Authors: Ioannis N. Grigoriadis & Arzu Opçin-Kıdal

Institutional Affiliation: Bilkent University

Corresponding Author's Contact Details

Postal Address: Department of Political Science & Public Administration, Bilkent University, Bilkent, Ankara, TR-06800, Turkey

Phone Number: +90-312-2901855

Fax Number: +90-312-2902742

E-mail: ioannis@bilkent.edu.tr

arzu.opcin@bilkent.edu.tr

Imagining *Turan*: Homeland and its Political Implications

in the Literary Work of Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan] and Mehmet Ziya [Gökalp]

Abstract

While scholarly interest in the influence of Tatar intellectuals on Turkish nationalism has been strong, less attention has been paid to the interactions between Russian Azerbaijani and Ottoman Turkish intellectuals. This study applies theoretical tools developed by Benedict Anderson in the study of ethnic nationalism in the late Ottoman and Russian Empires. In doing so, this study focuses on the works of one leading intellectual from each side, Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan] and Mehmet Ziya [Gökalp]. Particular attention is paid to the concept of Turan, which they defined and elaborated as both a political ideal and a key element of the nationalist ideology they espoused through four poems they authored, two of which are homonymous. Their different views of the limits of the Turanian 'imagined community' and the political operationalization of the concept shed light on the development of ethnic nationalism in the declining Ottoman and Russian Empires. Ever since, Turan has become a significant symbolic conceptual tool that has fired the imaginations of Turkic nationalists (without, yet, ever leading to the establishment of a serious political movement).

Keywords: nationalism, Ottoman Empire, Russian Empire, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Turan, Pan-Turkism, Pan-Turanism

While scholarly interest in the influence of Tatar intellectuals on Turkish nationalism has been strong, less attention has been paid to the interactions between Russian Azerbaijani and Ottoman Turkish intellectuals. While the work of Ismail Gaspıralı[1] and Yusuf Akçura,[2] leading figures in the nationalist mobilization of Turkic populations of the Russian Empire, has attracted considerable research attention,[3] the work of Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan],[4] has remained relatively neglected. Considering the geographic proximity as well as the close ties between the intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire and Russian Azerbaijan, one might expect that the influence of Azerbaijani nationalism on Turkish nationalism might be considerable. While there was a two-way exchange of knowledge, ideas and concepts, one could argue that Russian Azerbaijani nationalism has had a bigger influence on Ottoman Turkish nationalism than the other way around. This was due to the fact that Azerbaijani intellectuals encountered the influence of Russian nationalism and Pan-Slavism, could access and participate in debates among intellectuals of the Russian Empire and familiarize themselves with key nationalist concepts, before these proliferated in the Ottoman Empire.

This study aims to explore Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan]'s contribution to the development of ethnic nationalism in Azerbaijan and Turkey through a comparison with Mehmet Ziya [Gökalp], a thinker who was profoundly influenced by Huseyinzade and later became one of the leading ideologues of Turkish nationalism. Based on key ideas from these thinkers developed at the beginning of the twentieth century, this study aims to investigate the ways in which nationalist ideas were exchanged between the Ottoman and the Russian Empires. Particular attention will be paid to a concept that played a pivotal role in the nationalist ideology of both: Turan. Being both

an imagined homeland and a political ideal, Turan has informed the development of ethnic nationalism in both republican Turkey and Azerbaijan.

Both protagonists, Hüseyinzade and Gökalp, lived through very turbulent times, as they witnessed wars, revolutions, the dissolution of three great multi-ethnic empires and the emergence of Turkey and the Soviet Union. These developments inevitably had an effect on their ideas. This article will investigate their ideas on *Turan* at the beginning of the twentieth century, between 1904 and 1915. These eleven years were marked by revolutions, wars and intensive intellectual debates which were facilitated by a relatively liberal environment in both the Ottoman and Russian Empires.

Studying these two leading figures in a comparative manner can contribute to the literature in many ways. Gökalp is one of the most prominent ideologues of modern Turkey as he formulated the blueprint of republican Turkish nationalism. He introduced conceptual tools and political terminology for a Turkish national identity by suggesting a synthesis of Turkism, Islamism and modernization and by influencing the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk].[5] Similarly, Hüseyinzade played a vital role in the construction of the idea of *Turan* by merging Pan-Turkism, Islamism and Westernization. His ideas contributed to the construction of Azerbaijani nationalism with the help of Mammad Amin Rasulzade[6] who established the short-lived Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan on 28 May 1918 with a tricolour flag representing Hüseyinzade's famous trilogy. His ideas also proved instrumental in the development of Turkish nationalism through his influence on Turkish thinkers. As the Ottoman Empire was collapsing, despite the Young Turk Revolution, there was hope that pan-Turkism could rescue Turkish nationalism through its expansion to the Caucasus, Central Asia and Crimea, territories of the disintegrating Russian Empire, where the Tatars and the Azeris were living. This study will first

elaborate on the concepts of 'imagined community' and 'Turan'. Second, it will explore the meaning of the term 'Turan' as it appeared in four representative poems of Mehmet Ziya [Gökalp] and Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan] within the 1904-1915 period. Finally, it will provide an assessment of their intellectual contribution as an example of the exchange of ideas between the Ottoman Empire and Russian Azerbaijan.

Conceptual Framework

The importance of imagination for conceptualizing the nation was eloquently stressed by Benedict Anderson. Anderson defined the nation as 'an imagined political community'.[7] Noting that there are many types of imagined communities, he argued that what differentiates nationalism is the style of imagination: '…definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'.[8] Anderson used the term 'imagined', as a metaphor to conceptualize the idea of a nation, meaning that members of the nation never know most of the other fellows and have not met face to face, but an image of community exists in the minds of each member, which consolidates unity among the members of this imagined community. Furthermore, he posited that the nation is imagined as limited, sovereign, and a community. This imagination is limited due to finite boundaries, as one nation could not include all humanity. It is sovereign, due to the loss of legitimacy of divine dynastic empires in the age of Enlightenment and Revolution, and the political emancipation claims that nations have brought. It is a community, since the nation is regarded as a horizontal, deep comradeship.[9]

Anderson stated that nationalism was related to religion and kinship and stressed the significance of symbols for political identity.[10] One of the most important arguments Anderson put forward was that these imagined communities crystallized with the help of 'print capitalism'.

