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THE EVOLUTION OF A CONCEPT:  
“VATAN” FROM HOMETOWN TO SHARED PLACE

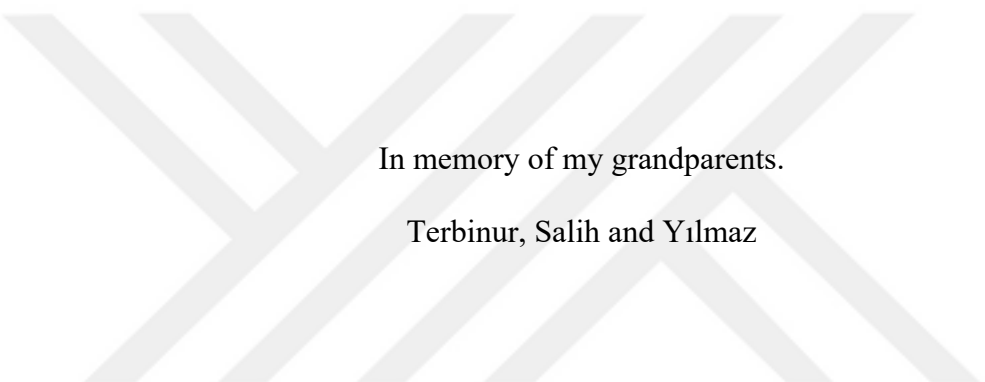
THE EVOLUTION OF A CONCEPT: “VATAN”  
FROM HOMETOWN TO SHARED PLACE

A Master’s Thesis

by  
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Department Of  
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Ankara  
July 2024





In memory of my grandparents.

Terbinur, Salih and Yılmaz

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FROM HOMETOWN TO SHARED PLACE

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences  
of  
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

ÖZLEM ELİF İŞLER

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ANKARA

July 2024

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By Özlem Elif İşler

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope  
and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of History

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## ABSTRACT

THE EVOLUTION OF A CONCEPT: “*VATAN*”

FROM HOMETOWN TO SHARED PLACE

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M.A, Department of History

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This thesis examines the perceptual transformation of the concept of homeland in the Ottoman Empire from the early modern period to the early twentieth century. This study seeks answers to the questions of how the concept of homeland was transformed from a place where one was born and raised in the early modern Ottoman Empire to a place to die for by gaining a sacred and powerful meaning in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It also argues that this political, social and spatial transformation of the concept of homeland cannot be explained only by the emergence of nationalism and Turkist policies. This thesis argues that the idea of the homeland came to the forefront as a shared living place, and shared homeland (*vaṭan-ı ‘umūmî*) in the nineteenth century and strengthened as a place where all the historically integrated constituents of the Ottoman Empire (*ittihād-ı ‘anâşır*) could live and struggle together.

This study demonstrates that one of the most important reasons for the strengthening of the emphasis on the shared homeland was the migration towards the remaining borders of the Ottoman Empire, Anatolia, as a result of the great territorial losses that began at the end late nineteenth century and continued at the beginning of the twentieth century.

**Keywords:** homeland, shared living place, *ittihād-ı ‘anâşır*, *vaṭan-ı ‘umūmî*, immigrants



## ÖZET

### BİR KAVRAMIN EVRİMİ: KİŞİNİN DOĞDUĞU YERDEN ORTAK MEKANA “VATAN”

İşler, Özlem Elif

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç

Temmuz 2024

Bu tez, erken modern dönemden yirminci yüzyılın başlarına kadar Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda vatan kavramının algısal dönüşümünü incelemektedir. Bu çalışma vatan kavramının erken modern Osmanlı’ında nasıl kişinin doğup büyüdüğü yer iken on dokuzuncu yüzyıl ve yirminci yüzyılın başlarında kutsal ve güçlü bir anlam kazanarak nasıl uğruna ölünecek bir yer haline geldiği sorularına yanıt aramaktadır. Bununla beraber vatan kavramındaki bu siyasi, sosyal ve mekânsal dönüşümün sadece milliyetçilik ve Türkçü politikaların oluşumuyla açıklanamayacağını tartışmaktadır. Bu tez, vatan fikrinin on dokuzuncu yüzyıl ile birlikte bir ortak yaşam alanı ve ortak vatan (vaṭan-ı ‘umūmî) olarak ön plana çıktığını ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’ndaki tarihsel bütünlüğü olan bütün unsurların (ittihād-ı ‘anâşır) ortak olarak yaşayabileceği ve mücadele edebileceği bir yer olarak güçlendiğini öne sürmektedir. Ortak vatan

vurgusunun güçlenmesindeki en önemli sebebin de on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonundan başlayarak yirminci yüzyılın başında da devam eden büyük toprak kayıpları sonucu Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kalan sınırlarına, Anadolu'ya doğru yaşanan göçler olduğunu göstermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** vatan, ortak yaşam alanı, ittihād-ı 'anâşır, vaṭan-ı 'umūmî, muhacirler



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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background and Objectives

Until the nineteenth century, the homeland was not seen as a territory that was socially owned and to be fought for in the Ottoman Empire. In the early modern period, homeland referred to a space where a person was born and spent all or a significant part of his or her life: hence his or her home. Those who lived in that space rarely traveled beyond the nearby town or city. The concept of the homeland was far from having a paternal or ancestral meaning, like *patris* in Greek or *patria* in Latin.<sup>1</sup> In time, the definition of homeland expanded to encompass a territory of a country characterized by the state as *memleket*, *memâlik-i mahrûse* in the early modern period. The current thesis examines the evolution of the perception of homeland, from referring specifically to one's birthplace, hometown, or home village in the early modern period to encompassing the farthest reaches of the country where all Ottoman subjects lived. Trying to understand this transformation forms the centerpiece of this study. The changing political, social and economic conditions played an important role in this transformation. Understanding this transformation can also provide a framework for studying the formation of nations and nation states. Homeland is a valuable concept, both as a geographical space and as a powerful idea, because it is a place for which people would fight to the death, feel nostalgia and longing for, and around which they would build community and unity around. Therefore, the aim of

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard Lewis, "Watan," *Journal of Contemporary History* 26, no.3/4 (1991): 524.

this study is to try to understand how the perception of space of ordinary individuals can expand while the perception of space and the political vision of the state narrows and converges into the concept of homeland, and how the idea of homeland gains power and value and becomes sacralized.

The central questions I seek to answer in my thesis are how and why people's perceptions and sense of belonging, and with these their conception of homeland, correspond to narrow spaces to which people's loyalties and sense of belonging were attached, such as their neighborhoods, hometowns or villages, changed in the nineteenth century and evolved into the concept of homeland as inclusive of all areas within the borders of a country. With what motivations did the state and ordinary individuals portray the concept of homeland as sacred, a place to be saved and, if necessary, a place to die for? Why and how did people embrace this perception? Did the homeland belong to a certain group or to all Ottoman subjects? Can the concept of homeland be evaluated separately from the nationalist approach?

The current thesis will decouple the study of the homeland from nationalism in the Ottoman case. My study draws needed attention to how Ottomans in the early modern period that preceded the age of nationalism, including both ordinary individuals and state officials, understood and used the concept of homeland. It underlines the process by which they took up the homeland as a concept and how it evolved under changing circumstances. In the existing literature on the early modern period to the early twentieth century, no comprehensive evaluation of space that brings together the perspectives of both ordinary individuals and the state has yet appeared. I begin this thesis by discussing the perception of space and the spatial concepts used in the early modern period to try to explain the underpinnings and reasons why it took on importance and changed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Furthermore,

since previous studies on the homeland in the Ottoman Empire focused on the concept of homeland starting from the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of their evaluations were based on nationalism. However, this concept underwent a process of tremendous change both in the minds of ordinary individuals and in the political understanding of the state from the early modern to the modern period. I assert that this transformation process was multidimensional and multifactorial, and so it cannot be explained by Turkish nationalism alone. Therefore, this thesis considers the homeland as the shared living place of a historically united society in the process of transformation. I do not deal with the concept of homeland from a nationalist approach or as a place based on ethnicity; on the contrary, I argue that defining the idea of homeland as a place that all Ottomans shared, who have a historical unity, strengthened the idea of homeland.

## **1.2. Sources and Methodology**

To answer these questions, this thesis mainly relies on Ottoman archival documents, judicial court records, memoirs, newspapers, and novels. With the State Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey (BOA), various documents from different *defters* can be accessed digitally. I benefited from the archives of the *Hariciye Nezareti*, the Foreign Ministry; those of *Dahiliye Nezareti*, the Internal Ministry; letters, telegrams, and alliances. I also used chronicles, poems, and judicial court records to examine the spatial concepts used in the early modern period. In this way, it is possible to comprehend which concepts were used more frequently when referring to ordinary individuals and which spatial concepts were preferred when referring to sultans and state officials.

Furthermore, I studied the newspapers and magazines in the periodicals section of the *Milli Kütüphane* (National Library) in Ankara to investigate the political atmosphere of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to analyze places with the concept of homeland was associated.

Moreover, I have benefited from a significant number of memoirs, autobiographic novels, plays, and poems that will help to understand late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman society such as the writings of Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha, Cavid Bey, Kazım Nami Duru, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Necati Cumalı, Mithat Cemal Kuntay, and Giritli Tahmisci-zâde Mehmed Macid. Memoirs and literary works were very crucial to search for answers to questions about how the concept of homeland appeared in the expressions of people's ideas, with which words they articulated it, and to which emotions the idea of homeland appealed. These memoirs, novels and plays mostly were authored by members of the Committee of Union and Progress because it was the beginning of a new era for the empire. By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the political language of the CUP had become so dominant that their expansive idea of homeland had become widespread and consolidated.

In this thesis, I employed a content analysis of the archival documents, chronicles, texts and other sources that I identified and found to be closely related to my research topic. I then evaluated these findings comparatively in terms of time and space and turned them into historical data. Finally, I organized these historical data into a historical narrative through induction.

Hence, I consider the transformation of the concept of *vaṭan* as a product of historical process, and I will examine the factors that transform the conception of homeland chronologically through the documents. I aim to write a culturally specific

story of the concept of homeland in the Ottoman Empire, rather than simply treating it as a term adapted from the Western usage. To this end, I both conceptualize and contextualize the idea of homeland as it changed under difficult influences and through successive phases. Thus, in a chronological manner, I analyze how people understood and employed the concept of homeland in the documents in which they used it and thereby reconstruct what significance it held for them from the early modern period to the early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.3. Literature Review

Historiography on the conceptual and perceptual transformation of the homeland as a concept has an essential place in the literature. The value of studying the concept of homeland is that it can be used to understand the foundations of countries, their political visions, the process of forming a nation, and social, cultural, and political perceptions of individuals in society through the transformation of space.

One of the starting points for examining the homeland and conducting academic studies on it is the exploration of space. Space was neglected until political geographers began to put emphasis on it in the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>3</sup> As a result, problematizing geographical space and examining it with its social dimensions created a new field called “spatial history,” allowing historians to rethink the historical perceptions of space and place.<sup>4</sup> The origin of this spatial history is based

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<sup>2</sup> For the conceptual history side see: Helge Jordheim, “Conceptual History,” to be published in *Bloomsbury History: Theory and Method*. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, “Conceptual History and Conceptual Transfer: the Case of ‘Nation’ in Revolutionary France and Germany,” in *History of Concepts: Comparative Perspectives*, eds. Iain Hamish Monk, Kaiun Tilmans, and Frank Van Vree (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), 115-128.

<sup>3</sup> Robert J. Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and USSR* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), p.5.

<sup>4</sup> Özer Ergenç, “Individual’s Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World: “Vatan” and “Diyar-ı Aher” within the Triangular Context of “Memalik-i Mahruse”, “Diyar-ı Acem” and

on the idea of linking space with people and its social, cultural, and political dynamics. Scholars like David Harvey, Henri Lefebvre, and Yi-Fu Tuan emphasize that space is not just some natural geography; on the contrary, it is something people produce through certain historical, social, and political transformations.<sup>5</sup> According to these scholars, one should not analyze space in isolation but in relation to other subjects in time.<sup>6</sup> Since space was socially produced, it had to be interpreted in terms of historical elements and political processes.<sup>7</sup> The integration of the study of spatial history with geography and social and political structure, and its emphasis on its relationship with individuals, paved the way for studies on the homeland.

The literature on the homeland consists of geographical, political, historical, and literary studies. The homeland is the most critical place where ideologies, identity values, and socio-political or historical relations are produced and reproduced. Yi-Fu Tuan became prominent because he was one of the first to discuss the role of fond memories in creating a central place and the reasons for intense attachment to the homeland.<sup>8</sup> He discusses the intense feeling of loyalty to the homeland, which is complemented by beautiful memories and glorious achievements.<sup>9</sup> Also, he argues that this bond does not require heroic battle victories or losses or any other superiority.<sup>10</sup> His study is critical as it shows the relationship between homeland and emotions and

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“Frengistan” (Paper presented at the Ottoman Topologies: Spatial Experience in an Early Modern Empire and Beyond, Stanford University, May 2014), 1.

<sup>5</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 2016) quoted in Richard White, “What is Spatial History?”, *Stanford University Spatial History Lab*, submitted in 1 February 2010.

<sup>6</sup> David Harvey, “Space as a Key Word,” in *David Harvey: A Critical Reader* (New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 2016).

<sup>8</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan [DUÀN Yì-Fú · 段義孚], *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, MN & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1977). Tuan distinguishes unknown, empty “space” from known, inhabited, familiar “place.” Although I do not dwell on making this distinction strictly, my study sheds light on the process by which Ottomans in early modern to modern times turned previously unknown lands, or what Tuan might have called “space,” into a known place, i.e., their homeland.

<sup>9</sup> Tuan, *Space and Place*, 149, 154.

<sup>10</sup> Tuan, *Space and Place*, 159.

examines the factors underlying people's attachment to their homeland. Also, Nostrand and Estaville claim that people need to feel an emotional attachment to enable a homeland to exist and to have a natural and cultural connection to their homeland.<sup>11</sup> From then on, the study of homeland shifted to a phase that emphasized more social, political, and historical processes.

Another important shift in the historiography of the homeland began by considering the homeland together with concepts such as nationalism, nation-state, and the nation. Agnew's theory of place-based nationalism, which attributes an emotion to place, paved the way for the study of the homeland in light of nationalist ideologies.<sup>12</sup> Agnew's theory is a product of a period when nationalism studies were widespread and intense. However, his view also dominated the work of later political geographers. Geographers such as Peter J. Taylor and Jan Penrose began to focus more on the impact of the concepts of nation, nationalism, and state on the transformation of the homeland.<sup>13</sup> Taylor argues that the unification of state and nation into a nation-state enables a sovereign territory to become a sacred homeland; namely, a space becomes a place.<sup>14</sup> He considers that space is socially transformed into a homeland, a place, by being filled by people and nations with specific values.

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<sup>11</sup> Richard L. Nostrand & Lawrence E. Estaville Jr. "Introduction: The Homeland Concept," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 13, no.2, (1993): 1-4.

<sup>12</sup> John Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*, (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

<sup>13</sup> Peter J. Taylor, "Places, spaces and Macy's: place-space tensions in the political geography of modernities", *Progress in Human Geography* 23, No:1, (1999): 7-26. Jan Penrose, "Nations, states and homelands: territory and territoriality in nationalist thought," *Nations and Nationalism* 8, No:3, (2002): 277-297.

<sup>14</sup> Peter J. Taylor, "Places, Spaces and Macy's: Place-Space tensions in the Political Geography of Modernities," *Progress in Human Geography* 23, No:1, (1999): 14.

The homeland is seen as a kind of home, a place where the inhabitants share it and feel that they belong to the same family.<sup>15</sup> This feeling of belonging to the same family is also related to the idea of having the same ancestors. Therefore, the perception of homeland becomes an instrument in forming nationalism.<sup>16</sup> This makes homeland and nationalism inseparable components of each other.<sup>17</sup> In other words, as Kaiser emphasized, a sense of homeland was the most fundamental step in creating a nation. This then evolved into a national homeland, a nationalist form of territory.<sup>18</sup> Studies examining the nation, nationalism, and nation-state concepts with the concept of homeland constitute the majority of the literature.

The most significant contribution of these studies is to present that the homeland as a phenomenon that defines and contains the nation. Moreover, by using the homeland to define the nation and accepting the people living there as a unity, the homeland becomes not only spatial but also political and historical. However, considering the homeland only in terms of nationalism and the national homeland prevents the discussion of what actually unites society. Therefore, adding socio-political dynamics such as shared memories, common culture, and history makes it possible to discuss what kind of place the homeland is and how one may define it, independent of the later concept of the nation.

Studies on the perception of space and the concept of homeland in the early Ottoman Empire are quite limited. Although scholars of the early modern Ottoman Empire have generally stated that the homeland in the early modern period referred to

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<sup>15</sup> Adalat Muradov & Ferruh Tuzcuoğlu & Yusuf Ziya Bölükbaşı, "The Construction of Geography by Nationalism: Homeland, Motherland, Fatherland," *Khazar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 24, no:1, (2021): 15

<sup>16</sup> Muradov&Tuzcuoğlu&Bölükbaşı, The Construction of Geography by Nationalism, 16.

<sup>17</sup> Nadav G.Shelef&Alex Zhi-Xiong Koo, "Homeland and Nationalism," *Nationalities Paper* 50, no:3, (2022): 417.

<sup>18</sup> Robert J.Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and USSR* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 10, 22.

people's birthplace, hometowns, village; they have not explained what lay outside the homeland for ordinary people, how space was defined for the sultan and state officials, and whether the concept of homeland had a place in state rhetoric. One of the few comprehensive studies to address these topics is that of Özer Ergenç, in which he divides the perception of space in the early modern period into the individual and the state and analyzes spatial concepts.<sup>19</sup>

Studies on the nineteenth century and later are more prevalent. For instance, Behlül Özkan and Sezgi Durgun discuss that the transformation of the homeland is not just a change in the definition of territory, but it is supported by the transformation of a religiously defined nation into a nationally designated imagined community as defined by the nation-state.<sup>20</sup> To explain this, they both make a very comprehensive analysis and examine the effects of daily politics, geography education, military services, and of governments' attempts to instill a love of homeland on the emergence of Turkish identity and perceptual transformation of the homeland by transferring the nation's loyalty from the sultan to the homeland. Although these books study how the concept of homeland is reinforced and transformed through geography lessons, mass mobilization movements, or militarization, their common shortcoming is that they present a top-down narrative by focusing on the nationalization process and the creation of a Turkish identity.

Yahya Kemal Taştan argues in his book that the transformation and redefinition of the homeland was the effect of Balkan Wars and nationalization because protecting

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<sup>19</sup> Özer Ergenç, "Individual's Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World: "Vatan" and "Diyar-ı Aher" within the Triangular Context of "Memalik-i Mahruse", "Diyar-ı Acem" and "Frengistan"" (Paper presented at the Ottoman Topologies: Spatial Experience in an Early Modern Empire and Beyond, Stanford University, May 2014).

<sup>20</sup> On the term imagined community, see: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006). Behlül Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan: The Making of National Homeland in Turkey*, (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2012). Sezgi Durgun, *Memalik-i Şahane'den Vatan'a* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011).

and dying for the homeland represented was a national duty.<sup>21</sup> He discusses the fact that the homeland embodies the ancestors and heroes of a nation make the homeland sacred.<sup>22</sup> Also, he argues that the sanctification of war and the strengthening of the identity of us against the other transforms the homeland into a place where national consciousness is displayed.<sup>23</sup>

Halil Nalçaoğlu argues in his article that territory began to be defined as homeland only after it was lost; he adds that this was conceived in terms of the uniqueness of homeland and race, which was the nationalist rhetoric integrated by the early republican period.<sup>24</sup> In addition, Tanıl Bora discusses the role of the homeland in creating the national state by defining it not as a concrete place but as an abstract, romanticized value as part of the formation of the Turkish nationalist ideology.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, in her article, Sarah Menzies argues that the sense of protectiveness toward homeland feeds Turkish nationalism, which in turn emphasizes the unity of Turks.<sup>26</sup> According to Ayhan Aktar, the transformation from country to fatherland began with the homogenization of the Turkish population. This demographic-engineering project was for to strengthen the perception of the Turkish homeland after the Balkan Wars.<sup>27</sup> Even though these approaches added insights on issues such as the construction of national identity and a national homeland in the Early Republican

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<sup>21</sup> Yahya Kemal Taştan, *Balkan Savaşları ve Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Doğuşu*, (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2017).

<sup>22</sup> Taştan, *Balkan Savaşları*, 27.

<sup>23</sup> Taştan, *Balkan Savaşları*, 45.

<sup>24</sup> Halil Nalçaoğlu, “Vatan: Toprağın Altı, Üstü ve Ötesi.” (“Homeland: Beneath, Above, and Beyond the Soil.”) *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, Cilt 4. ed. Tanıl Bora ve Murat Gültekinil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 300.

<sup>25</sup> Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar: Türkiye’de Siyasi İdeolojiler*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 242-246.

<sup>26</sup> Sarah R. Menzies, “The Transformation of an Empire to a Nation State: From the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey”, *Scripps Senior Theses*, Paper 443, 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Ayhan Aktar, “Conversion of a ‘Country’ into a ‘Fatherland’: The Case of Turkification Examined, 1923–1934.” *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 21–35.

period, they did not focus on what the process meant to the ordinary people; in other words, they offered limited approaches to how the broader society's perception of the homeland changed.

On the other hand, there are also studies that treat the homeland as a more of a shared place and present a different perspective on the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Michelle Campos discusses how Muslims, Christians and Jews became imperial citizens and how the Ottoman nation cannot be treated as a mere imaginary imperial community, presenting the existence of a common struggle and political interaction over a shared homeland.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, Julia Phillips Cohen argues that, although she does not focus on the homeland specifically, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, Ottomans and Jews understood the duty of becoming an imperial citizen, formed a unity. Also, she emphasized that in the case of the Jews, patriotism was not imposed by top-down policies, but rather was adopted by the people from the bottom up.<sup>29</sup> One of the important comprehensive studies is Kenan Özkan's Ph.D. dissertation, in which he discusses the relationship between migrations and the love of homeland. At the same time, he argues that through a territorial approach, concepts such as common homeland, common destiny, and nation also came to the fore and fed the spirit of struggle.<sup>30</sup> Also, İlhan Tekeli contends that the "balkanization migrations," which occurred during the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire into nation-states, formed the present ethnic composition of Anatolia and the relocation of those who remained inside, then relocated again internally; and the pain

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<sup>28</sup> Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Early Twentieth Century Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

<sup>29</sup> Julia Phillips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>30</sup> Kenan Özkan, "İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Geçişte Göçlerin Rolü (1918-1923)" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2020).

of being uprooted, facilitated the emergence of a new nation-state from within the Ottoman Empire against all these difficulties.<sup>31</sup>

Hence, geography and spatial history studies associate the concept of the homeland with the emergence of nationalist ideologies, the formation of nations, and security issues in the period leading to the nation-state. Studies on the homeland in the Ottoman Empire focus on territorial losses, the Turkish nationalist policies of the CUP, the strengthening of nationalism with the Balkan Wars, and the more systematic use of educational and political tools towards the early republican era. Another focal point in the literature is the perception of nostalgia for one's ancestral home nostalgia and ownership of the past in nation-state formation.

To contribute to this impressive literature, I argue that the transformation in the perception of the homeland was achieved through the unification of people in Ottoman society as a shared living space. Therefore, this thesis consists of three main chapters. The first main chapter, Chapter II, examines the perception of space in the early modern period through various spatial concepts used to differentiate space for the state, the sultan and *'askerî* members, and for the *re'âyâ*, the ordinary individuals. Chapter III examines how the concept of homeland gradually changed in meaning starting from the end of the eighteenth century. Chapter III also distinguishes between the first modern use of the concept of homeland in the Ottoman Empire and its perceptual transformation, emphasizing the influence of the Tanzimat and the Young Ottomans. I revisit the dimensions and causes of the perceptual transformation of the homeland in the discussion of the last chapter. Chapter IV analyzes the impact of the massive migrations that affected the Ottoman Empire from the late nineteenth century to the

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<sup>31</sup> İlhan Tekeli, *Göç ve Ötesi*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008).

early twentieth century and the influence of the Committee of Union and Progress, which shaped the political discourse on the sacralization of the homeland. This final chapter concludes with a discussion of a new phase in the perception of the homeland, as the Turkish homeland.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **PERCEPTION OF SPACE AND SPATIAL CONCEPTS IN THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

To understand the transformation of the concept of homeland in the Ottoman Empire, it is necessary to analyze what homeland meant in the early modern period, how people defined its borders, and whether it was identified as the same place in the political vision of the sultan and state officials, officials in the upper levels of administration (*‘askerî*) and for the ordinary individuals, (*re‘âyâ*). This chapter will analyze the spatial perception of the state and the individuals in terms of the political vision and the spatial belonging.

Firstly, I prefer the term early-modernity to refer to the period before the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire rather than the pre-modern or classical period. This is because this concept not only enables comparisons between the Ottoman Empire and its European and Asian counterparts but also places the transformations of the Ottoman Empire in a more global historiography.<sup>32</sup> It also allows historians to relate

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<sup>32</sup> Virginia H. Aksan, Boğaç A. Ergene, and Antonis Hadjikyriacou. “Introduction: Chasing the Ottoman Early Modern,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 7, no. 1 (2020):7,8. Boğaç Ergene, “On Ottoman Early Modernity: Scattered Thoughts Pretending to Be a Position Statement,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 7, no. 1 (2020): 25. Ali Yaycıoğlu, “Ottoman Early Modern,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 7, no.1 (2020): 70-73.

modernizing reforms and transformations that began in the nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Considering the transformation of the concept of homeland as a historical process will make it possible to examine the spatial perceptions of the state and the ordinary individual and how these changed over time.

This chapter aims to analyze the spatial concepts used in the early modern period to understand the political vision of the sultan and state officials and the *re'âyâ*'s sense of belonging to the space in question. To make this analysis, I use a variety of primary sources such as judicial court records, *mühimme* registers, and other archival documents -chronicles, poems, and stories from the early modern period- to discuss the perception of space. The spatial concepts used by the sultan and state officials and what they meant by them can be inferred from the *mühimme* registers, chronicles, and archival documents. In the Ottoman Empire, the sultan and state officials expressed their view of world domination through various spatial concepts of jurisdiction, administrative organization, and preservation, which they established in their domain spatially within the empire.

On the other hand, it is more problematic to understand the spatial perception of the *re'âyâ*. To grasp how the belonging of ordinary individuals is shaped, whether they felt a spatial attachment to their homeland or not, it is essential to study the spatial concepts used by the *re'âyâ*. It is challenging to see the exact spatial concepts that the *re'âyâ* themselves used, because the extent to which the sources convey their words is controversial. Therefore, to examine *re'âyâ* and space, I use archival documents to understand what spatial concepts state officials associated with individuals when they mentioned or discussed a problem about them. I also use the judicial court records to

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<sup>33</sup> Jane Hathaway, "A Preliminary User's Guide to the "Early Modern" Tool in the Ottomanist Scholarship," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 7, no.1, (2020): 42.

examine a selection for the concepts that the *re'âyâ* used, but how much they contain direct statements is questionable.

Ottoman judicial court records, as Dror Ze'evi argues, like all other sources, cannot simply be a mirror for understanding society because all sources are complex webs of meaning in which social reality, prejudice, tropes, and the interventions of editors are inextricably blended to create a written source.<sup>34</sup> In addition, Ze'evi emphasizes that these records reflect a small part of a larger story and that there may be various stories behind the written record.<sup>35</sup> For him, judicial court records should be regarded as a cultural product that needs to be analyzed within the context of production.<sup>36</sup> Hence, these records should be used as more critical and methodological sources.

On the other hand, Leslie Peirce used three cases from Ottoman judicial court records in her book as an example of micro-history.<sup>37</sup> She discusses that since first-person narratives were lacking in the early modern period, judicial court records are essential for reaching ordinary individuals and their stories.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, in his quantitative study, Boğaç Ergene uses many judicial court records as a data bank to understand the social groups, group identities, and legal practices in the mid-eighteenth-century Ottoman Kastamonu.<sup>39</sup> In his study, Ergene critically evaluated many registers to clarify a problem.

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<sup>34</sup> Dror Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Sharī'a Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal," *Islamic Law and Society* 5 (1998): 37.

<sup>35</sup> Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Sharī'a Court Records...", 50.

<sup>36</sup> Iris Agmon and Ido Shahr, "Theme Issue: Shifting Perspectives in the Study of Sharia Courts: Methodologies and Paradigms," *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (2008): 13.

<sup>37</sup> Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

<sup>38</sup> Peirce, *Morality Tales*, 87.

<sup>39</sup> Boğaç A. Ergene, "Social Identity and Patterns of Interaction in the Sharia Court of Kastamonu (1740-44)," *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (2008): 20-54. Agmon and Shahr, "Theme Issue", 16.

Despite the ongoing debates about judicial court records, I consider them a source where we can also see the words used by *re'âyâ*. Even though the record draft is like a template, there are parts of the record that stay the same and do not change; the statements made by the defendant and the plaintiff do not change.<sup>40</sup> Also, I proceeded comparatively and found that both the words used by the *re'âyâ* in the judicial court records and the spatial concepts used to refer to individuals in the chronicles and state documents were the same. Concepts such as *mülk* and *memleket*, which the writers used to define the political vision of the state, are not used in conjunction with ordinary individuals. The concept of *vaṭan* is also used in judicial court records, state documents, and chronicles to describe the spatial belonging of individuals.

Recognizing the limitations of the judicial court records in terms of how directly they convey the voices and stories of ordinary individuals and acknowledging the shortcomings of not using a large number of records, this chapter aims to provide an insight into how the spatial perception of the sultan and state officials in the early modern Ottoman world was differed from that of the *re'âyâ* and to contribute to the understanding of spatial and political transformation in the nineteenth century.

## 2.1. Social Structure of the Early-Modern Ottoman Empire

In the Ottoman Empire, society consisted of communities: *tā'îfes* and *cemā'ats*.<sup>41</sup> These communities could be divided by religion and occupation, and a person could belong to more than one community. Some mutual obligations came with

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<sup>40</sup> For a judicial court record template see: Nil Tekgöl, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-Modern Ottoman Society: An Attempt To Write Ottoman History From "The Inside Out"" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Bilkent University, 2016), 60-61.

<sup>41</sup> Özer Ergenç and Nil Tekgöl, "“Role Model” Defined For The Ottoman Individuals and Its Change Throughout Time,” in in New Trends in Ottoman Studies, Papers presented at the 20th CIPO Symposium Rethymno, 27 June – 1 July 2012, ed. Marinos Sariyannis (Rethymno: University of Crete, 2014), 768.

being a member of a *ṭā'ife* and *cemā'at*. The first of these obligations was to gain the approval of the community to which one belonged; in other words, the community members had to be pleased and be thankful (*rıza ve şükrân duymak*) to each other.<sup>42</sup> As they were pleased with each other, each was considered each other's guarantor and was responsible for each other (*müteselsilen kefil*). Secondly, they had to share the common expenses of the area and society where they lived. This community organization was significant for the social and cultural ties of the society and in terms of giving people a sense of belonging. These shared responsibilities, the emotional approval they gave and received with the other members of the community to which they belonged, and the resulting guarantees they made to one another bound ordinary individuals to their community and defined their sense of belonging in the early modern period. On the other hand, for the state, everyone had the status of *re'âyâ*, no matter which *ṭā'ife* and *cemā'at* they belonged to, and it was the highest status of their identities, which, in the view of the state, also covered linguistic, religious, occupational, and spatial distinctions.<sup>43</sup>

Another determinant of a sense of belonging was spatial. In the early modern period, *re'âyâ* and *'askerî* had different perceptions of space. On the one hand, the space where people felt they belonged and formed their identity was relatively narrow; on the other hand, the spatial vision that determined the state's ideology was quite broad. From the state's perspective, space encompassed the territories it ruled, with much wider borders. Also, people were obliged to contribute to local production where they lived, not to disrupt the *timar* system, and to pay taxes. Keeping this system and responsibilities in place was crucial for the orderly conduct of state activities, to meet

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<sup>42</sup> Nil Tekgül, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-Modern Ottoman Society," 169.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 82.

the needs of the general populace, and to maintain social order.<sup>44</sup> In addition, the fact that transportation was difficult, expensive, dangerous, and undesirable mobility restricted people's spatial perception.<sup>45</sup> Hence, in the early modern period society was not "movable", people stayed very close to their living spaces for many years because of the social and economic reasons.<sup>46</sup> Space, therefore, was the most essential part of the individual's identity. People had a sense of spatial belonging similar to what they acquired in their religious and professional groups; that is, they were also part of a community in a spatial sense. Understanding this difference will enable the comprehension of the perception of space in the early modern period in both ordinary individuals' and state aspects, as well as a more multi-dimensional examination of the spatial transformation that would begin in the nineteenth century. The main emphasis should be on how this transformation happened not only geographically but also in terms of the state's vision and ordinary individuals' sense of belonging.

