

PRINCIPLES OF TURKISM

АУНК



Ziya Gökalp

BERSERKER

BOOKS



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PREFACE

In the forty years that have elapsed since the founding of the Republic of Turkey under the guiding hand of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, later to be known as Kemal Ataturk, there has been no dearth of English-language books on that Middle Eastern state. The successful efforts of the Turks to traverse overnight, as it were, the difficult and usually long road between a backward Oriental state and a modern Western one, exemplified most vividly in the radical remolding of the country's social fabric by what are generally called the Ataturk Reforms, have attracted not only the attention and interest but also the undisguised admiration of the West. Other nations have achieved equal or even greater progress in as short a time, but it would be difficult to cite an example which involved less brute force to accomplish. For although democracy did not arrive in Turkey simultaneously with the Republic, Ataturk's regime was a benevolent one, even if a dictatorship.

The books that have been published about the Turkish transformation tend to focus on Ataturk and to assign to him all credit for the rapid progress towards Westernization and modernization made by Turkey in the years following the establishment of the Republic. Perhaps this is as it should be, for it is difficult to conceive how such progress could have been made without the catalyst of Ataturk's charismatic personality and leadership. Yet it should not be forgotten, as has usually been the case, that Ataturk did not begin his work in a vacuum and that the ideas which produced the Ataturk Reforms did not spring full grown from his head, as did Pallas Athena from the head of Zeus.

Ataturk was the man of action, the creator of modern Turkey, the man who decreed and imposed his reforms on a not always receptive nation, but the distinction of being the philosopher, the man of ideas, of the Ataturk Revolution belongs to Ziya Gökalp. His name is unlikely ever to be found in any study of the world's great thinkers and it commands but brief mention in most English-language books on modern Turkey. Nonetheless, his name is writ large in Turkish history. To Gökalp, one of the most influential Turkish writers of the twentieth century, more than to any other one man, belongs the credit for reviving Turkish national pride, which Ataturk later ex-

ploited and manipulated so successfully. Without the foundation that had been laid by Gökalp and his fellow Turkists, Atatürk's achievements would have been impossible or, at least, vastly more difficult. The Atatürk Reforms and the Republic may not reflect in all details the ideas and proposals that Gökalp formulated and popularized, yet he must be acknowledged as the father of the intellectual currents that have dominated reform and change in modern Turkey.

Despite Western interest in Turkey, Gökalp has been largely neglected and has not been accorded by Western scholarship the attention and study he deserves. There exist in English, in fact, only two works devoted to him that are worthy of mention. The first, published in London in 1950, is Uriel Heyd's *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism*, which provides a short but excellent biography (pp. 19-40) and an analysis of Gökalp's views and teachings in the various areas of his interest (pp. 43-170). The second, published in New York in 1959, is Niyazi Berkes' *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization*. An appreciation of Gökalp and his work is contained in an introduction, while the remainder of the book consists of selected essays of Gökalp, translated and edited by Berkes.

Aside from these two volumes, the English-speaking scholar who develops an interest in Gökalp but has not yet achieved mastery of the Turkish language will find little to consult. The contributions made by Heyd and Berkes must not be minimized, but the fact remains that relatively little of Gökalp's prolific writings—about a dozen volumes of prose and verse and literally hundreds of articles—is available in English. This is particularly deplorable in the case of his *Türkçülüğün esasları* (The Principles of Turkism,) published in 1923, the year before his death, which resulted from his desire to put between the covers of a single volume the principal ideas and teachings that he had expounded over a period of years in a great number of articles. Since Gökalp was the philosopher of the Atatürk Revolution and since this is the work that summarizes the ideas that served as the basis for the Atatürk Reforms, this volume, at least, should be available in its entirety, notwithstanding the existence of Berkes' valuable work.

There is no need here to analyze Gökalp's philosophy, to trace the origin and development of his views and to examine the influences that shaped him and his thinking. That already has been done admirably by Heyd and Berkes. The present writer's desire is simply to provide a readable English version of the complete text of what he

along with many others, considers to be the single most significant volume published by Gökalp.

It must be emphasized that the importance of the work lies in its contents and not in its standing as a great work of literature. Gökalp was a journalist and publicist, a propagandist if you will, not a literary genius, and as a writer he had many failings, all of which are reflected in this work. He was repetitious, he digressed, he was frequently vague and frequently illogical and inconsistent. Moreover, he included in the work not only new expositions of his ideas but also some previously published material and, for reasons unknown, he refrained from the careful editing and revising needed to make a homogenous whole. In spite of its faults, however, the work is not lightly to be dismissed as inconsequential. Given Gökalp's place in the history of the Republic of Turkey and the purpose for which he wrote/assembled the work, it deserves a place beside the aforementioned volumes by Heyd and Berkes in the library of every person who has any interest in modern Turkey. It is in this conviction that the present translation has been undertaken.

The reader will find in the following translation many Turkish names and words. The translator was thus faced with the question of how best to transliterate these from the Arabic script still in use in Turkey during Gökalp's lifetime. He has chosen to present such words as they would appear today in modern Turkish in the modified Latin alphabet introduced on December 1, 1928, with these exceptions: the letters C, Ç and Ş have been rendered as J, Ch and Sh and no distinction has been made between a dotted "i" and an undotted "i", the latter a peculiarity of the modern Turkish alphabet. Non-Turkish but Muslim names and words, principally Arabic and Persian, are given in the forms dictated by the accepted (in American academic circles) rules of transliteration for the Arabic alphabet.

Rome, Italy

Robert DEVEREUX

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes:

- EI *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Leiden, 1913-38
ESS *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York, 1930
IA *İslâm ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, 1940-
TA *Türk ansiklopedisi*, Ankara, 1946-
TMA İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of Turkish Notables), Istanbul, no date

PART ONE

THE NATURE OF TURKISM

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORY OF TURKISM

Before Turkism made its appearance in our country two Turkish-oriented movements had arisen in Europe. The first was Turcophilia or what, in French, is called *Turquerie*. The attention and admiration of the connoisseurs of Europe were captured by Turkish-made silks and woollens, rugs and carpets, tiles, and iron and wood products; by bindings and illuminations produced by Turkish bookbinders and chrysographers; and by such other products of Turkish craftsmanship as braziers, candlesticks, etc. They collected these beautiful Turkish-made objects at a cost of thousands of Turkish pounds so that they could create in their homes a "Turkish salon" or a "Turkish room". Some would exhibit them among their curios, along with masterpieces from other nations.

Also forming part of this *Turquerie* were paintings of Turkish life by European artists and books describing Turkish moral values written by poets and philosophers. The sympathetic writings of Lamartine,¹ Comte,² Laffitte,³ Mismser (who was Ali Pasha's private secretary),⁴ Loti⁵ and Farrère⁶ are examples. This European move-

¹ Alphonse Marie Louis de Prat de Lamartine (1790—1869). French poet, historian, author and politician. His complete works, which fill 41 volumes, include *Voyage en Orient* (Paris, 1835), an account of a trip through the Near East in 1832. Basic biographic data and a listing of his major works, as well as of works about him, are given in ESS, IX, pp. 22-23

² Isidore Auguste Marie François Comte (1798-1857). French mathematician and philosopher (founder of positivism). Cf. *ibid.*, IV, pp. 151-52.

³ Pierre Laffitte (1823-1903). French philosopher, friend and disciple of Comte. See Augé (ed.), *Larousse du XX^e Siècle* (Paris, 1931), IV, p. 293.

⁴ Charles Mismser (b. 1832). French author and soldier. After serving with French forces in Mexico during the Maximilian adventure, he went to Istanbul where he served briefly as editor of *La Turquie*. He then became private secretary to Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs Fuad Pasha (1815-1868) and then to Grand Vizier Ali Pasha (1815-1871). After the death of the latter, he served Khedive Ismail of Egypt for 10 years as head of the Egyptian mission in Paris. His works include *Scènes de Constantinople* (Paris, 1870) and *Le Sultan* (Paris, 1870).

ment consisted entirely of a manifestation of the high qualities to be found in the aesthetic arts and moral values of the Turks of Turkey.

The second movement was Turcology. A large number of scholars in Russia, Germany, Hungary, Denmark, France and England began to undertake historic and archeological researches relating to the ancient Turks, Huns and Mongols. They demonstrated that the Turks constituted a very old nation which was spread across a vast area and which had, at various times in the past, created world-conquering states and high civilizations. Actually, the subject of these studies was not the Turks of Turkey but the ancient Eastern Turks; yet this second movement, like the first, was not without its effect on some Turkish intellectuals.

These intellectuals were especially influenced by the monumental history of the Turks, Huns and Mongols written by the French historian, De Guignes,¹ and the general Turkish grammar which the English scholar, Lumley Davids,² dedicated to Sultan Selim III. The latter work was translated into English³ by the author and later into French⁴ by his mother, who dedicated it to Sultan Mahmud II. The work treated not only the various branches of the Turkish language but also Turkish civilization, ethnography and history.

During the last days of the reign of Sultan Abdul Aziz and the first days of the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, Istanbul became the focus of an important intellectual movement. An academy had been

sulman (Paris, 1892); a Turkish translation of the latter was published in Bursa in 1909 as *Âlem-i islam* (The World of Islam). A biographic sketch of Mismar is given in C.-E. Curinier, *Dictionnaire national des contemporains* (Paris, nd), III, p. 19.

⁵ Pierre Loti, pseudonym of Louis Marie Julien Viaud (1850-1923). French naval officer and novelist. See Robert de Tray, *Pierre Loti* (Paris, 1948), Raymond Lefèvre, *La vie inquiète de Pierre Loti* (Paris, 1934), and Claude Farrère, *Loti* (Paris, 1930).

⁶ Claude Farrère, pseudonym of Frédéric Charles Bargone (b. 1876). French naval officer and writer.

¹ Joseph de Guignes (1721-1800). His 4-volume *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols et des autres Tartares occidentaux, etc., avant et depuis Jesus-Christ jusqu'à présent* was published in Paris in 1756-58. A translation into Turkish by Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın in eight volumes was published in Istanbul in 1923-25 by the Tanin Matbaası ve Yeni Matbaa.

² Arthur Lumley Davids (1811-1832). The Turkish title of his work was *Kitâbu-l-ilmu-l-nâfi' fi taḥṣîl-i şarḥ wa naḥw turkî* (Book of Useful Knowledge for the Learning of Turkish Grammar and Syntax).

³ *A Grammar of the Turkish Language. With preliminary discussion on the language and literature of the Turkish nations, a copious vocabulary, dialogues, a collection of extracts in prose and verse, etc.* London, 1832.

⁴ *Grammaire turque*. Traduite de l'anglais par Madame Sarah Davids. London,

organized, a university had been established,¹ and military schools imbued with a new spirit had begun to improve. The then professor of the history of philosophy at this university was Ahmet Vefik Pasha,² and it was he who translated *Shejere-i türki* (Genealogies of Turks)³ from Eastern Turkish into Istanbul Turkish. He also compiled a Turkish lexicon, *Lehçe-i osmani* (The Ottoman Dialect),⁴ in which he proved that the Turkish of Turkey was simply a dialect of general Turkish and that there were other Turkic dialects.

In addition to his scholastic Turkism, Ahmet Vefik Pasha also observed an aesthetic Turkism. Thus, the furniture in his home and the clothes worn by himself and the members of his family were mostly of Turkish manufacture. In fact, when his beloved wife once wished to buy some European-type slippers, he forbade her to do so, declaring that "nothing not made by Turks can enter my house." Another of his innovations was to adapt the comedies of Molière—in translating them into Turkish he turkicized the names and identities of the characters—and to have them performed on the national stage.

As this university professor was thus laying the first foundations of Turkism, Süleyman Pasha,⁵ the hero of Shipka Pass and the then

¹ The academy (*Enjümen-i Danış*) was organized in 1851, the university (*Darülfünun*) in 1863.

² Ahmet Vefik Pasha (1823-1891). Author, playwright, lexicographer, philosopher, historian, bibliophile, linguist, politician and statesman. See Mehmed Zeki Pâkalın, *Ahmed Vefik Paşa*, Istanbul, 1942. Shorter biographic notices can be found in TA, I, pp. 272-73; IA, I, pp. 207-10; and TMA, pp. 26-27. On his role in Turkey's first experiment with representative government, see Robert Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period. A Study of the Midhat Constitution and Parliament* (Baltimore, 1963), *passim*, esp. pp. 156-59 and 240-50.

³ Written by Abū'l Ghāzī Bahādir Khān (1603-63), ruler of Khiva from 1643 to his death. See EI (new ed.), I, pp. 120-21, and IA, IV, pp. 79-83. Vefik's translation was published in Istanbul in 1864 under the title *Efsal-i shejere-i türki* (Chapters of *Shejere-i türki*). Several translations of the work in Western languages have been published, for example, *Histoire généalogique des Tatars*. Traduite du manuscrit tartare d'Abul-Gasi Bayadur-Chan, Leiden, 1726. The original work is in Chagatai, sometimes called Eastern Turkish, a literary medium which developed in Central Asia in the 15th Century as an outgrowth of Khivan Turkish. See TA, XI, pp. 319-20, and IA, III, pp. 270-323.

⁴ Published in Istanbul in 1876.

⁵ Süleyman Hüsnü Pasha (1838-1892). He served as Director of Military Schools and of the Ottoman Military Academy from 1874 until he took the field during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, during which he won fame for his defense of Shipka Pass in Bulgaria. In 1878 he was among those accused of responsibility for Turkey's defeat in the war; he was tried and, being found guilty, was stripped of his rank and exiled to Baghdad, where he remained until his death. See Hüseyin Namik Orkun, *Büyük türkçü Süleyman Paşa: hayatı ve eserleri* (The Great Turkist, Süleyman Pasha: His Life and Works), Istanbul, 1952, and Niyazi Ahmet Banoğlu, *Süleyman Paşa*, İstanbul, 1942.

Minister of Military Schools, was attempting to introduce Turkism into the military schools. De Guignes' history had clearly influenced Süleyman's Turkism, for the latter, the first man in Turkey to write a history of Turks on the basis of Chinese sources, cited De Guignes in his *Tarih-i âlem* (History of the World).¹ In his introduction Süleyman explained why he undertook to write his work:

When I became Minister of Military Schools, I commissioned specialists to translate into Turkish the books needed for use in these schools. But I realized that the need for histories could not be met by translations, because all history books written in Europe were full of calumnies either of our religion or of our nationality. Not one is fit to be translated or to be studied in our schools. I therefore took it upon myself to write a suitable history. Not one untrue word nor any word hostile to our religion and nationality is to be found in this work of mine.

It was Süleyman who first made us aware that the Huns of European history were the Hiung-nu of Chinese history, the first forefathers of the Turks, and that Oghūz Khān must have been Mete,² the founder of the Hiung-nu state. Süleyman also wrote a book on Turkish grammar which he did not entitle *Kavaid-i osmaniye* (Ottoman Rules), as Jevdet Pasha³ had his work, but *Sarf-i türki* (Grammar of the Turks), for he realized that our language is Turkish and that a single tongue composed of three languages and called Ottoman is an impossibility. Süleyman explained his views of this subject in a letter to Rejaizade Ekrem Bey,⁴ the author of *Talim-i edebiyat-i osmaniye* (Teaching of Ottoman Literature):

It is incorrect to speak of Ottoman literature, just as it is wrong to call our language the Ottoman language and our nation the Ottoman nation. The term Ottoman is only the name of our state, while the

¹ Published in Istanbul in 1876.

² This legendary ruler of the first Turkish (Hun) state is said to have lived B.C. 209-174. See TMA, p. 254, and Yusuf Osman *Mete*, Istanbul, 1933. Oghūz Khān is the eponymous progenitor of the Oghuz Turks. See EI, II, pp. 168-69.

³ Ahmet Jevdet Pasha (1822-1895). Soldier, scholar, statesman and author, best known for his 12-volume *Tarih-i Jevdet* (History of Jevdet), Istanbul, 1891. His *Kavaid-i osmaniye* appeared in 1850, Süleyman's *Sarf-i türki* in 1874. For biographic details on Jevdet, see M. Şakir Ülkütaşır, *Cevdet Paşa, hayatı, şahsiyeti, eserleri* (Jevdet Pasha: His Life, Personality and Works), Ankara, 1945.

⁴ Rejaizade Mahmut Ekrem Bey (1846-1913), educator, government official, author, poet and playwright. The complete text of Süleyman Pasha's letter to him is given in Orkun, op. cit., pp. 28-31. For data on Ekrem personally, see TMA, p. 111, and Metin And, *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey*, Ankara, 1963, p. 84.

name of our nation is Turk. Consequently, our language is the Turkish language and our literature is Turkish literature.

And so that Turkish words would not be forgotten under the influence of Ottoman, Süleyman also wrote *Esmâ-i türkiye* (Turkish Nouns) for use in military secondary schools.

The above discussion makes it clear that the first fathers of Turkism were Ahmet Vefik Pasha and Süleyman Pasha. Appreciation requires that large portraits of these two Turkist pioneers be hung in Turkish Hearths (*infra*) and other Turkish nationalistic institutions!

As Abdul Hamid was endeavoring to suppress this holy movement in Turkey, two great Turkish nationalists were growing up in Russia. One of these was Mirza Fetih Ali Ahundov,¹ whose original comedies written in Azerbaijan Turkish have been translated into all European languages. The second was Ismail Gasprinskiy,² publisher of the Crimean newspaper *Tarjuman* (Translator), whose slogan was "unity in language, thought and action." Eastern and Western, as well as Northern, Turks could read and understand *Tarjuman*, which was thus living proof that all Turks could unite around the same language.

Towards the end of Abdul Hamid's reign, the Turkist movement again began to stir in Istanbul. Hüseyinzade Ali Bey,³ who had come to Istanbul from Russia, taught the principles of Turkism at the Military Medical School, and his poem, *Turan*, was the first manifestation of the ideal of Pan-Turanism. When the Greek war began, the Turkish poet, Mehmet Emin Bey,⁴ published his first poem, which began with the hemistich:

Ben bir türk'üm, dinim, jinsim uludur
(I am a Turk. My religion and my race are noble.)

¹ Or Mirzâ Fath 'Alî Ākhund-zāde or M.F. Akhundov or Mirza Fathali Akhund Zade (1812-78). Azerbaijani satiric dramatist. See IA, IV, pp. 577-81; TA, I, p. 282; and EI (new ed.), I, pp. 331-32.

² Or, as he is generally called in Turkey, Ismail Gaspirali (1851-1914). See Cafer Seydahmet Kirimer, *Gaspirali Ismail Bey*. Istanbul, 1934. For shorter biographic notices, see TMA, p. 150; Serge A. Zenkovsky, *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 30-37; Charles Warren Hostler, *Turkism and the Soviets* (London, 1957), pp. 123-30.

³ Or Ali Hüseyinzade or Ali Hüseyin Turan or Ali Bey Hussein Zadeh (1864-1941). Azerbaijani politician, journalist, physician and author. See TMA, pp. 385-86; Zenkovsky, *op. cit.*, *passim*; and Hostler, *op. cit.*, *passim*. See also Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism*, (London, 1950), pp. 107-08.

⁴ Or Mehmet Emin Yurdakul (1869-1944). Poet and politician. See TMA, pp. 406-07. The poem cited by Gökalp was later included in a slim volume entitled *Türkçe şiirleri* (Turkish Poems) published in 1897.

These two poems heralded the beginning of a new revolution in Turkish life.

Hüseyinzade Ali Bey had been converted to Turkism under the influence of the nationalist movements in Russia; as a college student he had been inoculated with the love of nation through the influence, primarily, of an extremely patriotic young Georgian friend. Mehmet Emin Bey, according to his own statements, had become a Turkish nationalist through the influence of Shaikh Jamāl-al-dīn al-Afghānī,¹ the great Islamic reformer and the teacher of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh² in Egypt and Riyaeddin bin Fakhreddin³ of the Northern Turks. Al-Afghānī met Mehmet Emin in Turkey and advised him to write patriotic poems in the language and meter of the people.

In the first Turkist period it was De Guignes' history that was most influential. In the second period it was Léon Cahun's *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*.⁴ Nejip Âsim Bey's⁵ translation into Turkish, to which he added new material to that portion of the book relating to Turks, aroused interest in Turkism in all quarters. One result was that Ahmed Jevdet Bey⁶ converted the newspaper *İkdam* (Perseverance) into an organ of Turkism, of which the then leading champions were Emrullah Effendi,⁷ Veled Chelebi,⁸ and Nejip Âsim.

Unfortunately, Fuat Raif Bey,⁹ one of the Turkists who assembled

¹ 1838-1897. Muslim teacher and politician and founder of the modern Islamic nationalist movement. A leading agitator of Pan-Islamism, his teachings inspired nationalist movements in Egypt (1881-82) and, later, in Iran and Turkey. See ESS, VIII, p. 366.

² 1849-1905. See TA, I, p. 33, and Charles Clarence Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt. A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muḥammad Abduh*, London, 1933.

³ Or Ridā-al-dīn ibn Fakhr-al-dīn. A Kazan Turk writer and member of the ulema. See Ahmet Zeki Velidî Togan, *Bugünkü Türki (Türkistan) ve yakın tarihi* (Present-day Turkistan and Its Recent History) (Istanbul, 1942-47), I, pp. 220 and 223.

⁴ Léon Cahun (1841-1900). See TA, IX, pp. 188-89. His *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie, Turcs et Mongols, des origines à 1405* was published in Paris in 1896.

⁵ Balhasanoğlu Nejip Âsim (1861-1935). Military professor, writer, philologist and historian. Awarded a medal at the 1892 Chicago World Fair for his works on the Turkish language and elected a member of France's Société Asiatique in 1895. See TMA, pp. 280-81.

⁶ 1862-1935. Journalist and government official. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷ 1858-1914. Journalist, politician, educator, cabinet minister (twice Minister of Education), philosopher and writer. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁸ Velet Chelebi Izbudak (b. 1869). Journalist, politician, philologist and author *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁹ Or Fuat Köse Raif. See Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey* (Jerusalem 1954), p. 14.

around *İkdam*, damaged the prestige of the Turkist movement by his advocacy of an erroneous theory—purification—in the campaign to simplify the Turkish language. Purification was the view that all words derived from Arabic and Persian roots should be eliminated from our language and replaced with ancient Turkish root-words or with new words created out of Turkish roots and new particles. Various articles and letters that were published to illustrate the practical application of this theory soon repelled discerning readers.

The elimination from Turkish of the Arabic and Persian words which have become integral parts of the popular language would deprive that language of its most enduring words as well as its religious, moral and philosophic terms. Not only would grammatical rules be thrown into confusion, but the newly coined words would be stranger and more unknown to the people than foreign words. The movement would thus have produced complexity and obscurity rather than simplicity and clarity. By the elimination of natural words and their replacement by artificial words, the movement would have created an artificial Turkish Esperanto in place of a real language. But what the country needed was not a contrived Esperanto but a means of understanding composed of familiar and non-artificial words that were known and understood. For these reasons, harm rather than good resulted from the purification movement sponsored by *İkdam*.

During this period the question of which ideal—Pan-Turkism, Pan-Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism—most corresponded to reality was being debated in a secret revolutionary society which had been organized in the Military Medical School. The debate spread to Young Turks in Europe and Egypt, with some defending the ideal of Pan-Turkism, others the ideal of Pan-Ottomanism. While Ali Kemal¹ was advocating the idea of Ottoman unity in the newspaper *Türk*, published in Egypt, Akchuraoglu Yusuf Bey² and Ferit Bey³ were defending the idea of Turkish unity.

At this point Hüseyinzade Ali Bey arrived in Baku from Istanbul

¹ Journalist, diplomat and politician. See TMA, p. 36, and Zenkovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

² Or Yusuf Akchura or Yusuf Akchurin (1876-1933). Journalist, politician and teacher. See Muharrem Feyzi Togay, *Yusuf Akçura'nın hayatı* (The Life of Yusuf Akchura), Istanbul, 1944. See also TMA, p. 28, and Hostler, *op. cit.*, *passim*, esp. pp. 143-46.

³ Ahmet Ferit Tek (b. 1877). Journalist, writer, politician, cabinet minister and diplomat. See TMA, p. 377.

and Aġaoġlu Ahmet Bey¹ from Paris, and there they joined forces for the struggle. Topchubashiyev² also joined them. The three men worked to rally all Azerbaijanis around the Turkish and Islamic communities by eradicating the Sunni-Shi'a differences that had previously divided them.

After the 24 July Revolution,³ the idea of Ottomanism gained the ascendancy in Turkey. As a result and because of its support of the purification movement, the magazine *Türk Derneđi* (Turkish Society), which had begun to appear, failed to win popularity. After April 13, 1909,⁴ however, the idea of Ottomanism began to lose its former influence. The German Kaiser, who had already interested Abdul Hamid in Pan-Islam, took advantage of the opportunity to arrange in Istanbul's Sultanahmet Square a meeting in the name of Pan-Islam. As of that day, a secret Pan-Islam society began to grow in Turkey and the Young Turks began to split into two opposing groups, the Ottomanists and the Pan-Islamists. The first were cosmopolitan, the second ultra-montane. Both currents were harmful for the country.

Such was the political situation in Turkey in 1909 when I was elected a member of the Central Committee (of the Committee of Union and Progress) at its Salonica Congress. A magazine called *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens) was then being published in Salonica, and one night in the Beyazkule Gardens I talked to its editor, Ali Janip Bey.⁵ This young man told me that his magazine, under the inspiration of Ömer Seyfeddin,⁶ was trying to effect a linguistic revolution in the direction of simplicity. Ömer Seyfeddin's views on language agreed with mine completely. When I had been impris-

¹ Or Ahmed Aġaoġlu or Ahmed Bey Agaev (Agayev). Azerbaijani-Turkish journalist, politician, government official, teacher and writer. See Samet Aġaoġlu, *Babamdan hatıralar* (Memories of My Father), Ankara, 1940.

² Or Ali Merdan Topchibashi or Ali Merdan Topchibashev (1862-1934). Journalist. President of the Azerbaijan Republic in 1918. See Hostler, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-35; Zenkovsky, *op. cit.*, *passim*; and Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 216.

³ I.e., the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. July 24th was the day on which Abdul Hamid reinstated the 1876 Constitution.

⁴ Date of the First Army Corps revolt. Two weeks later, on 26 April, Abdul Hamid was deposed and sent into exile in Salonica.

⁵ Ali Janip Yöntem (b. 1886). Journalist, professor and politician. See TMA, pp. 404-05.

⁶ 1884-1920. Soldier, journalist, teacher. See Ali Canip Yöntem, *Ömer Seyfeddin'in hayatı ve eserleri* (Life and Works of Ömer Seyfeddin), Istanbul, 1925.

oned at Tashkishla,¹ I had been struck by the guards' use of *evvel mülâzım* (First Lieutenant) instead of *mülâzım-i evvel, sani mülâzım* (Second Lieutenant) instead of *mülâzım-i sani, Garp Trablusu* (Tripoli, in Africa) instead of *Trablusgarp*, and *Sham Trablusu* (Tripoli, in Lebanon) instead of *Trablussham*.² It had firmly convinced me that reform of the Turkish language did not require elimination of all Arabic and Persian loan words but only of Arabic and Persian grammatical rules, that those Arabic and Persian words which had become Turkish should be retained and only those which had not discarded.

Although I had already written some articles on this theme, I had not succeeded in having them published. Nor had I yet had an opportunity to write anything on Turkism, although feelings of Turkism had first been aroused in me when I was only fifteen years old by Ahmet Vefik Pasha's *Lehçe-i osmanî* and Süleyman Pasha's *Tarih-i âlem*. When I arrived in Istanbul in 1896, the first book that I bought was Léon Cahun's history, which was written as if to encourage the ideal of Pan-Turkism. Later I met Hüseyinzade Ali Bey and learned his views about Turkism.

In short, the results of my studies during the past 17 or 18 years of the sociology and psychology of the Turkish nation had remained stored in my head. It required only an opportunity to bring them out and this was provided by the campaign launched by Ömer Seyfeddin in *Genç Kalemler*. However, I did not consider the language issue alone to be enough. I felt that it was necessary to advocate Turkism with its entire program and with all its ideals. The poem *Turan*³ which I wrote and published in *Genç Kalemler* contained all these ideas. The poem was published at exactly the right time, for the young souls who realized the dangers for the country that were inherent in both Ottomanism and Pan-Islam were searching for a redeeming ideal. My poem provided the first spark of that ideal. Subsequently, I

¹ Name of the jail for political prisoners in which Gökalp spent 10 months following his arrest in 1897 in the wake of an attempt by Military Academy cadets to organize a demonstration against Sultan Abdul Hamid.

² In each of the examples given, the first form is that dictated by regular Turkish construction, while the second is a Persian genitive or *ixafet* (P: *idâfet*) construction, much used in Ottoman.

³ First published by Gökalp in 1911 in the Salonica newspaper *Rumeli* over the signature of „Demirdash” and also in *Genç Kalemler*, where it was signed Tefik Sedat. The poem is also included in his work, *Kızıl Elma*, re-published in

labored ceaselessly to explain and interpret the principles embodied in my poem.

Ahmet Hikmet Bey¹ published his article on the *Altınordu* (Golden Horde) after *Turan* had appeared. Then followed the founding in Istanbul of the magazine *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) and the club *Türk Ojağı* (Turkish Hearth).² Halide Hanim gave further impetus to Turkism with her novel, *Yeni Turan* (The New Turan),³ and Hamdullah Suphi Bey⁴ became an active leader of Turkism. All Turkists, whether or not their names are mentioned in this work, met and worked together in the *Türk Yurdu* and *Türk Ojağı* ambient. Köprülüzade Fuat Bey⁵ became a renowned scholar in the field of Turcology and added lustre to Turkism by his scholarly works. Writers such as Yakup Kadri,⁶ Yahya Kemal,⁷ Falih

¹ Müftüoğlu Ahmet Hikmet (1870-1927). Diplomat, teacher and writer. See TA, I, pp. 258-59; IA, I, pp. 183-84; and TMA, p. 21.

² Founded in 1912 for the purpose of disseminating nationalist concepts and of transforming the Ottoman Empire into a Turkish state. The Hearths were converted during 1930-31 into People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) but were revived as private undertakings in 1949 to foster a new type of nationalism. Among the original founders was Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver), *infra*, who was primarily responsible for the reestablishment in 1949. *Türk Yurdu*, which became the organ of the *Türk Ojağı* club, was founded and edited by Yusuf Akchura (cf. Note 2, p. 7). On the *Türk Ojağı*, see Kemal H. Karpat, *Turkey's Politics. The Transition to a Multi-Party System* (Princeton, 1959), pp. 27, 55, 255-56 and 380-81; Tarik Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede siyasi partiler, 1859-1952* (Political Parties in Turkey, 1859-1952) (Istanbul, 1952), pp. 375-86; and Ahmet Emin Yalman, *Turkey in My Time* (Norman, 1956), p. 55.

³ Halide Edib Adivar (b. 1884). World-famed novelist whose works have been translated into many languages, including English, for example, *The Clown and His Daughter* (London, 1935), *The Shirt of Flame* (New York, 1924), and *Turkey Faces West* (New Haven, 1930). *Yeni Turan* is available as *Das neue Turan*. Translated from the Turkish by Friedrich Schrader, Weimar, 1916. For biographic details, see her *Memoirs* (New York, 1926) and *The Turkish Ordeal* (New York, 1928). She died in Istanbul on 9 January 1964.

⁴ Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver (b. 1886). Politician, cabinet minister and diplomat. See TMA, pp. 375-76.

⁵ Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (b. 1890). One of Turkey's leading scholars and its foremost Turcologist. As a politician he helped found the Democrat Party in 1946 and, in the 1950's he was for some years his country's Minister of Foreign Affairs. A partial bibliography of his many writings is given in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı* (Fuad Köprülü Presentation Volume). Ed. Osman Turan *et. al.* Istanbul, 1953, to which leading Orientalists of many nations contributed papers as a tribute to Köprülü's reputation in the field of Turcology. He died in Istanbul on 28 June 1966.