Thus, the origins of nationalism can be traced in the development of commercial printing activities that helped the proliferation of ideas including nationalism. Anderson argued that print-capitalism led to the emergence of national consciousness in three ways: (i) means of discourse and communication between fellows of a given language territory, (ii) standardization of language for identification with the past; (iii) prioritization of certain language fields. Thus,

> the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of
>
> human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community,
>
> which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation.[11]

Having emerged and proliferated through means of 'print capitalism', the concept of *Turan* has featured in the agenda of pan-Turkist nationalism since the early twentieth century. The limits of the Turanian 'imagined community', as well as the very concept of pan-Turkism and pan-Turanism have been debated. While both refer to the unification of Turkic communities, the scope of the latter in defining what constitutes the Turkic community appears as much broader than that of the former. Jacob Landau introduced a distinction between Pan-Turkism and Pan-Turanism. While the aim of the former is unification of all peoples of Turkic origin living in/out of the Ottoman Empire on the basis of culture, physical characteristics or both, that of the latter is unifying all peoples of Turanian origin, as defined by such as Friedrich Max Müller, Matthias Alexander Castrén and Ármin Vámbéry, such as Estonians, Finns and Hungarians with those living in the Ottoman Empire and the steppes of Central Asia. Therefore, Pan-Turanism exceeds the limits of Pan-Turkism. According to an Ottoman document dated in 1832 about the Khanate of Kokand, Turan was identified with Tatarstan, Turkestan and Mongolia and was drawn within the limits of "China in the east, Tibet, India and Iran in the South, the desert of Dasht-, Kipchak and the Caspian Sea in the West and, again, the desert of Dasht-ı Kipchak in the North." [12] These were the borders drawn

in a map of Iran and Turan published in Germany in 1840. Charles Warren Hostler, on the other hand, argued that the Pan-Turkist ideal involved parts in 'Anatolia and the Turkic-speaking areas of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), as well as other Central Asian Territories (including Sinkiang, Afghanistan, Turkestan, parts of Iran, and Azerbaijan'.[13] According to him, Pan-Turkism emerged as a significant political movement subsequent to the October Revolution and the demise of the Ottoman Empire. These awakened the nationalist sentiments of Turkic people living under the collapsing Russian Empire, which eventually facilitated the conversion of the centralized empire into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

Pan-Turanism enjoyed some support in the Habsburg Empire among Hungarian nationalists who aspired to unite all the Turanian people including Estonians, Finns, Hungarians, Mongolians, Tatars and Turks. Ármin Vámbéry (1832-1913) – a well-known Hungarian Turkologist – was one of the leading exponents of this current, which was characterised by strong anti-German and anti-Russian sentiments: Pan-Turanism could be considered as a Hungarian response to Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism. This broader understanding of Pan-Turanism was never appreciated by late Ottoman intellectuals.[14] Yet, it was welcomed by one of the leading intellectuals from Russian Azerbaijan: Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan]. In the first two verses of his famous *Turan* poem, Hüseyinzade referred to the kinship with the Hungarians: 'You, the nation of Hungarians, are our brothers. Both of our races come from Turan.'[15] Here, one might argue that Hüseyinzade emphasized unity in language under the umbrella of the Ural-Altaic language family.[16] David Kushner also defined Pan-Turanism as an imagined homeland of Turkish, Finnish, Hungarian, Estonian and Mongolian as Turanian groups;[17] thus, he presented it as a broader concept than Pan-Turkism. In his book *İki Turan* (Two Turans), Nizam Önen defined Turkish Pan-Turanism as

bringing together all Turks from the Balkans to Inner Asia, thus as a synonym for Pan-Turkism, while Hungarian Pan-Turanism imagined the amalgamation of all Turanian peoples, such as the Hungarians, Mongolians, Turks, Finns, and even Japanese.[18]

Mehmet Ziya [Gökalp] as Intellectual and Activist

According to Niyazi Berkes, 'Ziya Gökalp is the best intellectual formulator of the main trends of the Turkish Republic: Westernization, democracy, political and economic national independence, and secularism.'[19] Starting from the Second Constitutional Period, he became the greatest representative of Pan-Turkism, strongly influenced Turkish thought and politics; and renewed Turkish literature in terms of form and language with his works in the national literary movement.

In Uriel Heyd's monograph, Mehmet Ziya [Gökalp] appeared as 'the spiritual founder of Turkish Republic',[20] as 'the theorist of modern Turkish nationalism'.[21] Even though he did not create an original idea of his own, rather he borrowed ideas mainly from Europe, Heyd argued, 'Gökalp had the wisdom to see in what manner Western ideas, practices and procedures could best be applied to the institutions of his own country.'[22] He was born in 1876 at Çermik, in the vilayet of Diyarbakır, raised during the despotic rule of Abdulhamit II (1876-1909) and became the ideologue and theoretician of the Young Turk Revolution (1908) and later of Kemalism.[23] He finished the Military Middle School (*rüşdiye*) and then enrolled in the Civil High School (*idadi*), which he did not complete.[24] In 1896, he moved from Diyarbakır to Istanbul, enrolled in the Veterinary School and joined the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*-CUP). During his education in Istanbul and through his CUP membership, Gökalp established a connection with the Turkish nationalist movement and acquainted himself with Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan]. Hüseyinzade, who was a faculty member at *Dar-ül-Fünun* and a founding member of the

CUP, greatly affected Gökalp's thought. It was Hüseynzade who introduced Gökalp to ethnic Turkish nationalism during that time.

Heyd also argued that with his national and social views Hüseyinzade was an influence on Gökalp,[25] and that Gökalp owed Hüseynzade a lot.[26] Despite Hüseynzade's departure from Istanbul for Transcaucasia, with the help of his publications, particularly the *Füyûzât* (Wisdom) magazine, the former maintained his influence on the latter regarding *Pan-Turkism* which would constitute the basis of Gökalp's ideology in the future.[27] As a result of Leon Cahun's influence on his novel *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie* and his friendship with Hüseyinzade, Gökalp believed that the highest form of society was a nation united under the same language.[28] In his book *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Principles of (Pan)-Turkism)*,* Gökalp himself stressed:

> When I came to Istanbul in 1896… I was learning the thoughts of Hüseyinzade
>
> about Pan-Turkism while keeping in touch with him.[29]

Tadeusz Swietochowski explained the relationship of Hüseyinzade and Gökalp as follows:

> Somewhat more successful were Huseynzade Ali Bey's efforts in influencing a
>
> handful of intellectuals with his writings, which he published under the
>
> pseudonym Turan (Land of Turks) after the title of one of his poems. Among
>
> those indebted to him were the poet Mehmed Emin and the future prophet of
>
> Turkism, Ziya Gökalp, who was to acknowledged Ali bay as one of his most
>
> important teachers.[30]

In 1908, Gökalp was appointed to the local branch of the CUP in Diyarbakir, Van and Bitlis. He later went to Istanbul to teach at *Darülfünun*, before returning to Diyarbakir and publishing the *Peyman* (Oath) newspaper in 1909 about religious and historical subjects. In the last months of 1909, he was sent to Thessaloniki by the CUP to serve at the Central Committee headquarters based in that city. As the CUP Central Committee headquarters had to be moved from Thessaloniki

because of the Balkan Wars, Gökalp and his family moved once again to Istanbul in 1912. During this period, Gökalp's opinions regarding education planning were increasingly influential at the Faculty of Education, *Darülfünun*; course schedules, lectures and books to be taught were agreed upon in line with his recommendation. In 1914, he continued teaching at the Faculty of Letters. Shaping his thoughts and works around Pan-Turkism and with this mission in mind, and despite the lack of any formal university education, Gökalp became in 1915 the founding professor of the chair of sociology at *Darülfünun*.[31]