To interpret the perception of space, it is necessary to focus on spatial concepts used in the time period under discussion in the following pages. Many terms were used for space in sources from the early modern period onwards in the Ottoman Empire, as I discuss in the following pages. Each of these terms had different meanings and defined different spatial scales. The variety of spatial terms also attests to the importance of space in the Ottoman Empire. In addition, discussing space helps to understand the state's political vision, the sultan's power, and authority or the form of governance in the Ottoman Empire and space as an integral part of an individual's belonging.

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<sup>44</sup> Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı İktisadi Dünya Görüşünün İlkeleri," *Istanbul University Journal of Sociology* 3 (1989): 178.

<sup>45</sup> For the challenges of travelling in the early-modern period, see: Ülkü Zeynep Babacan, "The Conditions and Methods of the Land Travels of the Ottoman Subjects During the Pre-Modern Era," (unpublished Master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2019).

<sup>46</sup> I used the term 'movable' from Reşat Kasaba's book. Reşat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants & Refugees* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2009).

Therefore, space in the Ottoman Empire should be analyzed in two ways: for the sultan and state officials (*‘askerî*) and the *re‘âyâ*.

## 2.2. The State’s Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire

The sultans’ and state officials’ perception of space had unimaginable limits. For the Ottoman State, the world was a vast space in which the sultan could establish sovereignty. The Ottoman State conceived space within the framework of the broadest imagination and based its political ideology on achieving universal authority and power.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the Ottoman State’s perception of space comprised a worldwide view, and within it, smaller administrative units in his territories in pursuit of achieving universal authority.

According to the sultan and members of the *‘askerî* class, space was perceived from the broadest to narrowest, starting from the world (*cihân, dūnyā*), proceeding to his territories (*memleket, memâlik-i mahrûse, mülk*) and then on to the territories not under the Ottoman rule (*diyâr-ı ‘Acem, Frengistân*).<sup>48</sup> Additionally, there were the administrative units that the Ottoman Empire obtained by dividing the within its domain.<sup>49</sup> In this manner, the Ottoman Empire supported its spatial perception of the world, which sought to expand its sphere of sovereignty with the administrative units it established locally.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ergenç, “Individual’s Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World,” 3.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>50</sup> Vilayet, Eyalet and Nahiye were the names of administrative units in the Ottoman provincial organization. *Eyâlet or vilâyet* was the highest administrative unit in the provinces and was headed by a *beylerbeyi*. The *nâhiye* was a sub-unit of the *ḳaza*, which is in the district of the *ḳādî* (judiciary). This allowed the Ottoman state and the sultan to establish a spatial jurisdiction and to monitor and control the administrative organization.

### 2.2.1. *Memleket*

The spatial perception of the Ottoman state in the early modern period indicated its ideological vision but was difficult to imagine. The Ottoman sultan envisioned world domination (*cihân hâkimiyeti*) and theoretically or idealistically perceived the world as consisting in a *dārü'l İslâm* (abode of Islam) and *dārü'l harb* (abode of war). Ideologically, the Ottoman Empire thus divided the world into two parts: the parts within the Islamic world, where Muslims lived, and the parts outside the Islamic world, where non-Muslims lived.<sup>51</sup> This approach and the vision of world domination already brought a spatial vision that transcended their territories. The politics of achieving universal sovereignty made the state define space in a highly imaginative way.

Moreover, the political vision of the state and the sultan's perception of the space are also evident in the appellations attached to the sultan. The sultan was identified with names such as such as *'âlem-penâh* (a refuge of the entire universe), *cihân-penâh* (a refuge of the whole world), *sulţan-ı cihân-sitân* (the world-conquering sultan), and *sulţan-ı kişver-sitân* (the country-conquering sultan).<sup>52</sup> Hence, these names show that the perception of space was ideologically universal for the state and the sultan.

In contrast to this ideological vision, the sultan's and state officials' more realistic perception of space was based on the territories under Ottoman rule. *Memleket*, or country, referred to the sovereign territory of the state. For example, it can be used as Osman's country (*memleket-i 'Osmân*) "After the Herzegovina province was captured

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<sup>51</sup> Bernard Lewis, *İslam'ın Siyasal Söylemi*, trans. Ünsal Oskay (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2021), 149, 187.

<sup>52</sup> İbn Kemal, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman VII.Deft̃er*, ed. Şerafettin Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 191, 205, 207, 246. İbn Kemal, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman VII.Deft̃er*, ed. Şerafettin Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 62, 92. Alaaddin Aköz, "Karamanoğlu II.İbrahim Beyin Osmanlı Sultanı II.Murad'a Vermiş Olduğu Ahidname," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 24, (2005): 84.

and connected to the country of Osman.”<sup>53</sup> As used here, it refers to the Ottoman Empire and its territory. Also, the concept of *memleket* is used to refer to the sovereign territory of other countries: “In particular to the neighboring Efrenc countries, which will likely be spread for war and death involving everyone.”<sup>54</sup> Here, the concept of Efrenc *memleket* appears when referring to a non-Muslim foreign country.

The state’s most significant duty is to protect its territories and ensure justice for those living within them. The protection of the country (*memleket muhâfazası*) was critical for controlling borders and maintaining order within the country. Hence, it entailed protecting the Ottoman domains against both internal and external threats. “Kahraman Pasha, who was previously the mutasarrıf of Avlonia, was appointed as the chief of the protection of the Moldavia country, Gazi Evranoszâde Mehmet also enrolled five hundred cavalry and five hundred cavalries from suitable places to serve in the protection service.”<sup>55</sup> The document mentions Kahraman Pasha, the soldiers under his command, and their duty to protect the country inwardly and outwardly. To ensure this, the state took specific measures locally and throughout. By authorizing members of the *ehl-i ʿörf*, the state gave them the position of *subası* and was able to maintain local order. In times of expedition, not all of the *tımarlı sipahis* went on the expedition; some stayed behind both for the protection of the territory and to keep order in the bazaar and market within the country. For example, an eighteenth-century *fermân*, edict, referred to the collection of money from the taxman of *mâlikâne muḳāṭaʿa* in the Ottoman country for

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<sup>53</sup> “...Hersek vilâyeti zabt olunub Memleket-i ‘Osman’a rabt olduktan sonra...” İbn Kemal, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman VII.Deft̄er*, Haz. Şerafettin Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 235.

<sup>54</sup> “...ateş-i harb ve kıtâl-ı ‘umum üzere işti ‘âl bula bu taḳdirce civârda vaki ‘ Efrenc memleketlerine...” Mehmed Râşid, *Tarih-i Râşid*, vol.IV, (Dersa‘âdet: Matba‘a-i ‘Âmire, 1282 (1865)), 203.

<sup>55</sup> “bu def‘a mirmirândan sâbıka Avlonya mutasarrıfı olub Boğdan memleketi muhâfazası için başbuğ ta ‘yîn olunan Kahramân Paşa ma ‘iyyetinde hîdmet-i muhâfaza‘da bulunmak üzere Gâzî Evranoszâde Mehmet Bey kulları münâsıb mahallerden beş yüz nefer piyâde ve beş yüz nefer süvâri tahrîr ve...” Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivleri, The Ottoman Archives State Archival Office, henceforth BOA, C..AS..753-31747, H-29-06-1182 (1768-1769).

the cost of the *cebelü* of the soldiers to be left in Anatolia and Rumelia for the protection of the country during the expeditions to be organized to Iraq in the years fifty-five, fifty-six and fifty-seven.<sup>56</sup>

There were also places where the state's borders, the actual hinterland of the country, ended. In the early modern period, borders were blurred because they were not linear and precise. In this sense, fortresses were markers of the frontier, territories, *serḥad*, of different sovereign states in the early modern world.<sup>57</sup> Yet the frontier did not have the connotation of an area or territory marking a precise boundary or the end of a political unit.<sup>58</sup> The state considered these areas, *serḥad*, as a places of defense against external attacks. One of the tasks of the protection of the frontier zone was the protection of the country. This applied not only to the empire's borders but also to the region in case of bandits.

### 2.2.2. *Memâlik-i Maḥrûse*

The term *memâlik-i maḥrûse* was frequently used in Ottoman sources and refers to the entire territory protected by God under the rule of the Ottoman sultan.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> “*memâlik-i maḥrûseti’l mesâlik-i pâdişâhânemde vâkı’ mālîkâne virilen muḳâta’at-ı mîrîyenîñ mücâlât-ı mu’teberelerinden elli beş ve elli altı ve elli yedi senelerinde Irak cânibi seferleri vukû’unda cunûd-ı İslâmiye lâzimesi maşâriḫi için beher biñ guruṣta üçer nefer ve beher neferi ellişer guruṣ olmak üzere yüz ellişer guruṣluk cebelü bedeliyeleri taḥşîl olunmak ḥazîne-i âmirem defterlerinde meymenet iştiḥâlde bilâd-ı İslâmiye muḥâfazası için Anadolu ve Rumeli câniblerine me’mûr ser’askerler ma’iyyetlerinde tecemmü’ ve ihtîşâr idecek ‘asâkir-i Nuṣret-kârîn maşâriḫi için debb-i kadîm ve dîrîne-i müstedîm ve seleflerine kıyâsen mālîkânelerden cem’ ve taḥşîl ve teslîm-i ḥazîne-i âmirâm itdirilmesi muḳteẓî olub...*” The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister’s Office, Cevdet Askeriye (C..AS..), Dosya No. 636, Gömlek No.26803, H-17-04-1192 (1778-1779).

<sup>57</sup> Göksel Baş, “Ottoman *Serḥad* Organization in the Balkans (1450s to Early 1500s),” (Unpublished master’s thesis, Bilkent University, 2017), 15.

<sup>58</sup> Historically frontier and boundary are not interchangeable. Kristoff argues that the concept of boundary can be used to describe the spatial definition of present-day states, because the modern state has legal borders and unites a territory and people under a sovereign state. On the other hand, in the early modern period, where borders are not clear cut, the concept of frontier is more appropriate to describe regions that do not sharply divide the space. Ladis K. D. Kristoff, “The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 49, no. 3 (1959): 270.

<sup>59</sup> The term literally means the countries/lands under the God’s protection. Ergenç, “Individual’s Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World,” 2.

*Memâlik*, countries, is the plural form of *memleket*, country. Since different nation groups lived in the Ottoman Empire, the plural term *memâlik* was often used. In a sultan's edict, "All the destitute in my land (*memâlik-i maħrûse -yi şahânemdeki*), whose homes were destroyed in the recent earthquake, and who have been left stranded or in need of help."<sup>60</sup> In the example, the sultan uses this concept to describe the earthquake that occurred in the lands under his authority. Moreover, in a *mühimme* register, the sultan said that "To control the nomadic Ulus tribe, the subjects of Diyarbekir should take a hundred soldiers with them and go to them so that no harm would come to my country."<sup>61</sup> In another example, the sultan said that "The province of Erdel is also my country, and I do not allow violence there."<sup>62</sup> Here, too, the sultan aimed to protect the country.

### 2.2.3. *Mülk*

Another term, *mülk*, property, was used to describe the sultan's authority over the empire. Under the sultan's authority, the Ottoman Empire could also be called the property of the sultan (*mülk-i 'Osman*). In the early modern period of the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan was responsible for the empire's borders, defense, and protection. He was the owner of the empire and the empire's territories belonged to him. One can

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<sup>60</sup> "...Bi-hikmetihi te 'âlâ geçende vuku' bulan hareket-i arzda mesken ve me'vası münhedim olaraq açıkda kalmış veya bu sebeple bi-Hakk ın şâyân-ı mu 'âvenet bir hâle gelmiş olan Memâlik-i Maħrûse-yi Şahânemde ki bi'l-cümle muhtâcîn ve müşâbiniñ..." A charter (*berat*) dated 21 Şevval 1312, 17 April 1895, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

<sup>61</sup> "...Pesyân ve Pojyân begi Hâlid Beg âdem gönderüp, bundan akdem Ulus tâ'ifesi yaylağa gitmelü oldukda bile koşulup, göndermek için Diyârbekir kullarından livâ-i mezbûreye yüz nefer kul ta'yîn olunugeldüğin bildirüp, zıkr olunan yüz nefer hul hâlen dahı ta'yîn olunması recâ itmeğin buyurdum ki hükm-i şerifüm vüşûl buldukda, Diyârbekir kullarından mûmâ'ileyhin yanına yüz nefer kul ta'yîn idüp, gönderesin ki: Ulus tâ'ifesiyle yaylağa bile çıkup, memâlik-i maħrûse olan zulm-ü te'addîlerin men' u def' eyleyeler. Şöyle bilesiñ ..." Orhan Paşazade, "9 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (977-978/1569-1570): Özet ve Transkripsiyon," (unpublished master's thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006), 6,7.

<sup>62</sup> "...İmdi vilâyet-i Erdel sâ'ir memâlik-i maħrûsem gibi olub ve re'âyâsı kullarım ve harâcğüzârlarımdır. İmdi bu maķûle hilâf-ı şer' ve kânun zulm ü te'addi olındığına aşla rızâ-ı şerifüm yokdur..." Paşazade, "9 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri," 46.

see this relationship in passages such as “they had come and gone without taking and subduing their fortresses and connecting that country to the Osman’s property (*mülk-i ‘Osman*).”<sup>63</sup> Another example is, “He passed through there, reached there, took Ereğli and captured it, then came to Larende and made it Osman’s property.”<sup>64</sup> In his chronicle, Ibn Kemal often refers to the Ottoman Empire as the property of Osman, as in this example. Moreover, one of the meanings of the concept of property is the homeland, the country subject to a ruler and a state.<sup>65</sup>

In a letter written by Yavuz Sultan Selim (1470-1520) to Safavid Shah Ismail I (1487-1524) of Iran, Selim I used the expressions of *memleket* and manhood to provoke Ismail I. “We entered the country under your rule, a country is like a sultan’s wife, and if anyone else attacks it, those who have a share of manhood cannot tolerate it.”<sup>66</sup> Then Selim I added “for all these days my soldiers have entered your country and performed heroic deeds, yet there is no sign of you.”<sup>67</sup> In the early modern period, a sultan and his country were complementary. The country belonged to the sultan and it

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<sup>63</sup> “...hişârlarını alub zabt itmeden ol memleketi mülk-i ‘Osmân’a rabt itmeden, gelmişler getmişlerdi...” İbn Kemal, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman VII.Deftter*, ed. Şerafettin Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 154.

<sup>64</sup> “...oradan geçdi vardı, Ereğli’yi aldı zabt eyledi, ondan Lârende’ye geldi, anı da Mülk-i ‘Osman’a rabt eyledi...” İbn Kemal, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman VII.Deftter*, ed. Şerafettin Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 274.

<sup>65</sup> “...bir devlet ve hükümdârın taht-ı emr ve tâbi’iyetinde bulunan memleket, keşver...” Şemsaddin Sâmi, *Kamûs-ı Türkî: Osmanlıca-Osmanlıca* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2019) 1403. Another example can be the Ziya Pasha’s poem. Although he wrote it in the nineteenth century, he used the concepts exactly the same meaning in the early modern period. “... I have traveled to non-Muslim countries, I have seen cities, flamboyant buildings, I traveled to Islamic property, I always saw ruins...”, “*Diğer-ı küfrü gezdim beldeler kâşaneler gördüm, dolaştım mülk-i İslamı bütün viraneler gördüm...*” Önder Göçgün, *Ziya Paşa* (İzmir: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1987), 7.

<sup>66</sup> “...mesafe-i ba’ideden senin kasdına leşker-i bî-girân ve râyât-ı feth-ayât-ı nusret-nişân birle bunca merâhil ve menâzil kat’ idüb gelüb havzâ-i hükümetinde olan memlekete duhul itdik âyîn-i selâtîn-i ulu’l-emr ve mezheb-i havâkîn-i zu’l-kadr padişâhların taht-ı tasarruflarında olan memleket menkûhesi mesabesinde dir reculiyetden hissesi ve fütûvetden behresi belki derûnunda fi’l cümle zehresi olan kimesneler kendüden gayrı bir ferd anâ ta’arruz itdiğine tahammül itmek ihtimâli yokdur...” Lütîfî Paşa, *Tevârih-i ‘Ali Osman Lütîfî Paşa Tarihi*, Osmanlıca, (İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1341), 216-217.

<sup>67</sup> “...öyle olsa bunca gündür ki ‘asâkir-i nusret-me’âşirim memleketine dahil olub ka’murânlıklar iderler henüz senden ne nâm ve ne nişân peydâ ve ne vücudundan eser hüveydâdır...” Lütîfî Paşa, *Tevârih-i ‘Ali Osman Lütîfî Paşa Tarihi*, 216-217.

represented the sultan's honor. This is why Selim I tried to provoke Ismail I with these statements, accusing him of not being able to protect his honor.

Therefore, *mülk* was also an Islamic concept, implying that the empire belonged exclusively to the sultan. This was because the sultan was responsible for the order and defense of the empire. The idea of *mülk* is one of the most readily traceable concepts for understanding the transformation of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Beyond having a geographical meaning and showing the spatial side of the transformation, discussing the change in the idea of *mülk* provides an understanding of a shift of mindset in the people and the Ottoman state.

#### 2.2.4. *Diyâr*

The term *diyâr*, a plural form of the term *dâr* and refers to region/land, was generally used to refer to the regions outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire, outside the *memâlik-i maḥrûse*: “the King of Sweden Karaloş, Charles XII (1682-1718), returned to his land (*diyâr*) with many difficulties.”<sup>68</sup> Here, the concept of *diyâr* is used to describe another country. “Mentioned fortresses and other castles whose names are unknown were conquered and added to Osman's land (*diyâr-ı 'Osmana*).”<sup>69</sup> Similarly, the concept of the *diyâr* refers to the Ottoman Empire, the land of Osman. The idea of *diyâr* was also used very often in stories. In one of the most famous examples, the story of Yusuf u Züleyha, Yusuf was one of the twelve sons of the

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<sup>68</sup> “...İsveç Kralı Karaloş hezâr miḥnet ve meşakkât ile diyârına revân olduklarından şoñra...” Mehmed Râşid, *Tarih-i Râşid*, vol.V, (Dersa'âdet: Maṭba'a-i 'Âmire, 1282 (1865)), 128.

<sup>69</sup> “...zıkr olunan ḥişârlar, daḥi nice kılâ' ki nâm u nişânı ma'lûm değıl, feth olub darû's-selâm-ı diyâr-ı 'Osmana inzimâm buldı...” İbn Kemal, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman VII.Defters*, Haz. Şerafettin Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 156.

Prophet Ya'qub who lived in the land of Canaan (*Ken'an diyârı*).<sup>70</sup> The concept of *diyâr* used to refer to a region, and it is understood from the texts that it relates to a geographical area outside of the Ottoman Empire.

Another concept used with *diyâr* was *diyâr-ı 'Acem*, land of Persia, or *Acemistan*, Persia. There is a debate about what these terms refer to. The first view is that the Arabs used the term *'Acem* (foreign) to refer to non-Arab societies, and with the expansion of Islam, it evolved to refer to Iran and Iranians, and in Ottoman times, it could also refer to foreigners.<sup>71</sup> The second was that until the mid-eighteenth century, the Ottomans in Anatolia and the Balkans were referred to as *Diyâr-ı Rum*, Eastern Roman geography included Anatolia and the Balkans, while Persia was called *Diyâr-ı 'Acem*.<sup>72</sup> However, between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the geographical area referred to by the term *'Acem* included not only Persia but also Khorasan and Turkestan.<sup>73</sup> Although it is not always clear from the documents exactly which region is meant, given that the Ottoman interaction and trade with Iran was intense and increasing, it can be argued that the concept of *'Acem* corresponds more to Iran.

Vahdi, one of the classical Turkish poets of the sixteenth century, in his *Anabacı Story (Hikâyet-i Anabacı)*, wrote in one part about his journey to the *diyâr-ı 'Acemistan* for trade, followed by his departure upon receiving a request to visit the

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<sup>70</sup> Canaan includes Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Israel. "...*Ken'an diyârında yaşayan Yak'ub peygamberin on iki oğlundan biri olan Yusuf...*" Hasan Kavruk, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mensûr Hikâyeler*, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1998), 65.

<sup>71</sup> Özer Ergenç, *Individual's Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World*, 2.

<sup>72</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan&Gülru Necipoğlu, "İçice Geçmiş Söylemler: "Diyâr-ı Rum" Mimarlığı Tarih yazımındaki Oryantalist ve Milliyetçi Mirasların Sorgulanması," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 7, no.13 (2009): 54. Metin Atmaca, "Osmanlı Zihin Dünyasında Bir Doğu Ülkesi: Diyâr-ı Acem Yahut İran," *Muhafazakâr Düşünce Dergisi* 11, no.43, (2015): 101.

<sup>73</sup> Ali Arslan, "Osmanlılar'da Coğrafi Terim Olarak 'Acem' Kelimesinin Manası ve Osmanlı Türkistan Bağlantısındaki Önemi (XV-XVIII.Yüzyıllar)," *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, no.8, (1997): 84.

cities of Isfahan and Khorasan.<sup>74</sup> He mentioned the cities of Khorasan and Isfahan after mentioning the *diyâr-ı 'Acem*, which indicates that he was referring to Iran. In another example, “They sent and brought the merchant’s cloth to the *diyâr-ı 'Acem* and the Qizilbash side.”<sup>75</sup> He also used the term *diyâr-ı 'Acem* when referring to the side of the Qizilbash. That trade frequently carried out with Iran can be interpreted as meaning the Iranian side with the term *Acem* in this example.

When the term *diyâr* was used to refer to a specific region, it was usually used to refer to places outside the sultan’s lands. Another concept used with *diyâr* was *diyâr-ı küfr* or *Frengistan*, and these were used to refer to regions inhabited by non-Muslims and foreign countries. “a Jewish woman in Istanbul loads a ship with clapboards to deliver them to *Frengistan*.”<sup>76</sup> In this example, *Frengistan* refers to a foreign country inhabited by non-Muslims because *Frengistan* derives from the term *Frenk*, which refers to non-Muslims. “that *Frenk* infidel hit me on the head with a stick and knocked me down.”<sup>77</sup> Here, by “*Frenk* infidel,” he meant a non-Muslim living in a foreign country.

Therefore, as mentioned above, the perception of space was extensive for the Ottoman Empire and proceeded as a political vision of a universal sphere of sovereignty. The empire perceived space in terms of its borders and places it did not

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<sup>74</sup> “...sefer-i ticâret-i diyâr-ı Acemistan ve seyr-i Sıfâhân ü Horasan sevdâsı düşüp hemân-dem diyâr-ı Rum ‘un sîmîn ü zerrin sîmâda sebûk ve behâda sengin olan metâ’larınun envâ’ından nice katâr katır yükledüp hayli kul u nôker ve hadem ü haşem birle ‘azm-i diyâr-ı ‘Acem kılup...” Hasan Kavrak, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mensûr Hikâyeler*, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1998), 171.

<sup>75</sup> “...Hazret-i Hudâvendigar-i merhum seferden ferâgat idüb kişver-i Arab’dan vilâyet-i Rum’a ‘avdet buyurub yümn-i kudûmlarıyla mülk-i kadimlerine şeref-i kudüm erzânî gördüklerinden sonra Acem diyârına ve kuzlbaş tarafına tüccârın kumaşın iletüb getürdikleri ki...” Kemal Paşa-zâde, *Tevarih-i Âl-i Osman X.Defters*, haz. Şerafettin Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996), 43.

<sup>76</sup> “...İstanbul’da olan Yehûdî avreti bir gemiye yetmiş biñ miqdârı fuçî tahtası tahmîl eyleyüb *Frengistân’a* ulaşıdurmak için ol cânibe...” Divân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi III, 6 Numaralı *Mühimme Defteri* (972/1564-1565): *Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks I* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1995), 344.

<sup>77</sup> “...o *Frenk kâfiri* beni başıma değnek ile vurub beni düşürüb...” Eyüp Erçetin, *Şer’iyye Sicillerine Göre XVI. Ve XVIII. Yüzyıllar Arasında Osmanlı Devleti’nde Asayiş Olayları ve Yargılamaya Esas Bulgular* (unpublished Master’s thesis, Aydın Adnan Menderes University, 2023), 36.

possess. The territories outside the Ottoman Empire were also considered in a vast spatial dimension. The concept of *diyâr* referred to them and as anywhere outside of the Ottoman Empire could be the *diyâr*.

How the sultan and Ottoman state officials defined space ideologically and realistically, its territory and its exterior, is essential for understanding the political, social, and economic vision of the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period. In addition, examining the perception of the early modern period is also vital for accurately situating the transformations of the nineteenth century and for discussing how and why the spatial perception of individuals and the Ottoman state converged in the concept of homeland.

### 2.3. The Ordinary Individual's Perception of Space in the Early-Modern Ottoman Empire

*“The enjoyment of homeland comes from encounters of lovers*

*What would we do with the homeland, without lovers' encounters”*

Basîrî<sup>78</sup>

The perception of space not only reflected the political vision of the state but was also one of the most fundamental factors shaping the *re'âyâ*'s identities in the early modern Ottoman Empire. Unlike the state perspective, the individual's spatial perception was relatively narrow.

The world was an unknown place to most non-state people. Their spatial perspectives formed from the most known to the unknown that is, for them, from the narrowest spatial scale to the widest. Since mobility was low and discouraged, and

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<sup>78</sup> Thanks to Anthony Kibum Shin for the English translation. “*Vaṭanıñ zevkî mülâkât-ı aḥibbâ ile dir, Bî-mülâkât-ı aḥibbâ vaṭanı neyleyelim...*” Mehmet Sarı, “Divân Şiirinde Vatan,” *Hikmet-Akademik Edebiyat Dergisi: Prof. Dr. Mine Mengi Özel Sayısı* 2, no.5 (2016): 223.

transportation was difficult and dangerous, most people usually remained closely connected to where they were. Ordinary individuals spent most, sometimes all, of their lives in the same place where they were born and raised. This made it very difficult for most people to imagine grand or unfamiliar spaces. This also allowed them to establish a spatial attachment, or place attachment, to the place they knew best. Spatial attachment refers to an emotional connection to the physical environment in which one lives or which one is related.<sup>79</sup> People had a relationship and feelings associated with their living spaces and the connections they established with them. This was a situation blended environment with emotions, which could actually be called emotional geography.<sup>80</sup> Hence, it is essential to examine spatial concepts in terms of what they mean to people and how they create a sense of belonging.

The sense of belonging to a place was not superficial in ancient times.<sup>81</sup> That means it was not only that they understood these concepts differently in the past,<sup>82</sup> but also that what these concepts meant to people in the past formed part of their identity and shaped their social and political perceptions. They had protective feelings toward their homelands. This mutual relationship between individuals and space was, in fact, one of the most decisive elements for understanding the social order of the early modern period.

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<sup>79</sup> Handan Karakaş Demir, *A Matter of Belonging: Place Attachment of Ordinary People in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Society*, (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Bilkent University, 2022), 57.

<sup>80</sup> Joyce Davidson, Liz Bondi, and Mick Smith, eds., *Emotional Geographies* (Aldershot uk: Ashgate, 2007): 3, quoted in Razak Khan, "Local Pasts: Space, Emotions and Identities in Vernacular Histories of Princely Rampur," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 58, 5 (2015): 699.

<sup>81</sup> Cemal Kafadar, *Kendine Ait Bir Roma: Diyar-ı Rum'da Kültürel Coğrafya ve Kimlik Üzerine* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2017), 29.

<sup>82</sup> Kafadar, *Kendine Ait Bir Roma...*, 19.

### 2.3.1. *Maḥalle* and *ḳarye*

*Maḥalle*, neighborhood, and *ḳarye*, village, were the minor spatial scales at which individuals lived together, at close range. In Ottoman cities, a neighborhood or village was a community of people who all knew one another, were responsible for each other's behavior to some extent, and lived in social solidarity.<sup>83</sup> Maintaining close relationships, getting to know one another well, and having a shared sense of responsibility characterized early modern neighborhoods and the villages and made them critical living spaces. Hence, for ordinary individuals in Ottoman culture, the neighborhood was the first community after their family.<sup>84</sup> In the identification of people mentioned in the documents of judicial court records, in addition to the names and fathers' names of the individuals, the name of the neighborhood or village in which they reside is also included.<sup>85</sup> These were the concepts that defined people's spatial belonging in the innermost sense.<sup>86</sup>

The sharing responsibility, and close relationship in neighborhoods and villages brought with them joint resolutions and obligations. Moreover, according to Ottoman law (*kanûn*), the neighborhood residents were joint guarantors of each other.<sup>87</sup> For instance, in a seventeenth-century document in Konya judicial court records, the people of the Karadüğün appealed to the judicial court. They said that “Nesli, the lady living in the mentioned place, was injured and battered by Ömer on

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<sup>83</sup> Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki ‘Mahalle’nin İşlevleri ve Nitelikleri Üzerine” in *Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları: Şehir, Toplum, Devlet* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 75.

<sup>84</sup> Erol Özbilgen, *Bütün Yönleriyle Osmanlı* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2003), 386, 456, quoted in Özen Tok, “Kadi Sicilleri Işığında Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalleden İhraç Kararlarında Mahalle Ahalisinin Rolü (XVII. Ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Örneği,” *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi I*, no.18, (2005), 156.

<sup>85</sup> Tok, “Kadi Sicilleri Işığında...,” 158.

<sup>86</sup> For more information about spatial belonging in the early modern Ottoman Empire pls. see. Handan Karakaş Demir, *A Matter of Belonging: Place Attachment of Ordinary People in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Society* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Bilkent University, 2022).

<sup>87</sup> Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki ‘Mahalle’nin İşlevleri ve Nitelikleri Üzerine,” 79. Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2012), 199.

her breast with a knife in her home on the night of the date the document was written, and we demand that this matter be investigated.”<sup>88</sup> Afterward, *kadı* (Muslim judge) appointed someone to investigate the incident. The critical point is that the locals, not the woman herself, came first, explained the situation, and asked for an investigation. Since the village inhabitants felt responsible to each other, and if the perpetrator was not found, they would likewise be called to account for the incident. Because of this, after seeing the incident, they wanted it to be reported to the court and investigated by them because they knew who did it. Also, the rest of the villagers wanted it to be understood that they were not responsible for this incident.

Furthermore, in the eighteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire was in a highly unstable and challenging period because of the population influx, rebellions, and social fluidity, neighborhoods were assigned to play a critical role as administrative units to organize the city’s inhabitants spatially.<sup>89</sup> Since neighborhoods were places of social solidarity, with shared administrative and moral responsibilities, they formed a collective identity.<sup>90</sup> In the eighteenth century Istanbul, the Ottoman government expected neighborhoods to report illegal immigrants, and since immigrants had to be registered in their new locality of residence, they had to find a local guarantor (*kefîl*) from the neighborhood to which they were moving.<sup>91</sup> Therefore, because of the spatially organized social connections in the neighborhoods (*maḥallât*),

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<sup>88</sup> “...Mahmiyye-i Konya müzâfâtından sudirhemi nahiyesine tâbi ‘*Qaradüğün nâm kıarye ahâlisi Meclis-i Şer’ e gelüb kıarye-i merkumede sâkin Nisli binti ... ḥâtûnı târîḥ-i kitâb gîcesi sâkini olduđu evinde ‘Ömer nâm kimesne bıçağ ile memesi üzerine dârb ve mecruḥ eylemiş cânib-i şer’iden üzerine varılub keşf ve tahrir olunması maṭlubumuzdur dediklerinde...*” Konya Judicial Court Records 10, 1070-1071 (1659-1661): 191-3.

<sup>89</sup> Madoka Morita, “Between Hostility and Hospitality: Neighbourhoods and Dynamics of Urban Migration in Istanbul (1730-54),” *Turkish Historical Review* 7, (2016): 61.

<sup>90</sup> Hülya Canbakal, “Some Questions on the Legal Identity of Neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire,” *Anatolia Moderna-Yeni Anadolu* 10, (2004): 131.

<sup>91</sup> Morita, “Between Hostility and Hospitality,” 68.

the Ottoman State tried to control urban migration by transforming illegal residents into legal residents through the intermediary of neighborhood registration.<sup>92</sup>

Ottomans were spatially attached to their villages or neighborhoods in the early modern period. These were their homelands, in which they were cohabitants. One may infer that they felt a responsibility towards each other living in a shared space and had an emotional attachment to their space and the life and community they had built on it.