⁶ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (b. 1888). Journalist, novelist, politician and diplomat. See TMA, pp. 208-09.

⁷ Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (b. 1884). Teacher, government official, diplomat, politician and writer. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Rifki,¹ Refik Halit² and Reshad Nuri³ and poets such as Orhan Seyfi,⁴ Faruk Nafiz,⁵ Yusuf Ziya,⁶ Nazım Hikmet⁷ and Vâlâ Nureddin⁸ added beauty to the new Turkish language. Müfide Ferit Hanim⁹ also exerted great efforts to foster Turkism, both by her precious books and by her noteworthy lectures in Paris.

Today the world of Turkism has become so broad that to list the names of all the artists and scholars working in the field would require several volumes. Mention must be made, however, of Mimar Kemal Bey¹⁰ in the field of Turkish architecture; his influence is reflected in the fact that all young architects are Turkists.

Yet all these Turkist movements would have remained sterile had there not appeared a great genius who, by uniting all Turks around the ideal of Turkism, succeeded in saving them from the danger of destruction. It is unnecessary to name him, for the whole world today knows and reveres the name of Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Previously the Turkish nation had no recognized place in Turkey, whereas today every right belongs to the Turk. Sovereignty over this land is Turkish sovereignty and the Turkish people are dominant in politics, culture and economy. The individual who has wrought this great revolution is the greatest man of Turkism; for although it is easy to think and to speak, it is very difficult to act and, especially, to achieve success.

¹ Falih Rifki Atay (b. 1894). Journalist, politician and writer. *Ibid.*, p. 54, and Karpaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 202 and 372.

² Refik Halit Karay (b. 1888). Author and journalist. See TMA, p. 209.

³ Reshad Nuri Güntekin (b. 1892). Novelist, playwright, government official and politician. *Ibid.*, p. 156. His most famous work is *Çalikuşu* (The Wren), available in an English translation by Sir Wyndham Déedes as *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl*, London, 1949.

⁴ Orhan Seyfi Orhon (b. 1890). See TMA, p. 293.

⁵ Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel (b. 1899). *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁶ Yusuf Ziya Ortaç (b. 1896). *Ibid.*, p. 294.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 278. Hikmet, Turkey's best known Communist, was in jail because of his communist activities from 1938 until his release under amnesty in 1950. In June 1951 he escaped behind the Iron Curtain, where he served the international communist movement as a useful and active propagandist until his death in June 1963. See, for example, Walter Z. Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East* (New York, 1956), pp. 213, 216 and 253.

⁸ Or Vâ-Nû, as he usually signs his newspaper articles. See TMA, p. 395.

⁹ Wife of Ahmet Ferit Tek, on whom see Note 3, p. 7.

¹⁰ Or Mimar Kemaleddin (1870-1927). See TMA, p. 214.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS TURKISM?

Turkism means to exalt the Turkish nation. An understanding of the nature of Turkism, therefore, requires, first of all, a definition of the group that we call a nation. Let us examine the various existing concepts.

1. According to racist Turkists, nation is synonymous with race. However, race is a term properly used only in zoology. All animal species are classified into different types, i.e., races, on the basis of their anatomical characteristics. There are, for example, a number of different horse species: Arab, English, Hungarian, etc. Among humans four different races—white, black, yellow and red—have long been recognized; the classification is a crude one but it still has its value. Anthropology, on the other hand, has divided the inhabitants of Europe into three races on the basis of shape of head and color of hair and eyes: dolicocephalic fair, dolicocephalic brunette, and brachycephalic. No nation in Europe includes only individuals of a single type. Within every nation are to be found persons of all three types, albeit in varying proportions. There may even be within the same family one member who is dolicocephalic fair and others who are dolicocephalic brunette and brachycephalic.

Although some anthropologists once claimed that there was a relationship between these anatomical types and social traits, scientific criticisms, especially those by Manouvrier,¹ who enjoyed a reputation second to none among other anthropologists, have proved that no such relationship exists. And since race has no relationship to social traits, neither can it have any with nationality, which is the sum total of social characteristics. Therefore, we must seek the meaning of nationality elsewhere.

2. Ethnic Turkists identify the nation with the ethnic group, which may be defined as a group of cognates descended from a common ancestor and free from any admixture of foreign blood. Ancient societies generally claimed to be such pure ethnic groups. However, even in pre-historic times, societies were not ethnically

¹ Léonce Pierre Manouvrier (1850-1927). French anthropologist, known for his work on the brain and its functions and on the philosophy of sciences.

pure, for such events as the taking of war prisoners, the abduction of women, the acceptance into the society of fleeing criminals, marriages, migrations and assimilations always led to the intermingling of nations. The French scholars, Jullian¹ and Meillet,² assert that no pure ethnic group existed even in the most ancient times. If this view is correct, is it not absurd to look now for a pure ethnic group after all the ethnic intermingling that has occurred in historic times?

Moreover, sociology holds that individuals enter the world as non-social creatures, that is, they do not bring with them any social consciousness. They are not born with any linguistic, religious, ethical, aesthetic, political, legal or economic values. All of these they acquire later from society through education. In other words, social traits are not transmitted through biologic inheritance but only through education, which means that ethnic origin plays no role whatever as regards national character.

Despite the fact that ethnic purity has never existed in any society, ancient societies did uphold the ideal of the ethnic group. The reason for this was religion, because the deity in those societies was the reputed original progenitor of the society. This deity wanted to be worshipped only by his descendants and he did not want strangers to enter his temple or to participate in religious rites in his honor or to be tried in his courts according to his laws. Consequently, the society was considered to consist only of the deity's descendants, even though many individuals had entered it by various methods of adoption. We find this fictitious ethnic purity among the ancient Greek city-states, the pre-Islamic Arabs, the ancient Turks, in short, among all societies in their initial stages.

The point we wish to make is that although regard for the ideal of ethnic purity is normal for nations which are in that stage of social evolution, it is pathological for the stage that we have reached today. In ancient societies, social solidarity rested entirely on the religious bond; and when religious unity is based on consanguinity, the latter is naturally the basis of social solidarity. At our present stage of social development, however, social solidarity rests on cultural unity, which is transmitted by means of education and therefore has no relationship with consanguinity.

¹ Camille Louis Jullian (1859-1933). French historian. See Albert Grenier, *Camille Jullian, un demi-siècle de science historique et de progrès français, 1880-1930* Paris, 1944.

² Antoine Meillet (1866-1936). French philologist and writer. See, for example, *La langue française* (1912), Paris, 1907.

3. For the geographic Turkists, a nation is the sum total of persons who inhabit a given geographic area. Thus, for them, there is an Iranian, a Swiss, a Belgian, a British nation. In actuality, however, there are three nations—Persian, Kurdish, Turkish—in Iran and three also—German, French, Italian—in Switzerland, while in Belgium there are the Walloons, who were originally French, and the Flemish, who were originally Germanic. In the British Isles there are four nations: Anglo-Saxon, Scotch, Welsh and Irish. Since the languages and cultures of these various societies all differ one from the other, it is incorrect to use the term nation for such communities.

Not only are there sometimes several nations within a given geographic area, but sometimes a single nation is distributed over several areas. The Oghuz Turks,¹ for example, are today to be found in Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran and Khwarizm. Since these groups have a common language and culture, is it correct to consider them separate nations?

4) According to the Ottomanists, the nation included all subjects of the Ottoman Empire. This was a grave error, for within that amalgam were several nations possessing independent cultures.

5) According to Pan-Islamists, the nation is the totality of Muslims. We use the word community (*ümmet*) for the totality of persons who profess the same religion. Since that is so, the totality of Muslims is a community, whereas a nation, which is a group with a common language and culture only, is something quite different.

6) Individualists define a nation as any society of which a man considers himself a member. But although an individual may consider himself free to join this or that society, he does not really have such a freedom and independence, for the human spirit consists of sentiments and feelings. According to modern psychologists, our emotional life is basic, onto which has been grafted our intellectual life. Consequently, if our spirit is to be normal, our thoughts must conform entirely to our feelings. A man whose thoughts do not so conform is spiritually sick and can never be happy. For example, can a youth possess spiritual balance if he is religious by nature but considers himself irreligious intellectually? The answer is undoubtedly "No!"

Thus, every individual belongs to a particular nation by virtue

¹ Generally equivalent to Turkmens. The name comes from an eponymous ancestor, Oghūz Khān, who is reputed to have united them in the VIth Century A.D. See EI, II, pp. 168-69, and Hüseyin Namik Orkun, *Oğuzlara dair* (About the Oghuz), Ankara, 1935.

of his feelings. This nation is the society in which the individual lives or has obtained his education, for the individual has absorbed through education all the sentiments of the society in which he lives and he is a reflection of that society. He can, therefore, be happy only if he lives within that society. If he enters another society, he suffers nostalgia, he becomes sick, and he yearns to return to the society of which he feels emotionally a part. Because of this, it is not within the power of an individual to change his nationality whenever he wishes. For nationality, also, is an external reality. Although a man, because of ignorance, may not know his nationality, he may discover it later by inquiry and study. But he cannot enter this or that nation solely by his own volition as he would join a political party.

What, then, is a nation? What sort of tie do we have that can be superior to, and take precedence over, racial, ethnic, geographic, political and volitional forces? Sociology asserts that this tie is a sharing of education and culture, that is, of sentiments. Man receives his most genuine and most inner sentiments during his primary education. While still in the cradle, he is influenced by his mother tongue through the lullabies he hears, and it is for this reason that the language a man loves most is his mother tongue. It is through this language that he has absorbed all the religious, ethical and aesthetic sentiments that give existence to his soul. Do not the social feelings of our soul consist, essentially, of such sentiments? We desire to live always in whatever society from which we acquired these sentiments in our childhood. We prefer poverty in our own society to comfort in another society, for poverty among friends makes us happier than comfort among strangers. Our pleasures, our conscience, our yearnings are all products of the society in which we have lived and received our education. Hence, only in that society can we hear their echoes.

The great obstacle which prevents us from leaving our own society and joining another is the impossibility of erasing from our soul the education we have received from that society. As a result of this fact, we are forced to remain within our native society.

The above statements make it clear that a nation is not a racial or ethnic or geographic or political or volitional group but one composed of individuals who share a common language, religion, morality and aesthetics, that is to say, who have received the same education. The Turkish peasant expresses it as "the one whose language is my language, whose religion is my religion." In truth, a

man desires more to live with those who share his language and religion than with those who share his blood, for the human personality does not dwell in the physical body but in the soul. Our material virtues may come from our race but our spiritual virtues come from the society in which we have been educated. Alexander the Great is said to have remarked, "My real father is not Philip but Aristotle, because the first is the source of my materiality but the second of my spirituality." For the human being, spirituality takes precedence over materiality. Therefore, one's pedigree is not to be sought in nationality but only in national education and ideals.

The normal human can work only for the ideal of the nation in which he has been educated, and the ideal is sought because it is a source of rapture. The ideal of a society in which we have not grown up and been educated can never enrapture our soul, whereas that of our native society envelopes our soul in ecstasies and makes our life happy. This is why an individual will sacrifice his life for the sake of the ideal of his own society.

There is a practical conclusion to be drawn from these considerations. There are fellow citizens in our country whose ancestors came from Albania or Arabia sometime in the past. If they have been educated as Turks and have become used to working for the Turkish ideal, we must not set them apart from other citizens. How can we consider as aliens those who have shared not only our blessings but also our misfortunes? Especially, how can we say, "You are not Turks," to those among them who have made great sacrifices and have performed great services for the Turkish nation?

In short, a pedigree should be sought for in horses; race has great importance for animals since their excellences are based on instinct and are hereditary. It is a mistake, however, to ask the pedigree of humans, because race has no influence whatever on social traits. Acceptance of the contrary view would require us to sacrifice a majority of the intellectuals and fighters now living in our country. Since this is inconceivable, the only solution is to recognize as a Turk every individual who says, "I am a Turk," and to punish those, if there be any, who betray the Turkish nation.

CHAPTER THREE

TURKISM AND TURANISM

To understand the differences between Turkism and Turanism, it is necessary to delineate the borders of the Turkish and Turanian groups.

Turk 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. Some branches of Turks, however, are trying to create a language and culture which differ from those of the Turks of Anatolia. Some young Northern Turks, for example, are now engaged in creating a Tatar language and culture.¹ This movement, if successful, will result in the Turks being one nation and the Tatars another. We are too far away to know what course the Kirghiz and Uzbeks are following; but if they too should create separate languages, literatures and cultures, the borders of the Turkish nation will have been further compressed. Since the Yakuts and Altai Turks² live even farther away, it is difficult to include them within the cultural circle of the Turks of Turkey.

Today, the Turks for whom cultural unification would be easy are the Oghuz Turks, that is, the Turkmen, for the Turkmen of Azerbaijan, Iran and Khwarizm, like the Turks of Turkey, belong to the Oghuz strain. Therefore, our immediate ideal for Turkism must be Oghuz, or Turkmen, unity. What would be the purpose of this unity? A political union? For the present, no! We cannot pass judgment today on what will happen in the future, but for the present our goal is only cultural unity of the Oghuz peoples.

The Oghuz Turks are all closely related to each other, even though they are today spread over four regions. If we compare the names of the Turkmen tribes in these four regions, we find that a tribe or sub-tribe in one of them has branches in the others. In Khwarizm, for

¹ I.e., Kazan Tatars. On this movement, see Hostler, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-40, and Zenkovsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-23.

² The Yakuts live in the forest-tundra region of Siberia in what is today the Yakut ASSR, the Altai Turks in the Altai Mountains north of Mongolia. See TA, I, pp. 194-204, and IA, I, pp. 387-89.

example, we find Tekes,¹ Saris² and Karakalpaks.³ There are enough Tekes in Turkey to constitute a sanjak, despite the emigration of others to Rumania in the past. The Saris in Turkey live primarily in Rumkale,⁴ while Karakalpaks have settled in the areas of Sivas, Kars and Azerbaijan, where they are known as Karapaks and Terekemes. Khwarizm is the home of the Salur and Imrali sub-tribes of Oghuz, the Kealin tribes of Chavdas and Göklens (Karluks);⁵ the same names are encountered in various parts of Anatolia. The Göklens, for example, have given their name to Gökoğlan, a village in Van Province. The Yayat and Afshar sub-tribes of Oghuz live as well in Turkey as in Iran and Azerbaijan. The Akkoyunlus⁶ and Karakoyunlus⁷ also have spread over all three areas.

Thus, the regions of Khwarizm, Iran, Azerbaijan and Turkey are, in an ethnographic sense, the homelands of the same people. We can call the totality of these four regions Oghūzistān.⁸ The immediate objective of Turkism is the dominance of a single culture throughout this great expanse. The Oghuz Turks are, for the most part, the descendants of Oghūz Khān, and until a few centuries ago they lived as a united family. Fuzulî⁹ was an Oghuz poet who is still read among all the Oghuz peoples. The *Kitab-i Korkut Ata* (Book of Korkut Ata)¹⁰ might be called the official *Oghūznāme* (Book of the Oghuz).¹¹

¹ Cf. EI, IV, p. 720.

² See Togan, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 72 and 75.

³ *Ibid.*, *passim*; EI, II, pp. 736-37; Hostler, *op. cit.*, *passim*, esp. pp. 61-63; and Olaf Caroe, *Soviet Empire. The Turks of Central Asia and Stalinism* (London, 1953), pp. 32-33 and 145-46.

⁴ A town on the Euphrates in southeastern Turkey, near Urfa.

⁵ See EI, II, p. 173; IA, IV, pp. 809-11; and Togan, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 75, 198 and 234.

⁶ The name of a Turkmen federation that arose in the Diyarbakir region of Turkey in post-Mongol times and lasted until 1502. See EI (new ed.), I, pp. 311-12, and TA, I, pp. 319-54.

⁷ A Turkmen dynasty in Persia and Iraq from 1375 to 1468. See EI, II, p. 741.

⁸ Literally, Land of the Oghuz. A poetic, not an actual, geographic term.

⁹ Mehmet Fuzulî (1494-1555). See Abdülkadir Karahan, *Fuzulî: muhibiti, hayati-ve şahsiyeti* (Fuzulî. His Environment, His Life and His Personality), Istanbul, 1949. For shorter biographic sketches, see TMA, pp. 145-46; IA, IV, pp. 686-99; and EI, II, p. 124.

¹⁰ Or *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, as it is usually called in Turkey. A collection of twelve tales, named after the legendary counsellor of Oghūz Khān, its reputed author. It was published in Istanbul in 1332 A.H. (1913/14). Cf. EI, II, p. 1079, and TMA, p. 99. The work is also well known among Central Asian Turkic peoples. See Caroe, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-23, and Togan, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 559 and 572.

¹¹ A name applied to any piece of folk literature which concerns Oghūz Khān.

Similarly, folk works such as *Shah Ismail*, *Āshik Kerem* and *Köroğlu*¹ have spread throughout Oghūzistān.

The long-range ideal of Turkism is Turan, which does not mean, as some imagine, an amalgam of peoples including, in addition to Turks, Mongols, Tunguses,² Finns and Magyars, which is known linguistically as the Ural-Altai group. Actually, it has not yet been proved that any true relationship exists among the languages of this group. Some authors claim, in fact, that the Uralic and Altaic peoples constitute two entirely different groups, with the Turks, Mongols and Tunguses belonging to the latter and the Finns and Magyars to the former. The only scientifically established fact is that the various Turkic-speaking peoples such as Yakuts, Kirghizes, Uzbeks, Kipchaks, Tatars and Oghuz have a linguistic and, traditionally, an ethnic unity. Since the word Turan means the descendants of Tūr, i.e., the Turks, it is a social term which embraces Turks only. We should, therefore, restrict the word Turan to Greater Turkistan, which includes all branches of Turks.

The word Turk has become today a name which is applied only to the Turks of Turkey. Those who share the Turkish culture of Turkey will, of course, also use this name. In my opinion, all Oghuz peoples will agree on this name in the not too distant future. However, if the Tatars, Uzbeks and Kirghizes do create separate cultures, they will also become separate nations and will be known by their own names. At that time there will be a need for a common name which unites all these old relatives in an ethnic community. That common name is Turan.

In short, the long-range ideal of the Turkists is to unite in language, literature and culture the Oghuz, Tatars, Kirghizes, Uzbeks and Yakuts once they have joined together under the name Turan. Is it or is it not possible for this ideal ever to become a reality? Such a

¹ A tale of a brave young bandit alleged to have lived in the XVIIth Century, *Köroğlu*, like *Dede Korkut*, is known far beyond the borders of Turkey. For an English version, see Alexander Chodzko, *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia as found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou, the Bandit-Minstrel of Northern Persia*, London, 1842. See also TMA, pp. 223-24; Caroe, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-23; and Togan, *op. cit.*, *passim*. No Western translation of *Āshik Kerem* (Kerem the Minstrel) is known to exist; but on the general subject of *āshik* (Minstrel or Lover) literature, see TA, IV, pp. 51-56. For the story of *Shah Ismail*, see Hans-August Fischer, *Shah Ismail und Güllüzar, ein türkischer Volks-Roman*, Leipzig, 1929.

² A Mongoloid people, also known variously as Dolgan, Dungan, Döngan, Tungan and Tunguz. Cf. EI, I, p. 1081.

question can be asked about immediate, but not about long-range, ideals, because a long-range ideal is a very attractive phantom which pursued in order to enrapture the soul to an infinite degree. Lenin, for example, offered collectivization as Bolshevism's immediate ideal and communism as its ultimate goal. To those who asked when communism would be achieved, he replied, "It is impossible to say now when communism will be reached. When and where this will occur is something that cannot be known, like the heaven of Muḥammad."

The ideal of Turan is similar. 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 today become the reality of Turkey.

We can thus distinguish three different magnitudes of Turkism: (1) Turkey-ism, (2) Oghuzism or Turkmenism, and (3) Turanism. Today only the first of these is a reality, while the deeply desired *Kızıl Elma*¹ is not a reality but a phantom. When the Turkish peasant imagines *Kızıl Elma*, the ancient Turkish kingdoms pass before his eyes. Indeed, the ideal of Turan was once a reality rather than a phantom, for it became a reality when Mete united all Turks, then known as Huns. And after the Huns did not the Avars make Turan a reality? and after the Avars the Sky-Turks? and after them the Oghuz, the Kirghiz-Kazaks? and still later Kūr Khan, Genghiz Khan and, finally, Tamerlane?

When the meaning of the word Turan is restricted in this manner, it becomes necessary to acknowledge that Magyars, Finns, Mongols and Tunguses have no connection whatever with Turan. Turan is the great fatherland of all Turks, which was a reality in the past and may be so again in the future. Turanians are only the Turkic-speaking nations. If the Ural-Altai family actually exists, it already has its own name, so it has no need of the name Turan.

Some European writers label as Turanian all ethnic groups in Western Asia that are not basically Semitic or Aryan, but their purpose is not to assert that these ethnic groups are related to the Turks but

¹ Literally, Red Apple. Gökalp's poetic term for the Promised Land or Utopia of the Turks. One of his best known works, a collection of poems, was published in 1920 (1914/15) under that title.

merely to indicate that they are non-Semitic and non-Aryan. Certain other writers consider Turan to be a part of ancient Iran, because they note that according to the *Shāhnāmāh* (Books of Kings)¹ Tūr and Īraj were brothers. However, they forget that that work also says that Tūr and Īraj had a third brother, Salm, who was not the progenitor of a branch of Iranians but of all Semites. In other words, these three sons of Farīdūn,² like the sons of Noah,³ owe their names to the old ethnographic classifications. It is clear from this that Turan is not a segment of Iran but consists of the Turkic community, which is the totality of all Turkic peoples.

¹ A verse epic of about 60,000 lines, completed by Firdawsī (923-1020) in 1010 A.D. after 35 years of work, which relates the whole of the mythical and legendary history of Persia down to the Arab conquest. See *The Shāhnāmā of Firdausi*. Tr. into English by Arthur George Warner and Edmond Warner. 9 vols. London, 1905-1924.

² One of the legendary kings of Persia who figure in the *Shāhnāmāh*.

³ See Robert Devereux, "Al-Kāshgharī and Early Turkish Islam," *Muslim World* XLIX (April, 1959), p. 136.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

There is both similarity and difference between culture and civilization. The similarity is that both encompass all aspects of social life—religious, moral, legal, intellectual, aesthetic, economic, linguistic and technologic. The sum total of these eight kinds of social life is called both culture and civilization and thus provides the point of similarity and identity between the two.

Now let us examine the differences. First of all, culture is national, whereas civilization is international. Culture is a harmonious whole of the eight above-mentioned aspects of the life of a single nation. Civilization, on the other hand, is a mutually shared whole of the social lives of many nations situated on the same continent. For example, all European nations and America share a common Western civilization, within which there are English, French, German, etc., cultures, each independent and differing from the others.

Secondly, civilization is the sum total of social phenomena that have occurred by conscious action and individual wills. For example, religious knowledge and the sciences have been created by conscious action and will, just as all our knowledge and theories relating to ethics, law, fine arts, economics, philosophy, language and technologies have been created by individuals. Thus, the sum total of all concepts, knowledge and sciences to be found within the same continent constitute what we call civilization. The elements included in culture, however, have not been created by conscious action and individual wills. They are not artificial. Just as plants and animals develop naturally and spontaneously, so too arise and mature the elements of a culture. Language, for example, is not something that has been consciously created by individuals. We cannot change the words of a language or replace them with newly coined ones, nor can we change a language's grammatical rules that have grown out of its nature. Words and grammatical rules change only by themselves, while we remain merely spectators.

Individuals can add to a language only certain technical terms, but even these remain simply terms and do not become real words until they are accepted by the occupational group to which they pertain.

A new term becomes a group word after it has been accepted by an occupational group, but it becomes part of the common vocabulary only after it has been accepted by all the people. The acceptance or rejection of new terms by a group or by the people does not rest in the hands of the coiners. Millions (sic) of new terms have been invented for the Ottoman language since the time of Shinasi,¹ but only a small percentage of them have become group words and no more than five or ten have entered the general vocabulary.

We thus see in the words of a language the first illustration of culture and in newly coined technical terms the first illustration of civilization. Words are social institutions, while new terms are individual enterprises. A particular term created by an individual may sometimes spread among the people overnight, but what gives this force of diffusion to the term is not the creator but a secret current of society which is unknown in individuals.

Fifteen years ago there were two languages side by side in Turkey. The first, known as Ottoman, was recognized officially and had a virtual monopoly on writing. The second, which was limited almost entirely to speech among the people, was referred to contemptuously as Turkish and was considered as the argot of the common people. Nevertheless, it was our real and natural language, whereas Ottoman was an artificial amalgam created out of the grammar, syntax and vocabulary of three languages: Turkish, Arabic and Persian. Turkish had developed spontaneously by a natural formation and evolution and was, therefore, the language of our culture. Ottoman, on the other hand, had been created by the conscious action and will of individuals. Only certain Turkish words and particles had been stirred into this linguistic pudding, which, therefore, contained very little of our culture. Hence, we can say that it was the language of our civilization.

In similar fashion, there were two prosodic systems. The Turkish meter used by the Turkish people had not been created consciously and the popular poets wrote very lyrical poems without even knowing that they were metrical. These poems were the natural result of inspiration and creativity, not of conscious effort and imitation. In contrast, the Ottoman meter had been borrowed from Persian poets

¹ Ibrahim Shinasi (1824-1871). Poet, journalist and publisher. Educated in Paris and later a member of the Young Ottoman colony there, he was the first prominent exponent of language reform. See Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton, 1962), pp. 252-75.

and the poets who used it composed their poems consciously and imitatively. They studied Persian literature and consciously applied its rules of prosody. Consequently, this meter could never be part of our national culture. Among Persians, even peasants compose 'arūd poems, therefore, the 'arūd meter is part of Iran's national culture.¹

There are also two musical forms in our country. The first is Turkish music, which evolved naturally among the people, while the second is Ottoman music, which was adapted from Byzantium by al-Fārābī.² Turkish music has been the product of inspiration, not an imitation of something imported from abroad, whereas Ottoman music has been imitative and perpetuated by conscious action. The first is the music of our culture, the second of our civilization.

Civilization is the sum total of concepts and techniques created consciously and transmitted from one nation to another by imitation. Culture, however, consists of sentiments which cannot be created artificially and cannot be borrowed from other nations through imitation. Hence, whereas Ottoman music is a technique based on specific rules, Turkish music consists of melodies unfettered by rules, systems and technique, of sincere songs which express the heart of the Turk. Because of its source, Byzantine music is part of the culture of the ancient Greeks.

The same dichotomy exists also in our literature. Turkish literature consists of popular proverbs, riddles, tales, ballads, legends, war stories, epics, chants and hymns of the dervish convents, humorous anecdotes, and folk plays. The proverbs are maxims of the people, who also created the riddles. Nor were the folk tales ever invented by individuals, they being the tales of fairies and giants which came out of the mythical days of the Turk and have persisted as traditions until the present time. The tales in *Dede Korkut*, for example, were transmitted orally from one minstrel to another, being reduced to writing only a few centuries ago. *Şah İsmail*, *Âşîk Kerem*, *Âşîk Garîp* and *Köroğlu* are all folk tales written by the people in former

¹ The Arabic word for prosody, 'arūd is also used to refer generally to the poetic meters used by Arabic and Persian poets. There are 16 recognized 'arūd meters in Arabic and Persian poetry but 26 in Turkish. See EI (new ed.), I, pp. 667-77; TA, III, pp. 421-22; and IA, I, pp. 625-53.

² Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān Abu-Naşr al-Fārābī (d. 950). Arab philosopher. For a translation of his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* see Rodolphe d'Er-langer (ed., tr.), *La musique arabe*, 5 vols., Paris, 1930-1949. See also Henry George Farmer, *Al-Fārābī's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music in the Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* Glasgow, 1934, and Jan Pieter Nicolaas Land, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe* Leiden 1884.

days. The myths, legends and fables of Turkish history and ethnography are also elements of Turkish literature. The war stories and religious epics are products of the Islamic era of folk literature. The ballads, legends, songs and folk-songs of the folk poets are, like the works already mentioned, the sincere works of the Turkish people; they were not created by conscious action and imitation. Such poets as Āshik Ömer,¹ Dertli² and Karajaoğlan³ are the beloved poets of the people. Since the dervish convents were all popular places of worship, the chants and hymns which arose there are also part of our folk literature and, therefore, of Turkish literature; the works of Yunus Emre,⁴ Kaygusuz⁵ and the Bektashi⁶ poets fall in this group.

In contrast, Ottoman literature consists of individual stories and novels instead of tales, of imitative ghazels and European-style verses instead of ballads and legends. Every Ottoman poet without exception reflected some Persian poet during the Persian period and some French poet during the French period. Even Fuzulî and Nedim⁷ were not exceptions. Not one Ottoman writer or poet has ever been original; all have been imitators. Their works have been the fruit of intellectual dexterity, not of artistic inspiration.

Let us compare these two literatures from the point of view of humor. Nasreddin Hodja,⁸ Injili Chavush,⁹ Bekri Mustafa¹⁰ and the

¹ Āshik Ömer (d. 1707). Poet and soldier (Janissary). See TMA, p. 48.

² Ibrahim Lütüfî Dertli (1772-1846). Poet and musician. See Talât Onay, *Āshik Dertli* (Dertli the Minstrel), Bolu, 1928, and TMA, p. 101.

³ Karajaoğlan (d. 1679). See TMA, p. 207.

⁴ Poet and religious mystic (d. 1439). See *ibid.*, p. 405-06, and Abdülbaki, *Yunus Emre, hayati* (Yunus Emre. His Life), Istanbul, 1936.

⁵ Or Kaygusuz Abdal, traditional founder of the famous Bektashi dervish convent in Cairo. See M. Fuat Köprülü, *Türk halkedebiyati ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of Turkish Folk-Literature) (Istanbul, 1935), pp. 196-200.

⁶ The best known Turkish dervish order, closely connected with the Janissary Corps. See John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London, 1937.

⁷ Ahmet Nedim (1681-1730). Cadi, translator and one of Turkey's greatest poets. See TMA, p. 281, and EI, III, pp. 809-10.

⁸ Protagonist of innumerable humorous anecdotes and witticisms, he is the "Till Eulenspiegel" of the Turks. Known throughout the East, several English-language collections of Nasreddin Hodja stories are available, e.g., George Borrow, *The Turkish Jester*, Ipswich, 1844; H. D. Barnham, *Tales of Nasr-ed-Din Khoja*, London, 1923; and Alice Greer Kelsey, *Once the Hodja*, New York, 1943.

⁹ Name by which Turkish history knows Mustafa Effendi, an Ottoman officia. sent in 1611 as ambassador to the court of Iran to resolve certain border problems upon the conclusion of peace between Sultan Ahmet I and Shah Abbas. The folk-work of the same name is a collection of epigrams attributed to him.

¹⁰ Name of a drunkard who lived in the reign of Sultan Murad IV (1623-40). In folk literature he is the protagonist of many stories in which he is characterized

Bektashi *babas*¹ are folk humorists, whereas Kânî² and Sürürî³ are Ottoman court jesters. A comparison makes evident the difference between natural humor and artificial jokes. *Karagöz*⁴ and the *orta oyunu*⁵ are folk plays, that is, the traditional Turkish theater. The quarrels between Karagöz and Hajivad⁶ are the struggles of Turk and Ottoman, in other words, of our then culture and civilization.

We find the same dichotomy still again in ethics, for Turkish and Ottoman ethics are diametrically opposed to each other. In his entry under the word "Turk" in his *Diwân lughât al-turk* (Dictionary of Turkish Languages), Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharî⁷ briefly describes Turks in these words:

There is no pretence or self-glorification in the Turk. When he performs great feats of heroism and sacrifice, he seems to be unaware that he has done anything unusual.

