

MEHMED FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ
AND
THE RISE OF MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN TURKEY

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by

S. ERDEM SÖNMEZ

Department of History
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
May 2018

S. ERDEM SÖNMEZ

MEHMED FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ AND
THE RISE OF MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN TURKEY

Bilkent University 2018

MEHMED FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ
AND
THE RISE OF MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN TURKEY

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

by
S. ERDEM SÖNMEZ

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA
May 2018

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 Doctor of Philosophy in History.



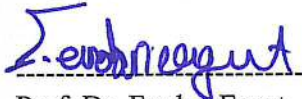
Asst. Prof. Dr. Oktay Özel
Supervisor

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 Doctor of Philosophy in History.



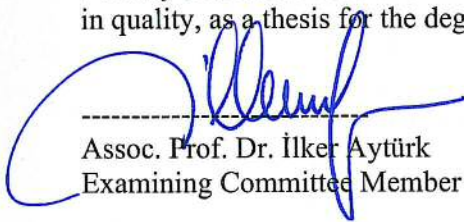
Prof. Dr. Suavi Aydın
Examining Committee Member

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 Doctor of Philosophy in History.



Prof. Dr. Ferdan Ergut
Examining Committee Member

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 Doctor of Philosophy in History.



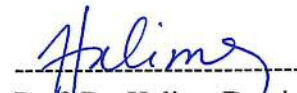
Assoc. Prof. Dr. İlker Aytürk
Examining Committee Member

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 Doctor of Philosophy in History.



Asst. Prof. Dr. Evgeniy Radoslavov Radushev
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Halime Demirkan
Director

ABSTRACT

MEHMED FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ
AND
THE RISE OF MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN TURKEY

Sönmez, S. Erdem
Ph.D., Department of History
Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Oktay Özel

May 2018

This dissertation focuses on the intellectual and historical work of a historian who played a crucial role in the emergence and institutionalization of history as an academic discipline in Turkey: Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (1890-1966). Situating his scholarly work and activity within its historico-political context, this study thus aims to present an extensive and historicizing analysis of Köprülü's historiography and his substantial contribution to the professionalization of Ottoman-Turkish historical writing. It, moreover, treats Köprülü as one of the most important agents of the Turkish nation-building process in the late Ottoman and early republican era, and reveals how his programmatic historiographical production contributed greatly to the nationalist project by providing it with a scholarly valid historical master narrative regarding Turkish history and national past.

Keywords: Historiography, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, Nation-Building,
Ottoman/Turkish Historiography, Turkish Nationalism.

ÖZET

MEHMED FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ
VE
TÜRKİYE’DE MODERN TARİHÇİLİĞİN DOĞUŞU

Sönmez, S. Erdem
Doktora, Tarih Bölümü
Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Oktay Özel

Mayıs 2018

Bu tez, Türkiye’de tarihçiliğin, akademik bir disiplin olarak ortaya çıkışı ve kurumsallaşması sürecinde çok önemli rol oynamış bir tarihçi olan Mehmed Fuad Köprülü’nün entelektüel mesaisine ve tarihsel çalışmalarına odaklanır. Söz konusu entelektüel mesaiyi ve akademik üretimi tarihsel-politik bağlamına yerleştirmek suretiyle, bu tez, Köprülü’nün, hem kendi tarihçiliğinin ve hem de Osmanlı-Türk tarihyazımının profesyonelleşmesine yaptığı katkının kapsamlı ve tarihselleştirici bir analizini sunmayı amaçlar. Bu çalışma, ayrıca, Köprülü’yü geç Osmanlı-erken Cumhuriyet dönemi ulus-inşası sürecinin en önemli aktörlerinden biri olarak ele alır ve Köprülü’nün, Türk tarihine ilişkin akademik geçerliliği haiz büyük bir tarihsel anlatı oluşturmaya adanmış programatik tarihyazımsal üretiminin, milliyetçi projeye katkısını serimler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, Osmanlı/Türkiye Tarihçiliği,
Tarihyazımı, Türk Milliyetçiliği, Ulus-İnşası

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of many people. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Oktay Özel for his guidance, patience, and attentive help. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to the core committee members Ferdan Ergut and Evgeniy Radushev for their inspiring comments and constructive suggestions on the early drafts of this work. Many thanks as well to İlker Aytürk and Suavi Aydın, who agreed to join the defense committee and gave me excellent advice and criticism during the defense itself. I should also express my most sincere gratitude to Kudret Emiroğlu, Özer Ergenç and Mehmed Ö. Alkan, who contributed greatly to my formation as a historian.

It is always difficult to express how much one owes to friends and colleagues for their help, support and intellectual companionship. I feel the greatest gratitude, for everything, toward Ahmet Nezihi Turan, Resul Ay, Muzaffer Doğan, Ahmet Özcan, Fırat Korkmaz, Gözde Orhan, Selim Tezcan, Ayşegül Avcı, Abdürrahim Özer, Sena Hatip Dinçyürek, Özgür Çataltepe, Cengiz Yönezer, Ebru Sönmez, Doğuş Özdemir, Erkan Bedirhanoğlu, Polat Safi, and Ozan Gürlek.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank my parents and Ceyda Karamürsel for their understanding, support and encouragement during my work on this dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER II: ‘ <i>THREE WAYS OF POLICY</i> ’, THREE WAYS OF HISTORIOGRAPHY.....	10
2. 1 Construction of an Identity, Foundation of a History.....	15
2. 2 A Watershed in the Policy, A Shift in the Historiography.....	33
2. 3 Beyond the Dominant Ideology: The Emergence of Turkism.....	56
2. 4 In Lieu of a Conclusion.....	79
CHAPTER III: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF HISTORY, THE FORMATION OF THE HISTORIAN.....	81
3. 1 Ranke’s Shadow in the Ottoman Empire.....	88
3. 2 A Young Man Searching for Himself in a Turbulent Era.....	121
3. 3 Köprülüzâde after the Balkan Wars: A Traumatic Transformation in the Twilight of the Empire.....	139
3. 4 In Lieu of a Conclusion.....	172
CHAPTER IV: THE HISTORIAN IN THE FIELD: LAYING THE SCHOLARLY FOUNDATIONS OF THE NATION.....	175
4. 1 The Rise of Nationalist Historiography in the Ottoman Empire.....	179
4. 2 Köprülüzâde at Work: Equipping Nationalist Historiography with a Methodology.....	193
4. 3 Deploying the Nation in the Course of the War: <i>Milli Tetebbular</i> <i>Mecmuası</i> (The Journal of National Studies).....	208
4. 4 In Lieu of a Conclusion.....	228
CHAPTER V: THE GRAND NARRATIVE OF KÖPRÜLÜZÂDE MEHMED FUAD: FROM CENTRAL ASIA TO ANATOLIA, FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE MODERN ERA.....	231
5. 1 A Mythical Past in Ancient Central Asia.....	259

5. 2 Köprülüâde's Portrait(s) of Ahmed Yasawi: Establishing the Connection, Strengthening the Continuity	270
5. 3 The Turkification and Islamization of Anatolia	283
5. 4 The Evolution of Anatolian Turkish Literature: From its Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century	297
5. 5 In Lieu of a Conclusion: ' <i>The Magic Touch of a Strong Hand</i> '	304
CHAPTER VI: EPILOGUE: MEHMED FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ IN THE 1930S	306
BIBLIOGRAPHY	321



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

*‘la pratique historique est tout entière relative
à la structure de la société’¹*

Today, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (1890-1966)—or, Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad until the enactment of the 1934 Surname Law—is considered to be the founder of modern Turkish historiography by almost all scholars of Ottoman/Turkish history. Even a brief look at his scholarly life and work corroborates this consideration and demonstrates that he indeed played a pivotal role in the emergence and institutionalization of history as an academic discipline in Turkey. During his approximately thirty-year career as a professional historian, Köprülü spearheaded the establishment of major historical associations, published and managed many academic history journals, held the deanship of the Faculty of Literature at Istanbul University for one and a half decade, and, thus, contributed greatly to the construction of an appropriate institutional structure for scholarly historiographical practice in the country. Moreover, he also made a genuine effort to introduce and consolidate the contemporary methodological principles of European historiography

¹ ‘The practice of history is entirely relative to the structure of society’. Michel de Certeau, ‘L’opération Historiographique,’ in *L’Écriture de l’histoire* (2nd ed.), (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), 75–76.

in Ottoman/Turkish historical writing. He, in other words, strove to establish the disciplinary standards of modern historical scholarship as the norms of Turkish historiography by publishing numerous articles on methodology, reviewing almost all newly issued works of Turkish historians and Western orientalists, pointing out the methodological problems of these studies, and harshly criticizing traditional forms of history writing. Additionally, he trained many young historians, supervised the first doctoral dissertations written in the field of history in Turkey, and left a deep imprint on the subsequent development of Turkish historiography. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, he constructed the first—and at least for a long time the unique—scholarly valid historical master narrative regarding what he called ‘Turkish national history’. Tracing the historical evolution of the ‘Turkish nation’ from antiquity to the modern era, this grand narrative is still paradigmatic and highly decisive in shaping both the academic and popular understandings of the national past in Turkey.

It must be noted that Köprülü’s significance as a historian does not stem solely from his contribution to the scholarly realm. He, at the same time, was one of the most important agents of the nation-building process in late Ottoman and early republican Turkey. When Köprülü’s corpus is considered as a whole, it becomes clear that his programmatic historiographical activity was intended to provide Turkish nationalism with the national historical narrative it needed. Constituting one of the main building blocks of the intellectual foundation of the Turkish nation, this narrative equipped the members of the newly ‘imagined community’ with a common and historically well-grounded national identity. It, in this respect, revealed, or more accurately invented, the so-called ancient Turkish traditions, defined them as the pure and authentic essence of Turkishness, demonstrated their continuity throughout the ages, and

established a direct connection between them and modern-day Turkish socio-cultural, religious, and literary practices. Thus, Köprülü on the one hand explained—both to the national and international audience—that the Turkishness was not a newly emerged phenomenon but a deeply rooted historical entity that was tightly linked to its Central Asian origins. And, on the other hand, he answered one of the most crucial intellectual and scholarly needs of the nationalist project, which was in search of a historical rationale for the international legitimacy of the young Turkish Republic that just took its place in the world of nation-states. With all this in mind, it is hardly surprising that Köprülü was regarded and praised as the ‘the great savant of Turkology’ or ‘the scholar of the nation’ by the contemporary and future generations of Turkish nationalism.²

Despite the importance of the role he played in the construction of the Turkish nation in general and in the rise of modern Turkish historiography in particular, it is difficult to say that Köprülü has hitherto received the scholarly attention he deserves. Apart from a limited number of studies, the literature on this founding figure of Turkish nationalism and historiography is astoundingly sparse. To briefly review these few works, George T. Park’s 1975 doctoral dissertation *The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü: The Intellectual and Turkish Cultural Modernization* is the first and one of the most elaborate studies about him. Having been written at a time when the ‘modernization theory’ was still influential in the field of Ottoman and Turkish studies, this work treats Köprülü mainly as a late Ottoman and early republican intellectual who played a significant role in the ‘modernization process’ of Turkey. Thus, rather than dealing in detail with his historiography and historical studies,

² For some examples, see Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Ankara: Matbuat ve İstihbarat Müdürlüğü, 1339 [1923]), 13; Enver Behnan Şapolyo, ‘Hocam Fuad Köprülü,’ *Türk Kültürü*, no. 47 (September 1966): 52.

Park's dissertation instead focuses on Köprülü's views regarding such issues as 'Westernization', 'secularization', 'cultural change' and 'educational reform', all of which were connected to Turkey's presumed modernization trajectory but did not necessarily constitute the essential part of his scholarly and intellectual work.³

Another doctoral dissertation which also sets Köprülü's biography within the context of 'Ottoman/Turkish modernization'—though the modernization theory was completely outdated at that time—was Abdülkerim Asılsoy's 2008 study, entitled *Türk Modernleşmesinin Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Fikirleri* ('Fuat Köprülü as One of the Pioneers of Turkish Modernization: His Life, Work, and Thought'). Despite the ample information it offers about Köprülü's life and career as a historian, this study nevertheless also portrays the latter merely as another important member of the late Ottoman and early republican Turkish intelligentsia, without analyzing and highlighting the ways in which he differentiated his own mission and agenda from that of other nationalist intellectuals. Accordingly, although Asılsoy's detailed but descriptive dissertation gives a general idea about the life and work of Köprülü, it remains mostly unable to provide a deep insight into his historiography and the strong political and scholarly motive lying behind it.⁴

One study that partially provides such an understanding of Köprülü's scholarship and historiography was Halil Berktaş's 1983 book *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü* ('The Republican Ideology and Fuat Köprülü'). Focusing mainly on Köprülü's scholarly studies written in the 1930s, this brief but analytically powerful work presents a clear picture of Köprülü's late historiography and his contribution to

³ See George T. Park, 'The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü: The Intellectual and Turkish Cultural Modernization' (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1975).

⁴ See Abdülkerim Asılsoy, 'Türk Modernleşmesinin Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Fikirleri' (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2008).

Turkish historical writing. However, Berktaş's examination of Köprülü's historiography was based exclusively on the latter's limited number of studies that were devoted to the refutation of orientalist theses concerning the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, although Berktaş's book well illustrates how Köprülü analyzed this specific issue, it nevertheless does not treat the latter's historiography as a whole and ignores the fact that Köprülü's discussion on the origins of Ottoman socio-political organization constituted an important but supplementary part of his master narrative.⁵ As a result, besides falling short of demonstrating how Köprülü constructed his grand narrative of continuity for the national past mainly through literary and religious history, Berktaş's work also inaccurately describes Köprülü's historiography as a product, or, to use his words, a 'flower of Republican ideology' by overlooking that the latter's formation as an intellectual and historian was shaped during the Second Constitutional Period.⁶ A more meticulous study on these points, and the last work to be mentioned here, is Markus Dressler's recently published book *Writing Religion: The Making of Turkish Alevi Islam*. Seeking to explore how the modern Turkish conception of Alevism has been forged within the framework of Turkish nationalism during the late Ottoman and early republican era, Dressler's work gives special attention to Köprülü's 'religiography', which, according to him, constitutes the most decisive nationalist scholarly effort in the 'making of Turkish Alevi Islam'. Thus, Dressler's book analyzes a considerable part of Köprülü's corpus in detail and shows us how the latter treated Turkish religious history in general and constructed a well-structured genealogy for Alevism within Turkish national past in particular. However, although Dressler offers the most complete picture of Köprülü's

⁵ See Halil Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1983).

⁶ See Halil Berktaş, 'The "Other" Feudalism: A Critique of 20th Century Turkish Historiography and its Particularisation of Ottoman Society' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1990), 131.

historiography to date, he deals mainly with one layer of the latter because of the focus and scope of his book.⁷

In view of different priorities and limitations of the aforementioned works, it is obvious that a comprehensive study addressing all aspects of Köprülü's historiography is still wanting. Building upon the existing literature on him, this dissertation aims to present an extensive and historicizing analysis of Köprülü's work and to elucidate the central role he played both in the professionalization of Turkish historiography and in the intellectual foundation of the Turkish nation. To this end, I first focus on the state of Ottoman/Turkish historical writing prior to Köprülü and investigate the late Ottoman efforts to turn historiography into a distinct academic discipline. In this respect, I begin my survey with the examination of the initial signs of this transformation that appeared during the Tanzimat era when history began to be considered a significant means for strengthening the newly imagined common Ottoman identity. Thus, in the following chapter, I deal primarily with the process of what can be called historiographical expansion in the Ottoman Empire that took place in such forms as the introduction of history courses into the newly established school programs, publication of numerous historical works of both Ottoman and European historians, and taking the initial steps for the foundation of an archival institution. I also trace the course of this process throughout the Hamidian era in the same chapter, and analyze how the aforementioned historiographical practices were affected by the change in the empire's political projects and regime strategies. Lastly, I concentrate on the emergence of a new kind of historical interpretation in the late nineteenth century, which was inspired by incipient Turkism and markedly different

⁷ See Markus Dressler, *Writing Religion: The Making of Turkish Alevi Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

from the historiographical perspectives that were forged within the frame of Ottomanism and Islamism.

In the first part of the third chapter, I go on to trace the evolution of Ottoman/Turkish historiography and examine how the Ottomans built an institutionalized academic space for historical writing during the Second Constitutional Period. Besides surveying the major manifestations of this process like the establishment of the first historical association in the empire, foundation of a history department at the university, and publication of a number of academic historical journals, I also reveal the strong political motives underlying these scholarly efforts, which were intended to create a shared view of the past among the members of the ‘Ottoman nation’. Then, in the second part of this chapter, I shift my focus from the evolution of Ottoman historiography to Köprülü himself, who began his career as a prolific but unspecialized man of letters. After exploring his formation, early writings, and liberal views on socio-cultural and literary issues, I investigate how he experienced a deep intellectual crisis and a profound transformation in his cosmopolitan perspective due to the turbulent political circumstances the empire faced, especially during the Balkan Wars of 1912–13. And in the last part, I concentrate on his adoption of Turkish nationalism, involvement in Unionist circles, and entry into the profession of history, which occurred with his appointment to the university in late 1913 to teach Turkish literary history.

As Köprülü trained and established himself as a historian in a socio-political setting in which Turkish nationalism gradually became the dominant paradigm in all walks of Ottoman cultural, intellectual and scholarly life, the fourth chapter opens with a section that gives an overall picture of nationalist historiography in the Ottoman Empire. I, in this section, mainly deal with how nationalist historians, Köprülü

included, criticized the Ottomanist vision of history that the official historical association of the empire assembled, established their own learned societies and history journals in order to explore ‘Turkish national past’, and constructed a Turkist historical perspective which gained a hegemonic character in Ottoman/Turkish historiography towards the late 1910s. Next, I concentrate on Köprülü’s early historical works, most of which were devoted to equip Turkish nationalist historiography with a sound methodology that was based on European scholarly conventions. Besides explaining his views on such issues as positivism, the nature of social sciences, and the means and ends of historical scholarship, this focus also sheds light on Köprülü’s differences from the vast majority of nationalist historians, who were deprived of a thorough methodological knowledge and meticulousness. Lastly, I examine the leading role he played in the establishment of a new historical society and of its significant journal *Milli Tettebular Mecmuası* (The Journal of National Studies) in 1915, and analyze his articles that appeared there in which he sketched the outlines of his future master narrative.

In the fifth chapter, I attend to Köprülü’s scholarly activities and historical studies from the late 1910s to the early 1930s, an interval within which he became the most eminent historian in the country. In order to provide a detailed overview of this process, I first trace the personal stories of the leading late Ottoman historians during the war and post-war era, almost all of whom decided or were obliged to leave aside their scholarly studies due to the extraordinary circumstances of these years. Then, I demonstrate how Köprülü stuck strictly to his own scholarly agenda during this period of turbulence and catastrophe, and contributed greatly to Turkish historiography by not only publishing successively his major historical accounts that still hold sway in the field but also working in an indefatigable manner to rebuild the

collapsed institutional structure of historical scholarship in the country. Next, I deal with Köprülü's academic production in these years, which, as I pointed out above, was intended to provide the nationalist project with the national historical master narrative it needed. After examining in detail his grand narrative of continuity, I conclude my dissertation with a brief epilogue, focusing on Köprülü's scholarly efforts in the 1930s—i.e., the last decade of his career as a historian. Besides discussing his ambivalent position vis-à-vis the official Turkish History Thesis, this section also analyzes Köprülü's late historical studies that were devoted to the consummation of the master narrative he constructed.

CHAPTER II

‘THREE WAYS OF POLICY’, THREE WAYS OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

At the dawn of the twentieth century, a twenty-seven-year-old intellectual who always dwelled in the layer between politics and history manifested the first political expression of Turkish nationalism in the Ottoman Empire: *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Ways of Policy). In this pamphlet, written after he had graduated from the École Libre des Sciences Politiques, Yusuf Akçura discussed at length the political projects and regime strategies that the Ottoman Empire had adopted in the course of the nineteenth century. After proclaiming the uselessness of Ottomanism and Islamism in terms of their practical functions and political potentials for the survival of the state, he proposed another one in their stead, one which had until that time remained primarily within the literary and cultural spheres. He criticized Ottomanism and Islamism for neglecting the ‘Turkish nation’ and ignoring the ‘Turkish world’ outside the empire. In connection with this criticism, Akçura also condemned all historical perspectives that had been forged within the frame of Ottomanist and Islamist projects and turned a blind eye to the ‘Turkish past’. It is no coincidence that

Akçura would later become the president of the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) in the early republican period.

As Akçura's work implied, nineteenth-century Ottoman historiography was deeply imbued with the politics and ideological accents of its time, as were its global contemporaries. In parallel with Lucien Febvre's statement that every historical era offers its own depiction of the past according to its own preoccupations, the Ottoman historical consciousness and historiographical practices were influenced by, and also served to generate, the dominant ideologies of and the shifts within the political and cultural discourse of late Ottoman history.¹ To put it another way, when political projects were revised in the nineteenth century, the reinterpretation of history came to the fore as a product of the alignment of current politics, and this process occurred in the Ottoman Empire as well.²

From the point of view of historiography, there were also other remarkable commonalities between the Ottoman case and its contemporary counterparts. For one thing, just as with all pre-nineteenth-century European and Asian examples, traditional Ottoman history writing was mostly a genre among the 'polite', and neither needed nor wanted a popular audience.³ In conjunction with the formation of central (whether national or imperial) state ideologies, the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence—almost everywhere in Europe and in the United States as well—of a new understanding of history, one that appealed to a wider audience and emphasized the concepts of either national or imperial integration, unity, and

¹ Lucien Febvre, *Combats pour l'histoire* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1953), 117.

² See Susana Carvalho and François Gemenne, 'Introduction,' in *Nations and Their Histories: Constructions and Representations*, eds. S. Carvalho and F. Gemenne (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 2.

³ Peter Mandler, *History and National Life* (London: Profile Books, 2002), 11.

continuity.⁴ The ‘history of the United States’, for example, was the main partner in the making of the ‘American nation’ from the very beginning. As Thomas Bender put it, the year 1789 not only marked the proclamation of the national government established by the constitution, but also the moment when the first history of ‘national’ scope was printed.⁵ The nineteenth century also saw a boom of histories of the Austrian Empire put together with a Habsburg-patriotic perspective, defining the empire as a supranational entity with a cultural and linguistic variety. As Werner Suppanz has emphasized, this approach had the function of legitimizing a Habsburg-loyal patriotism.⁶ In the Russian Empire, on the other hand, the Society of History and Russian Antiquity was founded in the early 1800s to idealize the existing order and its ruling dynasty.⁷ In the very same years, Nikolai Mikhailovitch Karamzin was appointed as the first official state historiographer, and his twelve-volume opus, *History of the Russian State*, written in a literary style and organized chronologically on the basis of monarchical reigns, is commonly considered the beginning of the official interpretation of Russian history, which was based on the concepts of ‘fatherland’, ‘autocracy’ and ‘the holy faith’.⁸

⁴ Effi Gazi, ‘Theorizing and Practising “Scientific” History in South-Eastern Europe (Nineteenth-Twentieth Century): Spyridon Lambros and Nicolae Jorga,’ in *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, eds. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 208.

⁵ Thomas Bender, ‘Writing American History: 1789-1945,’ in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800-1945, eds. Stuart Macintyre et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 369.

⁶ Werner Suppanz, ‘Supranationality and National Overlaps: The Habsburg Monarchy in Austrian Historiography after 1918,’ in *Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts: Overlapping National Histories in Modern Europe*, eds. Tibor Frank and Frank Hadler (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 71.

⁷ Stefan Berger, ‘The Invention of European National Traditions in European Romanticism,’ in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800-1945, 31–34.

⁸ Rafat Stobiecki, ‘National History and Imperial History: A Look at Polish-Russian Historiographical Disputes on the Borderlands in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,’ in *Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts*, 131. Also see Gyula Szvák, ‘The Golden Age of Russian Historical Writing: The Nineteenth Century,’ in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800-1945, 304; Martin

Another remarkable example can be observed in the Low Countries after they were reunited as the United Kingdom of the Netherlands following Napoleon's defeat in 1815. Historiography had a role to play in fulfilling the difficult task of integrating the northern and southern parts of this newly created state. To constitute a common past for the north and south, a competition was organized by King William I in 1826. Historians and men of letters were invited to the competition in order to write a general history of the Netherlands, with the winner to become the 'state history-writer'.⁹ An additional noteworthy effort to compile a history for creating the official image of a united and centralized state took place in Japan under the new Meiji government, which marked the end of Tokugawa era and the emergence of 'modern' Japan. To legitimize their ascent to power and strengthen the loyalty of the people, the Meiji leaders aimed to connect the new state with the old imperium by means of imperial genealogy, using historiographical projects to present the unbroken imperial lineage as the major source of Japan's assumed political sovereignty.¹⁰ Last but not least, as Youssef M. Choueiri has emphasized, the first glimmerings of a new kind of Arab historiography emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century with the rise of a relatively well-defined territorial unit under the rule of Muhammad Ali of Egypt.

Aust, 'À la Recherche d'Histoire Imperiale: Histories of Russia from the Nineteenth to the Early Twenty-First Century,' in *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing*, eds. Matthias Middell and Lluís Roura (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 235–236.

⁹ Jo Tollebeek, 'Historical Writing in the Low Countries,' in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800–1945, 283.

¹⁰ Jie-Hyun Lim, 'The Configuration of Orient and Occident in the Global Chain of National Histories: Writing National Histories in Northeastern Asia,' in *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media and the Arts*, eds. Stefan Berger et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 293; Q. Edward Wang, 'Between Myth and History: The Construction of a National Past in Modern East Asia,' in *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, ed. Stefan Berger (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 130–131.

Rifa'a Rafi al-Tahtawi soon appeared as the inspiring spirit of this historiography, depicting Egypt as a giant machine which had existed since the dawn of the history.¹¹

Although the tempo and timing differ, such a pattern of evolution in historiography, as well as its institutional spaces—consisting mainly of learned societies, academies, and archives—repeated itself in various forms throughout most of the world. In its own context, the Ottoman Empire followed a route parallel to that of its counterparts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This chapter attempts to trace this process of historiographical expansion in the Ottoman Empire and focuses on late Ottoman historical writing.¹² For this purpose, I first examine the rise of a history-related infrastructure and historiographical practices during the Tanzimat era, since the initial major steps for disseminating a shared view of past among the Ottoman people were taken in this period through the formulation of an imperial ideology. Secondly, I seek to shed light on the fundamental aspects of the historical studies of the Hamidian era and demonstrate the contextual shifts that occurred in historiography during this period as a result of the change in the empire's political projects. Finally, I concentrate on the historical interpretation of the Turkist stance at the turn of the century, which played a consistent role in the creation of an awareness of a different collective identity than that which Ottomanist and Islamist policies sought to disseminate.

¹¹ Youssef M. Choueiri, *Arab History and the Nation-State: A Study in Modern Arab Historiography (1820-1980)* (London: Routledge, 1989), 3, 16.

¹² As Cemal Kafadar and Hakan T. Karateke have emphasized, 'Ottoman' historiography necessarily includes any historical study written in any language by any Ottoman subject. However, the complexity of the topic has forced me to impose certain limitations. For mainly practical reasons, this study aims to include only those historians who wrote in Turkish. See Cemal Kafadar and Hakan T. Karateke, 'Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing,' in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800-1945, 559.

2. 1 Construction of an Identity, Foundation of a History

The European monarchies, the Ottoman Empire included, were all drawn towards the ‘long nineteenth century’ at different tempos, but down generally similar paths. As part of their self-conscious attempts to engineer state power, all entered into a process of installing direct rule and centralization.¹³ There is no doubt that a tendency to monopolize and centralize state power had already existed for a long time. This was a process that was achieved through destroying the relatively autonomous structures of local notables, taking power away from alternative bases, rendering the administration of the state more efficient by introducing a rational bureaucracy, and standardizing legal conditions.¹⁴

As Eric Hobsbawm emphasized, ‘the modern state’ imposed identical administrative and institutional arrangements and laws throughout the extent of its territory. Moreover, rather than governing through intermediate systems of rulers and autonomous corporations, it sought to rule over its territorially defined ‘people’ directly. As a result, states and their subjects, who were gradually being converted to citizens, began to be inescapably linked by unmediated bonds in an unprecedented way. This transformation, however, raised serious political issues of citizens’ loyalty to, and identification with, the state.¹⁵ To use Ernest Gellner’s phrase, a new sort of

¹³ Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 106–107.

¹⁴ Hagen Schulze, ‘The Revolution of the European Order and the Rise of German Nationalism,’ in *Nation-Building in Central Europe*, ed. Hagen Schulze (New York: Berg, 1987), 8.

¹⁵ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Mythe, Reality* (2nd ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 80–82.

‘field of tension’ between the state and society surfaced.¹⁶ Before too long, as the old forms of legitimacy began to become obsolete, new forms came to the fore.

As the old legitimization patterns that the states had relied on stumbled, the need to redefine the relationships among the ruler, the dynasty, the state, and the subjects arose. Governments instinctively attempted to build a central as well as an imperial, or national, ideology, a new rhetoric of state legitimization, in order to overcome the aforementioned ‘tension’ with their subjects. This imperial ideology, regarded by Hugh Seton-Watson as ‘official nationalism’, might be considered an application of ‘national’ motifs by multinational empires, or, in Benedict Anderson’s words, ‘stretching the short, tight, skin of the nation over the gigantic body of the empire’.¹⁷ In the course of the European ‘bridge period’ between 1750 and 1850, each imperial power articulated and maintained such a supranational ideology, one imbued with ‘national’ imagery and identity.¹⁸ In this context, it was also expected that this ideological glue would hold the different ethno-linguistic communities within the empires together. To put it another way, in order to secure their loyalty and allegiance, an attempt was made to use this uniform ideological cement to transform subjects of various stripes and from various locales into the territorially defined citizens of the imperial fatherland.

The Ottoman Empire followed a similar path in its own context and with its own historical coloring. Before the nineteenth century, much like its European

¹⁶ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1983), 16.

¹⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Revised ed.), (London: Verso, 2006), 86; Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977), 148.

¹⁸ Stefan Berger, ‘The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth –and Twentieth- Century Europe,’ in *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, 31–32.

counterparts, the Ottoman Empire lacked uniform institutions, a unified mode of administration, and an imperial ideology that applied to all of its territories.¹⁹ As is well known, the provincial notables demonstrated their political strength by forcing the Ottoman sultan to sign the Charter of Alliance (*Sened-i İttifak*) in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Then, as soon as Sultan Mahmud II had consolidated his power, he put into effect a wave of elimination of these regional elites. This process of undermining the power of the intermediaries went hand in hand with a strong centralization and rationalization agenda on the part of the state, thus bringing the Ottoman Empire out of 'its old, traditional, negotiated, and accommodative practice to a transitional one where the fundamentals were laid for a modern system that would subject everyone to the same standard rule'.²⁰ The ambitious projects that eroded the social, legal, and political bases of the Ottoman *ancien régime* birthed a need to base the empire on a broader social foundation and to regularize state-society relations.²¹ In other words, the transformation of the socio-political structure of the empire during the European 'bridge period' provided the context for establishing an affective bond between not only the state and its people, but also among the subjects from various communities within the empire. The first seeds of the intention that aimed to create an egalitarian Ottoman identity by superseding the traditional divisions could be found during the reign of Mahmud II: 'I can only discern differences among my subjects', he said, 'when the Muslims are in the mosque, the

¹⁹ Reşat Kasaba, 'Dreams of Empire, Dreams of Nations,' in *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World*, eds. Joseph W. Esherick et al. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 201.

²⁰ Karen Barkey, 'Changing Modalities of Empire: A Comparative Study of Ottoman and Habsburg Decline,' in *Empire to Nation*, 189.

²¹ Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 357.

Christians are in the church, and the Jews are in the synagogue; there is no difference between them in any other way'.²²

The tendency to fashion a distinct Ottoman identity was further reinforced by efforts to establish an administrative and legal framework for a unitary state, which gained an official character through the semi-constitutional Gülhane Edict of 1839. In addition to guaranteeing security of life and property and promising extensive administrative reforms and fiscal organization, the edict instituted a formal equality between the residents of the empire regardless of religious affiliation. As Constantin Iordachi emphasized, it was meant to promote the development of a particular central and imperial supranational ideology: Ottomanism.²³ Concomitant with the formation of an unmediated relationship between the empire and its subjects, the notion of Ottomanness—which had previously referred only to the officials at the very core of the imperial structure—underwent a contextual shift to embrace all the inhabitants of the Ottoman lands.²⁴ In this sense, Ottomanism appeared as the idea and policy that all the various communities of the empire would associate under the umbrella of a common political identity that superseded ethnic and religious differences, thereby achieving unity and equality among subjects of the empire.²⁵ Moreover, as a form of

²² Abdurrahman Şeref, *Tarih Musahabeleri* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1339 [1923]), 65.

²³ Constantin Iordachi, 'The Ottoman Empire: Syncretic Nationalism and Citizenship in the Balkans,' in *What is a Nation? (Europe 1789-1914)*, eds. Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 130.

²⁴ Carter Vaughn Findley, 'The Tanzimat,' in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. 4: Turkey in the Modern World*, ed. Reşat Kasaba (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008), 30.

²⁵ It must be emphasized in this context that the three main ideological dispositions in the late Ottoman Empire cannot be sharply separated from one another, as each of them included elements of the others. For instance, on the one hand, some aspects of Ottomanism and Islamism would later also contribute to shaping Turkish nationalism. On the other hand, however, Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkish nationalism were all particular political projects. Thus, each of them fashioned separate regime strategies in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Obscuring the differences between them could well complicate our understanding of the ideological shifts that occurred in late Ottoman history. Therefore, although there is some risk of oversimplifying in

‘official nationalism’, it defined the territorial state and patria as the concrete political frame that monopolized the supreme loyalty of the heterogeneous residents of the Ottoman domains, who were now envisioned and treated as equal members of an Ottoman nation blind to religion and ethnicity.²⁶

In the creation of this official nationalism, the Ottoman case shared much with its global contemporaries. The Ottomans appropriated objectives similar to those of their European counterparts in terms of the transition to an imperial model infused with ‘national’ identification. Needless to say, in each empire, education was the major ‘ideological apparatus’ and played an important role in indoctrination so as to foster the feeling of belonging.²⁷ In this regard, the Ottoman Empire also set out to standardize, centralize, and modify an educational plan throughout the nineteenth century. Although the chief causes of the preliminary educational reforms were mainly military and utilitarian in nature, there soon emerged considerations of using public education to shape the Ottoman identity and eliminate the cultural compartments that existed among the subjects. In this process, the foundation of the Ministry of Public Education (*Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti*) in 1857 was crucial in terms of direction and coordination, but also more importantly, in terms of the secularization of state education.²⁸ Another noteworthy development was the

subdividing these overlapping concepts, it would be much more effective and illuminating for a conception of the ideological orientations of the era. For further information on this point see Erdem Sönmez, *Ahmed Rıza: Bir Jön Türk Liderinin Siyasi-Entelektüel Portresi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 115–117.

²⁶ Kemal H. Karpat, ‘Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to be Modern Muslim, Ottoman, and Turk,’ in *Ottoman Past and Today’s Turkey*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 6–7.

²⁷ Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 292.

²⁸ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 8, 15–16.

promulgation in 1869 of the Regulation on Public Education (*Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizamnâmesi*), which had been prepared under a certain degree of French influence and provided a legal-institutional framework for general education. As the blueprint for the construction of a more secular education system, the regulation aimed to arrange public education in both the capital and the provinces as a highly centralized and rationalized state school system. Furthermore, the Ottomanist project clearly expressed its character in this text, since the document highlighted mixed education as a way to remove barriers between various communities and sought to integrate Muslim and non-Muslim schools within a legal framework and establish government schools for non-Muslim elements.²⁹

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the formulation and dissemination of a shared view of the past was a significant component of educational plans during the Tanzimat era. Therefore, history courses appeared in the curriculums of the newly established prestige schools in order to strengthen the collective Ottoman identity. For instance, according to its regulation, history (*tevârih*) was one of the lessons that would be taught at the Mekteb-i Mülkiye (School of the Civil Service), which was founded in 1859 ‘to train state officials and administrators’.³⁰ The appointment of the state chronicler of the time, Ahmed Cevdet, as the history teacher at the Mülkiye shows the importance attributed to history courses during the era.³¹ Similarly, ‘world history’ (*tarih-i umumi*) lessons were introduced into the curriculum of the Mahrec-i

²⁹ Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 113, 175; Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, 3–4, 83–84, 88–89.

³⁰ BOA, İ.MVL, 411/17887, 1275.Ca.3. BOA, A.MKT.NZD, 274/36, 1275.C.6.

³¹ BOA, A.MKT.NZD, 276/23, 1275.C.28.

Aklâm (Training Place for the Offices),³² the school established in 1862 in order to produce qualified officials.³³ One noteworthy point in this regard was the 1873 assignment of Abdurrahman Şeref, a promising graduate of the Mekteb-i Sultânî (Imperial School) who would later serve as the state chronicler after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, as the history teacher at this school.³⁴ Since its inception in 1868, world history and Ottoman history courses had been present in the curriculum of the Mekteb-i Sultânî, the outstanding school that followed the Ottomanist goal of providing mixed education to all communities within the empire.³⁵

The Regulation on Public Education constituted a turning point in history education by systematically institutionalizing history courses in all tiers of education.³⁶ According to Article 6 of the regulation, for example, the Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmanî (Abridged Ottoman History) course would be taught in elementary schools ('mekatib-i sıbyaniye').³⁷ Likewise, Article 23 instituted both Ottoman history and world history as courses within the curricula of secondary schools (*mekatib-i*

³² It was Carter V. Findley who translated the name of the school as 'Training Place for the Offices'. See Cartner Vaughn Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), 153, 196.

³³ İbrahim Caner Türk, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tarih Eğitimi (1839-1922)* (İstanbul: Arı Sanat Yayınları, 2013) 64.

³⁴ BOA, MF.MKT, 12/129, 1290.Ca.26.

³⁵ Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (3rd Edition), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), 135–136.

³⁶ It must be noted in this context that the regulation was prepared under the influence of the French Minister of Education Victor Duruy. As Pim den Boer has pointed out, the nomination of Duruy as Minister of Education marked a turning point not only for the new secular approach in education, but also for the institutionalization of history in France. It was he who created the École pratique des hautes études research institute, and he also introduced the teaching of contemporary history into secondary education. See Pim den Boer, 'Historical Writing in France: 1800-1914,' in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800-1945, 196.

³⁷ 'Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizamnâmesidir,' in *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti: Tarihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcraâtı*, by Mahmud Cevad ibnû'ş-Şeyh Nâfi (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338 [1922]), 470–471.

rüşdiye).³⁸ The world history and history courses were also made part of the curricula of high schools (*mekatib-i idadiye*, *mekatib-i sultaniye*) through Articles 38 and 46.³⁹

As history education became an important component of Ottoman public education, the compilation of history textbooks accordingly came to the fore. In this respect, Ahmed Vefik Pasha—a statesman, the speaker of the first Ottoman parliament, and a multifaceted intellectual figure—published *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmanî* (Summary of Ottoman History) in 1869 for use in secondary schools. It must be noted here that, despite a commonly held view in the current literature on Ahmed Vefik and the *Fezleke*, the work does not in fact commence with the Central Asian past of the ‘Turks’. It is true that Ahmed Vefik did not hesitate to mention the Turkish origins of the Ottoman dynasty; however, the content of the book was limited to the specifically Ottoman past, from its beginning up to Vefik’s own time. As such, he began his narrative with the settlement of Ertughrul Ghazi, Osman’s father, in eastern Anatolia as a result of the ‘Mongol invasion’.⁴⁰ After this short introduction, the first chapter of the book focused on ‘the events occurring in the Ottoman State during the eighth century [AH]’, thus covering the era between the reign of Osman Ghazi and the Interregnum.⁴¹ Similarly, the following five chapters divide the Ottoman past into periods of approximately a century in length, with each chapter focusing on political incidents and subdivided by the reigns of the sultans.

In addition to such individual efforts as Ahmed Vefik’s, there were also governmental initiatives for the preparation and standardization of school textbooks.

³⁸ Ibid., 474.

³⁹ Ibid., 478, 480.

⁴⁰ Ahmed Vefik Paşa, *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmanî* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1286 [1869]), 2–3.

⁴¹ Ibid., 7–34.

To that end, a competition was organized in 1872, which included the selection of the history textbook as well. The declaration (*beyannâme*) of the contest regarding the Ottoman history textbook directly illustrates the state's historical outlook on the past. First, the text indicated that the textbook should start with an introduction concentrating on the rise of the Ottoman state. Secondly, the work should include tables listing the birth, enthronement, and death dates of the Ottoman sultans on the one hand, and on the other, the significant events that had occurred since the emergence of the state. It was also mentioned in the declaration that the book should contain a map showing the lands of the empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa. More importantly, the work was required to devote a separate chapter to the reign of each Ottoman sultan, thus showing a state-centered and dynasty-oriented approach. Another striking point in the declaration was its emphasis on the glorification of the Ottoman past so as to strengthen readers' love for the country ('*muhabbet-i vataniye*'). Nevertheless, it was also mentioned that the events should be recounted in an impartial way.⁴² Clearly, 'impartiality' and 'glorification' were not yet contradictory concepts in Ottoman eyes.⁴³

Another institutional initiative appeared after the establishment of the University (*Darülfünun*) had become an issue. The Encümen-i Daniş (Academy of Sciences) was founded in 1851 to provide for the compilation and translation of scholarly works for use by the University. It is notable that the members of this institution

⁴² 'Mekâtib-i Sıbyan İçin Müsabakâta Vaz' Olunacak Kitapların Suret-i Tertip ve Şerâitini Şâmil Beyannâmeler,' in *Düstûr: cüz-i sâni* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1290 [1873]), 237–244. For the 'Ottoman History' part, see Ibid., 241–242.

⁴³ In the end, Selim Sabit Efendi's *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmanî* (Abridged Ottoman History) fulfilled most of the conditions and won the competition. The book was a plain narrative, beginning with a very short description of the Kayı tribe's arrival in 'the land of Rum' (*Rum diyarı*)—i.e., Anatolia—and proceeding from a dynastic perspective that recounted the reigns of the Ottoman sultans, from the first, Osman, to the thirty-second, Abdulaziz. See Selim Sabit, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmanî* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1291 [1874]), 2–3, 4, 5ff.

were required to be proficient in at least one field of science and to be able to compose books or translate scientific studies from foreign languages.⁴⁴ Moreover, the composition of the academy reflected a cosmopolitan attitude to some extent. Along with Muslim scholars as Ahmed Cevdet and Ahmed Vefik, some non-Muslim Ottomans also took part in establishing the academy.⁴⁵ Additionally, such world-renowned orientalist as James William Redhouse, Joseph von Hammer, and Thomas Bianchi were also included among the ‘external’ members of the institution.

One of the most crucial responsibilities of the academy was the publication of historical studies. In this regard, the abridged translation of Louis-Philippe de Ségur’s *Décade Historique, ou, Tableau Politique de l’Europe, depuis 1786 jusqu’en 1796* was done in 1852.⁴⁶ A more extensive attempt in this direction was to write a comprehensive *Tarih-i Umumi* (World History). To this end, the academy prepared a report at the end of 1852: after highlighting the importance of the ‘science of history’ (*ilm-i tarih*) for the state and society, the report underscored the fact that translating a world history from a European language would not be enough, since these works were deemed insufficient for understanding the ancient history of Asia and Africa. Thus, it was necessary to write a world history in Turkish, using both Western and Eastern sources. Furthermore, the report declared that a commission had been set up to compile such an exhaustive study, with the commission’s members including such

⁴⁴ M. Alper Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots: Debating Science, State, and Society in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 61–63.

⁴⁵ However, none of the non-Muslims who took part in the establishment were ‘internal’ members; they were all ‘external’ members of the Academy. For a list of internal and external Academy members, see Mahmud Cevad ibnû’ş-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti: Tarihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcraâtı*, 47–57.

⁴⁶ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (8th ed.), ed. Abdullah Uçman (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), 140–141; Taceddin Kayaoğlu, *Türkiye’de Tercüme Müesseseleri* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 1998), 81–82.

figures as Ahmed Cevdet, Redhouse, Ahmed Vefik, Ahmed Hilmi, and Hayrullah Efendi. Additionally, a tripartite periodization schema was also drafted for the book, according to which the first part would cover the era between antiquity and the time of Moses, with the second part focusing on the period from Moses to Muhammad, and the third part concentrating on the period from Muhammad to the present. The primary momentous event, as well as the sole subsection of the last part, was determined to be the foundation of the Ottoman state.⁴⁷

Although this large-scale project seems to have never been published, another extensive historical work soon appeared with the encouragement of the Academy: the *Devlet-i Âliyye-i Osmaniye Tarihi* (History of the Ottoman State) of Hayrullah Efendi, the vice president of the institution. This eighteen-volume book, an admired study during the years it was in print, was influenced by the French translation of Hammer's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*.⁴⁸ Reflecting the common approach of the time, which was also visible in the declaration of the aforementioned competition, Hayrullah identified the state with the dynasty and devoted a separate volume to the reign of each sultan, with the last volume, published in 1875, dealing with the reign of Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617). The first volume, which appeared in 1854 and was one of the largest volumes in the series, did not, as might have been expected, deal with Osman himself, but rather with Ertughrul and his ancestors. Christoph Neumann has underlined the fact that this can be viewed as a deviation from traditional Ottoman historiography on the dynasty, in which almost no importance had been accorded to Osman's predecessors. In terms of methodology, Hayrullah's manner of presenting historical evidence was to collate all or almost all

⁴⁷ BOA, İ.DH., 264/16459, 1269.Ra.5.

⁴⁸ Kafadar and Karateke, 'Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing,' 565–566.

the extant sources, without engaging in comparison or analysis.⁴⁹ However, it is worth recalling that, in addition to Eastern sources, Hayrullah also drew extensively from Western historical studies. Moreover, the chapters on European history—a significant innovation in itself—demonstrated not only an attitude that meant to locate Ottoman history in its world context, but also the general Ottoman interest in Europe that was prevalent throughout the Tanzimat era and that had also been apparent in the Academy’s world history project.

Ahmed Cevdet took a similar approach with his *Tarih-i Vekâyi-i Devlet-i Âliyye* (History of Incidents of the Ottoman State), or, as it is more commonly known, the *Tarih-i Cevdet* (Cevdet’s History). This twelve-volume classic, which can also be seen as using historiography to advocate and legitimize Tanzimat policies, was initially commissioned by the Academy and began publication in 1854. It encompassed the period from 1774 to 1826 with a comparative perspective, so to speak, treating the Ottoman past as part and parcel of world history. In this respect, the author concentrated intensively on European history, with special emphasis on the French Revolution, particularly in the fifth and sixth volumes of the work.⁵⁰ Moreover, by placing political events and military campaigns into their proper context, Ahmed Cevdet—who served as the state chronicler from 1855 onwards—also managed to introduce certain innovations into traditional Ottoman history writing. Although this work generally remained faithful to the tradition and was written in an annalistic form, when occasion warranted, the author abandoned the

⁴⁹ Christoph K. Neumann, ‘Bad Times and Better Self: Definitions of Identity and Strategies for Development in Late Ottoman Historiography (1850-1900),’ in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, eds. Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 65–67.

⁵⁰ Christoph K. Neumann, *Araç Tarih Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet’in Siyasi Anlamı*, trans. Meltem Arun (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 31–32; idem, ‘Ahmed Cevdet Paşa’nın Tarihiçiliğine Yansıyan Zihniyet Dünyası,’ in *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e: Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 64–65.

traditional chronological system and accorded his subject the ample treatment it demanded.⁵¹ In a sense, Ahmed Cevdet attempted a marriage between chronographic and analytical historiography. In some sections, rather than discussing incidents year by year and including lists of official promotions, elevations in rank, and deaths at the end of each part, he attached appendices containing historical sources to certain volumes. This was a departure insofar as previous writers, if they had wanted to include such material, had integrated it into the text of the narration. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that he was exhaustively familiar with the elaborate style in which chronicles had traditionally been written, he chose to use a simpler and purer language that would be more accessible to a broader spectrum of readers.⁵² Undoubtedly, Cevdet's use of linguistic simplification and popularization corresponded to the general tendency of the era, which sought to enable mass communication by turning the language into an all-purpose medium.

Along with the activities of the Academy, it was also during this period that plans were conceived for the establishment of the imperial archives. Safvetî Pasha, the Minister of Finance, took the first steps to compile and classify the official documents stored in the Inner Treasury (*Enderûn Hazinesi*) of Topkapı Palace, but the major initiative in this direction was launched by Mustafa Reşid Pasha, the grand vizier of the time.⁵³ An imperial decree issued at the end of 1846 emphasized the need for a 'detached stone building' for the 'collection and conservation of old

⁵¹ Ercüment Kuran, 'Ottoman Historiography of the Tanzimat Period,' in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 422; Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, 'Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete Kadar Bizde Tarihçilik,' in *Tanzimat I* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 576.

⁵² Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 157.

⁵³ Abdurrahman Şeref, 'Evrâk-ı Atika ve Vesâik-i Tarihiyyemiz,' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1326 [1910]): 14–15.

records and documents'. This decree also decided upon the classification of these documents according to such categories as internal affairs (*dahiliye*), foreign affairs (*hariciye*), and documents from the council of state (*divan*). Moreover, there would be a specialized library (*ihtisas kütüphanesi*) at the building to store historical and geographical sources.⁵⁴ The importance attributed to the collection of records and registers was particularly apparent, so much so that a separate ministry was founded for precisely this task during the construction of the Treasury Documents (*Hazine-i Evrâk*) building. The major duty of this ministry, the *Hazine-i Evrâk Nezareti* (Ministry of Treasury Documents), was to examine and classify the documents—or, as it described them, 'the memory of the state' (*devletin kuvve-i hafızası*)—extant since the establishment of the empire.⁵⁵ Eventually, in 1848, the Hazine-i Evrâk building was opened as the state archives. Nevertheless, this institution initially served solely as an office devoted to the preservation and classification of old records of state affairs; it remained inactive for historical research. Historians had to wait until the Second Constitutional Era in the early twentieth century before they were able to use these archival sources. Even so, an infrastructural organization was created.

Another infrastructural base that provided an institutional framework for historical research and training was the university, present throughout most of Europe during the nineteenth century. In the Ottoman context, the earlier established idea of founding a university only began to come to fruition in 1863, with a series of public

⁵⁴ BOA, İ.MSM, 25/658, 1262.Za.19.

⁵⁵ BOA, İ.DH, 138/7066, 1262.Ra.9. BOA, A.DVN, 22/100, 1263.Ra.7. BOA, İ.MVL, 91/1869, 1263.R.6. BOA, İ.MVL, 146/4093, 1265.Ş.24.

lectures dealing with physics, chemistry, geography, and history.⁵⁶ The history lectures, entitled *Hikmet-i Tarih* (The Philosophy of History), were given by Ahmed Vefik and partly published in the newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkâr* (Representation of Opinions) before later appearing as a separate book. It must be noted that, rather than focusing on the philosophy of history as it would be characterized today, Ahmed Vefik's courses were designed as a class on world history and civilization. Moreover, in addition to discussing new types of historical sources and methodology, he introduced a new periodization model into Ottoman history writing by importing and domesticating the models in circulation in the European historiography of the time.⁵⁷ Hence, his hybrid periodization contained not only the religious and legendary dates that had always been present in traditional Ottoman history writing, but also certain turning points in Western history, such as the rise of the feudal lords, the Napoleonic Wars, and the foundation of the American republic.⁵⁸

At around the same time, and especially in the 1860s, imperial decrees also ordered the publication of the major chronicles of the Ottoman past, and in order to provide more common access to these historical accounts, they were successively published by the Imperial Printing House throughout the zenith of the Tanzimat.⁵⁹ For instance, in 1861 Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli's *Kühû'l-Ahbâr* (The Essence of History)—one of

⁵⁶ The University itself did not manage to become a durable entity within the Ottoman Empire until 1900. For a detailed description of the first unsuccessful initiative, see Emre Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 1: Osmanlı Döneminde Darülfünun 1863-1922* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009), 64–76.

⁵⁷ Hakan T. Karateke, 'The Challenge of Periodization: New Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Historiography,' in *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future*, eds. H. Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 135–137.

⁵⁸ Ahmed Vefik, 'Hikmet-i Tarih,' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, no. 73 (Ramazan 17, 1279 [1863]): 3–4.

⁵⁹ For some of the imperial decrees on the publication of the chronicles, see BOA. İ. MVL, 500/22639, 1280.Ş.9. BOA, İ.DH, 529/36633, 1281.Ca.19. BOA, İ.MVL, 497/22486, 1280.C.17. BOA. İ.DH, 534/37084, 1281.L.28. BOA. İ.MVL, 478/21665, 1279.C.15. BOA. İ.DH, 514/35003, 1280.R.5. BOA. İ.MVL, 497/22461, 1280.C.11. BOA. İ.DH, 526/36364, 1281.S.5.

the most comprehensive sources for Ottoman history of the sixteenth century—was issued.⁶⁰ Another sixteenth-century history writer's work, Hoca Sadeddin's *Tacü't-Tevârih* (The Crown of Histories), covering the period from the origins of the Ottoman Empire to the end of the reign of Selim I (r. 1512–1520), was printed in 1862–1863.⁶¹ Similarly, the chronicles of Selânikî Mustafa Efendi and İbrahim Peçevî were published in 1864 and 1866, respectively.⁶² In the very same years, the history of Mustafa Naima Efendi, usually regarded as the first Ottoman state chronicler, was issued as well.⁶³ The works of other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historians such as Katip Çelebi and Mehmed Raşid Efendi were also printed during the 1860s and 1870s, saliently illustrating a thriving contemporary interest in the Ottoman past.

An additional expression of the historical awareness that existed during the Tanzimat era revealed itself in translations of European historical studies. For instance, Victor Duruy's *Histoire du Moyen Age* was translated under the title *Tarih-i Mücmel-i Kurûn-ı Vusta* in 1872.⁶⁴ There was also an adaptation of William Chambers' work published between 1866 and 1878 by Ahmed Hilmi, an assistant clerk at the Translation Office, which was the first translated world history in Turkish.⁶⁵ This

⁶⁰ Gelibolulu Âli, Mustafa b. Ahmed, *Künh'ül-Ahbâr* (İstanbul: Takvimhane-i Âmire Matbaası, 1277 [1861]).

⁶¹ Hoca Sadeddin, *Tacü't-Tevârih* (İstanbul: Tabhane-i Âmire, 1279-1280 [1862-1863]).

⁶² Mustafa Selânikî, *Tarih-i Selânikî* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1281 [1864]); İbrahim Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1283 [1866]).

⁶³ Mustafa Naima, *Tarih-i Naima* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1280-1283 [1863-1866]).

⁶⁴ Victor Duruy, *Tarih-i Mücmel-i Kurûn-ı Vusta*, trans. Ahmed Tevfik Paşa (İstanbul: Şeyh Yahya Efendi Matbaası, 1289 [1872]).

⁶⁵ Although I have tried to find out which of Chambers' studies was adapted and translated, neither Ahmed Hilmi nor the current literature on him identifies the work. For the first volume of this work, see William Chambers, *Tarih-i Umumi, cild 1*, trans. Ahmed Hilmi (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1283

six-volume incomplete edition, accompanied by Ahmed Hilmi's commentaries, began with the ancient civilizations of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Chinese and concluded with the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad in 1258. However, it should be mentioned that, rather than being a translation of the author's study, the last volume—which deals with the Islamic history of the Middle Ages—seems to be a compilation done by Ahmed Hilmi himself, a kind of 'intervention' which was a common practice of translators of the time.⁶⁶ Ahmed Hilmi showed a similar attitude in his preface to the first volume by speculating about the original writer's historical periodization. After presenting his own periodization, which accepted the Hegira and the conquest of Istanbul as the most important turning points, he proceeded to summarize Chambers' periodization, which used different incidents—such as the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the discovery of the New World—to mark the beginnings of the Middle and Modern Ages.⁶⁷

Last but not least, the historiographical vigor animating the Tanzimat era brought an expeditious increase in the number of historical studies and the variety of subjects they covered. The five-volume work of Tayyazâde Ataullah Ahmed Atâ, *Tarih-i Atâ* (Atâ's History), for example, was an institutional history, describing the Ottoman palace organization from its beginnings.⁶⁸ A different multi-volume study that also gave prominence to imperial institutions and organizations was Mansurizâde Mustafa Nuri Pasha's *Netâyicü'l-Vukuât* (Consequences of Events), which covered the period

[1866]). For the last volume, see William Chambers, *Tarih-i Umumi*, cild 6, trans. Ahmed Hilmi (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1295 [1878]).

⁶⁶ Kafadar and Karateke, 'Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing,' 567.

⁶⁷ Chambers, *Tarih-i Umumi*, cild 1, 4–7.

⁶⁸ For the first volume, see Tayyazâde Ataullah Ahmed Atâ Bey, *Tarih-i Atâ*, cild 1 (İstanbul: Yahya Efendi ve Ali Efendi Matbaası, 1291 [1874]).

from the foundation of the Ottoman state to the year 1841.⁶⁹ Additionally, there was a two-volume world history by a civil servant, Mehmed Âtîf's *Hûlâsatü't-Tevârih* (Summary of Histories), published in 1872.⁷⁰ In 1843, Karslızâde Mehmed Cemâleddin's *Âyîne-i Zurefâ* (Mirror of the Refined) was published, being the first biographical and bibliographical dictionary of Ottoman history writers. The compilation covered 46 historians from the sixteenth century to Cemâleddin's own time and demonstrated the flourishing contemporary consciousness on historiographical practices.⁷¹ On the other hand, Namık Kemal's *Evrâk-ı Perişan* (Scattered Pages), printed in 1871, aimed to infuse the Ottoman people with patriotism by glorifying the deeds and courage of Muslim as well as Ottoman 'heroes' in history.⁷² Another historical work that reflected Namık Kemal's romanticism was the well-known *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ottoman History), which dealt at length with the rise of the Ottoman state and which might be considered not only as an attempt to foster loyalty to the 'fatherland', but also as an epic about the virtues and achievements of the Ottomans.⁷³ However, the printing of Namık Kemal's book was stopped by the censorship of the Hamidian era, and it was thus understood that this era of historiographical richness and diversity would not last long.

⁶⁹ For the first three volumes, see Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netâyicü'l-Vukuât* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1294 [1877]). The last volume of the book was published after the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, see Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netâyicü'l-Vukuât, cild 4* (İstanbul: Uhuvvet Matbaası, 1327 [1911]).

⁷⁰ Hanyalı Mehmed Âtîf, *Hûlâsatü't-Tevârih* (İstanbul: Muhib Matbaası, 1289 [1872]).

⁷¹ Cemâleddin, *Osmanlı Tarih ve Müverrihleri (Âyîne-i Zurefâ)*, ed. Ahmed Cevdet (Dersaadet: İkdâm Matbaası, 1314 [1896]).

⁷² Namık Kemal, *Evrâk-ı Perişan: Terâcim-i Ahvâl-i Selahaddin* (2nd ed.) (İstanbul: Ahmed Midhat Matbaası, 1289); idem, *Evrâk-ı Perişan: Terâcim-i Ahvâl-i Fatih* (İstanbul: Ahmed Midhat Matbaası, 1288); idem, *Evrâk-ı Perişan: Terâcim-i Ahvâl-i Sultan Selim* (İstanbul: Ahmed Midhat Matbaası, 1288).

⁷³ Namık Kemal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, Birinci Cild: Medhal* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1305 [1888]).

2. 2 A Watershed in the Policy, A Shift in the Historiography

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the results of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–78 were an unmitigated disaster for the Ottoman Empire, constituting one of the most important political and cultural turning points in Ottoman history. In addition to other significant consequences, the Congress of Berlin that followed the war virtually ended the Ottoman presence in the Balkans: an autonomous Bulgarian state was created; Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro gained independence; and Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied by Austria.⁷⁴ The loss of those provinces where the non-Muslim population had constituted the majority, together with the large-scale refugee exodus of Muslims into Anatolia, destroyed the Christian-Muslim balance of the empire. As a result, the Muslim element acquired a vast preponderance in the remaining areas, leading to the Ottoman Empire becoming a more Asian and more Muslim state than had previously been the case.⁷⁵

Furthermore, British foreign policy toward the Ottoman Empire underwent a clear shift due to the change in the old European balance of power. In the face of Russia and Germany's growing power, Britain, which had been the major protector of the Ottoman Empire's territorial integrity before the war, started to see the dissolution of the empire as an inevitability, and became, to Ottoman eyes, a hostile critic.⁷⁶ The signs of this new orientation would be immediately apparent in Egypt especially. The new diplomatic situation also found its echo in internal British politics. One of the

⁷⁴ François Georgeon, *Abdulhamid II: Le sultan calife (1876-1909)* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 91–92, 106; Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 164.

⁷⁵ Kemal H. Karpat, 'The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908,' in *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 63–64; Benjamin C. Fortna, 'The Reign of Abdulhamid II,' in *Turkey in the Modern World*, 46–47.

⁷⁶ Georgeon, *Abdulhamid II*, 112; Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 181, 208.

main components of the Liberal Party's election campaign in 1880 was based on the accusation that the Conservative Party was following a pro-Ottoman foreign policy. In 1876, William Ewart Gladstone, the leader of the Liberals, had already called on European forces to extinguish Ottoman rule in the Balkans, in his pamphlet *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*.⁷⁷ Moreover, he did not hesitate to join the ranks of the widespread anti-Turkish—i.e., anti-Ottoman—orientalist discourse in Europe, saying in the pamphlet, 'They were, upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and as far as their dominion reached, civilization disappeared from view'.⁷⁸

As Gladstone's remarks indicate, the general image of the 'Turk' was of a barbaric bandit opposed to European civilization during this age of 'the intellectual organization of political hatreds'.⁷⁹ Another example of this common rhetoric was expressed by François Pouqueville, a member of the French scientific expedition sent to Egypt. After spending three years in the Ottoman Empire, he described 'the Turks' as 'sunk in profound barbarity, think[ing] only how to devastate, something which they relish'.⁸⁰ In a similar vein, Nassau William Senior, one of the leading nineteenth-century economic theorists and also a lawyer educated at the University of Oxford, compared the Turks with Europeans, Greeks in particular, and quoted the judgments of an English doctor living in Izmir who stated that 'the head of a Turk

⁷⁷ W. E. Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London: John Murray, 1876), 61–62.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

⁷⁹ Julien Benda, *The Treason of the Intellectuals*, trans. Richard Aldington (New York: Norton, 1969), 27.

⁸⁰ Quoted in Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 77.

[...] has much less brain than that of a European [...] there is no logical sequence in his ideas [...] his thoughts do not form themselves as those of a European do'.⁸¹

Almost a century before Gladstone, an ardent Jacobin, Louis-François, Count Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, had emphasized that fanaticism restricted the Turks' horizon and that 'they aspired to nothing else but entertainment'.⁸² Even Joseph von Hammer, a sympathetic observer of Ottoman history, reflected the attitude of a morally and intellectually superior European. In his multi-volume history, he recorded that the Turks finally became a bit more humane and civilized thanks to contact with European culture and politics.⁸³ Overall, those realms where Turks ruled and resided in the nineteenth century was portrayed 'as, at worst, a bastion of bloodthirsty tyrants or, at best, a decadent fleshpot of Oriental vice'.⁸⁴ As will be seen below, the effort to respond to such prejudiced views would become one of the most significant characteristics of Turkish historiography in the following decades. Returning to the Ottoman Empire, it was not only European observers who realized the hazard of the empire's disintegration after the Russo-Ottoman War, but also Ottoman statesmen themselves. The Balkan secessions and the subsequent loss of further territories like Egypt and Tunisia in the early 1880s led to similar preoccupations in Albania and Arabia as well. It was also during this period that an argument in favor of an Arab caliphate emerged.⁸⁵ Under these circumstances, the

⁸¹ Nassau Senior, *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece* (London: Longman, 1859), 225.

⁸² Quoted in Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 76-77.

⁸³ Suraiya Faroqhi and Fikret Adanır, 'Introduction,' in *The Ottomans and the Balkans*, 42.

⁸⁴ Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998), 4.

⁸⁵ Hasan Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 31.

Hamidian rule began to seek out an ideology of resurrection.⁸⁶ In the face of an ever-increasing sense of dismemberment, Sultan Abdulhamid II and his advisors tried to construct a new regime strategy in which internal solidarity and legitimation would be based primarily on religion. To ensure the survival of the empire, Muslims' common faith was reestablished as the central connecting cement. The sultan employed Islam, particularly Sunni orthodoxy, as an ideological apparatus to generate a renewed and robust political unity and to transform the society into an 'Ottoman-Muslim protonation'.⁸⁷ The new socio-demographic situation also provided a convenient context for this reformulated imperial ideology. By the early 1880s, the only significant non-Muslim populations remaining in Ottoman lands were the Armenians, Greeks, and Christian Arabs, who together constituted almost one-fifth of the whole population.⁸⁸ In this respect, although Ottomanism had launched the material foundations of a common identity, one may argue that this had lost its practical importance for preserving the integrity of the empire.⁸⁹

Hence, the 1880s represented a watershed in terms of the empire's political projects and regime strategies. In contrast to the Tanzimat's goals and purposes, which were to turn the different religious and ethnic communities into one homogeneous political bloc, Abdulhamid's aim was to unite Ottoman Muslims in a religious bloc with the

⁸⁶ İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu* (4th ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 74.

⁸⁷ Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 187; Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 288–291.

⁸⁸ Çağlar Keyder, 'The Ottoman Empire,' in *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*, eds. Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (Oxford: Westview Press, 1997), 33–34.

⁸⁹ Selçuk Akşin Somel, 'Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913),' in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, vol. 1, Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi: Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası* (6th ed.), ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 115; Karpat, 'The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908,' 63–64.

sultan-caliph at its center.⁹⁰ In other words, the strengthened cohesiveness of the empire's Islamic base came to be regarded as the only social unit of political identity and the major foundation of the empire.⁹¹ Needless to say, this Hamidian ideology was essentially exclusionary to the still sizable non-Muslim elements that had been the focus of Ottoman egalitarianism during the Tanzimat era.⁹²

In addition to consolidating the allegiance of Muslim subjects, the Islamist policy also constituted a crucial part of Abdulhamid's absolutist vision.⁹³ According to Kemal Karpat, there was no question that Abdulhamid used the caliphate to establish control over the bureaucracy, strengthen his absolutist rule, and suppress his critics.⁹⁴ To put it another way, the flourishing of Islamism after the First Constitutional Era stemmed in part from Abdulhamid's need to legitimize his claims to absolute power.⁹⁵ In the end, with the emphasis being increasingly placed on his position as caliph, the sultan began to be considered the main source of political loyalty.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Selim Deringil, 'II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Devletin Kamusal İmajının Dönüşümü: İdeolojik Meseleler ve Tepkiler (1876-1908),' in *Simgeden Millete: II. Abdülhamid'den Mustafa Kemal'e Devlet ve Millet* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 111.

⁹¹ Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 12, 240.

⁹² Gökhan Çetinsaya, 'İslami Vatanseverlikten İslam Siyasetine,' in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, vol. 1, 270; Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 11.

⁹³ Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 292.

⁹⁴ Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 415.

⁹⁵ Georgeon, *Abdulhamid II*, 196.

⁹⁶ It must be noted that, in addition to legitimizing his absolutist regime by placing significant emphasis on the Islamic character of the empire and consolidating the institution of the caliphate, Abdulhamid also expected to obtain diplomatic leverage against the Western powers. As the religious leader and representative of the global Islamic community, the sultan-caliph anticipated that religion could be instrumentalized as a potential threat in relations with those European states with a sizable Muslim population in their colonies. In time, Islamism and the institution of the caliphate therefore became central to Abdulhamid's relations with Britain in particular, which always feared revolts by the Muslims in its colonial dominions, specifically in India. Furthermore, Abdulhamid took great pains to respond to the British propaganda arguing that the caliph must be descended from the Quraysh tribe. Abdulhamid attempted to reply to these claims by highlighting the concept of being in service to Islam. See Umut Özkırımlı and Spyros A. Sofos, *Tormented by History: Nationalism in*

Undoubtedly, this particular political project had important reflections in other areas as well. For instance, in accordance with the Islamist policy, Abdulhamid sought to establish a new territorial balance, making Syria and the Arabian Peninsula the center of its geographical focus. The discernable change in the hierarchical classification of the provinces indicated the growing contemporary interest in these regions. An analysis of the Ottoman yearbooks published at the time makes it obvious that the Hamidian rule reversed the traditional hierarchy, in which the Rumelian provinces had always come first and the Arabian provinces at the end.⁹⁷ Now, the provinces of Hedjaz, Yemen, and Basra came first, while Thessaloniki, Kosovo, and Monastir came last in the Ottoman yearbooks.⁹⁸

Moreover, Abdulhamid tried to integrate the local ruling groups, especially in Arabia and Syria, into the state by according to each certain privileges and a measure of autonomy.⁹⁹ Along with manifold regulations, the preservation and enhancement of the Ottoman material legacy in the Arabian Peninsula represents a remarkable example of the Hamidian regime's strategy for the region. One noteworthy action was the foundation of a committee for the restoration of the mosques and tombs of the Prophet Muhammad's family in Hedjaz, which was meant to strengthen the Muslims' sense of cultural identity and pride in their Islamic heritage. At the same time, Abdulhamid strove to sanctify the memory of the founders of the Ottoman

Greece and Turkey (London: Hurst & Co., 2008), 29; Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism: A 'Sacred Synthesis'* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 53–55; Karpát, *The Politicization of Islam*, 243; Fortna, 'The Reign of Abdulhamid II,' 48.

⁹⁷ Hasan Duman, *Osmanlı Salnâmeleri ve Nevsâlleri Bibliyografyası ve Toplu Kataloğu, cilt 1* (Ankara: Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, 2000), 23.

⁹⁸ For instance, see *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye: 1320 Sene-i Hicriyesine Mahsus* (Dersaadet: 1320 [1902]), 494–562, 568–590, 716–750.

⁹⁹ Feroz Ahmad, 'The Late Ottoman Empire,' in *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire* (2nd ed.), ed. Marian Kent (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 18.

dynasty in Anatolia, especially in Bursa, ‘the crucible of the Sublime State’ (*mehd-i zuhur-ı saltanat*). For instance, the sultan continued the repairs to the tomb of Ertughrul Ghazi at Söğüt, which had begun during the reign of Abdulmecid (r. 1839–1861), and the tomb was finally inaugurated in 1886. Similarly, he rebuilt the grave of Osman Ghazi next to that of his father. Abdulhamid consciously turned the shrines of Ertughrul and Osman into Islamic-Ottoman mausoleums by arranging for annual commemorative ceremonies to be staged at them. It is thus no wonder that the focus on the founders of the Ottoman state through religious acts meant to ensure the loyalty of the ‘Ottoman-Muslim protonation’ and reinforce the religious stature of the sultan helped in the creation of a cult of Ottomania around the historical legacy of the Ottoman dynasty.¹⁰⁰

In keeping with the privileged treatment he accorded to the Arabs, Abdulhamid also concerned himself with providing more opportunities for Arab students to study in Istanbul. For instance, in 1886, Arab students—mainly members of important families from Syria and Arabia—were accepted to the Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şâhâne and the Mekteb-i Harbiye (Military Academy).¹⁰¹ However, the major élan within this context was the foundation of the Imperial Tribal School (*Mekteb-i Aşiret-i Hümayun*) on 4 October 1892, during the commemoration of Muhammad’s birth.¹⁰² In its first year, the Tribal School—the apple of Abdulhamid’s eye in many respects—accepted nearly twenty Arab students from the most esteemed families of such provinces as Damascus, Baghdad, and Aleppo. In time, Albanian and Kurdish

¹⁰⁰ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 31–32; Karpas, *The Politicization of Islam*, 200, 229–230.

¹⁰¹ Georgeon, *Abdulhamid II*, 185.

¹⁰² BOA, BEO. 28/2029, 1309.Z.4.

students were also admitted to the school.¹⁰³ After a five-year training period at this school, graduates were directed to complete their education at either the Mülkiye or the Harbiye. In this way, besides ensuring the students' fathers' loyalty to the sultan during their residence in the capital, the children of sheiks and tribal chiefs were expected to be converted from prospective local leaders into Ottoman administrators. In other words, the goal of the Tribal School was to create Arabs, Albanians, and Kurds who would be Ottomans on the one hand, while on the other hand also integrating tribes on the periphery into the state.¹⁰⁴ What is more, according to the founding proposal and official correspondence of the school, Islam was clearly defined as being the bonding cement. In the school's regulations, it was emphasized that the courses and textbooks should not only glorify the Ottoman past, but also strengthen Islamic values and obedience to the caliphate and sultanate.¹⁰⁵

Obviously, the curricular content of the Tribal School was not an exceptional case during the Hamidian period, when Islam was 'transformed into a system of ideas and values to be imagined as distinct from everyday practice, a label with which to mark statements and practices'.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the increasing emphasis on religion and the inculcation of authoritarian values left a deep imprint on contemporary educational policies. That is to say, school programs and curricular composition throughout the reign of Abdulhamid evinced a significant movement away from the relatively

¹⁰³ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim,' *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 6, no. 12 (2008): 49.

¹⁰⁴ BOA, BEO. 28/2039, 1309.Z.5. Also see Georgeon, *Abdulhamid II*, 269–270.

¹⁰⁵ BOA, A.DVNS.NZAM.d, no. 6 (1309), 79–80. BOA, DH.MKT.1964/35, 1309.Za.26. BOA, DH.MKT. 1971/125, 1309.Z.19.

¹⁰⁶ Yalçinkaya, *Learned Patriots*, 153.

secular lesson plans inherited from the Tanzimat period, which had been prepared with extensive input from French educationalists.¹⁰⁷

It is important to mention in this context that, beginning with the consolidation of the Hamidian regime in the early 1880s, the state started to put tremendous energy and resources into Muslim education.¹⁰⁸ Even though the Hamidian era witnessed a significant increase in the number of schools at every level, the effects of the educational campaign were particularly visible in the provinces and at the secondary level—areas that had been neglected during the Tanzimat period. In spite of the fact that financial resources were severely limited, Abdulhamid—also known as a ‘promoter of knowledge’ (*maarifperver*)—extended the educational infrastructure and school system across the empire.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, along with the reorganization of the Mülkiye in 1877,¹¹⁰ and after three unsuccessful initiatives in the second half of the nineteenth century, the University (*Darülfünun-ı Şâhâne*) was founded in 1900, on the 25th anniversary of Abdulhamid’s enthronement, and included faculties of science (*ulûm-i tabîye ve riyaziye*), theology (*ulûm-i âliye-i diniye*), and literature

¹⁰⁷ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 175.

¹⁰⁸ Selim Deringil, ‘From Ottoman to Turk: Self-Image and Social Engineering in Turkey,’ in *Making Majorities: Constituting the Nation in Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, Fiji, Turkey and the United States*, ed. Dru. C. Gladney (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 220.

¹⁰⁹ Alkan, ‘Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim,’ 34–35; Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 99, 112.

¹¹⁰ İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü* (2nd ed.), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), 78.

(*edebiyat*).¹¹¹ As Corinne Lee Blake demonstrated, the total number of schools established during this period was approximately 10,000.¹¹²

Nevertheless, a considerable emphasis on authoritarian and religious values became apparent in the sultan's educational policies, with Abdulhamid's most profound and prevalent efforts to bolster his absolute power and Islamic solidarity being directed at schools. Religious instruction, combined with a politicized content that excessively promoted attachment to the sultan-caliph, was moved to the central stage of the refitted curriculum during the Hamidian period. As Selçuk Akşin Somel has emphasized, the reshaping of school curricula along these lines developed according to the reforms of 1880, 1891–1892, 1901, and 1904.¹¹³ Through these reforms, not only was a remarkable amount of such classical Islamic content as the Qur'an, Islamic jurisprudence, and Hadith introduced into school programs at all levels, but also even topics that were unconnected to religion were submitted to meticulous censorship.¹¹⁴

The Hamidian regime and educational system coincided to a great extent with the general aspects of the era's historical studies as well. For one thing, there was a noteworthy correlation between the Islamization of the regime and the historical outlook on the past. That is to say, along with the strict government intervention in educational policies and school curricular composition, the content of history education and historical studies also underwent a transformation due to the autocratic

¹¹¹ For the University's regulations, see 'Darülfünun-ı Şâhâne Nizamnâmesi,' in *Osmanlı Döneminde Darülfünun 1863-1922*, 621–626.

¹¹² Corinne Lee Blake, 'Training Arab-Ottoman Bureaucrats: Syrian Graduates of the Mülkiye Mektebi, 1890-1920' (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1991), 64.

¹¹³ Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, 167, 179–180.

¹¹⁴ Benjamin C. Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 81.

and Islamic shift in the political context. For instance, the more Islamic school curricula introduced in 1891–1892 was an indirect result of complaints raised against the Mekteb-i Sultani's history teacher, Midhat Bey, who was being severely criticized for going beyond the formal curriculum. What is more, it was claimed that, while discussing ancient Greek history, the instructor had mocked the Islamic creed and four Islamic law schools by mentioning them in the same breath as the idolatrous gods of ancient Greece.¹¹⁵

As a matter of fact, from the very beginning the Hamidian rule set out to interfere in history education and designate the 'appropriate' historical perspective. Shortly after his enthronement, during the reshaping of school programs towards a more religious direction in 1880, Abdulhamid intervened in the 'world history' (*tarih-i umumi*) courses that had been taught at the Mekteb-i Sultani. The reason for this was the various unfavorable evaluations of the history of Islam and the Ottoman Empire that were being taught in these courses. In addition, it was decided to introduce new history lectures on the Islamic and Ottoman past into the curricula of the Mekteb-i Sultani, based on books compiled in Turkish.¹¹⁶ Not only were history lessons completely eliminated from primary-school education, but in time world history courses were also removed from secondary schools, having been added to their curricula through the Regulation on Public Education of 1869.¹¹⁷ Eventually, the extent of the history courses in secondary and high schools was reduced to limited descriptions of the Islamic and Ottoman past.¹¹⁸ Even in the Faculty of Literature at

¹¹⁵ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 95–96.

¹¹⁶ Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, 180.

¹¹⁷ Türk, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tarih Eğitimi*, 183; Tekeli and İlkin, *Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü*, 179.

¹¹⁸ Alkan, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim,' 50–52.

the University, history instruction was restricted to the history of Islam and the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁹ Although there was a course called ‘world history’ (*tarih-i düvel*) in the faculty’s official curriculum, this course remained on paper only until the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, as Osman Nuri Ergin has pointed out.¹²⁰

Furthermore, the history courses at the faculty were under tight control by the Hamidian regime. A striking case of this was the appointment of an official inspector to the faculty who had previously worked as the manager of the firewood storehouse of the sultan’s privy purse (*Hazine-i Hassa Hatab Anbarı Müdürü*). The duty of this inspector, Ziya Bey, was to follow the courses in person, especially the history classes, and report on them.¹²¹

There is no doubt that Abdulhamid had his own reasons for such practices. The memoirs of a son of Ahmed Esad Pasha, who had been a grand vizier during the reign of Abdulaziz (r. 1861–1876), illustrate the apparent contradictions between the aims of the Hamidian rule and the content of the history courses at the Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şâhâne. Celal Esad (Arseven), who would become a well-known art historian and a deputy in the republican era, demonstrated the ‘revolutionary spirit’ and enthusiasm in the classes of the famous history instructor Mizancı Murad, especially while he was teaching the history of the French Revolution.¹²² It is thus no wonder that the regime abolished the course soon afterwards, and even banned

¹¹⁹ For the official curricula of the faculty, see Mehmet Ali Aynî, *Darülfünun Tarihi*, ed. Aykut Kazancıgil (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007), 34; Mustafa Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi (1900-1933)* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2012), 29–30.

¹²⁰ Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, vol. 3: *Birinci Meşrutiyet Yahut Yayılma ve İlerleme Seneleri*, (İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977), 1223.

¹²¹ BOA, BEO. 1864/139754, 1320.Ra.4. BOA, MF.MKT. 637/13, 1320.Ra.15.

¹²² Celal Esad Arseven, *Sanat ve Siyaset Hatıralarım*, ed. Ekrem Işın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 85.

Murad's six-volume *Tarih-i Umumi* (World History), which was based on his lectures at the Mülkiye and published between 1880 and 1882.¹²³

As a result, besides intervening in history education, the Hamidian rule also meticulously censored and bowdlerized historical studies. In this process, the establishment of the Commission for Inspection and Examination (*Encümen-i Teftiş ve Muayene*) at the end of 1881 was crucial in terms of the institutionalization of censorship.¹²⁴ The major task of the commission was to control both books to be published within the empire and those obtained from abroad.¹²⁵ Among numerous other examples, in 1893 the commission did not allow the entrance of a four-volume book in German, *Türk ve Sırp Tarihi* (Turkish and Serbian History) to the country.¹²⁶ The circulation of Edward Gibbon's seminal work, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, was also found inconvenient by the regime.¹²⁷ It was even decided to prohibit the distribution of Alphonse de Lamartine's *Histoire de la Turquie*, which had been published in Paris in 1854 and earned its writer the generous compliments and awards of Sultan Abdulaziz.¹²⁸ In addition to historical studies by foreign authors, the regime also banned history books printed in the Ottoman Empire. Along with Ahmed Vefik Pasha's *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmanî*, Selim Sabit Efendi's *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmanî*—the winner of the competition organized in 1872—was banned in 1887, since the author had written that Abdulaziz 'had been

¹²³ BOA, MF.MKT. 631/53, 1320.S.28.

¹²⁴ Fatmagül Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2007), 90.

¹²⁵ Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, 31–32.

¹²⁶ BOA, MF.MKT. 177/43, 1311.M.22.

¹²⁷ BOA, MF.MKT. 251/21, 1312.Ş.26.

¹²⁸ Georgeon, *Abdulhamid II*, 388.

dethroned and then killed himself" (*hal'edildi ve sonra kendini telef etti*).¹²⁹ As Somel emphasized, any information about the dethronement and/or murder of Ottoman sultans was not allowed to stand in historical studies during the Hamidian era.¹³⁰ Moreover, besides taking firm action against historical texts by Young Ottomans like Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha, the Hamidian rule was even quite cautious towards works produced by proponents of the regime, as was the case with Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's *Kıyas-ı Enbiya* (History of the Prophets).¹³¹

But nevertheless, although it is difficult to speak of the Tanzimat era's historical vigor and variety, a remarkable number of historical studies were published in the course of the Hamidian period. Additionally, there was a noticeable increase in the number of history textbooks printed for the fast-developing educational system. In harmony with the Hamidian political project, these historical accounts for the most part emphasized and glorified the Islamic roots of the Ottoman Empire. The constructed Islamic past of the empire was underscored as the fountainhead of identity and solidarity. To a great extent, the historical outlook aiming to reinforce a sense of a shared past among the 'Ottoman-Muslim nation' bore traces of the Hamidian political culture, based on the common characteristics and expectations of the Muslim subjects of the empire. It is safe to say that this Islamization of the historical perspective also answered the need for a vision centering on the creation of a Muslim nation.

¹²⁹ BOA, MF.MKT. 586/48, 1319.B.10. BOA, MF.MKT. 95/117, 1305.Ra.20. BOA, İ.DH. 1059/83132, 1305.Ra.8. BOA, İ.DH. 1058/83089, 1305.Ra.20.

¹³⁰ Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, 196.

¹³¹ BOA, MF.MKT. 394/8, 1315.Z.4. BOA, DH.MKT. 542/17, 1320.R.9. BOA, MF.MKT. 645/44, 1320.R.16.

In this context, unlike the broader outlook of the Tanzimat era that sought to put Ottoman history in its world context and expressed a heightened interest in European history, the Ottoman past now came to be solely regarded as part and parcel of the history of Islam. Historical narratives of the Hamidian period usually began with Adam and Eve and continued with the history of the prophets and of Islam. Most of these historical accounts accepted the departure of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in A.D. 622 as the beginning of ‘national’ history, thus situating the origin of the state within the emergence of Islam. Furthermore, in terms of the dynasty-oriented approach of the history writing of the time, historical accounts gave a prominent place to the Ottoman genealogical lineage. The genealogy of the Ottoman sultans, for instance, became a constant and important component of Ottoman yearbooks during the Hamidian era.¹³² As Selim Deringil has pointed out, in the yearbooks—which could be also considered a manifestation of the ‘pumping up’ of the Ottoman foundation myth—the roots of the Ottoman family were taken all the way back to the legendary Oghuz tribe, and from there to Adam and Eve via Noah. Most importantly, perhaps, to answer the crucial need for making itself out to be part of ‘the natural order of things’, of ‘things as they always have been’, it was claimed that the Ottoman dynasty was one of the oldest dynasties in the world and that it would last forever, thereby stressing how the rule of the Ottoman house was a permanent, and hence legitimate, feature of the landscape.¹³³

¹³² It is important to note in this context that, although the Ottoman yearbooks had begun to be published in 1847, the genealogy of the Ottoman sultans was not a permanent section within them. The genealogy first appeared in the yearbooks in 1853, and then disappeared, only to emerge again in 1868. However, it became a regular and significant section in those yearbooks published during the Hamidian period. Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 27–28.

¹³³ Selim Deringil, ‘II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Simgesel ve Törenselleşen Doku: “Görünmeden Görünmek”,’ in *Simgeden Millete: II. Abdülhamid’den Mustafa Kemal’e Devlet ve Millet*, 62–63; idem, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 43.

It is worth noting here that traditional Ottoman history writing also deemed the Ottoman dynasty a part of Islamic history. The universal histories written prior to the nineteenth century placed the Ottoman Empire thoroughly within the history of Islam as well.¹³⁴ Beginning with the creation of Adam, these narratives usually then jumped forward to the rise of Islam—and accordingly to the early Muslim community—before going on to discuss certain Islamic states. Finally, they would conclude with a detailed narration of the Ottoman dynasty.¹³⁵ For instance, in the earliest example of this kind to have been written in the Ottoman domains, *Bahjat al-Tawarikh* (Splendor of Histories), which was written in Persian in about 1458 by an Ottoman man of letters named Şükrullah, the narrative begins with the creation of the world. Then, the second chapter continues with the history of the prophets. The next five sections are devoted to Muhammad’s family, life, and ten disciples. Furthermore, Şükrullah also deals with the founders of the four Sunni legal schools and the major dynasties of the Muslim past, such as the Umayyads, the Abbasids, and the Fatimids. Finally, the last chapter is devoted to Ottoman history.¹³⁶ In a similar vein, Mustafa Âli’s *Künhü’l-Ahbâr* also begins with an account of the creation of Adam and Eve. In the second volume, Mustafa Âli narrates the pre-Islamic prophets and Islamic history in chronological order. Finally, he elaborates on the Turco-Mongol dynasties and the history of the Ottoman house.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Karateke, ‘The Challenge of Periodization,’ 131.

¹³⁵ Giancarlo Casale, ‘Seeing the Past: Maps and Ottoman Historical Consciousness,’ in *Writing History at the Ottoman Court*, 91.

¹³⁶ Baki Tezcan, ‘Ottoman Historical Writing,’ in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 3: 1400-1800, eds. José Rabasa et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 196–197.

¹³⁷ Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 245.

Besides this, when comparing the historiography of the Hamidian period with history writing practices before the nineteenth century, one can discern further similarities as well. In this respect, the historiography of the Hamidian era pursued the tradition of chronicling or recording significant events in the past, which is a practice similar to that seen in history writing prior to the nineteenth century. This practice is especially apparent in the Ottoman yearbooks, which included an important section entitled *Vekâyi-i Meşhûre-i Tarihiyye* (Famous Historical Events). For example, in line with traditional Ottoman historiography, the yearbook prepared for the province of Thessaloniki in 1902 dated the creation of Adam to 6,212 years before the Hegira, while the Flood was dated to 3,924 years before the Hegira and the birth of Abraham 2,570 years. This section continued with a chronological list of important pre-Islamic incidents, such as the exodus of Moses from Egypt, the sultanate of Suleiman, and the birth of Jesus, followed by a long account of Islamic events, each of which is given a precise date.¹³⁸

Also to be noted is the fact that even those historical studies that characterized history as a science largely followed the Islamic lore in their narratives during the Hamidian era. For instance, Mizancı Murad began his book *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi* (Abridged World History)—a short version of his aforementioned six-volume world history—with a preface entitled ‘*Fen-i Tarih*’ (The Science of History).¹³⁹ In addition to defining history as a science that ‘serves a variety of social and political functions’, he further highlighted the significance of auxiliary disciplines and sources—such as geology, linguistics, court records, and oral histories—for

¹³⁸ *1320 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsus Selanik Vilayet Salnamesi*, ed. Hatice Oruç (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2014), 26–36.

¹³⁹ Mehmed Murad, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Civelekyan Matbaası, 1302 [1885]), 4.

constructing a historical account.¹⁴⁰ However, despite this scientifically oriented approach, he nevertheless begins the work proper with a narration of ‘sacred history’ (*tarih-i mukaddes*).¹⁴¹ In the first chapter of his book, Murad describes, in order, the ‘creation’ (*hilkat*) of the universe, the sun, the world, and Adam ‘by God’, complete with references to religious texts and doctrines. According to Murad, for instance, the Flood was a direct result of ‘disobedience to the commands of the God and irreligiousness’.¹⁴² In a similar vein, he portrays Noah as the second father of humanity (*ebû ’l-beşer*) in the first volume of *Tarih-i Umumi*. Then he touches upon the blackness of the African people, reasoning it as the curse of Noah upon Ham, one of his sons, for a transgression.¹⁴³ Meanwhile, in regard to his views on historical periodization, he differed little from the perspective of his time: for instance, he, too, chose the Hegira as the beginning of the calendar. But nonetheless, he does not neglect to inform his readers about those traditions that use different important incidents to mark the beginning of their calendars.¹⁴⁴

Murad was certainly not the only author to construct his narratives according to religious lore. For example, Eyüp Sabri Pasha—a military general, statesman, and remarkable writer of history during the Hamidian era—also openly made Islamic and

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 4–5. Also see Meltem Toksöz, ‘The World of Mehmed Murad: Writing *Histoires Universelles* in Ottoman Turkish,’ *Journal of Ottoman Studies*, no. 40 (Fall 2012): 354–355.

¹⁴¹ Mehmed Murad, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi*, 7. Also see Mehmed Murad, *Tarih-i Umumi, Birinci Cild: Ezmine-i Mütekaddimeden Şark ve Yunanistan* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1300 [1883]), 13.

¹⁴² Mehmed Murad, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi*, 7–9.

¹⁴³ Mehmed Murad, *Tarih-i Umumi*, 15–17.

¹⁴⁴ Karateke, ‘The Challenge of Periodization,’ 142. For a detailed analysis of Mehmed Murad’s life, political views and historiography, see Birol Emil, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Aydını: Mizancı Murad Bey* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009).

legendary accounts the fulcrum of his historical works.¹⁴⁵ In addition to widespread citations of Qur'anic verses and hadiths,¹⁴⁶ his studies laid strong emphasis on pro-caliphate views and reflected an Islamist outlook on the past.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, he also sought to respond to the criticisms of European travelers and authors regarding Islamic civilization and history, accusing such writers of being unfair to and prejudiced against Islam.¹⁴⁸

As Neumann has asserted, the role of state chronicler began to be marginalized during the Hamidian period.¹⁴⁹ Ahmed Lütü Efendi, the successor to Ahmed Cevdet Pasha as chronicler between the years 1866 and 1907, was an unmistakable conservative in full conformity with the cultural atmosphere of the reign of Abdulhamid. As a typical bearer of the chronicler tradition, Ahmed Lütü—in his chronicle *Tarih-i Lütü*, which covered the period from 1826 to 1876—opted for a colorless but detailed annalistic narrative, focusing on incidents grouped by the reigns of individual sultans. To put it another way, in consonance with the practices of a conventional chronicler,¹⁵⁰ Ahmed Lütü's history presented the reign of an individual ruler as the normal unit or division of time.

¹⁴⁵ Yinanç, 'Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete Kadar Bizde Tarihçilik,' 592–593.

¹⁴⁶ For some examples, see Eyüp Sabri Paşa, *Mir'âtü'l-Haremeyn, cilt I: Mir'ât-i Mekke* (İstanbul: Bahriye Matbaası, 1301 [1884]), 104–105.

¹⁴⁷ Mehmet Akif Fidan, *Eyüp Sabri Paşa ve Tarihçiliği* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2011), 144, 210.

¹⁴⁸ Eyüp Sabri Paşa, *Mir'ât-i Mekke*, 114–116.

¹⁴⁹ Neumann, 'Bad Times and Better Self,' 63.

¹⁵⁰ Faroqhi and Adamir, 'Introduction,' 8.

What is more, similar to traditional Ottoman history writing, in which the main focus of interest had always been on the deeds of sultans,¹⁵¹ Ahmed Lütü's history also primarily recorded the daily activities of the royal personage. It is worth noting in this context that the twelfth volume of the *Tarih-i Lütü*, which narrates the events between 1868 and 1871, begins its first chapter, entitled 'The Events of the Year 1285', with a narrative of Abdulaziz's move to his summer residence (*nakl-i Hümayün*).¹⁵² As a result of this perspective, Ahmed Lütü endeavored to use newspapers like *Takvim-i Vekâyî* and *Ceride-i Havadis* as his primary sources, since these periodicals had emerged as something like a 'blog' of incidents, so to speak: contemporaneous chronicles expressing the state's position on events.¹⁵³ Therefore, rather than an analytical historian, he came to be considered an uncritical collector of secondary sources, not only by twentieth-century historians, but also by his contemporaries and successors, such as Abdurrahman Şeref. According to these criticisms, his 'pallid' work fell short of the historiography of his predecessor, Ahmed Cevdet, who had sought to give a more complete picture of history.¹⁵⁴

On the other hand, Ahmed Lütü had his own complaints about not receiving sufficient archival documents or source materials. He overtly grumbled about how high officials treated him when he consulted them for information.¹⁵⁵ As was

¹⁵¹ For a detailed description, see Rhoads Murphey, 'Ottoman Historical Writing in the Seventeenth-Century: A Survey of the General Development of the Genre after the Reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617),' in *Essays on Ottoman Historians and Historiography* (İstanbul: Eren, 2009), 92.