### 2.3.2. *Vaṭan*

The concept of *vaṭan*, homeland,<sup>93</sup> also had a restricted meaning and corresponded to an individual sense in the early modern period. Homeland meant where one was born, grew up, and lived.<sup>94</sup> In other words, it was the place where the individual sometimes spent their whole life and sometimes the majority of it, and it was the other innermost space that constituted the ordinary individual's belonging, like hometown. In Ottoman documents of the early modern period, it is evident that the homeland is where one lives and generally refers to places such as villages and neighborhoods. "Three years and three months before the date of the document, they were living in their original homeland, the village of Kal'acık, near the city as mentioned earlier..."<sup>95</sup> In this example, their original homeland refers to the village of

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<sup>92</sup> Morita, "Between Hostility and Hospitality," 85.

<sup>93</sup> In contemporary English, *vatan* in its early modern sense could also be translated as "home turf" or "home area," encompassing a smaller space.

<sup>94</sup> Ami Ayalon, *Language and Change in the Arab Middle East: The Evolution of Modern Political Discourse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 52. Bernard Lewis, *Watan*, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.26, no.3/4 (1991): 524. Bernard Lewis, *İslamın Siyasal Söylemi*, trans. Ünsal Oskay (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2021), 78-80.

<sup>95</sup> "... târih-i kitâbdan üç sene ve üç ay mukaddem medîne-i mezbûre civârında vatan-ı aslîleri olan Kal'acık kazâsında sâkin olub ..." Şeyma Yapıcı, *H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi*, (Unpublished Master's thesis, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, 2021), 245.

Kal'acik. "Yusuf, the administrator of the Güllabibey Mosque in the town of Erzincan, who was paid six *akçe* per day, left his homeland (*celâ-yı vaṭan*)."<sup>96</sup> The word *celâ* means 'to leave the place where one lives'.<sup>97</sup> Here, Yusuf's leaving his homeland means 'leaving the town of Erzincan'

Another example can be "previously his father migrated and adopted the mentioned village as his homeland (*mutavaṭṭın olmağın*) and according to the book..."<sup>98</sup> The word *mutavaṭṭın* derives from the word *vaṭan* describes one who has adopted a place as a homeland and settled in it.<sup>99</sup> Similarly, in this case, it mentions the adoption of the village as a homeland.

Another example can be Cem Sultan's poem written with the repeated voice *vaṭan*.

"...Awareness of life reached the scent of homeland  
The heart wishes to see the face of homeland.  
O heart, sweeter than the fount of life it is  
To me, the poor lovestruck, the stream of homeland  
Why not chase it from the heart? – for 'tis better  
Than heaven's gardens, just one street of homeland  
My heart ever is making demand of it  
I always was bound to the tress of homeland  
Bliss and contentment did Cem's soul come to find  
As his heart caught the east wind's scent of homeland...."<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> "... *kaşaba-i Erzincân'da vâkı' Güllâbibey câmi'-i şerîfiniñ yevmi altı akçe vazîfe ile mütevellisi olan Yûsuf celâ-yı vaṭan idüb...*" BOA, AE.SAMD.III 161-15830, H-18-05-1115 (1703-1704).

<sup>97</sup> "memleketinden ayrılma, gurbet" Şemsettin Sâmî, *Kamûs-ı Türki: Osmanlıca-Osmanlıca* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2019), 478.

<sup>98</sup> "...*mukaddemâ babası rihlet idüb karye-i merkûmede mutavaṭṭın olmağın yedimde olan Şûret-i defter-i Hâkânî mucebince...*" Konya Judicial Court Records 10, 1070-1071 (1659-1661): 9-3.

<sup>99</sup> "bir yeri vatan ittihâz iden, yerleşen, yerleşmiş" Şemsettin Sâmî, *Kamûs-ı Türki: Osmanlıca-Osmanlıca* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2019), 1287.

<sup>100</sup> Thanks to Anthony Kibum Shin for the translation to English. "*Cân dimâğına irüp bûy-ı vaṭan, dil diler kim görine rûy-ı vaṭan, çeşme-i Hayvân'dan iy dil hûş durur, ben garîb üftâdeye cûy-ı vaṭan, N'ola cândan istesem, çün yeğdürür, bâğ-ı cennetten baña küy-i vaṭan, gönülüm eyler dâ'imâ anı taleb, bend olaldan bane giysü-yı vaṭan, hürrem olub cân-ı Cem' erdi şefa, dil şabâdan alalı bûy-ı vaṭan...*" Hasan Âli Yücel, *Türk Edebiyatı Numuneleri, I.Cilt*, (İstanbul, 1922), 322, quoted in Sedat Engin, Cem Sultan'ın Türkçe Divânı'nın Tahlili, (Unpublished Master's thesis, Çukurova University, 2006), 21-22.

This is an interesting poem because Cem Sultan had been exiled from the Ottoman Empire, and the concept of the homeland he used in this poem led to different interpretations. It has been argued that the concept of homeland that Cem Sultan meant in his poetry is the same as that of the modern period, the same as the idea of homeland used by Namik Kemal.<sup>101</sup> Since he mentioned homesickness, that the homeland is better than any place, and his wish to see the homeland, the poem seems to contain the modern notion of homeland. However, although he touched on homesickness, the homeland that Cem Sultan missed was the place where he was born and grew up. Again, it was used in the early modern sense because the concept of homeland in modern times includes a social and communal idea, whereas, in this poem, the individual understanding of the homeland is dominant.<sup>102</sup> On the other hand, the concept of homeland used in various meanings and with various terms in literature, *Divân* poetry, such as the place where the beloved is located, the place where one lives, *ğurbet* (absence from home), *cennet* (heaven), *hasret* (nostalgia), *arzû* (desire) and *terk* (leaving).<sup>103</sup>

Furthermore, people were also protective toward their homeland in the early modern period. In the seventeenth century, inhabitants of a neighborhood built a wall in Ankara with their own materials and properties to protect themselves from the Celali revolts.<sup>104</sup> Here, their homeland was Ankara, which is bigger than their villages and

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<sup>101</sup> Namik Kemal used the concept of *vaṭan* in a modern sense and he meant a political and social *vaṭan* belonged to society. In his usage, *vaṭan* was not a birthplace but an empire which has to be defended and protected. Sami Banarlı, *Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi C.1*, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1983), Mehmet Sait Çalka, “Dünya Sürgününde Şair Bir Şehzâde: Cem Sultan ve Vatan Hasreti Üzerine,” *Ay Vakti*, 2022.

<sup>102</sup> In other words, he was not referring to the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>103</sup> See. Mehmet Sarı, “Divân Şiirinde Vatan,” *Hikmet-Akademik Edebiyat Dergisi: Prof. Dr. Mine Mengi Özel Sayısı 2*, no.5 (2016): 209-244.

<sup>104</sup> “...beş altı seneden beru eşkiyâ tâ’ifesi ahâli-i vilâyeti gâret ve hesâret itmekle nefis-i Ankara’nın etrafında vilâyet halkı kendü mallarıyla hisâr manendi bir divâr ihdâs ve otuz kırk mikdârı kulleler binâ idüb eşkiyâ zuhûr eyledikde livâ-yı mezbûr halkı tahassün idüb yat ve yaraklar ile hıfz ve hırâset idüb eşkiyâ def’ oldukça...” Ankara Judicial Court Records 11 (1016/1607), 1353.

neighborhoods. But still, when they surrounded it with a wall, they were protecting their homeland.

Moreover, the plural adjectival form of the term *vaṭan*, which is *mevâṭın*, homelands, had been used in the early modern period. In a chronicle, there is a part about the *re'âyâ* migrating and settling in Istanbul with their children in the eighteenth century. Sultan wanted to prohibit the migration of the *re'âyâ* from their homelands.<sup>105</sup> There were several *vaṭans* for the *re'âyâ* because the places where individuals felt they belonged and where they could form their identities varied according to their homeland, village, and neighborhood.

As seen in the examples, the *vaṭan* was the smallest space to which an ordinary individual belonged. It did not have a political, paternal, ancestral, or communal meaning; instead, it was purely individual and referred to the closest environment the individual knows the most. The crucial point here is that there was a significant difference between ordinary individuals' and the state's perception of space. In the early modern period, ordinary Ottoman subjects did not have a dominant feeling of attachment toward a very broad space, such as an empire, or a country; this was not a perception that people could identify with. On the other hand, it is clear that people felt a sense of attachment and responsibility towards the space they perceived to be their hometowns, neighborhoods, villages, that is, their homelands. The fact that these spaces meant something to people in the early modern period was related to their social meaning as a shared living place where people had built relationships and created a commonality.<sup>106</sup> Since the notion of the homeland was formed around the living spaces

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<sup>105</sup> "...Men '-i Hicret-i Re'âyâ-ı Eṭrâf ez-Mevâṭın-ı Hivîş: Biraz müddetden berü eṭrâf ve eknâf-ı memâlik-i mahrûsedan re'âyâ ṭâ'îfesi ehl ü 'ıyalleriyle İstanbul'a nakl ve tavaṭṭun idüb..." Mehmed Râşid, *Tarih-i Râşid*, vol.V, (Dersa'âdet: Maṭba'a-i Âmire, 1282 (1865)), 315.

<sup>106</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Ed. Anthropos, 1974), J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps. Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,

that the re'âyâs established in their neighborhoods and villages and the feelings and responsibilities they shared, it did not have a superficial meaning but also included feelings of protection and loyalty.

### 2.3.3. *Diyâr-ı âher*

*Diyâr-ı âher* or *âher diyâr*, the other lands, expresses the unknowable. It referred to a place whose location was unknown, whose distance or proximity could not be precisely measured, but which was beyond one's homeland, beyond what one knew. It is unclear from the documents what exactly any one person meant by other lands. No specific measure of distance or proximity is given. From the periods shown in the documents, it appears that for some, the sense of *âher* was further away; for others, it was closer but still referred to unknown lands.

For instance, in a document requesting a divorce, the woman stated in the presence of Muslims that her husband Hüseyin had gone to an "other land" and that if he did not return within five months, she would divorce him.<sup>107</sup> In another divorce document, the wife said that her husband had traveled to other lands and that she could divorce him in the presence of Muslims if he did not come back within three months.<sup>108</sup> In both cases, the spouses' destination was outside their home country, but it was unclear where. In one case, the spouse did not return within five months, and in the other, within three months. It could be argued that the destination is further away in

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2001) quoted in Margrit Pernau, "Space and Emotion: Building to Feel," *History Compass* 12, (2014): 542.

<sup>107</sup> "...*târîh-i kitâbdan dört sene muqaddem zevcim Hüseyin nâm kimesne âher diyâra gitmek murâd eyledikde Müslümanlarıñ huzûrunda eğer beş ay tamâmına değin gelüb saña mülâkî olursam fihâ ve illâ irâdetiñ elinde olsun deyüb gidüb beş ay tamâmında gelmeyüb...*" Konya Judicial Court Records 10, 1070-1071 (1659-1661): 121-2.

<sup>108</sup> "...*târîh-i kitâbdan bir sene muqaddem zevcim ğā'ib 'ani'l-meclis olan Arslan bin... nâm kimesne âher diyâra gitmek murâd eyledikde Müslümanlar huzûrunda eğer üç ây temâmına değin gelüb saña mülâkî olursam fihâ ve illâ benden üç talâk boş olsun deyüb gitti üç ây temâmında gelmeyüb...*" Konya Judicial Court Records 10, 1070-1071 (1659-1661): 178-3.

the first document and closer in the second, but they are not places that could be subjected to inquiry in both cases.<sup>109</sup> In other words, if they were talking about nearby places, they might be able to get information about their husbands through inquiries, but this was not the case in the examples presented.

Therefore, in the early-modern period, when people's spatial knowledge was identified with the smallest space, mobility was low, and transportation was difficult; even the closest city could be 'another land' for a person. Although it is not clear what is meant by other lands in the documents, and it is not known whether two neighboring cities could be other lands to each other, considering the spatial perspective of people's neighborhoods and homelands, any other place, another city, another country could also be land apart.

Understanding how people and the state separated and perceived space without strict borders through the concepts used shows how individuals established belonging and how the state shaped its political vision. Explaining questions such as where the homeland was and what was considered outside of it, how the state defined space, and where individuals were welcomed was essential for analyzing the transformation the Ottoman Empire experienced starting in the nineteenth century. The concept of homeland is vital because its meaning will change afterward and can reflect a socio-political and emotional transformation. Moreover, the homeland, which was the most fundamental space determining human belonging in the early modern period, would

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<sup>109</sup> In his book, Özer Ergenç mentions a *kanûnnâme* (code of laws) to describe the estimated perception of distance and proximity. If place names are given, we can more or less estimate their distances, but it is very difficult to make an inference just from the time period given. There were some concepts used to describe geographical distances; *mesâfe-i karîbe* (close distance), *mesâfe-i vustâ* (medium distance), *mesâfe-i ba'ide* (far distance), and *gâyetde eb'ad mesâfe* (most distant). As a city-based example, to be more descriptive and to understand the spatial perception of pre-modern people; Akşehir and Konya are medium distances from Istanbul, Aleppo, and Damascus are far distances from Istanbul, Egypt, and Bagdad are very far from Istanbul. H.1017, 1608-1609 dated *Kanûnnâme*, Code of laws quoted in Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları: Şehir, Toplum, Devlet* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 349.

also be the most critical factor determining the belonging of society in the nineteenth century, as we will see in the succeeding chapters. What needs to be considered here is not only an analysis of these concepts in a geographical sense but also an examination of what kind of mindset they embodied and the social, emotional, and political meaning that the state and ordinary individuals wanted to express.

### CHAPTER III

#### REDEFINING THE SPACE: FROM SULTAN'S PROPERTY TO A SHARED HOMELAND

The political vision of the state began to diverge in the eighteenth century because of the loss of its military superiority, the change in the internal dynamics and economic system, such as the blurring of the distinction between *'askerî* and *re'âyâ*, and the increase in social mobility. In addition, the rise of politics and diplomacy in the world, the impact of the French Revolution, and the modernization movements in Europe affected the political vision of the Ottoman Empire; thus, the state's perception of space also changed. Increased social mobility and migrations from rural to urban areas also influenced the ordinary individuals' restricted spatial perceptions. Before the eighteenth century, viziers, from the *şeyfiyye sınıfı*, were the council's leading members because the Ottoman Empire was pursuing a policy of conquest. However, the effects of the eighteenth century and the rise of foreign relations showed the power of diplomatic strategies and knowledge. This led to a change in power dynamics in favor of the *kalemiyye sınıfı*.<sup>110</sup> The replacement of war by politics brought forward an

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<sup>110</sup> *Seyfiyye* class (*ehl-i örf*): A group of armed men appointed by the sultan and holding executive power. *Kalemiyye* class (*ehl-i kalem*): An official appointed by the sultan who recorded and enforced

Ottoman State that did not fight unless it had to. With this diplomatic and political transformation, the *reisü'l-küttabs* and ambassadors became essential members of the empire, and their duties and responsibilities increased throughout the eighteenth century. Hence, in the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire attached particular importance to sending ambassadors to Europe to better understand the period and the modernization attempts in Europe.

In the eighteenth century, with increasing commercial, diplomatic, and intellectual interaction and the development of technology, new ideas began to appear in Ottoman political writing. Terms such as *cedîd* (new), *tecdîd* (renewing), *icâd* (innovation), and *ihtirâ* (invention) became observable in literature, architecture, and urban discourse.<sup>111</sup> These terms indicated a new perception, a new political language, spatial perception, and the concept of homeland in the modern sense would begin to develop with Râṭib Efendi, who went to Vienna as the Ottoman ambassador in 1792.<sup>112</sup>

In this part of the thesis, I examine how the perception of homeland, which for ordinary individuals in the early modern period was merely the place where they were born and raised, their hometowns, began to transform and evolve to take on a new meaning in the Ottoman Empire from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century. I consider this as a transitional period for the concept of homeland and I will also try to illustrate the state's and ordinary individuals' shift of mindset in social and political

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rules and laws. As political and diplomatic relations came to the fore in the eighteenth century, the *kalemiyye* class began to rise.

<sup>111</sup> Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016), 40.

<sup>112</sup> According to Bernard Lewis, Morali Esseyid Ali Efendi, Paris ambassador at 1797-98, was the first one who used the word *vatan* in a modern, political and social sense. However, for Fatih Yeşil, it was Râṭib Efendi who first used the word *vatan* with a modern, political meaning. Fatih Yeşil, "Looking at the French Revolution through Ottoman eyes: Ebubekir Ratib Efendi's observations," *Bulletin of SOAS* 70, no.2, (2007): 302. Also, Behlül Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan: The Making of a National Homeland in Turkey* (New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press, 2012), 220.

terms. In the previous chapter, I conceptualized the spatial concepts and analyzed the origins of the terms and the ways in which they were used to show the perception of space for the state and 'askeri members and for the re'âyâ. In this chapter, I conceptualize the term vaţan, i.e. homeland, to understand how the perception of the homeland was transformed for the state and the individuals. Then, I contextualize the term vaţan in various genres such as books, texts, and documents written and produced in different periods to understand the changes in their meanings, in the ways they were used, and by whom.<sup>113</sup> In addressing this change, I begin the process with Ebûbekir Râîb Efendi (1750-1799), an Ottoman statesman and Vienna ambassador, because his *Lâyiha* and *sefaretname* are considered, by the general literature, as the first texts in which the concept of homeland is used in a modern way. Afterwards, the Greek War of Independence of 1821 and the concepts and political atmosphere with the war gave expression to successive steps in the politicization of the concept of homeland in the Ottoman Empire. I then discuss the modernization of the concept of homeland and the Tanzimat Edict of 1839, which was the first stage in which the perception of a homeland belonging to and under the responsibility of the general populace began to be used. Next, I turn to the debate on conscription, which marked an important step in transferring the duty to defend the homeland from the sultan to the people. Finally, I will analyze the period of the Young Ottomans, when the use of the concept of homeland became widespread and strengthened, through their writings, and I end the chapter with a discussion of the *Ķânûn-i Esâsî* and representation, an attempt to create a shared living place.

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<sup>113</sup> Helge Jordheim, "Conceptual History," to be published in *Bloomsbury History: Theory and Method*, 11-12.

### 3.1. Ebûbekir Râṭib Efendi and His Understanding of Vatan in Late Eighteenth Century

Until the late eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire had conducted diplomacy on an ad hoc, temporary, non-permanent basis.<sup>114</sup> In the late eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire began to adopt the institution of diplomacy as a permanent embassy.<sup>115</sup> In 1792, Ebûbekir Râṭib Efendi (1749/50-1799) was sent to Vienna as a permanent ambassador. He had worked in the *Âmedi* Office for a long time and was familiar with the European affairs.<sup>116</sup> However, Râṭib Efendi's task was different from that of the envoys sent to Europe before him because until that time ambassadors had been sent to investigate the West's modern living styles, scientific developments, and architecture.<sup>117</sup> By contrast, Râṭib Efendi had to prepare a political program comparing the Ottoman Empire with the West. He was the most influential reform-minded person in the Selim III (1761-1808) era, 1789-1807.<sup>118</sup> He was charged with studying the West's economic, political, and military prosperity, see the Ottoman Empire's deficiencies, and present them to the Sultan. Therefore, during his Vienna embassy, Râṭib Efendi made interesting observations, both in his *Lâyiḥa* and

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<sup>114</sup> Esin Yurdusev, "Studying Ottoman Diplomacy: a Review of the Sources," in *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional*, edited by Nuri Yurdusev (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 167-68.

<sup>115</sup> Yurdusev, "Studying Ottoman Diplomacy: a Review of the Sources," 167-68.

<sup>116</sup> Fatih Bayram, "Ebûbekir Râṭib Efendi as an Ottoman Envoy of Knowledge Between the East and the West", (unpublished master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2000), 7-12.

<sup>117</sup> For example, Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi (1660s-1732) was sent to observe European civilization and developments. He was mostly influenced by modern, European style architecture because at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was still a powerful state, even if it was disadvantaged, especially its failed siege of Vienna in 1683. Therefore, Yirmi Sekiz Mehmed and his cohort perceived a need for modernization, but they had yet to prioritize understanding European political structures and instead sought to understand the European social environment and apply it to the Ottoman context. See: Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). Mehmet Çelebi, *Paris'te Bir Osmanlı Sefiri: Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Şevket Rado (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2022).

<sup>118</sup> Virginia H. Aksan, "Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25 (1993): 63.

*sefâretnâme*, about the Habsburg Monarchy's military and civil establishments.<sup>119</sup>

What he had experienced during his embassy in Vienna would ensure that the report he prepared upon his return to the Ottoman Empire would turn into a reform manifesto rather than merely the descriptions of the state structure.<sup>120</sup> The results of Râṭib Efendi's investigations can be listed as a disciplined army, the wealth of the state treasury, the knowledge, honesty, and loyalty of statesmen, and the security and welfare of the people.<sup>121</sup> After his observations, Râṭib Efendi affirmed that the most significant deficiency was in the military system, and he explained the success of the military strategy in the West.<sup>122</sup>

Another important aspect of Râṭib Efendi's embassy is related to the year he served as ambassador. Since Ratib Efendi was in Vienna after the French Revolution, he had a chance to experience and observe the political effects of the revolution. The political atmosphere of the late eighteenth century was turbulent all over Europe and he was trying to get acquainted with new socio-political dynamics. The French Revolution pioneered a path against the *ancien régime* and introduced the idea of freedom for nations.<sup>123</sup> The revolution's influence appeared in the concepts that Râṭib

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<sup>119</sup> Bayram, "Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi as an Ottoman Envoy of Knowledge Between the East and the West," 26.

<sup>120</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire Under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971) 90, quoted in Pascal Firges, "Writing on the New Order: Ottoman Approaches to Late Eighteenth Century Reforms", in *Languages of Reform in the Eighteenth Century: When Europe Lost its Fear of Change*, edited by Susan Richter, Thomas Maissen, Manuela Albertone (New York: Routledge, 2019), 347.

<sup>121</sup> Sema Arıkan, "Nizâm-ı Cedit'in Kaynaklarından Ebûbekir Ratib Efendi'nin "Büyük Layiha"sı" (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1996), III, IV.

<sup>122</sup> "...*Vaqt-i muhârebede 'asâkirin kuvveti ve haşmına gâlibiyyeti dört veçhile müyesser olur. Vech-i evvel, 'askeriñ keşretinden. Vech-i sâni 'asâkiriñ tertibâtına ri'ayetinden vech-i sâlis, 'asâkire serdâr ve sergerde ve sipehsâlâr ve başbuğ ve müdür olan rü'esâ ve vüzerâ ve mir-i mîrân vesâ'ir sağır ü kebir zabîâtıñ fûnûn-ı muhârebede ve cidâl ü desâ'is ü hîyel-i harb ü kıtâlde kemâl-i ihâta ve dirâyetinden. Vech-i râbi', 'asâkiriñ zabîtâne itâ'at ve emr ü nehyne inkiyad ü mu'tâva'atundan ibâret olmağla. Aşl-ı evvel, üç muqaddime ve on bir makâle ve bir hâtime üzerine tertîb ve Nemçeli vesâ'ir Avrupa devletleriniñ nizâmât-ı 'askeriyye ve ahvâl-i harbiyyesi ittîla' bendegânem hâşıl olduğı derecelerde tafşîl ü tebvîb olunmuşdur...*" Arıkan, "Nizâm-ı Cedit'in Kaynaklarından," 2, 3.

<sup>123</sup> Zafer Toprak, "From Plurality to Unity: Codification and Jurisprudence in the Late Ottoman Empire." *Ways to Modernity In Greece And Turkey Encounters With Europe, 1850-1950*, ed: Anna Frangoudaki&Çağlar Keyder, (London&New York: I.B.Tauris & Company, 2007): 26.

Efendi used in his *Lâyiha*. He took up the term *politika*, politics, and endeavored to comprehend its meaning, usage, and importance, and he compared its application with practices in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, he also advised the Ottoman Empire by comparing the Habsburg Empire with France, as he understood the effects of the French Revolution. For him, unlike the Habsburg Empire, the French people belonged to one religious sect, one nation, and spoke the same language, so they could fight off in their homeland whatever conflicts arose between them.<sup>125</sup> Râṭib Efendi emphasized that the Ottoman domains, however, embodied the opposite, in that they comprised a multi-ethnic and multi-religious population. He was aware of the threat posed by the French Revolution and its impact on other countries. He warned the Ottomans about the changing friendship and alliance, noting that the traditional enemies Austria and Prussia were united against the threat of the French Revolution.<sup>126</sup> Also, Râṭib Efendi's efforts to experience and observe the effects of the French Revolution and interpret them in relation to the Ottoman Empire gradually began introducing these new concepts into the Ottoman language. He became acquainted with the concepts of *millet*, the nation; *vaṭan*, the *patrie*; *liberté* in Europe; and he was the first one to use

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<sup>124</sup> “... Binâ'en- 'aleyh halkı bu gûne 'âdet etdiği hâlet ve üns ü ülfet etdiği keyfiyyetden tebî'atleriyle ferâğat etdirüp bir tabî'at-ı şâniye tahtına idhâl ve 'akl ü zihinlerini bi't-tab' bir vâdî-i cedîde şarf ve i'mâle ile işğâl eylemelerini bir müddetden berü Avrupa devletlerinde politika nâmıyla mevşûf bir fenn-i ma'rûfun icrâ ve i'mâline iştiğâl etmişlerdir. Nefsü'l-emrde fenn-i mezbûr bu bâbda kavî ve muhkem bir esâs ve kibâr ve ricâl ve mülûk ve kıraldan ahâd-nâsa varınca her bir ferd için bir politika olmağla bu hususlarda ânın ma'rifeti bir bünyâd-ı 'adîmü'l-indirâsdır. Avrupa devletlerinde bu fenne da'ir çok risâle ve mü'ellefât ve makâle ve muşannefât olmağla hâlâ bir taraftan tahrîr ve te'lîf ve tertîb ve taşnîf olunmakta olup ta'lîm ve intişâr ve tahşîl ve izharına bezl-i iktidâr etmektedirler. Politika fenniniñ 'umumu ta'rîfi her bir ferd taleb etdiği menfa'ate neyl ü vuslat ve me'mûl itdiği 'izz ü rif'at ü mürettebete tahşîl-i istihkâk ve ehliyyet zımnında kâffe-i tavr u hareket ve her bir hâlet ve keyfiyyetde 'adl ü inşâf ve hâkaniyyete muvâfık olan şureti temîz ve tercîh ve iltizâm ve tedbîr ve taşavvur ve ihtimâm eylemekden 'ibaretdir ... hattâ devlet-i 'Aliyye ve millet-i İslâmiyye niçün bu fenne i'tibar ve rağbet ve tevağğûl ve dirâyet etmezler ... ” Arıkan, “Nizâm-ı Cedîd'in Kaynaklarından,” 378-79.

<sup>125</sup> Fatih Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Kâtibi: Ebubekir Râṭib Efendi (1750-1799)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), 168.

<sup>126</sup> Fatih Yeşil, “Looking at the French Revolution through Ottoman eyes...,” 295.

the word *millet* to refer to the nation and the word *vaṭan* to describe the single homeland.<sup>127</sup>

Rāṭib Efendi was a figure representing a transitional period in the late eighteenth century. He used the concept of *vaṭan* in a different sense, *la patrie*.<sup>128</sup> However, when his *Lâyiḥa* is analyzed, as Fatih Yeşil discusses, it can be inferred that he used the concept of homeland both in its new and old meanings.<sup>129</sup> Hence, I consider him as a representation of a transitional period and I argue that the concept of homeland was not yet fully established perceptually. I furthermore point out that Rāṭib Efendi used the concept of homeland as a replacement for the words *memâlik* and *memleket*, meaning a place or country that still belonged to the state and was under the responsibility of the ruling class and the sultan. Hence, it is more accurate to consider him as a representation of a transitional period in the process of the perceptual transformation of the homeland, because the concept of homeland depicted in his *Lâyiḥa* was far from an understanding of a common, shared place in which ordinary individuals are directly involved in and responsible for the protection of that shared place.

For instance, he mentioned about officials, *oficyal*, their duties, and the employment of foreign generals and officials in each state in his *Lâyiḥa*. He expressed his doubts about the loyalty of foreign officials, and wondered whether it would not be more possible for them to strive for their homeland.<sup>130</sup> Here, he used *vaṭan* instead

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 302.

<sup>128</sup> Kemal Beydilli, “Küçük Kaynarca’dan Tanzimât’a Islâhât Düşünceleri,” *İlmî Araştırmalar* 8, (1999): 35.

<sup>129</sup> Pls.see. Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Kâtibi*, 191.

<sup>130</sup> “...ve her devletde ecnebi memleketden ceneral ve oficyal istihdâm olunub hemcivâr olan devletler her ne kadar birbirleriyle şulh ve şafvet üzere olsalar daḥi aḥadühümâ âḥarîñ mekrinden emniyet câ’iz olmamağla meşelâ Françe, İngilterelü ile ve Nemçe, Prusya ve Françe ile hemcivâr ve aralık aralık muhârebeleri derkâr iken, hâlâ Nemçe’de Prusya ve Françe oficyalleri olmağla bunlar hıyânet ve ihânet etmek imkânda değıl midir? Ve vaṭan ğayreti ve dîn ü mezheb ciheti şadâkatlerine mâni’ olmaz mı? deyü kendilerine su’âl olunduğda...” Arıkan, “Nizâm-ı Cedit’in Kaynaklarından,” 20.

of *memleket* or *memâlik*, as used in the early modern period. In the following sentence, he mentioned that the Romans and Greeks have been fighting over religion and sect since time immemorial and that their country, *memâlik ü büldân*, was devastated and their people were miserable because of this situation.<sup>131</sup> Although he used the concept of *vaṭan* in one context and *memâlik* in another, both of them correspond to spatial perception in the early modern period. Despite the fact that his use of the homeland here is modern, the homeland he referred to belongs to the state. In other words, he mentioned a country that belonged to the state, the sultan, and the ruling class, which was under their control and responsibility. This was not the homeland that belonged to ordinary individuals. Also, the fact that in the following sentence, he again introduced empires in terms of the early modern period indicates that the modern perception of homeland had not been established yet.

Afterward, Râṭib Efendi shared an anecdote and said that when the Austrians and the French were at war, and if the French officers from the Austria territories did not wish to fight in the regiment where they lived, they could go to the commander and make an entreaty, saying: “I do not want to serve, and I shall not fight against my homeland and my fellow countrymen,” and then they were recuse themselves from fighting.<sup>132</sup> The concept of homeland used here carried a more modern meaning as a

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<sup>131</sup> “... lâkin eski Romanozlar ve Yunaniler vaḳtlerinde dîn ü mezheb-i nizâ ‘ve da ‘vâsiyle çok kanlar rîzân ve memâlik ü büldân ḥarâb ü virân ve re ‘âyâ perîşân olmağla dîn ü mezheb ‘abd ile rabb beyninde bir ḥâlet olub herkes ânı icrâda ma ‘zûr ve istediği zemân ve mekânda mevlâsına kendi mezheb ü dîn ve ‘âdet ü âyini üzere ‘ibâdete mecbûr olmağla âna mûmâna ‘atîñ meşâliḥ-i mülk ü memlekete bi ‘t-tecârib maḫarratı meşhûd olduğından mezheb ü diyânetden mübâḥase Avrupa devletleriniñ mecmû ‘unda memnû ‘ olmuşdur ...” Arıkan, “Nizâm-ı Cedit’in Kaynaklarından,” 20. I think dîn ü mezheb-i nizâ is incorrect. The correct form is; dîn ü mezheb nizâ.

<sup>132</sup> “...şimdi Nemçelü ile Françelünüñ muḥârebeleri olmağla Françe oficyallerinden Nemçe recmendlerinde olanlar eğer vilâyeti üzerinde muḥârebe etmek istemezler ise gelür recmendiñ ḫumandantına ḫaber verir ki “ben ḫidmeti istemem ve vaṭanım ve hemşehrilerim olmağla ânlara ceng etmem” deyü inhâ eder, ol-vaḳt izin verirler...” Arıkan, “Nizâm-ı Cedit’in Kaynaklarından,” 22.

common place of residence since the word “fellow countrymen,” which was used immediately after it, also signified people living in the same homeland, like citizens.

Other Ottoman diplomats who visited Europe in the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries were also influenced by the European political atmosphere. Morali Esseyid ‘Ali Efendi (1757-1809), the Ottoman ambassador to Paris in 1796, used the concept of homeland when describing the hospitals and homes provided by the French authorities for retired and disabled soldiers; he mentions that these soldiers fought for the republic out of loyalty to the homeland.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, Maḥmūd Rā’if Efendi (1760?-1807), the ambassador to London from 1793 to 1797, wrote a book to inform Europeans about Selim the Third’s reform movements in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>134</sup> He began his book by stating that he strongly desired to be beneficial to his homeland, la Patrie.<sup>135</sup> As these examples show, there were instances in the late eighteenth century where the concept of homeland was used in a new sense. The concept of homeland began to change in meaning, but its perception and usage had not yet become widespread.

