Pan-Turkism
by Berna Pekesen

Pan-Turkism is the name given to the idea of uniting all Turkic-speaking peoples of the Caucasus, the Volga-Ural region, the Crimea, Western and Central Asia under the aegis of a greater Turkish state. According to Pan-Turkist advocates, Turkic peoples have certain characteristics in common, such as related languages, a supposedly common descent and common history, and cultural traditions. Pan-Turkism was inspired by linguistic, ethnonomological and racial research in European Oriental Studies in the 19th century. The "scientific" foundations of Pan-Turkism, which are rejected today, go back to contemporaneous "Turk research". The terms Pan-Turkism and Turanism were often used synonymously in the beginning, although the geographical reach of the latter was greater. Pan-Turkism appeared among the Turkic peoples in the Russian Empire, especially in the Volga-Ural region, in conjunction with a "national awakening". Around 1900, Pan-Turkism also developed in the Ottoman Empire into a political independence movement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS
1. The Influence of European Oriental Studies
2. Russian Muslims and Pan-Turkism
3. Pan-Turkist movement in the Ottoman Empire
4. Appendix
   1. Sources
   2. Literature
   3. Notes

Indices
Citation

The Influence of European Oriental Studies

The term "Tur'an" has been used since the 6th century as a designation of geographical space in the sense of "Turkestan", which means "land of the Turks". Barthélemy d'Herbelot (1625–1695) ([1] Media Link #ab) introduced the term "Tur'an" into European scientific discourse ([1] Media Link #ac) in his work Bibliothèque orientale, published in 1697, to designate the eastern and northern areas of the river Amu-Darja. The river begins at today's border between Afghanistan and Tajikistan and flows into the Aral Sea.[1] In the 19th century, the meaning of the terms "Turân" and "Turanian" was expanded and they were examined together from linguistic and ethnological perspectives. The Finnish philologist and ethnologist Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) ([2] Media Link #ad), who dealt with the Ural, Altaic and Paleo-Siberian languages, postulated a linguistic, cultural, and racial unity of the so-called Ural-Altaic peoples. The German Orientalist Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) ([2] Media Link #ae) in turn introduced the term "Turaniens" as a new category for the non-Indo-Germanic and non-Semitic speaking peoples of Europe and Asia.[2]

The Hungarian Turkologist Armin Vámbéry ([3] Media Link #af) (Hermann Wamberger, 1832–1913) is regarded as the "pioneer" of the Pan-Turkist and Turanist currents.[3] The linguist, ethnologist, and well-known Turkophile, undertook extensive journeys through the Ottoman Empire ([3] Media Link #ag), Russia, Central Asia, and Persia and publicly expressed his observations in numerous lectures and books. He searched for linguistic and ethnonomological connections between Hungarian and the so-called Altaic languages (or East Turkic idioms). He became the most important exponent of the now obsolete Ural-Altaic thesis, according to which the Hungarian language belongs to the Altaic ("Turko-Tataric") language group. According to Vámbéry, the ancestors of the Hungarians came from Central Asia and were related to the Turks. In his preface to Reise in Mittelasiien (1873), Vámbéry wrote that his aim was to explore commonalities between Hungarians, Finns, and Tatars.[3]

Vámbéry, later referred to as the "advocate of the East", also valorized the term "Turk".[4] As Vámbéry writes, educated Turks who regarded themselves as Ottomans felt "downright insulted" when he tried to enlighten them about their "Turkish" origin during a stay in Constantinople in the 1880s. The Ottoman state elite, which in part consisted of Christian converts, felt committed to a high Ottoman culture that exceeded regional and ethnic differences. The relationship to a "nomadic people" that Vámbéry attributed to them was therefore felt to be an affront. In their eyes, the term "Turk" only applied to the lower people, the nomads and the peasants.[5] Vámbéry
attributed this perception to the fact that Islam (Media Link #ah) had caused, like nowhere else in the Ottoman Empire, a "de-nationalization" and that the "present day Ottoman" was a person "in whose veins flows a vanishingly small part of Turkish blood (and) whose physicality has not the slightest trace of the typical Turk".7

Vămbéry's Turan and Ural-Altaí research was in the tradition of 19th century Hungarian and Western European orientalist research. After initial resistance, his views also met with broad acceptance among the Ottoman state elite and the intelligentsia. It is probably due to Vămbéry's prominence in the Ottoman Empire that Pan-Turkism, which in the second half of the 19th century first began to articulate itself culturally and then at the turn of the century also politically, was often referred to as Turanism. In fact, both terms were often used as synonyms, both in the Ottoman Empire and in contemporary European diplomacy as well as in the Russian Empire.8 Still, the geographical scope of Turanism was greater than that of Pan-Turkism. While the latter aimed at the unity of all Turkic peoples (Media Link #a), Turanism, sometimes also tautologically referred to as Pan-Turanism, postulated the unity of the Turkish, Mongolian and Finno-Ugric peoples. It ascribed to them the common original home "Turan", a mystically glorified region in the Central Asian steppe.9