¹⁵² *Vakanüvis Ahmed Lütü Efendi Tarihi: v. 12*, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1989) 5.

¹⁵³ Kafadar and Karateke, 'Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing,' 563.

¹⁵⁴ Kuran, 'Ottoman Historiography of the Tanzimat Period,' 423; Neumann, 'Bad Times and Better Self,' 74.

¹⁵⁵ *Vakanüvis Ahmed Lütü Efendi Tarihi: v. 15*, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1993), 19.

emphasized by Kafadar and Karateke, the main reason for his dissatisfaction seems to have been the decreasing significance and prestige of the state chronicler.¹⁵⁶ In connection with this, after the death of Ahmed Lütü in March 1907, Abdulhamid did not appoint anyone to the office. The next—and the last—chronicler, Abdurrahman Şeref, was appointed in May 1909 by Sultan Mehmed V Reşad; hence, the position remained vacant for more than two years.¹⁵⁷ Ultimately, it is little wonder that the dwindling in the importance of the state chronicler corresponded to the general tendency of the Hamidian era, which did not place a premium on historical studies.¹⁵⁸

Another significant characteristic of the historical studies during this period was the lack of any critical attitude towards the Ottoman sultans. It is safe to say that the tendency toward a sultan- and state-centered understanding of Ottoman history formed the backbone of the historiography of the Hamidian era. The sultan- and state-centered approach in historiography could be considered a derivative of Abdulhamid's absolutist regime, which frequently appeared in a paternalistic and

¹⁵⁶ Kafadar and Karateke, 'Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing,' 563. Also see Bekir Kütükoğlu, 'Vekayinüvis,' in *Vekayinüvis Makaleler* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1994), 136.

¹⁵⁷ BOA, İ.HUS. 175/1327, 1327.R.27. BOA, BEO. 3551/266307, 1327.R.28. BOA, BEO. 3566/267417, 1327.Ca.16.

¹⁵⁸ There is a commonly held view in the current literature that claims another 'historian', Muallim Nâci, was appointed as the state chronicler between the terms of Ahmed Lütü and Abdurrahman Şeref. Nevertheless, existing studies of this subject show a serious deficiency in this regard, since they have hitherto neglected the simple fact that Muallim Nâci had died fourteen years earlier than Ahmed Lütü, who died in 1907 while still holding the post. The point that caused the confusion was the 1891 appointment of Muallim Nâci to the post of *tarih-nüvis-i selâtin-i âl-i Osman* (imperial history writer of the Ottoman State). However, this was a new post separate and different from the office of the chronicler, and was created by Abdulhamid with the specific appointment of Muallim Nâci. After the latter's death in 1893, no one was appointed to this two-year office until the end of the empire. For some examples describing Muallim Nâci as state chronicler, see İlber Ortaylı, 'Osmanlı Tarih Yazıcılığının Evrimi Üstüne Düşünceler,' in *Tarih Yazıcılık Üzerine* (Ankara: Cedit Neşriyat, 2009), 82; idem, *Türkiye Teşkilat ve İdare Tarihi* (3rd ed.), (Ankara: Cedit Neşriyat, 2008), 219. For the appointment of Muallim Nâci to the newly created post, see BOA, İ.DH. 1223/95740, 1308.Ş.27; 'Muallim Nâci,' in *Musavver Nevşâl-i Servet-i Fünun*, ed. Ahmed İhsan (İstanbul: Alem Matbaası, 1311 [1895]), 71. Also see BOA, İ.ML. 6/1310, 1310.Za.18. BOA, İ.HUS. 13/1310, 1310.Z.5. BOA, BEO, 225/16811, 1310.Z.6; Mehmed Süreyya, 'Nâci Efendi (Muallim),' in *Sicill-i Osmanî, cilt: 4*, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 1219; Celal Tarakçı, *Muallim Nâci Efendi: Hayatı ve Eserlerinin Tedkiki* (Samsun: Sönmez Matbaası, 1994), 148–151.

over-personalized form. In other words, the Hamidian absolutist vision—which had been designed to construct a feeling of belonging to a large family, symbolically represented by the paternal figure of the sultan—constituted the general framework for history writing.¹⁵⁹ In a mostly state-driven and government-controlled cultural environment, historiographical production set out primarily to enhance the ruler’s desired image, and accordingly refrained from any statement that might tarnish that image, such as mentioning depositions or criticizing the practices of the Ottoman sultans of the past.

As a result, the publications that would shape the historical consciousness of subsequent generations bordered on being heroic works, where the main Islamic and Ottoman conquests and successes were enthusiastically described but the internal problems and defeats in the face of European powers were generally omitted. In accordance with Hamidian absolutism, those few examples that did speak of the internal crises and defeats that occurred after the seventeenth century attributed them either to the disobedience of the Janissaries or to the disloyalty of the provincial notables. Also notable is the fact that territorial gains and losses were accepted as an absolute measure for the rise and the stagnation of the state. Furthermore, in harmony with the sultan- and state-centered approach, the notions of the state and the ‘fatherland’ were deemed to be the institutional and geographical expressions of the territories under the sultan’s sovereignty. As such, the history books of the era attempted to highlight the ‘territorial greatness’ of the empire. For instance, in a

¹⁵⁹ See Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet (1876-1914)* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 44, 330.

history book prepared for secondary schools, the Ottoman Empire was presented as the third largest country in the world, after China and Russia.¹⁶⁰

In this context, it is not a coincidence that maps depicting the Ottoman Empire in its entirety were first introduced on a wide scale during the Hamidian era. As Benjamin C. Fortna has shown, geography education had first been introduced to the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat period. However, because the European custom of continental demarcation was typically the practice that was followed, lessons on Ottoman territory and maps were overwhelmingly organized continent by continent up through the 1890s, despite its unsuitability for an empire encompassing lands on three continents. The Hamidian state, on the other hand, made a cartographic change from the practice of the Tanzimat era by presenting Ottoman territory as a whole. To reinforce the notion of Ottoman territoriality within a fixed geographical space, maps drawn so as to incorporate all the Ottoman lands within a single border began to be assigned to schools at the turn of the century.¹⁶¹

Last but not least, the particular emphasis on the importance of the caliphate in political and cultural discourse was reflected in the historical outlook on the past as well. Selim I (the Grim; r. 1512–1520), for example, was foregrounded as the most crucial sultan in the empire's history, in contrast to earlier historiographical representations of Suleiman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566) as being the most significant sultan. The main reason for this reorientation was Selim's acquisition of the titles of caliph and 'servant of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina' (*hâdimu'l-haremeynü's-şerîfeyn*) following his defeat of the Mamluks and conquest of Syria

¹⁶⁰ Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, 194–195, 198–199.

¹⁶¹ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 183–191.

and Egypt. Moreover, victory over the Safavid Empire at the Battle of Çaldıran in 1514 was also underlined as an essential achievement of Selim, since there was a unanimous contemporary view that the 1511 Shiite revolt of Şahkulu in Anatolia had been instigated by the Safavids. Along with the other aspects of the instrumentalized historiography of the time, contemporary historical studies also approved Selim's violent measures against the Shiites in Anatolia, which resulted in the extermination of tens of thousands of people.¹⁶² There is no doubt that, during this period, any interpretation differing from this would be deemed an aberration.

2. 3 Beyond the Dominant Ideology: The Emergence of Turkism

In addition to the historical perspective forged within the context of Islamist policy, the first signs of Turkism also began to emerge from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. In fact, the official historical accounts sometimes contain certain Turkist leanings. For instance, there was a tacit implication concerning the 'Turkish origins' of the Ottoman household in the dynastic narrative part of the yearbooks, where Ottoman genealogy was traced to the Kayı Khan tribe, a branch of the 'Oghuz Turks'. Again, in order to employ the Turkic heritage to legitimize the rule of the Ottoman dynasty, some historical accounts referred to the Turkmen origins of the Kayı tribe and their migration from Khorasan to eastern Anatolia owing to pressure from the Mongols. What is more, some history books argued that Japheth, a son of Noah, was the ancestor of the Turks, as well as the Persians and Europeans.¹⁶³ However, Turkishness carried little significance in these

¹⁶² Alkan, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim,' 44–45; Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, 197–200; Georgeon, *Abdulhamid II*, 201.

¹⁶³ Mehmed Murad, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi*, 9.

studies, and it was also usually defined within the framework of Islam. To put it another way, in those rare instances where it was used in the historical texts of the time, Turkishness was regarded primarily as being a part of a multiple identity, rather than having a self-contained meaning. Therefore, the relatively exceptional references to ‘Turkish origins’ might be considered somewhat derogatory overtones towards the historical outlook on the past in the Hamidian era.

But even setting aside the aforementioned dominant type of historiography during the long reign of Abdulhamid II, one can nevertheless witness at the same time the gradual flourishing of a new kind of historical interpretation inspired by Turkism. Even though the emerging Turkist stance remained mainly within the realms of literature and culture, its vision of history—probably the most important pillar of this proto-nationalist current—usually ‘imagined’ Turkishness as a monolithic body united by linguistic and historical ties. It must be noted in this context that, far from being original and systematic scholars, the pioneers of this approach were mostly amateurs, adapters of European Turkology. Lacking any strict methodological principles, their studies were suffused with contradictions, exaggerations, and gaps.¹⁶⁴ Nonetheless, their historical and literary works played a noticeable role in the creation of awareness of a collective identity different than that which the Hamidian regime sought to disseminate.

Among numerous examples of this tendency, a particularly romantic expression of this awareness was revealed in the 1899 publication of a renowned book of poetry with a remarkable title: Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul)’s *Türkçe Şiirler* (Poems in Turkish)—not ‘Poems in Ottoman’. The first poem in the book, ‘*Anadolu’dan bir*

¹⁶⁴ David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism: 1876-1908* (London: Frank Cass, 1977), 97.

Ses yahut Cenge Giderken (A Voice from Anatolia, or Going to War), had first appeared at the height of the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897. In this famous poem, Mehmet Emin made a clear statement of identity by explicitly defining himself as a Turk. This leads to the further assumption that Turkishness was beginning to be presented during the Hamidian era as a source of pride, a collective character as well as a sense of belonging for Turkish-speaking Muslims.¹⁶⁵

In this respect, one may inquire how the Hamidian rule tolerated the circulation of such views within the empire. The initial point to be made here is surely that the protagonists of Turkism at the time did not question Hamidian policy, at least until 1904, when the first political expression of Turkish nationalism appeared via the publication of Akçura's *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Ways of Policy). Furthermore, although the proponents of Turkism attempted to envision Turkishness as a particular notion, they did not construct it with a politicized content that could be considered an alternative and distinct focus of allegiance. More precisely, the material circumstances within the multinational empire were not yet suitable for the presentation of Turkism as a purposeful political project. This situation would become especially apparent when, following its publication, Akçura's manifesto of Turkish nationalism received scarcely any attention from political actors, whether those of the opposition or those in power.¹⁶⁶

Additionally, if one takes a closer look at the writings of the Turkists in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, it becomes clear that there were substantial overlaps between their manner of historical construction and the dominant ideology

¹⁶⁵ Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 18–19.

¹⁶⁶ Yahya Kemal, *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasi ve Edebi Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1973), 192. Also see Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, 38.

of the era. In this regard, it is safe to say that certain representatives of the Turkist stance sought to combine and synthesize elements of the Turkist and Islamist views. For example, Ahmed Midhat Efendi, one of the most influential literary figures during the Hamidian period, emphasized that, in addition to Islam and the institution of the caliphate, Turkishness had constituted the other vital vein for the empire's glory and strength. In his *Mufasssal Tarih-i Kurûn-i Cedide* (Comprehensive History of Modern Ages), published in 1886, Ahmed Midhat not only underlined that the Kayı tribe had founded both the Seljuk sultanate and the Ottoman state, but he also put particular emphasis on the 'invaluable services of Turks' to Islam and the Islamic community.¹⁶⁷ In the same manner as Ahmed Midhat, Şemseddin Sami, who was of Albanian origin, highlighted how Turks had been the major protector of and contributor to Islam and Islamic civilization for centuries.¹⁶⁸ On the other hand, in an article printed in 1878, he also defended the idea that the future of the Muslim peoples of the world—Turks as well as Albanians—depended on the destiny of the Ottoman Empire, since their ties with the caliphate were both religious and political.¹⁶⁹ It is worth remembering in this context that the Turkists of the era in general—and in particular those newspapers like *İkdam* and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (Interpreter of the Truth) that became the main voice of Turkism, at least in its Islamist form—were sometimes criticized by subsequent generations of Turkish

¹⁶⁷ Ahmed Midhat, *Mufasssal Tarih-i Kurun-i Cedide, cild-i evvel* (İstanbul: Kırk Anbar Matbaası, 1303 [1886]), 122–143.

¹⁶⁸ Şemseddin Sami, 'Türk,' *Kâmusu'l-A'lam, Üçüncü Cild* (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1308 [1891]), 1640–1642.

¹⁶⁹ Şemseddin Sami, 'Ümem-i İslamiyenin İstikbali,' *Tercüman-ı Şark*, no. 172 (Şevval 29, 1295/Teşrin-i Evvel 14, 1294 [1878]): 1–2.

nationalists for their attempts to reconcile Turkishness with Islam as well as for their lack of political commitment.¹⁷⁰

Alongside the Islamic content, the centerpiece of the Turkist current at the time, and that which made it original, was its deep interest in the ‘ancient’ and pre-Islamic ‘Turkish’ past.¹⁷¹ It would not be an exaggeration to claim that this perceived relevancy was largely exogenous. As mentioned above, one of the most crucial intellectual sources of the Turkist writers was European philological and historical studies, which had emerged as early as the middle of the eighteenth century. As is well known, in parallel with the rise of European interest in Asia and the Far East, certain associations had been established so as to explore the peoples, history, and culture of the region. Among those especially notable for their contribution to oriental studies were the École Spéciale des Langues Orientales (founded in 1795), the Société Asiatique (1822), the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1832), and the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (1845).¹⁷² Nevertheless, rather than associations, it was those particular works that surveyed the languages and history of the so-called ‘pre-Islamic Turks’—such as Joseph de Guignes’

Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongoles et Autres Tartares

Occidentaux (1756–1758), Arthur Lumley Davids’ *A Grammar of the Turkish*

Language (1832), Arminius Vambery’s *Travels in Central Asia* (1864), and Léon

¹⁷⁰ Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 360.

¹⁷¹ It must be noted here that, although the word ‘Turk’ occurred in pre-Islamic times, it was not clear whether the term referred to an ethnic group as such, let alone to a particular ethnic group. As Umut Özkırmılı and Spyros A. Sofos have emphasized, the term ‘Turk’ was used to distinguish one group of people from other Turkic-speaking groups in the Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century, which are considered the earliest historical records in a Turkic language. However, the term did not have an ethnic connotation, and even if it did, it had a quite limited scope without any political implications. See Özkırmılı and Sofos, *Tormented by History*, 97–98.

¹⁷² Christoph Herzog, ‘Notes on the Development of Turkish and Oriental Studies in the German Speaking Lands,’ *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8, no. 15 (2010): 13.

Cahun's *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols* (1896)—which had a more direct and obvious influence on the Turkist authors.¹⁷³ Additionally, other representatives of European and Russian Turkology—such as Jean Deny, Antoine Isaac de Sacy, Wilhelm Friedrich Radloff, and Vilhelm Ludwig Peter Thomsen, the latter two of whom deciphered the Orkhon inscriptions in 1892–1893—also further deepened the views of the Turkists on ‘their’ distant past.¹⁷⁴

With all this in mind, however, the dual character of such oriental studies should not be overlooked. Although, on the one hand, the products of oriental scholarship provided conspicuous and useful content that ‘Eastern’ intellectuals might use in the construction of their ‘national’ histories, on the other hand they also contained a strong Eurocentric and orientalist essence. As Edward W. Said pointed out, oriental studies promoted intransigent differences between the ‘West’ and the ‘East’, defining the latter through a cultural and ideological discourse that reduced the orient to the opposite image, idea, and experience of the occident.¹⁷⁵ Thus, besides excluding the ‘East’ from world historical agency, oriental scholarship relegated ‘Eastern’ societies to the role of an historical object, thereby reinforcing a Eurocentric outlook that was ultimately a political vision of reality.¹⁷⁶ In this respect, European philological and historical studies not only acquainted indigenous intellectuals with their purported

¹⁷³ Suavi Aydın, ‘20. Yüzyılın Başlarında Türkçülük, Türkoloji Çalışmaları ve Fuad Köprülü,’ in *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, ed. Yahya Kemal Taştan (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2012), 134.

¹⁷⁴ For a detailed description of Russian Turkology, see Liaisan Şahin, ‘Russian Turkology: From Past to Present,’ *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8, no. 15 (2010): 591–644.

¹⁷⁵ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 1–2.

¹⁷⁶ Herzog, ‘Notes on the Development of Turkish and Oriental Studies in the German Speaking Lands,’ 58–61.

language and ancient history, but also emerged as a competing pattern that must be struggled against and replaced. This was true in the Ottoman-Turkish context as well.

Considering this Janus-like character of oriental studies, it can be argued that it was Western historical and linguistic works that initially aroused Ottoman consciousness of the Turkic-speaking peoples outside the empire. Therefore, Turkist authors began to study ‘their own’ history and philology, including that of their Central Asian ‘brethren’, with the purpose of contributing to Turkish culture. Ahmed Vefik Pasha was one of the first writers to establish a link between the ‘Turks’ of Central Asia and those of Anatolia. To introduce the broader Turkic world to Ottoman Muslims, he translated some writings of Abu al-Ghazi Bahadır Khan, the ruler of Khiva in the mid-seventeenth century, from Chaghatay into Ottoman Turkish, publishing them under the title *Evşâl-i Şecere-i Türki* (Step-by-Step Genealogy of the Turks) in 1863–1864.¹⁷⁷ He also compiled a new dictionary in 1876, entitled *Lehçe-i Osmanî* (The Ottoman Dialect), indicating that rather than being a mixture of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, the ‘Ottoman dialect’ was an important branch of a great and ancient language spoken across Asia as far as the Pacific Ocean.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, this attitude did not find unanimous acceptance among Ottoman intellectuals immediately. For instance, an article appearing in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* described the identification of the ‘Ottoman language’ with ‘Turkish’ as a sort of reduction, vehemently objecting to such an approach. The author of the article also established a correlation between the language and nationality before proceeding to assert that it was impossible to

¹⁷⁷ For the first part of the translation, see Abu al-Ghazi Bahadır Khan, ‘Asl-ı Şecere-i Türki,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, no. 131 (Rebi’ülâhîr 14, 1280/September 16, 1279 [1863]): 3–4. For the last part of the translation see Abu al-Ghazi Bahadır Khan, ‘Şecere-i Türki,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, no. 173 (Ramazan 16, 1280/February, 11 1279 [1864]): 2–3.

¹⁷⁸ Ahmed Vefik Paşa, *Lehçe-i Osmanî* (İstanbul: Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i Osmaniye, 1293 [1876]); İsmail Habib Sevük, *Yeni Edebi Yeniliğimiz*, cilt 1 (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1940), 314–315; Özkırımlı and Sofos, *Tormented by History*, 89.

term the language ‘Turkish’, since it was unfeasible to prove Turkishness by means of genealogy.¹⁷⁹

On the other hand, Süleyman Hüsnü Pasha, the director of the Military Academy, took Ahmed Vefik’s suggestion a step further and significantly entitled his grammar book *İlm-i Sarf-ı Türkî* (Turkish Grammar). Given these debates, the preference of the term *Türkî* was undoubtedly not coincidental. In the same manner as Ahmed Vefik, Süleyman Pasha rejected the view that considered the ‘Ottoman language’ as a composition of three languages. In the opening pages of his book, he defined the ‘Ottoman language’ as ‘the Turkish spoken in Istanbul, Anatolia, and Rumelia’.¹⁸⁰ Hence, the correct appellation of the language and literature should be Turkish, not Ottoman.¹⁸¹

In addition to his grammar book, Süleyman Hüsnü wrote a historical study entitled *Tarih-i Âlem* (History of the World), which appeared in 1876.¹⁸² In this book, he devoted a large section to the pre-Islamic history and mythology of the ‘Turks’. As he mentions in his bibliography, he drew on the studies of European Turkologists, particularly Guignes’ *Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongoles et Autres Tartares Occidentaux*. It was presumably for this reason that he sought to recount in

¹⁷⁹ Elhac İbrahim, ‘Taaccüb,’ *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, no. 1246 (Ramazan 23, 1299/August 7, 1882): 3. Also see Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, 63–64.

¹⁸⁰ Süleyman Paşa, *İlm-i Sarf-ı Türkî* (7th ed.), (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1308 [1891]), 2.

¹⁸¹ It should be remembered in this context that linguistic Turkism was eventually reflected in the political sphere as well. The Constitution of 1876 explicitly designated Turkish as the only official language of the Ottoman state. Moreover, the constitution further stipulated a more rigid definition of ability in Turkish as a requirement, stating that, at the end of four years, deputies would have to be able to read and write the official language. See Heidemarie Doganalp-Votzi, ‘The State and Its Subjects According to the 1876 Ottoman Constitution: Some Lexicographic Aspects,’ in *Aspects of the Political Language in Turkey (19th-20th Centuries)*, ed. Hans-Lukas Kieser (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2002), 64; Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform*, 16; Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, 91.

¹⁸² Although the book was planned as three volumes, only the first volume was published.

detail the ancient history of the Huns, Mongols, and Tatars, who had been considered Turkish peoples by Guignes.¹⁸³ Moreover, Süleyman Hüsnü touched upon the kinship with the Europeans by describing the Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Poles as the relatives of the Turks.¹⁸⁴

Even so, a stronger emphasis on the ‘racial’ connections between the Turks and the Europeans had already been put forth by Mustafa Celaledin Pasha, a Polish exile and convert to Islam. Along with a stress on the contributions of the Turks to world civilization, Mustafa Celaledin also dwelt widely on the ‘racial’ origins of the Turks in his *Les Turcs Anciens et Modernes*, published in 1869. With a tacit political agenda tilting toward the ‘West’, he attempted to restore the Turkish image in the eyes of Europeans by arguing that Turks and Europeans belonged to the same ‘race’. In his view, Turks were members of the Turanian subsection of the ‘Aryans’, or, in his own words, the ‘Touro-Aryan’ race. In connection with this, he also sought to refute the argument identifying Turks with Mongols.¹⁸⁵

Ali Suavi, however, in his historical writings appearing contemporaneously with Mustafa Celaledin’s book, positively characterized the Mongols and Tatars as members of the Turkish peoples. Under the influence of David Urquhart, a prominent Turcophile as well as a vehement Russophobe, Ali Suavi dealt with the Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia. Also stimulating his interest were the Russian advance into the region, the Anglo-Russian contest for supremacy, and, in response to these, the appeals for help to the Ottoman Empire issuing from the

¹⁸³ Süleyman Hüsnü, *Tarih-i Âlem, Kısm-ı Evvel: Kurun-ı Ulâ* (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, 1293 [1876]), 383–545.

¹⁸⁴ For instance, see *Ibid.*, 485–495.

¹⁸⁵ Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, 9.

inhabitants of Central Asia. In his book *Khiva*, published in 1873, this striking Young Ottoman gave an historical account of the Khiva Khanate, where ‘the Turkish Muslims who were of our religion, our tribe, and our family have been living’, and he emphasized the necessity of Ottoman support for their ‘kinsmen’. Moreover, Ali Suavi made a noteworthy effort to demonstrate the contributions of the Turks to civilization in his articles ‘Türk’ and ‘Osman’. He sought to prove the superior aptitudes of Turks from remotest times, particularly by displaying a strong emphasis on the outstanding qualities of ‘Turkish scholars’ like Al-Farabi, Avicenna, and Muhammad al-Bukhari.¹⁸⁶

The discourse on the Turkish contribution to civilization intensified towards the end of the century. The twofold endeavor that aimed to construct the Turkish identity and to make the Turks an equal participant in the civilized world is perhaps best seen in Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir’s work *Türklerin Ulûm ve Fünûna Hizmetleri* (Services of the Turks to the Sciences and the Arts), a compilation of short biographies of ‘Turkish’ scholars that first appeared in *İkdam* in 1896 and was issued as a book within a year.¹⁸⁷ Mehmed Tâhir underscored the creativity and achievements of ‘his nation’, as opposed to the pejorative treatments seen in Western sources, which had reduced the Turks to simple warriors and ‘raiders’.¹⁸⁸ He continued to state that one of the major reasons for these allegations was the neglect and carelessness of European authors who had failed to adequately distinguish Turkish scholars from Arabs and

¹⁸⁶ Hüseyin Çelik, *Ali Suavi ve Dönemi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), 205–206, 620–628; Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 248–249, 371.

¹⁸⁷ Karpas, ‘Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to be Modern Muslim, Ottoman, and Turk,’ 23–24.

¹⁸⁸ Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *Türklerin Ulûm ve Fünûna Hizmetleri* (Dersaadet: İkdam Matbaası, 1314 [1897]), 3.

Persians. And yet, Mehmed Tâhir added, even though they may have written in Arabic or Persian, the genealogy of most of the important thinkers who had rendered service to Islamic science and civilization showed that they were ‘obviously’ Turks.¹⁸⁹

Even so, the stress on the ‘Turkish contribution to civilization’ was not without reason. As Mehmed Tâhir and others complained, the Turks were mostly profiled by the European public and historiography in the nineteenth century as uncivilized and cruel raiders who belonged to an entirely different world. Many European intellectuals, historians, and politicians pictured ‘the savage Turk’ as ‘an invader’, representing ‘the cursed enemy of civilization’ on the one hand and the perfect negative opposite of Europe on the other.¹⁹⁰ By offering a strikingly similar image of the ‘Turkish legacy’, Western historiography depicted Ottoman rule as a calamity of unparalleled consequences that brought nothing more than cultural regression, social leveling, and barbarization.¹⁹¹ This adverse outlook against the Turks not only was immensely influential throughout the nineteenth century in Europe, but is also visible even today, especially in Balkan historiography, which was forged within a frame of ‘frontier orientalism’ and still partially makes use of the important historical ‘myth of *antemurale christianitatis*’; i.e., the timeless mission of the Christian lands to defend their borders against raiders from the East and Islam.¹⁹² One significant historical

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹⁹⁰ Bozidar Jezernik, ‘Imagining “the Turk”’, in *Imagining “the Turk”*, ed. Bozidar Jezernik (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 12.

¹⁹¹ Maria Todorova, ‘The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,’ in *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, ed. L. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 70.

¹⁹² For the ‘frontier orientalism’ concept, see Alenka Bartulovic, ‘We Have an Old Debt with the Turk, and It Best be Settled: Ottoman Incursions through the Discursive Optics of Slovenian Historiography and Literature and Their Applicability in the Twenty-First Century,’ in *Imagining “the Turk”*, 114. For the ‘myth of *antemurale christianitatis*’, see Bojan Baskar, ‘Ambivalent Dealings

study, for instance, published in 1990 by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, concisely illustrates the intensity of this perspective: ‘The Ottoman conquerors swept over the lands of the formerly independent principalities and kingdoms, bringing with them an alien militant ideology. For a lengthy period of time the subjected peoples were detached from the natural milieu of their development—the Christian European world—and existed within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, where a nation of an alien faith ruled’.¹⁹³

It was within this framework that the early representatives of the Turkist current repeatedly highlighted the virtues, noble aspects, and civilized characteristics of their ‘nation’. In order to neutralize the political and historiographical claims on ‘Turkish barbarity’—which also regarded the Turks as the major agent responsible for the ‘darkest period’ of the territories they governed—the Turkists overemphasized the discourse of the ‘Turkish contribution to civilization’. What is more, as Mustafa Celaledin Pasha pointed out, some of them even argued for a ‘racial’ kinship between Turks and Europeans in order to refute the common belief in the irreconcilable incompatibility between the Turks and Western civilization. It would not be an exaggeration to state that the efforts of the Turkists to disprove the orientalist theses produced a ‘me too’ syndrome that would leave a powerful mark on Turkish historiography, as seen in most of the colonial and post-colonial

with an Imperial Past: The Habsburg Legacy and New Nationhood in ex-Yugoslavia,’ *Institut für Ethnologie, Kultur und Sozialanthropologie (Working Paper)*, no. 10 (2003): 3–4, <https://doi.org/10.1553/witt2k10>.

¹⁹³ Quoted in Todorova, ‘The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,’ 74.

historiographies, which emphasize how the Turks had all the civilized features that the Europeans had, and more.¹⁹⁴

In relation to this, Şemseddin Sami—an Ottoman Albanian intellectual and linguist—was another defender of the view that Turks had all the civilized qualities that Europeans possessed.¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, besides criticizing the Western orientalist gaze, he also drew attention to a sort of self-orientalism among the Ottomans. In his view, even leaving aside European’s derogatory outlook, the Turks themselves were at fault for their self-contempt, which deemed Turkishness an insult.¹⁹⁶ In his remarkable article ‘*Lisan-ı Türki (Osmanî)*’ (The Turkish [Ottoman] Language), he underscored how, even though ‘the name Turk’ had been the appellation of a great nation ‘extending from the shores of the Adriatic Sea to the borders of China and the interior parts of Siberia’, it had been considered a disdainful epithet within the empire, meaning ‘ignorant’ as well as ‘wretched’.¹⁹⁷

After defining Turkishness as a source of ‘pride and gratification’, Şemseddin Sami proceeded to point out the ‘undisputed relationships’ between ‘the Turks of Turkey

¹⁹⁴ For the ‘me too’ syndrome, see Radhika Seshan, ‘Writing the Nation in India: Communalism and Historiography,’ in *Writing the Nation*, 155–178.

¹⁹⁵ Here, it is necessary to remark on a point that may seem unusual and inconsistent at first glance. In addition to being one of the most outstanding figures of the Turkist current during the Hamidian era, Şemseddin Sami was also a prominent architect of Albanianism. Although it would be fascinating to explore how he reconciled these diversified agendas, this discussion is beyond the scope of my study. However, from the point of view of this study, I should state that the case of Şemseddin Sami illustrates quite well the nature of Turkism during the Hamidian period. That is to say, the Turkist current at the time did not have a politicized content that could be considered a nationalist movement with political commitment, since any person (or persons) who embraced manifold social and proto-national senses of belonging and loyalties could participate in it. For a detailed and analytical explanation on Şemseddin Sami’s situation, see Nathalie Clayer, *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Albanais: La Naissance d’une Nation Majoritairement Musulmane en Europe* (Paris: Karthala, 2007), 272–284; Bülent Bilmez, ‘Şemseddin Sami Frashëri’nin Bazı Metinlerinde Arnavut ve Türk “Biz”inin İnşasına Katkıda Bulunan Otoktonluk ve Köken Mitleri,’ in *Tanzimat ve Edebiyat: Osmanlı İstanbul’nda Modern Edebi Kültür*, eds. Mehmet Fatih Uslu and Fatih Altuğ (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 387–421.

¹⁹⁶ Şemseddin Sami, ‘Türk,’ 1639.

¹⁹⁷ Şemseddin Sami, ‘Lisan-ı Türki (Osmanî),’ *Hafta*, no. 12 (Zilhicce 10, 1298 [1881]): 1.

and Turkistan', particularly in terms of history and language. Furthermore, in the same manner as Süleyman Hüsnü Pasha, he also accentuated the incorrectness of terming the language 'Ottoman', declaring instead that it must be called 'Turkish' since 'the people who speak this language are the Turks'. In this context, the crucial point he highlighted was that 'the language of the Ottoman Turks' and those of 'Bukhara, Khiva, and the Kashgar Turks' were to a great extent identical to one another. Subsequently, he dwelt on the simplification of Turkish 'by elimination of foreign words', or, to put it more directly, Arabic and Persian words.¹⁹⁸ Last but not least, in terms of the development and enrichment of the language spoken within the empire, he recommended that instead of being taken from Arabic, Persian, or other foreign languages, any new words should be borrowed from 'Eastern Turkish'.¹⁹⁹

David Kushner asserted that the growing interest in the Turkish language gained momentum as the 1890s wore on. In addition to Şemseddin Sami's *Kamus-i Türkî* (Dictionary of Turkish), likely the most significant dictionary of the time, Ali Shir Navai's fifteenth-century classical text emphasizing the superiority of the Turkish language to Persian, *Muhâkemetü'l-Lugateyn* (Judgment of the Two Languages) was also published at the turn of the century. Moreover, the press of the era, especially *İkdam*, printed a noticeable number of articles on the Turkish or Turanian languages.²⁰⁰ The 1894 publication of Necip Asım (Yazıksız)'s book *Ural ve Altay Lisanları* (The Ural and Altaic Languages) might be considered one of the most visible outcomes of this trend.²⁰¹ Again, in 1897 there appeared the same author's *En*

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 1–5.

¹⁹⁹ Şemseddin Sami, 'Edebiyat-ı Müstakbelimiz,' *Sabah*, no. 3343 (March 1, 1315/March 13, 1899): 3–4.

²⁰⁰ Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, 61.

²⁰¹ Necip Asım, *Ural ve Altay Lisanları* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1311 [1894]).

Eski Türk Yazısı (The Oldest Turkish Inscription), in which he introduced and emphasized the importance of the Orkhon inscriptions. In this book, Necip Asım stated that the Orkhon inscriptions, ‘the 1,300-year-old monument of the Eastern Turks’, was the major indicator of Turkish literature’s antiquity and originality.²⁰² When ‘the Europeans were still living in the darkness of ignorance’, he continued, these historical monuments demonstrated the merits of the ancient and pure Turkish culture.²⁰³

As Monika Baar has put it, historiographical and linguistic claims on antiquity were inextricably linked with concerns about the prestige and uniqueness of the nation.²⁰⁴ Therefore, the specific stress on the antiquity and purity of the Turkish language was an extremely important tool for the Turkists to counter Western assessments that reduced Turkish to an imitation of Arabic and Persian. By establishing a strict hierarchy among the three ‘Eastern’ languages and putting Turkish in the lowermost position, European historical and literary studies argued that the Turkish language owed almost all of its vocabulary to Arabic and Persian, and was thus far from being original. Nicolae Iorga, the well-known Romanian historian and politician, for instance, epitomized this approach in his *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* as follows: ‘If I had wished to write the national history of the Turkish tribe and if this tribe had seen an intellectual development as the Christian peoples, then, of course, I would have been obliged to know the Turkish language and literature. But there is no Turkish national literature—only a slavish imitation of foreign Oriental patterns in a

²⁰² Necip Asım, *En Eski Türk Yazısı* (İstanbul: İkdam Matbaası, 1315 [1897]), 3.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 3–5.

²⁰⁴ Monika Baar, *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 193.

language that is not even that of the people. The nation of the Turks has never seen any intellectual development.’²⁰⁵

It is safe to say that, in addition to their objective of building Turkish national identity, the Turkists of the era in general, and Necip Asım in particular, made a special effort to illustrate the ‘antiquity’ and ‘originality’ of their language in order to contend with this orientalist pattern. Moreover, along with his numerous linguistic studies that gained him an outside reputation and membership in the *Société Asiatique* in 1895, Necip Asım also set out to produce large-scale historical works.²⁰⁶ The first volume of *Türk Tarihi* (Turkish History), which concentrated on the history of the ‘Turks’ prior to the Ottoman Empire, appeared in 1899 as a result of this endeavor. Although the other volumes ultimately never emerged, this single volume was, on its own, the most comprehensive ‘Turkish history’ that had been written by an Ottoman up to that time. After an introductory section on Asia, ‘the homeland of the Turks’, the book begins with a one-hundred-page chapter entitled ‘The Origins of the Turks’ (*Türklerin Aslı*).²⁰⁷ The crucial point made in this section is that, unlike what was seen in other historical studies, Necip Asım did not begin his narrative with the ‘creation’ of the universe, Earth, or Adam. In a similar vein, since he did not give much coverage to religious or Islamic lore, neither the accounts of Noah and the Flood nor the stories of the pre-Islamic prophets were used in the book. In this

²⁰⁵ Quoted in Herzog, ‘Notes on the Development of Turkish and Oriental Studies in the German Speaking Lands,’ 59.

²⁰⁶ For some other examples of his linguistic studies, see Necip Asım, *Keşfü’l-Lisan* (İstanbul: Safa Matbaası, 1311 [1894]); idem, ‘Elsine-i Türkiye Hakkında Malumat-ı Lisaniye,’ *Malumat* 2, no. 48 (August 8, 1312/Rebi’ülevvel 11, 1314 [1896]): 1060–1063; idem, ‘Türkçenin Tarihçesi,’ *Malumat* 3, no. 49–50 (August 19, 1312/Rebi’ülevvel 22, 1314 [1896]): 33–34; idem, ‘Lisan Bahsi,’ *Malumat* 3, no. 51 (August 29, 1312/Rebi’ülahir 2, 1314 [1896]): 46–47; idem, ‘Dilimize Hizmet,’ *İkdam*, no. 2331 (December 23, 1900), 3.

²⁰⁷ Necip Asım, *Türk Tarihi* (İstanbul: Amire Matbaası, 1316 [1899]), 31–132.

respect, it must be noted that Necip Asım did recount the epic of Oghuz, but he did not hesitate to mention its legendary and semi-mythological character.²⁰⁸

In place of religious lore and accounts, Necip Asım drew primarily on the studies of European Turkologists in constructing his narrative. More importantly, perhaps, he tried to adopt some of the contemporary historical writing techniques and paraphernalia used in Western Turkology. In this regard, he made a point of footnoting his text, thereby providing it with further explanations and references to the relevant literature. If one takes a close look at these footnotes, one notices the utilization of the works of Wilhelm Radloff and Stanislas Julien as well as such classics as Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* (Prolegomena) and the *Baburnâme* (The Memoirs of Babur).

In terms of content, Necip Asım sought to show that the Turks had been a great nation with a cultural tradition ever since ancient times, thus echoing the views developed by Léon Cahun in his *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols*. In the opening remarks of the book, he explains, in a rather indignant manner, that the primary aim of his work is to disprove the 'unfounded slanders' about this 'glorious nation'. Furthermore, he adds, 'the Turks as well as the Mongols of the time' were much more high-minded and virtuous in comparison with 'the Romans, Greeks, and Arabs'.²⁰⁹ Considering the strong influence of Cahun on him, it is no coincidence that Necip Asım took pains to evaluate the 'Turks' in conjunction with the 'Mongols'. In the same vein as Cahun, Necip Asım emphasized the linguistic and historical relationships between the Turks and Mongols.²¹⁰ In this

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 70.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 3–5.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 38–40.

manner, in addition to attempting to oppose Western allegations against the Turks, he also tried to respond to the defamatory perspective that had long been leveled against the Mongols.²¹¹ By the same token, he defended the claim that the Turks, as well as the Mongols, had not only established substantial ancient civilizations, but they also brought civilization to the countries that they conquered. What is more, since they were always in close contact with the centers of civilization, they served as intermediaries between the cultures of different peoples. According to Necip Asım, many nations, from the Chinese to the Arabs, and many territories, from Europe to Persia, owed to the Turks and the Mongols the spread of the ideas and improvements that had occurred outside their boundaries.²¹²

At more than four hundred pages, the second, and final, chapter of *Türk Tarihi* can be considered especially extensive. Significantly, it was titled ‘The Turks and Islam’ (*‘Türkler ve İslamiyet’*)—not ‘Islam and the Turks’—indicating that, in Necip Asım’s view, Turkishness precedes Islam.²¹³ Presumably because of this precedence, this chapter also puts Turkishness at the center. Thus, contrary to the accustomed narratives, it does not recount the rise of Islam, the reigns of the first four caliphs, or the major Muslim dynasties like the Umayyads, Abbasids, and Fatimids. Instead, Necip Asım continues to narrate the history of those Turks who had become Muslims. As such, he subdivided this chapter according to these dynasties, which he opted to characterize as ‘Turkish states’.²¹⁴ Some of the noteworthy subtitles in the chapter are ‘The Ghaznevids’, ‘The Seljukids’, ‘The Artuqids’, and ‘The

²¹¹ Ibid., 77–79.

²¹² Ibid., 32–33. Also see Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, 31.

²¹³ Necip Asım, *Türk Tarihi*, 134–551.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 477.

Danishmends’, almost all of which put specific emphasis on the discourse that the Turks had combined the improvements made in a number of fields ranging from trade to education.²¹⁵ Finally, in keeping with his perspective, he named the last subtitle of the chapter ‘The Crusades and the Turks’—not ‘The Crusades and Islam’—an assertion that once again reiterates the notion of Turkish primacy over Islam and other Islamic communities.²¹⁶

This perspective that envisaged Turkish primacy over Islam also set the stage for the supra-religious definitions of Turkishness that emerged in the early twentieth century. One may find an outstanding representative of this attitude in an émigré of Turkic origin from the Russian Empire, Yusuf Akçura. In his graduation thesis submitted to the École Libre des Sciences Politiques in 1903, *Essai sur l’histoire des institutions du Sultanat Ottoman*, he sought to demonstrate that Ottoman institutions had arisen from a binary legacy made up of both Islamic and Turkish traditions. In his view, the Turks tenaciously continued to hold on to their ‘national’ traditions and customary law from the Central Asian past even after they had adopted Islam. As François Georgeon emphasized, by putting Islamic law on the same plane as ‘Turkish’ customary law, Akçura attributed a relatively historical character to the former, rather than a divine and absolute value.²¹⁷ Through this formulation, he reduced Islam to just one of the various stages gone through in Turkish history. In other words, he considered the Islamic era and other epochs of the ‘Turkish past’, such as the shamanic or Buddhist periods, to all be part of the same framework. In this manner, on the one hand he paved the way for a more secular interpretation of

²¹⁵ See *ibid.*, 224, 243, 374, 398.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 476.

²¹⁷ François Georgeon, *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)* (Paris: Éditions ADPF, 1980), 19–20.

Turkish history, while on the other hand, rather than situating the necessary conditions for the establishment of ‘Turkish’ states within any external—i.e., Islamic or Byzantine—institutions, he situated them instead in ancient ‘Turkish’ socio-political traditions.²¹⁸

Shortly thereafter, in April–May 1904, Akçura went one step further by publishing his well-known pamphlet, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, in the Cairo-based newspaper *Türk*. As its title indicates, in this work he discusses at length the Ottomanist and Islamist projects in terms of their practical functions and political potentials. After claiming the uselessness of these two policies as feasible and purposeful political projects for the survival of the empire, he proposes another in their stead, one which until that time remained a largely cultural movement.²¹⁹ In his view, the only consistent way to follow was ‘to constitute a policy of Turkish nationality based on race’ (*ırk üzerine müstenid bir Türk milliyet-i siyasisesi teşkil etmek*).²²⁰ This political project, he argued, would not only unite all Turks living within the Ottoman Empire, but also unify the entire Turkish nation—i.e., those conceived of as belonging to the same language and ethnicity—across Asia and into Eastern Europe.²²¹

In this context, Akçura did not hesitate to criticize even the very newspaper that published his treatise, as well as the prevalent approach among Ottoman intellectuals, for ignoring the ‘Turkish world’ outside the empire. By considering ‘only the

²¹⁸ Some of the ‘necessary conditions’ for the establishment of ‘Turkish’ states, according to Akçura, were the existence of patriarchy, an aristocracy, customary law, and collective property over the land. See Halil Berktaş, ‘The Search for the Peasant in Western and Turkish History/Historiography,’ in *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History*, eds. Halil Berktaş and Suraiya Faroqi (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 169.

²¹⁹ Akçuraoglu Yusuf, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Kader, 1327 [1911]), 16–26.

²²⁰ Ibid., 3.

²²¹ Ibid., 27–28. Also see Georgeon, *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc*, 23–25; Özkırımlı and Sofos, *Tormented by History*, 33.

Western Turks living in the Ottoman territories’, he stated, the Ottomans neglected their own ‘race’, which in fact extended from ‘Beijing to Montenegro’. According to him, this defective viewpoint also found an echo in the historical perspective as well. Akçura condemned how, as a result of differentiating Ottoman and Turkish histories from one another, the Ottoman historical outlook on the past traced their beginnings only to the fourteenth century at the earliest. Moreover, he continued, ‘the military, political, and cultural history of the Turks’ for Ottoman intellectuals ‘consists solely of’ such Ottoman great men as Sultan Mehmed II (the Conqueror), Sultan Selim I (the Grim), Evliya Çelebi, and Bakî. Hence, he declared, Ottoman historiography effectively turned a blind eye to the Central Asian past and such outstanding figures of Turkish history as Al-Farabi, Avicenna, Tamerlane, and, more importantly, Genghis Khan.²²²

It was Akçura’s pamphlet that defined Turkishness with a politicized content for the first time, thus presenting Turkism, or more precisely Turkish nationalism, as an alternative and distinct political project. In doing so, unlike earlier efforts that had sought to combine and synthesize elements of the Turkist and Islamist views, he made sharp distinctions between the Ottomanist, Islamist, and Turkist political projects, as well as trying to show the contradictions among them. For instance, he emphasized how ‘the interest of Islamism [...] does not completely jibe with the benefits of Turkishness, since the strengthening of Islamist policy causes internal disjunction between Muslim and non-Muslim Turks’.²²³ Accordingly, he added, the Islamist policy ‘would destroy the brotherhood amongst Turks that stems from a

²²² Akçuraoglu, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, 31–32.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 15–16.

common lineage'.²²⁴ In return, he continued, the interest of Turkish nationalism 'does not completely coincide with the benefits of Islam, either, because Turkism weakens the Islamic community by dividing it' along national lines.²²⁵ There is no doubt that Akçura's insistence on a clear bifurcation between Hamidian policy and Turkish nationalism reflects a gradual shift away from the Turkist current of the second half of the nineteenth century, which still substantially overlapped with Islamism.

More importantly, perhaps, Akçura equipped Turkishness with an utterly secular content. As he frequently emphasized, 'the nation' was a political entity based on common descent and race. To put it another way, for Akçura, 'race' was the major historical determinant of one's national and personal identity.²²⁶ It must be noted here that Akçura used the term 'race' in the sense of an 'ethnic' group, and not necessarily in any anthropological manner that claimed superiority over other 'nations' or gave the term a meaning related to how 'race' is used today. As Georgeon aptly clarified, Akçura preferred this term—which he believed had no pejorative content in the context within which he was using it—so as to define Turkishness in a self-contained manner. In other words, by using the notion of 'race', he attempted to establish a novel framework for Turkishness, one in which Islamic identity was not preponderant and in which, instead, ethno-national denotations were held to be primary.²²⁷

²²⁴ Ibid., 15–16, 23–24.

²²⁵ Ibid., 15–16.

²²⁶ Ibid., 3, 4, 6ff. Also see Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 419.

²²⁷ Georgeon, *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc*, 26–27. Also see Ahmet Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene: Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-Seküler Sınırları (1919-1938)* (4th ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 71–72.

Along with detaching the Islamic element from Turkishness and thereby reestablishing the ‘nation’ on an ethno-secular foundation, Akçura also placed emphasis on the ‘obligatory’ necessity of consigning Islam to the private, rather than the public, sphere. In his view, the religious expression of Islam ought to be a private affair, much as the expression of Christianity was in Europe. Thus, in conjunction with his approach of not interpreting Islamic identity as an active component of national unity, he further reduced the role of religion to an inward-looking, passive, and personal style of worship, or, to use his words, ‘only a tie of conscience between the Creator and the creature’.²²⁸ Undoubtedly, there were certain dissimilarities between Akçura’s strongly secularist stance and the viewpoint of other Russian-born Turkists, such as İsmail Gasprinskiy, or co-apostles of Turkish nationalism, such as Ziya Gökalp, for whom Islam was the inseparable and fundamental facet of Turkishness.²²⁹ As will be seen in the following chapters, this discord would eventually become one of the most significant dividing lines among Turkish nationalists.

²²⁸ ‘Religion is admitted as an important factor in various definitions of the nation. In order to serve the union of Turkishness, however, Islam should move in a direction that accepts the occurrence of nations within itself, a recognition achieved recently in Christianity. This transformation is obligatory: the general current in our time is that of races. Religions are progressively losing their political importance and power. Rather than being social, they are becoming more and more individual. Freedom of conscience is replacing unity of religion in societies. By renouncing the regulation of social affairs, religions are undertaking the spiritual guidance of hearts towards salvation. Religions are becoming only a tie of conscience between the Creator and the creature. Therefore, the only way that religions can protect their political and social significance is to merge into, assist, and even serve the races.’ Akçuraoğlu, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, 30.

²²⁹ I will discuss Gökalp’s nationalism in the following chapters. On İsmail Gasprinskiy see Hakan Kırımlı, *National Movements and National Identity among the Crimean Tatars (1905-1916)* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 37, 42, 44, 118ff.

2. 4 In Lieu of a Conclusion

In 1891, a poet named Muallim Nâci, who was also the son-in-law of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, presented one of his last poems to Sultan Abdulhamid II. This long poem, entitled *Gazi Ertuğrul Bey*, was a sort of heroic epic about the father of Osman. Briefly summarized, in his poem Muallim Nâci glorifies the deeds and virtues of the ‘fair and pious’ Ertughrul, his father Suleiman, and the eponymous leader of the state, Osman. In addition to picturing them as the antithesis of the ‘Tatar Genghis’ Khan—who is described as ‘most unjust, bloodthirsty, and cruel’ (*azlem-i zalimân-ı hunrîz*)—Muallim Nâci did not hesitate to emphasize the ‘Turkishness’ not only of Ertughrul’s ‘tribe’ and the Ottoman dynasty, but also of himself personally. What is more, as might be expected, he placed an especially heavy emphasis on the Islamic character of the state. According to him, Islam was the most crucial warrant and safeguard of the empire.²³⁰

Not surprisingly, Abdulhamid appreciated the poem, which shared much with the historical perspective forged as part of his Islamist policy. He even complimented and awarded the poet, who had also written similar epic poems on Mehmed II and Selim I, as did many others during this era.²³¹ Especially surprising, however, was the sultan’s subsequent creation of a new post, the *tarih-nüvis-i selâtin-i âl-i Osman* (imperial history writer of the Ottoman State), and the appointment of Muallim Nâci to this position as a reward for his literary activity.²³²

²³⁰ Muallim Nâci, ‘Gazi Ertuğrul Bey,’ *Hazine-i Fünûn*, no. 11 (September 8, 1310/20 Rebi’ülevvel 1312 [1894]): 1–5; idem, ‘Gazi Ertuğrul Bey,’ *Hazine-i Fünûn*, no. 12 (September 15, 1310/26 Rebi’ülevvel 1312 [1894]): 1–3.

²³¹ Muallim Nâci, ‘Selîmiyye,’ in *Şerâre* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1301 [1884]), 9–10; idem, ‘Lisân-ı Fatih’ten,’ in *Fürûzan* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1303 [1886]), 9–10.

²³² See footnote 158.

Being separate and different from the post of state chronicler, this newly founded position caused a great deal of confusion. Even the newspaper that published Muallim Nâci's poem after his death wrongly introduced him to its readers as the *vakıa-nüvis-i selâtin-i âl-i Osman*.²³³ Thus, it is no coincidence that some twentieth-century historians credit Muallim Nâci with having been a state chronicler in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the post remained vacant after Muallim Nâci's death: neither Abdulhamid nor his successors appointed anyone to this two-year office until the end of the empire, thus indicating the personal and privileged character of the post and of Muallim Nâci's appointment. Needless to say, the arbitrary and even random appointment of a poet who had produced no historical study not only reminds one of early modern Ottoman practices, but also effectively symbolizes the significant movement away from the relatively rational and systematic practices of the Tanzimat era.

Meanwhile, throughout all this, Ahmed Lütfi remained the official state chronicler, holding his position for a total of 41 years, the only one to hold this post for such a long time. What is more, while Abdulhamid was dealing with Muallim Nâci's appointment, Lütfi was overtly complaining about the indifference paid to his post, and especially about his not receiving sufficient archival materials and his reckless treatment at the hands of state officials. This indifference deepened over time, so to speak, as the office of state chronicler virtually fell into oblivion. After the death of Ahmed Lütfi in March 1907, no one was appointed to the post for more than two years. It is safe to say that the institutionalization and partial professionalization of history as an academic discipline during the Second Constitutional Period would put an end to such disorganized practices.

²³³ Muallim Nâci, 'Gazi Ertuğrul Bey,' *Hazine-i Fünûn*, no. 11, 1.

CHAPTER III

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF HISTORY, THE FORMATION OF THE HISTORIAN

At the end of the nineteenth century, two leading French historians, Charles Seignobos and Charles-Victor Langlois, published a comprehensive methodological guide for the newly established academic discipline of history, which, as Hagen Schulze splendidly put it, ‘had set herself up as queen of the sciences’.¹ Following in the footsteps of Leopold von Ranke, who formulated the nineteenth-century ‘scientific’ paradigm of historical scholarship and gained a cult status as the founder of academic historiography, Langlois and Seignobos, in their work *Introduction aux études historiques*, presented written documents as the only remaining embodiments of and access to past reality. After describing the *métier d'historien* as a scholarly activity ‘*n’est que la mise en œuvre de documents*’, they set out to define the stages of historical research, whose task was to illustrate the past ‘*wie es eigentlich gewesen*

¹ Hagen Schulze, *States, Nations and Nationalism: From Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. William E. Yuill (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 164.

ist'.² According to their quadripartite schema, a historian should initially collect the documents and old records regarding his survey. Then, in order to reach factual knowledge about the past, he must analyze the primary sources by subjecting them to internal and external criticism. In the third phase, he should bring the facts together, seek to relate them to each other, and bridge the gaps between them by deduction and analogy. Last but not least, Langlois and Seignobos identified the final duty of the historian as the construction of a consistent historical narrative via the organization of those facts into a logical and chronological structure.³

Although its authors modestly mention that the *Introduction aux études historiques* is a manual written for aspiring historians needing to understand how historical knowledge is generated, the book soon became the bible of the historiography of the time, and would be read as a 'dogmatic treatise or a decree full of theoretical prescriptions and prohibitions'.⁴ Shortly after its publication in 1898, then, it was translated into a wide range of languages, from Greek to English and from Polish to Chinese, and continued to be highly influential in delineating the contemporary norms of historical scholarship throughout the next several decades.⁵ Needless to say, the Ottoman historians received their share of this influence, too. The Ministry of

² Charles-Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques* (2nd ed.), (Paris: Librairie Hachetté, 1899), 275. See also Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern* (2nd ed.), (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 276–277.

³ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques*, 275–279. See also François Dosse, *L'histoire en miettes: des 'Annales' à la 'nouvelle histoire'* (Paris: Éditions la découverte, 1987), 32–33.

⁴ Jo Tollebeek and Ilaria Porciani, 'Institutions, Networks and Communities in a European Perspective,' in *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, eds. Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 8.

⁵ See Effi Gazi, *Scientific National History: The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective (1850-1920)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), 75; Andrzej F. Grabski, 'Poland,' in *International Handbook of Historical Studies: Contemporary Research and Theory*, eds. Georg G. Iggers and Harold T. Parker (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979), 301.

Education, for instance, decided to translate the *Introduction aux études historiques* during the Second Constitutional Period. Furthermore, other significant works of Seignobos, such as *Histoire de la Civilization* and *Histoire politique de l'Europe contemporaine*, were also translated into Turkish by eminent Ottoman historians in the aftermath of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution. The impact of Seignobos upon Ottoman historians increasingly intensified over time, so much so that some witnesses of the era, such as Yusuf Akçura, were certainly not exaggerating the situation when they spoke of a 'Seignobos dynasty' in late Ottoman historical writing.⁶

There is no doubt that both the 'Seignobos dynasty' in Ottoman historiography and the attention the *Introduction aux études historiques* received from historians all over the world was not for no reason. First of all, this methodological guide appeared at a time when the study of history had just emerged—generally in Europe, the United States, and Japan—as an autonomous academic and professional discipline with its own principles, methods, and procedures. Since the rise of professionalization meant that historical research and writing were to be conducted by persons who were technically trained, at about the middle of the nineteenth century a sharp distinction began to arise between 'professional historians' and 'dilettantes'.⁷ In an age in which the notions of science and scientificity became of primary importance, professional historians emphasized the 'scientific' status of their craft, tended to lay down new epistemological and methodological concepts for strengthening the

⁶ Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, 'Tarih Yazmak ve Tarih Okutmak Usûllerine Dair,' in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi: Konferanslar, Müzakere Zabıtları* (2nd ed.), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2010), 595.

⁷ Georg G. Iggers and Q. Edward Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (Harlow: Pearson, 2008), 128; Georg G. Iggers, 'Nationalism and Historiography, 1789-1996: The German Example in Historical Perspective,' in *Writing National Histories: Western Europe since 1800*, eds. Stefan Berger et al. (London: Routledge, 1999), 18–19.

scientific basis of their profession, and thereby sought to distinguish their craft and profession from alternative forms of history writing.⁸ It was within this context that such works as the *Introduction aux études historiques*, which codified the associated principles of academic historical enquiry, acquired particular significance at the turn of the century. That is to say, these studies answered a need for setting the methodological standards of the discipline, which was the main agenda of the professional historians of the time.

As pointed out in the existing literature, the scientification and professionalization of historical practice went hand in hand with the institutionalization of history. Put differently, the rise of scientific history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was firmly anchored in the growing number and expanding influence of institutions. Being the spaces where historians were engaged in teaching and learning the tools of historical craftsmanship, the universities—including newly founded history departments, well-equipped chairs, and research centers—assumed the foremost place among these institutions.⁹ In addition, national historical associations such as the Royal Historical Society (founded in 1868), the American Historical Association (1884), and the Verband der Historiker und Historikerinnen Deutschlands (1895) also constituted a vital part of this institutional infrastructure.¹⁰

Another manifestation of the process of institutionalization was the publication of

⁸ Tibor Frank and Frank Hadler, 'Nations, Borders and the Historical Profession: On the Complexity of Historiographical Overlaps in Europe,' in *Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts*, 9. Gazi, *Scientific National History*, 39.

⁹ Tollebeek and Porciani, 'Institutions, Networks and Communities,' 7–8; Georg G. Iggers, 'The Intellectual Foundations of Nineteenth-Century "Scientific" History: The German Model,' in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800–1945, 54.

¹⁰ Gabriele Lingelbach, 'The Institutionalization and Professionalization of History in Europe and the United States,' in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800–1945, 84–86; Stefan Berger and Christoph Conrad, *The Past as History: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 129–131, 164–167.

historical journals, such as the German *Historische Zeitschrift* (founded in 1859), the French *Revue Historique* (1876), the *Rivista Storica Italiana* (1884), the *English Historical Review* (1886), the Japanese *Shigaku Zasshi* (1889), and the *American Historical Review* (1895).¹¹ Besides the establishment of these historical periodicals further consolidating the professional standards of the ‘scientific’ scholarship, this same period was also marked by the creation of national archives. In accordance with the Rankean paradigm, which predicated ‘impartial’ history writing categorically on the systematic study of written documents, national archival institutions began to be considered ‘something more than storage warehouses’, as Tom Verschaffel aptly put it, and now became the loci of historical inquiry by providing source material for professional historians committed to the ‘scientific approach’.¹²

It must be noted that the professionalization and institutionalization of historiography was forged within the process of nation- and identity-building. In other words, the transformation of history into an institutionalized academic discipline was accompanied and determined by the political requirements of nineteenth- and twentieth-century states in search of comprehensive historical narratives to support their self-legitimation efforts.¹³ By responding to this need, professional historians of the time, nearly all of whom worked at state universities or institutions, devoted their academic efforts almost entirely to providing a historical rationale for the legitimacy of their countries and the transcendence of their nations. One noteworthy expression

¹¹ Baar, *Historians and Nationalism*, 76–77; Iggers and Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, 130; Berger and Conrad, *The Past as History*, 168–170.

¹² Tom Verschaffel, ‘“Something More than a Storage Warehouse”: The Creation of National Archives,’ in *Setting the Standards*, 29–46.

¹³ Boer, ‘Historical Writing in France: 1800–1914,’ 186; Supriya Mukherjee, ‘Indian Historical Writing since 1947,’ in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 5: *Historical Writing since 1945*, eds. Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 515.

of this situation, for example, revealed itself in certain statements by Gabriel Monod, the distinguished founder of the *Revue Historique*, who explicitly defined historians' 'principal task [...] of national importance' as 'the study of France's past and [...] its historical traditions', which, according to him, would also give their 'country the unity and moral strength it need[ed]'.¹⁴ In compliance with the mainstream scientific orientation of the era, known as 'methodological nationalism', historians served to naturalize the nation—and the state—as the constitutive unit of human society.¹⁵ Thus, they accepted the nation and the state as the main—and in most instances the unique—conceptual framework within which all historical events and processes were to be explored. Rooting their nations in the most distant past, historians presented them as eternal and lasting realities that had always played a central role in history.¹⁶ In this context, such national source publications as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, the *Roll Series*, the *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, and the *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, all of which were launched with strong government support, appeared not only as the necessary raw material for 'scientific' historiography, but also as the 'objective proof' of the antiquity, continuity, and historical grandeur of the nations in question.¹⁷

All in all, the establishment of an appropriate institutional framework for historiographical practice was largely completed along these lines by the early 1910s

¹⁴ Quoted in Claus Møller Jørgensen, 'Scholarly Communication with a Political Impetus: National Historical Journals,' in *Setting the Standards*, 71.

¹⁵ On 'methodological nationalism' see Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, 'Methodological Nationalism and beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences,' *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301–334.

¹⁶ Jaume Aurell, 'Introduction: Modern Medievalism and National Traditions,' in *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2: *National Traditions*, eds. Jaume Aurell and Julia Pavon (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 9.

¹⁷ Daniela Saxer, 'Monumental Undertakings: Source Publications for the Nation,' in *Setting the Standards*, 51–53; Berger and Conrad, *The Past as History*, 134–136.

in Europe, Japan, and the United States. Although the pace and timing differed, in the twentieth century similar patterns of institutionalization and the professionalization of history repeated itself in various forms throughout most of the world, from China to Latin America and from India to sub-Saharan Africa. Ottoman historiography experienced the same process in its own context and with its own historical coloring after the 1908 Young Turk Revolution. Much like their global counterparts, the Ottomans also tended to set up scholarly institutional structures for historical writing in order to disseminate a shared view of the past among the members of the ‘nation’, which, with the revolution, began to be imagined again as the ‘Ottoman nation’. By founding a history department at the university (i.e., the modern-day Istanbul University), establishing the first historical association, and publishing a regular history journal, the Ottomans built an institutionalized academic space for historiography that had been almost nonexistent before the revolution, despite the initial steps taken for its creation during the Tanzimat era. In the first part of this bipartite chapter, I trace the aforementioned process of institutionalization and professionalization of history in the Ottoman Empire, a process that was closely connected with the resurgence of Ottomanism following the 1908 repromulgation of the constitution of 1876. After examining the transformation of history into a distinct academic discipline and the rise of the institutional framework in which it was practiced, I focus on the making of a young Ottoman intellectual, Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, who began his career as a man of letters but would later become the patriarch of twentieth-century Turkish historiography. To this end, I primarily seek to explore his formation as well as his liberal and cosmopolitan views on social, cultural, and literary issues, which were somewhat in line with the general political atmosphere and intellectual climate of the early years of the Second Constitutional

Period. Next, I concentrate on the profound shifts in his intellectual trajectory and ideological disposition as a result of the turbulent political circumstances the empire faced, especially after the Balkan Wars. Finally, I attempt to shed light on his introduction to the profession of history as a young intellectual who developed the perspective of a Turkish nationalist.

3. 1 Ranke's Shadow in the Ottoman Empire

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 was a turning point in late Ottoman history, during which the political projects and regime strategies of the empire once again changed. Adopting a relatively secular and positivistic worldview, the Young Turk movement emerged and developed as a reaction against the absolutist and Islamist Hamidian policies. In contrast to the Hamidian ideology, which had been essentially exclusionary toward non-Muslim elements, the Young Turk political program was based on a staunch Ottomanist agenda, particularly in the early years after the revolution, promising equal civic rights and stressing the principle of 'equality before the law' for all Ottomans regardless of religion or ethnic origin.¹⁸ Therefore, the 1908 revolution not only reestablished the constitutional and parliamentary regime that the Hamidian rule had suspended, but also reinstituted Ottomanism as the official and dominant ideology in the political and public spheres.

As has already been demonstrated in the existing literature, the Young Turks conceived of a state and society in which religion and ethnicity would be supplanted by a broader Ottoman identity and patriotism. Thus, the constitutional regime sought

¹⁸ Vangelis Kechriotis, 'The Modernization of the Empire and the Community "Privileges": Greek Orthodox Responses to the Young Turk Policies,' in *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran*, ed. Touraj Atabaki (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 53.

to promote the notion of Ottomanness, hoping to erode intercommunal divisions within the empire and focus the loyalty of Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike onto a geographical ‘fatherland’ comprising the Ottoman territories.¹⁹ Moreover, the Young Turks also made an effort to shift the canonized emphasis from the caliphate and over-personalized monarchical forms of the Hamidian absolutist vision onto the Ottoman state itself by redefining as well as transforming the political discourse along more secular and state-based patriotic lines.²⁰ It is noteworthy in this context that very little was heard during the early years after the revolution about the title of caliph, which was presumably the most powerful factor for maintaining the Hamidian regime.²¹ Hence, as part of a program of creating a new sense of loyalty revolving around the Ottoman state and common Ottoman identity, propaganda emphasizing unity and full equality among all citizens reached its peak in the aftermath of the revolution. One remarkable example in this regard were statements made by Sheikhulislam Cemaleddin Efendi after the restitution of the constitution, when jubilant crowds from various religious and ethnic communities were embracing each other as Ottoman ‘brethren’. Cemaleddin Efendi overtly stated that all the inhabitants of the empire, whether they were Muslims or non-Muslims, were undisputedly equal members of the state in terms of their rights and duties.²²

It is safe to say that the Young Turks accepted education as the pivot of all reform. In their view, an increased level of education would render the Ottoman people more

¹⁹ Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, 9, 24.

²⁰ See Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Sosyal Devlet*, 330–331, 334.

²¹ Aykut Kansu, *The Revolution of 1908 in Turkey* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 154.

²² ‘Şeyhülislam Efendi ile Mülakat,’ *İkdam*, no. 5106 (July 30, 1324/August 12, 1908): 3; ‘Makam-ı Meşihat-i İslamiyenin Tahrirâtı,’ *Tanin*, no. 365 (August 25, 1325/Şaban 22, 1327 [1909]): 2.

receptive to Ottomanist policy and constitutionalist ideas.²³ In this regard, the new regime made primary school mandatory and free of charge, as well as increasing the period of compulsory education to six years by merging elementary (*ibtidai*) and secondary (*rüşdiye*) schools.²⁴ In addition, a significant journal, entitled *Tedrisat Mecmuası* (Journal of Education), began to be published by the Ministry of Public Education in 1910 to discuss such educational issues as teacher training and lesson plans.²⁵ Subsequently, commissions were set up to reshape the school programs and curriculums were reoriented in a more secular direction. Contrary to the Hamidian policies, which had put religious instruction at the center of the educational system, the number of religious courses was substantially reduced during the Second Constitutional Period. Moreover, obligatory Islamic practices in schools, like ritual prayer and worship, were abolished. Another ritual of the Hamidian era—namely, shouting ‘Long live the sultan’ at the beginning and end of school days—was also switched to a recitation of emotionally charged poems and marches about the Ottoman Empire, indicating the shift in the focus of loyalty from the religiously sanctioned sultan-caliph to the state itself.²⁶ Before too long, new rituals embracing all ethnic and religious groups within the empire were ‘invented’, replacing the religious rituals for the sake of strengthening patriotic and Ottomanist values: the anniversary of the Young Turk Revolution, for instance, was adopted as a ‘national’ holiday across the empire in 1909. Similarly, the opening of parliament was

²³ Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, 76.

²⁴ BOA. MF.MKT. 1175/63. 1329.L.18.

²⁵ Contrary to the commonly held view in the current literature, this journal was launched in 1910, not in 1909. Moreover, the journal first appeared under the title *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası* (Journal of Primary Education), and its name was not changed to *Tedrisat Mecmuası* until April 1912. For the first issue of the journal see *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası*, no. 1 (February 1325 [1910]).

²⁶ Alkan, ‘Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim,’ 17–20, 58–70.

announced as another ‘national’ holiday and began to be celebrated under the name *Meclis-i Milli’nin Yevm-i Küşâdı Bayramı* (Holiday of the Opening Day of the National Parliament).²⁷

As the aforementioned practices demonstrate, the impact of the Young Turk Revolution was profound not only with regard to the transformation of the political structure, but also with regard to the course of the Ottoman public and social environment. To put it another way, the 1908 revolution opened new avenues for change in many aspects of cultural and intellectual life. The elimination of Hamidian censorship, in this context, considerably liberalized the state-driven and government-controlled public and intellectual sphere, as well as leading to a sudden quantitative boom in serial publication.²⁸ In this sense, it would not be an exaggeration to describe especially the first two years of the constitutional regime as a unique period in the history of the Ottoman press: scores of books and pamphlets, including historical studies, were printed, and the number of newspapers and journals increased exponentially, with over two hundred new periodicals being published in Istanbul alone just in the first year after the revolution.²⁹

Needless to say, this open and fecund intellectual atmosphere also promoted the expression of opinions concerning the importance of constructing a common historical consciousness in general, and of history education in particular. It must be noted that, from the beginning of the new era, intellectuals and educationists

²⁷ BOA, BEO, 3595/269552, 1327.C.20. BOA, DH.MKT, 2872/33, 1327.C.22. BOA, BEO, 3599/269873, 1327.C.27. See also Füsün Üstel, *‘Makbul Vatandaş’ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 28–30.

²⁸ Amit Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition* (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), 35–36.

²⁹ Palmira Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: 1908–1911* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 25; Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *‘Hürriyet’i Beklerken: İkinci Meşrutiyet Basını* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 8.

repeatedly emphasized the close connections of history education with the aims of the Young Turks. For instance, Ali Reşad, a distinguished historian of the era, harshly criticized the Hamidian rule in the *Tedrisat Mecmuası* for censoring historical studies and eliminating history lessons from school curriculums. In his view, history instruction was the most unequivocally effective tool for raising patriotic generations.³⁰ In a similar vein, Mustafa Satı Bey, a significant educationist and the director of the Teacher Training School (*Darülmualimin*) from 1909 to 1912, characterized history education as the main source for instilling love of country. Besides, he added, history courses would create a genuine attachment to the constitutional regime and provide real ‘union and progress’ for the state and society. Accordingly, he came to the conclusion that no other courses could possibly substitute for history lessons.³¹ Another writer also claimed that a common historical outlook on the Ottoman past would ensure the unity of elements within the empire.³² Likewise, Ahmed Refik (Altınay), one of the most prolific and outstanding historians of the era, described history as the unique glue which could bond citizens to their countries.³³ As a result, history instruction came to be seen as a crucial component of public education after the repromulgation of the constitution.

In connection with this, the constitutional regime not only introduced into the newly designed school programs history courses, which had been removed from the curriculums during the Hamidian era, but also increased the number of history

³⁰ Ali Reşad, ‘Mekteplerde Tarih Dersi,’ *Tedrisat Mecmuası*, no. 20 (May 15, 1328 [1912]): 54–55.

³¹ Satı, ‘Tarih Tedrisinin Usûl-i Esasiyesi,’ *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası*, no. 8 (September 15, 1326 [1910]): 94–96.

³² Hüseyin Kazım, ‘Bizde Tarih,’ *Donanma* 2, no. 14 (Rebi’ülâhir 1329/April 1327 [1911]): 1300–1301.

³³ Ahmed Refik, ‘Tarih ve Felsefe-i Tarihiye,’ *Şura-yı Ümmet*, no. 218 (Rebi’ülâhir 18, 1328/April 15, 1326 [1910]): 7–9.

lessons at all tiers of education.³⁴ Moreover, the content of history instruction underwent a radical transformation. In this respect, the new regime substantially changed the extent of history education, which throughout the period of Hamidian rule had been reduced to limited descriptions of the Islamic and Ottoman past.³⁵ After 1908, textbooks essentially improved in terms of their perspective, content, and style.³⁶ Issues of world history, contemporary history, and the philosophy of history were no more considered as unfavorable fields. On the contrary, a special emphasis on the importance of the French Revolution, for instance, became apparent in history lectures and course books, since the Young Turks identified the promulgation of the constitution with the French Revolution. What is more, other ‘inconvenient’ topics, such as the Young Ottoman movement, the dethronement of Sultan Abdulaziz, and the inauguration of the First Constitutional Period began to be included in courses and school textbooks.³⁷

There is no doubt that the Young Turk Revolution found an echo in the university as well. For one thing, the university’s name—*Darülfünun-ı Şâhâne* (literally, the Imperial House of Sciences)—was changed to *Darülfünun-ı Osmanî* (the Ottoman House of Sciences), since the word *şâhâne* was reminiscent of Abdulhamid as well as the long-established understanding that reduced the Ottoman state to the

³⁴ Mete Tunçay, ‘İlk ve Orta Öğretimde Tarih,’ in *Eleştirel Tarih Yazıları* (Ankara: Liberte Yayınları, 2005), 245–246.

³⁵ Türk, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Tarih Eğitimi*, 198–199, 286.

³⁶ Doğan Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation, 1860–1950* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 136.

³⁷ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, ‘II. Meşrutiyet’te Eğitim, İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti, Milliyetçilik, Militarizm veya “Militer Türk-İslam Sentezi”,’ in *II. Meşrutiyet’i Yeniden Düşünmek*, ed. Ferdan Ergut (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), 66.

personality of the sultan.³⁸ Moreover, the university became for the first time open to the broad masses of people through its acceptance of students without any tuition fee or entrance examination requirements. Accordingly, the first years after the revolution witnessed a noticeable increase in the number of students at the university.³⁹ In addition, new appointments to the university's academic staff came to the fore. In just the first six months after the revolution, outstanding literary figures like Hâlid Ziyâ (Uşaklıgil), Ahmed Midhat, and Mehmed Akif (Ersoy); eminent intellectuals like Rıza Tevfik (Bölükbaşı) and Ali Kemal; and representatives of the Turkist stance like Necip Asım and Veled Çelebi (İzbudak) started teaching Ottoman literature, history of literature, Ottoman history, and world history at the Faculty of Literature.⁴⁰ One year later, the well-known poet Tevfik Fikret and the Russian-born Turkist Ahmed Ağaoğlu were assigned to the faculty to teach Ottoman literature and Turco-Mongol history, respectively. Along with other prominent nationalist intellectuals like Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp, a promising young man of letters, Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad also joined the staff of the faculty at the end of 1913.⁴¹ As will be seen below, these last appointments were the projection of a broader transformation in the political and cultural space.

More importantly, perhaps, certain significant steps towards the institutionalization of disciplines and specialization were being taken at the university. A curricular

³⁸ After 1913, the university began to be called *İstanbul Darülfünunu* (Istanbul University). However, its name was once again changed to *Darülfünun-ı Osmanî* during the Armistice Period; see Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 1*, 295.

³⁹ Nonetheless, student numbers went down during the years of the Balkan Wars and World War I; see Tekeli and İlkin, *Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü*, 95–98.

⁴⁰ BOA, MF.MKT, 1088/71, 1326.Za.29. BOA, MF.MKT, 1085/27, 1326.Za.16. See also Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 62–64.

⁴¹ A. Holly Shissler, *Between Two Empires: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the New Turkey* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002), 177; Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 64, 114–117.

arrangement to classify the courses that would be taught at the Faculty of Literature was decided during the reorganization of the university in 1912–1913. The new regulation of the institution, which was prepared by the endeavors of Minister of Education Emrullah Efendi, grouped the courses under the titles of ‘history and geography’, ‘sociology’, ‘literature’, ‘philosophy’, and ‘foreign languages’.

According to the regulation, the ‘history and geography group’ (*tarih ve coğrafya takımı*) would consist of ‘world history’, ‘political history’, ‘Ottoman history’, and ‘geography’ courses. The ‘sociology group’ (*ulûm-ı içtimaiye takımı*) included the lectures entitled ‘science of sociology’ (*ilm-i içtimai*) and ‘science of economics’ (*ilm-i iktisad*). The ‘literature group’ (*edebiyat takımı*) contained such courses as ‘Turkish literature’, ‘history of Turkish literature’, ‘history of Western literature’, and ‘Persian literature’. And lastly, the ‘foreign languages group’ (*elsine takımı*) was made up of lessons on French, German, English, and Russian.⁴²

Despite this extensive reorganization, however, those students who fulfilled the requirements for graduation were still registered as graduates of the Faculty of Literature, rather than of particular departments, as the latter had not yet been formally established at the time. Before too long, new arrangements were implemented: at the beginning of the 1915–1916 academic year, during World War I, three departments—‘history and geography’, ‘literature’, and ‘philosophy’—as well as a chair system were established within Faculty of Literature.⁴³ As Mustafa Selçuk has noted, in addition to the department of ‘history and geography’, which was made up of the chairs of ‘ancient history’ (*tarih-i kadim*), ‘European history’, ‘national

⁴² *İstanbul Darülfünunu: Talimat* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1329 [1913]), 13–14.

⁴³ The Minister of Public Education of the time, Şükrü Bey, officially declared this arrangement in parliament, together with the establishment of the departments of philosophy, literature, and history and geography within the Faculty of Literature; see *Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi* (Devre: 3, *İçtima Senesi*: 2, cilt: 1, 26. *İnikad*), Kanun-ı Sani 28, 1331 [1915], 542.

history' (*milli tarih*), and 'geography', the 'literature department' had chairs in 'literature', 'Turkish philology' (*Türk lisaniyatı*), 'Semitic languages' (*elsine-i samiye lisaniyatı*), and 'Ancient Greek and Latin literature' (*Yunan-ı kadim ve Latin lisaniyat ve edebiyatları*).⁴⁴ Finally, a few years later, the department of 'history and geography' was restructured as two separate departments, with the 'department of geography' and 'department of history' being founded within the Faculty of Literature in the academic year of 1918–1919.⁴⁵ The department of history would leave a powerful imprint on Turkish historiography from the very moment of its establishment. One of the first graduates of the department, for example, was Mükrimin Halil (Yinanç), who graduated in December 1919 and would later become a distinguished historian as well as take an active part in the establishment of the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) during the early republican period.⁴⁶ Needless to say, the foundation of the history department not only sealed the undisputed place of historiography in the realm of scientific discourse, but also marked a milestone for the institutionalization of history as an academic discipline in its own right, thereby providing an infrastructural base for further specialization and professionalization. In addition, the other major turning point in terms of the institutionalization of historiography was the November 1909 establishment of the

⁴⁴ It must be noted that Selçuk is referring to the academic year of 1917–1918; Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 168–169.

⁴⁵ Some noteworthy courses within the curricula of the history department at the time were as follows: Ottoman History (given by Ahmed Refik), Turkish History (Şemseddin [Günaltay]), History of Islam (Ahmed Ağaoğlu), Medieval History (Behçet Bey), Early Modern History (*Kurûn-ı Cedide Tarihi*, Ali Reşad), and Modern History (*Asr-ı Hâzır Tarihi*, Ali Muzaffer Bey); see *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Talebe Rehberi: 1334-1335 Sene-i Tedrisiyesi İkinci Şühûr-ı Dersiyesi (16 Şubat–16 Haziran 1335)* (İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, 1335 [1919]), 8, 23–26.

⁴⁶ Mükrimin Halil first enrolled in the department of history and geography in September 1916, but after the division of this department into two separate departments, he eventually graduated from the department of history; Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 313–314.

first historical association proper in the Ottoman Empire, the *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni* (Ottoman Historical Society, hereafter OHS).

As previously pointed out, after a period of two years when the post of state chronicler remained vacant, Abdurrahman Şeref was appointed to the position in May 1909. It is worth noting here that by the time he began to serve as the chronicler, Abdurrahman Şeref had already had a long and prestigious career. In addition to teaching a wide range of courses, including Ottoman history, world history and geography, at the university, the Mekteb-i Mülkiye, and the Mekteb-i Sultanî for over three decades, he also served as the director of the latter two schools for sixteen and fourteen years, respectively.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, he also received orders and medals from both the French and the Romanian governments in recognition of his achievements during his directorship at the Mekteb-i Sultanî. Furthermore, at the time of the promulgation of the constitution, he was nominated to membership of the Ottoman Senate (*Meclis-i Âyan*), a seat that he would occupy until its suppression. He also served in various cabinets as Minister of Property Records (*Defter-i Hakânî Nezâreti*), of Education, and of Pious Endowments (*Evkâf Nezâreti*) during the course of the Second Constitutional Period.⁴⁸

With all this in mind, when comparing the marginalized role of the state chronicler throughout the Hamidian era with the appointment to this office of a prestigious member of the senate who was also the former Minister of Education and of Property Records, one can discern the increasing importance that was being attributed to history writing from the beginning of the Second Constitutional Period. Immediately

⁴⁷ BOA, MF.MKT, 1295.S.15. BOA, MF/MKT, 1295.Ra.19. BOA, İ.MF, 2/1312, 1312.Ş.17.

⁴⁸ Mehmet Demiryürek, *Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Osmanlı Aydını (1853–1925)* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2003), 18–50, 84.

after his appointment, and in line with the tendency placing a premium on historiographical practices, Abdurrahman Şeref declared the necessity of constituting a ‘comprehensive and detailed’ Ottoman history.⁴⁹ In addition to mentioning the inadequacies of traditional and contemporary historical works, he underlined how, rather than being a personal initiative, an extensive history of the empire could only be written by a commission consisting of able historians proficient in foreign languages. Besides this, and contrary to the Hamidian-era historiography that mostly dated the origin of the Ottomans to the emergence of Islam, Abdurrahman Şeref strongly emphasized that the beginning of this ‘national’ history should be dated to the thirteenth century.⁵⁰ In fact, this perception of history, which was inspired by the Ottomanist viewpoint, can be glimpsed in the parliamentary proceedings of the time as well. For instance, when the choice of a national holiday was debated in January 1909, one of the two commonly suggested dates was a specific day that would be determined from the year 699 (AH); i.e., 1299.⁵¹

The commission that Abdurrahman Şeref recommended was founded as the nucleus of the OHS in June 1909.⁵² The *Tarih-i Osmanî Heyeti* (Commission for Ottoman History), headed by the state chronicler himself, was made up of the most distinguished historians of its period, among them Ali Reşad, Necip Asım, and Ahmed Refik. Moreover, in accordance with the dominant pluralist perspective, some non-Muslim Ottomans were also included among the commission’s members as well, such as Diran Kelekyan, an Armenian intellectual who taught political

⁴⁹ Âyandan Vakanüvis Abdurrahman Şeref, ‘Tarih-i Osmanî,’ *Sabah*, no. 7071 (May 20, 1325/June 2, 1909): 2.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ MMZC (*Devre: 1, İçtima Senesi: 1, cilt: 1, 18. İnikad*), Kanun-ı Sani 13, 1324 [1909], 320–323.

⁵² ‘Tarih-i Osmanî Heyeti,’ *Sabah*, no. 7091 (June 9, 1325/June 22, 1909): 2.

history at the Mekteb-i Mülkiye after the revolution, and Pavlos Carolidis, a well-known Greek historian and a deputy in the Ottoman parliament.⁵³

At the first meeting of the commission, held on 23 June, a working group of Abdurrahman Şeref, Pavlos Carolidis, Necip Asım, Mehmed Arif, and Ahmed Tevfik (Ulusoy) was set up for writing the first part of the Ottoman history. Similar to Abdurrahman Şeref's aforementioned periodization, it was announced that the first chapter of the history would cover the period between the rise of the Ottoman state and the Battle of Ankara in 1402.⁵⁴ Later, in August 1909, the commission considerably fleshed out the outline of the proposed history. According to the new quadripartite periodization schema, the first part of the project would focus on the era from the 'Turkish invasion of Anatolia' to 'the Battle of Ankara'; the second chapter would concentrate on the period from the Interregnum to the reign of Mehmed II; the third part would narrate 'the most elevated age of Ottomanness' (*Osmanlılığın aksayısı tealiye vasıl olduğu zaman*); and finally, the last chapter would deal with the 'period of decline' (*devr-i inhitat*), specifically the era between the reign of Murad III and the 1908 revolution.⁵⁵

If one takes a closer look at this detailed plan, certain crucial points draw attention to themselves. For one thing, the historical periodization of the commission differed from the traditional dynastic perspective, which divided up the Ottoman past on the basis of monarchical reigns. Instead of this dynasty-oriented approach, the

⁵³ For a list of all members of the commission, see *ibid.* For Diran Kelekyan, see Nesim Ovadya İzrail, *24 Nisan 1915: İstanbul, Çankırı, Ayaş, Ankara* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 525–531. For Pavlos Carolidis, see Vangelis Kechriotis, 'A Cappadocian in Athens, an Athenian in Smyrna, and a Parliamentarian in Istanbul: The Multiple Personae and Loyalties of Pavlos Carolidis,' in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, eds. Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 297–309.

⁵⁴ 'Tarih Komisyonu,' *Tanin*, no. 291 (June 11, 1325/June 24, 1909): 2.

⁵⁵ 'Tarih-i Osmanî,' *Sabah*, no. 7128 (July 27, 1325/August 9, 1909): 3.

commission opted for a thematic organization in which the main focal points for the periodization were the ‘interregnum’, ‘expansion’, and ‘decline’ periods of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁶ In connection with this, rather than accepting the reigns of Osman or Ertughrul Ghazi as the beginning of Ottoman history, the commission instead situated the foundation of the state within a broader framework, which appeared in the outline as the ‘Turkish invasion of Anatolia’. This shift might be considered a result of the influence of Turkists like Necip Asım on the one hand, but on the other hand, and more importantly, it stemmed from a historical outlook that conceived of the state as being something apart from the Ottoman dynasty.

Obviously, this change in historical perspective was closely connected with the transformation in the political culture and discourse, which sought to shift the focus of loyalty from the sultan to the state.

Furthermore, as one can observe, launching the Ottoman history project with a section on the ‘Turkish invasion of Anatolia’ concurred with those views that presumed the ‘Turks’ as the founders of the Ottoman state. In keeping with this standpoint, the commission declared that ‘the [other] elements which constituted the Ottoman people would also be taken into consideration [in the project]’ but only ‘from the time they had entered into Ottoman history’.⁵⁷ In another announcement about the project made in April 1910, immediately after mentioning the necessity of including a section on Byzantine history in the book because the Ottomans had been partially influenced by Byzantine traditions in terms of ‘politics, administration, and social rules’, the reader was cautioned against any possible misunderstanding

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ ‘...kitle-i Osmaniye’yi teşkil eden anasır dahi hayat-ı tarihiye-yi Osmaniye dâhil oldukları zamandan itibaren nazar-ı dikkate alınacaklardır.’ Ibid.

regarding the real roots of the state: ‘Ottoman institutions belonged to the Turco-Turanian race’ (*müesseselerin mensup olduğu Türk-Turani ırkının*).⁵⁸ The crucial point to be made here is that, although the commission was fully aware of the multiethnic and multireligious structure of the empire and mostly functioned on the basis of the hegemonic Ottomanist policy, a generally tacit—but sometimes explicit—implication concerning Turkish primacy over other elements also revealed itself in its texts and declarations. As demonstrated by such statements as ‘Ottoman institutions belonged to the Turco-Turanian race’, ‘the [other] elements [...] would *also* be taken into consideration’, and ‘from the time they had entered into Ottoman history’, while the commission deemed the Turks, who had settled in Anatolia before the foundation of the state, to be the essential and central element of the empire, other elements were considered secondary, almost as if they were a sort of latecomer. These implications would become much more apparent in the following years as a result of the change in the political context.

Also to be noted is the fact that the commission conceived of the Ottoman history project, to the extent possible, as a fully integrated structure. Thus, ‘to procure a complete picture of Ottoman history’, the commission reported, along with concentrating on ‘military, economic, and legal aspects, the intellectual, literary, and religious life of the Ottoman past’ would also be included in the work.⁵⁹ What is more, Abdurrahman Şeref also put particular emphasis on the impartiality of the project, arguing that ‘the Ottoman histories that had been written up to that time could not be regarded as national histories, since they had not been written in a

⁵⁸ Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni, ‘İfade-i Meram,’ *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 1, 2.

⁵⁹ ‘Tarih-i Osmanî,’ *Sabah*, no. 7128, 3.

scientific and impartial way.’⁶⁰ In harmony with this scientifically oriented approach, it was decided to bring together in Istanbul all the significant old records and historical documents that were located in various cities of the empire or even other countries.⁶¹ During the following months, the commission reinforced its efforts to classify and catalogue the official documents and registers—or, as they were described in the parliamentary proceedings, ‘the spirit and soul of the state’—stored in the state archives and in Topkapı Palace.⁶² In this context, it must be emphasized that the essential difference between archival arrangements in the Tanzimat era and those of the Second Constitutional Period lay in the fact that, whereas the former endeavors were mainly intended for the conservation of old records of state affairs, the latter was devoted allowing archival sources to be used for historical research.

In addition to these scholarly efforts, the commission also took steps to shape its own organizational and institutional structure. To this end, commission members prepared a set of detailed regulations, presenting the text to the Sublime Porte in November 1909. Shortly thereafter, at the end of the same month, the commission gained official status through its reestablishment as the Ottoman Historical Society, under the chairmanship of Abdurrahman Şeref.⁶³ The primary and main objective of the OHS, as indicated in its rules and regulations, was to compile ‘a perfect history of the

⁶⁰ Ibid. For similar views on this point, see also Efdaleddin, ‘Tarih,’ *Mülkiye*, no. 2 (March 1, 1325 [1909]): 63–64; idem, ‘Tarih,’ *Mülkiye*, no. 3 (April 1, 1325 [1909]): 61–64.

⁶¹ ‘Tarih-i Osmanî Komisyonu,’ *Sabah*, no. 7093 (June 11, 1325/June 24, 1909): 2; ‘Tarih Komisyonu,’ *Tanin*, no. 291, 2.

⁶² See, for instance, ‘Vesaik-i Kadime,’ *Tanin*, no. 316 (July 6, 1325/July 19, 1909): 2; ‘Topkapı Sarayı’nda Kütüphane,’ *Tanin*, no. 316, 2; and ‘Tarih-i Osmanî,’ *Sabah*, no. 7128, 3. For the parliamentary proceedings, see *MMZC (Devre: 1, İçtima Senesi: 2, cilt: 5, 95. İnikad)*, May 10, 1326 [1910], 398–401.

⁶³ BOA, BEO. 3671/275266, 1327.Za.16. BOA, BEO. 3678/275786, 1327.Z.5. BOA, İ.MF. 15/1327, 1327.Z.3.

Ottoman state'; history, so to speak, as it really was.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, the basis or reasons for the OHS's foundation was not free of political motives. In line with Brenda Shaffer's statement that every politicized group involved in the strengthening of collective identity typically intends to foster collective memories among its members and disseminates a shared view of the past,⁶⁵ one of the OHS's publications directly illustrates its aim of creating a consciousness of an Ottoman nation: 'It became necessary to learn the national [i.e., Ottoman] history when the Ottomans reinstituted the constitutional regime and expressed their determination to hold on to the common fatherland with a feeling for the unity of constituent elements, mutual interests, and identical goals.'⁶⁶

As is well known, the process of professionalization and the institutionalization of an academic discipline go hand in hand with further specialization and the exclusion of amateurs and hobbyists.⁶⁷ In this regard, the OHS was consciously formed so as to include the most prominent intellectuals and historians of the time, those with specific expertise on the various fields and periods of Ottoman history. Taking a glance at the career paths of the OHS members clearly shows the society's scholarly level as well as its intellectual maturity and variety. Briefly summarized, alongside such aforementioned members as Abdurrahman Şeref, Necip Asım, and Ahmed Midhat, there were also the following. Ahmed Tevhid was a leading archaeologist

⁶⁴ 'Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Hakkında Talimat Sureti', in *Son Vakanüvis Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi Tarihi: II. Meşrutiyet Olayları (1908–1909)*, eds. Bayram Kodaman and Mehmet Ali Ünal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1996), 262–263.

⁶⁵ Brenda Shaffer, *Borders and Brethren: Iran and the Challenge of Azerbaijani Identity* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2002), 157.

⁶⁶ Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni, 'İfade-i Meram,' 1–2.

⁶⁷ Herzog, 'Notes on the Development of Turkish and Oriental Studies in the German Speaking Lands,' 11.

and numismatist who had graduated from the Mekteb-i Sultanî in 1888 and the Law School in 1894. Ahmed Refik was an 1898 graduate of the War Academy who taught French, geography, and history at the university and at military schools and who would become an outstanding historian in subsequent years. Efdaleddin (Tekiner) Efendi was a graduate of the Mekteb-i Mülkiye in 1893 and lectured on world history and Ottoman history at the university, the Mekteb-i Mülkiye, and the Mekteb-i Sultanî. Halil Edhem (Eldem) had studied at the universities of Zurich, Vienna, and Bern, receiving his doctoral degree from the latter in 1885; he was elected to full membership in the OHS following Ahmed Midhat's death in 1913 and would emerge as a pioneer in fields ranging from Islamic archaeology to art history to numismatics. Iskender Yanko Hoçi, on the other hand, was a non-Muslim Albanian member of the OHS who had been trained as a multilingual intellectual in the Mekteb-i Sultanî and the law school in Paris and who could speak both Western and Eastern languages, such as French, Greek, Albanian, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Another non-Muslim member of the OHS was Pavlos Carolidis, who had studied history at the universities of Munich, Strasbourg, and Tübingen and taught at the University of Athens for almost a quarter of a century. Similarly, there was Diran Kelekyan, who would not only write a significant book on nineteenth-century European history, but also compiled, in the early 1910s, what was likely the most comprehensive French-Turkish dictionary of the time.⁶⁸

In addition to the goal of writing 'a perfect history of the Ottoman state', the other major task of the OHS was defined as publishing documents, pamphlets, and

⁶⁸ Hasan Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine: İkinci Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Ulus-Devlet İnşa Sürecinde Kurumsal Tarih Çalışmaları* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009), 66–67, 461–468.

accounts pertaining to Ottoman history.⁶⁹ To this end, the society initially decided to issue an eighty-page bimonthly periodical.⁷⁰ Before too long, in April 1910, the *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* (Journal of the Ottoman Historical Society, hereafter JOHS) began to be published as the first history journal proper in the empire. The society explained the main objective of the JOHS as ‘to pave the way for exploring Ottoman history’ through the publication of newly revealed documents and articles on the Ottoman past.⁷¹ Hence, ‘the content of the journal’, the OHS announced, ‘will contain all manner of historical studies on the Ottoman patria’. Nevertheless, in line with the aforementioned viewpoint situating the roots of the Ottoman state in the pre-Ottoman ‘Turkish’ presence in Anatolia, the society also underlined that historical works focusing on the pre-Ottoman past would be welcomed by the journal as well, so long as they were related to the history of the Ottoman Empire.⁷² Therefore, even though the JOHS devoted its scholarly interest primarily to Ottoman history and historical writing, the pre-Ottoman past of the ‘Anatolian Turks’ also received noticeable attention in the journal. In this sense, beginning from the very first issue of the JOHS, the publication of a seven-part serial article focusing on the Seljuks and the Anatolian principalities represents a remarkable example of this approach.⁷³ The Central Asian past of the ‘Turks’, on the

⁶⁹ BOA, İ.DUİT. 19/4, 1327.Z.9. ‘Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Hakkında Talimat Sureti,’ 262–263.

