

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
DEPARTMENT OF TURKISH STUDIES**

**MASTER THESIS**

**A CRITICAL CONSIDERATION OF NATIONALISM, IN  
CONJUNCTION WITH ISLAMISM, IN THE CASE OF  
MEHMET AKIF ERSOY**

**AYŞEGÜL ADANIR**

**THESIS SUPERVISOR  
PROF. HALİL BERKTAY**

**ISTANBUL, 2021**

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
DEPARTMENT OF TURKISH STUDIES**

**MASTER THESIS**

**A CRITICAL CONSIDERATION OF NATIONALISM, IN  
CONJUNCTION WITH ISLAMISM, IN THE CASE OF  
MEHMET AKIF ERSOY**

**by  
AYŞEGÜL ADANIR**

**A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in  
Turkish Studies**

**THESIS SUPERVISOR  
PROF. HALİL BERKTAY**

**ISTANBUL, 2021**

## APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Turkish Studies.

### Thesis Jury Members

Title – Name

Opinion

Signature

Prof. Halil Berktay

\_\_\_\_\_

Asst. Prof. Vehbi Baysan

\_\_\_\_\_

Asst. Prof. Abdülkerim Asilsoy

\_\_\_\_\_

This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standards set by the School of Graduate Studies of Ibn Haldun University.

Date of Submission

Seal/Signature

## ACADEMIC HONESTY ATTESTATION

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name Surname: Ayşegül Adanır

Signature:



ÖZ

MİLLİYETÇİLİK VE İSLAMCILIK ANLAYIŞLARININ ELEŞTİREL  
BİLEŞİMİNDE MEHMET AKİF ERSOY ÖRNEĞİ

Adanır, Ayşegül

Türkiye Çalışmaları Yüksek Lisans Programı

Öğrenci Numarası: 187043001

Open Researcher and Contributor ID (ORCID): 0000-0003-4923-840X

Ulusal Tez Merkezi Referans Numarası: 10423838

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Halil Berktaş

Eylül 2021, 79 sayfa

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yüzyılında yaşanan sosyal ve politik gelişmelerle birlikte ideolojik düşünce hayatında da mühim değişiklikler gözlemlenmiştir. İslamcılık ve milliyetçilik fikirleri çevresinde yaşanan uyanış, toplumu çökmekte olan imparatorluğun kurtuluşu için çözüm arayışına itmiştir. Ulusal mücadelenin önde gelen isimlerinden olan ve milli-İslami kimliğiyle tanınan Mehmet Akif Ersoy, şiirleri ve yazılarıyla bu mücadelenin öncü ismi olarak kabul edilmiştir. Akif'in milliyetçilik anlayışı kapsamında İslamcılığı konu edinen bu tez aynı zamanda İslamcı kimlikler etrafında yer edinen tartışmalara yer vererek dönemin milliyetçilik algısı hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Akif'in milliyetçilik ve İslamcılık düşüncelerinin kavramsal analizi tespit edilirken, Ersoy'un fikirlerinin ve süreç içerisindeki değişimi ele alınır. Ersoy'un milliyetçilik ve İslamcılık düşüncelerinin aynı düşünce düzeyinde nasıl bir arada bulunabildiği ve bu iki ideoloji arasında herhangi bir önceliğin söz konusu olup olmadığı tartışmalarını içeren tez, dini ve milli kimliğiyle ön plana çıkmış bir ismin kesin bir kabule dayanmadan önce tekrar sorgulanması gerektiğini savunur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Milliyet, Milliyetçilik, İslamcılık, Türkizm, Osmanlı Devleti.

## ABSTRACT

### A CRITICAL CONSIDERATION OF NATIONALISM, IN CONJUNCTION WITH ISLAMISM, IN THE CASE OF MEHMET AKIF ERSOY

Adanır, Ayşegül

MA in Turkish Studies

Student ID: 187043001

Open Researcher and Contributor ID (ORCID): 0000-0003-4923-840X

National Thesis Center Reference Number: 10423838

Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Halil Berktaş

September 2021, 79 pages

This thesis analyzes the forms of nationalism ideology and its relation with religion on the ground of the Islamism ideology in the last century of the Ottoman Empire. After the Second Constitutional Monarchy Ottoman Empire experienced a social and religious awakening after the loss of the territorial lands. The effects of the imperial decline are obviously seen among Turkish intellectuals and writers during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. As a result of the destructive effects of the war, ideological developments emerged among Ottoman Muslims in the wake of the salvation of the Ottoman Empire. Mehmet Akif Ersoy as a so-called national anthem writer considered a prominent name in the defense of national struggle mostly narrated within his epic vision and patriotic sense of his poems. In order to describe the situation of this era, the thesis focuses on the conceptualization of nation and Islam in the sense of national anthem writer Mehmet Akif Ersoy. However, Akif's consideration of nationalism observed changes in parallel to the socio-political experiences, his concept of nationalism and religion that meet in a synthesis needs explanations and clarifications around the debates of nationalism in the early years of the Turkish Republic. This thesis also suggests that Mehmet Akif as a name that has come to the fore with its national and religious identity should be questioned for his role in raising national awareness.

**Keywords:** Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Nation, Nationalism, Islamism, Turkism, Ottoman Empire

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I should like to express my deepest gratitude to my first teachers, my father and my mother, for always standing by me, trusted and supported me all along my academic journey. This thesis resulted along continuing efforts of their support and care. A sincere thanks to my dear sister Zeynep Adanır and for her great support attributed to me and always brightening me up with joy .

I would like to thank my thesis advisor Prof. Halil Berktaş at Ibn Haldun University. His perspective during the courses in MA of Turkish Studies broadened my horizon with his deep knowledge. I also thanks to my jury members Dr. Vehbi Baysan and Dr. Abdulkerim Asilsoy for their time and advices. Last but not least, I also thanks to the ISAM Library for facilitating the conditions during the stressful times of the pandemic and letting me to continue to this humble research.

Ayşegül Adanır

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ÖZ.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Methodological Approach.....	4
1.2. Literature Review.....	5
1.3. Scope and Limitations.....	7
1.4. Research Questions.....	7
<b>CHAPTER II CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1. General Definitions and Terms.....	10
2.1.1. Ottomanism Ideology.....	12
2.1.2. Turkish Nationalism.....	14
2.1.3. Islamism Ideology.....	15
2.2. Modernization Period in Ottoman Empire.....	19
2.3. Nationalism and Islamism Debates During WWI.....	23
2.4. Nationalism Ideology Among Ottoman Turks.....	28
2.4.1. Turkism and Islamism.....	30
2.4.2. Balkan Wars and Its Effects on Ottoman Empire.....	31
<b>CHAPTER III ERSOY'S IDEAS OF ISLAMISM AND NATIONALISM.....</b>	<b>34</b>
3.1. Akif and Islamism.....	34
3.2. The Impacts of Balkan Wars on Akif's ideas of Nationalism.....	39
3.3. Akif and Nationalism.....	44
<b>CHAPTER IV NATIONALISM AND ISLAMISM DEBATES.....</b>	<b>59</b>
4.1. Religion and Nationalism.....	59
4.2. Islam and Nationalism.....	61

<b>CHAPTER V CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>CURRICULUM VITAE.....</b>	<b>79</b>



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

WWI	World War I
CUP	Committee of Union and Progress
TGNA	Turkish Grand National Assembly
V.	Volume
Edt.	Editor
No	Number
Etc.	Et cetera



# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Nationalism in the history of civilization and politics displays a great place over the last centuries of the world. It has such a character that can define the human condition back to the early modern history of the world. The relation between religion with nationalism evolved and changed over the history and affected each other in many ways. The relation of religion with the nation is strongly emphasized within the particular nations and cultures. As a social and a historical phenomenon, these two constructive elements are led to creation and generation of history and geography where the social, religious and public sphere are made nationalism obvious.

The common example of religion in conjunction with nationalism is seen in the case of Jewish community which are strongly attached from the theological and social origins, such as Orthodoxy while it encouraged Greek nationalism, Catholicism dominated the national uprising among Irish, Polish, and Latin American societies, and also in Protestantism what is embodied in the feature of German nationalism. However, the secular image of nationalism is accepted by the majority of the nationalism theoreticians as in the case of the origin of the national riots are considered profane and heretical. There are still a number of scholars who accepts and define the role and the influence of religion in the construction of nationalism in nation-states communities.

By referring to the words that are used in the arguments of nationalism, calling of “national” and “nationalist” are described in different definitions. It can be said that there are three different types of nationalism descriptions that are in need of explanation in the scale of 20th century. Basically, observing the Western approach in nationalism literature, the primordialism that are the focus of the ethnic identity and ethnicity as the main role in the formation of nationalism ideology. Modernist argument of nationalism which points out the French Enlightenment and the building of the nation-states as the effective factors. Thus, the origins of the nations are

explained as a result of the nations-states and claimed that nation-states precede the nations. However, ethno-symbolist concept of nationalism defines the formation of nationalism within the cultural, moral and ethical symbols that influence the nationalism context.

The historical and political effect of nationalism has been always obvious and still continues to affect the modern world within various components. The certain points of affects did not limit only historical and political sphere, it also continued to shape the society through literature and also using the education with its all components that serves for the national engagement. Since the nationalism is influential and powerful subject of world history, thus the case of influences is also varied and developed within different national attachment tools.

One defender of the role of religion is explained by Hayes attaching the great role of religion to the emergence and grow of nationalism. He argues that the first launchers of the modern nationalism are the people who are traditionally religious people. The natural adaptation of religion to nationalism formed the aspirations using the history of Christianity, its customs and salvation theories as a collective memory of the nation attributes great importance in this study case. However, the economically based explanations of nationalism are rejected by Hayes. He explains a nation-state being *“Primarily spiritual, even other-worldly, and its driving force is its collective faith, a faith in its mission and destiny, a faith in things unseen, a faith that would move mountains”* (Hayes 1960, 165). He sees parallels between nationalism and religion the striking and also explaining national phenomenon is supporting imperialism and created strong armies which followed wars. The meeting of nationalism wreligion concerning the potential affiliations makes it clear that societies that are deeply influenced by nationalism movements are the product of this synthesis of religion and nationalism (Akgün& Çalış 2003, 585).

There are nationally and universally accepted forms of nations-states equipment such as waving flags, songs, national feasts and national anthem before the flag. It is explained as a liturgical form by Hayes that serves for the praise of nation and observance of national codes. He notes that the role of national anthems have crucial

roles in admission of the literary works that proves the sacred face of nationalism (Hayes 1960).

Within the important dimensions of nationalism, there have been studies on the similar subject points that Özkırmılı classifies the development of nationalism theories in its historical timelines (Özkırmılı 2017). Nationalism literature offers different definition and approaches by the scholars who greatly contributed and argued on the history of nationalism.

Nationalism is a political doctrine that emerged in Western Europe and simultaneously progressed in the modernization process and operational form of modernity. Nationalism is effective as any religious sectarian group. Its perpetuity commonly lies in the existence of a race. And here considering the social and historical situation over Turkey during the World War, there is a great infusion of religion and nationalism which is hardly distinctive in definition come into function.

Mehmet Akif Ersoy as a so-called national anthem writer considered a prominent name in the defense of national struggle with epic vision and patriotic sense of his poems. It is important to observe the changes respectively happened in the timeline of Mehmet Akif that altered in different stages in his life. The categorization of his thoughts will be more obvious to see under the events that influenced his thoughts on the idea of nationalism. In the early stages of his life, he supported the idea of the unity of the Islamic community (ummah) while strongly opposing the racial-nationalism and supporting the Islamic union (Pan-Islamism). The impact of the Balkan War and the aftermath of World War I created conversions over the ideas of unity for Mehmet Akif. After the situations that he went through led him to have an ideological revolution as it is seen in his poems. Clearly, the sense of nationalism was accepted and placed in his statements.

The aim of this thesis also tries to discern the various concepts that are unified in the same meaning as the reference of 'nationalism' to 'patriotism' before its strict conversion to the ethnic-nationalism from the religious-nationalism. The ongoing elements of wartime led to the collapse of the millet concept, together with its religious connotation where there was no longer possible to preserve the Ottomanism idea of

national consciousness of the millet under the Ottoman rule. Obviously, after the outbreak of the Balkan Wars which massively played a key factor in the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Ottoman Muslims experienced a great depression through to the imperial collapse.

Mehmet Akif Ersoy was acknowledged by his motivative poems for Turkish Muslims during the national struggle. The political circumstances during the break of the imperial lands are influenced intellectuals' position and developed their stance about the ongoing ideological strands. The influence of French Revolution is resulted in the configuration of territorial attachments under the influences toward nationalism. The situation in Ottoman Empire aftermath of Great War, portrayed a crisis in the mater of political and social life.

### **1.1. Methodological Approach**

The basic composition of the narrated blocks of this thesis is a set of composed historical notes from numerous narratives. The construction of these narratives however was not a surprise at the beginning and not helpful; however, drawing on an array of literature from the primary and secondary sources during the leading period of the arguments paved the way for this study. Particularly, those to which researchers and scholars in this specific area made repeated and defensive claims regarding thenationalism embedded in patriotism.

The thesis focuses on literary and published works of Mehmet Akif Ersoy, conference papers, periodicals, and tries to deduce the related concepts that are reviewed through chronological order. The considered elements of the works are provided with methodological argumentations about the related concepts of the research subject. It also aims to analyze the general discussions about his vision within its historical context.

The acceptance of nationalism is also conditionally accepted by Muslim Turkish intellectuals by excluding the nationalism from ethnic based discrimination of race. Thus, going on researches through the literary sources that offers more than one reference makes it hard to determine.

The accessibility of a wide selection of the works on Mehmet Akif's life and his works together with his ideas on nationalism and Islamism brought many arguments overall the submitted works. However, the national and Turkish affinity of Ersoy is strictly rejected by most of the intellectuals. The arguments over the nationalism and Islamism still in debate and open to diverse evaluations. However, this thesis tries to represent a more expanded and focused results going into reconsideration of the common terms through argumentative approach yet reminding the sensitivity of the study subject.

## **1.2. Literature Review**

In the general acceptance, the process of nationalism is mainly launched and processed in Western World. The concept is addressed to be a modern fact that emerged as a result of the modernization period when the secular majority established supremacy over the Catholic authorities. Nationalism debates are mainly explained in view of scholars while assigning the origin of the nations and nationalism in different historical perspectives.

Questions that dealt the subjects over the origin of nation and nationalism is explained by the perennialism and modern nationalism concepts that are recognized nationalism in various explanations and addressed its origin to various resources. The position of perennialism theory owners viewed the development of the national conscience in ancient times and in natural course of history. Thus, a perennialist theoretician suggest that nations exist prior to the existence of the ideology of nationalism. However, the modern theory of nationalism addresses the emergence of nationalism to the modern age of nation-states establishment and views nationalism as a modern fact promoted by nation-states (Özkırımlı 2017).

During the early decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the preliminary works in the nationalism fields started to publish and developed various arguments of historians and their evaluation of nationalism. The ongoing situation of the world which yet experienced decolonization through the national efforts and the territorial claims that resulted from the building of nation-states expanded the interest in nationalism studies. Among these works that greatly influenced the nationalism debates are works such as *Nations Before Nations* (John Armstrong in 1982), *Imagined Communities* (by Benedict Anderson in

1983 ), *Nations and Nationalism* (by Ernest Gellner in 1983), *Invention of Tradition* (by Hobsbawm and Ranger in 1983), *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (by Anthony Smith in 1986).

Without any doubt, all these books have great value and dealt with the fundamental problems with their own assumptions and succeeded to become a manifest in the study field, with the primary focuses. There is a clear point that the formation of the nationalism did not happen suddenly; however, it is called the age of nationalism. There are many effective causes that composed of geographical, economic, social, religious affects that influenced the growth of the nationalism ideology. Along with this, William Haddad (1977) agrees on the idea that there is a different identification of nationalism comparatively in Western countries and in the Middle East and Asian countries. Where in Middle East the concept of nationality was obvious before the emergence of nation-states, however in Western countries, nationalism and nation concepts emerged after the nation-states. Giving a specific example of England, before the emergence of nation-sates there was no mention of the English nation before England.

There are various theories of nationalism that analyze the nation and nationalism doctrine in different stages. Özkırmılı classifies the study timeline of nationalism pointing to the initial period that are 18th and 19th centuries when the nationalism ideologically claimed its existence and the period between 1918 and 1945 when it became subject of interest by historians (Özkırmılı 2017).

The nationalism themed debates are mainly focused on the emergence of nationalism and the discussions and theories about the origin of the nationalism. However, lately, the discussions around the origin of nations are faced constructive and substantial arguments in the way of constitutive elements in nation-states. Nationalism faced the negative effects of religious institutions, with some exceptions, in the West, and the struggle was against churches and clergy. In the Middle East as with Islamic movements, there are many examples where religion and nationalism are intertwined.

### **1.3. Scope and Limitations**

The general scope of the study examines the notion of nationalism over the last century of the Ottoman Sultanate after the French Revolution and its impact on the multi-ethnic society in the Ottoman imperial lands. The discussion over nationalism occurred during the late Ottoman Empire and the early years of Turkish Republic. The conceptual definitions over the usual usage of nationalism was in trouble and there was a need to find the exact definition for ethnicity, nationalism and racism. The narrow sense of nationalism in modern Turkish exactly refers to the word of “milliyetçilik”; however, the earlier references do not exactly include the Arabic origin word of “kavmiyetçilik” “millet” (nation also used for the description of various religious groups such as the Muslim nation, Armenian nation). The usual definition of “kavmiyet” is explained by Gökalp as the social group of people who are close to each other in terms of a common language. In addition to these social groups, he also places the concepts of millet (nation) and ummah (religion) in different forms. Gökalp also points to the difference between nation and kavmiyet that he describes within the meaning of tribal communities. In contrast to Gökalp’s senses of kavmiyet and nation, Babanzade Ahmed Naim as an ardent advocator of Islamism, uses the word of kavim and kavmiyet as a reference to nation and nationalism.

From time to time, the sense of language is distinguished by the same person in different concepts. Thus, detecting the specific reference of the terms together with its usual concept needs more clarification while an intertextual reading is needed.

### **1.4. Research Questions**

The theme in this study raises mainly question of “Is nationalism necessarily a disguised form of religion or something different altogether? One of the paradoxes of the modern age is that it built nation-states and partly altered the sense of religion. The illustration of nationalism is still in question as to whether it could be in inclination to religion or still the controversial arguments insist on rejecting the relation of religion with nationalism entirely. This study offers a new reading of nationalism and its relation with religion in Akif’s experiences and his narrations.

Moreover, the questions in this thesis deal with the ideas of the Mehmet Akif Ersoy who is the writer of Turkish national anthem and who is known as the “national poet” and “poet of Islam”. The evolution of his ideas in the scope of Islamism and nationalism ideologies. His attempts and reactions are varied after certain events in the late Ottoman Empire. This thesis discusses his ideological tendency and how they evolved and transformed into the synthesis of Islamism and nationalism.

In general scope of the literature of nationalism, what kind of nationalism exactly represents his ideas and his ideological composition in his narrations and poems. The conceptual definition of words and terms are varied at his time where the Turkish language was more engaged with the terms in Arabic and Persian origin. The possible and more accurate reference of the words of *millet*, ethnicity, race, *kavmiyet* and *kavim* are explained in their original contexts from his articles and poems.