Having written in *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens), one of the leading Unionist magazines published in Thessaloniki between 1910 and 1912, Gökalp was one of the pioneers of the *Yeni Lisan Hareketi.* (New Language Movement), a pioneer in the simplification of the Ottoman language. He also published there his poem entitled *Turan* (1910), which encapsulated his view and vision of Pan-Turkism vis-à-vis Pan-Turanism. In addition to the poem, *Turan*, with his other poems called *Millet* (Nation) (1915), *Lisan* (Language) (1915), *Altın Destan* (Golden Epic) (1912), *Ergenekon* (1912), *Balkanlar* (Balkans) (1912), and *Kızıl Elma* (Red Apple) (1913), Gökalp was trying to create, in his own expression, 'an ideal which existed in the realm of imagination, not in the realm of reality'.[32] As a result of his works in *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth), his articles in magazines such as *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) (1912-1914), his famous book *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (Turkify, Islamize and Modernize) (1913/1918), the lessons he had taught in *Darülfünun*, and his influence on the administrative staff of *İttihat ve Terakki* (Committee of Union and Progress) such as Enver Pasha, Talaat Pasha and Ahmed Djemal Pasha, Gökalp was at the forefront of those leading the intellectual and political life of the post-First World War Ottoman Empire.[33] Between 1919 and 1921, he was in exile in Malta, alongside other leading CUP figures. Following his release, he moved to Diyarbakir and published *Küçük Mecmua* (Small

Magazine) (1922-1923) which contained his ideas on problems of society, politics, economics and culture.[34] In 1923, he was appointed to *Talim ve Tercüme Başkanlığı* (Directorate of Education and Translation), as well as to parliament as deputy for Diyarbakir. On the one hand, the articles were published in the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (National Sovereignty)*, Yeni Gün* (New Day), *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) newspapers; on the other hand, books such as *Türk Töresi* (Turkish Custom) (1922) *Altın Işık* (Golden Light) (1923), *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Principles of Pan-Turkism) (1923), *Türk Devri* (Turks' Era) (1923) followed one another.[35]

The war years (1914-1918) were years of ideological adaptation for Gökalp, as well as other intellectuals witnessing the painful transition from empire to nation. Gökalp was trying to find his own way of thought – what Taha Parla called 'non-expansionist Turkish nationalism'.[36] Gökalp developed his own formula, which was of course mostly affected by Hüseyinzade's thoughts, as a remedy for the Empire's ills. He followed this line of thought during his years of Malta exile (1919-1921). There, following the demise of the Ottoman Empire, Gökalp had a greater chance of asserting such a nationalism and acknowledging the invalidity of the other currents. Gökalp himself made the transition in the same period from *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (Turkification, Islamization, Modernization) (1912-1918) to *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Principles of Pan-Turkism) (1923), which he probably drafted in Malta, and this change symbolizes the change of an era.[37]

Throughout his intellectual life, Gökalp engaged with the concepts of nation and nationalism. To better understand what the nation is, Gökalp made the distinction between *ummah*, state and nation, i.e. Islamic *ummah*, the Ottoman State, the Turkish and Arabic nation.[38] According to Gökalp, 'to be an Ottoman does not mean to be a Turk'.[39] Accordingly, the *ummah* referred to the sum of individuals who belong to the same religion, the state denoted the sum of individuals under

the administration of a government whereas nation was the sum of individuals who speak the same language. The issue of unity in language, that is the Ottoman Turkish, therefore, appeared as an important factor in the definition of nation.

How the language should be, therefore, is one of the important questions Gökalp raised. In the journal called *Genç Kalemler,* Gökalp argued that the Turkish language should be rearranged, the Arabic and Persian rules should be discarded rather than all Arabic and Persian words. Instead, what he suggested was to replace Arabic and Persian words with their Turkish equivalents and keep the ones which does not have Turkish versions.[40]

In addition to the definition of the nation, Gökalp also talked about the formation of the nations as a result of a three-stage process with a scheme inspired by Emile Durkheim's sociology. According to this, tribal society was based on the unity of language and race, the *ummah* leant on the unity of religion, and then the nation was defined by culture (*hars*) and civilization (*medeniyet*).[41] Therefore, the emergence of a Turkish nation from the Ottoman state required a breakthrough: the integration of Islam into Turkish nationalism, the adoption of international civilization (that is, Western civilization), and the development of national culture.

The distinction between culture (*hars*) and civilization (*medeniyet*)[42] lay at the heart of Gökalp's intellectual perspective and had its roots in Ferdinand Tönnies's distinction between community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Gesellschaft*). By basing his synthesis of Turkish nationalism, Islamic Sufism and European Corporatism (that is, what Parla calls his synthesis) on the distinction of culture (*hars*) and civilization (*medeniyet),*[43] Gökalp positioned his theory in the tradition of German romantic nationalism. Gökalp introduced this binary opposition to the late Ottoman intellectual debates.[44] In his view, culture is a harmonious whole of a nation's religion, morality, law, reason, aesthetics, language, economy, and science.[45] Civilization, on the other hand,

is cosmopolitan/international.[46] In addition, civilization is the sum of concepts and technologies passing from one nation to another by means of method and imitation, or the necessity of purchasing information and industrial goods from Europe rather than resembling Europeans in terms of form and understanding with an individual will, thus artificial.[47] National culture consists of emotions that cannot be evoked by means of method and imitation and could thus be considered organic.[48] Gökalp argued, therefore, that there is no necessary conflict between Turkism, Islam and modernization.

In his book *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (Turkify, Islamize, Modernize),[49] Gökalp presented the synthesis of this trilogy as a basis for Turkish nationalism. In a magazine entitled *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) in which he wrote an article *Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (Turkify, Islamize*,* Modernize),[50] Gökalp attempted to reconcile Turkism, Islamism and modernization against the currents of that time - Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism.[51] According to Gökalp, there is no conflict between being an ethnic Turk and being a Muslim while being civilized/modernized, that is, they do not contradict to each other. Modernization denotes adopting European scientific and technological developments rather than the way of life and ethical principles; that is, modernizing the country without what Parla calls a cultural inferiority complex.[52] The Turkish nation, accordingly, was a member of the Ural-Altaic linguistic family, the Islamic *ummah*, and a member of the European civilization.[53] In other words, Gökalp tried to reconcile the main currents of thought during the First World War, namely the Islamization ideas of the Pan-Islamists, the Turkism of the Turkic intellectuals, most of whom migrated from the Russian homeland, and wrote in *Turk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) magazine, and the secularization of the Westernizers who wanted a secular society by systematizing their theses in a sociological interpretation.[54] Gökalp defined this trilogy for the Turkish nation as follows:

> If, according to anthropology, individuals who share the same body structure type are a racial group, nations bound to one civilization according to sociology are one international community. The Turkish language, like the Turkish tribe, entered the Islamic civilization and then took an Islamic form in terms of letters and scientific terms… As nationality is born from newspapers and internationalism from books, modernity comes from devices. To us, modernization means to make and use armour, cars, planes like Europeans; it is not like the modernizing and living like the Europeans.[55]

Inspired by Durkheim's concept of collective imaginations defined collective consciousness of a society to realize a social reality and organic solidarity as a division of labour in an industrial society,[56] Gökalp conceptualized the Turkish nation as a collective imagination of Turkish nation together with Islamic *ummah* and Western civilization, an Andersonian imagined community; and national culture, Islamic religion and Turkish language as forming the basis for national solidarity. It should be noted that Gökalp replaced Durkheimian society with the Turkish nation, a choice with obvious consequences for national minorities.[57] The principles that Gökalp defined as *Turkification, Islamization, Civilization* eventually became the leitmotifs of Pan-Turkism, and *Turan* was shown as the distant ideal of Pan-Turkism. In Gökalp, *Turan* is the ideal homeland of the Turks, excluding everyone other than the Turks. Turan is a conglomeration of all the countries where Turkish is spoken and the Turks are settled.[58]

Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan] as Intellectual and Activist

Hüseyinzade Ali Turan was an Azerbaijani philosopher, thinker, writer, doctor and artist. He was born as a son of a sheikh in 1864 in Salyan, a town in Russian Azerbaijan. His primary education was at the Tbilisi Muslim school, and then he attended the Tbilisi Classical Gymnasium. In 1885,

he was accepted at the Physics and Maths Department, Saint Petersburg University. Following his graduation in 1889, Hüseyinzade entered the Faculty of Medicine of *Darülfünun*. Hüseyinzade became a founding member of the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee of Union and Progress-CUP) founded in the Military Medical School as a secret society among whom there was Abdullah Cevdet who later heavily influenced Gökalp.[59] Following his graduation, he joined the ranks of the Ottoman Army as a military doctor, before embarking on teaching as Assistant Professor at *Darülfünun*. In 1903 he moved back to Transcaucasia and engaged in nationalist mobilization and various publication activities in Baku until 1910.[60]

In 1904, in the publication called *Türk* (Turk) under the title of *Məktubi-məxsus* (Turkish: Mektubi-mahsus, English: Letter-owned)*,* Hüseyinzade explained the thoughts on the subject of whether Ottomanism, Pan-Turanism or Pan-Islamism was preferable for Turks. In this article, he stated that the Crimean Tatars were Turks, that Turks living in various parts of the world had to love each other as members of the same ethnicity under the same Islamic belief, over and above sectarian sentiments.[61] This was important, because Azerbaijan's Muslims were largely Shi'i, while the other Turkic groups in the Russian Empire were Sunni. These thoughts were Pan-Turkist in the narrow sense and the first defence of Pan-Turanism in the broad sense.[62]

In the spread and deepening of the idea of Pan-Turkism, Hüseyinzade performed a great service with his activities in the press such as the newspapers (Kaspi, Hayat, Füyûzât, İrşad, Terakki, Hakikat), literary works (i.e., Abd-i Gılaf and Mahfaza, Siyaset-i Füruset, Garbın İki Destanı'nda Türk) as well as conferences (Stockholm and Batum) and his services with organizations (Turkish Association, 1908; Turkish Homeland Association, 1911; Turkish Hearths Association, 1912; Turkish Information Society, 1913). With all of these, Hüseyinzade was effective in the development and organization of the idea of Pan-Turkism in both Russian

Azerbaijan and the Ottoman Empire. In particular, some of his writings in the newspapers called *Hayat* (Life) and *Füyûzât* constituted an important step in bridging Pan-Turkism, Pan-Islamism and Europeanization. For the first time, unlike the Turkish intellectuals who had to make a choice between Islamic humanism and Western civilization, the idea of reconciliation of these two concepts was brought to the agenda by Hüseyinzade and later systemized by Gökalp in the early twentieth century.[63] Hüseyinzade's concise thoughts were very developed, researched and expanded by Gökalp and inspired many Turkist circles.[64]

According to Hüseyinzade, Turkish culture was mixed with the effect of Islamic Humanism in the thirteenth century, and Pan-Turkism cannot be separated from Islamism and there is no contradiction between modernization and humanism.[65] Furthermore, in the article entitled *Yazımız, Dilimiz ve Birinci Yılımız* (Our Writing, Our Language, Our First Year) published in the *Terakki* (Progress) newspaper, he defended the principle of writing according to the etymological essence of Turkish

In 1905, in the newspaper called *Hayat* (Life) published in Baku, Hüseyinzade inquired about the ethnicity and language of the Turks with his article *Türklər kimdir və kimlərdən ibarəttir?* (Türkler kimdir ve kimlerden ibarettir-Who are the Turks and who they consist of). In this article, he claimed that the Turkic tribes constituted a whole and therefore he called for a unity in Turkish ethnicity as well as Turkish language (Turkification); the Turkish language should be freed from the influence of Arabic and Persian, which is similar to Gökalp's ideas on how Turkish should be.[66] Furthermore, the Ural-Altaic family in language association of Pan-Turkism is another principle shared by both Gökalp and Hüseyinzade. In the same newspaper in his article titled *Hansı elmlərə ehtiyacımız var?* (Hangi ilimlere ihtiyacımız var?-What kind of science do we need?) Hüseyinzade advocated *Turkification, Islamization, Europeanization*[67] as a basis for the Muslim Turkish tribes

for their survival and advancement and attempted to explain how these three opposing ideas could be reconciled.[68] Later on in his article entitled *İntiqad Ediyoruz, İntiqad Olunuyoruz* (We are Critical, We Criticize Ourselves)*,* Hüseyinzade put forward the famous slogan of Pan-Turkism by referring to the name of the magazine *Füyûzât* (Wisdom):[69] 'Our road in Füyûzât', he wrote, 'is: *Türklük, Müsəlmanlıq, Avropalılıq* (Turkism, Islam and European civilization). It follows that our system of thought seeks guidance from Turkic life and from the worship of Islam. It also calls for acquiring the benefits of civilization from contemporary Europe.'[70]

Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan], therefore, could be considered as the true father of the three principles sloganized as *Türklashtirmak, Islamlashtirmak, Avrupalashtirmak* (Turkify, Islamicize, Europeanize) which was taken, symbolized and systematized by Gökalp in his book called *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (Turkify, Islamicize and Modernize) since the former was first published in 1907 and the latter first in 1918 – even it was a compilation of articles that had appeared between 1913-1914 in *Türk Yurdu* magazine – and has an important place in Pan-Turkist mobilization activities in the Ottoman state. With this motto, as Heyd argues, Hüseyinzade meant 'to be inspired by Turkish life, to worship God in accordance with the Muslim religion and to adopt present-day European civilization.' Having elaborated both practically and theoretically, Heyd argued, Gökalp meant 'We belong to the Turkish nation, the Muslim religious community and European civilization.'[71] Hanioğlu also argued that the central ideas of *Turkification, Islamization, Civilization* written by Gökalp in 1913 was the synthesis of both Yusuf Akçura's essay entitled *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Ways of Politics) and Hüseyinzade's synthesis of Turkish nationalism, Islam and European civilization written in 1907.[72]

