafter cited in text as *Makaleler 1*.)
 - 17 Ömer Seyfettin, "Türk Sözü," *Türk Sözü* 1 (12 Nisan 1330/25 April 1914), 3. (*Bütün Eserleri: Makaleler 1*, 203)
 - 18 For a study in which these poems of Ömer Seyfettin are discussed, see Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, "Ömer Seyfeddin'in Hayat Çizgisi, İlk Eser ve Şiirleri," in *Doğumunun Yüzüncü Yılında Ömer Seyfettin*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1992), 51-72.
 - 19 İnci Enginün, "Ömer Seyfeddin'in Hikâyeleri," 42.
 - 20 Tarhan, *Millî Tecrübelerden Çıkarılmış Amelî Siyaset* (İstanbul: n.p., 1330/1914); Ömer Tarhan, *Herkes İçin İçtimaiyat: Ticaret ve Nasip* (İstanbul: Türk Yurdu Kütüphanesi, n.d.); Ö. S., *Mektep Çocuklarında Türklük Mefkûresi* (İstanbul: Çocuk Dünyası Mecmuası Neşriyatı, n.d.); Ömer Seyfettin, *Yarınki Turan Devleti* (İstanbul: Türk Yurdu Kütüphanesi, 1330/1914).
 - 21 "Bomba" was published in *Genç Kalemler* in 1911, and "Beyaz Lale" was serialized in *Donanma* between 27 July and 5 October 1914.
 - 22 Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 491.
 - 23 Timothy Brennan, "The National Longing for Form," in *Nation and Narration*, Homi K. Bhabha, ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 52
 - 24 In these efforts he was not alone. For example, as far as inserting the 'rabble' into acceptable literature was concerned, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar went even further than he did. Ömer Seyfettin was never alone in any of his efforts. His experiments had already been attempted by others before him or were being attempted at the same time as him. Seen from this point of view, he cannot be considered an innovator introducing realism or anything else, but rather an applier who managed to narrate successfully all the subjects he took up.
 - 25 Alangu, *Ömer Seyfettin*, 358-359. For the relationship of nationalism and history, see Peter Mandler, *History and National Life* (London: Profile Books, 2002); and Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).
 - 26 All of these stories were published in *Yeni Mecmua*. Their titles and publication dates are in the following order: "Ferman", 23 August 1917;

- "Kütük", 27 September 1917; "Vire", 11 October 1917; "Teselli", 25 October 1917; "Pembe İncili Kaftan", 1 November 1917; "Başını Vermeyen Şehit", 22 November 1917; "Kızılelma Neresi?", 29 November 1917; "Büyücü", 6 December 1917; "Teke Tek", 13 December 1917; "Topuz", 27 December 1917; "Diyet", 10 January 1918. All of these are available in *Bütün Eserleri: Hikâyeler 2*.
- 27 Quoted in Alangu, *Ömer Seyfettin*, 368.
- 28 *Bütün Eserleri: Hikâyeler 2*, 73. (Hereafter cited in text as *Hikâyeler 2*)
- 29 Bruce King, *The New English Literatures* (London: Macmillan, 1980), 42 quoted in Brennan, "National Longing," 53.
- 30 *Bütün Eserleri: Hikâyeler 3*, 172-176. (Hereafter cited in text as *Hikâyeler 3*)
- 31 The primary source concerning the life of Refik Halit consists of his autobiographical writings, which appeared in various books. Two of his books can be considered memoirs: Refik Halit Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab: 1918 Mütarekesi Devrinde Olan Biten İşlere ve Gelip Geçen İnsanlara Dair Bildiklerim*, rev. and annot. 2nd ed., Ender Karay, ed. (Istanbul: İnkılâp, 1992), and *Bir Ömür Boyunca*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 1996). For a chronological compilation of the writer's autobiographical articles, see Hikmet Münir Ebcioglu, *Kendi Yazıları ile Refik Halit* (Istanbul: Semih Lûtfi, n.d.).
- 32 These writings appeared in book form, with the title *Kirpinin Dedikleri* (What the Porcupine Says), as early as 1911; this book was reprinted in 1920 and in 1940. See Refik Halit [Karay], *Kirpinin Dedikleri*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: Semih Lûtfi, 1940).
- 33 Refik Halit recounted his memories concerning these murders in 58-65 of *Bir Ömür Boyunca*.
- 34 Refik Halit Karay, *Delî*, enlarged 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Semih Lûtfi, 1939), 35.
- 35 Apart from the date when he was sent to exile, none of these dates is exact. This information is reached by estimation on the basis of his books. Apart from the above-mentioned article titled "Ankara" and his memoirs, his book *Gurbet Hikâyeleri* includes undated information about his years in exile: Refik Halit Karay, *Gurbet Hikâyeleri* (Istanbul: Semih Lûtfi, 1940). In addition to this, one must note that it is not just the life of Refik Halit which has such obscure points, but all Anatolian history of those days. The most detailed source concerning pre-First World War Anatolia is the description of a voyage by a journalist called Ahmet Şerif, which was published in *Tanin*. For these articles published between 1909-1914, see Ahmet Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin 1. Cilt*,