⁷⁰ Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni, ‘İfade-i Meram,’ 2.

⁷¹ Ibid., 2–3.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ For the first part of the serial, see Ahmed Tevhid, ‘Rum Selçukî Devleti’nin İnkırazıyla Teşekkül Eden Tevâif-i Mülûk,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 1, 35–40. For the last part, see Ahmed Tevhid, ‘Rum Selçukî Devleti’nin İnkırazıyla Teşekkül Eden Tevâif-i Mülûkdan Karahisar-ı Sâhip’te Sâhib Ataoğulları,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 9 (August 1, 1327 [1911]): 563–568. For other examples of this approach, see Halil Edhem, ‘Âl-i Germiyan Kitabeleri,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 2 (June 1, 1326 [1910]): 112–128; idem, ‘Karamanoğulları Hakkında Vesaik-i Mahkûka,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 11 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1, 1327 [1911]): 697–712; Ahmed Tevhid, ‘Saruhanogulları,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 10

other hand, seems to have been consciously neglected, despite the presence of Turkist members in the society, so much so that no article touching upon this subject ever appeared in the JOHS. It must be noted in this context that those Turkist members of the OHS, such as Necip Asım, who had already set out to examine the ‘ancient Turkish past’ before the Second Constitutional Period, conformed to the society’s general perspective and regulations, confining their studies in the journal almost exclusively to Ottoman history and history writing.⁷⁴

Along with the JOHS, which was published until 1918 and included numerous scholarly articles and editions of documents, another crucial initiative of the OHS was the publication of historical accounts and source materials on the Ottoman past.⁷⁵ One valuable Byzantine source for the Ottoman history of the fifteenth century, for instance—Kritovoulos of Imbros’ *History of the Mehmed the Conqueror*—was translated from Greek into Turkish by the Greek member of the society, Pavlos Carolidis, just after the establishment of the OHS.⁷⁶ In addition, the

(Teşrin-i Evvel 1, 1327 [1911]): 615–619; idem, ‘Aydinoğulları,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 10, 619–625; idem, ‘Menteşeoğulları,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 12 (February 1, 1327 [1912]): 762–768; Mehmed Nüzhet, ‘Ramazanoğulları,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 12, 769–773.

⁷⁴ For some examples, see Necip Asım, ‘Osmanlı Tarih-nüvisleri ve Müverrihleri,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 1, 41–52; idem, ‘Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 4 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1, 1326 [1910]): 233–238; idem, ‘Mesihî Divanı: Divanlarımızdan Tarihçe Nasıl İstifade Edilir?,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 5 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1, 1326 [1910]): 300–308; idem, ‘Fevaid-i Gaza: On Birinci Asırda Bizde Hayat-ı Cündiyanı,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 9, 542–550; idem, ‘Müverrih Asım Efendi’nin Metrukât-ı Tarihiyyesinden Birkaç Parça,’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 39 (August 1, 1332 [1916]): 168–186.

⁷⁵ It must be noted that, although the journal was properly published through 1918, it actually continued to appear until 1923. As will be seen in the following chapters, its title changed to *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası* (Journal of the Institute for Turkish History) at the beginning of 1924 and continued thereafter for another eight years. As has been emphasized by Cemal Kafadar and Hakan Karateke, the journal was quite influential in the establishment of the new form of Ottoman Turkish scholarly historical writing; see Kafadar and Karateke, ‘Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing,’ 571.

⁷⁶ It was first partially published in the JOHS, and subsequently appeared as a separate book in 1912; see Kritovoulos, *Tarih-i Sultan Mehmed Han-ı Sâni*, trans. Karolidi (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1328 [1912]).

law codes (*kanunnâme*) of Süleyman I (the Magnificent) and Mehmed II were edited by a different OHS member, Mehmed Arif, and published in 1913 and 1914, respectively.⁷⁷ Another publication was Dursun Bey's *Tarih-i Ebu'l-Feth* (History of the Father of the Conquest), one of the most significant fifteenth-century histories, covering the period from the enthronement of Mehmed II in 1444 to the Ottoman-Mamluk War of 1488, which was printed in 1914.⁷⁸ Similarly, another fifteenth-century historical account describing the conquest of Istanbul, Tâcîzâde Cafer Çelebi's *Mahrûsa-i İstanbul Fetihnâmesi* (On the Conquest of Istanbul) was published in 1915.⁷⁹ In the same period, a narrative on the fifteenth-century Ottoman prince Cem Sultan, the son of Mehmed II who had lost his claim to succeed his father, *Vâkıât-ı Sultan Cem* (Events in the Life of Prince Cem), which is believed to have been written by one of the prince's close companions, was issued as well.⁸⁰ Last but not least, the OHS also decided to print the histories of two other prominent fifteenth-century chroniclers who based the legitimacy of the Ottoman state on the pre-Ottoman 'Turkish' presence and politics in Anatolia by claiming that the Ottoman dynasty succeeded the sultans in Konya (i.e., the Anatolian Seljuks) and the earlier 'Turkish' dynasties: Aşık Paşazâde's *History* and Mehmed Neşrî's *Cihan-*

⁷⁷ *Kanunnâme-i Âl-i Osman: Sultan Süleyman Han-ı Kanuni Emriyle Cem ve Telfik Olunan Kanunnâme*, ed. Mehmed Arif (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1329 [1913]); *Kanunnâme-i Âl-i Osman: Sultan Mehmed Han-ı Sâni Tarafından Tanzim Olunan Birinci Kanunnâme*, ed. Mehmed Arif (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1330 [1914]).

⁷⁸ Dursun Bey, *Tarih-i Ebu'l-Feth*, ed. Mehmed Arif (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1330 [1914]).

⁷⁹ Tâcîzâde Cafer Çelebi, *Mahrûsa-i İstanbul Fetihnâmesi* (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1331 [1915]).

⁸⁰ *Vâkıât-ı Sultan Cem*, ed. Mehmed Arif (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1330 [1914]).

nüma.⁸¹ Although the *Cihan-nüma* seems to have never actually been published, Aşık Paşazâde's *History* was issued in 1916.⁸²

As one can clearly see from the publications of the OHS, the society unmistakably made fifteenth-century Ottoman history the focus of its attention.⁸³ The flourishing historiographical interest in this specific period of the Ottoman past stemmed in part from the simple fact that the first Ottoman chronicles and written sources had initially appeared during this era. Thus, the successive publication of these early sources and manuscripts could be considered part and parcel of the society's efforts to prepare and edit the necessary source materials for the Ottoman history project. Furthermore, it must be noted here that, rather than just randomly printing, the OHS seems to have followed a systematic plan in its endeavors by publishing the historical accounts and chronicles chronologically and continuously.

On the other hand, it would not be an exaggeration to claim that this perceived relevancy was also connected with the appreciation and appropriation of fifteenth-century Ottoman history in general, and the age of Mehmed II in particular. For one thing, the translation of a Byzantine historical account—one which had been written as a panegyric of Mehmed II and with a pro-Ottoman point of view—is highly suggestive in this regard. Equally meaningful was the importance attributed to the

⁸¹ Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, 127; Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 106.

⁸² Âşıkpaşazâde Derviş Ahmed Âşiki, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmandan Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi*, ed. Âli (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1332 [1916]).

⁸³ For other publications on fifteenth-century Ottoman history that appeared in JOHS, see Halil Edhem, 'Hersekoğlu Ahmed Paşa'nın Esaretine Dair Kahire'de Bir Kitabe,' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 28 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1, 1330 [1914]): 200–222; Amasyalı Hüseyin Hüsameddin, 'Koca Mehmed Paşa,' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 37 (April 1332 1, [1916]): 43–49; Ahmed Refik, 'Fatih Devrine Ait Vesikalar,' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 49–62 (April 1, 1335/June 1, 1337 [1919–1921]): 1–58; and Ali, 'Fatih Devrinde Akçe Ne İdi?,' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 49–62, 59–62.

conquests, enlightened reign, and characteristics of Mehmed II, including his tolerance toward non-Muslim elements, an aspect that showed him as a sort of Ottomanist before Ottomanism. Therefore, at a time when the Ottoman Empire was emerging as an object of romanticism and when the Ottoman public was feeling both as if it were in the middle of a seminal transformation and as if it were being dismembered, this historiographical interest in the fifteenth century and in Mehmed II answered the crucial need for collective hope and confidence, since this period was depicted as the turning point in Ottoman history that would go on to carry the empire to new heights.

Moreover, when comparing the premium placed on Selim I in the historiography of the Hamidian era with the significance attached to Mehmed II during the Second Constitutional Period, one can notice the contextual shift in the political culture as well as in the historical outlook on the past. As previously pointed out, the main reason for Hamidian-era historiography's foregrounding of Selim I as the most crucial sultan in the empire's history was his acquisition of the titles of caliph and 'servant of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina' during his reign. However, as the stress on the importance of the caliphate tended to disappear in the political culture and discourse after the 1908 revolution, the admiration for Selim gradually lessened. Instead, Mehmed II's historiographical representation as one of the most Western-oriented and progressive-minded, and thus successful, sultans in Ottoman history, with a particular emphasis on his interest in the arts and sciences, was especially well suited to the concerns of the Second Constitutional Period, and thereby became more worthy of admiration.

Contemporaneously with its lively publication activity, the OHS also continued the earlier endeavors of its predecessor, the Commission for Ottoman History, in

undertaking to classify and catalogue the documents and old records stored in the Treasury Documents (*Hazine-i Evrâk*) building; i.e., in the state archives and Topkapı Palace. In 1910, the OHS submitted a petition to the parliament requesting that librarians, archivists, and scribes be hired immediately, with the related expenses to be covered from the Ministry of Education's yearly budget.⁸⁴ In the same year, the society sent a circular to local governors and directors of educational services in the provinces demanding library registers that included lists of the historical accounts and sources in their cities. Furthermore, provincial officials were also asked for detailed information concerning the historical monuments and artifacts in their regions as well as local histories and the old names of their cities.⁸⁵ Shortly thereafter, in 1911, in order to facilitate the flow of information between the provinces and the OHS, the society began to establish branches in different parts of the empire, particularly in cities of historical significance like Bursa, Konya, Rhodes, Kosovo, and Bitlis.⁸⁶

What is more, the OHS also got into contact with European archival institutions and libraries. The catalogues of European libraries and archives were brought to Istanbul and examined by the OHS.⁸⁷ Moreover, one OHS member, Ahmed Refik, went to Paris in 1912 in order, on the one hand, to explore the contemporary archival institutions and libraries in France, and on the other hand to investigate the old

⁸⁴ BOA, BEO. 3734/279980, 1328.R.5. MMZC, (*Devre: 1, İçtima Senesi: 2, cilt: 4, 76. İnıkad*), April 7, 1326 [1910], 255.

⁸⁵ Mustafa Oral, *Türkiye'de Romantik Tarihçilik (1910-1940)* (Ankara: Asil Yayınları, 2006), 94.

⁸⁶ BOA, BEO. 3889/292406. 1329.C.1. BOA, DH.İD. 26/41. 1329.C.5. BOA, DH.HMŞ. 17/1. 1329.C.6. BOA, DH.İD. 26/45. 1329.B.1.

⁸⁷ Oral, *Türkiye'de Romantik Tarihçilik*, 94, 96.

records related to the Ottoman past that were housed there.⁸⁸ Likewise, in 1917 Abdurrahman Şeref was sent to Vienna and Berlin for the same purpose.⁸⁹ Upon returning to Istanbul, he wrote a thorough article about his observations in Germany and Austria, and also published some of the documents which he had obtained from the state archives in Berlin.⁹⁰ In the meantime, it is worth noting here that there was another significant reflection of this flourishing historical consciousness: in 1917, and again with the involvement of some members of the OHS, a new association named the Commission to Conserve Old Monuments (*Muhafaza-i Âsâr-i Atika Encümeni*) was founded. This new commission, headed by Halil Edhem, sought to assemble an inventory of the historically important monuments and artifacts both in Istanbul and the provinces, as well as to protect and restore their physical qualities.⁹¹ Finally, an additional archival organization, the Committee for the Classification of Historical Documents (*Vesaik-i Tarihiye Tasnif Encümeni*), was established as the 1910s wore on, dedicated specifically to the categorization of old records and registers and operating under the chairmanship of a former member of the OHS, Ali Emîrî Efendi. Within a few years of its establishment, this committee would organize and catalogue approximately 180,000 documents, which are still in use today in the

⁸⁸ Muzaffer Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam: Ahmed Refik Altınay (Hayatı ve Eserleri)* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1978), 65–66.

⁸⁹ BOA, MV. 208/18. 1335.B.21. BOA, BEO. 4470/335193. 1335.B.25.

⁹⁰ Abdurrahman Şeref, 'Berlin Hazine-i Evrakında Vesaik-i Kadime-i Osmaniye,' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 44 (June 1, 1333 [1917]): 65–92.

⁹¹ Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 61. For the other commission members and detailed description of the commission's activities, see Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, 177–180.

Ottoman archives in Istanbul and are known as the ‘Ali Emîrî classification’ (*Ali Emîrî tasnifi*).⁹²

As previously argued, these vibrant and systematic efforts regarding archival arrangements were plainly directed at creating an infrastructural framework for ‘scientific’ historical research. In fact, the well-established canon of nineteenth-century European historiography, which unequivocally accepted the exhaustive use of archival documents as the unique and absolute measure for ‘scientific’ historical scholarship, found a strong echo in the Ottoman Empire throughout the 1910s. To put it differently, as the 1910s progressed, Ottoman historians increasingly acknowledged that ‘scientific’ and ‘impartial’ historical writing was categorically predicated on the systematic collection and study of archival sources. In this respect, the successive publication in the 1910s of Ahmed Refik’s articles on Leopold von Ranke, Jules Michelet, and Heinrich von Treitschke—all of whom were identified with the professionalization of historical scholarship and recognized as pioneers of scientific and academic historiography—was undoubtedly not coincidental.⁹³ In the same manner as his European counterparts, Ahmed Refik described archival materials as the ‘speaking witnesses of the past’ and asserted that ‘the sources of history consist solely of old records and registers’.⁹⁴ Abdurrahman Şeref, similarly,

⁹² Oral, *Türkiye’de Romantik Tarihçilik*, 158–159; Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, 142–145, 279.

⁹³ Ahmed Refik, ‘Alman Müverrihleri: Ranke,’ *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 20 (Teşrin-i Sani 22, 1917): 392–395; idem, ‘Alman Müverrihleri: Treitschke,’ *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 7 (August 23, 1917): 124–127; idem, ‘Fransız Müverrihleri: Michelet,’ *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 12 (September 27, 1917): 229–233.

⁹⁴ Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi: Beşeriyetin Tekemmülat-ı Medeniye, İçtimaiye, Siyasiye ve Fikriyesi, cild 1* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri Neşriyatı, 1328 [1912]), 11. Although my aim is to analyze the general frame of the institutionalization and professionalization of history as an academic discipline in Turkey, it should be noted that this was by no means a smooth process devoid of fits and starts. The writings of Ahmed Refik, for instance, might be considered a noteworthy reflection of this situation all on their own. As we have seen, on the one hand Ahmed Refik was one of the historians who sought to pave the way for a more scientific and academic

characterized ‘official documents’ as key pillars and indispensable elements of the ‘science of history’, in his remarkable article ‘*Evrâk-ı Atîka ve Vesâik-i Tarihiyyemiz*’ (Our [Ottoman] Old Records and Historical Documents), which appeared in the premier issue of the JOHS.⁹⁵ A different piece, meaningfully entitled ‘*Tarih Usûlüne Dair*’ (On Historical Methodology), underlined the fact that ‘nothing can compensate for the absence of documents’ in historical inquiry, and thus that any historical study can only be conducted in the light of archival sources. Not surprisingly, the writer concluded his article with the motto of positivist historiography: ‘no documents, no history’.⁹⁶

This positivist perspective and methodology was largely exogenous, being primarily inspired by the works of Charles Seignobos, one of the most outstanding historians and chief representatives of the Rankean tradition in France; so strong was his influence that Yusuf Akçura would later describe his impact upon Ottoman historiography during the Second Constitutional Period as the ‘Seignobos dynasty’.⁹⁷ In a similar vein, Ahmed Refik clearly indicated Seignobos’ impact on both him and his generation by openly stating how he had first become interested in history after having read Seignobos’ *Histoire de la Civilization*. In fact, Ahmed Refik translated this three-volume book into Turkish and, during his visit to Paris, he personally met ‘the historian who had opened his mind’ (i.e., Seignobos), as well as Ernest Lavisse,

historical scholarship, while on the other hand he was also the chief popularizer of Ottoman history, producing numerous popular works that freely move between the boundaries of fiction and nonfiction.

⁹⁵ Abdurrahman Şeref, ‘Evrâk-ı Atîka ve Vesâik-i Tarihiyyemiz,’ 9.

⁹⁶ Emin Âli, ‘Tarih Usûlüne Dair,’ *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 52 (July 13, 1918): 515.

⁹⁷ Akçuraoğlu, ‘Tarih Yazmak ve Tarih Okutmak Usûllerine Dair,’ 595.

another leading French historian of the time.⁹⁸ Ali Reşad, on the other hand, translated a different important work by Seignobos, *Histoire politique de l'Europe contemporaine*, in the aftermath of the 1908 revolution.⁹⁹ Furthermore, the Ministry of Education decided to translate what was probably Seignobos' most renowned study, *Introduction aux études historiques*, which he wrote with Charles V. Langlois and which might be considered the bible of positivist historiography in many respects.¹⁰⁰ Although this project could not be completed during the course of the Second Constitutional Period, partial translations of Gabriel Monod's *De la méthode dans les sciences* did appear under the title 'Tarihî Usûl' (Historical Methodology) in the bimonthly Journal of the Faculty of Literature, *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, which began to be published in 1916.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, Ottoman historians and intellectuals wrote an abundance of articles on methodology in history during this period, reflecting the flourishing consciousness concerning the academic principles and standards of historiography.¹⁰² In addition, when almost twenty

⁹⁸ Quoted in Gökman, *Ahmed Refik Altınay*, 33. For the translation of *Histoire de la Civilization*, see Charles Seignobos, *Tarih-i Medeniyet: Şark, Yunanistan, Roma*, trans. Ahmed Refik (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Askeri, 1328 [1912]); idem, *Tarih-i Medeniyet: Kurun-ı Vusta ve Ezmine-i Cedide*, trans. Ahmed Refik (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Askeri, 1328 [1912]); idem, *Tarih-i Medeniyet: Asr-ı Hazır*, trans. Ahmed Refik (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Askeri, 1328 [1912]).

⁹⁹ Charles Seignobos, *Tarih-i Siyasi: 1814'ten 1896'ya kadar Asr-ı Hazırda Avrupa, cild 1*, trans. Ali Reşad (İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1324 [1908]); idem, *Tarih-i Siyasi: 1814'ten 1896'ya kadar Asr-ı Hazırda Avrupa, cild 2*, trans. Ali Reşad (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1325 [1909]); idem, *Tarih-i Siyasi: 1814'ten 1896'ya kadar Asr-ı Hazırda Avrupa, cild 3*, trans. Ali Reşad (İstanbul: Ahmed Saki Bey Matbaası, 1325 [1909]).

¹⁰⁰ Akçuraoglu, 'Tarih Yazmak ve Tarih Okutmak Usûllerine Dair,' 581.

¹⁰¹ Gabriel Monod, 'Tarihî Usûl,' trans. Kâzım Şinasi, *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, no. 3 (July 1332 [1916]): 341–356; idem, 'Tarihî Usûl,' trans. Kâzım Şinasi, *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, no. 4 (September 1332 [1916]): 439–455.

¹⁰² For some examples, see Efdaleddin, 'Tarih,' *Mülkiye*, no. 1 (February 1, 1324 [1909]): 61–64; Ahmed Şuayb, 'Yirminci Asırda Tarih,' *Ulum-ı İktisadiyye ve İçtimaiyye Mecmuası*, no. 1 (Kanun-ı Evvel 15, 1324 [1909]): 11–24; Ahmed Selahaddin, 'Tarih Nasıl Yazılmalıdır?,' *Mülkiye*, no. 7 (August 1, 1325 [1909]): 41–50; Suad Muhtar, 'Tarih,' *Donanma* 1, no. 9 (Teşrin-i Sani 1326 [1910]): 778–784; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,' *Bilgi Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (Teşrin-i Sani 1329 [1913]): 3–51; idem, 'Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında,' *Bilgi Mecmuası* 1, no. 2 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1329 [1913]): 185–196; Celal Nuri, 'Tarih Usûllerine Dair,' *Edebiyat-ı*

German professors were invited to the university in 1915—including such world-renowned scholars as Carl Ferdinand Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt, Friedrich Wilhelm Carl Giese, and Friedrich Gunther Jacoby—a new course on historical research methods, entitled ‘*usûl-i tarih ve tarih tatbikatı*’ (historical methodology and practice), was introduced into the curriculum of the Faculty of Literature. The course was taught by a prominent orientalist who also served as the German consul general in Istanbul, Johannes Heinrich Mordtmann, with the teaching assistance of an Ottoman graduate of the Sorbonne, Kâzım Şinasi (Dersan).¹⁰³ It is no wonder, then, that the lecture notes for this course were soon published as a book.¹⁰⁴

As the methodological principles of historical scholarship thus became more emphasized and tightened up, Ottoman historians grew more meticulous about and paid more attention to the academic standards of their discipline. This was why the methodological debates and criticisms concerning the professional and scholarly quality of historical studies heated up at this time. One noteworthy example in this regard was the strictures brought into play for the critical edition of Aşık Paşazâde’s *History* that the OHS had jointly commissioned with the Ministry of Education. Following its publication in 1916, both Kâzım Şinasi and Mehmed Arif reviewed the edition of this crucial fifteenth-century chronicle. A close look at the review that Kâzım Şinasi wrote, for the first issue of the Journal of the Faculty of Literature,

Umumiye Mecmuası 2, no. 34 (Zilhicce 4, 1335/September 22, 1917): 133–135; idem, ‘Milli Tarih, Tenkidi Tarih,’ *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası* 2, no. 36 (Zilhicce 18, 1335/Teşrin-i Evvel 6, 1917): 171–173; Ahmed Saib, ‘Mükemmel ve Muntazam Tarih-i Osmani Nasıl Yazılır?,’ *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası* 5, no. 92 (Muharrem 26, 1337/Teşrin-i Sani 2, 1918): 1110–1112; idem, ‘Mükemmel ve Muntazam Tarih-i Osmani Nasıl Yazılır,’ *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası* 5, no. 93 (Safer 6, 1337/Teşrin-i Sani 9, 1918): 1117–1123.

¹⁰³ BOA. İ.MMS. 200/1333, 1333.Z.18. Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 143, 146.

¹⁰⁴ Mordtmann, *İlm-i Usûl-i Tarih: 1331-1332 Sene-i Tedrisiyesinde Darülfünunda Takrir Olunan Derslerden Müteşekkildir* (lithograph) (İstanbul: 1332 [1916]).

gives an idea about the level of scholarship that Ottoman historiography had achieved by that time. To briefly summarize, after informing his readers about the extant manuscripts of the chronicle in the libraries of the Imperial Museum in Istanbul, Vienna, and the Vatican, Kâzım Şinasi pointed out how, in European historiography, the publication of sources ‘had become of particular importance from the eighteenth century onwards’.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, he said, ‘the publication of such a significant source [...] with a skillfully written introduction as well as a well-organized index, is a very commendable contribution’ to Ottoman historiography.¹⁰⁶ But nevertheless, he emphasized, ‘critical editions have been made in compliance with certain strict professional rules’ in European historiography, rules that the editor of Aşık Paşazâde’s *History* had neglected. For one thing, he stated, whereas the edition should conserve the orthography used in the original manuscript, this edition of the chronicle did not conform to this standard norm of contemporary historiography. As such, while there were numerous errors in the text due to the simplification of the orthography, the work also hampered any subsequent studies that might seek to explore the history of Ottoman language and literature.¹⁰⁷ In addition, he argued the second shortcoming of the edition again stemmed from ignorance or neglect of the European scholarly paraphernalia, ‘which necessitated comparison of all the existing manuscripts of the source material as well as specification of the differences and discrepancies within these copies in footnotes’. Eventually, he proposed two different publications for such historical sources: the first of these would be edited according to professional standards and printed for the

¹⁰⁵ Kâzım Şinasi, ‘Tarihi Âsârdan: Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi,’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, no. 1 (March 1332 [1916]): 114.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 114–115.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 115.

utilization of the '*monde savant*', while the other would be a simplified version prepared for the '*grand public*'.¹⁰⁸ This strict bifurcation clearly demonstrates the approach that not only underscores the autonomous and particular space in which the *métier d'historien* was and should be practiced, but also separates 'professional' historians from amateurs and hobbyists.

In addition to Kâzım Şinasi's review, there was also another review that stressed how the critical edition of Aşık Paşazâde's *History* had failed to meet the scholarly standards of contemporary historiography. The crucial point to be made here is that, even though this twenty-page review article was written by an OHS member, Mehmed Arif, and focused on a publication commissioned by the OHS, it did not, as might have been expected, appear in the society's journal. Instead, this comprehensive review, which sought to point out the shortcomings and correct the errors of the critical edition of Aşık Paşazâde's *History*, was printed in a new journal, the *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* (Journal of National Studies), which began publication in 1915 and was primarily the work of Turkish nationalist historians and intellectuals who were critical of the OHS.¹⁰⁹ This fact not only reveals the discord among the members of the OHS, which had a heterogeneous structure in terms of political convictions, scholarly concerns, and historical outlook, but also, as will be explored in the next chapter, indicates the diversification of historiographical production by the establishment of new scholarly communities.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ A., 'Kitabiyat: Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi,' *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September–Teşrin-i Evvel 1331 [1915]): 171–190. Although the review article was signed only with the letter 'A', the journal's editor-in-chief, Fuad Köprülü, mentioned that it had been written by Mehmed Arif; see M. Fuad Köprülü, 'Âşık Paşa-Zâde,' in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 709.

Last but not least, the intensification of the discourse emphasizing the necessity of the scientification of historiographical practice, and specifically and categorically predicating this process on the systematic collection and study of primary sources, also affected the priorities in the goals and objectives of the OHS. In 1916, the OHS made a change in Article 10 of its regulations, which had outlined the society's task as being primarily 'to compile a perfect history of the Ottoman state'. This large-scale objective was replaced by a relatively modest but, in scholarly terms, more refined and detailed task that had less explicit implications concerning the compilation of the Ottoman history book. In contrast to the OHS's former task, which had directly aimed to write a comprehensive Ottoman history at a time when the documents and old records related to the Ottoman past were still largely unclassified and even unknown, the modified duty of the society was stated as being 'to assist in and serve the compilation of a perfect history of the Ottoman state by collecting documents, publishing critical editions of the chronicles, producing monographs, translating foreign historical studies pertaining to Ottoman history, and conducting studies on the histories of the states and nations that had previously been under Ottoman rule'.¹¹⁰ Hence, although the Ottoman history project of the society continued to be written, it was no longer the primary mission of the OHS. Instead, the fundamental objective of the society became to prepare the ground for the compilation of an Ottoman history in particular and to pave the way for a more scientific and academic historical scholarship in general. To this end, as Ahmed Refik noted, following the change in its regulations, in 1916 the OHS began to publish a monograph series under the title *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Külliyyatı*

¹¹⁰ Ahmed Refik, 'Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Meselesi,' *İkdam*, no. 8477 (Teşrin-i Evvel 12, 1336/Muharrem 28, 1339 [1920]): 3; see also Ferdan Ergut, 'Institutionalization of History in the Ottoman Empire,' *Turkish Studies* 16, no. 2 (2015): 232.

(Corpus of the Ottoman Historical Society).¹¹¹ Along with Halil Edhem's *Kayseriyye Şehri: Mebâni-i İslâmiye ve Kitabeleri* (The Islamic Monuments and Epigraphs of Kayseri), between 1916 and 1918 the series also published significant studies by Ahmed Refik, such as *Osmanlılar ve Büyük Frederick* (The Ottomans and Frederick the Great), *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı* (Life in Istanbul in the Tenth Century of the Hegira), *Memâlik-i Osmaniye'de Kral Rakoçi ve Tevabii* (Francis II Rákóczi and His Dependents in the Ottoman Empire), and *Memâlik-i Osmaniye'de Demirbaş Şarl* (Charles XII of Sweden in the Ottoman Empire). The latter three were translated into German, Hungarian, and Swedish, respectively, and the last also earned its writer awards granted by the Swedish government.¹¹²

All in all, it would not be an exaggeration to claim that the OHS played a crucial role in the institutionalization and professionalization of history as an academic discipline in the Ottoman Empire. In addition to seeking to establish the scholarly standards of nineteenth-century—and even contemporary—European historiography and to delineate the borders separating 'professional' historians from a larger group of amateurs, this state institution disseminated a historical perspective that was not only forged within the context of, but also served to regenerate the official ideology of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution. In other words, the Ottomanist vision, with all of its Turkist connotations, determined to a great extent the content of the historical studies conducted by the OHS.

A final noteworthy example in this regard can be observed in the 'Program for Ottoman History' (*Osmanlı Tarihi Programı*), which was published by the OHS in

¹¹¹ Ahmed Refik, 'Türk Tarih Encümeni'nin Tarihçesi Hakkında Rapor,' *Maarif Vekâleti Mecmuası*, no. 14 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1927): 428.

¹¹² Ibid.

1913 as a detailed outline of the first volume of its Ottoman history project.¹¹³

Although this outline was printed in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars—i.e., at a time when the Ottomanist project had been mostly discarded from political and cultural domains, to be replaced by a revanchist nationalism that aspired to a new mobilization along Islamic-Turkish lines—it nevertheless remained faithful to the former decisions made by the OHS regarding the overall scope of the work. The program once again deemed the ‘Turks’ to be the founding and essential element of the state. It is thus hardly surprising that the work, as it was conceived, would initially focus on such issues as the ‘Oghuz Turks’, the ‘Kayı tribe’, and Turkish settlement in Anatolia, all under the title ‘The Origins of the Ottomans’ (*Osmanlıların Aslı*).¹¹⁴ However, this was the extent of the Turkist leanings of the project. In harmony with the earlier decisions and historical perspective, neither the Central Asian past nor the virtues and noble aspects of the ‘Turks’ were mentioned in the program. Instead, the content of the book was to be confined to the specifically Ottoman past, beginning with a chapter entitled ‘The Rise of the Ottomans’ (*Osmanlıların Zuhuru*).¹¹⁵ In light of this situation, the program stirred up a vehement discussion among Ottoman historians. The harshest criticisms were directed primarily at the society’s historical outlook on the Ottoman past, which, according to the critics, abstained from treating the history of the Empire as part and parcel of the general Turkish history that had begun with the pre-Islamic ‘Turkish’ polities in Central Asia. One of the first and most severe voices of this wave of

¹¹³ The program was first published as a supplement to JOHS in August 1913, and subsequently printed as a separate booklet in 1915; see *Osmanlı Tarihi Programı* (İstanbul: Selanik Matbaası, 1331 [1915]).

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 2-3.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 2.

criticism was a very promising young man of twenty-three who, up to that time, had been mostly concerned with literature and poetry, but who, over the next two decades, would become undoubtedly the most eminent historian in Turkey. So now I will return to the midst of the Hamidian era in order to explore the formation of this future historian.

3. 2 A Young Man Searching for Himself in a Turbulent Era

Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad was born on 4 December 1890 in Istanbul to a family that claimed descent from the Köprülü viziers of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁶

Although he was related on his father's side to the famous grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, after whom he was named, his nuclear family was of rather humble means.¹¹⁷ His father Ismail Faiz Bey, a son of the Ottoman ambassador to Bucharest,

¹¹⁶ This genealogical connection would later be questioned by one of Mehmed Fuad's critics. On the basis of his deep biographical knowledge, Ali Emiri Efendi asserted that Mehmed Fuad and his family descended from another seventeenth-century family, the Kiblelis, rather than from the Köprülüs. According to Ali Emiri, Mehmed Fuad was a descendant of Kibleli Mustafa Pasha, who had married the sister of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. Since, in the Ottoman tradition, descent and ancestry were determined patrilineally, Ali Emiri claimed that Mehmed Fuad should be regarded as a Kiblelizâde. Although it is difficult to check the validity of Ali Emiri's claims, it should be remembered that this discussion stemmed mostly from personal disputes between the two men. Moreover, Mehmed Fuad was not the first in his family to use the 'Köprülüzâde' name: his great-grandfather İsmail Afif Bey, who had served as director of the Office of the Imperial Divan (*Divan-ı Hümayun Beylikçisi*) during the early Tanzimat era, had also been called Köprülüzâde. What is more, other contemporary sources, like Mehmed Süreyya's late Ottoman biographical dictionary, the *Sicill-i Osmanî*, published in the early 1890s, clearly stated that the family was descended from the Köprülüs. Therefore, even if Ali Emiri's claims were true, it had long been commonly accepted by the Ottoman public that the family was descended from the Köprülüs, and thus, contrary to the Ali Emiri's accusations, the assertion of descent from the famous Köprülü viziers cannot be considered simply Mehmed Fuad's invention. For Ali Emiri's claims, see Ali Emiri, 'Mudhike,' *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 4 (June 30, 1334 [1918]): 73–81; idem, 'Mekteb-i İdadi Talebe-i Sabıkasından Sabık Köprülüzâde Fuad Beyin Evvela 6949 Numaralı İkdâm Gazetesinde ve Sonra da 46 Sayılı Yeni Mecmuada Neşreylediği "Fatih Devrinde Edebi Hayat" Makalesi Hakkında Dördüncü Nüshamızdan Mabad,' *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 6 (August 31, 1334 [1918]): 109–116; idem, 'Sabık Köprülüzâde Fuad Bey Hakkında Bir Vesika-i Mühimme,' *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 6, 116–118; idem, 'Kiblelizâde Mehmed Vassaf Bey,' *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 23 (Kanun-ı Sani 31, 1336 [1920]): 553–559. See also Mehmed Süreyya, 'Köprülüzâde,' in *Sicill-i Osmanî*, cilt: 3, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 891.

¹¹⁷ Gary Leiser, 'Preface,' in *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, by M. Fuad Köprülü, trans. Gary Leiser (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), xi.

Ahmed Ziya Bey, was a middle-ranking civil servant who worked as the chief secretary of the Second Criminal Court in Beyoğlu prior to his retirement. His mother, Hatice Hanım, was a daughter of a member of the *ulema* from the small provincial town of Islimiye, present-day Sliven in Bulgaria.¹¹⁸ It is safe to say that this upper middle class family was unable to provide an education of superior quality for their son: as compared to some of his predecessors and contemporaries—such as Halil Edhem and Kâzım Şinasi, who studied in European high schools and prestigious universities like the Sorbonne or the University of Bern—Mehmed Fuad received a relatively modest education in the new type of schools that had been founded as part of the educational reforms during the Tanzimat and Hamidian eras. After attending the Ayasofya Secondary School (*Ayasofya Rüşdiyesi*), he graduated from Mercan High School (*Mercan İdadisi*) in Istanbul. Then, in 1907, he enrolled in the School of Law at the university. However, despite his success in the examinations, in 1910 he withdrew from the school without completing the course of study, owing to his dissatisfaction with the program as well as with the academic level of the teaching staff.¹¹⁹ To put it rather more bluntly, he dropped out of the university without getting an undergraduate degree. Consequently, all he had at the end of his formal education was a high school diploma.

Nevertheless, his family bestowed an invaluable social capital upon their son. Due to its deep-rooted history, the Köprülü family was well known in the elite circles of Istanbul, and Mehmed Fuad's first contacts with the literary and intellectual figures

¹¹⁸ Orhan F. Köprülü, *Fuad Köprülü* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1987), 1.

¹¹⁹ For further information, see F.A. Tansel, 'Memleketimizin Acı Kaybı Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü,' *Bellekten* 30, no. 120 (October 1966): 621–622.

of the time was established through these family connections and networks.¹²⁰ For instance, Süleyman Nazif, a close friend of his grandfather and an outstanding writer of the era, played a significant role in Mehmed Fuad's introduction to the world of letters. One of his first poems, written when he was just seventeen years old and entitled '*Şeyh Galib*', was published in the premier issue of the important journal *Mehâsin* (Virtues) via Süleyman Nazif's direct initiative and support.¹²¹ Nonetheless, as some of his contemporaries later mentioned, this family background and early established relationships with the eminent intellectuals and politicians of the era ultimately had a negative influence on his character and personality, making him highly 'arrogant' and 'haughty'.¹²²

Even so, there were legitimate reasons for his strong sense of self-confidence. For one thing, he never contented himself with the formal education he received. Beginning from his early youth, he benefited greatly from his father's library, where his initial interest in literature and history was stimulated by reading, particularly, Evliya Celebi's *Book of Travels*, literary journals like *Servet-i Fünûn* (The Wealth of Sciences) and *Malumat* (Knowledge), and the Ottoman chronicles that had been printed during the 1860s.¹²³ Moreover, when he was in high school, he published a short-lived school magazine in lithograph form—which lasted only two issues—entitled *Teâvün* (Mutual Assistance), together with his friends Abdullatif Nevzad

¹²⁰ Park, 'The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,' 4.

¹²¹ F.A. Tansel, 'Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün Şiirleri,' *Belleten*, no. 120, 640.

¹²² Samet Ağaoğlu, *Aşina Yüzler* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), 129; Cihad Baban, *Politika Galerisi: Bir Devrin Hükümlerleri* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2009), 355. For similar descriptions of Köprülü's personal character, see also Füzûzan Tekil, *Politika Asları* (İstanbul: Geçit Yayınları, 1973), 57–60.

¹²³ Yahya Kemal Taştan, 'Mehmed Fuad Köprülü: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Eserleri,' in *Fuad Köprülü: Vakıfların Hukukî Mahiyeti*, ed. Yahya Kemal Taştan (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2013), 17.

(Ayasbeyoglu) and İbrahim Alaeddin (Gövsâ). It was this magazine where some of his first poems and essays, the latter generally dealing with the fine arts and daily politics, were printed.¹²⁴ At about the same time, he learned French thoroughly by taking additional private lessons, and also acquired reading ability in Arabic and Persian.¹²⁵ By this means, as he later noted, he began to follow prominent French cultural journals, such as the *Mercure de France* and *Revue des Deux Mondes*, as well as the writings of a large number of influential thinkers and literary critics of the time—such as Gabriel Tarde, Émile Faguet, Henri Bergson, Alfred Fouilleé, Anatole France, Jules Lemaître, and especially Émile Durkheim—to whom, like many others of his generation, he owed a substantial part of his intellectual development.¹²⁶ In addition, his cousin Cemal Köprülü, who was also one of his closest friends, confirmed Mehmed Fuad's retrospective statements regarding the fact that, during his student years, literature and history were the center of his focus: he read the works not only of such poets as Arthur Rimbaud, Charles Baudelaire, Henri de Regnier, and Paul Verlaine, but also of historians specializing in literary history and

¹²⁴ For some examples, see Mehmed Fuad, 'İlham-ı Tabiat,' *Teavün*, no. 1 (n.d.): 8; idem, 'Bizde Tiyatro,' *Teavün*, no. 1 (n.d.): 14–16; 'Girit Meselesi,' *Teavün*, no. 2 (n.d.): 22–23.

¹²⁵ Köprülü's linguistic abilities have proven a controversial issue. Some of his relatives, colleagues, and students defended the claim that he had excellent reading and writing skills in many Eastern and Western languages, while others strongly objected to these arguments. In the light of these views as well as his own studies, it is impossible to deny that Köprülü was fluent in French, since he made presentations, gave lectures, and wrote scholarly works in this language. Moreover, although he was far from being excellent in Arabic and Persian, he did have some reading ability in these languages as well. It must also be noted that, despite his apparently limited knowledge of the relevant languages, he nevertheless closely followed the European, American, and Russian literature for the fields in which he worked by using Turkish translations of studies which his friends, colleagues, and students made for him. For the differing views on Köprülü's language skills, see Köprülü, *Fuad Köprülü*, 1; Cemal Köprülü, 'Fuad Köprülü'nün İlmi Şahsiyeti, Türk Kültüründeki Rolü ve Bazı Hatıralar,' *Türk Kültürü*, no. 81 (July 1969): 635; A. Caferoğlu, 'Hakiki Köprülü,' *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 15 (1968): 6, 9; Mahmut Şakiroğlu, 'Yeni Bir Kitap ve Eski Bir Makale Vesilesiyle: Fuad Köprülü,' *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 63 (March 1989): 23; İlber Ortaylı, 'Türkoloji ve Slavistik: Türkiye Türkolojisi ve Rusya ve Sovyet Türk Aydınlarının Türkolojisi Üzerine,' in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisadi ve Sosyal Değişim: Makaleler I* (2nd ed.), (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi Yayınları, 2004), 392.

¹²⁶ [Fuad Köprülü], 'Bir Ankete Cevab,' *Ülkü* 16, no. 87 (May 1940): 258–260.

methodology, like Gabriel Monod, Gustave Lanson, and Hippolyte Taine.¹²⁷ After the repromulgation of the constitution in 1908, he translated into Turkish two books by Gustave Le Bon—*Psychologie des foules* and *La psychologie politique et la défense sociale*—as well as the remarkable work of the French historian Édouard Driault, *La Politique Orientale de Napoléon*, and the famous play of Henry-François Becque, *La Parisienne*.¹²⁸ In sum, as George T. Park has pointed out, even before leaving law school he had already fulfilled most of the necessities of a complete self-education.¹²⁹ Therefore, it is hardly to be wondered at that, from the very year he dropped out of the university up until 1913, he was able to lecture on literature and Turkish at various schools in the capital, such as the Mercan, Kabataş, and Istanbul high schools; more importantly, though, he also taught literature at the Mekteb-i Sultanî.¹³⁰

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the existing studies focusing on the early works of Mehmed Fuad dwell primarily on the aesthetic features of his poetry, including his rhyme, meter, and elaborate style.¹³¹ However, the actual content of his early poems, which considerably overlapped with the Hamidian ideology, has been largely neglected. First of all, the printing of one of his first poems in an issue of

¹²⁷ Köprülü, 'Fuad Köprülü'nün İlmi Şahsiyeti, Türk Kültüründeki Rolü ve Bazı Hatıralar,' 636–637.

¹²⁸ Gustave Le Bon, *Ruhü'l-Cemaat*, trans. Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad and Sadrettin Celal (İstanbul: Uhuvvet Matbaası, 1327 [1909]); idem, *Ruh-i Siyaset ve Müdafaa-i İçtimaiye*, trans. Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1326 [1910]); Édouard Driault, *Napolyon'un Şark Siyaseti: Selim-i Sâlis ve Napolyon, Sébastiani ve Gardane*, trans. Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad (İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1329 [1913]); Henry Becque, *Paris Kadını*, trans. Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1326 [1910]).

¹²⁹ Park, 'The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,' 8.

¹³⁰ Asılsoy, 'Türk Modernleşmesinin Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü,' 34.

¹³¹ For some examples, see Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, 'Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün İlk Yazısı, Basın Hayatının Başlangıcına Dair Bilgimizi Düzeltten ve Tamamlayan Yeni Notlar,' *Belleten* 33, no. 129 (January 1969): 43–52; idem, 'Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün Şiirleri,' 637–649; Park, 'The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,' 16–18.

Musavver Terakki (Illustrated Progress) published in celebration of Abdulhamid's 63rd birthday in 1905 is highly suggestive in this respect. Like the other writers and poets published in the volume, the young Köprülüzâde also composed his poem in honor of the sultan, overtly expressing his thanks and gratitude to him.¹³² What is more, in harmony with the strategy of the Hamidian regime, whereby the sultan-caliph was regarded as the main source of political loyalty and Abdulhamid's position as caliph was repeatedly emphasized, Mehmed Fuad characterized this 'just sultan' (*şehinşah-ı adil*) as 'the successor of the prophet' (*canîşin-i nebi*).¹³³

Likewise, paralleling the Hamidian propaganda that underscored Abdulhamid's services to the Islamic community, Köprülüzâde eulogized the caliph's investments in the Arabian Peninsula, such as the Hedjaz railway project.¹³⁴ In another panegyric qasida, written to celebrate the coming of the month of Muharram, he once again immensely praised the Hedjaz railway while also highlighting the virtues and deeds of the sultan-caliph, laying especial stress on his educational endeavor to expand the school system across the empire.¹³⁵ Furthermore, he presented Islamic values and religious ties as the most powerful bond in society, in full conformity with Hamidian policy, which based internal solidarity primarily on religion. In this connection, he also penned two different poems on the occasion of Ramadan, describing not only the religious feelings and sentiments that this holy month personally evoked in him, but also the increase in spirituality and enthusiasm throughout the Islamic world as a

¹³² Mercan İdadisi Üçüncü Sınıf Talebesinden Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad Efendi, '[Geldi Ruz-i Viladet-i Sultan],' *Musavver Terakki* 8, no. 25 (Teşrin-i Evvel 2, 1321/Şaban 16, 1323 [1905]): 197.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Mercan İdadisi Üçüncü Sınıf Birinci Şube Talebesinden Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad Efendi, '[Bahar İçinde Muharrem Latafet Efzâdır],' *Musavver Terakki* 8, no. 42 (February 16, 1321/Muharrem 5, 1324 [1906]): 331–332.

whole during the course of that month. It is little wonder, though, that both of these poems concluded with a glorification of the ‘pride of the world’; i.e., Sultan Abdulhamid. Last but not least, he did not neglect to establish a correlation between personal worship on the one hand and, on the other, obedience to the sultan-caliph, who, according to him, rendered services to Muslims all over the world.¹³⁶

One could certainly consider, at least at first glance, that Köprülüzâde was sincere both in the religious sentiments he expressed and in his eulogies to the personality and policies of the sultan. Nevertheless, it should be remembered in this context that Köprülüzâde was a person who was not actually deemed a devout Muslim until his old age, as recorded by his coeval cousin.¹³⁷ As the latter also noted, just two years after the publication of the aforementioned poems, Köprülüzâde enthusiastically greeted the repromulgation of the constitution and heralded the 1908 revolution as the salvation of the country.¹³⁸ Therefore, inasmuch as he was a young man attempting to make a name for himself in intellectual and literary circles, his celebrations of the month of Muharram and ornate descriptions of the pious feelings evoked in him by Ramadan might just as well be considered indicative of certain other points regarding his character and, as a derivative of this, of the flexible relationships he was establishing with the ever-changing political powers and state circles at different junctures. As will be seen later, this pragmatism and flexibility would provide Köprülüzâde with significant political and academic opportunities and facilities throughout his life.

¹³⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Tebrik-i Hilal-i Şehr-i Sıyam,’ *Musavver Terakki* 8, no. 27 (Teşrin-i Evvel 20, 1321/Ramazan 5, 1323 [1905]): 211; idem, ‘Elhân-i Mukaddeseden,’ *Musavver Terakki* 8, no. 28, (Teşrin-i Evvel 27, 1321/Ramazan 12, 1323 [1905]): 218.

¹³⁷ Köprülü, ‘Fuad Köprülü’nün İlmi Şahsiyeti, Türk Kültüründeki Rolü ve Bazı Hatıralar,’ 648.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 646.

In the light of these notes on Köprülüzâde's pragmatism and flexibility, it is no coincidence that the religious and pro-Hamidian content of his early poetry completely disappeared with the 1908 revolution. Being a young man of letters desiring to build a reputation, he now began to deal more with the favorite themes of the literary trends of the time, such as nature imagery and the inner worlds of individuals.¹³⁹ In connection with this, his poems in these years often reflected a gloomy and mournful state of mind, as overtly indicated by their titles, such as “*Hazan Nağmeleri*” (Melodies of Autumn), “*Yıldızların Ölümü*” (Death of the Stars), “*Hüsran*” (Frustration), and “*Bedbinî*” (Pessimistic). The autumn and winter seasons, evening and night, and feelings of loneliness and melancholy were the major subject matters of these poems suffused with Arabo-Persian vocabulary, which were mostly printed in the well-known journals *Mehâsin* and *Servet-i Fünûn*.¹⁴⁰ As a matter of fact, the latter—or more precisely the eponymous literary movement of this journal and its successor, the *Fecr-i Âtî* (Dawn of the New Age) literary society, which published this periodical—had a noteworthy influence on Mehmed Fuad's views on art and literature in general and on his poetry in particular during the early years of the Second Constitutional Period.

Heavily inspired by contemporary trends in French literature like symbolism and Parnassianism, the writers and poets who gathered around the *Servet-i Fünûn* and

¹³⁹ Tansel, ‘Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü’nün Şiirleri,’ 638–643.

¹⁴⁰ For some examples, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Çöl ve Rüzgârlar,’ *Mehâsin*, no. 3 (Teşrin-i Sani 1324 [1908]): 183; idem, ‘Hazan Nağmeleri,’ *Mehâsin*, no. 6 (February 1324 [1909]): 388; idem, ‘Yıldızların Ölümü,’ *Mehâsin*, no. 7 (March 1325 [1909]): 508; idem, ‘Melâl-i Muhîtât,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 967 (Kanun-ı Evvel 3, 1325/Zilhicce 3, 1327 [1909]): 71; idem, ‘Merkad-ı Hülya,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 968 (Kanun-ı Evvel 10, 1325/Zilhicce 10, 1327 [1909]): 86; idem, ‘Hülya ve Hakikat,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 970 (Kanun-ı Evvel 24, 1325/Zilhicce 24, 1327 [1910]): 115; idem, ‘Bedbinî,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 982 (March 18, 1326/Rebi’ülevvel 19, 1328 [1910]): 310; idem, ‘Hüsran,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 986 (April 14, 1326/Rebi’ülahir 17, 1328 [1910]): 374; idem, ‘Akşamdan Sonra,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 39, no. 991 (May 20, 1326/Cemâziyelevvel 24, 1328 [1910]): 38.

Fecr-i Âtî literary groups defended the idea that art and literature should not reflect social and political thoughts directly. Rejecting approaches that attributed certain social, didactic, or utilitarian roles and purposes to art, they instead adapted the manifesto-like motto '*l'art pour l'art*' as 'art is personal and venerable' (*sanat şahsi ve muhteremdir*).¹⁴¹ In their view, the unique objective of art was the creation of beauty in and of itself, a beauty which could only be found in the depths of the human spirit.¹⁴² As such, they chose to concern themselves with the spiritual and inner life of individuals, using as their subject matter primarily personal feelings and daydreams and concentrating on themes like love, faith, and death. Moreover, they adopted an elitist stance and underlined the difference between the spoken and literary languages, since while in their view the former was a coarse and tasteless jargon, the latter was the only type of language capable of properly expressing the complexity of the most intricate personal sentiments. Hence, rather than placing a premium on easy intelligibility and appealing to the common people, they devoted their full efforts to the creation of a flowery artistic language. Put differently, the *Servet-i Fünûn* and *Fecr-i Âtî* writers and poets, including Köprülüzâde, attached paramount importance in their literary works to aesthetic refinement, an elaborate style, and exquisite form.¹⁴³ Convinced as they were that Turkish was incapable of being a literary medium without the aid of Arabic and Persian, they used many

¹⁴¹ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları* (9th ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 32.

¹⁴² See 'Fecr-i Âtî Encümen-i Edebîsi Beyannâmesi,' *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 977 (February 11, 1325/Safer 14, 1328 [1910]): 227.

¹⁴³ Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey* (Jerusalem: The Israel Oriental Society, 1954), 15; Hüseyin Tuncer, *Meşrutiyet Devri Türk Edebiyatı* (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994), 179.

Arabo-Persian words and phrases and utilized a large number of compounds and composites from these languages.¹⁴⁴

Accordingly, in the same manner as some of the other promising men of letters of the era who took part in the establishment of the *Fecr-i Âtî* society in 1909—like Ahmed Haşim, Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu), Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver), and Şahabeddin Süleyman—Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad embraced what might be described as an elitist and cosmopolitan view of art and literature in the years just after the repromulgation of the constitution.¹⁴⁵ However, this literary approach received its share of harsh criticism. For instance, the *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens) group, who were among the first to put forward a clear and collective call for simplifying the language, engaged in spirited debates with the *Fecr-i Âtî* society and Köprülüzâde.¹⁴⁶

The *Genç Kalemler* journal began publication in Salonica in 1910, started by a group of young writers that included Ali Canip (Yöntem) and Ömer Seyfettin. The Committee of Union and Progress (hereafter CUP) strongly supported and funded the periodical, and in fact the editor-in-chief of the first issue, Nesimi Sarım, was the

¹⁴⁴ Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform*, 18.

¹⁴⁵ Cafer Şen, ‘Fecr-i Âtî Encümeni’nde Bir Eleştirmen ve Polemikçi Olarak Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad,’ in *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, 39–40.

¹⁴⁶ It must be noted here that a significant initiative in terms of stimulating the simplification of the language appeared with the establishment of the *Türk Derneği* (Turkish Association) at the end of 1908. However, this association’s members were far from sharing the same view on this issue. As Geoffrey Lewis put it, some members of the association, like Fuat Raif, insisted on purging all Arabic and Persian words and phrases from the Ottoman language, to be replaced by pure Turkish ones. Certain other members, on the other hand, objected strongly to these suggestions, ‘which would turn the Ottoman people into Bukharans’, and argued that those Arabic and Persian words current in popular speech should be not only counted as Turkish but also preserved. As a result of these disagreements among its members, the Turkish Association was unable to launch a consistent and collective campaign for the simplification of the Ottoman language. See Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform*, 19–20; Hüseyin Sadoğlu, *Türkiye’de Ulusçuluk ve Dil Politikaları* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 134–137.

secretary of the central committee of the CUP.¹⁴⁷ The journal sought to remove, to the extent possible, the divide between the everyday language of the common people and the written and literary language, which was replete with Arabic and Persian words, phrases, and constructions. Echoing views originally developed by representatives of the Turkist current during the Hamidian era, the writers of *Genç Kalemler* stressed that the essence of the Ottoman language was undoubtedly Turkish, even though it had been heavily influenced by Arabic and Persian.¹⁴⁸ Since these foreign influences rendered the written language as used by Ottoman officials and literati almost completely unintelligible and even repellent to the masses, they instead emphasized the necessity of eliminating not all, but at least superfluous Arabic and Persian vocabulary, as well as recommending suppression of the grammatical rules and similar elements that had been taken from these languages.¹⁴⁹ In accordance with these views, in 1911 Ömer Seyfettin and Ali Canip went one step further by launching the *yeni lisan* (new language) campaign in the pages of their periodical.¹⁵⁰ To put the principles of the ‘new language’ into practice, they began to write their articles in a simplified form of Turkish. With the aid of Ziya Gökalp, they also founded a commission whose chair was the ‘hero and idol’ of the 1908 revolution, Enver. Shortly thereafter, this commission printed a number of

¹⁴⁷ Masami Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 44, 83.

¹⁴⁸ For instance, see Kâzım Nami, ‘Türkçe mi Osmanlıca mı?’, *Genç Kalemler* 1, no. 4 ([1910]): 132–136.

¹⁴⁹ Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey*, 17.

¹⁵⁰ See, [Ömer Seyfettin], ‘Yeni Lisan,’ *Genç Kalemler* 2, no. 1 ([April 1911]): 1–7.

schoolbooks and decided to translate the works of Herbert Spencer, Taine, and Fouilleé into Turkish using the ‘new language’.¹⁵¹

In terms of their criticisms against the *Servet-i Fünûn* and *Fecr-i Âtî* societies, on the other hand, the Genç Kalemler group accused these literary circles, as might be expected, of destroying the national taste and language by filling the latter with Arabic and Persian words. Ömer Seyfettin, for instance, severely criticized the *Servet-i Fünûn* and *Fecr-i Âtî* societies for expanding the divide between the written and spoken languages to a great extreme. He characterized the works of the *Servet-i Fünûn* and *Fecr-i Âtî* writers and poets as detrimental to Turkish culture and nationality in that ‘they were shallow imitations of the Western literature’.¹⁵² Similarly, Ali Canip faulted these societies’ literary activities for the absence of national consciousness in their writings and poems, criticizing them for reflecting only ‘cosmopolitan’ ideas and ideals.¹⁵³

Naturally, the *Fecr-i Âtî* writers returned the attack. On behalf of the group, in 1911 and 1912 Mehmed Fuad set out to respond to the strictures of the *Genç Kalemler* journal by publishing a series of articles in which he maintained his elitist attitude and defended the notion that art and literature—or more precisely ‘high art’ and ‘high literature’—can never serve as an explanation of the commonplace ideas of a society or a nation, as opposed to the Genç Kalemler writers, who specifically criticized the *Fecr-i Âtî* group for disregarding ‘the national culture and spirit’. Referencing Émile Faguet’s statement that ‘literature is not a homogeneous mass’,

¹⁵¹ Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era*, 31, 44–45; Tahir Alangu, *Ömer Seydettin: Ülkücü Bir Yazarın Romanı* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010), 149–150.

¹⁵² [Ömer Seyfettin], ‘Yeni Lisan,’ 3.

¹⁵³ Ali Canip, ‘Edebiyat-ı Müstakbelemiz,’ *Genç Kalemler* 1, no. 1 ([1910]): 84–85.

Köprülüzâde strikingly established a strict hierarchy among the different types of literature, putting popular/folk literature in the lowermost position. This vulgar type of literature, he argued, might reflect the common values of the society and thereby appeal to the ordinary people to some extent. ‘But nevertheless’, he continued, ‘real art, the great masterpieces of literature, could by no means attempt to address or express the simple pleasures of the masses’.¹⁵⁴ In connection with this, he mockingly emphasized how the elimination of Arabo-Persian vocabulary and compounds from the written language would not only reduce Ottoman literature to a sort of ‘Hottentot literature’, but also sacrifice the unique objective of and the main criteria for art; namely, beauty.¹⁵⁵ For him, what mattered was not the use of non-Turkish phrases and constructs, but rather the aesthetic refinement of literary works, a refinement that was anchored in the talent and artistry of authors and poets. For this reason, he stressed, rather than an external intervention into language and literature such as that proposed by the *Genç Kalemler* journal via the new language movement, the important thing to be done was to preserve literature’s autonomous aesthetic space, where the literati could find a place to freely perform their art and utilize their ability.¹⁵⁶ The initiatives of the writers and poets ‘who presume that they can create a new language and a national literature by eliminating non-Turkish compound words from the language’, he noted, could only be deemed delusional efforts. Moreover, he went on to claim that the *Genç Kalemler* group’s literary works written in

¹⁵⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Halk ve Edebiyat,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 41, no. 1042 (May 12, 1327/Cemâziyelevvel 27, 1329 [1911]): 29–31. See also Park, ‘The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,’ 280–281.

¹⁵⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Edebiyatlar Arasında,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 41, no. 1043 (May 19, 1327/Cemâziyelâhir 4, 1329 [1911]): 54–58.

¹⁵⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Yeni Lisan,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 42, no. 1082 (February 16, 1327/Rebi’ülevvel 11, 1330 [1912]): 365–370.

compliance with the principles of the ‘new language’ were doomed to failure, as was the case with Ziya Gökalp’s poem *Altın Destan* (Golden Epic).¹⁵⁷

In this respect, it is not surprising that Köprülüzâde took a similar stance toward the question of poetic meter. After reiterating his views on the ‘intransigent’ differences between the ‘preciousness’ of high art and the ‘vulgarity’ of popular taste, he presented the classical *aruz* meter as the very symbol of the former, one which flourished in literature’s own autonomous space. Syllabic meter, on the contrary, was considered by him to be a rudimentary style corresponding to the primitive and unaesthetic pleasures of the common people (*‘avam’*).¹⁵⁸ From this viewpoint, he severely criticized the rising tendency to abandon the traditional *aruz* meters, which were of Arabo-Persian origin, in favor of the supposedly ‘national’ syllabic meters, a trend which became especially apparent in Turkist circles after the 1899 publication of Mehmet Emin’s book *Türkçe Şiirler* (Poems in Turkish). Köprülüzâde asserted that such artificial and even compulsive campaigns, which were launched with explicit political motivations, would destroy the aesthetic-artistic domain that should be autonomous from the political sphere.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, he pointed out, renouncing the *aruz* meters on which Ottoman poetry had relied almost exclusively up to that

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 365; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türklük ve Yeni Lisan,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 42, no. 1091 (April 19, 1328/Cemâziyelevvel 15, 1330 [1912]): 579–582. See also Ağâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri* (3rd ed.), (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1972), 320–321.

¹⁵⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Milli Aruz Meselesi,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 42, no. 1073 (Kanun-ı Evvel 15, 1327/Muharrem 7, 1330 [1911]): 147–150; idem, ‘Halk ve Edebiyat,’ 29–30. See also Fatih Altuğ, ‘İmparatorlukla Ulus-Devlet Arasında Kozmopolit Fuad Köprülü’nün Milli Edebiyata İhtidası,’ in *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, 123.

¹⁵⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Milli Aruz Meselesi,’ 149–150. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Halûk’un Defteri,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 41, no. 1045 (June 2, 1327/Cemâziyelâhir 18, 1329 [1911]): 99–103.

time would bring about the strong possibility of completely losing the existing literary heritage.¹⁶⁰

As a matter of fact, the nub of Köprülüzâde's arguments was predicated on a straightforward logic in terms of his approach to the questions of the new language, national literature, and poetic meter. The crucial point he highlighted was the irreconcilability, particularly during an era of increasing social relations and cultural interactions between nations, of basing contemporary literature on features stemming directly from nationality or nationalist aspirations.¹⁶¹ In other words, for Köprülüzâde, it was difficult to speak of the subsistence of a national literature at a time when nations were becoming globally more connected: 'Only the very first cultural products of a society living in isolated conditions', he stressed, 'might be evaluated within the framework of national literature'. However, he also emphasized how, since no society could long remain isolated from others, the cultural products of every society necessarily develop through acculturation and close interrelationship with other societies. As such, each nation's literature, in his view, can come into existence only in relation with other nations' literatures, and so literature, by definition and without exception, has a cosmopolitan character. In terms of Ottoman literature, for example, he remarked that such literary geniuses as Tevfik Fikret and Hâlid Ziyâ were substantially the products of their era's heightened interest in and constant interaction with French literature. As a result of this perspective, Köprülüzâde accused the proponents of the 'national literature' movement, who had denounced the works of the *Fecr-i Âtî* writers as simple imitations of Western

¹⁶⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Milli Aruz Meselesi,' 149–150.

¹⁶¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Edebiyat-ı Milliye,' *Servet-i Fünûn* 41, no. 1041 (May 5, 1327/Cemâziyelevvel 20, 1329 [1911]): 3–7.

literature, of ‘building Chinese walls’ between Ottoman and Western literatures and reducing the former to ‘the level of Hottentot literature’. Eventually, he went one step further and declared that the Ottoman literati should immediately internalize European aesthetic values and even begin to consider themselves an integral part of a common European culture that was gradually growing out of national prejudices and boundaries.¹⁶²

It was within this context and for this reason that Köprülüzâde’s first book, *Hayat-ı Fikriyye* (Intellectual Life), as well as most of his early articles, especially those that appeared in *Servet-i Fünûn*, were devoted to the study of Western intellectual life and literature.¹⁶³ In 1909’s *Hayat-ı Fikriyye*, for instance, he sought to analyze the views of certain nineteenth-century European literary figures and thinkers to whom he attributed importance. Briefly summarized, in the first chapter, Mehmed Fuad dealt at length with the life and ideas of the Italian positivist philosopher Roberto Ardigò. Next, he focused on the works of Georg Brandes, a Danish literary critic who exerted a noteworthy influence on Scandinavian literature in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Finally, in the last chapter, he surveyed the Parnassian school

¹⁶² Ibid., 6–7; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Edebiyatlar Arasında,’ 54, 57–58.

¹⁶³ For some of his articles on Western intellectual life and literature, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Hayat-ı Fikriyye: Jacobsen,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 40, no. 1019 (Kanun-ı Evvel 2, 1326/Zilhicce 17, 1328 [1910]): 99–101; idem, ‘Henry Becque: Paris Kadını Münasebetiyle,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 40, no. 1022 (Kanun-ı Evvel 23, 1326/Muharrem 4, 1329 [1911]): 171–173; idem, ‘Liberalizm,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 40, no. 1024 (Kanun-ı Sani 5, 1326/Muharrem 17, 1329 [1911]): 219–223; idem, ‘Hayat-ı Fikriyye: Arne Gaborg,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 40, no. 1028 (February 3, 1326/Safer 17, 1329 [1911]): 315–318; idem, ‘Henri de Regnier,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 40, no. 1031 (February 24, 1326/Rebi’ülevvel 9, 1329 [1911]): 387–389; idem, ‘Paul Verlaine,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 41, no. 1044 (May 26, 1327/Cemâziyelâhir 11, 1329 [1911]): 83–84.

of poetry, concentrating especially on one of the most significant representatives of this current, Catulle Mendès.¹⁶⁴

It must also be noted that, by additionally alluding to Herbert Spencer and Gustave Le Bon in *Hayat-ı Fikriyye*, Köprülüzâde established a close correlation between the success of the incipient Young Turk Revolution and the intellectual development of Ottoman society in the revolution's aftermath.¹⁶⁵ In this manner, he clearly defined the foremost task facing the Ottomans, a task that they must perform without delay following 'the noble political revolution [of 1908]', as the implementation of a revolutionary advancement in intellectual life as well. 'In order to ensure the future of our society' in 'the bitter struggle between the nations [...] that proceeds according to the laws of nature', he stated, 'it is vital to enhance our cultural and ideational level as soon as possible'.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, he added, 'we have to transform the youth into a generation of intellectuals (*nesl-i mütefekkir*) by providing them with a solid education on the basis of European social sciences, philosophy, and literature'.¹⁶⁷ This necessity, he stated, was the major reason that drove him to write *Hayat-ı Fikriyye*. More importantly, however, such an indispensable intellectual awakening was the only way that the Ottomans could determine their own destiny and open the door to a hopeful future for themselves. Otherwise, he warned, 'in a

¹⁶⁴ M. Fuad Köprülü, *Hayat-ı Fikriyye: Roberto Ardigo, George Brandes ve İskandinav Edebiyatı-Cattula Mendes ve Parnas Şairleri- Fouillet ve Guyau*, eds. Cafer Şen and Nuran Şen (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2007).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 15–16.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 16–18. On this point, see also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Mesâil-i Fikriyye,' *Tasvir-i Efkar*, Şevval 1, 1331/September 3, 1913, 2.

¹⁶⁷ Köprülü, *Hayat-ı Fikriyye*, 15. Köprülüzâde emphasized this necessity in another article as well; see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Bir Teşebbüs-i Mesut,' *Hak*, no. 68 (May 7, 1328/Cemâziyelâhir 3, 1330 [1912]): 1.

political environment surrounded by so many ambitious rival states, [...] the only thing that tomorrow will bring us is a frightful decline'.¹⁶⁸

As one can clearly see from the concepts that Köprülüzâde highlights in *Hayat-ı Fikriyye*—concepts such as the ‘laws of nature’ and the ‘struggle for existence’—the influential paradigm of the era, social Darwinism, left an imprint on his ideas during the years that followed the repromulgation of the constitution.¹⁶⁹ This influence becomes particularly apparent in his articles on contemporary political and social issues, which were mostly published in the daily newspaper *Hak* (Truth) and in *Donanma* (The Navy), which was the periodical of the quasi-official *Donanma-yı Osmanî Muavenet-i Milliye Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Navy League). In an article written for the latter in 1911, for example, he argued that the two key determinants of world politics in the twentieth century were rivalry and power.¹⁷⁰ Nations and societies, he argued, were becoming increasingly engaged in competing with each other to survive in the bitter struggle to stay alive, which made it difficult, though not impossible, to speak of the ideal of world peace. Through this formulation, he came to regard the credo of social Darwinism—namely, the dominance of the powerful over the weak—as the major characteristic of the international system.¹⁷¹ Moreover, he further pointed out that the rivalry and struggle for existence were not limited solely to the political sphere, but took place in the economic, cultural, and scientific spheres as

¹⁶⁸ Köprülü, *Hayat-ı Fikriyye*, 16–18.

¹⁶⁹ Altuğ, ‘İmparatorlukla Ulus-Devlet Arasında Kozmopolit Fuad Köprülü’nün Milli Edebiyata İhtidası,’ 121–122.

¹⁷⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Siyasette Irklar,’ *Donanma* 2, no. 19 (September 1327/Şevval 1329 [1911]): 1710.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Sulh-ı Müsellâh ve Saadet-i Akvâm,’ *Tanin*, no. 11 (July 29, 1324/Recep 14, 1326 [1908]): 2.

well.¹⁷² Nonetheless, despite all these struggles based on power relations between nations and societies, the young Mehmed Fuad was by no means pessimistic. Rejecting views that featured notions of hatred and hostility among nations, he considered the ‘continuous rivalries’ between these ‘social organisms’ as only natural, not as something that would necessarily create enmity, just as was the case with biological organisms. If, he suggested, the Ottomans took the ‘path of progress’ by adopting contemporary scientific thought and were able to quickly demonstrate remarkable development in the fields of education, technology, and economics, there would be no reason to worry about the future of the empire. Additionally, so as to cater to the crucial need of integrating the country more tightly into the Western world, he recommended that the government should immediately replace the Hamidian policy of isolation with an outward-looking one, especially in regards to international matters.¹⁷³

3. 3 Köprülüzâde after the Balkan Wars: A Traumatic Transformation in the Twilight of the Empire

All of Köprülüzâde’s optimistic outlook on the future of the Ottoman state and Ottoman society vanished with the disastrous consequences of the Balkan Wars of 1912–13. As has already been demonstrated in the existing literature, by the end of the debacle the Ottomans had lost nearly four million people out of a total population of about 24 million, as well as 83 percent of the empire’s European territories. The

¹⁷² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Rekabet-i İctimaiyye,’ *Hak*, no. 4 (March 4, 1328/Rebi’ülevvel 28, 1330 [1912]): 1; idem, ‘Avrupa-Asya Harb-i İktisadisi,’ *Donanma* 1, no. 12 (February 1326 [1911]): 1091–1095. See also Park, ‘The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,’ 125–126.

¹⁷³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Siyasette Irklar,’ 1710–1713; idem, ‘Rekabet-i İctimaiyye,’ 1. See also Taştan, ‘Mehmed Fuad Köprülü: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Eserleri,’ 32.

most profound of these losses was Rumelia, an indispensable part of the country that had been the lifeblood of the empire since the fifteenth century.¹⁷⁴ The fact that the war ended with such a terrible defeat; that the adversary was not a great power but a coalition of the small Balkan states that had until recently been under Ottoman rule; that the empire lost virtually all its European possessions, including such important cities as Salonica; and that the capital came within an ace of falling to the enemy—all of these factors accentuated the gravity of the situation.¹⁷⁵ This dramatic experience undoubtedly made palpable the threat to the very survival of the empire, which now contracted to a Turco-Arab core. Moreover, the wars left the Ottomans—who were convinced that the great powers of Europe intentionally refused to lift even a finger to help them while they were under attack by the Christian Balkan states—utterly demoralized in an atmosphere of national humiliation and isolation.¹⁷⁶ In connection with this, and as might perhaps be expected, notions of revenge and retribution became firmly embedded in the Ottoman identity.¹⁷⁷

The results of the Balkan Wars, including the new socio-demographic situation, forced the Young Turks—who terminated the liberal interlude by staging a coup in January 1913—to rethink their political projects and regime strategies. As a matter of fact, the secessionist movements they confronted, the wars they fought, the territorial losses they faced, and the uprisings in such regions as Yemen and Albania had

¹⁷⁴ Ahmad, 'The Late Ottoman Empire,' 13–14; Soner Çağaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?* (London: Routledge, 2006), 6.

¹⁷⁵ Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 22–23.

¹⁷⁶ Erik-Jan Zürcher, 'The Ottoman Legacy of the Kemalist Republic,' in *The State and the Subaltern*, 107; Çağlar Keyder, 'A History and Geography of Turkish Nationalism,' in *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, eds. Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas (London: Routledge, 2005), 5–6.

¹⁷⁷ Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914*, 15, 25, 191.

already prompted them to move away from their former relatively liberal stance and adopt more authoritarian policies. Furthermore, as the separatist movements and the dismemberment of the empire continued, the weakness of the secular state ideology was revealed. By the time of the Balkan Wars, the Young Turks had come to the conclusion that the Ottomanist project had unequivocally failed to meet their expectations. Accordingly, even though it remained the state principle until the very end of the empire, Ottomanism became in practice almost a dead letter and was largely abandoned, to be replaced by a vindictive nationalist stance that aspired to a new mobilization along Turkish-Islamic lines.¹⁷⁸

It is worth noting here that the new policy was two-pronged. The immediate effect of the loss of the European territories on the Young Turk regime strategy was the clear shift in the center of gravity to Anatolia. Giving up their hopes of creating a supra-ethnic and supra-religious ‘Ottoman nation’, the Young Turks began to consider the Turkish-speaking Muslim population of Anatolia as the primary mainstay, or, to use Benedict Anderson’s terminology, started to ‘imagine’ this ‘most trustworthy community’ as the major backbone of the empire on which the state would then chiefly rely. It was at this point that the Unionists set out to thoroughly transform this ‘core’ into a well-defined nation with a common sense of identity by employing Turkish nationalism, which at that point was still a marginal intellectual option even though it had received some official encouragement up until that time. From this point on, the task of building a Muslim Turkish nation took precedence over disseminating any other collective identity in the Anatolian part of the empire, thus

¹⁷⁸ Fikret Adanır, ‘Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Army and the Ottoman Defeat in the Balkan War of 1912–1913,’ in *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Ronald Grigor Suny et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 113; Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, 211; Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 293.

marking a fundamental ideological change for the Young Turk regime. Soon, the CUP launched a strong Turkist propaganda campaign embellished with Islamic and anti-imperialist rhetoric, as well as increasing its support for associations that promoted Turkish nationalism. As a result, by 1913, the language of politics and the intellectual climate in Istanbul had turned decidedly nationalist. Needless to say, the new policy was essentially exclusionary to the non-Muslim inhabitants of the empire, such as the Armenians and Greeks, who within a few years would become the victims of this process of constructing a monolithic body in Anatolia.¹⁷⁹

Besides this, there were also the Arab provinces to be reconciled and placated. Islamism therefore became an important component of the Young Turk regime strategy, being the ideological basis that would safeguard the unity and continuity of what was left of the empire after the Balkan Wars. The other major reason for this ideological orientation was because Islam continued to be not only the primary focus of allegiance, but also the main determinant of identity for the vast majority of the population living in both the Anatolian and the Arab provinces, who were more likely to be swayed by an appeal to religious rather than national solidarity. Hence, the Unionists tended to load the substance of the newly fashioned Turkish national identity with Islam, or, to put it more directly, they interpreted the latter as the inseparable and fundamental ingredient of the former. Additionally, it was further expected that the religion would provide a convenient ideological and cultural framework for integrating and assimilating millions of Rumelian and Caucasian refugees into the 'Turkish' nation. With all this in mind, the Young Turks began to place a greater emphasis on Islam as a binding force, resorting more and more to its

¹⁷⁹ Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 349, 369–370, 418; Keyder, 'A History and Geography of Turkish Nationalism,' 14; Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914*, 25.

vocabulary and symbols in their official discourse and thereby coming to rely on it in their quest for social harmony. It is thus no coincidence that the primary and official ideologue of the CUP during this era was not a nationalist intellectual like Yusuf Akçura, who loaded Turkishness with a wholly secular significance and reduced the role of religion to a personal style of worship, but rather Ziya Gökalp, who devoted his full effort to combining and synthesizing Turkish nationalism with Islam.¹⁸⁰

Returning to the story of young Mehmed Fuad, the catastrophic results of the Balkan Wars and the consequent profound transformation in the empire deeply impacted him. Köprülüzâde began, as did many others during these traumatic years, to intensely question his ideological disposition, intellectual framework, and personal convictions on social, political, and literary issues. Some early but remarkable reflections of this personal alteration revealed themselves in the articles that he wrote at the height of the Balkan Wars in February and March 1913: ‘*Müdafaa-i Milliye*’ (National Defense), ‘*İntibâh-ı Millî*’ (National Awakening), ‘*İntibâh Yolları*’ (Paths of Awakening), and ‘*Ümit ve Azim*’ (Hope and Determination).¹⁸¹ It must be noted that the last of these was the first piece he wrote for the important nationalist journal *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland), which in and of itself is a noteworthy indicator of the shift in his intellectual trajectory. Moreover, he rather strikingly dedicated this

¹⁸⁰ Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, 15, 116, 211; Karpas, ‘Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to be Modern Muslim, Ottoman, and Turk,’ 18; Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003), 67.

¹⁸¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘*Müdafaa-i Milliye*,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi’ülevvel 4, 1331/February 11, 1913, 2; idem, ‘*İntibâh-ı Millî*,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi’ülevvel 11, 1331/February 18, 1913, 2; idem, ‘*İntibâh Yolları I*,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi’ülevvel 15, 1331/February 22, 1913, 2; idem, ‘*İntibâh Yolları II*,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi’ülevvel 20, 1331/February 27, 1913, 2; idem, ‘*İntibâh Yolları III*,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi’ülevvel 23, 1331/March 2, 1913, 2; idem, ‘*İntibâh Yolları IV*,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi’ülâhır 1, 1331/March 10, 1913, 2; idem, ‘*Ümit ve Azim*,’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 8 (Kanun-ı Sani 24, 1328 [1913]): 240–247.

article, which was written with motivations and sentiments entirely nationalistic in nature, to the ‘Turkish youth’.¹⁸²

The crucial point to be considered in connection with these articles is that Köprülüzâde seems to have changed his outlook on the characteristics of the international system and world politics. At a time when the Ottomans were witnessing the worst days of the Balkan Wars in conflict with a number of young neighboring states, there was no longer any solid ground from which he could continue to defend his earlier optimistic views situating international struggles within a nonviolent framework and regarding rivalries among nations as only natural but not necessarily creating enmity. Therefore, in contrast to his previous writings—which had been published only two years before—his discourse now began to make increasing reference to notions of hatred and hostility, just as did the discourse of many other Muslim intellectuals in the Ottoman capital. In ‘*Ümit ve Azim*’, for instance, he overtly called for the ‘Turkish youth’ to disseminate the ‘idea of Turkish nationalism as well as the feelings of vengeance and retribution among the masses of people’. If this vital ‘task’ could be fulfilled, he emphasized, then ‘Turkishness, the sacred and honorable nation [...] which its treacherous enemies want to annihilate [...] would terribly avenge itself upon the barbaric Slavs who marched their armies to the gates of Istanbul in order to put an end to the Turkish presence in Rumelia’.¹⁸³

Secondly, Köprülüzâde revised his earlier views on social Darwinism following the Balkan Wars. In the face of an ever increasing sense of dissolution and dismemberment, neither Köprülüzâde nor any other Ottoman intellectual could any

¹⁸² Ibid., 240.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 240–247; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Müdafaa-i Milliye,’ 2.

longer accept as universal principles such social Darwinist notions as the dominance of the powerful over the weak. Contrary to his former perspective, Mehmed Fuad now accused these ‘determinist’ arguments, which effectively condemned the Ottoman Empire to a future demise, of justifying imperialism and setting up a pseudo-scientific basis for social theories that defended the superiority of particular ‘races’ over others. What is more, he also dwelt widely on the devastating effects of these assessments on the ‘Turkish nation’, which, according to him, interpreted every social and political incident through reference to the ‘laws of nature’. Köprülüzâde pointed out that the most negative impact of these interpretations on the Turkish youth was the internalization of the idea that the disintegration of the empire was an inevitable conclusion. In view of this situation, he warned, not only feelings of inertia and hopelessness, but also the concepts of defeatism and fatalism, were becoming embedded in the Turkish identity, foreboding a total spiritual collapse for the nation.¹⁸⁴

Criticizing all manner of visions that predicted the end of the empire and bolstered the sense of defeatism in Ottoman society, Köprülüzâde instead strove to instill ‘hope and determination’ in the ‘Turkish people’, as the very title of his piece ‘*Ümit ve Azim*’ indicates. To this end, rather than citing Spencer or any other strict social Darwinist thinkers, he now drew attention to the views of Henri Bergson, who coined the notion of ‘*élan vital*’ (vital impetus or force) by reinterpreting the theory of evolution in his well-known book *L’Évolution créatrice*, published in 1907.¹⁸⁵ On the one hand, Köprülüzâde’s references in his articles to Bergson’s work just six years

¹⁸⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘*Ümit ve Azim*,’ 241–243. See also Park, ‘The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,’ 128–129, 132–133.

¹⁸⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘*Ümit ve Azim*,’ 245–246.

after the latter's publication demonstrate his impressive intellectual interest in contemporary European philosophical trends and studies. But on the other hand, and more importantly, the clear shift in his point of reference from Spencer to Bergson was instrumental in his search for a theoretical basis for the idea that the Ottoman defeat simultaneously meant a chance for a 'national awakening' and 'national revival'.¹⁸⁶ In other words, Köprülüâde eagerly embraced the key principle of the Bergsonian philosophy, *élan vital*, since in his view this concept demolished unilineal and one-dimensional interpretations of the evolutionary theory, such as Spencer's notion of the survival of the fittest, that effectively sounded the death knell for the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, 'the new theories of science and philosophy' such as 'creative evolution' and 'creative vital forces', which asserted that all living things—and hence all 'social organisms'—were capable of surviving, revitalizing themselves, and even creating new life forms due to the *élan vital* within them, served as a new stance that represented a major source of inspiration and optimism for Köprülüâde. In this respect, he overtly stated that 'rather than the feelings of fear and lack of confidence [...] the disaster and calamity should reinforce [our] strength and determination'.¹⁸⁷ 'One of the major distinguishing marks of all living things [...] in their struggle for self-preservation', he further stressed, 'is their potential and ability to respond to the attacks made against them'. Köprülüâde fervently concluded that this response—which in the Ottoman Turkish context was 'national

¹⁸⁶ See Köprülüâde Mehmed Fuad, 'İntibâh-ı Millî,' 2; idem, 'Müdafaa-i Milliye,' 2.

¹⁸⁷ Köprülüâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Ümit ve Azim,' 244–247.

revival and mobilization’—would be realized by adopting ‘a new life force’, ‘a new hope and determination’, or, to put it more directly, ‘a new national ideal’.¹⁸⁸

This new ‘national ideal’ to be adopted, or the new life force that would rejuvenate the empire, was overtly defined by Köprülüzâde within the framework of Turkish nationalism. For example, in a letter he wrote in 1913 to one of his close friends, Hüseyin Râgıb (Baydur), Köprülüzâde plainly confessed that the underlying cause of the empire’s latest defeats in the Balkan Wars was the lack of a Turkish national consciousness.¹⁸⁹ Although the nineteenth century had been an age of nationalism, he complained, the Turks were still devoid of any common national purpose or agenda.¹⁹⁰ It was thus no wonder that even the small nations in the Balkans ‘whose names had fallen into oblivion under our yoke’ could put an end to Ottoman rule there, consolidate their states, and ‘moreover [become] able to vanquish us’.¹⁹¹ ‘The Bulgarians, the Serbs, and the Greeks’, he further clarified in his article ‘*İntibâh-ı Millî*’, ‘had been seeking for years to create a national awakening among their compatriots, which they eventually attained through nationalistic propaganda and the efforts of their nationalist intellectuals and educationists’. Consequently, in comparison with ‘our intellectuals’, even a ‘Bulgarian, Serbian, or Greek peasant is much more aware of their national interests and aims, and does not hesitate to

¹⁸⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Müdafaa-i Milliye,’ 2. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘*İntibâh-ı Millî*,’ 2; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Ümit ve Azim,’ 240–241, 246–247; Altuğ, ‘İmparatorlukla Ulus-Devlet Arasında Kozmopolit Fuad Köprülü’nün Milli Edebiyata İhtidası,’ 124–125.

¹⁸⁹ Hüseyin Râgıb published this letter in his book *Türklük* (Turkishness); see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘[Aziz Râgıb],’ in *Türklük*, by Hüseyin Râgıb (İstanbul: İfham Matbaası, 1329 [1913]), 45–48.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 45–46. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Abdullah Tokayef,’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 16 (May 16, 1329 [1913]), 497–498.

¹⁹¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘[Aziz Râgıb],’ 46.

sacrifice himself for this cause'.¹⁹² Given these realities, he continued, the Turks, 'the heroic nation that valiantly defended Islam for centuries against the Christianity that flowed from the West', had no choice but to take a strong Turkish nationalist stance without delay 'in order to extricate themselves from their current humiliating predicament and revive their glorious past'. As such, he clearly emphasized that 'the first thing to be done to ignite the feelings of patriotism and self-sacrifice [...] is to kindle the fires of nationalism and nationhood in the hearts of the people'. For Köprülüzâde, whenever 'the Turkish people' acquired a national consciousness and accordingly realized the greatness of their nation, then they could easily overcome the disasters and calamities they faced.¹⁹³

If one takes a closer look at the changing concerns and priorities of Köprülüzâde regarding cultural, social, and political issues, the significant difference between the solutions he offered to alleviate these problems before and after the Balkan Wars becomes particularly apparent. In this sense, it would not be an exaggeration to claim that his relatively cosmopolitan attitude before the Balkan Wars almost completely disappeared in its aftermath. For one thing, while he had earlier repeatedly highlighted the positive consequences of increasing interrelationships and cultural interactions between nations before the war, after it, he conversely began to put an overwhelming emphasis in his writings on the importance of nationalism and national consciousness. In contrast to his earlier ideas advocating the necessity of the further integration of the Ottoman Empire and literati into European cultural and social orbits, following the Balkan Wars, which effectively marked the end of the

¹⁹² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'İntibâh-ı Millî,' 2.

¹⁹³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, '[Aziz Râgıb],' 46; idem, 'İntibâh Yolları I,' 2; idem, 'İntibâh-ı Millî,' 2.

empire's European identity, he actively participated in efforts to create a national awakening and nationalist mobilization, with a much more inward-looking perspective. In this context, he joined and became an active member of various leading social, cultural, political, and even paramilitary Turkist organizations of the time, such as *Türk Derneği* (the Turkish Association), *Türk Bilgi Derneği* (the Turkish Knowledge Society), *Türk Gücü Cemiyeti* (the Turkish Power Association), *Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti* (the Turkish Homeland Society), and *Türk Ocağı* (the Turkish Hearth Society), with the last two having long been the most significant platforms for the promotion and development of Turkist ideas and the Turkish nationalist stance.¹⁹⁴

Furthermore, the 'foremost' or 'vital' tasks he identified for the good and future of the country underwent a substantial transformation due to the national emergency.

Considering the empire as engaged in a life-or-death struggle that required the self-

¹⁹⁴ There is a commonly held view in the current literature that claims that Köprülüzâde had been an active member of the *Türk Derneği* since its establishment in 1908. Certain noteworthy studies focusing on his life and works—such as George T. Park's dissertation, for instance—state that Köprülüzâde joined the *Türk Derneği* shortly after its foundation in early 1909. Furthermore, his son Orhan Köprülü, his student Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, and some other significant scholars like Kemal Karpat also asserted that he became a member of the association in 1908 or 1909. However, if one takes a close look at the *Türk Derneği*'s eponymous periodical, which was printed between 1911 and 1912, one notices that Köprülüzâde published not even a single article in this journal. Moreover, when the association declared a list of its members' names and occupations in the journal's third issue in late 1911, Köprülüzâde's name did not appear among the association's forty-two members. The only sign indicating Köprülüzâde's membership in this organization in contemporary sources were Yusuf Akçura's retrospective statements concerning the association, which appeared in 1928. Akçura stated that Köprülüzâde was one of the association's sixty-three members, according to its registers dated 28 October 1912. In light of these notes, it seems clear that Köprülüzâde joined the *Türk Derneği* in 1912, not in 1908 or 1909, and this is certainly more in line with his personal story and intellectual transformation as well. See 'Bugün Türk Derneği'nde Azâ Bulunan Zatlar Şunlardır,' *Türk Derneği* 1, no. 3 (1327 [1911]), 103–104; Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, ed., *Türk Yılı: 1928* (İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1928), 435–436. See also Taştan, 'Mehmed Fuad Köprülü: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Eserleri,' 26–27. For some examples describing Köprülüzâde as a member of the *Türk Derneği* from the very time of its establishment, see Park, 'The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,' 14–15, 139; Köprülü, *Fuad Köprülü*, 1–2; Tansel, 'Memleketimizin Acı Kaybı Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü,' 623; Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 397. For further information on the other named organizations and Köprülüzâde's membership in them, see Füsun Üstel, *Türk Ocakları: İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği (1912–1931)* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 51–80; Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era*, 48–70, 71–82; Zafer Toprak, 'Türk Bilgi Derneği (1914) ve Bilgi Mecmuası,' in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1987), 247–254; Mehmet Özden, 'Türk Yurdu Dergisi ve II. Meşrutiyet Devri Türkçülük Akımı (1911–1918)' (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 1994); Sanem Yamak Ateş, *Asker Evlatlar Yetiştirmek: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Beden Terbiyesi, Askerî Talim ve Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 215–261.

sacrifice of each and every Turk, his former supra-political concerns and priorities of increasing the cultural, intellectual, and ideational level of the society now receded into the background. In their place, an extremely politically oriented agenda came to the fore, an agenda replete with an ardent Turkish nationalism. One particularly noteworthy example of this alteration revealed itself in Mehmed Fuad's views regarding what he called 'the duties and responsibilities of the youth'. As previously pointed out, prior to the Balkan Wars, Köprülüzâde took great pains to demonstrate the crucial need for transforming the youth into an intellectual generation by providing them with a solid education on the basis of contemporary European educational standards. In keeping with this standpoint, he also advised the youth to devote their whole attention to their education and to focus squarely on learning Western philosophy, sciences, and intellectual thought. The striking point to be made here is that, by pejoratively likening interest in daily politics to an 'epidemic disease', Köprülüzâde tenaciously cautioned his young readers, especially university students, against engaging in any sort of political activism.¹⁹⁵ However, this attitude drastically changed after the Balkan Wars as well. Dedicating his nationalistically motivated articles to the 'Turkish youth', he now called for them not only to genuinely embrace Turkish nationalism, but also to vigorously disseminate feelings of nationalism and patriotism among the people.

What is more, his earlier unreserved receptivity to European ideas and influences, for which he had been accused of Western mimicry and destroying national culture, vanished to a great extent. Quite to the contrary, Köprülüzâde now himself joined the ranks of those who had criticized him before and became a harsh critic of his own

¹⁹⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Darülfünun Meselesi,' *Hak*, no. 2 (March 2, 1328/Rebi'ülevvel 26, 1330 [1912]): 1. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Talebe Hayatı,' *Hak*, no. 19 (March 19, 1328/Rebi'ülâhîr 13, 1330 [1912]): 1.

earlier attitude and its like, which he began to scornfully describe as ‘cosmopolitanism’ and ‘mimicry’. In an article published in November 1913, for instance, he severely faulted the Tanzimat reformers for imitating and importing Western institutions directly, without considering indigenous values and national traditions.¹⁹⁶ By totally misunderstanding the meaning of the concept of progress, he continued, they presumed that it could be obtained only by a ‘blind Western mimicry’.¹⁹⁷ Thus, ‘Tanzimat leaders such as Mustafa Reşid and Âli and Fuad Pashas’ simply accepted European ideas, practices, and foundations regardless of their potential adverse impacts on society and on the traditional institutions of the empire. To put it another way, they neglected the probable negative social and cultural consequences of their Western-inspired reforms.¹⁹⁸ More importantly, perhaps—and reminiscent of Ziya Gökalp’s well-known boundary for what was and what was not to be accepted from the West, which he drew in accordance with his distinction between the national culture (‘*hars*’) and civilization (‘*medeniyet*’)—Köprülüzâde also criticized the Tanzimat leaders for having never thoroughly reflected on the question of what should be adopted from the Western world and what should not.¹⁹⁹ For these reasons, he maintained, ‘their bogus reforms’ neither

¹⁹⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Eski Eserlerimiz,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Zilhicce 17, 1331/Teşrin-i Sani 17, 1913, 2.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Mana-yı Teceddüt,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi’ülevvel 1, 1331/February 8, 1913, 2.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Mektep-Medrese,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi’ülevvel 6, 1331/March 16, 1913, 2.