### **3.2. The Greek War of Independence in 1821 and the Ottomans’ Acquaintance with New Concepts**

In the early modern period, *re ‘âyâ* was an overarching and acted as an umbrella term, encompassing all ordinary individuals in the Ottoman Empire, regardless of their

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<sup>133</sup> “...evvelâ ‘askerî tã’ifesinden mecrûh ve müteķâ’id olanların iķâmetlerine maḥşûs olan bîmâr-ķâneye varıp cumhûr uğrunda ve vaķan ğayretinde bezl-i vücûd edenleriñ hizmetlerini taḥsîn...” Osman Nihat Bişgin, “Seyyid Ali Efendi’nin Fransa Sefareti (1797-1802),” (Unpublished Master’s thesis, Istanbul University, 2016). Bernard Lewis, *Watan*, Journal of Contemporary History, vol.26, no.3/4 (1991): 526.

<sup>134</sup> Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*, 30. Kemal Beydilli, “Mahmud Râif Efendi,” TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi 27 (2003): 382-383.

<sup>135</sup> Mahmud Raif Efendi, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yeni Nizamların Cedveli*, trans. Arslan Terzioğlu and Hüsrev Hatemi (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1988), 4, 33, quoted in Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*, 30.

other identities, like their *cemā'ats* and *tā'ifes*. The gradual loss of the unifying power of this upper identity term, *re'âyâ*, would allow other concepts strengthened by the impact of the French Revolution, such as nation and homeland, to come to the forefront. In the early nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire faced with separatist and national uprisings in its most populous, prosperous Balkan provinces: the Serbian uprising in 1804-1817, followed by the Greek War of Independence in 1821. The Serbian uprising fed other Balkan peoples' hopes for national revival, but the Greek revolt had a much more profound effect on the Ottomans.<sup>136</sup> Some points make this uprising important in the political language of the Ottoman Empire, especially about the concept of homeland.<sup>137</sup>

During the Greek War of Independence, Alexandros Ypsilantis' famous proclamation was translated by Ottoman translators because Ottomans were interested in what the Greek leaders were saying.<sup>138</sup> Also, Ottomans translated an important letter called for a Hellenes awakening,<sup>139</sup> and emancipate the homeland, and the Temporary Constitution of Greece (1 January 1822).<sup>140</sup> They included a variety of new concepts. The declaration included the concepts of homeland, *vaṭan*, and nation, *millet*, too much, and there was a problem with translating them. Moreover, terms like *cumhūriyet* (republic), *serbestîyet* (freedom), *vaṭan* (homeland), *hemvaṭan* (compatriot), *cumhūr*

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<sup>136</sup> İlber Ortaylı, "Greeks in the Ottoman Administration During the Tanzimat Period," in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1999), 161.

<sup>137</sup> Hakan Erdem, "“Do not think of the Greeks as agricultural labourers” Ottoman Responses to the Greek War of Independence," in *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey: Social and Historical Studies on Greece and Turkey Series*, ed. Faruk Birtok and Thalia Dragonas (Abingdon, UK.: Routledge, Taylor&Francis Group, 2005), 78.

<sup>138</sup> Erdem, "“Do not think of the Greeks as agricultural labourers”", 78.

<sup>139</sup> Huseyin Sukru Ilıcak, A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society During the Greek War of Independence (1821 - 1826), (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2011), 173 quoted in Leonidas Moiras, "Ottoman Perceptions of the Greek Nationalism," *Slavic and Oriental Studies*, University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 2019, 1.

<sup>140</sup> Moiras, "Ottoman Perceptions of the Greek Nationalism," 1.

*müşāveresi* (national assembly) were mentioned in the letters.<sup>141</sup> Leonidas Morias argues that the Ottomans encountered with these terms for the first time.<sup>142</sup> Since Rāṭib Efendi had used some of these terms in his *Lâyihâ* in the late eighteenth century, it was not the first time these concepts entered Ottoman terminology. However, the translation of them was quite problematic, given that their usage was quite narrow and their early modern meanings were more dominant in this period. The concept of the homeland had no political meaning, and the concept of the nation could refer to non-Muslims or a specific ethnic group in these periods. They translated both alternately, with several meanings. For example, the concept of homeland could be evaluated in the sense of both birthplace and politically as a motherland.<sup>143</sup> The important point is that with the Greek War of Independence, the political language had now evolved into a nationalist form and introduced these concepts, especially the concept of homeland, more politically, *la Patrie*.<sup>144</sup>

It is also apparent that the process, which started with Rāṭib Efendi and continued with other ambassadors, progressed with the effect of the separatist uprisings that the Ottoman Empire was experiencing. It is, of course, not possible to give an exact date when the perception of the concept of homeland changed. Examining archival documents from the first half of the nineteenth century can also explain why the translation of Ypsilantis' proclamation was difficult. The consideration of the ideas in the proclamation and the letters was not easy because the terms and concepts had different expressions in the Ottoman political mind.<sup>145</sup> Looking at documents from this period and immediately after, it is more difficult to find a

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>143</sup> Erdem, ““Do not think of the Greeks as agricultural labourers””, 78-80.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>145</sup> Moiras, “Ottoman Perceptions of the Greek Nationalism,” 2.

document in which the concept of homeland is used in its political sense, equivalent to country. Instead, it is more common to find documents in which the concept of homeland is used as a place of birth, village. From 1820-1865 onwards, when archival documents are analyzed, one can see that although the concept of homeland began to be used in its modern sense, it is still mostly used in its early modern sense.<sup>146</sup> The concept of homeland in the documents mainly refers to one's birthplace or place of residence. This indicates that the use of the political and modern meaning of the concept of homeland had not yet become widespread.

In the 1830s Mahmud II (1785-1839) tried to initiate reforms for non-Muslim subjects to embrace Ottoman framework. He made trips to places where the majority of the population was Christian, and he assured security to all the constituents of the empire.<sup>147</sup> The sultan offered a common subjecthood for all Muslims and non-Muslims.<sup>148</sup> Hence, this was an important step towards creating a shared living place.

### 3.3. *Vaṭan* as a Place to Defend with the Tanzimat

Within four months after succeeding Mahmud II, Sultan Abdülmecid and his entourage began to implement the Tanẓīmât Edict of 1839 prepared under his father's rule, and in so doing planted new steps in adopting a new perception of the homeland. In this Tanẓīmât Edict, the concept of homeland is used differently, and the ordinary people are recognized as a common constituent of the homeland. The need for public to provide soldiers for the defense of the homeland and the conditions for providing

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<sup>146</sup> For example; "... bundan akdem hicreten Apoköyünden tavaṭṭun Topaç kıyresinden Molla Yusuf ve Şehirkişla kıyresinden Molla 'Ömer nâmân kimesneler haneleriyle vaṭan-ı aşlilerine gelüb (ber) karar eylediklerini ..." BOA, HAT 797-36961, H-29-12-1237 (1821-1822). For others pls. see. HAT 793 - 36835, MKT.NZD. 376 - 70.

<sup>147</sup> Moiras, "Ottoman Perceptions of the Greek Nationalism," 5.

<sup>148</sup> Quoted from Donald Quataert. Moiras, "Ottoman Perceptions of the Greek Nationalism," 5.

soldiers are mentioned.<sup>149</sup> The Tanzîmât Edict also introduced a new understanding of patriotism, signaling the state's concern to ensure the loyalty of its subjects to the state and the nation and to instill a growing love for their homeland.<sup>150</sup> To nurture this loyalty, security of life and property, and the correct assessment and collection of taxes were of primary importance.<sup>151</sup> Muştafâ Reşîd Pasha (1800-1858) mentioned the importance of the protection of life and property in his *Lâyîha*, written before the Tanzîmât Edict.<sup>152</sup> In his *Lâyîha*, Reşîd Pasha reminded that the failure to enforce regulations concerning security of life and property constituted the main reason for the loss of some provinces, especially Greece and the Balkans, and he emphasized that the Sublime Porte should put an end to violations of such regulations.<sup>153</sup> This is because the place where a person lives in comfort, where one does not have to worry, where one's property and possessions are safe would become their homeland, and if this is the case, one's attachment to the homeland increases.<sup>154</sup> This part was an attempt to introduce the homeland as a shared living place. Even in the early modern period,

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<sup>149</sup> "...eğerçi, muhafaza-i vaatan için 'asker vermek ahâliniñ farîze-i zimmeti ise de şimdiye kadar cârî olduğu veçhile bir memleketiñ 'aded-i nüfûsu mevcûdesine bakılmıyarak kiminden rütbe-i tahammülüünden ziyâde ve kiminden noksan 'asker istenilmek hem nizâmsızlığı ve hem zirâ 'at ve ticâret mevâdd-ı nâfi 'asınıñ İhlâlini mücib olduğu..." Halil İnalçık&Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat: Değişen Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2006), 2.

<sup>150</sup> Julia Phillips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 9.

<sup>151</sup> "...bundan böyle Devlet-i 'Aliyye ve memâlik-i mahrûsamızıñ hüsni idâresi zımnında ba 'zı kavânîn-i cedîde vaz ' ve te 'sîsi lâzım ve mühimm görünerek işbu kavânîn-i mukteziyyeniñ mevâdd-ı esâsiyyesi dahî emniyyet-i cân ve mahfûziyyet-i 'ırz ve nâmûs ve mâl ta 'yîn-i vergi ve 'asâkir-i mukteziyyeniñ şûret-i celb ve müddet-i istiğdamı ka'ziyelerinden 'ibâret olup şöyle ki..." İnalçık&Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat*, 1-2.

<sup>152</sup> Edhem Eldem, "Tanzimat Hatt-ı Hümayunu'nu (1839) Baştan Okuma," in *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar; Tanzimat'ı Yeniden Düşünmek*, no.20 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2022), 52.

<sup>153</sup> Eldem, "Tanzimat Hatt-ı Hümayunu'nu (1839) Baştan Okuma," 52.

<sup>154</sup> "...bu dahî devlet ve memlekete muzırr olageldiği müsellemler olduğu müşîllu bi'l 'akış cân ve nâmûsundan emin olduğu hâlde dahî şıdk u istikâmetden ayrılmıyacağı ve işi ve gücü hemen devlet ve milletine hüsni hizmetten 'ibâret olacağı dahî bedîhî ve zâhirdir ve emniyyet-i mâl ka'ziyyesiniñ fiqdâni hâlinde ise herkes ne devlet ve ne milletine ısınamayıp ve ne i 'mâr-ı mülke bakamayıp dâ 'ima endişe ve ıztıraptan hâli olmadığı müşîllü 'aksî ta'kidinde ya 'ni emvâl ve emlâkinden emniyyet-i kâmile olduğu hâlde dahî hemen kendü işi ile ve tevsî-i dâ 'ire-i ta 'ayyûşile uğraşıp ve kendüsünde günbegün devlet ve millet gayreti ve vaatan muhabbeti artıp aña göre hüsni harekete çalışacağı şüpheden âzâdedir..." İnalçık&Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat*, 2.

people living in the same neighborhood, village or homeland saw it as a shared space and they shared common responsibilities. Here, however, the aim is to develop a collective responsibility towards a broader geographical area, a country, and to redefine the shared place in terms of a larger area, the homeland in the new sense. The Ottoman State expected them to develop a consciousness towards the homeland not only as cohabitants in the same neighborhood but as a community.

Another important point of the Tanzimat was the inclusion of non-Muslims. For the first time, instead of the term *re'âyâ* (which referred to subjects under the protection of the Sultan within an Islamic governing structure), the term *milel-i sâ'ire* was used, which by using “*milel*” as the plural form of “*millet*,” translates as [ethno-religious] “communities,” regardless of their religion or sect.<sup>155</sup> The Sultan stated that the Tanzîmât was not only about the religion and state, but also aimed the development of the homeland, the prosperity of the people, and the restoration of property and the nation.<sup>156</sup> Here, the nation, millet, was used to refer to the totality of the subjects of the empire.<sup>157</sup> The Tanzîmât Edict’s attempt to address both non-Muslims and Muslims in an inclusive manner was an endeavor to establish a relationship between the homeland and its subjects. Also, this relationship between the new notion of the homeland and its subjects was a modern step because it represented a break from the perception of the early modern period. Only the sultan and state officials could have responsibilities toward the homeland and powers over it. This text does not say what an individual can do for his village or neighborhood, but for his homeland, in the new sense of the term,

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“... teba'ayı saltanat-ı seniyyemizden olan ehl-i İslâm ve milel-i sâ'ire bu müsâ'adât-ı şâhânemize bilâ-istisnâ mazhar olmak üzere cân ve 'ırz ve nâmûs ve mâl maddelerinden hükm-i şer'î iktizasınca kâffe-i memâlik-i mahrûsamız âhâlîsine taraf-ı şâhânemizden emniyyet-i kâmile verilmiş ...” İnalçık&Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat*, 3. Eldem, “Tanzimat Hatt-ı Hümayunu”nu (1839) Baştan Okuma,” 70.

<sup>156</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-i Hümayûnu,” *Belleten* 28, no.112 (1964): 619.

<sup>157</sup> İnalçık, “Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-i Hümayûnu,” 619.

his country. With the Tanzīmât Edict, a transition from the property of the sultan to the homeland of the people began.

On the other hand, until the nineteenth century, *memleket muhâfazası*, the protection of the country, was under the responsibility of the sultan, his army (*‘asâkir-i şâhâne*), and the state officials. The Tanzīmât Edict also assigned military service to all male Ottoman subjects, conscripting them into the defense of the homeland. The Tanzīmât Edict referred to this collective obligation as the duty of the inhabitants to provide soldiers.<sup>158</sup> Here, there was also a collective responsibility of imagining the homeland as a shared living place. This was a sign of a new political discourse and era. Promoting the homeland as a territorial concept to ensure the subjects’ loyalty was a modern function of political foundation for the Ottoman state and loyalty to the Ottoman territory held significant value in political discourses in search of new bases of legitimacy.<sup>159</sup> Nonetheless, it can now be seen that a shift of mindset had occurred. What I mean by shift of mindset is that the understanding of the empire as belonging to the sultan, with which the people could not identify with and which was a neutral term, was slowly replaced by a reconceptualization of the homeland, as a shared place for which the people felt loyalty and responsibility, with an emotional underpinning and attachment which they saw as a place that belonged to them, beginning in the nineteenth century. Therefore, the Tanzīmât Edict also had a new patriotic vocabulary also focusing on the imperial citizenship, indicating the state’s desire to ensure the loyalty of its subjects to “the state and the nation” and to foster in them a ‘growing fervor’ and ‘rising love’ for their homeland.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> “...muhâfaza-i vatan için ‘asker vermek ahâliniñ farîze-i zîmmeti...”İnalçık&Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat*, 2. Tobias Heinzlmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Genel Askerlik Yükümlüğü 1826-1856*, trans. Türkis Noyan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), 108.

<sup>159</sup> Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*, 34-35.

<sup>160</sup> Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans...*, 9.

This is not to say that this new understanding completely changed people's perception of the concept of homeland overnight. By the first half of the nineteenth century, homeland was still primarily used in the early modern sense, and in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was being used in a sense that encompassed the country as a whole. For example, in a document dated 1851-1852, we read as follows: "It was declared by the Austrian vice-consul there that the people who were previously Austrian subjects and then came to the sanjak of Herzegovina and made it their homeland and became Ottoman subjects should be returned to their former homeland."<sup>161</sup> This document is a product of a transitional period since homeland is used both in the early modern sense of making a relatively small place one's home and in the more modern sense of country. By the middle of the nineteenth century, it was apparent that the use of the concept of homeland had diversified.

Some transformations regarding military service also characterized this period. In the first half of the nineteenth century, with the destruction of the Janissary Corps by 1826, the Ottoman Empire began to regulate a new type of military system. In 1834, a new kind of military organization called the *Redîf 'Asâkir-i Manşûre* was introduced to ensure that there would be a supply of trained soldiers in reserve who could be called up immediately for service during wartime.<sup>162</sup> Then, the conscription code of 1846 fully defined the duties, the methods of recruitment, and the eligibility to participate in the draft lottery.<sup>163</sup> The conscription also aimed to strengthen the perception of the homeland. This was because the conscription and all the related regulations

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<sup>161</sup> "... Avusturya devleti teba'asından mukaddema Hersek Sancağı'na gelüb tavaştun ile teba'ayı Devlet-i 'Aliyye silkine deḥâlet eylemiş olan kesânın yine vâtan-ı kadimlerine i'âde olunmaları orada bulunan Avusturya Konsolos vekîli tarafından beyân ve ifâde olunması üzerine ..." BOA, HR.MKT. 41-33, H-05-03-1268 (1851-1852).

<sup>162</sup> Veysel Şimşek, "The First "Little Mehmeds": Conscripsts for the Ottoman Army, 1826-53," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XLIV (2014): 266.

<sup>163</sup> Şimşek, "The First "Little Mehmeds...", 275.

represented a break with the older perception from the early modern period. In the early modern period, *memleket muhāfazası*, or protection of the country, was entirely the responsibility of the sultan and the sultan's soldiers. Because the empire and the country belonged to the sultan, but in the nineteenth century, shifting the task of defending the country towards being the responsibility of the people strengthened the perception of the homeland as belonging to everyone, and demonstrated its transition from being the sultan's *mülk* to the people's *vatan*.

Since the Ottoman Empire was multinational and multi-religious, there was also the issue of conscription of non-Muslims. In 1855, non-Muslims became eligible for military service, and the old *cizye* tax was abolished.<sup>164</sup> A new exemption tax, the *bedel-i 'askeriye*, replaced it and continued to be used as an exemption tax for non-Muslims.<sup>165</sup> In fact, although the idea of non-Muslims being able to serve in the military with Muslims seemed important in terms of equality, there were some problems. The major problem with the military service of non-Muslims was that they could not identify with the army. This was because, in the mid-nineteenth century, the dominant motivation for fighting was religious, and Christians or Jews could not be motivated by the concept of jihad. The Ottoman army feared that Christians, Jews and other non-Muslims would damage their morale.<sup>166</sup> Another reason was that most of the Ottoman Christians perceived themselves as the subjects of the Ottoman State, but not as part of the Ottoman nation.<sup>167</sup> In addition to this, Masayuki Ueno discusses the Armenian side of the military service. Ueno states that in the reports of the Armenian

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<sup>164</sup> Virginia Aksan, *The Ottomans 1700-1923: An Empire Besieged*, Second Edition (New York: Routledge: Taylor&Francis Group, 2022), 195-196.

<sup>165</sup> Aksan, *The Ottomans 1700-1923*, 196.

<sup>166</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, "The Ottoman Conscription System, 1844-1914," *International Review of Social History* 43 (1998): 446.

<sup>167</sup> Zürcher, "The Ottoman Conscription System, 1844-1914," 446.

committees it was mentioned that it was obligatory for Armenians to fight and shed blood for the homeland together with Muslims in order to show the honor and spirit of citizenship.<sup>168</sup> Also, when they used the expression ‘for the homeland,’ carried two meanings for the Armenians: the eastern Ottoman provinces, to which they belonged as Armenians, and the Ottoman homeland to which they belonged as Ottoman citizens.<sup>169</sup> As can be deduced from this, there were still reflections of the transitional period.

Moreover, there were some practical problems related to the recruitment of non-Muslims or non-Turkish speaking subjects, like Arabs. The language and translation problem were major ones, because foreign military instructors spoke “Frankish”, and their instructions had to be translated into Turkish, then into Arabic for the soldiers.<sup>170</sup> Another problem was the situation of non-Muslims and non-Turks fighting against their own nation.<sup>171</sup> Therefore, the conscription system for all subjects in the Ottoman Empire became complicated. The Ottoman State did not actually aim to make a distinction based on nationality or identity and they had no nationalist sentiment in modern sense of expression.<sup>172</sup> However, there were practical, motivational and political setbacks when the Ottoman army was launched, and it could not become an organization in which all members of the empire participated voluntarily and willingly.

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<sup>168</sup> Masayuki Ueno, ““For the Fatherland and the State”: Armenians Negotiate the Tanzimat Reforms,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45 (2013): 101.

<sup>169</sup> Ueno, ““For the Fatherland and the State...”, 101.

<sup>170</sup> Hakan Erdem, “Recruitment for the “Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad” in the Arab Provinces, 1826-1828,” in *Histories of the Modern Middle East: New Directions*, eds. Israel Gershoni, Hakan Erdem and Ursula Woköck (London: Lynne Rienner, 2002), 201-202 quoted in Şimşek, “The First “Little Mehmeds...,” 291.

<sup>171</sup> Pls. see. Şimşek, “The First “Little Mehmeds...,” 291. Tobias Heinzalman, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Genel Askerlik Yükümlülüğü 1826-1856*, trans. Türkis Noyan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), 224-226.

<sup>172</sup> Şimşek, “The First “Little Mehmeds...,” 292-293.

One of the most crucial implications of this conscription system was the idea that the Ottoman Empire constituted a shared homeland and that its defense was also the responsibility of the people. Creating an army was also critical for turning people into loyal and devoted subjects to the sultan and the state.<sup>173</sup> Furthermore, the idea of the Ottoman Empire as a common homeland was crucial for the formation of Ottoman patriotism.<sup>174</sup> This was not a step taken only for non-Muslims because Muslims also needed to adopt a sense of a shared homeland. Since the concept of homeland was mainly associated with the ordinary individuals' villages, fighting for the homeland did not mean much to ordinary people.<sup>175</sup> Ahmet Cevdet Pasha (1823-1895), an Ottoman intellectual and bureaucrat, described the situation as follows:

In fact, in Europe, devotion to the homeland replaced devotion to religion. However, this, too, came after the end of the centuries of feudalism, and their children heard this phrase when they were young, and after many years, the words 'for the sake of the homeland' had an impact on their military personnel. But when we say 'homeland,' soldiers think of the squares in their villages. If we were to put forward the word 'homeland' now, even if it were to gain the same strength as in Europe with the passage of time, it would not have the strength of devotion to religion.<sup>176</sup>

Therefore, from the first half of the nineteenth century onwards, it became important to promulgate a shared sense of homeland. Although the primary motivation for military service in the Ottoman Empire was religious, one can infer that the leaders

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<sup>173</sup> For instance, Khaled Fahmy argues Mehmed Ali's army and its importance in founding the modern Egyptian nation. Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, his army and the making of modern Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1997).

<sup>174</sup> Heinzlmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına...*, 229.

<sup>175</sup> Mehmed Hacısalihoğlu, "Inclusion and Exclusion: Conscription in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Modern European History* 5, no.2 (2007): 273.

<sup>176</sup> "... *Vaķı'a Avrupa'da ğayret-i diniyye yerine ğayret-i vaţaniyye kâ'im olmuş. Lâkin bu da feodalite 'aşırlarının inķizâsından sonra çıķmış ve onların çocukları da küçük iken bu sözü işiderek pek çok senelerden sonra 'vaţan uğruna' kelâmı efrâd-i 'askeriyyelerine te'sir eder olmuştur. Amma bizde 'vaţan' denilirse 'askerlerin köylerindeki meydanlar hâtırlarına gelür. Biz şimdi 'vaţan' sözünü ortaya koyacak olsaķ, mürur-i zamân ile bizde de efkâr-ı nâsda yer ederek Avrupa'daki kuvveti bulacak olsa bile ğayret-i diniyye kadar kuvvet alamaz...*" Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Ma'rûzât*, haz. Yusuf Halaçoğlu (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1980), 114 quoted in Ercüment Kuran, "Türk Tefekkür Tarihinde Ahmed Cevdet Paşa'nın Yeri," in *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa Semineri: Bildiriler* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985), 10.

made attempts to change in the nineteenth century, and their focus started to shift to the defense of the homeland where people lived together regardless of religion and ethnicity. Also, through institutional reforms, leaders that tried to develop a sense of Ottomanness, *Osmanlılık*, that transcended the various religious communities. For instance, non-Muslims were not required to convert before registering in military schools and serving in the Ottoman army, and this provided a new institutional context in which people of different faiths could be trained to serve and even fight for the Ottoman state.<sup>177</sup>

In the first half of the nineteenth century, separatist rebellions came to the forefront in the Ottoman Empire. In the second half, territorial losses began to increase. During the Crimean War of 1853-56 and in the period leading up to the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, it was essential to promote the perception of a shared homeland to promote a sense of struggle for the homeland. Within this context, the idea of military service needed to be accepted and spread widely. The Crimean War was an important moment that solidified the expanded idea of a homeland because it influenced the development of a sense of loyalty and duty as well as the formation of a patriotic identity.<sup>178</sup> Moreover, the rapid and necessary development brought by participation in a significant war enabled by several changes, including the telegraph, daily newspapers, and various new ideas.<sup>179</sup> At the end of this war, there was also a massive wave of migration towards the Ottoman Empire. These helped to spread new ideas and a sense of patriotic struggle across the empire. For example, in 1865 a regiment of volunteers was formed in Bosnia. The organization of this regiment was

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<sup>177</sup> Reşat Kasaba, "Dreams of Empire, Dreams of Nations," in *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World*, ed. Joseph W. Esherick, Hasan Kayalı, and Eric Van Young (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2006), 208.

<sup>178</sup> Lewis, *Watan*, 527.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 527.

based on rotation, with one-fifth at home and the rest in the regiment. However, soldiers wanted to return to the regiment before completing their rest period at home. There were several reasons for this: firstly, they did not find the comfort they had experienced in military service, and secondly, they did not want to fall behind in their military training and service, which was an honorable occupation.<sup>180</sup> The comfort issue may have been about money or free meals, but what was new here was the presentation of military service and military training as a proud job. This regiment was formed to protect the area, and it was quite a new approach to say that serving in the army and being a soldier was something to be honored. This perception and the idea of serving for your homeland continued to grow stronger, especially with the Young Ottomans, an oppositional movement against the central authority in the second half of the nineteenth century.

#### 3.4. Young Ottomans and the *Vaṭan* as a Shared Living Place

The concept of homeland took on a more important position in various literary pieces during the Tanzīmât period and emerged due to the territorial losses suffered by the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman intellectuals' recognition of Western countries with the Westernization movements.<sup>181</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century, a group emerged that wanted to take action against the Ottoman territorial losses and the political and military weakness of the empire. This group was actually an opposition

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<sup>180</sup> "...bu kerre alay-ı mezkûr miralaylığından semâhatlû Cevdet Efendi Hâzretleri'ne mersûl tahrîrât ve jurnal me'aline nazaran neferât-ı merkûmeye şîlâ için virilen tezkereyi almakda ve alıb gitmiş olanlar daḥi müddeti ḥitamından mukaddem 'avdet idenleriñ kendülerinden istifâde olundukda silk-i celîl-i 'askeride olan râhetlerini göremediklerini ve sermâye-i feyz ve iftiḥârları olan ta'lîm ve ta'allûmdan kendileri ve ḥidemât-ı maḥşûşalarından geri ḳalacaklarını beyân itmekde oldukları anlaşılmış ..." BOA, MKT.MHM. 325-85, H-04-10-1281.

<sup>181</sup> Tevfik Sütçü, "Tanzimat Sonrası Türk Edebiyatında Vatan Temi," (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Istanbul University, 2004), 87-88.

movement among Ottoman intellectuals,<sup>182</sup> particularly against to the rule of Âlî and Fuad Pashas.<sup>183</sup> This opposition movement, collectively called Young Ottomans in the scholarship, were united by a general knowledge of European civilization and a common concern about the disintegration of the empire.<sup>184</sup> The Young Ottomans (*Yeni Osmanlılar*) symbolized a new type of person. They felt responsible towards the empire and desired to find a solution to problems. The cession of Belgrade to Serbia in 1867, the independence of Romania, and the conflicts in Lebanon, Crete, Bosnia, and Montenegro paved the way for the Young Ottoman movement to define itself as a patriotic movement that sought to save the empire.<sup>185</sup> They were aware that the Ottoman Empire was in turmoil due to territorial losses, separatist movements and migrations from its lost territories, and they were looking for solutions as to how to live together.

The leading figures of this movement were Namık Kemal, İbrahim Şinasi, Ali Suavi, Ebuzziya Tevfik and Ziya Pasha. Almost all of them had, at one time or another, worked in the Translation Bureau of the *Bab-ı 'Ali*, and most of them, therefore, had the opportunity to learn about European political systems and how the empire's foreign affairs were conducted.<sup>186</sup> Young Ottomans considered publishing to be very critical. They published and wrote articles in newspapers and journals. They had the task of raising public awareness about the political situation in the empire through publications. Their main goal was to save the empire and achieve the salvation of the

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<sup>182</sup> Carter Vaughn Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789-2007* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 104.

<sup>183</sup> Ferhat Kaplan, "The Role of the Young Ottomans in the Transformation of Mentality in the Ottoman Empire," (Unpublished Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2007), 26.

<sup>184</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin Doğuşu*, trans. Mümtaz'er Türköne, Fahri Unan, İrfan Erdoğan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1996), 18; idem, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962, 2000; Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 11.

<sup>185</sup> Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan...*, 36.

<sup>186</sup> Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin Doğuşu*, 19.

homeland. During this period, the concept of homeland became more integrated with public, and the understanding that public was a shareholder of the homeland and had a responsibility towards it became widespread.

In 1866, the Ottoman statesman Mustafa Fazıl Pasha (1829-1875) was dismissed from his chairman position in the council called *Meclis-i 'Âli-i Hazâ'in*. Ebuzziya Tevfik mentioned in his work on the young Ottomans, *Yeñi 'Osmanlılar Tārīhi*, that rumors circulated that Mustafa Fazıl Pasha had been deported from the Ottoman Empire after he was dismissed. Ebuzziya Tevfik was surprised because a state official could be exiled, but he was always sent to one of the Ottoman provinces.<sup>187</sup> Since being separated from one's homeland, away from one's place of residence, was a punishment, a person from Istanbul would be exiled to the rural provinces and a person from the rural provinces would be exiled elsewhere.<sup>188</sup> However, there was no such punishment as being expatriated or exiled from the outside of the country, or being deported from the homeland.<sup>189</sup> Here, Ebuzziya Tevfik used the concept of homeland in both its old and new meanings. They were familiar with the meaning of the concept of homeland, and this was especially evident in the translation of the French letter written by Mustafa Fazıl Pasha to Sultan Abdülaziz. Both Namık Kemal and Sadullah Bey translated the letter but Sadullah Bey's translation was preferred because Namık Kemal's version made it quite clear who had done the translation.<sup>190</sup> Sadullah Bey used the *traduction libre* method, that is, he made the translation according to what he understood, in contrast to the method of direct

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<sup>187</sup> Ebuzziya Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi* c.1, trans. Ziyad Ebuzziya (İstanbul: Kervan Kitapçılık, 1973), 11.

<sup>188</sup> Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*, 11.

<sup>189</sup> *expatrier* in French. Ibid., 11.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 22.

translation employed by the Translation Bureau in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>191</sup> The use of concepts such as the “improvement of the homeland,” “love for the homeland,” “sons of the homeland” in the translation of the letter and the fact that the content of the letter had to do with the development of the homeland shows that the perception of this concept changed in the 1860s.<sup>192</sup> This is because their ability to translate the parts related to the homeland in such a multi-dimensional fashion demonstrates that the new perception and meaning of the concept has also been established.

Again in 1867, a letter written by Mustafa Fazıl Pasha in French was read aloud at a reception at the printing house of the *Le Courier d’Orient* newspaper, to which names such as Namik Kemal and Ziya Bey (1829-1880) were invited.<sup>193</sup> In the letter, Mustafa Fazıl Pasha mentioned the salvation of the homeland, the country’s poverty, patriotism, and the happiness and salvation of the homeland.<sup>194</sup> He also invited Namik Kemal and Ziya Bey to Paris because he stated that it was time for them to render serve with their writings for the salvation of the homeland.<sup>195</sup>

Another influential figure of that period was Namık Kemal, because of his ideas about protecting and developing loyalty towards the homeland. He wrote with an acute awareness of the consequences of the Crimean War and the ensuing territorial losses. Especially in the ghazals he wrote during and after the Crimean War, one can glimpse the sentiments that prepared Namik Kemal regarding his understanding of the homeland.<sup>196</sup> He wanted to express his ideas related to the homeland to raise people’s consciousness about the need to defend it. As Kemal Karpat claims, the concept of

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>192</sup> For Mustafa Fazıl Pasha’s letter pls. see. Ibid., 18-43.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 61-64.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>196</sup> Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Açık Defter*, “Millet, Vatan, Vatanseverlik,” quoted in Mehmet Sarı, *Divân Şiirinde Vatan*, *Hikmet-Akademik Edebiyat Dergisi: Prof. Mine Mengi Özel Sayısı* 2, no.5 (2016): 212.

vaṭan used by Namık Kemal and other Young Ottoman members represented a new identity to overcome religious, ethnic, and local separations.<sup>197</sup> Namık Kemal used the concept of vaṭan to address a nation and invited the people to defend the homeland and sacrifice for it. In the first issue of Hürriyet Newspaper, he wrote an article with the title “*Hubbū’l Vaṭan Mine’l-’Iman*,” which means that “the love of the homeland is from the faith.”<sup>198</sup> In this article, Kemal mentioned the value of the homeland, dying for the sake of the homeland and the need to be grateful to the homeland, by using Islamic concepts.