Al-Jāhiz⁸ described Turks in the same way. In contrast, self-glorification by the older Ottoman poets and pretence and boasting by the newer ones have been the norm. The *Servet-i Fünun*⁹ school of litera-

by his sharp wit and Bohemian ways. See T. Menzel, "Bekri Mustafa bei Mehmed Tevfik," *Keleti Szemle* VII (1906), pp. 83 ff. See also EI (new ed.), I, p. 1161, and TA, VI, p. 31.

¹ Literally, father. Among the Bektashis, it was a title used for shaikhs. See Birge, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

² Ebubekir Kânî (1711-1791). Humorist and Ottoman court official. See EI, II, pp. 716-17, and TMA, p. 205.

³ Osman Sürürî (d. 1813). Satirist and chronogrammatist. See EI, IV, pp. 564-65, and TMA, p. 362.

⁴ Name given to the traditional Turkish "shadow plays" and to the chief character therein. See And, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-52, and EI, II, pp. 731-34. A bibliography of pertinent books and periodical articles in Turkish and European languages can be found in And, pp. 139-144.

⁵ Literally, Game (or Play) of the Middle (or Central) Place, i.e., a play acted out in an open space surrounded by spectators, hence the name. See And, *loc. cit.*

⁶ The second principal character in a *Karagöz* shadow play. Hajivad is the well-educated, smooth-talking and well-mannered man, a product of Persian and Arab culture, as contrasted to the ignorant and awkward Karagöz, the man of the people. See *ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

⁷ A native of Kāshghar in Eastern Turkistan, Maḥmūd completed his work in 1074 A.D. For a general discussion of the author and his work, see Robert Devereux, "Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharî and His *Diwân*," *Muslim World* LII (April, 1962), pp. 87-96.

⁸ Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāhiz (766-869). Among his works is *Risāla fī faḍā'il al-atrāk* (Essay on the Virtues of the Turks). See EI, I, pp. 1000-01; TA, IX, pp. 187-88; and IA, III, pp. 12-14.

⁹ Literally, Wealth of Techniques, name of a literary movement (1891-1901) composed of writers who associated themselves with the periodical of the same name. See Kerim K. Key, "Trends in Modern Turkish Literature," *Muslim World* XLVII (October, 1957), pp. 320-23.

ture was the most brilliant period of Ottoman literature, but its writers and poets, for the most part, showed themselves to have skeptical, pessimistic, despairing, sick souls. The real Turk, however, is positive, optimistic, hopeful and strong.

We even find a dichotomy among our ulema. The traditional title of the Ottoman ulema was *ulema-yi rüsum* (official ulema), while the ulema in Anatolia were known as *halk ulemasi* (ulema of the people). The first had rank but were ignorant, the second were learned but had no rank. Nâdir Shâh,¹ a diplomatic and military genius, once sent a religious-diplomatic delegation to Istanbul for negotiations looking towards the unification of all Muslims within the framework of Sunnism and the placing of all Muslim rulers under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan. In Istanbul, *ulema-yi rüsum* were assigned to negotiate with this delegation. The Iranian ulema found it impossible to make them understand anything, and they complained to the Grand Vizier:

We have no political rank and no status except that of ulema. Since the persons with whom we are negotiating are high-ranking persons, we cannot speak freely in their presence. We would be very pleased if you would arrange for us to meet with provincial ulema who have no rank.

This incident, which Ragıp Pasha² relates in his book, *Tabkik-i tevfik* (Ascertainment of Divine Guidance), shows that Nâdir Shâh's delegation esteemed the Turkish, not the Ottoman, ulema.

Even the diplomatic and military successes of the earlier periods were the work of ignorant and illiterate pashas whose origins were among the common people. Affairs began to deteriorate later when persons who had received an excellent Ottoman education, such as Ragıp Pasha and Sefih Ibrahim Pasha,³ took over the government.

These social dichotomies, however, were limited to intellectual activities. In those times, manual work was considered the domain of the *avam* (lower class) and the *bavas* (upper class) remained aloof

¹ An Afshar Turkmen by birth, he ruled Iran from 1736 to 1747. See Laurence Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London, 1938. The incident recounted by Gökâlp occurred in September 1746. See EI, III, p. 812.

² Mehmet Koca Ragıp Pasha (1698-1763), poet, author and statesman. Son-in-law of Sultan Ahmet III and brother-in-law of Sultan Mustafa III, he served for slightly over six years as Grand Vizier (11 January 1757-7 April 1763). See TMA, p. 219.

³ Damad Nevshehirli Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1730). Grand Vizier for 13 years under Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1730). See TMA, p. 186.

from all technical skills. As a result, there was only one form, that of the *avam*, of the practical skills such as architecture, calligraphy, engraving, book-binding, gilding, joinery, iron-work, dyeing, carpet-making, weaving, painting and manuscript illumination. These arts, which, in general, attained a high aesthetic level, can only be termed Turkish arts, for they were elements of Turkish culture, not of Ottoman civilization. Today, at a cost of millions, Europe collects the products of these ancient arts, piece by piece, and the museums and salons of Europe and America are full of Turkish works. In Europe this Turcophilia is called *Turquerie*. The real thinkers and artists of Europe, for example, the Lamartines, the Comtes, the Laffittes, the Lotis, the Farrères, admire the genuine artistry, the modest and unostentatious morality and the deep and unbigoted piety of the Turks, that is, his humble but happy life which comprises contentment and submission along with unending optimism and idealism. But the things they love are not the contrived and imitative works of Ottoman civilization but the inspired and original works of Turkish culture.

What is the reason for this strange situation which is peculiar to our country alone? Why are these two coeval patterns, Turkish and Ottoman, so diametrically opposed to each other? Why is everything Turkish so beautiful and everything Ottoman so ugly? The reason is that the Ottoman pattern travelled the road of imperialism, which was so detrimental to Turkish culture and life. It was cosmopolitan and placed class interest above national interest. As the Ottoman Empire expanded and took under its political hegemony hundreds (sic) of nations, the rulers and the ruled became two entirely different classes. The ruling cosmopolitans became the Ottoman class and the ruled Turks the Turkish class. The two classes did not love each other. The Ottoman class regarded itself as the superior nation and viewed as a subject nation the Turks whom it ruled. The Ottoman always called the Turk "the stupid Turk." Whenever an official personage visited Turkish villages, everyone fled, shouting, "The Ottoman is coming." The appearance of the Kizilbash¹ among the Turks can be explained by this dichotomy.

Shaikh Junayd, the grandfather of Shāh Ismā'īl,² spread propa-

¹ A Shiite sect in Eastern Anatolia and Western Persia, founded by Shāh Ismā'īl of Persia. The name, which means Red-head, derives from the color of the headgear worn by members of the sect. See EI, II, pp. 1053-54.

² Ruler of Persia, 1500-24, and founder of the Safavid dynasty.

ganda among the Oghuz sub-tribes which turned on the question, "Are children or parents more important?" Were not the Oghuz peoples the children of Oghūz Khān and the cousins of the Qāyīs?¹ Why were the Sultan's slaves—conscripted boys from the palace—given preference over them? The popular shaikhs of the time compared the then oppression of the Turks to that suffered earlier by the House of the Prophet. Many Turkmens were persuaded by the analogy and left the hearths of their fathers, creating for themselves a separate literature, a separate philosophy and a separate house of worship.

Sunni Turks, who were indistinguishable from the Ottomans religiously, were not subjected to Ottoman imperialism in a cultural sense. They built for themselves a national culture and remained completely indifferent to Ottoman civilization. The elite of Ottoman civilization were the *havas*, while Turkish culture had its minstrels, *babas* and master craftsmen. In other words, there were two kinds of elite in our country. The first represented and was supported by the court. Ottoman poets lived on gifts received from the court and Ottoman musicians on gifts and salaries from the court. The minstrels and poets of the people lived on gifts from the people. The Ottoman *ulema-yi rūsum*, as *kazaskers*² and cadis, received large salaries and fiefs, but the Turkish religious leaders—the hodjas and shaikhs of the people—were supported solely by the people. As a result, the master craftsmen, guild masters and guild *babas*, who were the leaders in the fine arts and other crafts, came only from the populace and always remained Turks.

It is thus evident that what separates culture and civilization is the fact that culture consists essentially of emotions and civilization of knowledge. Human emotions are not subject to conscious action and volition, and one nation cannot imitate the religious, moral and aesthetic feelings of another nation. In the pre-Islamic religion of the Turks, for example, the *Gök-Tanrı* (Sky-God) was the god of reward and had no power to punish; the god of punishment was another mythological figure called Erlik Khān. Since God was conceived of as good, the ancient Turks loved only him and were not moved by any feeling of fear. The love of God among Islamicized Turks is a continuation of this old tradition.

Fear of God among Turks is very rare. The experience of preachers in Istanbul and Anatolia have shown that preachers who talk of

¹ A Turkic tribe. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 836.

² Literally, military cadi. Highest rank in the Ottoman Muslim hierarchy.

beauty and goodness always have more listeners than those who talk of hell and demons. The religious practices of the ancient Turks included no ascetic but many aesthetic and moral rituals. As a result, after Islamization, Turks possessed very strong faith and sincere piety, free of ascetic and fanatic feelings. It is sufficient to read in this connection the works of Yunus Emre. The importance that Turks attach to hymns and reading of the *mawlūd*¹ in the mosques and to poetry and music in the dervish convents springs from their adherence to the pattern of aesthetic piety.

In the religion of the ancient Turks the Turkish *Tanrı* was a god of peace and tranquillity. The word *il*, meaning "peace" (cf. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī), illustrated the nature of the Turkish religion. Just as *ilji* meant "peace-loving", so *ilkhān* meant "King of Peace." Thus, the Turkish *ilkhāns*² were nothing other than peaceloving renovators who brought permanent peace from Manchuria to Hungary. I have described in *Yeni Mejmua* (New Review)³ the high morals, devotion to peace and avoidance of imperialism of Mete, the founder of the oldest Turkish state and of the Turkish tradition of devotion to peace. It is due to this ancient tradition that in the Islamic era Turkish rulers always treated the vanquished compassionately and always recognized themselves as a factor for international peace. Even Attila, whom Europeans indict so vehemently, always agreed immediately whenever defeated nations sued for peace. For he too was an *ilkhān*, a renovator who worked to assure world peace. Europeans committed an historical sin by translating Attila's title of *Tanrı Kutu* (Fortress of God) as "Scourge of God".

The aesthetic qualities that are inherent in all branches of Turkish arts are naturalness, simplicity, elegance and originality. All of these aesthetic virtues are to be found in Turkish carpets, tiles, architecture and calligraphy, as well as in the piety and morals of Turks. As the above examples have made clear, there is a genuine solidarity and an internal harmony among the various social aspects of a culture. The language of the Turks is simple, and simple and sincere also are his religious, moral, aesthetic, political, economic and family lives. The

¹ A poem publicly recited in honor of the birthday of Muḥammad, especially that composed by Süleyman Chelebi (d. 1421). See EI, III, pp. 419-22.

² An ancient Turkish title of nobility, most often encountered as the name of the Mongol dynasty, the Ilkhānids, who ruled Persia and Iraq in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries. *Ibid.*, II, p. 469.

³ Gökalp's articles appeared in this Istanbul magazine chiefly in the years 1917-18 and 1923. See Heyd, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

affability and originality of a Turk's life constitute one manifestation of this central characteristic.

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the harmony which exists among elements of a culture is also to be found among the elements of a civilization. Ottoman civilization is an amalgam of institutions stemming from Turkish, Persian and Arab cultures, from Islam, and from Eastern and, more recently, Western civilizations. These institutions never merged and blended and, therefore, never produced a harmonious system. A civilization achieves a harmonious unity only when it is grafted onto a national culture. English civilization has been grafted onto English culture, hence, there is harmony among the elements of both English civilization and English culture.

One relationship between culture and civilization does exist, however. Every ethnic group has, initially, only its own culture. As the group grows culturally and politically, a powerful state emerges, and as the culture grows civilization begins to arise. But although civilization is originally born of the national culture, it subsequently borrows many institutions from the civilizations of neighboring states. Yet too rapid a development of a society's civilization is harmful. Ribot¹ says that when the mind over-developed, it corrupts character. What the mind is to the individual, civilization is to society, and what character is to the individual culture is to society. Consequently, just as overdevelopment of the mind corrupts the character of an individual, so an over-development of civilization corrupts national culture. Nations possessing corrupted national cultures are known as degenerate nations.

There is one final relationship between culture and civilization. Whenever a conflict has occurred between a nation with a strong culture but weak civilization and one with a corrupted culture but high civilization, the culturally strong nation has always emerged victorious. For example, the culture of the ancient Egyptians began to decline as their civilization developed. The new Persian state, then still backward in civilization but possessing a strong culture, defeated the Egyptians. After a few centuries civilization developed in Persia, with a consequent weakening of its culture, and the Persians were defeated by the Greeks whose original culture had not yet declined. Some time later, when decline had set in, the Greeks and Persians were both defeated by the uncivilized but culturally strong

¹ Théodule Armand Ribot (1839-1916). French psychologist and author.

Macedonians. The defeat of the latter, once their culture had begun to decline, by the Parthian and Sassanid dynasties in the East and by the Romans in the West can be explained in the same manner. Finally, the Arabs, who had no civilization but did have an extremely strong culture, defeated both the Sassanids and the Romans.

The Arab nation soon lost its culture as it developed a civilization, with the result that it surrendered political sovereignty to the Seljuk Turks who were newly come from Turkistan with *töre* (traditional customs or laws), which were nothing other than the Turks' national culture. It is solely because of the force of this national culture that the Turks have remained independent up to the present, that they expelled the British and French from the Dardanelles and that, after the Armistice, they defeated the British-armed and -financed Greeks and Armenians and thus, indirectly, the British also.

Having examined the relationships between culture and civilization, we can now consider what Turkism means and what it must accomplish in Turkey. Ottoman civilization was doomed to collapse for two reasons. First of all, the Ottoman Empire, like all empires, was a temporary community. If there are groups which possess everlasting life, they are societies, not communities, and societies consist only of nations. Subjugated nations may forget their national identities temporarily under the cosmopolitan rule of empires, but real societies composed of nations inevitably awaken one day from their sleep of subjugation to demand their independence and political sovereignty. This process has been going on in Europe for the last five centuries and it was inevitable that the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman Empires, which had not previously experienced the process, would undergo revolutions as had their predecessors.

Secondly, as Western civilization developed, it acquired the capability of entirely destroying Eastern civilization. The former replaced the latter in Russia and the Balkan nations and the same thing was bound to happen in the Ottoman Empire. Eastern civilization is not really Islamic civilization, as some people think, but rather owes its origin to Byzantium. Similarly, Western civilization is not Christian civilization but an outgrowth of Roman civilization. The Ottomans did not borrow Byzantine civilization directly from Byzantium but from Muslim Arabs and Persians who had already borrowed it. This is why some people think of it as Islamic civilization.

I have endeavored to show above by historical proofs that Eastern civilization is the civilization of Byzantium. The available evidence is

so abundant that it can be assembled not in one or two articles but only in a book of several volumes. If it is a natural law that Eastern civilization everywhere must inevitably be replaced by Western civilization, it means that this process must also occur in Turkey. Consequently, Ottoman civilization, being a part of Eastern civilization, will be destroyed in any case, to be replaced by Islamic religion and Turkish culture on the one hand and by Western civilization on the other. The mission of Turkism is to seek out the Turkish culture that has remained only among the people and to graft onto it Western civilization in its entirety and in a viable form.

The Tanzimatists¹ attempted to reconcile Ottoman with Western civilization, but two conflicting civilizations cannot live side by side. Since their systems are opposed to each other, each corrupts the other. For example, Western and Eastern music cannot be reconciled, nor can Western pragmatism and Eastern scholasticism live together in harmony. A nation is either Eastern or Western. Just as an individual cannot have two religions, so a nation cannot have two civilizations. The Tanzimatists failed in their reforms because they did not understand this point. The Turkists will succeed in their efforts, however, because they want to discard entirely the Byzantine civilization of the East and to adopt Western civilization *in toto*. Turkists wish to enter Western civilization completely and unreservedly, while remaining Turks and Muslims. Before we do so, however, we must discover and expose our national culture.

¹ *Tanzimat* is the term used to describe the period of reforms which began with the issuance in 1839 by Sultan Abdul Mejid of the *Hatt-i Sherif* (Noble Rescript) of Gülhane. On the *Tanzimat* period see Edouard Engelhardt, *La Turquie et les Tanzimat, ou histoire des réformes dans l'empire ottoman depuis 1828 jusqu'à nos jours*. 2 vols. Paris, 1882.

CHAPTER FIVE

TOWARDS THE PEOPLE

One of the basic tenets of Turkism is *halka doğru* (towards the people). As a means of applying this principle we used to publish a journal, *Halka Doğru*, in Istanbul. Later, a journal of the same name was also published in Izmir. What does "going to the people" mean? Who are to go to them? The elite of any nation are its intellectuals and thinkers, those who are set apart from the common people by reason of their superior education and learning. They are the ones who must go to the people. Why will they do so? Some would say that they must carry culture to the people. But, as we have already shown, what can be called culture in our country exists only among the people; the elite have not yet acquired it. That being the case, how can the elite, who lack it, carry culture to the people, who are a living museum of culture?

To resolve the problem, we must first answer the question of what do the elite and the people have. The elite possess civilization, the people culture. Therefore, there can only be two reasons for the elite to go to the people: (1) to receive a cultural education from them, and (2) to carry civilization to them. Those are indeed the reasons, for the elite can find culture nowhere but among the people. Thus, to speak of "going to the people" means "going to culture," because the people are a living museum of our national culture.

There was nothing of national culture in the training that the elite received as children, for the schools in which they studied were neither popular nor national schools. They thus grew up without benefit of national culture, in other words, denationalized. Now they wish to overcome this lack. What must they do? They must go among the people, live with them, note the words and phrases they use, listen to their proverbs and maxims, grasp their way of thinking and feeling, listen to their poetry and music, watch their dances and plays, share their religious life and moral feelings, learn to appreciate the beauty in the simplicity of their clothing, architecture and furniture. In addition, they must learn the people's folk-tales, anecdotes and epics and the surviving doctrines of the ancient *töre* (which is now

known as the *tandırname*).² They must read the books of the people. They must discover the books of the minstrels, beginning with *Korkut Ata*, the hymns of the mystics, beginning with Yunus Emre, the people's humor, beginning with Nasreddin Hodja, and the *Karagöz* and *orta oyunu*, which we used to watch in our childhood. They must seek out the old coffeehouses of the people where the war stories are still read. They must enliven the nights of Ramadan, the Friday communal feasts and the exuberant religious holidays which children await so impatiently every year. They must collect works of popular art and create national museums.

The elite of the Turkish nation can nationalize themselves only by living at length among these national cultural museums and popular schools and by having their souls completely saturated with Turkish culture. It is because he had nationalized himself in this manner that Pushkin became the great national poet of the Russians. Other national poets such as Dante, Petrarch, Rousseau, Goethe, Schiller and D'Annunzio also became artistic geniuses because of the enlightenment they had received from the people.

Sociology teaches us that genius is usually to be found among the people. An artist can become a genius only by becoming a reflection of the aesthetic taste of the people. Our failure to produce artistic geniuses is due to the fact that our artists have not taken their aesthetic tastes from the living museum of the people. Who in Turkey up to the present time has attached any value to the aesthetics of the people? The old Ottoman elite disdained the peasant as a "stupid Turk;" the Anatolian townsman was labelled with the epithet of *tashrali* (provincial); the title given to the general public was *avam*.

The *havas* were the Ottoman elite, which included only the slaves of the court. It is because they despised the people that nothing of the art of this former elite has survived, be it language, poetry, literature, music, philosophy, ethics, politics or economics. The Turks had to start over again from ABC. The nation, until recently, did not even have a distinctive name. The Tanzimatists told the nation:

You are only Ottomans. Take care! Do not look at the example of other nations and demand a national name also. The moment that you do, you will cause the downfall of the Ottoman Empire.

¹ *Tandır* is the word for an oven which consists of a hole in the ground, hence the literal meaning of *tandırname* is "Book of the Oven." Its semantical meaning, i.e., that given in modern dictionaries, is "an old wives' tale."

The wretched Turk, afraid of losing his fatherland, was thus forced to say, "By God, I am not a Turk. I do not belong to any social group except the Ottoman one." We had deputies who used to say this daily to Boshö.¹

The Ottomanists never imagined that, regardless of what they might do, these foreign nations would strive to break away from the Ottoman community. But it was no longer possible for artificial communities composed of many different nations to survive, and henceforth every nation would be a separate state with its own homogeneous, genuine and natural social life. This social evolutionary movement, which had started five centuries earlier in Western Europe, would inevitably start in the East also.

The downfall of the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires showed that this social Judgment Day was very near. I wonder how bewildered the Turks would have been if they had entered the arena of this social Judgment Day without knowing and understanding that they constituted a nation called Turkish and that they possessed their own homeland and national rights within the Ottoman Empire? Would they have said, "Since Ottomanism has collapsed, we no longer have any national hope or political aspiration"? When the Wilsonian principles became known, some conscientious Ottomans who had previously been indifferent to Turkism began to say, "What would be our situation today if Turkism had not planted in the minds and souls of most of us the realization that we have a distinctive and national life independent of the Ottoman Empire, that we have a national homeland with its borders delimited by ethnography and that, in this homeland, we have a national right to govern ourselves in complete independence?" It has been only a single word, that sacred and blessed word Turk, that has enabled us to see the right road through this chaos.

Turkists have taught the elite not only the name of their nation but also its beautiful language. Both the name and the language were taken from the people, for both had existed only among them. Until then the elite had been living the life of somnambulists and, like

¹ Yorgi Anderya Boshö Effendi (to the Turks) or Georgios Busios (to the Greeks) (1876-1929). Elected deputy in the first elections held after the 1908 Revolution, he was noted for his pro-Hellenism and anti-Ottomanism, remarking on one occasion that he was as Ottoman "as the Ottoman Bank." After 1915, he joined the Greek Parliament as a deputy and served as a cabinet minister in 1915-20. In 1922 he served briefly as Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs. See TA,

the latter, had had a dual personality. Their real personality was Turkish but, under the influence of their somnambulism, they thought of themselves as Ottomans. Similarly, their real language was Turkish but they used an artificial language as a result of their somnambulist sickness. In poetry they rejected their real meters to use meters copied from the Persians. Serving as a psychiatrist, Turkism suggested to these somnambulists that they were not Ottomans but Turks, that their language was Turkish and that their meters were the meters of the people. More accurately, Turkism did not suggest but convinced them with scientific proofs. Thus, the elite was cured of its artificial somnambulism and began to think and feel normally.

We must confess, however, that the elite have been able as yet to take only a single step towards the people. To have reached the people fully, they would have had to live among them and to absorb the national culture completely. There is, therefore, only one solution, which is for Turkish youths to go to the villages as schoolteachers. Older persons should at least go to the towns and cities of inner Anatolia. The Ottoman elite will become national elite only after they have fully absorbed the national culture. The second purpose of going to the people is to carry civilization to them, for the people have no civilization, whereas the elite hold its keys. As we shall show later, the precious gift which they carry to the people must be Western civilization, not Eastern civilization or its outgrowth, Ottoman civilization.

CHAPTER SIX

TOWARDS THE WEST

An old proverb advises us to "know your job, know your food, know your wife." As a paraphrase of that advice, sociology might tell us to "know your nation, know your community, know your civilization." The Turkist press and the national disasters have made more or less clear to us what our nation and our community are. Everyone now seems to think alike on these points. However, there are still different, if not conflicting, points of view on the question of which civilization we belong to. For this reason, we must try to resolve this problem before beginning a study of national problems.

One reason why this problem of civilization remains unsettled is that the concept of civilization is confused with the concept of being civilized. In ancient times societies were considered to be in a state of savagery or nomadism or civilization. Today, the word savagery has been dropped completely from the world of science, since it has been shown that the primitive societies formerly described as savage each had a civilization peculiar to itself. It is now realized that these societies passed through several stages of evolution, so that there are even some persons who hesitate to apply the term "primitive societies" to them.

Since civilization exists in all human societies, the question arises of whether or not it also exists in zoological societies. Civilization is the sum total of many institutions, that is, the whole of methods of thinking and doing. But animal societies are governed by instincts transmitted by biological inheritance. Even division of labor and specialization among them are inherited; such classes as workers and soldiers come into the world possessing the organs needed for their particular duties. There is nothing in zoological societies that resembles institutions transmitted by way of tradition and training. It must therefore be accepted that civilization does not exist among them. This permits us to postulate the following two basic truths about civilization: (1) it exists in all human societies, and (2) it does not exist outside such societies.

We have said that civilization is the sum total of many institutions. However, the sum total of institutions peculiar to a specific nation

is called culture, while those peculiar to a specific community are called religion. Given these two concepts, where does the concept of civilization fit in? According to sociologists, the term civilization may be applied properly to the sum total of the common institutions of several societies which possess different cultures and religions. In other words, societies that are alien to each other culturally and religiously may share a common civilization. Just as cultural differences do not prevent the sharing of a religion, so a difference of culture and religion does not prevent the sharing of a civilization. The Jews and Japanese, for example, are alien to Europeans both in culture and religion, yet they have the same civilization as European nations.

A second reason why the problem of civilization remains unsettled is the belief that there is only one kind of civilization. Actually, there are several kinds. Today, the Australian aborigines, the North American Indians, the African tribes and the tribes of Oceania all constitute distinct circles of civilization. In ancient times the nations of the Mediterranean littoral shared a common Mediterranean civilization, from which emerged ancient Greek civilization. From the latter subsequently developed Roman civilization, which, in turn, gave birth to Eastern and Western civilizations. There was also a Far Eastern civilization in East Asia, to which the Chinese, Mongols, Tunguses, Tibetans and peoples of Indo-China still belong. On the basis of buried human artifacts, archeologists are even delimiting the civilization circles of pre-historic eras. Folklorists are also discovering that folk-tales, legends, epics and proverbs help to delimit certain civilization circles.

As is clear from these examples, the limits of a civilization are the geographic areas pertaining thereto and the specific borders of such areas. A folk-tale or an implement spreads to a specific point and cannot go any farther, for each civilization belongs to a distinctive system. Civilizations cannot intermingle because each usually has its own logic, its own aesthetics, its own interpretation of life. For the same reason, a civilization must be accepted in its entirety; one cannot borrow only certain parts of it or, if one does, he cannot digest and assimilate them. As in the case of religion, civilization must be accepted inwardly, not merely outwardly, for civilization is exactly like religion. One must believe in it implicitly and must be committed to it heart and soul. The Tanzimatists failed in their efforts to lead us into European civilization through outward imitation because they did not understand this point.

Just as the geographical limits of civilizations are distinct, their historic evolutions are independent of each other. The evolution of each has a beginning and an end, but since a civilization embraces more groups of people than does a culture it has a longer life. However, when a nation reaches the higher stages of its development, it is obliged to change its civilization. The Japanese, for example, abandoned Far Eastern civilization during the last century in order to accept Western civilization.

We observe in the Turks the most prominent example of this situation. The Turks have been obliged to adopt three totally dissimilar civilizations at three different stages of their social development. When they constituted a tribal state they belonged to Far Eastern civilization, then they were forced into Eastern civilization when the era of the sultanate began. Today, with the advent of the national state, we find a strong movement resolved on their inclusion within Western civilization.

We can still find traces of Far Eastern civilization, especially among the uneducated strata who have not yet abandoned oral traditions. The *tandirname* precepts, in which these strata still believe, are a survival of dogmas and procedures that are basic in Far Eastern civilization. Their stories are survivals of ancient myths and legends. A comparison of the ancient Turkish religion with the religions peculiar to Far Eastern nations and of the sum total of these with the *tandirname* precepts and the fables that still live among the uneducated people is sufficient to demonstrate this truth.

This comparison will explain the real nature of the relationship of the Turks to the so-called Altaic or Mongol races. The claim that Turks, who are whiter and more handsome than Aryans, are related to the yellow race does not have any scientific basis, nor has it ever been proved that any linguistic unity exists among the ethnic groups comprising the so-called Altaic race. In all probability, these groups which are vaguely referred to as a race are simply members of the group once included in Far Eastern civilization. If this hypothesis is correct, then our only tie with Finno-Ugrians, Tunguses and Mongols is the fact that we once shared Far Eastern civilization with them and forced them to live under our political hegemony for a long period. Certain common words that exist in our languages could have resulted from this common life.

Turks adopted the Islamic religion and Eastern civilization simultaneously, which is why many persons consider it correct to say

Islamic, rather than Eastern, civilization. However, as we have explained above, societies with different religions may belong to the same civilization, that is to say, civilization is something apart from religion. If that were not true, no common institutions could exist among groups professing different religions. Religion consists only of holy institutions, dogmas and rituals, whereas all non-sacred institutions—scientific concepts, technical implements, aesthetic rules, etc.—constitute a separate system outside religion. The positive sciences such as mathematics, physical sciences, biology, psychology and sociology and the techniques peculiar to industry and the fine arts have no relationship whatever to religion. Therefore, since no civilization can have any relationship to any religion, there is no Christian or Islamic civilization and it is a mistake to think of Western civilization as Christian civilization or Eastern civilization as Islamic civilization. The sources of both Eastern and Western civilizations must be sought elsewhere than in the Islamic and Christian religions.

Mediterranean civilization was created in ancient times through the efforts of the ancient Egyptians, Sumerians, Hittites, Assyrians, Phoenicians, etc. After reaching perfection among the ancient Greeks, this civilization passed to the Romans, who imposed it on the hundreds of nations that they conquered. The later division of Rome into two independent states, Eastern Rome and Western Rome, was not limited to the political arena but also caused the division of Mediterranean civilization into Eastern and Western Roman civilizations. Europeans, as heirs of Rome of the West, adopted and fostered Western Roman civilization, from which modern Western civilization developed. The Muslim Arabs were the political heirs of Eastern Rome and its civilizing successors; and when Eastern Roman civilization fell into Muslim hands, it became known as Eastern civilization.

A consideration of some of the elements of Eastern civilization will serve to prove our thesis. Byzantine architecture provided the original models of Arab architecture, and Turkish architecture grew out of a blending of the two. The Arabs and Turks, however, did more than just imitate without change the models they had borrowed. They produced very personalized architectural styles by adding to these models creative improvements inspired by their religious beliefs and moral ideals. This process of personalization was the result of the influence of Arab and Turkish religious virtues and national cultures.

Historians of the fine arts agree that the first models of these architectural styles must be sought in Byzantine civilization.

The rhythmic music of the East is a musical technique which al-Fārābī borrowed from Byzantium and transposed into Arabic. This music penetrated the *havas* class of Arabs, Persians and Turks but remained restricted to that class, for it was never able to penetrate the lower strata of the people. This is why Muslim nations have never been able to demonstrate in music the originality that they have in architecture. The Turkish lower classes have created a national popular music by continuing the techniques they had developed under Far Eastern civilization, and the Arab and Persian lower classes also continued to use old techniques. As a result, Eastern music has not become the national music of any Eastern nation. Another reason for not calling this Islamic music is the fact that it is used not only by Muslim nations but also in the religious ceremonies of the Orthodox nations, the Armenians and the Jews.