Politically, Hüseyinzade saw Ottoman Turkism as the essence of independent Pan-Turkism. This idea was also defended by Ismail Gasprinski who published *Tarjuman* (Turkish: Tercüman,

English: Interpreter) in Crimea with the aim of *Dilde, Fikirde, Ishte Birlik* (Unity of Language, Thought, and Work). In his newspaper, he suggested that Russian Muslims should have unity in language, thought and work for cultural unification, and the Ottoman Turkish language (folk language of Istanbul) should be used as a common literary language in Muslim institutions and in the press. That being said, Hüseyinzade did not hesitate to use Gasprinski's recommendations, and Gasprinski's ideas proliferated throughout the Ottoman Empire with his help.[73] He also believed that the fate of Turkic populations in the Caucasus relied on unification with the Ottoman State, the spiritual and political leader of the Islamic World as Hüseyinzade stated.[74] By way of his publications and his personal effort, one might therefore argue that Hüseyinzade led to the strengthening of Pan-Turkism in Azerbaijan as well as in the Ottoman Empire. Following his return to Istanbul in 1910, he became actively involved in politics as a member of the Central Committee of the CUP.[75] In 1918, Hüseyinzade moved to Baku where he participated in nationalist mobilization activities, aiming to unite Shiites and the Sunnis, disseminate Ottoman-Turkish culture and have close ties with the Ottoman Empire. He took part in the political activities that culminated with the proclamation of the Republic of Azerbaijan on 28 October 1918. Following the collapse of the Republic at the hands of the Red Army in April 1920, he moved for a final time to Turkey, where he became a citizen, took the surname Turan and lived until the end of his life in 1940.

Imagining *Turan* through Poetry

In the academic literature, Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan] is famous for being the intellectual father of *Pan-Turanism*. For the first time, he introduced the concept of *Turan* as a political program for the unity of all Turanian people[76]. Similar to Gökalp, Hüseyinzade posited that *Turan* is the unification of the Oguz, Tatars, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, and Yakuts on the grounds of culture and literature.[77] In his

article *Türklər kimdir və kimlərdən ibarəttir [Türkler kimdir ve kimlerden ibarettir]?* (Who are the Turks and who they consist of?), Hüseyinzade posited that Tatars, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Bashkirs, Mongolians, Fins, Hungarians, Uighurs are all Turks.[78] Yet, in his *Turan* poem, Hüseyinzade talked about the broader understanding of Pan-Turkism that came to be called Pan-Turanism including the Hungarians in the unity of Turkic communities. In the first two verses of his *Turan* poem, Hüseyinzade referred to kinship with the Hungarians: 'You, the nation of Hungarians, are our brothers. Both of our races come from Turan.' Here, one might argue that Hüseyinzade emphasized unity in language under the umbrella of the Ural-Altaic language family regardless of religious differences. Hüseyinzade's *Turan* poem, Şerif Mardin argued, was the first call for the unity of Turkish people as well as *Turan.[79]*

According to this poem, Hüseyinzade was not only a proponent of Pan-Turkism but a Pan-Turanist from a larger perspective. His pen name 'A. (Ali) Turani' also showed his ideology. Both Gökalp and Mardin claimed that Hüseyinzade was the first Pan-Turanist, while he was also the leader of cultural and political Pan-Turkism in Azerbaijan.[80] Hüseyinzade's *Turan* poem published in *Türk* newspaper in 1904 appeared under his pen name:[81]

Turan

Sizlersiniz ey kavm-i Macar bizlere ihvân

Ecdâdımızın müştereken menşei Turan

Bir dindeyiz biz, hepimiz hakperestân;

Mümkün mü ayırsın bizi İncil ile Kur'an?

Cengizleri titretti şu afâkı serâser

Timurları hükmetti şehinşâhlara yekser,

Fatihlerine geçti bütün kişver-i kayser...

Turan

You, Hungarians, are brothers to us

The origin of our forefathers is common, Turan

We have one religion, we all worship justice

Is it possible that Bible with Quran separate us?

Genghis completely terrified this world

Timur completely ruled over the king of kings

All the Caesars of the lands were conquered by them

Gökalp apparently found his first inspiration about Pan-Turanism in that poem.[82] A few years after the publication of Hüseyinzade's poem, Gökalp published a namesake poem *Turan* in *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens) magazine in Thessaloniki in 1911:

Turan

Nabızlarımda vuran duygular ki tarihin

Birer derin sesidir, ben sahifelerde değil

Güzide, şanlı, necip ırkımın uzak ve yakın

Bütün zaferlerini kalbimin tanininde

Nabızlarımda okur, anlar, eylerim tebcil.

Sahifelerde değil, çünkü Atilla, Cengiz

Zaferle ırkımın tetviç eden bu nasiyeler,

O tozlu çerçevelerde, o iftira amiz

Muhit içinde görünmekte kirli, şermende;

Fakat şerefle numayan Sezar ve İskender!

Nabızlarımda evet, çünkü ilm için müphem

Kalan Oğuz Han'ı kalbim tanır tamamiyle

Damarlarımda yaşar şan-ü ihtişamiyle

Oğuz Han, işte budur gönlümü eden mülhem:

Vatan ne Türkiyedir Türklere, ne Türkistan

Vatan, büyük ve müebbet bir ülkedir: Turan

Turan

Emotions that hit my pulse are, each the deep voice

of history, not on the pages.

I read, understand, glorify the distant and near, all

the victories of my eximious, glorious, noble race in

the tone of my heart, in my pulse.

Not on the pages, because Attila, Genghis

These persons who crowned my race with victory,

In those dusty frames, confused with slander

It seems dirty and shameful in its environs;

But Caesar and Alexander, shine with honour!

Yes in my pulse, because Oğuz Khan, who has remained

obscure for science, my heart knows fully

He lives in my blood in all his greatness and glory

Oğuz Khan, he is the idol of my heart:

Fatherland to Turks is neither Turkey nor Turkestan.

It is a great and eternal land: Turan!

Turan featured centrally in two other poems of Gökalp and Hüseyinzade Ali. In his poem *Kızılelma* (Red Apple), Gökalp merged another mythical *topos* of pan-Turkism with that of Turan. *Kızılelma* became virtually synonymous with *Turan* in a poem written in 1911, shortly before the outbreak of the Balkan Wars. Unlike Central Asians, Gökalp avoided including Estonians, Finns and Hungarians in his narrative. *Kızılelma* and *Turan* were elevated to synonymous terms of the national paradise of the Turkic world.