The loss of Rumelia, in particular, affected him deeply, as he saw it as a part of the homeland, and he believed that it was also the people’s responsibility to prevent the loss of these lands. At the very beginning of his famous play, *Vatan Yahud Silistre*, main character, Islam Bey, makes powerful statements about the period and launches into a tirade:

How could the enemy ever turn their guns on the homeland and not find me? How could the homeland ever be in danger, and I sit comfortably in my home? How could the love of the homeland ever be sacred above all else, and I only deal with your love? Homeland, homeland, I say the homeland is in danger. God created me, and the homeland raised me.<sup>199</sup>

Moreover, in the play, the protection of the homeland depended primarily on the protection of the Danube. Islam Bey says that “for us, the Danube is the water of life. If the Danube is removed, the homeland will not survive; if the homeland does

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<sup>197</sup> Kemal H.Karpat, *Osmanlı’da Değişim, Modernleşme ve Uluslaşma*, trans. Dilek Özdemir (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2006), 42.

<sup>198</sup> Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*, 239.

<sup>199</sup> “...Hiç nasıl olur ki hasmın silahı vatana çevrilsin de, karşısında iptida benim göğsümü bulmasın? Hiç nasıl olur ki, vatan muhatarada bulunsun da, ben evimde rahat oturayım?...Hiç nasıl olur ki, vatan muhabbeti bugün her şeyden mukaddes olsun da ben yalnız senin muhabbetinle uğraşayım?... Vatan! Vatan!... Vatan muhatarada diyorum... İşitmiyor musun? Beni Allah yarattı, vatan büyüttü...” Namık Kemal, *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, trans. Ezgi Aslan, Gönül Yüksel (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2019), 9.

not survive, no human being will survive in the homeland.”<sup>200</sup> The Danube was a province where Muslims and non-Muslims lived together. Hence, one can understand that what Namık Kemal meant by homeland transcended religious and ethnic identities. There is also a part in the play in which the characters sing folk songs. Here, he mentions that they aim to reach the homeland, that as Ottomans, their ornaments are bloody shrouds, and that as Ottomans, they give their lives and thus earn their reputation.<sup>201</sup> This part is a bit more complicated because he was defining Ottoman subjects more inclusively, defining their identity at a higher level by calling them Ottomans. On the other hand, he was using Islamic concepts such as martyrs and martyrdom (*şehīd*, *şehīdlik*). Furthermore, he ended some of his articles with the motto, “Long live the Ottomans.”<sup>202</sup>

Namık Kemal’s writings clearly demonstrate that his ideas did not carry any nationalist expression in terms of his period. Kemal treated the concept of the homeland with great enthusiasm, but he could not make the focus of this concept clear depending on the structural situation of the Ottoman state. In Kemal’s writings, the homeland, the Ottoman Empire, the ummah, and the nation are always treated as equivalent concepts.<sup>203</sup> Therefore, there are also works in which he defined the homeland through Ottomanism or Islamism.<sup>204</sup> Sometimes they used the term

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<sup>200</sup> “...Tuna bizim için ab-ı hayattır. Tuna aradan kalkarsa, vatan yaşamaz. Vatan yaşamazsa, vatanda hiçbir insan yaşamaz...” Kemal, *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, 17.

<sup>201</sup> “...Âmâlimiz efkârımız ikbâl-i vatandır, serhaddimizde kal’a bizim hâk-i bedendir, Osmânlılar ziynetimiz kanlı kefendir, Gavgâda şehâdetle bütün kâm alırsız, biz Osmanlılar can verir nâm alırsız biz...” Kemal, *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, 23.

<sup>202</sup> For a detailed study about Namık Kemal and his works, see: Murat Tan, “Rumeli Kaybının Namık Kemal’in Şiir ve Piyeslerine Yansımaları,” *Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları*, no.26 (2022): 333-353. Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*, 41-42.

<sup>203</sup> Suavi Aydın, *Modernleşme ve Milliyetçilik* (Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1993), 133.

<sup>204</sup> For a detailed analysis about the Islamic side of the idea of Young Ottomans, see: İhsan Sungu, “Tanzimat ve Yeni Osmanlılar,” *Tanzimat I: Yüzyüncü Yıl Münasebetiyle* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 777-857.

Turkestan.<sup>205</sup> However, the question of whether they were referring to Anatolia, the entire Ottoman country, or somewhere else applies to both Turkestan and the concept of homeland. According to Behlül Özkan, two different ideologies to defend the unity of the Ottoman Empire developed by the Young Ottomans: Unity of Islam (*İttihād-ı İslām*) and Unity of Elements (*İttihād-ı 'Anâşır*).<sup>206</sup> Here, by using Unity of Elements, Özkan refers to the idea of Ottomanism, and he mentions that the Young Ottomans used these terms interchangeably in their writings, so they were not opposed to each other.<sup>207</sup> Although it is not certain whether these concepts can be used interchangeably, the need for an overarching identity arose due to the public's apparent inability to unite under the upper identity of *re 'âyâ* as in the early modern period, which led the Young Ottomans to think about how to fill this gap. One of the most important ideas put forward to meet this need was Ottomanism and the related idea of a shared homeland.

Ottomanism, in the historiography, was an effort to create an upper identity against the separatist movements that emerged in the nineteenth century, under the influence of the Tanzīmât and Işlâhât Edicts and the Young Ottomans.<sup>208</sup> In other words, it was a modern political approach based on legal equality and citizenship principles, which became common in Europe after the French Revolution, instead of the early modern political understanding that divided society according to status.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> For a detailed information about the concept and idea of *Türkistan*, see: Hakan Erdem, "Türkistan: Nerede, Ne Zaman?," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.58 (1998): 38-44.

<sup>206</sup> Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan...*, 42.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 42. Selçuk Akşin Somel states that Namık Kemal's works were more Islamic in nature after the 1870s, in fact before that he wrote mainly in Ottomanism. Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası, Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi* 1, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 88-116.

<sup>208</sup> Kenan Özkan, "İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Geçişte Göçlerin Rolü (1918-1923)," (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Anadolu University, 2020), 71.

<sup>209</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)," *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 1: Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası, Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 88-89.

For example, Rıza Pasha, one of the Tanzīmât officials, said in a speech in Lesbos before the 1850s that “you are all subjects of one emperor, children of the same father.”<sup>210</sup> The most crucial part of achieving this was to create a sense of patriotism, a more emotional connection, and affinity to the homeland as a protective approach, to preserve what was left after a series of territorial losses.<sup>211</sup> Although Ottomanism aimed to establish equality among the constituent people, the equality referred to consisted not in the democratic relations of individuals but in the equality of collective identities under the name of Ottomanism.<sup>212</sup> Akşin Somel evaluates Ottomanism in four phases and states that the idea of Ottomanism in the period of the Young Ottomans’ opposition between 1868 and 1878 emerged with pragmatic goals.<sup>213</sup> These included raising public awareness against that period’s territorial losses and teaching people that they had responsibilities towards the state and the homeland. Namık Kemal’s writings were among the best examples because the common homeland was the most crucial element that united people in his writings.<sup>214</sup> Therefore, it is evident that the meaning of the homeland and its perception within public had been strengthened. The emphasis on the protection of the shared homeland, instead of *cihād*, and the definition of homeland in this period and its connotations for public differed sharply from the aspects of identity prioritized by nationalism and, to the contrary, were based on creating unity across religious and ethnic identities. Therefore, what the Young Ottomans tried to do was to spread the idea of Ottomanism based not only conceptually but also in practice. For that firstly they aimed to create a consciousness

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<sup>210</sup> “Rıza Paşa ... verdiği nutukta ‘cümleiniz bir imparatorun tebaaları aynı babanın çocuklarısınız’ demektedir.” Somel, “Osmanlı Reform Çağında...,” 94. İbrahim Serbestoğlu, *Osmanlı Kimdir? Osmanlı Devleti’nde Tabiiyet Sorunu* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2014), 49.

<sup>211</sup> Özkan, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Geçişte Göçlerin Rolü...*, 187.

<sup>212</sup> Berke Torunoğlu, “The Neo-Hellenes in the Ottoman Empire, 1830-1869,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 39, no.1 (2021): 51.

<sup>213</sup> Somel, “Osmanlı Reform Çağında...,” 88.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

about the shared homeland and secondly the equal representation of all constituents regardless of their ethnicities or religions.

#### 3.4.1. *Ḳānūn-i Esâsî*: The Legal Basis for a Shared Homeland and Ottomanism

This period continued with the deposition of Abdülaziz in a coup d'état and the inauguration of the *Ḳānūn-i Esâsî*.<sup>215</sup> The members of Young Ottomans and the Midhat Pasha, a former governor of the Danube, Syria, and Aydın provinces, had achieved their main objective in 1876 with the proclamation of the *Ḳānūn-i Esâsî*.<sup>216</sup> With this, the First Constitutional Period began in the Ottoman Empire. Midhat Pasha's dream was to transform the empire into a place where people were Ottomans, not divided into Muslims or non-Muslims.<sup>217</sup> Midhat Pasha worked closely with the Young Ottomans, and they agreed on a parliamentary system based on a written constitution.<sup>218</sup> The first issue raised by the commission was the national assembly, consisting of a 120-man chamber composed of Christians and Jews as well as Muslims.<sup>219</sup> The *Ḳānūn-i Esâsî* became the most comprehensive text of Ottomanism.<sup>220</sup> It was very important in terms of having unifying power, and was written in an integrative language around the concept of Ottomanism.<sup>221</sup> The emphasis on Ottomanism is very prominent in the *Ḳānūn-i Esâsî*; article 8 considers everyone

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<sup>215</sup> For the deposition of Abdülaziz, see: Süleyman Hüsnü Paşa, *Bir Darbenin Serencamı (Hiss-i İnkılab) Yahut Sultan Abdülaziz'in Tahttan İndirilmesi* (İstanbul: Kapra Yayıncılık, 2020). For the English version Robert Devereux, "Süleyman Pasha's "The Feeling Of the Revolution," *Middle Eastern Studies* 15, no.1 (1979): 3-35.

<sup>216</sup> Senem Küçükkoyuncu, "Bir Üst Kimlik Projesi Olarak "İttihâd-ı Anasır" Kavramına İktidar ve Muhalefetin Yaklaşımları (1908- 1913)," (Unpublished Master's thesis, Dokuz Eylül University, 2010), 48-49. Also, for a legal discussion of the Constitutional Law pls. see. Cem Eroğul, *Anatüzeğe Giriş* (Ankara: İmaj Yayınevi, 2007).

<sup>217</sup> Robert Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period: A Study of the Midhat Constitution and Parliament* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1963), 30.

<sup>218</sup> Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period*..., 31.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>220</sup> Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)," 105.

<sup>221</sup> Serbestoğlu, *Osmanlı Kimdir? Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tabiiyet Sorunu*, 52.

in the Ottoman Empire to be Ottoman regardless of religion or sect.<sup>222</sup> It was a demonstration of trying to create an integrated community on a common, shared place. On the day the Constitution was proclaimed, Muslims and Christians celebrated in Galata, chanting slogans such as “Long Live the Constitution,” “Long Live the Sultan,” and “Long Live the Midhat Pasha.”<sup>223</sup> Midhat Pasha even went to the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs and thanked them for their support.<sup>224</sup>

The main goal of the Young Ottomans and Midhat Pasha was the equality and representation of all constituents in the shared living place. The focal point of this representation was living together in a common homeland. The attitude in the *Kânûn-i Esâsî* emphasized that everyone lived in the same shared homeland and had the same identity to prevent the empire's disintegration. The practical expression of this idea was the question of parliament and the representation in the parliament. The first Ottoman Parliament *Meclis-i 'Umûmî*, which was composed of *Meclis-i A'yân* and *Meclis-i Meb'ûsân*, was a place where all elements other than the Muslims were widely represented, contrary to the parliaments of other multiethnic empires.<sup>225</sup> In the first Assembly, there were forty-six non-Muslim deputies, nine of whom were members of the *Meclis-i A'yân* and thirty-seven of whom were members of the *Meclis-i Meb'ûsân*.<sup>226</sup> Among the Muslims, in addition to Turks, there were also Arabs, Albanians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Kurds.<sup>227</sup> Devereux shows the distribution of

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<sup>222</sup> 1876 Kânûn-ı Esâsî, 7 zilhicce 1293 (1876), Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasa Mahkemesi <https://www.anayasa.gov.tr/tr/mevzuat/oncelki-anayasalar/1876-kânûn-i-esâsî/>

<sup>223</sup> Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period...*, 83.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>225</sup> Fatma Sarıaslan, “1876 Anayasası (Kanûn-i Esâsî) ve İlk Osmanlı Parlamentosu,” *Yasama Dergisi*, no.46 (Temmuz-Aralık 2022): 127.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 127.

<sup>227</sup> Mehmet Ö. Alkan, “Türkiye’de Seçim Sistemi Tercihinin Misyon Boyutu ve Demokratik Gelişime Etkileri (Siyaset Bilimi ve Siyaset Sosyolojisi Yaklaşımıyla),” *Anayasa Yargısı* 22, no.1 (2006): 141 quoted in Sarıaslan, “1876 Anayasası (Kanûn-i Esâsî) ve İlk Osmanlı Parlamentosu,” 127. İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahallî İdareleri (1840-1880)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2020), 93.

deputies by numerical tables and argues that the Empire's Jews and Christians, considering their population, were better represented than Muslims.<sup>228</sup> Although there were people from different religions and ethnic origins in the parliament, there was no nationalist movement, and it was not possible to see Balkan nationalism in the parliament, which would gradually begin to increase.<sup>229</sup> This is why the first Ottoman *Meclis-i Meb'ûsân* was a parliament in which minorities were represented most broadly, but the problem of nationalism was the least visible.<sup>230</sup>

The issue of representation and the opening of parliament did not arise all at once. In fact, it was a process that had begun with the Ottoman Provincial Law, the *Vilâyet Nizâm-nâmesi*, and continued with the opening of assemblies in provinces and sanjaks.<sup>231</sup> The deputies in the *Meclis-i Meb'ûsân* were those who had gained experience in the provincial assemblies.<sup>232</sup> In *Meclis-i Meb'ûsân* the tradition of the provincial assemblies prevailed, that which was a tradition of mutual dialogue and deliberation.<sup>233</sup> In fact, when the deputies first experienced the *Meclis-i 'Umûmî*, they thought of themselves as if they were in the provincial assembly and brought up the problems of the regions they came from, but this changed within a short time.<sup>234</sup> On

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<sup>228</sup> He also says that in European Turkey, the Muslims were assigned a disproportionate number of deputies but in Asiatic provinces vice versa. Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period...*, 143-144.

<sup>229</sup> İlber Ortaylı, "İlk Osmanlı Parlamentosu ve Osmanlı Milletlerinin Temsili," in *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin 100. Yılına Armağan: Meclis ve Milli Egemenlik Yazıları Seçkisi*, ed. Hamit Emrah Beriş (Ankara: TBMM Yayınları, 2022), 70-71.

<sup>230</sup> Ortaylı, "İlk Osmanlı Parlamentosu ve Osmanlı Milletlerinin Temsili," 71.

<sup>231</sup> For the Ottoman Provincial Law, see: Mustafa Gençoğlu, "1864 ve 1871 Vilâyet Nizamnamelerine Göre Osmanlı Taşra İdaresinde Yeniden Yapılanma," *Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 2, no.1 (2011): 29-50. Selda Kaya Kılıç, "1864 Vilayet Nizamnamesinin Tuna Vilayetinde Uygulanması ve Mithat Paşa," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 24, no.37 (2005): 99-111. For the assemblies in provinces and sanjaks, see: Musa Çadırcı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Eyalet ve Sancaklarda Meclislerin Oluşturulması (1840-1864)," in *Ord. Prof. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur'a Armağan* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1985), 257-279.

<sup>232</sup> Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahallî İdareleri*, 97.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>234</sup> Ortaylı, "İlk Osmanlı Parlamentosu ve Osmanlı Milletlerinin Temsili," 69. Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahallî İdareleri*, 95.

the other hand, as stated in the *Kânûn-ı Esâsî*, the deputies of the *Meclis-i Meb'ûsân* are the deputies of all Ottomans.<sup>235</sup> In addition, the Ottoman Empire had drawn up a special charter for *Cebel-i Lübnân*, i.e. Lebanon, a multinational and multi-religious region that aimed to create a common living space for coexistence in 1860s.<sup>236</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, from the beginning of the Tanẓīmât period, what tried to be done was actually to prevent the empire from being dissolved. The Tanẓīmât Edict took a very important step in terms of presenting people's commitment to the homeland and its requirements, and in defining the homeland as a shared place where every constituent population lived. The concept of homeland was reinforced to create a new type and perception of space. This new homeland was a space where all constituents, *'anâşır*, lived together and felt compelled to defend it, as an emotional responsibility. According to my archival research, it should be noted that these developments marked a step forward in promoting the perception of homeland, but it should also be noted that the concept did not gain a more widespread use when looking at archival documents. Practices included introducing compulsory military service and publishing articles in journals and newspapers, and works on patriotism by the Young Ottomans had a great impact. The proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy also helped to raise the people's consciousness. This transformed their perception of the homeland from one that was limited to their villages and neighborhoods to one that stretched out to the empire's borders. Needless to say, developing an emotional

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<sup>235</sup> Article 71. 1876 Kânûn-ı Esâsî, 7 zilhicce 1293 (1876), Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasa Mahkemesi <https://www.anayasa.gov.tr/tr/mevzuat/onceki-anayasalar/1876-kânûn-i-esâsî/>

<sup>236</sup> For some of the studies related with Cebel-i Lübnan pls. see. Engin Deniz Akarlı, "Cebel-i Lübnan'da Mutasarrıflık Düzeni 1861-1915," (Unpublished Associate Professorship thesis, Bogazici University, 1981). Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Secterianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley, CA; Los Angeles, CA & London: University of California Press, 2000). Maurus Reinkowski, *Düzenin Şeyleri Tanzimat'ın Kelimeleri: 19.Yüzyıl Osmanlı Reform Politikasının Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırması*, trans. Çiğdem Canan Dikmen (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2017).

attachment to the homeland cannot be attributed to the nineteenth century.<sup>237</sup> Yet, the homeland of the *re'âyâ* could be missed and loved, but it was not one to die for.<sup>238</sup> In the early modern period, the *re'âyâ* had a desire to protect their homeland, that is, their village and neighborhood, and to maintain and preserve order there, such as by not wanting outsiders in the neighborhood. However, it was only with the redefinition of the homeland in the nineteenth century that it became a collective responsibility to die for the homeland, to work collectively with people from different places for its protection. In other words, what happened in the nineteenth century was the transformation of one's homeland into a shared homeland of the community spanning the whole empire and the development of a common attachment to it, as well as an attempt to protect and improve it by taking on the responsibilities of this shared attachment. It was also the moment when the empire, the property of the sultan, began to transform into the homeland of the people. Therefore, the first phase in which the idea of the homeland was strengthened in the Ottoman Empire was the process that started in the mid-nineteenth century,<sup>239</sup> when the homeland was presented as a shared living place rather than the period when it was harmonized with nationalist sentiments. For the homeland to be produced with its new perception, it was necessary to have certain social relations, experiences, and memories in that space.<sup>240</sup> In fact, by

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<sup>237</sup> For the emotional dimension of the relationship between *re'âyâ* and the homeland in the early modern period, see: Cemal Kafadar, *Kendine Ait Bir Roma: Diyar-ı Rum'da Kültürel Coğrafya ve Kimlik Üzerine* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2017), 15-59.

<sup>238</sup> Özgür Türesay, "Nizam'dan tanzimata, reayadan tebaaya gidilirken: 1830'ların başında Takvîm-i Vekayî'nin siyasi dili ve söylemi," *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar, Tanzimat'ı Yeniden Düşünmek*, no.20 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2022), 136.

<sup>239</sup> Ayalon, *Language and Change*..., 52.

<sup>240</sup> I use the concepts of the production of space and its political significance with reference to Harvey and Lefebvre. Harvey explains the symbolic significance of the space and the relationship between space, memories, and experiences with the terms relational space and relative space. Moreover, Lefebvre discusses the production of space and human experiences with the term lived space. Pls.see. David Harvey, "Space as a Key Word," in *David Harvey: A Critical Reader* (Malden, MA; Oxford, U.K. & Melbourne, AU: Blackwell Publishing, 2006). Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 2016).

attributing a symbolic and political meaning to the homeland, Ottomanist leaders also intended for everyone living in the same homeland, regardless of their religious and ethnic identity, to see it as a place worth fighting and dying for.

All in all, the transformation of the concept of homeland in the Ottoman Empire began in the late eighteenth century. This transformation started primarily conceptually; that is, the new meaning of the concept of homeland, namely one's home country, was used. However, even though it changed conceptually, ordinary people's perception remained that this 'homeland' was a country which the state, or the sultan, was responsible. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the homeland acquired a thoroughly modern meaning, changing spatially and perceptually to become the people's homeland. The final stage of the transformation of the concept of homeland in the Ottoman Empire continued after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, when it evolved into a more sacred meaning.

## CHAPTER IV

### SACRED VATAN: A NEW ERA IN THE PERCEPTION OF HOMELAND

#### 4.1. 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War and the Impact of Migration

*“Stretched across the accursed earth does the soul of homeland fade  
Make it here, for my last I breath, it says – hurry, to my aid”*  
Namık Kemal<sup>241</sup>

*“In this valley of the world I’m stranger with no homeland  
Fallen on the road untrod, I’ve no one to lend a hand”*  
Mehmed Niyâzî<sup>242</sup>

One of the most critical moments in transforming the perception of the homeland was the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the meaning of the homeland began to change, and its new usage became widespread. Although the smaller-scale more changeable meaning of the concept of homeland in the early modern period, as one’s birthplace or hometown, continued to be used, it now more frequently referred to the entire country, the Ottoman Empire. In particular, the definition of the homeland as a shared place where all constituents lived proved to be decisive in the socio-political evaluation of the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. The geographical scope of the homeland became somewhat more concrete during this period with the arrival of immigrants, *muhâcirs*, from the lost territories.

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<sup>241</sup> Thanks to Anthony Kıbum Shin for the English translation. “*Serilip hâk-i hakarete vatan can veriyor, yetişin son nefesimdir gelin imdâda diyor*” “Vatan Mersiyesi,” *Sebîlürreşâd*, no.224, 16 Muharrem 1331 (26 December 1912), 282-283.

<sup>242</sup> Thanks to Anthony Kıbum Shin for the English translation. “*Bu vâdi-i ‘âlemde garibim vatanım yok, düşdüm reh-i nâ-refteye elden tutanım yok*” Sarı, “Divân Şiirinde Vatan,” 229.

The Ottoman-Russian War made a deep impact on the consolidation of the idea of protecting the homeland. The Russian army's advance on Istanbul caused the public to become aware of and involved in the war. One document written during the war mentions that with the Russian advance, the villages and towns around Zagora and Plovdiv were occupied by the enemy, and consequently, children, women, the sick, and the elderly were forced to leave and escape.<sup>243</sup> In response, the Sultan sent a pasha and an army there. However, until the pasha and the army arrived, the Sultan emphasized that the people should participate in the defense of the homeland with the Sultan's army and confront the enemy; then, women, children, and elderly people should be sent to safe places, towards Edirne.<sup>244</sup> The prominent members of the city (*hânedân, mu'teberân, eşrâf-ı belde*) were required to lead the people to send them to safe places.<sup>245</sup> Here, the call for the people to collectively defend the homeland resulted from the new perception of the homeland. Another indication of this was that the prominent members of the city assumed a leading role in the homeland in the absence of the state. The emphasis was no longer on a country that was the sole property of the

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<sup>243</sup> “Ma'lûm-ı 'alî buyrulduğu veçhile Rusya 'askerinden Balkanı tecâvüz iden fırkânın Zağra-ı cedîd ve 'Atîk ve Filibe şâhralarında bulunan kûrâ-ı İslâmiye'ye tehâcüm ve tasallu' cihetiyle e'fâl ve nisvân-ı müslîmîn terk-i dâr-ı diyâr ve kâsabalara doğru firâr itmekde oldukları ve oralarda ise bir hâl-i sefâlet ve perişâniyye dūçâr olmakda bulundukları telgraf ile alınan haberlerden müstebân olub ...” BOA, İ.MMS 57-2621, H-06-07-1294 (1877-1878).

<sup>244</sup> “...zu'afâ-ı zükûruñ vesâ'it-i 'âcile ve serî'a ile Edirne şehrine vesâ'ir mü'emmen mahallere nakilleri ile eli silâh tutan ahâlîniñ Süleymân Paşa ile gelecek kuvve-i 'askeriyeniñ vusûlüne değin düşmen-i işgâl itmek üzere 'asakir-i şahâne ile birlikte muhâfaza-i vatan hizmetinde bulundurulması elzem ve enseb tedâbir 'add edilmiş...” BOA, İ.MMS, 57-2621.

<sup>245</sup> “... ve devletlî Hâlid Paşa Hazretleri Edirne'de olub memleketin hânedân ve mu'teberânından böyle fevkal'âde vakitlerde iş görmeye muktedir zevât dahî bulunmuş olduğuna bina'en müşâriin'ileyh Hâlid Paşa ile eşrâf-ı belleden mürekkeb bir komisyon teşkiliyle mülâhaza -ı ma'ruziye tevfiқан nevâhî ve kûrâ-ı mütecâvirede gerek el-yevm mevcûd olan ve gerek birkaç günden beri dağılmaya başlayan ehl-i İslâm evlâd ve 'iyâlleri ve zu'afâlarıñ emniyetli yerlere celbi ile esbâb-ı muhâfaza ve i'âşeleriniñ istikmâlîne sa'y idilmesi...” BOA, İ.MMS, 57-2621. Also, for the political, social and economic transformation of the provincial magnates, local notables in the Ottoman Empire see. Ali Yayıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016).

sultan (*mülk-i 'Osmānî, memâlik-i maḥrûse, memâlik-i şâhâne*) but on a homeland that was under the collective responsibility of the people.

To spread the awareness of collective responsibility, the Ottoman State launched a new attempt in the field of education. On 13 October 1877, Meḥmed Tāhir Münîf Pasha (1830-1910), the Ottoman minister of education, reported the recent completion of his project of creating a gigantic, three-dimensional map to show *i 'dâdî* (senior high school) students the western front in the war with Russia.<sup>246</sup> The Ottoman State was aware of the educational potential of maps, and Münîf Pasha intended to demonstrate the direct effects of the war to the residents of Istanbul via this map.<sup>247</sup> The purpose of these maps was to show people which homeland they belonged to and the geographical boundaries of this homeland, as well as to help them develop a sense of belonging to the place they lived in. In particular, the central aim of maps was to establish an identification between individuals and their territories.<sup>248</sup> For instance, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1897-1976) mentioned that when he saw the borders of the Ottoman Empire on the map, he imagined the empire to be as wide as the world; he and his classmates gathered in front of the map and talked about the places included in the Ottoman Empire prior to lectures.<sup>249</sup> He added that when they looked at the map, they began to repeat “our state and our territories.”<sup>250</sup> At the same time, one of

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<sup>246</sup> Fortna describes the map as follows: “Located in the courtyard of the idadî school in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud II (that is, just off the central Divan Yolu in the heart of old Istanbul), the map covered an area of 400 scale meters and conformed to a scale of 36:1,000. It included the provinces of the Danube (*Tuna*) and Edirne, portions of the provinces of Salonika and Bursa, the proximal areas of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, the Golden Horn (*Haliç*), Istanbul, and the Sea of Marmara. ... Seas, lakes, and rivers were represented by actual pools and flows of water, mountains and hills were shown in bas relief, and forests were depicted with actual greenery (*sebze*). ... The intention behind this display was to reach out and educate the public. Like the maps used in Ottoman schools, this project marks an attempt by the state to expand cartographic literacy among its subjects.” Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 166-168.

<sup>247</sup> Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*..., 168.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>249</sup> Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1993), 44-45.

<sup>250</sup> Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, 44-45.

the main reasons for the educational reforms was political, with the aim of arousing patriotic feelings.<sup>251</sup> Thus, realizing the power of maps in the late nineteenth century, the Ottoman State began to emphasize the importance of maps and geography. This was to create a sense of loyalty to the homeland in its subjects.<sup>252</sup> Therefore, during the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian Wars, maps played a critical step: they played a prominent role in emphasizing to the people that the homeland was under threat, by bringing the cartography of the empire's territory to life through stunning representations.

Beyond the dissolution of an empire and the formation of new nation-states, the Ottoman-Russian War also caused the loss of territories that had for centuries been part of the homeland writ large.<sup>253</sup> The massive waves of immigrants arriving after the Ottoman-Russian War affected the Ottoman Empire both demographically and socio-politically.<sup>254</sup> During and after this war, with the territorial losses, the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia witnessed mass migration movements towards Anatolia, as did the Balkans.<sup>255</sup> The 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian War was a milestone for the demographic structure of Anatolia.<sup>256</sup> Nedim İpek states that approximately 1.230.000 people were forced to migrate, while Justin McCarthy indicates that 1.253.500 people had to relocate.<sup>257</sup> For many people, this entailed a displacement from the places they had

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<sup>251</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908): İslâmlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2015), 55.

<sup>252</sup> Behlül Özkan, "Making a National Vatan in Turkey: Geography Education in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Periods," *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no.3 (2014): 459. Also, Selçuk Akşin Somel mentions Ragıp Bey's, Ahmet Cevat Emre's, and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's memories about maps and they all confirm the Aydemir's statements. Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi...*, 319.

<sup>253</sup> Kemal Beydilli, "Balkanlar'da Dönüm Noktası 93 Bozgunu ve Sonrası," in *Berlin Antlaşmasından Günümüze Balkanlar*, ed. Mustafa Bereketli (İstanbul: Rumeli Vakfı Kültür Yayınları, 1999), 25.

<sup>254</sup> Hikmet Öksüz&Yüksel Küçük, "20.Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Türkiye'nin Sosyal Haritasına Bir Bakış," *Gazi Akademik Bakış* 13, no. 25 (2019): 4.

<sup>255</sup> Nedim İpek, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Göçler* (Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2006), 49.

<sup>256</sup> Öksüz&Küçük, "20.Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Türkiye'nin Sosyal Haritasına Bir Bakış," 4.

<sup>257</sup> Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999), 40-41.

known as their homeland; for those who remained in the Balkans, it meant a complete change in the place they knew as their homeland, and for those who remained in Anatolia, it meant the realization of the people's painful and grieved experiences during the migration. Midhat Cemal Kuntay (1885-1956) describes it this way: "Because in the Ottoman-Russian war, three things were beyond the borders: disease, hunger and the land of the homeland."<sup>258</sup>

The major problem was the settlement of the influx of immigrants, which had been going on since the Crimean War (1853-1856).<sup>259</sup> Also, this new wave of immigrants escaping to the Ottoman lands relaunched many different adaptation processes, intense competition over resources, and political alliance-building.<sup>260</sup> Economic resources and settlement processes were the most challenging issues for the Ottoman Empire regarding these waves of migration.

Due to the migrations since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire established the Ottoman Commission for Immigrants, *Muhacir Komisyonu*, in 1860 to solve the resettlement problem. The duties of this commission were to ensure the welfare of Muslim and Christian immigrants, to find suitable settlement areas, to create employment opportunities, and to accelerate the self-sufficiency of immigrants.<sup>261</sup> In the 1860s, the Ottoman Commission for Immigrants established a social and financial support fund to collect aid for the immigrants,

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Justin McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, trans. Bilge Umar (İstanbul: İnkılap Yayınevi, 1998), 105-106.

<sup>258</sup> Midhat Cemal Kuntay, *Üç İstanbul* (İstanbul: Sander Yayınları, 1983), 31.

<sup>259</sup> Anna M. Mirkova, "'Population Politics' at the End of Empire: Migration and Sovereignty in Ottoman Eastern Rumelia, 1877-1886," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 55, no.4 (2013): 967.