The Arabs borrowed their logic, philosophy, physical sciences and mathematics from Byzantium, as well as the latter's methods in such aesthetic and linguistic sciences as rhetoric, prosody, grammar and syntax. Medicine was copied from the pupils of Hippocrates and Galen. In short, the Arabs borrowed from Byzantium all its reasoning and experience in science and philosophy. Later, both the Persians and Turks borrowed these same skills from the Arabs. Independent Arab philosophers were divided into two schools, the peripatetics (*mashā'ir*) and the colleagues (*isbrāqī*), the first being the disciples of Aristotle, the second those of Plato. The Islamic doctors, who were absorbed in religion, also formed two different schools, the theologians (*mutakallim*) and the mystics (*mutaṣawwif*). The former, who accepted the atomistic theory, were the heirs of the philosophies of Democritus and Epicurus, while the latter were the heirs of the Neoplatonic system of the Alexandrine philosopher, Plotinus. The translators of Pythagoras and Zeno also had their disciples, those of the latter being known as Stoics (*riwāqiyūn*).¹ Muḥyiuddīn 'Arabi's² *a'yān-i thābita* (eternal essences) were nothing but Plato's

¹ The reader can find many available texts on Muslim philosophy. See, for example, T. J. de Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, London, 1933; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *La pensée d'Islam*, Istanbul, 1953; Max Horten, *Die Philosophie des Islam*, Munich, 1924.

² Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī Muḥyi-al-dīn al-Ḥātīmī al-Ṭā'ī al-Andalusī (1165-1240), known in Spain as Ibn Surīqa but generally in the East as Ibn 'Arabi. See A. E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Din-Ibnul Arabi*, Cambridge, 1939.

ideal patterns. Not only metaphysics but ethics, politics and economics were borrowed from Aristotle. Such books as *Akblāq-i nāṣirī*¹, *Akblāq-i jalālī*² and *Akblāq-i ‘alā’ī*³ contained sections on ethics, politics and economics, all written in imitation of Aristotle.

Byzantine and Roman civilizations did not diverge one from the other during the Middle Ages. Muslims were unable to impose great transformations on Eastern civilization, just as Christians were unable to effect great changes in Western civilization. Only two innovations, in fact, were instituted in Europe during the medieval period: opera appeared in feudal chateaus, and respectful and chivalric love and salon and female aesthetics arose in the southern areas of Western Europe. The first innovation led to the perfection of musical techniques and the creation of modern Western music. Not being suitable for opera, the quarter tones of the ancient Greek musical technique were abandoned. Simultaneously, monotone melodies were also dropped under the influence of opera and the element of harmony was added. The second innovation assured that women would share in the life of society without losing their chastity and sanctity. While Muslims were borrowing such customs as the harem, *selamlık* (male quarters of a Muslim household) and veil from Christian Byzantium and Zoroastrian Persia, Western European women were participating in social life. But aside from these minor differences, there was a great symmetry between Eastern and Western civilizations during the Middle Ages. Europe's religious (Gothic) architecture had its parallel in Islamic architecture, while the philosophy of Islamdom had its parallel in the scholastic philosophy which arose in the seminaries of Europe.

According to free philosophy, truth is unknown and the task of the philosopher is to seek and discover this unknown truth, unfettered by traditions. It is not important if the truth he discovers is contrary

¹ "Beneficial Ethics," written by Nāṣir-al-dīn al-Ṭūsī (or Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan), 1201-1274.

² "Majestic Ethics." See Jelaeddin Devvāni (Jalāl-ad-dīn al-Dawwānī), *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People* exhibited in its professed connexion with the European so as to render either an introduction to the other, being a translation of *The Akblak-i Jalaly* the most esteemed work of Middle Asia from the Persian of Fakir Jany Muhammad Assad. Trans. and notes by W. F. Thompson. London, 1839.

³ "Sublime Ethics." The author, ‘Alā’-ad-dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Amr-allah, was known in Turkey as Kinalizade Ali Effendi or Alāeddin Ali Chelebi (1510-1571). The work was first printed in 1833 at Bulak in Egypt. See EI, II, p. 1011, and Mardin. *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101.

to social traditions, for in his view nothing is more useful and more precious than truth. The Islamic philosopher, on the other hand, holds that all truth is already known, since traditions are truths which have been established by transmission. His task, essentially, is to prove and confirm these truths by mental proofs. This difference in method explains why Islamic philosophers (*hakīm*) did not wish to be known as philosophers, for they viewed philosophers as atheists. The medieval European church philosophers were also all of this opinion, which, in the history of philosophy, is known as scholasticism. Like the *hakīms* of Islam, the scholastics of Europe took Aristotle as their guide. For both groups, the aim of philosophy was to reconcile religion with Aristotelian philosophy.

The Middle Ages were brought to an end in Europe by moral, religious, scientific and aesthetic revolutions, i.e., the Renaissance, Reformation, the philosophic revival, and romanticism. Since these revolutions did not extend to the Islamic World, we still have not been delivered from the Middle Ages. Europe ended scholasticism but we are still living under its influence.

Why this separation of East and West after travel along parallel roads for many centuries? Although historians cite many different reasons, we believe the correct one to be that advanced by sociology, namely, that the increased population density in the large cities of Europe led to a division of social tasks, accompanied by the emergence of specializations and specialists. With specialization came the development of individual personality and a change in the basic structure of souls. This revolution gave birth to new men who possessed a new kind of spirit and who resembled their predecessors neither in logic nor ideals. The old framework could not contain the new life which gushed from their spirits and, consequently, the framework crumbled and disintegrated. Once free, the new life directed its creative energy in all directions and produced developments and advances in all fields. In particular, it created large industry, which it made the distinctive feature of modern civilization.

In the East, however, no densely populated large cities arose. Such large cities as did exist were not homogeneous in population and lacked means of intercourse and, as a result, moral density. These deficiencies made impossible the development in the East of a division of labor or specialization or individual personality or large industry. Lacking a new spirit and a new life, the Eastern nations were unable to develop their civilization beyond its medieval form. As the law of

inertia teaches us, everything remains as it is unless something changes it.

Although Western and Central Europe escaped from medieval civilization, the Orthodox countries of Eastern Europe were unable to do so. The Russians remained captives until the time of Peter the Great, who labored diligently to deliver them from Eastern, and lead them into Western, civilization. It is sufficient to study the history of Peter's reforms to understand the steps that must be taken if a nation is to move out of Eastern, and into Western, civilization. The Russians had seemed to be without aptitudes, but they began to progress rapidly after these compulsory reforms. Is this historical event not proof that Eastern civilization prevents progress, while Western civilization promotes it?

We have already noted that the basis of European civilization is the division of labor, which, in Europe, has not meant merely a distinction between different trades and economic professions. The application of the principle in the fields of science has resulted in the appearance of specialists within each science. In the fine arts it has led to the rise of independent artistic specialties that were formerly united in a single individual. The various branches of social life have also been separated by this same principle. Political powers have been divided among the legislative, judicial and executive branches of government, and political and religious organizations have been separated. Judicial organs have gained in authority as a result of this division of labor, while economic, scientific and aesthetic activities have achieved a high state of perfection.

Muslim nations, although formerly equal and, at times, even superior to Europeans in military and political power, have gradually become relatively weaker as a result of the advances brought about in Europe by the division of labor. Two societies must be equipped with the same weapons if they are to be able to struggle against each other in both the military and political arenas. Europeans are now able to manufacture terrible implements of war—tanks, armored cars, airplanes, battleships, submarines, etc.—because of their unparalleled industrial advances, but we are forced to use against them only cannons and rifles. How can the Muslim World resist Europe to the end under these circumstances? How can we defend the independence of our religion and our fatherland? There is only one way to escape these dangers, which is to emulate the progress of the Europeans in science, industry and military and legal organization, in other words

to equal them in civilization. And the only way to do this is to enter European civilization completely.

The Tanzimatists also recognized this necessity and endeavored to borrow European civilization, but the things they borrowed they borrowed only partially, not completely. This is why they were unable to establish a real university or to create a homogeneous legal organization. Our national arts were completely exterminated because the Tanzimatists changed the forms of consumption (i.e., the systems of clothing, nutrition, building and furniture) before they had modernized national production. Even the nucleus of a European type industry was unable to arise. Back of the failures was the fact that the task was begun and only half measures taken in every field before adequate scientific studies had been made and before a basic concept and a definite program had been formulated.

Another serious error of the Tanzimatists was their desire to construct for us an educational amalgam of the components of Eastern and Western civilizations. They were unable to perceive that two opposing civilizations having systems based on entirely different principles could not be blended. The dichotomies that still exist in our political structure—two kinds of courts, of schools, of budgets, of laws—are all the result of this error. The dichotomies that exist are, in fact, too numerous to list. Not only do the *medrese* (mosque school) and *mektep* (European-type school) constitute a dichotomy, but there are also dichotomies within each *mektep*. A European system of instruction used to be followed only in the Military Academy and the Military Medical School. The absence of any dichotomy in these two schools is why we have today great commanders who have saved our national life and learned doctors who can save our individual lives, why there exist among the members of these two professions specialists who are the equals of their European counterparts. But could we possibly have our present illustrious commanders and our famous doctors if the military science of the Janissaries and the medical science of the *bekimbashi*¹ had been taught in those schools? The latter must serve as a model in the educational revolution which we will effect.

The attempt to reconcile Eastern and Western civilizations was

¹ The term used in the Ottoman Empire for *medrese*-trained doctors, who frequently were not professional physicians but members of the ulema. On this subject see H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West* (London, 1957), Vol. I, Part II, pp. 149-50.

like trying to make the Middle Ages live in modern times. The military science of the Janissaries and that of a modern regular army could not be reconciled, nor could the art of the *bekimbashis* and scientific medicine. The same applies to the old and new law, the old and new science, the old and new ethics. What a pity that it has been possible to abolish only the Janissary aspects of military science and medicine! Those aspects still linger on in other professions as medieval vampires.

A few months ago a society was founded in Istanbul to work for Turkey's entrance into the League of Nations. But what advantage will we gain by entering the League of Nations until we have definitely entered European civilization? A nation that other nations desire to subject to political interventions and capitulations is a nation considered to be outside that civilization. The Japanese are considered a European nation, but we are still regarded as an Asiatic one. What reason can there be for this except the fact that we have not fully entered European civilization? The Japanese became Western without abandoning their religion and nationality and, as a result, have caught up with the Europeans in every respect.

Have the Japanese, in doing this, lost anything of their religion and national culture? Not at all! Why then do we hesitate? Cannot we, too, fully enter Western civilization while retaining our identity as Turks and Muslims? Let us consider the things that we have changed since the day we began to accept Western civilization. Is there among them anything which touches our religion or nationality? We abandoned the Julian for the Western calendar, but was the Julian calendar something sacred for us? That calendar belongs to the Greeks, that is, to the Byzantines, so if it must be venerated let the Greeks do so. Our abandonment of the Greek system of time and adoption of the Western system in its stead must be viewed similarly.

What harm can come to our religion and culture by abandoning the deductive logic of Aristotle and accepting the inductive logic of Descartes and Bacon, together with the methodology which arises therefrom? What do we lose by accepting modern astronomy, physics and chemistry in place of the old? How much information can be found in our old books on zoology, botany and geology? Are we not compelled to accept from the West the biology, psychology and sociology which do not exist in the East? In the past we obtained all of our sciences from Byzantium. What do we lose religiously and

culturally if we now replace the sciences of the Greeks with the sciences of the West?

These examples, which could be continued indefinitely, indicate that the elements of Eastern civilization that we will abandon are all things that we obtained originally from Byzantium. Once these points are made clear, no one can seriously object to our renouncing Eastern in favor of Western civilization. Solution of this problem of civilization has become a matter of urgency in Turkey. Our country has long had an educational problem that has remained unsolved despite much effort and attention. A study of the nature of this problem will show that it is simply a facet of the problem of civilization. Once the basic problem is solved, the educational problem will also have been solved.

There are actually three dissimilar levels of civilization and pedagogy in our country, namely, the people, *medrese* graduates and *mektep* graduates. The first has never entirely abandoned Far Eastern civilization, while the second still lives in Eastern civilization. It is only the third level that has been able to realize certain advantages from Western civilization. In other words, part of our nation lives in ancient times, part in medieval times and part in modern times. Can it be normal for a nation to live such a three-dimensional life?

The pedagogical systems, as well as the civilizations, of these three levels are different. Is it possible for us to be a real nation until these three educational systems are unified? We can divide our education into three parts: *halkiyat* (folk pedagogy), *medresiyat* (*medrese* pedagogy) and *mektebiyat* (*mektep* pedagogy). The books of the minstrels, folk-tales, ballads, proverbs and rules of the *tandırname* constitute the first part, books translated from Arabic and Persian the second part, and translations from European languages the third part. If we unify our civilizations, we will also have unified our education and pedagogy and will have become a spiritually and intellectually homogeneous nation. To delay one more minute in this matter is, therefore, absolutely unacceptable. As the above analysis makes clear, the first dogma of our social catechism must be: I am a member of the Turkish nation, the Islamic community and Western civilization.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND SOCIAL IDEALISM

There are two sociological systems, at once both similar and dissimilar, that may be used in the interpretation and explanation of social phenomena, namely, historical materialism and social idealism; the first was founded by Karl Marx, the second by Émile Durkheim.¹ Superficially the two schools of thought seem to be closely related, for both accept the principle that social phenomena are the results of natural causes and are subject to natural laws, just as are physical, biological and psychological phenomena. In scientific terminology this concept is called determinism. Beyond this point, however, the two systems begin to diverge. Marx postulates a kind of monopoly in his determinism in that he asserts that the privilege of being the determining cause belongs exclusively to economic phenomena, while other social phenomena, be they religious, moral, aesthetic, political, linguistic or intellectual, can never be determining causes but only results. Thus, for Marx, all social phenomena other than economic phenomena are in the nature of epiphenomena.

By definition, anything that is an epiphenomenon cannot have an effect on other things. Can a man's shadow influence what a man does? It undoubtedly cannot. Epiphenomena are like these forceless shadows that trail behind us. According to Marx, only economic phenomena are realities, with all other social phenomena being neither realities nor phenomena but merely the results and shadows of economic phenomena. He explained solely on the basis of changes in the techniques of production the origin of religions, their differentiation into sects, the establishment of ascetic *ṣāwiyas* (hermitages) and Ṣūfī convents, the Reformation and the separation of church and state. He also tried to explain as results of the same economic phenomena the birth, growth and demise of all moral, legal, political, aesthetic, linguistic and intellectual ideals and traditions.

According to the sociological school established by Durkheim, the idea of such a monopoly is erroneous. Economic phenomena have no more privileged position than any other social phenomena and

¹ Émile Durkheim (1858-1917). French sociologist and writer. See ESS, V, pp. 291-92.

all other social institutions—religious, moral, aesthetic, etc.—are phenomena and realities to the same extent as are economic institutions. To label the former epiphenomena by comparing them to the shadows cast by physical objects is to ignore objective reality.

Since there are no epiphenomena in physics or chemistry or biology, why should they exist in sociology? Although some psychologists, Maudsley,¹ for example, have called “consciousness” an epiphenomenon and claimed that it had no effect whatever on psychic phenomena, modern psychologists such as Fouillée,² Ribot, James,³ Höfding,⁴ Bergson,⁵ Janet,⁶ Binet⁷ and Paulhan⁸ have thoroughly demolished this theory with scientific evidence. In fact, the term epiphenomenon is no longer used in psychology.

The claim that only economic institutions among social phenomena are realities is analogous to a claim that among physiological phenomena only those relating to the stomach and digestive tract are realities, with all other physiological functions being only the unreal and unimportant shadows. Can any physiologist accept such a view? Marx committed another error by extending this monopolism from theory to practice. According to him, the people consist only of the working class, which therefore has the obligation to abolish all other classes. However, since the word people means everyone, it means the totality of all classes which accept the fact that they are equal before the law. It is, of course, quite correct to view as not being included among the people the imperialistic, aristocratic and feudal classes which do not admit to being equal to the people. Bourgeois and intellectual classes that do not accept the principle of the legal equality of all, if there are such, must also be excluded from the ranks of the people. But all those who do accept that principle are part of the people, irrespective of the professional group to which they belong.

Durkheim's sociology holds that other social phenomena may be

¹ Henry Maudsley (1835-1918). English alienist. *Ibid.*, X, p. 231.

² Alfred Jules Émile Fouillée (1838-1912). French philosopher and educator. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 401.

³ William James (1842-1910), the eminent American psychologist and philosopher.

⁴ Harald Höfding (1843-1931). Danish philosopher, of the positivistic school.

⁵ Henri Louis Bergson (1859-1941). French philosopher, awarded the Nobel prize in literature in 1927.

⁶ Pierre Marie Felix Janet (1859-1947). French psychologist and neurologist.

⁷ Alfred Binet (1857-1911). French psychologist, originator of the Binet, or Binet-Simon, IQ tests.

⁸ Frédéric Paulhan (1856-1931). French psychologist and sociologist.

the determining causes of economic phenomena and vice versa. Thus, it does not deny the importance and value of economic phenomena. In fact, Durkheim postulates that their importance in society is gradually increasing and even that economic life is the basis of the social structure in modern societies.

According to Durkheim, solidarity in primitive societies is only a mechanical solidarity which derives from the collective consciousness. He termed these segmentary societies, because they were composed of related segments such as family, clan, sub-tribe and tribe. Developed societies have, in addition to this mechanical solidarity, an organic solidarity that stems from the division of social labor. Durkheim called these organic societies. Division of labor is known to be the basis of economic life. In modern societies, religious, political, scientific, aesthetic and economic groups are the specialized and professional groups that have been created by a division of labor. Therefore, we must accept the fact that Durkheim gave to economic life the position and importance that it deserves.

Nevertheless, Durkheim also reduces all social phenomena to a single source, namely, "collective representations." This term can be better explained by examples than by definition, so I will try to illustrate by a few examples precisely what this term means. There were workers in Turkey even before the 1908 Revolution, but their common consciousness held no such thought as "we constitute the working class." Since that thought did not exist neither did a working class. There were also many Turks in our country; but since there was, in their collective consciousness, no concept of "we are the Turkish nation," no Turkish nation then existed. In other words, a group is not a social group unless there is a conscious realization of that status in the common consciousness of its individual members. In the same way, if a word of Turkish origin no longer exists in the linguistic consciousness of the Turkish people, it has lost its standing as a Turkish word and its value as a social phenomenon. Again, if a custom which was originally part of the Turkish *töre* is no longer known and remembered in the moral consciousness of the Turkish people, it has lost its character both as a social phenomenon and as an element of Turkish morality.

From these statements, it is evident that social phenomena must be found as conscious realizations in the collective consciousness of the group to which they pertain. Such conscious realizations are termed "collective representations."

Collective representations are not, as Marx believed, ineffective epiphenomena in social life. On the contrary, all aspects of our social lives are shaped by the effects of these representations. For example, every aspect of our social lives will begin to change when the representation, "we belong to the Turkish nation, the Islamic community and Western civilization," begins to acquire standing as a definite concept in the common consciousness of us Turks. Once we say that "we belong to the Turkish nation," we will begin to show in our language, aesthetics, morals and law and even in theology and philosophy the originality and personality which befit Turkish culture, taste and consciousness. Once we say that "we belong to the Islamic community," the Holy Qur'ān will become, for us, the most sacred book, the Prophet Muḥammad the most sacred person, the Ka'ba the most sacred shrine, and Islam the most sacred religion. And once we say that "we belong to Western civilization," we will behave as real Europeans in science, philosophy, technology and other civilizing fields.

Collective representations are not limited to group concepts only. Myths, epic, folk-tales, legends, anecdotes, dogmas, moral, legal, economic and technical rules, and scientific and philosophic views are all collective representations. Even rituals and practices that are considered contrary to belief and theory are collective representations, since they are first conceived in the mind and then acted upon.

Whereas individual ideas are the personal ideas of individuals, collective representations are the mental patterns that are common to all individuals of a society or, more accurately, that exist consciously in the collective consciousness. Individual ideas exercise no real influence in society, but they become an important factor in social life when they are based on a social force and acquire the nature of a collective representation. Thus, the ideas of a savior who enjoys a great moral influence soon become part of the common thoughts of the whole people. Individual ideas of a similar nature may also have an influence in social life. When a nation possesses a great personality who has proved by great victories his genius, self-sacrifice and heroism, he can easily effect all sorts of reforms through his ability to create collective representations. Today we have such a genius. A personality of this nature who is recognized as a savior and genius by the public consciousness can achieve by a word or speech or statement reforms and advances that ordinary persons could never achieve, regardless of the degree of their scientific knowledge, physical strength and activity.

Collective representations gain very great force and power when they are intensified by violent emotions in times of great crises. They are then termed ideals. It is after they have become fundamental ideals that they become the source of real revolutions. When first advocated, the idea of Turkism was a group ideal restricted to youth. Although the disasters of the Italian, Balkan and World Wars extended this group representation to the entire Turkish nation, thus changing it into an ideal, it was Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha alone who made the ideal official and who actually applied it.

As the above examples indicate, Durkheim explained idealism in terms of aroused societies, that is, by sociology. According to him, all social phenomena consist of ideals or of their weaker versions, collective representations. Actually, every collective representation is more or less entwined with a value judgment. We regard some social institutions as sacred, some as good, some as beautiful, some as true. The use of these adjectives shows that these institutions are not divorced from feelings, emotions and passions. We regard as sacred anything towards which we feel a religious emotion, as good anything towards which we feel a moral emotion, as beautiful anything towards which we feel an aesthetic emotion, and as true anything towards which we feel an intellectual emotion. In other words, all collective representations have the nature of ideals.

Although collective representations, i.e., ideals, are the causes of all social phenomena, their birth, growth, decline and death are themselves dependent on various social causes, namely, the changes that occur in the social structure. According to Durkheim, the primary causes of social phenomena are those of social morale and social morphology, such as the increase or decrease of population and its density, intercourse, homogeneity and division of labor.

The rise of the Turkish movement is a social phenomenon. In explaining it we are faced with two conflicting theories that stem from the schools of historical materialism and social idealism. According to the first theory, Turkism was born solely from economic causes. The second theory holds that Turkism arose from a change of social ideals, which, in turn, had stemmed from a change in the social structure.

There formerly existed in Turkey two principal religious communities: the Muslim, centered around the Caliphate, and the Christian, centered around the Greek Patriarchate. These communities would not have disintegrated had religion been able to maintain its former

strength at the same intensity. But, with the increase in social density in the cities, a social division of labor began to emerge, at first vaguely and then gradually more widely. Since a division of labor produces occupational groups which, in turn, produce occupational consciousnesses, the two collective consciousnesses that had dominated the Muslim and Christian communities began to weaken. This weakening destroyed the general solidarity of the communities that had been based on those collective consciousnesses. Newly-born newspapers and schools, literature and poetry replaced the unintelligible language of the community with the language of the society.

Thus, the group consciousnesses, representations and concepts of both Muslims and Christians changed. Whereas every individual previously had viewed his religious community as a social organism and himself as an inseparable part of it, he now began to view as a social organism only his own linguistic society and to consider himself an inseparable part of it alone. This was the manner in which the religious communities disintegrated and were replaced by linguistic societies. The separation from the Greek Patriarchate first of the Armenians, then of the Vlachs, Serbians and Bulgarians, and even of the Greeks, once the latter had won independence, and the establishment by some of them of Exarchates is a vivid illustration of the point we are trying to make. The secession of these linguistic societies from the Ottoman political community after they had seceded from their religious community shows that the primary cause was not political but entirely cultural.

Although nationalities composed of linguistic and cultural groups did exist also in former times, religious and political imperialism confined them within the boundaries of sultanate and community. As the confining walls of these communities weakened, the confined groups naturally began to struggle to gain freedom. As a result, nationalist movements in Turkey developed first as movements seeking religious autonomy and only later as movements seeking political autonomy and independence.

Nationalist movements among the Empire's Muslim ethnic groups arose in the same manner. Let us take the Albanians as an example. The Tosks, who were the core of *Bashkim*,¹ had long before deserted the religious community for Bektashism. They wanted, initially, to use their own language so as to obtain their just share of benefits

¹ The Albanian word for "union" and the name of the Albanian nationalist society which was founded in 1899.

from the schools, press, poetry and literature which had become necessities. To do this they had, first of all, to adopt a script. The fact that they adopted the Latin script shows that they had already left the religious community. In other words, they were trying to substitute a cultural solidarity for their religious solidarity which had long since begun to weaken. Nationalist movements among the Arabs and Kurds also began as cultural movements; the second stages were political and the third economic.

We know that Turkism also began as a cultural movement. One of its first founders was the founder of our oldest university, another the founder of our military schools. If the *medreses* had been strong, the university could not have been established, and it was impossible to establish military schools during the centuries when the Janissaries maintained their status as the armed forces of the *medreses*. The solidarity of the religious community among the Turks began to weaken as a result of a social division of labor. The founding of the Academy and University and the attempt to reorganize and regularize the military schools that occurred towards the end of the reign of Abdul Aziz were the result of this weakening. Ahmet Vefik and Süleyman Pashas, who headed these new institutions, realized the need to strengthen by linguistic, cultural and historic solidarities the rudderless nations within the community and sultanate which had begun to revolt and to educate the youth in accordance with these new ideals. The purification and new language movements that followed at 20-year intervals show that language and culture are the principal factors in the Turkist ideal.

The ideal of a "national economy" also arose towards the end of the Turkist movement, but those who advanced this concept were neither economists nor businessmen but cultural Turkists who were seeking varied manifestations of nationality, such as national law, national morality, national education, and even national philosophy. In other words, the concept of national economy arose among the Turks as a disinterested ideal which sought the economic reality of our country in purely theoretical terms, that is, the legal regimes and technical forms then current in various areas of our agriculture, industry and commerce. But only after our national economists had studied our economic reality would they have been able to distinguish what was normal and what pathological among our economic phenomena and only then would they have been able to suggest ways to cure our economic illnesses. Unfortunately, the World War

interrupted theoretical studies and led to practical applications of various kinds.

National economy is not a means of commercial speculation but a scientific school founded in Germany by Friedrich List.¹ Durkheim says of List's book on national economy that it was the first book on economy ever written objectively and on the basis of reality. However, this science of national economy everywhere arises after, not before, the national ideal.

¹ Friedrich List (1789-1846), German economist known for his *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*, Stuttgart, 1842, available also as *National System of Political Economy*. Translated from the German by G.A. Matile, Philadelphia, 1856.

CHAPTER EIGHT

STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

There are three principal kinds of social groups: family, political and occupational. Of these, political groups are the most important because a political group is an independent or semi-independent entity which exists for its own sake. Family and occupational groups are merely segments or parts of such an entity, in other words, a political group is a separate social organism of which family groups are the cells and occupational groups the organs. Family and occupational groups are therefore termed sub-groups.

There are also three principal kinds of political groups: clan, community and society. A clan comes into being when only a small part of an ethnic group organizes itself as a political entity. Thus, when an ethnic group splits into independent tribes, each tribe is a clan. Then a time comes when one clan defeats others and brings them under its political hegemony. The subjugated clans are not, as a rule, tribes belonging to the victor's own ethnic group; and since these clans belong to other ethnic groups or religions, the newly created entity loses its homogeneity and becomes an amalgam of clans belonging to different ethnic groups and religions. This amalgam is called community. All feudal principalities and all great empires have been communities basically, since those political entities contained communities belonging to various ethnic groups and religions.

A time also comes when these communities begin to revolt. Within the empire clans that share a language and a culture unite socially and become a nationality possessing a common consciousness and a common ideal. A nationality cannot long be kept in subjugation once it has acquired a national consciousness. Sooner or later, it gains its independence and becomes an independent political entity that is homogeneous and united and is called a society or, alternatively, a nation. All real societies are nations. Ethnic groups cannot suddenly become nations, for they must first pass through the childhood stage of social life as clans and then through a long apprenticeship stage as a community. Finally, after having become tired of the oppression of the imperium, they leave the community to live independent lives

Community life is as harmful for the dominant ethnic group as it is for the subjugated groups. No clearer example of this than our own ethnic group could be found. When the Ottoman Empire was founded, Turks became *rayah* within the feudalism that this community brought into being. They had no time to progress educationally and economically because they spent their lives serving the community as soldiers and gendarmes. Other ethnic groups left the Ottoman society educated, civilized and rich, but the wretched Turks received as an inheritance only a broken sword and an old plow.

Yet, just as a human being must live through periods of childhood and youth, an ethnic group must pass through the stages of clan and community. Every ethnic group has had to live through these stages before becoming a society and nation, although there have been a few exceptions in which a dominant nation which had advanced rapidly to social life was able to by-pass the community stage without great harm. The English, for example, became a society before having conquered Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Popularly elected deputies united with the nobles to govern the country, with the court remaining only as a shadow. The result was that all problems were resolved in a manner advantageous to the people, not to the court. Thus, 500 years ago, the English people became a vigilant nation which decided its own affairs through its representatives. For centuries the English Parliament was composed exclusively of Anglo-Saxons, free of any foreign elements that might obstruct national policy and of foreign individuals who might become involved in non-national movements.

The English conquered Scotland, Wales and Ireland and annexed them to England only after having lived a genuine constitutional existence for a full 400 years, during which time they had molded national virtues into an incorruptible and immutable solidity. Moreover, the annexation was a political annexation only. At no time did the English suggest that these free foreign ethnic groups should join English society and the Anglo-Saxon nation. The country seemed to consist only of Englishmen as before and it was governed entirely from the point of view of English interests and the English ideal. Later, England acquired colonies such as America, India, South Africa, Egypt and Australia, but the parliament always remained an English parliament and the cabinet an Anglo-Saxon cabinet. Within this gradually expanding political community, the English nation never forgot, even for one moment, its own identity. This is why the English nation has dominated world diplomacy for centuries.

In short, an ethnic group can live an advanced and genuine social life only after it has become a real nation that governs itself through a national parliament. The other ethnic groups of Europe grasped this truth much later than did the English. Until two centuries ago, the other European peoples and territories were dominated by the retainers and castles of the ruling families. A monarch was able to give his daughter part of the country as a dowry when he married her off, and he could give as a gift or sell a province to another monarch. Through inheritance a portion of a country could pass into the hands of a foreign ruler. People and ethnic groups had no real existence nor any real importance. To speak of the state was to speak of the monarch. This credo was not peculiar to Louis XIV alone; it was the political slogan in every European state except England.

The national era finally encompassed the other European ethnic groups also, and the Dutch, French, etc., began to emerge as self-governing nations. History shows that, as a general rule, a great movement of progress and development has arisen wherever a national spirit has penetrated. Political, religious, moral, legal, aesthetic, scientific, philosophic, economic and linguistic life all acquire youth, sincerity and freshness, in fact, everything begins to improve. But comparative history also tells us that in such situations a new character, superior to tangible advances, has arisen. Wherever a national consciousness has come into being, the place concerned has been delivered forever from the danger of becoming a colony.

If the League of Nations were today to hand Germany over to France, I wonder if the French could find the courage to accept the gift? If the League attempted to place Hungary under the mandate of Rumania and Bulgaria under that of Greece, would those two states dare to accept? Undoubtedly not! A state which desires to be a mandatary wants to control easily the country to be placed under its mandate, but it is impossible to gain the slightest influence, even by sending huge armies, in a territory that possesses an awakened national consciousness. The English aim in placing Thrace and Izmir under Greek mandate, Adana and its hinterland under French mandate and Antalya under Italian mandate was to seize Istanbul for themselves. These nations all began to abandon this crude scheme when they saw that a national consciousness had awakened in Anatolia and that the Greek armies were melting like ice before the national revolt. America's refusal to accept a mandate either in Armenia or in Turkey was due to its realization of the strength of the national

consciousness in those areas. The English and French saw no danger in dividing Arabia between them, however, because they knew that a national consciousness had not yet awakened in Arabia, where the tribes were still living a clan life and where the cities had not yet reached the society stage.