¹⁹⁹ In his effort to determine what was and what was not to be accepted from the ‘Western world’, Ziya Gökalp’s distinction between ‘culture’ and ‘civilization’ served him as a touchstone. In his view, culture is made up of ‘sentiments which cannot be developed artificially and cannot be transmitted from nation to nation’. It is ‘the sum total of the value judgements that constitute the ethos of a people’, and thus has its own dynamic, which makes a nation what it is. Civilization, on the other hand, was defined by Gökalp, with reference to internationality, as ‘the sum total of the concepts and techniques developed according to certain methods and transmitted from nation to nation’. In other words, Gökalp considered civilization the sum of the material achievements, science, and commonly shared international values that supported relationships with other nations, but that did not supplant a

‘rested on any national basis’ nor solved any of the empire’s real internal problems, but rather dealt only with the superficial and external aspects of the issues at hand.²⁰⁰

In addition to these fatal mistakes, he added, they indicted the opponents of ‘their detrimental reforms’ as being ‘reactionary and conservative’.²⁰¹

However, Köprülüzâde’s criticisms of the Tanzimat reformers were not limited to this one theme. He also sharply criticized their Ottomanist policy in another article, ‘*Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık*’ (Turkishness, Islamness, Ottomanness), which was also published in *Türk Yurdu* in 1913. As its title indicates, in this piece Köprülüzâde sought to examine the relationship between each of these three concepts and discuss the Ottomanist, Islamist, and Turkist political projects.²⁰² In terms of his criticisms of the Tanzimat leaders and their Ottomanist policy, he accused them of making a grievous error by believing that it would be possible to create a nation based on will—i.e. a ‘*nation de la volonté*’ (‘*iradi bir millet*’)—from an ‘Ottomanness’ that

nation’s own unique culture. As Taha Parla put it, Gökâlp’s receptivity to European civilization was predicated on the condition that it should not replace the national culture, but should rather be integrated into the latter. In this context, Gökâlp emphasized that decline was inevitable for any nation that failed to preserve its own culture by subordinating that culture to civilization. Hence, he claimed, the Turks should avoid imitating the cultural—i.e., the national and subjective—values of individual European nations, values such as moral obligations, legal rules, aesthetic views, and ‘ideals’, which in any case were not integral elements of the European civilization group. What could be borrowed from the European civilization, in his view, were material achievements and scientific methods and techniques, which have a primarily objective and intellectual character and which would also form part of his program of national revival. All the other elements of culture, and particularly all moral and emotional values, he emphasized, should be drawn from the Turkish heritage. See Ziya Gökâlp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays*, trans. Niyazi Berkes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 104–106, 235. For further information on this point, see Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökâlp* (London: Luzac and Company and The Harvill Press, 1950), 63–64, 80, 150; Taha Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökâlp (1876–1924)* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 26–28, 30–31; Karpas, *The Politicization of Islam*, 381; Andrew Davison, *Secularism and Revivalism in Turkey: A Hermeneutic Reconsideration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 112–113.

²⁰⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Mektep-Medrese,’ 2; idem, ‘Mana-yı Teceddüt,’ 2.

²⁰¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Eski Eserlerimiz,’ 2.

²⁰² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık,’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 21 (July 25, 1329 [1913]): 692–702.

consisted of several nationalities and religions.²⁰³ Nevertheless, he emphasized, the Tanzimat statesmen and intellectuals failed to comprehend the simple fact that the notion of ‘Ottomanness’ was nothing more than the official title of the state. In connection with this, they overlooked the obvious historical reality that this official title had never been and never could be, either prior to or after the Tanzimat, the appellation of a nation sharing common emotions, values, and ideals.²⁰⁴ Because of this inaccurate perspective, ‘the Tanzimat leaders devoted their full efforts [...] to creating an artificial and [...] utopian Ottoman nation’ by naively promoting Ottomanism during a period when ‘the non-Muslim elements of the empire, such as the Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, and Serbs [...] were becoming acquainted with the notion of nationality [...] that the great French Revolution spread all over the world’.²⁰⁵ Even worse, Köprülüzâde continued, this erroneous and untenable policy was embraced and even intensified by the governments of the Second Constitutional Period in the early years after the 1908 Young Turk Revolution. Instead of strengthening the Turkish national consciousness among the Turks, the Young Turks had also labored under the illusion of building a supra-national and supra-religious Ottoman nation, which, in Mehmed Fuad’s view, was a great fallacy and oxymoron in the age of nationalism. Ultimately, he concluded, the only thing that these pipe dreams of the Tanzimat reformers and Young Turks had brought about was the current lack of nationalist spirit and ideal in the Turkish people. As a result, ‘Turkish people, intellectuals, and statesmen [...] forgot their own literature, history, and

²⁰³ Ibid., 701.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 694, 701–702. He also repeated these views in two other articles written in 1918; see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Tanzimattan Beri Osmanlılık Telâkkisi,’ in *Köprülü’den Seçmeler*, ed. Orhan F. Köprülü (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990), 40–45; idem, ‘Osmanlılık Telâkkisi,’ in *Köprülü’den Seçmeler*, 33–39.

²⁰⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık,’ 695–697. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Tanzimattan Beri Osmanlılık Telâkkisi,’ 40–41; idem, ‘Osmanlılık Telâkkisi,’ 33–35.

nationality [...] under the spell of the word “Ottoman”, so much so that even the name of the Turkish nation had been lost and replaced by ‘Ottoman’, which was in fact only a ‘diplomatic term’.²⁰⁶

Having thus characterized the Ottomanist policy as the major impediment to Turkish national consciousness, Köprülüzâde once again emphasized the urgent necessity of compensating for the absence of ‘nationalist sentiment and [...] national purpose [...] among the Turks living under the Ottoman flag’. To this end, he openly advocated the promotion of Turkist ideas in every segment of ‘Turkish’ society, and, even more strikingly, the adoption effective immediately of Turkish nationalism by the government as its main ideological and political orientation.²⁰⁷ In his view, this reorientation was essential not only with regard to the future of the ‘Turkish nation’, but also with regard to the interests of all Ottomans, including the non-Muslim elements of the empire. Put differently, contrary to the accusations of the proponents of Ottomanism, who charged Turkish nationalists and nationalism with provoking internal controversies and divisions among the Ottoman people, Köprülüzâde overtly argued that the harmony and common good of all components of Ottoman society depended on the adoption of Turkish nationalism as the main political project of the empire.²⁰⁸ The reason for this argumentation, which may seem paradoxical at first

²⁰⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık,’ 694–698; idem, ‘Osmanlılık Telâkkisi,’ 35–36; idem, ‘Tanzimattan Beri Osmanlılık Telâkkisi,’ 43–45. See also Park, ‘The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,’ 142–144.

²⁰⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık,’ 695; idem, ‘Son Hadiseler Karşısında Türkçülük: Türk Aleyhtarlığı,’ *Akşam*, Teşrin-i Evvel 24, 1334/Muharrem 17, 1337 [1918], 3; idem, ‘Mana-yı Teceddüt,’ 2; idem, ‘[Aziz Râgıb],’ 45.

²⁰⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık,’ 693–695; idem, ‘[Aziz Râgıb],’ 46–47; idem, ‘Osmanlılık Telâkkisi,’ 35–39. For a detailed description of the Ottomanist critique of Turkish nationalism during the era, see Mustafa Gündüz, *II. Meşrutîyet’in Klasik Paradigmaları: İctihad, Sebîlû’r-Reşad ve Türk Yurdu’nda Toplumsal Tezler* (Ankara: Lotus Yayınevi, 2007), 79–93; Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era*, 65–68; Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the New Turkey*, 177–178.

glance, lies in his assumption that the Turks were the central and constitutive element of the Ottoman state. Likening the latter to a large circle, he asserted that Turkishness was located at the very center of it. The second layer of this circle, surrounding the Turkish core of the empire, was Islam. Lastly, 'the Christian elements, which were by all means obliged to be obedient to the power of Turkishness and Islam', dwelt at the periphery of this metaphorical circle. Just as the strength of a circle hinges upon the stability of its center, Köprülüzâde argued, the durability of the empire was directly contingent on the power of its core; i.e., the Turkish nation. According to his reasoning, the recent territorial losses, as well as the separatist movements in the 'outer parts of the circle', stemmed directly from the weakness at the center of the circle. Therefore, he came to the conclusion that, in order to ensure the survival of the Ottoman Empire with all its different peoples and with its territorial integrity intact, it was necessary to revive and strengthen the Turkish element. That is to say, the development of Turkish nationalism was of vital importance for the fate of the Ottoman state and of Ottoman society.²⁰⁹

In addition to underlining the central place and role of the Turkish element in the preservation of the empire, Köprülüzâde also placed a heavy emphasis on the Islamic character of the state. Based on his circle analogy, in which Islam closely surrounded a Turkish core, he defined the Ottoman Empire as 'first and foremost' a 'Turkish-Islamic sultanate'. This definition was partly functional in, and entirely compatible with, official efforts to establish a strict union between the two major remaining elements of the empire. Fully aware of the fact that, after the Balkan Wars, the empire had become a largely Turco-Arab state, he persistently stressed the necessity

²⁰⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık,' 697–698; idem, 'Osmanlılık Telâkkisi,' 36–39.

of further deepening the material and spiritual ties between the Turks and the Arabs. It is thus not surprising in this context that Köprülüzâde, too, brought the common Islamic identity and religious affiliation to the fore as the most powerful bond of unity and as the chief basis of solidarity between these two main components of the empire.²¹⁰

Nonetheless, this heavy emphasis on the Turkish-Islamic character of the state had other implications as well. For one thing, it meant a self-conscious attempt to determine and demarcate what was ‘national’ and what was ‘cosmopolitan’, what was ‘indigenous’ and what was ‘external’. Considering the intense Turkification and Islamization policies of the CUP following the Balkan Wars—including the demographic measures taken against non-Muslims, such as the 1913 population exchange with Bulgaria and the 1913–14 expulsion of Greeks from western Anatolia—it becomes apparent that this differentiation was decisive in delineating the limits of citizenship and identifying what the Young Turks imagined the empire’s legitimate identity to be on the brink of World War I.²¹¹ In this respect, Köprülüzâde, much like the other nationalist intellectuals of the time, also engaged in endeavors to give substance to this ‘legitimate’ identity. In full conformity with the Young Turk regime strategy, he firmly based the emergent national identity on a foundation

²¹⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık,’ 699–701. See also Park, ‘The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,’ 144–146.

²¹¹ A good deal of research has been done recently on the homogenization and demographic engineering policies of the CUP. For some examples, see Fuat Dündar, *Modern Türkiye’nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki’nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913–1918)* (4th ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 188–193; idem, *Kahir Ekseriyet: Ermeni Nüfus Meselesi (1878–1923)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 60–65; idem, ‘The Settlement Policy of the Committee of Union and Progress (1913–1918),’ in *Turkey Beyond Nationalism: Towards Post-Nationalist Identities*, ed. Hans-Lukas Kieser (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 37–42; Çağlar Keyder, ‘The Consequences of the Exchange of Populations for Turkey,’ in *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey*, ed. Renée Hirschon (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 40–43; Ayhan Aktar, ‘Conversion of a “Country” into a “Fatherland”: The Case of Turkification Examined, 1923–1924,’ in *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, eds. Ayhan Aktar et al. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 23–28.

composed of Turkishness and Islam. To put it another way, he viewed Islam as one of the two major constitutive elements, and even a definitive marker, of the Turkish national identity and culture.²¹² Along with his essays concentrating on contemporary political and social issues, this perspective also revealed itself in a rather romantic manner in his literary writings, such as the 1913 short story ‘*Süngü Altında*’ (Under the Bayonet), which ends with the slogan ‘Long live Turkishness! Long live Islam!’ (‘*Yaşasın Türklük! Yaşasın İslamiyet!*’).²¹³

As such, Köprülüzâde also flew in the face of Islamist intellectuals’ assertion that nationalism is not permissible in Islam. In response to these arguments, he vehemently stressed that there were no fundamental contradictions between Islam and nationalism. Conversely, he claimed, these two complemented one another and were each one another’s most powerful supports.²¹⁴ Even so, it is worth noting here that Köprülüzâde neither thoroughly nor convincingly discussed this issue. For instance, he did not treat this theological subject on the ground of religion and never referred to Islamic texts and hadiths in order to persuade ambivalent readers, as was done by certain other prominent nationalists, such as Ahmed Ağaoğlu in his debates with Islamist intellectuals.²¹⁵ Similarly, apart from his circle analogy, he gave no further explanation of his arguments that nationalism would actually strengthen

²¹² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık,’ 697–699; idem, ‘İntibâh Yolları II,’ 2.

²¹³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Süngü Altında,’ *Halka Doğru*, no. 13 (July 4, 1329 [1913]): 101. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Hicret Matemleri,’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 14 (April 18, 1329 [1913]): 437–442.

²¹⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık,’ 699–700, 701; idem, ‘[Aziz Râgıb],’ 45.

²¹⁵ For the texts of Ahmed Ağaoğlu’s debate with Babanzâde Ahmed Naim on the question of nationalism in Islam, see Ahmed Naim, ‘İslam’da Dava-yı Kavmiyet,’ *Sebilü’r-Reşad* 12, no. 293 (April 10, 1330/Cemâziyelevvel 27, 1332 [1914]): 114–128; Ahmed Ağayef, ‘İslam’da Dava-yı Milliyet,’ *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 70 (July 10, 1330 [1914]): 2320–2329; idem, ‘İslam’da Dava-yı Milliyet [II],’ *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 71 (July 24, 1330 [1914]): 2381–2390.

Islam. Instead, he concerned himself exclusively with the positive impacts of religion on nationalism: in a manner highly reminiscent of the views of Ziya Gökalp, Köprülüzâde emphasized that ‘religion has a primary effect on binding people to each other’. For him, religions in general and Islam in particular always played the role of leaven in the formation of nationalities. What is more, he continued, if nationalist indoctrination were synthesized and combined with religious propaganda, values, and concepts, then religion could also facilitate the diffusion of nationalist ideas to the masses. ‘Examining the history of national awakening among the Bulgarians, Serbians, and Greeks’, he stated, ‘would demonstrate that [...] the national heroes of these nations [...] had always been presented to the people as saints [‘*veli*’] and sacred personalities’.²¹⁶ As will be seen in subsequent chapters, such an endeavor would become one of the most significant characteristics of his historiography in the ensuing years.

As a matter of fact, Köprülüzâde’s views on Turkish nationalism, Islam, and Ottomanism were directly and heavily inspired by Ziya Gökalp, the leading nationalist thinker of the day. Briefly summarized, Gökalp devoted all his efforts to the theoretical exposition of Turkish nationalism, and he, too, considered Islam the inseparable and fundamental facet of Turkishness. In contrast to those who sought to detach the Islamic element from Turkishness, he took great pains to intertwine them with each other, even to the extent of partially equating Turkish nationalism with Islamism. For example, in his well-known article series ‘*Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*’ (Turkification, Islamization, Modernization)—whose publication commenced five months earlier than Köprülüzâde’s article ‘*Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık*’—Gökalp openly stated that ‘Turkism and Islamism are one and the

²¹⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘[Aziz Râgıb],’ 47–48; idem, ‘Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık,’ 698.

same' (*'Türkçülük aynı zamanda İslamcılıktır'*). In connection with this consideration of Turkish nationalism and Islamism as parallel and mutually supportive movements, he further described the goal of the former as the creation of 'a modern Islamic Turkishness' (*'muasır bir İslam Türklüğü'*), as is also evident in the slogan of his tripartite synthesis, 'to be of the Turkish nation, of the Islamic religion, and of European civilization'. Last but not least, he effectively charged the 'cosmopolitan' Ottomanist policy with rejecting and disregarding these two constitutive elements of the national identity. Needless to say, these views of Gökalp's were not only highly influential and decisive in their own time, but they also laid the foundations of a powerful ideological construct that would be formulated, approximately half a century later, as the 'Turkish-Islamic synthesis'.²¹⁷

Gökalp's influence on Köprülüzâde during the years of the Balkan Wars becomes clearly visible in the light of these notes on Gökalp's political thought. The relationship between the two, which would continue until Gökalp's death in 1924, began with Gökalp's arrival in Istanbul in 1912, when the CUP moved its headquarters from Salonica to the capital due to the outbreak of the war. Indeed, the young Köprülüzâde's intellectual determination and fecundity had already come to Gökalp's attention while the latter was still in Salonica. He therefore did not hesitate to befriend and maintain a connection with this promising young man of letters after returning to Istanbul. Although, prior to the Balkan Wars, they had held diametrically opposite views, Gökalp—who was also a member of the central committee of the

²¹⁷ Gökalp's work 'Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak' was first published as a series of articles between March 1913 and April 1914 in *Türk Yurdu*, and subsequently printed as a separate book in 1918; see Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (İstanbul: Evkâf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, 1918). See also Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp*, 14, 22, 29; Heyd, *The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*, 34, 149; Grigoriadis, *A 'Sacred Synthesis'*, 57–60.

CUP—tenaciously strove to win Köprülüzâde over.²¹⁸ Soon, a cordial relationship developed between them, with Gökâlp incorporating Köprülüzâde into a Unionist circle that, as the latter later stated, was made up of the most prominent literary and intellectual figures of the Second Constitutional Period, among them Ahmed Ağaoğlu, Hüseyinzâde Ali (Turan), Hamdullah Suphi, Celal Sahir (Erozan), Mehmed Şerafeddin (Yaltkaya), Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı), Halim Sâbit (Şibay), and Ömer Seyfettin.²¹⁹

The close interest that Gökâlp took in Köprülüzâde did not stem solely from personal intellectual motives: it was also connected with the CUP's tendency to encompass the cultural sphere and lure intellectuals into its orbit. In addition to such individual initiatives as Gökâlp's, the CUP itself set out to create certain instrumental platforms for just this purpose. One witness of the time recorded that the daily newspaper *Hak* (Truth), for instance, was established by the Unionists in order to absorb intellectuals into their ranks.²²⁰ Being a young and ambitious writer who wanted to prove himself in literary and intellectual circles, Köprülüzâde naturally made sure not to miss out on this opportunity. In 1912, he joined the staff of *Hak* with a friend from the *Fecr-i Âtî* society, Şahabeddin Süleyman, and began to write a regular column in the newspaper, focusing mainly on political, social, and cultural issues.²²¹ Likewise, he

²¹⁸ Köprülü, 'Fuad Köprülü'nün İlmi Şahsiyeti, Türk Kültüründeki Rolü ve Bazı Hatıralar,' 646; Asılsoy, 'Türk Modernleşmesinin Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü,' 31–32.

²¹⁹ Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, 'Ziya Gökâlp'e Ait Bazı Hatıralar,' in *Ziya Gökâlp Külliyyatı-II: Limni ve Malta Mektupları*, ed. Fevziye Abdullah Tansel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1965), xxiii. See also Yahya Kemal, *Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1976), 14.

²²⁰ Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları*, 57–58.

²²¹ For some examples, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Tenâkus-ı Nüfus,' *Hak*, no. 3 (March 3, 1328/Rebi'ülevvel 27, 1330 [1912]): 1; idem, 'Uçurumun Kenarında,' *Hak*, no. 8 (March 8, 1328/Rebi'ülâhir 2, 1330 [1912]): 1; idem, 'Fikr-i Teceddüt ve Islahat,' *Hak*, no. 10 (March 10, 1328/Rebi'ülâhir 4, 1330 [1912]): 1; idem, 'Bir Müessese-i Milliye: Osmanlı İttihad Mektebi,' *Hak*, no. 18 (March 18, 1328/Rebi'ülâhir 12, 1330 [1912]): 1; idem, 'Vazife-i Temdin,' *Hak*, no. 47 (April

became affiliated with certain Turkist social and cultural organizations that had either been originally established as or rapidly converted to Unionist channels, and during these years he started to write prolifically for their periodicals, such as *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland), *Bilgi Mecmuası* (Journal of Knowledge), and *Halka Doğru* (Towards the People). Moreover, as mentioned before, he also eagerly contributed to the government-sponsored *Donanma* (The Navy), which further indicated his increasing connections with the state and political power.²²²

Equally noteworthy is that the CUP also opened new professional opportunities for Köprülüzâde during precisely this period. While he was still a high school teacher in 1912, for example, the Unionist Minister of Education, Emrullah Efendi, appointed him to a commission tasked with reorganizing school programs and the curricula of high schools.²²³ Then, in 1913, he was assigned to another important commission, the *İstilahât-ı İlmiye Encümeni* (Commission for Scientific Terminology), which had been founded by the Ministry of Education in order to find Turkish equivalents for foreign scientific, technical, and philosophical terms. Other members of this commission included Ziya Gökalp and Ahmed Ağaoğlu, thus reflecting the Unionists' influence on it.²²⁴ Finally, at the end of 1913, Köprülüzâde was appointed to the Faculty of Literature to fill a position recently vacated by Hâlid Ziyâ (Uşaklıgil). It is safe to say that it was the strong support and recommendation of

16, 1328/Cemâziyelevvel 12, 1330 [1912]): 1; idem, 'Buhran-ı İçtimai Karşısında,' *Hak*, no. 78 (May 17, 1328/Cemâziyelâhir 13, 1330 [1912]): 1.

²²² For some examples, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Harb Şarkısı,' *Donanma* 4, no. 31/7 (September 1328 [1912]): 317; idem, 'Âsâr-ı Eslâf,' *Donanma*, no. 31/7, 326–328; idem, 'Bizde Tenkit,' *Donanma* 5, no. 37/13 (Mart 1329 [1913]): 584–587.

²²³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Orta Tedrisatta Edebiyat Programı Meselesi,' *Hayat* 2, no. 37 (August 11, 1927): 2–3; Tuncer Gülensoy, *Türkiye Türkologları ve Türk Diline Emek Verenler 1 (1800–1950: Türkolojinin 150 Yılı)* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2012), 94.

²²⁴ BOA. MF.MKT. 1191/51, 1331.Za.29; Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 89; Levend, *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri*, 345–356.

Gökalp that facilitated the appointment of this young man of twenty-three to the university to replace Hâlid Ziyâ, who was forty-seven years old at the time and, more significantly, one of the most outstanding literary figures of the empire.²²⁵ Although Köprülüzâde had taught literature for several years in various high schools, had already written numerous articles on literature, and had gained some reputation in Istanbul intellectual circles, there were still severe criticisms raised against his appointment. These criticisms, which stemmed in part from personal animosities, emphasized how Köprülüzâde was too inexperienced and incompetent to teach at the country's most advanced educational institution. Some of the critics, like Ali Emîrî Efendi, overtly stated that Köprülüzâde did not deserve the position at the Faculty of Literature because he neither held an academic title nor had a graduate degree.²²⁶ Köprülüzâde, however, put little stock in these criticisms. Quite conscious of the fact that the appointment represented a major turning point in his life and career, he took on his new job with enthusiasm. Besides teaching the history of Turkish literature at the faculty, he also embarked on further research in related fields. Nonetheless, he did not confine himself exclusively to long-term academic studies. Following his appointment to the university, he also began to compose textbooks for use in primary and secondary education. These textbooks, all of which were approved by the Ministry of Education for use in government schools, were replete with a fervent nationalism. One of them, for instance, was straightforwardly titled '*Turan'ın Kitabı*'

²²⁵ Tansel, 'Memleketimizin Acı Kaybı Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü,' 622–623; Park, 'The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,' 23–24; Asılsoy, 'Türk Modernleşmesinin Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü,' 33, 78.

²²⁶ See Ali Emîrî, 'Bir Hiciv Münasebetiyle Serlevhasıyla 44 Sayılı Yeni Mecmua'daki Makaleye Cevap,' *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 3 (May 31, 1334 [1918]): 52–58; idem, 'Acâibü'l-Letâif Namıyla Hitay Sefaretnamesinin Mukaddimesi: Tarih-i Tahrir-i Sene 1331,' *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 3, 58–66. For some other examples, see Rıza Nur, 'Köprülüzâde Fuad Beyin Cevabına Cevap,' *Türk Bilig Revüsü: Revue de Turcologie*, no. 5 (February 1935): 99–162.

(The Book of Turan).²²⁷ Similarly, another one was prefaced with Gökalp's famous poem 'Turan', whose final lines had already become the slogan of Turkish nationalism by that time: 'The fatherland is neither Turkey to the Turks nor yet Turkistan / The fatherland is a broad and everlasting country: Turan!'²²⁸

With all this in mind, one can argue that, in addition to the profound shift in Köprülüzâde's intellectual trajectory after the Balkan Wars, the vast opportunities that the CUP offered for his career also played a role in his involvement in Unionist circles. It may be that, to put it in other words, at a time when the CUP was gathering all the strings of political power into its hands, Köprülüzâde was enticed by all the varied political, professional, and academic opportunities that the CUP could make available to him. Undoubtedly, the major underlying cause for his increased political engagement and its ramifications was the deep intellectual crisis and transformation he experienced during the Balkan Wars. But nevertheless, it would not be an exaggeration to claim that his gravitation toward Unionist circles may well also have

²²⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Turan'ın Kitabı, Ahlaki ve Medeni Musahabeler, Birinci Kısım: İlk Mektep Devre-i Ülâ, İkinci Sene* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi ve Matbaası, 1332 [1916]); idem, *Turan'ın Kitabı, Ahlaki ve Medeni Musahabeler, İkinci Kısım: Devre-i Mutavassıta, Birinci Sene* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi ve Matbaası, 1333 [1917]).

²²⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Milli Kıraat, Beşinci Kısım: Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyenin Son ve Sultanilerin İlk Sınıfında Tedris Edilmek üzere Maarif Nezareti Tarafından Bilmüşabaka Birincilikle Kabul Edilmiştir* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi ve Matbaası, 1331 [1915]); idem, *Milli Kıraat, İkinci Kısım: Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyeye Mahsustur* (2nd ed.), (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1332 [1916]). For other textbooks prepared by Köprülüzâde during these years, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad and Şahabeddin Süleyman, *Malûmât-ı Edebiye, Birinci Cild: Medhal, Nazım ve Eşkal-i Nazım, Kavaid-i Tahrir* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1330 [1914]); idem, *Malûmât-ı Edebiye, İkinci Cild: Mesele-yi Bediye ve Enva-yi Muhtelif-e-yi Edebiye* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1331 [1915]); idem, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarih-i Edebiyatı: Menşelerden Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa Sadaretine Kadar* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1332 [1916]); Celal Sahir and Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Kıraat-ı Edebiye, İkinci Kısım: Umum Mekâtib-i İdadiyenin İkinci Senelerinde Tedris Olunmak Üzere Tertip Edilmiştir* (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1330 [1914]); idem, *Kıraat-ı Edebiye, Üçüncü Kısım: Umum Mekâtib-i İdadiyenin Üçüncü Senelerinde Tedris Olunmak Üzere Tertip Edilmiştir* (İstanbul, 1330 [1914]); Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad and Süleyman Saib, *Türk Dilinin Sarf ve Nahvi, Devre-i Ülâ: Mektep-i İbtidaiyede Tedris Edilmek üzere Resmen Kabul Edilmiştir* (2nd ed.), (Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1335 [1919]); idem, *Türk Dilinin Sarf ve Nahvi, Üçüncü Kısım: Devre-i Mutavassıta İkinci Sınıfa Mahsustur* (2nd ed.), (Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1334 [1918]); idem, *Türk Dilinin Sarf ve Nahvi, Dördüncü Kısım: Devre-i Âliye Birinci Sınıfa Mahsustur* (3rd ed.), (Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1334 [1918]).

stemmed in part from a kind of opportunism, especially considering his pragmatism and flexibility, as mentioned above. The fact that he demanded that the CUP leadership appoint him as a member of parliament during World War I might serve as a highly illustrative example in this regard.²²⁹

In any case, Köprülüzâde's life and career entered into a new and ascendant phase as a result of his newly forged Unionist connections. In terms of his intellectual formation, the watershed moment was unmistakably his appointment to the Faculty of Literature. Following his appointment at the university, he plunged into an extensive and systematic study of Turkish literature and history. By virtue of this intense effort, he would soon turn from a prolific but unspecialized man of letters into a distinguished historian specializing particularly in the history of Turkish literature. One final point to be highlighted before going on to explore the details of this scholarly process is the complete change that occurred in his views on art and literature, which had been his main field of activity prior to the Balkan Wars. It is little wonder that this alteration would set the stage, to some extent, for the course and content of his subsequent scholarly work on the various branches and periods of what he called 'Turkish national history'.

The comprehensive shift in his intellectual framework and ideological position after the war also found an echo in his elitist and cosmopolitan approach to art and literature. In the first place, contrary to his former sense of art foregrounding the notions of artistic individualism and aesthetic autonomy, he now tended to instrumentalize literature in an effort to raise national consciousness among the 'Turks'. That is to say, while he had formerly rejected the imposition of political

²²⁹ Baban, *Politika Galerisi*, 361–362; Taştan, 'Mehmed Fuad Köprülü: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Eserleri,' 116.

purposes on art and literature, he now set out to instill them with certain nationalist functions. Having exchanged the perspective of the liberal man of letters for the perspective of the ardent nationalist, he pushed aside such formulations as '*l'art pour l'art*' or 'art is personal and venerable' and began to condemn all manner of literary stances that remained insensitive to the country's calamitous situation.²³⁰ Hence, in his poems he turned away from dealing with the inner worlds and emotional states of individuals and instead began to express nationalistic and patriotic sentiments in order to try to ignite these feelings in his readers as well. As a result, themes of war and martyrdom supplanted themes of love and frustration, and emotions of national pride and self-sacrifice replaced emotions of melancholy and loneliness, as can be clearly seen in such poems and short stories as '*Harb Şarkısı*' (The Song of War), '*Türk'ün Duası*' (Prayer of the Turk), '*Şehit ve Hilal*' (Martyr and Crescent), and '*Şehidin Rüyası*' (The Dream of the Martyr), all of which he wrote after the Balkan Wars and in which nationalist rhetoric and even hostile propaganda were predominant.²³¹

²³⁰ For instance, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Yapma Edebiyat,' *Büyük Mecmua*, no. 1 (March 6, 1919): 7–8.

²³¹ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Harb Şarkısı,' 317; idem, 'Türk'ün Duası,' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 10 (February 21, 1328 [1913]): 289–296; idem, 'Türk'ün Duası,' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 11 (March 7, 1329 [1913]): 324–330; idem, 'Şehit ve Hilal,' *İkdam*, no. 6620 (Ramazan 10, 1333/July 23, 1915): 1; idem, 'Şehidin Rüyası,' *İkdam*, no. 6616 (Ramazan 6, 1333/July 19, 1915): 1. For some other examples, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Süngü Altında,' 98–101; idem, 'Hicret Matemleri,' 437–442; idem, 'Hicret Hikâyelerinden,' *Halka Doğru*, no. 16 (July 25, 1329 [1913]): 122–124; idem, 'Hicret Türküleri,' *Türk Duygusu*, no. 3–7 (May 23, 1329/Cemâziyelâhir 29, 1331 [1913]): 36; idem, 'Meriç Türküsü,' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 15 (May 2, 1329 [1913]): 475–477; idem, 'Son Akın,' *İkdam*, no. 6670 (Zilkade 2, 1333/September 11, 1915): 1; idem, 'Şehit Mezarı,' *İkdam*, no. 6981 (Ramazan 17, 1334/July 18, 1916): 1; idem, 'Akıncı Türküleri,' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 6 (August 16, 1917): 114; idem, 'Akıncı Türküleri,' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 17 (Teşrin-i Sani 1, 1917): 334; idem, 'Akpınar Perileri,' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 8 (August 30, 1917): 102; idem, 'Deli Ozan,' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 9 (September 6, 1917): 175; idem, 'Şehitlerimize,' *Büyük Mecmua*, no. 3 (March 20, 1919): 42. See also Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, 'Fuad Köprülü'nün Türk Ocaklılar'la İzmir Seyahati ve Temsil Edilen Manzum Tiyatrosu: Türk'ün Duası,' *Türk Kültürü*, no. 92 (June 1970): 516–531; idem, 'Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün Şiirleri,' 643–648.

As art and literature began to be considered a significant means for the promotion of nationalist ideas, Köprülüzâde started to attach more importance to easy intelligibility than to aesthetic refinement, elaborate style, and exquisite form. That is to say, his former elitist outlook, which repeatedly underlined the difference between the literary and spoken languages and denounced the latter as a coarse and tasteless jargon, to a great extent vanished under the influence of nationalism. After the Balkan Wars, by contrast, he joined the ranks of those who sought to remove the duality between the everyday language of the common people and the written language. As such, he discarded his flowery artistic style, largely abandoned the use of Arabo-Persian vocabulary, and began to write in a more easily understandable manner by using a relatively simple form of Turkish.²³²

Moreover, he also revised his views on the poetic meter question. After 1913, his poems abandoned the use of *aruz* meter, which he had earlier characterized as the classical form that flourished in literature's own aesthetic autonomous space. In its place, he, along with many other nationalist poets, adopted and began to compose his poems in syllabic meter, which he had previously described in a depreciatory manner as a rudimentary style corresponding to the primitive and unaesthetic pleasures of the common people ('*avam*'). In contrast to his earlier ideas concerning the 'intransigent' differences between the 'preciousness' of high art and the 'vulgarity' of popular taste, he henceforth would tend to canonize the latter as the major source

²³² See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Bir Medeniyet Zümresine Mensup Edebiyatlarda Müşterek Kıymetler: Esas,' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 5 (August 9, 1917): 84–86. See also Tansel, 'Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün Şiirleri,' 645, 659; Park, 'The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,' 21–22, 291–292; Köprülü, 'Fuad Köprülü'nün İlmi Şahsiyeti, Türk Kültüründeki Rolü ve Bazı Hatıralar,' 638–639.

of literary inspiration and beauty.²³³ In this context, he identified syllabic meter with popular taste and came to regard it as a marker of the Turkish language and Turkish literature. Accordingly, in the same vein as Gökâlp and other proponents of the ‘national literature’ movement, he started to put particular emphasis on the national character of this metrical system.²³⁴ ‘In spite of all its simplicity and plainness’, he wrote in 1915, ‘syllabic meter was born from the spirit of the Turkish nation’, ‘has been living for centuries in the bosom of the Turkish people’, and therefore ‘is a lively, heartfelt, and national literary product’.²³⁵

In connection with this, it is hardly surprising that he also underlined the Persian—i.e., the non-Turkish—origin and character of the *aruz* meter, whose importance and value for the tradition of Ottoman poetry he had earlier emphasized. Now, he approached this origin in an exclusionary manner: ‘We could not hear the voice of our own spirit for centuries because of foreign influences... However, these inauspicious [...] Persian [...] influences will not last much longer... Every aspect of life [and] every aspect of the social environment [...] is completely changing’.²³⁶ Related with this change, in his article ‘*Hece Veznine Dair*’ (On Syllabic Meter) he strikingly declared that ‘the stilted and artificial style of the Tevfik Fikret-Hâlid Ziyâ

²³³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Vezin Meselesi,’ *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 6, 107–108. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Halk Edebiyatı I,’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Cemâziyelâhir 13, 1331/May 20, 1913, 2.

²³⁴ For the views of Gökâlp and other nationalists on the poetic meter question, see Emine Tuğcu, *Osmanlı’nın Son Döneminde Şiir Eleştirisi: Bir Tarihselleştirme Yaklaşımı* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 163–168; Bilge Ercilasun, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Devrinde Tenkit* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2013), 208–217.

²³⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Hece Veznine Dair,’ in *Köprülü’den Seçmeler*, 14; idem, ‘Vezin Meselesi,’ 108; idem, ‘Halk Edebiyatı I,’ 2.

²³⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Vezin Meselesi,’ 107–108. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Milli Vezin,’ *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 11 (September 20, 1917): 215.

generation [...] is now losing its value'.²³⁷ He further indicated his new orientation when he wrote, 'our national poet Mehmed Emin Bey, [...] who expressed his nation's sentiments instead of his own feelings [...], demonstrated to all of us that it is possible to write very original and beautiful poems in syllabic meter'.²³⁸

Finally, he went one step further and, in another article entitled '*Milli Vezin*' (The National Poetic Meter), overtly stated that a Turkish nationalist could by no means adopt the *aruz* meter, which was of Persian origin.²³⁹ 'Since the Turkish people could only understand [...] poems written in syllabic meter, since the Turkish people could only love [...] poems written in syllabic meter [...], and more importantly [...] since the millions of Turks extending from the shores of the Marmara Sea to the borders of Tibet have been expressing their joys and sorrows [...] for centuries [...] in syllabic meter, we cannot [...] continue any longer to hold on to the forms and styles of Persian poetry, [...] the only result of which would be that we would become completely estranged from the spirit and the soul of the Turkish people'.²⁴⁰ Clearly, he was no longer concerned with defending the preservation of literature's aesthetic-artistic domain from external interventions stemming from political motivations.

Taking into consideration all the points mentioned above, it is clear that Köprülüzâde decisively altered his viewpoint on the issue of 'national literature' as well. As highlighted previously, while on the one hand, before the Balkan Wars, he

²³⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Hece Veznine Dair,' 15.

²³⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Mehmed Emin Bey,' in *Köprülü'den Seçmeler*, 9–10.

²³⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Milli Vezin,' 216. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Hece Veznine Dair,' 14–15; idem, 'Bir Medeniyet Zümresine Mensup Edebiyatlarda Müşterek Kıymetler: Esas,' 85–86.

²⁴⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Hece Veznine Dair,' 14–15; idem, 'Vezin Meselesi,' 105–108; idem, 'Milli Vezin,' 213–217; idem, 'Abdullah Tokayef,' 513–514. See also Tansel, 'Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün Şiirleri,' 644–645; Altuğ, 'İmparatorlukla Ulus-Devlet Arasında Kozmopolit Fuad Köprülü'nün Milli Edebiyata İhtidası,' 127.

emphasized the cosmopolitan character of contemporary literature, on the other hand he identified ‘national literature’ as a primary cultural product of societies living in isolated conditions. The reason for this, as may be recalled, had to do with the strict relationship he established between international interactions and cultural and literary development. Thus, in line with his cosmopolitan perspective during those years, he strongly questioned whether such a concept as ‘national literature’ could in fact be deemed a meaningful category in the twentieth century, when social relations and cultural exchange between nations were in the ascendant. Nonetheless, following his adoption of Turkish nationalism as the main structure for his thinking, his earlier views on the issue of ‘national literature’, like the other components of his cosmopolitan outlook before the war, disappeared.

Unlike his earlier comments concerning the archaic and primitive nature of national literature, Köprülüzâde now began to define the latter in terms of an entirely different framework, laying specific stress on its ‘contemporary and modern’ character. In his article ‘*Milli Edebiyat*’ (National Literature), for instance, he self-critically admitted that he and his generation of writers all misunderstood what the term ‘national literature’ actually meant. ‘National literature’, he said by way of redefinition, ‘is neither exclusively confined to the ancient literary products of societies [...] nor does it [...] build Chinese walls between the literatures of today’s civilized nations’.²⁴¹ He went on to argue that ‘just as the notion of the nation is a modern concept and refers to contemporary communities, so is the notion of national literature a modern concept as well, mainly referring to the contemporary literatures of [...] today’s civilized nations’.²⁴² Alluding to Hippolyte Taine’s statement that ‘literature is the

²⁴¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘*Milli Edebiyat*,’ *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 1 (July 12, 1917): 4.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 5–6, 7.

expression of society', Köprülüzâde stated that 'any literature is by nature national [...] on account of the fact that [...] it reflects the feelings, thoughts, and personality of the nation'.²⁴³ However, he added, a 'literary language [...] whose [...] vocabulary [...] and grammatical rules [...] are drawn from other languages' cannot be regarded as a 'national literary language', nor can 'a literature which is made alien to the national taste [...] by imitating other literatures' be considered within the framework of 'national literature'.²⁴⁴ In addition to literary authenticity and originality, in his view, what makes a literature national is its connection with national identity.²⁴⁵ Therefore, he stressed, 'the literary works of the Tevfik Fikret-Hâlid Ziyâ generation', and specifically 'the poems of Tevfik Fikret and the novels of Hâlid Ziyâ', which he had earlier applauded as masterpieces of Ottoman literature, 'did not have a national character'. Contrary to his former remarks relating the 'literary success' of the members of the *Servet-i Fünûn* society to their heightened interest in Western literature, he now criticized them for not distancing themselves from the influence of French literature. Along with their artificial style and pompous language replete with foreign words and compounds, he stated, their exaggerated individualism, cosmopolitan approach, and indifference to the national taste not only estranged them from Turkish national culture, but also alienated them from the Turkish people.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Ibid., 5; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Yapma Edebiyat,' 7.

²⁴⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Bir Medeniyet Zümresine Mensup Edebiyatlarda Müşterek Kıymetler: Esas,' 86.

²⁴⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Milli Edebiyat,' 6–7; idem, 'Edebiyatta 'Marazilik,' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 3 (July 26, 1917): 45–46, 48.

²⁴⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Milli Edebiyat,' 5–7; idem, 'Hayat ve Edebiyat,' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 14 (Teşrin-i Evvel 11, 1917), 266–268; idem, 'Edebiyatta 'Marazilik,' 46–47. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Tevfik Fikret ve Ahlakı* (İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1918): 33–34, 39–40.

It is true that, for Köprülüzâde, literature had an international and universal appeal, but the real value of that universality hinged upon its national character. Put differently, in his opinion, only those literary works that were able to represent the epitome of their national taste and express their nation's spirit could truly acquire an international and universal significance.²⁴⁷ In this connection, he emphasized the 'direct' link between the national literature and the national culture, which, as he saw it, had been preserved among the people.²⁴⁸ It is imperative to learn the basics of 'our national culture', he noted, 'in order to build tomorrow's national literature' on the basis of 'this precious treasure [...] that has been hidden in the soul of our nation'. 'To this end', he maintained, 'in the same vein as the German and Russian romantics [...] we have to go to the people', 'explore our popular/folk culture [...] that has remained faithful to its own character', and 'unearth the ancient Turkish past and literature which can stand clear of foreign influences'.²⁴⁹ Indeed, as will be seen in the following chapters, his main occupation in subsequent years would be to discover 'Turkish history', demonstrate the 'uninterrupted continuity' of this national past from ancient times to the modern era, and, accordingly, historicize this so-called Turkish culture.

²⁴⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Milli Edebiyat,' 4–6. See also Altuğ, 'İmparatorlukla Ulus-Devlet Arasında Kozmopolit Fuad Köprülü'nün Milli Edebiyata İhtidası,' 125.

²⁴⁸ For another example, see '[Interview with] Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad Bey,' in *Diyorlar ki!..*, by Ruşen Eşref (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1334 [1918]), 230–232, 236–238.

²⁴⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Milli Vezin,' 215; idem, 'Milli Edebiyat,' 5–7; idem, 'Yeni Bir İlim: Halkiyat "Folk-lore",' in *Türk Halkbilimi*, eds. Sait Evliyaoğlu and Şerif Baykurt (Ankara: Ofset Reprodüksiyon Matbaacılık, 1988), 74–77; idem, 'Ozan,' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 9, 173–175; idem, 'Başka Milletler Ne Yapıyor?,' in *Köprülü'den Seçmeler*, 3–6; idem, 'Başka Milletler Nasıl Çalışıyor?,' *Ümid*, no. 8 (August 26, 1336/Zilhicce 10, 1338 [1920]): 3.

3. 4 In Lieu of a Conclusion

In August 1913, when the Ottoman Historical Society published the ‘Program for Ottoman History’ as the detailed outline of its Ottoman history project, a vehement wave of criticism by nationalist intellectuals rose up against it. Yusuf Akçura, for instance, severely criticized the outline immediately after its publication: although it had certain limited Turkist leanings, the program was forged within the frame of Ottomanism and did not satisfy the expectations of this leading nationalist, who had become skeptical about the Ottomanist vision of history even before the Second Constitutional Period. In agreement with his previous attitude, which condemned traditional Ottoman historiography for turning a blind eye to Turkish history, he now accused the OHS of maintaining the same ‘untenable’ perspective.²⁵⁰ Moreover, Akçura faulted the society for not distancing itself from traditional patterns of history writing. He argued that the conceived project would only focus on ‘great men’ and ‘great events’ and ignore the broader socio-economic context in which these operated.²⁵¹

After Akçura, Köprülüzâde came on the scene with his article ‘*Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında*’ (Concerning Our History and Historians), which appeared in December 1913 in *Bilgi Mecmuası*. Picking up where Akçura had left off, Köprülüzâde pointed out that the OHS had abstained from even mentioning the name of the Turkish nation in the program.²⁵² While ‘contemporary scientific methods and theories of historiography’ accepted the nation as the key conceptual framework within which social, economic, and cultural affairs should be explored, he stated, the

²⁵⁰ T.Y. [Yusuf Akçura], ‘Küçük Muhtıra,’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 23 (August 22, 1329 [1913]): 807–808.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 808–809. See also Georgeon, *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc*, 48–52.

²⁵² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında,’ 189.

OHS completely overlooked this basic fact by paying no heed to the national history of the Turkish people. This shortcoming, in his view, was in itself the biggest proof of how ignorant the society's members were of 'the new scientific principles of modern history writing'.²⁵³

In connection with this, Köprülüzâde criticized the OHS for sustaining the mentality and practices of conventional chroniclers, whose works, in his view, were nothing short of 'lifeless skeletons'. To his mind, the project as conceived would be unable to go beyond the traditional narrative form, which was content to simply successively describe political and military events; i.e., 'the frivolous [...] part of history'.²⁵⁴ In the same manner as Akçura, he emphasized that, rather than concentrating on political and military events shorn of their context, the important thing for a historian to do was to analyze what lay under this superficial layer. More explicitly, for Köprülüzâde, a historian in general and the members of the OHS in particular should seek to create a historical synthesis by trying to determine the morphology of the nation and the evolution of its social, economic, and cultural institutions.²⁵⁵

Nevertheless, he asserted, the 'Program for the Ottoman History' unmistakably demonstrated that the society was not capable of achieving such a major synthesis, despite the fact that some of its members were undoubtedly competent scholars. Emphasizing the heterogeneous and hence incompatible structure of the OHS, he claimed that there was a strong discord among the society's members in terms of their historical perspective and level of erudition, a fact which, as he saw it, also

²⁵³ Ibid., 187–191. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Tarih Kırıntıları', *İkdam*, no. 8766 (Zilhicce 4, 1339/August 9, 1921): 3.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.; idem, 'Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında,' 185–192.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 188–190; idem, 'Tarih Kırıntıları,' 3. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Bizde Milli Tarih Yazılabilir Mi?', *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 22 (Kanun-ı Evvel 6, 1917): 427–428; idem, 'Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,' 8–9.

hindered the compilation of this large-scale project. Given such realities, Köprülüzâde concluded, the responsibility of exploring and writing Turkish national history was incumbent on those who would follow contemporary methodological principles and academic standards of historical scholarship.²⁵⁶ It seems, then, that this young man who had begun his rather tortuous intellectual journey as a promising man of letters and a poet had finally discovered the field in which he might realize himself whole and entire.



²⁵⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında,' 187–193.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORIAN IN THE FIELD: LAYING THE SCHOLARLY FOUNDATIONS OF THE NATION

At the beginning of the 1910s, there were two main and competing lines in Ottoman-Turkish historiography. The first line, as we have seen in the previous chapter, was represented by the official historical association of the empire, the Ottoman Historical Society (OHS). Operating within the framework of the supra-national state ideology, the OHS devoted its whole efforts to the construction of a ‘history’ for the collective identity that the Young Turks sought to strengthen in the early years of the Second Constitutional Period. Thus, the society made the Ottoman past the center of its focus and showed little scholarly interest in pre-Ottoman Turkish history. This attitude, however, drew a strong reaction from the nationalist intellectuals and historians, who constituted the second main line in late Ottoman historical writing. As Akçura’s and Köprülüzâde’s aforementioned criticisms clearly demonstrate, the nationalist intelligentsia faulted the OHS for not treating the Ottoman past as part and parcel of the general Turkish history and for neglecting the study of the latter. In order to explore ‘Turkish national past’ and to construct a Turkist vision of history, then, the nationalist intellectuals established their own learned societies, issued

certain scholarly journals, and embarked on an extensive research activity. They soon produced a considerable amount of historical studies, most of which focused on Central Asian Turkish history. As the decade wore on, this nationalist historiography increasingly flourished and received further official encouragement due to the change in the Young Turk regime strategy. It ultimately gained a hegemonic character in Ottoman historiography, so much so that even the Ottoman Historical Society tended to abandon its Ottomanist vision of history. To put it rather more bluntly, in connection with the nationalist shift in the political context, the historical perspective forged as part of Turkish nationalism prevailed over that of Ottomanism, and became the mainstream line in Ottoman history writing by the second half of the decade.

It must be noted that the Turkish nationalist historiography in the 1910s had in many respects the same characteristics as its global contemporaries. In the larger scheme of things, the building blocks of all nationalist historiographies from Germany to China and from Iran to Romania were remarkably similar during this era.¹ To briefly summarize these similarities, the primary aim of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century nationalist historians was to construct a continuous story-line between the 'holy' origins and present states of their 'nations'.² For this aim to be realized, nationalist historians embarked upon identifying the historical stages that their nations had passed through and, accordingly, periodizing their national pasts. While doing this, they mostly took the beginnings of their 'long' and 'glorious' national histories back to the ancient times. Thus, in Greece the ancient Greeks, in Italy the

¹ Berger, 'The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth –and Twentieth-Century Europe,' 54.

² Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, 'Introduction: National History Writing in Europe in a Global Age,' in *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, eds. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 15.

Romans, in Romania the Dacians, and in Poland the Sarmatians became the focus of national historians.³ Another field they particularly concentrated on was medieval political history. Especially European representatives of nationalist historiography comprehensively examined their countries' medieval administrative, political and constitutional institutions during the nineteenth century. More strikingly, perhaps, they almost categorically described the Middle Ages as the 'zenith' or 'golden age' of their national pasts, in contrast to the denigration of this period by Enlightenment-era scholars. As Monika Baar has emphasized, one of the main reasons for the intense historiographical interest in medieval history in the era of nationalism was the strong belief that its study would reinforce arguments about the continuity of national pasts, since the Middle Ages was perceived by historians as the link between the ancient and modern times.⁴ It should be mentioned in this context that the quest for historical continuity has also led nationalist historians in time to examine the cultural, literary and religious pasts of their nations. Especially towards the end of the century, increasingly more historians tended to work on socio-cultural, literary and intellectual history, and constructed alternative frameworks to trace their nations' historical continuity. By this means, the so-called long-established social, cultural

³ Jo Tollebeek, 'Exegi Monumentum: The Great Syntheses of National History,' in *Setting the Standards*, 105, 108; Joep Leerssen, 'Nation and Ethnicity,' in *The Contested Nation*, 81; Gazi, 'Theorizing and Practising "Scientific" History in South-Eastern Europe (Nineteenth-Twentieth Century): Spyridon Lambros and Nicolae Jorga,' 207–208.

⁴ Baar, *Historians and Nationalism*, 200, 224–225, 295. See also Jo Tollebeek, 'An Era of Grandeur: The Middle Ages in Belgian National Historiography, 1830-1914,' in *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins*, eds. R. J. W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 114–116; Michel Margue and Pit Péporté, 'Medieval Myths and the Building of National Identity: the Example of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg,' in *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States*, 99–101.

and literary traditions of nations were discovered, presented as lines of continuity in their histories, and cited as proofs of national permanence and transcendence.⁵

Although the establishment of nationalist historiographies was a result of collective efforts, it would not be an exaggeration to state that some historians pioneered this process in each country. To name a few examples, in Romania Nicolae Iorga, in Serbia Stojan Novaković, in Egypt Muhammad Shafiq Ghurbal, and in Greece Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and Spyridon Lambros acted as the founding fathers of academic nationalist historiography. In the Ottoman-Turkish case, a similar role was played by Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, who, much like his aforementioned counterparts, laid the foundations of a national historical master narrative and contributed to the ‘scientification’ and professionalization of history. In what follows I examine the early historical works of this central figure of Turkish historiography. As the general framework of Köprülüzâde’s scholarship was shaped by Turkish nationalism, I first attempt to give an overall picture of nationalist historiography in the Ottoman Empire that developed along the same lines with its global contemporaries throughout the 1910s. Besides placing his early academic production into its historiographical context, this focus would also serve my broader aim to explore late Ottoman historical writing. Then, I concentrate on Köprülüzâde’s early scholarly studies, most of which were devoted to historical methodology. Thereby, I explicate his views on such methodological issues as positivism, the nature of social sciences, and the means and ends of historical scholarship. Finally, I shed light on the leading role he played in the publication of a significant historical journal, *Milli*

⁵ John Breuilly, ‘Nationalism and the Making of National Pasts,’ in *Nations and Their Histories*, 18–19; Angelika Epple, ‘A Strained Relationship: Epistemology and Historiography in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Germany and Britain,’ in *Nationalizing the Past*, 86–88; For an overview of the general characteristics of the nineteenth-century nationalist historiography, see also Berger and Conrad, *The Past as History*, 80–139, 362–363.

Tetebbular Mecmuası (The Journal of National Studies), and analyze his articles that appeared there, in which he sought to construct a narrative of continuity for Turkish history.

4. 1 The Rise of Nationalist Historiography in the Ottoman Empire

At the end of 1913, a noteworthy administrative shift took place at the Faculty of Literature. A member of the central committee of the CUP, Ahmed Ağaoğlu, who was also a Unionist deputy in the parliament and one of the founders of nationalist organizations like *Türk Ocağı* (the Turkish Hearth Society), was elected the dean ('*meclis-i müderrisîn reisi*') of the faculty in place of Abdurrahman Şeref, the state chronicler and the head of the OHS.⁶ The replacement of Abdurrahman Şeref who primarily lectured on Ottoman history at the university with a strict Ottomanist vision of history by a Turkish nationalist teaching Turco-Mongol history and history of Turkish civilization was particularly symbolic and suggestive in terms of projecting the profound change in the political context and intellectual climate. In this respect, taking a closer look at the academic staff of the faculty during the Balkan Wars and World War I will be more explanatory about the intense reflection of the ever-rising nationalist tide to the university. Briefly summarized, besides the new dean Ahmed Ağaoğlu, another Russian-born Turkish nationalist, Yusuf Akçura was appointed to the faculty in November 1913 to give the course entitled 'Modern History' (*Tarih-i Asr-ı Hâzır*).⁷ At about the same time, the chief ideologue and a member of the central committee of the CUP, Ziya Gökalp joined the academic staff

⁶ Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 89, 491; Ufuk Özcan, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu ve Rol Değişikliği: Yüzyıl Dönümünde Batıcı Bir Aydın* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2010), 81–82.

⁷ Georgeon, *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc*, 46–47.

and established the chair of sociology in 1915.⁸ Also in 1915, the well-known nationalist man of letters and a former student of École Libre des Sciences Politiques, Yahya Kemal was assigned to the faculty to teach history of civilization, and later on, history of Western and Turkish literatures.⁹ In the same year, a graduate of University of Lausanne and also a Unionist deputy in the Ottoman parliament, Şemseddin (Günaltay), who would later serve as the president of the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) for almost twenty years, started teaching Turkish history and civilization (*Türk Tarihi ve Türk Tarih-i Medeniyeti*).¹⁰ Furthermore, outstanding figures of the Turkist current during the Hamidian era such as Necip Asım and Veled Çelebi had been lecturing at the university since the late 1908. Necip Asım also opened a new course entitled ‘Introduction to Foreign and Turanic Languages’ (*Mebde-i İlm-i Elsine ve Elsine-i Turaniye*) in 1914, whose title would be changed to ‘History of Turkish Language’ (*Türk Lisanı Tarihi*) in a year by the faculty administration, which in and of itself clearly demonstrates the nationalist atmosphere in the institution. Moreover, the president of *Türk Ocağı* and a member of the Turkism section (*Türkçülük Şubesi*) of *Türk Bilgi Derneği* (the Turkish Knowledge Society), Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver) was another lecturer, teaching history of Islamic and Turkish fine arts (*İslam ve Türk Sanayi-i Nefise Tarihi*).¹¹ Last but not least, Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad was appointed to the faculty with the strong recommendations of Gökaltap at the end of 1913, as mentioned before.

⁸ Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 117–119.

⁹ Kâzım Yetiş, ‘Hayatı,’ in *Yahya Kemal Beyatlı: Ölümünün 50. Yılı*, ed. Kâzım Yetiş (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2008), 48.

¹⁰ İlhami Ayrancı, ‘Bir Tarihçi Olarak M. Şemseddin Günaltay: Hayatı, Eserleri ve İslam Tarihi ile İlgili Eserlerinin Tahlili’ (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2007), 27–28; Yaşar Özüçetin, ‘Mehmet Şemseddin Günaltay’ın Hayatı: İlmi, İdari, Siyasi Faaliyetleri’ (PhD diss., Gazi University, 2003), 32–33.

¹¹ Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 117–118, 154–155.

As a matter of fact, the nationalist intelligentsia dominating the Faculty of Literature during the mid-1910s had gradually been increasing its influence and gravity in the public and cultural sphere from the Young Turk Revolution onwards. The relatively open and liberal political environment of the early years of the Second Constitutional Period provided the Turkists of the Hamidian era an opportunity to intensify their activities. In addition, several prominent Turkic intellectuals from Russia, among them Akçura, Ağaoğlu, Hüseyinzâde Ali and Mehmed Emin Resulzâde, settled in Istanbul after 1908, stood out in social and political life, and assumed vanguard roles in promoting nationalist ideas.¹² *Türk Derneği* (the Turkish Association), in this context, might be regarded as the first output of the collaboration between the early representatives of Turkism and the émigrés from the Russian Empire. The association was established by the initiatives of Akçura, Necip Asım and Veled Çelebi in December 1908, with the aim of studying the history, linguistics and literature of Turkish peoples.¹³ Along with its eponymous periodical, which was issued between 1911 and 1912, the association also republished some historical and literary accounts that were considered to be conducive to the formation of a Turkish national identity. The 1897 work of Necip Asım, for instance, in which he introduced the Orkhon inscriptions to the Ottoman reader and presented these historical monuments as the undisputed proof of Turkish literature's antiquity, was reprinted in 1911 by the association.¹⁴ Likewise, the renowned book of Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *Türklerin Ulûm ve Fünûna Hizmetleri* (Services of the Turks to the Sciences and the

¹² Kırımlı, *National Movements and National Identity among the Crimean Tatars*, 143–144.

¹³ See 'Türk Derneği Beyannâmesi,' *Türk Derneği*, no. 1 (1327 [1911]): 3–6. Some other significant members of the association were Ahmed Midhat Efendi, Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, Fuat Raif, Mehmet Emin (Yurdakul), and İsmail Gasprinskiy. After its foundation, some foreign Turkologists as Vladimir A. Gordlevsky also joined the association. For further information, see Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era*, 6–23.

¹⁴ Necip Asım, *Pek Eski Türk Yazısı* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası, 1327 [1911]).

Arts), was republished in the same year as well, seeking to demonstrate the Turkish contribution to science and civilization by underscoring the achievements of ‘Turkish scholars’ in history.¹⁵

Türk Derneği was followed by two pronouncedly nationalistic and much more politically oriented societies. *Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti* (the Turkish Homeland Society) was founded in 1911 mostly by the Russian-born Turkish nationalists, in order to ‘promote a sense of solidarity and common consciousness among Turks all over the world’.¹⁶ To this end, the society published a significant journal with the same name, in which numerous remarkable articles appeared on Turkish history and literature.¹⁷ The second was the *Türk Ocağı*, the most long-lasting of all nationalist organizations established during this period. Officially set up in March 1912 by the intellectuals as Ağaoğlu, Mehmet Emin and Akçura, the *Türk Ocağı* aimed ‘to advance the national education and raise the scientific, social and economic level of the Turks, [...], and to strive for the betterment of the Turkish race and language’.¹⁸ The society soon founded branches all over the empire, recruited high numbers of members, and became the intellectual cradle of Turkish nationalism.¹⁹

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that all the nationalist organizations received a strong Unionist support, especially after the Balkan Wars when the CUP

¹⁵ Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *Türklerin Ulûm ve Fünûna Hizmetleri* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası, 1327 [1911]).

¹⁶ Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, *Türk Yılı: 1928*, 437–439.

¹⁷ For further information on this society and the journal, see Özden, ‘Türk Yurdu Dergisi ve II. Meşrutiyet Devri Türkçülük Akımı (1911–1918)’.

¹⁸ *Türk Ocağı’nın Nizamnâme-i Esasi ve Dâhilisi* (İstanbul: Tanin Matbaası, 1328 [1912]), 3.

¹⁹ For further information on the society, see Üstel, *Türk Ocakları: İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği*; Yusuf Sarıay, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi Gelişimi ve Türk Ocakları: 1912-1931* (3rd ed.), (Ankara: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2005).

launched a vigorous Turkist propaganda campaign. Many Unionists increasingly joined these associations, contributed articles to their periodicals, undertook important tasks in their administrative organs, and even tended to institute new social and cultural nationalist organizations. *Türk Bilgi Derneği*, in this respect, emerged as the first cultural and scholarly association that was almost completely established by the Unionist cadres, including not only the intellectuals as Gökâlp and Köprülüzâde, but also the men of actions like Dr. Nâzım and Dr. Bahâeddin Şâkir. According to a contemporary witness, this CUP-sponsored semi-official society, founded in 1913, was deemed a sort of academy that would operate along nationalistic lines.²⁰ Therefore, sections devoted to Turkology, philosophy and sociology, Islamic studies, and Turkism were set up within the association.²¹ Moreover, the society issued a noteworthy monthly periodical entitled *Bilgi Mecmuası* (Journal of Knowledge), in which the first scholarly articles of Köprülüzâde, who was in the board of the association and also the secretary of the Turkology section, appeared. Furthermore, the Turkology section decided to publish scholarly works pertaining to Turkish history and literature. In this context, a twelfth-century literary source written in Uyghur script, Edib Ahmed Yûknekî's *Atabetü'l-Hakâyık* (The Threshold of Realities), was transliterated and edited by the head of the Turkology section, Necip Asım.²² Besides this, although they seem to have never been published, the section also agreed on the publication of a Turkish grammar book as well as a historical

²⁰ İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Hayatım*, ed. Ali Y. Baltacıoğlu (İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 1998), 222.

²¹ There were also 'biology' and 'mathematics and physics' sections in the association. For further information on the society, see Toprak, 'Türk Bilgi Derneği (1914) ve Bilgi Mecmuası,' 247–254; Özden, 'Türk Yurdu Dergisi ve II. Meşrutiyet Devri Türkçülük Akımı (1911–1918),' 13–16.

²² Ahmed b. Mahmud Yûknekî, *Hibetü'l-Hakâyık [Atabetü'l Hakâyık]: Birinci Kısım*, ed. Necip Asım (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1334 [1915]); idem, *Hibetü'l-Hakâyık [Atabetü'l Hakâyık]: İkinci Kısım*, ed. Necip Asım (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1334 [1915]).

study on Turkish folk literature, the latter would be co-written by Necip Asım and Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad.²³

In addition to these collective efforts, there were also individual initiatives to create a common national identity and nationalist historical consciousness among the ‘Turks’. It is worth recalling in this regard that Akçura’s straightforwardly nationalist pamphlet *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Ways of Policy), which had scarcely received any attention from political actors of the time when it had been first published in 1904, was reprinted amidst this nationalistic fervor. As one can remember, in this work, Akçura not only criticized Ottomanism and Islamism, but also condemned all historical perspectives that had been forged within them for turning a blind eye to ‘Turkish history’. Necip Asım and Mehmed Arif’s 1909 joint study, in this sense, appeared as a significant historical account that could largely satisfy the expectations of Akçura with its Turkist vision of history. The authors meaningfully devoted the first volume of *Türk Tarih-i Umumisi* (General Turkish History) to Turkish history prior to the Ottomans.²⁴ A few years later, Necip Asım also translated the well-known historical novel of the French orientalist Léon Cahun, who heavily inspired the Ottoman Turkists. In accordance with the rising nationalist wave in Istanbul, *La Bannière Bleue* became extremely popular and influential among nationalist circles, so much so that the azure came to be widely accepted as the national color of the Turks.²⁵

²³ Toprak, ‘Türk Bilgi Derneği (1914) ve Bilgi Mecmuası,’ 251.

²⁴ Necip Asım and Mehmed Arif, *Türk Tarih-i Umumisi, cild 1: Osmanlılardan Başka Türkler* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1325 [1909]). For the second volume, see Necip Asım and Mehmed Arif, *Türk Tarih-i Umumisi, cild 2: Osmanlılar* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1325 [1909]).

²⁵ Léon Cahun, *Gök Sancak*, trans. Necip Asım (İstanbul: Artin Asaduryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1328 [1912]). See also Kırımlı, *National Movements and National Identity among the Crimean Tatars*, 174.

Undoubtedly, such publications stimulated Ottoman interest in kindred peoples, mostly those of Central Asia, whose history, language and literature, according to the nationalist intelligentsia, had a close affinity with the Ottoman Turks.²⁶ It is thus no wonder that the translation of a historical study, the original version of which had come out in Kazan in 1912, was printed in the Ottoman capital immediately after its publication. In *Türk ve Tatar Tarihi* (History of the Turks and Tatars), Zeki Velidi (Togan), who would become a world-renowned Turkologist in the near future, strove to construct a historical narrative whose beginning was dated to the pre-Islamic Turkish past in Central Asia, providing a sense of continuity across the vicissitudes of history.²⁷ Another publication served to strengthen the claim of the continuity and distinctiveness of Turkish culture was the *Diwan Lughat al-Turk* (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects) of Mahmud al-Kashghari. This eleventh-century lexicon of Turkish language was discovered by the bibliophile Ali Emirî Efendi in 1914. Since the manuscript was regarded as an invaluable source for demonstrating the intellectual sophistication, refinement and cultivation of Turks, it ignited an enthusiasm among the nationally conscious intelligentsia. Before too long, the manuscript was published in three volumes by the initiatives of the leading Unionists as Talat Pasha and Gökalp.²⁸ In a similar vein, presumably the oldest surviving epic

²⁶ Jacob M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation* (2nd ed.), (London: Hurst & Co., 1995), 30–31.

²⁷ The translation was published as a series of articles between 1913 and 1914 in the journal, entitled *Resimli Kitap* (Illustrated Book). For the first two parts of the translation, see Ahmed Zeki Velidi, ‘Türk ve Tatar Tarihi,’ trans. Midhat Ömer, *Resimli Kitap* 9, no. 49 (June-July 1329 [1913]): 26–40; idem, ‘Türk ve Tatar Tarihi,’ trans. Midhat Ömer, *Resimli Kitap* 9, no. 50 (August-September 1329 [1913]): 216–230.

²⁸ Mahmud b. el-Hüseyn b. Muhammed el-Kaşgari, *Kitâb-ı Divân-ı Lugatî’t-Türk*, vol: 1, ed. Kilisli Rıfat (Bilge) (Darü’l-Hilafetü’l-Âliyye [İstanbul]: Matbaa-i Amire, 1333 [1917]); idem, *Kitâb-ı Divân-ı Lugatî’t-Türk*, vol: 2, ed. Kilisli Rıfat (Darü’l-Hilafetü’l-Âliyye [İstanbul]: Matbaa-i Amire, 1333 [1917]); idem, *Kitâb-ı Divân-ı Lugatî’t-Türk*, vol: 3, ed. Kilisli Rıfat (Darü’l-Hilafetü’l-Âliyye [İstanbul]: Matbaa-i Amire, 1335 [1919]). See also Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 96.

folktales of the ‘Oghuz Turks’, *Kitab-i Dede Korkut* (The Book of Dede Korkut), was issued in 1916.²⁹ Needless to say, the book was swiftly embraced as the national epic of the Turks and highly acclaimed as the epitome of the Turkish national genius by the nationalist intellectuals.³⁰ A final remarkable publication that contributed to the intellectual foundation of the Turkish nation was Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir’s *Osmanlı Müellifleri* (The Ottoman Authors). Compiled with the urgings of Necip Asım and Veled Çelebi, this monumental oeuvre, which began to be printed in 1915, contained the biographies of more than sixteen hundred mystics, poets, historians and geographers, most of whom were pictured as ‘Turkish scholars’ by its writer.

Naturally, Mehmed Tâhir’s work was appreciated as one of the major classical texts that displayed the Turkish national ability in scientific and cultural matters.³¹

As the aims and activities of the aforementioned associations and intellectuals evidently demonstrate, the nationalist intelligentsia, which was mainly made up of the overlapping groups of the early Turkists, the Russian-born émigrés, and the Unionist cadres, sought to construct and disseminate a different historical perspective than the official OHS had. For one thing, while the OHS mostly functioned on the basis of the Ottomanist policy and hence devoted its scholarly interest almost exclusively to the Ottoman past, the nationalist intellectuals strove to explore the history of the ‘Turkish world’ which was defined in the broadest possible terms,

²⁹ *Kitab-ı Dede Korkut: Aliyyü'l-Lisan-ı Taife-i Oğuzân*, ed. Kilisli Rıfat (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1332 [1916]).

³⁰ Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 97.

³¹ Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol: 1 (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1333 [1915]); idem, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol: 2/1 (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1333 [1915]); idem, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol: 2/2 (İstanbul: Ali Şükrü Matbaası, 1338 [1920]); idem, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol: 3 (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1342 [1924]). See also Karpas, *The Politicization of Islam*, 365.

‘spanning an area from the shores of the Adriatic Sea to the borders of China’.³² In connection with this, the nationalist writers emphasized the importance of analyzing Turkish history as a whole, instead of solely focusing on the Ottoman past shorn of its ‘national’ context. For them, the study of Turkish history in its entirety was not only essential to create and foster a common historical outlook on the national past, but also indispensable to rightly understand the history of the Ottoman Empire as well, whose traditions, institutions, and administrative organizations were ‘definitely’ of Turkish origin. Therefore, they persistently stressed the necessity of contextualizing the Ottoman history, as well as the other epochs of the national past, firmly within the broader framework of Turkish history. What is more, they condemned all manner of historiographical enterprises that did not interpret the Ottoman past as part and parcel of the general Turkish history, as was the case with their criticisms against the OHS.

In point of fact, the nub of these criticisms and opposing historiographical views stemmed largely from the sharp variation between the meanings that the both sides ascribed to such notions as ‘nation’ and ‘national history’. Briefly summarized, what the Ottomanist intellectuals mainly meant with the concept of ‘nation’ was a supra-ethnic Ottomanness, which, according to them, had come into existence with the rise of the Ottoman State. Thus, they consciously equated the term ‘national history’ with the Ottoman past. Turkish nationalists, on the contrary, were naturally and

³² For some examples of this approach, see Ahmed Agayef, ‘Türk Âlemi I,’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 1 (Teşrin-i Sani 17, 1327 [1911]): 12–17; idem, ‘Türk Âlemi II,’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 2 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1, 1327 [1911]): 36–42; idem, ‘Türk Âlemi III,’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 3 (Kanun-ı Evvel 15, 1327 [1911]): 70–74; idem, ‘Türk Âlemi IV,’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 5 (Kanun-ı Sani 12, 1327 [1912]): 135–139; Y[usuf] A[kçura], ‘Türk Âleminde,’ *Türk Yurdu*, no. 1, 23–24; idem, ‘Türklüğü Bilmeli ve Bilişmeliyiz,’ *Türk Derneği*, no. 1, 25–29; Oktay Kaan, ‘Hindistan’da Türklük: Müslüman Türk İmparatorlukları I,’ *Bilgi Mecmuası* 1, no. 6 (April 1330 [1914]): 570–585; idem, ‘Hindistan’da Türklük: Müslüman Türk İmparatorlukları II,’ *Bilgi Mecmuası* 2, no. 7 (June 1330 [1914]): 717–732; Resulzâde Mehmed Emin, ‘İran Türkleri I,’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 4 (Kanun-ı Evvel 29, 1327 [1912]): 106–111; idem, ‘İran Türkleri II,’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 14 (May 17, 1328 [1912]): 428–432; idem, ‘İran Türkleri III,’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 18 (July 12, 1328 [1912]): 551–556.

undoubtedly referring to the ‘Turkish nation’ and ‘Turkish history’ when they used these notions. That is to say, concomitant with the emergence of Turkish nationalism as a well-structured political ideology, its apostles and proponents tried to redefine these concepts according to their nationalist vocabulary, which, at the end, would lead to a clear shift not only in the content of the term ‘national history’, but also in the ‘Ottoman history’ itself.

As the notions of ‘nation’ and ‘national’ began to be identified with ‘Turkishness’, new periodization models for the redefined ‘national history’ consequently came to the fore. Aiming to construct a historical perspective with almost a perfect continuity over a vast period of time, the nationalist intelligentsia reduced the Ottoman past to just one of the various stages gone through in ‘national history’ and dated the beginning of the latter to the Central Asian ‘Turkish’ polities that had been established many centuries before the emergence of both Islam and the Ottoman Empire.³³ Put differently, in order to root their nation in the most distant past, the nationalist intellectuals made the Central Asian, particularly the pre-Islamic, Turkish history the focus of their attention, underlining the existence of a primordial national identity dated back to antiquity. Through countless articles and popular works that appeared during the 1910s, they recounted in an enthusiastic manner the histories of the ‘far-flung Turkish Empires’ like the Huns, Gokturks and Uyghurs, all of which

³³ For some examples, see Y[usuf] A[kçura], ‘Türk Tarihinin Devirlere Taksimi,’ *Türk Yurdu* 4/8, no. 4 (April 23, 1331 [1915]): 2561–2563; idem, ‘Akşam-ı Müslime Tarihinin Devrelere Taksimi,’ *Türk Yurdu* 6/13, no. 2 (September 13, 1333 [1917]): 3569–3573; Ziyetullah Nuşirevan, ‘Türk Tarihinin Karmlara Taksimine Dair Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemîye I,’ *Türk Yurdu* 4/8, no. 4, 2563–2565; idem, ‘Türk Tarihinin Karmlara Taksimine Dair Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemîye II,’ *Türk Yurdu* 4/8, no. 5 (May 7, 1331 [1915]): 2577–2580; Nizameddin Arif, ‘Türk Tarihinin Tertib ve Taksimi,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 54, no. 1404 (Şevval 23, 1336/August 1, 1918): 414–415; Ziya Gökalp, ‘Milletimizin Tarihi Nereden Başlar?,’ *Küçük Mecmua*, no. 22 (Teşrin-i Sani 3, 1338/Rebi’ülevvel 23, 1341 [1922]): 12–15.

were presented as the historical proofs of the transcendence of the Turkish nation and culture.³⁴

Also to be noted is the paramount importance attached to such historical figures as Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. In contrast to the pejorative treatments seen in traditional Ottoman history writing, the nationalist intellectuals, specifically the Russian-born ones, described Genghis Khan and Tamerlane as the heroic ancestors of the Turks and incorporated them into their national pantheon. By the same token, they depicted their reigns as the most significant turning points in, and their empires as the most glorious periods of, the ‘national history’.³⁵ These sorts of depictions, however, drew a strong reaction from the Ottomanist and Islamist intellectuals of the time. These circles, as might be expected, severely criticized the nationalist historical perspective that sought to situate the ‘national history’ within a supra-religious and pre-Ottoman framework. Besides this, they vehemently objected to the evaluation of the Tatars and Mongols, and the historical figures as Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, within the context of the ‘national history’.³⁶

³⁴ For some examples, see ‘Pek Eski Türk Medeniyeti,’ *Türk Yurdu*, no. 4, 111–114; Ahmed Agayef, ‘Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi I,’ *Türk Yurdu*, no. 16, 530–540; idem, ‘Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi II,’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 17 (May 30, 1329 [1913]): 550–562; idem, ‘Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi III,’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 19 (June 27, 1329 [1913]): 622–63; Necip Asım, ‘Firdevs’ül-İkbal I,’ *Türk Derneği*, no. 2 (1327 [1911]): 68–71; idem, ‘Firdevs’ül-İkbal II,’ *Türk Derneği*, no. 3 (1327 [1911]): 81–85; Kazanlı Abbas [Ayaz], ‘Tatar Edebiyatının Tarihçesi,’ *Türk Derneği*, no. 5 (1327 [1911]): 156–159; Nizameddin Arif, ‘Türklerin Kurun-ı Ulâ Tarihine Aid Menabi ve Vesaik,’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 54, no. 1402 (Şevval 9, 1336/July 18, 1918): 383–386; Ziya Gökalp, ‘En Eski Türk Devleti,’ *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 33 (February 21–28, 1918): 126–128.

³⁵ For some examples, see Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, ‘Müverrih Léon Cahun ve Muallim Barthold’a göre Cengiz Han I,’ *Türk Yurdu*, no. 1, 17–22; idem, ‘Müverrih Léon Cahun ve Muallim Barthold’a göre Cengiz Han II,’ *Türk Yurdu*, no. 2, 47–53; idem, ‘Müverrih Léon Cahun ve Muallim Barthold’a göre Cengiz Han III,’ *Türk Yurdu*, no. 3, 78–82. See also Karpas, *The Politicization of Islam*, 278.

³⁶ For some examples of these criticisms, see Ali Kemal, ‘Türkler, Osmanlılar,’ *Peyâm*, no. 19 (Teşrin-i Sani 19, 1329/Kanun-ı Evvel 2, 1913): 1; idem, ‘Âtalet-i Fikriye,’ *Peyâm*, no. 168 (April 26, 1330/May 9, 1914): 1; Süleyman Nazif, ‘Cengiz Hastalığı,’ *İctihad*, no. 72 (July 18, 1329 [1913]): 1573–1574; idem, ‘Darülfünun-ı Osmani Türk Tarih-i Medeniyeti Muallimi Ahmed Agayef Beyefendiye,’ *İctihad*, no. 71 (July 11, 1329 [1913]): 1549–1551; idem, ‘Ahmed Agayef Beyefendiye,’ *İctihad*, no. 74 (August 1, 1329 [1913]): 1621–1623; idem, ‘Ahmed Agayef Beyefendiye Cevap,’ *İctihad*, no. 75 (August 8, 1329 [1913]): 1645–1648; idem, ‘Ahmed Agayef

Despite these criticisms, nevertheless, the nationalistically motivated study of Turkish history steadily burgeoned in the course of the 1910s. Integrally associated with the rise of nationalism in the political sphere, the nationalist historical outlook increasingly took root in Istanbul intellectual circles as the decade wore on. The crucial point to be made here is that, the nationalist shift in the political context and the historiographical vision forged within Turkish nationalism deeply affected the pluralist composition and the historical perspective of the OHS as well. In the first place, the disastrous consequences of the Balkan Wars and the change in the Young Turk regime strategy sealed the fates of the non-Muslim members of the Society. Apart from Iskender Yanko Hoçi who passed away in 1917, Pavlos Carolidis' membership to the OHS was cancelled following his emigration from the Ottoman Empire at the time of the Balkan Wars.³⁷ Moreover, Diran Kelekyan was killed during the Armenian massacres. After his arrest in Istanbul on April 24, he was slaughtered in November 1915 by the armed gangs supported by the CUP.³⁸ Needless to say, the non-Muslim members of the Society were replaced by Muslim-Turkish historians.³⁹

Most importantly, perhaps, the OHS, too, began to consider the history of the Ottoman Empire part and parcel of the general Turkish history. When the first volume of the Ottoman history project, which was in many ways the *raison d'être* of the Society, was published in 1917, it became fairly apparent that the OHS almost

Beye Cevap I,' *İctihad*, no. 76 (August 15, 1329 [1913]): 1669–1672; idem, 'Ahmed Agayef Beye Cevap II,' *İctihad*, no. 79 (September 5, 1329 [1913]): 1732–1734.

³⁷ Kechriotis, 'The Multiple Personae and Loyalties of Pavlos Carolidis,' 297–300, 307–308.

³⁸ BOA. DH.ŞFR. 57/92. 1333.Z.14. BOA. DH.ŞFR. 57/156. 1333.Z.19. See also İzrail, *24 Nisan 1915*, 76, 91, 190, 538.

³⁹ Erdem Sönmez, 'Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken: Türkiye'de Tarihyazımı Üzerine Notlar,' *Modus Operandi: İlişkisel Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 1 (March 2015): 67; Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, 72.

entirely renounced its Ottomanist outlook on the past. For one thing, while the detailed outline of the project, the 1913 ‘Program for Ottoman History’ (*Osmanlı Tarihi Programı*), confined the scope of the work exclusively to the Ottoman past, the first volume of the Ottoman History (*Osmanlı Tarihi*) was mainly devoted to narrate Turkish history in the widest sense. More explicitly, although the 1913 outline made the Ottoman past the focus of its attention and thus commenced the project with the thirteenth-century Anatolian history, the 1917 *Ottoman History* concentrated on the history of the Turkish nation from its beginnings to the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. It was for this reason that the book meaningfully began with a considerably extensive chapter entitled ‘the Turks’ (*Türkler*).⁴⁰ In contrast to the Society’s former decisions regarding the course and content of the work, this comprehensive chapter dealt at length with the Central Asian past of the Turks, recounting in detail the histories of numerous pre-Islamic ‘Turkish’ states established in the ‘original homeland of the nation’. Then, the *Ottoman History* continued with the issues of the Turkish migration towards the West, the ‘Western Turks’, and their conversion to Islam.⁴¹ Another historical field that the book covered was the Great Seljuk Empire, which ruled most of Western Asia and the Middle East between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Furthermore, it also dwelt largely on the successor states of the Seljuk Empire as the Khwarezmshahs, the Artuqids, the Danishmends, and more importantly, the Seljuks of Rum (or Anatolia).⁴² Finally, the

⁴⁰ Necip Asım and Mehmed Arif, *Osmanlı Tarihi, vol: 1, Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Tarafından Neşr Olunmuştur* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Orhaniye, 1335 [1917]), 1–288.

⁴¹ Ibid., 16–23, 37–41, 47–126.

⁴² Ibid., 126–288, 441–494.

first volume of the *Ottoman History* ended with a chapter on the birth of the Ottoman state, focusing on the reign of Osman.⁴³

In the light of these notes on the content of the *Ottoman History*, it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the nationalist historical outlook undisputedly overshadowed the alternative historiographical perspectives by the late 1910s and gained a hegemonic character in Ottoman history writing. As a result of this hegemony, even the official historical association abandoned its Ottomanist vision, which was in many aspects the guiding principle of the institution from the very moment of its establishment. At a time when the policy of Ottomanism became a dead letter and Turkish nationalism was seen as the only valid and purposeful political project, the members of the Society naturally inclined to embrace the latter as well as the historical perspective forged within it. This was why the *Ottoman History* covered a wide array of fields and periods of ‘Turkish history’, almost all of which had previously been left outside the scope of the project in a conscious manner. Additionally, in the same vein as nationalist intellectuals and historians, the OHS sought to establish conspicuous links between the various epochs of and political structures in ‘Turkish history’. In this way, the Society became part of the nationalist efforts to construct a narrative of continuity from ancient Central Asia to the modern era. Situating the so-called Turkish polities within this imagined continuity, the OHS also tended to contextualize these political bodies, including the Ottoman Empire, within the framework of Turkish national past. Hence, rather than being considered a separate and disconnected historical entity, the Ottoman history started to be viewed, by the Society too, as an integral part of the general Turkish

⁴³ Ibid., 537–638.

history.⁴⁴ It is safe to say that this perspective, which regarded the Ottoman history as just one link in a continuous chain extending from the distant past to the present, not only conclusively equated the notion of ‘national history’ with that of ‘Turkish history’, but also marked the transformation in the content of the term ‘Ottoman history’, referring to a particular phase in the ‘long and glorious’ historical trajectory of the nation.⁴⁵

4. 2 Köprülüzâde at Work: Equipping Nationalist Historiography with a Methodology

The young academic of the Faculty of Literature, Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, trained and established himself as a historian in the course of the decade when nationalist historiography was in the ascendant. To put it more bluntly, his career as a historian began and flourished in a socio-political setting in which Turkish nationalism gradually became the dominant paradigm in all walks of cultural and intellectual life, including the history writing. As previously pointed out, Köprülüzâde had already moved away from his former cosmopolitan stance,

⁴⁴ Sönmez, ‘Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken: Türkiye’de Tarih yazımı Üzerine Notlar,’ 67–68.

⁴⁵ Against all these arguments, however, one may contend that rather than being a collective study, the first volume of the *Ottoman History* was written by two nationalist members of the OHS, thus merely reflecting the historical perspective of its authors, not of the whole Society. The first point to be made against such views is that, even though the *Ottoman History* was written by Necip Asım and Mehmed Arif, the OHS embraced the work and did not hesitate to present it as a publication of the Society. A note on the cover page of the book, for instance, which clearly mentioned that the work had been ‘published by the Ottoman Historical Society’, undoubtedly demonstrates this approval. Furthermore, despite the fact that the Ottoman history project was no longer the primary task of the Society ever since the 1916 change in its regulations, the OHS nevertheless decided on the compilation of the second volume of the work, immediately after the publication of the first volume. Although the second volume seems to have never actually been published due to the fate of the empire, this decision might be considered another example of the adoption of the work by the Society. With all this in mind, it would not be an exaggeration to assume that beyond merely reflecting the nationalist outlook of its authors, the *Ottoman History* represents the overall historical perspective of the Society at that time. See ‘Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni’, *İkdam*, no. 7259 (Recep 4, 1335/April 26, 1917): 2; ‘Tarih-i Osmanî’, *İkdam*, no. 7292 (Şaban 7, 1335/May 29, 1917): 2; ‘Osmanlı Tarihinin İkinci Cildi’, *İkdam*, no. 7302 (Şaban 17, 1335/June 8, 1917): 2.

affiliated with the aforementioned Turkist organizations, and joined the ranks of the Unionists by the time he was appointed to the Faculty in late 1913. Being a member of the nationalist intelligentsia, then, he actively participated in initiatives to promote Turkist ideas and to strengthen the national consciousness among the Turks.

Correspondingly, he underlined the vital importance of discovering the resources and components of 'national identity'. In connection with this, he repeatedly emphasized the need for the systematic study of 'Turkish history' with a nationalistic perspective. It is little wonder that he, too, harshly criticized the Ottomanist policy and its vision of history for hindering the development of Turkish nationalism and the historical outlook inspired by it. In a nutshell, Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad was sharing much with the nationalist intellectuals and historians of the era not only in terms of his political convictions but also in terms of his historiographical views during the years he began to work at the University.

Despite all these commonalities, however, there were also some significant nuances that marked Köprülüzâde sharply off from the vast majority of his contemporaries.

First and foremost, apart from his conspicuously political articles and romantic literary writings, a blind nationalist perspective almost never assumed a dominant character in his historical works and debates with Ottomanist historians. More explicitly, although he was a committed nationalist and some of his studies were replete with obvious excesses, Köprülüzâde more often than not placed heavy importance on the methodological principles and academic standards of historical scholarship from the very beginning of his academic career. Being a historian who closely followed Western intellectual life and scientific trends ever since his early youth, he took great pains to present his historiographical views and criticisms on a methodological ground based on European scholarly conventions. This was why, for

instance, his strictures against the OHS did not remain limited solely to the Ottomanist approach of the Society that threw Turkish history out of focus. Unlike many other nationally minded intellectuals most of whom were deprived of a thorough methodological knowledge, his criticisms against the OHS as well as conventional chroniclers also contained a set of historiographical and conceptual issues regarding the guild standards of the historical enquiry and the scholarly deficiencies of the Society and traditional forms of history writing. Thus, in addition to faulting the Ottomanist historians for consciously neglecting ‘Turkish national past’, he moreover dwelt widely on such methodological matters as the necessity of specialization in and the significance of auxiliary disciplines of history, to which, according to him, the members of the Society did not pay enough attention.⁴⁶ More importantly, perhaps, even when he ardently constructed his most extreme historiographical arguments that stemmed directly from Turkish nationalism, he made a point of basing them on a broad methodological foundation. Frequently referring to expressions such as ‘according to contemporary scientific methods’ and ‘with regard to new theories of historiography’, he sought to root his nationalistically motivated historical theses in a scholarly framework, instead of defending them through a political discourse or leaving them as open-ended and debatable inquiries.⁴⁷ It goes without saying that this formulation was also partly instrumental in the presentation of preconceived historical assertions with a ‘scientific’ face, hiding the decisive nationalist subjectivity behind them.

⁴⁶ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında,’ 185–196; idem, ‘Bizde Milli Tarih Yazılabilir Mi?,’ 427–428; idem, ‘Tarih Kırıntıları,’ 3; idem, ‘Osmanlı Tarihi Meselesi,’ *Dersaadet*, no. 77 (Muharrem 16, 1339/September 39, 1336 [1920]): 2; idem, ‘Edebi Bir Mesele,’ *İkdam*, no. 8800 (Muharrem 12, 1340/September 15, 1921): 3.

⁴⁷ For some examples, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Bizde Milli Tarih Yazılabilir Mi?,’ 427–428; idem, ‘Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında,’ 187–191.

It must be noted that this perceived emphasis on the methodological principles of historical scholarship already revealed itself even in the first academic work of Köprülüzâde: '*Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl*' (Method in Turkish Literary History), which was published in the premier issue of *Bilgi Mecmuası* on the eve of his appointment to the University. As its title indicates, in this wide-ranging piece Köprülüzâde embarked on a bold initiative to set a methodological agenda for the study of Turkish history in general and of Turkish literary history in particular. Being fully aware of the arduousness of such an undertaking, he tried to explain the reason lying behind his attempt in the opening remarks of his article as follows: 'Every science can only come into being by means of the scholarly methods that are peculiar to it'.⁴⁸ That is to say, since he categorically predicated the formation of a 'scientific' discipline on the existence of a 'scholarly methodology', he set out to establish a sound methodological basis for the field he had newly decided to specialize in, even though he was just at the start of his career as a historian. For this purpose, he initially strove to make a comprehensive and critical synthesis of contemporary approaches to history. Therefore, in the first part of his bipartite article, he dealt at length with the nineteenth-century scholarly views on historiography and historical methodology, probing a wide range of European, especially French, historians, from Gabriel Monod to Charles Seignobos and from Henri Berr to Gustave Lanson.⁴⁹

One crucial methodological approach that Köprülüzâde took issue with in his piece was related to the positivistic paradigm of the age, which 'forced all disciplines to

⁴⁸ 'Her ilim ancak kendisine has olan ilmi usullerin istimaliyle teşekkül edebilir.' Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, '*Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl*,' 4.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 5–6.

become like the natural sciences'.⁵⁰ Noticing the traces of this 'harmful tendency' in the contemporary European historiography, Köprülüzâde strongly objected to the consideration of history on the very same plane as the physical and natural sciences. 'Some historians', he stated, 'ascribed to [...] their discipline the same scientific character [...] as the positive and experimental sciences', and, concomitant with the establishment of this consubstantiality, began to increasingly 'argue that the methods of history should be modeled on those of the natural and physical sciences'. The reason for this argumentation lay in the 'assumption that [...] the history did not deal with abstract phenomena but with real incidents [...] just as did the natural sciences'.⁵¹ The defenders of these views maintained that, Köprülüzâde went on to summarize, in order to reach scientific conclusions and generalizations, historians, too, sought to decipher the similarities, discover the regularities and uncover the correlations among the cases they examine, exactly like the physicists and biologists. From this perspective, he stressed in a critical manner, the only difference between a historian and a physicist or a biologist was the way they observed their phenomena. In contrast to physicists or biologists, historians could not attain factual knowledge about reality by directly observing their subject matters that occurred in the past. Instead, they analyzed historical events via the examination of the material evidence that was left behind, i.e., the documents and old records.⁵²

After outlining these theoretical explanations, which he specified as 'quite logical at first glance', Köprülüzâde did not hesitate to assert that such views were, in fact,

⁵⁰ Lydia Goehr, 'Reviewing Adorno: Public Opinion and Critique,' in *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*, by Theodor W. Adorno, trans. Henry W. Pickford (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), xxix.

⁵¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,' 12–15.

⁵² Ibid.

‘based on mistaken hypotheses and unfounded generalizations’. For him, ‘the identification of history with the physical and natural sciences would only be [...] detrimental to the scholarly study of the past’. ‘If a historian’, Köprülüzâde emphasized, ‘took these erroneous ideas as his point of departure’, he would either ‘reduce history to [...] the description of political and military events’ or ‘shape the past [...] according to the fantasies of his imagination under a veneer of science’. ‘In order to understand and [...] unravel the complexities of social phenomena’, he continued, ‘it was necessary, in the humanities and social sciences, to transcend the narrow methods and principles [...] of the natural and physical sciences’. Thus, Köprülüzâde concluded, rather than unquestioningly adopting the rules and procedures of the natural sciences as dogmatic prescriptions, ‘a good historian’ should, above all things, internalize ‘the scientific essence and perspective’ that undergirded these formal and formulaic features.⁵³

As one can see, the crux of Köprülüzâde’s criticisms against this approach lies in his argument that a historical methodology based on the methods of the experimental sciences would be inadequate to explore the multi-layered structure of social and historical processes. To his mind, such a methodological orientation would imprison historiography in a tunnel vision that oversimplifies and vulgarizes the sophisticated nature of the historical events.⁵⁴ What is more, since this vision regarded the ‘observable facts’ as the only valid means of scientific research, and rigidly limited the ‘empirical data’ of historiography to official documents, it could bring about the possibility of ignoring the social, economic and cultural matters. To put it more precisely, a historical methodology that devoted much of its efforts to the

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 13–15, 16–19.

establishment of observable facts and evidence, which could only be applicable to a narrow range of phenomena, would make it almost impossible to go beyond the political events and lend itself mostly to the history of politics, diplomacy, and war. Evidently, this was largely because the official documents and registers stored in the state archives primarily revolve around the political issues and foreign affairs, as was pointed out by Köprülüzâde too.⁵⁵

Rejecting all manner of historiographical approaches—whether they were traditional or contemporary—that restricted the scope of history merely to the narration of political and military events, Köprülüzâde instead strove to expand the borders of the discipline to the extent possible. To this end, he defined history in an inclusive sense as ‘the sum total of all deeds and incidents that occurred in the past’.⁵⁶ In other words, for Köprülüzâde, ‘history was the manifestation of all moral, intellectual, and material activities of humanity [...] from the very beginning of its existence’. As a result of this viewpoint, he acknowledged ‘the masses of the common people’ as the real maker of history, in contrast to those who deemed ‘great men’ to be the decisive agents of it.⁵⁷ Contemporary historiography, he acutely noted, tended to abandon the long-established historiographical understanding that ‘reduced history writing to the depiction of [...] the deeds and personalities of [...] emperors, viziers, and military commanders’. Hence, he added, historians now began to regard the crowds and masses as essential actors of history, and even set out to analyze the historical processes within the context of the social, economic and cultural evolution of

⁵⁵ Ibid., 8, 10–20. See also Erdem Sönmez, *Annales Okulu ve Türkiye’de Tarihyazımı: Annales Okulu’nun Türkiye’deki Tarihyazımına Etkisi (Başlangıçtan 1980’e)* (2nd ed.), (Ankara: Tan Kitabevi Yayınları, 2010), 34–36; Eric Hobsbawm, *On History* (7th ed.), (London: Abacus, 2008), 186–188.