Other researchers in the context of Western European Oriental Studies, which began to institutionalize in the second half of the 19th century, also provided inspiration for the idea of Pan-Turkism. While the French Orientalist Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800) (Media Link #a) already in 1756 put the "barbaric" peoples of the Huns, Turks, and Mongols into the European historical picture,10 his compatriot and colleague Léon Cahun (1841–1900) (Media Link #a) about a century later became the most important source of inspiration for Pan-Turkism, alongside Vămbéry. Cahun's romantically written work Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie; Turcs et Mongols des origines à 1405 (Media Link #a), which appeared in 1896, had a major influence on the French-speaking educated Ottoman class.11 The book could be found in all bookshops in Constantinople and was translated into Turkish in 1899 by Necip Asım Yazıksız (1861–1935) (Media Link #a).12 Cahun's study inspired, among others, Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924) (Media Link #a) – the most famous Pan-Turkist and thought leader of Turkish nationalism – to do his own research on the history of the "Turks" in pre-Islamic times.13 Léon Cahun described the Turks as a "conquering nation", which boasted warriors who were superior to those belonging to the Arabs and Persians. He declared not only the Mongolian warlord Genghis Khan (1162–1227) (Media Link #a), but also the first inhabitants of Europe to be Turks. Prominent Orientalists such as the Russian schoolteacher Wilhelm Radloff (1837–1918) (Media Link #a) and Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd (1869–1930) (Media Link #a) also provided important work on the history and linguistic diversity of Central Asia and inspired future Turkologists and anthropologists. At the same time, natural-scientific influences were starting to be felt in contemporary linguistics and ethnolinguistics, for example in the case of the German philologist and Indo-Europeanist August Schleicher (1821–1868) (Media Link #a). Following Charles Darwin’s (1809–1888) (Media Link #a) dictum of the survival of the fittest, he predicted the downfall of the inferior language groups in favor of the superior Indo-European languages.14 Subsequently, leading Turkologists and Orientalists attempted to prove that the Turkic languages are also capable of surviving and, moreover, that they are spoken by language carriers who have made an important contribution to Western civilization.

In this context, the works of Mustafa Celâleddin Paşa play a special role. The Polish emigrant (born Konstanty Połkłoźc Borzęcki, 1826–1876 (Media Link #a)), who converted to Islam after his flight to the Ottoman Empire in 1848 and joined the Ottoman civil service, was central to propagating the Turkish idea of unity and the civilization of the "Turks". In his book Les Turcs anciens et modernes (1869), he claimed that the Turkish language was one of the original languages that had an important influence on Latin and Greek and that the sources of Western (Media Link #a) civilization were to be found in the Turkish past. Celâleddin viewed the reproduction of the Turkish language with the Arabic-Persian alphabet as problematic. He demanded both a purification of the Turkish language from foreign elements and the adoption of the Latin alphabet.15 With these theories and others, Celâleddin Paşa laid the foundation for the developing Turkish national movement.16

On the basis of these works the Ottoman intelligentsia began to deal with the pre-Islamic past of the "Turks".17 Ahmed Vefik Paşa (1823–1891) (Media Link #a), Ottoman bureaucrat and writer, explained to his compatriots the necessity of a genuinely national history and called for decoupling ancient Turkish history from the Ottoman history.18 His contemporary Süleyman Paşa (1838–1892) (Media Link #a) focused on the prehistory of the Ottomans19 in his book Tarih-i Alem;20 ("World History", 1876), which gave expression to the ideas of Western Orientalists. At a time when only classical treatises of Ottoman-Islamic history were taught in Ottoman secondary schools, Süleyman Paşa introduced for the first time compendia dealing with ancient Turkish history. Semseddin Samı (1850–1904) (Media Link #a), playwright, writer and translator, also devoted himself to Turkish linguistics and in 1899 published a Turkish dictionary (Kamus-i Türkî),21 which would become the basis for standard contemporary Turkish for many years.22
The preoccupation with the origins of the "Turks" in the Ottoman Empire went hand in hand with the period's modernization efforts (Media Link #a9). Among the educated classes of the Ottoman Empire, interest grew in secular European culture, Western intellectual trends, technology (Media Link #a2) and science. As a reaction to European philhellenism (Media Link #b0), the Ottoman hommes de lettres also increasingly devoted themselves to the history of Western philosophy, Greek antiquity, and Western literature and poetry. These studies were primarily concerned with emphasizing an equivalent standing with Europe and demonstrating that the Ottomans and Turks were also among history's "oldest" state-founding peoples.

The first cultural impulses to awaken a genuinely Turkish national feeling, which, again, had arisen under the influence of the European intellectual world and referred solely to the "Turks" in the Ottoman Empire, remained a marginal phenomenon compared with the officially promoted supranational concept of "Ottomanism". In fact, the first advances met with resistance from Islamic Orthodoxy and the Sublime Porte. Thus some of the publications from the circle of the Young Ottomans were banned as subversive, such as the poems of İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871) (Media Link #b1) from the year 1859, the linguistic research of Şemseddin Sami, and the play Vatan ("Fatherland") from Namık Kemal (1840–1888) (Media Link #b2), after its premiere in 1873.  

In a time of emerging independence efforts (Media Link #b3) of the Christian peoples, Ottomanism was declared, as a kind of imperial patriotism, state policy in order to protect the multi-ethnic empire from drifting apart. The imperial decrees of 1839 and 1856 and the Ottoman Constitution adopted in 1876 were intended to create a modern territorial state (Media Link #b4), which would give its citizens, regardless of origin, equality before the law and guarantee the free exercise of religion. The reforms were primarily intended to strengthen state authority, neutralize the secessionist forces in the Empire, and thus counteract the expansionist efforts of European powers. This was especially true of Russia, which presented itself as the protector of the Orthodox population (Media Link #b5) in the Ottoman Empire. Under these circumstances, the Ottoman leadership did not find it expedient to promote nationalism based solely on Turkish ethnicity.