In recent centuries no empire has been able to survive or colonial life to continue in places where a national consciousness has awakened. The dissolution of the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires was not the result of the World War. The war played no role except to serve as a fortuitous occasion for an event that fundamental causes had already made inevitable. If idealistic nations possessing national consciousnesses which found it impossible to live any longer in subjugation had not existed among the ethnic groups comprising those empires, the World War could not have caused their collapse. For example, the German state is not collapsing, in spite of the destructiveness of the French, because it is a homogeneous nation. In fact, it may be said that it emerged from the World War stronger than it had been, because the Austria which has emerged from the Austro-Hungarian community will ultimately unite with Germany.

While all this was happening in Europe, quite different developments were occurring in Asia. Syria, Iraq, Palestine and the Hejaz territories withdrew from the Ottoman community but were unable to achieve independence because their societies did not yet have awakened national consciousnesses. The French and English mandates undoubtedly will not be able to remain even a second after national consciousnesses do awaken there. In fact, although it emerged victorious from the World War, England has been forced to grant autonomy—the first step on the road to independence—to Malta and Egypt, just as earlier it had been forced to grant full autonomy to the territories inhabited by Anglo-Saxons, such as Australia, South Africa, Canada and New Zealand. This testimony of history and of the present day shows us that there is today no European ethnic group which does not possess a national consciousness. Therefore, it would be impossible to establish a colony anywhere in Europe.

There is no way to end colonial life in the Islamic World also except by strengthening the national consciousness. It was once believed that the ideal of Pan-Islamism would assure the attainment of independence by Muslim ethnic groups and the deliverance from colonial status, of their territories. Political experience showed, however, that

Pan-Islamism actually prevented the progress of Muslim peoples and hindered their attainment of independence, because it gave rise, on the one hand, to such reactionary movements as theocracy and clericalism and, on the other hand, was opposed to the awakening of national ideals and national consciousnesses in the Islamic World. The theocratic and clerical movements are the principal reason why Muslim societies remain backward and even gradually retrogress.

This being the situation, what must be done? Above all, efforts must be made unceasingly to awaken and strengthen the national consciousness both in our country and in other Islamic lands, for national consciousness is not only the source of all progress but also the source and cornerstone of national independence.

CHAPTER NINE

STRENGTHENING NATIONAL SOLIDARITY

After the Armistice we began to see and know the English and French at first hand. What we noticed about them first was their low civic morals. We especially found debased the morals of the English who came to our country or who were in authority in Malta.¹ They considered it perfectly legitimate to plunder the people of the colony, to make slaves of the vanquished, and to steal the money and belongings of the prisoners of war and, even, the prisoners of peace.

Let me confess, however, that in contrast to the degenerate civic morals of the English nation we found its patriotic morals to be of a very high character. Whereas there had been hundreds and even thousands of traitors to the fatherland in Turkey, there had not been a single traitor in all England. So what purpose did the higher state of our civic morals serve? Would that, instead, our patriotic morals had been high!

The high character of patriotic morals is the foundation of national solidarity, because the fatherland does not mean merely the soil on which we reside. The fatherland is what we call national culture, of which the land on which we live is but the container. It is because of this that it is sacred. Patriotic morality is a morality composed of national ideals and national duties. Therefore, to strengthen national solidarity it is first necessary to elevate patriotic morals. But what must we do to achieve this?

We have said that the fatherland means national culture. In other words, the fatherland is a museum, an exhibition of religious, moral and aesthetic beauties. Our deep love for the fatherland is the product of the sum total of these beauties. It is when we have discovered our

¹ After the Allied forces entered Istanbul at the end of World War I, Gökalp and other leading members of Union and Progress were arrested by the Sultan's Government and, following several months' detention in prison, were tried before a Military Court on charges of complicity in the Armenian massacres in Anatolia during the war. The Military Court sentenced the defendants to exile, and in the summer of 1919 a British ship took them to Malta. Gökalp and his companions were released in 1921 following the Turkish victory over the Greeks. Ahmet Emin Yalman, another of the Malta internees, describes the experience in his *Turkey in My Time*, pp. 92-105.

national culture with all its beauties that we will love our fatherland most and will sacrifice for it not only our lives in times of danger, as we have done up to now, but also all our personal and group ambitions in times of peace and tranquillity. Strengthening national solidarity therefore requires that the intellectuals, who have the task of raising the national cultural level, must complete this task quickly and successfully.

The first basis of national solidarity is patriotic morality and the second is civic morality. The former consists of recognizing our own nationality as sacred, the latter of honoring the individual members of our nation and other similar individuals. If a society is sacred, can its members not be? We must love our fellow countrymen as much as we love our fatherland and nation. Anyone who does not do so does not really love his nation. Heretofore it has been impossible for intellectuals to love the people or vice versa, because the intellectuals received their education from Ottoman civilization and the people theirs from Turkish culture. How can two classes which have been educated differently love one another? The intellectuals were slaves of the court and, as officials, they thought only of serving the extravagance and waste of the court by despoiling the people. The oppressed people naturally could not love them. The intellectuals could not even love each other because of such personal passions as rivalry, jealousy and intolerance. The only ones in Turkey who loved each other were members of the people; and in the former era national solidarity rested solely on the genuine mutual affection of these real Turks.

However, civic morals do not consist only of recognition of the honored status of all members of our nation and of a genuine love for them. The individuals to be respected and loved are our fellow countrymen, to whom we are bound by a common culture, homeland, language and religion. But we belong to an international civilization as well as to a national culture and we love our civilization just as we love our culture. Therefore, must we not also love and respect our civilization partners?

A civilization group begins as a religious community. Mondial religions such as Islam, Christianity and Buddhism, by incorporating many different nations, have taken on the characteristics of liquids in inter-connecting vessels. Do we not observe in scientific experiments that water placed in one of several inter-connected containers immediately flows into the others so that the water level in all of

them remains the same? In exactly the same way advances made, or declines suffered, by one nation belonging to a particular community are immediately transmitted to the other members of that community. For religious unity has given them the nature of inter-connected containers.

Although internationality first arises as a religion, it is only after long advances that it changes into a secular internationality that possesses a common scientific and technological civilization. Present day European civilization and internationality are now in the transition period of these two patterns. By recognizing Japanese and Jews as equal members of its civilization, European internationality infers that it wishes to cease being a religious civilization and religious internationality. On the other hand, its insistence that Muslim territories remain under mandate shows that it has not yet rid itself of the old Crusader fanaticism. One of our goals must be the elimination of this fanaticism and our entry into European civilization on equal terms. In short, civic morality consists in loving and respecting, first, our fellow countrymen, then our coreligionists and, *finally*, all human beings. One of the obligations imposed by civic morality is not to violate the lives, property, freedom and dignity of any of these human beings.

Patriotic morality is centripetal, whereas civic morality is centrifugal. The former demands that our love be concentrated within the fatherland, while the latter requires that it slowly cross national borders to community borders, cross those to the borders of international civilization and then cross the latter until it embraces the entire world of mankind. Differences and contradictions may sometimes arise between these two moralities. In times of war, for example, patriotic morality becomes so intense that it extinguishes civic morality. Long periods of peace, on the other hand, can only strengthen civic morality and weaken patriotic morality. Those who assert that war produces a social good as well as many material and spiritual losses are thinking primarily of this point.

Thus, strengthening national solidarity requires that patriotic morality precede civic morality. The principle must be adopted that the value of the individual human decreases as he moves from the center to the periphery within the realm of civic morality and increases as he moves towards the center from the periphery. In other words, as we stated above, we must view in descending order of importance our fellow countrymen, our co-religionists, our civiliza-

tion partners, and all mankind, and we must understand them according to the order of their importance.

Strengthening national solidarity requires the raising not only of patriotic and civic morals but also of professional morals. As a result of a social division of labor, every nation is divided into a number of professional and specialized groups, e.g., engineers, doctors, musicians, painters, teachers, writers, soldiers, lawyers, merchants, farmers, manufacturers, blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, tailors, millers, bakers, butchers, grocers, etc. Each group is necessary and indispensable to the other. Is there not a sort of solidarity in the services they perform for each other and in their mutual need?

The strengthening of this kind of solidarity requires, first of all, that the division of labor occur only within a society possessing a common consciousness. A division of labor among groups belonging to different nations and lacking a common consciousness is not a division of labor in the true sense. Durkheim uses the term "reciprocal parasitism" for the exchange of such services. For example, Turks and non-Muslims shared a common economic life in the old Turkey, but the division of labor between them was not a true one but only a reciprocal parasitism since the two groups shared no common consciousness. The Turks were the political parasites of the non-Muslims and the latter the economic parasites of the Turks. All international economic relations are of this nature.

A second requisite for the strengthening of this kind of solidarity is the establishment by each occupational group of an internal professional morality after the group has developed a national, country-wide organization. A professional morality indicates the actions which are forbidden, as a professional necessity, to the members of that particular profession even though those actions may be permissible for other occupational groups. For example, when a cholera epidemic strikes a country, everyone can flee except doctors and priests. Similarly, anyone except state officials possessing official influence has the right to concern himself with trade. It is incompatible with professional morality for soldiers to be cowards or policemen to be prodigal or judges to be prejudiced or teachers and writers to be ignorant and without ideals. Professional ethics demand that secretaries be discreet and that lawyers and doctors respect confidences.

These professional moralities have sanctions in the form of "courts of honor," which must be peculiar to each professional organization. The only sanction protecting the lives, dignity, freedom and interests

of individuals against occupational specialists are the organizations and charters which relate to this professional morality. As long as they do not exist, any real solidarity among the various occupational groups is impossible.

A strengthening of national solidarity is the basis of social order and progress and of national freedom and independence. If national solidarity is to be strengthened, patriotic, civic and professional moralities must also be strengthened and elevated.

What kind of organizations are needed so that our national culture will attain a conscious state? First of all, there is need for research organizations that will submit our national culture to the consideration of our intellectuals by bringing it out from the secret corners in which it has been hidden, namely, a national museum, an ethnographic museum, national archives, a national historical library, and a statistical directorate.

1 — The screens, carpets, shawls, silk textiles, antique joinery and iron works, tiles, calligraphic inscriptions, illuminated books, beautifully copied Qur'ans, coins that document our national history, etc., etc., which are living testaments of the aesthetic genius of the Turkish people and which are being removed piece by piece from old Turkish homes fallen on hard times and sold in the bazaars, are being bought by foreigners and taken to Europe and America. We have no law to prevent their export nor any national museum to buy them so that they may be exhibited for the benefit of lovers of our national aesthetics. To be sure, we have a great museum in Topkapi Palace, but this is more accurately termed a "civic museum" than a "cultural museum," for it has shown only a secondary interest in works reflecting Turkish culture and has accorded primary importance to works of an international significance. Proof of this is the fact that up to the present it has been unable to prevent the export of case after case of Turkish art works and that it has not tried to retain by purchase the *objets d'art* being sold in the bazaars.

Do not conclude from these statements that I am denying the invaluable efforts and services of the late Hamdi Bey,¹ the inspired founder of our museum. It would be the gravest ingratitude not to venerate Hamdi Bey, who, solely by his own efforts and determination and in spite of the difficulties of the Hamidian Era, created out of

¹ Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910). Archeologist, painter and curator. Educated at the Paris École des Beaux Arts. Director of Turkey's first museum from its founding in 1881 until his death in 1910. See TMA, p. 167.

nothing a very scientifically valuable museum. It would be similar ingratitude not to venerate Halil Beyeffendi,¹ who enriched and maintained this monument of his older brother. Although it cannot be denied that this museum contains many national relics relating to Turkish numismatics and traditional crafts, the task of a national museum is not to collect only one national work of art out of a million and to concede the rest to foreigners. The scientific, civic and international worth of Hamdi Bey's museum may be very great, but its cultural and national worth is relatively much less. Indeed, in this respect, almost all of the items in the Evkaf Museum may be considered more valuable, since they are examples of Turkish culture.

What we need today is a real Turkish museum with sufficient funds to buy Turkish art works and with searchers in every city. Also, a law must be enacted to prevent the export from our country of all antiquities and art works without exception. If the Evkaf Museum were to utilize the services of provincial waqf officials, many valuable monuments could undoubtedly be found among the ruins and worn-out belongings of waqf buildings.

It is possible that in the future the three museums discussed above may be merged into a single museum. Be that as it may, for the present there is an urgent need for a national museum that would collect only works reflecting Turkish culture.

2 — The mission of the ethnographic museum differs from that of the national museum. The latter will be the museum of our national history, whereas the former will be the museum of our nation's contemporary life. The two will thus differ to the same extent as the present differs from the past.

The ethnographic museum will, first of all, collect (examples of) all objects used by our nation today in the various provinces, districts, cities, villages and encampments. Each category of objects collected will be arranged to show the chain of development, from the most primitive form to the most perfected. For example, let us take the category of shoes. These will be arranged to show every stage of development, beginning with the *charik* (raw-hide or rope sandal), which is the most primitive form, and continuing up to the elegant

¹ Halil Ethem (1861-1938). Archeologist, curator and author. Educated at the University of Zurich, Vienna Polytechnic School and University of Berne. Turkey's Director of Museums from 1910 until 1931. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-64. After the use of surnames became compulsory in Turkey, he was known as Halil Ethem Eldem.

fotins (boots), which are the most advanced. Headgear, men's and women's clothes, saddlery, tents, beds, etc., will be exhibited in similar evolutionary order. Small models will be made of homes and other large buildings which cannot be moved intact. Photographs will be taken of villages, cities, bridges, mosques, etc.

But the objects to be collected by the ethnographic museum will not be limited to physical objects such as those already mentioned. It will also be the duty of the museum to conduct research city by city and village by village in order to collect the fairy tales, ballads and legends, songs and puns, proverbs and riddles, and anecdotes and epics that still live among the people. At the same time, it will collect in each area the local vocabulary, phonetics and rules of grammar and syntax relating to Turkish, as well as the common beliefs which are known among the people as "the rules of the *tandırname*" or *keche kitap* (felt (material) book) and which are still believed in by uneducated women and ignorant people, and the magical-religious-rituals associated with them. For example, according to one of these beliefs, every human has his own special fairy who becomes very angry when its master becomes *kirkli*.¹ Humans become *kirkli* in three ways:

- (1) when a child comes into the world, its mother and father, as well as the child, are *kirkli*;
- (2) when a marriage occurs, both the bride and the groom are *kirkli*; and
- (3) when a man dies, all his close relatives who lived with him in the same house are *kirkli*.

There are a number of magical-religious rituals which those who are *kirkli* must be careful to perform. For example, two *kirkli* women, whether they are *kirkli* for the same or different reasons, must not fail to kiss each other if they meet by chance in a room. If they neglect to do so, their fairies fight each other; and if one of the fairies is injured or dies in the fight, the same fate will befall its master. Neglect of this ritual is therefore very dangerous. Also, two *kirkli* persons cannot sleep in rooms one above the other.

According to the *tandırname*, every house has its fairy just as does every individual. The house fairy becomes angry if the house is not kept clean; and since this anger would be harmful for the family,

¹ An adjectival form of *kirk* (forty), the word means, literally, (a) composed of or divided into forty parts or (b) being born within forty days of someone else.

the housewife is careful to keep every corner of the house clean. This illustrates how some of these superstitions serve a useful purpose.

The ethnographic museum must also capture by recording or notation the phonetics and folk melodies of each locality, which means that the museum staff must include a photographer, a recordist and a notator. Those who collect folk-tales must not record every tale they hear. There are a number of old women or men known as *masalji* (story-teller) who relate tales with traditional expressions and artistic styles. When such a real story-teller is located, all of his tales should be recorded verbatim, for every expression of national folk-tales is meaningful. Ballads, songs and melodies must be obtained similarly from genuine minstrels (*sax shairi*). Anecdotes relating to Nasreddin Hodja, Karagöz, Injili Chavush, Bekri Mustafa and the Bektashis must be learned from specialists. Parodies on nations and occupations must be acquired from professional mimics. *Tandırname* beliefs should be obtained from the uneducated women who still believe in them. Studies relating to local vocabularies must be made on the scene.

3 — The national archives will not be identical with the special secret archives of the ministries but will be the depository of old documents that are no longer of concern to the government and that will be classified and arranged and made available to the nation's historians and scholars. Unfortunately, the old archives of the *Babiâli* (Sublime Porte), Foreign Ministry, *Defter-i Hakani* (Ottoman Land Registry Office), *Evkaf* (Ministry of Waqfs) and *Fetvabane* (Office of the Sheikh-ul-Islam) have never been brought together and classified nor has care been taken for their preservation. The most important of the old documents, those which reflect our national history most accurately, are being stolen and carried off to the libraries of Europe. In some provincial capitals, Diyarbakir, for example, precious ancient documents have even been sold to grocers and used as wrapping paper. Therefore, the establishment of a national archives immediately is essential.

4 — The national historical library will differ from general libraries in that the latter collect books relating to each branch of science and literature, whereas the former will contain only histories and historical sources and documents relating to the institutions that make up our national culture, including histories and documents that concern our religion, morals, law, philosophy, literature, music, architecture, economy, military science, politics, sciences and technologies. Thus,

a historian who wishes to write a history of any of these branches of history will find in the library all the sources and documents he requires.

5 — The Directorate General of Statistics will differ from the special statistical organizations that already exist in each ministry. The latter are concerned only with statistics required by their respective official procedures, whereas the Directorate will be a manifestation of our national culture and will thus concern itself with all aspects of national life. Once the Directorate, which will be administered by a European specialist, has been organized, all statistical organizations now attached to the ministries and to various semi-official institutions will be placed under its control so that all will operate according to the same methods and procedures. It is only after a comprehensive centralized statistical organization has been established that it will be possible to determine from statistics our social deficiencies and aptitudes. Only a study of facts brought to light by basic statistical compilations can indicate which of the proposed reforms and innovations will be harmful and which beneficial.

The national cultural institutions discussed above are merely those that will have the task of searching for, and finding, our national culture. There are numerous other national cultural organizations which, once the national culture has been discovered, will have the task of integrating its various branches with European civilization. These include the *Türk Darübedayi* (Turkish Theatre), *Türk Darülelhan* (Turkish Conservatory), *Türk Darülfünun* (Turkish University) and *Türkiye Enjümeni* (Academy of Turkey).

Let us take the *Türk Darülelhan* as an example. The *Darülelhan* which now exists in Istanbul is a conservatory of the monotone system, i.e., of Byzantine music. It attaches no importance to real Turkish music, the primitive elements of which are reflected in the sincere melodies of the people and which will acquire a modern and Western character after having been harmonized in accordance with European musical techniques. The present *Darübedayi* is in the same state; for although development of the theatre depends primarily on acceptance of good Turkish and the popular meters, the *Darübedayi* does not give sufficient importance to these fundamentals. Therefore, the *Darülelhan* must be converted into a *Türk Darülelhan* and the *Darübedayi* into a *Türk Darübedayi*.

Among existing cultural institutions only the *Darülfünun* serves Turkish culture. It does much to elevate national culture because of

the fact that its Faculty of Literature is tantamount to a Faculty of Culture. As for the Academy of Turkey, it is possible today to organize such an institution in perfect form, for the great European Turcologists who have dedicated their lives to the science of Turcology can be accepted into the Academy as members. An academy composed of European and native Turcologists, once organized, will be able to seek out the treasures of national culture and to acquire scientific respect in international academic circles.

CHAPTER TEN

CULTURE AND SELF-IMPROVEMENT

The French word *culture* has two different meanings, one of which we can translate by the word *hars* (culture), the other by *tehzib* (self-improvement). All misconceptions about culture stem from the dual meaning of *culture* in French. If we distinguish in Turkish between these two meanings by using both *hars* and *tehzib*, we will eliminate these misconceptions in our own country at least.

One difference between culture and self-improvement is that the former is democratic, the latter aristocratic. Culture consists of the traditions, customs, mores, oral or written literature, language, music, religion, ethics and aesthetic and economic products of the people. Since the people themselves are the repository and museum of these arts, culture is democratic. Self-improvement, on the other hand, is restricted to well-educated, well-trained, genuine intellectuals. The idea that Matthew Arnold expressed by the phrase "the pursuit of sweetness and light"¹ serves as a definition of self-improvement. Its basis is a good education and an unpretentious and sincere love for rationality, fine arts, literature, philosophy, science and religion, free of any bigotry. It is a special way of thinking, feeling and living that is produced by a special education.

A second difference is that culture is national and self-improvement international. A man influenced by culture may value only the culture of his own nation, but one with sufficient self-improvement also loves the cultures of other nations and tries to enjoy them. Self-improvement makes its recipients a little more humanistic, a little more tolerant and more benevolent and eclectic towards all other individuals and nations.

This second difference leads us to inquire more deeply into the problem of nationalism and internationalism. A nation is the sum total of individuals who share a common culture, while internationality is the sum total of nations which share a common civilization or what can be termed a civilization group. There are men, however, who do not accept that definition, asserting that there are no separate civilizations and that all mankind comprises a single civilization

¹ The phrase is from Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*. London, 1869.

group which consists not of nations but of individuals. A person holding this view is called a cosmopolite. Cosmopolites are mondialists who say, "My nation is mankind, my fatherland is the earth." Their views on the civilization group cannot be reconciled with patriotism, because nationalists hold that mankind is the human species which is studied along with other zoological species in the science of zoology, whereas human beings, in the sense of social individuals, live as nations. Turkism cannot include cosmopolites, since it cannot be reconciled with any system that rejects the principle of nation.

Internationality is the antithesis of cosmopolitanism, because internationalists do not consider the civilization group to be identical with the sum total of all human beings. Actually, civilization is not a singular but a plurality. Every civilization has a community, that is, a civilization group, that is peculiar to itself and that is composed of nations, not of individuals. If a civilization group is compared to a society, then its individuals are nations. This is why the term Society (i.e., League) of Nations is used for a civilization group.

(This terminology is actually inaccurate, since a society is a group possessing a common consciousness. And since the latter consists of culture, the groups capable of being members of a society can only be nations and rootstocks. The term "community" is applied to larger groups that encompass many nations. It would therefore be more appropriate to use the term Community of Nations instead of League of Nations.)

These statements show that every civilization group is an internationality circle. The fact that a society is a national culture does not prevent it from belonging also to an international civilization. A civilization is the sum total of institutions shared by nations belonging to the same internationality. Thus, any particular internationality includes a common civilization shared by all member nations, as well as a collection of the national cultures of those nations. This means that when we enter European civilization, we will inherit not only an international civilization but also the opportunity of enjoying the distinctive cultures of all the nations belonging to that civilization. Just as a national society is divided into occupational groups by a division of labor and specialization, an international community is usually divided into national and differentiated cultures by an international division of labor and specialization.

Men esteem only works that reflect their national cultures when

they judge them solely on the basis of their national tastes. But just as a man becomes bored with eating the same food every day, he also becomes bored with the literature, music, architecture, etc., of the same culture. This is why gourmets change their menus daily and why, in similar manner, men of refinement feel a need to sample other cultures from time to time.

In olden times the guilds would hold communal feasts at fixed times, to which every artisan would bring the food that was made best in his own home. The artisans would eat together, after having assembled in a field or a house. The international relations of a civilization group are like a communal feast. Each nation brings its own culture to the feast and thus earns the right to enjoy the cultures of all nations. However, "national taste", which esteems only national culture, and "exoteric taste," which esteems only foreign cultures, must not be confused with each other. According to the normal pattern to be observed in all European nations, the basic and permanent taste of every nation is the "national taste;" "exoteric taste" is acceptable only when it remains secondary. That was not the case in former Ottoman life. Among the *havas* class, exoteric taste had become basic and permanent, with national taste being denied even a secondary value. This is why our ancient and Tanzimat literatures were the products of, respectively, Persian and French taste and why we have not yet produced a national literature. Self-improvement is harmful when it assumes such an abnormal state. It is only normal as long as it respects the law of national culture. It becomes diseased and unhealthy the moment it begins to trample on the rights of national culture.

These explanations show that Turkism cannot be reconciled with cosmopolitanism. No Turkist can be a cosmopolite nor any cosmopolite a Turkist. There is, however, no irreconcilable contradiction between Turkism and internationalism. Every Turkist is simultaneously an internationalist, because each of us lives two social lives, one national, the other international. Our national life consists in living our national culture, while our international life consists in sharing an international civilization as well as hundreds of cultures each of which is the sum total of particular and original tastes.

The civilization to which we have belonged officially since the Tanzimat is Western civilization. It is in order to obtain our just share of that civilization and of all its component cultures that the Copyright and Translation Committee has decided to have translated into

Turkish all the monographs of Western civilization which possess an international character and all the masterpieces which can be called the flowers of national cultures.

It will be seen from the above that what the Turks call *bars* is neither *la culture* of the French nor *die Kultur* of the Germans. The French assert that *culture* long ago assumed, solely by virtue of its literary force, the nature of a world-wide self-improvement (*tehzib*). According to the Germans, their *Kultur* would have dominated the whole world by virtue of its military and economic force, if only their armies had not been defeated. The activity of Turkish *bars* is not aggressive like them but passive. We shall develop our culture solely for our own taste and enjoyment. Other nations will be free to taste and enjoy it from time to time, as the Lotis and Farrères have done, just as we now enjoy, and will continue to enjoy from time to time in the future, the cultures of the French, English, German, Russian and Italian nations.

Our enjoyment, however, will henceforth never cross the borders of exoticism. Beautiful things of French, English, German, Russian or Italian origin can only have an exotic beauty for us. We love them but we will never give them our hearts, for from time immemorial we have given our hearts to our national culture. We do not deny that we are far behind the European nations in civilization, learning, economics and self-improvement, and we shall exert every possible effort to catch up with them in civilization. But we cannot regard any nation as our cultural superior. For us, Turkish culture is the most beautiful culture that exists or ever shall exist, hence we cannot possibly be imitators or vassals either of French *culture* or German *Kultur*. We consider them, as other cultures, merely distinctive cultures peculiar to their nations and we enjoy them, as other cultures, only with an exotic pleasure.

Turkism is not chauvinistic or fanatic even though it channels all its love to its own original culture. It is determined to assimilate European civilization completely and systematically and it does not nourish disdain or contempt for the culture of any nation. On the contrary, we value and respect all cultures; and although we do not love the political organisms of the nations that have made us the target of many injustices, we shall continue to admire their civic and cultural works and to venerate their thinkers and artists.

PART TWO

THE PROGRAM OF TURKISM

CHAPTER ELEVEN

LINGUISTIC TURKISM

A. THE WRITTEN AND SPOKEN LANGUAGES

The national language of Turkey is Istanbul Turkish. There is no doubt about this! But there are two varieties of Turkish used in Istanbul. One is the Istanbul dialect, which is spoken but not written, the other is Ottoman, which is written but not spoken. I wonder which of these will become our national language? Before answering that question, let us compare our language with other languages, namely, those used in national capitals. Everywhere else, the spoken and written languages are identical. It is only in Istanbul that they differ. Can a situation to be found in only a single nation be normal? The dichotomy that we find in Istanbul is, in fact, a linguistic illness which, like all other illnesses, must be treated. To do so, i.e., to eliminate this linguistic dichotomy, one of two things must be done: either make the written language also the spoken language or the spoken language also the written language.

The first of these alternatives is impossible, because the written language of Istanbul is not a national language but an artificial one, like Esperanto. How could this Ottoman Esperanto, a product of the mixture of Arabic, Persian and Turkish vocabulary, grammar and syntax, ever become a spoken language? How could this amalgam of artificial superfluities, which contains at least three synonyms for every meaning, at least three forms for every construction and at least three forms of every particle, ever become a living language?

The answer is that it would be impossible, impossible for the written language of Istanbul ever to become a spoken language. This impossibility is reflected in the failure of all the efforts that have been made in that direction for centuries. Even if, as a result of despotic laws, the people of Istanbul had begun to speak this strange written language, it could still never have become the national language, for that would require its acceptance as a spoken language not only

by the people of Istanbul but of all Turkey. Such a large society could never be forced to accept such a thing.

Therefore, only the second alternative remains, namely, to make the spoken language also the written language. As a matter of fact, popular writers have long been doing exactly that. A Turkish literature written in the language of the people has existed alongside Ottoman literature for the last six or seven centuries. In other words, it has not been necessary to do anything new to eliminate the linguistic dichotomy. It has been enough to discard the Ottoman language as if it had never existed and to adopt unchanged as the national language the Turkish which has served as the medium for popular literature. Turkists have simply accepted the following principle as the means of eradicating the dichotomy in our language: to write as the people and, especially, the women of Istanbul speak! The Istanbul spoken language which is also hereafter to be written was first called the "new language (*yeni lisan*)," then "beautiful Turkish (*güzel türkçe*)," and, finally, "new Turkish (*yeni türkçe*)."

B. ARABIC AND PERSIAN LOAN WORDS

Some critics point out that although Turkists complain of the Arabic and Persian content of the Ottoman language, there are also many such words in the language of the people. Admittedly, the spoken language of the people does contain many words borrowed from Arabic and Persian, but these words differ in two respects from those which scholars and literati of the *havas* class have taken into Ottoman. First of all, there are no Turkish equivalents for such words. When the people adopt an Arabic or Persian word, they discard entirely its Turkish equivalent, so that no synonymous words remain in the language. For example, the people forgot completely the original *sayru* (sick), *gözgü* (mirror) and *baskıç* (ladder) when they accepted the words *hasta* (P: *khaste*), *ayna* (P: *ā'īne*) and *merdiven* (*merduwān*, for P: *nerdubān*).

It is true that in some cases the people retain the old Turkish words alongside the newly accepted Arabic and Persian words; but even when this does happen, exact equivalents do not result. The meaning of either the Arabic/Persian or the old Turkish word undergoes a change, so that the two words no longer have the exact same meaning. For example, *kara* (black) and *ak* (white) still remained as Turkish words after *siyah* (P: *siyāh*) and *beyaz* (A: *biyād*) were accepted into the language. But *siyah* is not an exact equivalent of *kara* or *beyaz* of

ak, for the people use *siyah* and *beyaz* for physical objects and *kara* and *ak* for moral matters. Thus, the brow of a black (*siyah*) man may be *ak* (white, in the sense of pure) and the face of a white (*beyaz*) man may be *kara* (black, in the sense of shameful). In other cases the question does not arise, since there are no Turkish equivalents of the words that the people have borrowed from Arabic and Persian, for example, *abdest* (P: *ābdest*, ritual ablution), *namaz* (P: *nemāz*, ritual prayer), *kur'an* (A: *qur'ān*, the Koran), *jami* (A: *jāmi'*, mosque), *ezan* (A: *adhān*, Muslim call to prayer).

Scholars and men of letters, on the other hand, use both Turkish words and their Arabic and Persian equivalents completely interchangeably. In their version of Turkish, at least three expressions—one Turkish, one Arabic, one Persian—exist for any particular meaning, for example, *su*, *āb* (P: *āb*) and *mā* (A: *mā'*) for water; *geje*, *sheb* (P: *sheb*) and *leyl* (A: *layl*) for night; *ekmek*, *nan* (P: *nān*) and *hubuz* (A: *kehubz*) for bread; and *et*, *güşht* (P: *küşht*) and *lāhim* (A: *lāhim*) for meat. Such a triad of synonyms exists in Ottoman for every meaning, without exception. And since Arabic has numerous words for some meanings, in such cases Ottoman naturally has even more than three synonyms, for example, *arслан*, *shir* (P: *shīr*), *esed* (A: *asad*), *gazanfer* (A: *ghaḍanfar*), *haydar* (A: *haydar*) and *zırgam* (A: *dirghām*) for lion.