This study argues that the relation between Islamism and nationalism coincided with each other and how ideology is preferred by the Islamist intellectuals mainly considering Mehmet Akif Ersoy. His emphasis on nation and nationalism together with its religious connotated channels brings the confusion and complexity in the understanding of his view. While his name is still representing the Islamist vision of nationalism among the modern Turkish society, the question lies behind the curious identification of what kind of ideology has been embraced regarding his Islamist nationalist and intellectual personality. This question brought the consideration of how the two main different ideologies overlap in the same identity and what ideology it provokes between Islamism and Turkism.

Questions also include whether the coexistence of nationalism with Islamism are carried at the same level of priority in his story of progression of ideas. Following that, the arguments follow the building factors of Turkish nationalism and Islamism. The debates around the formation process viewed from both wings in which the identification of Turkish nationalization initiated discussions among the early intellectuals of the Turkish Republic.

In addition to these arguments that emerged during the age of nationalism in late the Ottoman Empire, this thesis also argues that a name which has come to the fore with

its national and religious identity should be questioned again beyond the repetition of his already approved identity.



## CHAPTER II

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1. General Definitions and Terms

The word, nation in Turkish refers to the word “milliyet” which is the original form derived from the Arabic word “milliyah” meaning "coreligionist" and describes a community of people who share the same faith unit and religion. The reference of the multiple words here needs a separation from their contemporary usage and synonyms in current words of Turkish language. The words “*kavim*” and “*ırk*” many times are used synonymously in reciprocal definitions. However, in the historical references and general acceptance of these two words refers to the same word wherein the Halide Edip uses one after the other as a synonym. Kurt also claims definition for the discursive translations of the words of `Kavmiyet`, “milliyet”, “ırk” can substitute each for the other in their common meanings (Kurt 2012). However, the struggle between the determination of the exact meaning of these language forms of the word is accepted as a reference to the meaning "nation" (Kurt, 2012:45). The word that is used in the Turkish meaning refers to people who are common in language, religion and share the same history in a specific territory. It is a common translation of the Latin origin word of the “nasci” which the word of “nation” in English derived from and is referring to the people who live in the homeland. However, in English the word of nation used by the year of 1962 when its recent definition has begun to be used from earlier 19th century.

From another reference of the word, in the French language, the same definition for the word "nationality" has been firstly getting a place in Dictionnaire de l'Académie in 1885. The Latin origin of the word nation does not exactly refer to the Arabic word of millet. As Karpat (2011) explains the word Ottoman nation typology was established in the formation of jamaats (cemaat) and the concept of nation was strongly

bonded to the religiosity differently from the Western European description of the ethnic and tribal identity.

The protection of the national or religious groups however different in the origin, offers a similar sense for the explanation of the group bonding and acceptance. The group connections are practical in the way that it provides unique experiences for each group owner and it offers sentimental bonds that keep the group together and also keeps individuals from conflict. The self-agreement of self in this community requires a self-belonging to a national group and requires an attachment as a member of the community. The difference of a national group differs from an ethnically bonded and gathered group. The way that the national identity of the groups carries collective memories that help them to theorize a nation in the same basic grounds. The definition of nations as a cultural value is described by German philosopher Herder. He considers the society that can be affected by the natural and social facts where it builds its characteristic way of living and thinking. He rejects the evaluation of the history in the framework that does not consider the reality of the time, social, and cultural situation (Smith 2010).

The conception of nationalism as a common framework does not refer to a concept of nation that necessarily neglects another, it is that which negotiates and gives consent to another. The alternative projects that could challenge and ideologically superior over the nationalism emerges in the aftermath of colonialism terror. It lies there within the ongoing process to construct "*a common material and meaningful framework for living through, talking about, and acting about social orders characterized by domination*". In the ongoing process when "*forms and languages of protest and resistance must adopt the forms and languages of domination in order to be registered or heard*" (Roseberry 1996, 81).

The concept of Turkishness, however then was not in use by Ottoman intellectuals and citizens. Turks in its concept were considered savages. The rise of Turkish nationalism took advance after the failure of Ottomanism ideology that tried to be spread as a caution for the successive nationalist riots. Obviously, after the influence of nationalism movements, the conversion of ideologies is seen among CUP members. Then, the mentioned "Turkishness" is represented only by the ruling elite and the

secular intellectuals. However, its public reference was not related to being a name for national identity (Yıldız 2009, 210). In regard to Gellner's explanation of modernism as the creator of nationalism is obvious in the history of the development of Turkish nationalism in Ottoman history. Countries on the eve of the modernization period experienced the rise of nationalism a secular form of modernization. The Ottoman experience of modernization resulted with reform and renovation of multiple institutions. The religious characteristics of "Ottoman Nationalism" turned into Turkish nationalism (Berkes 2002, 437).

The essential emergence of nationalist ambitions primarily influenced Balkan societies and then it developed as a threat to the Ottoman Empire. Growing influence on nations yielded empires to build their sovereignty through administrative and military restorations. In addition to the technical reformations, ideological movements are produced and led the ideas around the current changes. The allegory of the empire set a resolution in the name of the Ottomanism identity by publicizing the general identity for all subjects.

Performing of the supra-identity in the multicultural society is aimed to neutralize the destructive effects of the nationalism ideology. The precaution against the nationalism movement was both religious and ethnical based for the Ottoman Empire when the Christians began to be a threat for Ottoman unity (Vatandaş 2004). Sets of reforms that are practiced in the preservation of the political frame is an actual break from the traditional Ottoman state ideology. There already existed a division of hierarchy between the rulers and ruled and the religious criteria in the classification of the population lost its importance. Ottomanism's idea was offering a modern political thought that entitles legal equality and citizenship in terms influenced by the French Enlightenment. The Rescript of Gülhane as a result of this project intended to secure equality by the official claims (Vatandaş 2004).

### **2.1.1. Ottomanism Ideology**

In the aftermath of the Balkan Wars, eventually the attempts of Young Turks were wasted and getting no return for their idea of 'Ottomanism' which was aiming at the uniting of all the Ottoman public without any religious or racial discrimination under

one flag. The idea of "Ottomanism" after becoming pointless for the Ottoman dream, a new ideology followed it within the different form of identity.

The Ottoman identity replaced itself with Turkism in defense of the Turkish nation and was encouraged after the end of the Empire and the following of the National Struggle. The Ottomanism ideology after the Balkan break metamorphosed into the nationalist ideology. The options there are afflicted after the recurrent consequences of the failures of earlier attempts led the ideas of the integrity in Ottomanism and Islamism ideas. The stress over religion by the Young Turks still considered the dominant identity during the CUP regime (Kayalı 1997). The Turkish Nationalism for Young Turks was an unintentional option but the last option for the territorial lands. However, for Young Ottomans, the position that should be taken toward nationalism was a reluctant tendency of the Ottoman intellectuals.

The idea of Ottomanism examined the creation of the Ottoman nation in the Ottoman borders on no religious and ethnic basis. While Ottomanism applying to any ethnicity regardless of religion, the new idea of nationalism was representing the national and religious unity. The idea of Turkism emerged after the failures of the previous ideas of Ottomanism and Islamism. Examination of those identities by Yusuf Akçura is mainly focused on the preservation of the main identities of Ottoman subjects. Respectively for Ottomanism, the aspiration of the Ottoman conscious was aimed to unite the all Ottoman subject in Ottoman identity. However, the imagine of Ottoman identity as a nation abandoned the Ottomanism idealists in desperation after the Balkan Wars. The following ideology of Islamism and Pan-Islamism policy was supported by Abdulhamid II. who oriented the alliance policy into religious unity mainly standing between Ottoman Turks and Muslim Arabs in defense of Islamic lands against Western countries. However, the unsuccessful unity bitterly failed by the intervention of Christian Powers (Lewis, 2001).

Survival of the idea of Ottomanism lasted until the emergence of the Balkan Wars. The obedience to the Sultan has still attached importance to Muslims same for Arabs and Kurds as well as Turks in Ottoman lands. The ongoing desire to save Ottoman Empire is considered to protect Islam, and thus Ottomanism ideology is conceived to be the protector and savior among Muslim World. The appeal of rescuing the religion

of Islam and the idea of Ottomanism, led the Unionist group to take Islam as their principle of political strategy. However, the non-Muslim population of Greeks in Istanbul and Armenians in Anatolia lost the interests for Ottomanism (Ahmad 1993).

The composition of CUP during the Balkan Wars developed as a reactionist group that practiced against the autocracy of Abdulhamid II. to preserve the Ottoman state and the remained territories of Balkan against the uprising. Interestingly, the members of the CUP were from different ethnic origins and religious dispositions and various ideologies among the group members including Ittihad and Islamist identities. The unionist activity of multidimensional policy of CUP informed diverse identities to take place under the same collective purposes to take over the control (Yavuz, 2013, p.46).

### **2.1.2. Turkish Nationalism**

The development of nationalism ideology among Ottoman Muslims followed a unique line of process. Ottoman subjects, after the conquest of the city of Istanbul, recognized the Ottoman subjects identified as millet system that divides peoples into various ethnic and religious groups (Karpas 2017). The ethnic groups of Bosnian, Arab, Turkish, Kurdish, Georgian, Laz, Slavic, and Pomaks were the Ottoman subjects in the division of millet. The emergence and evolution of national and ethnic cognition of Turkism progressed in three stages. The national awareness is formatted in the cultural-historical context of identity between the years of 1839-1908. The national identity is explained and explicitly recited as an ethnic identity of Turks between 1908-1913 and 1913-1918 when the Republican Nationalism Project is continued (Karpas 2010, 659-60).

Akçura notes that the Turkism idea emerged among Ottoman Turks between the years of 1865 and 1870. 19<sup>th</sup> century is the development of the Turkish nationalism and in this specific period, early Turkish writers Ahmet Vefik Paşa and Şinasi were the prominent names raised awareness on Turkish language and literature. Şinasi contributed to the Turkism ideas studying on Turkish literature. The ideas of Pan-Turkism is also observed in Şinasi's writings. Addition to that, both Celaleddin Paşa and Şinasi studied on the Turkish philology, early Turkish history and ethnology. Yet, the Western ideas influenced the Turks' perception of nationalism, Akçura connects

the studies of orientalist on Turkish nationalism contributed to the Turkish writers to search on Turkish nationalism. He specified that Vambery, Leon Cahun, Radloff, De Guignes, Silvestre de Sacy and Abel de Remusat were the orientalist that greatly influenced the advance of Turkism studies among Turks (Akçura 2006).

Gökalp addresses the emergence of Turkish nationalism as the result of the national crisis that leads the grow of the ideologies as a call for independence. It is the feeling of desire to pursue the national personality in the time of confusion and of the liberty of the nation. Gökalp suggest that the ideological development of this sense is also confused with the sacred emotions. This time of crisis are the days that the catastrophic events follow by the national spring of the national salvation ideas that mostly results with the establishments of social institutions. The case of German nationalism is explained in this concept of disaster that erupted when Prussia was occupied by the Napoleonic Army which afterwards the ideology of Germanism came in sight. He also reminds that the German philosopher Fichte who defended idea of universalism reciting of “earth is my homeland and humanity is my family”, after witnessing the catastrophic event in his homeland, however afterwards of such national crisis he rejects his earlier ideas and accepts Germanist ideas (Gökalp 1997, 44).

### **2.1.3. Islamism Ideology**

The political conditions after the Second Constitutional Monarchy, the ideological movement of Islamism engaged among Ottoman Muslims under the motivation to mobilize the ummah community of Islam. In this period, religion is obviously perceived and interpreted as a counter ideology of contemporary ideas. Across the European colonization and Western attacks, religion stands in defense of religious nationalism as a mainstay of the Islamic word. Pan-Islamism is a discourse of Islamism which considers the transition between religion and the modern concept of nationalism that is attributed to proto-nationalist characteristics. In this point, the relation is effectively put by Gökalp while he pointed out that the religion and nationalism senses both calls for sacrifice for the sacred cause (Gökalp 1997).

During the second half of the 19th century, the religious center of Islamic countries is considered the Ottoman Empire taking over the rule of the Hijaz region (holy places)

that surround Mecca and Madinah cities. Moreover, in these Arabic lands the Ottoman Empire provided a political superiority over the religious leaders of the Muslim world (Karpas 2001). The major hegemony of the Ottoman Empire demanded the establishment of independence over the Muslim world and to revive the Islamic living conditions. Thus, in the center of the Islamic world, the empire obliged itself to preserve the Muslim world by reforms and renovations. The politicization of Ottoman identity in this century began with the main initiatives of Sultan Abdulhamid. To unify the Ottoman Muslims under the *ümmet* identity and to achieve the universal congregation of all Muslims, Abdulhamid II created the Islamism ideology afterward 1878. Thus, the ideological component of Islamism is founded in a political definition of the religious community.

Islamism constituted two different worldviews in terms of its historical origins when it emerged in the 19th century. During the 19th century modernization period in the Ottoman Empire, the problem of the superiority of the Western world led it to find a new synthesis as a solution before the collapse. In its general concept, Islamism is a search for a solution to make Islam the dominating form of belief, thought, morality, politics, administration, and law and aims to save Islamic countries from backwardness by establishing unity and solidarity among Muslims (Türküne 2001).

Islamism as a 19th-century ideology aimed to make Islam a whole system in the scope of belief, worship, morality, philosophy, politics, law, and education. The solution that Islamism would engage and dominate life within the Islamic system aimed to save Muslims and the Islamic world from Western exploitation and imperialism. The goal of this sense of salvation from tyranny and slavery led the ideas on instituting civilization, rationality as a movement that includes all of the activism aspects of dominant political, intellectual, and scientific studies (Kara 2011).

The definitions for Islamism are considered to be the most important phenomenon in the late Ottoman initiatives of reform and renovation movements. The characteristic of the late Ottoman period specially the period between Second Monarchy till the establishment of Turkey Republic (1908-1923) the progressive of ideologies (starting with Westernism, Nationalism, Reform and Renovation ideas etc.) are followed the similar questions that lied onto the preservation of the empire. In this scope, there are

clear fusions between ideas that includes one another's aspect. Expansion of Islamism ideology mostly succeed through the print materials of periodicals and journals that was the main focus among the Islamist agenda.

Islamism ideology since it started has gone through five different stages in different aspects of actions. The first period is when the Neo-Ottomanism movement emerged in the 1870s until the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy in 1908. The rise of Islamic Unionism/ Pan Islamism ideology is accepted and shared by many Ottomans.

The political reference of Islamism managed to be build by Sultan Abdulhamid as the political practitioner of pan-Islamism with the aim of the political authority of the caliph that could rule over the Muslims around the world. Islamism ideology is started during the second period between 1908-1924. In this period, some periodicals such as *Sırat-i Müstakim* and *Sebilürreşad* started to publish the articles of Islamist intellectuals who took active roles during the national salvation and early Republican period (Kara 2013).

The next phase of Islamism which developed between 1924-1944 includes such radical Islamism period that nationalism debates and conservative openings led by intellectuals. Contextually, the concern of Islamism ideology based on the modern version of Islamic social, political, and cultural life. The struggle of Islamist during the modernization period was the Western invention of innovations and modern life style was not a matter of preference. The need for renovation and reform paved the way of acceptance the importance of modernity however the Islamism ideology suggested to keep up with the contemporary time of reform and innovations and adapting the Western style of progress and developments to Islamic bonds at the same time.

The ideological form of Islamism constituted a synthesis of Western modernization and traditional Islamic values that shaped the Islamist' worldview (Türküne 1991). By all its dynamism, Islamic modernism defended by many renovation supporters from other Muslim countries. The fundamentalist idea of religion and the stress of need for change and modernization is also stressed by Muhammed Abduh, Cemalettin Efgani,

Muhammed İkbāl. It is no surprise that the references in Islamic modernization ideas in Akif's sense are influenced by Abduh and Afghani by its all means. Abduh's reform project mainly concerned on Islamic revitalization and culture that is all free from the Western imperialism. Afghani and Abduh's messages are mainly opposing of the Western influences on Muslim nations addressing to the social and political corruptions.

The idea of the unity of Islam is a modern idea that was influenced by the Western Christian pacts of unity of pan-Slavic movement that aimed at the unity of Italy and Germany under the Slavic pact. The intrinsic idea of the origin in religion also boosted its support for unity, in danger of weakening the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire (Keddie 1969). The Ottoman Empire was not only described as the notorious leader of the Muslims and but also as a self-proclaimed caliph standing at the center of the focus.

The sensitivity of Pan Islamism differs itself from the classical Islamic and the proto nationalism that is promoted by pan-Islamist vision of nationalism. While the hostile reaction of classical Islam to nationalism might not be as well propagative as that of modern pan-Islamism, the political answer of pan-Islamism sheds light on man's activity rather than God, draws a line for which to be a figurative role between classical Islam and modern nationalism. From here, the stress of pan-Islamism is criticized by Keddie (1969). He agrees that the natio-imperialist and proto-nationalist senses continued in the long term. He argues that the resemblance of the functionalities of traditional Islamic policy and modern nationalism affected by the Pan-Islamist movements. The relation of nationalism and Pan-Islamism, he particularly finds in Afghani's ideas that the intention was to appeal for local unity as a preference before any other unity or religion that Afghani preferences the national unity first before the unity of Muslims.

The stress on local nationalism does not consider itself as a reaction against Pan-Islamism, however Afghani aims to gather all Muslim nationalities under their own nationality and preserve the national language and identity. Afghani and Abduh had followers around Muslim countries and influenced the Islamic modernization ideas of Islamism. Mehmet Akif, an ardent Islamist and a national poet of Islam purposed the mentioned projects of Abduh and Afghani. Akif is an exemplary model for having a

conjunctive figure as a defender of Islamism and Turkish nationalism during the Turkish Independence War. The year of Balkan War impact on the Ottomanism ideas of the Ottoman Muslims.

## **2.2. Modernization Period in Ottoman Empire**

The role of nationalism is examined in the paradigm of the modernization period of Turkey. Therefore, they looked for the modernization attempt in Muslim society with the modern role of religion of Islam. The role of nationalism and Islam is explained in various extensions. Mutually attributing each other in conflicts and contradictions. As Yavuz (1993) states the role Islam is mainly ignored in Western and Eurocentric descriptions.

There is a strong connection between the rise of Turkish Nationalism and modernization period that processed reformations and reconstruction in various units of Ottoman Empire. The appearance of the word Turkishness is obviously used in 19th-century literature works in the Ottoman Empire before the establishment of Turkish nationalism. As a result of the modernization period, it prepared the rise for Turkish nationalism in the late history of the Ottoman Empire and the years before the establishment of Turkish Republic.