After it proved impossible to neutralize the Christian national movements, however, the state-sponsored policy of pan-Islamism alternately came into play. In order to help bind the Muslim imperial populations (Albanians, Arabs, Kurds) – which were also experiencing a "national awakening" – to the multi-ethnic empire, stronger appeals were made to the common bond of religion and the Islamic idea of unity (itimad-i Islâm). The expulsion of Muslim Caucasian peoples (Media Link #b6), who flowed into the Ottoman Empire on a massive scale after the conquest and pacification of the Caucasus by the Tsarist Empire, also provided new legitimacy for the politics of pan-Islamism under Sultan Abdülmecit II (1842–1918) (Media Link #b7). Broadly speaking, it can be said that until around 1900 the ideological foundations for a Pan-Turkist movement had been laid, but that its far-reaching political and social impact did not unfold in the Ottoman Empire until after the turn of the century. Tatar-Turkish emigrants from the Tsarist Empire played a decisive role in this process.

**Russian Muslims and Pan-Turkism**

For good reasons, the Russian Muslims had already developed a national consciousness before their fellow believers in the Ottoman Empire. In turn, this formed the spiritual basis for the development of political Pan-Turkism. While the raison d'être of the Ottoman state elite consisted in ensuring the cohesion of the multi-ethnic and multi-denominational multi-ethnic empire with supranational integration concepts, the Russian Muslims, on the other hand, belonged to one of the numerous foreign ethnic population groups which in the second half of the 19th century produced different varieties of a national-religious relocation movement.

The "national idea" did not emerge simultaneously among the Russian Muslims. There were various Muslim population groups in the Tsarist Empire. They differed considerably in their ethnic composition, in their cultural and political traditions as well as in their ways of life and economy. They had also had different experiences foreign rule: While the settled Volgatarians had already lived in the Russian territory since the 16th century, the nomadic Muslims of Central Asia (Media Link #b8) did not come under Russian rule until the
second half of the 19th century. What these population groups had in common was a devotion to Islam and, as a rule, language. The dialects of the Turkic languages differed from region to region, yet mainly in phonetics and vocabulary, not typology. Communication between the speakers of most Turkic languages was therefore possible. The 1897 census found that about 90 percent of the Turkic-speaking inhabitants of the Tsarist Empire (who in turn made up about 11 percent of the total population) were Muslims. In other words, even before the "national awakening" the shared belonging to Islam offered an opportunity for identification, while language played no more than a subordinate role. For the nationally mobilized Russian Muslims, therefore, the question soon arose as to what role Islam would play in their national identity construction: Was religion secondary in comparison to the modern idea of ethnic origin and national belonging or was it a primary ideology of "integration overlaying other identities"?

The genesis of national consciousness and the Pan-Turkist idea, which drew on the same pool of myths and symbols, were promoted by certain internal and external developments and circumstances. The Russian urge for expansion, the cultural civilizing mission, the policy of conquest, and pacification towards foreign ethnic groups and denominations played a role in this. Nonetheless, the imperial oriented Russian policy since the 18th century was not systematically anti-Muslim, but vacillated between pragmatism and open repression with aggressive forms of assimilation politics (Russification, Christianization). On the one hand, in the first half of the 18th century, the policy of assimilation was able to oppress Islamic institutions in the Volga-Ural region, since they were regarded as sources of a tradition of Muslim resistance. On the other, they reflected a willingness to cooperate with the secular Muslim elites. The territorialization of the Russian Empire according to the Western European concept of nation-states in the late 19th century was a major step forward in the 19th century. It was not only a reaction, among other things, to separatist nationalisms – in subjecting foreign nationalities to rigid assimilation pressure, it also evoked them.

The development of the national idea among the Tatars in the Tsar Empire correlated with the economic and socio-cultural development stage of the respective Muslim settlement areas within the Tsarist Empire. In particular, it was the economically more developed regions around Kazan in Crimea and in Azerbaijan in which a specific "Tatar" or "Turkish" national consciousness emerged in the 19th century. The torchbearers of the national movement were the economic (i.e. merchants and entrepreneurs) and spiritual elites, because they were directly affected by the Russian assimilation policy. For the economic elites, the Russifying homogenization pressure entailed substantial financial losses and discrimination. The development and expansion of the trade and industrial enterprises of the Tatars were constrained or even prevented by high tax burdens and the restrictive measures of the Russian government.

The regional cultural life of the Tatars was also beset more and more by Russification pressure. A number of Islamic schools (medrese) were closed and the new construction of schools and mosques were subjected to restrictions. In Kazan, the Orthodox Theological Academy sprang into action to advance the Christianization of the young Tatars by establishing the Il'minskij School (named after the Russian Orientalist Nikolai Ivanovič Il'minskij (1822–1891)) in 1863. Kazan-Tatar elites were confronted with the challenges of modernization in the Russian Empire, not least due to the military reform of 1874, which for the first time made military service compulsory for Muslims. They initially responded with an Islamic reform movement. Impulses for the "national awakening" also came from the university founded in Kazan in 1804, where Oriental studies and Tatar lessons were introduced and Tatar publications were produced in their printing works. Tatar publishing, which flourished in the 19th century, had extraordinary appeal even beyond the regional borders.

