

Notes

Introduction

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2. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London: New York: Verso, 1983, p. 45.
3. Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
4. Anne-Marie Thiesse, 'The Formation of National Identities', in Marion Demossier (ed.), *The European Puzzle*, New York: Berghahn, 2007, pp. 16–17. Also see, Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La Création des Identités Nationales*, Paris: Seuil, 2001; Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, London; New York: Routledge, 2009, pp. 35–40, 90–103; Ronald Grigor Suny, Michael D. Kennedy (eds), *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001.
5. Anthony D. Smith, *ibid.*, p. 37.
6. Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 9.
7. See, David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past. The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, New York: The Free Press, 1996.
8. Peter J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989, p. 41.
9. For Macaulay, see J.W. Burrows, *A Liberal Descent*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 11–93; Robert E. Sullivan, *Macaulay: The Tragedy of Power*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009; Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
10. For William Stubbs, see Michael Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 23–32; J. W. Burrows, *A Liberal Descent*, pp. 97–151.
11. Quoted in J.W. Burrows, *A Liberal Descent*, p. 3.
12. The classical study on the emergence and rise of the discourse of 'ancient constitution' and its political usages remains J.G.A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1957.
13. For the 19th-century liberal conservatism, see Alan Kahan, *Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe, The Political Culture of Limited Suffrage*, Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave, 2003.
14. For a study focusing on the literary depictions of the French Revolution in 19th-century French historiography with a specific focus on the works of Jules Michelet, Louis Blanc and Alphonse De Lamartine, see Ann Rigney, *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation: Three Narratives of the French Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002; Also see, Jeremy Jennings, *Revolution and the Republic*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
15. Ceri Crossley, *French Historians and Romanticism*, London, New York: Routledge, 1993, p. 53.

16. Ceri Crossley, *Ibid.*, p. 54.
17. For Guizot, especially see, Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le Moment Guizot*, Paris: Gallimard, 1985. Also see, Aurelian Craiutu, *Liberalism Under Siege: The Political Thought of the French Doctrinaires*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003.
18. Ceri Crossley, *ibid.*, p. 104.
19. Ceri Crossley, *French Historians and Romanticism*, London; New York: Routledge, 1993, p. 40.
20. Ceri Crossley, *ibid.*, p. 56.
21. Donald Kelly, *Fortunes of History*, p. 106.
22. Charles Rearick, 'Symbol, Legend, and History: Michelet as Folklorist-Historian', *French Historical Studies*, v. 7, no. 1, Spring 1971, p. 72.
23. Donald Kelly, *Fortunes of History*, p. 164.
24. It is also worth remembering that Madame de Staël, the first 'anti-totalitarian thinker' for many also 'once said that in France liberty was ancient and despotism modern.' See Aurelian Craiutu, *Liberalism Under Siege*, p. 59.
25. Edward Berenson, *Heroes of Empire*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011, p. 170.
26. For the myth of Joan of Arc, see Venita Datta, *Heroes and Legends of fin-de-siècle France*, New York. Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 145–178.
27. For the classical work on German conservatism and its responses to the French Enlightenment, see Klaus Epstein, *The Genesis of German Conservatism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. Also see Frederick C. Beiser, *Enlightenment, Revolution, and Romanticism: The Genesis of Modern German Political Thought, 1790–1800*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
28. For the 'theological origins of modern discipline of history', see Thomas Albert Howard, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
29. For German romanticism of the late Enlightenment, see Frederick C. Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative: The Concept of Early Modern Romanticism*, Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2006; Frederick C. Beiser, *Enlightenment, Revolution, and Romanticism: The Genesis of Modern German Political Thought, 1790–1800*.
30. Stefan Berger, 'The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe', in Stefan Berger (ed.), *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 31.
31. George S. Williamson, *The Longing for Myth in Germany: Religion and Aesthetic Culture from Romanticism to Nietzsche*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004, p. 86.
32. George S. Williamson, *ibid.*, p. 14.
33. For the anarchic and romantic natures of early 19th-century European nationalisms, see Martin Thom, *Republics, Nations, and Tribes*, London, New York: Verso, 1995.
34. See Balazs Trencsenyi, Marton Zaskaliczky (eds), *Whose Love, Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010; Paschalis Kitromilides, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-Eastern Europe*, Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1994; Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossack Myth*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

35. Laszlo Kontler, 'The Enlightenment in Central Europe', in Balasz Trencsenyi, Michal Kopecek (eds), *Late Enlightenment-Emergence of the Modern 'National Idea'*, Budapest; New York: CEU Press, 2006, pp. 40–41.
36. Finland, gained its independence during the upheaval of the Bolshevik Revolution from Russia concomitant with the Turkish War of Independence and the declaration of the Turkish Republic, and due to many commonalities, this Asiatic/Uralic brethren nation gained profound sympathy in Kemalist Turkey. For the vanguard Turkish nationalist intellectuals, the ethnographic discovery of Finland and its national heritage by the Finnish intellectuals was exemplary. Hamid Zübeyr Koşar, who was originally a Tartar from Russia, was particularly influential in the cultivation of this fascination. (See, Hamit Zübeyr, Finn'lerin Milli Kültürü, *Türk Yurdu*, v. 23, no. 23, November 1929, pp. 20–21; Fekete Joseph, Finn Yüksek Halk Mektepleri, *Türk Yurdu*, v. 23, no. 24, December 1929, pp. 29–33.) Many pseudo intellectuals also popularized this theme. The Finnish epic Kalevala was translated by Ömer Seyfeddin and published in *Türk Yurdu* in 1918. After its introduction to the Turkish audience, this epic was extensively studied as the prototypical national epic and became well-known in Kemalist Turkey. One phenomenal book in Kemalist Turkey was *The Land of White Lilies*. This book was written by the Russian priest and parliamentarian Grigory Petrov and published in Serbia during his White Russian exile in 1923. This book was a romantic and exotic portrayal of Finland when it was part of the Russian czardom. Petrov praised the collective patriotism and selfless efforts of the Finnish intellectuals, priests, youth, and people to revive the Finnish nation and salvage it from idyllic poverty. Petrov praised Finns and their national awakening, the free air of rural Finland and the freedom-loving Finns as opposed to the corrupt air of St. Petersburg. This book was translated into Turkish in 1928 and subsequently published many times during the next decade. In 1936, the book was published by the Ministry of Education and distributed freely to teachers to encourage them in educating the new generation. Apparently, the Finnish national awakening was a role model for the Kemalist romantic nationalism. More interestingly, after the military coup of 1960 that institutionalized neo-Kemalism, the officers who led the coup all cited Petrov's as their favorite book to indicate their Kemalist commitment and their pledge to revive the Kemalist arcadian utopia and return to Kemalist origins. See Zeynep Zafer, 'Rus Yazarı Grigoriy Petrov'un Sürgün Dönemi Eserleri', *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, v. 6, no. 23, Fall 2009, pp. 141–155; Saime Selenga Gökgez, 'Finlandiya Türkleri ve Türk Hariciyesinin Siyaseti', *Bilgi*, no. 47, Fall 2008, pp. 1–20. Also see, Martti Rasanen, 'Kalevala', *Türk Yurdu*, v. 16, no. 4, July 1925.
37. Etienne Copeaux, *Espaces et Temps de la Nation Turque*, Paris: CNRS, 1997, p. 17.
38. Although the term 'Turkish nationalists' could also be used, 'Turkist' seems more appropriate to demarcate those who entertained an exclusively ethnic sensitivity and were interested in the pre-Islamic (as well as Islamic) ancient Turkish culture from those who espoused a certain idea of nationhood without necessarily glorifying Turkish ancestry and who emphasized a common Muslim bond and a porous political identity built around the Ottoman state.
39. Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1998.

40. See Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparing for a Revolution*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 64–73.
41. Margaret Stieg Dalton, *The Origin and Development of Scholarly Historical Periodicals*, University, Ala: University of Alabama Press, 1986; George Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, Hanover, London: Wesleyan University Press, 1997, p. 27.
42. Stefan Berger, 'The Power of National Past: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe', pp. 38–39.
43. For the *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni*, see Hasan Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2009.
44. Halil Bertkay, 'Tarih Çalışmaları', *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983–1996, v. IX, p. 2459.
45. Francois Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Yusuf Akçura*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996, pp. 72–76.
46. In fact, before Belleten and the Turkish History Association, there was an emerging historiography beginning from 1908 which was absorbed into the Kemalist official line in the 1930s. See Hasan Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*.

1 The Encounter with the Ottoman Heritage: Imperial Grandeur, Medieval Decay, and Double Discourses

1. Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, Padstow: Polity Press, 1990, p. 64.
2. Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of the Empire*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.
3. G.R. De Beer, *Sir Hans Sloane and the British Museum*, New York: Arno Press, 1975; Arthur MacGregor, *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*, London: British Museum Press, 1994.
4. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, London, New York: Routledge, 1995.
5. A. Dwight Culler, *The Victorian Mirror of History*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985, p. 26.
6. George Lukacs, *Historical Novel*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969, pp. 29–69.
7. David Brown, *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination*, London, Boston, Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, p. 204.
8. For Walter Scott and his historical imagination, also see Ian Duncan, *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel: The Gothic, Scott, and Dickens*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; Christopher Harvie, 'Scott and the Image of Scotland', in Raphael Samuel (ed.), *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, London: Routledge, 1989, v. II, 173–192; Caroline McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
9. Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997; Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992; Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006; Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

10. For the transformation of Polish nationalism at the end of the 19th century, see Brian Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
11. The 'discourse of tolerance' toward the non-Muslims and the politics of Ottomanism were extended back from the Tanzimat to the Ottoman Classical Age, reimagining the Ottoman *millet* system in line with the visions of Tanzimat.
12. Mehmet Demiryürek, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi*, İstanbul: Phoenix, 2003, pp. 153–173.
13. Namık Kemal, 'Vefa-yı Ahd', *İbret*, 10 June 1288; excerpted in Nergiz Yılmaz Aydoğdu & İsmail Kara (ed.), *Namık Kemal, Bütün Makaleleri 1*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005, p. 60.
14. The rhetoric of tolerance was also buttressed and popularized by the European Turcophiles with the onset of the Tanzimat as well. For example on 'Turkish tolerance', see M. A. Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, London: John Murray, 1856, v. II, pp. 28–34.
15. Namık Kemal, *Evrak-ı Perişan*, İstanbul: s.n., 1301, p. 13.
16. Namık Kemal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1326, v. I, pp. 98–99.
17. Namık Kemal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v. II, pp. 8–9.
18. For Hammer-Purgstall, see Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526–1850*, London: Reaktion Books, 2008, pp. 130–150.
19. Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, pp. 31–32.
20. Ebüzziya Mehmed Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*, İstanbul: Hürriyet Yayınları, 1973, p. 140.
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22. Ahmet Uğur, *The Reign of Sultan Selim I in the Light of the Selim-Name Literature*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1985, p. 19.
23. Carel Bertram, *Türk Evini Hayal Etmek*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012, p. 231.
24. Lewis V. Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 2.
25. Lewis V. Thomas, *ibid.*, pp. 128–129.
26. Claire Norton, 'The Remembrance of the Siege of Kanije in the Construction of Late Ottoman and Modern Turkish Nationalist Identities,' *Parergon*, v. 21, no. 1, 2004, pp. 136–137.
27. For example see, Ahmed Refik, *Kanije Gazileri*, İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931.
28. Solakzade, v. II, p. 2.
29. Hoca Sadeddin, *ibid.*, v. I, p. 312.
30. For example, see the index in the History of Naima. Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Naima*, Mehmet İpşirli (ed.), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007, v. IV, p. 2046.
31. Solak-zade Mehmed Hemdemi Çelebi, *Solak-zade Tarihi*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1989, p. 260.

32. Solak-zade, *ibid.*, p. 247.
33. Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih-i Âl-i Osman*, İstanbul: K Kitaplığı, 2003, pp. 508, 521.
34. Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *ibid.*
35. Ahmed Rasim, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Şems Matbaası, 1326–1328, v. II, p. 44.
36. Ahmed Rasim, *ibid.*, v. II, p. 117.
37. Ali Cevad, *Mükemmel Osmanlı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1317, p. 114.
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39. Baki Tezcan, 'The 1622 Military Rebellion in İstanbul: A Historiographical Journey', pp. 36–37.
40. For example, see Fuad Gücüyener, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, İstanbul: Anadolu Türk Kitap Deposu, 1945, p. 161.
41. Ömer Faruk Akün, 'Koçi Bey', *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, p. 147; Douglas Howard, 'Genre and Myth in the Ottoman Advice for Kings Literature', in Virginia Aksan, Daniel Goffman (ed.), *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 142–143.
42. Görüceli Koçi Bey, *Risale-i Koçi Bey*, Londra: Mösyö Watts Tabhanesi, 1277.
43. Mustafa Koçi Bey, *Koçi Bey Risalesi*, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuuzziya, 1303.
44. Ömer Faruk Akün, 'Koçi Bey', *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, p. 148.
45. Ali Kemal Aksüt, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun 13üncü Asırdaki Ahvaline bir Bakış ve Tercemeihal', Koçi Bey, *Koçi Bey Risalesi*, İstanbul: Vakıf Matbaası, 1939, p. 11.
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48. Ziya Şakir, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Maktul Vezirler*, İstanbul: Anadolu Türk Kitap Deposu, 1944.
49. Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicil-i Osmani*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1308, v. IV, p. 173.
50. Mehmed Süreyya, *ibid.*, v. IV, p. 174
51. Ahmed Rifat, *Lugat-ı Tarihiye ve Coğrafiyye*, İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1299–1300, v. VI, p. 200.
52. Ahmed Vefik Paşa, *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmani*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1288, p. 95.
53. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Devlet-i Osmaniye*, İstanbul: Tercüman-ı Hakikat, 1298, p. 347.
54. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *ibid.*, p. 348.
55. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1312, v. I, p. 50.
56. Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayıç-ül Vukuat*, İstanbul: Uhuvvat Matbaası, 1327, v. II, p. 98.
57. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, v. I, p. 42.