Prior to the modernization efforts launched in the Turkish Republic, the modern enterprises were still in action and actively led by Ottomans under western influences. With the emergence of Ottoman identity the term "Ottoman" begins to be used in an usual way where it previously was only attributed to the elites and headmen in the upper classes of Ottoman Empire (Zakari, 2016, 70). Its public usage was not used intentionally among the public. Undertaking of the Ottomanism project is aimed to identify all individuals who live on the imperial border of the Ottoman Empire. The desire for reunification of the Ottoman subjects under the unique title is referenced as attempts of the westernization efforts and "cosmopolitanism" of the Ottoman Empire (Ortaylı 1999, 77). Another reference for the emergence of modernization attempts is assigned by Belge (2011) addressing the modernization phenomenon being built in the 18th century of Ottoman Empire that is commonly identified as the Tulip Period. He defends that the Ottoman attempts of westernization are motivated by various reasons

that are mainly resulted as military revolutions after the Treaty of Karlowitz and Passarowitz which are respectively repeated battles with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1699 and 1718. The attempts to restore the military force and the aims to reorganize the imperial power followed during the rule of Mahmud II and followed the Tanzimat Period begun with the reign of Sultan Abdulmecid. The period came into force between the years of 1839-1876, he promoted the legal equity of the non-Muslim subjects in the empire. As Belge (2011) addresses the origin of the initial attempts mainly developed in the Tulip Period, the modernization project resulted in the Tanzimat period when the modern army took the place of the existing army of Janissary in 1826 with the event known as *Vaka-i Hayriye*.

Anti-nationalist attempts of Tanzimat Reform in 1839 and Kanun-i Essai (First Constitutional Era) in 1876 were anticipated to unite every Ottoman subject under the *Ottoman* title. Enterprises of the legal code of Tanzimat treated all *millet* under the title of Ottoman Empire equally and assured them to have equal legal and political rights. However, the stress upon the categorization of the Ottoman subjects in regard of religious classification and the religious *millet* sense of Ottoman Empire altered into Ottoman identity as politically united Ottoman identity. Although the Gellner approach of the construction of nationalization, in the sense of instrumentalizing the modernization as a result of technical and industrial revolutions did not directly affect the Ottoman subjects' sense as an Ottoman citizen. Zakari argues that such developments are considered too early to cause a modern attempt at national awakening. The applied reforms were not carried such weight in terms of national identity for Turks (Zakari 2017). However, the actions that were put into effect in sustaining imperial unity among the non-Muslims and to refrain them from the political existence did not result in success. The project of Ottomanism which aimed to maintain the political unity under the imperial current identity failed to attach the subjects to the Empire. From the non-Muslims point of view, when they included in the reform policies and claimed more rights, and more differences were appeared and resulted in Turk-Islam nationalism (Zakari 2017)

Europe, in the 19th century, transformed out of the nation-states from multi-national empires. The interactions between Europe and Ottoman Empire were active and thus Ottoman statesmen were aware of the losing interest of the Ottomanism idea among

East European subjects that also limited taxes could be collected from. Rising influence of the French Revolution also affected Turkish intellectuals' political tendency and the principles of liberty and equality were among the adapted ideas from the French Enlightenment. Namık Kemal as a prominent name of Turkish nationalism was rejecting the reign of Abdulhamid II and his authority. Before the authority of Abdulhamid II, Ottoman intellectuals focused on modernizing of Ottoman Empire (Arai 1992). The nationalism ideology represented a model for the modernization of Turks in the diffusion of the ideologies of Turkism, Islamism, and westernization. The attempt of modernization started by Ottoman officers when the state structure was modernized. Thus, the nationalism idea went parallel with the movement of Ottoman reformers.

Young Ottomans mostly studied at Western style schools and they were directly influenced by Western ideas of modernization. In this sense, with the help of the specular background of Young Ottomans, Turkish nationalism is easily associated with the cultural aspect of nationalism and turned into a political movement by Young Turks. Among the nationalist Turks, Gökalp and Akçura have a key role in the adjustment of the ongoing ideologies among the Ottoman intellectuals by contributing and serving the intellectual transition period. Turks in Russia also greatly contributed to Turkish Nationalism and followed the Turkish immigrants' situations in the occupied lands of the empire. Turks from Central Asia, Crimean, Caucasus, Cuban Turks perceived the Ottoman lands as fatherland (Vatan).

The emergence of Turkish nationalism is accepted as an already existed reality away from the Turkish nation. Turkish ideologist Ahmet Ağaoğlu considers that Turkish nationalism emerged after the Turkish nation. By this statement, he is close to attaching himself to the perennial nationalism theoreticians who defend the idea that nations precede the nations-states.

Ottoman statesmen while facing nationalism ideas they viewed the state-idea of Ottomanism as the set of the values of the multi-national empire. However, after the break of the Balkan nations from imperial lands, as a response to this formation, state members and young Muslim Ottomans adopted multiple strategies to hold the national value and common identity. Ziya Gökalp explains nationalism as an already existing

idea among people that is revealed and will be observed in such situations of imperial decline. While Ottoman intellectuals found the idea of nationalism in the course of the decline of the empire and the fight over the revival of the empire and to protect it as the result of the nationalist motive of the revival, to save the nation with the idea of nationalism. However, the only concern was not limited to politics, the popular west inclination among young Ottoman Turks, discouraged Islamist embracement of cultural and traditional values. With the help of the idea of nationalism, communal awakening became possible, and power came a point in this ambition. (Kösoğlu 2002). The rise of Turkish nationalism among Turks emerged as a reactionary attempt to protect its material and spiritual existence in defense of Turkish nationalism. In this case of support, nationalism emerged as in defensive mode of existence and developed by the efforts of Turkish nationalism in defense of its national presence (Hocaoğlu 2000).

The idea of nationalism from the sense of Ziya Gökalp criticized and explained such a challenge against the unity of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire as a last hope of the Islamic world is confronted with such a demon idea of nationalization which damaged the imperial presence. However, the impairment of the empire is now turned to be a recompensation in establishing unity through nationalism.

Gökalp's ideas on nationalism swiftly changed after witnessing the gradual loss of Balkan lands. Despite suffering defeats after the Balkans through nationalism ideology, he suggested that the idea of nationalism can be used for the salvation of Turkish and Islamic world. Instead of refusing the nationalism ideology, taking advantage of the ideology could be effectful on national salvation. Gökalp utters his regrets for ignoring the current influences of nationalism and even trying to stop it instead of utilizing such ideology in the name of Ottomanism and Islamism. He emphasizes the significance of nationalism and that it could be used in resurgence of Ottoman empire (Gökalp 1976, 95).

The initial reform in nationalization period is assessed by Gökalp as the simplification of language. The description of language in national value in Gökalp's sense precedes even before the national history. Gökalp's sense of nationalization is never in conflict with Islam. He often reminds of Quranic verse that suggests the embracement of the

nation is suggested in the Quran calling “O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another” (Qur’an 49:13).

In his sense, the unity of nation and national awareness became more of an issue than the unity of Muslims and Islamic nations and Pan-Islamism. However, the recognition of the nationalization is expressed as in the service of Islam by preserving national values and avoiding to be under the colonial rule.

The view that is shared both by Ziya Gökalp and Benedict Anderson is that the print and communication devices led to the increase of the national awareness by using common language and national sources (Yavuz 1993). Yavuz argues that the function of print mechanism more often served for the progress of Islamic senses. As in this figure of progress, nationalism and religion both corroborates the advance of one another as in the case of emergence of Turkish nationalism and its interactions with the Islamic identity in Ottoman Empire.

### **2.3. Nationalism and Islamism Debates During WWI**

The rise of Turkish nationalism strongly affected and continued its existence at the time of the great depression of the empire when the national feelings reached their utmost level. As Mardin explains the time as a discovery of Turkishness and realization of the common shared history and territory origins from the ethnic bonds (Mardin, Ottoman Empire, 118). The significance of Anatolia became observable after the loss of the Balkans, Ottoman Empire was signified as the Turkish-Muslim community running its multi-national vision. After the emergence of the corruption between the ethnicities, Turkish nationalism gained the preference of the exclusive identity. The emergence of the division of multi-nationalism idea of Ottoman Muslims, under the title of Ottomanism, contributed to "territorialization of the ethnies" as Smith explains it in the domain of nations (Smith 1986).

After World War I, the new order in the Middle East, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, faced multiple questions in the light of Western ideologies such as French Nationalism and the German Romanticism movement. In this way, the first bloom of

nationalism came up with the nationalist intellectuals who took the Western education and embraced it in their ideological processes like Turkish Scholars Ziya Gökalp and Arab nationalist Sati el-Husri. However, the spread of liberal nationalism became relevant in the case of religion. The juxtaposition of Islamist nationalism and liberal nationalism is yet to meet in this era. However, the concept of Islam from the earlier century to the late age has never seen as religion itself alone and never kept its presence away from political and social contexts. As Patricia Crone states Islam was intertwined with political institutions and the project of ummah and jemaah tried to be a union, unlike Christianity in terms of leadership and representation. The case of unity that was sustained by the Caliphate was both a religious and political figure (Crone 2014).

The reference of Islam to nationalism is formatted by Abdulhamid II by establishing the common themes among the Ottoman Muslim subjects of the empire. In his context of proto-nationalism, the Islamic state was in order to unify the Ottoman subjects. The Islamic political idea that he created aimed to associate the local commitment of Muslims through Islamic characters in religious congregations. The set of political and cultural functions in the empire are utilized in the aim of the resurgence of Islamic politics (Yavuz 1993, 188). Thus, the function of this Islamic group integration would benefit the rise of autocracy of Abdulhamid II over the Muslim community. By this project of Islamization, Islam would serve the national embracement through the religious facilities and would provide basis for the political awareness of the nation and religion among Ottoman Turks.

Karpat relates the relation of Islamism and nationalism to the Ernest Gellner's discussion on state and nation. As Gellner attaches a great place to the autonomy of the state as the main factor of the rise of nationalism and industrialized society. In Gellner's observations the existence of state serves to maintain nationalism's climate in its territorial cognition. In this case, the ruler Sultan Abdulhamid as a legitimate ruler repeating his autonomy in a bureaucracy that affirmed him served the rise of nationalism's ideas (Karpat 2001).

The stress over the Ottoman unity and the perseverance by the application of reform in the way to revive the Ottoman state let the conscious of the identity grow. While the revivalist movements created a political sphere for middle class, Karpat (2001) argues

that the opposition arose not only against the European wing but also to the Ottoman elites and ulemas (scholars).

The new sense of identity of *ümmet* among Muslims provided a place for ethnic and language consciousness. Karpas states, *“That the two seemingly contradictory developments—that is, the fragmentation of the traditional *ümmet* into ethnolinguistic units and the broadening and politicization of the religious identity—occurred at the same time and, rather than obstructing, actually supplemented each other will be illustrated in the chapters on nationalism and other issues”* (Karpas 2001, 21).

Having access to nationalism through religion was not the first case seen in the state policy of Abdulhamid II. One of the early defenders of nationalism among Muslim scholars Afghani stated that the preservation of Muslim nation, first of all requires the national conscious that should be awakened through the ethno-nationalism figures such language. The statements of Afghani on the importance of nationalism as it is also noticed by many Ottomans Turks and thus Afghani is regarded to be the defender of ethno-national and religion-based figure of nationalism. The language factor in establishment of nationality is also stressed by Afghani and even regarded most powerful than the effect of religion in preserving of nationalism.

Considering the nationalization progress in the empire, Sultan Abdulhamid brought the national figures into action on the memory of the Ottoman dynasties and former sultans. The stress over the founder of the Turkish nation is followed by repair of tombs and shrines and turning the cemeteries into a national monument space. The Turkification efforts of the history of Ottoman Empire through the religious notions are emphasized in the image of the past through the idealization of the historical figures (Karpas 2001). Ultimately, the identification of Muslim Turks served for the progression of nationalism process.

One of the early revivalist names Sayyid Abul' Ala al-Mawdudi, the founder of Jamaat-i Islami in 1941, rejected the nationalist approaches and considered nationalism in conflict with Muslim identity. However later on, he changed his statement on nationalism agreeing that the resurgence of Muslims in India only

attached to the territorial independence and aware of national motions specifically language and national identity. He was convinced that the nationalism phenomenon was an unavoidable factor generated within such characteristic movements of nations and eventually he seemed to accept the dual face of Indian nationalism comprising both faith and social characteristics. Karpat drew attention to the emergence of nationalism supplied by the religious and ethnic community that replaced the state. He defines that the solidarity between Muslim communities within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, supported embracing national identity and promoted the regional adherence emphasizing particular social norms, culture, locality and language in identical categorizations (Karpat 2001).

However, during the rise of pan-Turkism ideology, the origin of Turkish identity took its root back in the history of China, in the statement of Suleyman Pasha it is noted that the Chinese Emperor Hiung-nu was the first ancestor of Turks. Following this statement about the origin of the Turks, Armenius Vambery also claim that Turks were originally from the same ethnic group. However, later on, they divided into different groups (Gökçek 2003, 71). Moreover, when the comparison between Turks and Arabs came to a point, Turks prioritized in their legacy the fact that they were defending Islam for many years even though Islam originated in Arabic lands. Also, it was the Turks who upheld the position of Muslims in the World (Kushner 1977). The debates alongside of the savior of Islamic civilization is continued on the civilization of the Turkish community. Turkish-Islamic claims claimed that Turks were never backward comparing to other Asian nations and communities and even more, it owes Turks improving the Islamic civilizational progress in Islamic history (Kurt 2012).

From the point of a Turkish defender, Akçura is a key name who is claimed to be the first intellectual defender of Turkism ideology who addresses the history of Turks back to the pre-Islamic period. He believed that Ottomanism petered out and can't stand in the multi-nation character of the empire. The pan-Islamist ideology also can't resist and endure the strength of the nations. In his point of view, Turkism project was the most favorable path that reached in time and it is the one that should be followed. Following him, Halide Edip was also agreeing with the idea of the preference of Turkism over Ottomanism, however, Gökalp insisted that both ideologies do not necessarily and fully oppose each other (Kurt, 2012:77-78).

Gökalp continued to synthesize the Turkish-Islamic concepts and tried to support his nationalist claims by giving references to Quranic verbs as mentioned earlier as " *.and we made you into peoples and tribes so that you may get know one another* "(49/13). By all this, his claims are insisting on Islam as an opponent of the political groups that are made of homogeneous nations. The stress of Islamic power that he finds with Turkish nationalism originates from explaining Turkey as the "last fortress of the Islam" (Heyd and Bozkurt 2001, 110). The relation between the progress of Islam and Turks is defined under the protective actions of Turks and their roles are stressed as the contributors in the case of history of Islam. The national claims of the Turkist tried to succumb to the secular identity of nationalism before the Islamist defenders` implication turned to be an apologetic defense of Turkish nationalism which also could be a carrier of religion/ Islam.

The tension between Islamists and Turks after a certain point turned into the so-called supremacy. Turks started to assert their rightness blaming Arabs with the Arabic term of "el bâdi azlam" which meant the initiator is the most guilty, pointing to the Arab nationalist as a launcher of the nationalism movement among the Islamic World. By the meaning of such claims, they justify themselves in only following the nationalism deriving from others, and reject being the first initiators of such an ideology.

The evolution in the trinity ideology of Gökalp started as claims of modernization tendency followed the intentions to create a folk Islam in which his decision finally settled on Turkification. Finally, he shares Akçura's ideas on the necessity of Turkish Nationalization as the final course of action in the intellectual base of the time. He shifts his Ottomanism idea saying that Tanzimat convinced only the Turks who fell into the trap under the guise of Ottoman/ Ottomanism. (Kösoğlu 2002, 218). The paradigm of nationalism and religion enhance each other and does displace religion by taking nationalism as a priority. In his arguments, nationalism can be replaced with religion and Islam necessarily need to recognize the nationalism truth in the world. (Çetinsaya 1999). Turkish nationalism is deemed to be of forefront importance before Islam so that nationalism can be provided by using the potency of Islam and so that it is able to serve Turkish Nationalism.

#### **2.4. Nationalism Ideology Among Ottoman Turks**

Turkish nationalism began with slight progress of modernization in Turkey in the 18th century. As a result of modernization attempt, its traces have been gradually developed in the evolution of military systems mostly by French infusions. By the 19th century, the infusion had spread to various parts and in general resulted in Tanzimat Charter which was submitted by Sultan Abdulmecid in 1839. The ongoing results of the Tanzimat processed through the arguments of the balance between the progress of the West and the origin of the East. Tanzimat intellectuals of young Ottomans focused on the compatibility of modern progress with Islam at the same time.

The paradox of nationalism in Turkey resulted in a hostile direction. The level of active and obvious position of Turkish nationalism with anti-colonial struggles paved the way for nationalist tensions during the salvation war. As Edward Said notes that the resistance against imperialism advanced with the concept of nationalism. He signifies the definition of nationalism as a "mobilizing force that coalesced into resistance against an alien and occupying empire on the part of peoples possessing a common history, religion, and language" (Said, 1993, 269). His definition of nationalism includes common themes of the Turkish nationalism and describes such function that is practiced in national salvation war of Turkey.

Among the classical Muslim literature, the word "milliyetçi" (nationalist) refers to the people who are in favor of their nation and state, who accept and save the countries' principles and sovereignty and even die for the country. The word of nationalism is used positively and defended by anti-communist markers. The existence and wellbeing of the state are conceptualized in the tangled relation of a state and religion. Even more, the sense of nationalism is praised and seemed naturally existed phenomenon which is a must for individuals to embrace one's own nation.