Kızılelma

Kızılelma yok mu? Şüphesiz vardır;
Fakat onun semti başka diyardır…

Zemini mefkure, seması hayâl…
Bir gün gerçek, fakat şimdilik masal…

Türk medeniyeti taklitsiz, safi
Doğmadıkça bu yurt kalacak hafi…

Çok yerleri biz fethedebilmişiz;
Her birinde ma'nen fethedilmişiz.

Bazen Hindli, bazen Çinli olmuşuz;
Arap, Acem, Frenk dinli olmuşuz.

Ne bir Türk hukuku, Türk felsefesi,
Ne Türkçe inleyen bir şair sesi…
......
Ne tarihi vahdet, ne kavmi safvet!
Kızılelma işte buna işaret.

Millette olsa bir gizli ihtiyaç,
Milli vicdan bulur ona bir ilaç;

Kimisi Kaşgar'a, kimi Altay'a,
Kimisi Kazan'a, kimi Konya'ya,

(Kızılelma) olsun bu şehrin adı,
Atalarımız hep bunu aradı…

Pekin'e, Delhi'ye, bunun için vardık,
Viyana burcunu bunun için sardık.

Kimi irfanını, kimi cehdini;
Birleşip yaptılar Turan mehdini.
....
Kızılelma oldu bir güzel Cennet:
Oradan Turan'a yağdı saadet.

Ey Tanrı icabet kıl bu duaya:

Bizi de kavuştur Kızılelma'ya![83]

Kızılelma

Is there *Kızılelma*? No doubt, there is…
Yet, its neighbourhood is another land.

Its ground is ideal, its sky is imaginary
One day it will be real, but for now mythical.

The Turkish civilization is unique, pure
As long as not born, this fatherland will stay secret.

We could conquer many lands;
In each one, we were conquered spiritually.

Sometimes we became Indian, sometimes Chinese;
We got the Arab, Persian, Frankish religion.

What a Turkish law, Turkish philosophy,
What is the voice of a poet lamenting in Turkish…
……
What is historic unity, what is tribal honesty!
This is a sign of Kızılelma.

When the nation has a secret need,
National conscience finds for it a medicine;
…….
Some to Kashgar, some to Altay,
Some to Kazan, some to Konya,

Let the name of this city be *Kızılelma*,
Our ancestors have always sought this.

We arrived in Beijing, Delhi, for this,
That's why we surrounded Vienna's towers.

Some put knowledge, some effort;
They united and made the cradle of Turan.
…..
Kızılelma became a beautiful paradise:
From there felicity rained on Turan.

Bring us together to Kızılelma!

Hey God, answer to this prayer:

In his poem *Arslan Ağzı* (Lion's Mouth) also written in 1915 and devoted to the Ottoman forces defending the Dardanelles against the Entente Hüseyinzade made direct reference to the Gallipoli war calling the Straits the 'gate of Turan'.

Arslan Ağzı

Vatanimiz bizim İslâm Toprağı,

Toprağımız bizim Arslan Yatağı,

Mühârebe bize bir eğlencedir,

Ölüm saçan toplar el oyuncağı.

Ebediyyen yaşar Türkün bayrağı!

Ölümden kaçar mı vatan uşağı?

Üstü de altı da birdir toprağın!

Yer, gök, deniz bütün Tanrı Kucağı!

Süleyman Paşa'nın bir bergüzârı,

Bu yerleri Türk'e vermiştir Tanrı;

Ey düşman burası Turan kapısı,

Teslim etmem ben sana anahtarı![84]

Arslan Ağzı

Our homeland is the land of Islam,

Our soil is our lion bed,

War is entertainment for us,

Canon balls spreading death our handheld toy.

The Turkish flag lives forever!

Can a child of fatherland escape from death?

The top and the bottom of the land are one!

Earth, heaven, sea are all laps of God.

A gift of Süleyman Paşa,

God gave these places to the Turks

Hey enemy, this is the gate of Turan,

I'm not handing you the key

In their poems, both Gökalp and Hüseyinzade manifested their enthusiasm about *Turan* and ethnic Turkish nationalism. Yet their definition of the limits of *Turan* and their operationalization of the concept have substantial differences. In Andersonian terms, the limits of the Turanian 'imagined community' varied considerably. In his poem, Hüseyinzade pointed at the brotherhood of Turks

and Hungarians, which implied the legitimacy of their political unification. Yet, Gökalp did not particularly mention unity with the larger community such as Hungarians, Finns, Mongols and Estonians.

Hüseyinzade differed from Gökalp not only through his broader understanding of the Turkic community that included both Ural and Altaic branches, but also in terms of the operationalization strategy of Turan. He thought that the unification of all these communities sharing the same language and culture under Turan was a realistic political project worth pursuing in the near term.[85] In contrast to that, Gökalp considered Turan as the final step in the three-stage unification process of Turkic communities. Unity had to be achieved first within Turkey, then within the Oğuz or Turkmen alliance and finally *Turan.* Putting aside differences in defining the scope of Turan and its political operationalization, both intellectuals agreed first that the future of Turkic communities, in the Ottoman Empire, the Russian Empire and beyond, hinged upon their Turkification, Islamization and modernization. They also agreed on the ideal of unity of all Turkic communities, as manifested in two of their most important publications, Hüseyinzade's *Türklər kimdir və kimlərdən ibarəttir?* (Türkler Kimdir ve Kimlerden İbarettir?) and Gökalp's *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* published in 1918. This is the reason why both have been remembered as leading intellectuals of ethnic Turkish and Azerbaijani nationalism and pan-Turkism. Hüseyinzade's decision to adopt the surname *Turan* following the 1934 Turkish Surname Law was indicative of his loyalty to the ideal. So was Mehmet Ziya's decision following the 1908 Young Turk Revolution to use the pen name 'Gökalp' (Sky-Blue Fighter).[86]

Conclusion

Nationalist mobilization within the Turkic populations of the Ottoman and the Russian Empires gained momentum at the beginning of the twentieth century. Through the work of two prominent

intellectuals, Hüseyinzade Ali Turan and Ziya Gökalp, this study has discussed the emergence of ethnic nationalism and the elaboration of the concept of *Turan* as the imagined homeland and final state in the unification of all brethren populations, as manifested in the four poems the two intellectuals authored. It also discussed the formative influence of Hüseyinzade on the views of Gökalp, not only as far as the concept of Turan is concerned, but also with reference to the three-fold strategy of Turkification, Islamization and modernization, which became the motto of Pan-Turkist nationalism and has ever since influenced ethnic Turkish nationalism in Azerbaijan and Turkey. Moreover, this study explored Gökalp and Hüseyinzade's disagreements, in particular with reference to the fluidity of the limits of 'imagined communities' within pan-Turkist nationalist movements and the operationalization strategy of key concepts. Conceptualizing *Turan* as an imagined homeland based on ethnicity, language or culture is an important common point forming not only a bridge between the nationalist thought of Gökalp and Hüseyinzade but also points at the development of a common-rooted nationalist ideology that has hitherto affected Turkish and Azerbaijani national identity. While the union of all Turkic populations was never achieved, it has remained a source of inspiration for numerous ethnic nationalists in Turkey, Azerbaijan and other states comprising the territory of *Turan*.