58. Namık Kemal, *Cezmi*, İstanbul, 1305, v. I, p. 12.
59. Namık Kemal, *ibid.*, p. 20.
60. Namık Kemal, *ibid.*, p. 19.
61. Ahmed Vefik Paşa, *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmani*, p. 58.
62. Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicil-i Osmani*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p. 1073.
63. Ahmed Refik, *Sokollu*, İstanbul: Kütübhane-i Hilmi, 1340, p. 179.
64. Ahmed Refik, *Köprülüler*, İstanbul: Kütübhane-i Askeri, 1331, v. I, p. 3.
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67. For example, see Aleattin Gövsa, *50 Türk Büyüğü*, İstanbul: Yedigün Neşriyatı, 1939. For some later examples of the genre of the anthology of *Türk Büyükleri*, also see Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Türk Büyükleri*, Ankara: Suat Osmanoğlu Matbaası, 1960; Feridun Fazıl Tülbentçi, *Türk Büyükleri ve Türk Kahramanları*, İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1967.
68. For Ömer Seyfeddin and his national and historical aesthetics, see Halil Berktaş, 'Birinci Lig ile Üçüncü Lig Arasında Yüksek Uygarlıklar: Küme Düşme Korkusuna Osmanlı-Türk Reaksiyonu', in Özlem Kumrular (ed.), *Dünyada Türk İmgesi*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınları, 2005, pp. 197–202.
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71. Ahmet Özcan, *Türkiye'de Popüler Tarihçilik, 1908–1960*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2011, p. 289.
72. I owe this interpretation and insight to Halil Berktaş.
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76. Tepedelenizade Kamil, *Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa*, İstanbul: Asaduryan Matbaası, 1324; Ali Rıza Seyfi, *Kemal Reis ve Baba Oruç*, Dersaadet: Seha Matbaası, 1325; Ali Rıza Seyfi, *Barbaros Hayreddin*, Dersaadet: İkbāl Kütüphanesi, 1328; Ali Rıza Seyfi, *Turgut Reis*, Dersaadet: İkbāl Kütüphanesi, 1327.
77. Ahmet Özcan, *Türkiye'de Popüler Tarihçilik, 1908–1960*, p. 285.
78. Haydar Alpagut, *Denizde Türkiye*, İstanbul: Deniz Matbaası, 1937; Yüzbaşı Fevzi, *Deniz Kahramanlarımız*, İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931; Methi Bayar, *Barbaros Destanı*, İstanbul: Çığır Kitabevi, 1943.
79. Fevzi, *Türklerin Deniz Muhabereleri*, İstanbul: Deniz Matbaası, 1932.
80. Necati Salim, *Nikbolu Meydan Muharebesi*, İstanbul: Askeri Matbaa, 1931.
81. Likewise, staff lieutenant-colonel Necati Tacan examined the Ottoman *akıncıs* (raiders) which he defined as 'the light cavalry of the Western Turks'. Amalgamating contemporary Western military parlance with Ottoman warfare terminology, Necati Tacan's interest in *akıncıs* was no coincidence.

- Evidently, they were perceived as another middleman between the imperial center and the frontiersmen, hence bearing the laudable merits of the imperial center but unfettered from the imperial center's feebleness. See, Kur. Yb. Necati Tacan, *Akıncılar ve Mehmed II., Bayazıt II. Zamanlarında Akıncılar*, İstanbul: Askeri Matbaa, 1936.
82. Başlangıç, *Türk Ordusunun Eski Seferlerinden İki İmha Muharebesi: 'Çaldıran' ve 'Ridaniye'*, İstanbul: Askeri Matbaa, 1930, pp. 1–2.
 83. Binbaşı Necati Salim, *Prut [1711]*, supplement to *Askeri Mecmua [Military Journal]*, no. 82, 1 October 1931, pp. 43–44.
 84. For the rise of 'melodramatic imagination' in 19th-century France, see Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995. Also for the 'melodramatic imagination' with regard to history and specifically the French Revolution in the 19th-century French theater, see James R. Lehning, *The Melodramatic Thread: Spectacle and Political Culture in Modern France*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.
 85. Ahmed Refik, *Sultan Cem*, İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Hilmi, 1923, p. 19.
 86. Ahmed Refik, *Sultan Cem*, İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Hilmi, 1923, p. 17.
 87. Mehmed Tevfik, *Şehzade Cem*, İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası Matbaası, 1327; Halil Halit, *Şehzade Cem Vakasında Mesele-i Hamiyyet*, 1327, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekası; Kalelizade K. Şükrü, *Sultan Cem*, İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932
 88. M. Cavid Baysun, *Cem Sultan: Hayatı ve Şiirleri*, İstanbul: Ahmet Halit Kitabevi, 1946, p. 7.
 89. M. Cavid Baysun, *ibid.*, p. 12.
 90. Cavid Baysun, *ibid.*, pp. 67–68.
 91. Evliya Efendi, *Narrative of Travels, Europe, Asia, and Africa*, trans. The Ritter Joseph Von Hammer, London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1834.
 92. Quoted in Muzaffer Albayrak, 'Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nin Baskı Serüveni,' in Sabri Koz (ed.), *Evliya Çelebi Konuşmaları/Yazılar*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011, p. 15.
 93. Muzaffer Albayrak, 'Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nin Baskı Serüveni,' in M. Sabri Koz (ed.), *Evliya Çelebi Konuşmaları/Yazılar*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011, p. 17.
 94. Muzaffer Albayrak, *ibid.*, pp. 18–19.
 95. For an assessment of the edition of the map, see E.H., *The Geographical Journal*, 'Piri Reis Haritasi (Piri Reis' Map) by Yusuf Akçura', v. 90, no. 1, July 1937, p. 85.
 96. Afet İnan, 'Un amiral, geographe Turc du xvi siècle Piri Reis, auteur de la plus ancienne carte de l'Amerique', *Belleten*, v. 1, no. 2, April 1937, p. 348. (These documents betray a striking example of the contribution of Turks to the development of civilization and the global culture.)
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50. Şemseddin Günaltay, *ibid.*, p. 183.
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52. Corci Zeydan, *Türk Kahramanı Ebu Müslim Horasani*, İstanbul: Türk Neşriyat Yurdu, 1948.
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62. Mehmed Mansur, *Meşhur İskenderiye Kütüphanesine Dair Risaledir*, İstanbul: Ceride-i Askeriye Matbaası, 1300, p. 129.
63. Şemseddin Sami, *Medeniyet-i İslamiye*, İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1296, pp. 16–17.
64. For Şemseddin Sami, see Bülent Can Bilmez, 'Şemsettin Sami mi Yazdı Bu 'Sakıncalı' Kitabı? *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 1, Spring 2005.
65. Şemseddin Sami, *ibid.*, pp. 10–15.
66. Şemseddin Sami, *ibid.*, pp. 15–18.
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172. For the rise of the 'myth of Manzikert' in the 1970s, also see Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: The Battle of Manzikert*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007, pp. 203–219.

3 Anatolia's Eternal Destiny Was Sealed: Seljuks of Rum in the Turkish National (IST) Imagination from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Republican Era

1. An earlier version of this chapter had been published in the European Journal of Turkish Studies. See, 'Anatolia's Eternal Destiny was Sealed: Seljuks of Rum in the Turkish National(ist) Imagination from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Republican Era', *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 2012, May 2012. I thank the editors of the journal for allowing me to incorporate it in this book. Neşri, *Kitab-ı Cihan-Nüma*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949, pp. 55–71.
2. Şerafettin Turan, 'Önsöz', in Ibn-i Kemal, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, I. Defter, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1970, p. 26.
3. Aşık Paşazade, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, pp. 321–323.
4. For example, see Necdet Öztürk (ed.), *Oruç Beğ Tarihi*, İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2007, pp. 3–10.
5. Neşri, *ibid.*, pp. 2–69.
6. İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1971, p. 3. Also see, Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, 'Feridun Bey Münşeati', *Türk Tarihi Encümeni Mecmuası*, v. XIV, no. 4, July 1340 (1924), pp. 216–226.
7. İsmail Hami Danişmend, *ibid.*, p. 4.
8. Quoted in Ali Anooshahr, *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam*, New York: Routledge, 2009, pp. 125–126.
9. For Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, his historical writings and the political and ideological concerns he expressed in his historical output, see Christoph K. Neumann, *Das Indirekte Argument: Die Geschichtliche Bedeutung Ahmed Cevdet Pashas Tar'ih*, Münster; Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1994.
10. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Osmaniye, 1309, v. I, p. 29.
11. Ahmed Vefik Paşa, *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmani*, İstanbul: Amire Matbaası, 1286, pp. 1–2.
12. Ahmed Vefik, *ibid.*, p. 3.
13. Ahmed Rasim, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, İstanbul: İkbal Kitabhanesi, 1326–1328, pp. 1–8.
14. Ali Seydi, *Devlet-i Osmaniye Tarihi*, Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1329, p. 12.
15. David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876–1908*, London; Totowa: Cass, 1977. Curiosity towards pre-Islamic Turkish history was pervasive as early as the 1860s. Hüseyin Çelik, *Ali Suavi ve Dönemi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994, pp. 621–622. Necib Asım, the pioneering Turkist of the Hamidian era, also suggested that Sumerians and Akkadians were Turks 'who established the foundations of Babylonian civilization.' Necib Asım, *Türklerin Tarihi*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Orhaniye, 1335, p. 11. Nevertheless, he was not the first one to claim that Sumerians were Turks. Ziya Gökalp and Hüseyin Hüsameddin had previously made the same claim. See Abdizade Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi*, İstanbul: İstikbal Matbaası, 1329, p. 18. The Turanian origins of the Mesopotamian civilizations were first articulated by Hungarian scholars in the first half of the 19th century and by Western scholars beginning in the 1870s, and were then imported by Turkish intellectuals. Nizam Önen, *İki Turan*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005, p. 43.

16. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Mufasssal Tarih-i Kurun- Cedide*, v. I, p. 135; quoted in David Kushner, *ibid.*, p. 35.
17. Necib Asım, Mehmed Arif, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni, 1340, v. I.
18. See Vladimir Gordlevsky, *Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti*, Ankara: Onur Yayınları, 1988, pp. 22–25.
19. Fuad Köprülü, 'Anadolu Selçuklu Tarihinin Yerel Kaynakları', *Belleten*, v. VII, no. 27, 1943, p. 380.
20. Hasan Akbayrak, *ibid.*, pp. 475–507.
21. İsmail Galib, *Takvim-i Meskukat-ı Selçukiye*, Konstantiniyye: Mihran Matbaası, 1309.
22. Fuad Köprülü, 'Anadolu Selçuklu Tarihinin Yerel Kaynakları', p. 379.
23. For a comprehensive account of Köprülü's intellectual biography, see George T. Park, *The Life and Writings of Mehmet Fuat Köprülü*, unpublished dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1975.
24. For a review of the emergence and development of the scholarship on the Seljuks of Rum from the 1910s to 1930, see Vladimir Gordlevski, *ibid.*, pp. 11–36. For the state of the study of Turcoman principalities, see Paul Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche: Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13–15. Jh*, İstanbul: Unversum Druckerei, 1934, pp. vii–xi. Also for a discussion of the emergence of the first scholarly interest in the 'rise of the Ottoman state' in the late-13th- and early-14th-century Bithynia in Western Anatolia, see Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, pp. 9–12, 29–44. Also see Halil Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, pp. 17–20; Franz Babinger, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet*, İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003, p. 13.
25. Halil Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, pp. 17–19.
26. Vladimir Gordlevski, *Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti*, İstanbul: Onur Yayınları, 1988, p. 35.
27. Herbert Adams Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916, p. 11.
28. Herbert Adams Gibbons, *ibid.*, pp. 16–17.
29. Gary Leiser, 'Introduction', in Fuad Köprülü (ed.), *İslam in Anatolia after the Turkish Invasion*, trans. Gary Leiser, Salt Lake City: Utah University Press, 1993, p. xiv.
30. For example, see Herbert Adams Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916.
31. Fuad Köprülü, 'Şinasi'nin Şiirleri', *Servet-i Fünun*, no. 25, 1328/1912.
32. Fuad Köprülü, 'Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usül', *Bilgi Mecmuası*, v. I, 1329/1913, pp. 3–52. For its reprint in the Latin alphabet, Fuad Köprülü, *Edebiyat Araştırmaları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1986, pp. 3–47.
33. Fuad Köprülü, 'Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usül', *idem*, *Edebiyat Araştırmaları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1986, pp. 18–19.
34. Fuad Köprülü, 'Yeni Bir İlim: Halkiyat', *İkdam*, 24 İkincikanun 1329/1913.
35. Fuad Köprülü, 'Yunus Emre', *Türk Yurdu*, v. V, 1329/1913, pp. 922–930.
36. Fuad Köprülü, 'Hoca Ahmed Yesevi', 'Çağatay ve Osmanlı Edebiyatları Üzerinde Tesiri', *Bilgi Mecmuası*, v. I, 1330/1914, pp. 611–645.
37. Fuad Köprülü, 'Şeyh Galip hakkında', *Servet-i Fünun*, no. 63, 1329/1913.

38. Fuad Köprülü, 'Selçukiler Devrinde Anadolu'da Türk Medeniyeti', *Millî Tettebüler Mecmuası*, no. 2, 1331/1916, pp. 293–332.
39. Hanefi Palabıyık, *Ord. Prof. Dr. M.Fuad Köprülü'nün İlmî Hayatı ve Tarihçiliği*, Ankara: Akçağ, 2005, pp. 54–56; Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, 'Önsöz', Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1976, p. xxii.
40. Baha Said studied and praised the heretical Anatolian sects, the Bektashis and the Alevis in the 1910s, depicting them as manifestations of Turkish Islam in opposition to foreign-imposed Sunnah Islam. For the collection of his articles, see Baha Said, *Türkiye'de Alevi-Bektaşî, Ahi ve Nusayri Zümreleri* İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2006.
41. For some vivid narratives of this interpretation of Islam, see Fuad Köprülü, *ibid.*, pp. 251–253; 349–357.
42. Fuad Köprülü, *ibid.*, p. 233.
43. Fuad Köprülü, *ibid.*, pp. 233–234.
44. For example see the novels of Halide Edib and Müfide Tek. Halide Edib, *Yeni Turan*, İstanbul: Tanin Matbaası, 1329; Müfide Ferit, *Aydemir*, İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2002 (original publication 1918).
45. See Fuad Köprülü, *Edebiyat Araştırmaları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1986.
46. Franz Babinger, 'Der Islam in Kleinasien: Neue Wege der Islamforschung', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganlandischen Gesellschaft*, v. LXXVI, 1922, pp. 126–152.
47. Franz Babinger, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet', *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, v. II, no. 3, July 1338, pp. 188–221. For the Latin transcription of its Turkish translation, see Franz Babinger, Fuad Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet*, İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003, pp. 11–37.
48. For the text, see Franz Babinger, Fuad Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet*, İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003, pp. 41–122. For the English translation of Köprülü's article, see Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, trans. Gary Leiser, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993.
49. For example, according to Muhittin (Birgen), 'the Ottoman is the enemy of the Turk': Muhittin Birgen, *İttihat ve Terakki'de On Sene* (Zeki Arıkan, ed.), v. II, İstanbul, Kitap Yayınevi, 2006, pp. 630–631. Also see Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Kemal Atatürk ve Milli Mücadele Tarihi*, Ankara: Berkalp Kitabevi, 1944, pp. 370–371; *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları*, İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1996, pp. 461–462 (original publication 1930); İsmail Müştak Mayakon, *Yıldız'da Neler Gördüm?* İstanbul: Semih Lütfi Kitabevi, 1940.
50. For the full list of the articles that appeared in the journal, see Hasan Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, pp. 475–507.
51. For the articles and publication policies of the local People's Houses journals, see Arzu Öztürkmen, *Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998, pp. 116–120.
52. Besim Atalay, *Maraş Tarihi ve Coğrafyası*, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1339; Katip Ferdi (Ali Emiri), *Mardin Mülûk-i Artukîyye Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1331; Ali Kemali, *Erzincan*, İstanbul: Resimli Ay Matbaası, 1932; İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Nasreddin Hoca'nın Şehri, Aksaray*, İstanbul: Numune Matbaası, 1945; İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Alanya=Alaiyye*, İstanbul: Ayaydın