<sup>260</sup> Isa Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878-1939: Migration in a Post-Imperial World* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 4. As an example of a study on this subject pls. see. Oktay Özel, "Migration and Power Politics: The Settlement of Georgian Immigrants in Turkey (1878-1908)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no.4 (2010): 477-496.

<sup>261</sup> Ufuk Erdem, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Muhacir Komisyonları ve Faaliyetleri (1860-1923)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2018), 5.

especially for Tatar, Nogai, and Circassian immigrants. The head of the commission, Circassian Hâfız Mehmed Pasha (d.1866), thanked the people for their donations and their understanding and assistance to the immigrants.<sup>262</sup> This support also helped immigrants to consider Anatolia as a new homeland because there was no place left for them to go, and they determined to protect their new homeland.<sup>263</sup>

Initially, the commission tried systematically resettling incoming immigrants in Thrace and Anatolia systematically.<sup>264</sup> As civil servants and the *ilmiye* class were settled in the cities, others received a certain amount of land and money and settled in rural areas.<sup>265</sup> However, from 1878 onwards, with the increase in the number of immigrants, settlement in the cities was also allowed.<sup>266</sup> For all those immigrants, the Ottoman Empire was the role model of a ‘protective father.’<sup>267</sup> The issue was also raised in the *Meclis-i Meb’ûsân* of parliament. The deputies who raised the issue were generally from regions that had felt the effects of the war and migration heavily.<sup>268</sup> Also, when they discussed, which provinces would be more appropriate to direct the immigrants, the deputies emphasized that everyone was ready to support them.<sup>269</sup> At the same time, deputies of parliament collected cash aid for them.<sup>270</sup> The parliament also discussed how to help them and what measures they would need to implement. Although the deputies and their constituents were well-intentioned, and the sultan and

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<sup>262</sup> Erdem, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Muhacir Komisyonları...*, 86.

<sup>263</sup> Fabio L.Grassi, *Yeni Bir Vatan: Çerkeslerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na Zorunlu Göçü (1864)* (İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2017), 134.

<sup>264</sup> İlhan Tekeli, “Türkiye’nin Göç Tarihindeki Değişik Kategoriler,” in *Göç ve Ötesi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 46.

<sup>265</sup> Tekeli, “Türkiye’nin Göç Tarihindeki Değişik Kategoriler,” 46.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>267</sup> Erdem, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Muhacir Komisyonları ve Faaliyetleri*, 10.

<sup>268</sup> Mustafa Aydın, “1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı Esnasındaki Rumeli Göçünün Meclis-i Mebusan’a Yansımaları ve Yapılan Yardımlar,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* XLV (2015): 211.

<sup>269</sup> Aydın, “1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı Esnasındaki...,” 213.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 222-229.

state officials had policies aimed to assist the immigrants, the inability to control the number of them afterward made the aid amounts insufficient.<sup>271</sup> This situation caused difficulties for the immigrants and the Ottoman State alike. Another critical issue was whether Anatolia was a new homeland for immigrants who had lost their homeland and had to migrate to the Ottoman Empire. For those who had to migrate, Anatolia was a new and foreign place; they had left behind their order, their families, and the places where they were born and raised. For those who stayed behind, they faced many cultural, religious, and social changes to their daily lives and order.<sup>272</sup> Their state's religion, language, citizenship, neighborhood, street, and village names changed.<sup>273</sup> Moreover, there was the economic aspect; if they stayed, they would be obliged to pay a land tax; if they left, they would have to sell their properties at a loss.<sup>274</sup>

The ethnic distribution of the immigrants included Rumelian Turks, Batumi and Sukhumis, Tatar-Nogais, Circassians, Dagestans, Albanian-Bosnians and Jews.<sup>275</sup> Anatolia was not only a Turkish homeland but also a safe harbor for everyone who migrated there. Thus, immigrants perceived Anatolia as a new homeland and a shared living place. The fact that these were people who felt the effects of the Ottoman-Russian War very heavily also affected the meaning and perception they attached to the concept of homeland. The Ottoman public's realization that people had to migrate due to territorial losses instilled a more profound attachment to the homeland. The suffering of the defeat of the war was also reflected in literary works, folk songs, and

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<sup>271</sup> Erdem, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Muhacir Komisyonları ve Faaliyetleri*, 87.

<sup>272</sup> Nedim İpek, "Göçmek mi Zor, Kalmak mı Zor?," in *1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı (93 Harbi) - Vatan Neresi- Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, ed. Fatih Sancaktar, Ayna Askeroğlu Arslan, Mustafa Tanrıverdi, Cezmi Bayram, Filiz Ferhatoğlu, Duygu Demir (İstanbul: Türk Ocakları İstanbul Şubesi Yayını, 2018), 35-43.

<sup>273</sup> İpek, *Göçmek mi Zor, Kalmak mı Zor?*, 39.

<sup>274</sup> Mirkova, "Population Politics" at the End of Empire..., 972.

<sup>275</sup> Derya Derin Paşaoğlu, "Muhacir Komisyonu Maruzatı'na Göre (1877-78) 93 Harbi Sonrası Muhacir İskânı," *History Studies: A Tribute to Prof. Halil İnalcık* 5, no.2 (2013): 356.

poems.<sup>276</sup> This Ottoman homeland was not merely the homeland of the Turks; it was a shared living place for everyone who settled in the empire.

The perception of statelessness, *vaţansızlık*, carried by the people who had to migrate to Anatolia due to the wars, was also very effective in strengthening their place attachment to their adopted homeland, which had simply been another part of the empire into which they had been borne, but from which they could no longer easily return to their places of birth. The painful and challenging process of adapting to statelessness led the public to develop a stronger sense of belonging to and being immigrants settled permanently in their new homeland. Together with these processes, until the end of the nineteenth century, these immigrants made strong demands to protect the homeland, especially those who had arrived from the Balkans.

For instance, after the Ottoman-Russian War, the people in Prizren and Debar regions prepared a letter in 1880, in which they stated that they realized the homeland was in danger and they recruited soldiers on their own, as the protection of the homeland required a commitment and loyalty (*'ahd ü vefâ*).<sup>277</sup> These recruits were not part of the official army but a unit formed by the ordinary people. Their leaders stated that these soldiers would go to Shkoder, and other volunteer troops should be recruited for the necessary positions.<sup>278</sup> This document indicates that although there was an official Ottoman army, the general populace in the Balkans worked to protect the homeland by organizing soldiers among themselves. They declared that if the

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<sup>276</sup> Pls. see. Funda Selçuk Şirin, "93 Harbi ve Balkan Savaşları'nın İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Geçiş Sürecine Etkileri," in *1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı (93 Harbi) -Vatan Neresi- Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, ed. Fatih Sancaktar, Ayna Askeroğlu Arslan, Mustafa Tanrıverdi, Cezmi Bayram, Filiz Ferhatoğlu, Duygu Demir (İstanbul: Türk Ocakları İstanbul Şubesi Yayını, 2018), 398-417.

<sup>277</sup> "... muhâfâzâ-i vaţan uğrunda virilen 'ahd ü vefâ müsta'nen bin-nuşreti te'âlâ buradan tecemmü' olunmakta 'asâkir-i fedâ'îsiyle altı gün ba'de'l-'ıyd İşkodra'ya gitmeye hâzırlanmakta bulunduğumuzu..." BOA, Y..PRK.PT... 1-32, H-09-02-1297.

<sup>278</sup> "... hemân oradan lâzım gelen mevki'lerden 'asâkirin tecemmü'ne tedârik ve keyfiyetiñ şimdi iş'ârı ma'rûzdur." BOA, Y..PRK.PT... 1-32, H-09-02-1297.

Ottoman army needed, they would join it, and if there was none, they could defend their places on their own. The expression of the need to defend the homeland with such strong emotions as expressed resulted from the territorial losses and subsequent migrations due to the Ottoman-Russian War. The perception that the homeland can be lost and the people's realization of statelessness, *vaţansızlık*, created a significant incentive for them to protect the remaining places. At the bottom of the letter, one sees that the signatories were prominent community members.<sup>279</sup> As in the previous document, these prominent members of the city played an active role in the struggle to protect the homeland, especially where the state could not manage the process effectively. Moreover, the Balkan region was the most intense area of conflict. These people wanted to act together with the Ottoman Empire since they used the state's institutions to communicate. They used the state's postal and telegraph service to inform the state and coordinate their operations with people living nearby.

Again, a few years later, the people of Debar and Mat gathered and signed a document and demanded to report it to Istanbul. They informed that they were ready to make sacrifices for the sake of the state, homeland, and nation.<sup>280</sup> Also, they promised to fight whichever side of the border was occupied until they shed their last drop of their blood.<sup>281</sup> Similarly, the document's signatories were prominent members of the city, such as *muhtārs* and *imāms*. The danger and the threat to the homeland was felt most strongly in the Balkans. Hence, it was comprehensible that such solidarity,

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<sup>279</sup> "...vücûhtan Behrām, tüccârdan Râşid, vücûhtan Zeynel, vücûhtan 'Abdi Bey..." BOA, Y.PRK.PT... 1-32, H-09-02-1297.

<sup>280</sup> "...Debrelilerle Mat halkı 'umûmen ictimâ' eyleyerek devlet ve vaţan ve millet uğrunda her fedâkârlığı icrâ itmekde..." BOA, Y.PRK.MK..., 2-16, H-09-02-1303.

<sup>281</sup> "... ve kânlarını şoñ dâmlalarını dökünceye dek ispât ile me'âsir-i hamîyyete ve metbû'îyyet ispât eylemekle isti'mâl- silâha muhtedir 'umûm efrâdına sirren cidden 'ahd ü peymân eyleyüb cümleten hudûduñ kangı taraflıñ işğâli lâzım gelirse cenâb-ı hilâfet-i kübraya müdâfa'a şüretinde silâh— selâmete şârilub ol tarafla doğru cân atmak üzere 'umûmen emr-i harekete muntazır olduklarından..." BOA, Y.PRK.MK..., 2-16, H-09-02-1303.

unity, and protection documents were produced from these regions. The realization of the lost territories and migrations into Anatolia by the masses, combined with the understanding of the difficulty of being stateless enabled the people to take responsibility and strive for the homeland. This homeland was the last remaining shared living place.

#### 4.2. Towards the Twentieth Century

The idea of Ottomanism and the *Ḳānūn-i Esāsî*'s promulgation were crucial steps for the public to keep together. However, the public became aware of the need to take responsibility for the defense and integrity of the homeland after the Ottoman-Russian War and territorial losses. Therefore, as in the late nineteenth century, people from some Ottoman districts, mainly in the Rumelia region, voluntarily signed declarations of their readiness for the defense of the homeland, as well as in the early twentieth century. For instance, the inhabitants of a district in the Rumelia region gathered and prepared a declaration of alliance (*ittifāknāme*) stating that they were aware of the danger in the homeland and were ready to fight in 1904. They started by saying that they had accepted Ottoman subjecthood, *tābi'iyet*, many years ago, that they had been working for the sake of religion, the state, and the homeland since then, and that they would never submit to any state other than the Ottoman Empire.<sup>282</sup> They stated that they kept the weapons left by their fathers against any possible danger in the holy lands they considered their homeland, that if the enemy came, they would

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<sup>282</sup> “... *Hāmi-i şerī'at-ı Ahmediye olan Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i 'Osmanîyenin tābi'iyetini şeref-i İslâmla müşerref olduğumuzla berāber iḥrās idegeldiğimiz 'aşırlardan berü dîn, devlet, vatan uğrunda 'ahd u besâmızı muhâfâzaya çalışmış ve ecdād-ı kirāmımız kânları dökmiş oldukları gibi bize 'ömrümüzün şoñ nefesine kadar çalışacağımızdan ve başlıca 'ahd-i kadîmimiz üzere hilâfet-i İslâmiye'niñ tâc-i muḳaddesi ile şevketdâr olan Âl-i 'Osman Hânedân-ı celîlî's-şânını dest-i aḳdesîlerinden başka el öpmeyeceğimizden besâyi tecdîd ...*” BOA, TFR.I..M... 3-246 (H-29-12-1321/1903).

fight against them, and that everyone from the age of seven to the age of seventy would risk death.<sup>283</sup> Another crucial part of the alliance declaration is the emphasis that the non-Muslims in Yakova,<sup>284</sup> consisting of twenty-thirty households, were considered as an inseparable part of the population and that they would be fought together.<sup>285</sup> This document, akin to the previous ones, was prepared voluntarily by the people of Rumelia and signed by the prominent members of the city. Understandably, a similar document was created in the Balkans since it was the region where the homeland was most strongly understood and felt to be in danger and where Muslims, non-Muslims, and non-Turkish Muslims lived together. Since this declaration of alliance written in 1903, it can be claimed that the language, expressions, sense of homeland and voluntarism are related to the dominant view of the period. It is possible to argue that the organization that was most influential in the Balkans at the beginning of the twentieth century also influenced people's rhetoric. This new organization's main aim was to save the Ottoman Empire and the homeland.

#### 4.3. Committee of Union and Progress and the Consolidation of the Perception of Homeland

In 1889, a small group of students of the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şāhāne*, the Military Medical College, formed a secret community called *İttihād-i 'Osmānî*,

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<sup>283</sup> “... şunu te'yîd yolunda umûmen tecemmü' edüp hıttâ-ı muḳaddese-i vaṭaniyemiziñ de her dürlü ihtimâlâta karşı tehlikesini gidermek üzere... mücâhede-i vaṭanperverâne ile fedâ-i bâbâlarımızdan mîrâs kalan silâhlarımızı hüsni ü muḥâfâza idüb kimesneye teslim itmemek ve bu bâbda ta'arruz vukû' bulacak olursa aşıl 'adüvv ve cân ve diyânetimiz olan ecânib ile her kimle olursa pençeleşmek yedi yaşından yetmiş yaşına kadar terk-i hayât-ı fâniye eylemek ...” BOA, TFR.I..M... 3-246 (H-29-12-1321/1903).

<sup>284</sup> Yakova was formerly known as Altın-İli. Located in the province of Shkoder. Tahir Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2017), 34.

<sup>285</sup> “... ve ḥadd-i zâtında Yakova'daki milel-i ḡayrimüslime cüz'-i lâ-yetecezzâ kâbilinden olarak yirmi otuz ḥāneden 'ibâret ve ...” BOA, TFR.I..M... 3-246 (H-29-12-1321/1903).

Ottoman Unity, against the period of autocracy of ‘Abdülhamîd II.<sup>286</sup> Founding group consisted of ‘Abdullâh Cevdet (1869-1932), Circassian Meḥmed Reşîd (1872-1919), İbrâhîm Temo (1865-1939), and İshâk Sükûti (1868-1903).<sup>287</sup> They united with the *İttihâd ve Terakki Cem‘iyeti*, or Committee of Union and Progress, founded in Paris, and they also embraced this name.<sup>288</sup> In the historiography, the term Young Turks has also been used for the Young Ottomans, and the Young Turk movement does not only consist of the Committee of Union and Progress, CUP. The CUP, an offshoot of the Young Turk movement, was the main ruling power in the Ottoman Empire except for a brief interval between 1908 and 1918, except for a brief interval.<sup>289</sup> The CUP was an inclusive name. It is important to note that the CUP had several sub-organizations, most fundamentally divided into the Unionists in Europe and the Unionists in Salonica. The Unionists in Europe were the wing that could be considered as the continuation of the Young Ottomans, who were more intellectually oriented, and Aḥmed Reżâ was one of the influential figures among them. The Unionists in Salonica, on the other hand, first named the Ottoman Freedom Society, *Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti*, were a military-oriented organization established in 1906.<sup>290</sup> Meḥmed Tal‘ât Bey (later Talât Pasha) (1874-1921), Kâzım Nami (Duru) (1875-1967), and Midḥat Şükrü Bey (Bleda) (1874-1956) were the leading members of the committee.<sup>291</sup> There were disagreements and tensions within the Young Turk opposition movement;<sup>292</sup> however, their ideology

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<sup>286</sup> Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler III: İttihat ve Terakki Bir Çağın, Bir Kuşağın, Bir Partinin Tarihi* (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1989), 7.

<sup>287</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), 13.

<sup>288</sup> Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler III...*, 7.

<sup>289</sup> M.Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 3.

<sup>290</sup> In 1907, they adopted the name Committee of Union and Progress. Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler III...*, 7. Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor...*, 38.

<sup>291</sup> Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler III...*, 15.

<sup>292</sup> For instance, centralist constitutionalism approach led by Ahmed Rıza, decentralization approach led by Prens Sabahaddin, Islamic constitutionalism led by Mizancı Murat.

was mainly based on opposition to the ‘Abdülhamîd II’s regime, constitutionalism, and unitary state (Ottomanism and unification of all constituents, *İttihād-ı ‘Anâşır*). Yahyâ Kemâl Beyatlı (1884-1958), a Young Turk member and Turkish author and poet, expresses the aim of the Young Turks as follows:

We are all Ottomans, our Christian subjects would be outstanding citizens if Abdulhamid had not persecuted them, it was only the *Yıldız Sarayı* that carried out the Armenian massacre, the Armenian issue is between Abdulhamid and the Armenians. The Macedonian issue is also the work of Abdulhamid, if the *Kanun-i Esasi* is declared, that would also end, we gave Crete even though we were victorious in the Greek war, it is the murder of Abdulhamid...if freedom is declared and we become friends with England, our homeland will be saved; the Ottoman subjects should be brothers and equal in the eyes of the law.<sup>293</sup>

As one can infer from the text, a constitutionally based order was being proposed to liberate the homeland, in which all constituent population were united.

After the Ottoman-Russian War, with territorial losses, occupations, and migrations towards Anatolia, the people’s perception of the homeland was changing, and the idea of the protection of the homeland was spreading. These were very influential in the transformation of the country’s new understanding. As the country’s borders were reshaped and reduced during and after the losses, it began to be defined as a unitary homeland.<sup>294</sup> The discourse of the Young Turk movement was based on this idea and differed in its perception of the homeland as Ottoman sultan’s property (*mülk-i ‘Osmân*) during the influential periods of the empire.<sup>295</sup> Hence, the CUP was founded for the salvation of the homeland. It is apparent that the CUP used the concept of homeland frequently and aimed for it to be perceived as having vital importance. One of the CUP’s first known pamphlet declarations, *risâle beyânnâmesi*, was entitled

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<sup>293</sup> Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyâsi ve Edebi Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1976), 191.

<sup>294</sup> Halil Nalçaoğlu, “Vatan: Toprakların Altı, Üstü ve Ötesi,” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 4: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekinçil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 300.

<sup>295</sup> Nalçaoğlu, “Vatan: Toprakların Altı, Üstü ve Ötesi,” 300.

*Vatan Tehlikede* (The Homeland is in Danger).<sup>296</sup> This pamphlet was the first one published abroad on behalf of the CUP in 1895, and it caused great confusion in the Ottoman administration.<sup>297</sup> In the pamphlet, the CUP began with an example from France and its call for people to the protection of the homeland and the service and sacrifice of the French people to save their homeland.<sup>298</sup> The CUP discussed the threat posed by foreign countries and the necessity of reforms in the provinces where uprisings occurred so that the country would not experience a rupture. Also, they called the Ottomans to fight against the government because foreign states would divide the Ottoman Empire if they did not.<sup>299</sup> In the last parts of the pamphlet, the CUP emphasized that they were not asking to depose the sultan, but they were calling on the people to gather by the hundreds of thousands and to go to Yıldız Palace without fear, for the sake of protecting their honor, homeland, and happiness.<sup>300</sup> The most emphasized part was that the homeland was in danger, that foreign states could divide the homeland, and that the Ottoman people could and should prevent this.

The movement, which organized the actions that led both to the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy and the power struggles after 1908, came into existence in Thessaloniki and its hinterland Macedonia, consisting of Salonica, Bitola, and Kosovo.<sup>301</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, Macedonia was a very active region in terms of political-military organizations. Macedonia was critical because it was close to the west, there was a non-Muslim population, and people of different

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<sup>296</sup> Ali Birinci, “İttihat ve Terakki’nin İlk Risâlesi: “Vatan Tehlikede”,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 9, no.54 (1988): 9.

<sup>297</sup> M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1989), 181.

<sup>298</sup> Birinci, “İttihat ve Terakki’nin İlk Risâlesi...,” 11.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>301</sup> Selim İlkin&İlhan Tekeli, “İttihat ve Terakki Hareketinin Oluşumunda Selânik’in Toplumsal Yapısının Belirleyiciliği,” in *Cumhuriyetin Harcı 1: Köktenci Modernitenin Doğuşu* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 3,7.

nationalities lived there. In connection with this, since Macedonia was a place of nationalist and secessionist uprisings, inhabitants keenly felt the need to save the Ottoman homeland. Hence, they formed new organizations to save the homeland. Since almost every Ottoman military officer had a memory of Macedonia, these memories influenced the soldiers' and the Unionists' identities and political ideas.<sup>302</sup> For this reason, the CUP had a Balkan identity; it was Macedonian.<sup>303</sup> For instance, Mustafa Kemal wanted to move the Homeland and Freedom Society, *Vaṭan ve Hürriyet Cem'iyeti*, which he founded in Damascus in 1905, to Macedonia, where there was more political contact, an active political-military life, and greater ease of organization.<sup>304</sup> For another part, the conditions in Macedonia could also unite some nationalist organizations with the Ottoman opposition movement against the regime of Abdülhamid II.<sup>305</sup> This was because the Ottoman movement acted using slogans such as equality, freedom, and brotherhood among nations.<sup>306</sup> In addition, one can infer from the name of Mustafa Kemal's society, the emphasis on the concept of homeland was prevalent and essential because a shared place offered the only solution to unite people from different ethnic and religious origins.

Furthermore, one of the reasons why the founders and members of the CUP emphasized the preservation and liberation of the homeland so much was that most of them hailed from the lost territories. The majority of the founders were not ethnically Turkish.<sup>307</sup> The place of birth and the geographical origin of the family were also a marker of difference for the Young Turks, and it was evident in the names, for

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<sup>302</sup> Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler III*..., 13.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>304</sup> Münir Aktepe, "Atatürk'ün Sofya Ateşeliği'ne Kadar İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti ile Olan Münasebetleri ve Bu Hususla İlgili Bir Belge," *Belleten* 38, no.150 (1974): 263.

<sup>305</sup> İlkin&Tekeli, "İttihat ve Terakki Hareketinin Oluşumunda...", 50.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>307</sup> Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*, 45.

example, Hilmi from Plovdiv, Mustafa Kemal from Salonica, Süleyman from Rhodes, Niyazi from Resen.<sup>308</sup> In his prosopographical study, Erik Jan Zürcher argues that four of the CUP's founding and early members came from the Russian Caucasus, one from the Albanian region of the western Balkans, and two from Kurdistan.<sup>309</sup> He adds that the majority of the central committee members in the next period, 1908-1918, were also of Rumelian origin.<sup>310</sup> Hence, the Ottoman intellectuals, the Young Turks, and CUP members had shared characteristics, such as childhood and youth years spent in the Balkans and having an immigrant family.<sup>311</sup> Since the Balkan geographical region was a place where the homeland was strongly threatened and where people had experienced territorial losses and separatist movements, it was evident that CUP members had a patriotic perception towards the homeland and showed a defensive approach towards Anatolia. According to Sezgi Durgun, the members of the Young Turk movement, CUP, and political intellectuals who came to Anatolia due to the loss of Rumelia embraced Anatolia as though it were their child because Rumelia was a lost homeland for them.<sup>312</sup> Therefore, since the majority of the members of both the Young Turk movement and the CUP were not of Turkish-Muslim origin and they or their families were immigrants coming to Anatolia from the lost territories, this contributed to their perception of Anatolia as the last remaining piece of homeland and last place to live together and in common.

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<sup>308</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *Savaş, Devrim ve Uluslaşma: Türkiye Tarihinde Geçiş Dönemi (1908-1928)*, trans. Ergun Aydınoglu (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 147.

<sup>309</sup> Zürcher, *Savaş, Devrim ve Uluslaşma...*, 147.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>311</sup> François Georgeon, "Türk Milliyetçiliği Üzerine Düşünceler: Suyu Arayan Adam'ı Yeniden Okurken," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 4: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekinil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 24.

<sup>312</sup> She uses the term 'yitik vatan'. Sezgi Durgun, *Memalik-i Şahane'den Vatan'a* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), 93-94.

As discussed above, one of the most critical aspects of the CUP was its leadership, and most of the leading and influential figures were from the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>313</sup> For instance, Ahmed Cemâl (1877-1922) (later Cemâl Pasha), Midhat Şükrü Bey (Bleda, 1874-1956), Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938) (Atatürk), İbrahim Temo were from the Balkan provinces, and the fact that the places where they or their families were born and lived were in the process of being lost influenced the political ideas of the Unionists and shaped their identities. For example, Mehmed Tal'at Bey was from a family that had immigrated to Istanbul after the Ottoman-Russian War.<sup>314</sup> His father was born in the Çepileci village of the Karacalı Ali (Kırcaali) district, which was captured by Bulgaria during the Balkan Wars.<sup>315</sup> Younger generations, such as Mehmed Tal'at, were heavily affected by migration and wars that took place in the Ottoman Empire. Tal'at Pasha was assigned to Salonica in the late nineteenth century, and it had an essential place in his life, just as it was influential for the CUP movement. Salonica was a cosmopolitan place where people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds lived together (Jewish, Turks, Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian),<sup>316</sup> and Mehmed Tal'at thought that the liberation, the re-proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, the defense of the homeland could not be achieved by Muslims alone, but only if other ethnic groups such as Bulgarians and Greeks were part of a common struggle.<sup>317</sup> For this reason, he also reinforced his sense of Ottomanism at the beginning.<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal, QC: McGill University Press, 1964), 329.

<sup>314</sup> Tevfik Çavdar, *Talat Paşa: Bir Örgüt Ustasının Yaşam Öyküsü* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1995), 10.

<sup>315</sup> Mehmed Talat, *Talat Paşa'nın Anıları*, ed. Alpay Kabacalı (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2021), 27.

<sup>316</sup> Kâzım Nami Duru, *İttihat ve Terakki Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: Sucuoğlu Matbaası, 1957), 11.

<sup>317</sup> Çavdar, *Talat Paşa...*, 31-39.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

At first, the objective of saving the homeland related to the preservation of the Balkan regions as part of the homeland. In 1906, while opening the Homeland and Freedom Society's Salonica branch, Mustafa Kemal stated the following:

I deem it necessary to tell you about the desperate moments the country is going through...We have important duties towards this unfortunate country. Saving it is our only goal. Today they want to separate Macedonia and the whole Rumelia continent from the homeland. Foreign influence and domination have partially and actually entered the country. The Sultan is a despicable person who is fond of his pleasure and sultanate and who will commit every humiliation. The nation is perishing under oppression and tyranny. A country without freedom is doomed to death and extinction. The foundation of every progress and salvation is freedom...I expect sacrifices from you. I call you to your duty to respond to a cruel oppression only with revolution, to overthrow the rotten administration that has become obsolete, to make the nation dominant, in short, to save the homeland....We will save the homeland and the nation.<sup>319</sup>

He spoke of the danger in the Balkan provinces and called on people to unite to defend the homeland. Since the Balkan provinces were turbulent with both internal and external foreign threats, he underlined the people's responsibility towards the homeland. Leaders used the fear that the homeland was under attack and would be captured and lost was also used to motivate people, as in this example. On the other hand, they also used the suffering and hardships that the immigrants experienced who had to migrate to Anatolia to explain the Ottoman situation to the public and to emphasize the importance of the homeland. For instance, Enver Pasha (1881-1922), Ottoman war minister (*Harbiye Nazırı*) and one of the CUP leaders, gave a speech to peasants who were over the age of fifteen and able to use guns in the village of Timjanik in Macedonia.

Friends, you know that so far, many places have been lost. What happened to the Danube province, Bosnia? You understand that the people there escaped to save their lives, leaving their properties behind. What happened

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<sup>319</sup> Hüsrev Sami Kızıldoğan, "Vatan ve Hürriyet=İttihat ve Terakki," *Belleten* 1, no.3-4 (1937): 621-622. *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri II (1906-1938)* (Ankara: Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2006): 1.

to them? They came and took refuge in these places. But most of them are hungry and naked. Now, it seems that this is what will happen to us... Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, they will try to destroy these places...then what will happen to us? There is nowhere for us to go anymore. We will be thrown into the sea or trampled under the feet of enemies.<sup>320</sup>

Therefore, the CUP members tried to unite people against the danger of dissolution. To achieve this, they emphasized three ideas: migration, *ittihād-ı ‘anâsır* (unification of all constituents) and *vaṭan-ı ‘umūmî* (shared homeland).

The Salonica based CUP preferred pluralist and unifying ideological formulas.<sup>321</sup> It did not have a nationalistic agenda at the beginning. The policy of *ittihād-ı ‘anâsır*, that is, the idea of uniting people from all ethnic and religious groups under the Ottoman identity, predominated. The primary goal was to create a *vaṭan-ı ‘umūmî*, a shared homeland, and unite all Ottomans together upon it. It was necessary to rally people around a shared living place against the challenges the empire was experiencing. Also, in this space, people should not be exposed to religious and ethnic divisions. For instance, Süleymân Nazîf (1870-1927), an Ottoman bureaucrat and writer, stated that if there is no harmony between the *‘anâsır-ı muhtelif*, i.e., constituents from various groups, they will be destroyed; in this regard, he added that belonging to a race and sect would be useless and that it was necessary to establish a national existence and unity against external influences.<sup>322</sup> Another example was the identities of the columnists of the European CUP, the official organ, French Supplement.<sup>323</sup> Ahmed Rıza Bey, Aristide Efendi, Khalil Ghanim Efendi, Albert Fua,

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<sup>320</sup> Enver Paşa, *Enver Paşa'nın Anıları (1881-1908)*, ed. Halil Erdoğan Cengiz (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2022), 74-76.

<sup>321</sup> Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler III...*, 304.

<sup>322</sup> Süleymân Nazîf, “‘Anasır-ı Osmaniye’nin İttihadı,” *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, 6 Eylül 1909. Senem Küçükoyuncu, “Bir Üst Kimlik Projesi Olarak ‘İttihad-ı Anasır’ Kavramına İktidar ve Muhalefetin Yaklaşımları (1908-1913),” (unpublished master’s thesis, Dokuz Eylül University, 2010), 61.

<sup>323</sup> Şükrü Hanioğlu, “Turkish Nationalism and the Young Turks, 1889-1908,” in *Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East*, ed. Fatma Müge Göçek (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 87.

and Pierre Anméglian all had different ethnic and religious origins such as Turkish, Greek, Arab, Jewish, and Armenian, and they aimed to emphasize the Ottoman unity to readers by speaking of equality among all Ottomans.<sup>324</sup> Focusing on unity within the empire was the most critical step to saving the homeland. For instance, Tunalı Hilmî Bey (1871-1928), an Ottoman politician and member of the *Meclis-i Meb'ûsân*, published articles to explain Ottomanism in the journals to call the Arabs to unite with Ottomans.<sup>325</sup> The CUP members were trying to create an understanding of Ottoman patriotism towards the homeland. The primary motivation for Ottoman patriotism was to make people aware of the necessity of protecting the homeland. Since the homeland struggled with internal and external threats at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was challenging for the Unionists to achieve their goals. Many non-Turkish Muslims had migrated to Anatolia, and they had to be able to live in the empire and get along with the locals; also, the locals had to be aware of the difficulties of migration. For this to happen, it was important to present the homeland as a shared place in which to live together. Within this context, there was also a discussion about the gradual evolution of the primary motivation of the Ottoman army from an Islamic purpose to the defense of the homeland.<sup>326</sup> Although this Islamic motivation did not seem to have disappeared, it is evident from the documents analyzed above that the perception of the protection of the need to protect of the homeland had grown in strength.

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<sup>324</sup> Hanioglu, "Turkish Nationalism and the Young Turks...", 87.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>326</sup> Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*, 53-54.