- Mehmed Çetin Börekçi, ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999).
- 36 *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, 50-53.
- 37 *Bir Ömür Boyunca*, 26-32.
- 38 Refik Halit, "Anadolu'yu Gördüm," *Yeni Mecmua* II-34 (7 March 1918), 144. The same piece is included in the following book: Refik Halit [Karay], *Guguklu Saat*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Semih Lûtfi, 1940 [1925]), 125-128.
- 39 *Bir Ömür Boyunca*, 238-239.
- 40 *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, 36-38.
- 41 Refik Halit, "Harp Zengini," *Yeni Mecmua* 2-42 (2 May 1918), 301.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 302.
- 43 Ebcioğlu, *Kendi Yazıları*, 46.
- 44 Refik Halit [Karay], *Sakın Aldanma, İnanma, Kanma!*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Semih Lûtfi, 1941 [1919]). (Hereafter cited in text.)
- 45 Refik Halit, *Istanbul'un İcyüzü* (Istanbul: Kütüphane-i Hilmi, 1336 [1919]). The novel was published with the Latin script for the first time in 1939 in Istanbul; beginning from this edition, its title was changed to *Istanbul'un Bir Yüzü* (One Face of Istanbul). Especially after the foundation of the republic, it became fashionable to criticize Istanbul, the old capital, as a symbol of collaboration with the enemy during the War of Independence, while Ankara was considered purer. The word *ıcyüzü* (real face) had been used by Refik Halit only in the context of the First World War. Consequently, to prevent it from being understood within the context of the subsequent accusations of the republican period, the book's title in the 1939 edition was changed into *bir yüzü* (one face). For this work the following edition has been used: Refik Halit Karay, *Istanbul'un Bir Yüzü*, 4th ed. (Istanbul: İnkılâp, n.d.).
- 46 The novel started to be serialized in *Zaman* on 7 October 1334/1918, and the fourty-third and the last part was published on 24 December 1334/1918.
- 47 *Istanbul'un Bir Yüzü*, 84-98.
- 48 Refik Halit, "Ortada Kabahatli Yok," *Zaman* 195 (21 October 1334/1918).
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 Refik Halit, "Sakın Aldanma, İnanma, Kanma," *Zaman* 200 (26 October 1334/1918).
- 51 Refik Halit, "Efendiler Nereye?" *Zaman* 210 (5 November 1334/1918).
- 52 For this poem that was written in 1912 and published in 1914, see Tevfik Fikret, *Bütün Şiirleri*, İsmail Parlatır and Nurullah Çetin, eds. (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2001), 661-662.

- 53 Refik Halit, "Efendiler Nereye?"
- 54 *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, 58.
- 55 For the most detailed study of Istanbul governments of the period, in which Refik Halit took seats, see Sina Akşin, *Istanbul Hükümetleri ve Millî Mücadele*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1998). For the *Yüzellilikler*, see Kamil Erdeha, *Yüzellilikler yahut Milli Mücadelenin Muhasebesi* (Istanbul: Tekin, 1998); and Nurşen Mazıcı, *Belgelerle Atatürk Döneminde Muhalefet* (1919-1926) (Istanbul: Dilmen, 1984).
- 56 Ebcioglu, *Kendi Yazıları*, 84

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