⁵⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,’ 6.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 6–9, 16.

societies. Citing such historians as Gabriel Monod and Daniel Mornet, then, Köprülüzâde emphasized that, rather than solely concentrating on the activities and ideas of a small group of elites, the fundamental thing for a historian to do was to study a society's past in its entirety by examining every social class within it and exploring the relations, struggles and cultural interactions between them. Only in this way, he argued, would it be possible to achieve 'the ultimate goal of historiography', namely 'bringing the past to life [...] as it really was'.⁵⁸

Taking into consideration all the points mentioned above, it would not be an exaggeration to claim that Köprülüzâde viewed history as the queen of the social sciences. In this respect, he overtly stated in his article that 'history occupied the most important place among [...] the humanities'. 'Accordingly', he continued, 'many other fields of the moral and social sciences, [...] such as law, politics, linguistics, literature, fine arts, [...] and even human geography might be deemed [...] somewhat [...] auxiliary disciplines of history'.⁵⁹ Needless to say, this sweeping attitude that put other social science disciplines into the orbit of history was closely connected with the 'duties and tasks' attributed by him to historians. To briefly summarize, for Köprülüzâde, 'a historian had to initially determine the racial origins of the society he set out to examine'. Then, the historian should analyze the 'physical and geographical' context of the society as well as investigate the dynamic relationship between the latter and its material environment. Furthermore, Köprülüzâde maintained, the historian ought to explore the 'political structures and [...] institutions [...] of the society', and attempt to explain the socio-economic

⁵⁸ Ibid., 7–10. See also idem, 'Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında,' 188–190; idem, 'Bizde Milli Tarih Yazılabilir Mi?,' 427–428.

⁵⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,' 9–10.

framework by focusing on the ‘commercial, agricultural and industrial sectors’. Last but not least, in order to procure a complete picture of the past, historian was obliged to examine the cultural traditions of the society and the social, religious, and intellectual life of the people.⁶⁰

With all this in mind, it is little wonder that Köprülüzâde severely criticized the aforementioned methodological approach, which limited the ‘observable facts’ and ‘empirical data’ of history only to the official documents and registers. Undoubtedly, Köprülüzâde adopted the basic academic principle of contemporary historiography that predicated the ‘scientific’ historical writing categorically on the systematic study of primary sources. Thus, much like the other scientifically oriented historians of the time, Köprülüzâde too repeatedly underlined the vital importance of archival documents and materials for scholarly historical research.⁶¹ But nevertheless, he vehemently objected to any sort of methodological orientation that confined the primary sources of historical inquiry exclusively to these documents and records. He emphatically stressed that the archival official documents pertained chiefly to political issues and international affairs, thereby highlighting their inability to encompass and reflect all facets of historical reality. Therefore, contrary to the defenders of a strict positivist historiography, Köprülüzâde clearly asserted that ‘a historian should never content himself with merely examining the public and official documents’, since these records alone could not be sufficient to analyze and explain the past in all its aspects. For this aim to be realized, he concluded, historians had to broaden their perspective with regard to the primary sources of historical research as

⁶⁰ Ibid., 8. See also idem, ‘Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında,’ 187–191.

⁶¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,’ 13.

well as track down and utilize every kind of written or oral material related to the past, from tax registers to works of art and from personal letters to folk tales.⁶²

As a matter of fact, these views of Köprülüzâde's that made him seem as a proponent of the *Annales* School before the *Annales* did not stem entirely from scholarly concerns. There was also a tacit political dimension or motive attached to his historiographical and methodological arguments. As has been pointed out before, Köprülüzâde, being shaken by the turbulent political circumstances of the time, adopted a strong nationalist stance that tended to trivialize all non- or supra-political matters and interests. In the intensifying nationalist mobilization of the 1910s, he devoted his whole attention to disseminating the idea of nationalism and strengthening the national consciousness among the Turkish people. More importantly, perhaps, in the same vein as Gökâlp and other nationalists, he did not hesitate to employ every intellectual tool available in the service of these aims. He was thus inclined to instrumentalize such spheres as art and literature in an effort to reinforce the emerging Turkish national identity, instead of, as he had previously done, foregrounding their transcendence and autonomy vis-à-vis political engagement and intervention.

As for his orientation to history, it was surely not free of nationalistic motivations either. Within an ideological climate in which the project of building a Turkish nation pushed every other political and intellectual agenda into the background, it was certainly not coincidental that Köprülüzâde began to research Turkish history. Much like his European counterparts who actively participated in nation-building processes in their countries, he considered history not merely an academic pursuit,

⁶² Ibid., 7–8.

but one of the most significant means for shaping and bolstering the new-found national identity. Thus, following his adoption of Turkish nationalism as the main structure for his thinking, he plunged into an extensive study of the ‘national past’, and emphasized its antiquity, grandeur, and uninterrupted continuity. Partly with the guidance of the leading nationalist intellectuals of the day as Gökâlp and Yahya Kemal, he sought to unearth the sources and contours, or what he called the ‘uncorrupted essence’, of Turkish national culture.⁶³ By the same token, he set out to discover, and even in some cases invent, the traces of ‘Turkishness’ in a wide range of fields, from political traditions to religious life and from legal institutions to folk literature. It was within this context that Köprülüzâde firmly rejected all manner of historiographical tendencies to restrict the scope of history, and accordingly, the sources of historical inquiry. Evidently, this attitude was closely related to the fact that his attempt of constructing ‘Turkishness’ through history would be best compatible with a historical perspective and methodological approach encompassing all fields of human activity.

Literary history, in this sense, was regarded by Köprülüzâde as one of the most important branches of historiography that reflects many aspects of human activity.

Alluding to the views of Hippolyte Taine and Gustave Lanson, he described this sub-

⁶³ One noteworthy anecdote recorded by Yahya Kemal in his memoirs sheds some light on his influence on channeling Köprülüzâde towards focusing on Turkish history. Shortly after his return from Paris, Yahya Kemal met Köprülüzâde in Istanbul who was then a promising young man of letters dealing mainly with Western intellectual life and literature. According to Yahya Kemal, Köprülüzâde was at the time planning to make a comprehensive and comparative study on Western literature, following the pattern in his first book *Hayat-ı Fikriyye* (Intellectual Life), which was also devoted to the examination of nineteenth-century European intellectual and literary life. Yahya Kemal, then, insisted that Köprülüzâde should instead concentrate on the matters related to Turkish history in general and important literary figures of the national past as Ahmed Yasawi in particular, determining the future research fields of Köprülüzâde. Although Yahya Kemal could be slightly exaggerating his influence, it is agreeable to think that his advices might have played some role in Köprülüzâde’s orientation to Turkish history and literature. See Nihad Sami Banarlı, ed., *Yahya Kemal’in Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1960), 49. See also Nihad Sami Banarlı, ‘Köprülü’nün Hayatından Çizgiler,’ *Türk Kültürü*, no. 47, 33–34; Ünal Şenel, ‘Yahya Kemal’de İstanbul,’ in *Yahya Kemal Beyatı*, 320.

discipline of history as a lively mirror of the past feelings, thoughts, and personalities of societies, or more precisely of nations. In connection with this, Köprülüzâde deemed literary history a convenient field of study through which he could explore the roots and evolution of Turkish national identity.⁶⁴ To put it more bluntly, he became well aware of the vast opportunities that history of literature could provide for his goal of constructing Turkishness. It is hardly surprising in this respect that he celebrated all forms of literature and folklore, such as the folk tales, songs, and dervish hymns, not only as the main sources and expressions of national culture, but also as the major proofs of its authenticity and originality.⁶⁵

As his emphasis on the significance of folklore and folk literature clearly demonstrates, Köprülüzâde was seeking to lay the groundwork for a shift away from a literary history focused primarily on the literature of the elite, towards another one that would cover the cultural products of all social layers.⁶⁶ Drawing from Émile Faguet, to whom he had referred earlier so as to downplay the popular/folk literature, Köprülüzâde harshly criticized the deeply-entrenched historiographical approach that almost solely concentrated on the literature of the upper classes and neglected the importance, and even existence, of folk literature. More explicitly, he condemned the traditional, as Ottoman *tezkiye* (biography) writers, and contemporary, as Elias John Wilkinson Gibb—the author of the monumental *A History of Ottoman Poetry*—, representatives of this approach for simply reducing the Turkish national literature to

⁶⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,’ 4–5, 20–21. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad and Şahabeddin Süleyman, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarih-i Edebiyatı*, 3–10; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Yapma Edebiyat,’ 7–8; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Milli Matbaa, 1926), 5–10.

⁶⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,’ 20–22; idem, ‘Yeni Bir İlim: Halkiyat “Folk-lore”,’ 74–77.

⁶⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,’ 21–22, 28–30; idem, ‘Yeni Bir İlim: Halkiyat “Folk-lore”,’ 74–77; idem, ‘Başka Milletler Ne Yapıyor?’, 3–6; idem, ‘Başka Milletler Nasıl Çalışıyor?’, 3. See also Park, ‘The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,’ 215.

Ottoman court literature and poetry.⁶⁷ According to Köprülüzâde, what these writers failed to realize was the basic fact that ‘literature is not a homogeneous mass’. Since ‘each social group in a society [...] expressed their own aesthetic values and pleasures [...] through different kinds of literatures’, he continued, ‘the literature of a nation [...] did not merely consist of [...] the literary products of the elite and upper classes’. For this reason, he acutely noted, in order to properly understand the cultural, literary and intellectual evolution of a society, it was imperative to thoroughly attend to its folk literature, which represented the ‘real sentiments and genuine character of nations.’ In terms of Turkish literature, Köprülüzâde stressed, rather than dealing exclusively with the court literature and poetry, ‘a good historian’ ought to trace every past literary expression and manifestation of ‘Turkish society’, and should do a rigorous analysis of all the literary works that were born from the nation’s spirit.⁶⁸

Following these criticisms and explanations, Köprülüzâde embarked on a lengthy discussion of how the contemporary historical research methods could be applied to the study of Turkish literary history. In this context, he sought to describe the disciplinary practices and procedures of the field, introduced in detail the primary and secondary sources of Turkish literature, and underscored the necessary intellectual and scholarly equipment that the literary historian had to possess.⁶⁹ At the end of his comprehensive technical instructions, he sharply emphasized that the history of Turkish literature was still deprived of its historian. In his view, like the

⁶⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,’ 20–24, 28–30; idem, ‘Milli Terbiye Meselesine Dair,’ *İkdam*, no. 8482 (Safer 4, 1339/Teşrin-i Evvel 17, 1920): 3. See also Nuran Tezcan, ‘Fuat Köprülü’nün Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi Üzerine,’ in *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, 94–98.

⁶⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,’ 21–22, 24, 28–30, 50. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 5–10.

⁶⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,’ 21–49.

other Ottoman practitioners of social sciences, the Ottoman historians did not distance themselves from traditional patterns of scholarship yet, and thus, Turkish literary history, neither in part nor as a whole, had been subjected up to that time to a serious analysis.⁷⁰ Finally, Köprülüzâde concluded his piece with a nationalistically enthusiastic passage the tone of which, as Markus Dressler aptly put it, constituted a total stylistic break with the previous forty-nine eruditely written pages:⁷¹ ‘Every young Turk eager to study the history of literature [...] should try to contribute at least one stone to this great national and scientific monument none of the building blocks of which are as of yet available. When this magnificent monument is completed, [...] it will demonstrate the uniqueness of Turkish national genius [...] by displaying the intellectual and emotional stages [...] that our great and honorable nation has gone through over centuries [...]. One could [not] imagine a nobler and more sacred aim for the historian of Turkish literature than this!’⁷²

After this significant work, Köprülüzâde ardently set out to contribute to the construction of ‘this great national and scientific monument’. Keeping to the agenda he established in ‘*Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl*’, he delved into the study of Turkish literary history and laid the foundations of his subsequent large-scale projects. Before too long, the first fruits of this intense effort began to appear: His eleven-part article series focusing on the old Turkish minstrels (‘*saz şairleri*’), for instance, was printed in the daily newspaper *İkdam* in 1914.⁷³ Likewise, he wrote

⁷⁰ Ibid., 23–24, 49–51. See also Park, ‘The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,’ 212, 217.

⁷¹ Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 165–166.

⁷² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl,’ 51.

⁷³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Saz Şairleri I,’ *İkdam*, no. 6147 (March 21, 1330/April 3, 1914): 2; idem, ‘Saz Şairleri II: Âşık Tarzının Menşe ve Mahiyeti,’ *İkdam*, no. 6151 (March 25, 1330/April 7, 1914): 3; idem, ‘Saz Şairleri III: Âşık Tarzı Hangi Şekl-i Hayatın İfadesidir?,’ *İkdam*, no. 6155 (March 29, 1330/April 11, 1914): 3; idem, ‘Saz Şairleri IV: Âşık Tarzı Hangi Şekl-i Hayatın

two short essays on the life and works of the thirteenth-century Anatolian folk poet Yunus Emre for the nationalist journal *Türk Yurdu*.⁷⁴ Another striking piece that also foreshadowed his future studies was concentrated on who he regarded as one of the most important figures of Turkish literary and religious history, Ahmed Yasawi.⁷⁵ Again, in 1914 there appeared his six-part serial article on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Chaghatay Turkic literature.⁷⁶ In these preliminary writings, which were merely draft-like notes published in newspapers or politically motivated journals, Köprülüzâde attempted to sketch the outlines of a historical narrative that forged a direct connection and continuity between Central Asian and Anatolian cultural and literary traditions. As will be seen further below, the endeavor to elaborate and refine this initial framework would henceforth be his main academic occupation.

İfadesidir?,' *İkdam*, no. 6160 (April 3, 1330/April 16, 1914): 3; idem, 'Saz Şairleri V: Âşık Tarzı Hangi Şekl-i Hayatın İfadesidir?,' *İkdam*, no. 6163 (April 6, 1330/April 19, 1914): 3; idem, 'Saz Şairleri VI: Âşık Teşkilatı ve Âşık Fasılları,' *İkdam*, no. 6169 (April 12, 1330/April 25, 1914): 3; idem, 'Saz Şairleri VII: Malumat-ı Tarihiye,' *İkdam*, no. 6176 (April 19, 1330/May 2, 1914): 3; idem, 'Saz Şairleri VIII: Âşık Tarzında Şive ve Lisan,' *İkdam*, no. 6181 (April 24, 1330/May 7, 1914): 3; idem, 'Saz Şairleri IX: Âşık Tarzında Aruz ve Vezin,' *İkdam*, no. 6195 (May 8, 1330/May 21, 1914): 3; idem, 'Saz Şairleri X: Âşık Tarzında Milli Vezin ve Şekiller,' *İkdam*, no. 6205 (May 18, 1330/May 31, 1914): 3; idem, 'Saz Şairleri XI: Varsağı-Koşma-Destan,' *İkdam*, no. 6211 (May 24, 1330/June 6, 1914): 3. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Halk Edebiyatı I,' 2; idem, 'Halk Edebiyatı II,' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Cemâziyelâhir 18, 1331/May 25, 1913, 2.

⁷⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Yunus Emre,' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 19, 612–621; idem, 'Yunus Emre: Âsarı,' *Türk Yurdu* 3, no. 51 (Teşrin-i Evvel 17, 1329 [1913]): 922–930.

⁷⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Hoca Ahmed Yesevi: Çağatay ve Osmanlı Edebiyatları Üzerindeki Tesiri,' *Bilgi Mecmuası* 1, no. 6, 611–645.

⁷⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri: Medhal,' *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 64 (April 17, 1330 [1914]): 2128–2135; idem, 'IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri I: Nevâî'den Evvel,' *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 65 (May 1, 1330 [1914]): 2158–2166; idem, 'IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri I: Nevâî'den Evvel,' *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 66 (May 15, 1330 [1914]): 2190–2194; idem, 'IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri I: Nevâî'den Evvel,' *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 67 (May 29, 1330 [1914]): 2226–2230; idem, 'IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri I: Nevâî'den Evvel,' *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 68 (June 12, 1330 [1914]): 2245–2251; idem, 'IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri I: Nevâî'den Evvel,' *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 70, 2313–2319.

4. 3 Deploying the Nation in the Course of the War: *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* (The Journal of National Studies)

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that Köprülüzâde became an ‘organic intellectual’ of the CUP during the Great War of 1914-1918. According to contemporary witnesses, he was frequently visiting the party headquarters, attending nationalist meetings, and actively supporting Unionist campaigns in these years.⁷⁷ His relationship with the CUP, in this context, was far beyond being a restrained and imperturbable support of an academic to his party. Rather, it was an enthusiastic effort that closely followed and fervently upheld the policies and practices of the CUP. One noteworthy expression of his adherence to party line and decisions, even in petty matters of daily politics, for instance, revealed itself in his support for the CUP’s domestic borrowing campaign. Following the promulgation of the Domestic Borrowing Law (“*istikraz-ı dâhili kanunu*”) in 1918, Köprülüzâde immediately published an article on it in the mouthpiece of the CUP, *Tanin*. In compliance with the government propaganda aiming to encourage the Ottomans to buy treasury bonds, he sought to explain in his piece the importance of this implementation for the ‘national economy’. As the title of his article ‘*Milli Vazife*’ (National Duty) indicates, he emphasized that it was a patriotic and moral duty for every Turk to support the Turkish economy, and invited the people to invest their savings in treasury bonds in order to help their country.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ For an example, see Refik Halid Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab* (İstanbul: İnkılâp Yayınevi, 2009), 49–51. See also Yahya Kemal, *Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler*, 13–16; Köprülü, ‘Ziya Gökalp’e Ait Bazı Hatıralar,’ xxiii.

⁷⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Milli Vazife,’ *Tanin*, no. 3385 (Şaban 2, 1336/May 13, 1918): 3. For further information on the Domestic Borrowing Law and campaign, see Zafer Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi: Savaş Ekonomisi ve Türkiye’de Devletçilik (1914-1918)* (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2003), 117–126; François Georgeon, ‘Le premier emprunt intérieur ottoman (mai-juin 1918),’ in *Mémorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan*, ed. Robert Mantran (Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1980), 101–117.

As a matter of fact, at a time when the Ottoman Empire was engaged in a life-or-death struggle and the Ottomans were experiencing the traumatic years of the World War, Köprülüzâde's political activism was surely not surprising. The horrific events of the War and extraordinary political circumstances made it almost impossible for any intellectual or academic to stay out of the daily politics and national mobilization. In the case of Köprülüzâde, whose nationalist dedication antedated his introduction to the *métier d'historien*, and who was deeply troubled by the disastrous course of the War, it was out of the question that he would solely focus on his academic pursuits. Thus, along with his scholarly activities, which arose and flourished as part and parcel of his nationalist stance, he took a very close interest in political developments during the War and strenuously supported the policies of the CUP. This unquestioning support further increased over time and reached such a degree that he even took on a mission in the Ottoman Special Organization (*Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*), an unconventional warfare organization mainly tasked with intelligence gathering, espionage, propaganda, and guerrilla operations. Although the position was rather symbolic and did not have any significance in practice, he was appointed as the honorary director of the Eastern Branch of this semi-secret and strategic organization at the height of the World War, demonstrating in and of itself the extent of his relationship with and commitment to the CUP.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ As might perhaps be expected, neither Köprülüzâde nor any of his relatives, friends or students later talked about this appointment because of the disrepute of the Special Organization gained in time. As a matter of fact, there is only one source that informs us about Köprülüzâde's involvement in this organization, which is a document housed at the ATASE archive (The Archive of Turkish General Staff Directorate of Military History and Strategic Studies). It must be noted that due to the lack of any other sources as well as the semi-secret character of the Special Organization, the details of Köprülüzâde's role and activities in this organization is still obscure. Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude to my friend Polat Safi for delivering this ATASE document to me. See ATASE.BDH.1846.79.13/6. For two comprehensive studies on the Ottoman Special Organization that also mentioned the affiliation of Köprülüzâde to the organization by basing on this document, see Polat Safi, 'The Ottoman Special Organization-Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa: An Inquiry into Its Operational and Administrative Characteristics' (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2012), 313, 316–317. Ahmet Tetik, *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa (Umûr-ı Şarkıyye Dairesi) Tarihi: 1914-1916* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası

Despite all the catastrophes, anxieties, and political activism of the War years, Köprülüzâde nevertheless stuck strictly to his primary mission and maintained his academic studies. Besides teaching at the University during the World War, he continued to research Turkish literary history, mainly seeking to improve the framework he had recently begun to build in his aforementioned articles. Furthermore, he also played an important role in the establishment of a new official historical society: the *Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni* (The Research Society for the Islamic and National Works, hereafter RSIN), which was founded partly as an alternative to the OHS by the initiatives of the Unionist intellectuals and historians in 1915.

One remarkable anecdote recounted by Köprülüzâde concerning the foundation process of the RSIN is worthy of note in terms of reflecting the two-pronged character of the Young Turk regime strategy during the first years of the World War. As Köprülüzâde later mentioned, when the establishment of this historical association came to the fore, the founders initially decided to name it *Türkiyât Encümeni* (The Society for Turkology) in line with their nationalist perspective.⁸⁰

The official authorities, nonetheless, had to consider the common ideological framework that was expected to provide the loyalty and allegiance of all Muslim, and particularly the Arab, inhabitants of the country. Therefore, although the task of building a Turkish nation in the Anatolian part of the empire was one of the primary priorities of the Unionists, they were also careful about not taking any official steps

Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 25. For further information on the Ottoman Special Organization, see also Polat Safi, 'History in the Trench: The Ottoman Special Organization-Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa Literature,' *Middle Eastern Studies* 48, no. 1 (2012): 89–106. Yücel Yiğit, 'The Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa and World War I,' *Middle East Critique* 23, no. 2 (2014): 157–174.

⁸⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Müstakil İlim ve Sanat Müesseselerimiz,' *Hayat* 1, no. 19 (April 7, 1927): 1.

that could damage the desired alliance between the Turks and the Arabs. Accordingly, contrary to the foundation of other Turkist associations like the *Türk Ocağı* and *Türk Yurdu*, which had been established as non-governmental organizations though they received some official encouragement, the new society could not embrace, at least officially, an overt Turkish nationalist appearance. In connection with this, the grand vizier Said Halim Pasha, who was one of the leading spokesmen of the Islamist faction of the CUP and appointed to the post mostly to appease Arab/Islamic sentiment in the empire, severely objected to the name *Türkiyât Encümeni* due to the nationalist connotations it carried.⁸¹ The founders of the society thus renounced their earlier decision and settled on another name, which referred to Islam and was thereby more compatible with the Young Turk regime strategy at the time.

Whatever the implications of its formal name, the primary motivation lying behind the establishment of the RSIN was unequivocally Turkish nationalism. After a period of preparation, the society was officially founded in March 1915 with the strong support of the CUP and under the auspices of the Ministry of Education.⁸² The Unionist Minister of Education, Ahmed Şükrü (Bayındır), undertook the chairmanship of the association, and eminent nationalist intellectuals as Gökâlp and Ağaoğlu were elected to its board of directors.⁸³ Köprülüzâde, in addition, was appointed as the secretary general of the society, whose other members were

⁸¹ Ibid. See also Selim Aslantaş, 'II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Türkçü Tarih Anlayışının Bir Sözcüsü Olarak Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası' (MA diss., Hacettepe University, 1998), 20.

⁸² BOA. İ.MMS. 195/4. 1333.Ca.5. See also Mustafa Göleç, 'Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Tarih Politikaları (1876-1930)' (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2010), 156–157.

⁸³ It should be mentioned that the first chairman of the RSIN was Ali Emirî Efendi. However, he resigned from the society just after its establishment presumably because of his disagreements with the other members of the RSIN. See Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni, 'Talimatnâme,' *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (March–April 1331 [1915]): 190–191. See also Oral, *Türkiye'de Romantik Tarihçilik*, 114–116.

Hüseyinzâde Ali, Şemseddin (Günaltay), Halim Sâbit (Şibay), Yusuf Kemal (Tengirşenk), and Mustafa Şeref (Özkan).⁸⁴ Besides them, some nationalist members of the OHS as Necip Asım and Mehmed Arif were subsequently accepted to membership of the RSIN.⁸⁵ It must also be noted here that there were not any non-Muslim intellectuals or historians among the members of the association, in contrast to the earlier pluralist composition of the OHS. As stated in its rules and regulations, the full membership of the society was only open to the Muslim citizens of the country, revealing once again what the Unionists imagined the empire's legitimate identity to be during the World War I.⁸⁶

Needless to say, the *raison d'être* of the RSIN was giving substance to this 'legitimate identity' through the exploration of 'national history'. The society, in this context, defined its aim as researching the national past and the evolution of Turkish social, political, and cultural institutions.⁸⁷ In order to present the fruits of this research, the RSIN soon decided to issue a bimonthly periodical and gave its directorship to the promising Unionist historian, Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad.⁸⁸ Within a few months, the *Milli Tettebular Mecmuası* (Journal of National Studies, hereafter JNS) appeared as one of the most ambitious historical projects of the nationalist intelligentsia during the 1910s. In the same vein as the previous

⁸⁴ BOA. MF.MKT. 1225/87. 1335.7.17; Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni, 'Talimatnâme,' 190–191. See also Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, 169–170.

⁸⁵ 'Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni,' *Milli Tettebular Mecmuası*, no. 4, 191.

⁸⁶ Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti, 'Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni Talimatnâmesi,' *Milli Tettebular Mecmuası* 1, no. 2 (May–June 1331 [1915]): 383. See also Aslantaş, 'Milli Tettebular Mecmuası' 20–21; Sönmez, 'Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken: Türkiye'de Tarih yazımı Üzerine Notlar,' 67.

⁸⁷ Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti, 'Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni Talimatnâmesi,' 381.

⁸⁸ Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni, 'Talimatnâme,' 189–191. See also Aykut Kazancıgil and Ayhan Vergili, 'Milli Tettebular Mecmuası (1331-1915): Bir Devlet Mecmuası,' *Müteferrika*, no. 27 (2005): 139–142.

nationalist historiographical efforts, the JNS sought to contribute to the construction of a national historical narrative extending from antiquity to the modern era. Nevertheless, the new journal was much more meticulous about the methodological principles and academic standards of historical scholarship than other nationalist publications. It was clearly stated in the regulations of the society that the JNS would only publish articles based on historical documents and old records.⁸⁹ By the same token, the journal made a special point of printing the historical accounts and source materials on Turkish history for the ‘scientific’ study of ‘national past’.⁹⁰ Moreover, the JNS gave a considerable place in its pages to the methodological debates and review articles. In these criticisms and reviews, mostly written by Köprülüzâde, the authors sought to point out the shortcomings of recent publications, correct the errors of critical editions, and dwelt widely on the contemporary norms of historical scholarship, all of which served to the consolidation of disciplinary standards in Ottoman-Turkish historiography.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti, ‘Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni Talimatnâmesi,’ 381.

⁹⁰ See [Babur Şah], ‘Risâle-i Validiye Tercümesi,’ ed. Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 1, 113–124; idem, ‘Babur Şah’ın Şiirleri [I],’ ed. Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 2, 235–256; idem, ‘Babur Şah’ın Şiirleri [II],’ ed. Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 3 (July–August 1331 [1915]): 464–480; idem, ‘Babur Şah’ın Şiirleri [III],’ ed. Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani–Kanun-ı Evvel 1331 [1915]): 307–336; ‘Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri [I],’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 1, 49–112; ‘Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri [II],’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 2, 305–348; ‘Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri [III],’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 3, 497–544; [Niksarizâde Mehmed Efendi], ‘Nefsü’l-Emirname,’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 3, 571–576; Celâleddin Devvânî, ‘Arzname,’ ed. Kilisli Rifat, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 5, 273–305; ‘Hadîs-i Erbaîn Tercümeleri,’ ed. Necip Asım, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 4, 143–165; [Muhammed b. Muhammed el-Hüseynî el-Yezdî], ‘el-Urâza fi’l-Hikâyeti’s-Selçûkiyye [I],’ ed. Karl Süsseim, trans. Şerafeddin, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 2, 257–304; [Muhammed b. Muhammed el-Hüseynî el-Yezdî], ‘el-Urâza fi’l-Hikâyeti’s-Selçûkiyye [II],’ ed. Karl Süsseim, trans. Şerafeddin, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 3, 481–496; [Muhammed b. Muhammed el-Hüseynî el-Yezdî], ‘el-Urâza fi’l-Hikâyeti’s-Selçûkiyye [III],’ ed. Karl Süsseim, trans. Şerafeddin, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 5, 241–272.

⁹¹ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Kitabiyat Tenkitleri: Acâib’ül-Letâif,’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 5, 351–368; idem, ‘Kitabiyat Tenkitleri: Hibetü’l-Hakâyik,’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 5, 369–380; M. F. [Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad], ‘Yeni Neşriyat: Divân-ı Lugatî’t-Türk,’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 5, 381–383; A. [Mehmed Arif], ‘Kitabiyat: Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi,’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 4, 171–190.

It is safe to say that the RSIN did not take a self-enclosed stance toward the international academic circles. Although the full membership of the society was available only to the Muslim residents of the Ottoman Empire, the RSIN granted honorary membership to many Western orientalists, including Karl Süssheim, Friedrich Giese, and Vilhelm Thomsen.⁹² Furthermore, the journal of the association welcomed the contributions of Western scholars as well as often published the works of significant Turkologists and orientalists, among them Wilhelm Barthold, Edgar Blochet, Thúry József and Martin Hartmann.⁹³ These publications, however, were not free of nationalistically motivated interventions and commentaries. To name an example, while translating Blochet's 1898 article '*Études sur l'histoire religieuse de l'Iran: De l'influence de la religion mazdéenne sur les croyances des peuples turcs*', Köprülüzâde did not hesitate to annotate it frequently. In these annotations, he tried to rectify some of the interpretations of Blochet that implied Persian or Arabic superiority over Turkish culture, and thus contradicted with the historical narrative he was seeking to establish.⁹⁴

⁹² The other European honorary members of the society were Albert von Le Coq, Ignác Kúnos, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller, Julius von Mészáros, Johannes H. Mordtmann, and Martin Hartmann. There were also some Ottoman honorary members of the society too, such as Halil Edhem (Eldem), Veled Çelebi, Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, Ahmed Tevhid (Ulusoy), Ahmed Cevdet, and Kemaleddin Bey. See '*Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni*,' 191; '*Tashih ve İtizâr*,' *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 4, 191.

⁹³ See Edgar Blochet, 'Mazdeizmin Türk Kavimlerinin İtikatları Üzerindeki Tesiri,' trans. Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 1, 125–161; V. Barthold, 'Avrupa ve Rusya'da Şarkî Tettebbu Tarihi I,' trans. Ragıp Hulusi, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 1, 163–186; idem, 'Avrupa ve Rusya'da Şarkî Tettebbu Tarihi II-III,' trans. Ragıp Hulusi, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 2, 349–380; idem, 'Avrupa ve Rusya'da Şarkî Tettebbu Tarihi IV-V,' trans. Ragıp Hulusi, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 3, 545–570; idem, 'Avrupa ve Rusya'da Şarkî Tettebbu Tarihi VI,' trans. Ragıp Hulusi, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 5, 343–349; Thúry József, 'Orta Asya Türkçesi Üzerine Tetkikler,' trans. Ragıp Hulusi, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 2, 207–233; idem, 'On Dördüncü Asır Sonlarına Kadar Türk Dili Yadigârları,' trans. Ragıp Hulusi, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 4, 81–133; Martin Hartmann, 'Divân-ı Lugatî't-Türk'e Ait Birkaç Mülâhaza,' *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 4, 167–170.

⁹⁴ For some examples, see Blochet, 'Mazdeizmin Türk Kavimlerinin İtikatları Üzerindeki Tesiri,' 128, 131–132, 144, 145, 147, 149–150, 152, 154–157.

It should be emphasized that Köprülüzâde's attempt to refute the 'biased' orientalist views regarding Turkish history was not a desultory effort. Quite to the contrary, disproving the prejudiced arguments of Western historiography was one of the main objectives of the nationalist intellectuals in general, and the JNS in particular. Raûf Yektâ's article, in this respect, entitled '*Eski Türk Musikisine Dair Tarihi Tetebbular*' (Historical Researches on Old Turkish Music), represents a remarkable expression of this purpose. Focusing on the origins and historical evolution of Turkish music, Raûf Yektâ sought in his essay to confute a central component of the orientalist theses that not only identified the Turks with cultural backwardness but also reduced them to simple imitators of other nations' social institutions and intellectual practices. After summarizing the assertions of Western music historians like Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, who regarded Turkish music as a mere imitation of Arabo-Persian styles, Raûf Yektâ sharply criticized the defenders of these views for ignoring the 'authenticity' of Turkish culture. As a typical nationalist, he strove to demonstrate how the Turks had all the civilized features that other nations possessed, underlining the creativity and achievements of his nation in cultural and especially musical fields. According to him, the Turks had always placed a high importance on fine arts, dealt widely with music and other forms of cultural expression, and even created some musical instruments specific to themselves. Consequently, he concluded, far from being an imitation or adaptation, Turkish music was a perfect reflection of the artistic ability and aesthetic personality of this 'great' nation.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Raûf Yektâ, 'Eski Türk Musikisine Dair Tarihi Tetebbular I: Kökler,' *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası*, no. 3, 457–463; idem, 'Eski Türk Musikisine Dair Tarihi Tetebbular II: Türk Sazları,' *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası*, no. 4, 135–141; idem, 'Eski Türk Musikisine Dair Tarihi Tetebbular III: Türk Sazları,' *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası*, no. 5, 233–239.

In order to reveal the personality and history of this ‘great nation’ in a more conceptual manner, Ziya Gökalp endeavored to establish a methodological framework in the journal. He successively published two articles in the second and third issues of the JNS, one relatively theoretical and the other more empirical: ‘*Bir Kavmin Tedkikinde Takip Olunacak Usûl*’ (The Method To Be Followed in the Research of a Nation) and ‘*Eski Türklerde İctimai Teşkilat ile Mantıkî Tasnifler Arasında Tenazur*’ (The Symmetry Between the Social Organizations and the Logical Classifications among the Old Turks).⁹⁶ It can be argued that these two pieces in combination had a programmatic character, providing a guideline for the analysis of Turkish history through the reconstruction of its political and socio-cultural evolution.⁹⁷ What Gökalp particularly strove for while making this reconstruction was to identify the historical stages that the Turkish nation has passed through and to ascertain its current level of development and future direction. To this end, he proposed a classification scheme for societies by drawing largely from Émile Durkheim’s 1893 book *De la division du travail social* as well as the Durkheimian journal *L’Année sociologique*. Briefly summarized, Gökalp first made a distinction between the clan-based ‘peuples primitifs’ (*ibtidai kavimler*) and ‘nations’ (*milletler*) in his classification.⁹⁸ Then, he categorized the former into four different groups depending mainly on the degree of their division of labor. And lastly, he classified nations by grouping them under the headings of ‘nations théocratiques’ (*imamî milletler*), ‘nations législatives’ (*teşriî milletler*), ‘nations culturelles’ (*harsî*

⁹⁶ Ziya Gökalp, ‘Bir Kavmin Tedkikinde Takip Olunacak Usûl,’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 2, 193–205; idem, ‘Eski Türklerde İctimai Teşkilat ile Mantıkî Tasnifler Arasında Tenazur,’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası*, no. 3, 385–456.

⁹⁷ Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 164–165.

⁹⁸ Ziya Gökalp, ‘Bir Kavmin Tedkikinde Takip Olunacak Usûl,’ 198–199; idem, ‘Eski Türklerde İctimai Teşkilat ile Mantıkî Tasnifler Arasında Tenazur,’ 386–393.

milletler), and the ‘nations that had lost their independence’ (*istiklâlini kaybetmiş milletler*).⁹⁹

Although this classification scheme seems a bit superficial and unsystematic at first glance, it nevertheless formed the basis of the fundamental blueprint that would be used in the periodization of Turkish history. Adhering to the Durkheimian frame of reference which he employed in his aforementioned articles, Gökalp a few years later refined his initial outline and made a more detailed classification. He, once again, drew a sharp distinction between the category ‘nation’ and other forms of social organization, which he listed, from complex to simple, as follows: the religious community (‘*ümme*’), ethnies (‘*kavim*’), and tribe (‘*aşire*’).¹⁰⁰ According to him, while the members of these latter three groups were connected to each other only with a single bond, such as the same religion or ethnic origin; the nation, on the contrary, was a collectivity of individuals who shared many common characteristics. Thus, for Gökalp, the transformation of a social body into a nation was predicated on the condition that its members would acquire a set of common features in the course of their political and socio-cultural evolution, including the same language, religion, culture, education, morality, and ideals.¹⁰¹ Besides delineating the duties and responsibilities of the nationalist intelligentsia in the ongoing nation-building process, these definitions and classification also provided a point of reference for determining the main periods of the ‘national past’. In compliance with his

⁹⁹ Ziya Gökalp, ‘Bir Kavmin Tedkikinde Takip Olunacak Usûl,’ 199–205.

¹⁰⁰ Ziya Gökalp, ‘Millet Nedir?’, *İçtimaiyat Mecmuası*, no. 3 (June 1333 [1917]): 148–155; idem, ‘Millet Nedir?’, *Küçük Mecmua*, no. 28 (Kanun-ı Evvel 25, 1338/Cemâziyelevvel 6, 1341 [1922]): 1–6; idem, ‘Mükâfat ve Mücazat Meselesine Dair Birkaç Söz Daha,’ *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 38 (April 4, 1918): 222–225.

¹⁰¹ Ziya Gökalp, ‘Millet Nedir?’, *İçtimaiyat Mecmuası*, 150–154; idem, ‘Millet Nedir?’, *Küçük Mecmua*, 2–5.

evolutionary categorization scheme—and in a manner highly reminiscent of the traditional tripartite periodization of European history into ancient, medieval, and modern periods—Gökalp divided Turkish history into three ages: the pre-Islamic, Islamic, and contemporary. According to this model, which would soon become the most widely used periodization schema in Turkish historiography, the Turks were an ‘ethnie’ or ethnic group living in Central Asia during the first period of their history. Then, they entered the milieu of ‘Islamic civilization’, adopted Islam, and became a religious community, marking the beginning of the second period of Turkish history. Lastly, their transformation from a ‘religious community’ to a ‘modern nation’ characterized the third and final era of this ‘national history’.¹⁰²

While Gökalp was theoretically defining the stages and epochs of Turkish history, it was the young editor of the JNS who established the continuities and connections between these periods in a diligent manner. It would not be an exaggeration to state that Köprülüzâde took on the directorship of the journal with enthusiasm and devoted most of his efforts to its improvement during the early years of the World War.

Along with his numerous minor contributions such as reviews and translations, he also wrote three major articles for the JNS on what he called the ‘history of Turkish civilization and culture’. Considering his primary field of study and previous writings, it is not surprising that Köprülüzâde sought to construct a narrative of continuity through literary history in the first two articles, entitled ‘*Türk Edebiyatının Menşei*’ (The Origins of Turkish Literature) and ‘*Türk Edebiyatında Âşık Tarzının Menşei ve Tekâmülü Hakkında Bir Tecrübe*’ (An Essay on the Origin and Evolution

¹⁰² Ziya Gökalp, ‘Millet Nedir?’, *İctimaiyat Mecmuası*, 149–154; idem, ‘Millet Nedir?’, *Küçük Mecmua*, 2–4; idem, ‘Milli Terbiye IV,’ *Muallim*, no. 4 (Teşrin-i Evvel 15, 1332 [1916]): 97–102. See also Heyd, *The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*, 59–60, 62–63, 159–160; Özkırımlı and Sofos, *Tormented by History*, 35–36, 90.

of the Minstrel Style in Turkish Literature).¹⁰³ As might be expected, the main lines of this narrative contained typical features of nationalist historiography. He, in this respect, placed the origins of his nation in the most distant past, searched the roots of Turkish literature within the social life of this primordial and so-called ‘national’ community, and repeatedly emphasized the authentic, pure, and heartfelt character of ancient ‘Turkish’ poetry.¹⁰⁴

Apart from, and more importantly than, these ideologically motivated assumptions and emphases, however, Köprülüzâde’s narrative developed new perspectives beyond the accustomed rhetoric of nationalist historiography. For one thing, his placement of the origins of Turkish literature in the social life of the ancient Turkish people was a significant innovation in itself. By this means, he created a firm foothold against the mainstream literary historiography of the day that was solely focused on the literature of the elite. In other words, his endeavor to situate Turkish literary history within its social context served to broaden both the content of the concept of literature and the scope of the field dealing with its history. Accordingly, such previously neglected or underestimated issues as ‘folk poetry’ and ‘minstrel style’ became for the first time the subject of Turkish literary history, the major agents of which, for Köprülüzâde, were the ‘*qopuz* players’ of Central Asia, ‘dervish poets’ of Khorasan, and ‘mystics’ of Anatolia.

¹⁰³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatında Âşık Tarzının Menşe ve Tekâmülü Hakkında Bir Tecrübe,’ *Milli Tettebular Mecmuası*, no. 1, 5–46; idem, ‘Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,’ *Milli Tettebular Mecmuası*, no. 4, 5–78. It must be noted that the former piece was a revised compilation of his eleven-part article series published in the newspaper *İkdam* in 1914. See footnote 73.

¹⁰⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,’ 12–13, 70. Needless to say, Köprülüzâde maintained this perspective and underlined the authentic and pure character of ancient ‘Turkish’ literature in his future studies as well. For some examples, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi: Anadolu İstilasına Kadar Türkler* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhanesi, 1923), 48–51; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 77–78.

As the keywords like ‘mystics’ and ‘dervish poets’ indicate, another crucial contribution that his narrative made in the interpretation of Turkish history was the establishment of the link between the literary and religious pasts of the ‘nation’. In framing and explaining this relationship, Köprülüzâde drew heavily on contemporary European (i.e., French) historical, sociological and religious studies, particularly Durkheim’s 1912 work *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*.¹⁰⁵ Wholly adopting the argument propounded in this book that religion was the *fons et origo* of all social phenomena, Köprülüzâde tried to demonstrate how the genesis and evolution of Turkish literature was closely connected with the religious past of the Turkish people. To put it more bluntly, in accordance with the Durkheimian view that all creative intellectual practices, including art and literature, had in fact their origins in religion, Köprülüzâde underlined the religious character of Turkish literature in its earliest phases.¹⁰⁶ He thus presented the first Turkish poets as purely religious figures who held a highly esteemed place in society. According to him, these poets were acting both as priests, healers, magicians, and fortune-tellers in the ‘shamanistic’ and ‘totemistic’ Turkish societies in which the division of labor had

¹⁰⁵ As one can easily notice from the studies that Gökalp and Köprülüzâde drew on, Durkheim was one of the main intellectual sources of the nationalist intelligentsia during these years. It would not be an exaggeration to state that Durkheim’s impact on Turkish intellectuals has received a lot of scholarly attention up to now, and a good deal of research has already been done on this issue. Therefore, instead of specifically focusing on this much-discussed subject, I would rather confine myself to pointing out the reflections of Durkheim’s works in Köprülüzâde’s studies. For some significant studies focusing on Durkheim’s impact on Turkish intellectuals during the late Ottoman and early republican periods, see Davison, *Secularism and Revivalism in Turkey*, 90–133; Said Amir Arjomand, ‘À la Recherche de la Conscience Collective: Durkheim’s Ideological Impact in Turkey and Iran,’ *The American Sociologist* 17, no. 2 (1982): 94–102; Türkay Salim Nefes, ‘Ziya Gökalp’s Adaptation of Emile Durkheim’s Sociology in his Formulation of the Modern Turkish Nation,’ *International Sociology* 28, no. 3 (2013): 335–350; Hilmi Ozan Özavcı, ‘Differing Interpretations of la conscience collective and “the Individual” in Turkey: Émile Durkheim and the Intellectual Origins of the Republic,’ *Journal of the History of Ideas* 75, no. 1 (2014): 113–136; M. Sait Özervarlı, ‘Reading Durkheim through Ottoman Lenses: Interpretations of Customary Law, Religion, and Society by the School of Gökalp,’ *Modern Intellectual History* 14, no. 2 (August 2017): 393–419.

¹⁰⁶ Émile Durkheim, *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse: Le Système Totémique en Australie* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1912), 12–28, 238–342, 593–638. See also É[mile] D[urkheim], ‘Lévy-Bruhl—Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures [et] Durkheim (Émile)—Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse,’ *L’Année Sociologique* XII (1909-1912/1913): 33–37.

not yet taken place. In connection with the absence of social division of labor and functional differentiation, the songs and poems of these priest-poets, who were called *shamans*, *baksıs* or *kams* among various Central Asian communities, were appealing to all people in the ancient Turkish society.¹⁰⁷ That is to say, their poems and songs, which also were the first examples of Turkish music and oral literature, reflected the ‘feelings, thoughts and literary taste of the entire nation, from the simplest person to the *khan*’. Last but not least, early Turkish poets composed their poems in the supposedly ‘national metrical system of the Turks’, i.e., ‘syllabic meter’, and sang them accompanied by ‘the oldest Turkish musical instrument’, *qopuz*.¹⁰⁸

It must be noted here that these theses lacked any historical and empirical documentation. Köprülüzâde instead based his aforementioned arguments on retrospective assumptions and theoretical models developed by Durkheim and other Western scholars. His assessments on ancient Turkish religion and religious life, for instance, were derived mostly from contemporary sociological and anthropological theories about ‘primitive’ belief systems. In other words, while he was associating pre-Islamic Turkish religion and culture with shamanism or totemism, he—at least in 1915—did not rely on any historical evidence or data, but rather on the late-

¹⁰⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,’ 6–8, 11–14. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Din Edebiyatı: Türklerde Dini Edebiyat,’ *İslam Mecmuası*, no. 2 ([1914]): 44–52; idem, ‘Din Edebiyatı: İslamiyetten Evvel,’ *İslam Mecmuası*, no. 6 ([1914]): 173–177; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 77–79, 95–96; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 49–50; idem, ‘Bahşı,’ in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944), 235–237; Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 187–189; Taştan, ‘Mehmed Fuad Köprülü: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Eserleri,’ 69–72.

¹⁰⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,’ 57–58, 62–65, 74–76. For similar descriptions, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Milli Edebiyat,’ 6; idem, ‘Din Edebiyatı: Türklerde Dini Edebiyat,’ 45–51; idem, ‘Din Edebiyatı: İslamiyetten Evvel,’ 173–177; idem, ‘Bir Medeniyet Zümresine Mensup Edebiyatlarda Müşterek Kıymetler: Şekil,’ *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 4 (August 2, 1917): 66–67; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 50–53; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 95–96; idem, ‘Meddahlar: Türklerde Halk Hikayeciliği Tarihine Ait Bazı Maddeler,’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1, (August 1925): 2–3; idem, ‘Arûz,’ in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, 643–644.

nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century anthropological and ethnographic studies that focused on clan-based tribal societies like the Australian Aborigines.¹⁰⁹

Besides adapting the general—but sometimes specific—conclusions of these works to Turkish history, Köprülüzâde also resorted to retrospective and speculative assumptions in constructing his narrative. More precisely, he regarded and used certain nineteenth- and twentieth-century Central Asian Turkic communities as his direct model for understanding the ancient Turkish peoples, and projected their socio-cultural, religious and literary lives back onto the ancient Turkish past. Giving many examples from the rites, oral literature, and musical instruments of the twentieth-century Kyrgyzs, Yakuts, and Altaïs, he asserted, without relying on any supportive historical evidence, that ‘almost’ all their cultural, religious, and literary traditions had ‘presumably’ hailed from the ancient Turks. Therefore, he stated, it was quite reasonable to describe the religious and literary features of the ancient Turks on the basis and in the light of these Turkic societies’ living in isolated conditions. Needless to say, he gradually dropped such cautious expressions as ‘almost’ and ‘presumably’, and thus further solidified, and even absolutized, the identification he established between the ancient and contemporary ‘Turkish’ peoples.¹¹⁰

Although this methodology seems somewhat contradictory with Köprülüzâde’s earlier methodological prescriptions and explanations, it nevertheless represented a significant break in the Turkish nationalist historiography of the time. His attempt to

¹⁰⁹ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,’ 5–17.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 12–14, 19–21, 63–64. For some other examples of this approach, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 52–55; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 21–27, 78–86; idem, ‘Arûz,’ 643–644; idem, ‘Dede Korkut Kitabına Ait Notlar III: Ozan,’ *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi* 1, no. 3 (March 1932): 139–140.

base his historical arguments on social scientific theories and theoretical models, for one thing, was an important methodological step forward compared to the works of other nationalist historians. In this way, contrary to the latter, who mostly repeated or summarized the findings of Western Turkologists on ancient Turkish history, he laid the foundations of a more contextualized and original narrative concerning this elusive era. Moreover, his concentration on the recent anthropological and ethnographic studies as well as on contemporary Central Asian Turkic communities was intended to create a systematic basis for exploring the cultural, religious and literary traditions of the ancient Turks. Even though his solidification of the hypothetical identification between the ancient and contemporary Turks marks a serious methodological problem, these ethnographic studies and Turkic communities nonetheless provided him a scholarly framework for placing his analysis of the pre-Islamic Turkish past within its epistemological and historical context. Hence, rather than presenting his theses through a direct political discourse, he constructed and explained them with reference to this particular framework, making his account academically more persuasive and sophisticated.

In the continuation of his account, Köprülüzâde moved his focus from the origins of Turkish literature to its subsequent historical evolution. While examining this process, he once again resorted to a concept extensively cultivated by Durkheim, and made the notion of ‘social division of labor’ the cornerstone of his analysis.

According to this analysis, the emergence of the ‘*division du travail*’ in pre-Islamic Turkish societies deeply affected both the course of Turkish literature and the social status of the ancient *kams* or *baksıs*. First of all, Köprülüzâde stated, the multiple social functions of the old Turkish poets began to disappear with the establishment of a basic form of occupational specialization in society. Consequently, ‘the *kams* or

baksıs [...] gradually withdrew from [...] their social roles as priests, healers, and fortune-tellers, [...] most of which were now [...] taken over by persons who specifically specialized in these fields'.¹¹¹ Secondly, and more significantly, Köprülüzâde stressed, the advance of the division of labor triggered a momentous socio-economic process that led directly to the diversification of Turkish literature. 'Due to the rise of social stratification', he acutely noted, 'there emerged [...] not only [...] various social layers in society, [...] but also [...] various artistic and literary levels [...] appealing to these different layers'. That is to say, the social stratification brought about a differentiation in the aesthetic, artistic, and literary tastes of the notables and the masses, and thus created a cultural bifurcation in pre-Islamic Turkish societies. As a result of this bifurcation, he concluded, the old Turkish *kams* and *qopuz* players soon turned into ordinary poetasters in the eyes of the elites, who had already begun to support and provide patronage for the representatives of other literary forms and traditions which were mostly of foreign origin and considered to be more sophisticated.¹¹²

Despite all these social stratifications, cultural bifurcations, and the *kams*' falling out of favor with notables, however, neither the *kams* nor their literary creations disappeared from the lives and memories of the Turkish people, according to Köprülüzâde. Quite to the contrary, he asserted, their songs and poems continued for centuries to address and express the heartfelt feelings of the masses. 'Although [...] some cosmopolitan literary forms and currents [...] became increasingly popular

¹¹¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,' 7–8, 12, 20–21. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Edebiyatta Şahsiyet,' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 2 (July 19, 1917): 26; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 80–81; Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 188.

¹¹² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatında Âşık Tarzının Menşe ve Tekâmülü Hakkında Bir Tecrübe,' 35–36, 41–42, 43–44; idem, 'Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,' 7–9, 19–21. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Edebiyatta Şahsiyet,' 26; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 80–82; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 50.

among the elites over time’, he emphasized, ‘the vast majority of [...] the Turkish people [...] never embraced these styles and influences of foreign origin’. They instead ‘clung tenaciously to their old literary traditions [...] which were [...] born from the nation’s own spirit’. Even after the Turks’ adoption of Islam—i.e., at a time when the upper classes were completely fascinated by Arabo-Persian literary genres—the masses went on to satisfy their aesthetic-artistic needs with the ‘authentic’ poems of the folk poets and bards who mostly maintained the literary traditions of the ancient *baksıs* or *kams*. Therefore, Köprülüzâde argued, the pre-Islamic ‘national’ literary features, metrical system, and stringed instruments of the Turks had been well-preserved, and hence survived, for centuries among the people, or more precisely in their folk literature. ‘The *qopuz* players’, for instance, ‘sustained their existence [...] in the socio-cultural and literary life of [...] Anatolia and Rumelia’ until the seventeenth century. ‘Syllabic meter’, likewise, ‘was even [...] in the twentieth century [...] the major style in Turkish folk poetry’ through which the ‘minstrels, bards and [...] contemporary poets [...] have, down the ages, been expressing [...] the joys and sorrows of their nation’. As for the minstrels and folk poets, they were nothing else but the historical continuation of, or, to use his words, the ‘Islamized version of the old Turkish *kams* or *baksıs*’.¹¹³

Following these two articles in which Köprülüzâde sought to demonstrate the connections between the Central Asian and Anatolian Turkish literary traditions, he

¹¹³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatında Âşık Tarzının Menşe ve Tekâmülü Hakkında Bir Tecrübe,’ 10–11, 16–23, 25–26; idem, ‘Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,’ 12, 17, 21–22, 33–34, 61–63, 69–70. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Bir Medeniyet Zümresine Mensup Edebiyatlarda Müşterek Kıymetler: Esas,’ 85–86; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 49–52; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 80–81; idem, ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet: Türk İstilasından Sonra Anadolu Tarih-i Dinîsine Bir Nazar ve Bu Tarihin Menbaları [I],’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September 1338 [1922]): 288–289; idem, ‘Meddahlar: Türklerde Halk Hikâyeciliği Tarihine Ait Bazı Maddeler,’ 2–3, 5–7; idem, ‘Dede Korkut Kitabına Ait Notlar III: Ozan,’ 139–140; idem, ‘Arûz,’ 643–644; idem, ‘Bahşı,’ 237–238; idem, *Saz Şairleri I-V* (3rd ed.), (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2004), 23, 39–40.

published a third piece in the final issue of the JNS, entitled ‘*Selçukiler Zamanında Anadolu’da Türk Medeniyeti*’ (Turkish Civilization in Anatolia during the Seljuk Era).¹¹⁴ As its title indicates, in this work Köprülüzâde focused on a key period of the national past that was identified by the nationalist intelligentsia with the beginning and strengthening of Turkish presence in Anatolia.¹¹⁵ Considering his aim to prove the continuity of Turkish national culture from antiquity to the modern era, his concentration on Seljuk history was certainly not coincidental. The Seljuk State of Rum (or Anatolia), for him and other nationalist historians, was above all representing the main historical link between the Central Asian and Ottoman pasts of the Turks. Thus, according to Köprülüzâde, the Seljuk history was the most convenient era and field of the national past to trace how the old Turkish traditions and institutions had been transferred to Anatolia. Furthermore, it was also expected that the exploration of ‘Seljuk civilization’ would shed light on the origins of the Ottoman State and preclude the perception of the latter as a historically rootless and disconnected political entity.¹¹⁶

In line with this perspective, Köprülüzâde emphasized in his article the falsity of viewing the Ottoman principality as a completely new and isolated Bithynian phenomenon: ‘Contrary to the unfounded assumptions of [...] many historians’, he stated in a critical manner, ‘the Ottoman Empire [...] did not arise from [...] a tribe

¹¹⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Selçukiler Zamanında Anadolu’da Türk Medeniyeti,’ *Milli Tettebular Mecmuası*, no. 5, 193–232. It must be noted that this article was a revised version of his lecture notes of his ‘history of Turkish literature’ courses, which he taught at the Faculty of Literature. For a recent edition of these lecture notes, see Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi Ders Notları: Batı Türklerinde Edebiyat ve Tekâmül Şekli,’ in *Türk Edebiyatı Ders Notları*, ed. Yahya Kemal Taştan (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2015).

¹¹⁵ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Selçukiler Zamanında Anadolu’da Türk Medeniyeti,’ 193–197; idem, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi Ders Notları: Batı Türklerinde Edebiyat ve Tekâmül Şekli,’ 182, 186.

¹¹⁶ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Selçukiler Zamanında Anadolu’da Türk Medeniyeti,’ 193–194; idem, ‘Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi Ders Notları: Batı Türklerinde Edebiyat ve Tekâmül Şekli,’ 181; idem, ‘Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları,’ *Belleten* 7, no. 27 (July 1943): 379–385.

of four hundred tents'. Hence, he stressed, neither the political institutions nor the cultural traditions of the early Ottomans could be explained with reference to the social organization and practices of a 'nomadic or semi-nomadic tribe'. In his view, 'the Ottomans were [...] the heirs and successors of the Seljuks', and almost all early 'Ottoman administrative, legal, and socio-cultural [...] institutions had been taken from [...] this medieval Turkish sultanate'. Consequently, 'the roots of Ottoman social and political organization' should be sought within 'the Seljuk institutions and traditions'.¹¹⁷

Giving many examples from the Seljuk institutions, traditions and socio-cultural practices, then, Köprülüzâde tried to demonstrate that the Turks had indeed led a 'civilized' and 'flourishing' life at the time of the Seljuks of Anatolia. According to him, the Turks gradually abandoned their nomadic lives and settled throughout the peninsula during this era, acquiring new intellectual and material skills, decorating Anatolia with numerous mosques, madrasahs, and caravansaries, and spreading their national customs, culture and literature to the entire region.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the Seljuk Turks further developed their political-administrative apparatus in time, and brought the state organization 'to the highest degree of perfection'. To briefly summarize the main lines of this 'perfected organization', the Seljuk state 'was fundamentally of a military nature, just as all other Turkish sultanates and empires'. 'The state lands, divided into basic units, [...] called *iqtas*, [...] were granted to army commanders

¹¹⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Selçukîler Zamanında Anadolu'da Türk Medeniyeti,' 193–199. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Osmanlı Edebiyatının Başlangıcı,' *Yeni Mecmua* 3, no. 57 (August 15, 1918): 85–88; idem, 'Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi Ders Notları: Batı Türklerinde Edebiyat ve Tekâmül Şekli,' 182–186; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1959), xxii–xxv, 10–11; idem, 'Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları,' 379–385.

¹¹⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Selçukîler Zamanında Anadolu'da Türk Medeniyeti,' 195–197. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Edebiyatımızda Milliyet Hissi,' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 20 (July 10, 1329 [1913]): 672–674; idem, 'Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi Ders Notları: Batı Türklerinde Edebiyat ve Tekâmül Şekli,' 183–187.

and cavalrymen in return for their military services'. Along with their wartime duties, 'these commanders and cavalrymen [...] had also several administrative tasks'. Being the foremost representatives of the Seljuk authority in the countryside, they were responsible for the protection of people living in their regions and the maintenance of order in the province. As for the centre and central administration, the sultan's palace in Konya was the seat of the Seljuk government. Apart from the sultan, there were a number of viziers, high officials and clerks in the palace who were tasked with conducting the internal, financial and foreign affairs. While conducting these affairs, 'the sultan and his advisors [...] always took great care to conform to [...] the old Oghuz custom and [...] national traditions [...] that had been brought from Central Asia'. Likewise, 'the sultans and statesmen [...] were also strongly attached to [...] Islamic law and conventions'. Furthermore, 'the Seljuk Turks borrowed some [...] administrative institutions and [...] practices from [...] other medieval Islamic states'. Nevertheless, 'the essential element that gave its character to the state apparatus' was undoubtedly 'Turkishness'.¹¹⁹ Needless to say, the existence of any non-Turkish or non-Islamic influence on 'Seljuk civilization' was purposefully kept out of the picture by Köprülüzâde.

4. 4 In Lieu of a Conclusion

In January 1918, the eminent German orientalist Martin Hartmann published a comprehensive review essay on *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* in one of the most

¹¹⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Selçukîler Zamanında Anadolu'da Türk Medeniyeti,' 197–210, 212–215, 220–223; idem, 'Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi Ders Notları: Batı Türklerinde Edebiyat ve Tekâmül Şekli,' 186–195, 199–200. See also M. Fuad Köprülü, 'Orta zaman Türk-İslâm Feodalizmi,' *Belleten* 5, no. 19 (July 1941): 325–333; idem, 'Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları,' 386, 401–409, 413–420.

reputable academic journals of the era, *Der Islam*. Being at the same time an honorary member of the historical association that issued the JNS, Hartmann aimed in his piece to inform the international scholarly community about this significant Turkology journal. He thus analyzed in detail the articles printed there, and spoke highly of the writers' scholarship and erudition.¹²⁰ As his review indicates, he was especially impressed by the work of one particular historian, who, according to Hartmann, could combine an unusual scientific ability with a sound methodology already at the early stages of his career. After praising this historian's analytical perspective, interdisciplinary approach, and way of explaining the past within its own context, Hartmann did not hesitate to characterize him as the leading scholar of Turkish history.¹²¹ This scholar mentioned by Hartmann was none other than Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad.

At the time Hartmann wrote this laudatory review, Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad had been a historian merely for five years. During these highly productive five years, he taught Turkish literary history at the university, served as the secretary general of the RSIN and *Türk Bilgi Derneği*, and managed one of the most important historical journals in the empire. Moreover, he published a good number of scholarly articles, the first ones of which were intended to create a valid methodological basis for the study of Turkish history. In his subsequent articles, as this chapter demonstrates, he attempted to construct a continuous story-line for the national past, from antiquity all the way to modern times. To this end, he discovered, and in some cases invented, the ancient Turkish traditions, and presented them as the 'uncorrupted essence' of

¹²⁰ Martin Hartmann, 'Die osmanische "Zeitschrift der Nationalen Forschungen" (Milli Tettebbüler),' *Der Islam: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients* 8 (1918): 304–326.

¹²¹ Hartmann, 'Die osmanische "Zeitschrift der Nationalen Forschungen" (Milli Tettebbüler),' 305–306, 309–312. See also, Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 165.

Turkishness. Besides establishing a direct connection between Central Asian and Anatolian social, cultural and literary traditions, he also traced the continuities in Turkish political institutions and organizations across ages. The striking point to be made here is that, Köprülüzâde had already linked the origins of Ottoman socio-political organization to the Seljuk and Central Asian Turkish institutions before the publication of Herbert Adams Gibbons' 1916 work *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*. That is to say, his theses on early Ottoman institutions and practices were first formulated in the 1910s with the aim of constructing a narrative of continuity for the national past, and strengthened in the following decades to refute the 'biased' orientalist views regarding Turkish history.

With all this in mind, it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that by the time Hartmann's piece came out, Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad had already established himself as one of the most important historians in the empire. As will be seen in the next chapter, he would soon justify Hartmann completely, and become indeed the leading scholar of Turkish history.

CHAPTER V

THE GRAND NARRATIVE OF KÖPRÜLÜZÂDE MEHMED FUAD: FROM CENTRAL ASIA TO ANATOLIA, FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE MODERN ERA

Roughly six years after the publication of Martin Hartmann's laudatory review essay, Köprülüâde Mehmed Fuad received an unexpected letter in December 1923 from Ankara, the capital city of the newly established Turkish Republic. This letter was a congratulatory note on the occasion of his recent book, *Türkiye Tarihi* (The History of Turkey), which was the fourth major historical work he published within these last six years. Although it was not essentially necessary, the author of the note, to whom Köprülüâde had sent a copy of his work a few weeks earlier, opted to dispatch a personal message to the latter in order to express his admiration and appreciation for the book, describing it as 'significant' and 'valuable'. Following these praiseful words, he stated that he was looking forward to see the publication of Köprülüâde's future scholarly studies, which, according to the former, would be a great service to the nation. Köprülüâde, in return, felt deeply 'thrilled' and 'elated' at the time he received the letter and later spoke of it as an 'eternal token of honor'. What made this

letter so exciting and special for him was certainly its author. It was written by the president of the new Republic of Turkey, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) himself.¹

It is safe to say that Köprülüzâde was not exaggerating his feelings and enthusiasm in his retrospective statements regarding this letter, which came at the end of an extremely turbulent and on the eve of a new era. Until he received the president's congratulatory note, it was still largely unclear what this new era would bring for him, especially considering that he had not taken any apparent political risks in support of the Ankara government during the years of the Armistice and War of Independence. Therefore, the letter first and foremost provided Köprülüzâde the sense of clarity and reassurance he needed. It, more precisely, showed him that he could establish a smooth relationship with the new political order and the ruling cadre, and his service to the emergent regime would be highly welcomed by the latter. Needless to say, the young poet of the Hamidian era who composed panegyric poems for the sultan, the active supporter of the CUP during the Second Constitutional Period, and the 'neutral' academic of 'Armistice Istanbul' would not miss out on this opportunity and once again manage to develop a direct and close connection with the power-holding elite.

Mustafa Kemal, for his part, had his own reasons for personally writing to Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad. Although this former Unionist historian did not show any decisive political stance during the National Struggle, his ideological disposition as a Turkish nationalist was clear, and it was almost in complete accord with the main ideological and political orientation of the regime Mustafa Kemal was planning to establish. Köprülüzâde, in addition, indicated his personal allegiance to Mustafa

¹ For the letter and a detailed narration of this event by Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, see Fuad Köprülü, 'Bir Hatıra,' *Belleten* 3, no. 10 (April 1939): 277–279.

Kemal through his astute and pragmatic move of sending his latest book to the latter, who had a special interest in history.² Moreover, and perhaps more strikingly, at the time when Mustafa Kemal decided to contact him, Köprülüzâde happened to be the only scholar in the whole country whose main occupation was history. All other historians, history-minded social scientists and —intellectuals of the Second Constitutional Period decided or were obliged to leave aside their scholarly and historical studies due to the extraordinary circumstances of the war and post-war years.

Ziya Gökalp, for instance, was arrested in early 1919 and exiled to Malta by the post-war Ottoman government. After his return to the country in 1921, he began to publish a journal entitled *Küçük Mecmua* (The Little Magazine), took part in certain cultural and educational commissions, and served as a deputy in the new parliament from 1923 onwards. Although he also resumed his sociological and historical studies, these were cut short because of his sudden death in October 1924.³ Ahmed Ağaoğlu and Yusuf Akçura devoted their full efforts during the World War to the salvation of Muslim peoples in Russia. They, for this purpose, founded a lobbying and

² One noteworthy expression of this special interest revealed itself in June 1923, when a committee representing the Faculty of Literature came to Ankara to present Mustafa Kemal with the title of ‘Honorary Professor of the Faculty of Literature’. During their visit, Mustafa Kemal told the committee that he had been closely interested in history since his childhood, and thus it would be more appropriate and meaningful to be named as an honorary professor of history, rather than of literature. Seeking to correct the misunderstanding, the committee explained that the title was issued on behalf of the faculty, rather than of a particular department, and that since the faculty was composed of the departments of history, geography, sociology, philosophy, and literature, the honorary professorship he received also covered the field of history. As one member of the committee, Şemseddin Günaltay, noted, Mustafa Kemal, then, expressed his appreciation for these explanations as well as the title; and, at the end of the meeting, he spoke them of his desire to work and collaborate with historians in the future. Contrary to what Günaltay thought at that moment, Kemal Pasha was not saying these out of courtesy or to pay them a compliment, as subsequent events would reveal. For further information, see Şemsettin Günaltay, ‘Atatürk’ün Tarihçiliği ve Fahri Profesörlüğü Hakkında Bir Hatıra,’ *Belleten*, no. 10, 273–274. See also Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 378–382; Emre Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 2: Cumhuriyet Döneminde Osmanlı Darülfünunu 1922-1933* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 95–97.

³ Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp*, 6–7, 14, 17; Heyd, *The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*, 36–39.

propaganda organization with other Russian-born émigrés in 1915, and embarked on a series of diplomatic visits on behalf of it to the capitals of the Central Powers.⁴ Later on, Ağaoğlu went in 1918 to Baku with the Ottoman army as its political advisor. He was elected to the Azerbaijani parliament and to the delegation that would represent the new Azerbaijani state at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. On his way to Paris, however, he was arrested and exiled to Malta. Upon his release two years later, he came to Ankara in 1921 and placed himself in the service of the nationalist movement. Besides serving as Kars deputy in the parliament, he was appointed to the Directorate-General of Press and Information (*Matbuat ve İstihbarat Umum Müdürlüğü*), managed the Anadolu Agency and the semi-official newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (National Sovereignty).⁵

As for Akçura, he took office at the Ottoman Red Crescent Society towards the end of the war, and once again went to Europe in 1917. After spending approximately one year in Germany, Denmark and Sweden, he relocated to Russia for another one year in order to deal with Ottoman prisoners of war held there. When he returned back to Istanbul in late 1919, he became involved in the establishment of a new political party, *Milli Türk Fırkası* (National Turkish Party), that aimed to support the burgeoning nationalist movement in Anatolia. Before too long, he left Istanbul to join the National Struggle, as did many other nationalist intellectuals. He established

⁴ Georgeon, *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc*, 78–80; Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the New Turkey*, 161–162.

⁵ H. Ozan Özavcı, *Intellectual Origins of the Republic: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the Genealogy of Liberalism in Turkey* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 86–87; Fahri Sakal, *Ağaoğlu Ahmed Bey* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), 26–30, 38–43. For Ağaoğlu's own narrative regarding his war and post-war activities, see Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Mütareke ve Sürgün Hatıraları*, eds. Ertan Eğribel and Ufuk Özcan (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2010), 47–163.

a close relationship with Mustafa Kemal, became a member of the parliament, and actively participated in efforts to build the new Turkish nation-state.⁶

Şemseddin (Günaltay) was another scholarly figure who was deeply immersed in political activity during these traumatic years. He assumed the vice presidency of the *Teceddüd Fırkası* (Renovation Party), which was founded in place of the CUP in November 1918 with the aim of reorganizing Unionists and its sympathizers under a new roof. Upon the closure of this party by the post-war Ottoman government in May 1919, he came into contact with the nationalist movement and took part in the Istanbul branch of the *Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti* (Society for the Defence of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia, hereafter SDRAR). Then, he established the Istanbul organization of the *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası* (Republican People's Party, hereafter RPP) with the order of Mustafa Kemal, and was elected a deputy to the parliament in 1923, a position that he would keep more than thirty years.⁷

The state chronicler and the esteemed head of the Ottoman Historical Society (OHS), Abdurrahman Şeref, served in various Istanbul governments during the Armistice period as Minister of State, of Education, and of Pious Endowments. Besides holding office in a number of post-war Ottoman cabinets, this old Senate member also played a significant role in the foundation of such organizations as the *Millî Kongre* (National Congress) and *Vahdet-i Milliye Heyeti* (Committee of National Unity),

⁶ Gürhan Kat, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Yusuf Akçura* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2010), 28–35; Georgeon, *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc*, 79–83.

⁷ A. Çağlar Deniz, *Türk Modernleşmesinde Düşünsel Dönüşümler: M. Şemseddin Günaltay'ın Türkiye'si* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 2013), 22–23; Ayrancı, 'Bir Tarihçi Olarak M. Şemseddin Günaltay', 32–33.

both of which supported the cause of the nationalist movement in Anatolia.⁸ Presumably because of this support and his visible sympathy for the emerging National Struggle, he was invited by Mustafa Kemal to attend the 1919 Sivas Congress. Although he could not dare to undertake such a long journey from Istanbul to Sivas at his advanced age of sixty-six, he was nominated to membership of the parliament by the SDRAR in 1923. Furthermore, he was elected as the president of the Turkish Red Crescent Society in early 1924 and maintained these two duties until his death in February 1925.⁹

Another prominent OHS member, Ahmed Refik (Altınay), who was a graduate of the War Academy and a retired military officer, was called to arms with the outbreak of the World War. After performing several non-combatant and logistical military functions in Istanbul, Eskişehir and Niğde between 1914 and 1917, he was appointed to a propaganda mission in early 1918. This mission required him to guide a group of German and Austrian journalists who would ‘make observations’ in eastern and northeastern Anatolia, aiming to ‘document’ and inform the international public about the ‘atrocities and massacres against the Turks by the Armenians’.¹⁰ The

⁸ It must be noted here that Abdurrahman Şeref’s support for the National Struggle while he was taking part in the post-war Ottoman governments was not contradictory in and of itself. In that, not all the post-war Ottoman governments had a strong anti-CUP tendency or were unconditionally against the nationalist movement in Anatolia. As Mehmet Demiryürek emphasized in his comprehensive study, Abdurrahman Şeref did not hold office in the post-war cabinets that followed a strict policy against the National Struggle. See Demiryürek, *Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi*, 51. For a detailed picture of the post-war Ottoman governments, see Sina Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele, vol. 1, Mutlakiyete Dönüş: 1918-1919* (3rd ed.), (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010); idem, *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele, vol. 2, Son Meşrutiyet: 1919-1920* (3rd ed.), (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010); idem, *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele, vol. 3, İç Savaş ve Sevr’de Ölüm* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010).

⁹ Demiryürek, *Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi*, 27–30, 40–46, 51–55, 62; Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler, vol. 2, Mütareke Dönemi: 1918-1922* (3rd ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 165–166, 430–431.

¹⁰ Gökman, *Ahmed Refik Altınay*, 15–17, 42–46; Halil İnalcık and Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, ‘Türkiye’de Osmanlı Araştırmaları,’ in *13. Türk Tarih Kongresi: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler I* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2002), 90–91, 95.

consequences of this two-month visit to the region, however, turned out to be quite different from what the CUP officials had envisaged at the beginning. More explicitly, the Turkish guide of the group, Ahmed Refik, was deeply shaken by what he saw in the region—and also affected by the general anti-Unionist political climate in the post-war Istanbul—, and instead of writing about the slaughters made by the Armenians, he severely criticized the policies and practices of the CUP against them. He, in this regard, published two remarkable books on his return to Istanbul in 1919, entitled *İki Komite, İki Kıtâl* (Two Committees, Two Massacres) and *Kafkas Yollarında* (On the Roads of the Caucasus).¹¹ Describing the CUP government as the ‘tyranny of the riffraff’, and identifying the Second Constitutional Period with ‘corruption’ and ‘plunder’, Ahmed Refik gave voice in these works to the stories of the Armenians who were the victims of the ‘deportation disaster’, i.e., the ‘cruel act of Talat [Pasha]’.¹² Shortly after the publication of these accounts, he also joined the ranks of the *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* (Freedom and Coalition Party) as a result of his reaction against the CUP, and even took part in its central committee.¹³ Needless to say, these extra-curricular endeavors would have serious consequences for Ahmed Refik’s academic career as a historian in the subsequent years, for neither Kemal Pasha nor any other former Unionist founders of the republic would forget this ‘betrayal’.¹⁴

¹¹ See Ahmed Refik, *İki Komite, İki Kıtâl* (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1919); idem, *Kafkas Yollarında: Hatıralar ve Tahassüsler* (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1919). It should be mentioned that *İki Komite, İki Kıtâl* first appeared as a series of articles in the daily newspaper *İkdam* between December 1918 and January 1919, and subsequently published as a separate book in 1919. In this work, Ahmed Refik also recounted in detail what he had witnessed during his Eskişehir duty in 1915 regarding the Armenian deportation and massacres.

¹² For some examples, see Ahmed Refik, *İki Komite, İki Kıtâl*, 3, 6–7, 15–18, 20–42, 43–46, 51–70.

¹³ Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler 2: Mütareke Dönemi*, 277–278; Gökman, *Ahmed Refik Altınay*, 12–13; İnalcık and Yediyıldız, ‘Türkiye’de Osmanlı Araştırmaları,’ 96–97.

¹⁴ Sönmez, ‘Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken: Türkiye’de Tarih yazımı Üzerine Notlar,’ 64–65.

As the personal stories of the leading late Ottoman historians and history-minded intellectuals clearly demonstrate, the Ottoman-Turkish historiography and historiographical production were severely impeded during the war and post-war period.¹⁵ What is more, the established institutional structure of historical scholarship almost totally collapsed because of the extraordinary circumstances of these years. The Ottoman Historical Society, for one thing, began to become a less active institution towards the end of the World War. Although it managed to issue its journal (JOHS) until 1918, and also, to publish certain books as part of its monograph series, entitled the *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Külliyyatı* (Corpus of the Ottoman Historical Society), the society could not carry on its activities after that year. Upon the cancellation of the subsidies it received from the government, the OHS entered into a process of dissolution in early 1919 and became an institution that existed only on paper.¹⁶ The other significant historical association, which was founded with the strong support of the CUP in 1915, *Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni* (The Research Society for the Islamic and National Works), also took its share of the difficult conditions of the era. After a highly productive period of two years following its establishment, the association was dissolved already before the World War ended, despite the diligent efforts of Köprülüzâde Mehmed

¹⁵ Although there appeared some historical works in these years, such as Şemseddin Günaltay's *Mufasssal Türk Tarihi* (Comprehensive Turkish History) and Rıza Nur's *Türk Tarihi* (Turkish History), these were, as their authors also admitted, neither original nor scholarly and systematic studies, just amateurishly written multi-volume books for popular audience, replete with contradictions, exaggerations, and gaps. For Şemseddin Günaltay's views regarding his book, see Ayrancı, 'Bir Tarihçi Olarak M. Şemseddin Günaltay,' 138–139. For Şemseddin Günaltay's book, see M. Şemseddin, *Mufasssal Türk Tarihi, (Five Volumes)* (İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası-Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338-1340 [1922-1924]). For Rıza Nur's book, see Doktor Rıza Nur, *Türk Tarihi: Resimli ve Haritalı, (Twelve Volumes)* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1342-1344 [1924-1926]).

¹⁶ Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, 89, 104–105, 237, 241; Oral, *Türkiye'de Romantik Tarihçilik*, 144–147, 155.

Fuad. As for its important periodical, *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* (The Journal of National Studies), it did not appear again after the publication of its fifth issue.¹⁷

With all this in mind, it is safe to repeat the above-stated argument that at the time when the new Turkish Republic was established, Köprölüzâde happened to be the only scholar in the country whose primary occupation was history. This being so, the question arises, what did Köprölüzâde Mehmed Fuad do throughout all these years of turbulence and catastrophe? The answer is plain and simple: He cut himself off from the mayhem of the outside world to the extent possible, and devoted his whole energy to his scholarly and academic studies. To put it rather more bluntly, this committed nationalist historian retreated from political involvement towards the late 1910s, and spent the final years of the Ottoman Empire working in an indefatigable manner and writing his major historical accounts.

Taking a closer look at the details of this process reveals that Köprölüzâde's retreat from political involvement was a gradual withdrawal, partially connected with his career concerns. That is to say, he continued to conduct his scholarship together with his political activism for a long while, namely until the end of CUP rule in late 1918. While he was working on his masterpiece *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Early Mystics in Turkish Literature) in May 1918, for instance, he was still writing newspaper columns on daily politics at times, in order to provide popular support for the policies of the CUP.¹⁸ Even in the last months of the World War, likewise, he was frequently visiting the party headquarters, participating in the boards of the pro-CUP organizations, mounting counter-arguments against Ottomanist intellectuals,

¹⁷ Ibid., 117–118.

¹⁸ For an example, see Köprölüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Milli Vazife,' 3.

and engaging in spirited debates with other Turkish nationalists such as Halide Edib (Adıvar), who criticized the pan-Turkist policies of the Unionists.¹⁹

All this commitment and activism of Köprülüzâde, however, vanished to a great extent with the loss of the war and the fall of the CUP government in autumn 1918, constituting the first important break in his intimate relationship with politics.

Although the tragic results of the war and the end of CUP rule did not lead to any particular shift in his ideological position, these cataclysmic developments drove him to take, at least ostensibly, a relatively ‘neutral’ and passive stance towards political issues.²⁰ In connection with this self-preserving stance, he withdrew somewhat into his shell at this critical juncture of Ottoman history, and settled down to complete his historical study on which he had been working for almost two years. This study, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, was published in early 1919, and earned him a substantial reputation amidst this tumultuous era.²¹ Partly by means of his growing

¹⁹ For some testimonies on Köprülüzâde’s frequent visits to the party headquarters, see Yahya Kemal, *Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler*, 13–16; Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, 49–51. For Köprülüzâde’s participation in the board of the Türk Ocağı (Turkish Hearth Society) in 1917 and 1918, see Üstel, *Türk Ocakları: İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği*, 46, 100. For Köprülüzâde’s two pieces, which appeared in October 1918 in the daily newspaper *Akşam*, criticizing the Ottomanist policy and its proponents, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Osmanlılık Telâkkisi,’ 33–39; idem, ‘Tanzimattan Beri Osmanlılık Telâkkisi,’ 40–45. For Köprülüzâde’s debate with Halide Edib, see Halide Edib, ‘Evimize Bakalım: Türkçülüğün Faaliyet Sahası,’ *Vakit*, no. 252 (Ramazan 21, 1336/June 30, 1918): 1; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türkçülüğün Gayeleri,’ *Vakit*, no. 266 (Şevval 7, 1336/July 16, 1918): 1. For other Unionist intellectuals’ criticisms of Halide Edib and a detailed description of this debate, see Sezgi Durgun, *Memalik-i Şahane’den Vatan’a* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), 111–114; Erol Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda and Turkish Identity: Literature in Turkey During World War I* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 102–108; Metin Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP’de Sağ Kanat* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 52–57.

²⁰ It should be mentioned that Köprülüzâde did not immediately sever his Unionist connections at the end of the war, and, at least for a while, continued to abide by the party line. This period, however, did not last long, and presumably in the first quarter of 1919 he withdrew to a certain degree from his previous social and political milieu. For a brief description of Köprülüzâde’s Unionist activities after the end of the World War, see Asılsoy, ‘*Türk Modernleşmesinin Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü*,’ 54–55. For some criticisms on Köprülüzâde’s ‘deserting his former friends’ after the war, see Ağaoğlu, *Aşına Yüzler*, 129–130. On this point, see also H. Altunay, ‘Ord. Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü,’ *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 38 (February 1987): 115; Park, ‘*The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü*,’ 119–120.

²¹ Ibid., 12–13, 49–50, 54; Tansel, ‘Memleketimizin Acı Kaybı Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü,’ 625.

reputation, but largely of his new apolitical image, he could preserve his position at the University when a considerable number of nationalist and Unionist academics, including Gökalp, Ağaoğlu, Necip Asım (Yazıksız) and Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver), were dismissed from the Faculty of Literature by the post-war Ottoman government in March and April 1919.²² By the same token, he could also elude the anti-Unionist wave of arrests and exiles of the Armistice period. While many of his friends and colleagues like Gökalp, Ağaoğlu, Süleyman Nazif and Ahmed Emin (Yalman) were jailed and exiled to Malta for the duration of one to three years, Köprülüzâde, in contrast, was released after a week-long imprisonment in May 1919.²³

Despite the shortness of his imprisonment, however, this incident deeply affected Köprülüzâde and constituted the other—and final—significant break in his political involvement. According to one of his friends, who was together with him in the Bekirağa prison, Köprülüzâde was highly depressed and upset during this unpleasant

²² For the details of this anti-Unionist purge at the Faculty of Literature, see Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 1*, 534–535; Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 264–267, 272–273.

²³ It must be noted that the dates of Köprülüzâde's arrest and release are unclear in the existing literature. This vagueness largely stems from the conflicting information conveyed in the memoirs of Mehmed Zekeriya (Sertel), who was imprisoned and freed together with Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad. According to Mehmed Zekeriya's memoirs, their imprisonment should be dated to before the appearance of the journal *Büyük Mecmua* on 6 March 1919 due to his statements regarding the latter's publication process, which, in his words, began immediately after their release. The point that creates a contradiction in this narrative is Mehmed Zekeriya's mentioning of Ahmed Ağaoğlu as another prisoner in their ward, who was in fact arrested on 18 March 1919. Despite this inconsistency, however, Mehmed Zekeriya's wife, Sabiha Sertel, remembers the sequence of events better and recorded in her autobiography that his husband and Köprülüzâde were arrested one day after the occupation of İzmir on 15 May 1919. Sabiha Sertel's account was confirmed both by the couple's daughter Yıldız Sertel and Ahmed Ağaoğlu himself, who was in the Bekirağa prison during the imprisonment of Köprülüzâde and Mehmed Zekeriya. Ağaoğlu, in this respect, clearly stated in his diary that the latter two were released from the prison on 23 May 1919. In the light of these notes, it becomes apparent that Köprülüzâde was arrested on 16 May 1919 and freed after a week-long imprisonment. See Zekeriya Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1977), 86–92; Sabiha Sertel, *Roman Gibi* (3rd ed.), (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2015), 22–24, 30–38; Yıldız Sertel, *Annem: Sabiha Sertel Kimdi, Neler Yazdı?* (3rd ed.), (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2001), 94–97; idem, *Susmayan Adam: Babam Gazeteci Zekeriya Sertel* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2002), 63–69; Ağaoğlu, *Mütareke ve Sürgün Hatıraları*, 51–53, 77–78, 83–85.

experience, ‘spending all these days [...] sitting on his bed in a desperate mood [...] without speaking with anyone’. Upon his release, as Mehmed Zekeriya (Sertel) recorded in his memoirs, Köprülüzâde adopted a further timid and passive attitude, withdrew almost entirely from his social milieu, and secluded himself in his house, presumably, to complete his second major historical work this time, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (The History of Turkish Literature).²⁴ Although the successive publication of his scholarly works increased his international reputation and this reputation strengthened his hand against any probable political threat towards him, he abstained from taking even a little risk that could endanger his rising career and position in Istanbul, and thus neither demonstrated an overt support for nor joined the nationalist movement in Anatolia. This exceedingly temperate attitude, which was combined with pragmatism, reached such a degree in time that he, at the end, was dramatically protested by a group of nationalist students because of his dissuasive advices during the university strike of 1922.²⁵

It is fairly apparent that Köprülüzâde’s demeanor in this particular case reflects his ability to adapt himself to changing political circumstances on the one hand. But on the other hand, and more importantly, it also well-symbolizes his transformation from an ardent nationalist intellectual into an imperturbable and mature—though no less nationalistic—scholar. To put it differently, Köprülüzâde’s attitude during this five-month university strike, which broke out in response to a ‘provocative’ conference on the sixteenth-century poet Fuzuli, not only displays his tacit pragmatism and wavering stance in these years but also demonstrates that he attained

²⁴ Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım*, 89–90. See also Ağaoğlu, *Aşına Yüzler*, 129–130; Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 169–170.

²⁵ Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 364; Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *1924: Bir Fotoğrafın Uzun Hikayesi* (3rd ed.), (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2010), 70–73.

a scholarly refinement in regard to making a distinction between an academic debate and a political controversy or reaction. Partly on account of this refined academic attitude, which was reminiscent of his pre-1913 liberal literary approach defending the preservation of literature's aesthetic-artistic domain from political intervention, Köprülüzâde did not approve—and even opposed—the politically motivated protests of university students against certain professors for their 'anti-Turkist' scholarly views. Although he himself had been for years a harsh critique of these 'anti-Turkist' views of the targeted professors such as Cenap Şahabeddin, Hüseyin Daniş and Rıza Tevfik (Bölükbaşı), who argued Persian or Arabic superiority over Turkish culture in general and the Persianness of the poet Fuzuli in particular, Köprülüzâde, as a member of the faculty board, objected to the demands of nationalist students concerning the academics' dismissal from the university.²⁶ This objection and his persistent calls to students to end their protests, however, made him the target of the nationalist anger before too long. While he was on his way to the faculty in one of the most heated days of the strike, he was verbally insulted and showered with rotten eggs by a group of nationalist students.²⁷ As will be seen later, whenever he would attempt to draw even a thin line between the political and scholarly realms in his subsequent academic life, he would each time get a harsh reaction from either

²⁶ For some examples of Köprülüzâde's criticisms of Hüseyin Daniş and Rıza Tevfik, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'İran Tarih-i Edebiyatı,' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 30 (Kanun-ı Sani 31, 1918): 63–67; idem, 'Hüseyin Daniş Bey'e [I],' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 35 (March 14, 1918): 165–167; idem, 'Hüseyin Daniş Bey'e [II],' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 36 (March 21, 1918): 186–188; idem, 'Hüseyin Daniş Bey'e,' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 44 (May 16, 1918): 345–346; idem, 'Hüseyin Daniş Bey'e,' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 51 (July 4, 1918): 483–486; idem, 'Hüseyin Daniş Beyefendi'ye,' *Şair*, no. 7 (Kanun-ı Sani 23, 1919): 100–102; idem, 'Fuzuli'ye Dair Yeni Vesikalar,' *Tevhid-i Efkar*, no. 3250 (Cemâziyelevvel 22, 1340/Kanun-ı Sani 21, 1922): 3; idem, 'Fuzuli'ye Dair,' *İkdam*, no. 8939 (Cemâziyelâhır 4, 1340/February 2, 1922): 4; idem, 'Fuzuli'nin Mezhebi I,' *Peyâm-ı Sabah*, no. 1174 (Recep 12, 1340/March 11, 1922): 1; idem, 'Fuzuli'nin Mezhebi II,' *Peyâm-ı Sabah*, no. 1181 (Recep 19, 1340/March 18, 1922): 1; idem, 'Rubaiyyat-ı Ömer Hayyam (Muharrirleri: Rıza Tevfik ve Hüseyin Daniş),' in *Bugünkü Edebiyat*, ed. Mehmet Akif Çeçen ve Ahmet Balcı (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2007), 193–202.

²⁷ For a detailed account of this strike and protest against Köprülüzâde, see Kazım İsmail Gürkan, *Darülfünun Grevi* (İstanbul: Harman Yayınları, 1971); Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi I*, 575–594.

political or scholarly circles of the country which was not familiar with such an academic culture yet.

Despite this disheartening student protest in particular, and all his wavering political stance, self-interested career concerns, and pragmatic/opportunist attitude during the post-war years in general, Köprülüzâde's reputation as a nationalist historian did not diminish in intellectual circles. Put differently, his scholarly works and efforts continued to be highly appreciated by the nationalist intelligentsia throughout this tumultuous era as well. Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı), for instance, was openly expressing his admiration for Köprülüzâde's bibliographical knowledge and scholarly passion in his writings.²⁸ Ziya Gökalp, likewise, emphasized the importance of Köprülüzâde's recently published historical studies for the development of Turkish nationalism, and extolled him as a 'great scholar and savant of Turkology' in his 1923 book *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (The Principles of Turkism).²⁹

Although these laudatory assessments of Köprülüzâde may seem at first glance a bit paradoxical considering his passive and self-preserving attitude during the years of the Armistice and War of Independence, they however were certainly not without reason. The underlying cause why the leading nationalist intellectuals winked at Köprülüzâde's aforementioned attitude had to do with his success in meeting their scholarly expectations from him and his enormous contribution to the study of Turkish history. As Gökalp's praise implied, Köprülüzâde's successively published works in these years were answering one of the most crucial scholarly/academic needs of the nationalist intelligentsia and the young nation-state, which was the

²⁸ See Taştan, 'Mehmed Fuad Köprülü: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Eserleri,' 92–93.

²⁹ Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, 13

historicization of the Turkish national identity. Being literally the only historian in the country who had been working on this project for a long while in a continuous but more importantly in an imperturbable scholarly manner—even in the high moments of nationalist fervor—, Köprülüzâde thus, according to the nationalist intellectuals, was fulfilling a function of vital importance for the intellectual foundation of the Turkish nation, compensating for all his wavering and self-preserving stance after the end of the World War. This was why Gökalp, for instance, who was always attentive in differentiating between the essential and the secondary aspects of issues, continued to closely follow Köprülüzâde’s scholarly studies even while he was in Malta, and again got in touch with his ‘esteemed brother’ immediately after his return to the country.³⁰

It would indeed not be an exaggeration to say that Köprülüzâde’s scholarly effort during this turbulent period deserved the high praise and appreciation it received from the nationalist intelligentsia. Taking a close look at his academic production in these years will be more explanatory against any potential objections on this point: In February 1918, to begin with, Köprülüzâde published a compilation of tales attributed to the thirteenth-century Anatolian literary figure Hodja Nasreddin.³¹ Approximately one year later, he issued his first major historical work *Türk Edebiyatı ’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Early Mystics in Turkish Literature, hereafter *Early Mystics*), which established, up to that time, the strongest scholarly connection between the Central Asian and Anatolian pasts of the Turks in Ottoman-Turkish

³⁰ See *Ziya Gökalp Külliyyatı-II: Limni ve Malta Mektupları*, xxvi–xxvii, 20, 56, 74, 296, 501, 511, 512, 529, 550, 583–600.

³¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Nasreddin Hoca* (İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaa ve Kitabhanesi, 1918).

historiography.³² Then, in 1920, he published the first volume of his other significant study *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (The History of Turkish Literature) that focused on pre-Islamic Turkish literature. This was followed by the publication of its second volume in 1921, covering the Islamic era Turkish literature from its beginnings up to the fourteenth century.³³

After these impressive works, Köprülüzâde undertook a criticism of the eminent German orientalist Franz Babinger's theses regarding the religious history of Anatolia. He, in this respect, first published a remarkable piece, entitled 'Bemerkungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens', in the Austrian journal *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*; and subsequently wrote a quite comprehensive article named 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet' (Islam in Anatolia) that was printed in three parts in *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* (Journal of the Faculty of Literature) between September 1922 and January 1923.³⁴ Again in 1923,

³² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1918-1919). It must be mentioned that while the publication date of the *Early Mystics* was recorded as 1918 on its front cover page, on the rear cover of the book this date was noted as 1919. This discrepancy presumably stems from the fact that the book was published as fascicles, beginning from late 1918 and completing in 1919. For a discussion on the publication year of the *Early Mystics*, also see Ahmet Özcan, 'M. Fuat Köprülü Tahrir Defteri Gördü Mü?,' *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 53, no. 2 (2013), 259–260.

³³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi: Birinci Kitap* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1920); idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi: İkinci Kitap* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1921).

³⁴ It must be noted that Köprülüzâde's first piece was a critical review of Babinger's well-known work on the Ottoman jurist and rebel Shaykh Badr al-Din. His subsequent three-part serial article was a critique of Babinger's another work entitled 'Der Islam in Kleinasien'. For Babinger's works, see Franz Babinger, *Scheich Bedr ed-Din, der Sohn des Richters von Simāw: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sektenwesens im altosmanischen Reich* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1921); idem, 'Der Islam in Kleinasien: Neue Wege der Islamforschung,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76, no. 1 (1922): 126–152. For Köprülüzâde's articles, see; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Bemerkungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens,' *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 1 (1921-1922): 203–222; idem, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet: Türk İstilasından Sonra Anadolu Tarih-i Dinisine Bir Nazar ve Bu Tarihin Menbaları [I],' 281–311; idem, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet: Türk İstilasından Sonra Anadolu Tarih-i Dinisine Bir Nazar ve Bu Tarihin Menbaları (Mâbad) [II],' *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani 1338 [1922]): 385–420; idem, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet: Türk İstilasından Sonra Anadolu Tarih-i Dinisine Bir Nazar ve Bu Tarihin Menbaları (Mâbad) [III],' *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 2, no. 6 (Kanun-ı Sani 1339 [1923]): 457–486.

there appeared his aforementioned book *Türkiye Tarihi* (The History of Turkey), which earned him the appreciation of Mustafa Kemal.³⁵ Two years later, the lecture notes of his ‘Turkish religious history’ (*Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*) courses that he taught at the Faculty of Divinity were compiled as a book.³⁶ In the meantime, he published a two-part serial article in the important Hungarian journal *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum*, focusing on Turkish mystical poetry in Anatolia during the Seljuk era.³⁷ He also revised and expanded his *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* and reissued it in a single volume in 1926.³⁸ Upon the release of this expanded volume, which traced the evolution of Turkish literary history until the end of the fourteenth century, he published a stream of books, monographs and essays to extend his analysis to the late nineteenth century.³⁹ Furthermore, he did not neglect to bring this analysis to the attention of international academic circles. Besides publishing a significant piece in the reputable orientalist journal *Der Islam* in 1930, he also wrote a number of articles for the first

³⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi: Anadolu İstilasına Kadar Türkler* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhanesi, 1923).

³⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi* (lithograph) (İstanbul: Darülfünun Matbaası, 1341 [1925]). For quotations and references, I use a more recent edition of this book. See M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, ed. Metin Ergun (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2005).

³⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Anatolische Dichter in der Seldschukenzeit I: Sejjad Hamza,’ *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum* 1 (1921-1925): 183–190; idem, ‘Anatolische Dichter in der Seldschukenzeit II: Ahmed Faqih,’ *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum* 2 (1926-1932): 20–38.

³⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Milli Matbaa, 1926). I use this 1926 edition for all quotation and reference.

³⁹ For some examples, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Milli Edebiyat Cereyanının İlk Mübeşşirleri ve Divan-ı Türkî-i Basit: XVI. Asır Şairlerinden Edirneli Nazmi’nin Eseri* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928); idem, *XIX. Asır Şairlerinden Erzurumlu Emrah* (İstanbul: Evkâf Matbaası, 1929); idem, *XVII. Asır Şairlerinden Gevherî: Hayatı-Eseri* (İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1929); idem, ‘Gevherî [I],’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 7, no. 1 (May 1929): 38–80; idem, ‘Gevherî [II],’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 7, no. 2 (July 1929): 84–126; idem, *XVI. Asır Sonuna Kadar Türk Saz Şairleri* (İstanbul: Evkâf Matbaası, 1930); idem, *XVII. Asır Şairlerinden Kayıkçı Kul Mustafa ve Genç Osman Hikayesi* (İstanbul: Evkâf Matbaası, 1930); idem, ‘Habibî,’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 8, no. 5 (September 1932): 86–133; idem, *Eski Şairlerimiz: Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi* (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1934); idem, *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Hakkında Araştırmalar* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1934). It must be noted that Köprülüzâde later collected together and republished his aforementioned works on Turkish minstrels and folk poets in a five-volume book entitled *Türk Saz Şairleri*. I use a more recent edition of this book for quotations and references. See Fuad Köprülü, *Saz Şairleri I-V* (3rd ed.), (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2004).

edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* in the late 1920s and early 1930s, including his momentous entry entitled ‘Ottoman Turkish Literature’.⁴⁰

It must be noted that this enormous scholarly production was accompanied and supported by some popular historical works as well, appearing in daily newspapers especially towards the end of the Turkish War of Independence. To put it more precisely, as the course of the war turned in favor of the Ankara government, Köprülüzâde sought to gradually—and again cautiously—revamp his ‘neutral’ and passive image through a series of popular historical accounts, which were treating patriotic and heroic themes as well as tacitly propagandizing for the nationalist movement in Anatolia. Immediately after the defeat of the Greek army by the Turkish nationalist forces in the Second Battle of Inonu, for instance, he wrote a serial article on another—and presumably the most mythicized—‘Turco-Greek’ war in history, The Battle of Manzikert, and strikingly entitled his piece *Anadolu’da Türk*

⁴⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Abu Ishaq Kazeruni und die Ishaqi-Derwische in Anatolien,’ *Der Islam: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients* 19, no. 1-2 (1930): 18–26; For the Turkish translation of this article, see Fuad Köprülü, ‘Abu İshak Kazrunî ve Anadolu’da İshakî Dervişleri,’ trans. Cemal Köprülü, *Belleten* 33, no. 130 (April 1969): 225–236. For Köprülüzâde’s entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, see Köprülü Zade Mehmed Fuad, ‘Ottoman Turkish Literature,’ in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 8)*, eds. M. Th. Houtsma et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 938–959; idem, ‘Sa’d al-Din al-Hamawi,’ in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, eds. M. Th. Houtsma et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 31–32; idem, ‘Sa’d al-Din Köpek,’ in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, 32; idem, ‘Saif al-Din al-Bakharzi,’ in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, 74; idem, ‘al-Sakkaki,’ in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, 81; idem, ‘Shaiyad,’ in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, 287; idem, ‘Shaiyad Hamza,’ in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, 287–288; idem, ‘Saiyid Burhan al-Din Tirmidhi,’ in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 8)*, 797–798; idem, ‘Tıfli (Ahmad Celebi),’ in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 8)*, 751–752; idem, ‘Turkoman Literature,’ in *E. J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 8)*, 898–899. It should be mentioned that Köprülüzâde also published a small booklet in French in 1929, which focuses on the continuities between the pre-Islamic and Islamic-era Turkish religious practices. See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Influence du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur les Ordres Mystiques Musulmans*, (İstanbul: Imp. Zellitch Frères, 1929).

Zaferleri (Turkish Victories in Anatolia).⁴¹ Likewise, following the Turkish triumph in the twenty-one-day long Battle of Sakarya, which was a decisive turning point in the War of Independence, Köprülüzâde published a twenty-one-part article series with his friend Necip Asım in the popular daily newspaper *Tevhid-i Efkâr*. In this series that came out in the aftermath of a life-or-death struggle for the nationalist movement, Köprülüzâde and Necip Asım proudly emphasized the ineradicable place of the Turkish nation in world history, as the title of their work indicates, *Cihan Tarihinde Türkler ve Medeniyetleri* (The Turks in World History and Their Civilization).⁴² Then, he enthusiastically greeted the entry of Turkish troops into İzmir with another serial article that began to be printed in *İkdam* one day after the recapture of the city.⁴³ Finally, he presented his gratitude, and more importantly his allegiance, to Mustafa Kemal by sending his latest book to him in the year the republic was established. Taking all these into consideration, it was fairly obvious that Köprülüzâde was preparing himself for the new era, and his efforts, as subsequent events demonstrate, would not remain unrequited.

To briefly summarize these events, Köprülüzâde began the republican era with an important academic-administrative appointment: Being one of the most senior members of its academic staff, he was elected the dean of the Faculty of Literature in

⁴¹ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Anadolu'da Türk Zaferleri: Malazgirt Meydan Muhaberesi-İslam Menâbi-i Tarihiyesine Göre,' *İkdam*, no. 8651 (Şaban 4, 1339/April 13, 1921): 3; idem, 'Anadolu'da Türk Zaferleri: Malazgirt Meydan Muhaberesi-Garb Menâbi-i Tarihiyesine Göre,' *İkdam*, no. 8680 (Ramazan 4, 1339/May 13, 1921): 2.

⁴² For the first part of the serial, see Köprülüzâde Fuad and Necip Asım, 'Cihan Tarihinde Türkler ve Medeniyetleri I: Irk ve Lisan,' *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3232 (Cemâziyelevvel 3, 1340/Kanun-ı Sani 2, 1922): 3. For the last part, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad and Necip Asım, 'Cihan Tarihinde Türkler ve Medeniyetleri 21: İran'da ve Azerbaycan'da Türkler,' *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3315 (Recep 28, 1340/March 27, 1922): 3.

⁴³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'İzmir'de Türkler I,' *İkdam*, no. 9152 (Muharrem 17, 1341/September 10, 1922): 3; idem, 'İzmir'de Türkler II,' *İkdam*, no. 9154 (Muharrem 19, 1341/September 12, 1922): 2.

late 1923 to replace İsmayıl Hakkı (Baltacıoğlu) who became the new rector of the university.⁴⁴ Then, he personally met Mustafa Kemal at a meeting in February 1924, which was organized by the latter to ‘consult’ and ‘discuss’ with the university administration on the educational problems of the country.⁴⁵ Köprülüzâde must have left a good impression on Kemal Pasha at this meeting that he was appointed as the undersecretary of the Ministry of Education one month later.⁴⁶ During his undersecretaryship, he was tasked with the establishment of a research institute in Istanbul that would specialize in Turkish studies. Upon the foundation of this institute in November 1924, he resigned from his position at the Ministry and undertook its directorship, a post that he would hold for nearly fifteen years without interruption.⁴⁷ Under his directorship, the *Türkiyat Enstitüsü* (Institute of Turkology) began to issue a significant historical journal entitled *Türkiyat Mecmuası* (The Journal of Turkology) in August 1925, in which, along with the works of many other Turkish and foreign historians, a number of his own scholarly articles appeared as well.⁴⁸ Furthermore, he was also entrusted with the writing of ‘national history’ textbooks in these years, and composed a series of schoolbooks for use in primary

⁴⁴ Selçuk, *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi*, 492; Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi* 2, 42.

⁴⁵ Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Tek-Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması (1923-1931)* (3rd ed.), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 89–90; Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, vol. 5 (İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977), 1646–1650.

⁴⁶ BCA. 30.11.1.0/4.9.8. 1924.03.27. See also Sönmez, ‘Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken: Türkiye’de Tarih yazımı Üzerine Notlar,’ 62.

⁴⁷ BCA. 30.18.1.1/11.55.4. 1924.11.12. See also Mustafa Oral, ‘Meşrutiyet’ten Cumhuriyet’e Tarihçilik ve Mehmet Fuat Köprülü,’ in *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, 167–168.

⁴⁸ For Köprülüzâde’s some works published in this journal during the 1920s, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Meddahlar: Türklerde Halk Hikayeciliği Tarihine Ait Bazı Maddeler,’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1 (August 1925): 1–45; idem, ‘Oğuz Etnolojisine Dair Tarihi Notlar,’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1, 185–211; idem, ‘Harezmsâhlar Tarihine Ait Notlar ve Vesikalar,’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1, 251–254; idem, ‘Anadolu Beylikleri Tarihine Ait Notlar,’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928), 1–32; idem, ‘Türk Klasik Edebiyatındaki Hususi Nazım Şekilleri: Tuyug,’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2, 219–242; idem, ‘İlk Osmanlı Sikkeleri Hakkında Notlar ve Vesikalar,’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2, 410–412; idem, ‘Germiyan Beyliği Tarihine Ait Notlar ve Vesikalar,’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2, 412–414; idem, ‘Fuzulî’ye Ait Bazı Notlar,’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2, 434–436.

and secondary education.⁴⁹ In the meantime, he continued his courses at the Faculty of Literature and began to teach in the mid-1920s at the Faculty of Divinity, the School of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*), and the Istanbul School of the Civil Service (*İstanbul Mülkiye Mektebi*).⁵⁰ He also took part in the administrative committee of the Center for Anthropological Research (*Türkiye Antropoloji Tetkikat Merkezi*) that was established within the Faculty of Medicine in 1925.⁵¹ Another administrative task he undertook during this period was the deanship of the Faculty of Divinity to which he was appointed by proxy in 1927, an office he occupied until 1931.⁵² In connection with this appointment, he was assigned as the head of a commission founded within this faculty with the aim of preparing a reform proposal for the Turkification of religious rituals.⁵³ Lastly, in September 1927, he was elected the president of the *Türk Tarih Encümeni* (Turkish Historical Association), the successor of the Ottoman Historical Society, and directed the institution until it dissolved itself in 1932.⁵⁴ That is to say, besides being the dean of two faculties at

⁴⁹ Zafer Toprak, *Darwin'den Dersim'e Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2012), 273, 275. For some examples of the textbooks written by Köprülüzâde during the 1920s, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Milli Tarih (İlk Mekteplerin Beşinci Sınıfında Okutulmak Üzere Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekâletince Resmen Kabul Edilmiştir)* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhane ve Matbaası, 1340/1924); idem, *Milli Tarih: Mekteplerin Dördüncü Sınıflarına Mahsustur (İlk Mekteplerde Tedris Olunmak Üzere Son Programlar Göre Yazılmış ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekâletince Kabul Edilmiştir)* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhane ve Matbaası, 1340/1924). Köprülüzâde also wrote a number of reading textbooks in these years. For some examples, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Yeni Milli Kiraat (Liselerin İkinci Senelerinde Tedris Edilmek Üzere Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekâleti Tarafından Kabul Edilmiştir)* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhane ve Matbaası, 1340/1924); idem, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Yeni Milli Kiraat: İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Türk Matbaası, 1926).

⁵⁰ Köprülü, *Fuad Köprülü*, 6; Tansel, 'Memleketimizin Acı Kaybı Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü', 623.

⁵¹ Nazan Maksudyan, *Türklüğü Ölçmek: Bilimkurgusal Antropoloji ve Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Irkçı Çehresi (1925-1939)* (2nd ed.), (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2007), 110.

⁵² Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi* 2, 48.

⁵³ Umut Azak, *Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 52–53; Dücan Cündioğlu, *Bir Siyasi Proje Olarak Türkçe İbadet 1* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 1999), 81–86.

⁵⁴ Oral, *Türkiye'de Romantik Tarihçilik*, 182–193; Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, 336–338, 375.

the university, Köprülüzâde also became, by the end of the 1920s, the head of the two important historical associations in the country; the Institute of Turkology (hereafter IT) and the Turkish Historical Association (hereafter THA).

Along with these highly prestigious academic-administrative appointments and promotions, Köprülüzâde was frequently sent abroad throughout the 1920s to represent the young nation-state at international scholarly conferences. In October 1923, for example, he attended the ‘International Congress of History of Religions’ in Paris, and presented two important papers, entitled *Les Origines du Bektachisme* and *Une Institution Magique chez les Anciens Turcs: Yat*.⁵⁵ After the Paris Congress, which was his first international conference experience, he was sent to Leningrad (Saint Petersburg) in 1925 to represent the Istanbul University at the ceremony that commemorated the 200th anniversary of the Russian Academy of Sciences.⁵⁶ One year later, he participated on behalf of Turkey in the nine-day Baku Turkology Congress, the main agenda of which was to discuss an alphabet reform for the Turkic languages.⁵⁷ Although he avoided taking a clear position in the debate regarding the adoption of the Latin alphabet, he made two presentations at the congress on Turkish

⁵⁵ BCA. 30.18.1.1/7.33.9. 1923.09.16. It must be noted that Köprülüzâde’s papers were published in the proceedings of the conference, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Les Origines du Bektachisme: Essai sur le Développement Historique de l’Hétérodoxie Musulmane en Asie Mineure,’ in *Actes du Congrès International d’Histoire des Religions: Tenu à Paris en Octobre 1923, Tome Second* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1925), 391–411; idem, ‘Une Institution Magique chez les Anciens Turcs: Yat,’ in *Actes du Congrès International d’Histoire des Religions*, 440–451. For the Turkish translations of these papers, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri: Küçük Asya’da İslam Batınlığının Tekâmül-i Tarihisi Hakkında Bir Tecrübe,’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 8 (May 1341 [1925]): 121–140; idem, ‘Eski Türklerde Dini-Sihri Bir Anane: Yat veya Yağmur Taşı,’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 4, no. 1 (March-April 1925): 1–11. For Köprülüzâde’s observations on the congress, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Paris Hatıraları: Beynelmilel Tarih-i Edyân Kongresi,’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3880 (Rebi’ülevvel 28, 1342/Teşrin-i Sani 8, 1923): 3; idem, ‘Paris Hatıraları: Tarih-i Edyân Kongresinde İslam Tetkikatı I,’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3884 (Rebi’ülahir 3, 1342/Teşrin-i Sani 12, 1923): 3; idem, ‘Tarih-i Edyân Kongresinde İslam Tetkikatı II,’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3887 (Rebi’ülahir 6, 1342/Teşrin-i Sani 15, 1923): 3.

⁵⁶ BCA. 30.18.1.1/15.49.1. 1925.08.05.

⁵⁷ BCA. 30.18.1.1/17.91.9. 1926.02.14.

literary history. Moreover, he also collected some of his studies on Azeri poets into a book during his visit, and this work was published under the title *Azeri Edebiyatına Ait Tetkikler* (Researches on Azerbaijani Literature) in Baku in 1926.⁵⁸ Then, in August 1928, he participated in the prestigious ‘International Congress of Orientalists’ at Oxford University, where he presented two papers on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Turkish literary history.⁵⁹ Next year, he once again went to England and represented Turkey at a conference on religious history that took place in London.⁶⁰ Last but not least, he was invited to Kharkov in 1929 to attend a scholarly congress organized by the ‘All-Ukrainian Scientific Association of Oriental Studies’.⁶¹

In parallel with these conferences, presentations, and certainly the publication of his books and articles, Köprülüzâde gained a substantial scholarly reputation in European academic circles during the 1920s. Besides having been invited to the aforementioned international conferences, many of his historical works were reviewed and praised by prominent orientalists in the prestigious academic journals of the time. Approximately one year after the appearance of *Early Mystics*, for

⁵⁸ M. Fuat Köprülü, *Azeri Edebiyatına Ait Tetkikler* (Baku: Jeni Turq Elifba Komitesi, 1926). See also Ömer Faruk Akün, ‘Mehmed Fuad Köprülü,’ in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.28 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), 477, 483.

⁵⁹ The titles of Köprülüzâde’s papers were ‘Muhammad bin Kais and his Turkish-Kankli Dictionary’ and ‘New Light on Omar Khayyam’. See *Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists: Oxford, 1928* (Reprint Version) (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1968), 13, 84. For Köprülüzâde’s observations on the congress, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Oxford’da Toplanan On Yedinci Beynelmilel Müsteşrikler Kongresi,’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 6, no. 4 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1928): 678–686; idem, ‘Oxford’da 17. Müsteşrikler Kongresi,’ *Hayat* 4, no. 94 (September 13, 1928): 305–306; idem, ‘Müsteşrikler Kongresinde,’ *Hayat* 4, no. 96 (September 27, 1928): 345–346.

⁶⁰ Park, ‘The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,’ 56–57; Asılsoy, ‘Türk Modernleşmesinin Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü,’ 37.

⁶¹ For Köprülüzâde’s remarks on the Kharkov conference, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Okrayna Müsteşrikler Kongresi I,’ *Cumhuriyet*, May 28, 1929, 3; idem, ‘Okrayna Müsteşrikler Kongresi II,’ *Cumhuriyet*, May 29, 1929, 3. See also Şahin, ‘Russian Turkology: From Past to Present,’ 610–611.

instance, the renowned French orientalist Lucien Bouvat published a forty-six-page review article on it in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*.⁶² This comprehensive piece was followed by Clément Huart's two laudatory review essays that were printed respectively in the *Journal des Savants* and *Journal Asiatique* in 1922 and 1923. In these essays, Huart spoke highly of how Köprülüzâde masterfully applied the contemporary methodological principles of European historiography to the study of Turkish literary history, and extolled the latter's works as path-breaking academic studies.⁶³ Johannes Heinrich Mordtmann, likewise, who had taught historical methodology at Istanbul University in the mid-1910s, did not hesitate to describe Köprülüzâde as a scholarly authority on Turkish history in his two review articles on *Early Mystics* and *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (The History of Turkish Literature).⁶⁴

In addition to these and Gyula Németh's, Theodor Menzel's, Friedrich Kraelitz's, and Vladimir A. Gordlevskii's subsequent review essays, Köprülüzâde also received a number of honorary memberships and degrees from various distinguished scholarly associations in the 1920s.⁶⁵ In November 1925, for example, he was elected a

⁶² L. Bouvat, 'Les Premiers Mystiques dans la Littérature Turque,' *Revue du Monde Musulman* XLIII (Février 1921): 236–282.

⁶³ Cl. Huart, 'Les Anciens Derviches Turcs,' *Journal Des Savants* 20 (Janvier-Février 1922): 5–18; idem, 'Keuprulu-zâde Mohammed Fu'ad. Turk Edebîyyâtında İlk Mutêçavvif-ler (Les Premiers Mystiques dans la Littérature Turque),' *Journal Asiatique* CCII (Janvier-Mars 1923): 146–150. It must be noted that the first essay was translated into Turkish. For the Turkish translation of this review, see Clément Huart, 'Garpta Şark Eserleri: Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar,' trans. Ragıb Hulusi, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1, 267–280.

⁶⁴ J. H. Mordtmann, 'Köprülü-zade Mehmed Fu'ad: Türk Edebijatında İlk Mutesawwıflar,' *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 26, no. 3 (März 1923): 122–129; idem, 'Köprülü-zade Mehmed Fu'ad: Türk Edebijati Tarichi,' *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 26, no. 5 (Mai 1923): 225–227. For the Turkish translation of the first review, see J. H. Mordtmann, 'Garpta Şark Eserleri: Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar,' trans. Mübarek Galib, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1, 281–287. For the Turkish translation of the second review, see J. H. Mordtmann, 'Garpta Şark Eserleri: Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi,' trans. Mübarek Galib, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2, 451–452.

⁶⁵ For Gyula Németh's review, see J. [Gyula] Németh, 'Köprülüzade Mehmed Fu'ad: Türk Edebijatynda İlk Mütêçavvıflar,' *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum* 1, 330–332. For the Turkish translation of this review, see Gyula Németh, 'Garpta Şark Eserleri: Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, Türk

corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences on the proposal of the eminent Russian orientalists such as Wilhelm Barthold, Sergey Oldenburg, and Ignaty Krachkovsky.⁶⁶ Then, he was granted the same membership status by the Hungarian Oriental Society, *Kőrösi Csoma Társaság*, in 1926.⁶⁷ One year later, he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Heidelberg for his contribution to Oriental studies, a contribution which was also highly praised by another significant orientalist of the day, Paul Wittek, who wrote an article on the occasion of this award.⁶⁸ Lastly, the Oriental Institute of Prague elected him as its corresponding member in May 1929, as did the German Archaeological Institute in January 1930, whose Istanbul branch was established by Paul Wittek just a few months ago.⁶⁹

Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar,' trans. Köprülüzâde Ahmed Cemal, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1, 288–289. For Theodor Menzel's two review essays on Köprülüzâde's works, see Th. Menzel, 'Die ältesten Türkischen Mystiker,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 79 (1925): 269–289; idem, 'Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad's Werk über die Ersten Mystiker in der Türkischen Literatur,' *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum* 2, 281–310, 345–357, 406–422. For Friedrich Kraelitz's review, see F. Kraelitz, 'Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad Bej: Türk Edebijyatı Tarihi,' *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 2 (1923–1925): 167–168. For the Turkish translation of this review, see Kraelitz, 'Garpta Şark Eserleri: Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi,' trans. Köprülüzâde Ahmed Cemal, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2, 449–451. It must be noted that Vladimir A. Gordlevskii's review article on Köprülüzâde's *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* was published in Russian in the Azerbaijani journal *Azerbaycan'ı Tedkik ve Tettebbu Cemiyeti'nin Ahbârı* (Newsletter of the Society for the Study and Research of Azerbaijan). I am grateful to my friend Camilla Pletuhina for translating this article from the Russian original. For the article, see VI. Gordlevskiy, 'Perehodnaya Pora Osmanskoy Literatury: Po Povodu Knigi Kyopryulyu-Zade M. Fuada,' *Azerbaycan'ı Tedkik ve Tettebbu Cemiyeti'nin Ahbârı*, no. 2 (1926): 10–31. For a more detailed account of the laudatory reviews that Köprülüzâde's works received in the 1920s, see Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 195–196; Nihad Sâmî Banarlı, 'Avrupalı Âlimler ve Fuad Köprülü,' in *Kitaplar ve Portreler: Mehmed Âkif'den Günümüze* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 1985), 213–236.

⁶⁶ 'Türkiyat Haberleri,' *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2, 556–559. It should be mentioned that Köprülüzâde's corresponding membership status with Soviet Academy of Sciences was terminated in 1948 due to the increasingly deteriorating Turco-Soviet relations during the post-war era. For more detailed information on this point, see Abdülkadir İnan, 'Fuad Köprülü ve Sovyet İlimler Akademisi,' *Türk Kültürü*, no. 81, 632–634.

⁶⁷ 'Türkiyat Haberleri,' *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2, 555–556.

⁶⁸ Paul Wittek, 'Köprülüsade Mehmed Fuad,' *Türkische Post*, August 3, 1927, 2. See also Banarlı, 'Avrupalı Âlimler ve Fuad Köprülü,' 221–224.

⁶⁹ 'Köprülüzâde Fuat B. Çekoslovakya Şark Enstitüsü Azası', *Cumhuriyet*, May 27, 1929, 2; Köprülüzâde Fuat Bey [Almanya Arkeoloji Cemiyetine Aza Olmuştur], *Cumhuriyet*, Kanun-ı Sani

All in all, it would not be an exaggeration to state that Köprülüzâde was acknowledged both in Turkey and Europe as the most important Turkish historian from the beginning of the 1920s. For his Western counterparts, he was the first and—at least for a long duration of time—the only Turkish scholar who properly used the modern methods of historical research and literary analysis in his studies, which, according to them, not only unearthed and examined little-known ‘oriental’ sources but also filled significant gaps in the existing literature. For his Turkish colleagues, he was the most active and assiduous academic of the 1920s who strove to rebuild the institutional space of historical scholarship and revive the historiographical production in the country. And lastly, for the nationalist intelligentsia and the power-holding elite, he was above all an irreplaceable contributor to the intellectual foundation of the Turkish nation and the emergent nation-state. His works, in their view, were answering presumably the most crucial intellectual and scholarly need of the nationalist project by providing a historical rationale for the legitimacy of the young republic, which just took its place in the world of nation-states.

Although the importance attributed to Köprülüzâde by various scholarly and political circles was rooted in different motivations, it would not be wrong to say that each circles’ conclusions about him were right on their own. As pointed out above, Köprülüzâde indeed put in effort to rebuild the institutional structure of Turkish historiography while he was managing the IT and THA in the 1920s, promoted the publication of new historical studies through these associations and their journals, and he himself wrote an enormous number of scholarly books and articles, most of which soon became major reference works on Turkish history and also greatly

29, 1930, 4. See also Colin Heywood, ‘Witteck and the Austrian Tradition,’ *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 1 (1988): 10.

contributed to the intellectual and ideological baggage of Turkish nationalism. But, besides and beyond all these, what made Köprülüzâde the de facto founding father of Turkish academic historiography was that he had constructed the first—and at least for a long time the unique—scholarly valid historical master narrative regarding Turkish history and national past. To put it more directly, Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad was the very historian who consummated and crowned the half-century-long nationalist historiographical efforts to invent this national past, by establishing, in a scholarly and sophisticated manner, a grand narrative of continuity for the Turkish nation.

This narrative of continuity, as emphasized by Köprülüzâde repeatedly, had the primary goal of tracing and analyzing the evolution of Turkish history in its entirety.⁷⁰ Pursuant to this holistic approach, he made a special point of examining both the two main periods—i.e., the pre-Islamic and Islamic—of the ‘national past’ comprehensively. Thus, contrary to the general tendency of nationalist historians during the 1920s and 1930s, he did not confine his analysis exclusively to the Central Asian Turkish history. Similarly, he never treated the Islamic and Ottoman past of the Turks as an independent and disconnected field of study, in contrast not only to traditional historians but also to contemporary orientalist as Franz Babinger who, according to Köprülüzâde, examined the religious history of Anatolia by totally isolating the subject from its broader geographical and historical context.⁷¹

⁷⁰ For some examples, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 6–9; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, xxii–xxiii; idem, ‘Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları,’ 383.

⁷¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet [I],’ 283–285; idem, ‘Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,’ 122–123; idem, ‘Anadolu Tarih-i Dinisi Hakkında Notlar,’ *Dergâh* 2/4, no. 42 (Kanun-ı Sani 5, 1339 [1923]): 82. On this point, see also Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet: Fuad Köprülü ve Sonrası,’ in *Ortaçağlar Anadolu’sunda İslam’ın Ayak İzleri: Selçuklu Dönemi (Makaleler-Araştırmalar)* (3rd ed.), (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 42–44.

Persistently emphasizing the necessity of studying Turkish history as a whole, Köprülüzâde took great pains in his narrative to give a complete picture of the latter that ‘extended from Central Asia to Anatolia and from antiquity to the modern era’.⁷² More importantly, he did not simply present this picture in a descriptive manner—unlike what Şemseddin Günaltay and Rıza Nur did in their multi-volume books published in the mid-1920s—, and instead strove to reveal the connections and continuities between different periods of Turkish history.⁷³ In this way, he ‘irrefutably demonstrated’ that the Anatolian Turkishness was not a newly emerged phenomenon but a deeply rooted historical entity, which was tightly linked to its Central Asian origins. Besides providing the twentieth-century Turks with a national identity based on antiquity through this demonstration, he also challenged the ‘biased’ orientalist theses that reduced the Ottoman, Seljuk and Central Asian Turks to simple imitators of other nations and ignored the major role they had played in Islamic and world history.⁷⁴ But how did Köprülüzâde challenge these theses, demonstrate the historical longevity and grandeur of the Turkish nation, reveal the continuities in its history, and connect different periods of the so-called national past to each other? To put it in more general terms, what were the main lines of Köprülüzâde’s grand narrative that traced the historical evolution of the Turks through the ages from antiquity all the way to modern times? In what follows I seek to answer these questions by focusing on Köprülüzâde’s scholarly works that appeared in the late 1910s and 1920s.

⁷² See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 9; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşu*, xxii–xxiii; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 6–8.

⁷³ For Günaltay’s and Nur’s works, see footnote 15.

⁷⁴ For some examples of Köprülüzâde’s discourse against the ‘biased’ orientalist theses, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 4–7; idem, ‘Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları,’ 383. On this point, see also Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 194–195; Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 14–23.

5. 1 A Mythical Past in Ancient Central Asia

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Köprülüzâde had devoted a substantial part of his early academic career to the exploration of ancient Turkish culture and literature. In the subsequent years, he continued to examine the pre-Islamic Turkish history, and considerably improved his initial analysis on the latter. Stated differently, in order to strengthen the nationalist historiographical claims on the antiquity and longevity of the Turkish nation, he extended his enquiry beyond literary history to include all aspects of the ancient national past in Central Asia. As a result, he constructed a two-layered narrative on pre-Islamic Turkish history, ‘whose beginning’, according to him, ‘dates back to thousands of years before the present’.⁷⁵

It is safe to say that these two layers, which generally appeared in his studies as two successive chapters or subchapters entitled *İslamiyet’ten Evvel Türkler* (The Turks Before Islam) and *Kable’l-İslam Türk Medeniyeti* (The pre-Islamic Turkish Civilization), were devoted respectively to the examination of the political and socio-cultural history of the Central Asian Turks.⁷⁶ Thus, Köprülüzâde initially gave in his works a detailed account of the three pre-Islamic Turkish polities—i.e., the Huns, the Gokturks, and the Uyghurs—that came into existence through the union of nomadic tribes.⁷⁷ According to his description, which he strikingly made just before the emergence of the new Turkish nation-state in 1923, these polities represented the

⁷⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 3; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 16–17; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 13–14.

⁷⁶ For some examples, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 19–36, 37–61; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 15–37, 39–65; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 13–96.

⁷⁷ Köprülü, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 41–43; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 39–40; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 24–25.

first historical examples of the Turks' commitment to their freedom and independence as well as demonstrated in and of themselves the nation's ingenuity in state-building and administration.⁷⁸ What is more, he emphasized, these first Turkish states soon became the largest and most powerful empires of Asia and played a decisive role in the great political and military events of their times. The military achievements of the Huns, for instance, compelled their Chinese neighbors to build the Wall of China. In the fourth and fifth centuries, Köprülüzâde continued, the Hun Turks also triggered the Great Migration of Peoples that caused the collapse of the Western Roman Empire.⁷⁹ The Gokturks, likewise, expanded their borders from the Caspian Sea to Manchuria during the sixth century, and besides attaining a high level of civilization, they also performed a bridge function between different cultures and countries, from Byzantium to India and from Persia to China.⁸⁰

As for the peoples of these pre-Islamic Turkish states, they were brave, warlike, hardworking, and creative, according to Köprülüzâde.⁸¹ These characteristics, he stressed, not only constituted the key elements of the political and military power of the ancient Turkish peoples, but also brought them economic prosperity and self-sufficiency. In other words, the Central Asian Turks led, for Köprülüzâde, a stable and wealthy life due to their dexterity, creativity, and diligence.⁸² It must be noted that these undocumented and highly speculative arguments were intended to confute

⁷⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 3–4.

⁷⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 15–17; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 21–25; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 18–23.

⁸⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 14–15; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 25–28; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 17–19.

⁸¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 3–5, 44–45; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 13–14; 27–29.

⁸² Köprülü, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 17, 43–45; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 13–14; 27–29; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 41–43.

the equally speculative assertions of the nineteenth-century Orientalist scholarship, which mostly regarded the pre-Islamic Turks as unproductive and parasitic nomads engaged in raiding, plunder, and tribute-taking.⁸³ Against these assertions, Köprülüzâde advocated that the Central Asian Turks had a multilayered social structure, consisting of different groups and mutual relationships. The nomads and semi-nomads, according to him, too, constituted the majority of the ancient Turkish peoples, and also were the primary mainstay of the states established by the pre-Islamic Turks. However, rather than relying on pillage and tribute, ‘these nomadic tribes [...] were mainly engaged in [...] animal husbandry, hunting, and gathering’.⁸⁴

The other significant point Köprülüzâde strongly emphasized in this context was the presence of sedentary communities among the Central Asian Turks. In his view, a considerable portion of the ancient Turkish society had adopted a sedentary way of life at some point in time, and established many villages, towns, and cities.⁸⁵ While the nomads provided these settlements with livestock products, the sedentary groups, in return, produced such agricultural crops as corn, barley, wheat and rice. Moreover, Köprülüzâde added, they were also involved in weaving, craftsmanship, and trade, through which they interacted with neighboring peoples.⁸⁶ This interaction, however, ‘did not [...] necessarily [...] lead to their assimilation into [...] other cultures and civilizations’. Quite to the contrary, he stressed, the ancient Turks always clung

⁸³ See Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 14–23; idem, ‘Tarih Çalışmaları’, in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 9 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), 2457–2459.

⁸⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 13–14; 27–29; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 19–20, 41–43; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 17, 43–45.

⁸⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 19–21, 41–44; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 17, 43–45, 52; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 13–14; 27–29.

⁸⁶ Köprülü, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 17, 43–45, 52; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 19–20, 41–43; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 13–14; 27–29.

tenaciously to their national customs and traditions. It was true that ‘they borrowed [...] some elements [...] from other cultures’. But, instead of directly adopting these elements as simple imitators, they made a special point of combining and synthesizing them with their own national culture and traditions. It was in this way that, Köprülüzâde concluded, the Central Asian Turks built an original and authentic civilization.⁸⁷

This ‘pre-Islamic Turkish civilization’, according to him, was highly developed not only with regard to military power and material wealth, but also with regard to cultural, intellectual, and scientific matters. In Köprülüzâde’s view, the ancient Turks’ profound interest in the ‘arts and sciences’ was one of the most concrete indicators of their cultural and intellectual refinement. As a result of this profound interest, he emphasized, the Central Asian Turks advanced considerably in such areas as metallurgy, irrigation, construction and architecture.⁸⁸ Moreover, he acutely noted, contrary to the distorted theses of orientalist scholars who depicted the pre-Islamic Turkish peoples as barbaric savages, ‘the ancient Turks [...] dealt with [...] almost every branch of the fine arts [...] and [...] created numerous precious works of art’.⁸⁹ Seeking to refute these ‘biased’ orientalist arguments, Köprülüzâde also stressed that ‘the Central Asian Turks [...] had [...] a great national epic of their own’, just as all other ‘ancient’, ‘historical’, and ‘civilized’ nations. In the same vein as the Greeks’ *Iliad and the Odyssey*, the Finns’ *Kalevala*, and the Indians’ *Ramayana*, he continued, the Turkish national epic, which was subsequently called *Oghuz-nâme*,

⁸⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 43–44, 48–49; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 29–32; idem *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 45–46.

⁸⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 29–30; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 30–31, 48–49; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 47, 50–52.

⁸⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 30–31, 44–45, 47–49; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 29–30; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 50–52.

was born from the nation's own spirit, and constituted an invaluable source for understanding the cultural sophistication of the Central Asian Turks.⁹⁰ Another manifestation of this sophistication, for Köprülüzâde, was the pre-Islamic Turks' invention of their own alphabet systems in the fourth century.⁹¹ Following this invention, he stated, the Central Asian Turks produced many prose and poetic texts, the most famous of which were the Orkhon and Uyghur inscriptions of the eighth century.⁹² Besides revealing 'the high level of civilization they achieved', these inscriptions also 'proved undisputedly that [...] the Central Asian Turks [...] already had a rich and cultivated written literature [...] before their adoption of Islam'.⁹³

Köprülüzâde maintained that although the oldest surviving fragments of this written literature belonged to the eighth century, the beginnings of Turkish literary history dated back to much earlier times in which even the social division of labor had not yet taken place.⁹⁴ As he explained already in his first scholarly articles published in 1915 in *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* (The Journal of National Studies), the genesis and early evolution of ancient Turkish literature was closely connected with the pre-Islamic belief systems of the Central Asian Turks.⁹⁵ To put it more precisely,

⁹⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatına Umumi Bir Bakış,' in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi: Konferanslar, Müzakere Zabıtları*, 319; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 50–54, 74–76; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 277–278.

⁹¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 35–40; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 45–46.

⁹² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatına Umumi Bir Bakış,' 308, 312–313; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 33–49; idem, 'Edebiyatta Şahsiyet,' 26–27.

⁹³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 27; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 33–34, 38–40; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinisi*, 48–50.

⁹⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatına Umumi Bir Bakış,' 308–309; idem, 'Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,' 12–20.

⁹⁵ As Markus Dressler has pointed out, Köprülüzâde employed the notions of shamanism, totemism, animism, and paganism to describe the pre-Islamic belief systems of the Central Asian Turks. Although he interchangeably—and in an unsystematic manner—used these concepts in his various historical studies, it is safe to say that he mostly preferred to define the pre-Islamic Turkish religion as shamanism. However, as I discussed at length in the previous chapter, Köprülüzâde's theses on pre-

following the Durkheimian theory that regarded religion as the *fons et origo* of all creative intellectual practices, Köprülüzâde argued that the first literary products of pre-Islamic Turkish societies originated as part of their shamanistic rites and rituals, which were performed by magico-religious figures called *shamans*, *baksıs* or *kams*. Thus, as we have seen in the previous chapter, he described these *shamans*, *baksıs* or *kams* as ‘the earliest Turkish poets’ who also had such other socio-spiritual functions as ‘healing, [...] fortune-telling, [...] soothsaying, [...] and witchcraft’.⁹⁶ As a result of their religious roles and spiritual powers, Köprülüzâde continued, these priest-poets held a highly esteemed place in shamanistic Turkish societies. Even though the purely religious content of their songs and poems gradually changed in time to also include the profane themes, neither these poets nor their literary products lost their sacred and high moral character in the eyes of Central Asian Turkish peoples. Hence, Köprülüzâde stressed, both the religious, didactic, heroic, and mythical poems of ancient Turkish *kams* and *baksıs* continued for centuries not only to be very popular among the pre-Islamic Turks but also to be highly influential in determining their

Islamic Turkish religiosity and Central Asian shamanism were mostly speculative, lacking any historical and empirical documentation. Devin DeWeese, in a similar vein, has stated that Köprülüzâde never carried his examination of ‘Turkish shamanism’ beyond a superficial and speculative analysis. DeWeese has also questioned whether the pre-Islamic belief systems of the whole Central Asian Turkish society could be described as shamanism because of the fact that shamanist religious practices were performed only by a limited group of religious figures who would have been called upon for very particular occasions. For Köprülüzâde’s views on pre-Islamic Turkish belief systems, see Köprülü, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 55–65; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 89–90; idem, *Influence du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur les Ordres Mystiques Musulmans*. For Dressler’s and DeWeese’s criticisms of Köprülüzâde’s theses on ‘Turkish shamanism’, see Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 188–189, 204–209; Devin DeWeese, ‘Foreword,’ in *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, by Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, trans. and ed. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London: Routledge, 2006), xiv–xvii; idem, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 32–50. On this point, see also Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, ‘Alevîlik ve Bektaşîlik Hakkındaki Son Yayınlar Üzerine (1990) Genel Bir Bakış ve Bazı Gerçekler,’ in *Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar* (14th ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 221–223; idem, *Alevî ve Bektaşî İnançlarının İslam Öncesi Temelleri: Bektaşî Menâkıbnâmelerinde İslam Öncesi İnanç Motifleri* (10th ed.), (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 53–74.

⁹⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,’ 5–11, 13–16; idem, ‘Bahşı,’ 233–237; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 77–84; idem, ‘Din Edebiyatı: Türklerde Dini Edebiyat,’ 45–51; idem, ‘Din Edebiyatı: İslamiyetten Evvel,’ 173–177.

values, behaviors, and worldviews.⁹⁷ What is more, he stated, their songs and poems, which were composed in the ‘national metrical system’—i.e., syllabic meter—and sung accompanied by the ‘national musical instrument of the Turks’—i.e., *qopuz*—, appealed to all people in pre-Islamic Turkish societies. That is to say, the ancient Turkish literature expressed and satisfied the feelings, emotions and literary taste of the entire nation, ‘from the simplest person to the *khan*’.⁹⁸ This situation, however, would substantially change due to two crucial historical developments: first, the emergence of division of labor and social stratification, and second, the Turks’ adoption of Islam.

These two crucial developments—or more accurately, historical processes—indeed deeply affected the course and evolution of Turkish literature, according to Köprülüzâde. For one thing, the emergence of division of labor, in his view, caused a relative decrease in the social status of the old Turkish *kams* and *baksıs*, since their multiple functions began to disappear with the establishment of a basic form of occupational specialization in society.⁹⁹ Secondly, Köprülüzâde emphasized, the advance of the division of labor brought along the stratification of the Central Asian Turkish society, and as a result of it, there soon emerged various artistic and literary levels appealing to different social layers. To put it more bluntly, the social stratification eroded the homogeneity and uniformity of the pre-Islamic Turks at the cultural and intellectual levels, and led to a differentiation in the aesthetic, artistic,

⁹⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 81–84, 87–90; idem, ‘Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,’ 13–19, 27–57.

⁹⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 13–14; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 90–96; idem, ‘Hayat ve Edebiyat,’ 266–267.

⁹⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,’ 7–8, 12, 20–21; idem, ‘Türk Edebiyatında Âşık Tarzının Menşei ve Tekâmülü Hakkında Bir Tecrübe,’ 35–36; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 80–81.

and literary tastes of the notables and the masses.¹⁰⁰ And lastly, Köprülüzâde concluded, the Turks' entry into the milieu of Islamic civilization and their adoption of Islam, which, according to him, constituted the first great turning point in Turkish history, further deepened this cultural bifurcation between the upper and lower classes.¹⁰¹ While the former increasingly came under the influence of high Islamic culture and Arabo-Persian literary genres and currents, the latter adhered strongly to their 'national' traditions and went on to satisfy their aesthetic-artistic needs with the 'authentic' poems of the old Turkish *kams* and *baksıs*.¹⁰²

All in all, Köprülüzâde's narrative tells us that Turkish literature acquired a two-tiered structure in the course and aftermath of the Turks' conversion to Islam between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Corresponding to the two main socio-cultural strata of the Central Asian Turkish society, these tiers appealed to the aesthetic and literary tastes of two separate social classes, which were defined by Köprülüzâde as the elite and the people. Consequently, these layers, or in another saying, literary branches of Turkish literature, were shaped and practiced in quite different intellectual and socio-cultural milieus, according to Köprülüzâde. The literature of the elite ('*yüksek/münevver zümre edebiyatı*'), in this context, was mostly practiced at the courts of rulers and high officials, and beginning from the khans of the first Muslim Turkish states, i.e., the Karakhanids and the Ghaznavids, it

¹⁰⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatında Âşık Tarzının Menşe ve Tekâmülü Hakkında Bir Tecrübe,' 35–36, 41–42, 43–44; idem, 'Türk Edebiyatının Menşei,' 7–9, 19–21; idem, 'Edebiyatta Şahsiyet,' 26; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 80–82.

¹⁰¹ For the Turks' entry into the milieu of Islamic civilization and their adoption of Islam, see Köprülü, *Türk Tarih-i Dinisi*, 66–91; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 67–78, 83–85; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 14–17.

¹⁰² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatına Umumi Bir Bakış,' 309–311; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 80–81, 139–140, 155–156, 177–179; idem, 'Arûz,' 634–635, 644–645; idem, 'Türk Edebiyatında Âşık Tarzının Menşe ve Tekâmülü Hakkında Bir Tecrübe,' 7–11; idem, 'Bir Medeniyet Zümresine Mensup Edebiyatlarda Müsterek Kıymetler: Esas,' 85–86.

always received the patronage of sultans, viziers and notables. This support and patronage, in Köprülüâde's view, on the one hand ensured the flourishing of the elite/court literature in a swift and remarkable manner, as the literary works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries like the *Qutadgu Bilig* (Wisdom of Royal Glory) of Yusuf Khas Hajib and the *Atabetü'l-Hakâyık* (Threshold of Realities) of Edib Ahmed Yüknê clearly demonstrated. But on the other hand, the aforementioned patronage system and the clientelistic relationships it created also led to the shaping of this literary branch under the influence of Persian literature, since the elite regarded the latter as superior to the songs and poems of the Turkish folk poets, who were the major agents of the second tier of Turkish literature.¹⁰³

It must be emphasized in this context that Köprülüâde described this second tier—i.e., the popular/folk literature ('*halk edebiyatı*')—as the exact opposite of the former. To briefly summarize, while the literature of the elite was performed by highly cultured, urbane and Persian-influenced men of letters, the popular/folk literature was practiced by bards, folk poets and *qopuz* players, living among the people and maintaining the literary traditions of the old Turkish *kams* and *baksıs*. In connection with this, he stated, contrary to the elite literature that was shaped under the influence of Persian literary genres and currents, the popular/folk literature flourished on the basis of ancient Turkish culture and literary traditions. Thus, he continued, in contrast to the practitioners of the elite literature who wrote their poems in couplets ('*beyitler*') and by using *aruz* meters, the bards and folk poets went on to compose theirs in four-line stanzas ('*dörtlük-kıta*') and by using syllabic meters. And

¹⁰³ For further information on how Köprülüâde described the literature of the elite, see Köprülüâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 116–117, 194–210; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 118–119, 127–128, 212–214, 217–219; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 23–28; idem, 'Arûz,' 644–645; idem, 'Gaznevîler Devrinde Türk Şiiri,' *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 7, no. 2 (July 1929): 81–83.

lastly, he added, while the literary products appealing to elite circles were replete with Arabo-Persian words, phrases, and constructions, the songs and poems of the folk poets and *qopuz* players were composed in an unvarnished style and plain language that was intelligible to everyone.¹⁰⁴

After describing in detail the features of and differences between the elite and folk literatures, Köprülüzâde focused on the emergence of an Islamic-religious genre in Turkish literature. This new literary branch, according to him, emerged and developed as a result of the spread of the Sufi movement (*'tasavvuf cereyanı'*) among the Central Asian Turks in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁰⁵ But nevertheless, the bifurcated socio-cultural context profoundly affected the development of the Sufi literature, as it did all other intellectual, aesthetic and literary patterns and manifestations. Hence, Köprülüzâde stressed, in accordance with the two-tiered structure of the Central Asian Turkish society and literature, this Islamic literary genre followed a bifurcated path from the very beginning of its emergence. More explicitly, the Sufi literature developed on two separate levels that corresponded to the aforementioned two main socio-cultural layers.¹⁰⁶ The Sufi literary works appealing to notables, in this context, were produced by mystic poets who had a deep knowledge of Sufi philosophy and literature, according to

Köprülüzâde. Imitating the works of the great Persian Sufi poets as Hakim Sanai and

¹⁰⁴ For further information on how Köprülüzâde described the popular/folk literature, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Edebiyatına Umumi Bir Bakış,' 310; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 184–186; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 28–30; idem, 'Arûz,' 643–645; idem, 'Meddahlar: Türklerde Halk Hikâyeciliği Tarihine Ait Bazı Maddeler,' 1–5; idem, 'Edebiyatımızda Cenkcülük II,' in *Köprülü'den Seçmeler*, 28–32.

¹⁰⁵ For the emergence of the Sufi movement and literature in the Islamic world and their spread among the Central Asian Turks, see Köprülü, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 144–147; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 5–6, 17–23; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 141–151, 226–227; idem, 'Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları,' 421–422.

¹⁰⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 148–153; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 5–6, 129, 176–179.

Farid al-Din Attar, these mystics wrote their poems in *aruz* meters and used an ornamental, refined and pompous language. The representatives of popular Sufi literature ('*tasavvufi halk edebiyatı*'), on the contrary, made a special point of addressing the people in a manner they would easily understand and appreciate. Therefore, Köprülüzâde stated, these dervish poets composed their mystical poems in four-line stanzas and by using syllabic meters just as the Turkish bards had been doing for centuries. The reason for this, in his view, had to do with the primary aim of these dervish poets, which was to convey Islamic and mystical teachings to people. As a result of the religious, moral and didactic character of their literary works, Köprülüzâde concluded, these dervish poets were called as *babs*, *babas* or *atas* by the Central Asian Turkish people, who likened them to the pre-Islamic *shamans*, *baksıs*, and *kams*.¹⁰⁷

In the light of all the points made above, it is safe to say that Köprülüzâde constructed a quadripartite classification scheme for analyzing the evolution of Turkish literary history from the late eleventh century onwards. Within this classification, he defined four main categories—or, to put it in more specific terms, literary branches—in Turkish literature, which were, as we have seen, the elite/court literature, the high Sufi literature, the folk literature, and the popular Sufi literature. Classifying the poets, authors, and Sufis of each century under one of these four categories and establishing almost an absolute identification between those who were in the same category, Köprülüzâde thus connected different periods of Turkish history to each other through this scheme. Accordingly, he used this quadripartite scheme as an analytical tool for forging conspicuous links between the various

¹⁰⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 226–227; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 5–6, 21–23, 129–131, 166–169, 176–180; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 141–142; idem, 'Ata,' in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 1, 711–712; idem, 'Baba,' in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 2, 165–166.

epochs of the national past and proving the continuity of Turkish cultural and literary traditions throughout the ages. It was within this very context that he devoted the most part of his first large-scale historical study, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Early Mystics in Turkish Literature), to the exploration of the life and work of Ahmed Yasawi, who was, according to him, the founder of one of those four branches in Turkish literature and thus the initiator of a long-lasting cultural and literary tradition among the Turks. In what follows I focus on how Köprülüzâde examined the life and work of Ahmed Yasawi and made him the linchpin of his narrative of continuity.

5. 2 Köprülüzâde's Portrait(s) of Ahmed Yasawi: Establishing the Connection, Strengthening the Continuity

In April 1914, the young Köprülüzâde published a comprehensive article in the nationalist scholarly journal *Bilgi Mecmuası* (Journal of Knowledge), entitled 'Hoca Ahmed Yesevi: Çağatay ve Osmanlı Edebiyatları Üzerindeki Tesiri' (Khwaja Ahmed Yasawi: His Influence on the Chaghatay and Ottoman Literatures). In this thirty-five-page piece, which was the first academic work on Ahmed Yasawi in Ottoman-Turkish historiography, Köprülüzâde sought to inform his readers about this 'great' Central Asian Sufi and shed light on how he had deeply influenced the course of Turkish literature.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, he identified Ahmed Yasawi as the founder of Turkish mystical folk poetry in his article, which came out shortly after the publication of his another study that concentrated on the Anatolian mystical folk poet Yunus Emre, who lived in the second half of the thirteenth and the early decades of

¹⁰⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Hoca Ahmed Yesevi: Çağatay ve Osmanlı Edebiyatları Üzerindeki Tesiri,' 611–645.

the fourteenth centuries.¹⁰⁹ Considering these two works together, it becomes apparent that Köprülüzâde had already begun in 1914 to establish a connection between Central Asian and Anatolian literary traditions through ‘the earliest representatives of the popular Sufi poetry among the Eastern and Western Turks’.¹¹⁰ In accordance with his aim of situating the ‘Anatolian Turkishness’ within a broader historical context, he continued to work on this connection in the subsequent years and soon brought into being his masterpiece *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*.

Shaping both the learned and popular ideas about the historical links between Central Asia and Anatolia since its publication in 1919, the *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature* was composed of two wide-ranging chapters on Ahmed Yasawi and Yunus Emre, with the ultimate goal of proving the fundamental similarity and interconnectedness of the literary outputs of these two Sufis.¹¹¹ Accordingly, Köprülüzâde examined in detail the spiritual training, religio-mystical teachings, and literary works of Ahmed Yasawi in the first chapter. To briefly summarize the main lines of his narrative regarding this Central Asian ‘Turkish’ Sufi, Ahmed Yasawi was born in Sairam—located in modern-day Kazakhstan—in the second half of the eleventh century and died in 1166/67.¹¹² After the death of his father Ibrahim, who was a famous sheikh of his time, the young Ahmed moved to Yasi—the present-day city of Turkestan—and received there his initial spiritual training from the ‘well-

¹⁰⁹ This study was a two-part serial article published in the nationalist journal *Türk Yurdu*. See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Yunus Emre,’ 612–621; idem, ‘Yunus Emre: Âsarı,’ 922–930.

¹¹⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Hoca Ahmed Yesevi: Çağatay ve Osmanlı Edebiyatları Üzerindeki Tesiri,’ 642–645; idem, ‘Yunus Emre,’ 612–621; idem, ‘Yunus Emre: Âsarı,’ 922–924, 928–930.

¹¹¹ DeWeese, ‘Foreword,’ viii; Ahmet T. Karamustafa, ‘Origins of Anatolian Sufism,’ in *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society: sources-doctrine-rituals-turuq-architecture-literature and fine arts-iconography-modernism*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2005), 70.

¹¹² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 69–70.

known Turkish sheikh Arslan Baba'.¹¹³ Then, he went to Bukhara and became a pupil of one of the most leading Sunni scholars and Sufis of the era, Khwaja Abu Yaqub Yusuf Hamadani. Following in the footsteps of his master, who, according to Köprülüzâde, was of Persian origin and lived from 1049/50 to 1140/41, Yasawi soon acquired a great knowledge of Islamic sciences and Sufi philosophy, so much so that Hamadani assigned him as his third *khalifa* (successor) towards the end of his life.¹¹⁴ Although he succeeded to Hamadani's post upon the death of him and his first two *khalifas*, Yasawi commended all his companions to Khwaja Abd al-Khaliq Ghujduwani after a while and returned back to Yasi.¹¹⁵ There he propagated religious and mystical teachings among the Turks who had recently adopted Islam, gathered around himself many disciples, and founded the first Turkish Sufi order named after him, the Yasawiyya, which would also give birth to one of the most powerful tariqas in the Muslim world called the Naqshbandiyya.¹¹⁶

In Köprülüzâde's view, the underlying cause of Ahmed Yasawi's success in gaining many followers within a short period of time had to do with the manner of conveying his teachings to the people. According to him, what distinguished Ahmed Yasawi from other prominent Sufis of the era was his attention to express his religio-mystical views in a simple and plain language that was intelligible to everyone. Hence, Köprülüzâde stressed, in contrast to the Persian or Persian-influenced Turkish Sufis who appealed to elite circles with a 'pompous' and 'stilted' turn of phrase, Ahmed

¹¹³ Ibid., 70–72; idem, 'Ahmed Yesevi', in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 1, 210.

¹¹⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 72–76, 81–82, 129–131.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 81–84. See also Köprülü, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 147–148; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 195–197; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 226–228.

¹¹⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 84–85, 123–125, 129–131; idem, 'Ahmed Yesevi,' 211; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 147–148; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 226–228.

Yasawi addressed the people through ‘unvarnished’ and ‘artless’ poems that were called *hikmats*. Moreover, he argued, although Ahmed Yasawi received much of his spiritual training in one of the most important Islamic intellectual centers of the time and thus knew almost every nuance of Persian Sufi poetry, he made a special point of conforming to the literary tastes and customs of the Central Asian Turks.

Consequently, he always took great pains to sift his mystical teachings through the sieve of national literary traditions and composed all his *hikmats* by using the forms taken from Turkish popular/folk literature.¹¹⁷ These *hikmats*, which were arranged in four-line stanzas and written in syllabic meters, constituted the first examples of Turkish mystical folk literature, according to Köprülüzâde. Having emerged as a result of the effort to ‘convey the spirit of Islam through ancient Turkish cultural traditions’, he stated, this new literary genre developed in parallel with the spread of the Yasawiyya and popular Sufi movements among the Central Asian Turks. In time, it was diffused from Central Asia to other parts of the ‘Turkish world’ by the disciples of Ahmed Yasawi such as Sulaiman Baqirgani—i.e., the famous Hakim Ata—who also wrote numerous religious poems similar to *hikmats* of his master. That is to say, the pre-Islamic Turkish literary traditions were transmitted to Khwarezm, Azerbaijan and finally Anatolia via the wandering dervishes and mystic poets, and were maintained in these regions by the representatives of the popular Sufi literature, such as Makhdum Quli, Hasanoghlu, and Yunus Emre.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 5–6, 84–86, 129–131, 134–136, 166–174, 176–178, idem, ‘Ahmed Yesevi,’ 211, 214; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 147–148; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 227–230; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 196–197, 209–211. See also Karamustafa, ‘Origins of Anatolian Sufism,’ 70–71.

¹¹⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 5–7, 97–98, 183–189, 193–201; idem, ‘Ahmed Yesevi,’ 214–215; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 229–232, 240–241, idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 209–212; idem, ‘Türk Edebiyatına Umumi Bir Bakış,’ 311.

It must be noted here that while Köprülüzâde was constructing these theses, he was unaware of the vast majority of essential primary sources regarding the life and work of Ahmed Yasawi. Accordingly, although his narrative on the latter was based on a more solid empirical ground than that on ancient Turkish history, it nevertheless suffered from some serious bibliographical shortcomings due to reasons that were beyond Köprülüzâde's control.¹¹⁹ To put it more precisely, Köprülüzâde was obliged to portray Ahmed Yasawi by relying on a limited number of historical sources, since the Central Asian hagiographical corpus was largely unknown and thus unavailable to historians at the time when he was writing the *Early Mystics*.¹²⁰ Therefore, he could draw on none of the crucial sources like the *Hadiqat al-Arifin* and the *Lamahat min nafahat al-quds* in constructing his narrative and made several significant errors in his account of Ahmed Yasawi.¹²¹ The most serious of these, as Devin DeWeese has demonstrated, was Köprülüzâde's failure in determining accurately the period that Ahmed Yasawi had lived, allegedly between the second half of the eleventh century and 1166/67. According to DeWeese, contrary to what Köprülüzâde asserted

¹¹⁹ DeWeese, 'Foreword,' xi–xii. See also Gary Leiser, 'Çağdaş Türkoloji Araştırmalarında Köprülü'nün Yeri,' trans. Mertcan Akan, in *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, 31.

¹²⁰ It should be mentioned that Köprülüzâde drew mainly on four historical sources while he was constructing his narrative on Ahmed Yasawi. His chief source was the late sixteenth-century text *Djawahir al-Abrâr min Amwadj al-Bihar* of Ahmad b. Mahmud Hazini. He also made use of two other sixteenth-century sources, Fakhr al-Din Ali b. Husain Vaiz Kashifi's hagiographical compilation called the *Rashahat-i ain al-Hayât* and Khwaja Baha al-Din Hasan Nithari Bukhari's poetic anthology the *Mudhakkir-i Ahbâb*. Lastly, he utilized the collection of poetry ascribed to Ahmed Yasawi, the *Diwan-i Hikmat*. See DeWeese, 'Foreword,' xi–xii; Karamustafa, 'Origins of Anatolian Sufism,' 74; Rıza Yıldırım, 'Büyüklüğün Büyümeye Set Çekmesi: Fuat Köprülü'nün Türkiye'de Yesevîlik Araştırmalarına Katkısı Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,' in *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, 360, 374, 387–388.

¹²¹ It must be noted that the *Hadiqat al-Arifin* was a fourteenth-century text written by Ishaq Khwaja who was the son of a well-known Yasawi sheikh Ismail Ata. The *Lamahat min nafahat al-quds* was the work of a seventeenth-century Yasawi master named Alim Shaykh Azizan. For detailed information about the latter, see Devin DeWeese, 'The Yasavi Order and Persian Hagiography in Seventeenth-Century Central Asia: Alim Shaykh of Aliyabad and his Lamahat min nafahat al-quds,' in *The Heritage of Sufism, vol. 3: Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501-1750)*, eds. Leonard Lewisohn and David Morgan (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999), 389–414. For some other important sources regarding the study of Yasawi history, see DeWeese, 'Foreword,' xi–xiv; Karamustafa, 'Origins of Anatolian Sufism,' 74–76.

in *Early Mystics*, Ahmed Yasawi had been still alive during the early decades of the thirteenth century, and hence his year of birth should be dated not to the mid-eleventh, but to the mid-twelfth century. Invalidating in and of itself the most part of Köprülüzâde's narrative concerning the life of Ahmed Yasawi, this major chronological revision also made it impossible to regard the latter as a pupil and *khalifa* of Yusuf Hamadani who died in 1140/41.¹²²

Apart from these bibliographical shortcomings and the factual errors they caused, Köprülüzâde's treatment of historical sources that he consulted was problematic as well. One particularly noteworthy example of this situation revealed itself in his understanding and employment of the *Diwan-i Hikmat*, i.e., the collection of poetry ascribed to Ahmed Yasawi. As is well known, Köprülüzâde regarded the *Diwan* as the very embodiment of Ahmed Yasawi's religious and literary personality, and thus constructed almost his whole account of this Central Asian Sufi on the basis of it. While doing this, however, he neither thoroughly nor critically examined the *Diwan*, and, even worse, never questioned its authenticity, whether it had been indeed the work of Ahmed Yasawi.¹²³ More explicitly, although Köprülüzâde unequivocally identified Ahmed Yasawi as the founder of Turkish mystical folk literature with reference to this collection of poetry, it is hard to say that he analyzed in depth any of the poems contained within the *Diwan*.¹²⁴ In a similar vein, even though he noticed that the Central Asian hagiographical and literary sources had not mentioned Ahmed Yasawi as a poet or an author of an extensive body of mystical verse, he did not

¹²² DeWeese, 'Foreword,' xvii–xviii; idem, 'The Yasavi Order and Persian Hagiography in Seventeenth-Century Central Asia,' 390–391. See also Karamustafa, 'Origins of Anatolian Sufism,' 76–77; Yıldırım, 'Büyüklüğün Büyümeye Set Çekmesi,' 387–389.

¹²³ Leiser, 'Çağdaş Türkoloji Araştırmalarında Köprülü'nün Yeri,' 31–32; DeWeese, 'Foreword,' xiv–xv.

¹²⁴ Ibid., xix–xx.

query whether the latter in fact had written any poetry. Quite to the contrary, he assumed, in a speculative manner, not only that Ahmed Yasawi composed poetry, but that the poems added to *Diwan* by later poets were inevitably modeled on his verse, in form and content.¹²⁵ Through this speculative assumption, Köprülüzâde asserted that the *Diwan-i Hikmat* undoubtedly reflected the religious and literary personality of Ahmed Yasawi, despite the fact that he could not single out, from the *Diwan*, even one poem that demonstrably belonged to the latter.¹²⁶ Consequently, he completely overlooked the possibility that the *Diwan-i Hikmat* may in fact not be Ahmed Yasawi's work. However, as Devin DeWeese has emphasized, this possibility was quite likely for a variety of reasons: For one, the style of the work reflected the classical—i.e., the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century—Chaghatay Turkish rather than the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Turkish. Secondly, many poems within the *Diwan* referred 'autobiographically' to events which in fact took place after Ahmed Yasawi's death. And lastly, most verses were written by identifiable figures from subsequent Yasawi lineages.¹²⁷

Despite these problematic aspects, however, Köprülüzâde's narrative concerning Ahmed Yasawi attained a paradigmatic status shortly after the publication of *Early Mystics*, which is still considered a classic historical work in Turkey.¹²⁸ The crucial point to be made regarding this narrative is that, while Köprülüzâde on the one hand described Ahmed Yasawi as the bearer and transmitter of ancient Turkish literary

¹²⁵ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 141–142; idem, 'Ahmed Yesevi,' 213; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 229.

¹²⁶ DeWeese, 'Foreword,' xx–xxii.

¹²⁷ Devin DeWeese, 'The Masha'ikh-i Turk and the Khojagan: Rethinking the Links Between the Yasavi and Naqshbandi Sufi Traditions,' *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 (1996): 183–185; idem, 'Foreword,' xix–xxii. See also Karamustafa, 'Origins of Anatolian Sufism,' 77–78.

¹²⁸ Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 195–196.

traditions in his book, he on the other hand drew a thick line between the pre-Islamic Turkish religiosity and the religious teachings of Ahmed Yasawi. To put it rather more bluntly, in contrast to the literary genre created by the latter, which, for Köprülüzâde, showed great continuity with ancient Turkish literature, the Sufi order founded by him had nothing to do with the pre-Islamic belief systems of the Central Asian Turks. Accordingly, Köprülüzâde portrayed Ahmed Yasawi in *Early Mystics* as a strict Sunni who did not bear any shamanistic traces in his religio-mystical teachings, but adhered firmly to the principles of Islam. More precisely, in Köprülüzâde's view, 'Ahmed Yasawi was a Hanafî faqih, just like his master Yusuf Hamadani', and 'always paid great attention to the conformity of his mystical teachings with the rules of the Sharia'.¹²⁹ Therefore, 'he never disseminated [...] any ideas that leaned toward Shiism, [...] Mutazilism, [...] and pantheism', contrary to the 'flexible' and 'broad-minded' Sufis of the era like Farid al-Din Attar and Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi. Consequently, Köprülüzâde concluded that early Turkish popular/folk Islam ('*Türk halk İslamı*'), which was embodied in the tariqa established by Ahmed Yasawi, was untainted by any 'pre-Islamic' and 'eclectic' religious—or what he would later call 'heterodox'—influences, and thus displayed unequivocally a 'strict' Sunni character.¹³⁰

This strict—or as he would later call 'orthodox'—Sunni character of Turkish popular Islam, however, substantially changed during the Turkish settlement of Anatolia, according to Köprülüzâde. To his mind, the open and highly heterogeneous religio-spiritual milieu of the thirteenth-century Anatolia deeply affected the ascetic and pious views of the Yasawi dervishes, who came in large numbers from Central Asia.

¹²⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 85–86, 171–174.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 21–22, 85–86, 129–132, 166–181.

In other words, their mode of religiosity ‘assumed a flexible, [...] unconstrained, [...] and philosophical character [...] in medieval Anatolia [...] under such influences as the Greco-Roman intellectual heritage, [...] native Christian traditions, [...] the unity of being (‘wahdat al-wujud’) philosophy of Muhyi al-Din ibn al-Arabi, [...] and the Batini movements [...] that [...] spread throughout the peninsula’.¹³¹ Thus, Köprülüzâde stated, the popular Sufi orders, including those that originated from the Yasawiyya, gradually moved away from their Sunni roots and were drawn to ‘heretical and schismatic’ (‘*rafz ve itizal*’) directions in Anatolia. Therefore, he stressed, Anatolian folk Islam displayed a ‘heterodox’ and ‘syncretic’ character, in contrast to Central Asian Turkish Sufism that preserved its Sunni doctrine and practice for a long time.¹³²

This stark contrast, according to Köprülüzâde, also revealed itself in Central Asian and Anatolian popular Sufi literatures, epitomized in the works of Ahmed Yasawi and Yunus Emre. To briefly summarize, while the *hikmats* of the former, who was supposedly a pupil of the well-known Sunni scholar Yusuf Hamadani, prescribed strict obedience to Islamic law in all actions, the hymns of the latter, who was, in Köprülüzâde’s view, a disciple of a Babai sheikh named Tapduk Emre, reflected a ‘flexible’ and ‘broad-minded’ Sufi philosophy that might not always be approved by followers of the Sharia (‘*şeriat ehli*’). Similarly, contrary to the dry and dull style of Ahmed Yasawi, Yunus Emre’s poetry was harmonious, exuberant, and effusive, and

¹³¹ Ibid., 229–239, 373–376. See also Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 190–191.

¹³² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 229–236, 373–375. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,’ 129–130, 136–138; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşu*, 97–102; idem, ‘Abdal,’ in *Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi: Ortaçağ ve Yeniçağ Türklerinin Halk Kültürü Üzerine Coğrafya, Etnoğrafya, Etnoloji, Tarih ve Edebiyat Lûgati*, no: 1, ed. M. Fuad Köprülü (İstanbul: Burhaneddin Basımevi, 1935), 35–38; Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 190–194.

thus much more impressive than his Central Asian predecessor's.¹³³ Despite all these differences, however, Köprülüzâde acutely noted, Yunus Emre's mystical poetry was closely connected to that of Ahmed Yasawi. Considering the form, meter, and rhyme of his poems, Köprülüzâde concluded—in an unsophisticated and unconvincing manner—, it became unequivocally apparent that there was a strong connection and direct continuity between his and Ahmed Yasawi's mystical poetry. To put it more explicitly, 'Yunus Emre [...] was the first and foremost Anatolian representative of [...] the literary genre that [...] had been created by Ahmed Yasawi'.¹³⁴

In conclusion, it is safe to say that the connections established by Köprülüzâde in *Early Mystics* between Central Asian and Anatolian cultural, religious, and literary traditions were based mainly on two assumptions: first, that a great number of Yasawi dervishes migrated from Central Asia to Anatolia during the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century; and second, that Yunus Emre's mystical poetry was directly modeled on that of Ahmed Yasawi. But nevertheless, a substantial portion of these connections, as we have seen, were of an indirect nature and contained elements of discontinuity within themselves. One remarkable example of this situation manifests itself in the way in which Köprülüzâde linked the origins of Anatolian popular Islam to Central Asian Turkish religiosity. More precisely, although he forged a bond between Central Asian and Anatolian Turkish Sufism by underlining that many Yasawi dervishes came and settled in Anatolia during the

¹³³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 296–303, 315–316, 328–330, 341–350, 361–362. See also Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 190–191; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, '13. ve 14. Yüzyıllar Anadolu'sunun İki Büyük Cezbeci ve Estetikçi Şair Sûfisi: Celâleddîn-i Rûmî ve Yunus Emre (Tasavvuf Felsefeleri Açısından Bir Karşılaştırma Denemesi,' in *Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar*, 132–133; Yıldırım, 'Büyükülüğün Büyümeye Set Çekmesi,' 382–383.

¹³⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 7–9, 266–268, 334–336, 368–372, 392–394. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 312–317; idem, 'Ottoman Turkish Literature,' 939–940.

thirteenth century, the role and influence he attributed to the Central Asian Yasawiyya in the formation of Anatolian popular Islam remained largely indirect in *Early Mystics*. He, in other words, could not define or present the latter as a direct continuation of the former, since there was a stark contrast between the ‘Sunnism’ of Central Asian Turkish Sufism and the ‘syncretic’ and ‘heterodox’ character of Anatolian popular Islam. This stark contrast, needless to say, marked not only a significant discontinuity in the historical evolution of Turkish religiosity, but also a major break in Turkish religious history.

In the face of this break and discontinuity, Köprülüzâde did what would be expected of a nationalist historian who aimed to construct a narrative of continuity for the national past: a substantial revision of the points that interrupted the imagined continuity of national history. He, in this respect, almost completely changed the religious portrait of Ahmed Yasawi, which he had drawn in *Early Mystics*, and redefined him as a ‘heterodox’ Sufi in his subsequent studies, beginning from his 1923 paper *Les Origines du Bektachisme*.¹³⁵ In this new portrait, Köprülüzâde once again pictured this Central Asian mystic as a disciple and *khalifa* of the Hanafî faqih Yusuf Hamadani, but defended—without explaining how—that Ahmed Yasawi possessed a flexible and unorthodox sense of mysticism which could not be considered within the circle of Sunni Sufism. Similarly, contrary to what he had asserted in *Early Mystics*, he argued in his later works that the tariqa founded by Ahmed Yasawi bore deep traces of pre-Islamic Turkish religiosity.¹³⁶ That is to say,

¹³⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,’ 126–128. See also Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Influence du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur les Ordres Mystiques Musulmans*, 5–19; idem, ‘Ahmed Yesevi,’ 212.

¹³⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Influence du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur les Ordres Mystiques Musulmans*, 5–19; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinisi*, 148; idem, ‘Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,’ 126–128; idem, ‘Ahmed Yesevi,’ 212; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşu*, 98–102. See also Karamustafa, ‘Origins of Anatolian Sufism,’ 72, 78; Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 193, 205, 207; Yıldırım, ‘Büyüklüğün

Köprülüzâde established a relationship between shamanism and the Yasawiyya, which, according to him, was a ‘syncretic’ and ‘heterodox’ Sufi order, containing within itself the ‘remnants’ of ancient Turkish religious traditions.¹³⁷

It would not be an exaggeration to state that Köprülüzâde eliminated almost all elements of discontinuity from his grand narrative with this single touch of redefining the religious personality of Ahmed Yasawi. To explain briefly, he, for one, further strengthened the continuity he had established between the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods of—Central Asian—Turkish history by describing Ahmed Yasawi as the bearer not only of ancient literary traditions—as he had done in *Early Mystics*—but also of pre-Islamic religious customs and practices of the Central Asian Turks. He, in other words, constructed an additional bold line of continuity between these two periods; while the first line bridged the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras through literary forms and traditions, this second line did the same through religious customs, rituals, and practices.

Moreover, and equally importantly, Köprülüzâde’s portrayal of Ahmed Yasawi as a ‘heterodox’ Sufi and the Yasawiyya as a ‘syncretic’ *tariqa* also effaced the stark contrast—which he had drawn in *Early Mystics*—between Central Asian and

Büyümeye Set Çekmesi,’ 376–378; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, ‘Anadolu Halk Süfliğinde Ahmed-i Yesevî ve Yesevîlik Problemi,’ in *Türk Süfliğine Bakışlar*, 52–53; idem, ‘Türk Kültüründe Ahmed-i Yesevî: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Mesajı ve Etkileri,’ in *Türk Süfliğine Bakışlar*, 34.

¹³⁷ It must be noted that it is still controversial among contemporary scholars whether Ahmed Yasawi can be described as a ‘heterodox’ Sufi or not. While Devin DeWeese and Ahmet Karamustafa have argued that Köprülüzâde’s initial interpretation, according to which Ahmed Yasawi was a strict Sunni mystic, was closer to historical reality; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, on the contrary, has asserted in parallel with Köprülüzâde’s second portrait of Ahmed Yasawi that the latter was a ‘heterodox’ Sufi, and thus that the Yasawiyya displayed an unorthodox character from the very beginning of its emergence. See DeWeese, ‘Foreword,’ xix; idem, ‘The Masha’ikh-i Turk and the Khojagan,’ 183; Karamustafa, ‘Origins of Anatolian Sufism,’ 77–78; Ocak, ‘Türk Kültüründe Ahmed-i Yesevî,’ 34–36; idem, ‘Anadolu Halk Süfliğinde Ahmed-i Yesevî ve Yesevîlik Problemi,’ 52–55, 58–59; idem, ‘Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî’nin Tasavvufî Kimliğine Yeniden Bakış: Yesevî, Haydarî, Vefai, Babaî, Yahut “Şeyhlikten Müridlikten Fârîğ Bir Meczup?”,’ in *Hacı Bektaş Velî: Güneşte Zerresinden, Deryada Katresinden (Uluslararası Hacı Bektaş Velî Sempozyumu Bildirileri)*, eds. Pınar Ecevitoğlu et al. (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2010), 53.

Anatolian popular religiosity, and thus made it possible to link the origins of the latter directly to the former. In this way, he could present Anatolian Turkish Sufism as a natural and straightforward extension of Central Asian mysticism, and began to explain the heterodox character of Anatolian folk Islam—not entirely but mainly—with reference to that of the Yasawiyya within which he ‘discovered’ deep traces of ancient Turkish shamanism. By ascribing the heterodoxy of Anatolian folk Islam mostly to shamanistic remnants that were preserved in and transmitted by the Yasawiyya, Köprülüzâde on the one hand reduced the influence of some religio-cultural factors, which were of Christian or Greco-Roman origin, on the formation and shaping of Anatolian popular religiosity in favor of ancient Turkish traditions. But on the other hand, he established—or more accurately, invented—a connection between ancient Turkish shamanism and Anatolian folk Islam via Ahmed Yasawi and Central Asian Turkish Sufism which he regarded as the midpoint and the linchpin of this connection. That is to say, Köprülüzâde extended the aforementioned line of continuity, which he constructed through the religious customs and practices of the Central Asian Turks, all the way to Anatolian Turkish history. As for the first line of continuity he established between the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods of—Central Asian—Turkish history, it had already been stretched in *Early Mystics* from Ahmed Yasawi to Yunus Emre and other representatives of Anatolian mystical folk poetry. These two lines, it goes without saying, constituted the main pillars of Köprülüzade’s grand narrative one of the major aims of which was to demonstrate that the Anatolian Turkishness was not a newly emerged phenomenon but a deeply rooted historical entity that was tightly linked to its Central Asian origins.

5. 3 The Turkification and Islamization of Anatolia

It must be underlined that while seeking to reveal the so-called continuity of Turkish cultural, religious, and literary traditions, Köprülüzâde did not neglect to contextualize the political bodies established by the Turks within the framework of the national past. He, in this respect, comprehensively examined the histories of what he named the ‘Muslim Turkish states’ in his works, and described in detail their political institutions, administrative organizations, and socio-economic structures. To briefly summarize how he introduced these polities to his readers, the Karakhanid Khanate was the first important Muslim Turkish state, according to Köprülüzâde. Having been established by the Karluk Turks at the end of the tenth century in Central Asia, the Karakhanid Khanate put an end to the Samanid rule in Transoxiana and spread Islam throughout the region.¹³⁸ The Ghaznavid Sultanate, likewise, which was also founded in the late tenth century and lasted until the end of the twelfth century, conquered and Islamicized northern India during the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.¹³⁹ The Khwarezmshahs were another Muslim Turkish dynasty that ruled large parts of Central Asia and Persia. Although they were vassals of the Great Seljuks at first, the Khwarezmshahs rebelled against the Seljuk state towards the mid-twelfth century and came to build an impressive empire of their own, stretching from the borders of northern India to eastern Anatolia.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ For further information on how Köprülüzâde described the Karakhanids, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 105–120; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 180–183, 189–190; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinisi*, 92–98.

¹³⁹ For further information on how Köprülüzâde described the Ghaznavids, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 120–130.

¹⁴⁰ For further information on how Köprülüzâde described the Khwarezmshahs, see M. Fuad Köprülü, ‘Hârizmşâhlar,’ in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lugati*, vol: 5/1 (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1950), 265–296.

It is safe to say that among all these and many other medieval ‘Muslim Turkish’ dynasties—such as the Ayyubids and the Mamluks—, it was the Great Seljuks that Köprülüzâde dwelt mostly on in his studies.¹⁴¹ The Seljuk state, according to him, was the first ‘world-dominating’ (‘*cihanşümûl*’) Islamic Turkish empire, and thus its establishment by the Oghuz Turks, who had also founded the pre-Islamic Gokturk Empire, constituted the second significant turning point in Turkish history.¹⁴² Shortly after the foundation of the Seljuk state in Nishapur towards the mid-eleventh century, Köprülüzâde stressed, the Seljuks expanded their territories beyond Khorasan, conquered Azerbaijan and Persia, and reached the gates of Anatolia.¹⁴³ Moreover, they seized the Abbasid capital of Baghdad from the Shiite Buyids in 1055 and put an end to the century-long Buyid hegemony over the Abbasid caliphate. As being ‘devoted’ and ‘fanatical’ Hanafis, Köprülüzâde stated, the Seljuk sultans soon restored the caliphate and reestablished the Sunni domination in the Islamic world.¹⁴⁴ Then, the Seljuk Turks defeated the Byzantines at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and entered Anatolia. Having widely opened the doors of the peninsula to the massive Turkish tribes coming from Khorasan and Central Asia, this decisive victory paved the way for the Turkification and Islamization of Anatolia, according to Köprülüzâde. Following the battle, he emphasized, the Turkish—or more

¹⁴¹ For Köprülüzâde’s account of the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 254–255; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 366–373.

¹⁴² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 135–148, 149–151; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 102–104, 106–115; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 211–213.

¹⁴³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 205–208; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 157–161; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 114–120.

¹⁴⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 161, 184–187; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 120–121, 133–135; idem, ‘Başlangıç,’ in *İslâm Medeniyeti Tarihi*, by Wilhelm Barthold, (3rd Edition), (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2004), 21. It must be noted here that there is no convincing historical evidence for describing the Seljuk sultans as devoted and fanatical Hanafis. As Andrew Peacock has pointed out, the religious policy of the Seljuks was not rooted in either theological or legal considerations, but based on pragmatism, varying according to time, place, and political advantage. Accordingly, the image of the Great Seljuks as the protectors of Sunni Islam is far removed from reality. See A.C.S. Peacock, *Early Seljuq History: A New Interpretation* (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 101, 108, 121, 167.

specifically, the Oghuz—tribes swept across the peninsula, captured such important cities as Sivas, Kayseri and Konya within a decade, and, so to speak, ‘turned Anatolia into a second Turkistan’.¹⁴⁵

But what directed these tribes to Anatolia? Why, in other words, did the Oghuz Turks, who were the ‘original’ (*‘asli’*) founders of the Seljuk state, migrate in masses to Anatolia during the eleventh century instead of staying in their homelands or settling in another part of the empire that extended from Egypt to Transoxiana and from Caucasus to Basra? Köprülüzâde, as a historian who always avoided monocausal deterministic explanations, did not reduce the answers of these questions to a single factor or reason. In his view, such factors as the population increase, drought and reduction of pasture lands, political instability and intertribal struggles altogether forced the Oghuz Turks to migrate from Central Asia and triggered the Turkish influx into the Middle East in the eleventh century.¹⁴⁶ But besides all these, Köprülüzâde also drew attention to an additional historical factor that emerged with a significant change in the Seljuk state structure, which further deepened and accelerated this process. According to him, the transformation of the Seljuk state from a ‘tribal polity’ into a ‘great Islamic empire’ in the 1050s and 1060s not only intensified the influx of nomadic Turkish tribes into Islamic lands but also turned the direction of this influx particularly to the eastern borders of Anatolia.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 206–208; idem, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 146–148, 161–165; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 108–109, 111–112, 121–122.

¹⁴⁶ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 132–134, 137–142; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 103–104; 107–108; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 206–207; idem, ‘Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Etnik Menşei Meseleleri,’ *Belleten* 7, no. 28 (October 1943): 257–265.

¹⁴⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 149–150, 159–161, 173–174, 180–183; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 212–213; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 113–114; idem, ‘Hârizmşâhlar,’ 276–277.

To briefly summarize this transformation and its effects on the eleventh-century Turkish migrations, the early Seljuk state, for Köprülüzâde, was a confederation of the Oghuz tribes that were united under the leadership of the Seljuk dynasty. The relationship between the first Seljuk rulers and the tribal chieftains, he emphasized, was loose and relatively nonhierarchical; while the men of the latter constituted the backbone of the Seljuk military forces, the former were circumscribed by the old Turkish traditions, and thus reigned as *primus inter pares* rather than as omnipotent sovereigns.¹⁴⁸ The nature of this relationship, however, substantially changed with the expansion of Seljuk territories and the sedentarization of the dynasty, according to Köprülüzâde. As the Seljuks extended their realms towards Iran, he stated, the head of the Seljuk dynasty gradually transformed into a territorial ruler, whose subjects now consisted mostly of sedentary farmers, artisans, and merchants. In order to govern their vast country and multi-layered society, Köprülüzâde continued, the Seljuks soon established a strong administrative organization, adopted some elements of Abbasid, Samanid and Ghaznavid statecraft, and organized a permanent army, which was mainly based, not on the men of the tribal chieftains, but on the slave-soldiers that were called ghulams. While the Seljuk rulers were thus turning into splendid and mighty sultans of a centralized Islamic empire, they also took certain administrative and military measures against their former partners who now constituted an element of political instability in their eyes. After attempting to repress, settle and tax the Oghuz tribes that were flooding into the country and damaging the agricultural and urban bases of the empire, Köprülüzâde stressed, the

¹⁴⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 173–176; idem, ‘Ortazaman Türk-İslâm Feodalizmi,’ 327, 332–333; idem, ‘Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Etnik Menşei Meseleleri,’ 241, 250, 271–274; idem, ‘Ortazaman Türk Hukukî Müesseseleri: İslâm Amme Hukukundan Ayrı Bir Türk Amme Hukuku Yok Mudur?,’ *Belleten* 2, no. 5–6 (January–April 1938): 61–62. See also Berktaş, ‘The ‘Other’ Feudalism,’ 152–153; idem, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 71–72.

Seljuks eventually decided to present them a new area of activity within—and beyond—which they could freely act. That is to say, the Seljuks directed the Oghuz tribes toward the western borders of the empire, i.e., the Seljuk-Byzantine frontier, where they soon concentrated in large numbers and created a new expansive dynamism that would result in the Battle of Manzikert in 1071. It was in this way that, Köprülüzâde concluded, the Oghuz Turks came to the gates of Anatolia in the second half of the eleventh century in masses and commenced the first wave of the Turkification and Islamization of the peninsula.¹⁴⁹

One of the early and most important results of this wave was the establishment of a number of Turkish polities in Anatolia, according to Köprülüzâde. Having emerged shortly after the Battle of Manzikert as extensions of the Great Seljuk Empire, he stated, these polities gradually expanded their range of action and autonomy against the Seljuk central authority, which began to weaken following the death of Sultan Malikshah in 1092. Although they soon became independent principalities ruling different parts of the peninsula, one of them—namely, the Seljuks of Rum—installed its hegemony over the others—i.e., the Danishmedids, the Saltuqids, the Mengujekids, and the Artuqids—in time, and managed to establish the political unity of, and stability in, Anatolia.¹⁵⁰ Besides further strengthening Turkish sovereignty in the peninsula, the political unity and stability provided by the Seljuks of Rum also encouraged the sedentary and urban segments of medieval Turkish society, including

¹⁴⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türkiye Tarihi*, 176–184; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 212–213; idem, ‘Oğuz Etnolojisine Dair Tarihi Notlar,’ 190–191, 199–200, 210–211; idem, ‘Ortaçaman Türk Hukukî Müesseseleri,’ 62–64, 71–72; idem, ‘Ortaçaman Türk-İslâm Feodalizmi,’ 327, 332–333; idem, ‘Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Etnik Menşei Meseleleri,’ 241–242, 247–248, 271–276; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşu*, 39–41; idem, ‘Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar,’ *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* 1 (1931): 183–184, 221–228. See also Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 72–73; idem, ‘The ‘Other’ Feudalism,’ 153–155.

¹⁵⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 205–212; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 243–245.

artisans, merchants, scholars and bureaucrats, to migrate and settle in the new conquered towns and cities of Anatolia. In parallel with these developments, Köprülüzâde stressed, the Seljuks of Rum experienced a similar process to the Great Seljuks in terms of the transformation of their political organization from a principality based on tribal allegiance into a territorial Turkish-Islamic sultanate with a centralized political, military, and administrative structure. During this process, he added, the Seljuks of Rum modelled their state apparatus on that of the Great Seljuks, and thus played a crucial role in the transference of old Turkish political-administrative traditions, practices, and institutions to the new homeland of the Turks. Besides carrying the Central Asian Turkish ideas and customs of government to Anatolia, the Seljuks of Rum also followed their predecessors in social, economic, cultural and intellectual matters: they adopted the *iqta* system of the Great Seljuks, sought to settle the nomadic groups, stimulated urban and commercial life in the peninsula, created an impressive network of roads and caravansaries, constructed numerous mosques, madrasahs and libraries, sponsored arts and sciences, and thus established a flourishing Turkish civilization in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Anatolia.¹⁵¹

As for the religious beliefs of the Seljuk Turks, Köprülüzâde stressed that both the Great Seljuks and the Seljuks of Rum were Sunni Muslims, contrary to the ‘unfounded’ assertions of the German orientalist Franz Babinger. According to the latter, the entire political, cultural and religious life of the Seljuk Turks was shaped

¹⁵¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Selçukîler Zamanında Anadolu’da Türk Medeniyeti,’ 193–197, 197–210, 212–215, 220–223; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 244–252; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı’nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 209–212; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşu*, 39–66; idem, ‘Ortazaman Türk-İslâm Feodalizmi,’ 325–333; idem, ‘Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları,’ 385–386, 401–409, 413–420; idem, ‘Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar,’ 224–227. See also Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 73–75; idem, ‘The ‘Other’ Feudalism,’ 154–156.

under Persian influence, as a result of which the Great Seljuks and their Anatolian successors became largely Iranized and adopted Shiism as their official religion.¹⁵² Rejecting these theses in an absolute manner, Köprülüzâde argued that the Great Seljuks were Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school, and beginning from the first Seljuk rulers—i.e., Toghrul and Chaghri Begs—the Seljuk sultans always defended Sunnism in a fanatical fashion, suppressed Shiite movements, and acted in unison with the Abbasid caliphs. The rulers of the Seljuk State of Rum, likewise, were devoted and orthodox Muslims, espoused Sunni Islam as their official rite, and always supported and provided patronage for Sunni scholars, sheikhs and Sufis, who carried high tradition of Islam into Anatolian towns and cities.¹⁵³ As a result of this religious policy, Köprülüzâde emphasized, such Anatolian cities as Sivas, Kayseri, Konya, Erzurum and Malatya became important Sunni—or more specifically, Hanafi—centers of learning of the time, where numerous prominent Islamic scholars and illustrious Sufis like Muhyi al-Din ibn al-Arabi, Awhad al-Din Kirmani, Fakhr al-Din Iraqi and Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi settled and spread their sophisticated mystical teachings, which were well harmonized with Sunni doctrine and appealed particularly to elite circles and upper- and middle-class urban communities.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Babinger, 'Der Islam in Kleinasien,' 126–152; Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet [I],' 289–292, 297–298. See also Gary Leiser, 'Translator's Introduction,' in *Islam in Anatolia after the Turkish Invasion (Prolegomena)*, by Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, trans. Gary Leiser (Salt Lake: University of Utah Press, 1993), xiv–xv, xvii; Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 240–241; Ocak, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet: Fuad Köprülü ve Sonrası,' 42.

¹⁵³ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet [I],' 289–292, 297–298; idem, 'Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,' 123–124; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 120–121, 133–135; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, 95; idem, 'Başlangıç,' 21.

¹⁵⁴ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 218–221, 223–229; idem, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet [I],' 293–295; idem, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet [II],' 385–390, 408–410; idem, 'Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,' 131–133; idem, 'Abdal,' 37–38; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, 95. See also Ahmet T. Karamustafa, 'Early Sufism in Eastern Anatolia,' in *The Heritage of Sufism, vol. 1: Classical Persian Sufism from its Origins to Rumi (700–1300)*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999), 175–176.

It must be noted here that while examining the Islamization and religious landscape of medieval Anatolia, Köprülüzâde did not confine his analysis exclusively to elite circles and upper- and middle-class urban dwellers. He, quite to the contrary, dealt in detail with the religiosity of rural, tribal and nomadic groups that constituted the vast majority of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Anatolian Turkish society and thus played the greatest role in the Turkification and Islamization of the peninsula. The crucial point Köprülüzâde made regarding the mode of religiosity of these groups was that it was markedly different from that of the urban populations of Anatolia, which, according to him, displayed an ‘orthodox’ Sunni character.¹⁵⁵ ‘Although the rural masses [...], peasants [...], and nomads of Seljuk Anatolia [...] were also sincere and devoted Muslims’, he explained, ‘their Islamic religiosity [...] was not like the orthodox Sunnism of the urbanized Turks, but was a syncretism resulting from the mixture of [...] pre-Islamic Turkish religious customs, [...] some local traditions, [...] and a simple and popular form of extreme Shiism that was painted [...] with [...] the color of Sufism’.¹⁵⁶ Lacking the sophistication to comprehend the complex theoretical considerations of Islamic scholars and the elaborate mystical teachings of the aforementioned illustrious Sufis, he continued, these rural and tribal groups remained entirely indifferent to orthodox Islam and its cosmopolitan high culture that took root among their urbanized compatriots. Instead, Köprülüzâde

¹⁵⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet [I],’ 293–297; idem, ‘Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,’ 123–124, 131–134; idem, ‘Abdal,’ 36–37; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşu*, 94–97. See also Rıza Yıldırım, ‘Anadolu’da İslâmiyet: Gaziler Çağında (XII.-XIV. Asırlar) Türkmen İslâm Yorumunun Sünnî-Alevî Niteliği Üzerine Bazı Değerlendirmeler,’ *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, no. 43 (2014): 95–96; Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, *Vefailik, Bektaşilik, Kızılbaşlık: Alevi Kaynaklarını, Tarihini ve Tarihyazımını Yeniden Düşünmek* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015), 10.