The perpetuity of the Islam and the nation is pointed in the endurance of the country whose nations' belief requires also the common religion of Islam. Besides the relation of the state and religion, the positions are accepted on the same degree, another reference of religious nationalism is explained by Savlu (1980) defending the discrimination among the non-Muslim Turks as the acceptance of the nation that

requires to be Muslim Turks. Rising of nationalism as a movement inclined to have a strong link to external forces of imperialism and to struggle with it that aims to possess internal claim of space and possession (Chatterjee 1993). Nationalism in early Turkish period is explained in the multi concepts as "Nationalism has intrinsic moral significance in Turkish society, and as such forms, part of the Arsenal of positive values members of the Turkish nation are expected to possess. It embodies the customs and traditions that constitute ' Turkishness', such as obedience, respect, conservatism and, last but not least religion (read Islam)"(Özkırımlı& Semerci 2011, 69)

Since the national acceptance of Ottoman Youngs began to describe their identity as Turkish, objections arose among Muslim Ottomans by defending the discrimination and national superiority. Reactions against the rise of Turkish nationalism idea were mostly anticipated by Ottoman Muslims such as Babanzade Naim who condemns Turkish nationalism as the cause for the other nations under the Ottoman rule to claim their national rights. Babanzade's restraint from nationalism ideology is originated from the worry for Islamic unity among Ottoman Muslims of Albanians, Kurds, Arabs. He did not include Armenians, Greeks, and Bulgarians who already resisted the Ottoman unity. However, Ottoman Muslims resisted against nationalist ideology due to religious concerns, Ismail Gaspıralı argues that the formation of the nationalism idea is not a current movement among Ottoman nations. He reminds that it has been 15 years for Kurds, 20 years for Arabs, more than 30 years for Albanians, 40 years for Armenians, 60 years for Bulgarians, and 80 years for Greeks since the nationalism idea came along among other Ottoman nations. He rejected the Babanzade`s argument that Turkish Nationalism defenders caused such movement that lead to division in the empire. In the sense of Gaspıralı, Turkish nationalism ideology was the unique way to follow in the circumstances of such events that left no choice other than defense of national identity. Despite the Ottoman Muslim's definition of Turkish nationalism, the leading cause is defined differently in Gaspıralı's defense, he insists that the Turkish nationalism is not an initiator of nationalism movements in imperial borders of Ottoman Empire. Berkes also agrees with Gaspıralı saying Turkish nationalism was not a decisive role in the emergence of Christian nations' break from Imperial lands. On the contrary, Turkism emerged as a result in the course of nationalism events after the break of non-Muslims subjects of Ottoman Empire. He also adds that the formation

of Turkish nationalism is the result of both non-Muslim and non-Turks subjects in the empire addressing the Arabs and Balkan Muslims as a reference (Berkes 2002, 437)

#### **2.4.1. Turkism vs. Islamism**

Moreover, among the Turkism and Islamism opponent names like Musa Kazim and Halim Sabit both collaborated and published their writings in the same Turkist and Islamist journals mainly in *Sebilürreşad*. There were also Turkism nationalist defenders like who did not refrain themselves to publish on such a Islamist journal that Akçura and Ağaoğlu also published. Turkish defenders Mehmet Emin Yurdakul and Mehmet Akif Ersoy, as a prominent name among Islamist were asserting that they were modeling a "pan-Islamist and proto-nationalist" figure addressing to Jamaluddin al-Afghani. After the change of the political conditions in the empire, the contradictions between the two current ideologies get paralyzed. In this period, three stages of Islamist are seen in multiple stages that start respectively in 1908-1912, 191-1918, and 1918. In the last period of this interaction, Turkish Muslims were trying to synthesize the nationalism with Islam. In April 1914, the article of Babanzade Ahmed Naim who criticizes Turks accepting nationalism ideology made a delicate separation in due of Islamist's tension after the wars in Balkans. The war that emerged between the Balkans and Ottomans created a great tension after the war resulted with Albanian independence. The ideas on the unification of Islamic communities in the whole empire lost its field to pursue such movement regardless of national basis where the main cause of the Balkan wars is described to be based on political concern. (Cetinsaya, 1999: 358)

The reaction of Islamist are continued with the debate over the Turkist idea of Turanism. As Ziya Gökalp necessitates the idea of Turanism, however Mehmet Akif rejects Turanism idea creating a set before Islamic integration and developing racist ideology: "We acquired a myth named the 'County of Turan'; we considered this myth to be the cause and strived for it. But we lost many homelands to realize this cause; the lost ones are enough, feel sorry for the remaining homeland!"(Ersoy 1958). Following Akif, Islamist thinker Ahmed Naim (1872-1934) also harshly criticizes pan-Turkist giving preference to Turan rather than Kaaba.

Ahmed Naim accuses the Turkism idea of offering three different types of vatan (homeland): “I beg you for Islam, for mankind, and for Turkism, about whose future I am afraid: Do not create two ideals for the people. There are some among you who want to have three different vatans. According to a Turkish saying, the fork cannot be put into a hole for a pole. How can you insert this fork- type ideal, namely three different vatans, into people? Do not deviate from the Islamic ideal” (Naim 1991). Sait Halim Pasha, an Ottoman statesmen served as Grand Vizier in Ottoman Empire rejected Turkism ideology and considered that the nationalism was an imported idea and Turkism was adapted idea of nationalism. Sait Halim Pasha was a truly believer of pan-Islamism that he defended the Muslim unity should be available without any territorial division (Özkan 2012).

However, the ideological lines are drawn between Islamist and Turkist, the earlier years of National Salvation war brought both ideologies together under the flag of Committee of Union and Progress in aim of saving the empire from the collapse. The spiritual and religious tone of the homeland is protected its theme in imaginations and narrations of Ottoman Turks.

#### **2.4.2. Balkan Wars and Its Effects on Ottoman Empire**

The beginning of Ottoman- Russian War in 1877-7, left a great impact on Ottoman presence in Eastern Europe. Tragic influence threatened Ottoman Europe and extinguished hopes for the sociopolitical expansion of Eastern Europe and its Ottoman based multicultural character. However, Young Turks' hopes were still standing towards the idea of saving the Ottoman Empire and maintaining the imperial integration through the territory. The war between the two lands affected the Christian minority and Christian based Balkans population sought the advantage and the initiative on the new model of identity and social integrity away from the control of Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the war began to possess politically and religiously concerned initiatives through the nation-building projects over the Ottoman Balkans.

The response of the Ottoman to the ethnic-nation-state model was to tried to form the persistence of civic patriotism aftermath of the Balkan Wars. The significant impact of the Balkan War on the Ottoman Empire left a traumatic effect as a losing a Muslim

land for the Ottoman Muslims. The common point of the traumatic narratives described the loss of the Imperial land as a threat of losing an Ottoman Empire As it is described by Bernard Lewis, the thread of the Balkan Wars as “The immediate response of Europe and the Balkan Christians to the heart-lifting events of July 1908 was what, in Turkish eyes, could only be described as aggression and betrayal.” (Lewis 2001, 214).

The Empire in its last centuries of 18th and 19th centuries had experienced the rapid breakdowns on military fronts. The weakening of the Ottoman Empire resulted in devastating outputs for Muslims both in Ottoman Empire and the Balkans. The homogenous atmosphere of Christian society in the Balkans referenced the unity of nationalism in the Balkans. The Treaty of Berlin in the advance of the Balkan Wars promoted the idea of religious liberty in Macedonia and other areas, thus the treaty encouraged the desire to possess the full engagement to the Christian community in Balkan territory. The desire of the great powers was mainly concentrated on their territorial interests in Imperial lands, as Nadine Lange-Akhund states that "*During this period, the Great Powers were torn between their desire to maintain peace, their different interests in the Ottoman Empire, and the problem of responding in the best possible manner to the national aspirations of the Balkan peoples.*" (Akhund 1998, 11). However, the term for Balkan nationality does not refer to any original definition of the homogeneity of ethnicity and race. The differential of Balkan people reversed in patriotism against the Ottoman rule. The key factors of religious and national characteristics of the integrity resulted with the strike against Ottoman Empire and revived the Balkan`s dreams of independence. Nationalism in Balkan states improved through religion and contributed to the territorial decline of the Ottoman Empire.

The role of religion in nationalization process of Balkans while started and the root of nationalization affiliated with its religious subjects that emplaced Ottoman public as a multinational theme of Empire departed them into different sub-groups. The millet system of division of religious groups in the Empire arose against the dominion of millet identity over the other sub-religious and ethnic identities. This ethno-religious classification system was based on religious affiliation, sects and denominations a religion was divided and they were all called nations. For instance; Armenians were called in three nations: the Gregorian Armenian nation, the Jewish Armenian nation

and the Protestant Armenian nation. However, in 19th-century nationalism ideology since spread to the Balkans, it contributed to the emergence of ethnic and religious nationalism as a revival after the dominance authority under the Muslim rules and thereafter the influence finally found the chance to stress on their original identity of Christians (Çagaptay 2006). Following this, in the same years of the 19th century, the independence of Macedonia came to the subject and the Ottoman officially lost its dominion over Macedonia. The independence of Balkans was supported by the Western powers mainly Russia and Austria-Hungary treated Balkans and shared common interests in political grounds. For Russia, it developed since the Tsar announced Slavs as the guardian of them by propagating Russia's dominion over the Balkans to break the Ottoman authority over the region. (Yavuz and Blumi 2013).

However the Turkish name is both used for Ottoman Muslims and Balkan Muslims. The debates on the emergence of Turkish identity came into subject. Among these arguments, the claims on the emergence of Turkism ideology that is addressed to the national war as the creator of the national awareness during the war is rejected by Fevzi Çakmak. Çakmak refused this idea and agreed that the Muslim troops of Ottoman soldiers in Balkan Wars had no national claim and a unifying purpose to preserve the identity. He claims that there no evidence of Turkish nationalism at that time, and not even an alternative option. However, the failure of Ottomanism, afterward impacted the idea of Turkism to be functionalized. There was neither nationalism nor religion had the unifying cause during the Balkan War that became a point of national resolution of non-Muslims in Balkans to shift their side during the war and leaving the Ottoman (Yavuz and Blumi 2013).

## CHAPTER III

### ERSOY'S IDEAS OF ISLAMISM AND NATIONALISM

#### 3.1. Akif and Islamism

Akif's life based on the condition of the time he lived gives an idea about how to evaluate his ideas that cannot be considered separately from the conditions of the time. His life exhibits several different dynamics over his conversed ideologies regarding Turkish nationalism and Islamism dialect.

He was born in Istanbul and his father was an Albanian in origin. His first education was from his father who was one of the master teachers of Fatih madrasah and he took his religious education by him. In this regard, he came from a religiously oriented and accustomed family. Mehmet Akif was born in Istanbul, his father was a well-known teacher at the Fatih Medrese, however, although he trained in the knowledge of Islamic disciplines and also Arabic, he was not a member of the ulema. He started in his education in-state public schools and then continued to study as a veterinarian and took the western-styled educations. He graduated from the faculty of veterinary which was an opponent of the classical Islamic schools and promoted liberal and Western style education. He also worked at the Ministry of Agriculture as a veterinarian. His ideas developed through the synthesis of the liberal education of the faculty led him to possess the modernization thought and also the religious education taken from his father met in the collaboration of Islamic fundamentalism and realism. He composed the Turkish national anthem. During the rule of Atatürk, in 1923 he traveled to Egypt for permanent reasons, and after the return, he is offered to join the Qur'an translation project by Diyanet; he then accepted it unwillingly. However, he was concerned about the aim of the project that would serve the liberal regime and then refused to participate to the project (Fergan 1938, 190).

Mehmet Akif Ersoy is the one of the most important names among 20th century intellectuals. He contributed to Turkish literature, politics and the intellectual world of Turkish history. His consideration of the Muslim East being behind the Western level of modernity is strongly criticized and narrated by many poetries and sermons. The poetries of Ersoy began to be published in 1893. Among his first and well-known work of Safahat (1911-1933) includes his famous epical and satirical poems that attributes the situation of the time. In 1908, he edited the Islamic journal of Sırat-ı Mustakim which also continued as the journal of Sebilürreşad. He was well known for his published writings on columns and mostly by his poems that made him to be named as "the poet of Islam". Being called in this symbolic figure had a missionary role to affect and lead the Islamic society. From this point of view, Akif as a literary identity, his rhetoric and writings were considered to be the religious and national symbol among Muslim Turks in Turkey.

Akif as the most well-known name among Islamist intellectuals in Turkey was also very influential in National Struggle participating as an "Islamic poet". The most effective journal of Islamist journal of Sebilürreşad (the full record of journal in TGNA is "Sebilürreşad Ceride-i Islâmiyesi") regarded to be the primary publication of Islamist and Pan-Islamist supported and distributed by the assembly in its first year. The journal activity included promoting the ideas of the Pan-Islamism (Ittihad-ı Islam) and Muslim independence against Western occupations.

He engaged in polemics with Turkish nationalists and criticized them for defending nationalism. However, Akif as a national poet and national anthem writer he considered nationalism as an anti-Islamic problem in his earlier years. In his Islamic journal of Sebilürreşad, he provoked Muslims against the nationalism ideas and warned Muslims to be careful about separationist ideologies among Muslims. During first years of publications, the journal of Sırâtümostakîm published articles without following any separation in ideology. The letters and articles from the Pan-Turkism defender were accepted and messages and news published in such title of "Turkish-Islamic World", "Turkish Nation (Ummah)" informing about diaspora Turks and Turkish unity. The constitution of Turkish Foundation (Türk Derneği) (1909) in its earlier years, recognized the magazine and started to use as the publication organ informing about the conferences such of Ahmed Mithat Efendi on "About

Turkishness" (Düzdağ 1996). The progression of political form of "Turkishness" while advanced and processed, the magazine refused to take part in the nationalist movement.

Considering Akif's earlier decisions and participations on the debates around the Turkism and Pan-Islamism, his acceptance of the concept of nationalism ideology was weak and blurry. However, after the break of the Turkish nationalist movement of Young Turks, he criticized nationalist salvation theories in his messages and defended Ottoman nationalism in his anti-racist poems (Düzdağ, 1996: 71). During World War I, Akif joined an intellectual service (Teşkilat-i Mahsusa) that provided support to the Turkish Independence War through public discourses. The activism of Akif for the national salvation started alongside of CUP regime. He shared the new assemblies' ideas that are gathered against to the authority of Abdulhamid II. Akif was an anti-Abdulhamid opponent and opposing to the government and monarchy. Kara describes his situation on the participation to the CUP regime was out of necessity (Kara 2011b). However, there are rejections against to general acceptance of Akif as an Islamist and Muslim pioneer. Sinan Meydan argues that the perception of Muslims on Akif does not reflect the truth of his origin identity.

Regarding the worldwide influences of Islamism from Pakistan to India, the pioneers of Islamic modernism thinkers developed the ideas on the national and religious basis. Akif also impressed by these cultural and religious defenders of Islamism that influenced his ideological participation of Islamism. As the Islamism project was pioneered by Cemaleddin Afghani and Muhammed Abduh, he clearly stated his admiration for them. In his later writings, he admitted that he was impressed by the ideas of Islamic modernism referencing to Afgani and Abduh.

The period of change for Akif is obviously seen in Akif's work of Safahat, in which no trace of objections for nationalism is seen before the rise of Turkism movement in 1912. From 1912 onwards, after Balkan Wars, when the Albanian gained their national independence, his critique of the nationalism defenders took an utmost level on Turkism proponents (Düzdağ 1991). He criticizes Turkist Muslims in the heterodox ground that he found the Turkism defenders controverting against Islam. Among the ardent Islamist names such as Babanzade, he was Akif's friend and also one of the

prominent names who pointed to nationalism causing separation and harming Muslim unity.

Akif describes the “tefrika” (division) in the same meaning with “kavmiyet” (nationalism) synonymously in the same context. By using such reference, he addresses the source of the national catastrophe of the empire is due to the spread of nationalist ideas among Turks. Akif writes an article in journal of Sebilürreşad points out that:

It is the Europeans that first put division among the public of Ottoman and make the nation to grapple with each other for decades. The same diplomacy was used against us. That is their usual treatment everywhere. After all, Muslims should beware of that division of nationalism (kavmiyet) has a dead end. Muslim community! Now open your eyes and come to your sense because the throne of Sultanate is in threat. And if it continues so it will be overthrown. Be aware of that it is all thanks to this shrunk government if the Muslims of Russia still keeping the Islamic path, the French occupied lands of Muslims still resist and does not convert and England does not react against to our Indian brothers. However, if it goes away, all these will be gone as well. If we cannot protect this sultanate, we must consider those desperate people will be perished because of us. Their all hopes and expectance are headed for us and all expect goodness from here. The foreign governments that rule them over treats them in accordance with Ottoman treatment (Ersoy 2017).

The Turkish national anthem that he wrote during the WWI is concrete and summary reflection of his thoughts. The period when the national anthem was written, the themes of independence and freedom was generalized and adopted as a slogan by many writers with the deepest feelings opposing to the Western attacks to Muslim Anatolia. Anatolia as a fatherland idealized with the glorious history and success of Turkish Muslims that is envisioned in the national anthem. However, his ideas of independence and freedom is not the same degree of Namık Kemal and his other Turkish nationalist contemporaries that follows Turanian ideology. Akif strengthens the freedom and independence characteristics of Turkish nationalism by attaching it to the history of Turkishness.

In his attachment of the free-born Turkish is depicted many times and narrated in the national anthem valuing the freedom for all eternity<sup>1</sup> illustrated in epic simile his consideration of strong and still standing Turkish history (Koçyiğit 2014). From this approach, his epic narrative of Turkish history exhibits his national feelings in praises

---

<sup>1</sup> “Ben ezelden beridir hür yaşadım, hür yaşarım”.

of Turkish history and nation without any mention to national attributions of Turks or Turkish.

In another concept, the Independence March or Turkish national anthem that was written by Akif was officially proclaimed by the national assembly in Ankara on March of 1921. The anthem was remarked upon as a great importance in point of emphasizing the Islamic notions that was obviously seen in dominance in the anthem. The repeat over the religious references considers the concept of vatan (homeland) is depicted more religious and a sacred place rather than national and a political territory. In the stanzas that he specifically attributes homeland:

O my friend! Do not let the villain desecrate my land  
To curb this indecent incursion, do make thyself a shield  
For soon shall rise the sun of the promise of Heaven  
Maybe tomorrow, who knoweth? Maybe sooner even!

Do know that the ground thou treadest is not mere soil  
Do think about the thousands lying in graves without veil  
Thou art the son of a martyr, do honor your sire  
Never cede this vatan, even with the promise of the whole sky

For this heavenly vatan, who would not lay down his life?  
Should one squeeze the soil, martyrs would burst, sure enough  
Of my soul, my beloved, of all what I have, May God me deprive  
But not separate me from the only vatan I need to survive

O Lord, here is the sole wish of my pain- stricken heart  
Let no heathen hands ever touch my shrine's chest  
These adhans, witnessing the pillars of my faith  
Should be heard upon my immortal homeland day and night (Özkan 2012, 93-4)

The national perspective on the concept of homeland however is attributed within the Islamic notions and references here in the national anthem that Akif stated in the Independence March. However, the adaptation of Islam to the country of Turkey in the narrations evolved to get more national nuances in 1921 after the success of battles of İnönü and Sakarya on the western fronts that was defended against the Greek army. The national discourse started to emphasize the Turkish nationalism by Mustafa Kemal who intensified using such terms of Turkish or Turkish nation afterward the national successes. It is remarkable how after the year 1921 Atatürk mostly preferred to use the terms like “Turkish nation” and referencing to national attributions instead of terms like “people in Turkey” (Özkan 2012, 95).

### **3.2. The Impacts of Balkan Wars on Akif's ideas of Nationalism**

The homogenous atmosphere of Christian society in the Balkans aimed to unite them under the national sovereignty in the Balkans. While the repercussion of the Muslims coming from occupied lands of Balkans to Anatolia, the concept of the land turned to the concept of the homeland under religious symbols. The references for the homeland are stressed in rhetoric poet and literature. As seen in Akif's references to the homeland and also Namık Kemal's playwrights the definition of homeland used at the same time in the explanation of Turkishness as the original people of Anatolia. Nationalism movements in the Ottoman Empire firstly occurred among the non- Turk ethnicities of the Balkans. The beginning of nationalism occurred as minority movements. As a response to these movements, Turks also reacted to the nationalistic tension over Albanian nationalism. Increasing fear of the fall of Ottoman Empire as a land of Islam led to the idea of Muslim unification against the nationalism thread.

The impact of Balkan Wars on Ottoman Muslims created a strong disappointment on the Ottomanism dreams of the empire. Akif criticized Muslims and warned about the nationalism threat that would give the same result of the Balkan loss. The statement of Akif in his poem that rejects the nationalism (Kavmiyetçilik) was written in 1913. He criticized the Albanian rebel that is resulted as a result of national uprising, personally affected him that in following lines he expresses his loss while remembering his fatherlands and yearning for old memories of the past Albania. He reminds Balkan as the Ottoman legacy that became home for many Muslims, however blames Balkans being disloyalty to the Ottoman history.