Secondly, the people corrupt either the pronunciation or meaning of the words they borrow from Arabic, Persian and other foreign languages, that is to say, they assimilate them. Examples of corruptions in pronunciation include *khaste* (P) into *hasta*, *hefte* (P) into *hafta* (week), *nerdubān* (P) into *merdiven*, *chārchūbe* (P) into *chercheve* (frame), *ghawghā* (A) into *kavga* (quarrel), *bikra* (A) into *makara* (pulley), *dhuqāq* (A) into *sokak* (street) and *pāre* (P) into *para* (money). Some words reflect corruptions in meanings. In Persian, *khaste* means "wounded," but the Turkish *hasta* means "sick." The Arabic *shifaq* means "the evening redness of the western horizon," but the Turkish *shafak* has acquired the meaning of "the morning redness of the eastern horizon," as in the expression, *shafak sökme* (for dawn to break). In Persian *kbwāje* has the meaning of "effendi;" in Turkish, not only was the pronunciation changed to *hoja* but its meaning was also changed, so that it came to mean a Muslim jurist of the people or a schoolteacher. The Persian word *bāzār* is pronounced with a "b" and means "market;" in Turkish, it became *paazar*, pronounced with a "p" and used both as the name of the day that follows Saturday and as a term for a fair which is held on fixed days at fixed places.

The word *paşarlık* (bargaining) was derived from the latter meaning. The Persian *Pāre* means "part;" in Turkish it became *para*, meaning a coin or bill used as a medium of exchange.

Although some words appear to have retained their original meanings, a study of compound words in which they are used indicates that these words too have undergone subtle changes of meaning. For example, the word *abdest* (P: *ābdest*), meaning ritual ablution, seems not to have changed either in pronunciation or meaning. However, the initial "a" has lost its *madda*¹ and the final "t" has ceased to be pronounced.² Moreover, compounds such as *büyük abdest* (bowel evacuation) and *küçük abdest* (bladder evacuation) show the change it has undergone in meaning.

In short, the people assimilate the words they borrow, heeding the principle that there must be only one word for each meaning and rejecting synonyms. They guard the language as if it were a real organism, with every word being an organ with a specific function. They do not, of course, do this knowingly and consciously but rather unconsciously through a social selectivity. In the language of the people every word has a meaning which differs from the meanings of other words and there is a specific word for every intellectual and psychological meaning that falls within the range of perception of the people.

In contrast, scholars and men of letters have viewed as unacceptable corruptions the changes made by the people in the process of assimilation and have used the term *galatat* (A: *ghalaṭāt*, barbarisms) to describe the words that the people have created by altering the meanings and pronunciations of Arabic and Persian words. A study of the books that scholars have written on the subject of *galatat* suggest that to them *fesahat* (A: *faṣāḥat*, correctness and clarity of speech) meant use of Arabic and Persian words in their original forms only, not in the forms they had assumed in Turkish. According to this view, the Ottoman language has no independence or assimilative capacity, for words must always conform to their original forms both in pronunciation and meaning and must even be written in accordance with their original spellings. Let me relate an incident which will help to make this concept more understandable.

¹ The Arabic term for the orthographical sign (◌̣) that is placed above a consonant in Arabic script to denote a long "a." Gökalp, of course, was writing in Arabic script and was referring here to the Turkish spelling of the word.

² Most modern Turkish dictionaries show the spelling *aptes*.

A scientific committee was once constituted at the *Darülfünun* to ascertain and fix philosophical technical terms. One of the purists on this committee asserted that the word *dikkat* could not be accepted as the equivalent of *attention* because *dikkat*, in his view, could only mean "fineness", given its derivation from the adjective *dakik* (minute, delicate). In reply, it was pointed out to him that since our language already had the word *injelik* (fineness), we had no need for *dikkat* to denote this meaning and that this word, in the sense in which the people used it, had become an indispensable part of the language and could not possibly be discarded. The objector refused to accept this reasoning, declaring:

The word *dikkat* will always mean "fineness." Science cannot accept the expressions used by the people. The correct words are the ancient forms of words. The real meanings of words are known by derivation, not by use. Therefore, some other equivalent must be found for *attention*.

The purists on the committee thereupon began to seek an acceptable equivalent which would be compatible with this principle. One suggested *tahdik* (A: *tahdiq*, staring), apparently because it was derived from *hadeka* (A: *hadaqa*), meaning the pupil of the eye, which was considered a primary factor in attention. Another proposed *iltifat* (A: *iltifat*) which, in Arabic, means "to look out of the corner of one's eye." When it was pointed out to him that *iltifat* has quite a different meaning in our language, he replied:

That is impossible. Arabic and Persian words retain their original appearance and pronunciation in our language. The corruptions that the *avam* use because of ignorance are barbarisms. All of them must be discarded and only the original and correct forms must be used.

In other words, the puristic scholars are against the assimilation in pronunciation and meaning of the words that the people accept into the language. For the people, however, a well-known barbarism is preferable to a pedantic purism, but for the scholars the reverse is true. Moreover, the people feel that independence and sovereignty in our country belong to the Turkish language only and that Arabic and Persian words that enter the language must submit to its phonetics and lexicology. Just as political capitulations are incompatible with political independence and sovereignty, so are linguistic capitulations incompatible with linguistic independence and sovereignty. (It must

be noted that the people do not think of this consciously. They do so unconsciously and instinctively, just as a bee makes honey.) In contrast, scholars feel that only Arabic and Persian words have any right to independence and sovereignty and that we are obliged to respect their right to these as well as their original meanings and pronunciations. As for Turkish, they feel that the question of independence does not arise, since 99 percent of it consists of Arabic and Persian words.

Thus, the first task of linguistic Turkism is to reject the view of the puristic scholars and to accept as the basis of the Turkish language the unconscious view of the people. For Turkists, the purisms of the Ottomanists are the real barbarisms and the barbarisms the real purisms. In orthography, also, it is a principle of Turkism that so-called barbarisms must be spelled as they are pronounced. This principle must also be extended to foreign words, for example, our words for cigarette, jacket and Europe must be written *jigara*, *jeket* and *Avrupa*, as pronounced by the people, and not *sigara*, *jaket* and *Evropa*, as written by the purists.

C. TURKISTS AND PURISTS

The linguistic doctrines of Turkists are diametrically opposed to those of the purists, nor are they compatible with the views of the linguistic reformers known as the purifiers. The latter assert that a word cannot be Turkish unless it derives from a Turkish root and that all words derived from Arabic and Persian roots, for example, *kitap* (A: *kitāb*, book), *kalem* (A: *qalam*, pencil), *abdest*, *namaz*, *mektep* (A: *maktab*, school), *jami*, *minare* (A: *mināra*, minaret) *imam* (A: *imām*, prayer leader) and *ders* (A: *dars*, lesson), must be eliminated from Turkish without regard for the fact that they have become part of the language of the people and that to replace them we would have either to resurrect forgotten ancient Turkish words or to introduce words derived from authentic Turkish roots to be found in Chagatai, Uzbek, Tatar, Kirghiz, etc. Another solution would be to create new particles and to devise new methods by which Turkish words could be formed.

Turkists consider these ideas to be erroneous, because, first of all, it cannot be claimed that a Turkish root which dates back to the most ancient times is still Turkish. It has been proven scientifically that many current words which we accept as deriving from Turkish roots actually entered old Turkish from Chinese, Mongolian, Tungus and

even Hindi and Persian. Secondly, words are not definitions but representations of the meanings for which they stand. It is not necessary to know the roots from which words have derived or how they were derived. Knowledge of such matters is of interest only to philologists and linguists. Such knowledge, in fact, can be detrimental from the standpoint of the system and idiom of a language.

Just as we noted above in connection with words derived from Arabic and Persian roots, sometimes the contemporary meanings of words derived from Turkish roots differ from the etymological meanings. For example, *yabanji* (stranger, foreigner) does not mean a person from the *yaban* (wilds) or *kahvealti* (breakfast) a meal which is eaten after *kahve* (coffee). To use such words in their etymological sense would be a linguistic sickness. In using the word *terlik* (slipper), for example, some persons ignore its accepted meaning and try to relate it to its root word by using it to mean "a shoe worn to prevent *ter* (sweat)." But it is a mistake to think of *ter* when considering the meaning of *terlik*. Would it not seem odd to us if, were we to say to a man afflicted with this etymological disease that "*yabanjilar geldiler* (the strangers came)," he were to reply, "*Yabanjilar?* If they came from the *yaban*, it means that they are wild men." Or, would you not laugh involuntarily if you were to tell someone, "Wear that *terlik!*" and he were to reply, "My feet are not sweaty. I don't need to wear a *terlik.*"

On the other hand, there is another etymological system peculiar to the people that is both useful and normal. Some members of the populace think that *dilbaz* (flirt) means the same as *dilli* (talkative) or *dil chöken* (who talks effusively and convincingly).¹ The corruptions committed by the people through such erroneous derivations illustrate a method of what might be called unconscious assimilation. The people convert *âlâimi semâ* (A: 'alâ'im-i samâ) into *eleğimsağma* (rainbow) and *Balimoz* into *balyemez* (an ancient type of cannon).² *Zülfazl*, the name of a spring in Ankara, becomes *Solfasol* and *Sherefresan* (P: *sherefresân*, who confers honor), the name of a steamship, becomes

¹ The *dil* of *dilli* and *dil chöken* is a Turkish word meaning tongue or language, whereas the *dil* of *dilbaz* is a Persian word meaning heart; *baz* (P: *bāz*) is a Persian suffix meaning player, hence the meaning "flirt (literally, player with hearts)" of *dilbaz*.

² *Balimoz* was the name of a Hungarian who allegedly invented the type of cannon involved. Gökalp's explanation of the derivation of *balyemez* is disputed by present day Turkish etymologists, who consider the word a corruption of *balliamexxa*, an Italian word for the type of cannon known in English as a culverin.

Sherif Hasan. From *Nevid fütüb* (P: *nawîd*, A: *futüh*, news of victory) the people make *delik kütük* (pierced log) and from *Feth-i bülend* (A: *fath*, P: *belend*, sublime victory) *yedi bölün* (seven parts). From *telgraf çekmek* they create *tel çekmek* (to send a telegram).

Because of these principles, Turkists reject the purifiers' views on language. To a Turkist every word used and recognized by the people is a national word. For a word to be national, it is not enough that it derives from a Turkish word, for many such words, *gözgü*, *sayru*, *baskı* and *ağu* (poison), for example, have disappeared from the living language to become linguistic fossils, having been replaced by living words, namely, *ayna*, *hasta*, *merdiven* and *zebir*. In the fields of zoology and botany it is impossible to instil new life into fossils and it is equally impossible to breathe new life into linguistic fossils. Turkists consider as national all words which are familiar to the people and are not artificial, for the language of a nation is a living organism composed not of its lifeless roots but of its living words. Simplification of Turkish must be based on these principles and not along the lines of the extremist demands of the purifiers.

The purifiers' proposal that words be borrowed from other Turkic dialects is also a mistake, for those dialects have all followed different courses of evolution since they broke away from ancient Turkish, the common mother tongue, and have become differentiated as regards phonetics, morphology and lexicology. Consequently, if we were to introduce into Istanbul Turkish words from these dialects, we would destroy its beauty. In any case, we have no need of words from these dialects, since they are already to be found in our own language. When the history of Turkish civilization causes a historic resurrection of ancient Turkish institutions, their names will enter our language but only as scholarly terms. This process, however, should not be viewed as a revivification of fossils, because the words involved will enter the language only as technical terms, not as part of the common vocabulary. Such additions pose no inconveniences.

Also in error is the desire of the purifiers to add traditional particles to the regular ones and to invent new methods of word formation, thereby facilitating the invention of new words. It is impossible for us to introduce a new, extraneous organ into the organism of an animal or plant and it is equally impossible to introduce a new particle or method of word formation into a language. This is why neither compounds such as *günaydın* (good morning) and *tünaydın* (good

evening) nor expressions formed by the use of traditional particles have been able to survive in new Turkish.¹

However, we observe from a study of our literature that there are many Ottoman words that must be eliminated and many quite unneeded technical terms, even when we ignore the excessive reformism of the purifiers. For example, is it necessary to say *jûshîsh* instead of *joshkumluk* (exuberance, enthusiasm) or *sadâ* instead of *bash ağrısı* (headache)? Or consider the medical lexicon, which uses who knows how many unnecessary Arabic and Persian words for which there are perfectly acceptable Turkish terms, for example, *aşim* (A: 'aşim) for *kemik* (bone), *re's* (A: ra's) for *bash* (head), *sin* (A: *sinm*) for *dish* (tooth), *asab* (A: 'asab) for *sinir* (nerve), etc. Words like *adale* (A: 'adala, muscle), *hüjeyre* (A: *hujayra*, cell) and *protoplazma* (protoplasm), for which Turkish has no equivalents, have an honored place in our language. Our national lexicon will always be open to words that enrich our language with new technical expressions. But we must definitely eliminate those words for which Turkish does have equivalents and which do not differ therefrom in nuance.

D. MOODS, PARTICLES, COMPOUNDS

Turkists acknowledge that a language may borrow words from other languages, provided that it does not have equivalents of its own, but they insist that no language can borrow moods from other languages. In contrast, Ottomanists assert that the Ottoman language may borrow both words and moods from Arabic and Persian. For example, Ottomanists assert that *mektup* (A: *maktûb*), the passive participle of the Arabic root word meaning to write, means "written" and that we can therefore use in our language the terms *hukuku mektube* (A: *huqûq-u maktûba*) or *mektub hukuk* (A: *maktûb huqûq*) to mean "written law." Turkists do not accept such a use of the word *mektup*, because a passive participial mood also exists in Turkish and the proper Turkish word for "written" is *yazılmış*. We can say *yazılmış hukuk* for what the Ottomanists call *mektub hukuk*. There is no reason to use *mektup* as a passive participle in Turkish.

Mektup, however, may also serve as an underived noun. Turks use it for what the French call *lettre*, as in the sentences, "*Bir mektup yazdım* (I wrote a letter)" and "*Bu hafta mektup aldım* (I received the

¹ Gökalp was premature in his judgment. *Günaydin* and *tünaydin*, especially the former, are still in use.

letter this week)." This form of *mektup* has nothing to do with moods but is a simple, ordinary word. We can divide all the Arabic and Persian terms used in Ottoman into two classes, moods and ordinary words. We must immediately eject from our language those reflecting moods but accept without hesitation as integral parts of new Turkish those falling into the class of ordinary words, provided the popular language does not already have equivalents.

Under this principle the word *kâtib* (A: *kâtib*) cannot be used in Turkish as a noun of agent to mean "writer", as in the sentence, "*Bu mektubun kâtibi kimdir?* (Who is the writer of this letter?)." However, *kâtib* has long been used by the people as the equivalent of the French *secrétaire*, as in *mejlis kâtibi* (council secretary), *tüjjar kâtibi* (commercial clerk), etc. Similarly, the word *kitabet* (A: *kitāba*) cannot be used in Turkish either as a verb meaning "to write" or as a verbal noun meaning "clerkship." It is used in Turkish as an ordinary noun to mean *composition*, which the term *insha* (A: *inshā*) formerly expressed. Thus, we have *kitabet dersi* (composition lesson), *kitabet imtihani* (composition test), etc. The word *mutasarrif* (A: *mutaşarrif*) is a mood when used as a noun of agent from *tasarruf* (A: *taşarruf*, possession) and should not be used in that sense. We should say, "*shu tarlada tasarruf sahibi olan adam* (the owner of that field)" and not "*shu tarlanin mutasarrifi*." However, when *mutasarrif* is used as the title of the chief administrative officer of a sanjak, it is no longer a mood but a common noun.

As these examples show, Turkists will not accept any Arabic or Persian word which has the nature of a mood. When we accept an Arabic or Persian word as a technical term, we must not accept with it all the words which can be derived from it. For example, the fact that we have accepted *ishtikak* (A: *ishtiqaq*, derivation) as a technical term does not mean that we should also accept its moods, such as *müshtak* (derived), *müshtaki min* (derived from) and *müstakkat* (derivatives). This is not to say that we do not use in Turkish many words which have been derived from the same root, for example, *kitap*, *kitabet*, *kâtip* and *mektup*. However, as we have attempted to explain above, all of these have lost their original mood meanings. *Kitap*, in the infinitive mood, means "to write," but it has never been used in that meaning in Turkish. As a noun *kitap* is the equivalent of the French *livre* and is used in Turkish only in that sense. We can use *muharrir* (A: *muharrir*) as the equivalent of *rédacteur*, but we cannot use its passive participle, *muharrer*, to mean "written." We should

say *yukarıda yazılan* (written above), not *bâlâda muharrer*.² *Tahrir* (A: *tahrîr*, writing) should not be used, although *tahrirat* (A: *tahrîrât*, writings), as a special term for official correspondence, may be, provided that it not be recognized in its plural mood.

The plural form of a word is a mood, not a word, therefore Arabic and Persian plural moods should not be used. Such moods as *zabitan* and *zûbbat* cannot be accepted into new Turkish, because the plural mood in Turkish is formed by adding the particle *ler* or *lar* and the plural of *zabit* (officer) in Turkish can only be *zabitler*.² There are some Arabic and Persian plurals which, in Turkish, have lost their plural meaning and, therefore, their mood nature. The word *tahrirat* mentioned above falls into this category, as do such other words as *ablâk* (A: *akhlâq*, morals), *talebe* (A: *talaba*, student), *amele* (A: *amala*, worker), *edebiyat* (A: *adabiyât*, literature), *yanan* (P: *yârân*, friends) and *evlât* (A: *avlâd*, progeny). Proof that these words are not plurals in our language is the fact that the Turkish plural particle can be added to them: *ablâklar*, *talebeler*, *ameleler*, *edebiyatlar*, *yananlar*, *tahriratlar*, etc.

A language can also not borrow the particles of other languages, because particles added to the beginning or end of a word change the word into a mood. In linguistics the term morpheme is used both for moods and for words which have undergone a change in meaning by the addition of a particle having a special meaning. In other words, if we say that no language can borrow morphemes from another, we are actually saying that neither moods nor particles can enter one language from another.

The particles which we could borrow from Arabic and Turkish have Turkish equivalents anyway, for example, *hemdert* (P: *hemderd*) = *dertdash* (fellow sufferer), *hemfikir* (P: *hemfikir*) = *fikirdash*, (like-minded), *tajdar* (P: *tâjdâr*) = *tajli* (crowned), *danishmend* (P: *dânishmend*) = *danishli* (learned), and *sitemkâr* (P: *sitemkâr*) = *sitemji* (unjust). The Turkish forms of these words should definitely be used.³ In such words as *hükümdar* (sovereign, monarch), *hemshire* (sister, nurse) and *perkâr* (a pair of compasses), the particles *dar*, *hem* and *kâr* have lost their original character and have become integral parts of

¹ *Bâlâ* is the Persian equivalent of the Turkish *yukarı* (above). The *da* is the Turkish locative case suffix.

² *Dâbî* is an Arabic word in origin; *dâbîân* is the Persian plural (*ân* is a Persian suffix denoting the plural mood), while *zûbbât* is the Arabic plural.

³ Despite Gökalp's exhortation, the "foreign" forms of all these words are the ones normally still used in Turkish. In most cases, the Turkish forms cited by Gökalp are not even to be found in modern Turkish dictionaries.

these words. Nothing in the nature of a morpheme remains in these words, which, from the linguistic point of view, have become unde-derived nouns similar to other nouns of the same class.

Only three Persian particles have entered the language of the people as exceptions to the general rule. One of these is the relative adjectival "i", which is a true particle. The others, *hane* (*khāne*, house) and *nāme* (*name*, book) were originally nouns but have become particles in the language of our people. The particle "i" is found, first of all, at the end of adjectives which denote specific colors, for example, *patlijanî* (aubergine), *demirî* (iron-gray), *gümüşhî* (silver-gray), *kurshunî* (lead-colored), *portakalî* (orange), *samanî* (straw-colored), etc.¹ Secondly, the particle is used in Turkish music in the names given to the distinctive melody or march of individual tribes, which is formed by adding the "i" to the tribal name, for example, *Türkmanî*, *Bayatî Karjiharî* and *Türki*. In both types of examples, the "i" has become completely Turkicized, which is evident from the fact that it can be added to Turkish words. The "i" is not Turkish, however, when it is used with words not falling within the two categories discussed. In such cases we should avoid its use and seek Turkish equivalents instead, for example, *edebiyat haftası* (literature week) instead of *edebî hafta*, *hayat meselesi* (vital problem) instead of *hayatî mesele*, *baş-kitapçî* (chief bookseller) instead of *serkitabî*, *jebirjî* (one who compels) instead of *jebri*, *hey'etchiler* (astronomers) instead of *hey'iyun*, etc.

Although we can thus limit the use of the particle "i", we are, unfortunately, still compelled to accept it in many technical terms, despite its being contrary to a basic principle. Turkism has broken the resistance that created many obstacles in the path of new Turkish, yet it has had to make concessions as regards this small particle. We can, for example, say *tabiat hâdiseleri* (natural phenomena) instead of *tabii hâdiseler*; but if we wish to say "shu hâdisa tabiidir yabut degildir" (that phenomenon is or is not natural)," we must admit that we cannot dispense with the particle "i". Such words as *marazî* (pathological), *ruhî* (psychological), *hayatî* (vital), *bünyevî* (bodily),² etc., fall into the same category as *tabii*. In other words, although the "i" has become a true Turkish particle in only two classes of words, it can also properly be used in other words, especially if they are technical terms.

¹ The root words are, respectively, the Turkish for eggplant, iron, silver, lead, orange (the fruit), and straw.

² The root words mean: *maraz*, disease; *ruh*, spirit or soul; *hayat*, life; and *bünye*, structure or edifice.

We find the particle *hane* in such expressions as *yazihane* (desk or office; literally, writing house), *yemekhane* (dining room; literally, food house) and *yatakhane* (dormitory; literally, bed house) and the particle *name* in such expressions as *yıldızname* (book of stars) and *Oğuzname* (Book of Oghuz). Since they are necessary, our language has been enriched by their inclusion among Turkish particles.

A language cannot borrow word formation rules from other languages any more than it can borrow moods and particles. Yet every variety of Arabic and Persian constructions, including genitive and adjectival, exist in Ottoman. But compounds, like moods and particles, are morphemes; and in every language both genitives and nominatives, as well as qualifying adjectives, are morphemes. Therefore, avoidance of borrowing compounds from other languages is a corollary of the basic rule.

Since Turkish includes every kind of genitive and adjectival constructions, there is no need whatever for Arabic and Persian constructions. The old Ottoman scholars and men of letters borrowed such constructions not because of need but because, in their view, Arabic and Persian were more beautiful than Turkish and their words, moods, particles and constructions more beautiful than those of Turkish. It cannot be said objectively, however, that any language is more beautiful than another. Every language has a beauty of its own and every nation subjectively considers its own language the most beautiful. Arabic is admittedly a beautiful language and so is Persian. Those languages seem most beautiful to their own nations, just as Turkish seems most beautiful to us. The beauty of words, moods, particles and constructions is relative to the language to which they belong, that is to say, they are beautiful only within the context of their own language. An Arabic word is beautiful in an Arabic sentence and a Persian construction in a Persian sentence. Transfer the beautiful eyes or nose of a woman to the face of another woman and there you will consider them ugly. Similarly, regardless of how beautiful the words and constructions of a particular language may be in sentences in that language, they are ugly when used in other languages.

Digression: In the chapter on the history of Turkism, I wrote that the purifiers wish to eliminate from Turkish all Arabic and Persian words that have entered the language of the people. Yesterday, we discussed the matter again with Fuat Raif Bey. The latter, who is a leader of the purifiers, said that he had no quarrel with us as regards

accepting as good Turkish such Arabic and Persian words and that the difference between us relates only to particles. As I explained above, the advocates of new Turkish maintain that as many new words as may be desired can be created by using regular Turkish particles but that new words cannot be formed by using traditional ones. Fuat Raif Bey asserted that he was strongly opposed to this view, since he did not recognize any division of particles into "regular" and "traditional" and felt that new words could be formed by using every kind of Turkish particle. He added that new words could also be invented by using particles borrowed from Kirghiz, Uzbek and Tatar or devised artificially. In fact, he said that he favored the idea of introducing the particle *ki* or *gi* to replace the Persian "i," which would be used thus: *hayatki* instead of *hayati* and *edebgi* instead of *edebi*. What I wrote earlier about the purifiers must be corrected to accord with these statements.)¹

E. CULTURALIZATION AND REFINEMENT OF NEW TURKISH

Some persons think that new Turkish is based on negative principles only, for example, the idea that our language includes many superfluous and harmful words, moods, constructions and particles introduced by Ottoman literature and that new Turkish can come into existence only when these superfluous elements have been purged. This objective is actually the only negative one related to new Turkish.

New Turkish also has its positive goals, for the sickness of old Ottoman was not confined to its inclusion of superfluities. If that were true, we could easily and successfully have restored our language to health by ejecting these superfluous elements. However, a second illness of old Ottoman was its lack of many words. The living proof of this deficiency is the fact that until the rise of Turkism a meaningful and intelligible philosophic article could not be written in our language nor, in the field of literature, could an understandable and accurate translation be made of any of the classics. Consequently, a complete cure of our language depends on our finding words to fill these gaps and introducing them into our linguistic organism. This is, essentially, the positive goal of new Turkish.

¹ As was pointed out in the Introduction and as this "Digression" makes clear, Gökâlp did not write this book entirely as an original work. Rather, many of its chapters had earlier been written and published as separate articles. Why Gökâlp did not take the time to revise and edit his individual articles before assembling them for publication in book form can only be conjectured.

The words which are missing from our written language are of two kinds, namely, national expressions and international words.

1) *National Expressions*

There are many expressions, special compounds, gallicisms and sentences which are used in Istanbul and Anatolia that have not yet entered our written language. These constitute the national wealth and aesthetic treasures of our language. It should be possible to assemble most of them if the teachers and *Türk Ojağı* clubs of every city and the ethnographic museum undertake to collect them. Such expressions and linguistic peculiarities are frequently to be found in folk writings, stories, poems and proverbs. In this respect, we can make great use of *Dede Korkut*, especially, because this work is the *Iliad* of the Oghuz and its language, ancient Oghuz, in other words, the mother tongue of our modern Turkish. It would be a rich treasure for our new Turkish if it were reprinted in modern orthography, without distortions and in a regular and legible manner.

Comparisons with other Turkic dialects would also show us a number of common characteristics of the Turkic tongues. For example, we find such expressions as “*ishimi güjümü kime vereyim?*”, “*ilim türem bani?*” and “*benli budunlu*” in the Orkhon inscriptions.¹ The first of these expressions occurs in present day Turkish as *ishgüch* (occupation, employment), while the second has its parallel in such expressions as *oymağımız türemiz*, *yurdumuz ojağımız*, *evimiz barkımız* and *soyumuz sopumuz* (our kith and kin). We also have expressions similar to the third, for example, *irili ufakli* and *büyükklü küçükklü* (large and small). *Manas*, the epic of the Kirghiz-Kazaks,² and the folk-tales and poems of other Turkic peoples would also show us the common and special idioms of the various Turkic dialects.

¹ An inscribed memorial stone erected in 732 A.D. by order of the Chinese Emperor in memory of a Turkish prince, Köl (or Kul) Tegin, brother of the then reigning Khan, discovered in 1890 by Professor Keikel, of the University of Helsinki, near Lake Tsaidam in the valley of the river Orkhon, a little south of Kiachta in Siberia. Cf. Vilhelm Thomsen, *Déchiffrement des inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Iénissé. Notice préliminaire* (Copenhagen, 1894) and *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, déchiffrées* (Helsinki, 1896), and W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (St. Petersburg, 1894-95) and *Arbeiten der Orchon-Expedition* (St. Petersburg, 1892).

² See W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkliteratur der türkischen Stämme Sudsibiriens*. 10 vols. St. Petersburg, 1866-1907. Vol. V contains the text and German translation of *Manas*.

2) *International Words*

A nation must possess the special words needed to express all the scientific concepts, philosophic views, literary images and poetic feelings of whatever civilization group and internationality to which it belongs. Since the Turks have now resolved definitely to enter European civilization, they require new words with which to express European concepts and meanings. What must be done for our language to acquire these words? The most enlightened solution to the problem is to have translated into new Turkish with great care and by the leading stylists all the literary classics and scientific and philosophic monographs that exist in European languages. As a result of these translations, new Turkish would acquire many new words and forms of expression, as well as many linguistic refinements and fluidities, grammatical tools and organs, syntactical mechanisms and constructions, and new ways of expressing sensitive and arcane meanings. Turkish would thus become a powerful means with which to expound both the most sublime thoughts and the most sincere and original feelings.

During the translation process many concepts and ideas would be encountered which are completely new in our country and for which equivalents would have to be found. How is this to be done? First of all, words to express these ideas may exist in our spoken language even if they do not in our written language. There are, for example, many words to express geographical situations as well as deep feelings. Initially, it would be necessary to turn to the language of the people for technical terms and new meanings. If, after that is done, words are still needed for some new ideas, we must attempt to invent new words on the basis of Turkish particles, moods and rules of word formation. If this also does not suffice, then we must necessarily borrow new words from Arabic and Persian, but the words we borrow must in no case be compounds but only single words. For example, physiology was formerly called *ilmi menafii'l'aza* but is now known by the single term *gariziyat*. Similarly, *arziyat* (archeology) has replaced *ilmül'arz*, *hayatiyat* (biology) has replaced *ilmi hayat* and *rubiyat* (psychology) has replaced *ilmürrub*. Today, we can easily form words for all the new sciences by use of the Arabic particle *yat* (*yât*), e.g., *Asuriyat* (Assyriology), *Misriyat* (Egyptology), *jümüdiyat* (glaciology), etc.

In addition, we must accept some foreign words without change. These will be of two kinds. The first are words that express events peculiar to one nation or one era or one occupation, words that have

never been translated into any language but accepted unchanged by all languages, for example, *feodalizm* (feudalism), *shövalyelik* (chivalry), *Rönesans* (Renaissance), *Reform* (Reformation), *jakobenlik* (Jacobinism), *sosyalizm*, *bolsheviklik* (Bolshevism), *aristokrat*, *diplomat*, *tiyatro*, *roman* (novel), *klâsik*, *romantik*, *dekadan* (decadent), etc. The second class are the names of various tools, machines and equipment related to industrial techniques. These words, which other nations have accepted without any effort at translation, have, for the most part, already been borrowed directly by the people. They include such words as *vapur* (steamship), *shimendifer* (railway), *telgraf*, *telefon*, *tramvay* (streetcar), *gramofon*, etc.

There is one more thing that must be done if new Turkish is to become a modern language. An examination of French-Turkish dictionaries will show that several Turkish equivalents are shown for each meaning of the French words, although one word only for each meaning would be enough. The first thought that comes to mind is that such a multiplicity of equivalents indicates that our language is very rich. Such is not the case, however. A look at other words on other pages of the dictionary reveals the same words again. In other words, any particular Turkish word is listed as the equivalent of many French words. This means that our language does not have specific and precise equivalents of the French words.

The excellence of any language depends on each word having only one meaning and each meaning being capable of expression by only one word. Therefore, we must mold new Turkish in such manner that this will be the case. Translations from one European language into another can be done easily, for every word in English, German, Russian, Italian, etc., corresponds to a single French word, which means that a symmetry exists among them. We must now try to give the same character to new Turkish. On the basis of this principle we must compile a Turkish dictionary, as well as Turkish-French and French-Turkish dictionaries. It will be a mistake to label the words in this new Turkish dictionary as being Turkish, Arabic or Persian, because words that have entered the lexicon of a nation have become the property of the national language of that nation. It is necessary only to explain by brief stereotyped, bracketed, etymological statements the manner in which these words have been formed. Arabic and Persian rules of syntax and grammar must be excluded from the body of any new Turkish grammar and must be placed in an etymological section at the end of the book.

New Turkish will come into existence, first, by purging our language of unnecessary Arabic and Persian terms and constructions, secondly, by adding national expressions and forms of expression of whose existence we are not now even aware, and, thirdly, by adding international words which we will be obliged to invent because we now lack them. We can call the first of these three operations purging, the second culturalization, and the third refinement.