In Azerbaijan as well, the industrialization beginning from the middle of the 19th century and the socio-economic transformation processes it triggered led to the emergence of an entrepreneur-capitalism and a Muslim bourgeoisie. The Russian integration pressure and the added communal conflicts with Armenians and the European colonists also encouraged a return to one's own culture. Like the Tatars in Kazan and Crimea, the Azeris reacted to the social upheavals by reshaping their social, cultural, and denominational lives. The emergence and spread of the Muslim-Turkish printing industry in the 19th century promoted the migration of ideas not only in the Muslim communities within the Tsarist Empire, but also beyond its borders. While the Ottoman Empire traditionally had a strong gravitational pull as the spiritual and intellectual center of Muslims, cultural and economic ties were even closer after the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877/1878, which sparked the mass migration of Russian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire.
The renewal movement of Islam known as Jadidism, which combined the reformation of the Islamic religion with enlightened secular demands, is regarded as the precursor of a "modern" national consciousness. Not least due to the influence of the Crimean Tatar Ismail Gaspirali (1851–1914), Jadidism stood for a reinforcing of the Muslim sense of togetherness through reformed Islam and the formation of a nation variously understood as Muslim, Turkish, or Pan-Turkist. The "imagined" nation was predominantly understood as the ancestral community of Turkic peoples, held together by the bond of ethnic and linguistic origin. Like other nationalisms, Jadidism also referred to a nation that had already existed historically, had been destroyed in the course of Russian colonization, and needed to be revived. For this purpose, a common writing and language culture had to be created first, just as the modern European cultural role models had already done by standardizing their respective languages. In the newspaper Tercümân ("Translator", 1883-1918), published by Gaspirali, the linguistic aspect of national identity was a primary focus. From this standpoint, the cultural self-determination of the Turkic peoples was only possible within the framework of linguistic standardization, which would then entail the "unity in language, thought and action" ("dilde, fikirde ve işte birlik") of the Turkic peoples. Gaspirali envisioned an all-Turkish language, which would be spoken from the "Crimea to Herat, from Constantinople to Kashgar" by all "Turks", by the educated as much as by the common people. The newly created Turkish language needed to be purified both of the ornamental components of Ottoman-Turkish and of Russian language elements and thus contribute to a better understanding of the Muslims of Russia and the Ottoman Empire. Until the Russian revolutionary year of 1905, the newspaper Tercümân became the most important organ of the Tatar nationalists as well as of the Jadidist language reform. It also met with great approval among the elites in the Ottoman Empire.

The idea of national self-determination as a discourse of progress spread by the Jadidists exerted influence on the Muslim intelligentsia of the Russian Empire beyond regional and national borders. For them and, with a postponement also for the Ottoman elites at the turn of the century, the European concept of the nation was seen as an indicator of modernity and progress. Depending on the region, historical period, and reform milieu, Jadidism was interpreted as Islamism, Turkism or Pan-Turkism. But unlike Pan-Turkism, which shared the secular-nationalist assumptions with Jadidism, the latter did not see any political demand to detach from the Russian Empire.

The Volga and Crimean Tatars became pioneers of the national current not least because of the impulses emanating from Jadidism. In the last decades of the 19th century, political circles formed here with Pan-Turkist, Tatar national, Pan-Islamic, socialistic and liberal tendencies. Similar developments were also witnessed among the Azeris, who were linguistically more closely related to the Turks of the Ottoman Empire. Here, too, Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkist movements found supporters who were in competition with the liberals and socialists. Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkist ideas, on the other hand, were not mutually exclusive, but sometimes reinforced each other. As a Turk, one was generally also Muslim at the same time. Under Pan-Turkist influences, however, the point of view increasingly narrowed until Islamic history, geography, language and, finally, Islam itself came to have a "Turkish" connotation.

The protagonists of the Turkish and Pan-Turkist currents, which were generally synonymous during this period, found their inspiration in the early works of European and Russian Oriental Studies and Turkology outlined above. They contributed considerably to giving the bourgeoning movement a scientific aura and to situating the national ideology historically. The Turkological picture of the racial and ethnic origin of the Turks, the stylization of their language and customs, and the myth of the common Turkic descent of all Turkic peoples provided powerful arguments for the Pan-Turkist activists.

One of the first to formulate the political program of Pan-Turkism was the Azerbaijani Ali Bây Hüseynzâdâ (Turan) (1864–1940). Hüseynzâdâ had studied medicine in St. Petersburg, where, like most of his fellow students, he became inspired by Pan-Slavism and socialism. In the 1890s, he continued his studies in Constantinople and joined the Young Turkish secret society (“Committee of the Ottoman Union”). He took part in the Greco-Turkish War (1897) and returned afterwards to Baku to become one of the leaders of the nationalist movement and to promote the unification of the Transcaucasian Turkic peoples with the Ottoman Empire. Hüseynzâdâ was the transnational propagandist of the Pan-Turkist movement, and his thinking was based on a secular-positivist world view. History from this perspective was understood as a development process and the nation state as the highest stage of development. The national idea was seen as the engine of progress, for only nation-conscious societies could have produced European civilization. With the slogan "Turkization, Islamization, Europeanization" ("Türkleştirmek, İslamaştırmak, Avrupalıylaştırmak"), Hüseynzâdâ articulated the ideological thrust beyond the borders of the Russian Empire, which became the basis of the all-Turkish movement. Not least, he inspired the theories of Ziya Gökalp, the later ideologist of Turkish nationalism.
Under these conditions Yusuf Akçura (1876–ca. 1935) (Media Link #bs), an intellectual and politician of Kasan-Tatar origin, became a symbolic figure of Pan-Turkism, which was familiar in Russia and in the Turkey and in Western Europe. In 1904, Akçura wrote the essay Üç tarafı siyaset ("Three Ways of Politics"), which was published in Cairo. Although it was initially ignored by the Ottoman public, it became the manifesto of the Pan-Turkist movement after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. In the essay, Akçura settled accounts with the official state ideology of the Ottoman Empire (Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism) and saw the only possibility for the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire in the unification of all Turkic peoples. Before the Russian Revolution of 1905, he returned to Kazan, where he became one of the leaders of the national movement of the Kazan Tatars and co-organized the all-Islamic union "İttifak". Akçura was elected to the parliament (Duma), which was convened for the first time in Russia. In Kazan, he published the newspaper Kazan Muhbirî ("Kazan Correspondent", 1905–1911). After the end of the Russian "Spring of Nations" and the resurgence of autocracy, Akçura emigrated to Constantinople in 1907, where he published the magazine Türk Yurdu ("Home of the Turks"), the most important organ of Pan-Turkist propaganda. He also founded the "Society of Tatar Emigrants", the "Society of Students from Russia", the "Society of Crimean Students" and the "Bukharic Charity". Together with other emigrants from Russia, he was also involved in the founding of the association "Türk Derneği" ("Turkish Association"), which, in addition to reforming the Turkish language, sought to awaken a sense of solidarity among the Turkic peoples.