Akif criticizes the ideas of nationalism and asserting that no nationalist or discriminatory ideologies can find any place in Islam. After the devastating encounter that is resulted in the defeat of the Balkan, Akif was asking help from the Muslim community. The emergence of division among Muslim territories, disappointed him about his final dreams of the salvation of the empire. After experience of the loss of Balkans, he hardly convinced of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. For Akif and many Ottomanism defenders the loss of Balkan made an alteration on the idea of Ottomanism giving place to Islamism ideology. Akif defines the late Ottoman ideologies of nationalism that creates separation between Turks, Arabs and Balkans.

Here in following lines, he specifically warns Muslims not to follow any nationalistic ideology and reminds to embrace Muslim nation that is gathered on the Islamic grounds. The nationalist intentions that emerged during the late Ottoman empire is defined by Akif as useless in the way for salvation of Muslims.

How did you get the idea of separation  
Was it devil who put this idea of nationalism in your mind ?  
That many different nation from each other  
That was Islam keeping them in a unique nationality  
It is nationalism idea that would hit as an earthquake and destroy it  
Forgetting this is an eternal poverty  
This nation can not live with Albanian or Arab nationalism  
The last policy is Turkishness, however, that wont work either  
God created you as a family member  
Remove the ideas of separation on your mind<sup>2</sup> (Ersoy 2008, 162)

He blames the nationalist proponents after the loss of his fatherland Albania, and questions the bond of Islamic nation within Islamic state of empire:

Wasn't your nation Islam...  
What is ethnicism?  
Wish you held your nationality tight.  
What does Albanian mean?  
Does it have a place in the Sharia?  
Infidelity it is, nothing that asserting the ethnicity<sup>3</sup> (Ersoy 2013, 183).

These lines present a clear display of Akif's thought that "nationalism" for him is separatism and discrimination while it is against the essence of the religion of Islam. He follows his statements by claiming of the what Prophet wanted is not national independence, but Islamic unity.

---

<sup>2</sup> “Ayrılık hissi nasıl girdi sizin beyninize!  
Fikr-i kavmiyeti şeytan mı sokan zihninize?  
Birbirinden müteferrik bu kadar akvâmı,  
Aynı milliyetin altında tutan İslâm'ı,  
Temelinden yıkacak zelzele kavmiyettir.  
Bunu bir lâhza unutmak ebedî haybettir.  
Arnavutlukla, Araplıkla bu millet yürümez...  
Son siyâset ise Türklük, o siyâset yürümez!  
Sizi bir âile efrâdı yaratmış Yaradan;  
Kaldırın ayrılık esbâbını artık aradan.” (Ersoy 2008. 162)

<sup>3</sup> “Hani milliyetin İslam idi... Kavmiyyet ne ? / Sarılıp sınımsız dursaydın a milliyetine. / Arnavutluk ne demek? Var mı Şeriatte yeri? / Küfr olur, başka değil, kavmini sürmek ileri”

The nationalist identity of Akif is rejected by many scholars and his followers they rather stressed on his Islamist identity. However, there are number of scholars who accepts and defines his nationalist identity together with his Islamist identity. It is important that not only Islamism and nationalism is brought together under the same figure, the concept of the nationalism is extended to unique concepts. Demirci explains his nationalism is built on ontological base that distinguishes him from the other nationalist. The perspective that Akif stands on is widely extensive and inclusive ideology that no any Nationalist Turkish scholars could possess. The ontological nationalism concept that Demirci insist is also explained in unitary definitions that cannot be argued in the same ground as the separatist nationalism (Demirci 2008).

The idea of Islamism in Mehmet Akif's idea conveys a very close meaning with Said Halim Pasha which both influenced each other in various points. In Sait Halim Pasha's "Islamization" (İslamlaşmak) he writes a preface saying that the work entitles an important mission for the defense of Islamism idea. During the National Struggle years Islamism emerged as a reaction against political challenges that were caused allegedly by the Western attempts at colonialism in the 19th and 20th centuries. The main motive of Islamism defenders was to advance the Islamic society by the reform Project in political, scientific, cultural, and social aspects in order to raise the position of the Islamic World and to regain its dominant power.

Akif's perspective of Islamism was mostly based on the dynamism of renovation (islah) and progress (terakki) required to follow positive sciences and progresses developed around the world. In following lines, he suggests to take the Western science and skill. Thus it is inevitable for Akif to accept the failure of East behind West, however he suggest to keep following the Western progress and innovations “

Take the science and the skill of West  
Apply yourself increasing your speed in work  
For it is no longer possible to live without them  
For there is no nationality of science and art  
Bear in mind the warnings I am giving  
To break through all the advancement  
Have your spirit as the guidance  
Because without hope it is all void <sup>4</sup> (Ersoy 2008, 170-1)

---

<sup>4</sup> « Alımız ilmini Garb'ın, alımız san'atını

His sense of Islamism has initiative aspects that equipped with activist, idealist, modernist, defensive and eclectic characteristics to change the present situation for Muslim World and aims to unite all Muslims with all its dynamism (Kara 1987, 27). The perspective aimed to be supported by collective consciousness and a plan of unity of the Muslims around the globe.

During the eve of the collapse of Ottoman Empire, Akif warned Muslims against imperial forces. He defined the national collapse that would be a disaster will affect the Islamic World and cause the deterioration of the ummah (Muslim unity). He struggled to maintain unity among Ottoman nations by writing satiric poems. However, after WWI, his disappointment with the ummah concept processed into "Turkish Muslim " as a new expansion of his Muslim unity. Embracing his national lining Muslim unity is not considered an alternative concept for ummah unity either a counter ideology. For Akif, division and discussion among the society is classified by racial and national attributions of nationalism idea that derived from Western countries.

He defines the ideology that spread as an epidemic via imperialist powers of the European world and affected to whole Islamic world. The westernized idea of nationalism meant the brutal and racist proclamation of its superiority over the East. For Akif, the aim of European nationalism was to deteriorate the unity by prompting diversity in every society in regard of race, language, culture, geography, ethnicity etc. (Çetin 2012). Akif believed that the idea of nationalism covered with the Western civilization aim and hid its primary principles over the other empires and societies. So he calls the two face of Western civilization exercises its strength over the weaker communities. The authority that he finds in his evil characteristic is attributed by Akif

---

Veriniz hem de mesainize son süratini.

Çünkü kâbil değil artık yaşamak bunlarsız;

Çünkü milliyeti yok sanatın, ilmin, yalnız,

İyi hatırda tutun ettiğim ihtarı demin,

Bütün edvar-ı terakkiyi yarıp geçmek için

Kendi mahiyet-i ruhunuz olsun kılavuz

Çünkü beyhudedir ümmid-i selamet onsuz” (Safahat 2008, p. 170-1)

as a "single toothed monster" covered with the civilized face. As a result of the nationalism threat, the consequences of the western ideology of nationalism were seen as a division policy for the Ottoman Empire and Islamic community (Akif 1921).

The target of the division policy points to the 3 parties directly aimed to divide the Ottoman ethnicity, territorial and religious unity. First of these groups represents the non-muslim community of Balkan society. As a result of the Balkan Wars, the Albanian origin of the community took their independence taking out of the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Turks and Islamic unity were the other target groups that were waited to be collapsed under the power of national identities.

Ah, that twentieth century, that noble creature,  
That has plunged all its lovers into misery,  
Which for months now, has been shamelessly spilling all the secrets in its belly,  
Throwing up everything in our little Mehmed's face.  
That face, we would still find ravishing, had the mask not been torn...  
The harlot that's called civilization is, in truth, utterly shameless.  
And so terrible are the means of destruction at the devil's disposal,  
That any one of them is capable of laying waste an entire land. (Ersoy 1915)

Akif in his satirical poems, he blames the initiator of the nationalism ideology in due to putting the blasphemy among the Muslim societies. He disapproves the influences of the nationalism ideas to affect the Islamic countries and cause the fatal damage in Muslim world.

The consideration the idea of civilization is strongly criticized by Akif. He rejects the civilized sense of nationalism which is directly imported from Western sense of liberty that only caused nothing but damage to the Islamic communities: "Did the devil put the idea of nationalism in your mind? (Ersoy 2008, 161)

Akif points out the form of civilization that he finds it linked to the Western imperialism and nationalism acceptance. He blames that he respect to the Western ideas and assuming it as civilized: In these lines from his different poem he express his ideas about the Western oriented civilization ideas as devil ideas:

"Civilization have it in for you for longtime"<sup>5</sup>  
"Savageness what is called civilization is cursed"<sup>6</sup>  
"See the ridiculous creature called civilization"<sup>7</sup>  
"Civilization is the one tooth-left monster"<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> "Medeniyet size çoktandır dış biliyor" (Ersoy 2008, 184)

<sup>6</sup> "Medeniyet denilen vahşete lanetler eder" (p. 179)

<sup>7</sup> "Medeniyet denilen maskara mahluku görün" (p. 180)

<sup>8</sup> "Medeniyet dediğin tek dişi kalmış canavar (In Independence March)

In his sermons, Akif demonizes the Western idea of discrimination plan over the Islamic unity. The progressive developments of the Western encourage Muslims to take Western for the progressivist model related to their technical and scientific progress and they also spread the division idea among the Muslims. He calls Muslims that any notion of nationalism, partisanship, and chauvinism should apply any word or action by Muslims. The primary task of the Muslim public is to save the country and religion from the Western occupation. He calls to take the preference of the common goodness goals before the any particular goal (Benazus 2012)

### **3.3.Akif and Nationalism**

The earlier years of Islamism when it is accepted and theoretically followed by many Ottomans Muslims, the concepts of Ottoman nation and Islamic nation is begun to use in endorsement of the unity of Ottoman and Islamic unity. Developing such line is considered to be such a reaction against to nationalism movement that included non-Muslim minorities lived in the territories of Ottoman Empire.

In Akif's references to the Muslim Nation and Ottoman Nation is also referenced to his identification of unity rather than the ethnic based separation. However, towards the end of Akif's life his opinion on nationalism changed and he accepted nationalism as the form of reality. After the national war, he formed nationalistic sensations excepting irredentist form of nationalism. The joint attitude of nationalism and religion is a new that he brought into the frame of nationalism.

Akif many times stressed on the relation of Islam and the Turkishness. Moreover, in his sense Islamism is preferred before the idea of Islamism, and Turks is a Turk when it is also a Muslim at same time. He implies that before accepting religion as Islam, Turks were not Turks in origin until agreeing on Islam (Arsel 1977, 541). Moreover, He insist on the Turkish history begins when they clearly accepted Islam and became Muslims. Hence, Turks before accepting Islam does not consider Turkish history. Akif's explanation of nationalism ideology over the Turkish is originated by the reactionary response to the initial nationalism proponents against Turks.

The nationalism of Mehmet Akif explained such commonalities that occurred by the history of community and territory of imperial lands. This reference defined as conscious of community. The historical and religious figures shape Akif's nationalism that is a lyrism of past and present symbols. Giving a side definition for the word of nationalism, he refers to the word "milliyetçilik" that derives from national unity. Akif's nationalism is thought together with his conservative approach of culture that equipped with material and non-material entities. The nationalism ideology for Akif is to evolve in a conservative approach to history and cultural belongings that constitutes the common identity. For Hekimoğlu it is compulsory for a nationalist to be conservative. (Hekimoğlu 2010, 81-85) Here in his copy of nationalism that is used as the close meaning of "milliyetçilik" does not apply to the word of nationalism exactly, however, it is a demonstration of Brubaker when he explains the four approaches of the relation of religion and says "nationalism is a useful concept only if it is not overstretched" (Brubaker 2011, 14).

The sensitivity for a country which can be described as patriotism may vary in different meanings. Devotion for the territorial place and community of people and cultural references. The influence of religion cannot be neglected from the perspective of nationalist movements which are commonly related to Islam by Arabs, Malays, Turks, and Iranians which are all have deeply connected in rhetoric. Following this, the religion-related fundamentalist revolution has richly featured in the nationalistic form of Muslim nations (Mentzel 2020). However, the term of nationalism that also lies towards the considerations based on race or ethnicity is defined as negative concepts. On the other side, the reflection of the "National Anthem" is explained as a result of the positive nationalism that is created by national values (Ayaydin 2017).

Turkish nationalism in its early period based on Islamic values and had a functional role in the establishment of the republican ideology, however, this effect has been evolved into Islamic nationalism (Aydın 1983). This Islamic nationalism is considered to be a part of a proto-nationalism (Mardin 1993). Akif's Nationalism is equipped with patriotism, the country, and the national unity of the public. the first impression on his national anthem mostly refers to a religious patriotism that is combined with religious and national figures. The National Struggle had a unique meaning for the future of Islam, the collapse of the country will also be the fall for Islam, thus he attaches great

importance to the Turkish soldiers saying “Such is your greatness, that your blood saves God’s unity/ Even the lions of Bedr could have won only so much glory” (“Ne büyüsun ki kannı kurtarıyor tevhidi” and “Bedrin aslanları ancak bu kadra şanlı idi”) (Ersoy 1915).

The country can only represent the existence and persistence of religion. Thus, for Akif, Turkey is a numerable country as a unique homeland of Islam. The collapse of the other countries as the homeland for Islam, before questioning the wrong usage of the term and inconvenient comparison between the Turkish soldiers with companions of Prophet Muhammad from the early example of the Islamic history.

Yahya Akyüz in his work on Turkish Education History while stating the importance of Akif's place in Turkish history he explains his position as the defender of Islamic unity earlier of WWI, and he explains that Akif was against the nationalism ideology of "kavmiyet". However, after the Process of World War during the rise of nationalism movements, Akyüz points to the Word of "ırk" that Akif used in the national anthem refers to Turks, by asserting this he claims that Akif embraces the Turkish nationalism ideas after a while (Akyüz 2012).

For some, the word "ırk" in the national anthem does not refer to the meaning of race while it was written, however, its current usage refers to race in English. The meaning of "ırk" means the whole society without any reference to their racial and national differences. The people shared the same historical background and united under the imperial flags.

The nationalism in definitions of Akif are distinguished in two words that has same meaning in its current meaning. He uses nationality (*milliyet*) and ethnicity (*kavmiyet*) words mostly in the same meanings. However, later he distinguishes the both words by saying that he was only against to the ideas of ethnicity (*kavmiyet*) ideas, yet no against to the idea of nationalism (*kavmiyet*). Akif mostly uses the word of “milliyetçilik” (nationalism) with its religious connotation in defense of Islamism. The effort that has to be taken for the national struggle is equipped and bonded with religious concerns in his poems. His initiatives toward the preservation of the cultural identity are emphasized the ethno-religious characteristic of nationalism.

Fickle crescent! Do not frown on us with such stern visage, I beg;  
Grant my heroic race a smile... why all this rage, this violence?  
If it be so, we would not our spilled blood on you gladly bestow.  
For it is the right of my God-fearing nation to be independent  
(Ersoy, Turkish National Anthem).

However, the exact terms for “Grant my heroic race” (Kahraman ırkıma) and take “Abide your word, abide yourself and take after your race” (Sözü sağlam, özü sağlam ol, ırkına çek) exactly refers to the Turkish people without implying as an upper identity of the Turkish individuals (Ersoy 2008, 466; Çetin 2012). Nurullah Ataç criticizes the overemphasizing of Akif's poem that is issued as a national anthem and does not consider it appropriate as a national anthem. National anthem, for him, is away from to picture of a national idea that does not contain any references to Turks and Turkey because of the concern of "La kavmiyete fi'l Islam" (No nationalism in Islam)<sup>9</sup>. However, the march entitles the religious and cultural formulas and symbols such as azan, minarets, cemaat (religious sect or ummah in general) etc, there is no mention of nation in any word. Thus Ataç consider the march a pray or a hymn rather than a national anthem (Kara and İbanoğlu 2011).

There is need of clarification for the Akif that his narrations in national anthem observe cultural values within heroic history with its religious links. He relates religious symbols of prayer call, martyries, crescent as the thorough explanation for religious nationalism. Besides his sympathy for Turkish nationalism and Ottoman empire, he undertakes a mission for both as the savior of Islam and Islamic nation. The reactions of Akif were also defined in his poems as attributing to religious symbols and references. He attributes great value to soldiers and martyries on the national salvation war.

Now lie stretched out, hit in the middle of their spotless foreheads;  
My God, my God, what suns are setting for the sake of a crescent!  
You, soldier, who has fallen to the ground for the sake of this land!  
Your ancestors might well descend from heaven to kiss that pure forehead.  
Such is your greatness, that your blood saves God's unity...  
Even the lions of Bedr could have won only so much glory (Ersoy 1915).

---

<sup>9</sup>Babanzade Ahmed Naim (1872-1934) was an Islamist writer and wrote a series of articles in journal of Sebilürreşad under the title of “There Is No Nationalism in Islam” published in the in 1914. These articles were collected in a book and published with the name of “İslam'da Davayı Kavmiyet” in 1916.

Besides, the great importance of the Turkish soldiers and their effort is traumatically depicted by Akif, he exceeds bounds and he settles the sacred and religious figures improperly.

If I were to place the Kaaba at your head as your tombstone;  
If I were to write my soul's illumination into your inscription;  
If I were then to take the heavens, and wrap them  
Around your bleeding grave as a holy, star-spangled drape (Ersoy 1915).

The description of the Kaaba which is highly valuable and one of the main figures of the religion of Islam is allegorically suggested to be moved as a tombstone to glorify the martyrries of the national war. However, the narration is figuratively expressed, the expression of Kaaba being in the service of Turkish martyrries confronts a great dilemma for Muslims. Turkish martyrries that Akif describes them to be in the mission to save the Muslim country and thus having a religious mission is carried to excess. Moreover, the religion is called here to be savior of the Muslims in contradiction to the idea of Muslims to be on the service of preservation of Islam.

In the similar descriptions his calls for God's action are also can be considered within the same dilemma. That he calls in such case of delirium moment “

Oh God! These lands were the last home of those innocent people...  
How your rage confirmed the vile to hit them  
Sure, from the worst of nations, three villain army  
Just came and hit us right from our chest, watch what a strike was it:  
You did not manifest once, with your kindness, Oh God!  
You killed those three hundred and fifty million souls with your rage!  
Even while having fun with your decadence (Safahat 2008, 176-8)

Akif in his poem of the Surah Ali Imran as he wrote as a commentary of the verse of 186 Akif intends to call the divine action to be in charge. Following that, he also reminds that it is the last home for God's religion to be saved, however, curse of God made it hit by non-believers. He questions God's rage on Muslims and the intention behind it that killed three hundred and fifty million people in a rage.

In Akif definition of nationalism mostly two words are used in reference. The words of nationality (milliyet) and ethnicity (kavmiyet) words have same usage in current usage of language. However, Akif later distinguishes the word of nationality (milliyet) from ethnicity (kavmiyet). It is narrated from ardent Turkish nationalist Hamdullah

Suphi who was also founder of Türk Ocağı (also known as Turkish Hearths founded as non-governmental organization in 1912 among Turkish Nationalist to raise the awareness on cultural, social, economic, intellectual awareness of Turkish people). Hamdullah Suphi Över in a national assembly called Akif a gifted poet who writes against to nationalism ideology, however Akif rejects the statement of Över and defenses that he is not opponent of nationalism (milliyetçilik) ideology, it is idea of ethnicity (kavmiyetçilik) that he rejects to follow (Düzdağ 1997).