F. RECAPITULATION

On the basis of the preceding sections we can summarize the principles of linguistic Turkism as follows:

1) In order to create a national language, we must discard Ottoman as if it had never existed and accept the Turkish language which serves as the medium of the people's literature. We must write this language as the people, especially the women, of Istanbul speak it.

2) We must eliminate all Arabic and Persian words for which the people's language has Turkish equivalents, retaining only those which express some nuance of meaning.

3) We must accept as good Turkish the corrupted forms of Arabic and Persian words that have passed into the people's language and that are considered by Ottomanists as barbarisms either in pronunciation or meaning.

4) We must not attempt to revive ancient fossilized Turkish words as substitutes for those that are discarded.

5) New technical words must be sought first among the people's vocabulary and then, if necessary, new words must be invented by use of regular particles and regular methods of word formation and declension. When this is impossible, new Arabic and Persian words must be accepted, on condition that they not be compounds. We must also accept without change from foreign (i.e. European) languages words that express specific events of certain eras, occupations and names of technical implements.

6) We must abolish the Arabic and Persian capitulations over the Turkish language and must not introduce into our language either the moods or particles or constructions of those two languages.

7) Every word that the Turkish people know and use is Turkish. Every word that is familiar to the people and that is not artificial is national. A nation's language is a living organism composed of its living possessions, not of its lifeless roots.

8) The phonetics, morphology and lexicology of Istanbul Turkish

are the foundation of new Turkish. Therefore, neither the words nor particles nor rules of word formation of other Turkic dialects can be borrowed. However, a profound study of those dialects is necessary so as to influence, by comparisons, the sentence structure of Turkish and its accent in special expressions.

9) Many ancient Turkish words, which are the names of ancient Turkish institutions, will enter new Turkish as works on the history of Turkish civilization are written. These words will be technical terms only and their return to linguistic life should not be considered to be a reanimation of fossils.

10) Words are indicators, not definitions, of the meanings which they represent. The meanings of words cannot be understood by knowing their etymologies.

11) A dictionary and grammar of new Turkish must be compiled on the basis of these principles. Information on the structure and word formation rules of Arabic and Persian words that have entered new Turkish must be included in these books, not in the section on the physiology of the language but in an etymological section in which archaisms and usages are discussed.

CHAPTER TWELVE

AESTHETIC TURKISM

A. AESTHETIC TASTE AMONG TURKS

The aesthetic taste of the ancient Turks was very high. Marble statues which have been discovered in Turfan¹ are in no way inferior to Greek statues. The mosques, palaces, tombs, bridges and fountains which the Ṭūlūnids,² Ikshīdids,³ Seljuk Turks, Khwārizm Turks, Ilkhānids,⁴ Timūrids,⁵ and the Ottoman, Akkoyunlu and Karakoyunlu Turks built in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Anatolia, Iran, Turkistan, India and Afghanistan are among the most beautiful structures in the world.

In speaking of the miraculously exquisite carpets made by Turkmen girls, Gaston Richard⁶ quotes Mikhailov⁷ to the effect that the ability of the Turkmen girl to produce, without tools or patterns or any technical education and training, exquisite carpets decorated with inimitable designs can only be explained by her possession of a natural artistic talent. The beauty of Turkish legends and folk poems also attest to the Turks' great ability in the field of aesthetics. It is a pity that, because of the faults of Ottoman craftsmen, this great artistic ability has thus far lacked any European refinement. Once it has acquired this refinement, it will undoubtedly become one of the world's greatest.

B. THE NATIONAL METER

The meter of the ancient Turks was a syllabic one. The Turkish poems to be found in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's dictionary are all syllabic. Later, Chagatai and Ottoman poets borrowed and imitated

¹ A town in Chinese Turkistan.

² The first Muslim dynasty of independent governors and rulers of Egypt, named after Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (d. 884). See EI, IV, pp. 834-36.

³ An Egyptian dynasty that ruled 935-969. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 458-59.

⁴ The Mongol dynasty in Persia and Iraq during the XIIIth and XIVth Centuries, founded by Hulagu. *Ibid.*, p. 469.

⁵ Princes of Timūr's, i.e., Tamerlane's, family who ruled in Persia and Central Asia in the XVth Century. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 779-82.

⁶ French sociologist and pedagogist (b. 1860).

⁷ Which of the many possible Mikhailovs is meant is not known to the translator.

the 'arūd meter of the Persians. Nawā'ī¹ in Turkistan and Ahmet Pasha² in Anatolia elevated the status of the 'arūd meter. Courts encouraged it. But since the people could not understand it, folk poets continued to recite their verses in the old syllabic meter. Dervish poets such as Ahmet Yesevî,³ Yunus Emre and Kaygusuz and folk minstrels such as Âshik Ömer, Dertli and Karajaoğlan remained loyal to the syllabic meter.

When Turkism first made its appearance, the 'arūd and syllabic meters existed side by side, the former serving as the melodic instrument of the *havas*, the latter as that of the *avam*. After having ended the linguistic dichotomy, Turkism could not remain indifferent to this metric dichotomy. It had no choice but to render the same judgment on this second Ottoman institution, especially since the contrived language and the 'arūd meter were indistinguishable. The Turkists decided to eliminate both from our national literature.

Simple language was not appropriate for the 'arūd meter, whereas there was a real relationship between the syllabic meter and simple language. In spite of the neglect of the court, the people concealed simple Turkish and the syllabic meter in their breasts as if they were two precious talismans. This is why Turkists had no difficulty in finding them. Nevertheless, the syllabic meter led some of our poets down wrong roads. Some of them undertook to imitate the meters of the French by writing poems in the "6 + 6" meter that the French call alexandrine. The people did not like the results, because they enjoyed only certain syllabic metric forms. Our national meters are restricted to the specific meters used by the people, among which is a "6 + 5" meter but not one of "6 + 6." Experience proved that the Turkish people liked the "6 + 5" meter very much and, also, that meters cannot be borrowed from other nations. In short, our preference for the syllabic meter does not mean that we should imitate the

¹ Mîr 'Alî Shîr, known as Nawā'î (1441-1501), who was primarily responsible for raising Chagatai to the status of an accepted literary medium. See M. Nikitsky, *Amîr Nizâm al-Dîn 'Alî Shîr*, St. Petersburg, 1856; A. Belin, "Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir 'Ali-Shir Nevaii," *Journal Asiatique*, February and April 1861, pp. 175-256 and 281-357; VV. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*. Translated from the Russian by V. and T. Minorsky. Vol. III: *Mîr 'Alî Shîr*, Leiden, 1962. For an English translation of his principal linguistic essay, see Mîr 'Alî Shîr, *Muḥākamat al-lughatâin*. Introduction, Translation and Notes by Robert Devereux. Leiden, 1966.

² Velieddinoğlu Bursali Ahmet Pasha (d. 1497). See TMA, p. 22.

³ Ahmet Yesevî (1103-1166). Central Asian poet and mystic. A shrine built by Tamerlane stands over his grave at Yese (or Yesî). Turkistan. See *ibid.*, p. 27.

syllabic meters of other languages. Instead, we should resurrect those peculiar to the Turkish people. Certain other poets who misused the syllabic meter attempted to invent new ones, but the majority of these the people refused to accept.

These events have made it clear that our national meters are solely those that the people have been using since ancient times or that they accepted later. Meters that the people do not like cannot be considered national meters, even though they are syllabic in nature.

C. STIMULATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF OUR LITERATURE

Turkism believes that our literature, if it is to progress, must be educated in two museums of craftsmanship, namely, folk literature and Western literature. Turkist poets and men of letters must adopt as models the masterpieces of the people and of the West, for Turkish literature can never become either national or perfected without serving these two periods of apprenticeship. Our literature must go to the people and, at the same time, towards the West.

What sort of things does the literature of the people include? First, folk-tales, anecdotes, legends, epics and myths; secondly, proverbs and riddles; thirdly, songs, ballads and adventures; fourthly, stories and war epics such as *Ashik Kerem*, *Shah Ismail* and *Koroğlu*; fifthly, works of the dervish and minstrel poets, for example, Yunus Emre, Kaygusuz, Karajaoğlan and Dertli; and sixthly, living literary works such as Karagöz and Nasreddin Hodja. Our literature will be stimulated to the extent that it draws inspiration from these models.

A second category of models consists of the classics, beginning with those of Homer and Virgil, for the masterpieces of classical literature are the best possible models for a national literature which is just emerging. Turkish literature ought not to look to the Romantics and later schools without having first ingested the aesthetic nectars of the classics, because young nations need a literature that exalts ideals and heroisms. In general, the classics are of a nature to serve this purpose. The recent establishment in France of the neoclassic school, which aims at giving youth a new impulse towards ideals, is living proof of this educational role of classical literature.

Initially, however, we must not concentrate exclusively on the classics and refrain from benefiting from romanticism, for the basis of the latter is the literary works of the people. All European romantic movements have begun by going to the people and by adopting folk-tales and folk epics as models. To stimulate and improve our literature,

we must live simultaneously in periods of both classicism and romanticism. As we endeavor to absorb Western literature spiritually, we must also try to understand how Western romantics have made use of the literary works of the people. The apprenticeship that our literature spends in the museum of Western classics may be called "the improvement of our national literature." Thus, we can state that our literature will become both a national and an European literature only after it has lived through the two educational periods of stimulation and improvement.

The *Türk Ojağı* clubs will play an important role in the establishment of our national literature. From time to time they must present on their stages, and thus bring to life, *Karagöz* and *orta oyunu*, which constitute the people's theatre. By having storytellers tell their tales, mimics give their imitations and minstrels sing their epics, ballads and songs, they can bring the national literature before the public in a living form. By setting aside special nights for folk poets such as *Dede Korkut*, Yunus Emre, Kaygusuz, *Aptal*,¹ Dertli, Karajaoğlan, Âshik Ömer and Gevheri² and folk types such as Nasreddin Hodja, Karagöz, Injili Chavush and Bekri Mustafa, they must try to perpetuate memories of them. Another duty of the clubs will be to collect books and oral traditions of the people's literature with which to establish people's libraries

D. NATIONAL MUSIC

Before the arrival of European music there were two kinds of music in our country, the first being the eastern music that was borrowed from Byzantium by al-Fārābī, the second the folk melodies that were a continuation of ancient Turkish music.

Like Western music, Eastern music grew out of that of ancient Greece. The ancient Greeks, not considering adequate the full and half tones found in folk melodies, added to them quarter, eighth and sixteenth tones, all of which they called quarter tones. These tones were not natural but artificial, which is why they are not to be found in the folk melodies of any nation. Thus, Greek music was an artificial music based on unnatural tones that involved a boring monotony,

¹ A stupid type in the *orta oyunu* who is usually associated with another character known as Kavuklu, so-called because he wears a *kavuk*, the term for the large wadded headgear once worn by Turks. As a common noun, *aptal* means fool or simpleton. See TA, III, p. 185.

² A mid-XVIIIth Century folk poet. See TMA, p. 152.

unlike anything in life, consisting of an endless repetition of the same melody.

Opera, which emerged in Europe during the Middle Ages, eliminated these two defects of Greek music. Quarter tones were not suited to opera, nor could operatic composers and singers, being from among the people, understand them. Under the influence of these two factors, Western opera expelled quarter tones from Western music. At the same time, since opera consisted of a succession of feelings, emotions and passions, it added harmony and thus saved Western music from monotony. These two innovations led to the birth of modern Western music.

In contrast, Eastern music remained completely unchanged, retaining its quarter tones and continuing to lack harmony. After having been translated into Arabic by al-Fārābī, this sick music was also translated into Persian and Ottoman because of court esteem. The Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Chaldean and Syrian Churches and the Jewish Rabbinate also borrowed this music from Byzantium. In the Ottoman realm it was the one institution that united all Ottoman elements, hence it was indeed appropriate to call it "Ottoman unifying music."

Today, we are thus confronted with three kinds of music: Eastern, Western and folk. I wonder which of them is our real national music? We have already noted that Eastern music is both sick and non-national, whereas neither folk nor Western music is foreign to us since the first is the music of our culture and the second that of our new civilization. I submit, therefore, that our national music will be born of a marriage between folk and Western music. Our folk music has given us many melodies. If we collect these and harmonize them in the Western manner, we shall have both a national and a European music. The music committees of the *Türk Ojağı* clubs are among those who will carry out this task. This, essentially, is the Turkist program in the field of music; the rest is up to our national musicians.

E. OUR OTHER ARTS

Having been created entirely by the people, our other arts are completely national, for example, dancing, architecture, manuscript illumination, painting, calligraphy, joinery, iron-working, agriculture, dyeing, weaving, carpet and rug making, etc. The Ottoman elite left these crafts to the common people, since they considered as degrading anything requiring physical or hand labor. Therefore,

Turkism has embraced all these arts. Unfortunately, they have all degenerated, for since the start of the Tanzimat Era no importance has been given to the national economy as a result of an observance of Adam Smith's mercantilist theories. The task of Turkism is to try now to revive them. On the one hand, we must borrow European techniques along with European civilization and, on the other hand, we must try not to let slip from our hands completely these beautiful arts that are the treasures of our national aesthetics. If we are to succeed in this task, we must first collect and exhibit in national museums the products of these arts and, after learning their recipes and modes of manufacture, must publish the same in books and periodicals. Later, it will be necessary to train the national craftsmen who will revive these arts.

Our national dyeing industry, which is based on the use of madder roots, is about to die completely. The carpets and rugs now being made in Anatolia are being dyed either with ordinary, non-fixed European dyes or with fixed, metallic German dyes. Since the non-fixed dyes deteriorate very quickly and since the German dyes do not suit our national taste because of their glitter, both are harmful for our national art. Nor do the new textile designs drawn by non-national hands suit our national taste. We must invite our national artists to end such deviations and to return to our national art. In this matter, also, the *Türk Ojađi* clubs can play a very important role.

F. NATIONAL TASTE AND IMPROVED TASTE

Every nation has its own peculiar concept of beauty. Things that one nation considers beautiful, another nation considers ugly. Taste is necessarily national and the fact is that every nation has a national taste. When a nation forgets what it is, its art products are all ordinary imitations. Ottoman poets and scribes are examples, for they completely lost touch with the national taste and the things they wrote were either Persian or French imitations. Above all else, a nation that wishes to progress aesthetically must strive to discover its national taste.

We have already noted that to do this it is necessary to go to the people and to receive a prolonged aesthetic education from their arts. But becoming a real artist requires more than this aesthetic training. It is also necessary that the artist receive lessons and training in taste from the artistic geniuses who are the international masters of the fine arts. Such training is called self-improvement (*tehzib*).

It follows from this that if we are ever to acquire real art, our art must first be stimulated and then improved. Let me illustrate this formula by a vivid example. The artists of the Italian Renaissance, especially the painters and sculptors, were fascinated by the works of genius of the ancient Greek-Latin artists, for these works, for example, the statues of Venus, Minerva, Apollo and others, reflected the greatest possible degree of perfection in technique. The Renaissance artists learned this technique through great efforts and adopted it for their own works. Yet, they did not attempt to copy the ancient Greek-Latin works in their entirety, because the people no longer had any interest in those mythological characters. For the people of the Renaissance Era, the Virgin Mary was the most beautiful of all women and Jesus Christ the most handsome of all men. Moreover, the function of real art is not to portray the aesthetic ideals of other nations or other eras but those of its own nation and era. Realizing these truths, Renaissance artists such as Michelangelo and Raphael chose the correct course by giving the technical beauty of Venus to the Virgin Mary and the corporeal beauty of Apollo to Jesus Christ. They also bestowed these mythological beauties on other saints. From this union of international improvement and national culture emerged a sublime art which, in the history of fine arts, is known as Renaissance art.

The Catholic Church accepted these statues and paintings and converted its houses of worship into museums. On the other hand, the Orthodox Churches of Byzantium and the East made no attempt to make their sacred icons resemble Greek-Latin models but continued to draw them in a style resembling the crude models they had taken from the Semites. For this reason, the art of the Orthodox nations never improved.

Following the Renaissance, every European nation took similar action when its aesthetic life began to develop. Such romantic geniuses as Shakespeare, Rousseau and Goethe not only received training from the people but also assimilated the ancient Greek-Latin techniques. As a result, each of them created for his own nation both a national and a perfected literature. The aesthetic program of Turkism calls for the application of these same procedures.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ETHICAL TURKISM

A. MORALS AMONG TURKS

Every great nation has demonstrated superiority in some particular field of civilization. The ancient Greeks excelled in aesthetics, the Romans in law, the Israelites and Arabs in religion, the French in literature, the Anglo-Saxons in economics, the Germans in music and metaphysics. The Turks have excelled in morals. Turkish history, from its beginning, is an exhibition of moral virtues. The grant by Turks to defeated nations of religious and social autonomy and recognition of their national and religious existences are beyond appreciation. In return, the defeated nations worked to turn against the magnanimous Turks the concessions granted by them and to strangle and bind the Turks with the chains known as capitulations. These two types of behavior are extremely characteristic, for they show the ethics of both sides.

In this chapter we will illustrate the moral ideals which relate to various Turkish moral ambients, namely, patriotic morals, professional morals, family (sexual) morals, personal morals and international morals.

B. PATRIOTIC MORALS

The ancient Turks possessed very strong patriotic morals. No Turk hesitated to sacrifice his life and everything he loved best for the sake of his own tribe (i.e., nation), for the tribe was the shadow on earth of the Sky-God. The latter was believed by the Turks to have descended to earth as a "golden light" on the holy night of love and to have caused this "blessed tribe" to multiply by getting with child a virgin or a tree. The land on which the tribe lived was called *yurt* or *ülke*. Wherever a Turk might go, he never forgot his native land, for there were the graves of his ancestors, the scenes of his childhood, the hearth of his father, the lap of his mother.

As an example of the Türk's love of country, we can cite Mete, the founder of the Hun state. On one occasion, in order to find a pretext for declaring war, the Tatar ruler began by demanding a horse that Mete loved dearly and that could run 1,000 (sic) farsangs

an hour. Not wishing to subject his people to the misfortune of war, Mete sent the horse to the Tatar ruler. The latter was more interested in an excuse for war than in the horse, so he next demanded Mete's favorite wife. Although his begs, in council, clamored for war, Mete made the great sacrifice of giving his beloved to his enemy, saying, "I cannot allow my people to be oppressed for the sake of my own love." The Tatar ruler then demanded a part of the Hun territory that was without agriculture, forests, mines or people. The council saw no reason not to yield this useless area, but Mete marched on the Tatars, declaring:

The fatherland is not our property. Our ancestors who lie in their graves and all our still unborn descendants up to the Day of Judgment also have rights over this holy ground. No one has a right to yield any part of the fatherland, even if it be only an inch. Therefore, we shall fight. I am riding towards the enemy. He who fails to follow will be executed.

We can appreciate from this historic event how cherished was the fatherland in the eyes of the ancient Turks.

According to the ancient Turks, the fatherland consisted of the *töre*, that is, of national culture, and the importance attached to national culture is reflected in the proverb, "one can renounce the *ülke* but never the *töre*," which is quoted in Maḥmūd al-Kāshghari's dictionary.

Among the ancient Turks, sovereignty belonged to the tribe. Small tribes were ruled by a national assembly that administered the fate of the people, while in large tribes tribal affairs were in the hands of an assembly, known as *shölen*,¹ which was composed of the begs of the sub-tribes. The khānates and ilkhānates had a *kurultay*,² which was in the nature of a national assembly and which was served by advisers known as *kinkash*.³ The proverb, "when a tribe is evil, the

¹ *Shölen* (*shülen*) is a Uighur word, still used with the meaning cited here. See Hüseyin Kāzım Kadri, *Türk lügati. Türk dillerinin iştikaki ve edebî lügatları* (Turkish Lexicon. Etymological and Literary Lexicon of Turkish Dialects) (Istanbul, 1943), Vol. III, p. 256.

² This word is still current in modern Turkish with the meaning of assembly or congress. Modern Turkish also includes a number of newly coined words inspired by it, for example, *Danıştay* (Council of State), *Sayıştay* (Court of Accounts), *Yargıtay* (Court of Cassation), etc.

³ Although Gökalp cites this word in connection with the ancient Turks, the word is actually of Persian origin, written *kinkāsh* or, correctly, *kīnkāj*. It is not to be found in modern Turkish dictionaries and the last Turkic use of the word seems to have been in Chagatai. See Kadri, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 129 and 259.

beg is evil," reflects the fact that sovereignty rested in the tribe, not in the ruler, for it was the *kurultay* that elected, and could depose, the ruler. Such important affairs as the proclamation of war and peace were also decided by the *kurultay*. That the people were in control of the situation at times of crises is evidenced by the proverb, "the situation is so confused that no one can do anything."

Equality was a strongly established institution among the ancient Turks. Neither slaves nor servants existed among the Teke Turkmens of Khwārizm, for example. Each person performed his own household tasks. Each tribe was composed of individuals who were completely equal one to the other. When one Turkish tribe took other tribes under its hegemony, it did not destroy their political organization; the former ruler of the subjugated tribe would retain his position with the title of *baygo*, or king, with the khān appointing a commissioner, known as *shad* or *shane*,¹ to represent him. In other words, when a khān defeated other khāns, he would leave them in their positions but he himself would become their superior with the title of *ilkhān*.

The original meaning of *il*, as we have already noted, is peace; thus, *ilji* means peace-loving. The Sky-God, who was the symbol of the tribe (*il*), was the god of peace, which means that the *ilkhān* was essentially a propagator of a religion of peace. Turkish *ilkhāns* would invite all Turkish tribes to be peaceful and would address all khāns as "My son." All wars fought by the Turks were for the purpose of establishing a permanent and broad realm of peace, and throughout the *ilkhān* periods the entire Turanian continent from Manchuria to Hungary knew a happy life of peace and tranquillity. Turkish *ilkhāns* were not imperialists, for they were content merely to unify Turkish territories and did not attempt to conquer those of other nations. One proof of this is the fact that Mete, the first Hun *ilkhān*, refrained from adopting the title of emperor after he had gained control of the Chinese state for the second time. Attila demonstrated this same morality of peace; in the battles in which he was victorious, he always accepted immediately when peace was proposed.

The ancient Turks were not only the world's most democratic ethnic group but also its most feminist. Feminism is, essentially, a manifestation of democracy or equality as regards women. We will

¹ Kadri (*ibid.*, III, p. 189) lists *shad* (*shād*) as a Uighur word meaning "a person who possessed rank among the ancient Turks." *Shane* (*shāhne*) is a Persian word meaning viceroy or ambassador.

return to this ancient Turkish virtue in the section on family morals.

In the Orkhon inscriptions, one Turkish khān says:

The God of the Turks sent my ancestors and me, saying, "Let the Turkish nation not be destroyed." While I was khān I did not sit down during the day nor did I sleep during the night. I fed the Turkish nation when it was hungry, I clothed it when it was naked, and I made it rich when it was poor.

Whenever the Turkish nation lost its ruler it would lament:

I was a fortunate nation. Where now is my good fortune and majesty? I was a nation with a ruler. Where now is my ruler? To which ruler shall I now give my allegiance?

These statements make clear how sincere were the relations between nation and ruler and how high were the patriotic morals among the ancient Turks.

Patriotic morality must henceforth be the morality that Turks value most highly, because the nation, or fatherland, is the only social group that has a complete and independent life and the nature of a social organism. Families are the cells of this social organism and occupational groups its organs. Groups that are broader than the nation, such as a community or an internationality, are not real societies but rather assemblages of societies. Each of these groups shares only one feature in common, while a nation is a group the individual members of which share everything in common. The ideal of nation is thus superior to the ideals relating to other groups, for example, the ideal of family or occupation or community or civilization or internationality. This is why patriotic morality must also be superior to all other moralities.

This is especially true for nations such as our own that have many enemies, for patriotic morality can be the greatest possible source of strength. We shall not be able to maintain our independence, freedom or territorial integrity unless our patriotic morality is strong. Therefore, Turkism must accord the highest priority to the ideals of nation and fatherland.

C. PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

Professional ethics are second importance only to patriotic morals. The ancient Turks used the term *yol* (road) for a man's calling and considered eminence in the *yol* to be more important than eminence in lineage, as is reflected in the Bektashi saying, "the sayyid springs from the hand. not the loins." Another old proverb states that "if

your comrades (*yoldash*, literally, road mates) raid the tent of your father, you should aid them," which again shows that comrades were more important than blood relatives.

Among the ancient Turks, the ruling class was divided into four branches known as *torunlar*, *kamlar*, *buyruklar* and *bitikchiler*,¹ corresponding to what came to be known in the Ottoman Era as *mülkiye* (civil administrative officials), *ilmiye* (religious officials), *seyfiye* (military officials) and *kalemiye* (secretaries). In addition, economic occupations were also recognized. In the last years of the Anatolian Seljuks, *ahilar* (guilds) and other professional organizations were organized as *çaviyes* (A: *çāviya*, lodge), which were based on the principle of *fütūvvet* (A: *futuwwat*). The lexicologic meaning of *fütūvvet* is bravery,² but its technical meaning is "to prefer and submit the people to themselves in this world and the next." The guild lodges and stewardships of the Ottoman period were a continuation of these earlier guild organizations.

In olden days, such guild organizations had a local character, that is, the guild lodges of each city were independent. The lodges played a useful role in the era of local economies but they became harmful when a national economy replaced the many local economies, for although local lodges were normal for a local economy only national lodges could be beneficial in a national economy. This is why it is a mistake today to try to continue the old guild lodges; they must be abolished and replaced by national organizations having their centers in the national capital.

Let us take the tanners' guild as an example. A tanners' lodge must be organized in every city, with a secretary general rather than a shaikh or steward at its head. In each city there should also be organized a central committee composed of delegates of all the different lodges in the city; this committee will be called an *ish borsasi* (labor

¹ Al-Kāshgharī does not list the first word, which is used in modern Turkish to mean grandchild. *Kam* he defines as a diviner or oracle. *Buyruk* he does not list as such but does give the verb from which it derives, *buyurmak* (to order), which still retains the same meaning in modern Turkish. *Bitikchi*, which al-Kāshgharī lists as a word for clerk or scribe, is still to be found in some Turkish dictionaries as the title of a former Ottoman court official having secretarial duties. The word is probably Uighur in origin. In *Kutadgu Bilig*, the Uighur national epic, written in 1069 A.D., *bitikchi* is used as the title of the chief secretary of the Qarākhānid ruler. On this see Robert Devereux, "Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib and the *Kutadgu Bilig*," *Muslim World* LI (October, 1961), p. 307.

² Gökalp is in error here. The word actually means generosity or hospitality or liberality.

exchange) and will have the task of supervising the common affairs of the lodges in the city and of regulating the city's economic life. But to return to the tanners. After a tanners' lodge has been organized in each city, these will organize themselves into a federation and will establish a Tanners' Federation headquarters in the national capital. Headquarters of other federations will similarly be opened in the capital. Delegates from all these headquarters will then meet, organize a confederation and elect members of its General Assembly. Members of the various intellectual pursuits will also create their respective professional federations and join the confederation. Once this has been done, all these professional groups will have been united in the form of a regular army.

The establishment of these organizations will assure a sanction for professional ethics, which our present occupational groups lack. Every individual commits his life to a doctor, his legal rights to a lawyer, his wealth to a notary, his child to a teacher, and his religion to a mufti, but he has no way whatever of compelling these persons to show a devotion to duty. But although an individual may not be able to control the men to whom he entrusts his life, rights, wealth, children and secrets, professional groups are in a position to control their own members. Achievement of such control is why each profession formulates a code of conduct and establishes a court of honor for its own members. The code of conduct sets forth the rules of professional ethics, while the court of honor warns, reprimands or suspends from the profession either temporarily or permanently members who fail to observe the rules of professional ethics. Such control by professional bodies protects ordinary citizens from harm which they might otherwise suffer at the hands of specialists.

Another function of professional organizations is to create and administer aid funds among persons of the same calling and to assist with these funds the old people, crippled, sick, orphans and widows who belong to the respective organizations. Among the purposes of these aid funds are also the education of children and the technical training of youths. Professional federations must also expend money and efforts for the progress of their respective professions. For example, among the undertakings that will assure the economic development of each profession are the inviting of foreign specialists and the sending of students to industrial countries, the importation of machinery and other equipment, the organizing of production or consumer cooperatives, etc.

The above discussion should be sufficient, since details of the solidarity that results from professional ethics are included in the chapter on "Strengthening National Solidarity (Chapter IX)."

D. FAMILY MORALS

Among the ancient Turks there were four degrees of family relationships, namely, *boy*, *soy*, *törkün* and *bark*.

1. *boy*

Among the ancient Oghuz, the family name was the name of the *boy*, which, contrary to European usage, came before the given name. In the names Salur Qazan, Böğdü Zamen and Kayan Seljik, which are found in *Korkut Ata*, the first words are *boy* names, the second given names. In his dictionary, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī notes that when someone wanted to know who someone else was, he asked, "What *boy* are you from?" Occasionally, the *boy* name would be used after the given name. The "Emre" of Yunus Emre refers to the Emre *boy* of the Oghuz tribe. Each Oghuz *boy* had its own special brand or totem or symbol with which it marked its herds and treasures.¹

Instead of *boy* the Yakuts use the word *sip*, which has become *sop* in Anatolian Turkish. An economic sharing existed among the members of a Yakut *sip*; a man could sit and sleep for hours in any house he choose within his own *sip*. In other words, an individual had a usufructuary right to every house within his own *boy*. Land ownership was vested in the *sip*. Small families could divide this common ground among themselves and cultivate it separately, but actual ownership was always joint and the land was subject to re-division whenever necessary.

According to the Yassa² of Genghiz Khan, at least four marriages had to occur yearly within every group of forty houses. If the youths were poor, the groups would facilitate their marriage by aiding them

¹ For a discussion of these Oghuz brands as described by al-Kāshgharī, see Robert Devereux, "Brands and Branding in the 11th Century," *The Cattleman* (Fort Worth), XLII (March, 1956), p. 38.

² I.e., the Mongol law code. Information about the Yassa can be found in any good work on Genghiz Khan. See also Sadri Maksudi Arsal, *Türk tarihi ve hukuku* (Turkish History and Law). Vol. I: *İslamiyetten evvelki devir* (The Pre-Islamic Era) (Istanbul, 1947), pp. 369-82. The military aspects only of the Yassa are treated in Robert Devereux, "The Yassa of Genghis Khan," *Military Review* XLIII (April, 1963), pp. 24-30. Modern Turkish still retains the word in the term *anayasa* meaning constitution (literally mother or main law).

financially. The group leaders were held responsible if the four marriages did not occur. These groups were the *boys*.

Among the Turks there were two sets of terms to indicate relationship. One set was used only within the *boy*. Each person used the title *iji* and *aba* in addressing, respectively, all *boy* males and females who were older than he and *ini* and *singil* in addressing those who were younger. In addressing males of his own age, a man used the title *ati*. These words subsequently underwent a number of changes. The Oghuz, for example, substituted *ağa* for *iji* and *abla* for *aba*. The word *ati* changed to *ata* and acquired other meanings. *Boy* was also used in the forms *ana boyu* (maternal clan) and *baba boyu* (paternal clan).

2. *soy*

A *soy* is the group that the Latins term *cogna*, the Germans *Sippe* and the French *parentèle*. It includes all collateral relatives such as the children of paternal and maternal uncles and aunts who, as we shall see below, are outside the *törkün*. A *soy* thus includes relatives on both the mother's and father's side, the first being called *ana soyn*, the second *baba soyn*. Among the ancient Turks these two groups were completely equal, as we can observe clearly in certain institutions.