- Matbaası, 1946; Çağatay Uluçay, İbrahim Gökçen, *Manisa Tarihine Genel Bir Bakış*, İstanbul: Resimli Ay Matbaası, 1939.
53. The interest in local history in early 20th-century France also did not challenge the national narrative but on the contrary supported and reinforced the national narrative. See Herman Lebovics, *True France*, Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1994, p. 137. Also see, Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998; Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany and National Memory, 1871–1918*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
 54. Uzunçarşılıoğlu İsmail Hakkı, *Tokat, Niksar, Zile, Turhal, Pazar, Amasya Vilâyet, Kaza ve Nahiye Merkezlerindeki Kitabeler*, İstanbul: Milli Matbaa, 1927; Uzunçarşılıoğlu İsmail Hakkı, *Afyon Karahisar, Sandıklı, Bolvadin, Çay, İsaklı, Manisa, Birgi, Muğla, Milas, Peçin, Denizli, Isparta, Atabey, ve Eğirdir'deki Kitabeler ve Sahip, Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe, İnanç, Hamit Oğulları Hakkında Malûmat*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1929; Uzunçarşılıoğlu İsmail Hakkı, *Bizans ve Selçukiyelerle Germiyan ve Osman Oğulları Zamanında Kütahya Şehri*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1932; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Karamanoğlu İbrahim Bey Vakfıyesi*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1937.
 55. Most of the late Ottoman textbooks simply called the polity *Selçuklular*, abstaining from defining it with reference to its geography. Ahmed Refik, in his monumental *Tarih-i Umumi*, named the polity *Rum Selçukluları*. Ahmed Refik, *Tarih-i Umumi*, İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1328, v. VI, p. 286. Also see Necib Asım, Mehmed Arif, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni, 1340, v. I, p. 441; Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Osmaniye, 1309, v. I; Necib Asım, *Türk Tarihi*, İstanbul: Dar-ül Tıbbiye-i Amire, 1316.
 56. For the interesting geographical, ethnic and cultural meanings and attributes of the concept *Rum*, see Cemal Kafadar, 'A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum', *Muqarnas*, v. 24, 2007, pp. 7–25; Salih Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği: 14–17.Yüzyıllarda Rum/Rumi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınları, 2004.
 57. Franz Babinger, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet', *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, v. II, no. 3, July 1338, p. 190.
 58. Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet: Türk İstilasından Sonra Anadolu Tarih-i Dinisine Bir Nazar ve Bu Tarihin Menbaları', *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, v. II, no. 4, September 1338, pp. 281–311; v. II, no. 5, November 1338; pp. 386–420; v. II, no. 6, January 1339, pp. 457–486.
 59. [Meskukatçı] Ali, 'Candaroğulları', *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, v. XIV, no. 1, February 1340/1924, p. 1.
 60. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf (ed.), *Türk Yılı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009, p. 42.
 61. Ali Reşat, *Umumi Tarih: Lise Kitapları, 1. Sınıf*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1929, p. 317.
 62. See Füsün Üstel, 'Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Anadolu Metaforu', *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 109, January 1993, pp. 51–55.
 63. Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ul A'lam, 'Anadolu'*, İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1307, v. I, p. 389.
 64. Franz Taeschner, EI, 'Anatolia', E.J. Brill, 1986, v. I, p. 462.

65. Hande Özkan, *The History of Geographical Perceptions in the Turkish Republic*, unpublished MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2002, p. 98.
66. Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, İstanbul: Matba-ı Amire, 1918, p. 208.
67. Hande Özkan, *ibid.*, pp. 99–100.
68. Faik Sabri, *Türkiye Coğrafyası*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1929, pp. 23–60, 96–110, 256–278.
69. T.T.T. Cemiyeti, *Tarih II*, Ankara: Devlet Matbaası, 1933, p. 226. ‘Ermenistan Türkler tarafından çignendi, Türkler Bizans ordularını mağlup ederek Erzurum’a kadar ilerlediler’
70. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
72. Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, trans. J. Jones-Williams, New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1968, p. 145.
73. Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Te’siri*, İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, 1931.
74. Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı, ‘On Dört ve On Beşinci Asırlarda Anadolu Beyliklerinde Toprak ve Halk İdaresi’, *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, İstanbul: Kenan Matbaası, 1943, p. 500.
75. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkayunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1969 (original publication 1937).
76. Also see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal: Büyük Selçukiler, Anadolu Selçukileri, Anadolu Beylikleri, İlhanlılar, Karakoyunlu ve Akkoyunlularla Memlûklerdeki Devlet Teşkilâtına Bir Bakış*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941.
77. Paul Wittek’s monograph on the principality of Menteşe had appeared in 1934 and was translated to Turkish in 1944. Paul Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentese: Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13–15. Jh.*, İstanbul: Universum Druckerei, 1934.
78. İbn Battuta, *İbn Battuta Seyahatnamesi*, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1328.
79. See A. Sait Aykut, ‘Tancalı İbn Battuta ve Seyahatnamesi’, İbn Battuta Tancı, *İbn Battuta Seyahatnamesi*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004, v. I, pp. xlvi, lii; *Tercüme-i Seyahatname-i İbn Battuta*, İstanbul: Süleyman Efendi Matbaası, 1290.
80. For a review of the academic output on the Akhis in the first decades of the 20th century, see G. G. Arnakis, ‘Futuwwa Traditions in the Ottoman Empire Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes, and Craftsman’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, v. 12, no. 4, October 1953, pp. 232–247.
81. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1945, pp. 40–41; Hamit Koşay, *Ankara Budun Bilgisi*, Ankara: Ulus Matbaası, 1932, p. 22; Nurettin Can Gülekli, *Ankara: Tarih-Arkeoloji*, Ankara: Doğu Matbaası, 1948, p. 49; Avram Galanti, *Ankara Tarihi*, İstanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1951, pp. 49–50. Also see Ahmed Tevfik, ‘Ankara’da Ahiler Hükümeti’, *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*, v. IV, no. 19, April 1329, pp. 1200–1204; Halil Edhem, ‘Ankara Ahilerine Aid İki Kitabe’, *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* v. VII, no. 41, December 1332, pp. 312–315.
82. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, ‘İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı’, *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, v. XI, 1949–1950, pp. 3–354.

83. İlhan Tarus, *Ahiler*, Ankara: Ulus Matbaası, 1947, p. 45.
84. Neşet Çağatay, *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1974.
85. Şevket Aziz Kansu, 'Selçuk Türkleri Hakkında Antropolojik İlk Bir Tetkik ve Neticeleri', *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, İstanbul: Kenan Matbaası, 1943, pp. 440–456.
86. Şevket Aziz Kansu, *ibid.*, p. 456.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 450.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 456.
89. Claude Cahen, EI, 'Alp Arslan', E.J. Brill, 1986, v. I, pp. 420–421.
90. Claude Cahen, *Türklerin Anadolu'ya İlk Girişi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992, p. 26.
91. For a classical study on the Turkification and Islamization of Anatolia, see Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. Also see Speros Vryonis, *Byzantium, Seljuks and Ottomans*, Malibu: Undena Publications, 1981.
92. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Yahya Kemal*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1995, p. 33.
93. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000, p. 122.
94. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *ibid.*, pp. 33–34. Also see, Metin Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti, CHP'de Sağ Kanat*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013, pp. 68–69.
95. See Füsün Üstel, 'Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Anadolu Metaforu', p. 51.
96. Abdurrahman Şeref, *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Devlet-i Osmaniye*, İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1315, v. I, p. 47.
97. Abdurrahman Şeref, *ibid.*, p. 47.
98. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Osmaniye, 1309, v. I, p. 26.
99. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Kıyas-ı Enbiya ve Tevarih-i Hulefa*, İstanbul: Bedir Yayınları, 1969, v. II, pp. 241–242.
100. Leon Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols des origines à 1405*, Paris, 1896.
101. Necib Asım, *Türk Tarihi*, İstanbul: Dar-ül Tıbbiye-i Amire, 1316, p. 271.
102. Necib Asım, *ibid.*, p. 272.
103. Even in 1928, in the yearbook of the Turkish Hearths, the Battle of Manzikert was only briefly mentioned as an event which took place 'exactly nine and a half centuries before the last assault of the Greeks on Anatolia,' but no name was attributed to the battle. Akçuraoğlu Yusuf (ed.), *Türk Yılı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009, p. 42.
104. Ahmed Refik, *Tarih-i Umumi*, pp. 279–280.
105. Ahmed Refik, *ibid.*, p. 286.
106. Ahmed Refik, *ibid.*, p. 286.
107. Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1918, p. 208.
108. Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, 'Anadolu'da İslamiyet: Türk İstilasından Sonra Anadolu Tarih-i Dinisine Bir Nazar ve Bu Tarihin Menbaları', *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, v. II, no. 4, September 1338, p. 282.
109. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Ötüken, 1980.

110. For this process, see Hasan Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, pp. 368–376; Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp. 119–120; Etienne Copeaux, *Espaces et Temps de la Nation Turque*, pp. 54–61; Uluğ İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1973.
111. Metin Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti, CHP'de Sağ Kanat*, p. 85.
112. See, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, 'Kaybettiğimiz Büyük İlim Adamı: Mükrimin Halil Yinanç', *Hür Vatan*, 26 December 1961, excerpted in Refii Alpayer, Şinasi Özatalay, *Mükrimin Halil Yinanç'tan Sohbetler*, İstanbul: Yağmur Yayınları, 1962, pp. 52–53.
113. Füsün Üstel, 'Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Anadolu Metaforu', p. 52.
114. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, *Türkiye Tarihi: Selçukiler Devri*, p. 1.
115. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, *Türkiye Tarihi: Selçukiler Devri*, İstanbul: Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1944, p. 78.
116. Feridun Dirimtekin, *Malazgirt Meydan Muharebesi*, n.p., 1936, p. 48. A second edition of the study was published by Ahmet Halit Publishing House seven years later. Feridun Dirimtekin, *Malazgirt Meydan Muharebesi*, İstanbul: Ahmet Halit Kitabevi, 1943.
117. Feridun Dirimtekin, *ibid.*, p. 1.
118. Feridun Dirimtekin, *ibid.*, p. 1.
119. Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, İstanbul: Turan Neşriyat Yurdu, 1971, p. 32; Ali Sevim, *Anadolu'nun Fethi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988, p. 75; Ali Sevim, Erdoğan Merçil, *Selçuklu Devletleri Tarihi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995, p. 72.
120. Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol*, pp. 216–219.
121. Oktay Aslanapa et al., *Selçuklu Sanatı Bibliyografyası*, İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1971; Emin Bilgiç, *Malazgirt Zaferi*, Ankara: Selçuklu Tarih ve Medeniyet Enstitüsü, 1971; Coşkun Alptekin, *Selçuklu Paraları*, Ankara: Güven Matbaası, 1971; Sadi Dilaver, *Anadolu'da Tek Kubbeli Selçuklu Mescitlerinin Mimarlık Tarihi Yönünden Önemi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1971; M. Oluş Arık, *Bitlis Yapılarında Selçuklu Rönesansı*, Ankara: Güven Matbaası, 1971; *Selçuklu Tarihi*, *Alparslan ve Malazgirt Bibliyografyası*, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971.
122. Quoted in, Metin Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti, CHP'de Sağ Kanat*, pp. 177–178.
123. For Nurettin Topçu, see Süleyman Seyfi Öğün, *Türkiye'de Cemaatçi Milliyetçilik ve Nurettin Topçu*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1992.
124. For an analysis of Turco-Islamic synthesis, see Yüksel Taşkın, *Milliyetçi Muhafazakar Entelijansiya*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007.
125. Gary Leiser, *A History of Seljuks, İbrahim Kafesoğlu's Interpretation and the Resulting Controversy*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988, p. 13.
126. Nurdan Demirci, *Prof. Dr. Osman Turan'ın Hayatı ve Eserleri*, İstanbul: Boğaziçi, 1995, p. 8.
127. For TKAE, see Etienne Copeaux, *Espaces et Temps de la Nation Turque*, pp. 95–100.
128. İbrahim Kafesoğlu, 'Selçuklu Tarihinin Meseleleri', *Belleten*, v. XIX, no. 76, October 1955, pp. 463–490; İbrahim Kafesoğlu, 'Selçuklu Tarihi Meselelerine Toplu bir Bakış', *Belleten*, v. XXX, no. 119, July 1966, pp.467–480; İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Selçuklu Tarihi*, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1972.

129. See Yüksel Taşkın, *Milliyetçi Muhafazakar Entelijansiya*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, pp. 135–143.
130. For the ‘Turco-Islamic synthesis’, see Yüksel Taşkın, *Milliyetçi Muhafazakar Entelijansiya*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007; Bozkurt Güvenç, Gencay Şaylan, İlhan Tekeli, Şerafettin Turan, *Türk-İslam Sentezi*, İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi, 1994. Also see Kafesoğlu’s Turco-Islamic manifesto İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Meseleleri*, Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1966.
131. Osman Turan, ‘Anatolia in the Period of the Seljuks and the *Beyliks*’, Bernard Lewis, P.M. Holt, Ann K.S. Lambton (eds), *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, v. I, pp. 231–262; Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslam Medeniyeti*, İstanbul: Turan Neşriyat Yurdu, 1969; Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, İstanbul: Turan Neşriyat Yurdu, 1971; Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmî Vesikalar: Metin, Tercime ve Araştırmalar*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1988; Osman Turan, ‘Celaleddin Karatay, Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri’, *Bellekten*, v. XII, no. 45, January 1948, pp. 17–172; Osman Turan, ‘Türkiye Selçuklularında Toprak Hukuku, Miri Topraklar ve Hususi Mülkiyet Şekilleri’, *Bellekten*, v. XII, no. 47, July 1948, pp. 549–573; Osman Turan, ‘Selçuk Türkiyesi’nde Faizle Para İkrasına Dair Hukuki bir Vesika’, *Bellekten*, v. XVI, no. 62, April 1952, pp. 251–260; Osman Turan, *Türkler Anadolu’da*, İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1973. Besides his scholarly work on Seljuks and medieval Turkish history, Turan also authored numerous volumes where he articulated his political views and assailed leftists and ‘Westerners’ whom he accused of being alienated from Turkishness and its spiritual base. See Osman Turan, *Gafletten Uyanalım! Üniversitedeki Solcu Hocalar Meselesi*, Ankara: Doğu Matbaası, 1948; Osman Turan, *Türkiye’de Manevi Buhran: Din ve Laiklik*, Ankara: Şark Matbaası, 1964; Osman Turan, *Türkiye’de Siyasi Buhran’ın Kaynakları*, İstanbul: Turan Neşriyat Yurdu, 1969.
132. Mehmet Altan Köymen, *Tuğrul Bey ve Zamanı*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı-Kültür Serisi, 1976; Mehmet Altan Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1989.
133. İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Malazgird Meydan Muharebesi*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1956; Mehmet Altan Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihinde Oğuz İstilasası*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1947; Mehmet Altan Köymen, *Anadolu’nun Fethi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1962. Also see Adnan Sadık Erzi (ed.), *El Evamirü’l Ala’iyye fi’l Umuri’l Ala’iyye*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1956.
134. İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Malazgird Meydan Muharebesi*, p. 1.
135. Emin Bilgiç, ‘Özel Sayı Hakkında’, *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 3, 1971, p. vi.
136. İbrahim Kafesoğlu, Altan Deliorman, *Tarih-Lise II*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1977, p. 66. Also see Ali Sevim, *Anadolu’nun Fethi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988, pp. 58–76; Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, İstanbul: Turan Neşriyat Yurdu, 1971, pp. 32–37; Mehmet Altan Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu Tarihi*, v. III (*Alp Arslan ve Zamanı*), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992, pp. 26–40.
137. For the rise of the ‘myth of Manzikert’ in the 1970s, also see Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: The Battle of Manzikert*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007, pp. 203–219.