Political liberalization after the Russian Revolution of 1905 came to an abrupt end with the coup d'etat of 1907. Both Pan-Turkist and national movements, with or without political demands for unification with the Ottoman Empire, were now subject to persecution and repression. Like Yusuf Akçura, politicians and intellectuals such as Ahmet Ağaoğlu (1869–1939) (Media Link #bt), Sadri Maksudi Arsal (1880–1957) (Media Link #bu), Resulzade Mehmet Emin (1884–1954) (Media Link #bw) and Ahmed Zeki Veli'di Togan (1890–1970) (Media Link #bw), to name just a few of the prominent names, emigrated to the Ottoman Empire. Under the auspices of Pan-Turkism, they helped nationalism, understood as a guarantor of progress, to become more popular there. The focus of Pan-Turkism thus shifted from the Tsarist Empire to the Ottoman Empire.

Pan-Turkist movement in the Ottoman Empire

The Russian-Turkish intelligentsia was represented from the outset in the opposition movement of the Young Turks ("Committee for Unity and Progress", KEF), which had formed against the absolutist regime of Sultan Abdülhamid II. After the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, the all-Turkish idea gained more and more traction – albeit initially mostly in cultural terms, since the Pan-Turkist ideas met with reservations even at the KEF. At first, Akçura's treatise Üç tarafı siyaset received no notice in Ottoman politics or by the public. Pan-Turkist ideas were generally rejected by supporters of the ancien régime and a large part of the public, especially from a (Pan-)Islamic perspective.

Pan-Turkism found an enthusiastic evangelist in Ziya Gökalp, who gathered around himself a group of disciples with the magazine Yeni Kalem ("Young Pens"). Founded in Thessaloniki, its aim was to propagate the "new ideal" of the all-Turkish idea. In Gaspiralli's sense, the journal promoted a cleansing of the Turkish language from Arabic and Persian elements and proclaimed a new literature and culture "which were to be based solely on the ancient Turkish tradition". Inspired by Western Oriental Studies and Turkology and endorsed by the emigrants from Russia, Gökalp created a national myth of the "imagined" common origin of the Turkic peoples from "Turan". In his poem "Turan", Gökalp thus wrote: "Vatan ne Türkiye'dir Türklerle ne Türkistan - Vatan büyük ve müebbet bir ülkedir: Turan".

The "Turkish ideal" according to Gökalp envisaged a synthesis of ethno-nationalism, modernized Islam, and European progress. Like his fellow Russians, Gökalp dreamed of a vast Turkish empire stretching from Constantinople to China, which would revive the ancient splendor of the rulers Attila (d. 453) (Media Link #bx), Genghis Khan, and Timur (1338–1405) (Media Link #by). The "red apple" was regarded as a symbol of the world-power aspirations of the (Pan-)Turkists.

The defeats of the Ottoman Empire in the Tripoli War (1911) and the Balkan War (1912) gave political Pan-Turkism a boost. After the Balkan Wars 1912/1913, the multi-ethnic empire had to forfeit its European possessions, except for Eastern Thrace. The defeats of the Ottoman armed forces were explained, among other things, by the soldiers' lack of patriotism. The uprising of the Muslim Albanians
(1912) and several uprisings in Yemen and Hauran (Syria) also shook the faith in the umma (community of Muslims), which supposedly stood above all nationalisms. Previously, Russia's defeat in the Japanese-Russian War (1905) had shown that the arch enemy was not invincible. The Young Turkish Committee for Unity and Progress, which had been the sole government since the coup d'état of 1913, continued to be committed to defending the unity of the still multi-ethnic and multi-denominational empire for pragmatic political reasons. At the same time, though, it took radical measures to Turkize the country. This was felt above all in the areas of economic, educational and settlement policy and had devastating effects on the already conflict-laden relations with non-Muslim communities. During this period, Pan-Turkist journalism flourished. The magazine Türk Yurdu ("Home of the Turks") was founded in 1911, under the direction of Yusuf Akçura. The organization "Türk Ocağı" ("Turkish Stove") was founded in 1912 to "awaken a sense of solidarity among Turks all over the world" and to contribute to elevating the "intellectual, social and economic level for achieving the perfection of the Turkish language and race".