Acknowledgements

Figure 1:

Figure 1: Map of Iran and Turan (Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Turkestan) by Adolf Stieler

(Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1843), revised in 1850 by Friedrich v. Stülpnagel)

Funding

Notes

[1] Ismail Gasprinski/Gasprınsky (Crimean Tatar: İsmail Gaspıralı) (1851-1914) was an intellectual who is considered to be one of the founders of Pan-Turkist movement, due to the publication of the *Tercüman* [Interpreter] newspaper (first published in 1883) and the opening of *Usul-ü Cedid* schools, which inspired the *Jadidist* movement.

[2] Yusuf Akçura (Tatar: Yosıf Aqçura) (1876-1935) is a Tatar intellectual who is famous for being a political Pan-Turkist based on race/descent/ethnicity in the literature as he laid the foundations of a Turkish nationalism based on the concept of race. He analyzed Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism in his famous article titled *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* [Three Ways of Politics]. Nationalism in Turkey was politicized in 1903 with the publication of this famous article. See A. Gün Soysal, 'Rusya Kökenli Aydınların Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliğinin İnşasın Katkısı [the Contribution of Russian-Origin Intellectuals to the Making of Republican Era Turkish Nationalism]' in Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil, eds., *Milliyetçilik [Nationalism]* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009a), pp. 42-43..

[3] See, for example, François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri / Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935) [the Origins of Turkish Nationalism: / Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)]* (Ankara: Yurt, 1986), A. Holly Shissler, *Between Two Empires: Ahmet Agaoglu and the New Turkey* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), Charles Warren Hostler, *The Turks of Central Asia* (London: Praeger, 1993), Zarevand, *United and Independent Turania: Aims and Designs of the Turks* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), Masami Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era* (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub, 1992), David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908*, 1 edition ed. (London: Routledge, 1977), Umut Uzer, *An Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism: Between Turkish Ethnicity and Islamic Identity* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016), Tanıl Bora, *Milliyetçilik* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), Hakan M. Yavuz, 'Nationalism and Islam: Yusuf Akçura and "Üç Tarz-I Siyaset"', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (1993), A. Gün Soysal, 'Rusya Kökenli Aydınların Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliğinin İnşasın Katkısı [the Contribution of Russian-

Origin Intellectuals to Republican Turkish Nationalism]' in Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil, eds., *Milliyetçilik* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009b)

[4] In Azerbaijani, his name is spelled Əli bəy Hüseynzadə or Əli bəy Hüseyn oğlu Hüseyzadə. In this article the version of his name in Turkish, Huseyinzade, and English, Huseynzade Ali Turan is used. Following the 1934 introduction of surnames in republican Turkey, Hüseyinzade used the surname Turan, referring to the imagined homeland of all Turks.

[5] While Gökalp's Islamism was rejected in the early republican years, it was gradually rehabilitated following the introduction of multiparty politics in 1946.

[6] Muhammad/Mammad Amin Rasulzadeh (Azerbaijani: Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə, Turkish: Mehmed Emin Resulzade) (1884-1955) was an Azerbaijani scholar, statesman and the head of the Azerbaijani national council.

[7] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 6.

[8] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[9] Ibid., p. 7.

[10] Ibid., p. 12.

[11] Ibid., pp. 44-46.

[12] Jacob M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation*, Second ed. (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 1-2.

[13] Hostler, *The Turks of Central Asia*, p. 1.

[14] Uzer, *An Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism: Between Turkish Ethnicity and Islamic Identity*, p. 7.

[15] The translation of this verse is taken from ibid.

[16] Uzer maintained, on the other hand, that the concept of Pan-Turanism has mostly been defined as 'unification of the Turks from the Balkans to Inner Asia in a single state.' Thus, he employed the terms *Turancılık* (Pan-Turanism) and *Türkçülük* (Pan-Turkism) interchangeably in the context of Turkey. This was also apparent in Gökalp's writings.

[17] Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908*, p. 10.

[18] Nizam Önen, *Ikı Turan: Macaristan ve Türkiye'de Turancılık [Two Turans: Pan-Turanism in Hungary and Turkey]* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005), p. 91.

[19] Niyazi Berkes, 'Ziya Gökalp: His Contribution to Turkish Nationalism', *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 8, no. 4 (1954), p. 376.

[20] Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (London: Luzac & Company Ltd and the Harvill Press Ltd, 1950), p. vii.

[21] Ibid., p. x.

[22] Ibid., p. vii.

[23] Taha Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp 1876-1924* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985a), p. 10.

[24] Kaan Turhan, *Dilde, Fikirde ve Işte Birlik: Akçura-Galiyev-Gaspıralı-Gökalp [Unity in Language, Ideas and Work: Akçura-Galiyev-Gaspıralı-Gökalp]* (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2013), p. 162.

[25] Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*, p. 107.

[26] Ibid., pp. 107-08.

[27] Alaattin Uca, *Ali Bey Hüseyinzade (Turan): Hayatı, Fikirleri ve Eserleri [Ali Bey Hüseyinzade (Turan): His Life, Ideas and Works]* (Konya: Kömen, 2017), p. 131.

[28] Gotthard Jaschke, *Yeni Türkiye'de İslamlı [Islamism in New Turkey]* (Ankara: Bilgi, 1972), p. 15.

[29] Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları [Principles of Pan-Turkism]* (Konya: Gençlik Kitabevi, 2012), p. 25.

[30] Tadeusz Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan 1905-1920: The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 33.

[31] Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları [Principles of Pan-Turkism]*, p. 12.

[32] Taha Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876-1924* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985b), p. 34.

[33] Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları [Principles of Pan-Turkism]*, p. 14.

[34] Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp 1876-1924*, p. 16.

[35] Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları [Principles of Pan-Turkism]*, pp. 14-15.

[36] Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp 1876-1924*, p. 15.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşma, Muasırlaşmak [Turkify, Islamize, Modernize]* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2016a), p. 60.

[39] Ziya Gökalp, 'Türklük ve Osmanlılık [Pan-Turkism and Ottomanism]' in Şevket Beysanoğlu, ed., *Makaleler I (Diyarbekir, Peyman, Volkan Gazetelerindeki Yazılar) [Articles I (Writings in the Diyarbekir, Peyman, Volkan Newspapers]* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1976), p. 57.

[40] Ziya Gökalp, 'Yeni Lisanın Güzelliği [the Beauty of the New Language]' in İsmail Parlatır and Nurullah Çetin, eds., *Genç Kalemler Dergisi [Young Pens Journal]* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1999b), pp. 171-77.

[41] Ziya Gökalp, 'Kültür Topluluğu, Medeniyet Topluluğu [Culture Community, Civilization Community]' in Osman Karatay, ed., *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşma, Muasırlaşmak [Turkify, Islamize, Modernize]* (Ankara: Akçay, 2016c), pp. 29-34.