#### 4.4. A Step Towards Unity: The Second Constitutional Era and the Emphasis on a Shared Homeland

On July 23, 1908, Salonica based CUP published leaflets about declaring the old regime obsolete and the proclaiming of the new regime, the Second Constitutional Monarchy, first in Macedonia and then throughout the empire.<sup>327</sup> Then, ‘Abdülhamîd II announced the restoration of the constitution and the re-opening of the parliament and elections. The declaration of the constitutional monarchy created a festive atmosphere in the empire, and everyone was celebrating. Turkish, Jewish, Greek, and Bulgarian officers and civilians made speeches in favor of constitutionalism, and chanted slogans of *hürriyet* (freedom), *müsâvat* (equality), *‘adâlet* (justice), and *uhuvvet* (fraternity).<sup>328</sup> This broad mass movement in 1908 was not composed only of Turks, and the Constitutional Monarchy itself cannot be considered a nationalist movement.<sup>329</sup> The CUP attempted to prevent the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire by establishing a new regime based on equality in a shared homeland. This was because they were aware that Ottoman patriotism could only be viable by including all non-Turkish and Non-Muslim elements of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>330</sup> After the promulgation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, the CUP broadcast declarations of it widely, and reports of it also appeared in the foreign press. In one of the CUP declarations, they mentioned that they had saved the homeland from “self-interested liars and frauds.”<sup>331</sup> Then, they added that they had succeeded in uniting all Ottomans

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<sup>327</sup> Aykut Kansu, ““Hürriyet, Müsavat, Uhuvvet, Adalet”: 100. Yıldönümünde 1908 Devrimi’ni Anlamaya Çalışmak,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.175 (2008): 26.

<sup>328</sup> Kansu, ““Hürriyet, Müsavat, Uhuvvet, Adalet...,” 28.

<sup>329</sup> Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler III...*, 612. Feroz Ahmad, “Unionist Relations with the Greek, Armenian and Jewish Communities,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* 1, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 401.

<sup>330</sup> Ahmad, “Unionist Relations with the Greek...,” 406.

<sup>331</sup> The Manchester Guardian, 30 July 1908, 7 quoted in Aykut Kansu, “Yabancı Basında Türkiye’deki Devrim Sürecinin Görünümü: Temmuz 1908,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.175 (2008): 46.

under the banner of love and unity and that everyone had a responsibility to protect the honor of their foreign friends living in the country.<sup>332</sup> They ended with the words, “Long live the homeland, long live the nation, long live freedom.”<sup>333</sup>

On August 4, 1908, a letter from the Athens Embassy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Hāricīye Nezāreti*) also shows the festive environment in the Ottoman Empire. All the Ottoman subjects, Greeks, Samiots, Cretans, and Greek immigrants from Rumelia and Bulgaria gathered in front of the municipal theater.<sup>334</sup> A committee convened under the chairmanship of Vutiras<sup>335</sup> spoke of how the Greeks and Turks had fought together to repel foreign aggression against their shared homeland and that they had become true brothers after their common struggle. They said that the Ottomans and the Greeks were brothers, and the voices of hurray were heard.<sup>336</sup> They wrote that the Young Turks were adept at not turning sectarian differences into a fight, and the Sultan issued the *Ḳānūn-i Esāsī* without allowing bloodshed.<sup>337</sup> Vutiras and the committee expressed their gratitude to both the Sultan and the Ottoman army for

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<sup>332</sup> Kansu, “Yabancı Basında Türkiye’deki Devrim Sürecinin Görünümü...,” 46.

<sup>333</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>334</sup> “*Teba ‘a-ı ‘Oşmāniyede bulunan bi ‘l-cümle Rūmlar ile Sisamlılar; Giritliler ve bir hayli Yūnānlılar ve Rūmili-i şāhāne ile Bulğāristāndan gelen Rūm muhācirini sâ ‘at beş şūlarında belediye tiyatrosu önünde tecemmü’ itmişler...*” BOA, HR.SYS. 1858-20 (04-08-1908), 1.

<sup>335</sup> Thanks to Professor Evangelia Balta, for making me aware of the possibility that the name Vutiras mentioned in the document may refer to Stavros Vutiras. Although the name Stavros is not mentioned in the source, Stavros Vutiras was one of the most important representatives of the Greek press and was a member and officer of numerous Greek associations at that time. Therefore, it was more likely that he made a speech to his Greek subjects and announced the Constitutional Monarchy and that makes it interesting in a way. Stavros Vutiras was the founder and editor of *Neologos*, an Istanbul based newspaper written in Greek. This newspaper was a defender of the idea of Megali Idea. When the Ottoman-Greek War of 1897 began Vutiras was deported and could only return to Istanbul after the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy in 1908. Therefore, the motivation behind Vutiras’ speech advocating the brotherhood of the two nations may be a matter of debate. See. Georgios Govessis, “Şark Meselesi ve Osmanlı Rum Basını, I.Meşrutiyet’te Siyasal Aktüalite, Rumca Haftalık Gazete, Savatiea Epiteorisis-“Cumartesi Revüsü”” (unpublished Master’s thesis, Istanbul University, 1993), 17. Uğur Peçe, “Greek Ottomans in the 1908 Parliament,” (Unpublished master’s thesis, 2007).

<sup>336</sup> “... bu iki millet muhācemāt-ı ecnebiyye’ye karşı vaṭan-ı müştarekeleri uğrunda pek çok def’alar kân dökmişdür ... ve bir mücādele-i müştarekeden soñra Rūmlar ile ‘Oşmānlılar ‘ayn-ı muhabbet ve nār-ı vaṭan ile sūzân olan Yūnānlıların kardeşleridir (Yaşasın şedâları) ...” BOA, HR.SYS. 1858-20 (04-08-1908), 1-2.

<sup>337</sup> This part could be an interpretation of the ambassador.

providing extensive evidence of the friendship between the Turks and the Greeks. People chanted slogans such as “Long live Turkey,” “Long live Greece,” “Long live fraternity,” and “Long live the two nations.”<sup>338</sup> After this speech, they gathered to thank the Sultan for granting the Constitutional Monarchy to the whole Ottoman people (*memâlik-i şâhâne ahâlisi*). They thanked the Ottoman army for supporting the rule of the *Ḳānūn-i Esâsî* and the constitutional government and establishing the bond of brotherhood between Turks and Greeks against any foreign interference. Afterward, they thanked the Ottomans for adopting the *Ḳānūn-i Esâsî*, as they saw the Greeks as brothers.<sup>339</sup> They also added that they found the promulgation of the *Ḳānūn-i Esâsî* reassuring because it strengthened the ties between the Greeks and the Ottomans, and since it envisaged unity among them.<sup>340</sup>

As seen in the document, the celebrations of the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy in 1908 reflected the unity and joy that people from all nationalities throughout the empire could feel. Previous conflicts between Ottoman religious and ethnic groups were attributed to the sultan or other manipulating parties (nationalist propagandists, religious extremists, European powers) instead of reflecting any fundamental or structural limitations affecting the Ottoman populace. Instead, the revolutionary discourse saw Ottomans from all backgrounds demonstrating their true

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<sup>338</sup> “... ‘Osmânlılar ile Yûnânlılar béynindeki uhuvvet ve muhabbet-i ğayr-i müteferrikanîñ bir delîl-i bâhiri olmağla bundan dolayı zât-ı hazret-i pâdişâhî ile şarkıñ ihyâsına bâ’iş olmuş olan ordu-yu Hümâyûn’a karşı mütehaşşıs olduğumuz hissiyât-ı ‘amîka-ı şükr-güzârımız ‘arza müsâra ‘at eyleriz. (Yaşasın Türkiye) (Yaşasın Yûnân) (Yaşasın uhuvvet) (Yaşasın iki millet)...” BOA, HR.SYS., 1858-20 (04-08-1908), 3.

<sup>339</sup> “... Türkleriñ ve Rûmlarıñ béyninde bir râbıta-ı uhuvvet te’essüs ve her gün müdâhale-i ecnebiyye’ye karşı hûkûk ve menâfi’-i müsterekesi muhâfaza idileceğini i’lân eyleyen ‘Osmânlı ordusunun cesâret ve selâmetine karşı ibrâz ve a’şâr-ı cesâret eylediğimiz Ḳānūn-i Esâsîniñ bahş ve i’tâsî münâsebetiyle bize karşı izhâr eyledikleri a’şâr-ı uhuvvet ve mevalâtan dolayı millet-i necibe-i ‘Osmâniye-i tebrîk ile berâber müteḳâbilen ibrâz-ı a’şâr-ı uhuvvet kârî ibrâz...” BOA, HR.SYS., 1858-20 (04-08-1908), 4.

<sup>340</sup> “... Ḳānūn-i Esâsîniñ bahşı iki millet béyninde mevcûd revâbîṭ ve muhâzanenîñ teşrîdi, milletéyiñ menâfi’-i müsterekesi için ittihâd-ı müsâ’idenîñ huşûlü emrinde millet-i Yûnâniyece bir kat’ daha emniyyet bahş olmuştur.” BOA, HR.SYS., 1858-20 (04-08-1908), 5.

character and real loyalties in the days of revolutionary fervor.<sup>341</sup> In her book, Michelle Campos similarly discusses the excitement of 1908 by examining reports and writings from various parts of the empire, including Aleppo, Jerusalem, Beirut, Hebron, Jaffa, and Istanbul, in which Jews, Christians, Muslims, Armenians, and Muslims embraced each other and emphasized their brotherhood and inter-communal relations.<sup>342</sup> Moreover, James L. Barton (1855-1936), an American Protestant missionary in the Ottoman Empire, describes thousands of people gathering in the squares of their cities to listen to the proclamation of freedom and the salutes to mark the occasion and says that these crowds were made up of Christians and Muslims who had previously seemed to hate each other. He adds that they shouted, “Long live the homeland,” “Long live the people,” “Long live freedom,” and “Long live the Constitution,” and Christian and Muslim leaders hugged each other in front of everyone. At large gatherings, Muslim and Christian speakers urged the people to maintain unity and preserve order, declared that religious distinctions were no more, and that everyone swore allegiance to the new constitution and the Ottoman Empire. Hence, he expressed his astonishment, adding that in one of the great Gregorian churches in Istanbul, the assembly was addressed by both Muslims and Christians, and the Muslim band played the Armenian national anthem.<sup>343</sup>

Hence, 1908 was critical in making the homeland a shared space for all nations and building unity on this basis. It took a step towards creating an attachment to the homeland and preventing its division. The celebrations throughout the empire also supported this goal of living an equal life in a shared homeland. When the CUP took

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<sup>341</sup> Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslim, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 75.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, 74-79.

<sup>343</sup> James L. Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1908), 283-284.

power in 1908, Anatolia and Thrace were home to a multi-ethnic and multi-religious environment of Muslim Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Jews, Circassians, and more.<sup>344</sup> Therefore, it was very important to emphasize equality, fraternity, and a shared homeland to transcend these potential divisions. Also, during these periods, the steered clear of Turkish nationalism because, in such an environment, focusing on nationalist policies could have invited major political challenges.<sup>345</sup> The CUP supported ideas through educational policies during the second constitutional period. The general education policy of the Second Constitutional Era enabled socialization within the local culture in the early years of children's education by teaching them in the local language.<sup>346</sup> This shows that assimilation was not the main goal, but rather, the primary objective was the integration of the community into the administrative and social system of the empire.<sup>347</sup> Although Turkish nationalist approaches began to emerge, the CUP tried to maintain its Ottomanist policy for nearly a decade, until 1917, until it lost its purpose and audience.<sup>348</sup>

The Second Constitutional Era had to provide a socially and politically equal environment for the whole public to participate in the government of the empire, and the events of this period also influenced people's loyalty and attachment to the homeland because people felt that there was a bond of brotherhood over the common Ottoman homeland. This was because when a nation unites under the name of

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<sup>344</sup> Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*, 54.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>346</sup> Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire 1908-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 69-70.

<sup>347</sup> Erol Ülker, "Contextualizing 'Turkification': Nation-Building in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1908-18," *Nations and Nationalism* 11, no.4 (2005): 620.

<sup>348</sup> Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 299.

homeland, a family and a company with common interests are formed.<sup>349</sup> Since loyalty to the homeland included defending, protecting, and fighting for it, this struggle was political and military. In military terms, the German Empire's military culture began to enter the Ottoman Empire in earnest 1908. This approach supposed that a strong and militaristic state could be successful.<sup>350</sup> In line with this, people had to perceive and feel attached to the country as a homeland; that is, they would have to be willing to protect and fight for it, and the public had to organize a total struggle for it.<sup>351</sup> For instance, the CUP promised that those who pursued personal interests against the "national Ottoman interests" would be considered "traitors to the homeland" and would be treated harshly.<sup>352</sup> The reason for this was the idea that patriotic love could not be useful if it turned into personal love.<sup>353</sup> As the desire to fight for the homeland grew more robust, the idea of the homeland became more sacred and valuable among people and was used more in newspapers and speeches. I use the term "sacred" here because, at that time, the homeland was constantly used in conjunction with concepts such as struggle, dying, and fighting, which led people to perceive the homeland with an intense and combative spirituality. There were certain elements that could make people give their lives for the sake of the homeland without personal interests. The most fundamental of these were memories.<sup>354</sup> These included memories of communal life, migration, immigrants, and the fear of losing the homeland. Without these

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<sup>349</sup> "Vatan ve Muhabbet-i Vataniye," *Serbestî* (8 Nisan 1325/21 Nisan, April 1909), 3-4.

<sup>350</sup> Suavi Aydın, "Toplumun Militarizasyonu: Zorunlu Askerlik Sisteminin ve Ulusal Orduların Yurttaş Yaratma Sürecindeki Rolü," in *Çarklardaki Kum: Vicdani Red, Düşünsel Kaynaklar ve Deneyimler*, ed. Özgür Heval Çınar&Coşkun Üsterci (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 33.

<sup>351</sup> The main basis for this is the book written by Colmar von der Goltz Pasha (1843-1916): his *Millet-i Müsellaha: Asrımızın Usûl ve Ahvâl-i 'Askeriyesi* (Konstantiniye: Matbaa-i Ebu'z-ziya, 1305/1889). Aydın, "Toplumun Militarizasyonu...", 33-34.

<sup>352</sup> Nader Sohrabi, *Revolution and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 161.

<sup>353</sup> "Vatan ve Muhabbet-i Vataniye," *Serbestî* (8 Nisan 1325/21 Nisan, April 1909), 4.

<sup>354</sup> Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Coğrafyadan Vatana* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1967), 20.

memories, it would have been impossible for people to adopt the territory as their homeland.<sup>355</sup> Moreover, writers emphasized that the greatest value of a nation was the love of homeland.<sup>356</sup> Şevket Süreyya described it as such:

We were prepared for this death. Our generation was a generation that did not think of any rights for itself. To us, there were no rights; there was duty. Duty was to be negotiated, life was sacrificed, and glory was to be donated to the homeland. If the life was ours, the glory was his.<sup>357</sup>

The emphasis on a shared homeland, Ottomanism, and the unity of nations in the Ottoman Empire was also reflected in literary works. Kazım Nami Duru's political play "*Nasıl Oldu?*" (How Did It Come About?) from the second constitutional period was an example of this. The main characters were Behlül, an Ottoman Muslim soldier, and Viktorya, an Ottoman Greek teacher. Behlül and his friends are people who seek and work for the salvation of the homeland. They argue that the salvation of the homeland will only be possible through the unification of all the elements that make up the empire. In the play, Behlül and his friends are deeply saddened by the status of the Ottoman Empire and they underline this with expressions such as the 'poor Ottoman nation,' 'people who have died,' and 'children have been orphaned.'<sup>358</sup> As a solution to these problems, they propose the proclamation of the *Ḳānūn-i Esâsî* and the opening of the *Meclis-i Meb'ûsân*.<sup>359</sup> Meanwhile, Behlül emphasizes that the concepts of homeland, freedom, and nation, which are essential in other countries, are being removed from our dictionaries.<sup>360</sup> In one scene, in which Viktorya and Behlül are thinking about what to name their children, they say that if they have a boy, they will name them *Uḥuvvet* (fraternity), and if they have a girl, they will name them

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<sup>355</sup> Arık, *Coğrafyadan Vatana*, 20.

<sup>356</sup> "Vatan ve Muhabbet-i Vatanîye," *Serbestî* (8 Nisan 1325/21 Nisan, April 1909), 3-4.

<sup>357</sup> Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, 78.

<sup>358</sup> Kazım Nami Duru, *Nasıl Oldu?* (Selanik: 1326), 18.

<sup>359</sup> Duru, *Nasıl Oldu?*, 19.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

'*Adālet* (justice).<sup>361</sup> At the end of the play, for Behlül and Viktorya, they have taken up discourses on matters such as the Muslim and non-Muslim children of the homeland and the unity of brotherhood, and the play closes with the slogan "Long live unity (*ittihâd*)."<sup>362</sup> In general, the play tries to explain the policies that the Unionists undertook to achieve during the Second Constitutional Era, and to instill in their audience the value of the homeland. The characters always state that they shall not give up serving the homeland, that they will promote justice and fraternity, and that fraternity is the essential ingredient for the public.<sup>363</sup> The most important aim of this play was to explain the political atmosphere and the aims of the CUP and to broaden their base of support among the people. Theaters were also significant for reaching the illiterate population, which is why Kâzım Nami's play, similar to Namik Kemal's plays, was staged with an enthusiastic narrative and emphasized the importance of the homeland as its main point.

Although the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era created a period of euphoria, the problems of the empire and nationalist movements persisted. In the midst of the disintegration of the Ottoman Balkans, separatist uprisings, and Muslim and non-Muslim conflicts, leaders were also creating new initiatives to promote the "coexistence of elements." On July 23, 1909, the *İttihâd-ı 'Anâşır-ı 'Osmâniyye Hey'eti* (Committee of the Unity of Ottoman [Ethnic] Elements) was formed.<sup>364</sup> The purpose of the committee, as well as its first article, was to work for the material and moral benefits of the shared, and sacred homeland and to establish the unity, equality,

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<sup>361</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid., 37, 39, 44.

<sup>364</sup> Cem Doğan, "An Example to the Quest of Identity of the Second Constitutionalist Period: The Charter, Structure and Aims of Committee of the Unity of Ottoman Ethnic Elements," *Turkish Studies-International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish and Turkic* 8, no.5 (2013): 175.

brotherhood, and justice of people of all nationalities and sects bearing the Ottoman name.<sup>365</sup> The second article also aimed to unite the public for the welfare of the homeland without discriminating between sects, parties, clans, personalities, or gender.<sup>366</sup> In its charter, the committee stated that it would mostly work for the welfare of the people and the improvement of the homeland, defining the homeland as a shared place. Moreover, in the twelfth article, the committee explains the administrative organization and the delegates. There were representatives from every ethnic and religious constituent of the Ottoman Empire. The representatives of Armenian Catholic, Greek, Turkish, Jewish, Latin (European and non-Muslim), Circassian, Syriac, Protestant, Arnaud, Bulgarian, Syriac Catholic, and Chaldean communities were part of the committee.<sup>367</sup> It is also emphasized that Arab, Maronite, Nestorian, and Serbian elements were also the constituents that formed the Ottoman Empire.<sup>368</sup> The commission announced that it would hold conferences and open a library to teach the benefits and rules of the constitutional government, which ensured the salvation of the homeland and the prosperity of the Ottomans, and the duties that the government owed to the people and the people owed to the government.<sup>369</sup> Here, considering the low literacy rate of the Ottoman population, the planning of the conferences was a very

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<sup>365</sup> “*hükümet-i meşrûte-i ‘Osmāniyemiziñ kavânîn-i hâzire ve âtiyesine temâmiyle ri ‘âyet şartıyla vatan-ı muqaddes ve müsterekemiziñ menâfi ‘-ı maddiye ve ma ‘neviyesini te ‘mîn ve ‘Osmānlı nâm-ı mübeccelini taşıyan bilâ tefrîk cins ve mezheb her ferd arasında râbıta-i ittihâd-ı takviye, kâ ‘ide-i müsâvâta ri ‘âyet, lâzime-i uhuvveti îfâ, fikr-i ‘adâleti telkîn için ‘adâleti rehber harekât ittihâz iderek teşekkül itmiştir.*” İttihâd-ı ‘Anâsır-ı ‘Osmāniye Hey’eti Nizāmnâmesi (Konstantiniyye: Matba‘a-i Ebu’z-ziyâ’, 1327), 3.

<sup>366</sup> “*mezheb, fırka, kavmiyet, şahsiyet, cinsiyet gayreti güdmeyüb vatanın sa ‘adeti noktasında ‘umumun mekâsıdını tevhide sa ‘y ider.*” İttihâd-ı ‘Anasır-ı ‘Osmaniye Hey’eti Nizamnâmesi, 3.

<sup>367</sup> Article 12. Ibid., 6.

<sup>368</sup> Article 54. Ibid., 19-20.

<sup>369</sup> Article 7, Ibid., 4-5.

significant step. Also, the Sultan thanked and was pleased with the patriotic behavior of this commission.<sup>370</sup>

Another incident that would reinforce the 1908 atmosphere and the perception of people during the Second Constitutional Era was the ongoing flow of Muslim migrations from the Balkans and Crete. The stories of the migrants who took refuge in Anatolia, which started in 1877-78, had a significant impact on the Ottoman people and the Muslim public and were portrayed in the Ottoman press.<sup>371</sup> The difficulties faced by migrants and the events they had experienced before their arrival were not only understood through the press. Immigrants' communication with the people in the regions where they settled and the speeches made by CUP members at the squares were effective in raising public awareness. For those who had been forcibly displaced, Anatolia was a new homeland, and they had to accept their homeland and develop an attachment to it. For instance, some immigrants came from Serbia and other parts of the Rumelia before the Balkan Wars. The Ottoman Empire was able to take a closer interest in those who had migrated earlier, allocating them farms and helping them to build houses.<sup>372</sup> Because of this, the Rumelia people gave noteworthy names to the neighborhoods and villages they inhabited, such as '*Azîzîye*, *Reşâdîye*, and *Hamîdîye* to show their loyalty to the Sultan; and *Refahîye*, *Kemâlîye* for their peace and comfort.<sup>373</sup> Therefore, migrations were effective in supporting the sense of belonging toward the homeland in public. However, the Balkan Wars, the territorial losses and

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<sup>370</sup> BOA, DH. MTV. 38-31, (H-24-09-1329/1911); BOA, BEO 3921-294018, (H-29-07-1329/1911); BOA, İ.MBH. 6-61 (H-28-07-1329/1911).

<sup>371</sup> Doğan Çetinkaya, "Atrocity Propaganda and The Nationalization of the Masses in the Ottoman Empire During the Balkan Wars (1912-13)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, no.4 (2014): 763.

<sup>372</sup> Ahmet Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri 1912-1913* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2022), 45-46.

<sup>373</sup> Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri...*, 45-46.

the increase in the immigrant numbers, mixed into the common identity of the population in Anatolia transformed the perception of homeland.

#### 4.5. The Balkan Wars and the Collapse of the Idea of the Shared Homeland

Yahya Kemal Beyatlı states that if there is a river in the heart of a Turk, it is the Danube; if there is a mountain, it is the Balkans.<sup>374</sup> He also notes that a longing for the Balkans abides not only in the children of Rumelia, but also in a Turk from Diyarbakır who has never been there; he quotes the lines of Süleyman Nazif, who wrote of this longing “Fumes in our eyes rise up and on / Look, Shipka’s<sup>375</sup> Balkans, thereupon! / Their scarlet blood still oozes on / Thirty years were we cleft in twain / Here to Shipka we’ve come again.”<sup>376</sup> In a sense, these words indicate that the Balkans were cherished lands for the Ottoman Empire, as the birthplace of the majority of the CUP members, a leading center for the CUP movements, and the most densely populated by non-Muslims. In the process that accelerated with the Ottoman-Russian War and continued with the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-12, the Ottomans began to lose their lands in the Balkans and Africa. The most repeated and rising rhetoric in that period was that the defense of the homeland was also the responsibility of all civilians and not just the military.<sup>377</sup> In this period, civilians, *sivil*, referred to all members of the public, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. Hence, at this stage, conscription was extended to non-Muslims as well as Muslims, and the previous *bedel-i ‘askeriye* tax

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<sup>374</sup> Beyatlı, *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyâsi ve Edebi Hatıralarım*, 146.

<sup>375</sup> Shipka (Şıpka), the name of a town in present-day central Bulgaria.

<sup>376</sup> “... gözde tüter dumanları, bâk Şıpka’nın Balkanları, hâlâ sızar al kanları, ayrılmıştık otuz sene, işte Şıpka geldik yine...” Süleyman Nazîff, Cenk Türküsü. Ibid., 146.

<sup>377</sup> Yigit Akın, *When the War Came Home: The Ottomans’ Great War and Devastation of an Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018), 25-26.

paid by non-Muslims was eliminated.<sup>378</sup> The main aim was to emphasize the necessity to protect the shared homeland. In an article published in *‘Âlemdâr* newspaper in 1912, it is stated as follows:

Citizens! We are facing war. The homeland is in danger! We propose a public armistice for political disagreements. We will shake the hands of our enemies with the utmost respect until the homeland is saved from danger...The enemy has come to the door...Today, everyone in the homeland is a brother.<sup>379</sup>

In the period leading up to the Balkan Wars and at the beginning of the wars, the strong emphasis was again placed on the unification of all constituent populations and the preservation of the shared homeland. The people’s awareness of the circumstances in the empire and the wars, as well as their understanding of the immigrants’ experiences, also affected their place attachment and sense of belonging to their homeland. Fighting and dying for the homeland became an even stronger idea as it became clear that there was nowhere else to go. The consolidation of this idea paved the way for the homeland to take on an even more sacred meaning. The fear of losing even more territory turned into a concrete reality after each military defeat (in Tripoli, Albania, Macedonia) and this situation caused the Unionists to embrace the concept of “homeland” with a defensive reflex.<sup>380</sup> The Unionists, most of whom were *Harbiyeli*, naturally added military content to the defense of the homeland in the event of territorial loss, and this content was embodied in the concepts of “*asker millet* (soldier nation)” and “*ordugâh*

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<sup>378</sup> Carter Vaughn Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789-2007* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 201.

<sup>379</sup> “*Vağandâşlar! Harb karşısındaız. Vağan tehlikededir! İhtilâfât-ı siyasiyyede mütâreke-i ‘umûmiye teklîf ediyoruz. Vağan tehlikeden kurtuluncaya kadar haşımlarımızıñ elini kemâl-i meveddetle şıkacağız ... Düşman kapıya geldi ... Bugün vağanda her ferd kardeşdir...*” “Mütâreke-i Efkâr,” *‘Âlemdâr* 50 (21 Eylül 1328/ 1912). Yahya Kemal Taştan, *Balkan Savaşları ve Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Doğuşu* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2017), 97.

<sup>380</sup> Kenan Özkan, “İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Geçişte Göçlerin Rolü (1918-1923),” (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Anadolu University, 2020), 180.

*vaṭan* (homeland as a military camp).<sup>381</sup> Therefore, for the protection of the homeland, all people were called to struggle.

For instance, Sāṭı' Bey (1880-1969), an Ottoman Arab educator and the director of the School of Education, organized several conferences, lectures during the Balkan Wars to raise public consciousness about the defense of the homeland. He tried to infuse the Ottoman people with patriotism.<sup>382</sup> These lectures aimed to “strengthen the idea of *vaṭan*” among the Ottomans.<sup>383</sup> For him, the idea of the homeland and of love for it was ambiguous for the Ottomans.<sup>384</sup> For this reason, during the Balkan Wars, Sāṭı' Bey traveled around the Ottoman Empire, aiming to instill in them a love for their homeland, a unified struggle, and to explain what they needed to do for the homeland. He emphasized that the homeland had material and spiritual -physical and moral- components. The material components were its land, mountains, plains, lakes, and seas.<sup>385</sup> On the other hand, the spiritual components were the common feelings, ideas, memories, aspirations, concerns, customs, religions, and languages that bound the people living in it to one another.<sup>386</sup> Sāṭı' Bey stated that the homeland is a shared entity, so everyone living in it has a duty toward the homeland, and periods of war in particular are the most appropriate and critical times to show patriotism. It was also possible to unite people in a shared homeland through ideas, goals, and memories, which were fundamental in a context where people could see what migrants had

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<sup>381</sup> Özkan, “İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Geçişte Göçlerin Rolü...,” 180.

<sup>382</sup> Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*, 56.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid., 56. Although Sāṭı' Bey called them Ottomans, he was actually trying to foster a sense of patriotism among the Ottoman Arabs.

<sup>384</sup> “... *herkese gösterdi ki: bizde vaṭan muḥabbeti pek za‘ıf, vaṭan fikri pek mübhemdir...*” Muṣṭafā Sāṭı' Bey el-Ḥuṣrî, *Vatan için Beş Konferans* (Dersa‘âdet: Kader Matba‘ası, 1913), 3.

<sup>385</sup> “... *vaṭanıñ bir mâddiyeti, bir ma‘nevîyeti, bir bedeni ve bir rûhi vardır; vaṭanıñ mâddiyeti, bedeni; toprağı, dağları, ovaları, nehirleri, gölleri, deñizleri, havâsı, şûlari, şehirleri, ormanlarıdır ...*” Sāṭı' Bey, *Vatan için: Beş Konferans*, 23.

<sup>386</sup> “... *ma‘nevîyeti, rûhi ise: üstünde yaşayan insanları birbirine rabṭ iden müşterek hisler, fikirler, ḥāṭıralar, emeller, endişeler; ‘âdetler ... lisânlar dînler, ta‘rîhlerdir ...*” Ibid., 23.

experienced. This was because these shared experiences also created unity among the Ottomans and made them feel the dangers of losing their homeland. Sâî Bey was not the only one working to promote Ottomans' attachment to their homeland; public calls for the same purpose appeared in the newspapers and on the streets.

However, these efforts not enough, and with the loss of the 1912-1913 Balkan Wars, the Ottoman dominance in Rumelia ended. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers perished, and divisions and army units were destroyed or captured in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>387</sup> On top of this, the Ottoman Empire suddenly lost around 155,000 square kilometers of territory with almost four million inhabitants, which included some of its oldest and most developed provinces.<sup>388</sup> Since the Balkan Wars took place so close to the imperial capital, their effects were even more concrete and visible.<sup>389</sup> People witnessed the situation of the immigrants from the Balkans at close range, facing hunger and misery, receiving news of deaths. Cavid Bey (1875-1926), an Jewish-Ottoman finance minister and politician, stated that during the Balkan Wars, everyone's attention was on the situation in Edirne, and even though a city fell in Macedonia every day, it did not frighten people.<sup>390</sup> The people felt and experienced the problem in Edirne most profoundly because it was geographically close to Istanbul, and so the effects of the war were quite obvious.

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<sup>387</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity*, 202.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid., 202.

<sup>389</sup> Akın, *When the War Came Home...*, 20.

<sup>390</sup> Cavid Bey was a Selanik Dönmesi. The term Dönme is used for Jews who converted to Islam when they came to Istanbul. Jewish to Muslim converts were also called Selanik Dönmeleri because most of them came from Salonica. See. Marc David Bear, "An Enemy Old and New: The Dönme, Anti-Semitism, and Conspiracy Theories in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 103, no. 4 (2013): 523–55. Michael Talbot, "“Jews, Be Ottomans!”: Zionism, Ottomanism, and Ottomanisation in the Hebrew-Language Press, 1890–1914," *Die Welt Des Islams* 56, no. 3/4 (2016): 359–387. Jacob M. Landau, "The Dönmes: Crypto-Jews Under Turkish Rule," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 19, no. 1/2 (2007): 109–118. Cavid Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznâmesi 1*, ed. Hasan Babacan & Servet Aşar (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 487.

On the other hand, for many Unionists, the loss of Rumelia was very painful. Cavid Bey expressed his feelings as “an entire empire is being lost. Rumelia, which was taken with great sacrifices, is being abandoned with the last fires and the last martyrs.”<sup>391</sup> He then said that he could not believe that these events were actual and asked himself if that was why they were trying to liberate this country from foreign domination because he could not imagine a Turkey without Rumelia or an Ottoman government without Salonica.<sup>392</sup> The Balkans, not only Anatolia had been the true homeland of many Turks until then, but Salonica had also been the cradle of the revolution.<sup>393</sup> When Enver Pasha declared, “To be thrown out of Rumelia after four hundred years and move to Anatolia: this is something that cannot be endured,” he spoke for many Ottoman Turks.<sup>394</sup> These words were the result of the loss of the Balkans, considered the most important part of the homeland. The geographical boundaries of the homeland had shrunk and were now reduced to Anatolia. With this, a more defensive military perception toward Anatolia was imposed, without imperial aims, was imposed.

The impact of the Balkan Wars was not only experienced by the Ottoman government, members of the CUP, and the military. It was not only the soldiers who lived through this war; the entire population lived through it by being forced to abandon their places of birth, reading about the war in publications, and sending their children away.<sup>395</sup> The effects of the war were felt by all Ottoman people in their daily lives, and it demonstrated to the public that war not only resulted in territorial losses

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<sup>391</sup> Cavid Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznâmesi* 1, 492.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid., 520-521.

<sup>393</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity*, 202.

<sup>394</sup> Hüsamettin Ertürk, *İki Devrin Perde Arkası*, ed. Samih Nafiz Tansu (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınevi, 1964), 121. Taner Akçam, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and The Armenian Genocide* (London: Zed Books, 2004), 95. Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity*, 202.