After the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War on the side of the Central Powers, the day of reckoning with Russia seemed to have arrived. The realization of the Pan-Turkist visions, the "liberation of the brothers abroad", now looked like a real possibility. The Ottoman war propaganda openly called for Russia's destruction, and Gökalp proclaimed confidently in his "Red Ballad" ("Kızıl Elma Destanı"): "The enemy's land will be in ruins. Turkey will grow, it will become Turan". ("Düşmanın ülkesi viran olacaktır - Türkiye büyüyecektir Turan olacaktır.")

Tekin Alp (Mois Cohen, 1883–1961) (Media Link #bz), a young Macedonian Turk and one of the leading Pan-Turksists, did not mince words in his propaganda text Türkler bu Muharebede Ne Kazanabilirler (Media Link #co) ("What can the Turks gain from this war?", 1914), which also appeared in Weimar in 1915 under the German title Türkismus und Pantürkismus. He wrote that the unification of all Turkic peoples under Ottoman leadership could be realized by the destruction of the "Muscovite enemy":

> If Russian despotism is overthrown by the brave German, Austrian and Turkish armies confronting it – as one may hope – thirty to forty million Turks will gain their independence. Together with ten million Ottoman Turks, the result will be a large nation of fifty million people advancing towards a great new civilization. It is perhaps comparable to the German civilization, for it will have the strength and ambition to ascend more and more.

The disappointment was thus all the greater when, at the beginning of 1915, the Ottoman Army was crushed on the Caucasus front by Russian troops at Sankamış. Instead of the emancipation of the "tribal comrades" from the "Russian yoke", Ottoman territory was now under Russian control. In fact, Ottoman war strategy had anticipated that the Caucasian Muslims would revolt. The uprising of the Adschars (Muslim Georgians) in December 1914, which was suppressed by Russian troops, was tied to the Ottoman policy of inflaming national separatists. However, there was no mass Caucasian insurgency. Like a number of non-Muslim exponents of nationalities in the Russian Empire, representatives of Muslim nationalists and Pan-Turksists also sought to gain support from the Central Powers or the German Reich. For example, a conference of the Volga Tatars, chaired by Yusuf Akçura, was organized to deal, among other things, with the formation of Tatar troop contingents, which were to be recruited from Tatar prisoners of war in Germany.

Enver Paşa (approx. 1881–1922) (Media Link #c1), Ottoman Minister of War during the First World War, is considered one of the most dogged fighters on behalf of Pan-Turkist policy. He took responsibility for the defeat of Sankamış and the invasion of Ottoman troops in Transcaucasia 1918, which led to the temporary capture of Baku. Even after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the World War, Enver Paşa remained faithful to his Pan-Turkist vision. He died fighting against the Bolsheviks in 1922 during the Basmatschi Uprising in today's Uzbekistan.

The collapse of tsarism, however, seemed to open up utterly new opportunities. The February Revolution in Russia in 1917 was a tremendous lift to the national movements mobilized as early as 1905, which perpetuated after the October Revolution. The series of anti-Soviet uprisings and short-lived governments among Turkic peoples in Central Asia are just one aspect of national movements in the collapsed Russian Empire. However, the majority of the political organizations of the Muslim Turkic-speaking population adopted a moderate political course. Against the backdrop of the liberalization of nationality policy in the wake of the February Revolution, the pressing issue was less detachment from Russia than whether "cultural or territorial autonomy was preferable". Indeed, revolutionary
Russia seemed to offer Muslims greater room to maneuver than the still-existing authoritarian Ottoman Empire. Most remarkable perhaps was the situation of the Azerbaijani Musavat Party: As the most important Pan-Turkist party in Azerbaijan during the First World War, it decided strike out on national Azerbaijani course after 1917.71

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire put an end to all the imperial Pan-Turkist dreams in one fell swoop. It is no exaggeration to say that it was accompanied by the demise of the emergent political Pan-Turkism. While it is open to debate just how strongly it had influenced the actual politics of the Young Turks, especially after 1913, it cannot be asserted – despite all the lofty rhetoric of Pan-Turkist expansion – that it became the dominant ideology. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the Turkish War of Independence (1918–1923) the idea of a Turkish nation-state involving Anatolia prevailed. It left no room for aspirations of cultural unity, which inevitably opposed Soviet Russia, let alone for imperial Pan-Turkism. This was already dictated by the fact that the Turkish national movement around Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) (1881–1938) did not intend to alienate its only ally, the Bolsheviks.72 Pan-Turkist ambitions were thus rejected in the Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923. Finally, in the Second World War, the Pan-Turkist movement was briefly revived, albeit weakly. The German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 held out the promise of re-establishing a connection with the Muslims of the USSR. But after the German defeat at Stalingrad in 1943, these considerations were suppressed and outlawed.73 In contrast, the Turkish-national origin myth lives on to this day, which portrays "Turan" as the original home of the Turks and civilization-creating peoples like the Sumerians and Hittites as ancient Turks.74

Berna Pekesen (Media Link #4)

**Appendix**

**Sources**

Akçura, Yusuf: Üç tarz-ı siyaset, Cairo 1904.


Celâleddin, Mustafa: Les Turcs anciens et modernes, Constantinople 1869.


Herbelot, Barthélemy d': Bibliothèque orientale ou dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connaissance des peuples de l'Orient, Paris 1697, online: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k82422h [17/01/2019].

Vámbéry, Armin: Reise in Mittelasien, Leipzig 1873, online: http://archive.org/stream/reiseinmitteleas00vmoog [17/01/2019].


Vámbéry, Armin: Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen, Leipzig 1885, online: http://archive.org/stream/dastrkenvolkinso00vmoog [17/01/2019].