138. For another scholarly and critical study of the emergence of Manzikert as a Muslim epic, see Carole Hillenbrand, *ibid.*
139. Claude Cahen, 'La Campagne de Manzikert d'après les Sources Musulmanes', *Byzantion*, v. IX, no. 2, 1934, pp. 613–642, quoted in Etienne Copeaux, *Espaces et Temps de la Nation Turque*, p. 191.
140. Faruk Sümer, Ali Sevim, *İslam Kaynaklarına Göre Malazgirt Savaşı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988, p. 27.
141. Faruk Sümer, Ali Sevim, *ibid.*, p. 17.
142. For example, see Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslam Medeniyeti*, pp. 142–144.
143. For an insightful comparative perspective for Manzikert, see George Duby's monumental study of the construction of the myth of the Battle of Bouvines in Capetian France, see George Duby, *Le Dimanche de Bouvines*, Paris: Gallimard, 1973.
144. Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999; Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, London: Penguin, 1991; Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003; Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1986.
145. For some studies of Manzikert conducted by historians affiliated with the Turco-Islamist school, see Ali Sevim, Faruk Sümer, *İslam Kaynaklarına Göre Malazgirt Savaşı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988; Faruk Sümer, 'Malazgird Savaşı'na Katılan Türk Beyleri', *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 4, 1975, pp. 197–207; Ali Sevim, *Ünlü Selçuklu Komutanları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1990; Ali Sevim, 'Malazgirt Meydan Savaşı ve Sonuçları', *Malazgirt Armağanı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972, pp. 219–229; *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi-Malazgirt Zaferi Özel Sayısı*, no. III, 1971; *Malazgirt Zaferi ve Alp Arslan*, İstanbul: Devlet Kitapları, 1968.
146. Copeaux, *Espaces et Temps*, p. 191. For the association between Atatürk and the other members of the medieval Turkic pantheon, see Etienne Copeaux, *Les Prédécesseurs Médiévaux d'Atatürk: Bilge Kaghan et le Sultan Alp Arslan*, *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, no. 89–90, July 2000, pp. 217–243.
147. For a critical study of the scholarship conducted by the proponents of the Turco-Islamic school, see Doğan Gürpınar, *The Seljuks of Rum in the Turkish Republican Nationalist Historiography*, unpublished MA thesis, Sabancı University, 2004, pp. 68–108.
148. *Tarih II*, p. 226.
149. For the mechanisms of 'forgetting' in the construction of Turkish national imagination, see Esra Özyürek (ed.), *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006.
150. For the consolidation of state power in Turkey by the early 1930s, see Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması (1923–1931)*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.
151. For the replacement of the Kemalist course books with the pro-Western and 'humanist' textbooks, see Etienne Copeaux, *Espaces et Temps de la Nation Turque*, pp. 107–108.
152. Emin Oktay, *Tarih (Orta Çağ)*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1951, p. 173.
153. Emin Oktay, *ibid.*, p. 173.
154. A.C.S. Peacock, Sara Nur Yıldız, in idem (ed.), *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, London: I.B.Tauris, 2013, p. 6.

155. Also see Ali Sevim, *Ünlü Selçuklu Komutanları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1990.
156. İbrahim Kafesoğlu, Altan Deliorman, *Tarih-Lise II*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1977, p. 66. '[Alp Arslan] Türkmen beylerine bütün Anadolu'nun zabtını emretti.'
157. İbrahim Kafesoğlu, Altan Deliorman, *ibid.*, pp. 68–73. Also see, Ali Sevim, *Anadolu'nun Fethi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988, pp. 42–45.
158. İbrahim Kafesoğlu, Altan Deliorman, *ibid.*, p. 104.
159. Osman Turan, *Türkler Anadolu'da*, İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1973, p. 51.
160. Osman Turan, *Türk Cihan Hakimiyeti Mefkûresi Tarihi: Türk Dünya Nizamının Millî, İslâmî ve İnsanı Esasları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1969.
161. İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Malazgird Meydan Muharebesi*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, pp. 1–2.
162. For the transformation of German nationalism in the 19th century, see George S. Williamson, *The Longing for Myth in Germany: Religion and Aesthetic Culture From Romanticism to Nietzsche*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004; Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth Century Germany*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001. For the assessment of this process as a continent-wide phenomenon, see Martin Thom, *Republics, Nations and Tribes*, London: Verso, 1995.
163. Altan Deliorman, *Tarih I*, Bayrak Basım/Yayım/Tanıtım, 1998, p. 232.
164. *Tarih II*, p. 228.
165. Altan Deliorman, *ibid.*, p. 278.
166. Altan Deliorman, *ibid.*, p. 279.
167. Feridun Dirimtekin, *Malazgirt Meydan Muharebesi*, n.p., 1936, p. 46.
168. İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Malazgird Meydan Muharebesi*, p. 19.
169. For a depiction and commendation of Alp Arslan's magnanimity towards Romanos Diogenes, see Osman Turan, *Selçukiler Zamanında Türkiye*, pp. 29–32; Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslam Medeniyeti*, pp. 140–142; Ali Sevim, *Anadolu'nun Fethi: Selçuklular Dönemi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, pp. 88–91.
170. The interpretations of the Seljuks of Rum by Mustafa Akdağ and Doğan Avcıoğlu contrast with the interpretations of conservative historians and also merit a brief treatment, although they need to be assessed more thoroughly elsewhere. Mustafa Akdağ (1913–1973), a prominent economic historian and politically a left-leaning Kemalist, pursued a neo-Köprülüian approach in his historical methodology; but rather than documenting a medieval feudalism, Akdağ sought to demonstrate the prominence of cities and the urban economy in Seljukid Anatolia. See Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İctimai Tarihi (1243–1453)*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1959; Kurtuluş Kayalı, 'Mustafa Akdağ'ın Tarihiçiliği Üzerine', in *Türk Düşünce Dünyasının Bunalımı*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000, pp. 75–93. Doğan Avcıoğlu (1926–1983) who was not a professional historian but a 'professional revolutionary' after his disillusionment with (socialist) politics, devoted himself to the 'scientific' study of Turkish history in the second half of the 1970s. He adapted Marxist historical analyses, and more importantly Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, to Turkish history. Although his meticulous opus was a major contribution, he romanticized the age of the Seljuks of Rum and the centrifugal

forces allegedly resisting against the central forces under the guise of 'scientific' Marxism, not unlike Engels' romanticization of Germans influenced by Tacitus' *Germania*. Whereas, as argued in this study, the Kemalist passion for freedom-loving nomadic warriorism had been abandoned in favor of the image of strong and efficient state, the leftist-Kemalist Avcıoğlu attributed socialist overtones to the alleged egalitarianism of pre-Ottoman Anatolian nomads. He was also highly influenced by Fuad Köprülü, whom he merged with Friedrich Engels in accordance with his merging of socialist convictions with Kemalist premises. See Doğan Avcıoğlu, *Türklerin Tarihi*, İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1983, v. V. For Tacitus and his impact on 19th-century historiography in general and Engels in particular, see Ronald Mellor, *Tacitus*, London: Routledge, 1994; Ronald Mellor, *The Roman Historians*, London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 76–109.

4 The Depiction of European Feudalism, the Middle Ages, and the Crusades in Late Ottoman and Turkish Republican Imagery: The Constitutive Other of an Emerging Identity

1. Regarding the sources Ahmed Cevdet employed for his chapters on European history in his *Tarih-i Cevdet*, we lack substantial information. Although he knew some French, it is unclear if he read French writings for his book. We know that Ali Şehbaz Efendi and Sahak Abro did translate works on European history from French for him. Christoph Neumann, *Araç Tarih, Amaç Tanzimat*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p. 4.
2. For the curriculum of history courses in Ottoman secondary schools, see Uğur Ünal, *II Meşrutiyet Öncesi Osmanlı Rüşdiyeleri (1897–1907)*, Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi, 2008, pp. 47–49.
3. Abdurrahman Şeref, *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Düvel-i İslamiye*, İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1301; *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Devlet-i Osmaniye*, İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1309 (2 volumes); *Tarih-i Asr-ı Hazır*, İstanbul: Müşterek'ül Menfaa Osmanlı Şirketi Matbaası, 1329.
4. Ahmed Vefik Paşa, *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmani*, İstanbul: Amire Matbaası, 1286.
5. Selim Sabit Efendi, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani*, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1291. For the textbook and Selim Sabit Efendi, see Ali Birinci, 'Bir Kaderi Değiştiren Kitap: Selim Sabit Efendi ve Eseri 'Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani'', Ali Birinci, *Tarih Yolunda*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2001, pp. 268–276.
6. Mehmed Tevfik, *Telhis-i Tarih-i Osmani*, İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1305.
7. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Devlet-i Osmaniye*, İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1298.
8. Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839–1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, Köln, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2001. For the Hamidian textbooks, also see Nuri Doğan, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme, 1876–1918*, İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1994.
9. See Mehmet Demiryürek, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, 1853–1925*, p. 159.
10. Ali Reşad, Ali Seydi, *Tarih-i Osmani*, İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhanesi, 1327; Ali Reşad, *Tarih-i Kadim: Akvam-ı Kadime-i Şarkiyeye*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire,

- 1331; Ali Reşad, *Tarih-i Kadim: Romalılar, Bizanslılar, İslavlar, Türler, İraniler*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1331; Ali Reşad, *Kurun-u Cedide Tarihi: Karlofça Muahadesinden Bükreş Muahadesine Kadar Devlet-i Osmani ve On Sekizinci Asırda Avrupa*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1333; Ali Reşad, *Asr-ı Hazır Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1327; Ali Reşad, *Tarih-i Osmani*, İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1329; Ali Reşad, *Tarih-i Umumi: Kurun-u Vusta*, İstanbul: Şems Matbaası, 1342; Ali Reşad, *Tarih-i Enbiya ve İslam*, İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphane ve Matbaası, 1338; Ali Reşad, *Yeni Tarih-i Umumi*, İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1340; Ali Reşad, *Umumi Tarih*, İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1928.
11. For a biography of Ali Reşat, see Bayram Eyüp Ertürk, 'Ali Reşat Bibliyografisi Denemesi', *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 9–10, 1999–2000, pp. 205–215; 'Ali Reşat', İbrahim Aleattin Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Yedigün Neşriyatı, 1945.
 12. Charles Seignobos, *Tarih-i Siyasi: 1814'den 1896'ya Kadar Asr-ı Hazırda Avrupa, Volume I*, trans. Ali Reşad, Ali Kemal, İstanbul: İkdam Matbaası, 1324; Charles Seignobos, *Tarih-i Siyasi: 1814'den 1896'ya Kadar Asr-ı Hazırda Avrupa, Volume II*, trans. Ali Reşad, İstanbul: Kader Matbaası 1325, Charles Seignobos, *Tarih-i Siyasi: 1814'den 1896'ya Kadar Asr-ı Hazırda Avrupa, Volume III*, trans. Ali Reşad, İstanbul: Ahmed Saki Bey Matbaası, 1326; E. Engelhardt, *Türkiye ve Tanzimat*, trans. Ali Reşad, İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1328; Gustave Le Bon, *Cihan Muvazenesinin Bozulması*, trans. Ali Reşad, Galib Ata, İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1339.
 13. See Pierre Nora, 'L'avis, The Nation's Teacher', idem (ed.), in *Realms of Memory*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, v. II, pp. 151–184.
 14. Can Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?: The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey*, London; New York: Tauris Academic Series, 2008, p. 10. Also see Muzaffer Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam: Ahmed Refik Altınay*, İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1978, pp. 33–34.
 15. Charles Seignobos, *Tarih-i Medeniyet*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Artin Asaduryan ve Mahdumları, 1328, 3 volumes.
 16. Başak Ocak, *Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi Çığırcaçan*, İstanbul: Müteferrika, 2003, p. 36.
 17. Yusuf Akçura, 'Tarih Yazmak ve Tarih Okutmak Usullerine Dair', *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, İstanbul: T.C.Maarif Vekaleti, 1932, p. 578, quoted in Zeki Arıkan, 'Ders Kitaplarında Avrupa Tarihi', Salih Özbaran (ed.), *Tarih Öğretimi ve Ders Kitapları*, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1998, p. 159.
 18. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, 'Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete Kadar Bizde Tarihçilik', *Tanzimat*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940, p. 595.
 19. François Dosse, *New History in France*, Chicago; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994, p. 22. Also see George Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography*, Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1984, p. 26.
 20. Of course the reception of the curricula by the students is another matter. For some anecdotal evidence for the attitudes of the pupils of the Hamidian era, see Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
 21. For visions of France and French national identity in the late 19th century and early 20th century, see Herman Lebovics, *True France*, Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1994, pp. 1–11.
 22. It has to be noted that anti-Catholicism and the 'myth of the Inquisition' were created by the 16th-century Protestant pamphleteers to blacken the name

- of Catholicism and Spain (hence dubbed as the Black Legend-*La Leyendra Negra*- by Julian Juderias in 1914) in the name of Protestant propaganda. For the development of this myth and its historiography, see Edward Peters, *Inquisition*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989; Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997.
23. Ali Reşad, *Tarih-i Umumi: Kurun-u Ula ve Vusta*, İstanbul: Kanaat Kitaphanesi, 1331, p. 64.
 24. Ali Reşad, *ibid.*, p. 63.
 25. Ali Reşad, *ibid.*, 66.
 26. Ahmed Refik, *Tarih-i Umumi*, İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1328, v. VI, p. 8.
 27. Abdurrahman Şeref, *Zubdet-ül Kısas*, İstanbul, 1316, v. II, p. 78, quoted in Mehmet Demiryürek, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, 1853-1925*, p. 168.
 28. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Kısas-ı Enbiya ve Tevarih-i Hulefa*, İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1969, p. 352
 29. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Kısas-ı Enbiya ve Tevarih-i Hulefa*, İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1969, p. 379.
 30. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1312, v. I, p. 8.
 31. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *ibid.*, v. I, p. 10.
 32. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, v. I, p. 10.
 33. Namık Kemal, *Renan Müdafaaanamesi*, p. 52.
 34. Namık Kemal, *ibid.*, p. 13. Also see p. 51.
 35. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi*, İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981, pp. 147, 325; quoted in Amit Bein, *The Ulema, Their Institutions and Politics in the Late Ottoman Empire (1876-1924)*, unpublished dissertation, Princeton University, 2006, p. 84.
 36. Amit Bein, *ibid.*, p. 84.
 37. For example, see Atilla Doğan, Haluk Alkan, *Osmanlı Liberal Düşüncesi: Ulum-ı İktisadiye ve İçtimaiye Mecmuası*, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010, pp. 149-154.
 38. Avlonyalı Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk (1912-1920)*, İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2009, p. 77.
 39. Avlonyalı Süreyya Bey, *ibid.*, p. 244.
 40. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1309, v. I, p. 215.
 41. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *ibid.*, v. I, p. 216.
 42. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *ibid.*, v. I, p. 216.
 43. See Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition*, Malden: Blackwell, 2006, p. 5.
 44. Namık Kemal, 'Hürriyet-i Efkar', *Hadika*, no. 3, November 12, 1288. Quoted in; Nergiz Yılmaz Aydoğdu, İsmail Kara (ed.), *Namık Kemal, Bütün Makaleleri I*, p. 523.
 45. Abdülhamid Ziya, *Engizisyon Tarihi*, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, p. 3.
 46. *Tarih III: Yeni ve Yakın Zamanlar*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1933, p. 104.
 47. *Tarih III: Yeni ve Yakın Zamanlar*, p. 109.
 48. For some course book narratives of the Crusades, see Ahmed Refik, *Tarih-i Umumi*, İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1328, v. VI, pp. 3-60; Ali Reşad, *Tarih-i Umumi*, İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabhanesi, 1340, v. II, pp. 213-237.

49. Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *Tarih-i İslam*, Konstantiniyye: Darüşşafaka Kitabhanesi, 1326, pp. 563–564.
50. Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *ibid.*, p. 564.
51. Şemseddin Sami, *Medeniyet-i İslamiye*, İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1296, p. 16.
52. Vefa-yı Ahd', *İbret*, no. 7, 16 Rebiulahir 1289/10 Haziran 1288. Excerpted in Nergiz Yılmaz Aydoğdu, İsmail Kara (ed.), *Namık Kemal, Bütün Makaleleri 1*, p. 58.
53. *ibid.*, p. 61.
54. Also see Namık Kemal, *Renan Müdafaaanamesi*, pp. 42, 44, 55–56.
55. Şemseddin Sami, *Medeniyet-i İslamiye*, p. 14.
56. Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *ibid.*, p. 570.
57. Ali Reşad, *Tarih-i Umumi: Kurun-u Ula ve Vusta*, İstanbul: Kanaat Kitaphanesi, 1331, p. 122.
58. Ahmed Rasim, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, İstanbul: İkbal Kitabhanesi, 1326–1328, v. I, p. 35.
59. Abdurrahman Şeref, *Zubdet-ül Kısas*, İstanbul, 1316 v. II, p. 78, quoted in Mehmet Demiryürek, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, 1853–1925*, p. 168.
60. Ali Reşad, *ibid.*, p. 127.
61. Ali Reşad, *Umumi Tarih*, p. 323.
62. Ali Reşad, *ibid.*, p. 313.
63. Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *ibid.*, p. 566.
64. Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of Crusades*, Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998, pp. 111–113.
65. For Münif Pasha, see Ali Budak, *Münif Paşa*, İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2004; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Burhaneddin Matbaası, pp. 131–134; Şerif Mardin, *The Young Ottoman Movement*, unpublished dissertation, Stanford University, 1958, pp. 113–116.
66. For Şinasi, see Ziyad Ebuuzziya, *Şinasi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1942, pp. 134–153; Şerif Mardin, *ibid.*, pp. 118–141.
67. Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992, p. 3.
68. The value attributed to Western/technical knowledge and Ottoman positivism was in a sense the persistence of the traditional Islamic perception of knowledge. 'The concept of knowledge enjoyed an importance unparalleled in other civilizations.' Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 1970, p. 334.
69. See Alper Yalçınkaya, 'Science as an Ally of Religion: a Muslim Appropriation of 'the Conflict Thesis'', *British Journal of History of Science*, v. 44, no. 2, 2011, pp. 161–181.
70. Şemseddin Sami, *Medeniyet-i İslamiye*, İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1296, p. 16.
71. Namık Kemal, Abdullah Cevdet and Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi also quoted Muhammed's hadith advising Muslims to seek knowledge in China as a proof Islam's encouragement of learning and science. Namık Kemal, *Renan Müdafaaanamesi*, Ankara: Milli Kültür Yayınları, 1326, p. 34; Tüccarzade

- İbrahim Hilmi, *Milletimizin Hataları*, Dersaadet: Kitaphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1329, p. 12; Abdullah Cevdet, 'Tahkikat-ı İlmiyye', *İçtihad*, no. 1, 1 September 1904, quoted in Şükrü Hanioglu, *Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi*, p. 139.
72. Abdoloyme Ubcini, *Türkiye 1850*, İstanbul: Kervan Yayıncılık, 1975, p. 25.
73. Şemseddin Sami, *Medeniyet-i İslamiye*, İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1296; Namık Kemal, *Renan Müdafaaamesi*, Ankara: Milli Kültür Yayınları, 1962.
74. Ahmed Rıza, *La Faillite Morale de la Politique Occidentale en Orient*, Librairie Picart, 1922, pp. 100–132; Mizancı Murad, *La Force et Faiblesse de la Turquie*, Geneva, 1897, pp. 10–16, quoted in Birol Emil, *Mizancı Murad Bey*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2009, p. 374; Ziya Paşa, *Endülüs Tarihi*, Dersaadet: Karabet ve Kasbar Matbaası, 1887 (4 volumes).
75. Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 621.
76. Anke Von Kügelgen, 'A Call for Rationalism: 'Arab Averroists' in the Twentieth Century, *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, no. 16, 1996, pp. 97–132; Anke von Kügelgen, *Averroes und die Arabische Moderne*, Leiden: Brill, 1994.
77. Stefan Wild, 'Islamic Enlightenment and the Paradox of Averroes', *Die Welt des Islams*, v. 36, no. 3, November 1996, pp. 382–385.
78. Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazali's Philosophical Theology*, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 5; Frank Griffel, 'The Western Reception of al-Ghazali's Cosmology from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century', *Divan*, v. 16, 2011, pp. 4–5. For a sharp criticism of the myth of the end of philosophy in Islamic lands and the undue importance bestowed on al-Ghazali, see Dimitri Gutas, 'The Study of Arabic Philosophy in the Twentieth Century: An Essay on the Historiography of Arabic Philosophy', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, v. 29, no. 1, May 2002, pp. 5–25.
79. For the ghost of Renan haunting and the Muslim polemics against Renan, see Stefan Wild, 'Islamic Enlightenment and the Paradox of Averroes', *Die Welt des Islams*, v. 36, no. 3, November 1996, pp. 387–389.
80. Mehmed Mansur, *Meşhur İskenderiye Kütüphanesine Dair Risaledir*, İstanbul: Ceride-i Askeriye Matbaası, 1300, pp. 127–128.
81. Mehmed Mansur, *ibid.*, p. 129.
82. Abdurrahman Şeref, *Zübdet-ül Kıyas*, İstanbul, 1316, v. II, p. 262–269, quoted in Mehmet Demiryürek, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, 1853–1925*, p. 169.
83. For a study on this work, see Zehra Gözütok, *Ziya Paşa'nın Endülüs Tarihi*, unpublished MA thesis, Marmara University, 2008.
84. Ziya Paşa, *Endülüs Tarihi*, Karabet ve Kasbar Matbaası, 1304, v. I, p. 6.
85. For a parallel development of the 'indigenization of knowledge' and the emergence of nativism in culture, the social sciences, thought, and even in technology in Iran, see Mehrzad Boroujerdi, *Iranian Intellectuals and the West*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996; Nematollah Fazeli, *Politics of Culture in Iran*, London; New York: Routledge, 2006. The 19th-century Iranians also developed the idea that pre-Islamic Iran was 'the source of knowledge for the Greeks, the Egyptians, and (it) had been the fountain of civilization and education (*chismish-i tamaddun va tarbiyat*)'. Thus, what had to be done was simply to rediscover the authentic and historic magnificence and erudition of Iran. Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions: Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804–1946*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, p. 68.

86. Şemseddin Sami, *Medeniyet-i İslamiye*, p. 20.
87. Şemseddin Sami, *ibid.*, p. 15.
88. Şemseddin Sami, p. 13.
89. Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *ibid.*, p. 571.
90. For some examples of the Ottoman enthusiasm for and praise of Western civilization, see Ali Budak, *Münif Paşa*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2004; Mustafa Sami Efendi, *Avrupa Risalesi*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1996. Also see Faik Reşat Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaratnameleri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1968.
91. Namık Kemal, 'Terakki', *İbret*, 3 Ramazan 1289/23 Teşrin-i Evvel 1288. Excerpted in Nergiz Yılmaz Aydoğdu & İsmail Kara (ed.), *Namık Kemal, Bütün Makaleleri 1*, p. 212
92. Namık Kemal, *ibid.*, p. 220.
93. Namık Kemal, 'Yemen'e Dair Mütalaa', *ibid.*, p. 57.
94. Namık Kemal, 'İttihad-ı İslam', *ibid.*, pp. 84–87.
95. Namık Kemal, 'Medeniyet', *ibid.*, pp. 358–361.
96. Namık Kemal, 'Nüfus', *ibid.*, pp. 69–79; 'Maarif', pp. 109–113.
97. For the origins and development of the French word *civilisation* in the 18th century, see Jean Starobinski, *Blessings in Disguise; or, the Morality of Evil*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993, pp. 1–35.
98. Tuncer Baykara, 'Bir Kelime-Istılah ve Zihniyet Olarak 'Medeniyet'in Türkiye'ye Girişi', in *Osmanlılarda Medeniyet Kavramı ve Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıla Dair Araştırmalar*, İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1992, pp. 16–17.
99. Also see Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, 'Sadık Rifat Paşa ve Avrupa Ahvaline Dair Risalesi', *Liberal Düşünce*, no. 3, Summer 1996.
100. For the civilization entries and the quotes from Mustafa Reşid Pasha and Sadık Rifat Pasha, see Tuncer Baykara, 'Bir Kelime-Istılah ve Zihniyet Olarak 'Medeniyet'in Türkiye'ye Girişi', pp. 15–32.
101. For the ideal of Ottoman refinement in the classical age of the Ottoman Empire, see Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
102. For the long paragraph where Münif Pasha elaborated on his argument, see Ali Budak, *Münif Paşa*, p. 551. Also for the contrast established between 'bedeviyet' and the (civilized) state, see Es'ad Efendi, *Vak'a-nüvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi*, İstanbul: OSAV, 2000, p. 623.
103. Es'ad Efendi, *Vak'a-Nüvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi*, İstanbul: OSAV, 2000, pp. 644–650; Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Darü't-Tıbaat'ül Amire, 1309, v. XII, pp. 154–170; Es'ad Efendi, *Üss-i Zafer*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2005; Şirvanlı Fatih Efendi, *Gülzar-ı Fütühat*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2005. Also see, Ali Birinci, 'Birgivi Risalesi': İlk Dini Kitap Niçin ve Nasıl Basıldı?' Ali Birinci, *Tarih Yolunda*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2001, pp. 93–97.
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108. Cemil Aydın, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*, p. 69.
109. Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, New York: A.A.Knopf, 1926.
110. Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1986; Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics and the Paths of German Modernity*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000.
111. Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 18–108. Also see Geoff Eley, *Reshaping the German Right*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.
112. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparing for a Revolution, Young Turks, 1902–1908*, p. 303.
113. Ahmed Rıza, *La Faillite Morale de la Politique Occidentale en Orient*, Librairie Picart, 1922; Halil Halid, *A Study in English Turcophobia*, London: Pan-Islamic Society, 1904; Halil Hamid, *The Diary of a Turk*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903.
114. Samipaşazade Sezai, 'Riya', Tanin, 4 October 1333/1917, *Samipaşazade Sezai Bütün Eserleri*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2003, vol. III, pp. 313–316.
115. 'Sezai [Samipaşazade]', *Tanzimat'tan Bugüne Edebiyatçılar Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, v. II, p. 735. For some of his anti-Western articles published in Tanin, see Zeynep Kerman, *Sami Paşazade Sezai*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1986, p. 14.
116. Samipaşazade Sezai, 'Riya', Tanin, 4 October 1333/1917, *Samipaşazade Sezai Bütün Eserleri*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2003, v. III, pp. 516–520.
117. Abdülhak Hamid, *Abdülhak Hamid'in Hatıraları*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1994, p. 60. 'Ve bunun ilk ve en büyük saik ve mesulleri Harb-i Umumi'de en çok yer kazananlardır. Evet, o yağmagerler, o korsanlardır.... O yayman şahsiyet, İslam kanında yüzmek ister. İslam eti, hatta İslam ölüsü yemekten hazzeder. Ve onun nazarında onlardan başka hiçbir milletin vatani, milleti olmamalıdır. İstiklali, istikbali, hürriyeti, hakk-ı hayatı hangi millette görürse, onu mutlaka ya imha, yahut zir-i pa vü pençesine almak üzere maddi ve manevi nesi varsa yağma etmeyi düşünür.'
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119. For the development of the concept of 'crusades' and its ideological attributes and functions in the West, see Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of Crusades*, Toronto, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
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- Muhsin, *Türkiye Tarihi*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930; Ali Reşad, *Umumi Tarih*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928; Ali Reşad, *Umumi Tarih, Lise 1*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1929. Also see Emin Ali, *Umumi Tarih*, İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1929. Ahmed Refik's course book was republished in 1926.
122. Zeki Arıkan, 'Ders Kitaplarında Avrupa Tarihi', in Salih Özbaran (ed.), *Tarih Öğretimi ve Ders Kitapları*, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1998, pp. 162–163.
123. Hamit & Muhsin, *ibid.*, pp. vi–vii.
124. See Hasan Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine*, pp. 288–316.
125. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.
126. Etienne Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, pp. 35–39; Hasan Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden...*, pp. 368–376; Büşra Ersanlı, *ibid.*, pp. 119–120.
127. Interestingly, in his *Tarih-i İslam* published in 1910, Islamist Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi also portrayed the Crusades as a war predominantly between Europeans and Turks. Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *ibid.*, pp. 563–571.
128. T.T.T. Cemiyeti, *Tarih II*, Ankara: Devlet Matbaası, 1933, p. 239.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
131. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
132. Osman Turan, *Türk Cihan Hakimiyeti Mefkuresi Tarihi*, İstanbul: Turan Neşriyat Yurdu, 1969.
133. T.T.T. Cemiyeti, *Tarih II*, p. 210.
134. Francois Georgeon, *Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc: Yusuf Akçura, 1876–1935*, Paris: ADPE, 1980.
135. For Muhittin Birgen, see Zeki Arıkan, *Tarihimiz ve Cumhuriyet: Muhittin Birgen, 1885–1951*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997. For Birgen's memoirs, see Muhittin Birgen, *İttihat ve Terakki'de On Sene*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınları, 2006 (2 volumes).
136. Muhittin, 'Osmanlı Kimdir', *Meslek*, 27 Kanunusani 1925; quoted in Zeki Arıkan, *ibid.*, pp. 115–119.
137. Muhittin, 'Osmanlı'dan Türk'e Doğru, On Sekizinci Asırda Avrupa', *Meslek*, 23 Haziran 1925; quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 211–215.
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140. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Ülkü Mecmuası*, v. IX, no. 50, April 1937, quoted in Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi*, İstanbul: Gözlem, 1980, p. 729.
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143. Abdurrahman Şeref, *Zubdet-ül Kısas*, İstanbul, 1316, v. II, p. 272, quoted in Mehmet Demiryürek, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, 1853–1925*, p. 170.