The embracing of Turkish nationalism in Akif's ideas progressed and developed with the cultural and religious synthesis. From the similar perspective, Smith argues that nationalism does not necessarily address to a political entity and a nation-based territory. The classification should be applied for the kind of separation that one attaches it to the political independence and autonomy rather than ethnicity and culture-based nationalism. He argues that nationalism is more than political notion. On the contrary, there are different kinds of nationalism emerges in such combination and thus lead them into another directions. It has also multiple derivations from cultural combination (Smith 2010)

For Akif, yet these numerous analogies would not directly enough to call him a Turkish nationalist in modern concept. which was not alone by itself form the modern illustration of the unity of the Muslims promulgated by the Al-Afghani who is often called with pan-Islam. The pan-Islamist idea was embraced by Afghani in the 1880s when this idea increasingly gained proponents. His switch between the idea of nationalism is seen in an efficacy while he sought the preference of Islamic solidarity best to put by local nationals (Haim 1962).

Embracement of nationalization in the defense of the country as the most efficient tool in the preservation of the national persistence may infer a fair preference where the mobilization of the groups of people against the Western forces. In this other version and more nationalistic way of solidarity rather than the Islamic solidarity is not necessarily oppose each other at the point of the same purpose of the solidarity against Europe (Keddie 1968). The sight that is set on the ideals of Akif is basically a safe autonomy away from Western dominance.

Considering Afghani's response to nationalism, it lies in his ideas of nationalism in conjunction with the national language. Besides that, he also states that however, a nation can convert into another religion, it cannot possibly change its nationality. His nationalism concept is more ambiguous than the national features. His intention was to apply to the national consciousness of every Muslim from any nationality however specifying that the Muslim is loyal to his nationality. Besides that, acknowledging the rightful rise of nationalism he also stresses the nourishing effect of nationalism over Islam. The concept of the national Islam that he draws is designed to establish the international Muslim solidarity and network together while at the same time keeping the national sovereignty in their fatherland. (Çalen, 2017).

The sense of the peace and unity among Muslim is stressed by Akif while criticizing the national desires of Muslim over the world. At the same time, Akif criticize Muslims being in a desperate and passive status. After the success of Western forces during the WWI, he starts to accept the superiority of the modernization and progression. However, his critics on the stagnation of Muslims turned the praise for the progress and the admission of Darwin's` social evolution theory.

"They will. This is quite natural, because  
God let the strongest live"<sup>10</sup> (Sebilürreşad VIII, 416)

In these lines, he starts asserting the loss of unity and continues by justifying the Darwinian theory of evolution implying East as weak and Western in a strong character. However, his ideas here advocate the movement and activism rather than stability, he fails to admit that saying of "Rival is the product of human life"<sup>11</sup> and continues to defend his ideas:

Who has the right in life conceive and sees;  
They are killing those who does not endeavor one by one!  
Those who considers the survival as their target, running and advancing<sup>12</sup> (Ersoy 2008, 225)

---

<sup>10</sup> "Edecekler. Bu da gayetle tabî'î. Zîrâ

Yaşamak hakkını kuvvetliye vermiş Mevlâ"(Ersoy 2018, )

<sup>11</sup> "Mücahede mahsulüdür hayat-ı beşer"

<sup>12</sup> "Hayatta hakkı olan kimdir anlıyor, görüyor;

Çalışmayanları bir bir eliyle öldürüyor!

Bekayı gaye sayanlar koşup ilerlemede;"()

He reminds through these lines that the struggle among humanity is the natural flow of life. Even more, he suggests the idea that the survivors are the one who keeps moving and runs forward and losers are who only stand and does not act (Meydan 2015). The main reason of backwardness and falling behind in civilization and development is due to the Muslims being in despair and “looking from afar”<sup>13</sup>. He connects the result as the fall of country and religion which he attributed as “The country is destroyed, and religion vice versa/ Does the Qur'an solely tell looking from afar?” (Ersoy 1975). And from his different poem he also complains about the verdict of God that let the success of the infidels over Muslims:

How your rage confirmed the vile to hit them,  
Sure, from the worst of nations, three villain army (Safahat 2008, 176-8)

These lines are descriptively written following his aim for the meaning of the Surah of Ali İmran 26 in Quran. He aims to link the Quranic explanation of the present status; however, he can't abstain from questioning the divine verdict. Finally, he himself expels these thoughts away and adopts a noninterventionist approach that follows the Quranic verbs of “And that there is not for man except that [good] for which he strives” (Quran 53:39). The themes in his poem consider an exceeded approach for Akif who has titled many times as “the poet of Islam”. Meydan argues that the Akif's reaction to the loss of the Islamic nation and the rise of Muslims is not in a manner of Muslims and a poet of Islam yet he insists on questioning the act of God. He ended up his sermon right after the Muslims fall in the Balkan wars as

Shall the Quran tread under foot  
Shall override on the Quranic verses  
Oh God! Shall the cross appear on Kaaba's forehead  
Shall the whole religion be destroyed and finally collapse  
Don't burden, dear God, that much misery (Ersoy, 2008, 446).

Meydan defends that Akif accepting modernity and against to bigotry that he was criticizing tasawwuf and madrasah schools being blind to the reality however advocating the innovation, science and modernism on conditions. Akif's Gallipoli poem is problematic for Meydan that Akif value the Turkish soldiers as dignified as

---

<sup>13</sup> “Milletin, memleketin böyle sefil olmasına

Bir sebep varsa, havâssın geriden bakmasıdır” (156)

the soldiers of Badr (the first battle engaged between Early Muslims and non-Muslims). Moreover, the last years of Akif, after his return from Egypt, defined as welcoming the Ataturk's Turkey (Meydan 2015).

It is important to observe the changes respectively happened in Akif's life that he experienced through different stages in his life. The categorization of his thoughts will be more obvious to see under the events that influenced and strongly affected his thoughts on nationalism. As it is seen in the early stages of his life, he supports the idea of the unity of the Islamic community (ummah) while strongly opposing the racial-nationalism and Islamic union that effectively plays a role in the constitution of the nation. Even though the meaning of Turkishness broadly makes sense of Muslim both with racial and religious references, Ersoy regards the racial-nationalistic feelings as "*perversity*" and expresses his views:

I could not, I cannot understand how the feelings to separate and fall apart got into your brain. Was the devil who put the idea of nationality in your mind? The idea of nationality is the earthquake that will collapse from the foundations the Islam that holds together in one nationality so many nationalities distinct from each other (Safahat 2009, 279).

Akif rejects the idea referencing to prophet Mohammad saying "Is there splitting in Islam?" and "The Prophet cursed the idea of nationalism" (Pajaziti 2013, 97; Fletët, p. 279- 302). He also states that the idea of separation and racial division does not refer to any Islamic tradition saying of "Neither party madness we need, nor the plague of nationalism!". he also points to call people to note that "Turks cannot live without Arabs" points to The Arab-Turk relation is Islamic religion and in ummah senses (Safahat 2008, 184).

The country of Turkey as a symbolism of Islam which many times is strongly attributed in Akif's ideas on the state-religion that he uses its formation as an institutive role for the persistence of religion. With his own words "The country is falling apart, so is the religion"<sup>14</sup> is a direct reference to a country that gives the opportunity of the resurrection for a religion together with its own historical destiny. However, the stress on the keeping religiosity of society depends on the power of the state owner, and the fear of non-Muslim occupation of Turkey as a Muslim land directs a clear perspective

---

<sup>14</sup> "Memleket mahvoluyor, din de berâber gidiyor"

of the time. For Akif, a religion which claims to be a world religion, however, cannot issue same destiny for an exact territory, society or nation. Turkish writer Cenap Şahabettin explains Akif's insights and concerns beats with the conditions of homeland and religion at the same time. He explains that his heart burns with two very great loves that of religion and the love for homeland. His main concerns are only equipped with these two subjects. (Şahabettin 1938, p.340)

Timurtaş defines Akif's position as a nationalist intellectual poet, however, the sense of his nationalism is departed from the sense *ummah* and Islamic nation. His conception of unity is more of patriotic and religious-based principles that gets its strength from history and of the Empire's current condition. Rather than today's sense of nationalism, it is the synthesis of the Turkish-Islam nationalism that he adopted, and it was not a global vision that encompasses the whole Islamic world and Muslim people in the domain of the empire.

Timurtaş explains Akif's identity as the essential nationalist poet and intellectual whose sense of nationalism is somewhat different from the current and general sense of nationalism. However, his sense of unity is not the same as an *ummah's* sense; his nationalism is ratherly based on homeland (*vatan*) and a religion basis that took its source from history and nationhood. Timurtaş explain that Turkish nationalism was a necessity that came out of such conditions of the Ottoman Empire. Timurtaş asserts that Turkish nationalism had a different vision than the *ummah* sense that it only belonged to Muslims living in the Ottoman Empire not to the entire Islamic community (Timurtaş 1987).

Akif, considered nationalism in relation with religion, and fused religion and nationality and considered them inseparable from each other. At the same time, his reaction turned against all ideologies that were hostile to the nationality, especially communism and cosmopolitanism. However, Akif dissented from "kavmiyet" movements among Turkish ideology. He believed the current "kavmiyet" movements such as Circassianism, Kurdishness, Albania, and Turks, which he called the tribal draft, would ruin the unity and leave the country in disarray. In his consideration of salvation of the Empire, the loyalty of non-Muslims and the Islamic bonds of Muslims to the country would save the empire's current situation (Timurtaş 1987).

However, how clear Akif despised the idea of nationalism, his objection to nationalism ideology consider a rejection of racism and the racial discrimination. His idea of nationalism and Ottomanism while not basically separated from the identity codes, as his stress on separation considered the political based. For Timurtaş, Akif's nationalism idea at this point was not forward-thinking where the nationalism movement had ramped up and could not find any option for recession. His idea of nationalism, based on practice and activism as Ziya Gökalp figures the Islamic bond, would not any more constitute a total unity. As a matter of fact, after the empire collapsed and the national government was established, in his poem that he wrote as the national anthem the word "race" (ırk) and "millet" are clearly used in the meaning of the Turkish race and the Turkish nation (Timurtaş, 1987, 56). Akif's perception of nationalism is shortly described by Topçu as the consciousness of history as a nostalgic reference to the past and land. The synthesis of religious and national consciousness that he contributed, for Topçu, was a usual stand before the nationalism which had been in use of a liberal concepts and included racist perception or a religiousism (dinci) approaches. However, Akif reminded that Turks cannot be separated from Islam and Turkish nationalism from Islam. Topçu defends his nationalism and gave another direction to nationalism that follows the line of morality and virtue. (Topçu 1970). Kabaklı (1986) conceived of the issue of nationalism in Akif's conservative identity which is defined as a "*moral nationalist*" (italics in origin) that conscience is processed in patriotic and folkloric notions that embrace nationalism yet exclude racism (Kabaklı 1986, 52). Akif's project of nationalism strictly rejected racism that he does not accept in Muslim identity at the same time. It is a rejection of Islamism that one is in defense of racism and tribalism claims.

Additionally, Akif turned from Ottomanism and became a "Turk-Islam nationalist" (Çetin 2012, p.85). This transference is considered to be the result of WWI a nationalism combined with Islam as a legacy from Islamism (Kara 2004, p.30). However, the Ottomanism ideology survived among Ottoman Muslims for a while, afterwards, nationalism ideas spread widely (Hanioglu 1985, 1390). Akif believes that the Western accelerated the idea of nationalism to discourage the Ottoman state and to thoroughly weaken the Muslim countries. The Islamic unity (Pan-Islamism) in his defense, is the only way into the liberation to the path of Muslim unity. Therefore, during the late years of the Ottoman Empire, Akif estimates the political damage of

Turkish policy on the path of Turkish nationalism movements. Kabaklı (1985) argues that the two main points in Akif's ideas are in composition with each other which are the idea of nation and Islam. As he suggests, Akif believes that the Turkish nation is to be the pioneer and savior of Islam that if Turks are destroyed, Islam will be destroyed as well. The term "ummah" as he describes is insufficient to identify Akif, his reaction to nationalism is in parallel to opposing racism, yet supports religious nationalism. The stress on culture and civilization has similar distinctions of definition that took place in Gökalp's and Akif's sense that they rather preferred the civilization but not directly a copy of Western style. However, the main focus of Akif is more focused on culture that experienced true and well understood Islam as a religion and at the center. Moreover, Kabaklı suggests that Akif and Ziya Gökalp meet at similar grounds in terms of embracing cultural nationalism and Turkish folkloric tradition in the idea of nationalism. Akif desires to establish political unity between the Muslims. For Kabaklı Akif should be called an Islamic nationalist and Gökalp should be called a Turkish-nationalist (Güneş 2011, p.164).

Topçu, in his explicit definitions, articulates nationalism historical and territorial conscience. This historical sense of nation is narrated and transferred from past to future generations, hereby it creates a spiritual form that inherited and kept the nation same. Then, Topçu presents Akif's sense of nationalism in the mentioned combination of history and land. First of all, the history that Akif embedded in his spiritual and characteristic frame constructed his substance that never left him. The role of nationalism in Akif's life was the result of resistance and moral structure that came out as a rebellion. His poetry of *Asım* in which Akif depicts his desolation for Anatolia is a plain narration of nationalism in which he describes the people, history and destiny of Anatolia in an epic and irreplaceable portrait (Topçu 2011).

Topçu argues the perception of nationalism extended its vision. In his sense, the early concept of nationalism was in the heretical sensation that no any Muslim would accept and embrace it. Eventually, with the contributions of Akif, the confliction is resolved by teaching that Turks cannot be separated from Muslim identity and Turkish nationalism cannot be imagined away from Islam. Topçu finds that, however the heretical and masonic attacks threatened the Turkish nationalism, the perfected synthesis of religious and national conscience is awakened by Akif. Topçu notes that

the typology of nationalism that is observed as a synthesis of history and land conscious in Akif's sense that is naturally tied to conservatism. Thus possessing conservatism, acquires and collects the whole assets of history and sacred sense of nation in its principle. The emergence of the word conservatism (*muhafazakarlık*) in the following sentences is explained by Topçu. He complains that the term of conservatism is confused with the term of "*irtica*" or reactionaryism used by CUP addressing the people who want the previous regime of Abdulhamid after the March 3<sup>rd</sup> incident succeed overthrowing Abdulhamid and succeed. He rejects the expression of conservatism being recognized with backwardness, piety of religion and even rejecting science and progress. He continues defending the idea that conservatism does not necessarily have a religious definition and principle. However, conservatism is much more than the general definitions he assigned to it. Topçu proposes that conservatism is a way of life that allows for economic, moral and political sense that preserves the national values and morality. Thus, it is necessary for a nationalist to be conservative and at the same time to observe the national resources lie in preservation of history, language, religion and land and never abandoned to anything else. For a nation these are all fundamental agents of its nature to preserve, thereby, observing conservatism in connection to nationalism is inevitable through the same sense. In the same sense, Akif was a conscious face of conservative and nationalist that was embodied in his character. His character of nationalism was not against to religion, however, he still does not participate in such a sense of nationalism that prioritizes a race factor as Turanist ideology does. Considering the nationalism through the eyes of Topçu, gives a multidimensional analysis of nationalism like some take the language or ethnicity as a preference, for Akif religion and homeland was taken as matter of priority. In his expressions, homeland was in service of reviving Islam and its spirit by establishing such motivation through nationalism (Topçu 2011, 48).

İsmail Kara evaluates the role of nationalism and Islamism in the same value of consideration for Akif who shares the same idea with his counterparties. The vital role of nationalism is also specified by Kabaklı who notes that the Akif relies on the existence of Turkish nationalism as a savior mission for Islam, otherwise Islam will fade away. However, Kabaklı does not consider Akif as a Pan-Islamist but a religious nationalist who rejects racism. The stress on the nationalism is positioned against racism many times. Distinguishing between racism and nationalism is stressed by

many writers however nationalism is equipped with religious/ Muslim nationalism that is appreciated and approved by many thinkers as in the case of Kabaklı distinguishing Muslim nationalism between Pan-Islamism followed the exclusion of racism.

Akif after his years of solitude in Hilvan, Egypt, came back to Istanbul and while his illness progressed immediately. During his interviews, he expressed his longing for Istanbul and his environment. His years away from his homeland, obviously caused his ideological change about Turkey's political case which was under the rule of Atatürk's policies then. In his interview in 1936, he explains his supports for the Turkish Revolution and even wishes to visit Ankara, the capital city of the Turkish Republic. His opposition to the liberal Turkish revolution is replaced by admiration for the successful revolution. He is contented with the status quo of modern Turkey and wants to be a part of the developments (Acun 2011, 74).

The debate between Akif and Tevfik Fikret starts when Fikret who was a Westernist intellectual expressed his ideas on nationalism in a cosmopolitan view of "the whole earth is my country, my nation is humankind."<sup>15</sup> While Fikret's humanist and anti-nationalist ideas are defined in such an approach, Akif satires Fikret's ideas and defines his ideas as a deceit that who believes it will lose either his homeland and his humankind<sup>16</sup> (Ünsal 2005). In Akif's consideration there is no place for cosmopolitanism in reality after all. He deliberately accepts the ideas of nationalism and feels the need for a nationalism ideology in practice. In this period, Akif implies that he was appealing to the outcome of nationalism suggestions and happy to encourage the local nationalism when it helped his anti-imperialist purposes.

Aşkun was known for his folklore studies and defenses that religion has no power to unite anymore. However, he thinks the place of religion is taken by a greater idea of nationalism ideology. He assumes that Akif's piety was never superior to patriotism. In this respect, religion is not an "ideal" for him, but a matter of perception (Aşkun 2011, 75). Akif's statement of his regrets on his late coming is expressed as an ideological conversion in his support of Turkish nationalism that he contented of Republic's late form. As described above it is also due to the Akif's sense of reality is

---

<sup>15</sup> "Milliyetim nev'i beşer, vatanım ruy-i zemindir" Fikret 1911.

<sup>16</sup> "Bu yalana inanırsan ne vatanın kalır ne ruy-i zemin"

determined with his life that he has an extreme sensitivity, attention, and rigor in terms of religion and belief, was able to even complain to God time to time, even question the divine justice and duty (Samsakçı, 2013).

The ideological change can also be observed through the statements of other Islamist names. As it is already explained the status of Akif's close friend Sait Halim Pasha strongly criticizing the nationalism ideology and Turkism movement, there is also an ideological shift that need to observation in realization of the nationalism as a effectful fact in the century. Çetinsaya explains that however, he blamed racism and considered it as the evil idea that led the world into corruption, he admitted the idea of nationalism is convenient to the Islam and explains:” The most excellent organization of Islamic communities in the world is the form which divided into nations, It is also the most convenient form for the emergence and realization of Islamic truths in the best way.”(Said Halim 1991, 213-15). He then continues to claims his acceptance of the ideology of nationalism and rejects the idea that nationalism and Islam is seen in controversial positions.

## CHAPTER IV

### NATIONALISM AND ISLAMISM DEBATES

#### 4.1. Religion and Nationalism

While the reviving of Balkan nationalism manifested as rejecting the Ottoman and Muslim ruler's superiority over the Christian Balkans, the same also applied for the rising of Ottoman Turkish ruler of the new Turkey when Ottoman Turkish Muslims rejected Western Imperialism and Colonialism. The ideology of nationalism which promotes superiority over the other nations when religious feelings accumulate together with the patriotic sense has commonalities with the religious sense that promotes belonging as a pseudo-religion. Nationalist theoreticians promote obedience over the same values that each society share; geography, language, race, history, religion (Naqavi 1998).