Among the ancient Turks nobility of birth was dependent on both father and mother. For a man to be noble he had to be so through both parents. Even today, among the Turkmens of Khwārizm, a girl will not marry a man both of whose parents were not Turkmens, for a Turkmen man is accounted noble only if both parents are Turkmens. This dual descent of nobility continued in effect after the establishment of dynasties, when the title *tekin*¹ was given to those who were princes because of their fathers and *inal* to those who were princes because of their mothers. A prince could not become a khān unless he were both a *tekin* and an *inal*, i.e., he had to belong to the dynasty through both his father and mother. This rule is still observed by the Qājār dynasty of Iran.² The rule of the ancient Turks was that the prince of the ruling dynasty who was "greatest in *soy*" would become ruler, which was the same principle followed by the House of Os-

¹ For al-Kāshgharī's explanation of the origin of this title, see Robert Devereux, "A Note on Afrāsiyāb," *Muslim World* LIII (April, 1963), p. 143.

² The last Qājār monarch, Shāh Aḥmad, was deposed in 1925 by Reza Shah Pahlavi, father of the present (1963) Iranian ruler.

man.¹ In both Europe and Egypt the oldest royal son became ruler.

After the era of the *boys* had passed, *soy* names began to serve as family names, as in, for example, the Chapanoğullari, Kozanoğullari,² etc.

3. *törkün*

According to Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, the ancient Turks used the word *törkün* to denote a basic family living under a single roof. The kinship terms relating to the *törkün* show individual relationships in contrast to the general kinship terms used within the *boy*: *akan* (father), *öke* (mother), *er* (husband), *konchuy* (wife), *uri oğul* (son), and *keş oğul* (daughter). The *törkün* was, therefore, what, under Durkheim's classification, we can term a "paternal family." The paternal family differs greatly from the patriarchal family. In the former, the father exercises over his wife and children only a democratic authority, sometimes referred to as a fatherly or conjugal guardianship. In the patriarchal family, on the other hand, the head of the family has absolute authority over his children and his wife who, together with any other individuals included in the family, are in the nature of his goods and chattels. If he wishes to do so, he may sell or kill them or give them to someone else.

For the Turks, the *törkün* was what we call the family hearth. Its fire could never be allowed to go out, because in it was sheltered the family idol. The youngest brother would therefore remain in the *törkün* to guard the fire after his older brothers had married and left. At fixed intervals, everyone would assemble in the family hearth for ceremonies honoring their ancestors. Turks never forgot the family hearth, just as they never forgot the homeland. Although they might leave both, they remained bound to them by strong ties of affection.

4. *bark*

Among the ancient Turks a youth, upon reaching the age of marriage, would undergo a test of heroism and would receive a new name

¹ Gökalp is in error here. From the death of Sultan Ahmed I in 1617 until the end of the Ottoman Empire, the legal heir to the Ottoman throne was the eldest male member of the House of Osman. Before 1617, the throne generally went to the son who was able to seize and hold it.

² Modern terminological usage would probably render these as Chapanids and Kozanids. Both were families of Anatolian feudal lords. See Yusuf Akçura, *Osmanlı devletinin dağılma devri (XVIII ve XIX asırlarda)* (The Dissolution Period of the Ottoman State (the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries), Istanbul, 1940.

from the tribal (*il*) assembly. He thus became a full member (*ildash*) of the tribe, with full citizenship rights. This meant that he left the guardianship of his father and passed under the public guardianship of the khān. A youth did not have to await the deaths of his parents to obtain a share of the family goods but would receive his inheritance at the time of his marriage. His bride would also receive a dowry, known as *yumush*, consisting of gifts presented by her parents and relatives.

A newly married couple would pool their belongings and acquire a jointly-owned house. They would not live in either the groom's family hearth or the bride's *törkün* but would establish a new household (*ev*). This is why a new household resulted from every marriage among the Turks, hence the terms *evlenmek* and *ev bark sahibi olmak* as synonyms for "to marry." Among the Teke Turkmens, the tent of a bride and groom, being newly made, is known as *ak ev* (white house); other tents are brown because of aging. Among the ancient Turks, as among the Arabs, a house belonged not to the husband alone but to the husband and wife jointly. The man of the house was called *öd äğasi*, the woman *ev kadini*.

Just as a fairy of the *törkün* lived in the hearth, so a fairy of the *ak ev* lived in the *bark*. In fact, there were two household fairies, one for the husband, known as *öd ata* (Father Ox), the other for the wife, known as *öd ana* (Mother Ox). Each morning the bride would throw a piece of butter into the hearth with the invocation, "*öd ana, öd ata!*" The groom would sit on the right side of the hearth, the bride on the left. On the right also would be an idol of a mare with teats, called *ev sahibin kardeshi* (Friend (or Sister) of the Master of the House), and on the left an idol of a cow with teats, called *ev sahibesinin kardeshi* (Friend of the Mistress of the House). These were the totems of the husband and wife.

The threshold was also sacred to the ancient Turks and was considered defiled if a stranger stepped on it. The rule that homes were immune from attack found a religious sanction in this sacred character of thresholds.

E. TURKISH FEMINISM

The ancient Turks were both democratic and feminist. As a matter of fact, democratic societies are usually feminist. Another reason why the Turks were feminists is that ancient Turkish shamanism was based on the sacred power believed to reside in women. In order to be able to perform miracles by their magical powers, Turkish shamans had to

disguise themselves as women. They would wear women's clothes, let their hair grow, refine their voices, shave their mustaches and beards, and even get pregnant and bear children (sic!). In contrast, Taoism was manifested in the sacred power of the male.

The equal standing of Taoism and shamanism resulted in men and women being recognized as legal equals. Since every matter had to be resolved on the basis of both practices, men and women had necessarily to act together in meetings that concerned every variety of question. Similarly, since the public guardianship resided jointly in the khān and his wife, the *khātūn*, it was not usual for an edict to begin with the phrase, "The Khān commands that . . ." It was, in fact, not only usual but essential that it begin, "The Khān and *Khātūn* command that . . ." The khān, by himself, could not admit an ambassador into his presence, for ambassadors had to be received by the khān and *khātūn* together, the former seated on the right and the latter on the left. The *khātūn* was always present with the khān at meetings of a *shölen*, *kinkash* or *kurultay*, at religious rites and ceremonies, and at councils of war and peace. Women were not subject to any restrictive custom such as veiling.

The title *türkân* was given to a *khātūn* who was a khān's partner in government. However, since *khātūn* was a title common to all princesses of a dynasty and since a *türkân* had to be a *khātūn*, she could be addressed by the latter title only.

Among the ancient Turks a man could have only one wife, but in the periods of imperialism the khāns and begs could have, in addition to their true wives, concubines belonging to other tribes, who were known as *kuma*. But these concubines were not true wives and Turkish law never recognized them officially as such. They usually entered into the family by some sort of religious fraud. Children of concubines could not address their real mothers as "Mother" but had to call them "Aunt," being allowed to use "Mother" only to address their father's real wife. Children of concubines could obtain an inheritance but sons of concubines could never become khān even if their fathers were khāns. The reason for the distinction between concubines and *khātūns* was that a concubine was not from the khān's own tribe, whereas a *khātūn* was. If a concubine was a Chinese princess, she received the designation *konchuy* and took precedence over other concubines, although she was still inferior to the *khātūn*. In the Mongol Era, the *khātūns* began to increase in number but only one of them would have the rank of *türkân*, or queen.

The ancient Turkish women were all amazons and they, as well as Turkish men, were noted for their horsemanship, skill in use of arms, and feats of heroism. Women could become rulers, fortress commanders, governors and ambassadors in their own right.

Among ordinary families the house belonged jointly to husband and wife and the right of guardianship over children lay with the mother as much as with the father. A man always respected his wife and would have her ride in the cart while he walked behind. Chivalry was a general virtue among the ancient Turks. Women disposed of their own property and could own a *dirlik* or *zëamet* or *has* or *malikâne*.¹ In fact, among ancient peoples no ethnic group granted to women as many rights or showed them as much respect as did the Turks. Since the equal standing of the mother's and father's *söys* has been discussed in the section on *söy* there is no need to repeat it here.

F. SEXUAL MORALS

Also very high were the sexual morals of the ancient Turks. The Yakuts, for example, had a goddess of fertility, Aisyt, comparable to the Venus of the Greeks, who would come to the aid of a woman at time of childbirth and help her to deliver easily. After staying with the woman for three days, she, together with the fairies of the streams, fields, trees and flowers, who composed her retinue, would return to her palace on the third level of heaven. Aisyt had one rule that she would never break. She would not come to the aid of women who had not guarded their chastity, regardless of their supplications or their valuable sacrifices and gifts.

There was a special holiday dedicated to Aisyt. On the morning of the holiday every nook and corner of every house was made sparkling clean and was decorated and everyone donned his most beautiful clothes. Everyone ate the food he loved best, whatever it might be, and everyone presented a smiling, cheerful and joyous face. Then, the white shaman would appear with *saz*² in hand. (The black shaman was in charge of winter ceremonies, the white shaman of summer ones.) Selecting nine young girls and nine youths, he would have them join hands, two by two, and line them up like soldiers. As he played the *saz*, he would have them walk forward, as if they were

¹ The Turkish terms for different types of feudal fiefs that existed in the Ottoman Empire. Each term denoted a fief which returned a certain annual revenue. See Gibb and Bowen, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

² A kind of Oriental stringed musical instrument

mounting up to the sky. When this artistic procession had theoretically reached the third heaven, the guards of Aisyt's palace would emerge, carrying silver whips in their hands. They would turn back those in the procession, if any, who were lacking in chastity but permit the others to enter Aisyt's palace. These religious sanctions for chastity show that the ancient Turks had high sexual morals and that men and women were subject to these morals in equal degree.

The ancient Turkish women were completely free but they did not engage in idle tasks, as is shown by the following episode, which is taken from the book *Akhlāq-i 'alā'ī*. A certain Seljuk princess owned the city of Qazwīn and each spring she would come to the edge of the city and set up her tent in a green meadow. One year, the inhabitants of Qazwīn had collected subscriptions among themselves for the construction of a public sewer for the city but an additional sum of gold was still needed. The citizens decided to ask the Sultana for this money and sent a delegation of leading citizens to present their petition. As the delegation approached her tent, the townsmen saw that the Sultana was sitting on a chair in front of her tent knitting and they were sorry that they had come, because, as they told themselves, "There is no chance that this stingy woman will give us the money."

Since the Sultana had already seen them, they could not retreat and had no choice but to come into her presence and submit their petition. She immediately said that she would assume all expenses and ordered that the funds already collected be returned to the donors. Then she summoned her treasurer and delivered to the delegation all the money needed for the sewer. One old man in the delegation mentioned the unjust doubt that had entered their minds because of her knitting. The Sultana replied:

All Iranians who see me do hand work are astonished. However, all the women in my family, like me, always keep busy with hand work. If we rulers do not do likewise, with what shall we occupy ourselves? With frivolities? Such a thing would not be becoming to our *soy*. After we finish with our governmental affairs, we keep busy with hand work and household chores, just like poor women, so as not to be idle. Our *soy* feels that this activity is not a disgrace but a great honor.

Such is how ancient Turkish women thought and acted.

G. FUTURE FAMILY MORALS

We have seen in the preceding sections how advanced were the Turks as regards both family and sexual morals. The Turks of today

have lost completely this former morality, for under the influence of Persian and Greek civilizations women have sunk into slavery or at least into an inferior legal status. When the ideal of national culture arose among the Turks, was it not necessary to recall and resurrect these beautiful rules of ancient mores? This is why the ideal of feminism was born simultaneously with the Turkist movement in our country. Turkists are both populists and feminists not only because this century esteems these two ideals but also because democracy and feminism were the two principal bases of ancient Turkish life.

Other nations have been obliged to renounce their pasts in order to enter modern civilization but we Turks have only to return to ours. The freedom of the ancient Turks from ascetic and negative religious practices and from fanaticism and religious monopolism made them very tolerant both of women and of other ethnic groups. The Scythians were the teachers of the ancient Greeks in matters of civilization and the Sumerians of the ancient Chaldeans. In similar manner, the Huns were the teachers and tutors of the ancient Germans. Thus, any future impartial history will have to admit that democracy and feminism were born of the Turks. The principles of future Turkish morality must therefore be democracy and feminism, together with the ideals of nation, fatherland, occupation and family.

H. CIVIC AND PERSONAL MORALS

According to Durkheim, the objectives of moral duties are not individuals but groups. We have already seen how professional and family groups are the objectives of ideals and moral duties. There is also another indeterminate class known as the "civilization group," in the objectives of which individuals participate by virtue of their membership in the group. A civilization group begins as a clan. In primitive societies the only individuals who had any respect for the rights of another individual were those who belonged to that individual's own clan. This meant that in such societies a blood feud could never be pursued within the clan, for the clan was a realm of peace. As primitive societies developed, this realm of peace gradually expanded from clan to phratry to tribe to confederation to city to ethnic state to empire. During this process of expansion, the number of persons who possessed rights and who, therefore, became the objective of moral duties increased proportionately. A similar broadening also occurred in the sphere of that branch of ethics which some people call personal morals and some call civic morals.

Civic morals have two kinds of goals, one negative, the other positive. The basis of the negative goal is justice, which involves the freedom of the individual from any sort of attack, while that of the positive goal is compassion, which involves doing good to individuals. Civic morals have also a second positive goal, which involves compliance with contracts that have been made. The Sky-God of the ancient Turks was the god of peace but also of justice and compassion. Turkish history demonstrates the great degree to which Turks have possessed these virtues.

Civic morals are based essentially on the importance of individual character. The ancient Turkish religion had symbols to show character. The Yakuts believed that every individual had not only a material self, known as *tin*, but also three kinds of spiritual souls, *esh*, *sur* and *kut*. The *esh* was common to all animate and inanimate things, while the *sur* was limited to breathing things, that is, to animals. The *kut*, however, resided only in humans and horses. For a human to be *kutlu* (blessed; literally, having a *kut*) meant that he possessed divine inspiration and character. In the Qur'ān it is stated that "We honored the sons of Adam," meaning that, "We made all human beings blessed."

According to the myths of the ancient Turks, the human soul was received from the Lake of Milk, which was on the third level of heaven. Turkish shamans claimed that the unending struggle of the human soul for ideals and virtues was because of its celestial source. Another belief was that as each nation was founded, the Sky-God descended to earth as a golden light and blessed that nation with the breath of his own soul and the fecundity of his light. If we examine the Turkish religion thoroughly, we can find many more symbolisms that could serve as a basis for civic morals. Details concerning these can be found in my book, *Türk türesi* (Turkish Law).¹

As the above discussion suggests, an important objective of Turkism is the elevation of civic morals. Just as professional ethics rank in importance after patriotic morals and family morals after professional ethics, so civic morals come after family morals.

I. INTERNATIONAL MORALS

Whereas civic morals is the term used to describe the benevolence and charity of individuals for one another, international morals is

¹ This work, a study of the religion of the ancient Turks, was published in Istanbul in 1923.

the term for benevolence and charity of nations for one another. The ancient Turks, being adherents of a religion of peace, respected the religious, political and cultural existences of other nations. In fact, they viewed all nations as being within a realm of peace or international community, calling themselves *ich-il* (inner realm) and other nations *dish-il* (outer realm). In the Orkhon inscriptions the term *chölki-il* is used as an equivalent for *dish-il* to refer to other nations.

The ancient Turks' use of the term *dish-il* shows that they understood the concept of internationality, for the word *il*, in ancient Turkish, meant the realm of peace. The status of each nation as an *ich-il* stemmed from the fact that it constituted an internal realm of peace. An *ich-il* did not regard other nations as foreign but viewed each as an *il*, that is, a temple to peace. The only distinction it made was to term itself *ich-il* and others *dish-il*.

The grant by ancient Turks to defeated nations of extraordinary concessions which later came to plague them under the name capitulations was a consequence of the internationalism that existed in Turkish culture. If, in the future, the League of Nations is organized on a basis of truth instead of falsehood, as is now the case, its most ardent member will undoubtedly be the Turkish state and nation, for all future developments have their roots in the ancient culture of the Turks.

Every nation has a historic and civic mission to perform on earth. That of the Turkish nation is to make moral virtues a reality and to prove that sacrifices and heroisms which are considered impossible are, in fact, possible.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

LEGAL TURKISM

The aim of legal Turkism is to create a modern law in Turkey, since the indispensable condition for Turkey's entrance into the ranks of modern nations is the elimination of vestiges of theocracy and clericalism from all branches of the national law. Theocracy means that laws are enacted by caliphs and sultans who are regarded as the shadows of God on earth. Clericalism is the belief that traditions alleged to have been instituted by God are immutable laws which must be interpreted only by clerics who are esteemed as the translators of God.

"Modern states" is the term used for states that have freed themselves completely from these two distinctive features of medieval states. In modern states the right to legislate and to administer the country belong to the nation directly and there is no authority, tradition or right that may limit or restrict the authority of the nation. Moreover, all individual members of the nation are completely equal one to the other, and no individual, family or class possessing special privileges is permitted to exist. States possessing these characteristics are democracies, which means "government of the people."

The first goal of legal Turkism, then, is to create a modern state. The second goal is to free occupational guardianships from the interference of public guardianship by establishing occupational autonomies based on the authority of specialists. Achievement of this goal will require the enactment, on the basis of this principle, of civil, commercial, industrial and agricultural codes, as well as laws relating to the occupational autonomies of such professional organizations as the university, bar, medical society, teachers' society, engineers' society, etc.

The third goal of legal Turkism is to create a modern family. The modern state's principle of equality requires that man and woman be equal in matters of marriage, divorce, inheritance and professional and political rights. This means that a new family law, as well as a new election law, will have to be enacted in accordance with this principle.

In summary, it is necessary to eliminate from our present laws all provisions incompatible with freedom, equality and justice and all traces, if there are any, of theocracy and clericalism.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

RELIGIOUS TURKISM

Religious Turkism means that all religious books, sermons and prayers shall be in Turkish. No nation can know the true nature of its religion if it cannot read and understand its religious books, nor can it obtain any pleasure from its religious rites when it does not understand what the orators and preachers are saying. Abū Ḥanifā¹ said that it was permissible for the suras to be read in a national language, even in ritual prayers, since the rapture to be received from the devotion was dependent on complete understanding of the prayers read. If we study the religious life of our people, we will find that the ceremonies which induce the greatest ecstasy are, after ritual prayers, the inner and sincere prayers made in the mother tongue. Whenever Muslims leave the mosque with a sense of rapture and mental peace, it is the result of these secret prayers that each individual makes within his own conscience.

Part of the sublime pleasure that Turks derive from ritual prayer comes from the hymns which are recited and sung in the mother tongue. During Ramadan it is principally the Turkish-language poems and mosque music which bring the prayers alive. Sermons delivered in Turkish during Ramadan and at other times also help to arouse religious emotions and enthusiasm in the people. Another ritual from which Turks derive great rapture and pleasure is the reading of the *mawlūd-u sharīf*. Even though it began as a religious innovation, this ceremony, which combines poetry, music and dramatic events, has become one of the most vital Muslim ceremonies, although still ranking after the *ḥadīths*. The Turkish hymns and incantations that are recited during a dervish *dhikr*² are also a great source of rapture.

These examples prove that one factor which today assures a reli-

¹ Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit (699-767), founder of the Ḥanafī school of Muslim jurisprudence, which is the one observed in Turkey. Gökalp does not refer to him by name but by the title *Imam-i Âzam* (A: *Imām-i ‘aẓam*, The Great Imam). See EI, II, pp. 256-57.

² The ritual formula of a Şūfī brotherhood that is recited devotionally in praise of God and as a means of attaining ecstatic experience. Cf. *ibid.*, I, p. 958.

gious life among Turks is the existence of ritual religious services that long ago were permitted to be performed in the Turkish language. Therefore, in order to give a greater rapture and exhilaration to our religious life, it is necessary that the Qur'ān (except for the litanies) and the services, as well as the prayers, supplications and sermons which follow the rituals, be read in Turkish.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

ECONOMIC TURKISH

The Turks lived a nomadic life in ancient times and the Turkish economy was then pastoral in nature. The wealth of the Turks consisted of animals (sheep, goats, horses, camels, cattle) and edible animal products (milk, yoghurt, cheese, butter, kumiss). Their wearing apparel was made from the pelts, hides, wool and fleeces of their animals. The industry of the nomadic Turk turned entirely on animal products. Kumiss cups, known as *ayak*, were made from the hooves of camels and kumiss bottles from the thigh bones of cattle. Neither bones nor horns nor intestines, in fact, nothing of an animal was thrown away. Some peculiarly Turkish industrial product was made from every tissue.

Nor were the ancient Turks strangers to commerce. During the *ilkhān* period, the state's greatest source of revenue was the Turkish trade caravans that carried silk from China to Europe and velvet from Europe to China. The great trade routes linking China, India, Russia and Byzantium were then all in Turkish hands. On one occasion, a Turkish ruler named Mūqān Khān wanted to open a new trade route from Iran to Istanbul through Azerbaijan and Anatolia, but the Iranians opposed the attempt. Thereupon, in order to guarantee the silk route, Mūqān Khān attempted to conclude a triple alliance among the Turkish, Chinese and Byzantine states with a view either to destroying the Iranian state or forcing it to allow international trade to transit Iran. In other words, the aim of the Turkish *ilkhāns* was not merely to establish political security in the great Turanian continent that stretched from Manchuria to Hungary. They also took upon themselves the task of building an international trade and exchange organization between the nations of Asia and Europe.

Even tribal names reflected the importance attached to economics by the ancient Turks. In Eastern Turkistan there were the Taranjis and in Western Turkistan the Sarts, meaning, respectively, farmers and merchants. The Kaniklis, Aghacheris, Tahtajis, Mandals, Menteshes, Sürgüjüs, etc., each bear the name of some craft or economic product.¹ The ancestors of the Sky-Turks were blacksmiths, and

¹ *Kanikli*, two-wheeled cart; *aghacheri*, woodman; *tahtaji*, carpenter; *mandal*, latch or bolt; *mentesh*, hinge; *sürgüjü*, harrower.

Turkish legend claims that the first tent was made by Türk Khān.¹ Tavunk Khān was the first man to use salt on food and Kanikli Beg the first to make a cart. The Turks began to travel in carts even before the time of the Scythians.

The ancient Turks loved to wear beautiful clothes, to eat delicious foods and to spend their lives midst banquets and festivities. But they were not idlers, for they also engaged in economic activities. They earned much and they spent much.

The hospitality of the ancient Turks was unlimited. In the book *Dede Korkut*, Burla Khātūn says of a public banquet that she had given: "I heaped up meat like a hill. I provided kumiss like a lake. I satiated those who were hungry, clothed those who were naked, and paid the debts of those in debt." But such banquets costing thousands of pounds were nothing compared to that given once a year by Salur Qazan, another character in *Dede Korkut*. At this banquet, after all the begs and people had eaten and drunk their full, Salur Qazan would emerge from his palace, holding his wife's hand, and would tell his guests to take whatever they wished of his belongings. Although thus looted, after a time he was still the richest beg of the Oghuz people.

In the future Turks must possess the same economic well-being that they once enjoyed in the past, and the wealth which is earned must belong to everyone, like the riches of Salur Qazan. Turks cannot be Communists because of their love for freedom and independence, but neither can they be individualists since they also love equality. Solidarism is the system most compatible with Turkish culture. Individual ownership is legitimate, provided it serves social solidarity. The efforts of socialists and communists to abolish individual ownership are wrong, although any individual property rights that do not serve social solidarity cannot be considered legitimate. Both social and individual ownership must exist.

Profits that result from a sacrifice or effort on the part of society and that are not the product of any work on the part of individuals belong to society and may not be appropriated legitimately for themselves by individuals. The large sums that will result from collecting surplus values in the name of society will serve as capital for the factories and farms to be established for the benefit of society.

¹ The legendary, eponymous ancestor of the Turks, alleged to have been the son of Yāfith, the son of Noah. See Devereux, "Al-Kāshgharī and Early Turkish Islam," *Muslim World*, *op. cit.*

Earnings of these public enterprises will be used to establish special refuges and schools for paupers, orphans, widows, invalids, cripples, the blind and the deaf, as well as public gardens, museums, theatres and libraries; to build housing for workers and peasants; and to construct a nation-wide electric power network. In short, everything necessary will be done to end all forms of misery and to assure the well-being of the populace. When this social wealth becomes great enough, in fact, it will no longer be necessary to collect taxes from the people; at least, it will be possible to reduce the kinds and amounts of taxes.

The economic ideal of the Turks is to prevent the appropriation of social wealth by individuals without abolishing private ownership and to try to preserve and increase this wealth for use in the interest of the whole. The Turks also have a second economic ideal, which is to endow the country with large industry. Although some persons assert that, "Ours is an agricultural country and must remain such. We must not attempt to establish large industry," this view is completely wrong. We will indeed never abandon agriculture, but if we wish to become a modern nation we must definitely have large industry also.

The most important of Europe's revolutions was the economic revolution, which can be defined as the substitution of a national economy for a local economy and of large industry for small crafts. A national economy and large industry, however, can only be created by application of a protectionist system. National economic theorists will be our guide in this matter. John Rae¹ in America and Friedrich List in Germany proved that the school of economics founded in England by the Manchestrans was not a universal and international science but merely a system of national economy that was peculiar to England.

England, as a great industrial country, has to export its manufactures and to import raw materials, so that the only suitable system for England is the principle of free tariffs, that is, an open door policy. The adoption of this principle by nations that, unlike England, do not have large industries must inevitably result in their becoming economic slaves to industrialized countries. The two reformers (i.e. Rae and List) each formulated a special system of national

¹ John Rae (1796-1872). Author of *Statement of Some New Principles on the Subject of Political Economy, Exposing the Fallacies of the System of Free Trade, and of Some Other Doctrines Maintained in the "Wealth of Nations,"* Boston, 1834.

economy for his own country and worked so that his country might acquire large industry. Their efforts were successful. Today, America and Germany have developed large industry comparable to that of England and now follow England's open door policy. They know full well, however, that their ability to achieve their present development was due to the application for many years of a protectionist policy.

The task of Turkish economists is, first, to study the economic reality of Turkey and, second, to formulate on the basis of their objective studies a scientific and fundamental program for our national economy. Once this program has been formulated, every individual must work within its framework to create large industry in our country. The Ministry of Economy must exercise a general supervision over individual efforts.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

POLITICAL TURKISM

Turkism is not a political party but a scientific, philosophic and aesthetic school of thought. Or, to phrase it differently, it is a course of cultural effort and renovation. This is why Turkism has thus far not entered the arena of political struggle as a party. Nor is there any chance that it will do so later. Yet, Turkism cannot remain entirely indifferent to political ideals, for Turkish culture involves political as well as other ideals. For example, Turkism can never come to an understanding with clericalism, theocracy and despotism, because Turkism is a modern movement and, as such, can come to an understanding only with modern movements and ideals.

Today, Turkism supports the Halk Firkasi (People's Party), which has given sovereignty to the nation (i.e., the Turkish people) and the names Turkey to our state and Turkish nation to our people. Until the Anatolian Revolution the name of our state, of our nation and even of our language was Ottoman. The word Turk was never heard; no one dared to say, "I am a Turk." Not very long ago Turkists were detested by the court and the narrow-minded because they did dare to make such a claim. Then, under the inspiration and leadership of our great savior, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the Society for the Defense of Rights (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti*), the forerunner of the People's Party, delivered Turkey from enemy invasions, conferred their true names on our state, nation and language, and eliminated from our policy the last traces of absolutism and fragmentationism. We may truthfully say that the Society for the Defense of Rights unknowingly applied the political program of Turkism. For truth is one and cannot be two, and those who seek the truth, even if they proceed along different paths, will arrive at the same point in the end.

The ultimate agreement of Turkism and Populism on the same program results from the fact that both conform to realities and both reflect the complete truth. One manifestation of this identity was the participation in the Anatolian struggle without exception of all Turkists, as its most passionate defenders. In Turkey, God's sword was wielded by the Populists and His pen by the Turkists. When the Turkish fatherland was endangered, the sword and the pen were

married and from this marriage was born a society, whose name is the Turkish nation.

In the future, also, Populism and Turkism will always march forward with joined hands towards the world of ideals. Every Turkist will continue to be a Populist in the field of politics and every Populist will be a Turkist in the field of culture. Our religious catechism teaches us that our school of theology is that of al-Māturīdī¹ and our school of jurisprudence that of Abū Ḥanīfa. By analogy we can suggest this slogan: our doctrine in politics is Populism and in culture Turkism.

¹ Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥanafī al-Mutakallim al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī (d. 944/5). See EI, II, pp. 414-15.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

PHILOSOPHIC TURKISM

Science is international because it is objective and positive. Turkism cannot, therefore, be classed as a science. Philosophy is also based on science, but it is a form of thought entirely different from scientific thought. Philosophy can claim to be objective and positive only because it is compatible with sciences that do possess those attributes. Philosophy cannot prove judgments which science refutes nor can it deny truths which science proves. Philosophy is restricted vis-a-vis science by these two reservations but is otherwise completely free.

Philosophy is capable of offering new and original hypotheses which offer our souls more hope, rapture, comfort and happiness, provided that it does not contradict science. To seek and discover such hypotheses and views is, in fact, the mission of philosophy. The value of a philosophy is measured by the degree to which it is in harmony with the positive sciences and by the hopes, raptures, comforts and happiness it gives to souls. In other words, one aspect of philosophy is objective, another subjective. Philosophy is thus not obliged to be international as science is; it can also be national, which is why every nation has a philosophy of its own. For the same reason, Turkism may be found in philosophy just as in ethics, aesthetics and economics.

Philosophy is a disinterested and unprejudiced mode of thinking that material needs do not require and compel. This mode of thinking is called *speculation*, the Turkish word for which is *muakale* (A: *mu'āqala*). A nation cannot produce individuals who will speculate until it has been freed of fighting and has attained economic prosperity, because speculation is thinking for the sake of thinking. A nation burdened with a thousand different troubles is compelled to think about living, about defending itself, and even about eating and drinking. Thinking for thinking's sake can be enjoyed only by persons who have been relieved of the need to think about problems of life and who can live without working. Since Turks have never enjoyed such repose and comfort, they have produced very few men who were able to devote their lives to speculation. And since they (the Turks) did not know the modes of thinking, they could not

properly administer their ideals, which usually got lost in the dead-ends of dervishism and bohemianism.

The existence until now of only a few philosophers among the Turks must not be ascribed to the theory that Turks are incapable of speculation. This paucity is more correctly attributable to the fact that Turks have not yet reached a level as regards positive sciences, repose and comfort that would make speculation possible. In any case, the Turks' backwardness in philosophy applies only to advanced philosophy, for they lead all other nations in the field of folk philosophy.

The French philosopher Rostand once remarked that although it was very useful for a military commander to know how many soldiers, weapons and ammunition the opposing enemy had, it was even more useful for him to know the philosophy of the enemy army. In truth, when two armies and two nations are at war, the philosophies of the two sides are the principal factors determining which is to be the victor and which the vanquished. An army that considers individual life more important than national independence and personal interests more valuable than honor and duty will always be defeated, while an army having the opposite philosophy will always emerge victorious. As regards philosophy of the people, are the Greeks and English or the Turks more advanced? The fighting at the Dardanelles and the battles in Anatolia provided the answer to that question. What made the Turks victorious in those encounters was not material force but the philosophy which dominated their souls.

The Turks conquered and subjugated every nation in Asia, Europe and Africa until the last century when physical weapons made their spiritual strength ineffective. In other words, Turkish philosophy was superior to the philosophies of other nations. The same is still true today, although we have fallen behind European nations as regards material civilization and physical weapons. World hegemony will undoubtedly pass to us the day we equal them in civilization. When we were prisoners at Mondros, an English camp commander there said, "Some day the Turks will conquer the world."

Thus, even though advanced philosophy has not made much progress among the Turks, the philosophy of the people is very advanced. Philosophic Turkism means finding and exposing this national folk philosophy.

O Turkish youth of today! The accomplishment of all these tasks has been awaiting you for centuries.

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