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147. Halil Berktaş, *ibid.*, pp. 116–117.
148. See the classical work on the emergence of early modern polities as regulatory states, Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
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150. Helmut Walser Smith, *ibid.*, p. 57.
151. Helmut Walser Smith, *ibid.*, p. 54.
152. For the development of the concept of feudalism, see Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe', *The American Historical Review*, v. 79, no. 4, October 1974, pp. 1063–1088; Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; Norman F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages*, New York: Harper, 1993. Also see Otto Brunner, *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992.
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154. For the Catholic vigilance against the Ottoman threat and the emergence of a devilish representation of the 'terrible Turk' in Catholic imagery, see Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in the Renaissance Historical Thought*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008; Géraud Poumarède, *Pour en Finir avec la Croisade*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004; Mustafa Soykut, *Avrupa'nın Birliği ve Osmanlı Devleti*, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007; Özlem Kumrular (ed.), *Dünyada Türk İmgesi*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınları, 2005.
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5 From 'Renewal and Regeneration' to 'Decline and Collapse': The Rise and Fall of Tanzimat (1839–1950)

1. For the 'history of concepts', see Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002; Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Pathogenesis of Modern Society*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988; Melvin Richter, *The History of Political and Social Concepts*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; Keith Tribe, 'The GG Project: from History of Ideas to Conceptual History', *Comparative Studies in Society and*

- History*, v. 31, January 1989; Melvin Richter, 'Begriffsgeschichte and the History of Ideas', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, v. 48, April 1987.
2. For some studies scrutinizing the trajectories of certain phrases and their ideological implications in time, see J.G.A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*, Cambridge: University Press, 1957; J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975; Quentin Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998; Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003; William Hamilton Sewell, *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution: The Abbe Sieyes and What is the Third Estate*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1994; Michael Sonenscher, *Sans-Culottes: An Eighteenth Century Emblem in the French Revolution*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008; Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
 3. A very similar state of mind in 19th-century Persian reformists is caught by Shaul Bakhash. He dubs this state of mind as 'open sesame' which assumes that Persia can enjoy the benefits of Western civilization without any friction once they are introduced. For Bakhash, the 'open sesame' approach also assumes that when the positive effects of westernization become evident, any resistance or opposition to reform will evaporate. Shaul Bakhash, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy & Reform under the Qajars 1858–1896*, London: Ithaca Press, 1978, p. 30.
 4. Mustafa Sami Efendi, *Avrupa Risalesi*, İstanbul: Takvimhane-i Amire, 1256, pp. 37–39.
 5. See the text of the rescript in Mehmet Ö. Alkan (ed.), *Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, v. I, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001, pp. 449–451.
 6. See his report's transcription in Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, 'Sadık Rifat Paşa ve Avrupa Ahvaline Dair Risalesi', *Liberal Düşünce*, 1996, no. 2 pp. 115–124.
 7. Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962, pp. 180–181.
 8. Şerif Mardin, *ibid.*, p. 186.
 9. Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839–1908*, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001; Selçuk Akşin Somel, 'Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlıcılık Düşüncesi (1839–1913)', in Mehmet Ö. Alkan (ed.), *Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyetin...*
 10. For Şinasi, see Ziyad Ebuzziya, *Şinasi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Burhaneddin Matbaası, pp. 134–153; Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, pp. 252–275.
 11. Ali Budak, *Münif Paşa*, p. 22.
 12. Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought...*, p. 234.
 13. Roderick Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876*, p. 181; Ali Budak, *Münif Paşa*, p. 226.
 14. For Münif Pasha, see Ali Budak, *Münif Paşa*; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, pp. 131–134; Şerif Mardin, *ibid.*, *The Genesis...*, pp. 234–241.
 15. See for a comparison between Münif Pasha and Namık Kemal, Şerif Mardin, *ibid.*, pp. 233–246.
 16. See for the text of the memorandum, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezakir*, v. I, pp. 75–82.

17. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Ma'ruzat*, p. 1.
18. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 1.
19. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 2.
20. Namık Kemal, *Şark Meselesi II, İbret*, no. 28, 8 Şaban 1289/28 September 1288; excerpted in Namık Kemal, *ibid.*, pp. 151–152.
21. 'On Üçüncü Asr-ı Hicride Osmanlı Ricali', *Peyam*, 22 Safer 1338; 17 Teşrin-i Sani 1335 (1919).
22. 'On Üçüncü Asr-ı Hicride Osmanlı Ricali', *Peyam*, 28 Rebiülevvel 1338; 22 Kanun-ı Evvel 1335 (1919).
23. 'On Üçüncü Asr-ı Hicride Osmanlı Ricali', *Peyam*, 29 Safer 1338; 24 Teşrin-i Sani 1335 (1919).
24. Ahmed Rasim, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Konstantiniyye: Matbaa-ı Ebuzziya, 1328, v. IV, p. 1939.
25. 'On Üçüncü Asr-ı Hicride Osmanlı Ricali', *Peyam*, 29 Safer 1338; 24 Teşrin-i Sani 1335 (1919).
26. Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954.
27. Emin Oktay, *Tarih III: Yeni ve Yakın Çağlar*, İstanbul: Atlas Yayınları, n.p., pp. 153–159.
28. Emin Oktay, *ibid.*, pp. 155, 159.
29. Emin Oktay, p. 155.
30. For example, see Çetin Yetkin, *Karşıdevrim 1945–1950*, İstanbul: Otopsi Yayınları, 2003; Atilla İlhan, *Hangi Atatürk?* Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1981.
31. Şerif Mardin, *ibid.*, p. 177.
32. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezahir*, v. I, p. 11.
33. Ahmed Rasim, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Konstantiniyye: Matbaa-ı Ebuzziya, 1328, v. IV, p. 1941.
34. One exceptional Western account was A.D. Mordtmann's account in which he criticized the erroneous employment of these categories and argued that no such person ('reactionary Old Turk') existed, at least not in İstanbul. Mordtmann asserted that the genuine Old Turks were gone forever after the breakdown of the janissary corps. For Mordtmann, if there were a few of them surviving, they could never possess the capacity to form a faction. Mordtmann established that there was no organized Old Turk party defending their interests fervently as the Junker party was doing in Germany. For him, the contemporary 'Old Turks' were a new formation rather than being the unreconstructed remnants of the old guard representing an old class. A.D. Mordtmann, *Stambul und das Moderne Türkenthum*, Verlag Von Duncker & Humblot: Leipzig, 1877.
35. For the birth and development of 'counter-revolution' as a reaction to the 'revolution' and its demonization, and its prominent role in the revolutionary rhetoric in France, see Jacques Godechot, *The Counter-Revolution: Doctrine and Action, 1789–1804*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981; D.M.G. Sutherland, *France, 1789–1815: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, London: Fontana Press, 1985.
36. Umut Azak, *Myths and Memories of Secularism in Turkey (1923–1966)*, unpublished dissertation, Leiden University, p. 38. In 1912, Ahmed Reşid in his history textbook depicted the 1807 rebellion which overthrew Selim III as an irreconcilable struggle between *irtica* (reaction) and *terakki* (progress).

- Aysel Yıldız, *Vaka-yı Selimiyye or the Selimiyye Incident: A Study of the May 1807 Rebellion*, unpublished dissertation, Sabancı University, 2008, p. 74. Also for the depiction of the incident along the same lines by Ahmed Refik in his *Kabakçı Mustafa* published in 1912–1913, see Aysel Yıldız, *ibid.*, pp. 74–77.
37. Ebüzziya Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi*, v. II, pp. 110–111.
 38. For example, for Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, Mahmud Nedim only cared about his personal interests and would always side with a party after it became victorious. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezahir*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1986, v. I, pp. 16, 26–27. For Samipaşazade Sezai, Mahmud Nedim was ‘barbaric and treacherous’. ‘Abdülhamid’in Parası’, *Şura-yı Ümmet*, February 18, 1904, excerpted in Zeynep Kerman, *Sami Paşazade Sezai: Bütün Eserleri*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2001, v. III, pp. 103–107. Also see Ebüzziya Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar ...*, v. II, pp. 115–117, 143.
 39. Namık Kemal, ‘Tanzimat’, *İbret*, 4 Ramazan 1289/24 Teşrin-i Evvel 1288. Excerpted in Aydoğdu, Nergiz Yılmaz & Kara, İsmail (eds), *Namık Kemal, Bütün Makaleleri 1*, p. 223.
 40. Namık Kemal, ‘İfade-i Meram’, *İbret*, no. 20, 27 Recep 1289/18 September 1288, excerpted in Yılmaz & Kara, *ibid.*, pp. 135–136.
 41. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Ma’ruzat*, p. 5.
 42. See Butrus Abu-Manneh, ‘The Sultan and the Bureaucracy: The Anti-Tanzimat Concepts of Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha, in *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 2001, pp. 160–180. Davison spoke of the setback of ‘gradual secularization, of the pursuit of Osmanlıcılık, of general modernization’ and the coming of ‘nascent Islamic sentiment and a rising anti-Europeanism’ with the death of Âli Pasha and the appointment of Mahmud Nedim as his successor. Roderick Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856–1876*, p. 269.
 43. For a short discussion of the ‘cabal’ of Mahmud Nedim Pasha, see Butrus Abu Manneh, *ibid.*, pp. 171–176. For the exile policy of Mahmud Nedim Pasha, see Roderick Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856–1876*, p. 281.
 44. For the political uses of the notion of ‘irtica’ in the Unionist and Kemalist eras by the political elites to discredit, demonize and delegitimize opposition (as also noted by Velid Ebüzziya, the son of Tevfik, in 1923), see Umut Azak, *Myths and Memories ...*, pp. 38–41.
 45. Stanford J. Shaw, Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 172–271.
 46. Engin Deniz Akarlı, *The Problems of External Pressures, Power Struggles, and Budgetary Deficits in Ottoman Politics under Abdülhamid II (1876–1909)*, unpublished dissertation, Princeton University, 1976.
 47. Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire: 1876–1909*.
 48. See works such as Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839–1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001; Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; Çelik, Zeynep, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World’s Fairs*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992; Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking Of Istanbul*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; Ahmet Ersoy, ‘A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbise-i Osmaniyye Album’, *Muqarnas*, v. 20,

- 2003, pp. 187–207; Francois Georgeon, *Abdülhamid: Le Sultan Calife (1876–1909)*, Paris: Fayard, 2003.
49. For the history textbooks of the Hamidian regime, see Demiryürek, Mehmet, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi*, pp. 153–173.
 50. Mehmed Memduh Paşa, *Mi'rat-i Şuunat*, İstanbul: Nehir Yayınları, 1990, pp.18–19.
 51. Mehmed Memduh Paşa, *ibid.*, pp. 62–64.
 52. Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa, *Mira'at-ı Hakikat*, İstanbul: Berekat Yayınevi, 1983, p. 32.
 53. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Üss-i İnkılap*, İstanbul: Takvimhane-i Amire, 1294.
 54. The book's name was inspired by Esad Efendi's *Üss-i Zafer*, in which Esad Efendi narrates and praises the destruction of the janissaries by Mahmud II and which is one of the most enthusiastic texts of the Ottoman transformation. Es'ad Efendi, *Üss-i Zafer*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2005.
 55. The historiography that juxtaposes the Hamidian era in opposition to the Tanzimat had been dismantled by the 1970s. The Shaws dubbed the Hamidian era as the 'culmination of Tanzimat.' Stanford Shaw, Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977, v. II, p. 172. Also see Engin Deniz Akarlı, *The Problems of External Pressures, Power Struggles, and Budgetary Deficits in Ottoman Politics under Abdülhamid II (1876–1909)*, Princeton University, unpublished dissertation, 1976; Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire: 1876–1909*, London; New York: I.B.Tauris, 1998.
 56. See Atilla Çetin, *Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1988, pp. 254–275. For the texts of his three policy proposals presented to Abdülhamid, see *ibid.*, pp. 312–356.
 57. Atilla Çetin, *ibid.*, p. 112.
 58. *İbid.*, p.113. For Tunuslu Hayreddin Pasha's views, also see Bekir Karlığa, *Tunus'lu Hayrettin Paşa ve Tanzimat*, İstanbul, n.p., 1995; Atilla A. Çetin, *Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1988.
 59. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparing for a Revolution*, p. 305. It also has to be mentioned that Hanioglu notes that this process was complex and contingent on the preferences of the individuals. 'The standard view which sees a strong shift from an extreme pro-British to pro-German CUP foreign policy is erroneous.' Also see Feroz Ahmad, 'Great Britain's Relations with the Young Turks 1908–1914', *Middle Eastern Studies*, v. 2, no. 4, July1966, pp. 302–329.
 60. *İbid.*, pp. 113–114.
 61. Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961; Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, London: McGill University Press, 1964; Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and the Modern Turkey*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
 62. For another polemic with Ali Kemal whose Ottomanism was regarded as 'naive', see Haşim Nahit, *Türkiye İçin Necat ve İtila Yolları*, Konya: Tablet Yayınları, 2006, pp. 188–189. For a discussion of Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism, also see *ibid.*, pp. 152–156, 173–188.
 63. For some works rehabilitating Ottomanism and scrutinizing the discourse(s) of Ottomanism within such a framework, see Selim Deringil, *The Well-*

- Protected Domains*; Selçuk Akşin Somel, 'Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlıcılık Düşüncesi (1839–1913), *Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, Mehmet Ö. Alkan (ed.), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001, pp. 88–116; William Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati' al-Hus*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971; Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997; Sabine Prator, *Der Arabische Faktor in der Jungtürkischen Politik*, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1993; Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth Century Palestine*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010; Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011.
64. Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greek Community in Izmir, 1897–1914*, unpublished dissertation, University of Leiden, 2005; Michelle U. Campos, 'Between "Beloved Ottomania" and "The Land of Israel": The Struggle over Ottomanism and Zionism among Palestine's Sephardi Jews, 1908–13', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, v. 37, no. 4, November 2005, pp. 461–483; Konstantina Andrianopoulou, *Alexander Mavroyeni Bey: From the 19th Century Reform Era to the Young Turk Revolution Through the Life and Ideology of a Neophanariot Ottoman Bureaucrat*, unpublished MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004; Alexander Vezenkov, 'Reconciliation of the Spirits and Fusion of the Interests: 'Ottomanism' as an Identity Politics', in Diana Mishkova (ed.), *We, the People: Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe*, Budapest: CEU Press, 2009, pp. 47–77.
65. Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987, p. 35.
66. Yusuf Akçura, *ibid.*, pp. 19–36.
67. For an assessment of the journal *Türk* and its pioneering Turkist character, see Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparing for a Revolution*, pp. 64–73.
68. Ali Kemal, 'Cevabımız', excerpted in Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987, pp. 37–38.
69. *İbid.*, pp. 43–44.
70. Ali Seydi, *Devlet-i Osmaniye Tarihi*, Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1329, p. 574.
71. Ali Seydi, *ibid.*, p. 583.
72. Ali Reşad, *Devlet-i Osmaniye Asr-ı Hazır Tarihi*, Dersaadet: Kanaat Kitabhanesi, 1338, pp. 344–346, 352–353.
73. Edouard Engelhardt, *Türkiye ve Tanzimat*, trans. Ali Reşad, İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1328.
74. Ebru Boyar, 'Engelhardt From Censorship to Icon: The Use of a European Diplomat's History in Ottoman and Turkish Historiography on the Tanzimat', *Eurasian Studies*, v. III, 2004, p. 92.
75. Edouard De Driault, *Şark Meselesi Bidayet-i Zuhurundan Zamanımıza Kadar*, İstanbul: Muhtar Halid Külliyyatı, 1328 (2 volumes).
76. Ebru Boyar, *ibid.*, p. 94.
77. Hayreddin Bey, *Vesaik-i Tarihiyye ve Siyasiyye Tettebbuatı*, Dersaadet: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası Matbaası, 1326, v. I, p. 94.
78. Hayreddin Bey, *ibid.*, v. I, pp. 11–12.
79. Hayreddin Bey, *ibid.*, v. I, p. 6.
80. Haşim Nahit, *Türkiye İçin Necat ve İ'tila Yolları*, Konya: Tablet Yayınları, 2006, p. 40 (original publication in 1913).