¹⁵⁶ Köprülü, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşu*, 47–48, 97–98; idem, ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet [I],’ 288–292, 294; idem, ‘Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,’ 129–131. See also Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 200–201, 210; idem, ‘How to Conceptualize Inner-Islamic Plurality/Difference: “Heterodoxy” and “Syncretism” in the Writings of Mehmet F. Köprülü (1890-1966),’ *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 3 (2010): 243–244.

stressed, they followed the religious and mystical lead of ‘heterodox’ dervishes called ‘Turkmen *babas*’, ‘who were nothing but Islamized version of ancient Turkish shamans’. These Turkmen *babas* coming from Khwarezm, Khorasan and Central Asia, he concluded, belonged mostly to the Yasawiyya, which, in his revised view, was a heterodox and syncretic tariqa bearing deep traces of ancient Turkish shamanism, as pointed out above.¹⁵⁷

Despite the direct and decisive influence of the Yasawiyya on the formation of Anatolian folk Islam, it was not the only Sufi order that affected the religiosity of rural and tribal masses, according to Köprülüzâde. Although the majority of the Turkmen *babas* in the thirteenth-century Anatolia were Yasawi dervishes, he stated, a considerable part of these ‘popular saints’ (*‘halk velileri’*) belonged to such heterodox tariqas as the Qalandariyya and Haidariyya that had their origins in the Malamatiyya of Khorasan. Having been suffused with extreme Shiite-Batini tendencies, he continued, these wandering dervishes of the Yasawiyya, Qalandariyya and Haidariyya, ‘who were surrounded by a halo of sacredness [...] in the eyes of rural populations’, ‘inspired [...] the Oghuz Turks, in a language they could easily understand, with mystical but popular versions of Islam that conformed to their old national traditions’.¹⁵⁸ These Turkmen *babas*, moreover, established a ‘syncretic

¹⁵⁷ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet [I],’ 286–292, 296–297; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşu*, 47–48, 96–98. See also Karamustafa, ‘Early Sufism in Eastern Anatolia,’ 175–177; Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, ‘The Vefaiyye, the Bektashiyye and Genealogies of “Heterodox” Islam in Anatolia: Rethinking the Köprülü Paradigm,’ *Turcica*, no. 44 (2012-2013): 280–281; Rıza Yıldırım, ‘Sunni Orthodox vs Shiite Heterodox?: A Reappraisal of Islamic Piety in Medieval Anatolia,’ in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, eds. A.C.S. Peacock et al. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), 287–288.

¹⁵⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet [I],’ 288–289, 296–302; idem, ‘Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,’ 127–129, 132; idem, ‘Abdal,’ 37–38; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*, 150–152; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşu*, 98–100. See also Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, ‘Anadolu Sûfilğinde Ahmed-i Yesevî ve Yesevîlik’in Yerine Dair,’ in *Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar*, 67; idem, *Ortaçağ Anadolu’sunda İki Büyük Yerleşimci/Kolonizatör Derviş: Dede Garkın ve Emîrci Sultan (Vefâiyye ve Yeseviyye Gerçeği)* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2014), 31–32; Karamustafa, ‘Origins of Anatolian Sufism,’ 70–72, 84–86.

religious sect' named Babaiyya in time, 'which resembled various Alevi groups ('*taife*') of the subsequent centuries', and instigated the religio-political Babai revolt against the Seljuk central authority—i.e., the Sunni centre of power—in the mid-thirteenth century.¹⁵⁹ Even after the suppression of this revolt and the execution of its leader Baba Ishaq, who was 'a Turkmen *baba* of the extremist Alevi sect and of Qalandari disposition' ('*müfrit Alevîyü'l-Mezhep ve Kalenderîyyü'l-Meşrep Türkmen baba[sı]*'), Köprülüzâde stressed, the heterodox beliefs continued to be spread among the Anatolian Turks by the remaining Babai dervishes, the most famous of whom was Haji Bektash Veli.¹⁶⁰ As being one of the principal *khalîfas* of Baba Ishaq, Köprülüzâde added, this Turkish Yasawi sheikh of Khorasani origin—or his disciples—soon established a new 'syncretic' and 'heterodox' Sufi order called the Bektashiyye, which was essentially no different from the Qalandariyya or Haidariyya and could be regarded as a direct continuation of the Babaiyya and, more importantly, the Yasawiyya. Besides further strengthening the Yasawi tradition in Anatolia, Köprülüzâde concluded, the Bektashi *tariqa* expanded its influence and networks all across the peninsula as well as the Balkans, and absorbed other heterodox groups like the Abdals of Rum into itself within a few centuries following its establishment.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet [I],' 301–307; idem, 'Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,' 134–135; idem, 'Abdal,' 37–38; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, 47–48, 96–99; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 230–232; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 284–286. See also Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 200–201; idem, 'How to Conceptualize Inner-Islamic Plurality/Difference,' 243–244; Karakaya-Stump, 'The Vefaiyye, the Bektashiyye and Genealogies of "Heterodox" Islam in Anatolia,' 280.

¹⁶⁰ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,' 135–140; idem, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet [I],' 306–311; idem, 'Bektaş,' in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, 461–462. See also Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 242.

¹⁶¹ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet [I],' 306–311; idem, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet [II],' 404–408; idem, 'Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,' 135–140; idem, 'Bektaş,' 461–462; idem, 'Ahmed Yesevi,' 213; idem, 'Abdal,' 32–33, 36–37; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, 101–102; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 293–294. See also Ocak, 'Anadolu Halk Sûfiliğinde Ahmed-i Yesevî ve

It should be mentioned in this context that Köprülüzâde's aforementioned views on Haji Bektash Veli were radically different from his earlier assertions concerning the religious personality of the latter. To briefly summarize, in his 1919 book *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, Köprülüzâde had described this thirteenth-century Sufi as a 'deranged dervish [...] whose personality [...] was not suitable to establish [...] such a tariqa as the Bektashiyye'. Similarly, Köprülüzâde had also rejected the existence of any connection between Haji Bektash Veli and Ahmed Yasawi, and accordingly between the Bektashiyye and the Yasawiyya due to the stark contrast he had drawn in *Early Mystics* between the 'heterodoxy' of Anatolian folk Islam and the 'Sunnism' of Central Asian Turkish mysticism.¹⁶² However, in parallel with the revision he made in his account of Ahmed Yasawi and of the Yasawiyya, Köprülüzâde began to modify his views on the religious personality of Haji Bektash Veli and on the relationship between the Bektashiyye and the Yasawiyya. To put it more bluntly, his redefinition of Ahmed Yasawi as a heterodox Sufi and of the Yasawiyya as a syncretic tariqa, as we have seen, effaced the stark contrast both between the nature of Central Asian and Anatolian popular religiosity, and between the religio-mystical personalities of Ahmed Yasawi and Haji Bektash Veli. This redefinition thus enabled Köprülüzâde to interpret Anatolian folk Islam mostly as the continuation of Central Asian Turkish Sufism, and accordingly to present the heterodox Sufi orders of Anatolia, including the Bektashiyye, as natural extensions of the Yasawiyya. It was for this purpose and within this context that Köprülüzâde almost completely revised his earlier portrait of Haji Bektash Veli and redefined him as a great Sufi who was a follower of Ahmed Yasawi. Besides describing him as the

Yesevîlik Problemi,' 59–63; idem, *Dede Garkın ve Emîrci Sultan (Vefâiyye ve Yeseviyye Gerçeği)*, 31–32.

¹⁶² Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 125–129.

main carrier of the Yasawi tradition to Anatolia, Köprülüzâde also concluded, as might be expected, that the Sufi order founded by Haji Bektash Veli—or his disciples—was one of the most important tariqas that originated from the Yasawiyya.¹⁶³

All in all, Köprülüzâde's thesis that Anatolian folk Islam was shaped and developed under the decisive influence of Central Asian Turkish religiosity was based on a series of assumptions, as we have seen. In the light of recent scholarship on the subject, however, it is difficult to argue that these assumptions were all rooted in a solid historical and empirical foundation. To name a few examples, there is no sufficient factual evidence as to the significant presence of Yasawi dervishes in medieval Anatolia, contrary to the first and most fundamental assumption of Köprülüzâde. As Ahmet T. Karamustafa has revealed, although some mystics who had a direct contact with—though not disciples of—Ahmed Yasawi came and settled in the peninsula, it is impossible to assert that a considerable number of Yasawi dervishes migrated from Central Asia to Anatolia before, during or following the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century. Accordingly, the Yasawi path did not play any—for Karamustafa—, or at least decisive—for Ahmet Yaşar Ocak—, role in the formation and development of Anatolian Turkish Sufism and folk Islam.¹⁶⁴ But did the Qalandariyya and Haidariyya play a noteworthy role in the Islamization of the peninsula and the shaping of Anatolian popular religiosity? They did not either,

¹⁶³ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,' 135–140; idem, 'Bektaş,' 461–462, idem, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet [I],' 306–310; idem, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet [II],' 404–407; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, 101–102; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 293–294.

¹⁶⁴ See Karamustafa, 'Early Sufism in Eastern Anatolia,' 197–198; idem, 'Origins of Anatolian Sufism,' 78–80, 83–84, 93; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, 'Türkiye Selçukluları Devrinde Şehirli Tasavvufi Düşünce Yahut Mevlânâ'yı Yetiştiren Ortam,' in *Ortaçağlar Anadolu'sunda İslam'ın Ayak İzleri*, 216–217; idem, *Dede Garkın ve Emîrci Sultan (Vefâiyye ve Yeseviyye Gerçeği)*, 32, 49–50. See also Karakaya-Stump, 'The Vefâ'iyye, the Bektashiyye and Genealogies of "Heterodox" Islam in Anatolia', 283.

according to Karamustafa. Despite these ‘dervish paths’ or ‘new renunciation movements’—but ‘not powerful and widespread mystical trends’—spread to some extent in Anatolia between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, neither the Qalandariyya nor the Haidariyya contributed markedly to the Islamization of the peninsula and to the formation of Anatolian Turkish Sufism. Their role, as Karamustafa has emphasized, remained mostly marginal or, at best, secondary in these processes, contrary to what Köprülüzâde asserted.¹⁶⁵

Another problematic issue in Köprülüzâde’s narrative was the direct connection he established between these dervish paths and the Yasawiyya. Köprülüzâde, as we have partially seen, described Qutb al-Din Haidar and Haji Bektash Veli as followers of Ahmed Yasawi, and accordingly presented the Haidariyya and Bektashiyye as extensions or offshoots of the Yasawi order.¹⁶⁶ It must be noted in this context that both Qutb al-Din Haidar (died c. 1220) and Haji Bektash Veli (died c. 1270) indeed might have had a personal connection with Ahmed Yasawi, especially considering that he was still alive during the early decades of the thirteenth century. However, as Karamustafa has aptly pointed out, the presence of such a connection did not necessarily mean that these two mystics were disciples or followers of Ahmed Yasawi, and as a matter of fact there was not any convincing evidence to regard them as Yasawi dervishes who were committed to propagating the spiritual path of this Central Asian ‘Turkish’ Sufi. Thus, rather than being seen as followers of Ahmed

¹⁶⁵ Karamustafa, ‘Origins of Anatolian Sufism,’ 87–88, 94. For more information on these ‘new renunciation movements’, and particularly on the Qalandariyya, see Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period (1200-1550)* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994); Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Marjinal Sûfilik: Kalenderîler (XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllar)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992).

¹⁶⁶ For Köprülüzâde’s views on Qutb al-Din Haidar and the connection he established between the Haidariyya and the Yasawiyya, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet [I],’ 300–302, idem, ‘Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri,’ 128–129; idem, ‘Abdal,’ 37–38; idem, *Türk Tarih-i Dinisi*, 151–152; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşu*, 99.

Yasawi, these two mystics should instead be viewed as the latter's rival—and younger in Haji Bektash Veli's case—contemporaries, either of whom chose to chart an independent course where he lived—Qutb al-Din Haidar in Khorasan and Haji Bektash Veli in Anatolia. Consequently, as Karamustafa has stated, 'there is no reason to draw the Sufi profiles of these two powerful figures in the shape of a Yasawi identity that at the time existed at best in a nebulous form'. That is to say, it is hardly possible to label the Haidariyya and Bektashiyye as extensions of the Yasawiyya, which in fact became a historically distinguishable Sufi formation but only centuries after the death of its eponymous patron saint.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Karamustafa, 'Origins of Anatolian Sufism,' 79–80, 83, 93. See also Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 193–194. It must be noted here that another prominent scholar of the subject, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, has also criticized Köprülüzâde for describing the Bektashiyye as a direct extension of the Yasawiyya. According to Ocak, Haji Bektash Veli was not a Yasawi, but a Haidari sheikh, and thus the Bektashiyye did not originate from the Yasawiyya, but from the Haidariyya, which, in Ocak's view, was a Qalandari tariqa that had its origins in the Yasawiyya. Ocak's another criticism of Köprülüzâde was related to the latter's definition of the Babaiyya as a 'religious sect'. To Ocak's mind, the term Babaiyya referred neither to a tariqa nor to a religious sect, but rather it indicated a socio-political movement that was organized by the members of various heterodox orders as the Qalandariyya, Haidariyya, Yasawiyya, and most importantly the Vefaiyye. Moreover, Köprülüzâde was also mistaken, according to Ocak, in supposing that the leader of the Babai revolt was Baba Ishaq. In his comprehensive work on the Babai revolt, Ocak has demonstrated that the leader of this socio-political movement was Baba Ilyas of Khorasan who was a prominent Vefai sheikh of the time. In connection with this, Ocak and other significant scholars of the subject like Ayfer Karakaya-Stump have criticized Köprülüzâde for neglecting the importance of the Iraqi-born Vefai order in particular, and of the Middle Eastern religio-mystical currents in general, in the Islamization of Anatolia and the shaping of Anatolian popular religiosity. Last but not least, Köprülüzâde has also been criticized for his two-tiered model of religion that was based on an unbridgeable separation and impermeable boundary between 'orthodox/high' and 'heterodox/popular' Islam. Besides condemning the use of such normative and hierarchical concepts as 'orthodoxy' and 'heterodoxy' as if they were purely objective and analytical terms, the critics—with the exception of Ocak—have also questioned the applicability of such a rigid orthodox/heterodox or Sunni/Shiite dichotomy to the religious landscape of medieval Anatolia by arguing that a high degree of syncretism and latitudinarianism characterized the religious attitudes of not only the rural and tribal populations but also the urban elites of the peninsula between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. More explicitly, one of the most important features of Islam in medieval Anatolia, according to these scholars, was the fluidity and looseness of the boundaries of its practice, and thus it was not appropriate to appeal to such concepts as 'orthodoxy' and 'heterodoxy' in describing the religious landscape of the peninsula, where clear boundaries between orthodox and heterodox Islam would be established only in the sixteenth century. It is worth noting in this context that Cemal Kafadar has proposed the term 'metadoxy' as a more appropriate description of the complex religious picture of medieval Anatolia, a term which he has defined as 'a state of being beyond doxies, a combination of being doxy-naïve and not being doxy-minded'. For further information on these points, see Ocak, 'Anadolu Halk Sûfilğinde Ahmed-i Yesevî ve Yesevîlik Problemi,' 60–63; idem, *Babailer İsyanı: Aleviliğin Tarihsel Altyapısı yahut Anadolu'da İslâm-Türk Heterodoksisinin Teşekkülü* (4th ed.), (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2009), 24, 32–33, 87–88, 91, 93, 150–153; Karakaya-Stump, 'The Vefa'iyye, the Bektashiyye and Genealogies of "Heterodox" Islam in Anatolia,' 280–283, 285–286, 295–296; idem, *Vefailik, Bektaşilik*,

5. 4 The Evolution of Anatolian Turkish Literature: From its Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century

Despite all these problematic aspects, most of which could have been brought to light only recently by means of today's scholarly perspectives and paraphernalia, it is safe to say that Köprülüzâde's narrative presents us a sophisticated—and academically persuasive for his own time—line of continuity between Central Asian and Anatolian Turkish religiosity. Constituting one of the main pillars of his grand narrative, this line of continuity was accompanied—and strengthened—by another one, which connected, in an equally sophisticated manner, different periods of the national past to each other through literary history. It must be noted in this context that Köprülüzâde's analysis of Turkish literary history was essentially based on the systematic classification of the so-called Turkish poets, authors and Sufis of the past into specific literary branches, which were, as pointed out above, defined by him as the elite/court literature, the high Sufi literature, the folk literature, and the popular Sufi literature. To briefly summarize how he examined the evolution of Anatolian Turkish literature through this categorization, Köprülüzâde initially situated the thirteenth-century mystical folk poet Yunus Emre within his quadripartite classification scheme by describing the latter as the first and foremost Anatolian representative of the literary genre that had been created by Ahmed Yasawi, i.e., the

Kızılbaşlık, 5, 10; Karamustafa, 'Early Sufism in Eastern Anatolia,' 197–198; idem, *God's Unruly Friends*, 4–11; Dressler, *Writing Religion*, 16–17, 198–202, 212–223, 281–284; idem, 'How to Conceptualize Inner-Islamic Plurality/Difference,' 244, 246–251, 258; Yıldırım, 'Sunni Orthodox vs Shiite Heterodox?,' 287–288, 306–307; Derin Terzioğlu, 'How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion,' *Turcica*, no. 44, 302–303; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 53–54, 73–76.

popular Sufi literature.¹⁶⁸ After analyzing in detail the life and work of Yunus Emre and concluding that his poetry was directly modeled on that of Ahmed Yasawi, he identified other important representatives of Anatolian popular Sufi literature, who were, in his view, highly influenced by Yunus Emre and wrote mystical poems in the same style as him and hence as Ahmed Yasawi.¹⁶⁹ According to his account, Shayyad Hamza of the late thirteenth century, Said Emre and Kaygusuz Abdal of the fourteenth century, Haji Bayram Veli, Yazicioghlu Mehmed and Emir Seyyid of the fifteenth century, and the Hurufi, Bektashi and Kizilbash poets of the subsequent centuries could all be viewed as followers of the literary tradition that had been initiated by Ahmed Yasawi in Central Asia and maintained and further strengthened by Yunus Emre in Anatolia.¹⁷⁰ Considering these theses together with his depiction

¹⁶⁸ It should be mentioned here that Köprülüzâde's theses concerning the close affinity of the literary outputs of Ahmed Yasawi and Yunus Emre were highly speculative. The only argument he presented to demonstrate this affinity was that both Yunus Emre and Ahmed Yasawi composed their poems in syllabic meter and by using a simple and plain language that was intelligible to everyone. This one single argument, however, is not persuasive enough to suggest that Yunus Emre was deeply influenced by Ahmed Yasawi, especially considering the widespread use of the syllabic metrical system among the Turks. Moreover, as Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı has underlined, there is no sign in Yunus Emre's poetry that indicated the presence of such an influence. In fact, on the contrary; whilst Yunus Emre often referred to such figures who had an influence on him as Taptuk Emre, Sarı Saltuk, Barak Baba and Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi, he did not mention the name of Ahmed Yasawi even once in his poems. This absence, according to Gölpınarlı, stemmed from the fact that neither Ahmed Yasawi nor the *hikmats* written by—or, to put it more accurately, attributed to—him were known in Anatolia at the time when Yunus Emre lived. In Gölpınarlı's view, Ahmed Yasawi and 'his' *hikmats* began to be known in Anatolia only after he had been incorporated into the Bektashi tradition in the late fifteenth century. Thus, Köprülüzâde's assertion that Yunus Emre's mystical poetry was directly modeled on that of Ahmed Yasawi was completely inaccurate. For further information on this point, see Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar* (6th ed.), (İstanbul: İnkılâp Yayınları, 2014), 198–200; idem, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf* (İstanbul: İnkılâp Yayınları, 2008), 106–112; idem, *Yunus Emre: Hayatı ve Bütün Şiirleri* (5th ed.), (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013), xxiv–xxxi. See also Yıldırım, 'Büyükülüğün Büyüme Set Çekmesi,' 381–383.

¹⁶⁹ For the life and work of Yunus Emre, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 292–303, 321–372; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 312–317; idem, 'Ottoman Turkish Literature,' 939–940. For Yunus Emre's influence on Anatolian popular Sufi poetry, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 311–320, 373–394.

¹⁷⁰ It must be noted here that contrary to Köprülüzâde's statements, Shayyad Hamza was not a thirteenth- but a fourteenth-century poet. For more information on this point, see Semih Tezcan, 'Anadolu Türk Yazınının Başlangıç Döneminde Bir Yazar ve Çarh-name'nin Tarihlendirilmesi Üzerine,' *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları*, no. 4 (1994): 83–86; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, 'Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life: 1071–1453,' in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, vol. 1: Byzantium to Turkey (1071–1453)*, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 409. For Köprülüzâde's commentaries on Shayyad Hamza, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Anatolische Dichter in der

of Ahmed Yasawi as the carrier of ancient Turkish literary traditions, it becomes fairly obvious that Köprülüzâde was seeking to establish a bold line of continuity which extended from pre-Islamic Turkish literature, through Ahmed Yasawi and Yunus Emre, all the way to the modern-day popular Sufi poetry.

A similar line could also be discerned in Köprülüzâde's account of Turkish folk literature. As we have seen in the previous and present chapter, Köprülüzâde had already linked the origins of Ottoman folk poetry to pre-Islamic Turkish literature in his 1915 articles, and further solidified this imagined connection by working both on Central Asian and Anatolian Turkish literary history in the subsequent years.

According to his account, the major elements of the connection between Central Asian and Anatolian folk literature were not particular literary figures, but anonymous folk poets, who, in the same vein as the aforementioned popular mystics, maintained the literary traditions of ancient Turkish *kams* and *baksıs* by using national poetic forms, metrical system, and stringed instruments. Treating mostly profane themes in their songs and poems that were called *türkü*, *türkmani* or *varsagı* among various Turkish communities, these folk poets played an equally important role to that of popular mystics in the transference of old Turkish literary traditions to Anatolia, as a result of which, Köprülüzâde stressed, Anatolian Turkish folk literature showed great continuity with its Central Asian roots.¹⁷¹ Moreover, he

Seldschukenzeit I: Sejjad Hamza,' 183–190; idem, 'Shaiyad Hamza,' 287–288; idem, 'Selçukiler Devrindeki Anadolu Şairleri: Şeyyad Hamza,' *Dergâh*, no. 4 (June 1, 1337 [1921]): 51. For Köprülüzâde's commentaries on Said Emre and Kaygusuz Abdal, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Said Emre,' *Hayat* 2, no. 42 (September 15, 1927): 2; idem, 'Ottoman Turkish Literature,' 942; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 375–378. For Köprülüzâde's commentaries on the fifteenth-century mystical folk poets, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 375–378, 381; idem, 'Ottoman Turkish Literature,' 945. For Köprülüzâde's commentaries on the Hurufi, Bektashi and Kizilbash poets of the subsequent centuries, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Ottoman Turkish Literature,' 949–952.

¹⁷¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 294–298, 320–322; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 270–277; idem, 'Dede Korkut Kitabına Ait Notlar III: Ozan,' 134–135, 137–140; idem, 'Ottoman Turkish Literature,' 938–940.

continued, this literary genre also interacted with other branches of Turkish literature in time and gave birth to a new literary style, named ‘minstrel style’ (*‘âşık tarzı’*) or ‘minstrel literature’ (*‘âşık edebiyatı’*), in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Appealing mostly to middle-class urban and rural populations, Köprülüzâde stated, this petit-bourgeois literature was a synthesis and composite of the oral folk literature, the popular Sufi literature, and the elite/court literature. Accordingly, he emphasized, although this literary style had mainly originated from Turkish folk literature, it also contained within itself certain elements of the popular Sufi and elite literatures.¹⁷² More precisely, while the urban practitioners of the minstrel style such as Kul Mehmet of the sixteenth century, Âşık Ömer and Gevherî of the seventeenth century, Levnî, Şermî and Âşık Şem’î of the eighteenth century, and Erzurumlu Emrah, Âşık Dertli and Zihnî of the nineteenth century were relatively more influenced by the elite/court literature than their rural counterparts and hence wrote most of their poems in *aruz* meters; the rural minstrels like Köroğlu, Karacaoglan, Kayıkcı Kul Mustafa and Dadaloğlu adhered principally—though not entirely—to the traditional forms of the Turkish folk literature. As for the influence of the popular Sufi literature, Köprülüzâde concluded, almost all of both urban and rural minstrels belonged to such heterodox tariqas as the Bektashiyye, and their literary products were thus suffused with religio-mystical content, contrary to those of Central Asian and Anatolian folk poets who, as pointed out above, generally treated profane themes in their songs and poems.¹⁷³

¹⁷² Köprülü, *Saz Şairleri I-V*, 23, 31–51, 57–58; idem, ‘Türk Edebiyatında Âşık Tarzının Menşe ve Tekâmülü Hakkında Bir Tecrübe,’ 5–6, 15–17, 25–26; idem, *XIX. Asır Sazşairlerinden Erzurumlu Emrah*, 7–8.

¹⁷³ See Köprülü, *Saz Şairleri I-V*, 31–47, 55–63, 115–122, 177–185, 231–241, 287–297, 344–357, 470–482, 625–636, 679–689.

Besides tracing the historical evolution of the popular Sufi and folk literatures in Anatolia, Köprülüzâde also examined the course of the high Sufi and elite/court literatures in detail. While doing this, he situated these two literary branches on the opposite pole of the popular Sufi and folk literatures in his quadripartite classification scheme and drew a categorical distinction between the former and latter two with regard to their literary features, national or cosmopolitan character, and the audience they appealed to. According to him, in contrast to Anatolian mystical folk poets who followed the literary path established by the Central Asian Turkish Sufi Ahmed Yasawi, the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century representatives of the high Sufi literature as Sultan Walad, Ahmed Fakih, Sheikh Ahmed Gulshehri, and—partially—Âşık Pasha were profoundly influenced by Persian culture and Sufi literature. Thus, Köprülüzâde stated, these poets mostly imitated the works of the great Persian Sufis like Farid al-Din Attar, Hakim Sanai and certainly Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi, and rendered the *aruz* meter and mathnawi form the norm of Turkish high Sufi poetry.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, such early practitioners of the elite/court literature as Hodja Dehhani, Ahmedî, Şeyhî, Necati, Bursalı Ahmed Pasha and Ivaz Pashazâde Atâyî were fascinated with Persian classical poetry and devoted their whole efforts to the adaptation of its forms, language and metrical system to Turkish literature.¹⁷⁵ But

¹⁷⁴ It must be noted that Köprülüzâde regarded Ahmed Fakih as a thirteenth-century poet. However, as Semih Tezcan has demonstrated, Ahmed Fakih had in fact lived in the fourteenth century. For further information on this point, see Tezcan, 'Anadolu Türk Yazınının Başlangıç Döneminde Bir Yazar ve Çarh-name'nin Tarihlendirilmesi Üzerine,' 83–86. For Köprülüzâde's commentaries on Sultan Walad, Ahmed Fakih, Sheikh Ahmed Gulshehri, and Âşık Pasha, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 288–293, 296–297, 306–312; idem, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 243–245, 254–258, 263–270, 374–375; idem, 'Ottoman Turkish Literature,' 939–942; idem, *Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi* (2nd ed.), ed. Ahmet Mermer (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2006), 19–21; idem, 'Âşık Paşa,' in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 1, 703–705.

¹⁷⁵ It should be mentioned that Köprülüzâde was mistaken in regarding Hodja Dehhani as a thirteenth century poet. As recent research has revealed, Hodja Dehhani was not a thirteenth- but a fourteenth-century poet. See Ocak, 'Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life: 1071–1453,' 409; Tezcan, 'Anadolu Türk Yazınının Başlangıç Döneminde Bir Yazar ve Çarh-name'nin Tarihlendirilmesi Üzerine,' 83–86. For Köprülüzâde's commentaries on the practitioners of the elite literature who lived between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 317–320;

despite this, Köprülüzâde stressed—in a manner highly different from his earlier hard-line nationalist discourse—, these court poets nevertheless made a substantial contribution to the development of Turkish literature by writing their literary works in Turkish, instead of Persian. In this way, he explained, they took the first steps to transform Turkish into a sophisticated literary language addressing and satisfying the aesthetic-artistic tastes of notables, and broke—even unconsciously—the monopoly of Persian language in elite—literary—circles. Additionally, they also laid the foundations of classical Turkish literature, which would reach its most mature level and surpass its all competitors in the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁶ To put it more precisely, Köprülüzâde emphasized that Turkish court literature became completely independent from Persian influence, produced such brilliant poets as Bâkî, Zâtî and Hayâlî who could easily compete with the greatest masters of Persian poetry, and began to be regarded by both the local and foreign observers as the most refined literature of the Islamic world by the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, this ‘golden age’ of classical Turkish literature also gave birth to a ‘simplification movement’ in poetry, called ‘Türkî-i Basit’ (‘Simple Turkish’), which was epitomized in the works of Edirneli Nazmî and Tatavlı Mahremî. These poets, Köprülüzâde argued, continued to compose their poems in *aruz* meters but

idem, *Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, 20, 22–24, 72–76; idem, ‘Ottoman Turkish Literature,’ 940, 943–947; idem, ‘Ahmedî,’ in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 1, 216–220; idem, ‘Ahmed Paşa,’ in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 1, 187–191.

¹⁷⁶ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 294–296; idem, ‘Türk Edebiyatına Umumi Bir Bakış,’ 314–315; idem, ‘Ottoman Turkish Literature,’ 939. For some examples of Köprülüzâde’s earlier negative views on the practitioners of the elite/court literature who were heavily inspired by Persian culture and literature, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Edebiyatta ‘Marazilik,’ 45–48; idem, ‘Yapma Edebiyat,’ 7–8; idem, ‘Hayat ve Edebiyat,’ 266–268.

¹⁷⁷ See Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatına Umumi Bir Bakış,’ 314–318; idem, ‘Ottoman Turkish Literature,’ 948–953; idem, *Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, 125–128, 227–232, 279–283, 331–337, 379–380; idem, *Millî Edebiyat Cereyanının İlk Mübeşşirleri ve Divan-ı Türkî-i Basit*, 24–31; idem, ‘Bâkî,’ in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 2, 243–251; idem, ‘Türk Klasik Edebiyatındaki Hususi Nazım Şekilleri: Tuyug,’ 219–242.

intentionally employed a relatively simple and plain language as a result of their opposition to the excessive use of Arabo-Persian vocabulary in literary works, an attitude which in and of itself made them ‘the first forerunners of national literature movement’.¹⁷⁸ It goes without saying that this reading of the elite/court literature aimed to incorporate one of the most cosmopolitan fields of the Ottoman past into Turkish history by inventing within it not only a vein that would flatter the national pride, but also an imagined genealogy for the nationalistically motivated literary movements of the twentieth century.

¹⁷⁸ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Milli Edebiyatın İlk Mübeşşirleri,’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3223 (Rebi’ülahir 24, 1340/Kanun-ı Evvel 24, 1921): 3; idem, *Milli Edebiyat Cereyanının İlk Mübeşşirleri ve Divan-ı Türkî-i Basit*, 9–76; idem, ‘Arûz,’ 645. It must be noted here that the existence of such a ‘simplification movement’ in the sixteenth-century Ottoman poetry was a fabrication of Köprülüzâde. Apart from the anachronism of attributing a nationalistic language consciousness to literary figures living in a period when the notion of nation did not exist, Köprülüzâde’s empirical justification of his claims was also problematic, even containing falsifications and distortions. To name an example, although Edirneli Nazmi indeed composed some poems by using a simple and plain language, he never wrote a work titled *Divan-ı Türkî-i Basit*, in contrast to Köprülüzâde’s assertions. As Walter G. Andrews has emphasized, what Köprülüzâde did in the compilation he made from Nazmi’s *diwan*—which was published by Köprülüzâde with the title *Divan-ı Türkî-i Basit*—was to create a false impression about Nazmi’s work by obscuring the fact that the original work did not have such a title in actuality. Moreover, Nazmi’s poems written in simple Turkish constituted in fact a very small part of his complete works, most of which were replete with Arabo-Persian words and phrases. According to Semiz Tezcan, Nazmi’s aim in writing some of his poems in simple Turkish was not to launch a new literary movement, but merely to attract attention to himself. As for the other ‘representative’ of the ‘Türkî-i Basit movement’, Tatavlı Mahremî’s sense of literature was, as Hatice Aynur has underlined, by no means different from that of his contemporaries and he also excessively used Arabo-Persian words, compounds and composites in his poems. Last but not least, in contrast to Köprülüzâde’s statements, neither Mahremî nor Nazmi had any followers during their lifetime, and they did not have even little influence on subsequent generations of Ottoman literature. For further information, see Walter G. Andrews, ‘Starting Over Again: Some Suggestions for Rethinking Ottoman Divan Poetry in the Context of Translation and Transmission,’ in *Translations: (Re)shaping of Literature and Culture*, ed. Saliha Paker (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002), 15–40; Semih Tezcan, ‘Fuat Köprülü ve Türkî-yi Basit,’ in *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, 79–88; Hatice Aynur, ‘Türkî-i Basit Hareketini Yeniden Düşünmek,’ *Turkish Studies: International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 4, no. 5 (Summer 2009): 36–54; Ahmet Mermer, ‘Türkî-i Basit’e Yeni Bir Bakış,’ *Turkish Studies* 4, no. 5, 263–276; Ziya Avşar, ‘Türkî-i Basiti Yeniden Tartışmak,’ *Bilgi*, no. 18 (Summer 2001): 128–140.

5. 5 In Lieu of a Conclusion: ‘*The Magic Touch of a Strong Hand*’

Seeking to make sense of his scholarly efforts as a historian, the young and determined Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad had formulated an important question at the beginning of his academic career. In this question, which appeared in an article he wrote for the pro-CUP newspaper *Tanin* in June 1914, Köprülüzâde provocatively probed the meaning and purpose of academic historical inquiry, at a time when the Ottomans—particularly the Turks, for him—were still trying to heal the wounds of a devastating war and were about to engage in another one. According to his reasoning, what made scholarly historical research and practice crucially important for nations, especially during such traumatic periods, was the national character inherent in the fields of history and literary history. More explicitly, although these fields had also a universal nature like all sciences, they nevertheless dealt, by definition, with national contexts, spaces, and processes. Hence, Köprülüzâde stated, the disciplines of history and literary history were of vital importance in exploring and revealing the national existence (‘*milli mevcudiyet*’), and played a peerless role in the establishment of a powerful unity among the nation’s members. Consequently, he concluded that ‘when [...] the Turkish national past [...] and [...] literary history are brought to life by the magic touch of a strong hand, all Turks will better understand their spiritual unity and move inwardly closer to each other’.¹⁷⁹ Needless to say, these lines, written with utmost enthusiasm, not only demonstrate the programmatic character of Köprülüzâde’s historiographical activity, but also explain the underlying aim of the grand narrative that he would construct within fifteen years.

¹⁷⁹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Tetebbuda Gaye,’ *Tanin*, no. 1958 (May 23, 1330/June 5, 1914): 3–4.

It would indeed not be wrong to state that Köprülüâde's narrative regarding Turkish history largely realized its goal of equipping the Turkish people with a common historical national identity. To sum it up in one sentence, this national identity had drawn its essence from Central Asian Turkishness, was blended with Islam and Islamic culture in Transoxiana, and acquired its final form and modern shape in Anatolia. There is little doubt that this reading of Turkish history was an extension and product of the Young Turk era Turkish nationalism, which regarded Islam as a constitutive element of Turkishness. But, this imagination of Turkishness, synthesized with Islam, would not be entirely embraced by the founder and the strongest hand of the new Turkish Republic.

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE: MEHMED FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ IN THE 1930S

In March 1927, a popular literary magazine named *Resimli Ay* (Monthly Illustrated) published a questionnaire with the title ‘Ahirete İnanır Mısınız?’ (‘Do You Believe in Afterlife?’). In this questionnaire, which signals the incipient change in the ideological atmosphere and cultural climate in the early republican Turkey, the magazine asked the aforementioned question to the leading intellectuals, men of letters and scholars of the country, one of whom was Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad. As can be discerned from his short response, Köprülüzâde, who had long considered Islam an integral part of Turkish national identity, felt a bit uncomfortable with this question, contrary to the other respondents, and sought to parry it by telling that he, as a historian, was not interested in the future but in the things and events of the past.¹

¹ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘[Ben İstikbal ile Alakadar Değilim],’ *Resimli Ay* 4, no. 37 (March 1927): 43.

A few months later, Köprülüzâde once again appeared in the popular press, but this time on the occasion of a fierce debate that was directly related to his academic field of interest. Having been triggered by his harsh criticism against the lecture notes of a law professor, Yusuf Ziya (Özer), who taught history of law at the university, this debate leapt to the front pages of the most popular newspapers in the country following the latter's answer that was printed in the daily *Milliyet*.² The reason why Köprülüzâde sharply criticized his colleague was because Yusuf Ziya argued in his lecture notes that all the ancient civilizations of Greece, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Anatolia were of Turkish origins. According to him, the religions, languages, and laws of the ancient Greeks, Babylonians, and Egyptians were derived from those of the Turks, who had established a great civilization in these regions in prehistoric times. In the face of these theses, Köprülüzâde, as a historian who devoted his whole career to the scientification and professionalization of Turkish historiography, did not hesitate to express his 'horrified astonishment' and academic anger. Besides confuting every single argument propounded by Yusuf Ziya, he also overtly questioned the latter's academic credentials to teach at the country's most advanced educational institution.³ Despite these criticisms that came from the most eminent historian in the country, however, Yusuf Ziya went on to tenaciously defend his historical theses. After publicly accusing Köprülüzâde of harbouring 'pro-Greek' sentiments, he expanded his lecture notes and published them as a book in 1928 with the title *Yunan'dan Evvelki Türk Medeniyeti* (Turkish Civilization Before the

² See 'İki Müderris Birbirine mi Düştü?', *Milliyet*, April 12, 1927, 1; 'Müderrisler Arasındaki Münakaşa Gittikçe Büyüyor: Yusuf Ziya Bey Cevabını Veriyor,' *Milliyet*, April 15, 1927, 2.

³ For Köprülüzâde's criticisms, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Türk Hukuk Tarihi: İstanbul Hukuk Fakültesi'nde Okutulan "Tarih-i Hukuk" Dersleri Münasebetiyle,' *Hayat*, no. 19, 17–18; idem, 'Yusuf Ziya Bey'e Cevap,' *Hayat* 1, no. 21 (April 23, 1927): 17–18; idem, 'Son Münakaşalar Münasebetiyle,' *Hayat* 1, no. 22 (April 28, 1927): 2.

Greeks).⁴ More strikingly, he was appointed in 1930 as one of the very few members of an official historical commission named *Türk Tarih Heyeti* (Commission for Turkish History), which was established under the auspices of Mustafa Kemal himself, and to which Köprülüzâde was not invited.⁵ Then, in 1931, Yusuf Ziya was elected a deputy to the parliament and appointed as a founding member of the official historical society of the republic, *Türk Tarihi Tedkik Cemiyeti* (Society for the Study of Turkish History), later *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish Historical Society).⁶ As for Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, he was admitted as not the first, the second or the third but the twentieth member of the newly established historical association, while Yusuf Ziya was officially the sixteenth member of this institution.⁷ Clearly, the most internationally prestigious historian in the country was not the most ‘useful’ historian for the power-holding elite by the early 1930s.

As these two anecdotes indicate, the initial years of the 1930s mark the beginning of a new era in the early republican Turkey, during which the single-party rule shaped the social and cultural spheres with the newly constructed official ideology, Kemalism. After a ten-year period of power struggles, radical reforms and political restructuring of the country, Mustafa Kemal and his associates turned their attention

⁴ For Yusuf Ziya’s answers to Köprülüzâde, see ‘İki Müderris Birbirine mi Düştü?’, 1; ‘Müderrisler Arasındaki Münakaşa Gittikçe Büyüyor,’ 2. For Yusuf Ziya’s book, see Yusuf Ziya, *Yunan’dan Evvelki Türk Medeniyeti* (İstanbul: Cihan Kitabhanesi, 1928). For further information on this debate, see Abdülkadir İnan, ‘Fuad Köprülü-Yusuf Ziya Münakaşaları Üzerine,’ *Türk Kültürü*, no. 47, 41–45; M. Şakir Ülkütaşır, ‘Fuad Köprülü ve Bazı Basın Hatıraları,’ *Türk Kültürü*, no. 47, 49–50; Park, ‘The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,’ 229–238; Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, 357–362.

⁵ Fahri Çoker, *Türk Tarih Kurumu: Kuruluş Amaçları ve Çalışmaları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1983), 3; Yunus Koç, ‘Türk Tarih Kurumu ve Türk Tarihçiliğindeki Yeri,’ in *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye’de Tarihçilik ve Tarih Yayıncılığı Sempozyumu: Bildiriler*, ed. Mehmet Öz (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2011), 656.

⁶ Ali Arslan, *Darülfünun’dan Üniversite’ye* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 1995), 122; Çoker, *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, 215–216; Emre Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 3: Darülfünun’dan Üniversiteye Geçiş (Tasfiye ve Yeni Kadrolar)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 56.

⁷ Çoker, *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, 216.

to ideological and cultural matters in the early 1930s and launched an intense campaign to transform Turkish society into a ‘modern’ nation that was firmly attached to the principles of the new regime. They, in this respect, attempted to gather all socio-cultural associations in the country under the roof of the Republican People’s Party, brought the intellectual and academic life into line with the official ideology, and established new ideology-propagating and nation-building institutions, two of which were the Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Language Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*).⁸

As previously pointed out in the existing literature, these two scholarly institutions were founded to formulate the official history and language theses of the republic that was aiming to equip its citizens with a transcendent and prideful national identity. The crucial point to be made here is that the national identity which the Kemalist elite sought to construct was markedly different from the one that had been imagined by the Young Turk era Turkish nationalists like Ziya Gökalp who described their goal as the ‘creation of a modern Islamic Turkishness’ (*‘muasır bir İslam Türklüğü yaratmak’*). Having implemented an aggressive secularization programme from the mid-1920s onwards, Mustafa Kemal and his inner circle, one of the main ideologues of which was Yusuf Akçura, did not embrace such a conception of Turkishness that was synthesized with Islam, and attempted to make religion—at

⁸ For further information on this process, see Çağaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey*, 14, 43–46, 52, 63; Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene*, 124, 159; Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic*, 105–107; Erik J. Zürcher, “‘Fundamentalism’ as an Exclusionary Device in Kemalist Turkish Nationalism,” in *Identity Politics in Central Asia and the Muslim World: Nationalism, Ethnicity and Labour in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Willem van Schendel and Erik J. Zürcher (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 209–222; idem, ‘Institution Building in the Kemalist Republic: The Role of the People’s Party,’ in *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah*, eds. Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zürcher (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 98–112; Kemal H. Karpat, ‘The Republican People’s Party: 1923–1945,’ in *Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey*, eds. Metin Heper and Jacob M. Landau (London: I. B. Tauris, 1991), 42–64; Şefika Akile Zorlu-Durukan, ‘The Ideological Pillars of Turkish Education: Emergent Kemalism and the Zenith of Single-Party Rule’ (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2006), 70–71, 74–78, 91–94, 101–102, 253–254.

least officially—irrelevant to the definition of Turkish national identity. Accordingly, they sought to construct a secular frame of reference for defining Turkishness and Turkish identity during the 1930s, one in which ethno-national perspectives and categorizations were held to be primary. This secularist orientation, needless to say, not only radicalized the nation-building agenda and vocabulary of the Kemalist elite in comparison to that of the Young Turk era Turkish nationalists, but also pushed a considerable part of the latter into the background during the 1930s. Apart from Şemseddin Günaltay, who played a significant role in the formulation of the Turkish History Thesis and presided over the Turkish Historical Society for almost twenty years, none of the leading ex-Unionist nationalist intellectuals and historians took an active part in the establishment of the official history and language associations of the republic.

Considering the points mentioned above, it becomes clear why Köprülüzâde was not incorporated by Mustafa Kemal into the small intellectual cadre that executed the nation-building process in the early 1930s, and why this cadre strove to develop a new ‘history thesis’ concerning the national past instead of adopting the historical narrative that had been constructed by Köprülüzâde during the 1920s. To put this last point more precisely, although Köprülüzâde’s narrative won the praise and appreciation of the power-holding elite for its contribution to the intellectual foundation of the Turkish nation, it nevertheless did not serve adequately their goal of making Islam irrelevant to the definition of Turkish national identity. Quite to the contrary, having been forged within the frame of Young Turk era Turkish nationalism, Köprülüzâde’s narrative regarded the Turks’ entry into the milieu of Islamic civilization as one of the most important turning points of Turkish national history and presented Islam as an integral part of modern Turkish identity. Moreover,

despite all academic sophistication of his narrative, Köprülüzâde's efforts to manifest the long-lasting continuity of Turkish cultural traditions through such religio-literary figures as Ahmed Yasawi did not tally with the primary needs of the Kemalist nation-builders. Although they all recognized the importance of his works and continued to consider him one of the most leading historians in the country, Köprülüzâde's complicated narrative revolving around old Turkish shamans, dervishes and folk poets was hardly functional or useful for them, who were searching for rather more direct, sloganistic and striking formulations to demonstrate the historical grandeur of the Turkish nation. This search, as is well known, would soon bring into being the notorious—and fortunately short-lived—Turkish History Thesis, which propounded such pseudo-scientific arguments as that the Turks were the ancestors of all 'brachycephalic' peoples, that they created the world's great civilizations, that their language was the mother of all other languages, that they were the very first and 'autochthonous' inhabitants of Anatolia and hence that they were the founders of all Anatolian, Mesopotamian and Mediterranean ancient civilizations, from the Hittites to the Sumerians and from the Assyrians to the Mycenaeans and Ionians.⁹

In the face of these developments, Köprülüzâde once again adapted himself to the new circumstances. Contrary to some other nationalist historians like Zeki Velidi (Togan), who was forced to resign from his post at the university as a result of his vocal criticism of the Turkish History Thesis, Köprülüzâde abstained from displaying an attitude that could provoke the reaction of the power-holding elite, and adopted

⁹ For the Turkish History Thesis, see Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de 'Resmi Tarih' Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003); Oral, *Türkiye'de Romantik Tarihçilik*, 252–354; Suavi Aydın, *Modernleşme ve Milliyetçilik* (Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1993), 227–234; idem, 'The Use and Abuse of Archaeology and Anthropology in Formulating the Turkish Nationalist Narrative,' in *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle*, 36–46; Çağaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey*, 48–56; Özkırımlı and Sofos, *Tormented by History*, 91–101.

what can be called an opportunistic stance to preserve his privileged position in Turkish academia. Accordingly, although he did not approve either the methodology or the conclusions of the official history thesis—as his remarks on Yusuf Ziya’s lecture notes demonstrated—he never voiced—at least publicly—any criticism against it, except for a mild methodological objection, which he raised and then quickly retracted at the First Turkish History Congress of 1932.¹⁰ The crucial point to be made here is that Köprülüzâde’s silence regarding the Turkish History Thesis was by no means a reflection of a subtle or passive resistance against it and its builders. Stemming initially from a concern for self-preservation, this attitude soon evolved into a sort of pragmatism that was seeking ways to reestablish a smooth relationship with the power-holding elite. He, in this respect, made a point of actively participating in the activities of both the Turkish Historical and Language Societies, undertook important tasks in their commissions, presented papers and chaired sessions at these associations’ congresses, and even made explicit references to the vocabulary of the Turkish History Thesis in his presentations.¹¹ More strikingly, perhaps, he wrote a series of articles to the daily newspapers and publicly extolled, as the title of one of his pieces clearly shows, ‘the great revolution that the republic made in the fields of alphabet, language, and history’ (*‘Cumhuriyetin Yazı, Dil ve Tarih Sahasında Yaptığı Muazzam İnkılâp’*).¹²

¹⁰ For Köprülüzâde’s objection and the harsh criticisms he received from the defenders of the Turkish History Thesis at the congress, see *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi: Konferanslar, Müzakere Zabıtları*, 42–47, 50–51, 79–83.

¹¹ For some examples concerning Köprülüzâde’s references to the Turkish History Thesis, see Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, ‘Türk Edebiyatına Umumi Bir Bakış,’ 308; idem, ‘Ortazaman Türk Hukukî Müesseseleri,’ 71–72.

¹² See Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuad, ‘Cumhuriyetin Yazı, Dil ve Tarih Sahasında Yaptığı Muazzam İnkılâp,’ *Cumhuriyet (Supplement)*, October 29, 1933, 44–46, 62. See also Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, ‘Dil İnkılâbı Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler [I],’ *Cumhuriyet*, February 7, 1933, 3; idem, ‘Dil İnkılâbı Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler II,’ *Cumhuriyet*, February 8, 1933, 3. Also see Köprülüzâde’s foreword to Munis Tekin Alp’s book entitled ‘Kemalizm,’ M. Fuat Köprülü, ‘Önsöz,’ in *Kemalizm: Cumhuriyetçi*,

Needless to say, Köprülüzâde's aforementioned efforts did not go unnoticed and were well received by the Kemalist ruling cadre. In this way, he once again managed to develop a close connection with the power-holding elite, after a few years of being pushed into the background. One of the first fruits of this restored connection revealed itself during the university reform of 1933. Although he had lost his position as dean of the Faculty of Literature in 1931, Köprülüzâde was reappointed to this post by the Ministry of Education during the university reform and held the deanship of the faculty until 1939.¹³ More importantly, he began to be frequently invited, from the late 1934 onwards, to the meetings convened at the presidential palace in Çankaya, where Mustafa Kemal—now, Atatürk—and his inner circle discussed the state affairs and nation-building policies.¹⁴ Before too long, Atatürk decided to 'appoint' him—now, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü—as a deputy to the parliament to replace a significant member of his inner circle, Yusuf Akçura, who was deceased in March 1935.¹⁵ Following this important appointment, Köprülü began to teach, with the stated wishes of Atatürk, at the history department of the newly established Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi (Faculty of Languages, History and Geography) and Siyasal Bilgiler Okulu (School of Political Sciences)—i.e., the former Mülkiye Mektebi (School of Civil Service).¹⁶ Moreover, he was appointed in 1936 to the directorship of the central media organ of the Halkevleri (People's

Milliyetçi, Halkçı, Devletçi, Laik ve Devrimci, by Tekinalp (İstanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları, 2012), 20.

¹³ Emre Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 4: İstanbul Üniversitesi (1933-1946)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 5–6.

¹⁴ See Özel Şahingiray, ed., *Atatürk'ün Nöbet Defteri: 1931-1938* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1955), 335–337, 341, 347–351, 381–385, 400–402, 406, 408, 414–419, 438–448.

¹⁵ Köprülü, *Fuad Köprülü*, 5–6; Asılsoy, 'Türk Modernleşmesinin Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü,' 43, 83.

¹⁶ İnalçık and Yediyıldız, 'Türkiye'de Osmanlı Araştırmaları,' 103, 110; Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 2*, 276.

Houses), which was one of the key nation-building and ideology-propagating institutions of the single-party regime, and managed this journal, *Ülkü* (Ideal), for five years.¹⁷ Last but not least, when the Turkish Historical Society decided to publish an academic history journal, it was Köprülü who was assigned as the head of the commission that would conduct the project.¹⁸ This journal, named *Belleten* (Bulletin), which began its publication in January 1937 and still continues to be issued today, has played a crucial role in the development of the twentieth-century Turkish historiography.

It must be noted here that Köprülü's inclusion into the Kemalist nation-building cadre in the mid-1930s did not stem solely from his pragmatic and astute political maneuvers: it was also connected with the content and impact of his historical works that were published in these years. To put this point more bluntly, Köprülü's two major studies written in the 1930s were devoted, as is well known, to the refutation of the orientalist theses concerning the origins of Ottoman socio-political organization. Having been formulated by such Western orientalist and historians as Herbert Adams Gibbons, Nicolae Iorga and Charles Diehl, these theses asserted that the proliferation of early Ottoman administrative institutions and practices was due, not to a Turco-Islamic, but to a Byzantine-Christian heritage. According to Gibbons and other Western historians, the Turks were essentially a nomadic and warrior nation that did not have the requisite 'forms of life' for the establishment of such a durable and robust state as the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the Ottoman Empire, in their view, was not a creation of the Turks but of a 'new race', named *Osmanlis*, which

¹⁷ Tansel, 'Memleketimizin Acı Kaybı Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü,' 624; Firdevs Gümüsoğlu, *Ülkü Dergisi ve Kemalist Toplum* (İstanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları, 2005), 159–160.

¹⁸ Oral, *Türkiye'de Romantik Tarihçilik*, 326–327.

was formed by the commingling of the newly Islamized Turks with the Greek and Balkan Slavic converts to Islam who provided the expertise for setting up an administrative organization and were the real builders of Ottoman socio-political institutions that were directly modeled after those of the Byzantine Empire.¹⁹

In response to these theses, which quickly attained a paradigmatic status in the field of Oriental studies at the time, Köprülü first wrote a lengthy article entitled '*Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar*' ('Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions') in 1931 and then delivered a series of lectures at Sorbonne University in 1934, which were published as *Les origines de l'empire ottoman* one year later.²⁰ In these works, Köprülü categorically rejected Gibbons' and other orientalist scholars' assertions, which, according to him, reduced the Turks to a tribe of 'simple shepherds', and argued that the Ottoman Empire was a purely Turkish creation. Besides emphasizing the homogeneous ethnic origins of the Ottomans—and underlining that they had absolutely no connection with the Mongols—, Köprülü claimed that the cultural and material dynamics of the fourteenth-century Anatolian Turkish society were matured enough to nurture the emergence and rise of a state like that of the Ottomans.

Therefore, rather than being a new ethnic and political formation that had no ties with the Seljuks and other Anatolian and Central Asian Turkish polities, the Ottoman Empire was a culmination of certain dynamics, skills and organizational principles

¹⁹ See Herbert Adams Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire: A History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I (1300–1403)* (New York: The Century Co., 1916). See also Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 9–12, 32–35, 162; Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003), 5–6.

²⁰ It must be noted that Köprülü had also published a short piece on Gibbons' book in 1927 in the journal *Hayat*. For this piece, see Köprülüâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu Meselesi I,' *Hayat* 1, no. 11 (February 10, 1927): 2–3; idem, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu Meselesi II,' *Hayat* 1, no. 12 (February 17, 1927): 2.

that had been inherited from earlier Turco-Islamic states and further developed by the Anatolian Turkish society over more than two hundred years. That is to say, the Ottoman Empire was a Turkish state that was built on the same institutional base as its Seljukid predecessors and almost all elements of its political, administrative and legal organization could be explained with reference to Turco-Muslim heritage deriving from the Middle East and Central Asia.²¹

There is little doubt that Köprülü's aforementioned theses overlapped to a great extent with the historical vistas of the Kemalist elites, who, as Cemal Kafadar has stated, were not sympathetic to the later and 'corrupt' phase of the Ottoman Empire, but eager to embrace its earlier history as one of the brightest and proudest periods of the national past.²² More precisely, Köprülü's reconstruction of the Ottoman past as a purely Turkish creation that was a direct extension of the Central Asian Turkish civilization answered a crucial scholarly and intellectual need of the Kemalist nation-builders who wanted to explain the early Ottoman political and military success with reference to the so-called Turkish ingenuity in state-building and administration but were troubled by the reminders of the multi-ethnic character of the Ottoman Empire.²³ Thus, it would not be an exaggeration to state that Köprülü's theses on early Ottoman history nourished an important—though not the main—vein of the

²¹ See Köprülüâde Mehmed Fuad, 'Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar,' 165–313; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*; idem, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Etnik Menşei Meseleleri,' 219–313; idem, 'Kay Kabîlesi Hakkında Yeni Notlar,' *Belleken* 8, no. 31 (1944): 421–452. See also Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 9–10, 35–36; Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, 132–133; Rudi Paul Lindner, *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007), 24–26.

²² Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 10.

²³ For a detailed discussion of this point, see Sönmez, 'Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken: Türkiye'de Tarih yazımı Üzerine Notlar,' 55–71. See also Markus Dressler, 'Mehmed Fuad Köprülü and the Turkish History Thesis,' in *Ölümünün 50. Yılında Uluslararası M. Fuad Köprülü Türkoloji ve Beşeri Bilimler Sempozyumu (21-22 Kasım 2016) Bildirileri*, eds. Fikret Turan et al. (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2017), 248–249.

official historical discourse of the 1930s and were accepted by almost all Turkish historians of the twentieth century as the only scholarly valid explanation of the problem regarding the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.

Besides this, Köprülü's late historical studies were also well received by European scholarly circles. Both the *Byzantine Institutions* and *Les origines* were translated into a variety of languages and lauded by the leading orientalists and historians of the time in prestigious academic journals.²⁴ To name a few examples, the French Byzantinist Rodolphe Guiland, the renowned German orientalists Franz Taeschner and Hans Joachim Kissling, the eminent Swedish scholar Henrik Samuel Nyberg, and the leading French historian Lucien Febvre reviewed and praised Köprülü's *Byzantine Institutions* and *Les origines* in such significant journals as the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, *Le Monde Oriental*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, and most strikingly the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*.²⁵ Köprülü, moreover, was invited to give talks at some distinguished European universities like the Sorbonne and at such international conferences as the 1938 *International Congress of Orientalists* in Brussels and the seventh and eighth *Congrès International des Sciences Historiques* that were held in Warsaw in 1933 and in Zurich in 1938 respectively.²⁶ These were followed by a number of honorary memberships and

²⁴ The *Les origines de l'empire ottoman* was first translated into Russian in 1941, then into Serbian in 1955, and finally into English in 1992. The *Byzantine Institutions* was translated into Italian and published as a book in Rome in 1953. Later on it was also translated into English.

²⁵ See Fr. Taeschner, 'Eine Neue Türkische Publikation zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte,' *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 36, no. 8-9 (August-September 1933): 482-490; R. Guiland, 'Institutions Byzantines, Institutions Musulmanes?,' *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 6, no. 28 (July 1934): 426-427; L. F., 'Aux origines de l'Empire ottoman,' *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 9, no. 43 (January 1937): 100-101; H. J. Kissling, 'M. Fuad Köprülü: Alcune osservazioni intorno all'influenza delle istituzioni bizantine sulle istituzioni ottomane,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 48 (1955): 399-401.

²⁶ BCA. 30.18.1.2/83.47.14. 1938.05.28; BCA. 30.18.1.2/84.75.1. 1938.08.15. See also Taştan, 'Mehmed Fuad Köprülü: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Eserleri,' 115.

degrees from various European scholarly associations as well. In 1937, for instance, Köprülü was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Athens. Two years later, he was elected a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. And finally, he received his third honorary doctorate from the University of Sorbonne in November 1939, the ceremony of which, as he later stated, constituted the most precious and happiest moment of his whole academic life.²⁷

Approximately two years after this ceremony, however, Köprülü decided to put an end to his academic career. This unexpected decision was due to a Ministry of Education decree which ruled in late 1941 that the academic staff serving as parliamentarians could no longer hold office concurrently both at the university and the parliament. Having been one of the twenty-one academics who were affected by this decree, Köprülü preferred to continue in politics, as did the other twenty professors, and resigned from his post at the university.²⁸ Although he never explained the reasons lying behind this decision, he must have thought that he had completed his mission in academia after a long and highly prolific academic career.

During this long academic career that lasted nearly thirty years, Köprülü indeed contributed greatly to the rise of modern historiography in Turkey. He, in this respect, spearheaded the foundation of major historical associations in the country, published and managed many important history journals, held the deanship of the Faculty of Literature for almost fifteen years, and, thus, played a prominent role in the institutionalization of Turkish historiography as an academic and professional

²⁷ See Hikmet Feridun, 'Sorbon Üniversitesi'ne Türk Bayrağını Çektiren Adam: Fuat Köprülü,' *Yedigün*, no. 352 (December 5, 1939): 10–11. See also Köprülü, *Fuad Köprülü*, 7; Asılsoy, 'Türk Modernleşmesinin Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü,' 37.

²⁸ See 'Mebusluk ve Proseförlük,' *Cumhuriyet*, September 27, 1941, 1, 3. See also Park, 'The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü,' 39, 73–75.

discipline in its own right. He, moreover, made a genuine effort to introduce and consolidate the contemporary methodological principles of European historiography in Turkish historical writing and sought to establish the disciplinary standards of modern historical scholarship as the norms of Turkish historiography. Additionally, he trained many students and supervised the doctoral dissertations of such young historians as Osman Turan, Mehmet Altay Köymen and Neşet Çağatay, who would become the most significant representatives of Turkish historiography in the near future. Finally, and perhaps most crucially, he produced a huge corpus of academic work, which was devoted to the construction of a scholarly valid historical master narrative regarding Turkish history. He, in this way, became the very historian who consummated and crowned the half-century-long nationalist historiographical efforts to invent this national history, by establishing, in a scholarly and sophisticated manner, a grand narrative of continuity for the Turkish nation.

Despite all its nationalistic motivations and purposes, this grand narrative did not attribute any moral or cultural superiority to the Turks over other nations, but, rather, aimed to provide them with a common and historically well-grounded national identity and to demonstrate—both to the national and international audience—that the Turks had all the same civilizational features as the other ‘ancient’ and ‘historical’ nations. Köprülü, in this regard, emphasized the historicity and originality of Turkish culture by revealing the so-called ancient national traditions, defined these customs as the pure and authentic essence of Turkishness, demonstrated their continuity throughout the ages, and established a direct connection between them and modern-day Turkish political, socio-cultural and literary practices. While doing these, he, as a historian who strove for the consolidation of the disciplinary standards of modern historical scholarship in Turkish historiography, made a special point of

presenting his historiographical arguments on a sound methodological ground based on European scholarly conventions. Although his methodologically rigorous and analytically powerful narrative did not tally entirely with the primary needs of the Kemalist elite who were searching for more direct, sloganistic and striking formulations to demonstrate the historical grandeur of the Turkish nation, it represented the academic and scholarly line in Turkish historiography during the revolutionary atmosphere of the 1930s. When this revolutionary wave receded after the death of Atatürk in 1938, it was not the Turkish History Thesis but this academic and scholarly line that would gain a hegemonic character in Turkish history writing and shape both the learned and popular understandings of the national past in Turkey. This situation, needless to say, was a result not only of the scholarly refinement of Köprülü's work alone, but also, as this dissertation aimed to show, of the academization and professionalization of Turkish historiography that took place in the first half of the twentieth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Archival Sources

ATASE.BDH:	Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Enstitüsü Arşivi, Birinci Dünya Harbi Katalogu (General Staff of the Directorate of Military History and Strategic Studies, First World War Catalogue).
BCA:	Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (The Prime Ministry Republican Archives).
BOA:	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives).
A.DNV:	Sadaret Divan Kalemi Evrakı.
A.DVNS.NZAM.d:	Bâb-1 Âsafî Divân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Nizâmat Defterleri.
A.MKT.NZD:	Sadaret Nezaret ve Devair Evrakı.
BEO:	Bâb-1 Âlî Evrak Odası Evrakı.
DH.HMŞ:	Dahiliye Nezareti Hukuk Müşavirliği Belgeleri.
DH.İD:	İdari Kısım.
DH.MKT:	Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi.
DH.ŞFR:	Dahiliye Nezareti Şifre Evrakı.
İ.DH:	İrade Dahiliye.
İ.DUİT:	İrade Dosya Usulü.
İ.HUS:	İrade Hususi.
İ.MF:	İrade Maarif.
İ.ML:	İrade Maliye.
İ.MMS:	İrade Meclis-i Mahsus.

İ.MSM:	İrade Mesail-i Mühimme.
İ.MVL:	İrade Meclis-i Vala.
MF.MKT:	Mektubi Kalemî.
MV:	Meclis-i Vükela Mazbataları.

2. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü's Works

2. 1 Books

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad. *Tevfik Fikret ve Ahlakı*. İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1918.

_____. *Nasreddin Hoca*. İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaa ve Kitabhanesi, 1918.

_____. *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1918-1919.

_____. *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi: Birinci Kitap*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1920.

_____. *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi: İkinci Kitap*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1921.

_____. *Türkiye Tarihi: Anadolu İstilâsına Kadar Türkler*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhanesi, 1923.

_____. *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi* (lithograph). İstanbul: Darülfünun Matbaası, 1341 [1925].

_____. *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*. İstanbul: Milli Matbaa, 1926.

_____. *Azeri Edebiyatına Ait Tetkikler*. Bakı: Jeni Turq Elifba Komitesi, 1926.

_____. *Milli Edebiyat Cereyanının İlk Mübeşşirleri ve Divan-ı Türkî-i Basit: XVI. Asır Şairlerinden Edirneli Nazmi'nin Eseri*. İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928.

_____. *XVII. Asır Sazşairlerinden Gevherî: Hayatı-Eseri*. İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1929.

_____. *XIX. Asır Sazşairlerinden Erzurumlu Emrah*. İstanbul: Evkâf Matbaası, 1929.

_____. *Influence du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur les Ordres Mystiques Musulmans*. İstanbul: Imp. Zellitch Frères, 1929.

_____. *XVI. Asır Sonuna Kadar Türk Saz Şairleri*. İstanbul: Evkâf Matbaası, 1930.

_____. *XVII. Asır Şazşairlerinden Kayıkçı Kul Mustafa ve Genç Osman Hikayesi*. İstanbul: Evkâf Matbaası, 1930.

_____. *Eski Şairlerimiz: Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi*. İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1934.

_____. *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Hakkında Araştırmalar*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1934.

_____. *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1959.

_____. *Saz Şairleri I-V* (3rd ed.). Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2004.

_____. *Türk Tarih-i Dinîsi*. Edited by Metin Ergun. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2005.

_____. *Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi* (2nd ed.). Edited by Ahmet Mermer. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2006.

_____. *Hayat-ı Fikriyye: Roberto Ardigo, George Brandes ve İskandinav Edebiyatı-Cattula Mendes ve Parnas Şairleri- Fouillet ve Guyau*. Edited by Cafer Şen and Nuran Şen. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2007.

_____. *Türk Edebiyatı Ders Notları*. Edited by Yahya Kemal Taştan. İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2015.

2. 2 Textbooks

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad, and Şahabeddin Süleyman. *Malûmât-ı Edebiye, Birinci Cild: Medhal, Nazım ve Eşkal-i Nazım, Kavaid-i Tahrir*. Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1330 [1914].

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad, and Celal Sahir. *Kıraat-ı Edebiye, İkinci Kısım: Umum Mekâtib-i İdadiyenin İkinci Senelerinde Tedris Olunmak Üzere Tertip Edilmiştir*. İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1330 [1914].

_____. *Kıraat-ı Edebiye, Üçüncü Kısım: Umum Mekâtib-i İdadiyenin Üçüncü Senelerinde Tedris Olunmak Üzere Tertip Edilmiştir*. İstanbul: 1330 [1914].

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad. *Milli Kıraat, Beşinci Kısım: Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyenin Son ve Sultanilerin İlk Sınıfında Tedris Edilmek üzere Maarif Nezareti Tarafından Bilmüşabaka Birincilikle Kabul Edilmiştir*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi ve Matbaası, 1331 [1915].

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad, and Şahabeddin Süleyman. *Malûmât-ı Edebiye, İkinci Cild: Mesele-yi Bediye ve Enva-yi Muhtelif-e-yi Edebiye*. Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1331 [1915].

_____. *Yeni Osmanlı Tarih-i Edebiyatı: Menşelerden Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa Sadaretine Kadar*. İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1332 [1916].

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad. *Milli Kıraat, İkinci Kısım: Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyeye Mahsustur* (2nd ed.). Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1332 [1916].

_____. *Turan'ın Kitabı, Ahlaki ve Medeni Musahabeler, Birinci Kısım: İlk Mektep Devre-i Ülâ, İkinci Sene*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi ve Matbaası, 1332 [1916].

_____. *Turan'ın Kitabı, Ahlaki ve Medeni Musahabeler, İkinci Kısım: Devre-i Mutavassıta, Birinci Sene*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi ve Matbaası, 1333 [1917].

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad, and Süleyman Saib. *Türk Dilinin Sarf ve Nahvi, Dördüncü Kısım: Devre-i Âliye Birinci Sınıfa Mahsustur* (3rd ed.). Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1334 [1918].

_____. *Türk Dilinin Sarf ve Nahvi, Üçüncü Kısım: Devre-i Mutavassıta İkinci Sınıfa Mahsustur* (2nd ed.). Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1334 [1918].

_____. *Türk Dilinin Sarf ve Nahvi, Devre-i Ülâ: Mektep-i İbtidaiyede Tedris Edilmek üzere Resmen Kabul Edilmiştir* (2nd ed.). Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1335 [1919].

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad. *Milli Tarih (İlk Mekteplerin Beşinci Sınıfında Okutulmak Üzere Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekâletince Resmen Kabul Edilmiştir)*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhane ve Matbaası, 1340/1924.

_____. *Milli Tarih: Mekteplerin Dördüncü Sınıflarına Mahsustur (İlk Mekteplerde Tedris Olunmak Üzere Son Programlar Göre Yazılmış ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekâletince Kabul Edilmiştir)*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhane ve Matbaası, 1340/1924.

_____. *Yeni Milli Kıraat (Liselerin İkinci Senelerinde Tedris Edilmek Üzere Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekâleti Tarafından Kabul Edilmiştir)*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhane ve Matbaası, 1340/1924.

_____. *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Yeni Milli Kıraat: İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf*. İstanbul: Türk Matbaası, 1926.

2. 3 Articles, Literary Works, and Translations

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad. 'İlham-ı Tabiat.' *Teavün*, no. 1 (n.d.): 8.

_____. 'Bizde Tiyatro.' *Teavün*, no. 1 (n.d.): 14–16.

_____. 'Girit Meselesi.' *Teavün*, no. 2 (n.d.): 22–23.

_____. '[Geldi Ruz-i Viladet-i Sultan].' *Musavver Terakki* 8, no. 25 (Teşrin-i Evvel 2, 1321/Şaban 16, 1323 [1905]): 197.

_____. ‘Tebrik-i Hilal-i Şehr-i Sıyam.’ *Musavver Terakki* 8, no. 27 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1321 20/Ramazan 5, 1323 [1905]): 211.

_____. ‘Elhân-i Mukaddeseden.’ *Musavver Terakki* 8, no. 28 (Teşrin-i Evvel 27, 1321/Ramazan 12, 1323 [1905]): 218.

_____. ‘[Bahar İçinde Muharrem Latafet Efzâdır].’ *Musavver Terakki* 8, no. 42 (February 16, 1321/Muharrem 5, 1324 [1906]): 331–332.

_____. ‘Sulh-ı Müsellâh ve Saadet-i Akvâm.’ *Tanin*, no. 11 (July 29, 1324/Recep 14, 1326 [1908]): 2.

_____. ‘Çöl ve Rüzgârlar.’ *Mehâsin*, no. 3 (Teşrin-i Sani 1324 [1908]): 183.

_____. ‘Hazan Nağmeleri.’ *Mehâsin*, no. 6 (February 1324 [1909]): 388.

_____. ‘Yıldızların Ölümü.’ *Mehâsin*, no. 7 (March 1325 [1909]): 508.

_____. ‘Melâl-i Muhîât.’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 967 (Kanun-ı Evvel 3, 1325/Zilhicce 3, 1327 [1909]): 71.

_____. ‘Merkad-ı Hülya.’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 968 (Kanun-ı Evvel 10, 1325/Zilhicce 10, 1327 [1909]): 86.

Le Bon, Gustave. *Ruhü’l-Cemaat*. Translated by Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad and Sadrettin Celal. İstanbul: Uhuvvet Matbaası: 1327 [1909].

Le Bon, Gustave. *Ruh-i Siyaset ve Müdafaa-i İçtimaiye*. Translated by Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad. İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1326 [1910].

Becque, Henry. *Paris Kadını*. Translated by Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad. İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1326 [1910].

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad. ‘Hülya ve Hakikat.’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 970 (Kanun-ı Evvel 24, 1325/Zilhicce 24, 1327 [1910]): 115.

_____. ‘Bedbinî.’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 982 (March 18, 1326/Rebi’ülevvel 19, 1328 [1910]): 310.

_____. ‘Hüsran.’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 986 (April 14, 1326/Rebi’ülahir 17, 1328 [1910]): 374.

_____. ‘Akşamdan Sonra.’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 39, no. 991 (May 20, 1326/Cemâziyelevvel 24, 1328 [1910]): 38.

_____. ‘Hayat-ı Fikriyye: Jacobsen.’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 40, no. 1019 (Kanun-ı Evvel 2, 1326/Zilhicce 17, 1328 [1910]): 99–101.

_____. 'Henry Becque: Paris Kadını Münasebetiyle.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 40, no. 1022 (Kanun-ı Evvel 23, 1326/Muharrem 4, 1329 [1911]): 171–173.

_____. 'Liberalizm.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 40, no. 1024 (Kanun-ı Sani 5, 1326/Muharrem 17, 1329 [1911]): 219–223.

_____. 'Avrupa-Asya Harb-ı İktisadisi.' *Donanma* 1, no. 12 (February 1326 [1911]): 1091–1095.

_____. 'Hayat-ı Fikriyye: Arne Gaborg.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 40, no. 1028 (February 3, 1326/Safer 17, 1329 [1911]): 315–318.

_____. 'Henri de Regnier.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 40, no. 1031 (February 24, 1326/Rebi'ülevvel 9, 1329 [1911]): 387–389.

_____. 'Edebiyat-ı Milliye.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 41, no. 1041 (May 5, 1327/Cemâziyelevvel 20, 1329 [1911]): 3–7.

_____. 'Halk ve Edebiyat.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 41, no. 1042 (May 12, 1327/Cemâziyelevvel 27, 1329 [1911]): 29–31.

_____. 'Edebiyatlar Arasında.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 41, no. 1043 (May 19, 1327/Cemâziyelâhir 4, 1329 [1911]): 54–58.

_____. 'Paul Verlaine.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 41, no. 1044 (May 26, 1327/Cemâziyelâhir 11, 1329 [1911]): 83–84.

_____. 'Halûk'un Defteri.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 41, no. 1045 (June 2, 1327/Cemâziyelâhir 18, 1329 [1911]): 99–103.

_____. 'Siyasette Irklar.' *Donanma* 2, no. 19 (September 1327/Şevval 1329 [1911]): 1710–1713.

_____. 'Milli Aruz Meselesi.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 42, no. 1073 (Kanun-ı Evvel 15, 1327/Muharrem 7, 1330 [1911]): 147–150.

_____. 'Yeni Lisan.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 42, no. 1082 (February 16, 1327/Rebi'ülevvel 11, 1330 [1912]): 365–370.

_____. 'Darülfünun Meselesi.' *Hak*, no. 2 (March 2, 1328/Rebi'ülevvel 26, 1330 [1912]): 1.

_____. 'Tenâkus-ı Nüfus.' *Hak*, no. 3 (March 3, 1328/Rebi'ülevvel 27, 1330 [1912]): 1.

_____. 'Rekabet-i İctimaiyye.' *Hak*, no. 4 (March 4, 1328/Rebi'ülevvel 28, 1330 [1912]): 1.

_____. 'Uçurumun Kenarında.' *Hak*, no. 8 (March 8, 1328/Rebi'ülâhir 2, 1330 [1912]): 1.

_____. 'Fikr-i Teceddüt ve Islahat.' *Hak*, no. 10 (March 10, 1328/Rebi'ülâhir 4, 1330 [1912]): 1.

_____. 'Bir Müessese-i Milliye: Osmanlı İttihad Mektebi.' *Hak*, no. 18 (March 18, 1328/Rebi'ülâhir 12, 1330 [1912]): 1.

_____. 'Talebe Hayatı.' *Hak*, no. 19 (March 19, 1328/Rebi'ülâhir 13, 1330 [1912]): 1.

_____. 'Vazife-i Temdin.' *Hak*, no. 47 (April 16, 1328/Cemâziyelevvel 12, 1330 [1912]): 1.

_____. 'Türklük ve Yeni Lisan.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 42, no. 1091 (April 19, 1328/Cemâziyelevvel 15, 1330 [1912]): 579–582.

_____. 'Bir Teşebbüs-i Mesut.' *Hak*, no. 68 (May 7, 1328/Cemâziyelâhir 3, 1330 [1912]): 1.

_____. 'Buhran-ı İçtimai Karşısında.' *Hak*, no. 78 (May 17, 1328/Cemâziyelâhir 13, 1330 [1912]): 1.

_____. 'Harb Şarkısı.' *Donanma* 4, no. 31/7 (September 1328 [1912]): 317.

_____. 'Âsâr-ı Eslâf.' *Donanma* 4, no. 31/7 (September 1328 [1912]): 326–328.

_____. 'Ümit ve Azim.' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 8 (Kanun-ı Sani 24, 1328 [1913]): 240–247.

_____. 'Mana-yı Teceddüt.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi'ülevvel 1, 1331/February 8, 1913, 2.

_____. 'Müdafaa-i Milliye.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi'ülevvel 4, 1331/February 11, 1913, 2.

_____. 'İntibâh-ı Millî.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi'ülevvel 11, 1331/February 18, 1913, 2.

_____. 'İntibâh Yolları I.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi'ülevvel 15, 1331/February 22, 1913, 2.

_____. 'İntibâh Yolları II.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi'ülevvel 20, 1331/February 27, 1913, 2.

_____. 'İntibâh Yolları III.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi'ülevvel 23, 1331/March 2, 1913, 2.

_____. 'İntibâh Yolları IV.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi'ülâhir 1, 1331/March 10, 1913, 2.

- _____. 'Türkün Duası.' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 10 (February 21, 1328 [1913]): 289–296.
- _____. 'Türkün Duası.' *Türk Turdu* 2, no. 11 (March 7, 1329 [1913]): 324–330.
- _____. 'Bizde Tenkit.' *Donanma* 5, no. 37/13 (March 1329 [1913]): 584–587.
- _____. 'Mektep-Medrese.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Rebi'ülevvel 6, 1331/March 15, 1913, 2.
- _____. 'Hicret Matemleri.' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 14 (April 18, 1329 [1913]): 437–442.
- _____. 'Meriç Türküsü.' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 15 (May 2, 1329 [1913]): 475–477.
- _____. 'Abdullah Tokayef.' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 16 (May 16, 1329 [1913]): 497–515.
- _____. 'Halk Edebiyatı I.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Cemâziyelâhir 13, 1331/May 20, 1913, 2.
- _____. 'Halk Edebiyatı II.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Cemâziyelâhir 18, 1331/May 25, 1913, 2.
- _____. 'Hicret Türküleri.' *Türk Duygusu*, no. 3-7 (May 23, 1329/Cemâziyelâhir 29, 1331 [1913]): 36.
- _____. 'Yunus Emre.' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 19 (June 27, 1329 [1913]): 612–621.
- _____. 'Yunus Emre: Âsarı.' *Türk Yurdu* 3, no. 51 (Teşrin-i Evvel 17, 1329 [1913]): 922–930.
- _____. 'Süngü Altında.' *Halka Doğru*, no. 13 (July 4, 1329 [1913]): 101.
- _____. 'Edebiyatımızda Milliyet Hissi.' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 20 (July 10, 1329 [1913]): 667–678.
- _____. 'Türklük, İslamlık, Osmanlılık.' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 21 (July 25, 1329 [1913]): 692–702.
- _____. '[Aziz Râgıb].' In *Türklük*, by Hüseyin Râgıb, 45–48. İstanbul: İfham Matbaası, 1329 [1913].
- _____. 'Hicret Hikâyelerinden.' *Halka Doğru*, no. 16 (July 25, 1329 [1913]): 122–124.
- _____. 'Mesâil-i Fikriyye.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Şevval 1, 1331/September 3, 1913, 2.
- _____. 'Eski Eserlerimiz.' *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Zilhicce 17, 1331/Teşrin-i Sani 17, 1913, 2.

Driault, Édouard. *Napolyon'un Şark Siyaseti: Selim-i Sâlis ve Napolyon, Sébastiani ve Gardane*. Translated by Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad. İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1329 [1913].

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad. 'Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usûl.' *Bilgi Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (Teşrin-i Sani 1329 [1913]): 3–51.

_____. 'Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında.' *Bilgi Mecmuası* 1, no. 2 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1329 [1913]): 185–196.

_____. 'Hoca Ahmed Yesevi: Çağatay ve Osmanlı Edebiyatları Üzerindeki Tesiri.' *Bilgi Mecmuası* 1, no. 6 (April 1330 [1914]): 611–645.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri I.' *İkdam*, no. 6147 (Mart 21, 1330/April 3, 1914): 2.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri II: Âşık Tarzının Menşe ve Mahiyeti.' *İkdam*, no. 6151 (March 25, 1330/April 7, 1914): 3.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri III: Âşık Tarzı Hangi Şekl-i Hayatın İfadesidir?.' *İkdam*, no. 6155 (March 29, 1330/April 11, 1914): 3.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri IV: Âşık Tarzı Hangi Şekl-i Hayatın İfadesidir?.' *İkdam*, no. 6160 (April 3, 1330/April 16, 1914): 3.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri V: Âşık Tarzı Hangi Şekl-i Hayatın İfadesidir?.' *İkdam*, no. 6163 (April 6, 1330/April 19, 1914): 3.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri VI: Âşık Teşkilatı ve Âşık Fasılları.' *İkdam*, no. 6169 (April 12, 1330/April 25, 1914): 3.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri VII: Malumat-ı Tarihiye.' *İkdam*, no. 6176 (April 19, 1330/May 2, 1914): 3.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri VIII: Âşık Tarzında Şive ve Lisan.' *İkdam*, no. 6181 (April 24, 1330/May 7, 1914): 3.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri IX: Âşık Tarzında Aruz ve Vezin.' *İkdam*, no. 6195 (May 8, 1330/May 21, 1914): 3.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri X: Âşık Tarzında Milli Vezin ve Şekiller.' *İkdam*, no. 6205 (May 18, 1330/May 31, 1914): 3.

_____. 'Saz Şairleri XI: Varsağı-Koşma-Destan.' *İkdam*, no. 6211 (May 24, 1330/June 6, 1914): 3.

_____. 'Din Edebiyatı: Türklerde Dini Edebiyat.' *İslam Mecmuası*, no. 2 ([1914]): 44–52.

_____. ‘Din Edebiyatı: İslamiyetten Evvel.’ *İslam Mecmuası*, no. 6 ([1914]): 173–177.

_____. ‘IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri: Medhal.’ *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 64 (April 17, 1330 [1914]): 2128–2135.

_____. ‘IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri I: Nevâî’den Evvel.’ *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 65 (May 1, 1330 [1914]): 2158–2166.

_____. ‘IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri I: Nevâî’den Evvel.’ *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 66 (May 15, 1330 [1914]): 2190–2194.

_____. ‘IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri I: Nevâî’den Evvel.’ *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 67 (May 29, 1330 [1914]): 2226–2230.

_____. ‘IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri I: Nevâî’den Evvel.’ *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 68 (June 12, 1330 [1914]): 2245–2251.

_____. ‘IX. ve X. Asırlardaki Çağatay Şairleri I: Nevâî’den Evvel.’, *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 70 (July 10, 1330 [1914]): 2313–2319.

_____. ‘Tettebbuda Gaye.’ *Tanin*, no. 1958 (May 23, 1330/June 5, 1914): 3–4.

Bloch, Edgar. ‘Mazdeizmin Türk Kavimlerinin İtikatları Üzerindeki Tesiri.’ Translated by Köprülü[zâde] Mehmed Fuad. *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no: 1 (March–April 1331 [1915]): 125–161.

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad. ‘Türk Edebiyatında Âşık Tarzının Menşesi ve Tekâmülü Hakkında Bir Tecrübe.’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (March–April 1331 [1915]): 5–46.

_____. ‘Türk Edebiyatının Menşesi.’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September–Teşrin-i Evvel 1331 [1915]): 5–78.

_____. ‘Selçukîler Zamanında Anadolu’da Türk Medeniyeti.’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani–Kanun-ı Evvel 1331 [1915]): 193–232.

_____, ed. ‘Risâle-i Validiye Tercümesi.’ By Babur Şah. *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (March–April 1331 [1915]): 113–124.

_____, ed. ‘Babur Şah’ın Şiirleri [I].’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 2 (May–June 1331 [1915]): 235–256.

_____, ed. ‘Babur Şah’ın Şiirleri [II].’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 3 (July–August 1331 [1915]): 464–480.

_____, ed. ‘Babur Şah’ın Şiirleri [III].’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani–Kanun-ı Evvel 1331 [1915]): 307–336.

- _____. 'Kitabiyat Tenkitleri: Acâib'ül-Letâif.' *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani-Kanun-ı Evvel 1331 [1915]): 351-368.
- _____. 'Kitabiyat Tenkitleri: Hibetü'l-Hakâyık.' *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani-Kanun-ı Evvel 1331 [1915]): 369-380.
- _____. 'Yeni Neşriyat: Divân-ı Lugati't-Türk.' *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani-Kanun-ı Evvel 1331 [1915]): 381-383.
- _____. 'Şehidin Rüyası.' *İkdam*, no. 6616 (Ramazan 6, 1333/July 19, 1915): 1.
- _____. 'Şehit ve Hilal.' *İkdam*, no. 6620 (Ramazan 10, 1333/July 23, 1915): 1.
- _____. 'Son Akın.' *İkdam*, no. 6670 (Zilkade 2, 1333/September 11, 1915): 1.
- _____. 'Şehit Mezarı.' *İkdam*, no. 6981 (Ramazan 17, 1334/July 18, 1916): 1.
- _____. 'Milli Edebiyat.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 1 (July 12, 1917): 4-7.
- _____. 'Edebiyatta Şahsiyet.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 2 (July 19, 1917): 25-28.
- _____. 'Edebiyatta 'Marazilik.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 3 (July 26, 1917): 45-48.
- _____. 'Bir Medeniyet Zümresine Mensup Edebiyatlarda Müsterek Kıymetler: Şekil.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 4 (August 2, 1917): 65-68.
- _____. 'Bir Medeniyet Zümresine Mensup Edebiyatlarda Müsterek Kıymetler: Esas.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 5 (August 9, 1917): 84-86.
- _____. 'Vezin Meselesi.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 6 (August 16, 1917): 105-108.
- _____. 'Akıncı Türküleri.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 6 (August 16, 1917): 114.
- _____. 'Akpınar Perileri.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 8 (August 30, 1917): 102.
- _____. 'Deli Ozan.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 9 (September 6, 1917): 175.
- _____. 'Ozan.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 9 (September 6, 1917): 173-175.
- _____. 'Milli Vezin.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 11 (September 20, 1917): 213-217.
- _____. 'Hayat ve Edebiyat.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 14 (Teşrin-i Evvel 11, 1917): 266-268.
- _____. 'Akıncı Türküleri.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 17 (Teşrin-i Sani 1, 1917): 334.
- _____. 'Bizde Milli Tarih Yazılabilir Mi?.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 22 (Kanun-ı Evvel 6, 1917): 427-428.

- _____. '[Interview].' In *Diyorlar ki!..*, by Ruşen Eşref, 220–238. Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1334 [1918].
- _____. 'İran Tarih-i Edebiyatı.' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 30 (Kanun-ı Sani 31, 1918): 63–67.
- _____. 'Hüseyin Daniş Bey'e [I].' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 35 (March 14, 1918): 165–167.
- _____. 'Hüseyin Daniş Bey'e [II].' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 36 (March 21, 1918): 186–188.
- _____. 'Hüseyin Daniş Bey'e.' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 44 (May 16, 1918): 345–346.
- _____. 'Hüseyin Daniş Bey'e.' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 51 (July 4, 1918): 483–486.
- _____. 'Milli Vazife.' *Tanin*, no. 3385 (Şaban 2, 1336/May 13, 1918): 3.
- _____. 'Türkçülüğün Gayeleri.' *Vakit*, no. 266 (Şevval 7, 1336/July 16, 1918): 1.
- _____. 'Osmanlı Edebiyatının Başlangıcı.' *Yeni Mecmua* 3, no. 57 (August 15, 1918): 85–88.
- _____. 'Son Hadiseler Karşısında Türkçülük: Türk Aleyhtarlığı.' *Akşam*, Teşrin-i Evvel 24, 1334/Muharrem 17, 1337 [1918]), 3.
- _____. 'Hüseyin Daniş Beyefendi'ye.' *Şair*, no. 7 (Kanun-ı Sani 23, 1919): 100–102.
- _____. 'Yapma Edebiyat.' *Büyük Mecmua*, no. 1 (March 6, 1919): 7–8.
- _____. 'Şehitlerimize.' *Büyük Mecmua*, no. 3 (March 20, 1919): 42.
- _____. 'Başka Milletler Nasıl Çalışıyor?.' *Ümid*, no. 8 (August 26, 1336/Zilhicce 10, 1338 [1920]): 3.
- _____. 'Osmanlı Tarihi Meselesi.' *Dersaadet*, no. 77 (Muharrem 16, 1339/September 30, 1336 [1920]): 2.
- _____. 'Milli Terbiye Meselesine Dair.' *İkdam*, no. 8482 (Safer 4, 1339/Teşrin-i Evvel 17, 1920): 3.
- _____. 'Anadolu'da Türk Zaferleri: Malazgirt Meydan Muhaberesi-İslam Menâbi-i Tarihiyesine Göre.' *İkdam*, no. 8651 (Şaban 4, 1339/April 13, 1921): 3.
- _____. 'Anadolu'da Türk Zaferleri: Malazgirt Meydan Muhaberesi-Garb Menâbi-i Tarihiyesine Göre.' *İkdam*, no. 8680 (Ramazan 4, 1339/May 13, 1921): 2.
- _____. 'Selçukiler Devrindeki Anadolu Şairleri: Şeyyad Hamza.' *Dergâh*, no. 4 (June 1, 1337 [1921]): 51.

_____. ‘Tarih Kırıntıları.’ *İkdam*, no. 8766 (Zilhicce 4, 1339/August 9, 1921): 3.

_____. ‘Edebi Bir Mesele.’ *İkdam*, no. 8800 (Muharrem 12, 1340/September 15, 1921): 3.

_____. ‘Milli Edebiyatın İlk Mübeşşirleri,’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3223 (Rebi’ülahir 24, 1340/Kanun-ı Evvel 24, 1921): 3.

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad, and Necip Asım. ‘Cihan Tarihinde Türkler ve Medeniyetleri I: Irk ve Lisan.’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3232 (Cemâziyelevvel 3, 1340/Kanun-ı Sani 2, 1922): 3.

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad, and Necip Asım. ‘Cihan Tarihinde Türkler ve Medeniyetleri 21: İran’da ve Azerbaycan’da Türkler.’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3315 (Recep 28, 1340/March 27, 1922): 3.

Köprülü[zâde], Mehmed Fuad. ‘Fuzuli’ye Dair Yeni Vesikalar.’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3250 (Cemâziyelevvel 22, 1340/Kanun-ı Sani 21, 1922): 3.

_____. ‘Fuzuli’ye Dair.’ *İkdam*, no. 8939 (Cemâziyelâhir 4, 1340/February 2, 1922): 4.

_____. ‘Fuzuli’nin Mezhebi I.’ *Peyâm-ı Sabah*, no. 1174 (Recep 12, 1340/March 11, 1922): 1.

_____. ‘Fuzuli’nin Mezhebi II.’ *Peyâm-ı Sabah*, no. 1181 (Recep 19, 1340/March 18, 1922): 1.

_____. ‘İzmir’de Türkler I.’ *İkdam*, no. 9152 (Muharrem 17, 1341/September 10, 1922): 3.

_____. ‘İzmir’de Türkler II.’ *İkdam*, no. 9154 (Muharrem 19, 1341/September 12, 1922): 2.

_____. ‘Anatolische Dichter in der Seldschukenzeit I: Sejjad Hamza.’ *Körösi Csoma-Archivum* 1 (1921-1925): 183–190.

_____. ‘Bemerkungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens.’ *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 1 (1921-1922): 203–222.

_____. ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet: Türk İstilasından Sonra Anadolu Tarih-i Dinîsine Bir Nazar ve Bu Tarihin Menbaları [I].’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September 1338 [1922]): 281–311.

_____. ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet: Türk İstilasından Sonra Anadolu Tarih-i Dinîsine Bir Nazar ve Bu Tarihin Menbaları (Mâbad) [II].’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani 1338 [1922]): 385–420.

- _____. ‘Anadolu’da İslamiyet: Türk İstilasından Sonra Anadolu Tarih-i Dinîsine Bir Nazar ve Bu Tarihin Menbaları (Mâbad) [III].’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 2, no. 6 (Kanun-ı Sani 1339 [1923]): 457–486.
- _____. ‘Anadolu Tarih-i Dinisi Hakkında Notlar.’ *Dergâh* 2/4, no. 42 (Kanun-ı Sani 5, 1339 [1923]): 82–83.
- _____. ‘Paris Hatıraları: Beynelmilel Tarih-i Edyân Kongresi.’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3880 (Rebi’ülevvel 28, 1342/Teşrin-i Sani 8, 1923): 3.
- _____. ‘Paris Hatıraları: Tarih-i Edyân Kongresinde İslam Tetkikatı I.’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3884 (Rebi’ülahir 3, 1342/Teşrin-i Sani 12, 1923): 3.
- _____. ‘Tarih-i Edyân Kongresinde İslam Tetkikatı II.’ *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, no. 3887 (Rebi’ülahir 6, 1342/Teşrin-i Sani 15, 1923): 3.
- _____. ‘Les Origines du Bektachisme: Essai sur le Développement Historique de l’Hétérodoxie Musulmane en Asie Mineure.’ In *Actes du Congrès International d’Histoire des Religions: Tenu à Paris en Octobre 1923, Tome Second*, 391–411. Paris : Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1925.
- _____. ‘Une Institution Magique chez les Anciens Turcs: Yat.’ In *Actes du Congrès International d’Histoire des Religions: Tenu à Paris en Octobre 1923, Tome Second*, 440–451. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1925.
- _____. ‘Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri: Küçük Asya’da İslam Batınîliğinin Tekâmül-i Tarihisi Hakkında Bir Tecrübe.’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 8 (May 1341 [1925]): 121–140.
- _____. ‘Eski Türklerde Dini-Sihri Bir Anane: Yat veya Yağmur Taşı.’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 4, no. 1 (March-April 1925): 1–11.
- _____. ‘Meddahlar: Türklerde Halk Hikayeciliği Tarihine Ait Bazı Maddeler.’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1 (August 1925): 1–45.
- _____. ‘Oğuz Etnolojisine Dair Tarihi Notlar.’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1 (August 1925): 185–211.
- _____. ‘Harezmsahlar Tarihine Ait Notlar ve Vesikalar.’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1 (August 1925): 251–254.
- _____. ‘Anatolische Dichter in der Seldschukenzeit II: Ahmed Faqih.’ *Körösi Csoma-Archivum* 2 (1926-1932): 20–38.
- _____. ‘Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Kuruluşu Meselesi I.’ *Hayat* 1, no. 11 (February 10, 1927): 2–3.
- _____. ‘Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Kuruluşu Meselesi II.’ *Hayat* 1, no. 12 (February 17, 1927): 2.