The origins of nationalism is explained by nationalist theories by authors such as Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, and Benedict Anderson. However, the theories of nationalism that are described by prominent scholars have ignored the effect of religion on the rise of nationalism. While, the general point of Gellner's theory of nationalism is described within the economy, industry and common education, and print capitalism. As he explains the paradigm of nationalism attempting solely the nature of primary factors that are organized in nationalization. He also tends to define nationalism in the secular form by necessity informing that "In the industrialized world high cultures prevail, but they need a state, not a church, and they need a state each. That is one way of summing up the emergence of the nationalist age." (Gellner 1986, 72-3) From a similar point of view, as a contribution to the idea of religion as a savior is also defined in religion stands by the living agents as a social organization, however, the origin of the nationalism is affected by religious uniform in "immediate situations", religion did not decide the form of nationalism alone by itself. (Greenfeld 2005, 93)

However, the role of religion described explicitly by Hobsbawm yet as a negative explanation seen as "Neither (religion or ethnicity) can be legitimately identified with the modern nationalism that passes as their lineal extension, because they had or have no necessary relation with the unit of territorial political organization which crucial criterion of what we understand as a 'nation' today" (Hobsbawm 1990, 47).

The formation of modern nationalism is also covered many common origins such as language, religion, territory. However, Greenfeld does not agree the idea of commonality is such a decisive preference on this point. The role of religion is obvious in the formation of national identities considering Poland, Ireland, Greece, England yet as a distinctive character of religion in America Protestantism follows its role in the American nation's character. The idea of the modern nation-state and its secular sense does not necessarily exclude the religion out of the modern world (Veer and Lehmann 1999). The interplay role between nationalism and religion is obvious in the case of the construction of nation-state communities. It established and instrumentalized some existed notions of society. Religion was one of the most observable and utilized instruments that were played during this aspect. The construction of a common identity for the members of the country, religion was a reinforcing strong bond to keep the common identity and to keep away from corruption by developing the common stance.

Nationalism as a product of French renovation in 19th century processed through political and ethnical division. In this process of invention of political identities new forms of nation states are built through the preservation of language, history, religion and ethnic symbols. This relation, specially developed during the crisis of WWI, the resurgence of religion became a strong element of unity of same religious ethnic societies. The religious orientation of the nation survived as a national code between the historical and social principles within the unit of territorial defense. As a motive for believers and patriot, the importance of religion lies as guide before national salvation. The active relation between nationalism and religion is obvious when it is seen in the national movement in different countries within different religious motives.

It is when the national movements encouraged by religious drives then become more essential in terms of the adopted codes, language, and culture. One of the greatest

challenges is the separation of the extent of nationalism with ethnic nationalism of the identity that is detained through religious aspects. This is an explanation that comes with a definition for religious nationalism that many times repeated its vision in the either political and social order. Where each movement is motivated by its conditions within the historical and social context, there has been also common elements that drives are in due of social crisis. To generalize these drives of actions and ideologies are explained in Jurgensmeyer's definitions that identify the developed steps around ethno-religious identity and religious nationalism. For him "the public sense of security" led to keep their legitimacy of the country by evoking the traditional values and forms that express the cultural norms. However, religious nationalism is renounced as liberal construction what Jürgen Habermas calls "the project of modernity." (Jürgensmeyer 1996)

#### **4.2. Islam and Nationalism**

The Ottoman Empire after experiencing the nationalist claims of its subject, the reactions against the ideology of nationalism continued among Ottoman Turkish thinkers and Islamist intellectuals. Ahmed Naim Babanzade a Turkish teacher and philosopher who is also a very close friend of Mehmet Akif strongly criticizes any nationalist partisan movement that occurred in the late century of the Ottoman Empire which also caused the defeat of Balkan lands. The recognition for the nationalist and militarist in his short article that has been submitted in Islamic Journal claiming that Islam could only save the Turkism and Turkism never occupies the circle of Islam and both claims never succeed. He also claims that Turkism and Islamism never go together hand in hand, finally, they distinguish each other and each other's interests will be oriented to choose between.

In his call to the Turkish-Islamist group, he does not see nationalism as a principle to create unity among the new generation, for him, the stress on nationalism finally finds its peak at the chauvinist tendency. He also continues his arguments giving references through Quranic verses and prophetic verse which says " The believers are but brothers" and states that Muslims must seek Islamic unity without any other(Qur'an 49:10). He reminds the last sermon of the Prophet Muhammad about the discrimination over the equality of people over the nation and the race saying "An

Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab nor a non-Arab has any superiority over an Arab; also, a white has no superiority over a black nor a black has any superiority over white except by piety and good action. Learn that every Muslim is a brother to every Muslim and that the Muslims constitute one brotherhood" (Naim, 2013, 35).

The Islamist thinkers' objections to nationalism were directed in two questions. The problem of nationalism essentially asserting that Islam principally does not approve of nationalism. Moreover, it sabotages the Islamic *ummah* conscience that is grounded on fraternity and unity. (Arai 1992, 108). Babanzade Ahmet Naim an Islamist thinker was well-known for his article titled *İslam'da Dava-yı Kavmiyet Yoktur* meaning of "There is no matter of Nationalism in Islam" calling to Turkish Islamists rejecting the basic Islamic principles. Disapproving any nationalist claims by Babanzade, Naim explained that it is accepted vilified and renounced by Islamic canon. Accepting it as one of the big sins that could pervert the weak one out of the Islamic path and could also risk one's faith in this way which he links to the pre-Islamic age of ignorance (Naim 2013).

Islamist thinkers tend to believe that nationalist feelings damage Islam and the unity of the Muslims, however, Turkish nationalist Muslims tend to prove that it is not fully prohibited and can provide more advantage than the disagreements that they had from the earlier ideology of Ottomanism. In the sense of Ağaoğlu, the idea of nationalism and Islamism does not coincide and contrast with each other. Among Turkish intellectuals, he puts the possible imagination of the Turkish Muslim identity. For Ağaoğlu, as he explains in his article titled *Türk Alemi* which published in the magazine of *Türk Yurdu*, Islamism stands as a key figure of the moral and ethical figure of Turkishness which cannot stand without Islam. Islam is also a religion of nation (kavmiyet) as in the example of Christianity of how Protestants, Orthodoxes, and Lutherans are peculiar to one nation, Turks are also deservedly acclaim of a national Islam. He defends of nationalism here superior the religion, the claim of the nation is also must be clean of other nations' impacts and all other superstitious. However, he supports the idea of Turkism and claims that Turks cannot be without Arabs nor can Arabs be without Turks. He explains that they both should encourage their progress in their national aims (Kurt 2012, 71-75).

The composition of both the ideology of Turkism and of Islamism is crucial to keep in mind, both never get to be homogenous ideologies even though there are controversies at the time in which they both agree on the need for reform for the religion/Islam. For example, Mehmet Akif firmly insisted on a quick reformation just like the Abduh does. However, the matter of nationalism is enough to split the opinion of both parties. The sense of Turkist thinkers' approach to nationalism considered heterodoxy and antithetical to Islam that could destroy the unity of the ummah. Moreover, the tension between Aġaoġlu and nationalism critics by Islamist names constitute a valuable example to comprehend the two different opinions of the time. Babanzade Ahmed Naim and Süleyman Nazif strictly rejected nationalism tendency among Turkish nationalists. Aġaoġlu, in this point, offers a moderate approach aiming at a reformed identity of modern Muslim Turks.

Synthesis of Turkism and Islam is also defended by Gökalp, where they both support and also complete each other, however, Islam is universal and Turkism has national comprehension. Turkish Islamism also makes modern Islam possible by adapting Islam to Turkish identity (Kurt 2012). For Köprülüzade, the nationalism orientation of Muslims leaving of Ottomanism ideology was a necessary process. Turkish nationalism necessarily emerged after the unaccomplished expectations of Ottomanism which did not result in success.

The idea of nationalism is not accepted in Islam for Süleyman Nazif, he criticizes Turkish defenders putting nationality before religion. Musa Carullah Efendi is known also by his critics of Western ideas and nationalist defenders considers Islam and nationalism are not independent from each other and they should bond Islam and their nation together at the same level in civilization aim. However, the rising arguments on these subject results with the literature works that arose in the pre-republic period comprise the overlap of religion/ Islam and nationalism.

The conjunction of both also creates unsettled and ambiguous ideologies. Authors of "Türk Yurdu" and Journal of Islam were writing both journals along the same line. The tension between the Babanzade and Aġaoġlu was an identical argument between Islamist and Turkish nationalism defenders. Nevertheless, the responses of Aġaoġlu and Babanzade do not consider a real dispute that overall going on between religion

and nationalism. Ağaoğlu already accepts that the issue of nationalism does not conflict with the religious grounds of Islam (Öğün, 1995, 182). Moreover, it is not surprising that the accompany of both ideologies on the modernization and fundamentalism efforts for Islamic and Turkish society gathers them on the convention of religious nationalism. For Turkish nationalists, the impossibility of neglect of Islamic principles is considered by the evidence of folkloric and intellectual coherence of religion and nationalism notions (Öğün 1995). However, the fixture of setting an alternative Turkish history as a parallel to Islamic original history creates a hard-to-explain struggle for Turkish nationalists. The creation of a national history as paganist concepts within its sui generis version of narration puts the pro-Islamic defenses in an unaccountable discussion. Here it also means national functions are agreed to be preferred over Islamic values. Moreover, as it is put forward by Georgeon, Akçura's idea of nationalism considers the positivist claims that religion/Islam is a service to Turkish nationalism as it contributed to its progress over the whole of its history (Georgeon 1986).

A blurry debate that questions whether Turkish nationalism and Islam are among the conjunctive figures of the nation. The debate also continues to inquire regarding whether the obedience of Turkish nationalism and religious loyalty would come over in the matter of preference. The idea of nationalism by Islamist figures is still a matter of debate. Islamist writer Sezai Karakoç explains nationalism as the biggest disaster in the Islamic world. He defines it as the "imported nationalism" that came up in the 19th century from Europeans. He argues that the *millet* concept of Europeans is purely based on the commonality of race and language that is taken as salvation by Islamic intellectuals. Although the imported concept constituted the European formula in favor of European unity. On the contrary, it dissolved the Muslim unity (Karakoç 1990, 77). Karakoç used the definition of *millet* word in the same meaning of its definition in Islamic tradition which he associated the *millet* concept with nationalism but did not consider in nationalism context. The conception of millet which he defines in objective meaning of the religious groups, In the opposite definition of millet, he places the non-religious groups. In this way, the concept of the ummah subjectively refers to the Islamic community. The reason the word of millet is used together with ummah is, in his sense that it would set the belief system. Karakoç explains the *millet* word the Islamic principle of the questioning after death while questioning angels "Which

nation are you from? Which ummah are you from?" the answer to the question is should be answered as "I am from the nation of Islam and ummah of Prophet Muhammad" (İşler 2019, 238) Following these definitions, Muslims were not the ummah but also a *millet* that surrounds the ummah inside of its term. The concept of millet within the same language, race, folklore, tradition, and custom does not specifically merge in the Western sense of nation which had a negative situation for the peoples of the Middle East and Islam (Karakoç 1990, 2).



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The last century of the Ottoman Sultanate faced national struggles during the W.W.I. Turkish writers and poets of the time were occupied to awake internal and external supporters for the struggles in light of national independence. As a matter of fact, during this time, history and literature are mutually affected and supported by the public motivation for solidarity. The spirit of community was encouraged by epic literature and heroic references for the soldiers that confronted the enemies who aimed at invasion and occupation of the Islamic lands. The crisis of the empire as the heart of the Islamic nation was under threat of Western occupation which was considered a threat for the entire Muslim world. This threat was addressed to the Muslim nations without applying any national discrimination. The expectancy for participation in Turkish sovereignty and imperial salvation is considered to be necessary for all Muslim nations to keep and save it as an image of Islam.

The last era of Ottoman Empire during the II. Constitutional Monarchy experienced the most depressed and stressful period in which political and historical developments occurred. The Ottoman State in the last years of 19th century realized that the empire is tragically heading towards collapse and losing its power in all aspects. Ottoman statesmen, intellectuals, and writers were in search to save the country and preserve the Islamic lands of empire from the Western occupation. The question for how to save and reconstruct country of Ottoman was the main problem in the earlier years of WWI. It was the time when the ideological answers are offered as a resolution for the collapse. The ideologies of Westernism, Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism were the current ideas followed in this period. In all these ideologies, and different types of salvation methods are evaluated and offered to save the country and to keep the unity in the land. In this respect, the late developments created new ideological formulas to pave the way for the ideologies that they sought salvation by and as a way to develop resistance to occupant forces.

The influence of the ideology of nationalism as derived from 19th century French Enlightenment affected many imperial subjects across the empire. The influence of the French Enlightenment that brought the ideology of nationalism which started to propose the national authorities and then initially influenced the non-Muslim subjects in Ottoman Empire. During the years of the Balkan Wars, Ottomanism ideology was raised against the rising influence of the ideology of nationalism from the Western. The main aim of Ottomanism was to keep the Ottoman subjects to be under the rule of Ottoman Empire without any reference to religion and sects.

In the examples of the emergence of nationalism in the Middle East, Turkey stands in a unique place comparatively. The defense of the country of Turkey with devotion to religion with national aspirations is resulted with the combination of religious nationalism during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, there is a powerful rejection of nationalism in Turkey that formatted anti-nationalist claims. Marmorstein (1952) claims that Turkey and Israel have a common point of resemblance in combining national claims together with the religious admissions. Together with this, each country has a conservative group that are opposed to the nationalism doctrine and claimed anti-nationalist form of reactions that is no obvious elsewhere in the Middle East. The ontological defense of religious nationalism is more obvious in identification of Turkish Islamic presentation that is also common with the Jewish ethno-religious identification. In this respect, in the late age of nationalism that resulted with nation-state building period, Islamism and nationalism are inevitably intertwined with each other. For Turks, the religious tendency of nationalism claims is continued to proclaim its sovereignty through the past accomplishment and contributions to the religion of Islam. Emphasizing their role in Islamic history, not specifically Turks but also Arabs, Iranians, Indians and also Kurds met in the common point of nationalism discourse over religion (Gencer 2017).

Mehmet Akif Ersoy as a so-called national anthem writer considered a prominent name in the defense of national struggle mostly narrated within his epic vision and patriotic sense of his poems. Akif's response was not restricted to his poems and articles. He also actively engaged in society provoking national unity through religious sense by preaching sermons in the mosques to raise national awareness. The mission that he adopted was mainly serving the salvation of the Muslim community and raise the

recognition of the national values in a patriotic sense. During the WW I. in Ottoman Empire, the Muslim intellectuals sought national salvation in the Islamic unity and were supporting an Ottoman nation.

The First Balkan War in 1913 signed for the ideological collapse of Ottomanism that was aimed to unify all Ottoman subjects under the unique identity under the rule of Ottoman empire. The impact of nationalism over the Balkans is obviously seen in Akif's poems and satires. Having an Albanian origin due to his father homeland of Albania, Akif criticizes Albanian revolt and Balkan uprisings with a great sadness. Afterwards of the Balkan loss, Akif turns his direction to the Islamic unity that he saw in threat of nationalism break among Muslim subjects.

Akif was acknowledged by his motivative poems for Turkish Muslims during the national struggle and his satiric poems aimed to revive the Muslims around the country during independence war. The process of timeline the World War I, while the Western forces united against the Ottoman powers, the political circumstances and threats influenced Ottomans' sense of independence. Developing such ideological shifts from one to another before and during the national war is a true depiction of the narration of "*walk by faith not by sight*" (Corinthians 5:7) during the times where the ideologies were used in the purpose of national salvation. As Gökalp agrees that the catastrophic events are effectful reasons to bring the redemptive ideologies into the light (Gökalp 1997).

Akif against cultural imperialism defended national unity and culture that intertwined with religious identity. While Mentzel (2020) argues that the theory of nationalism lies in the collaboration of sensational community which of considers Weber's definition of emotion-based community (Gemeinschaft) Akif's sense of community and nation is built on the Mentzel definition of community. Moreover, the tendency and the culture of this community beats together where there is a case of strong religious bonds. In another case of example, the unity of the Akif means the objection to the imperialism and colonialism of western forces while emphasizing on the national values and identity.

From the modern perspective of nationalism theory, Turkish nationalism began to develop at the same time of modernization efforts in Ottoman Empire. The concern for the language, history, culture and religion arose by the loosing imperial power as nationalist and separatist ideologies made headway in Balkan territory. Earlier of these developments, the ideological purposes of Ottomanism aimed to keep the empire together with all subjects before the national catastrophe. However, after the Balkan break from the empire, the aims of creating an Ottoman nation failed. The stress and disappointment over the Ottoman Muslims increased. The loss of Balkan lands considered the threat of losing the whole empire at some point. The search for national salvation confronted with two different ideologies of Turkism and Islamism simultaneously. However, the emergence of both ideology is pointed to the earlier of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the both ideas were in use as an ideological apparatus in this era. With the contributions of CUP, Turkism got an increasing degree and aimed to make Turkish nationalism as the official ideology of nation and considered propagating of nationalism would be only way for national awakening. One the other.

Among the Muslim Ottoman intellectuals, the figure of Mehmet Akif stands in a distinct place in Islamic literature and Turkish independence. Mehmet Akif Ersoy is widely known as the “national poet” in Turkey. Akif’s sensitivity on social events and the current situations at his time placed in his poems, articles and sermons. It is clear that he attempted and raged against to the sociopolitical movements regarding to his faith and set of his moral principles. His reaction to the social corruption among Muslim community reflected to his ideas on the salvation of the empire and the resurgence of the Muslim nation. Thus, he always tried to call the truth and embrace the Islamic and Turkish identity in his speeches and kept his activism characteristic alive. In his poems and articles that he wrote is often conceptualized around the consideration of Islamic nation and society. During his period of life, Akif witnessed chaotic and stressful years of late Ottoman Empire.

The crisis that he went through is shaped the stages of his life differently. as the Western lands of the empire, Balkans draw away from Muslim domination of imperial lands. He targeted the threat of Western expansion over the Ottoman world and pointed out nationalism ideology as the initiator of such chaos and depression in Islamic world. The late trend of ideologies of nationalism and Westernism, that is influenced from

Western progress and French revolution, is rigorously criticized and condemned by Akif. He saw the threat of ideological importation that was resulted with the Balkan loss would follow to defeat in entire imperial lands. The challenges that he faced after the Balkan loss eventually changed his ideas of Ottomanism into Islamism ideology.

However, the stress of patriotism doctrine is linked to the Akif nationalism, his approach of nationalism is expressed out of the classic nationalist claims, there is need to clarification for the broad sense of nationalism that it covers the sources that builds national conscious and national identity. This exercise of national expression anyhow is practiced whether as loyalty to country or obedience to nation is considered a notion for the national discourse. It is important to evaluate his contributions are served to awaken Turkish self-examination, and his critics aided the growth of a national consciousness among the Turkish people.