81. Yusuf Akçura, Son İnkılab ve Sevakıbı ile Netayıcı', *İctihad*, no.11, March 1909, excerpted in Francois Georjeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935)*, p. 145.
82. Muhittin, 'Osmanlı'dan Türk'e Doğru: 'Vaka-i Hayriye' Sıralarında İmparatorluğun Vaziyeti', *Meslek*, August 4, 1925; excerpted in Zeki Arıkan, *Tarihimiz ve Cumhuriyet: Muhittin Birgen (1885–1951)*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997, pp. 240–241.
83. Zafer Toprak, *Milli İktisat-Milli Burjuvazi*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995.
84. M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, 'Helphand-Parvus and his Impact on Turkish Intellectual Life', *Middle Eastern Studies*, v. 40, no. 6, November 2004, pp. 151–153.
85. See Cemil Aydın, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007; Şükrü Haniyoğlu, *Preparing for a Revolution*, pp. 302–305; Halil Berktaş, 'Küme Düşme Korkusuna Osmanlı-Türk Reaksiyonu', in Özlem Kumrular (ed.), *Dünyada Türk İmgesi*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005, pp. 191–197.
86. Taha Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876–1924*, Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1985, p. 120; Andrew Davison, *Secularism and Revivalism in Turkey*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, pp. 90–100.
87. Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, İstanbul: Kitap Sevenler Kurumu, 1939, p. 18.
88. Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*, İstanbul: Yeni Mecmua, 1917, p. 4.
89. Ziya Gökalp, *ibid.*, p. 39.
90. Ziya Gökalp, *ibid.*, p. 35.
91. Ziya Gökalp, *ibid.*, p. 49.
92. For the advocacy of liberal economics by Tanzimat intellectuals and economists, see Zafer Toprak, *Milli İktisat-Milli Burjuvazi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995, pp. 27–28.
93. Ziya Gökalp, *ibid.*, p. 139.
94. Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa, *Serzügeşt-i Hayatım*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996 (2 volumes).
95. The Ottoman governmental elite's colonial perceptions of Yemen recently became a popular subject of inquiry. For colonial perceptions and remarks on Yemen in memoirs, see Mahmud Nedim Bey, *Arabistan'da Bir Ömür*, İstanbul: Isis, 2001; Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa, *Serzügeşt-i Hayatım*, v. I, pp. 40–97; Biren, Mehmet Tevfik, *II. Abdülhamid, Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Devri Hatıraları*, v. I, pp. 265–370. Ahmet İzzet Paşa, *Feryadım*, v. I, pp. 87–107, Doktor İbrahim Abdüsselam Paşa, *Yemen Seyahatnamesi ve Bitkisel Coğrafyası*, İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2009; Süleyman Şefik Paşa, *Hatıratım*, İstanbul: Arma Yayınları, 2004, pp. 7–43. Also see Namık Kemal, 'Yemen'e Dair Mütalaa', in *Namık Kemal: Osmanlı Modernleşmesinin Meseleleri*, Nergiz Yılmaz Aydoğdu & İsmail Kara (eds), pp. 56–57.
96. Usama Makdisi, 'Ottoman Orientalism', *The American Historical Review*, v. 107, no. 3, June 2002, p. 27.
97. Martin Van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State*, London: Zed Books, 1992, pp. 175–184.

98. Andrew Gordon Gould, *Pashas and Brigands: Ottoman Provincial Reform and its Impact on the Nomadic Tribes of Southern Anatolia 1840–1885*, unpublished dissertation, UCLA, 1973; Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1963, v. III, pp. 107–215.
99. Brinkley Morris Messick, *The Calligraphic State*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp. 37–58; Caesar Farah, *The Sultan's Yemen*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2002.
100. Tobias Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009; Gültekin Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok: Zorunlu Askerliğe Geçiş Sürecinde Osmanlı Devleti'nde Siyaset, Ordu ve Toplum (1826–1839)*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2009.
101. James Reid, *Crisis of the Ottoman Empire: Prelude to Collapse 1839–1878*, Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2000.
102. Zekeriya Kurşun, *Necid ve Ahsa'da Osmanlı Hakimiyeti*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998; Frederick F. Anscombe, *The Ottoman Gulf: The Creation of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Qatar*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
103. For example, see Mehmet Demiryürek, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi*, İstanbul: Phoenix, 2003. In the example of Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, this book demonstrates how the Republican positivist-civilizationist historical understanding had been preceded by the historical vistas of the Tanzimat. This is not only true for the conceptualization of global and European history but also with regard to the perception of Ottoman history. In the account/narrative of Abdurrahman Şeref (and his contemporaries), the degenerated Ottoman Empire had been replaced by a hitherto enlightened new order thanks to Mustafa Reşid Paşa and his aides. The old school reactionaries comprised of the corrupt pashas and fanatics tried their best to avoid such a drastic transformation to retain their privileges. However, Mustafa Reşid succeeded in countering all these insults (see pp. 136–138).
104. For example, see the introduction of Reşat Kaynar to his book on Mustafa Reşid Paşa. In his introduction, Kaynar reiterates the narrative of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa in his *Ma'ruzat* and *Tezâkir*. See Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954, pp. 1–37. Also for the formative influence of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha on the development of the Republican discourses on the Kabakçı Mustafa rebellion and the age of Selim III, see Aysel Yıldız, *Vaka-yı Selimiyye or the Selimiyye Incident: A Study of the May 1807 Rebellion*, unpublished dissertation, Sabancı University, 2008, p. 7.
105. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, İstanbul: Darü't-Tibaa't-ül Amire, 1309; Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, Cevdet Baysun (ed.), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1986, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Ma'ruzat*, İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1980.
106. Christoph Neumann, *Amaç Tanzimat Araç Tarih*, p. 182.
107. It would be an interesting question if Edward Gibbon's 'fall' and 'decline' of the Roman Empire had indirect influences on the Ottoman historians and scholars of the 19th century. In the absence of any substantial evidence, this question is bound to remain a speculative and inspiring theme.
108. Lewis Thomas, *A Study of Naima*, New York: New York University Press, 1972, pp. 77–78. 'Another major point in Naima's exposition of the five stages of

- the state is his judgment that during the Grand vizierate of Kara Mustafa Pasha (at the time of the second failure at Vienna, 1683), the Ottoman state had reached its fourth stage, the time of laxness and lethargy(.)' between the third 'stage of confident security' and the fifth 'stage of disintegration, dissipation and extravagance.'
109. Christoph K. Neumann, *Araç Tarih...*, pp. 176–183.
 110. Ahmet Vefik Paşa, *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmani*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1288, p. 5; quoted in Mehmet Demiryürek, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi 1858–1925*, p. 156.
 111. Mehmet Demiryürek, *ibid.*, p. 157.
 112. Mehmet Demiryürek, p. 158.
 113. Mehmet Demiryürek, p. 161. For the question of periodization in light of the Ibn Khaldunian perspective by the late Ottoman historians, also see Christoph K. Neumann, *Araç Tarih...*, pp. 181–183.
 114. Hamit & Muhsin, *Türkiye Tarihi*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930.
 115. Nevzad Ayas, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitim Kuruluşları ve Tarihçeleri*, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1948, p. 583.
 116. Enver Behnan, *Tarih Bakaloryası (Orta Mektep: III Son Sınıf, Lise: III Son Sınıf)*, İstanbul: Suhulet Kütüphanesi, 1933, pp. 46–50.
 117. T.T.T. Cemiyeti, *Tarih III: Yeni ve Yakın Zamanlar*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1933, p. 236.
 118. *İbid.*, p. 241.
 119. *İbid.*, p. 243.
 120. *İbid.*, p. 248.
 121. *İbid.*, pp. 248–249.
 122. Also see Enver Behnan, *Tarih Bakaloryası (Orta Mektep: III Son Sınıf, Lise: III Son Sınıf)*, pp. 103–110.
 123. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türkiye Devletinin Dış Siyaseti*, İstanbul: Ahmet Sait Matbaası, 1942, pp. 1–6.
 124. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *ibid.*, p. 5.
 125. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940, v. I, p. x.
 126. See Cemil Koçak, *İkinci Parti*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010, pp. 57–58.
 127. For an overview of the volume, also see Can Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West ?* pp. 145–147.
 128. A.H. Ogansu, 'Tanzimat ve Amillerine Umumi bir Bakış', *Tanzimat*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940, pp. 7–8.
 129. Cemil Bilsel, 'Tanzimatın Harici Siyaseti', *Tanzimat*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940, pp. 696–700.
 130. Cemil Bilsel, *ibid.*, p. 700.
 131. *İbid.*, p. 700.
 132. Cavid Baysun, 'Mustafa Reşit Paşa', *ibid.*, p. 746.
 133. Enver Ziya Karal, *Fransa, Mısır ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, İstanbul: Milli Mecmua Basımevi, 1938; Enver Ziya Karal, *Halet Efendinin Paris Büyükelçiliği*, İstanbul: Kenan Matbaası, 1940; Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı, 1831*, Ankara: T.C. Başvekâlet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943; Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün Hatt-ı Hümayunları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1942.
 134. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat ve Rüştü Paşaların Tevfiklerine Dair Vesikalar*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1946; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat*

- Paşa ve Taif Mahkumları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1950; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1968.
135. Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Seferatnameleri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1968.
136. Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Paşa ve Tanzimat*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954.
137. Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1947–1962 (5th–8th volumes).
138. Ever Ziya Karal, *ibid.*, v. V, p. 192.
139. For the development of this discourse, see Cemil Koçak, *Belgelerle İktidar ve Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006, pp. 633–692. Also see Ahmet Demirel, *Birinci Meclis'te Muhalefet: İkinci Grup*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994, pp. 608–609. Also see Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America*, Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 30–31.

6 Infusing the Young Spirits with the Motivation to Oppose and Counter Oppression: Revolution and the French Revolution

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- Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması (1923–1931)*, Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1981.
- Especially see Mete Tunçay, *ibid.*, pp. 211–221.
- Cemil Koçak, *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi: 1938–1945*, Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1986; Cemil Koçak, *Umumi Müfettişlikler (1927–1952)*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003; Cemil Koçak, *Belgelerle İktidar ve Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006; Ahmet Demirel, *Birinci Meclis'te Muhalefet: İkinci Grup*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994; Ahmet Demirel, *Ali Şükrü Bey'in Tan Gazetesi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996; Erik Jan Zürcher, *Political Opposition in the Early Turkish Republic: The Progressive Republican Party, 1924–1925*, Leiden; New York: E.J.Brill, 1991.
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- Colin Lucas (ed.), *Rewriting the French Revolution*, Oxford University Press, 1991, Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, Berkeley:

- University of California Press, 1992; Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991; Michael Keith Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, 1990; Patrice Higonnet, *Goodness Beyond Virtue: Jacobins During the French Revolution*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
9. Robert Paxton, *Vichy France*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001. Also see, Henri Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991; Henri Rousso, Eric Conan, *Vichy: An Ever-Present Past*, Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998.
 10. Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Right Nor Left*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986. Also see Zeev Sternhell, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994; Michel Winock, *Nationalism, Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998; Dan S. White, *Lost Comrades: Socialists of the Front Generation, 1918–1945*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992; Philip Nord, *France's New Deal*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.
 11. Andrew Davison, *Secularism and Revivalism in Turkey: A Hermeneutic Reconsideration*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
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 13. For some studies on the 19th-century French Republicanism, see Pamela Pilbeam, *Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814–1871*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995; Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995; Maurice Agulhon, *The Republic in the Village*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
 14. Sudhir Hazareesingh, 'Vincent Wright and the Jacobin Legacy in Historical and Theoretical Perspectives', in Sudhir Hazareesingh (ed.), *The Jacobin Legacy in Modern France*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 5–6. Also see, Mona Ozouf, 'War and Terror in French Revolutionary Discourse', *Journal of Modern History*, no. 56, December 1984, pp. 579–597.
 15. For the French Third Republic and the Republicans in power, see Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995; Maurice Agulhon, *The French Republic 1879–1992*, Oxford; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1995, pp. 9–145; Maurice Larkin, *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair*, London: Macmillan, 1974; Maurice Larkin, *Religion, Politics and Preferment in France Since 1890: La Belle Epoque and its Legacy*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995; Christopher Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2004.
 16. Ahmed Rıza, *Ahmed Rıza Bey'in Anıları*, İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1988, pp. 15, 17.
 17. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparing for a Revolution*, pp. 82–83, 308–311, 313.
 18. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001, p. 14.
 19. Aykut Kansu, *Politics in Post-Revolutionary Turkey, 1908–1913*, Brill: Oxford University Press, 1992; Aykut Kansu, *The Revolution of 1908 in Turkey*, New York, Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1997.
 20. Ahmet Demirel, *Birinci Meclis'te Muhalefet: İkinci Grup*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994.
 21. Cemil Aydın, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*.

22. Falih Rıfki Atay, *Çankaya*, Ankara: Dünya Yayınları, 1961, p. 396.
23. Falih Rıfki Atay, *ibid.*, p. 434.
24. Falih Rıfki Atay, *ibid.*, p. 432.
25. For the text of the manifesto of the PRP, see Mete Tuncay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması (1923–1931)*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, pp. 385–387.
26. For the outlines of this unique political system during the Independence War, see Ridvan Akın, *TBMM Devleti (1920–1923)*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001.
27. Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1952, v. II, p. 889.
28. Mustafa Kemal, *Nutuk*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999, v. II, p. 1068. Also see, Falih Rıfki Atay, *Çankaya*, İstanbul: Dünya Yayınları, ny, v. II, p. 323.
29. Erik Jan Zürcher, *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1992, pp. 139–142.
30. Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Devlet ve Fert*, İstanbul: Sanayii Nefise Matbaası, 1933. For Ahmet Ağaoğlu, also see Holly Shissler, *Between Two Empires: Ahmed Agaoglu and the New Turkey*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2002.
31. Recep Peker, *İnkılab Dersleri*, Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1936, p. 102.
32. Recep Peker, *İnkılab Dersleri*, p. 48. Mahmut Esat also regarded Italian fascism as 'imperialist' and a 'dictatorship.' See Hakkı Uyar, *Sol Milliyetçi Bir Türk Aydını: Mahmut Esat Bozkurt (1892–1943)*, İstanbul: Büke, 2000, p. 108.
33. Recep Peker, *ibid.*, p. 60.
34. Recep Peker, *ibid.*, p. 99.
35. Recep Peker, *ibid.*, p. 100.
36. For a study on Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, see Hakkı Uyar, *Sol Milliyetçi Bir Türk Aydını: Mahmut Esat Bozkurt (1892–1943)*, İstanbul: Büke, 2000.
37. Mahmut Esat, Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk, Recep Peker, *1933 İstanbul Üniversitesinde Başlayan İlk İnkılab Tarihi Ders Notları*, İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırma Vakfı, 1997, p. 97.
38. Mahmut Esat, Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk, Recep Peker, *ibid.*, p. 89.
39. Mahmut Esat, *ibid.*, p. 90.
40. Mahmut Esat, *ibid.*, p. 91.
41. For the theoretical framework of 'intra-war Marxism', see Francois Furet, *The Passing of an Illusion*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999, pp. 156–265; Franz Borkenau, *World Communism: A History of the Communist International*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962.
42. Recep Peker, *İnkılab Dersleri*, p. 56.
43. Especially see, George Mosse, *The Image of Man*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998; George Mosse, *Masses and Man*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987; George Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, New York: H.Fertig, 1985.
44. Mahmut Esat, *1933 İstanbul Üniversitesinde...*, p. 99.
45. Mahmut Esat, *ibid.*, pp. 98–100.
46. Mahmut Esat, *ibid.*, p. 98.
47. Mahmut Esat, *ibid.*, p. 99.
48. For the continuity of the anti-cosmopolitanism of communist and fascist ideologies in Romania from the imposition of communism in Romania after the World War II to post-socialist Romania, see Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Stalinism for All Seasons*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