<sup>395</sup> Çavdar, *Talat Paşa...*, 222.

but also had social and political effects that could lead to the destruction of the entire nation. The main indicator of this was the migration of Muslims from the lost Balkan territories to Anatolia. The horrific nightmare of the Ottoman people in Rumelia, along the frontiers, of becoming immigrants now became a living nightmare for the whole empire.<sup>396</sup> Until this period, the most significant wave of migration from the Balkan lands to Anatolia occurred during the Balkan Wars.<sup>397</sup> Istanbul was flooded with more Muslim refugees than it had been since 1878.<sup>398</sup> For the population, predominantly Muslim, who had to leave the territories where they were born and lived during the process of disintegration of the empire in the nineteenth century, the homeland was now the closest Ottoman land. For those coming from the Danube River basin, it was the Balkans, and after the loss of the Balkans, it was Anatolia.<sup>399</sup> The gradual loss of Rumelia, the intensification of migrations, and the fact that Anatolia was the last remaining homeland intensified their feelings of loyalty to the homeland. As a result of the oppression they faced, the Muslim populations living in the lost territories in the Balkans had to take refuge in Ottoman lands, leaving behind all their property.<sup>400</sup> Those whose earlier homeland was occupied during the Balkan Wars had to migrate from areas such as, Salonica, Bosnia Herzegovina, and Kosovo to Anatolia. This process was painful. For instance, one of the survivors sent a letter to Aydın province stating that four thousand immigrants were taken to Limni Island instead of İzmir, that all of them were waiting there in a miserable and hungry condition, and that some of them died of starvation. Hence, he asked the Ottomans to save his co-religionist

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<sup>396</sup> Ibid., 222.

<sup>397</sup> Öksüz & Küçüker, “20.Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Türkiye’nin Sosyal Haritasına Bir Bakış,” 6.

<sup>398</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity*, 202.

<sup>399</sup> Özkan, “İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Geçişte Göçlerin Rolü...,” 712-713.

<sup>400</sup> Öksüz&Küçüker, “20.Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Türkiye’nin Sosyal Haritasına Bir Bakış,” 6.

brothers and sisters.<sup>401</sup> Likewise, another letter also stated that those who bought tickets to come to Izmir from Salonica were kept waiting on Lesbos Island and that Greek officials were committing acts of cruelty against Muslims and asked for Ottoman help.<sup>402</sup> The Ottoman state protected them after they lost their original homeland and settled them in Anatolia, offering them a new one. The immigrants from the Balkan wars contributed to the protection of this new vatan and their adoption of it as their last homeland. The main element that these examples show is that Islam was at the forefront and the immigrants established a bond between Islam and the Ottoman state. This paved the way for the homeland to evolve into an Islamic and Turkish structure of understanding. Henceforth, since the majority of the immigrants were Muslim, Anatolia started to become the homeland of certain groups of Muslims rather than place shared by Muslims, Christians, Jews, and others. In consequence, the peninsula became a place where non-Muslims were longer felt they belonged either, and they came to feel that Anatolia was no longer their homeland.

Those who experienced forced migration from the Balkans embraced Anatolia as their new homeland, and they developed a sense of protectiveness toward it. In his fieldwork study, Suavi Aydın quotes a person of Albanian origin as saying:

The founders of Turkey, the Turkish republic, were the ones who came from there. Hence, you do not need to ask more about this. If you ask about

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<sup>401</sup> “ceddleri Kösova vilâyetiniñ ‘Osmâniye kaşabası ahâlisinden olub memleketleri Bulğar ‘asâkiri tarafından işğâl ve istilâsında yapılan katli âmlardan kurtulan dîn karındaşlarımla Selânik’e hicret itmiş idik. Mu’ahharen İzmir’e çıkılmağ üzere Yünân bandıralı bir vapura dörd biñi mütecâviz bindirilen muhâcirîn İzmir yerine Limni Adası’na ihrâc ittiler. ‘Âcizleri ise her naşılca bir kayığa râkiben gizli olarak kâl’a-ı Sultâniyeye ve oradan Döngüköyden İzmir’e geldim bâ-huşûş muhâcirîn-i mezkûre yirmi günden berü Limni cezîresinde sefîl perîşân bir hâlde o kadar ki açlıktan ölenlerde nâdir değıldir. Lütfen dîn kardeşlerimizi şu hâl-i pürmelâllerine merhameten memâlik-i ‘Osmâniyeye atacıkları huşûşunu ‘adâlet-i sâmi-i vilâyet penâhilerinden istirhâm eylerim ...” BOA, HR.SYS. 2029-17 (09-10-1913), 5.

<sup>402</sup> “Ayvalık kâymakamlığından alınan telğrafnâmede Selânik’ten İzmir içün bilet alarak Hâcî Davud Kumpanyası’nıñ bir vapuruna râkîp olan tahmînen yüz elliyi mütecâviz muhâcir kapudan tarafından Midilli Limânı’na çıkarıldığı ve bunlarıñ Yünân me’mûrlarınıñ karaya ayak bastırılmaksızın otuz sâ’ate yakîn bir müddet deñiz üzerinde ma’vınalar içerisinde bırakılmasıyla ... Midilli’de bulunan Yünân me’mûrlarınıñ şu günlerde İslâmlara karşı pek zâlimâne hareket ittikleri gösterilmiştir ...” BOA, HR.SYS., 2029-17 (09-10-1913), 17.

Ataturk, he is rightly Albanian like me. So is Mehmet Akif, so is Fevzi Çakmak... we don't discriminate, if you are the son of a Muslim, you don't discriminate...if there is one nation that has never stood against Turkey, it is the Albanians, and the Circassians, and the Chechens...you are in Turkey, you benefit from the territory of Turkey...these people have a national feeling. Thus, we pay a debt of loyalty. We do not forget what has been done. For this reason, if Turkey had not accepted, our grandfathers would be in a difficult situation.<sup>403</sup>

Aydın adds that he has heard similar words from the Cretan immigrants: “First, to ensure their own self-reliance, that is, to secure their own lives. Secondly, once this was achieved, land became more valuable.”<sup>404</sup> These can be examples of how immigrants in Anatolia identified themselves with their new homeland, which offered them a new home and a new life. The immigrants, therefore, developed a protective feeling towards their new homeland they did not want to lose it again, which strongly impacted the local population who witnessed the newcomers’ predicament. For people who had lost their homeland, Anatolia evoked a series of nostalgic pangs as well as positive emotions. Above all, the new homeland provided security of life, like a savior; this created fond memories and a sense of commonality in the new, salvational homeland.<sup>405</sup> Hence, these conditions increased the immigrants’ spatial attachment and the sense of belonging toward their new homeland.

In addition to economic slowdown and conscription, immigrants were another reminder of the brutal face of the war, and many Ottomans learned about the devastation of the war through them.<sup>406</sup> Moreover, the government’s policy of sending immigrants to different parts of the empire made even those living in the most remote

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<sup>403</sup> Suavi Aydın, “Amacımız Devletin Bekası” *Demokratikleşme Sürecinde Devlet ve Yurttaşlar* (İstanbul: TESEV Yayınları, 2005), 37.

<sup>404</sup> Aydın, *Amacımız Devletin Bekası...*, 62.

<sup>405</sup> For the role of fond memories in the creation of homeland pls. see: Yi-Fu Tuan [DUÀN Yì-Fú · 段義孚], *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 149-161.

<sup>406</sup> Akın, *When the War Came Home...*, 21.

provinces aware of their misery and its causes.<sup>407</sup> The arrival of over a brief interval of such a large number of immigrants into Anatolia in a short time also created problems for the local population.<sup>408</sup> The most important reasons for this were the sudden outbreak of the war, massive territorial losses within a short time, and the inadequacy of organizations and measures to handle the number of immigrants.<sup>409</sup> Anatolia became a new homeland and a refuge for those who arrived, but problems such as the difficulty of settling migrants, hunger, and lack of money were widespread. Therefore, the Balkan Wars created two pivotal outcomes: Protecting the homeland and ameliorating the conditions of the immigrants were now the most important goals of the struggle and became the tools for propaganda to raise public awareness, and prominently brought the question of who the homeland belonged to was onto the agenda.

#### **4.6. Shared Homeland or Turkish Homeland?**

Although the concept of the homeland has undergone semantic changes since the beginning of the nineteenth century, one of the most critical factors in strengthening its perception was the idea that the homeland was a shared living place and home to everyone living in it. Therefore, when it had to be defended, the whole public had to fight for the homeland, the migrations in the aftermath of the 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian War only strengthened the idea of it as a place to be defended, even to the death. Their understanding that they might again lose their new vatan, their anxiety at the all-too-real possibility of becoming doubly displaced, and the idea of the regions remaining under the Ottoman rule in Anatolia and Thrace as the last shared

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<sup>407</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>408</sup> Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sirasında...*, 131.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid., 131

homeland consolidated the people's perception of common struggle. This further sacralized the perception of the homeland in public and popularized the use of the homeland in newspapers, plays, poems, speeches, and open lectures with concepts such as struggle, death, brotherhood, and sacrifice. In particular, the public's witnessing of the situation of the immigrants arriving in to the Ottoman Empire became the main subject of political speeches calling for widespread mobilization and patriotism. Here, the homeland was valuable not only for its geographical boundaries but also as an abstract idea that could lead people to fight for places they had not seen and did not know.<sup>410</sup> This, in turn, created a spirit of common struggle and made it an honorable and boastful perception for everyone to fight for every part of the homeland.<sup>411</sup> The idea of the homeland as a unified area and the defense of every part of it resonated with displaced people because they dreaded losing their homeland again. Only by defending the whole homeland could any part of it be saved. Consequently, ordinary people bore great responsibilities in places that the state could not reach, and this was also critical in terms of creating a common national consciousness sharing the same homeland. The state's deployment of the concept of the homeland in connection with migrations continued into the early Republican period in the 1920s. However, the answer to the questions of whom the homeland belonged to and to whom this propaganda was addressed gradually changed with the loss of the Balkan Wars.

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<sup>410</sup> Tanıl Bora gives Ahmet Kutsi Tecer's poem as an example; "*gitmesek de görmesek de o köy bizim köyümüzdür (that village is our village even if we do not go or see it)*" Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar: Türkiye'de Siyasî İdeolojiler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 244-245.

<sup>411</sup> For another example pls.see. "...o güne kadar harb görmeyen, hatta vatanını, kendi evinin, kendi köyünün sınırlarından ibaret bilen bu halk, şimdi ilk defa olarak vatanının uzak bir parçasının ve o parça üstünde yaşayan kardeşlerinin kurtarılması için, genç bir atlının peşine takılarak yola çıkıyordu. Ve bu yadırganmıyordu. Bilâkis bununla övünüyor; coşuyorlardı. Heyecan gittikçe yaygın bir hal aldı. Şehrin aşağı başında tekbirler, dualar; haykırışlar; ağlayışlar ve silâh sesleri son haddini buldu. Gönüllü sıralarına katılmak ve onlarla beraber gitmek için bu sınırların içine atılan ihtiyarlar; hatta yaşlı anneler vardı..." Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam*, 173.

The Balkan Wars marked a turning point in the popularization of Turkish nationalist discourse. The loss of Salonica to the Greeks, the occupation of Edirne, and the advance of the Bulgarian army within a day's march of Istanbul causing a quarter of a million Muslims to flee and seek refuge in the capital, made the threat to the survival of the empire extremely palpable.<sup>412</sup> Thus, it created a split in Young Turk politics on identity issues. In the more optimistic phase before the Balkan Wars, the slogan “unity of elements” (*ittihād-ı ‘anâşır*) still resonated, implying cosmopolitan Ottomanism.<sup>413</sup> However, gradually, from the Ottoman-Russian War onwards, as the common denominator of the Ottoman immigrants to the Ottoman Empire became Islam, and as non-Muslims gradually began to separate from the empire, the emphasis shifted to the Turks as the ruling people of the empire (*millet-i hâkime*).<sup>414</sup> With the loss of the Balkans, the notion of homeland had to be reconstructed.<sup>415</sup> This does not mean that the Turkish homeland replaced the emphasis on the shared homeland with the Balkan Wars. However, Albanian independence, with the end of the Ottoman presence in Macedonia and much of Thrace and the breakaway of the Greek, Albanian, and Slavic minorities, left the Empire as a patchwork of present-day Anatolia and the Arab provinces.<sup>416</sup> As a result, the idea of building a unified empire through Ottomanist policies was discredited in the eyes of the Unionist leaders, paving the way

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<sup>412</sup> Çağlar Keyder, “A History and Geography of Turkish Nationalism,” in *Citizenship and Nation-State in Greece and Turkey: Social and Historical Studies on Greece and Turkey Series*, ed. Faruk Birtek&Thalia Dragons (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 6.

<sup>413</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity...*, 201.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>415</sup> Yahya Kemal Taştan, *Balkan Savaşları ve Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Doğuşu* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2017), 43.

<sup>416</sup> Ahmet Yıldız, “*Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*” *Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-Seküler Sınırları (1919-1938)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2019), 81. Erol Ülker, “Nationalism, Religion, and Minorities from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey,” in *Sovereignty, Nationalism and the Quest for Homogeneity in Interwar Europe*, ed. Emmanuel Dalla Mulle, Davide Rodogno, and Mona Bieling (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023), 64.

for nationalist policies.<sup>417</sup> This was because the common identity of the immigrants flooding into Anatolia was Muslim. With the loss of Balkan territories and the influx of immigrants, the majority of the Ottoman population in Anatolia and Thrace became ethnically Turkish and Muslim. Hence, during and after the Balkan Wars, Ottoman efforts to mobilize the population were directed at Turks and Muslims, mainly through the distribution of pamphlets.<sup>418</sup> These pamphlets aimed to create an economic and national revival among the Muslim population, which leaders hoped would save Muslims and Turks from the “cruel hands” of non-Muslims working against the empire.<sup>419</sup> With the Balkan Wars, Muslim immigrants played a role in the anti-Rum hostility.<sup>420</sup> There were testimonies of non-Muslims stating that Muslim population displaced from the Balkans, such as Cretans, Bulgarians, Bulgarians, or Macedonians had turned the Turks in Anatolia pointed to non-Muslims as the reason for their expulsion from the Balkans and turned them against the Anatolian Turks.<sup>421</sup> The plight of Muslims in the “lost territories” and the suffering of the immigrants flooding into the empire were crucial factors in the construction of Ottoman Muslim identity and nationalist rhetoric in the last years of the empire.<sup>422</sup> For this, eyewitness accounts of

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<sup>417</sup> Ülker, “Nationalism, Religion, and Minorities...,” 64.

<sup>418</sup> Çetinkaya, “Atrocity Propaganda and The Nationalization of the Masses...,” 764.

<sup>419</sup> Ibid., 764.

<sup>420</sup> Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 139.

<sup>421</sup> Doumanis gives oral testimony examples for this situation. “*We lived together in a brotherly fashion with the Turks until 1912. With the Balkans Wars and the exodus from Macedonia came the haters. They were anti-Greek. So too were the Cretan Turks.*” KMS, Pontus, Kavza: Stavros Lazarides. “*The Turks did not pressure us. We loved them, they loved us. But the Macedonian Turks came through here and they were fanatics and they spoiled them [tous halasane].*” KMS, Bithynia, Dansari: Paraskevas Sotiriadis. “*The Turks were good people. Only after 1912 did our relations with them suffer, for the Turkish refugees from Macedonia and Crete would say ‘they’ve pushed us out’. They’d say [to the Anatolian Turk], ‘hey you. You have THESE people as your “brothers”’? Do you realize what the Greek army did to us?’*” KMS, Lydia, Theira: Nikolas Diakanis. “*Until the Hurriet we enjoyed a blessed life with the Turks. Then came the refugees from Crete and Bulgaria. They were fanaticized against Greeks, and every so often they propagandized the locals to hate us.*” KMS, Bithynia, Lefke: Ilias Savvas. Doumanis, *Before the Nation...*, 140.

<sup>422</sup> Çetinkaya, “Atrocity Propaganda and The Nationalization of the Masses...,” 764. Kazım Nami Duru, *İttihat ve Terakki Anıları* (İstanbul, Sucuoğlu Matbaası, 1957), 60.

Muslim immigrants who fled their homelands and reported their experiences in newspapers and letters from those who were able to stay despite the persecution or who escaped to Romania came to be used as important sources.<sup>423</sup> When the first migration movements started, the empire did not yet have an institutionalized organization to accommodate immigrants in such numbers, so local people hosted them.<sup>424</sup> People have been trying to help the immigrants from the beginning and are aware of their situations in their country of origin and their current financial and mental situation in Anatolia. The concept of the homeland was defined as a sacred place and a place that required struggle in the period under study by the Ottoman State and CUP. The target group of their political motivation was predominantly Muslim-Turkish.

Therefore, intellectual formations with a predominance of nationalist discourse began to emerge, such as the *Türk Yurdu* journal, first published in 1911. Another critical point was that those who defended and produced these nationalist discourses were people who had migrated to Anatolia at various times, such as Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), Ahmed Ağaoğlu (1869-1939), Mizancı Murat (1854-1917) and Zeki Velidi Togan (1890-1970). This cohort had initiated the first attempts to form the intellectual foundations of Turkish nationalism.<sup>425</sup> After the Balkan Wars, although nationalist intellectual movements began to emerge within the empire, the CUP did not immediately turn to an emphasis on Anatolia and Thrace as a Turkish homeland and produce nationalist discourses. As Erol Ülker argues, Turkish nationalism and Ottomanism were not two different alternatives for the CUP. The CUP gradually

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<sup>423</sup> Çetinkaya, "Atrocity Propaganda and The Nationalization of the Masses...", 768.

<sup>424</sup> İlhan Tekeli, *Göç ve Ötesi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 47.

<sup>425</sup> Hayati Bice, *Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1991), 67-68. François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005).

reformulated Ottomanism under the influence of Turkish nationalism.<sup>426</sup> Also, this reformulation only became a priority in 1916-1917.<sup>427</sup> Until then, there was still an emphasis on a shared homeland. There was also the issue of public acceptance of the construction of a Turkish identity and the discourse of Turkism, and public acceptance meant that the public developed a commitment to this identity, which envisaged the unification of migrants under a Muslim-Turkish identity. Although there were intellectual formations, newspaper and magazine articles, and speeches to increase people's awareness of the Turkish homeland and identity, the change was gradual. On the one hand, Taḥmīsci-zâde Meḥmed Mâcid, an immigrant from Crete, stated that when he arrived in Anatolia, people called Cretans who did not speak Turkish “*gavur* (giaour).” In response, Mehmed Macid said: “The Turkish national feeling in the hearts of the Cretan Muslims had never been shaken. During the continuous revolts in Crete, Cretans fought alongside their Turkish brothers; they are also Turks and sons of Turks.”<sup>428</sup> Moreover, he mentioned an article that he read in *Taşvîr-i Efkâr* on how the Cretans, when they had the chance to leave the island, chose to stay and fight for their homeland not to be separated from the motherland, *anavaṭan*, (the Ottoman

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<sup>426</sup> Pls. see. “...Türkçülük nedir? Osmanlılık mefkûresini takip Türkçülüktür. Anadolu’da birçok Ermeniler Türkçe ve hatta Kürtler içinde Kürtçe konuşuyorlar. Hâsılı, unsur-ı aslî hangi mefkûreyi takip ederse diğerleri de onu takip edecek. Bir Ermeni’nin Ermenice ile kesb-i liyâkat etmesi bize makbul değil. Kendi harsımıza kendi mefkûremize hizmet edenleri bizimle addedeceğiz. Bir gayrimüslim bir İslâmî akd-ı şirket ederse o Türk efkârına tetâbuk etmek istemiş demektir. Ermeni uzviyet-i iktisadiyesi, Rum uzviyet-i iktisadiyesi kalkacak. Osmanlı uzviyet-i iktisadiyesi hâsıl olacak. Husûsi tesânüt mahvolup tesânüt-i umumi meydana gelecek...” HSDHADB/4/4 in Burak Arslanmirza, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti’nin Kızıl Konak Evrakı: Toplantı Zabıtları, Genelgeler ve Siyasi Program* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2021), 60. Ülker, “Contextualizing ‘Turkification’...”, 632.

<sup>427</sup> For a few example documents for this pls. see. “bundan anlaşılıyor ki bir Ermeni’ye, Rum’a, sen Rum ve Ermeni’sin, diye hasım olmayacağız, sen Türkçülüğe hizmet etmiyorsun diye husumet edeceğiz”, “ben köyleri -şehirleri- türkleştirmek istiyorum. Köyler istedikleri gibi kalırlar. Kürdistan’da şehirler Türk oldukları için ekseriyet Kürt oldukları hâlde Kürtlük tesis edememiş. Halep, Musul, Bağdad Türkleştirilebilir. Bundan başlayarak Türkleştirmeye başlarız. Koloniler göndeririz” HSDHADB/4/4, HSDHADB/4/12&HSDHADB/4/7 in Arslanmirza, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti’nin Kızıl Konak Evrakı...*, 22, 61, 69, 71-78. Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution...*, 299.

<sup>428</sup> Taḥmīsci-zâde Mehmed Macid, *Girit Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi, 1977), 32-33.

Empire).<sup>429</sup> Hence, Mehmed Macid's emphasis on loyalty to the homeland is combined with Turkishness. On the other hand, in his book, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir stated that different opinions emerged when he asked the Anatolian soldiers, primarily peasants, which nation they were from at the front he went to during the First World War. Immediately afterward, when he asked whether we were Turks, he added that the soldiers did not understand and were offended and answered with “*estağfurullah.*” According to them, Turkishness meant being a Kizilbash, but since they did not know what ‘Turk’ meant, they understood it as something terrible.<sup>430</sup>

Therefore, even though how this nationalist process was experienced is beyond the boundaries of this study, it is evident that the homeland was no longer a shared living place but a place belonging to a particular identity. Starting with the loss of the Balkan Wars until the early republican period, the perception of Anatolia changed with discourses such as that of the Turkish homeland, fatherland (*atayurt*), and core homeland (*öz vatan*). This was also reflected and formalized in education policies.<sup>431</sup> The Turkish homeland, its borders, and the history of the Turkish nation were now being taught in the schools.<sup>432</sup> However, the most crucial part was that the concept of

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<sup>429</sup> “Motherland” is translated from Mâcid’s word *anavatan*: “*Hakikat bu merkezde iken, aziz Türkiye’imizin şefkatine sığınmış kılıç artığı Girit Türkleri arasında mevcut, mahdut sayıda köylülerin Türkçe konuşamamaları hususu, anavatandaki bir takım zümreler tarafından pek haksız, pek insafsız bir şekilde tenkide uğramıştır*”; “*Girit’de felâkete uğramış olan kardeşlerimiz, adanın karışıklığına bakarak mülklerini satıp başka yerlere göç etmek ellerinde iken, vatanlarının, anavatanından ayrılmaması için sabr ettiler.*” Ibid., 32, 33.

<sup>430</sup> Aydemir, *Sıyru Arayan Adam*, 113.

<sup>431</sup> It is worth mentioning Abdurrahman Şeref, an important figure who is not mentioned in this thesis. Abdurrahman Şeref (1853-1925) was the last Ottoman chronicler, statesman, member of parliament and ministry of education in the Ottoman Empire. His chronicle and his writings on education and political situations may provide important information about the idea and concept of homeland for another study. Abdurrahman Şeref, *Tarih Musahabeleri* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1339). Mustafa Öğren, “Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi’nin *Tarih-i Devlet-i Osmaniyye* Eseri ve Tarihçiliği,” (unpublished master’s thesis, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, 2021). Mehmet Demiryürek, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Bir Osmanlı Aydını Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi (1853-1925)*, (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınları, 2003).

<sup>432</sup> For a detailed discussion about it pls. see. Sezgi Durgun, “Yer Bilgisinden Ulusal Coğrafya’ya,” in *Mekan, Kimlik, Güç ve Dış Politika*, ed. S.Gülden Ayman (İstanbul: Yalın Yayıncılık, 2012), 13-39. Erdal Yılmaz, “Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Millî Sınırların ve Rejimin Öğretilmesinde Disiplinler Arası Bir Uygulama: “Coğrafya Ders Kitaplarında Siyasi Tarih Anlatımı,”” *Uluslararası Prof. Dr.*

homeland, imbued with new meaning, was reflected in the public's experiences during the First World War and the Turkish War of Independence, with their sufferings of forced migrations, lost territories, encounters with immigrants, nostalgia, and these retained critical importance until the establishment of modern Turkey.<sup>433</sup>

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

“We were the children of a generation that learned the costly lesson that it is not enough to be born and raised there to call a place your homeland.”<sup>434</sup>

Necati Cumalı

At the end of the thesis, I think Necati Cumalı has the most beautiful expression of the subject. This thesis is an attempt to discuss the transformation of the concept and perception of the vatan. So far, in the early modern period, space referred to narrow spaces such as the birthplace and hometowns for ordinary individuals and too much wider and utopian spaces for the state. Towards the nineteenth century, while the state's perception of space narrowed, the individual's expanded and a common concept and perception of the homeland emerged. With this, a period was entered in which the sultan, state officials, soldiers, and individuals aimed to save the homeland

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*Halil İnalcık Tarih ve Tarihçilik Sempozyumu*, Ankara (2017): 475-497. Neşe Özgen, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Kuruluşundan Günümüze Coğrafya Ders Kitaplarında Vatanın Sonu Gelmez Kurguları,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, vol.121 (2011). Suavi Aydın, Bir Tilkinin Ettiği: İsimler Milli Birliği Nasıl Bozar?, *Birikim* (2006).

<sup>433</sup> Pls. see. Mustafa Eski, *Kastamonu Basınında Millî Mücadele'nin Yankıları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995), 11. Mustafa Aksakal, *Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and The First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 27, 30.

<sup>434</sup> “Bir yere vatanım diyebilmek için orada doğup büyümenin yetmediğini pahalı öğrenmiş bir kuşağın çocuklarıydık biz.” Necati Cumalı, *Makedonya 1900* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2000), 145.

as their common goal. Therefore, the first result of this thesis is the spatial convergence between the individual and the state.

In the nineteenth century, as a result of territorial losses, wars and uprisings, the understanding that the empire was the property of the sultan and that only the sultan and his soldiers were responsible for its defense began to change (*memleket muhâfazası*). Starting with the Tanzîmât, it was emphasized that people should also take part in the defense and protection of the country and that they should also have responsibilities towards the homeland. The regulations on the recruitment of Muslims and non-Muslims to the military, the change in the conscription system, and the encouragement of public to participate in the defense of the homeland paved the way for the people to become a collective part of the homeland. Hence, the second outcome of the thesis is that the duty of protecting the homeland, which was a practical reflection of the perception of the sultan's property (*mülk*) in the early modern period, changed in the nineteenth century and evolved into the idea of the homeland in which people were also stakeholders and became one of the responsibilities of homeland defense.

From the nineteenth to the early twentieth century, the imperial structure was still multiethnic and multireligious. Thus, both for individuals and in terms of state rhetoric, the components of the homeland were all Ottoman subjects. This situation was strengthened by the influence of the Young Ottomans, Ottomanism movements, the proclamation of *Ḳānūn-ı Esâsî* and representation in parliaments. The issue of equality among Ottoman citizens was defined as living together on a common territory. This common place was the homeland (*vaṭan-ı 'umûmî*) and belonged to everyone, and therefore everyone had a responsibility as constituents of this homeland. Therefore, the third outcome of the thesis is that the homeland began to be perceived

as a shared living place from the first half of the nineteenth century onwards. The perception of the homeland as a shared place that belonged to everyone was also related to the establishment of togetherness and unity on it. In other words, the meaning of space for both the individual and the state became more dimensional.

In this common perception of the homeland, one of the strongest points of convergence between the state and the individual was the defense and protection of the homeland. The shift of this struggle from the obligation of the state to the entire public both strengthened and concretized the concept of homeland in the perception of the subjects. With the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 in the late nineteenth century, the idea of the defense of the homeland became more deeply experienced by the public.

The migrations as a result of the Ottoman-Russian War and the fact that the inhabitants of Anatolia witnessed these migrations increased the value of the homeland. The backbreaking process of migration and having to leave their homes strengthened the place attachment people felt towards their homeland. The socio-economic and settlement problems experienced by those who migrated to Ottoman Empire after their arrival spread the idea of protecting the remaining lands. This dimensioned the feelings towards the homeland and sacralized the idea of the homeland. The emphasis on a shared homeland and the idea of the unity of various elements (*vaṭan-ı 'umūmî*, *'anâşır-ı muhtelif*, *ittihâd-ı 'anâşır*) continued from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, intensified by the impact of the CUP. It can also be claimed that the CUP created a breaking point in terms of the consolidation of the concept of homeland in political language. The emphasis on the shared homeland and the fear that it might be lost transcended the emphasis on nationalism. The proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era in 1908 to preserve

the unity of various constituents was also very effective in terms of arousing a sense of loyalty to the shared homeland. Here, the emphasis on the fact that there was nowhere to go due to the shrinking borders, the situation of immigrants and the lost Balkan lands began to be the main subject of speeches, conferences, plays and poems organized to mobilize the people. Therefore, the fourth outcome of the thesis is that the idea of homeland evolved into a sacred meaning, that is, it became an idea to die for, to shed blood for, to fight for, in the process that started with the effect of the migrations caused by the Ottoman-Russian War, intensified during the Second Constitutional Era and extended until the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913.

1913 was the beginning of a new phase because after that the shared homeland of various Ottoman subjects. That is why I ended the thesis with the Balkan Wars. With the Balkan Wars and the massive migration of the Muslim population to the hinterland, to Anatolia, the concept of homeland began to evolve towards a Turkish-Muslim homeland. This was now the common homeland of those who were united under the Turkish identity and citizenship status, it created a new mentality. Therefore, I could not come up with an approach different from the general literature on the Balkan Wars. The evolution of the shared homeland into the Turkish homeland as a nationalist meaning started with the Balkan Wars.

The migrations to Anatolia as a result of the Balkan Wars continued to affect the concept of homeland in the following periods. Even if it was a homeland belonging to Muslim-Turks; the migrations, the situation of the immigrants, the lack of another homeland to go to, and the fear of being stateless continued to shape the discourses on the defense of the homeland even during the Turkish War of Independence.

To examine transformation of the homeland, connections can be made with many other topics not mentioned above. The concept of citizenship and the

relationship of the Ottoman Nationality Law of 1869 and its impact on the transformation of the perception of homeland can be researched. The issue of citizenship is important in terms of determining the borders of the homeland and the legal and political construction of belonging to the homeland. I did not want to add a discussion within the limits of this study because there is much debate about both the legal and socio-political aspects of this issue.<sup>435</sup> Furthermore, since the aim of this thesis is to examine how the concept of homeland was transformed and sacralized from the early modern period to the modern period, the evolution of the Turkish homeland under the influence of the Balkan Wars could not be dwelled upon. In addition, how educational policies are formulated and organized to shape and establish the perception of homeland, and how the concept of homeland is used in lessons and textbooks could also be the subject of another study.

The perception of homeland is a very broad issue that needs new approaches. One of the goals of this thesis was to show that the history of the homeland cannot be explained by a single factor. Here, I have tried to discuss how the homeland can be evaluated outside of nationalism debates and how it can be considered as a place of unity, a shared living place, and a shared homeland. Concepts that express feelings such as homeland are controversial and may carry different meanings in different periods. There is a change in how the concept of homeland is used and perceived, but it may be possible to say that even in the twentieth century it retains its old meaning. Kemal Karpat stated that when he had to migrate to Turkey, he went to his relatives in

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<sup>435</sup> For some of them pls.see. Berke Torunoglu, "The Neo-Hellenes in the Ottoman Empire, 1830-1869," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 39, no.1 (2021): 49-70. İbrahim Serbestoğlu, *Osmanlı Kimdir? Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tabiiyet Sorunu* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2014). Füsün Üstel, ""Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde: II.Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları 2004). İbrahim Serbestoğlu, "Zorunlu Bir Modernleşme Örneği Olarak Osmanlı Tabiiyet Kanunu," *OTAM Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, no.29 (2011): 193-214. Suphi Nuri, "Türk Vatandaşlığı Kanunu," *Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası* 10, no.59 (1932): 1769-1786.

Central Anatolia and they embraced him so that they could smell the scent of homeland (*memleket kokusu almak*).<sup>436</sup> For them, their homeland has always been Dobruja. Or perhaps in the Greek-Turkish Population Exchange of 1923, people's homeland was the place where they were born and raised, where they spent most of their lives.



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<sup>436</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, "The Genesis of the Gecekonu: Rural migration and Urbanization (1976)," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no.1 (2004): 3.

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