To put it simple, the consideration of nationalism starting form the Ottoman Empire and the period of afterward developed following the Islamic sources in the references. However, there various tendencies and approaches that can be defined in different lines of acceptance. The reactions against the modern idea of nationalism is strictly rejected by some who are deemed nationalism as perversity and heterodoxy however, diverse views are also observed on embracing nationalism with its cultural, religious and patriotic forms. In this sense, the acceptance of nationalism is composed in various explanations.

In the case of Mehmet Akif, he is a Muslim, a truly believer and a real patriot that all his works are considered in the purpose of Muslim awakening, rage for Western imperialism, national awakening and a beating heart for salvation of all Muslim. In his general concept of nationalism is evolved and changed into the acceptance of cultural-religious nationalism that neither one sacrifice another. It is a synthesis of religious and patriotic love that is nurtures each other feeling.

Taking religion as a matter of a phenomenon that could be useful in the process of nation-states building give us more hints in question of why to take the religious-nationalism into consideration. The stress of Akif's sense of religion of Islam and his sincere sensitivity on patriot and independence are applied as useful instruments and

as a constitutive element into the success of the establishment of a nation-state of the Turkish Republic.

Since the discussions are rotated around the confused relation of religion with nationalism, Akif's sense of nationalism is conceptualized in the description of nation through culture. He also attributed great importance to the sovereignty of the nation and respected the common cultural forms of any nation without applying any exclusion of nation or any chauvinist claim. However, he continues to attributes Turks in praise of grand heroic nation and glorifies the success of the Turkish nation and even compare their place in Islamic history.

After reviewing his claims there is still need clarification of the relation of nationalism with religion and their retrieved similar forms of patriotism and cultural obedience and sovereignty. At this point, it should be noticed that the national discourses after the Second Constitutional Era need more observation where the modernization and conservatism are applied at the same time. Regarding the social conditions in this era, analyzes are needed to describe the intellectual situation and represent the themes that are intertwined with each other.

## REFERENCES

- Acun, Niyazi. 2011. "Mehmet Akif'in Yanında". *Sessiz Yaşadım: Matbuatta Mehmet Âkif 1936-1940*, edited by İsmail Kara and Fulya İbanoğlu, 69-74. İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yay.
- Ahmad, Feroz. 1993. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. (Vol. 264). London: Routledge.
- Akçura, Yusuf. 2006. *Türkçülük*. İstanbul: Türk Kültür Yayını.
- Akgün, Birol & Çalış, Şaban H. 2003. "Tanrı Dağı Kadar Müslüman: Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Terkibinde İslamcı Doz", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, C. 4, pp. 584-600 İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Akyüz, Yahya. 2012. *Türk Eğitim Tarihi (M.Ö. 1000- M.S.2012)*. 23. ed. Ankara: Pegem Akademi Yay.
- Arai, Masami. 1992. *Turkish Nationalism In The Young Turk Era*. Leiden: EJ Brill.
- Arsel, İlhan. 1977. *Arap milliyetçiliği ve Türkler*. Remzi Kitabevi.
- Aşkun, Vehbi Cem. 2011. "Hoş Geldin Üstat". *Sessiz Yaşadım: Matbuatta Mehmet Âkif 1936-1940*, edited by İsmail Kara and Fulya İbanoğlu, 69-74. İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yay.
- Ayaydın, Kibar. 2017. "Mehmed Âkif'in Şiirlerinde 'Cehaletin' Tenkidi ve 'Millî Uyanışın' Ele Alınışı". *80 Yıl Sonra Mehmed Âkif Ersoy Bilgi Şöleni*, edited by Mehmet Doğan, 139-150. Ankara: Türkiye Yazarlar Birliği Vakfı.
- Aydın, Suavi. 1983. *Modernleşme ve Milliyetçilik*, Ankara: Gündoğan Yay.
- Benazus, Hanri. 2012. *Mehmet Akif*. İstanbul: Bizim Kitaplar.
- Berkes, Niyazi. 2002. *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, Edt: Ahmet Kuyaş, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 2011, "Religion And Nationalism: Four Approaches". *Nations and Nationalism*, 18: 2-20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00486.x>
- Chatterjee, Partha. 2002. *Ulus Ve Parçaları*. Translated by İsmail Çekmen, İstanbul: İletişim.
- Corinthians 5:7 (King James Version)
- Çağaptay, Soner. 2006. *Islam, Secularism, And Nationalism In Modern Turkey: Who Is A Turk?* London: Routledge.

- Çalen, Mehmet Kaan. 2017. *Osmanlıcılık ve İslamcılık karşısında Türkçülük*. Ötüken Neşriyat AŞ.
- Çetin, Nurullah. 2012. *Emperyalizme Direnen Türk: Mehmet Akif Ersoy*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları
- Demirci, Berat. 2008. "Milliyetçiliğin Ontolojisi Olarak Mehmet Âkif". *Mehmet Akif, Dönemi Ve Çevresi: Vefatının 71. Yılında Mehmet Akif Ersoy : Bilgi Şöleni*. Edt. By Mehmet Doğan, Ankara: Türkiye Yazarlar Birliği.
- Durmuş, Hocaoglu. 2000, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği ve Batı Milliyetçilik Gelişmeleri*. Ankara: Ardıç Yayıncılık.
- Düzdağ, M. E. 1996. *Mehmed Akif Ersoy*, Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Türk Büyükleri Dizisi, 21.
- Düzdağ, M. Ertuğrul. 1997. *Yakın Tarihimizde İslam ve Irkçılık Meselesi*. İzmir, Çağlayan Yayınları.
- Ersoj, Mehmed Akif, Fletët (Safahat), Logos-A, Skopje, 2009. In Pajaziti, Ali. 2013. "Society-construction in Mehmet Akif Ersoy's literary opus." *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi-Trakya Üniversitesi* 2.1, pp. 89-99.
- Ersoy, Mehmed Âkif (2013), Safahat, 9th Edition, M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ (Ed.), Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Ankara. Fuzuli. Quoted from UFUK, Kemal. 2019. *Islamist and Turkist Conceptualization of Nation in The Late Ottoman Period: A Comparison of Mehmet Akif Ersoy and Ziya Gökalp*. MA Diss. Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 2019.
- Ersoy, Mehmet Akif, 1977. *Safahat*. İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitapevleri.
- Ersoy, Mehmet Akif. 1915. *Hymn to the Martyrs of Gallipoli*. translated by Halil Berktaş
- Ersoy, Mehmet Akif. 1958. "Hala mı Boğuşmak?" in Safahat. İstanbul. İnkılap Kitapevi in Özkan, Behlül. 2012. *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*. Yale University Press.
- Ersoy, Mehmet Âkif. 1979. *Safahat*. 12. Baskı. İnkılap ve Aka Kitapevleri, İstanbul.
- Ersoy, Mehmet Akif. 2008. *Safahat*. Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları. Ankara.
- Ersoy, Mehmet Akif. 2017. Hutbe ve Mevâız. Sebülürreşâd, (Haz. İ. Türe) Cilt 9, Say. 212, ( 6 Şubat 1913) İstanbul: Bağcılar Belediyesi, Kültür Yayınları Dizisi s. 369-372.
- Ersoy, Mehmet Âkif. 2018. Safahat. edt. Ertuğrul Düzdağ. Ankara: DİB Yayınları.
- Ersoy, Mehmet Akif. 1915. *March of Independence* translated by Halil Berktaş.

- Eyübođlu, İsmet Zeki. 2011. "Mehmet Akif'in Yanında". *Sessiz Yaşadım: Matbuatta Mehmet Âkif 1936-1940*, edited by İsmail Kara and Fulya İbanođlu, 69-74. İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yay. Fergan, Eşref . 1938. *Mehmet Âkif*. Asarı İlmiye Kütüphanesi Neşriyatı.
- Gedikli, A. Ercüment. 1990. *İslam Asabiyye Milliyetçilik*. Taş Medrese Yayınları, Ankara.
- Gellner, Ernest. 1986. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gencer, Bedri. 2017. "Usûlden Esasa Türk Düşüncesi" *The Journal Of Conservative Thought* 14, no.51(May-August) 137-200.
- Göçer, Güngör. 2017. "Mehmet Akif Ersoy'un Siyasal Kimliği Ve İttihat Ve Terakki Cemiyeti İle Olan İlişkisi", *MAE Üniversitesi SBE Dergisi*, C.9, S.19, 354- 367.
- Gökalp, Ziya. 1976. *Türkleşmek, islamlaşmak, muasırlaşmak*. Vol. 4. Ötüken Neşriyat AŞ.
- Gökçek, Fatma Müge (2003), "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Oluşumu: Sosyolojik Bir Yaklaşım", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, C. 4, Milliyetçilik, (Ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil), İletişim, İstanbul, s. 63-76
- Greenfeld, Liah. 2005. "Nationalism and the Mind". *Nations and Nationalism* 11(3):325-341.
- Güneş, Mehmet. 2011. "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihlerinde Şair, Fikir Adamı Ve 'Karakter Heykeli' Mehmet Âkif'e Bakış". *Uluslararası Mehmet Akif Ersoy Milli Birlik ve Bütünlük Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı*, edited by Ertuğrul Oral, 147-173. İstanbul: İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim Üniversitesi Yayın No:3
- Haddad, William W. 1977. "Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire." *Nationalism in a Non-national State: the Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire*.3-24.
- Haim, Sylvia. G. 1962. *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology*. Berkeley. CA: Berkeley.
- Hanioglu, Şükrü. 1985. "Osmanlıcılık", *Tanzimâttan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, C.5, İstanbul: İletişim Yay.
- Hayes, Carlton J.H. 1960. *Nationalism: A Religion*. Macmillan Company.
- Heyd, U., & Yalçın, A. 2001. *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökleri*. Pınar Yayınları.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- İsmail Kara, "Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi Üzerine Birkaç Not", *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi Sempozyum Tebliğleri*, İstanbul 2013, s. 17-19.

- İsmail, Hekimoğlu.2010. *Mehmed Akif'e Göre Dün Bugün Yarın*. Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010.
- İşler, Ahmet. 2019. "Nationalism in Conservative Thought in Turkey (1939-1970)". "(Türkiye'de Muhafazakâr Düşüncede Milliyetçilik (1939-1970))" PhD diss. Istanbul University. İstanbul.
- Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2020. "The Worldwide Rise of Religious Nationalism." *Journal of International Affairs* 50, no. 1 (1996): 1-20. Accessed December 19, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24357402>.
- Kabaklı, Ahmed. 1986. "Âkif'de Ülkü ve Düşünce", *Mehmet Akifi Anlatıyorlar*, Aydınlar Ocağı Yay. İst., 1986 in Doğan, Mehmet. 2008. *Mehmet Akif, dönemi ve çevresi: vefatının 71. yılında Mehmet Akif Ersoy : bilgi şöleni*. Ankara: Türkiye Yazarlar Birliği.
- Kara, İsmail. 2011a. *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi*, C.1, İstanbul 2011.
- Kara, İsmail. 1987. *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi: Metinler. Kişiler I*. İstanbul: Risale Yayınları.
- Kara, İsmail - İbanoğlu Fulya. 2011. *Sessiz Yaşadım: Matbuatta Mehmet Âkif 1936-1940*, İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yay.
- Kara, İsmail. 2004. "İslamcı Söylemin Kaynakları ve Gerçeklik Değeri". *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: İslamcılık*, İstanbul: İletişim Yay.
- Kara, İsmail. 2011b. "Akif'in 'Aktif' Din ve Ahlak Anlayışı". *Vefatının 71. Yılında Mehmet Akif Ersoy : Bilgi Şöleni*. Edt. By Mehmet Doğan, Ankara: Türkiye Yazarlar Birliği.
- Karakoç, Sezai. 1990. "Büyük Millet", *Diriliş*, C. 7, S. 77, Ocak.
- Karpat, Kemal H. 2010. *İslam'ın Siyasallaşması, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Döneminde Kimlik, Devlet, İnanç ve Cemaatin Yeniden Yapılandırılması*, Çev. Şiar Yalçın, İstanbul.
- Karpat, Kemal H. 2017. *Osmanlı'da Milliyetçiliğin Toplumsal Temelleri*. İstanbul: Timaş Yay.
- Karpat, Kemal H. 2001. *The Politicization Of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, And Community In The Late Ottoman State*. Oxford University Press.
- Kayalı, Hasan. 1997. *Arabs and Young Turks*. University of California Press.
- Keddie, Nikki R. 1969. 'Pan-Islam as Proto-Nationalism'. *The Journal of Modern History* 41, no. 1 ps.(17-28). Accessed March 6, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1876202>.

- Koçyiğit, Demet. 2014. "Kavramların Çağırdıkları/Çağrıştırdıkları: Metinlerarasılık Bağlamında İstiklâl Marşı". *FSM İlmî Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi*, 0(3), 213-229.
- Kösoğlu, Nevzat. 2002. "Türk Milliyetçiliği İdeolojisinin Doğuşu ve Özellikleri", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, İstanbul: İletişim Yay.
- Kurt, Ümit. 2012. *Türk'ün Büyük, Biçare Irkı: Türk Yurdu'nda Milliyetçiliğin Esasları. (1911-1916)*. İletişim.
- Lange-Akhund, N. 1998. *The Macedonian Question, 1893-1908, From Western Sources. Columbia University Press. New York.*
- Marmorstein, Emile. 1952. "Religious opposition to nationalism in the Middle East." *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) 28.3: 344-359.
- Mentzel, Peter C. 2020. "Introduction: Religion and Nationalism? Or Nationalism and Religion? Some Reflections on the Relationship between Religion and Nationalism" *Genealogy* 4, no. 4: 98. <https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy4040098>
- Meydan, Sinan. 2015. *Öteki Mehmed Âkif: Vaiz*. İnkılâp Yayınevi.
- Mümtazer Türköne, Siyasi Bir İdeoloji Olarak İslamcılığın Doğuşu , İstanbul 1991, s. 25.
- Naim, A. Babanzade. 1991. *İslamda Kavmiyetçilik Yoktur*. Bedir Yayınevi. İstanbul in Özkan, Behlül. 2012. *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*. Yale University Press.
- Naim, Babanzade Ahmed. 2013. *İslâm'da Dâvâ-yı Kavmiyet*. Edt. by Bedirhan İpek. İstanbul: Nûbihar Yay.
- Naqavi, Ali Muhammad. 1998. *Islam and nationalism*. Alhoda UK.
- Nikki R. Keddie. 1968. *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal al-Din 'al-Afghani'* (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Ortaylı, İlber. 1999. Osmanlı Kimliği. *Cogito*. 19:77-85.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. 2017. *Theories of nationalism: A critical introduction*. Palgrave.
- Öğün, S. S. 1995. *Modernleşme, Milliyetçilik Ve Türkiye*. Bağlam Yayıncılık
- Özkan, Behlül. 2012. *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan*. Yale University Press.

- Özkırmı, Umut., & Uyan-Semerci, P. 2011. *Pater Familias And Homo Nationalis: Understanding Nationalism In The Case Of Turkey. Ethnicities*, 11(1), 59-79 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796810388701>
- Qur'an 49:13, *Sahih International* retrieved from <https://quran.com/49> on 04.09.2021).
- Rieffer, Barbara-Ann J. 2003. "Religion and Nationalism: Understanding the Consequences of a Complex Relationship. *Ethnicities*", 3(2), 215–242. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796803003002003>
- Roseberry, William. 1996. *Hegemony, Power, and Languages of Contention, in* Ozkirimli, Umut. 2005. *Contemporary Debates On Nationalism: A Critical Engagement*. New York: Palgrave. p.176
- Samsakçı, M . "Âkif'in Şiir Dilinin Aydınlığının Sebeplerine Dair". FSM İlmî Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi 0 (2013 ): 183-200
- Said Halim Pasha. 1991. "İslamlaşmak," [Sebilürreşad, Kasım-Aralık, 1918. Buhranlarımız ve Son Eserleri. Edt. by M.E. Düzdağ. 213-15. In Cetinsaya, Gökhan. 1999. Rethinking Nationalism And Islam: Some Preliminary Notes On The Roots Of "Turkish-Islamic Synthesis" In Modern Turkish Political Thought. *The Muslim World*, 89(3-4), 350–376. Doi:10.1111/J.1478-1913.1999.Tb02753.X
- Savlu. Ahmet Hamdi. (1980). *İslam'da Müsbet Milliyetçilik*. Konya: Arı Basımevi.
- Sebil-lir-Reşad, c. IX, sayı : 230, s. 375
- Sebilürreşad. Volume: VIII – no: 204.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins Of Nations*. Oxford:Basil Blackwell.
- Smith, Anthony Smith D. 2010. *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History. Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie*. Vol. 2. doi:10.2307/3341954.
- Şahabettin, Cenap. 1938. "Memleket Mütefekkirlerinin İhtisasları", *Mehmet Âkif Hayatı Eserleri ve 70 Muharririn Yazıları*, Haz. Eşref Edip Fergan, İstanbul.
- Timurtaş, Faruk Kadri. 1987. *Mehmet Akif ve cemiyetimiz*. Vol. 758. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı.
- Topçu, Nurettin. 1970. Mehmet Âkif (Vol. 8). Hareket Yayınları.
- Topçu, Nurettin. 2011. *Mehmet Akif*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları.
- Türküne, Mümtaz'er. 2001. "İslamcılık", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, C. 23, İstanbul.

- Ünsal, Fatma Bostan. 2005. "Mehmet Akif Ersoy". *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: İslamcılık*, 2. C. 6. İstanbul: İletişim Yay.
- Ünsal, Fatma Bostan. 2005. "Mehmet Akif Ersoy". *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: İslamcılık*, 2. C. 6. İstanbul: İletişim Yay.
- Vatandaş, Celalettin. 2014. *Ulusal kimlik: Türk Uluşculuğunun Doğuşu*. Açılım Kitap.
- Veer, Peter van der, and Hartmut Lehmann. 1999. *Nation and religion: perspectives on Europe and Asia*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Yavuz, M. Hakan. 1993. "Nationalism And Islam: Yusuf Akçura And "Üç Tarz-I Siyaset"." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 4, no. 2 : 175-207. Accessed September 5, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26195511>.
- Yavuz, M.Hakan, & Blumi, Isa. 2013. *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913, and Their Sociopolitical Implications*. University of Utah Press.
- Yıldız, Ahmet. 2009. "Kemalist Milliyetçilik". *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*, 6th ed. 2<sup>nd</sup> vol., 6. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. pp. (210-214)
- Zakari, Andre. 2017. *A Modernist Approach Towards Turkish Nationalism: The Case Of Language Policies In Early Republican Turkey*, Libra Kitap.
- Ziya Gökalp. 1997. *Türkleşmek İslamlaşmak Muasırlaşmak*. 6<sup>th</sup> edition İstanbul: Toker Yayınları.

# CURRICULUM VITAE

## Personal Information:

Name- Surname: Ayşegül Adanır

## Education:

2013-2018 BA in Theology, Istanbul University, Turkey

2018-2021 MA in Turkish Studies, Ibn Haldun University, Turkey

## Experience:

February- May, 2018, Trainee Teacher, Istanbul

September- November, Project Assitant, Istanbul