- _____. '[Ben İstikbal ile Alakadar Değilim].' *Resimli Ay* 4, no. 37 (March 1927): 43.
- _____. 'Müstakil İlim ve Sanat Müesseselerimiz.' *Hayat* 1, no. 19 (April 7, 1927): 1–2.
- _____. 'Türk Hukuk Tarihi: İstanbul Hukuk Fakültesi'nde Okutulan "Tarih-i Hukuk" Dersleri Münasebetiyle.' *Hayat* 1, no. 19 (April 7, 1927): 17–18.
- _____. 'Yusuf Ziya Bey'e Cevap.' *Hayat* 1, no. 21 (April 23, 1927): 17–18.
- _____. 'Son Münakaşalar Münasebetiyle.' *Hayat* 1, no. 22 (April 28, 1927): 2.
- _____. 'Orta Tedrisatta Edebiyat Programı Meselesi.' *Hayat* 2, no. 37 (August 11, 1927): 2–3.
- _____. 'Said Emre', *Hayat* 2, no. 42 (September 15, 1927): 2.
- _____. 'Anadolu Beylikleri Tarihine Ait Notlar.' *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 1–32.
- _____. 'Türk Klasik Edebiyatındaki Hususi Nazım Şekilleri: Tuyug.' *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 219–242.
- _____. 'İlk Osmanlı Sikkeleri Hakkında Notlar ve Vesikalar.' *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 410–412.
- _____. 'Germiyan Beyliği Tarihine Ait Notlar ve Vesikalar.' *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 412–414.
- _____. 'Fuzuli'ye Ait Bazı Notlar.' *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 434–436.
- _____. 'Oxford'da 17. Müsteşrikler Kongresi.' *Hayat* 4, no. 94 (September 13, 1928): 305–306.
- _____. 'Müsteşrikler Kongresinde.' *Hayat* 4, no. 96 (September 27, 1928): 345–346.
- _____. 'Oxford'da Toplanan On Yedinci Beynelmilel Müsteşrikler Kongresi.' *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 6, no. 4 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1928): 678–686.
- _____. 'Okrayna Müsteşrikler Kongresi I.' *Cumhuriyet*, May 28, 1929, 3.
- _____. 'Okrayna Müsteşrikler Kongresi II.' *Cumhuriyet*, May 29, 1929, 3.
- _____. 'Gevherî [I].' *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 7, no. 1 (May 1929): 38–80.
- _____. 'Gevherî [II].' *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 7, no. 2 (July 1929): 84–126.

_____. ‘Gaznevîler Devrinde Türk Şiiri.’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 7, no. 2 (July 1929): 81–83.

_____. ‘Abu Ishaq Kazeruni und die Ishaqi-Derwische in Anatolien.’ *Der Islam: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients* 19, no. 1-2 (1930): 18–26.

_____. ‘Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar.’ *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* 1 (1931): 165–313.

_____. ‘Dede Korkut Kitabına Ait Notlar III: Ozan.’ *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi* 1, no. 3 (March 1932): 133–140.

_____. ‘Habibî.’ *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 8, no. 5 (September 1932): 86–133.

_____. ‘Dil İnkılâbı Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler [I].’ *Cumhuriyet*, February 7, 1933, 3.

_____. ‘Dil İnkılâbı Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler II.’ *Cumhuriyet*, February 8, 1933, 3.

_____. ‘Cumhuriyetin Yazı, Dil ve Tarih Sahasında Yaptığı Muazzam İnkılâp.’ *Cumhuriyet (Supplement)*, October 29, 1933, 44–46, 62.

_____. ‘Abdal.’ In *Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi: Ortaçağ ve Yeniçağ Türklerinin Halk Kültürü Üzerine Coğrafya, Etnoğrafya, Etnoloji, Tarih ve Edebiyat Lûgati*, no: 1, edited by M. Fuad Köprülü, 23–56. İstanbul: Burhaneddin Basımevi, 1935.

_____. ‘Ortazaman Türk Hukukî Müesseseleri: İslâm Amme Hukukundan Ayırı Bir Türk Amme Hukuku Yok Mudur?.’ *Belleten* 2, no. 5-6 (January–April 1938): 39–72.

_____. ‘Bir Hatıra.’ *Belleten* 3, no. 10 (April 1939): 277–279.

_____. ‘Bir Ankete Cevab.’ *Ülkü* 16, no. 87 (May 1940): 258–260.

_____. ‘Ahmed Paşa.’ In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnoğrafya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 1, 187–192. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940.

_____. ‘Ahmed Yesevi.’ In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnoğrafya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 1, 210–215. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940.

_____. ‘Ahmedî.’ In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnoğrafya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 1, 216–221. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940.

_____. ‘Arûz.’ In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnoğrafya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 1, 634–653. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940.

_____. 'Âşık Paşa.' In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 1, 701–706. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940.

_____. 'Âşık Paşa-Zâde.' In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 1, 706–709. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940.

_____. 'Ata.' In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 1, 711–718. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940.

_____. 'Ortazaman Türk-İslâm Feodalizmi.' *Belleten* 5, no. 19 (July 1941): 319–350.

_____. 'Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları.' *Belleten* 7, no. 27 (July 1943): 379–522.

_____. 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Etnik Menşei Meseleleri.' *Belleten* 7, no. 28 (October 1943): 219–313.

_____. 'Kay Kabîlesi Hakkında Yeni Notlar.' *Belleten* 8, no. 31 (1944): 421–452.

_____. 'Baba.' In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 2, 165–166. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944.

_____. 'Bahşı.' In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 2, 233–238. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944.

_____. 'Bâki.' In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 2, 243–253. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944.

_____. 'Bektaş.' In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 2, 461–464. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944.

_____. 'Hârizmşâhlar.' In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lûgati*, vol: 5/1, 265–296. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1950.

_____. 'Ziya Gökalp'e Ait Bazı Hatıralar.' In *Ziya Gökalp Külliyyatı-II: Limni ve Malta Mektupları*, edited by Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, xxiii–xxviii. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1965.

_____. 'Abu İshak Kazrunî ve Anadolu'da İshakî Dervişleri.' Translated by Cemal Köprülü. *Belleten* 33, no. 130 (April 1969): 225–236.

_____. 'Sa'd al-Din al-Hamawî.' In *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., 31–32. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

_____. 'Sa'd al-Din Köpek.' In *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., 32. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

_____. 'Saif al-Din al-Bakharzi.' In *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., 74. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

_____. 'al-Sakkaki.' In *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., 81. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

_____. 'Shaiyad.' In *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., 287. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

_____. 'Shaiyad Hamza.' In *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 7)*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., 287-288. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

_____. 'Tıfli (Ahmad Celebi).' In *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 8)*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., 751-752. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

_____. 'Saiyid Burhan al-Din Tirmidhi.' In *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 8)*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., 797-798. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

_____. 'Turkoman Literature.' In *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 8)*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., 898-899. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

_____. 'Ottoman Turkish Literature.' In *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, (Photomechanical Reprint, vol. 8)*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al., 938-959. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

_____. 'Yeni Bir İlim: Halkiyat "Folk-lore".' In *Türk Halkbilimi*, edited by Sait Evliyaoğlu and Şerif Baykurt, 74-77. Ankara: Ofset Reprodüksiyon Matbaacılık, 1988.

_____. 'Başka Milletler Ne Yapıyor?.' In *Köprülü'den Seçmeler*, edited by Orhan F. Köprülü, 3-6. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990.

_____. 'Mehmed Emin Bey.' In *Köprülü'den Seçmeler*, edited by Orhan F. Köprülü, 7-11. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990.

_____. 'Hece Veznine Dair.' In *Köprülü'den Seçmeler*, edited by Orhan F. Köprülü, 12-15. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990.

_____. 'Edebiyatımızda Cenkcûluk II.' In *Köprülü'den Seçmeler*, edited by Orhan F. Köprülü, 28-32. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990.

_____. ‘Osmanlılık Telâkkisi.’ In *Köprülü’den Seçmeler*, edited by Orhan F. Köprülü, 33–39. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990.

_____. ‘Tanzimattan Beri Osmanlılık Telâkkisi.’ In *Köprülü’den Seçmeler*, edited by Orhan F. Köprülü, 40–45. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990.

_____. ‘Başlangıç.’ In *İslâm Medeniyeti Tarihi* (3rd ed.), by Wilhelm Barthold, 21–30. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2004.

_____. ‘Rubaiyyat-ı Ömer Hayyam (Muharrirleri: Rıza Tevfik ve Hüseyin Daniş).’ In *Bugünkü Edebiyat*, edited by Mehmet Akif Çeçen ve Ahmet Balcı, 193–202. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2007.

_____. ‘Türk Edebiyatına Umumi Bir Bakış.’ In *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi: Konferanslar, Müzakere Zabıtları* (2nd ed.), 308–320. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2010.

_____. ‘Önsöz.’ In *Kemalizm: Cumhuriyetçi, Milliyetçi, Halkçı, Devletçi, Laik ve Devrimci*, by Tekinalp, 20. İstanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları, 2012.

3. Published Sources

1320 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsus Selanik Vilayet Salnamesi. Edited by Hatice Oruç. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2014.

Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni. ‘Talimatnâme.’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (March–April 1331 [1915]): 188–191.

‘Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni.’ *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September–Teşrin-i Evvel 1331 [1915]): 191.

‘Bugün Türk Derneği’nde Azâ Bulunan Zatlar Şunlardır.’ *Türk Derneği* 1, no. 3 (1327 [1911]): 103–104.

Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Talebe Rehberi: 1334-1335 Sene-i Tedrisiyesi İkinci Şühûr-ı Dersiyesi (16 Şubat–16 Haziran 1335). İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, 1335 [1919].

‘Fecr-i Âtî Encümen-i Edebîsi Beyannâmesi.’ *Servet-i Fünûn* 38, no. 977 (February 11, 1325/Safer 14, 1328 [1910]): 227.

‘İki Müderris Birbirine mi Düştü?.’ *Milliyet*, April 12, 1927, 1.

İstanbul Darülfünunu: Talimat. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1329 [1913].

‘Köprülüzâde Fuat B. Çekoslovakya Şark Enstitüsü Azası.’ *Cumhuriyet*, May 27, 1929, 2.

‘Köprülüzâde Fuat Bey [Almanya Arkeoloji Cemiyetine Aza Olmuştur].’ *Cumhuriyet*, Kanun-ı Sani 29, 1930, 4.

Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti. ‘Âsâr-ı İslâmiye ve Milliye Tedkik Encümeni Talimatnâmesi.’ *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 2 (May–June 1331 [1915]): 381–384.

‘Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizamnâmesidir.’ In *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti: Tarihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcraâtı*, edited by Mahmud Cevad ibnü’ş-Şeyh Nâfi, 469–509. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338 [1922].

‘Makam-ı Meşihat-i İslamiyenin Tahriratı.’ *Tanin*, no. 365 (August 25, 1325/Şaban 22, 1327 [1909]): 2.

‘Mebusluk ve Proseförlük.’ *Cumhuriyet*, September 27, 1941, 1, 3.

Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre: 1, İçtima Senesi: 1, cilt: 1, 18. İnikad. Kanun-ı Sani 13, 1324 [1909].

Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre: 1, İçtima Senesi: 2, cilt: 4, 76. İnikad. April 7, 1326 [1910].

Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre: 1, İçtima Senesi: 2, cilt: 5, 95. İnikad. May 10, 1326 [1910].

Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre: 3, İçtima Senesi: 2, cilt: 1, 26. İnikad. Kanun-ı Sani 28, 1331 [1915].

‘Mekâtib-i Sıbyan için Müsabakâta Vaz’ Olunacak Kitapların Suret-i Tertip ve Şerâitini Şâmil Beyannâmeler.’ In *Düstûr: cüz-i sâni*, 237–244. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1290 [1873].

‘Müderisler Arasındaki Münakaşa Gittikçe Büyüyor: Yusuf Ziya Bey Cevabını Veriyor.’ *Milliyet*, April 15, 1927, 2.

‘Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri [I].’ *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (March–April 1331 [1915]): 49–112.

‘Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri [II].’ *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 2 (May–June 1331 [1915]): 305–348.

‘Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri [III].’ *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 3 (July–August 1331 [1915]): 497–544.

Osmanlı Tarihi Programı. İstanbul: Selanik Matbaası, 1331 [1915].

‘Osmanlı Tarihinin İkinci Cildi.’ *İkdam*, no. 7302 (Şaban 17, 1335/June 8, 1917): 2.

‘Pek Eski Türk Medeniyeti.’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 4 (Kanun-ı Evvel 29, 1327 [1912]): 111–114.

Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists: Oxford, 1928 (Reprint Version). Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1968.

Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye: 1320 Sene-i Hicriyesine Mahsus. Dersaadet: 1320 [1902].

‘Şeyhülislam Efendi ile Mülakat.’ *İkdam*, no. 5106 (July 30, 1324/August 12, 1908): 3.

‘Tarih Komisyonu.’ *Tanin*, no. 291 (June 11, 1325/June 24, 1909): 2.

‘Tarih-i Osmanî.’ *Sabah*, no. 7128 (July 27, 1325/August 9, 1909): 3.

‘Tarih-i Osmanî.’ *İkdam*, no. 7292 (Şaban 7, 1335/May 29, 1917): 2.

‘Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni.’ *İkdam*, no. 7259 (Recep 4, 1335/April 26, 1917): 2.

Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni. ‘İfade-i Meram.’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1326 [1910]): 1–3.

‘Tarih-i Osmanî Heyeti.’ *Sabah*, no. 7091 (June 9, 1325/June 22, 1909): 2.

‘Tarih-i Osmanî Komisyonu.’ *Sabah*, no. 7093 (June 11, 1325/June 24, 1909): 2.

‘Tashih ve İtzar.’ *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September–Teşrin-i Evvel 1331 [1915]): 191.

‘Topkapı Sarayı’nda Kütüphane.’ *Tanin*, no. 316 (July 6, 1325/July 19, 1909): 2.

‘Türk Derneği Beyannâmesi.’ *Türk Derneği*, no. 1 (1327 [1911]): 3–6.

Türk Ocağı’nın Nizamnâme-i Esasi ve Dâhilisi. İstanbul: Tanin Matbaası, 1328 [1912].

‘Türkiyat Haberleri.’ *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 541–639.

Vakanüvis Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi Tarihi: v. 12. Edited by M. Münir Aktepe. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1989.

Vakanüvis Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi Tarihi: v. 15. Edited by M. Münir Aktepe. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1993.

‘Vesaik-i Kadime.’ *Tanin*, no. 316 (July 6, 1325/July 19, 1909): 2.

Abdurrahman Şeref. ‘Tarih-i Osmanî.’ *Sabah*, no. 7071 (May 20, 1325/June 2, 1909): 2.

_____. ‘Evrâk-ı Atîka ve Vesâik-i Tarihiyyemiz.’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1326 [1910]): 9–19.

_____. ‘Berlin Hazine-i Evrakında Vesaik-i Kadime-i Osmaniye.’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 44 (June 1, 1333 [1917]): 65–92.

_____. *Tarih Musahabeleri*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1339 [1923].

_____. *Son Vakanüvis Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi Tarihi: II. Meşrutiyet Olayları (1908–1909)*. Edited by Bayram Kodaman and Mehmet Ali Ünal. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1996.

Abu al-Ghazi Bahadır Khan. ‘Asl-ı Şecere-i Türki.’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, no. 131 (Rebi’ülâhir 14, 1280/September 16, 1279 [1863]): 3–4.

_____. ‘Şecere-i Türki.’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, no. 173 (Ramazan 16, 1280/February 11, 1279 [1864]): 2–3.

Ağaoğlu, Samet. *Aşina Yüzler*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011.

Ahmed Agayef. ‘Türk Âlemi I.’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 1 (Teşrin-i Sani 17, 1327 [1911]): 12–17.

_____. ‘Türk Âlemi II.’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 2 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1, 1327 [1911]): 36–42.

_____. ‘Türk Âlemi III.’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 3 (Kanun-ı Evvel 15, 1327 [1911]): 70–74.

_____. ‘Türk Âlemi IV.’ *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 5 (Kanun-ı Sani 12, 1327 [1912]): 135–139.

_____. ‘Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi I.’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 16 (May 16, 1329 [1913]): 530–540.

_____. ‘Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi II.’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 17 (May 30, 1329 [1913]): 550–562.

_____. ‘Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi III.’ *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 19 (June 27, 1329 [1913]): 622–634.

_____. ‘İslam’da Dava-yı Milliyet.’ *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 70 (July 10, 1330 [1914]): 2320–2329.

_____. ‘İslam’da Dava-yı Milliyet [II].’ *Türk Yurdu* 3/6, no. 71 (July 24, 1330 [1914]): 2381–2390.

_____. *Mütareke ve Sürgün Hatıraları*. Edited by Ertan Eğribel and Ufuk Özcan. İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2010.

Ahmed Cevdet, ed. *Osmanlı Tarih ve Müverrihleri (Âyîne-i Zurefâ)*. By Cemâleddin. Dersaadet: İkdâm Matbaası, 1314 [1896].

Ahmed İhsan, ed. *Musavver Nevsâl-i Servet-i Fünun*. İstanbul: Alem Matbaası, 1311 [1895].

Ahmed Midhat. *Mufasssal Tarih-i Kurun-i Cedide, cild-i evvel*. İstanbul: Kırk Anbar Matbaası, 1303 [1886].

Ahmed Naim. 'İslam'da Dava-yı Kavmiyet.' *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 12, no. 293 (April 10, 1330/Cemâziyelevvel 27, 1332 [1914]): 114–128.

Ahmed Refik. 'Tarih ve Felsefe-i Tarihiye.' *Şura-yı Ümmet*, no. 218 (Rebi'ülâhir 18, 1328/April 15, 1326 [1910]): 7–9.

_____. *Büyük Tarih-i Umumî: Beşeriyetin Tekemmülat-ı Medeniye, İctimaiye, Siyasiye ve Fikriyesi, cild 1* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri Neşriyatı, 1328 [1912].

_____. 'Alman Müverrihleri: Treitschke.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 7 (August 23, 1917): 124–127.

_____. 'Fransız Müverrihleri: Michelet.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 12 (September 27, 1917): 229–233.

_____. 'Alman Müverrihleri: Ranke.' *Yeni Mecmua*, no. 20 (Teşrin-i Sani 22, 1917): 392–395.

_____. *İki Komite, İki Kıtâl*. İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1919.

_____. *Kafkas Yollarında: Hatıralar ve Tahassüsler*. İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1919.

_____. 'Fatih Devrine Ait Vesikalar.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 49-62 (April 1, 1335/June 1, 1337 [1919–1921]): 1–58.

_____. 'Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Meselesi.' *İkdam*, no. 8477 (Teşrin-i Evvel 12, 1336/Muharrem 28, 1339 [1920]): 3.

_____. 'Türk Tarih Encümeni'nin Tarihçesi Hakkında Rapor.' *Maarif Vekâleti Mecmuası*, no. 14 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1927): 425–430.

Ahmed Saib. 'Mükemmel ve Muntazam Tarih-i Osmani Nasıl Yazılır?.' *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası* 5, no. 92 (Muharrem 26, 1337/Teşrin-i Sani 2, 1918): 1110–1112.

_____. 'Mükemmel ve Muntazam Tarih-i Osmani Nasıl Yazılır?.' *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası* 5, no. 93 (Safer 6, 1337/Teşrin-i Sani 9, 1918): 1117–1123.

Ahmed Selahaddin. 'Tarih Nasıl Yazılmalıdır?.' *Mülkiye*, no. 7 (August 1, 1325 [1909]): 41–50.

Ahmed Şuayb. 'Yirminci Asırda Tarih.' *Ulum-ı İktisadiyye ve İctimaiyye Mecmuası*, no. 1 (Kanun-ı Evvel 15, 1324 [1909]): 11–24.

Ahmed Tevhid. 'Rum Selçukî Devleti'nin İnkırazıyla Teşekkül Eden Tevâif-i Mülûk.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1326 [1910]): 35–40.

_____. ‘Rum Selçukî Devleti’nin İnkırazıyla Teşekkül Eden Tevâif-i Mülûkdan Karahisar-ı Sâhip’te Sâhib Ataoğulları.’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 9 (August 1, 1327 [1911]): 563–568.

_____. ‘Saruhanogulları.’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 10 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1, 1327 [1911]): 615–619.

_____. ‘Aydinoğulları.’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 10 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1, 1327 [1911]): 619–625.

_____. ‘Menteşeoğulları.’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 12 (February 1, 1327 [1912]): 762–768.

Ahmed Vefik Paşa. ‘Hikmet-i Tarih.’ *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, no. 73 (Ramazan 17, 1279 [1863]): 3–4.

_____. *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmanî*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1286 [1869].

_____. *Lehçe-i Osmanî*. İstanbul: Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i Osmaniye, 1293 [1876].

Ahmed Zeki Velidi. ‘Türk ve Tatar Tarihi.’ Translated by Midhat Ömer. *Resimli Kitap* 9, no. 49 (June-July 1329 [1913]): 26–40.

_____. ‘Türk ve Tatar Tarihi.’ Translated by Midhat Ömer. *Resimli Kitap* 9, no. 50 (August-September 1329 [1913]): 216–230.

Âli, ed. *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmandan Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi*. By Âşıkpaşazâde Derviş Ahmed Âşiki. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1332 [1916].

_____. ‘Fatih Devrinde Akçe Ne İdi?’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 49–62 (April 1, 1335/June 1, 1337 [1919–1921]): 59–62.

Ali Canip. ‘Edebiyat-ı Müstakbelemiz.’ *Genç Kalemler* 1, no. 1 ([1910]): 84–85.

Ali Emirî. ‘Bir Hiciv Münasebetiyle Serlevhasıyla 44 Sayılı Yeni Mecmua’daki Makaleye Cevap.’ *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 3 (May 31, 1334 [1918]): 52–58.

_____. ‘Acâibü’l-Letâif Namıyla Hıtaf Sefaretnamesinin Mukaddimesi: Tarih-i Tahrir-i Sene 1331.’ *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 3 (May 31, 1334 [1918]): 58–66.

_____. ‘Mudhike.’ *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 4 (June 30, 1334 [1918]): 73–81.

_____. ‘Mekteb-i İdadi Talebe-i Sabıkasından Sabık Köprülüzâde Fuad Beyin Evvela 6949 Numaralı İkdâm Gazetesinde ve Sonra da 46 Sayılı Yeni Mecmuada Neşreylediği ‘Fatih Devrinde Edebi Hayat’ Makalesi Hakkında Dördüncü Nüşamızdan Mabâd.’ *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 6 (August 31, 1334 [1918]): 109–116.

_____. ‘Sabık Köprülüzâde Fuad Bey Hakkında Bir Vesika-i Mühimme.’ *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 6 (August 31, 1334 [1918]): 116–118.

_____. ‘Kıblelizâde Mehmed Vassaf Bey.’ *Osmanlı Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, no. 23 (Kanun-ı Sani 31, 1336 [1920]): 553–559.

Ali Kemal. ‘Türkler, Osmanlılar.’ *Peyâm*, no. 19 (Teşrin-i Sani 19, 1329/Kanun-ı Evvel 2, 1913): 1.

_____. ‘Âtalet-i Fikriye.’ *Peyâm*, no. 168 (April 26, 1330/May 9, 1914): 1.

Ali Reşad. ‘Mekteplerde Tarih Dersi.’ *Tedrisat Mecmuası*, no. 20 (May 15, 1328 [1912]): 50–64.

Amasyalı Hüseyin Hüsameddin. ‘Koca Mehmed Paşa.’ *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 37 (April 1, 1332 [1916]): 43–49.

Arseven, Celal Esad. *Sanat ve Siyaset Hatıralarım*. Edited by Ekrem Işın. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993.

Babinger, Franz. *Schejch Bedr ed-Din, der Sohn des Richters von Simâw: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sektenwesens im altosmanischen Reich*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1921.

_____. ‘Der Islam in Kleinasien: Neue Wege der Islamforschung.’ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76, no. 1 (1922): 126–152.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Hayatım*. Edited by Ali Y. Baltacıoğlu. İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 1998.

Barthold, V. ‘Avrupa ve Rusya’da Şarkî Tettebbu Tarihi I.’ Translated by Ragıp Hulusi. *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (March–April 1331 [1915]): 163–186.

_____. ‘Avrupa ve Rusya’da Şarkî Tettebbu Tarihi II-III.’ Translated by Ragıp Hulusi. *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 2 (May–June 1331 [1915]): 349–380.

_____. ‘Avrupa ve Rusya’da Şarkî Tettebbu Tarihi IV-V.’ Translated by Ragıp Hulusi. *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 3 (July–August 1331 [1915]): 545–570.

_____. ‘Avrupa ve Rusya’da Şarkî Tettebbu Tarihi VI.’ Translated by Ragıp Hulusi. *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani–Kanun-ı Evvel 1331 [1915]): 343–349.

Bouvat, L. ‘Les Premiers Mystiques dans la Littérature Turque.’ *Revue du Monde Musulman* XLIII (Février 1921): 236–282.

Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir. *Türklerin Ulûm ve Fünûna Hizmetleri*. İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1314 [1897].

_____. *Türklerin Ulûm ve Fünûna Hizmetleri* (2nd ed.), İstanbul: Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası, 1327 [1911].

_____. *Osmanlı Müellifleri, vol: 1*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1333 [1915].

_____. *Osmanlı Müellifleri, vol: 2/1*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1333 [1915].

_____. *Osmanlı Müellifleri, vol: 2/2*. İstanbul: Ali Şükrü Matbaası, 1338 [1920].

_____. *Osmanlı Müellifleri, vol: 3*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1342 [1924].

Cahun, Léon. *Gök Sancak*. Translated by Necip Asım. İstanbul: Artin Asaduryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1328 [1912].

Celal Nuri. 'Tarih Usûllerine Dair.' *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası* 2, no. 34 (Zilhicce 4, 1335/September 22, 1917): 133–135.

_____. 'Milli Tarih, Tenkidi Tarih.' *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası* 2, no. 36 (Zilhicce 18, 1335/Teşrin-i Evvel 6, 1917): 171–173.

Chambers, William. *Tarih-i Umumi, cild 1*. Translated by Ahmed Hilmi. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1283 [1866].

_____. *Tarih-i Umumi, cild 6*. Translated by Ahmed Hilmi. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1295 [1878].

Duruy, Victor. *Tarih-i Mücmel-i Kurûn-ı Vusta*. Translated by Ahmed Tevfik Paşa. İstanbul: Şeyh Yahya Efendi Matbaası, 1289 [1872].

Efdaleddin. 'Tarih.' *Mülkiye*, no. 1 (February 1, 1324 [1909]): 61–64.

_____. 'Tarih.' *Mülkiye*, no. 2 (March 1, 1325 [1909]): 63–64.

_____. 'Tarih.' *Mülkiye*, no. 3 (April 1, 1325 [1909]): 61–64.

Elhac İbrahim. 'Taaccüb.' *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, no. 1246 (Ramazan 23, 1299/August 7, 1882 [1881]): 3.

Emin Âli. 'Tarih Usûlüne Dair.' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 52 (July 13, 1918): 514–517.

Eyüp Sabri Paşa. *Mir'âtü'l-Haremeyn, cilt 1: Mir'ât-i Mekke*. İstanbul: Bahriye Matbaası, 1301 [1884].

Gelibolulu Âli, Mustafa b. Ahmed. *Künh'ül-Ahbâr*. İstanbul: Takvimhane-i Âmire Matbaası, 1277 [1861].

Gordlevskiy, VI. 'Perehodnaya Pora Osmanskoy Literatury: Po Povodu Knigi Kyopryulyu-Zade M. Fuada.' *Azerbaycan'ı Tedkik ve Tettebbu Cemiyeti'nin Ahbârı*, no. 2 (1926): 10–31.

Guilland, R. 'Institutions Byzantines, Institutions Musulmanes?.' *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 6, no. 28 (July 1934): 426–427.

Halide Edib. 'Evimize Bakalım: Türkçülüğün Faaliyet Sahası.' *Vakit*, no. 252 (Ramazan 21, 1336/June 30, 1918): 1.

Halil Edhem. 'Âl-i Germiyan Kitabeleri.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 2 (June 1, 1326 [1910]): 112–128.

_____. 'Karamanoğulları Hakkında Vesaik-i Mahkûka.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 11 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1, 1327 [1911]): 697–712.

_____. 'Hersekoğlu Ahmed Paşa'nın Esaretine Dair Kahire'de Bir Kitabe.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 28 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1, 1330 [1914]): 200–222.

Hanyalı Mehmed Âtîf. *Hûlâsatü't-Tevârih*. İstanbul: Muhib Matbaası, 1289 [1872].

Hartmann, Martin. 'Divân-ı Lugatî't-Türk'e Ait Birkaç Mülâhaza.' *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September–Teşrin-i Evvel 1331 [1915]): 167–170.

_____. 'Die osmanische "Zeitschrift der Nationalen Forschungen" (Milli Tetebbûler).' *Der Islam: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients* 8 (1918): 304–326.

Hikmet Feridun. 'Sorbon Üniversitesi'ne Türk Bayrağını Çektiren Adam: Fuat Köprülü.' *Yedigün*, no. 352 (December 5, 1939): 10–11, 17.

Hoca Sadeddin. *Tacü't-Tevârih*. İstanbul: Tabhane-i Âmire, 1279-1280 [1862-1863].

Huart, Cl. 'Les Anciens Derviches Turcs.' *Journal Des Savants* 20 (Janvier-Février 1922): 5–18.

_____. 'Keuprulu-zâde Mohammed Fu'âd. Turk Êdèbiyyâtindè İlk Mutéçavvif-ler (Les Premiers Mystiques dans la Littérature Turque).' *Journal Asiatique* CCII (Janvier-Mars 1923): 146–150.

_____. 'Garpta Şark Eserleri: Köprülü-zâde Mehmed Fuad, Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar.' Translated by Ragıp Hulusi. *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1 (August 1925): 267–280.

Hüseyin Kazım. 'Bizde Tarih.' *Donanma* 2, no. 14 (Rebi'ülâhîr 1329/April 1327 [1911]): 1298–1301.

İbrahim Peçevî. *Tarih-i Peçevî*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1283 [1866].

József, Thúry. 'Orta Asya Türkçesi Üzerine Tetkikler.' Translated by Ragıp Hulusi. *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 2 (May–June 1331 [1915]): 207–233.

_____. 'On Dördüncü Asır Sonlarına Kadar Türk Dili Yadıgârları.' Translated by Ragıp Hulusi. *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September–Teşrin-i Evvel 1331 [1915]): 81–133.

Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri. *Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları* (9th ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

Karay, Refik Halid. *Minelbab İlelmihrab*. İstanbul: İnkılâp Yayınevi, 2009.

Kazanlı Abbas [Ayaz]. 'Tatar Edebiyatının Tarihçesi.' *Türk Derneği*, no. 5 (1327 [1911]): 156–159.

Kâzım Nami. 'Türkçe mi Osmanlıca mı?.' *Genç Kalemler* 1, no. 4 ([1910]): 132–136.

Kâzım Şinasi. 'Tarihi Âsârdan: Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi.' *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, no. 1 (March 1332 [1916]): 114–115.

Kilisli Rıfat, ed. 'Arznâme.' By Celâleddin Devvânî. *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani–Kanun-ı Evvel 1331 [1915]): 273–305.

_____, ed. *Kitab-ı Dede Korkut: Aliyyü'l-Lisan-ı Taife-i Oğuzân*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1332 [1916].

_____, ed. *Kitâb-ı Divân-ı Lugati't-Türk, vol: 1*. By Mahmud b. el-Hüseyin b. Muhammed el-Kaşgari. Darü'l-Hilafetü'l-Aliyye [İstanbul]: Matbaa-i Amire, 1333 [1917].

_____, ed. *Kitâb-ı Divân-ı Lugati't-Türk, vol: 2*. By Mahmud b. el-Hüseyin b. Muhammed el-Kaşgari. Darü'l-Hilafetü'l-Aliyye [İstanbul]: Matbaa-i Amire, 1333 [1917].

_____, ed. *Kitâb-ı Divân-ı Lugati't-Türk, vol: 3*. By Mahmud b. el-Hüseyin b. Muhammed el-Kaşgari. Darü'l-Hilafetü'l-Aliyye [İstanbul]: Matbaa-i Amire, 1335 [1919].

Kissling, H. J. 'M. Fuad Köprülü: Alcune osservazioni intorno all'influenza delle istituzioni bizantine sulle istituzioni ottomane.' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 48 (1955): 399–401.

Kraelitz, F. 'Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad Bej: Türk Edebijjaty Tarihi.' *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 2 (1923-1925): 167–168.

_____. 'Garpta Şark Eserleri: Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi.' Translated by Köprülüzâde Ahmed Cemal. *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 449–451.

Kritovoulos, *Tarih-i Sultan Mehmed Han-ı Sâni*. Translated by Karolidi. İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1328 [1912].

M. Şemseddin [Günaltay]. *Mufasssal Türk Tarihi* (Five Volumes). İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası-Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338-1340 [1922-1924].

_____. 'Atatürk'ün Tarihçiliği ve Fahri Profesörlüğü Hakkında Bir Hatıra.' *Belleten* 3, no. 10 (April 1939): 273–274.

Mehmed Arif, ed. *Kanunnâme-i Âl-i Osman: Sultan Süleyman Han-ı Kanuni Emriyle Cem ve Telfik Olunan Kanunnâme*. İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1329 [1913].

_____, ed. *Kanunnâme-i Âl-i Osman: Sultan Mehmed Han-ı Sâni Tarafından Tanzim Olunan Birinci Kanunnâme*. İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1330 [1914].

_____, ed. *Vâkıat-ı Sultan Cem*. İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1330 [1914].

_____, ed. *Tarih-i Ebu'l-Feth*. By Dursun Bey. İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1330 [1914].

_____. 'Kitabiyat: Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi.' *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September–Teşrin-i Evvel 1331 [1915]): 171–190.

Mehmed Murad. *Tarih-i Umumi, Birinci Cild: Ezmine-i Mütekaddimededen Şark ve Yunanistan* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1300 [1883].

_____. *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi*. İstanbul: Civelekyan Matbaası, 1302 [1885].

Mehmed Nüzhet. 'Ramazanoğulları.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 12 (February 1327 [1912]): 769–773.

Mehmed Süreyya. *Sicill-i Osmanî, cilt: 3*. Edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996.

_____. *Sicill-i Osmanî, cilt: 4*. Edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996.

Menzel, Th. 'Die ältesten Türkischen Mystiker.' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 79 (1925): 269–289.

_____. 'Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad's Werk über die Ersten Mystiker in der Türkischen Literatur.' *Körösi Csoma-Archivum* 2 (1926-1932): 281–310, 345–357, 406–422.

Monod, Gabriel. 'Tarihte Usûl.' Translated by Kâzım Şinasi. *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, no. 3 (July 1332 [1916]): 341–356.

_____. 'Tarihte Usûl.' Translated by Kâzım Şinasi. *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, no. 4 (September 1332 [1916]): 439–455.

Mordtmann, [Johannes Heinrich]. *İlm-i Usûl-i Tarih: 1331-1332 Sene-i Tedrisiyesinde Darülfünunda Takrir Olunan Derslerden Müteşekkildir* (lithograph). İstanbul: 1332 [1916].

_____. 'Köprülü-zade Mehmed Fu'ad: Türk Edebijatında İlk Mutesawwiflar.' *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 26, no. 3 (März 1923): 122–129.

_____. 'Köprülü-zade Mehmed Fu'ad: Türk Edebijati Tarichi.' *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 26, no. 5 (Mai 1923): 225–227.

_____. 'Garpta Şark Eserleri: Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar.' Translated by Mübarek Galib. *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1 (August 1925): 281–287.

_____. 'Garpta Şark Eserleri: Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi.' Translated by Mübarek Galib. *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 451–452.

Muallim Nâci. 'Selîmiyye.' In *Şerâre*, 9–10. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1301 [1884].

_____. 'Lisân-ı Fatih'ten.' In *Fürûzan*, 9–10. İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1303 [1886].

_____. 'Gazi Ertuğrul Bey.' *Hazine-i Fünûn*, no. 11 (September 8, 1310/Rebi'ülevvel 20, 1312 [1894]): 1-5.

_____. 'Gazi Ertuğrul Bey.' *Hazine-i Fünûn*, no. 12 (September 15, 1310/Rebi'ülevvel 26, 1312 [1894]): 1-3.

Mustafa Naima. *Tarih-i Naima*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1280-1283 [1863-1866].

Mustafa Nuri Paşa. *Netâyicü'l-Vukuât*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1294 [1877].

_____. *Netâyicü'l-Vukuât, cild 4*. İstanbul: Uhuvvet Matbaası, 1327 [1911].

Mustafa Selânikî. *Tarih-i Selânikî*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1281 [1864].

Namık Kemal. *Evrâk-ı Perişan: Terâcim-i Ahvâl-i Fatih*. İstanbul: Ahmed Midhat Matbaası, 1288 [1871].

_____. *Evrâk-ı Perişan: Terâcim-i Ahvâl-i Sultan Selim*. İstanbul: Ahmed Midhat Matbaası, 1288 [1871].

_____. *Evrâk-ı Perişan: Terâcim-i Ahvâl-i Selahaddin* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: Ahmed Midhat Matbaası, 1289 [1872].

_____. *Osmanlı Tarihi, Birinci Cild: Medhal*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1305 [1888].

Necip Asım. *Ural ve Altay Lisanları*. İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1311 [1894].

_____. *Keşfü'l-Lisan*. İstanbul: Safa Matbaası, 1311 [1894].

_____. 'Elsine-i Türkiye Hakkında Malumat-ı Lisaniye.' *Malumat* 2, no. 48 (August 8, 1312/Rebi'ülevvel 11, 1314 [1896]): 1060–1063.

_____. 'Türkçenin Tarihçesi.', *Malumat* 3, no. 49-50 (August 19, 1312/Rebi'ülevvel 22, 1314 [1896]): 33-34.

_____. 'Lisan Bahsi.' *Malumat* 3, no. 51 (August 29, 1312/Rebi'ülahir 2, 1314 [1896]): 46-47.

_____. *En Eski Türk Yazısı*. İstanbul: İkdam Matbaası, 1315 [1897].

_____. *Türk Tarihi*. İstanbul: Amire Matbaası, 1316 [1899].

_____. 'Dilimize Hizmet'. *İkdam*, no. 2331 (December 23, 1900): 3.

Necip Asım and Mehmed Arif. *Türk Tarih-i Umumisi, cild 1: Osmanlılardan Başka Türkler*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1325 [1909].

Necip Asım and Mehmed Arif. *Türk Tarih-i Umumisi, cild 2: Osmanlılar*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1325 [1909].

Necip Asım. 'Osmanlı Tarih-nüvisleri ve Müverrihleri.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1326 [1910]): 41-52.

_____. 'Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 4 (Teşrin-i Evvel 1, 1326 [1910]): 233-238.

_____. 'Mesihî Divanı: Divanlarımızdan Tarihçe Nasıl İstifade Edilir?.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 5 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1, 1326 [1910]): 300-308.

_____. 'Fevaid-i Gaza: On Birinci Asırda Bizde Hayat-ı Cündiyane.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 9 (August 1, 1327 [1911]): 542-550.

_____. 'Firdevs'ül-İkbal I.' *Türk Derneği*, no. 2 (1327 [1911]): 68-71.

_____. 'Firdevs'ül-İkbal II.' *Türk Derneği*, no. 3 (1327 [1911]): 81-85.

_____. *Pek Eski Türk Yazısı* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası, 1327 [1911].

_____, ed. *Hibetü'l-Hakâyık [Atabetü'l Hakâyık]: Birinci Kısım*. By Ahmed b. Mahmud Yüknekî. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1334 [1915].

_____, ed. *Hibetü'l-Hakâyık [Atabetü'l Hakâyık]: İkinci Kısım*. By Ahmed b. Mahmud Yüknekî. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1334 [1915].

_____, ed. 'Hadîs-i Erbaîn Tercümeleri.' *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September-Teşrin-i Evvel 1331 [1915]): 143-165.

_____. 'Müverrih Asım Efendi'nin Metrukât-ı Tarihiyyesinden Birkaç Parça.' *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, no. 39 (August 1, 1332 [1916]): 168-186.

Necip Asım and Mehmed Arif. *Osmanlı Tarihi, vol: 1, Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Tarafından Neşr Olunmuştur*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Orhaniye, 1335 [1917].

Németh, J. 'Köprülüzade Mehmed Fu'ad: Türk Edebiyatında İlk Müteçavvıflar.' *Körösi Csoma-Archivum* 1 (1921-1925): 330–332.

_____. 'Garpta Şark Eserleri: Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar.' Translated by Köprülüzâde Ahmed Cemal. *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1 (August 1925): 288–289.

[Niksarizâde Mehmed Efendi]. 'Nefsü'l-Emirnâme.' *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 3 (July–August 1331 [1915]): 571–576.

Nizameddin Arif. 'Türklerin Kurun-ı Ulâ Tarihine Aid Menabi ve Vesaik.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 54, no. 1402 (Şevval 9, 1336/July 18, 1918): 383–386.

_____. 'Türk Tarihinin Tertib ve Taksimi.' *Servet-i Fünûn* 54, no. 1404 (Şevval 23, 1336/August 1, 1918): 414–415.

Oktay Kaan. 'Hindistan'da Türklük: Müslüman Türk İmparatorlukları I.' *Bilgi Mecmuası* 1, no. 6 (April 1330 [1914]): 570–585.

_____. 'Hindistan'da Türklük: Müslüman Türk İmparatorlukları II.' *Bilgi Mecmuası* 2, no. 7 (June 1330 [1914]): 717–732.

[Ömer Seyfettin]. 'Yeni Lisan.' *Genç Kalemler* 2, no. 1 ([April 1911]): 1–7.

Raûf Yektâ. 'Eski Türk Musikisine Dair Tarihi Tettebbular I: Kökler.' *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 3 (July–August 1331 [1915]): 457–463.

_____. 'Eski Türk Musikisine Dair Tarihi Tettebbular II: Türk Sazları.' *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 4 (September–Teşrin-i Evvel 1331 [1915]): 135–141.

_____. 'Eski Türk Musikisine Dair Tarihi Tettebbular III: Türk Sazları.' *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani–Kanun-ı Evvel 1331 [1915]): 233–239.

Resulzâde Mehmed Emin. 'İran Türkleri I.' *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 4 (Kanun-ı Evvel 29, 1327 [1912]): 106–111.

_____. 'İran Türkleri II.' *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 14 (May 17, 1328 [1912]): 428–432.

_____. 'İran Türkleri III.' *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 18 (July 12, 1328 [1912]): 551–556.

Rıza Nur. *Türk Tarihi: Resimli ve Haritalı* (Twelve Volumes). İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1342-1344 [1924-1926].

_____. 'Köprülüzâde Fuad Beyin Cevabına Cevap.' *Türk Bilig Revüsü: Revue de Turcologie*, no. 5 (February 1935): 99–162.

Satı. 'Tarih Tedrisinin Usûl-i Esasiyesi.' *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası*, no. 8 (September 15, 1326 [1910]): 92–98.

Seignobos, Charles. *Tarih-i Siyasi: 1814'ten 1896'ya kadar Asr-ı Hazırda Avrupa, cild 1*. Translated by Ali Reşad. İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1324 [1908].

_____. *Tarih-i Siyasi: 1814'ten 1896'ya kadar Asr-ı Hazırda Avrupa, cild 2*. Translated by Ali Reşad. İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1325 [1909].

_____. *Tarih-i Siyasi: 1814'ten 1896'ya kadar Asr-ı Hazırda Avrupa, cild 3*. Translated by Ali Reşad. İstanbul: Ahmed Saki Bey Matbaası, 1325 [1909].

_____. *Tarih-i Medeniyet: Şark, Yunanistan, Roma*. Translated by Ahmed Refik. İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Askeri, 1328 [1912].

_____. *Tarih-i Medeniyet: Kurun-ı Vusta ve Ezmine-i Cedide*. Translated by Ahmed Refik. İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Askeri, 1328 [1912].

_____. *Tarih-i Medeniyet: Asr-ı Hazır*. Translated by Ahmed Refik. İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Askeri, 1328 [1912].

Selim Sabit. *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmanî*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1291 [1874].

Senior, Nassau. *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece*. London: Longman, 1859.

Sertel, Sabiha. *Roman Gibi* (3rd ed.). İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2015.

Sertel, Yıldız. *Annem: Sabiha Sertel Kimdi, Neler Yazdı?* (3rd ed.). İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2001.

_____. *Susmayan Adam: Babam Gazeteci Zekeriya Sertel*. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2002.

Sertel, Zekeriya. *Hatırladıklarım* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1977.

Suad Muhtar. 'Tarih.' *Donanma* 1, no. 9 (Teşrin-i Sani 1326 [1910]): 778–784.

Süleyman Hüsnü. *Tarih-i Âlem, Kısım-ı Evvel: Kurun-ı Ulâ*. İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, 1293 [1876].

_____. *İlm-i Sarf-ı Türkî* (7th ed.). İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1308 [1891].

Süleyman Nazif. 'Darülfünun-ı Osmanî Türk Tarih-i Medeniyeti Muallimi Ahmed Agayef Beyefendiye.' *İçtihad*, no. 71 (July 11, 1329 [1913]): 1549–1551.

_____. 'Cengiz Hastalığı.' *İçtihad*, no. 72 (July 18, 1329 [1913]): 1573–1574.

_____. 'Ahmed Agayef Beyefendiye.' *İçtihad*, no. 74 (August 1, 1329 [1913]): 1621–1623.

_____. 'Ahmed Agayef Beyefendiye Cevap.' *İçtihad*, no. 75 (August 8, 1329 [1913]): 1645–1648.

_____. 'Ahmed Agayef Beye Cevap I.' *İçtihad*, no. 76 (August 15, 1329 [1913]): 1669–1672.

_____. 'Ahmed Agayef Beye Cevap II.' *İctihad*, no. 79 (September 5, 1329 [1913]): 1732–1734.

Süssheim, Karl, ed. 'el-Urâza fi'l-Hikâyeti's-Selçûkıyye [I].' By Muhammed b. Muhammed el-Hüseyinî el-Yezdî, translated by Şerafeddin. *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 2 (May–June 1331 [1915]): 257–304.

_____, ed. 'el-Urâza fi'l-Hikâyeti's-Selçûkıyye [II].' By Muhammed b. Muhammed el-Hüseyinî el-Yezdî, translated by Şerafeddin. *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 3 (July–August 1331 [1915]): 481–496.

_____, ed. 'el-Urâza fi'l-Hikâyeti's-Selçûkıyye [III].' By [Muhammed b. Muhammed el-Hüseyinî el-Yezdî], translated by Şerafeddin. *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* 2, no. 5 (Teşrin-i Sani–Kanun-ı Evvel 1331 [1915]): 241–272.

Şemseddin Sami. 'Ümem-i İslamiyenin İstikbali.' *Tercüman-ı Şark*, no. 172 (Şevval 29, 1295/Teşrin-i Evvel 14, 1294 [1878]): 1–2.

_____. 'Lisan-ı Türkî (Osmanî).' *Hafta*, no. 12 (Zilhicce 10, 1298 [1881]): 1–5.

_____. *Kâmusu'l-A'lam, Üçüncü Cild*. İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1308 [1891].

_____. 'Edebiyat-ı Müstakbelimiz.' *Sabah*, no. 3343 (March 1, 1315/March 13, 1899): 3–4.

Tâcîzâde Cafer Çelebi. *Mahrûsa-i İstanbul Fetihnâmesi*. İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1331 [1915].

Taeschner, Fr. 'Eine Neue Türkische Publikation zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte.' *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 36, no. 8–9 (August–September 1933): 482–490.

Tayyarzâde Ataullah Ahmed Atâ Bey. *Tarih-i Atâ, cild 1*. İstanbul: Yahya Efendi ve Ali Efendi Matbaası, 1291 [1874].

Witteck, Paul. 'Köprülüsade Mehmed Fuad.' *Türkische Post*, August 3, 1927, 2.

[Yahya Kemal]. *Yahya Kemal'in Hatıraları*. Edited by Nihad Sami Banarlı. İstanbul: Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1960.

_____. *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasi ve Edebi Hatıralarım*. İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1973.

_____. *Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1976.

Yusuf Akçura. 'Türklüğü Bilmeli ve Bilişmeliyiz.' *Türk Derneği*, no. 1 (1327 [1911]): 25–29.

_____. *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: Matbaa-i Kader, 1327 [1911].

_____. 'Türk Âleminde.' *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 1 (Teşrin-i Sani 17, 1327 [1911]): 23–24.

_____. 'Müverrih Léon Cahun ve Muallim Barthold'a göre Cengiz Han I.' *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 1 (Teşrin-i Sani 17, 1327 [1911]): 17–22.

_____. 'Müverrih Léon Cahun ve Muallim Barthold'a göre Cengiz Han II.' *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 2 (Kanun-ı Evvel 1, 1327 [1911]): 47–53.

_____. 'Müverrih Léon Cahun ve Muallim Barthold'a göre Cengiz Han III.' *Türk Yurdu* 1, no. 3 (Kanun-ı Evvel 15, 1327 [1911]): 78–82.

_____. 'Küçük Muhtıra.' *Türk Yurdu* 2, no. 23 (August 22, 1329 [1913]): 807–809.

_____. 'Türk Tarihinin Devirlere Taksimi.' *Türk Yurdu* 4/8, no. 4 (April 23, 1331 [1915]): 2561–2563.

_____. 'Akvam-ı Müslime Tarihinin Devrelere Taksimi.' *Türk Yurdu* 6/13, no. 2 (September 13, 1333 [1917]): 3569–3573.

_____, ed. *Türk Yılı: 1928*. İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1928.

_____. 'Tarih Yazmak ve Tarih Okutmak Usûllerine Dair.' In *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi: Konferanslar, Müzakere Zabıtları* (2nd ed.), 577–607. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2010.

Yusuf Ziya. *Yunan'dan Evvelki Türk Medeniyeti*. İstanbul: Cihan Kitabhanesi, 1928.

Ziya Gökalp. 'Bir Kavmin Tedkikinde Takip Olunacak Usûl.' *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 2 (May–June 1331 [1915]): 193–205.

_____. 'Eski Türklerde İctimai Teşkilat ile Mantıkî Tasnifler Arasında Tenazur.' *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 1, no. 3 (July–August 1331 [1915]): 385–456.

_____. 'Milli Terbiye IV.' *Muallim*, no. 4 (Teşrin-i Evvel 15, 1332 [1916]): 97–102.

_____. 'Millet Nedir?.' *İctimaiyat Mecmuası*, no. 3 (June 1333 [1917]): 148–155.

_____. 'En Eski Türk Devleti.' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 33 (February 21–28, 1918): 126–128.

_____. 'Mükâfat ve Mücazat Meselesine Dair Birkaç Söz Daha.' *Yeni Mecmua* 2, no. 38 (April 4, 1918): 222–225.

_____. *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*. İstanbul: Evkâf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, 1918.

_____. 'Milletimizin Tarihi Nereden Başlar?.' *Küçük Mecmua*, no. 22 (Teşrin-i Sani 3, 1338/Rebi'ülevvel 23, 1341 [1922]): 12–15.

_____. 'Millet Nedir?.' *Küçük Mecmua*, no. 28 (Kanun-ı Evvel 25, 1338/Cemâziyelevvel 6, 1341 [1922]): 1–6.

_____. *Türkçülüğün Esasları*. Ankara: Matbuat ve İstihbarat Müdürlüğü, 1339 [1923].

_____. *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays*. Translated by Niyazi Berkes. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

_____. *Ziya Gökalp Külliyyatı-II: Limni ve Malta Mektupları*. Edited by Fevziye Abdullah Tansel. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1965.

Ziynetullah Nuşirevan. 'Türk Tarihinin Karnlara Taksimine Dair Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemiye I.' *Türk Yurdu* 4/ 8, no. 4 (April 23, 1331 [1915]): 2563–2565.

_____. 'Türk Tarihinin Karnlara Taksimine Dair Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemiye II.' *Türk Yurdu* 4/8, no. 5 (May 7, 1331 [1915]): 2577–2580.

4. Studies

Adanır, Fikret. 'Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Army and the Ottoman Defeat in the Balkan War of 1912–1913.' In *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Ronald Grigor Suny et al., 113–125. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Ahmad, Feroz. 'The Late Ottoman Empire.' In *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire* (2nd ed.), edited by Marian Kent, 5–29. London: Frank Cass, 1996.

_____. *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003.

Akbayrak, Hasan. *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine: İkinci Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Ulus-Devlet İnşa Sürecinde Kurumsal Tarih Çalışmaları*. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009.

Aksakal, Mustafa. *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Akşin, Sina. *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele, vol. 1, Mutlakiyete Dönüş: 1918-1919* (3rd ed.). İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010.

_____. *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele, vol. 2, Son Meşrutiyet: 1919-1920* (3rd ed.). İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010.

_____. *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele, vol. 3, İç Savaş ve Sevr'de Ölüm*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010.

Aktar, Ayhan. 'Conversion of a "Country" into a "Fatherland": The Case of Turkification Examined, 1923–1924.' In *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, edited by Ayhan Aktar et al, 21–35. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Akün, Ömer Faruk. 'Mehmed Fuad Köprülü.' In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.28, 471–486. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2003.

Alangu, Tahir. *Ömer Seyfettin: Ülkücü Bir Yazarın Romanı*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010.

Alkan, Mehmet Ö. 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim.' *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 6, no. 12 (2008): 9–84.

_____. 'II. Meşrutiyet'te Eğitim, İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti, Milliyetçilik, Militarizm veya "Militer Türk-İslam Sentezi".' In *II. Meşrutiyet'i Yeniden Düşünmek*, edited by Ferdan Ergut, 57–85. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010.

Altuğ, Fatih. 'İmparatorlukla Ulus-Devlet Arasında Kozmopolit Fuad Köprülü'nün Milli Edebiyata İhtidası.' In *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, edited by Yahya Kemal Taştan, 119–130. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2012.

Altunay, H. 'Ord. Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü.' *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 38 (February 1987): 115–120.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Revised ed.). London: Verso, 2006.

Andrews, Walter G. 'Starting Over Again: Some Suggestions for Rethinking Ottoman Divan Poetry in the Context of Translation and Transmission.' In *Translations: (Re)shaping of Literature and Culture*, edited by Saliha Paker, 15–40. İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002.

Arai, Masami. *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era*. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Arjomand, Said Amir. 'À la Recherche de la Conscience Collective: Durkheim's Ideological Impact in Turkey and Iran.' *The American Sociologist* 17, no. 2 (1982): 94–102.

Arslan, Ali. *Darülfünun'dan Üniversite'ye*. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 1995.

Asılsoy, Abdülkerim. 'Türk Modernleşmesinin Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Fikirleri.' PhD diss., Marmara University, 2008.

Aslantaş, Selim. 'II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Türkçü Tarih Anlayışının Bir Sözcüsü Olarak Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası.' MA diss., Hacettepe University, 1998.

Ateş, Sanem Yamak. *Asker Evlatlar Yetiştirmek: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Beden Terbiyesi, Askerî Talim ve Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

Aurell, Jaume. 'Introduction: Modern Medievalism and National Traditions.' In *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century, vol. 2: National Traditions*, edited by Jaume Aurell and Julia Pavon, 9–13. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

Aust, Martin. 'À la Recherche d'Histoire Imperiale: Histories of Russia from the Nineteenth to the Early Twenty-First Century.' In *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing*, edited by Matthias Middell and Lluís Roura, 229–256. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Avşar, Ziya. 'Türkî-i Basit Yeniden Tartışmak.' *Bilig*, no. 18 (Summer 2001): 127–143.

Aydın, Suavi. *Modernleşme ve Milliyetçilik*. Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1993.

_____. 'The Use and Abuse of Archaeology and Anthropology in Formulating the Turkish Nationalist Narrative.' In *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, edited by Ayhan Aktar et al., 36–46. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

_____. '20. Yüzyılın Başlarında Türkçülük, Türkoloji Çalışmaları ve Fuad Köprülü.' In *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, edited by Yahya Kemal Taştan, 131–158. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2012.

Aynî, Mehmet Ali. *Darülfünun Tarihi*. Edited by Aykut Kazancıgil. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007.

Aynur, Hatice. 'Türkî-i Basit Hareketini Yeniden Düşünmek.' *Turkish Studies: International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 4, no. 5 (Summer 2009): 34–59.

Ayrancı, İlhami. 'Bir Tarihçi Olarak M. Şemseddin Günaltay: Hayatı, Eserleri ve İslam Tarihi ile İlgili Eserlerinin Tahlili.' PhD diss., Ankara University, 2007.

Ayvazoğlu, Beşir. *1924: Bir Fotoğrafın Uzun Hikayesi* (3rd ed.). İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2010.

Azak, Umut. *Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010.

Baar, Monika. *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Baban, Cihad. *Politika Galerisi: Bir Devrin Hükümlerleri*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2009.

Banarlı, Nihad Sami. 'Köprülü'nün Hayatından Çizgiler.' *Türk Kültürü*, no. 47 (September 1966): 32–40.

_____. *Kitaplar ve Portreler: Mehmed Âkif'den Günümüze*. İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 1985.

Barkey, Karen. 'Changing Modalities of Empire: A Comparative Study of Ottoman and Habsburg Decline.' In *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World*, edited by Joseph W. Esherick et al., 167–197. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

_____. *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Bartulovic, Alenka. 'We Have an Old Debt with the Turk, and It Best be Settled: Ottoman Incursions through the Discursive Optics of Slovenian Historiography and Literature and Their Applicability in the Twenty-First Century.' In *Imagining "the Turk"*, edited by Bozidar Jezernik, 111–135. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010.

Baskar, Bojan. 'Ambivalent Dealings with an Imperial Past: The Habsburg Legacy and New Nationhood in ex-Yugoslavia.' *Institut für Ethnologie, Kultur und Sozialanthropologie (Working Paper)*, no. 10 (2003): 3-4.
<https://doi.org/10.1553/witt2k10>.

Bein, Amit. *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition*. California: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Benda, Julien. *The Treason of the Intellectuals*. Translated by Richard Aldington. New York: Norton, 1969.

Bender, Thomas. 'Writing American History: 1789-1945.' In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, vol. 4: 1800-1945*, edited by Stuart Macintyre et al., 369–389. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Berger, Stefan. 'The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth –and Twentieth- Century Europe.' In *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, edited by Stefan Berger, 30–62. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

_____. 'The Invention of European National Traditions in European Romanticism.' In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, vol. 4: 1800-1945*, edited by Stuart Macintyre et al., 19–40. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Berger, Stefan, and Chris Lorenz. 'Introduction: National History Writing in Europe in a Global Age.' In *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, edited by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, 1–23. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Berger, Stefan, and Christoph Conrad. *The Past as History: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Modern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Berktaş, Halil. *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1983.

_____. 'Tarih Çalışmaları.' In *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 9, 2456–2478. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983.

_____. 'The "Other" Feudalism: A Critique of 20th Century Turkish Historiography and its Particularisation of Ottoman Society.' PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1990.

_____. 'The Search for the Peasant in Western and Turkish History/Historiography.' In *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History*, edited by Halil Berktaş and Suraiya Faroqhi, 109–184. London: Frank Cass, 1992.

Bilmez, Bülent. 'Şemseddin Sami Frashëri'nin Bazı Metinlerinde Arnavut ve Türk "Biz"inin İnşasına Katkıda Bulunan Otoktonluk ve Köken Mitleri.' In *Tanzimat ve Edebiyat: Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Modern Edebi Kültür*, edited by Mehmet Fatih Uslu and Fatih Altuğ, 387–421. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014.

Blake, Corinne Lee. 'Training Arab-Ottoman Bureaucrats: Syrian Graduates of the Mülkiye Mektebi, 1890-1920.' PhD diss., Princeton University, 1991.

Boer, Pim den. 'Historical Writing in France: 1800-1914.' In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800-1945, edited by Stuart Macintyre et al., 184–203. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Breisach, Ernst. *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern* (2nd ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Breuilly, John. 'Nationalism and the Making of National Pasts.' In *Nations and Their Histories: Constructions and Representations*, edited by S. Carvalho and F. Gemenne, 7–28. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Brummett, Palmira. *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press: 1908–1911*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

Caferoğlu, A. 'Hakiki Köprülü.' *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 15 (1968): 1–10.

Carvalho, Susana, and François Gemenne. 'Introduction.' In *Nations and Their Histories: Constructions and Representations*, edited by S. Carvalho and F. Gemenne, 1–3. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Casale, Giancarlo. 'Seeing the Past: Maps and Ottoman Historical Consciousness.' In *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future*, edited by H. Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı, 80–99. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.

Choueiri, Youssef M. *Arab History and the Nation-State: A Study in Modern Arab Historiography (1820-1980)*. London: Routledge, 1989.

Clayer, Nathalie. *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Albanais: La Naissance d'une Nation Majoritairement Musulmane en Europe*. Paris: Karthala, 2007.

Cündioğlu, Dücane. *Bir Siyasi Proje Olarak Türkçe İbadet I*. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 1999.

Çağaptay, Soner. *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Çelik, Hüseyin. *Ali Suavi ve Dönemi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994.

Çetinsaya, Gökhan. 'İslami Vatanseverlikten İslam Siyasetine.' In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, vol. 1, Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi: Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası* (6th ed.), edited by Mehmet Ö. Alkan, 265–272. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Çınar, Metin. *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP'de Sağ Kanat*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013.

Çoker, Fahri. *Türk Tarih Kurumu: Kuruluş Amaçları ve Çalışmaları*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1983.

Davison, Andrew. *Secularism and Revivalism in Turkey: A Hermeneutic Reconsideration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

de Certeau, Michel. *L'Écriture de l'histoire* (2nd ed.). Paris: Gallimard, 1993.

Demirel, Fatmagül. *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2007.

Demiryürek, Mehmet. *Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Osmanlı Aydını (1853–1925)*. Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2003.

Deniz, A. Çağlar. *Türk Modernleşmesinde Düşünsel Dönüşümler: M. Şemseddin Günaltay'ın Türkiye'si*. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 2013.

Deringil, Selim. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998.

_____. 'From Ottoman to Turk: Self-Image and Social Engineering in Turkey.' In *Making Majorities: Constituting the Nation in Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, Fiji, Turkey and the United States*, edited by Dru. C. Gladney, 217–226. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

_____. *Simgeden Millete: II. Abdülhamid'den Mustafa Kemal'e Devlet ve Millet* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009.

DeWeese, Devin. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Türkles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

_____. ‘The Masha’ikh-i Turk and the Khojagan: Rethinking the Links Between the Yasavi and Naqshbandi Sufi Traditions.’ *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 (1996): 180–207.

_____. ‘The Yasavi Order and Persian Hagiography in Seventeenth-Century Central Asia: Alim Shaykh of Aliyabad and his Lamahat min nafahat al-quds.’ In *The Heritage of Sufism, vol. 3: Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501-1750)*, edited by Leonard Lewisohn and David Morgan, 389–414. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999.

_____. ‘Foreword.’ In *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, by Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, translated and edited by Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff, viii–xxvii. London: Routledge, 2006.

Doganalp-Votzi, Heidemarie. ‘The State and Its Subjects According to the 1876 Ottoman Constitution: Some Lexicographic Aspects.’ In *Aspects of the Political Language in Turkey (19th-20th Centuries)*, edited by Hans-Lukas Kieser, 61–69. İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2002.

Dosse, François. *L’histoire en miettes: des ‘Annales’ à la ‘nouvelle histoire’*. Paris: Éditions la découverte, 1987.

Dölen, Emre. *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 1: Osmanlı Döneminde Darülfünun 1863-1922*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009.

_____. *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 2: Cumhuriyet Döneminde Osmanlı Darülfünunu 1922-1933*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010.

_____. *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 3: Darülfünun’dan Üniversiteye Geçiş (Tasfiye ve Yeni Kadrolar)*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010.

_____. *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 4: İstanbul Üniversitesi (1933-1946)*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010.

Dressler, Markus. ‘How to Conceptualize Inner-Islamic Plurality/Difference: “Heterodoxy” and “Syncretism” in the Writings of Mehmet F. Köprülü (1890-1966).’ *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 3 (2010): 241–260.

_____. *Writing Religion: The Making of Turkish Alevi Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

_____. ‘Mehmed Fuad Köprülü and the Turkish History Thesis.’ In *Ölümünün 50. Yılında Uluslararası M. Fuad Köprülü Türkoloji ve Beşeri Bilimler Sempozyumu (21-22 Kasım 2016) Bildirileri*, edited by Fikret Turan et al., 245–253. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2017.

Duman, Hasan. *Osmanlı Salnâmeleri ve Nevsâlleri Bibliyografyası ve Toplu Kataloğu, cilt 1*. Ankara: Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, 2000.

Durgun, Sezgi. *Memalik-i Şahane'den Vatan'a*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011.

Durkheim, Émile. *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse: Le Système Totémique en Australie*. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1912.

_____. 'Lévy-Bruhl—Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures [et] Durkheim (Émile)—Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse.' *L'Année Sociologique* XII (1909-1912/1913): 33–37.

Dündar, Fuat 'The Settlement Policy of the Committee of Union and Progress (1913–1918).' In *Turkey Beyond Nationalism: Towards Post-Nationalist Identities*, edited by Hans-Lukas Kieser, 34–42. London: I. B. Tauris, 2006.

_____. *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913–1918)* (4th ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010.

_____. *Kahir Ekseriyet: Ermeni Nüfus Meselesi (1878–1923)*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012.

Emil, Birol. *Son Dönem Osmanlı Aydını: Mizancı Murad Bey*. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009.

Epple, Angelika. 'A Strained Relationship: Epistemology and Historiography in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Germany and Britain.' In *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, edited by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, 86–106. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Ercilasun, Bilge. *İkinci Meşrutiyet Devrinde Tenkit*. İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2013.

Ergin, Osman. *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi, vol. 3: Birinci Meşrutiyet Yahut Yayılma ve İlerleme Seneleri*. İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977.

_____. *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi, vol. 5*. İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977.

Ergut, Ferdan. 'Institutionalization of History in the Ottoman Empire.' *Turkish Studies* 16, no. 2 (2015): 219–239.

Ersanlı, Büşra. *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de 'Resmi Tarih' Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Faroqhi, Suraiya, and Fikret Adanır. 'Introduction.' In *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, edited by Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi, 1–55. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

F. [Febvre], L. [Lucien]. 'Aux origines de l'Empire ottoman.' *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 9, no. 43 (January 1937): 100–101.

_____. *Combats pour l'histoire*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1953.

Fidan, Mehmet Akif. *Eyüp Sabri Paşa ve Tarihçiliği*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2011.

Findley, Cartner Vaughn. *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989.

_____. *The Turks in World History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

_____. 'The Tanzimat.' In *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. 4: Turkey in the Modern World*, edited by Reşat Kasaba, 11–37. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Fleischer, Cornell H. *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Fortna, Benjamin C. *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

_____. 'The Reign of Abdulhamid II.' In *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. 4: Turkey in the Modern World*, edited by Reşat Kasaba, 38–61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

_____. *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Frank, Tibor, and Frank Hadler. 'Nations, Borders and the Historical Profession: On the Complexity of Historiographical Overlaps in Europe.' In *Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts: Overlapping National Histories in Modern Europe*, edited by Tibor Frank and Frank Hadler, 1–13. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Gazi, Effi. *Scientific National History: The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective (1850-1920)*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000.

_____. 'Theorizing and Practising "Scientific" History in South-Eastern Europe (Nineteenth-Twentieth Century): Spyridon Lambros and Nicolae Jorga.' In *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, edited by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, 192–208. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1983.

Georgeon, François. 'Le premier emprunt intérieur ottoman (mai-juin 1918).' In *Mémorial Ömer Lûtfî Barkan*, edited by Robert Mantran, 101–117. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1980.

_____. *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)*. Paris: Éditions ADPF, 1980.

_____. *Abdulhamid II: Le sultan calife (1876-1909)*. Paris: Fayard, 2003.

Gibbons, Herbert Adams. *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire: A History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I (1300–1403)*. New York: The Century Co., 1916.

Gladstone, W. E. *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*. London: John Murray, 1876.

Goehr, Lydia. 'Reviewing Adorno: Public Opinion and Critique.' In *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*, by Theodor W. Adorno, translated by Henry W. Pickford, xiii–lvi. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Gökman, Muzaffer. *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam: Ahmed Refik Altınay (Hayatı ve Eserleri)*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1978.

Göleç, Mustafa. 'Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Tarih Politikaları (1876-1930).' PhD diss., Marmara University, 2010.

Gölpınarlı, Abdülbâki. *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf*. İstanbul: İnkılâp Yayınları, 2008.

_____. *Yunus Emre: Hayatı ve Bütün Şiirleri* (5th ed.). İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013.

_____. *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatler* (6th ed.). İstanbul: İnkılâp Yayınları, 2014.

Grabski, Andrzej F. 'Poland.' In *International Handbook of Historical Studies: Contemporary Research and Theory*, edited by Georg G. Iggers and Harold T. Parker, 301–324. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Grigoriadis, Ioannis N. *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism: A 'Sacred Synthesis'*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Gülensoy, Tuncer. *Türkiye Türkologları ve Türk Diline Emek Verenler 1 (1800–1950: Türkolojinin 150 Yılı)*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2012.

Gümüšoğlu, Firdevs. *Ülkü Dergisi ve Kemalist Toplum*. İstanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları, 2005.

Gündüz, Mustafa. *II. Meşrutiyet'in Klasik Paradigmaları: İctihad, Sebilü'r-Reşad ve Türk Yurdu'nda Toplumsal Tezler*. Ankara: Lotus Yayınevi, 2007.

Gürkan, Kazım İsmail. *Darülfünun Grevi*. İstanbul: Harman Yayınları, 1971.

Gürpınar, Doğan. *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation, 1860–1950*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Herzog, Christoph. 'Notes on the Development of Turkish and Oriental Studies in the German Speaking Lands.' *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8, no. 15 (2010): 7–76.

Heyd, Uriel. *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*. London: Luzac and Company and The Harvill Press, 1950.

_____. *Language Reform in Modern Turkey*. Jerusalem: The Israel Oriental Society, 1954.

Heywood, Colin. 'Witteck and the Austrian Tradition.' *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 1 (1988): 7–25.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Mythe, Reality*. (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

_____. *On History* (7th ed.). London: Abacus, 2008.

Iggers, Georg G. 'Nationalism and Historiography, 1789-1996: The German Example in Historical Perspective.' In *Writing National Histories: Western Europe since 1800*, edited by Stefan Berger et al., 15–29. London: Routledge, 1999.

_____. 'The Intellectual Foundations of Nineteenth-Century "Scientific" History: The German Model.' In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, vol. 4: 1800-1945*, edited by Stuart Macintyre et al., 41–58. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Iggers, Georg G., and Q. Edwards Wang. *A Global History of Modern Historiography*. Harlow: Pearson, 2008.

İnalcık, Halil, and Bahaeddin Yediyıldız. 'Türkiye'de Osmanlı Araştırmaları.' In *13. Türk Tarih Kongresi: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler I*, 85–220. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2002.

İnan, Abdülkadir. 'Fuad Köprülü-Yusuf Ziya Münakaşaları Üzerine.' *Türk Kültürü*, no. 47 (September 1966): 41–45.

_____. 'Fuad Köprülü ve Sovyet İlimler Akademisi.' *Türk Kültürü*, no. 81 (July 1969): 632–634.

Iordachi, Constantin. 'The Ottoman Empire: Syncretic Nationalism and Citizenship in the Balkans.' In *What is a Nation? (Europe 1789-1914)*, edited by Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson, 120–151. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

İzrail, Nesim Ovadya. *24 Nisan 1915: İstanbul, Çankırı, Ayaş, Ankara*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013.

Jezernik, Bozidar. 'Imagining "the Turk".' In *Imagining "the Turk"*, edited by Bozidar Jezernik, 1–16. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010.

Jorgensen, Claus Moller. 'Scholarly Communication with a Political Impetus: National Historical Journals.' In *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, edited by Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek, 70–88. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Kafadar, Cemal. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Kafadar, Cemal, and Hakan T. Karateke. 'Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing.' In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800–1945, edited by Stuart Macintyre et al., 559–577. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Kansu, Aykut. *The Revolution of 1908 in Turkey*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Karakaya-Stump, Ayfer. 'The Vefaiyye, the Bektashiyye and Genealogies of "Heterodox" Islam in Anatolia: Rethinking the Köprülü Paradigm.' *Turcica*, no. 44 (2012–2013): 279–300.

_____. *Vefailik, Bektaşilik, Kızılbaşlık: Alevi Kaynaklarını, Tarihini ve Tarihyazımını Yeniden Düşünmek*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015.

Karamustafa, Ahmet T. *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period (1200–1550)*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994.

_____. 'Early Sufism in Eastern Anatolia.' In *The Heritage of Sufism*, vol. 1: *Classical Persian Sufism from its Origins to Rumi (700–1300)*, edited by Leonard Lewisohn, 175–198. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999.

_____. 'Origins of Anatolian Sufism.' In *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society: sources-doctrine-rituals-turuq-architecture-literature and fine arts-iconography-modernism*, edited by Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, 67–95. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2005.

Karateke, Hakan T. 'The Challenge of Periodization: New Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Historiography.' In *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future*, edited by H. Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı, 129–154. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.

Karpat, Kemal H. 'The Republican People's Party: 1923–1945.' In *Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey*, edited by Metin Heper and Jacob M. Landau, 42–64. London: I. B. Tauris, 1991.

_____. 'Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to be Modern Muslim, Ottoman, and Turk.' In *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, edited by Kemal H. Karpat, 1–28. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

_____. *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

_____. *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Kasaba, Reşat. 'Dreams of Empire, Dreams of Nations.' In *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World*, edited by Joseph W. Esherick et al., 198–225. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

Kat, Gürhan. *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Yusuf Akçura*. Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2010.

Kayalı, Hasan. *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Kayaoğlu, Taceddin. *Türkiye 'de Tercüme Müesseseleri*. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 1998.

Kazancıgil, Aykut, and Ayhan Vergili. 'Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası (1331-1915): Bir Devlet Mecmuası.' *Müteferrika*, no. 27 (2005): 137–156.

Kechriotis, Vangelis, 'The Modernization of the Empire and the Community "Privileges": Greek Orthodox Responses to the Young Turk Policies.' In *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran*, edited by Touraj Atabaki, 53–70. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007.

_____. 'A Cappadocian in Athens, an Athenian in Smyrna, and a Parliamentarian in Istanbul: The Multiple Personae and Loyalties of Pavlos Carolidis.' In *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, edited by Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull, 297–309. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016.

Keyder, Çağlar. 'The Ottoman Empire.' In *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*, edited by Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen, 30–44. Oxford: Westview Press, 1997.

_____. 'The Consequences of the Exchange of Populations for Turkey.' In *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey*, edited by Renée Hirschon, 39–52. New York: Berghahn Books, 2003.

_____. 'A History and Geography of Turkish Nationalism.' In *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, edited by Faruk Birtok and Thalia Dragonas, 3–17. London: Routledge, 2005.

Kırımlı, Hakan. *National Movements and National Identity among the Crimean Tatars (1905-1916)*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Kocabaşoğlu, Uygur. *'Hürriyet'i Beklerken: İkinci Meşrutiyet Basını*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010.

Koç, Yunus. 'Türk Tarih Kurumu ve Türk Tarihçiliğindeki Yeri.' In *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye'de Tarihçilik ve Tarih Yayıncılığı Sempozyumu: Bildiriler*, edited by Mehmet Öz, 655–666. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2011.

Kodaman, Bayram. *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (3rd ed.). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999.

Köprülü, Cemal. 'Fuad Köprülü'nün İlmi Şahsiyeti, Türk Kültüründeki Rolü ve Bazı Hatıralar.' *Türk Kültürü*, no. 81 (July 1969): 635–652.

Köprülü, Orhan F. *Fuad Köprülü*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1987.

Köroğlu, Erol. *Ottoman Propaganda and Turkish Identity: Literature in Turkey During World War I*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2007.

Kuran, Ercüment. 'Ottoman Historiography of the Tanzimat Period.' In *Historians of the Middle East*, edited by Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, 422–429. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Kushner, David. *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism: 1876-1908*. London: Frank Cass, 1977.

Kütükoğlu, Bekir. *Vekayinüvis Makaleler*. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1994.

Landau, Jacob M. *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation* (2nd ed.). London: Hurst & Co., 1995.

Langlois, Charles-Victor, and Charles Seignobos. *Introduction aux études historiques* (2nd ed.). Paris: Librairie Hachetté, 1899.

Leerssen, Joep. 'Nation and Ethnicity.' In *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, edited by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, 75–103. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Leiser, Gary. 'Preface.' In *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, by M. Fuad Köprülü, translated by Gary Leiser, xi–xiv. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.

_____. 'Translator's Introduction.' in *Islam in Anatolia after the Turkish Invasion (Prolegomena)*, by Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, translated by Gary Leiser, xiii–xviii. Salt Lake: University of Utah Press, 1993.

_____. 'Çağdaş Türkoloji Araştırmalarında Köprülü'nün Yeri.' Translated by Mertcan Akan, in *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, edited by Yahya Kemal Taştan, 29–37. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2012.

Levend, Ağâh Sırrı. *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri* (3rd ed.). Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1972.

Lewis, Geoffrey. *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Lim, Jie-Hyun. 'The Configuration of Orient and Occident in the Global Chain of National Histories: Writing National Histories in Northeastern Asia.' In *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media and the Arts*, edited by Stefan Berger et al., 290–308. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008.

Lindner, Rudi Paul. *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007.

Lingelbach, Gabriele. 'The Institutionalization and Professionalization of History in Europe and the United States.' In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, vol. 4: 1800-1945*, edited by Stuart Macintyre et al., 78–96. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Lowry, Heath W. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2003.

Maksudyan, Nazan. *Türklüğü Ölçmek: Bilimkurgusal Antropoloji ve Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Irkçı Çehresi (1925-1939)* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2007.

Mandler, Peter. *History and National Life*. London: Profile Books, 2002.

Mardin, Şerif. *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000.

Margue, Michel, and Pit Péporté. 'Medieval Myths and the Building of National Identity: the Example of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.' In *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins*, edited by R. J. W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal, 88–112. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Mermer, Ahmet. 'Türkî-i Basît'e Yeni Bir Bakış.' *Turkish Studies: International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 4, no. 5 (Summer 2009): 263–278.

Mukherjee, Supriya. 'Indian Historical Writing since 1947.' In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, vol. 5: Historical Writing since 1945*, edited by Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf, 515–538. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Murphey, Rhoads. *Essays on Ottoman Historians and Historiography*. İstanbul: Eren, 2009.

Nefes, Türkay Salim. 'Ziya Gökalp's Adaptation of Emile Durkheim's Sociology in his Formulation of the Modern Turkish Nation.' *International Sociology* 28, no: 3 (2013): 335–350.

Neumann, Christoph K. *Araç Tarih Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet'in Siyasi Anlamı*. Translated by Meltem Arun. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.

_____. 'Ahmed Cevdet Paşa'nın Tarihçiliğine Yansıyan Zihniyet Dünyası.' In *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e: Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar* (2nd ed.), 64–71. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.

_____. 'Bad Times and Better Self: Definitions of Identity and Strategies for Development in Late Ottoman Historiography (1850-1900).' In *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, edited by Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi, 57–78. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Marjinal Süfîlik: Kalenderîler (XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllar)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992.

_____. *Babaîler İsyanı: Alevîliğin Tarihsel Altyapısı yahut Anadolu'da İslâm-Türk Heterodoksisinin Teşekkülü* (4th ed.). İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2009.

_____. 'Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life: 1071–1453.' In *The Cambridge History of Turkey, vol. 1: Byzantium to Turkey (1071–1453)*, edited by Kate Fleet, 353–422. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

_____. 'Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî'nin Tasavvufî Kimliğine Yeniden Bakış: Yesevî, Haydarî, Vefâî, Babaî, Yahut "Şeyhlikten Müridlikten Fâriğ Bir Meczup?".' In *Hacı Bektaş Veli: Güneşte Zerresinden, Deryada Katresinden (Uluslararası Hacı Bektaş Veli Sempozyumu Bildirileri)*, edited by Pınar Ecevitoğlu et al., 49–55. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2010.

_____. *Türk Süfîliğine Bakışlar* (14th ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

_____. *Alevî ve Bektaşî İnançlarının İslam Öncesi Temelleri: Bektaşî Menâkıbnâmelerinde İslam Öncesi İnanç Motifleri* (10th ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013.

_____. *Ortaçağlar Anadolu'sunda İslam'ın Ayak İzleri: Selçuklu Dönemi (Makaleler-Araştırmalar)* (3rd ed.). İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014.

_____. *Ortaçağ Anadolu'sunda İki Büyük Yerleşimci/Kolonizatör Derviş: Dede Garkın ve Emîrci Sultan (Vefâiyye ve Yeseviyye Gerçeği)*. İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2014.

Oral, Mustafa. *Türkiye'de Romantik Tarihçilik (1910-1940)*. Ankara: Asil Yayınları, 2006.

_____. 'Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Tarihçilik ve Mehmet Fuat Köprülü.' In *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, edited by Yahya Kemal Taştan, 159–179. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2012.

Ortaylı, İlber. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu* (4th ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003.

_____. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisadi ve Sosyal Değişim: Makaleler I* (2nd ed.). Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi Yayınları, 2004.

_____. *Türkiye Teşkilat ve İdare Tarihi* (3rd ed.). Ankara: Cedit Neşriyat, 2008.

_____. *Tarih Yazıcılık Üzerine*. Ankara: Cedit Neşriyat, 2009.

Özavcı, Hilmi Ozan. 'Differing Interpretations of la conscience collective and "the Individual" in Turkey: Émile Durkheim and the Intellectual Origins of the Republic.' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 75, no. 1 (2014): 113–136.

_____. *Intellectual Origins of the Republic: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the Genealogy of Liberalism in Turkey*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Özbek, Nadir. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet (1876-1914)* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Özcan, Ahmet. 'M. Fuat Köprülü Tahrir Defteri Gördü Mü?' *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 53, no. 2 (2013): 249–262.

Özcan, Ufuk. *Ahmet Ağaoğlu ve Rol Değişikliği: Yüzyıl Dönümünde Batıcı Bir Aydın*. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2010.

Özden, Mehmet. 'Türk Yurdu Dergisi ve II. Meşrutiyet Devri Türkçülük Akımı (1911–1918).' PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 1994.

Özervarlı, M. Sait. 'Reading Durkheim through Ottoman Lenses: Interpretations of Customary Law, Religion, and Society by the School of Gökalp.' *Modern Intellectual History* 14, no. 2 (August 2017): 393–419.

Özkırımlı, Umut, and Spyros A. Sofos. *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey*. London: Hurst & Co., 2008.

Özüçetin, Yaşar. 'Mehmet Şemsettin Günaltay'ın Hayatı: İlmi, İdari, Siyasi Faaliyetleri.' PhD diss., Gazi University, 2003.

Park, George T. 'The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü: The Intellectual and Turkish Cultural Modernization.' PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1975.

Parla, Taha. *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924)*. Leiden: Brill, 1985.

Peacock, A.C.S. *Early Seljuq History: A New Interpretation*. Oxon: Routledge, 2010.

Sadoğlu, Hüseyin. *Türkiye'de Ulusçuluk ve Dil Politikaları* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010.

Safi, Polat. 'The Ottoman Special Organization-Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa: An Inquiry into Its Operational and Administrative Characteristics.' PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2012.

_____. 'History in the Trench: The Ottoman Special Organization-Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa Literature.' *Middle Eastern Studies* 48, no. 1 (2012): 89–106.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Sakal, Fahri. *Ağaoğlu Ahmed Bey*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999.

Sarınay, Yusuf. *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi Gelişimi ve Türk Ocakları: 1912-1931* (3rd ed.). Ankara: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2005.

Saxer, Daniela. 'Monumental Undertakings: Source Publications for the Nation.' In *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, edited by Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek, 47–69. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Schulze, Hagen. 'The Revolution of the European Order and the Rise of German Nationalism.' In *Nation-Building in Central Europe*, edited by Hagen Schulze, 5–18. New York: Berg, 1987.

_____. *States, Nations and Nationalism: From Middle Ages to the Present*. Translated by William E. Yuill. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

Selçuk, Mustafa. *İstanbul Darülfünunu Edebiyat Fakültesi (1900-1933)*. Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2012.

Seshan, Radhika. 'Writing the Nation in India: Communalism and Historiography.' In *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, edited by Stefan Berger, 155–178. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Seton-Watson, Hugh. *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1977.

Sevük, İsmail Habib. *Yeni Edebi Yeniliğimiz, cilt 1*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1940.

Shaffer, Brenda. *Borders and Brethren: Iran and the Challenge of Azerbaijani Identity*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2002.

Shissler, A. Holly. *Between Two Empires: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the New Turkey*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002.

Somel, Selçuk Akşin. *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

_____. 'Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913).' In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, vol. 1, Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi: Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası* (6th ed.), edited by Mehmet Ö. Alkan, 88–116. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Sönmez, Erdem. *Annales Okulu ve Türkiye’de Tarihyazımı: Annales Okulu’nun Türkiye’deki Tarihyazımına Etkisi (Başlangıçtan 1980’e)* (2nd ed.). Ankara: Tan Kitabevi Yayınları, 2010.

_____. *Ahmed Rıza: Bir Jön Türk Liderinin Siyasi-Entelektüel Portresi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012.

_____. ‘Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken: Türkiye’de Tarihyazımı Üzerine Notlar.’ *Modus Operandi: İlişkisel Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 1 (March 2015): 49–80.

Stobiecki, Rafat. ‘National History and Imperial History: A Look at Polish-Russian Historiographical Disputes on the Borderlands in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.’ In *Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts: Overlapping National Histories in Modern Europe*, edited by Tibor Frank and Frank Hadler, 125–151. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Suppanz, Werner. ‘Supranationality and National Overlaps: The Habsburg Monarchy in Austrian Historiography after 1918.’ In *Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts: Overlapping National Histories in Modern Europe*, edited by Tibor Frank and Frank Hadler, 66–91. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Szvá, Gyula. ‘The Golden Age of Russian Historical Writing: The Nineteenth Century.’ In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, vol. 4: 1800-1945*, edited by Stuart Macintyre et al., 303–325. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Şahin, Liaisan. ‘Russian Turkology: From Past to Present.’ *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8, no. 15 (2010): 591–644.

Şahingiray, Özel, ed. *Atatürk’ün Nöbet Defteri: 1931-1938*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1955.

Şakiroğlu, Mahmut. ‘Yeni Bir Kitap ve Eski Bir Makale Vesilesiyle: Fuad Köprülü.’ *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 63 (March 1989): 21–23.

Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. ‘Hocam Fuad Köprülü.’ *Türk Kültürü*, no. 47 (September 1966): 51–54.

Şen, Cafer. ‘Fecr-i Âtî Encümeni’nde Bir Eleştirmen ve Polemikçi Olarak Köprülüâde Mehmed Fuad.’ In *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, edited by Yahya Kemal Taştan, 39–55. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2012.

Şenel, Ünal. ‘Yahya Kemal’de İstanbul.’ In *Yahya Kemal Beyatlı: Ölümünün 50. Yılı*, edited by Kâzım Yetiş, 318–347. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2008.

Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (8th ed.). Edited by Abdullah Uçman. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006.

Tansel, F. A. ‘Memleketimizin Acı Kaybı Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü.’ *Belleten* 30, no. 120 (October 1966): 621–636.

_____. 'Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün Şiirleri.' *Belleten* 30, no. 120 (October 1966): 637–660.

_____. 'Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün İlk Yazısı, Basın Hayatının Başlangıcına Dair Bilgimizi Düzelten ve Tamamlayan Yeni Notlar.' *Belleten* 33, no. 129 (January 1969): 43–52.

_____. 'Fuad Köprülü'nün Türk Ocaklılar'la İzmir Seyahati ve Temsil Edilen Manzum Tiyatrosu: Türk'ün Duası.' *Türk Kültürü*, no. 92 (June 1970): 516–531.

Tarakçı, Celal. *Muallim Nâci Efendi: Hayatı ve Eserlerinin Tedkiki*. Samsun: Sönmez Matbaası, 1994.

Taştan, Yahya Kemal. 'Mehmed Fuad Köprülü: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Eserleri.' In *Fuad Köprülü: Vakıfların Hukukî Mahiyeti*, edited by Yahya Kemal Taştan, 15–137. Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2013.

Tekeli, İlhan, and Selim İlkin. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü* (2nd ed.). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999.

Tekil, Füzulan. *Politika Asları*. İstanbul: Geçit Yayınları, 1973.

Terzioğlu, Derin. 'How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion.' *Turcica*, no. 44 (2012-2013): 301–338.

Tetik, Ahmet. *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa (Umûr-ı Şarkıyye Dairesi) Tarihi: 1914-1916*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014.

Tezcan, Baki. 'Ottoman Historical Writing.' In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 3: 1400-1800, edited by José Rabasa et al., 192–211. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Tezcan, Nuran. 'Fuat Köprülü'nün Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi Üzerine.' In *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, edited by Yahya Kemal Taştan, 93–118. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2012.

Tezcan, Semih. 'Anadolu Türk Yazınının Başlangıç Döneminde Bir Yazar ve Çarh-name'nin Tarihlendirilmesi Üzerine.' *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları*, no. 4 (1994): 75–88.

_____. 'Fuat Köprülü ve Türkî-yi Basit.' In *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, edited by Yahya Kemal Taştan, 79–92. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2012.

Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

Todorova, Maria. 'The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans.' In *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, edited by L. Carl Brown, 45–75. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

_____. *Imagining the Balkans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Toksöz, Meltem. 'The World of Mehmed Murad: Writing *Histoires Universelles* in Ottoman Turkish.' *Journal of Ottoman Studies*, no. 40 (Fall 2012): 343–363.

Tollebeek, Jo. 'An Era of *Grandeur*: The Middle Ages in Belgian National Historiography, 1830-1914.' In *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins*, edited by R. J. W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal, 113–135. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

_____. 'Historical Writing in the Low Countries.' In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, vol. 4: 1800-1945*, edited by Stuart Macintyre et al., 283–302. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

_____. 'Exegi Monumentum: The Great Syntheses of National History.' In *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, edited by Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek, 105–129. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Tollebeek, Jo, and Ilaria Porciani. 'Institutions, Networks and Communities in a European Perspective.' In *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, edited by Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek, 3–26. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Toprak, Zafer. 'Türk Bilgi Derneği (1914) ve Bilgi Mecmuası.' In *Osmanlı İlmi ve Mesleki Cemiyetleri*, edited by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, 247–254. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1987.

_____. *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi: Savaş Ekonomisi ve Türkiye'de Devletçilik (1914-1918)*. İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2003.

_____. *Darwin'den Dersim'e Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji*. İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2012.

Tuğcu, Emine. *Osmanlı'nın Son Döneminde Şiir Eleştirisi: Bir Tarihselleştirme Yaklaşımı* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013.

Tunaya, Tarık Zafer. *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, vol. 2, Mütareke Dönemi: 1918-1922* (3rd ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008.

Tuncer, Hüseyin. *Meşrutiyet Devri Türk Edebiyatı*. İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994.

Tunçay, Mete. *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması (1923-1931)* (3rd ed.). İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.

_____. *Eleştirel Tarih Yazıları*. Ankara: Liberte Yayınları, 2005.

Türk, İbrahim Caner. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tarih Eğitimi (1839-1922)*. İstanbul: Arı Sanat Yayınları, 2013.

Ülkütaşır, M. Şakir. 'Fuad Köprülü ve Bazı Basın Hatıraları.' *Türk Kültürü*, no. 47 (September 1966): 46–50.

Üstel, Füsun. *'Makbul Vatandaş'ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

_____. *Türk Ocakları: İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği (1912–1931)* (2nd ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Wang, Q. Edward. 'Between Myth and History: The Construction of a National Past in Modern East Asia.' In *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, edited by Stefan Berger, 126–154. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Verschaffel, Tom. "“Something More than a Storage Warehouse”: The Creation of National Archives.' In *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, edited by Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek, 29–46. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller. 'Methodological Nationalism and beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences.' *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301–334.

Yalçinkaya, M. Alper. *Learned Patriots: Debating Science, State, and Society in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Yetiş, Kâzım. 'Hayatı.' In *Yahya Kemal Beyatlı: Ölümünün 50. Yılı*, edited by Kâzım Yetiş, 12–63. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2008.

Yıldırım, Rıza. 'Büyüküğün Büyümeye Set Çekmesi: Fuat Köprülü'nün Türkiye'de Yesevîlik Araştırmalarına Katkısı Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme.' In *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, edited by Yahya Kemal Taştan, 357–398. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2012.

_____. 'Anadolu'da İslâmiyet: Gaziler Çağında (XII.-XIV. Asırlar) Türkmen İslâm Yorumunun Sünnî-Alevî Niteliği Üzerine Bazı Değerlendirmeler.' *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, no. 43 (2014): 93–124.

_____. 'Sunni Orthodox vs Shiite Heterodox?: A Reappraisal of Islamic Piety in Medieval Anatolia.' In *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, edited by A.C.S. Peacock et al., 277–307. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015.

Yıldız, Ahmet. *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene: Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-Seküler Sınırları (1919-1938)* (4th ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010.

Yiğit, Yücel. 'The Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa and World War I.' *Middle East Critique* 23, no. 2 (2014): 157–174.

Yinanç, Mükrimin Halil. 'Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete Kadar Bizde Tarihçilik.' In *Tanzimat I*, 573–595. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940.

Zorlu-Durukan, Şefika Akile. 'The Ideological Pillars of Turkish Education: Emergent Kemalism and the Zenith of Single-Party Rule.' PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2006.

Zürcher, Erik J. "'Fundamentalism" as an Exclusionary Device in Kemalist Turkish Nationalism.' In *Identity Politics in Central Asia and the Muslim World: Nationalism, Ethnicity and Labour in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Willem van Schendel and Erik J. Zürcher, 209–222. London: I. B. Tauris, 2001.

_____. 'Institution Building in the Kemalist Republic: The Role of the People's Party.' In *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah*, edited by Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zürcher, 98–112. London: I. B. Tauris, 2004.

_____. 'The Ottoman Legacy of the Kemalist Republic.' In *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran*, edited by Touraj Atabaki, 95–110. New York: I. B. Tauris, New York, 2007.