Vámbéry, Armin: Der Ursprung der Magyaren, Leipzig 1882, online: http://archive.org/stream/derursprungderma00vmoog [17/01/2019].


Sami, Şemsieddin: Kamus-i Türkü, Constantinople 1899.

Schleicher, August: Die darwinische Theorie und die Sprachwissenschaft, Weimar 1873.

**Literature**

Adam, Volker: Russlandmuslime in Istanbul am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkriegs, Frankfurt am Main 2002.


Heyd, Uriel: Language Reform in Modern Turkey, Jerusalem 1954.


Johanson, Lars et al. (eds.): The Turkish Languages, London 1998.


Krecker, Lothar: Deutschland und die Türkei im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Breslau 1964.


Notes
1. "Herbelot, Bibliothèque orientale 1697.
4. Vámbéry, Reise in Mittelasien 1873; see also Vámbéry, Magyaren 1882.
6. Vámbéry, Türkenvolk 1885, p. 612. According to Vámbéry, the term "Türkei" already had a derogatory meaning in the 16th century in the sense of "coarse, unpolished" (Vámbéry, Türkenvolk 1885, p. 612). On his later journeys through the Ottoman Empire, Vámbéry discovered that the Turks were no longer ashamed of their origins. See also Vámbéry, Struggles 1904, p. 353.
9. Wiederkher, Eurasische Bewegung 2007, p. 88. Since the second half of the 19th century, Hungary and the Ottomans have come closer together in the cultural sphere. Around the turn of the century, various associations and organizations with a "Turans令sic" orientation were established in Hungary, including the "Turán Társaság", which carried out lively cultural work with state support. The magazine Turán appeared in 1913. See Önen, Iki Turan 2005, pp. 57–65. On the Hungarian Turan
movement, see Kessler, Turanism in Hungary 1967. Both Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire felt threatened by Pan-Slavism and Russian expansion in the Balkans, which is why they allied themselves against the Russian menace. Hungarian Oriental Studies and especially the Turanists helped to found an anti-Slavic front consisting of Bulgarians, Hungarians, and Ottomans. Ironically, the Turanist avowals decreased when Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War. According to Hostler, since then "only the Turks alone” have stuck to this "pseudo-movement" (Hostler, Türkên 1960, pp. 241ff.).

Despite the different meanings of the terms Pan-Turkism and Turanism, these terms continued to be confused in political literature and European diplomacy, but also by their advocates in the Ottoman Empire itself (Hostler, Türkên 1960, p. 243). In Turkey, for example, a court case against Pan-Turkists was initiated in 1944, which was publicly known as "Irkçılık-Turançılık Davası” ("Racism-Turanism Trial"). The defendants partly described themselves as Turanists, although they actually meant Pan-Turkism (in Turkish: "Türkçülük"). See Özdoğan, Turan 2001, pp. 89–125.

16. Aytürk, Turkish Linguists 2004, p. 4. See also Schleicher, Darwinian Theory 1873.
18. "Cf. Aytürk, Turkish Linguists 2004, pp. 8ff. According to Şükrü Hanioglu, Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), the founder of the Turkish state (1923), was an avid reader of Mustafa Celâleddin Paşa; he was especially inspired by Celâleddin Paşa’s call for language reform. Cf. Hanioglu, Ataturk 2011, p. 172.
22. "On the influence of Western European historiography on the Ottoman intelligentsia, see Lewis, History Writing 1953, pp. 218–227; Key, Outline 1954; see also Neumann, Bad Times 2002, pp. 57–78.
24. For further works on Turkish linguistics created during the Tanzimat period and their authors, see Aytürk, Turkish Linguists 2004.
25. "Jäschke, Turanism 1941, p. 3. For the intellectual and political ideas of the Young Ottomans, see Mardin, Genesis of Young Ottoman 1963; Kuran, Impact of Nationalism 1968, pp. 109–119.
26. "As a result of the Russian Caucasus campaign, about 80 percent of the Muslim population of about 500,000 had to leave the Western Caucasus. Cf. Holquist, Count 2001, pp. 113–119. According to Carpathian estimates, between 1859 and 1879 1.5 million people, mostly from Circassians, were expelled from their homelands. Between 1881 and 1914, another 500,000 people fled to the Ottoman Empire. Cf. Carpathian, Ottoman Population 1985, p. 69. See also Allen / Muratoff, Caucasian Battlefields 1953; Broxup, North Caucasus 1992; Sanders / Tucker / Hamburg, Russian-Muslim 2004.
29. "According to the 1879 census, the total population of the Russian Empire was 125.6 million; the Muslim population was estimated at 13.6 million. Landau, Pan-Turkism 1995, p. 7. Among the Muslim Turkic-speaking population of the Russian Empire, Landau counts among others the Volga Tatars, Crimean Tatars, Kazakhs, Turkmen, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Azeris as well as a part of the Tajiks.
34. "On Russian military reform, see Benecke, Militär 2006.
36. "Carpathian, Politicization 2001, pp. 283–287. For information on migration and flight movements from Russian to the Ottoman Empire, see references in Note 26.
37. "The term Jadidism was derived from the term "usul-ü şadid" (in Turkish: "usul-ü cedid"), which stood for secular teaching methods in Islamic schools and gradually became synonymous with the adoption of Western techniques and ideas. The reformers fought against the supposed cultural backwardness of the Muslim communities and, among other things, advocated
equality between men and women. Lazzerini sees in this reform movement a synthesis between Western progress and Muslim traditions (Lazzerini, Reform und Modernismus 1989, pp. 35–47).