49. For comparative intra-war dictatorships and fascisms, see Michael Mann, *Fascists*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Stephen J. Lee, *European Dictatorships, 1918–1945*, London, New York: Routledge, 2000; Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, Penguin: London, 2004; Stanley Payne, *Fascism: Comparison and Definition*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980.
50. Paul A. Hanebrink, *In Defense of Christian Hungary*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006, p. 3.
51. Michael Mann, *Fascists*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 209.
52. Stephen J. Lee, *European Dictatorships, 1918–1945*, London, New York: Routledge, 2000, p. 291.
53. Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
54. For the ambivalence of the Nazi utopia between past and future, see Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
55. See Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006.
56. Michael Mann, *ibid.*, p. 2.
57. Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği*, İstanbul: Metis, 2003; Yeşim Arat, 'The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey', Sibel Bozdoğan, in Reşat Kasaba (ed.), *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997 içinde; Ayşe Durakbaşı, 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kadın Kimliğinin Oluşumu', *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 9, March 1988, pp. 39–43; Zehra Toska, 'Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar', in Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzaoğlu (ed.), *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998. Also see Levent Cantek, *Cumhuriyetin Bilüğ Çağı*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008.
58. For the social conservative visions of Kemalism, see Levent Cantek, *ibid.* For Ecvet Güresin writing in one of the leading dailies of the Kemalist regime, 'the music of the American negroes which is a manifestation of their cannibalistic souls will lead the youth to wine, whisky and adultery' (Levent Cantek, p. 229). For the abhorred Vedat Nedim Tör, a one-time self-styled Kemalist ideologue, 'the number of youths who are only concerned with their stomachs, addicted to carnal pleasures, measuring everything with their material value and indifferent to refined culture is increasing.' (Levent Cantek, p. 75).
59. For the Stalinist culture and social order, see Lewis Siegelbaum, Andrei Sokolov, *Stalinism as a Way of Life*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2004; Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995; David L. Hoffmann, *Stalinist Values: The Cultural Norms of Soviet Modernity 1917–1941*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003; Arch Getty, *The Origins of the Great Purges*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; Lewis Siegelbaum, *Soviet State and Society between the Revolutions 1918–1919*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; Lynne Viola, *The Best Sons of the Fatherland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

60. For resemblances and differences between Nazism and Stalinism, see Ian Kershaw, Moshe Lewin (eds), *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Especially see Michael Mann, 'The Contradictions of Continuous Revolution', *ibid.*, pp. 135–157.
61. Mehmet Demiryürek, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi*, p. 157.
62. See Mehmet Demiryürek, *ibid.*, pp. 156–161.
63. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Üss-ü İnkılab*, İstanbul: Takvim-i Vekayi Matbaası, 1295.
64. Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*, İstanbul: Yeni Mecmua, 1917, p. 35.
65. For a brilliant study of the social role and meaning of Islam in the classical age, see Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.
66. Maurus Reinkowski, 'The State's Security and the Subjects' Prosperity: Notions of Order in Ottoman Bureaucratic Correspondence (19th Century)', *Legitimizing the Order*, Hakan Karetepe, Maurus Reinkowski (eds), Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2005, p. 199.
67. See Carter Vaughn Findley, 'The Advent of Ideology in the Islamic Middle East (Part I)', *Studia Islamica*, no. 55, 1982, pp. 143–169; Carter Vaughn Findley, 'The Advent of Ideology in the Islamic Middle East (Part II)' *Studia Islamica*, no. 56, 1982, pp. 147–180.
68. For a discussion of the prevalence of Islamic notions in the thought of Young Turks such as Abdullah Cevdet and Ahmed Rıza, see Şerif Mardin, *Continuity and Change in the Ideas of the Young Turks*, İstanbul: Robert College, 1969, pp. 23–27.
69. Carter Findley discusses the same development with regard to the advent of ideology. Findley claims that it was the Young Ottomans that had introduced the notion of ideology but only partially due to their strong allegiance to traditional Islamic thought. For Findley, whatever the limits of the Young Ottomans' vision of ideology, their impact was remarkable. Carter Vaughn Findley, 'The Advent of Ideology in the Islamic Middle East (Part II)', *Studia Islamica*, no. 56, 1982, pp. 147–180. For a discussion of the role of ideology, also see Mümtaz'er Türköne, *İslamcılığın Doğuşu*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991.
70. Aykut Kansu, *Politics in Post-Revolutionary Turkey, 1908–1913*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992; Hasan Kayalı, *Young Turks and Arabs*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997; Sabine Prator, *Der Arabische Faktor in der Jungtürkischen Politik*, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1993.
71. Christoph K. Neumann, *Araç Tarih, Amaç Tanzimat*, p. 139.
72. Zeki Arkan, 'Fransız İhtilali ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliği', in Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Edhem Eldem (eds), *De La Revolution Française a la Turquie d'Atatürk*, İstanbul: Editions Isis, 1990, p. 88.
73. Zeki Arkan, *ibid.*, pp. 90–93.
74. Zeki Arkan, *ibid.*, pp. 93–94; Şani-zade Mehmed 'Ata'ullah Efendi, *Şani-zade Tarihi*, İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2008, v. II, pp. 1155–1160.
75. Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa, *Mirat-i Hakikat*, p. 80.
76. Mahmud Celaleddin, *ibid.*, p. 80.

77. Suna Kili, Şeref Gözübüyük, *Türk Anayasa Metinleri*, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1985, p. 46.
78. Ali Reşad, *Fransa İhtilal-i Kebiri*, İstanbul: Artin Asaduryan Matbaası, 1327. Also see Ali Reşad, *Asr-ı Hazır Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1327, p. 42.
79. Ali Reşad, *Fransa İhtilal-i Kebiri*, İstanbul: Artin Asaduryan Matbaası, 1327 (2 volumes).
80. Ali Reşad wrote another book on the Dreyfus affair with Babanzade İsmail Hakkı (*Dreyfus Meselesi ve Esbab-ı Hafiyesi*) in which he emerged as a staunch Dreyfusard condemning the reactionary anti-Dreyfusards and thus following the Third Republican ideology and its progressive commitments (personal conversation with Melahat Fındık).
81. Ali Kemal, *Rical-i İhtilal*, Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı İkdam, 1329.
82. Ali Kemal, *Rical-i İhtilal*, p. 203.
83. Ali Kemal, *ibid.*, p. 73.
84. Ali Kemal, *ibid.*, pp. 200–201.
85. Ali Kemal, *ibid.*, p. 3.
86. Ali Kemal, *ibid.*, p. 202.
87. Şeyh Muhsin Fani [Hüseyin Kazım], *10 Temmuz İnkılabı ve Netayici*, İstanbul: Kütübhane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1336; Mevlanzade Rifat, *İnkılab-ı Osmanî'de Bir Yaprak yahud 31 Mart 1325 Kıyımı*, Kahire: Matbaa'ül Ahbar, 1329.
88. See Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, Metin Berge, *Bolşevik İhtilali ve Osmanlılar*, Ankara: Kebikeç, 1994.
89. Ahmed Ağaoglu, *İhtilal mi İnkılap mı?* Ankara: Alaeddin Kiral Basımevi, 1942, pp. 18–19.
90. Ahmed Ağaoglu, *ibid.*, p. 19.
91. Interestingly, Ahmed Ağaoglu in 1922 argued that the Islamic polity was governed by the regime of *hakimiyet-i milliye*. He further argued that *hakimiyet-i milliye* meant *icma-i ümmet* (consensus of the –Islamic– community). Ahmed Ağaoglu, *ibid.*, pp. 14–15.
92. Muhittin, 'On Sekizinci Asırda Avrupa Cemiyeti', excerpted in Zeki Arıkan, *Tarihimiz ve Cumhuriyet: Muhittin Birgen, 1885–1951*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997, p. 219.
93. Hamit, Muhsin, *Türkiye Tarihi*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930, p. 339.
94. Hamit, Muhsin, *ibid.*, p. 338.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 337.
96. T.T.T. Cemiyeti, *Tarih III*, Ankara: Devlet Matbaası, 1933, p. 218.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
100. Kemalettin Şükrü, *Büyük Fransız İhtilali*, İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931, p. 5.
101. Mustafa Nermi, 'Birkaç Söz', in Ernest Von Aster, *Fransa İhtilalinin Siyasi ve İçtimai Fikirleri*, Ankara: Hakimiyet-i Milliye Matbaası, 1927, p. 3.
102. 'Önsöz', Nazım Poroy, in François-Alphonse Aulard, *Fransa İnkılabının Siyasi Tarihi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1944, p. xi.
103. For Alphonse Aulard, see Jeremy Jennings, *Revolution and the Republic*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 285–297.

104. Francois Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 9.
105. Curiously almost nothing is known of Şükrü Kaya although he held one of the most important posts in the cabinet (as Minister of the Interior, he was in charge of the police) and was involved in a bid for power after the death of Atatürk. For a short political and intellectual biography, see Hakkı Uyar, 'Şükrü Kaya', in Ahmet İnsel (ed.), *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001, pp. 80–83.
106. Şükrü Kaya, 'Türkçeye Çevirenin Sözleri', Albert Mathiez, *Fransız İhtilali*, trans. Şükrü Kaya, İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1940, v. I, p. 14.
107. Francois Furet, *ibid.*, p. 9.
108. Danton and Robespierre were two pivotal figures of the Revolution who were juxtaposed against each other. Louis Blanc (1811–1882) was the foremost Robespierreist in the 19th century seeking for an alternative interpretation of the French Revolution against the majority of Dantonists who portrayed Robespierre as Revolution gone awry. As a socialist, Blanc, however, regarded Robespierre as the uncompromising face of the Revolution and a prelude to socialism. See Ann Rigley, *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation: Three Narratives of the French Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 137–170.
109. James Friguglietti, 'Rehabilitating Robespierre: Albert Mathiez and Georges Lefebvre as Defenders of the Incorruptible', Colin Haydon, William Doyle (eds), *Robespierre*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 213.
110. James Friguglietti, *ibid.*, pp. 212–217.
111. Francois Crouzet, 'French Historians and Robespierre', in Colin Haydon, William Doyle (eds), *Robespierre*, p. 268.
112. *İbid.*, p. 215.
113. The hegemony of Robespierre shattered after 1968 among the French intelligentsia, reflecting the transformation of political cultures. For an article discussing 'the return of Danton' epitomized by the release of Polish director Andrzej Wajda's film *Danton* in 1983, see Robert Darnton, 'Film: Danton and Double Entendre', in Robert Darnton (ed.), *The Kiss of Lamourette*, London, Boston: Faber and Faber, 1990, pp. 37–52.
114. An interesting anecdote conveyed by Ahmed Ağaoğlu in his memoirs is worth repeating. When Ahmed Ağaoğlu mentioned the rumors that Mustafa Kemal was planning to found an opposition party to Şükrü Kaya, he responded that he had heard Mustafa Kemal was thinking of establishing a conservative party but in Kaya's opinion, it would be more appropriate to found a socialist party which may pose less danger to the regime given that there are fewer socialists than conservatives in Turkey. Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Serbest Fırka Hatıraları*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994, p. 27. In another anecdote conveyed by the socialist Abidin Nesimi in his insightful memoirs, Şükrü Kaya told Nazım Hikmet that: 'Turkey is heading towards fascism steered by Marshall F. Çakmak. I am trying to oppose this with all my capacity. Please support me in my anti-fascist struggle.' Abidin Nesimi, *Yılların İçinden*, İstanbul: Gözlem, 1977, p. 146.
115. Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, *ibid.*, p. 115.
116. Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, *ibid.*, p. 116.
117. 'Kadro', *Kadro*, no. 1, December 1932, p. 3.

118. Tekin Alp, *Kemalizm*, İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Gazetesi Matbaası, 1936, p. 285.
119. Mete Tunçay, *ibid.*, p. 476.
120. Mete Tunçay, *ibid.*, p. 475.
121. The journal published by Doğan Avcıoğlu for the specific purpose of organizing a revolution (supported by the leftist factions in the military) was named *Devrim*. The revolution (*devrim*) Avcıoğlu envisioned was both socialist and Kemalist at the same time.
122. Sadri Ertem, *Türk İnkılabının Karakterleri*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1933, p. 133.
123. Sadri Ertem, *ibid.*, p. 134.
124. Saffet Engin, *Kemalizm İnkılabının Prensipleri*, İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1938, p. 33.
125. For Saffet Engin's authoritarian views and interpretation of Kemalism as a permanent single-party authoritarian regime, see Mustafa Arslan, 'M. Saffet Engin', in Ahmet İnel (ed.), *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, pp. 350–357.
126. Neşet Halil, *Büyük Meclis ve İnkılap*, Ankara: T.B.M.M. Matbaası, 1933, p. 190.
127. Neşet Halil, *ibid.*, p. 11.
128. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *İnkılap ve Kadro*, İstanbul: Remzi, 1990, p. 74.
129. George Harris, *The Communists and the Kadro Movement*, İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2002, p. 141; İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, *Kadrocuları ve Kadro'yu Anlamak*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003.
130. Tanık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler*, İstanbul: n.p., 1952, p. 572.
131. Cemil Koçak, *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996, v. II, p. 83.
132. Especially see Samet Ağaoğlu, *Siyasi Günlük: Demokrat Partinin Kuruluşu*, Cemil Koçak (ed.), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992; Nihat Erim, *Günlükler*, edited by Ahmet Demirel, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005, v. I; Faik Ahmed Barutçu, *Siyasi Anılar*, İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1997.
133. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, 'The Village Institutes Experience in Turkey' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, v. 25, no. 1, May 1998, p. 71.
134. Samet Ağaoğlu, reflecting the concerns of the right-Kemalists, wrote: 'Even when Atatürk was alive, there were many publications attempting to distort the meanings and objectives of the revolutions and to reorient the state to the left.' Samet Ağaoğlu, *ibid.*, p. 33.
135. For the emerging anti-communist nationalists within the RPP in the first half of the 1940s also known as *Anadolucus*, see Samet Ağaoğlu, *ibid.*, p. 29.
136. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *ibid.*, p. 65.
137. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, 'Bir Tepeden Reform Denemesi: 'ÇiftçiYi Topraklandırma Kanunu'nun Hikayesi, *Birikim*, no. 107, March 1998, pp. 31–47.
138. Hilmi Uyan, *Hatırladıklarım*, Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1959, pp. 422–423.
139. For a very detailed treatment of the breakaway within the RPP in 1945, see Cemil Koçak, *İkinci Parti*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010.
140. Rıfıkı Salim Burçak, *Türkiye'de Demokrasiye Geçiş*, Ankara: Olgaç Matbaası, 1979, p. 145.

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