[42] For detailed information about Gökalp's ideas on culture (particularly religion) and civilization see Ziya Gökalp, *Makaleler VIII [Articles VIII]* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981).

[43] Taha Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm [Ziya Gökalp, Kemalism and Corporatism in Turkey]* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1989), p. 37.

[44] Alp Eren Topal, 'Against Influence: Ziya Gökalp in Context and Tradition', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 28, no. 3 (2017), p. 11.

[45] Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşma, Muasırlaşmak [Turkify, Islamize, Modernize]*, pp. 11-12.

[46] Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşma, Muasırlaşmak* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2016b), p. 14..

[47] Ibid., p. 16.

[48] Ibid., p. 11.

[49] This 1918 book was a compilation of articles that had appeared between 1913-1914 in *Türk Yurdu* [Turkish Homeland] magazine.

[50] Later, this article was renamed *Üç Cereyan (Akım)* [Three Currents] in his book named *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak.*

[51] Ziya Gökalp, 'İctimaiyâ: Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşma, Muasırlaşmak [Sociology: Turkify, Islamize, Modernize]' in Murat Şefkatli, ed., *Türk Yurdu: Cilt 2 [Turkish Homeland Volume II]* (Ankara: Tutibay, 1999a), pp. 184-86.

[52] Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm [Ziya Gökalp, Kemalism and Corporatism in Turkey]*, p. 37.

[53] Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşma, Muasırlaşmak*, p. 17.

[54] Halil İnalcık, 'Ziya Gökalp: Yüzyıla Damgasını Vuran Düşünür [Ziya Gökalp: A Thinker Who Put His Mark on the Century]', *Doğu Batı*, Vol. 3, no. 12 (2000), p. 96.

[55] Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşma, Muasırlaşmak*, p. 16.

[56] Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* George Simpson (New York: Macmillan, 1893), pp. 101-32.

[57] Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşma, Muasırlaşmak*, p. 17. For a further discussion on how Gökalp integrated Durkheim's thoughts in his ideas, particularly how the Durkheim's social solidarity turned into national solidarity in Gökalp's thought system, see Ceylan Tokluoğlu, 'Ziya Gökalp ve Türkçülük [Ziya Gökalp and Pan-Turkism]', *SBF Dergisi*, Vol. 68, no. 3 (2013), pp. 19-32.

[58] Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşma, Muasırlaşmak*, p. 57.

[59] Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*, pp. 107-08.

[60] On this see, Cengiz Çağla, 'Nation-Building in Southern Caucasus: The Case of Azerbaijan (1900-1920)', *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies*, no. 2, pp. 37-43.

[61] Əli bəy Huseynzadə, *Seçilmiş Əsərləri [Seçilmiş Eserleri-His Selected Works]* (Bakı: Şərq-Qərp (Şark-Garp), 2007b), pp. 30-32.

[62] Ali Haydar Bayat, *Hüseyinzade Ali Bey* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1998), p. 31.

[63] Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*, p. 149., Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan 1905-1920: The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community*, p. 59., Bayat, *Hüseyinzade Ali Bey*, p. 32., Uca, *Ali Bey Hüseyinzade (Turan): Hayatı, Fikirleri ve Eserleri [Ali Bey Hüseyinzade (Turan): His Life, Ideas and Works]*, p. 128. The roots of these ideas could traced back to the late nineteenth century, particularly to the *Jadidist* movement led by İsmail Gaspıralı.

[64] Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri / Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935) [the Origins of Turkish Nationalism: / Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)]*, p. 154.

[65] Əli bəy Huseynzadə, *Seçilmiş Əsərləri [Seçilmiş Eserleri-His Selected Works]* (Bakı: Şərq-Qərb, 2007a), pp. 56-58.

[66] Ibid., pp. 50-58

[67] Europeanization in Hüseyinzade's terms denotes the synthesis of Western and Eastern civilizations in *Füyûzât* magazine.

[68] Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan 1905-1920: The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community*, p. 59., Yusuf Akçura, *Türk Yılı* (İstanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1928), p. 417., Bayat, *Hüseyinzade Ali Bey*, p. 32.

[69] For a study of the journal, see Erdoğan Uygur, 'Azerbaycan Matbaatında Füyûzât Dergisi [the Füyûzât Journal in the Press of Azerbaijan]', *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol. 7, no. 2 (2010).

[70] Əli bəy Huseynzadə, 'İntiqa Ediyoruz, Intiqad Olunuyoruz [İntika Ediyoruz, Intikat Olunuyoruz-We Criticize, We Become Critical]', *Füyuzat*, no. 23, July 26, p. 356. The translation of the text was taken from Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan 1905-1920: The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community*, p. 59.

[71] Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*, p. 149.

[72] Şükrü M. Hanioğlu, 'II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi 'Garbcılığı'nın Kavramsallaştırılmasındaki Üç Temel Sorun Üzerine Not [a Note on Three Fundamental Problems Regarding the Conceptualization of 'Westernism' in the Second Constitutional Era]', *Doğu Batı*, Vol. 31 (2005), p. 56.

[73] Uca, *Ali Bey Hüseyinzade (Turan): Hayatı, Fikirleri ve Eserleri [Ali Bey Hüseyinzade (Turan): His Life, Ideas and Works]*, p. 126.

[74] Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan 1905-1920: The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community*, p. 60.

[75] Bayat, *Hüseyinzade Ali Bey*, pp. 9-13.

[76] Serif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri: 1895-1908 [the Political Ideas of the Young Turks: 1895-1908]* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008), p. 277, Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları [Principles of Pan-Turkism]*, p. 22.

[77] Huseynzadə, *Seçilmiş Əsərləri [Seçilmiş Eserleri-His Selected Works]*, pp. 41-70.

[78] Ibid., pp. 42-43

[79] Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri: 1895-1908 [the Political Ideas of the Young Turks: 1895-1908]*, p. 277.

[80] Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri: 1895-1908 [the Political Ideas of the Young Turks: 1895-1908]*, p. 277, Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları [Principles of Pan-Turkism]*, p. 22.

[81] Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə Turan, 'Məqtubi-Məxsus [Mektup-I Mahsus-Special Letter]', *Türk*, 24/04/1904.

[82] Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*, p. 126.

[83] Mehmet Ziya Gökalp, 'Kızılelma', *Türk Yurdu Kitapları*, Vol. 3 (1914).

[84] Hüseyinzade Ali Bey Turan, 'Arslan Ağzı-Çanakkale', *Yeni Mecmua'nın Fevkalade Nüshası [An Extraordinary Issue of the New Journal]* (1331/1915)

[85] Huseynzadə, *Seçilmiş Əsərləri [Seçilmiş Eserleri-His Selected Works]*, p. 32.

[86] Mehmet Ziya [Gökalp] died in 1924, ten years before the introduction of the 1934 Surname Law, so his pen name never became his official surname.