41. Hostler, Türk 1960, p. 159.
45. Adam, Sürün nach Turan 2000, p. 204.
49. Akçura, Üç tarzlı siyaset 1904.
50. In the wake of the Russian defeat in the war against Japan in 1905, the dissatisfaction with the autocracy of Nicholas II (1868–1918) grew. After the brutal suppression of a peaceful demonstration by tsarist soldiers, opposition groups were formed nationwide, including such diverse population groups as peasants, liberal aristocrats, bourgeois intellectuals, and socialists from the labor movement. There were strikes, mutinies, and numerous protests, which were violently put down the tsar. In the end, however, Nicholas II had to heed the demands for reforms and promised his people greater freedoms and the establishment of a parliament, the Duma, in the so-called October Manifesto of October 30, 1905. The latter, however, was already dissolved in 1907.
52. For Türk Yurdu see Dumont, La Revue 1974, pp. 315–331.
56. Akçura himself opposed the Young Turks in the "Milli Meşrutiyet Partisi" ("National Constitutional Party"), which he co-founded and which pursued a decidedly Turkish nationalist line. See Georgeon, Nationalisme turc 1980, pp. 41ff. Berkes, Development 1964, p. 322. Criticism of Pan-Turkism was voiced, for example, by Islamic journals such as Sebilibürəşad ("The Path of Guidance") and Sirat-ı Müstakim ("The Straight Road"). They took the view that the principle of nationalism contradicted Islam and that the Pan-Turkists' policy was to divide Muslims. Cf. Alp, Türkismus 1915, pp. 20–25.
58. "For the Turks, the fatherland is neither Turkey nor Turkestan — their fatherland is a great and eternal country: Turan", quoted in: Jäschke, Turanism 1941, p. 5.
60. Tekin Alp, one of the earliest followers of Pan-Turkism, wrote in 1915 about the lost Balkan wars in 1912/1913: "A Turkish national consciousness had not yet awakened. But a soldier who goes into battle without this national ideal cannot perform well. If the Turks had possessed a national consciousness in the Balkan wars, they would probably have been spared much hardship, not only in the wars with their neighbors but also in the 'fight for life', in their inner development." (Alp, Türkismus 1915, p. 60)
62. Alp, Türkismus 1915, p. 27.
63. Quoted in: Jäschke, Turanism 1941, p. 8.
64. Alp, Türkler 1914.


74. ^ Behar, İktidar ve Tarih 1996. In linguistic terms, Pan-Turkist ideas also found their way into the Turkish language reform of the 1930s. At the beginning of the language reform, linguistic research on the other Turkic languages was intensified. The reformers used them in many ways to create equivalents for Arabic and Persian language elements. During this time, the ominous "Sun Language Theory" was also developed, according to which all languages allegedly originated from Turkish. Geoffrey Lewis described the language purification and language reform of Turkish, which was carried out excessively until recently, as a "catastrophic success". See Lewis, Turkish Language Reform 1999; Heyd, Language Reform 1954; Lewis, Turkish Language 1999; Çolak, Language Policy 2004.
Europe after the Congress of Vienna of 1815

Islam in Europe

Distribution area of the Turkic peoples in the 20th century

Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800)

Léon Cahun (1841–1900)

Necip Asm Yaziksiz (1861–1935)

Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924)

Genghis Khan (1162–1227)

Wilhelm Radloff (1837–1918)

Vasilij Vladimirovič Bartol’d (1869–1930)

August Schleicher (1821–1868)


Nezih Arat

[Link to Nezih Arat's biography]

Link #at
• Mustafa Celâleddin Paşa (Konstanty Polklozic Borzęcki, 1826–1876) (http://viaf.org/viaf/45109845)

Link #au

Link #av
• Ahmed Vefik Paşa (1823–1891) VIAF (http://viaf.org/viaf/63994195) DNB (http://d-nb.info/gnd/124646689)

Link #aw
• Süleyman Paşa (1838–1892) VIAF (http://viaf.org/viaf/2760111) DNB (http://d-nb.info/gnd/136370640)

Link #ax
• Şemseddin Sami (1850–1904) VIAF (http://viaf.org/viaf/29685410) DNB (http://d-nb.info/gnd/119498286)

Link #ay

Link #az
• Technology (http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/backgrounds/technology/marcus-popplow-technology)

Link #b0

Link #b1
• İbrahim Şinasi (1826–1871) VIAF (http://viaf.org/viaf/67555435) DNB (http://d-nb.info/gnd/129793116)

Link #b2
• Namık Kemal (1840–1888) VIAF (http://viaf.org/viaf/90717347) DNB (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118985299)

Link #b3

Link #b4

Link #b5
• The Dogs of War, 1876 (http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/the-dogs-of-war-1876)

Link #b6

Link #b7
Abdüülhamid II (1842–1918), the "Red Sultan", ca. 1900

Kazakh woman in wedding garment on horseback, 1911-1914

Islamic States in Europe in 1480

Colonialism and Imperialism

Russification / Sovietization

Christian Mission

Economy / Trade

Nikolai Ivanovič Il'inskiĭ (1822–1891)

ABCs of the Tatar language, 1778

Book Market

Industrialization
Tekin Alp, Türkler bu Muharebede Ne Kazanabilirler 1914, Internet Archive.


- Enver Paşa (c. 1881-1922)


- Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) (1881-1938)


http://www.ieg-ego.eu ISSN 2192-7405