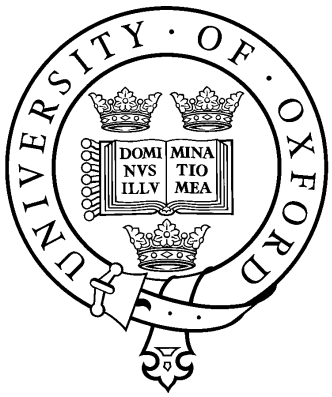
An Imperial Ideology and Its Legacy: Ottomanism in a Comparative Perspective, 1894-1928



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ABSTRACT

An Imperial Ideology and Its Legacy: Ottomanism in a Comparative Perspective, 1894-1928

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DPhil Thesis / Trinity 2018

This dissertation focuses on the Ottomanist ideas of Tunalı Hilmi (1871- 1928), Avram Galanti (Abraham Galante) (1873-1961) and Mustafa Satı (Sati' al-Husri) (1880-1968) in the years 1894-1928. Despite their different socio-political backgrounds, the three intellectuals pursued similar intellectual agendas with similar ideological inclinations over their long careers. Following their early publications as committed Ottomanists in the Ottoman period, Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti turned into Turkish nationalists, while Mustafa Satı became a pioneering Arab nationalist in the context of the political shift from the Empire to post-Ottoman successor states. This study first examines the Ottomanist pursuits of the three figures in depth. It begins with a discussion of the late Ottoman milieu that constructed their Ottomanist mindset and continues with the clarification of the pillars of their Ottomanist stances. In order to better explore the broader implications of their pursuits, the dissertation particularly examines how Hilmi, Galanti and Satı considered education and language as a means to promote their Ottomanist agendas. Finally, the dissertation reflects on their nationalist stances and discusses the continuities in their intellectual pursuits to reveal the legacy of their Ottomanism on their nationalist years.

With its content and scope, the dissertation aims to participate in the growing revisionist dialogue on Ottomanism. Its inclusive approach to Ottomanism and transnational reading of its legacy in the context of three intellectuals' ideological shifts constitute one of the first comparative studies on the subject. While it reveals the varying nature of Ottomanism in the multicultural context of the late Ottoman Empire, it indicates the broad implications of the ideology on the socio-political dynamics of the late Ottoman milieu and beyond. Moreover, by clarifying the discursive elements and political tools of their Ottomanist and nationalist years, it argues that Hilmi, Galanti and Satı's intellectual pursuits in two different political orders contain important elements of continuity.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIU: Alliance Israélite Universelle

CAHJP: The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People Jerusalem

CUP: Committee of Union and Progress

GNAT: Grand National Assembly of Turkey

GPN: Avram Galanti's Personal Notebook

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

In the transliteration of a text from a source in Ottoman Turkish, I mainly used modern Turkish orthography. Whereas, for the transliteration of a text from an Arabic source I relied on the IJMES Transliteration System.

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I must start this acknowledgement by acknowledging the fact that this is the most difficult part of this dissertation to write. During my DPhil journey, many people supported my intellectual pursuits and research, and helped me in expanding my ideas. More importantly, a long list of individuals and institutions touched my life in many ways. It is therefore not surprising that in writing this acknowledgement, I am fearful of the inadequacy of my words in expressing my gratitude. Despite this difficulty, I must also express that 'the acknowledgment' is the most precious part of this dissertation.

Those who know me well, know that I have a tendency to romanticize my connections with the places that I live in. When it comes to Oxford, the place that has been my home for the last eight years, I just can't help myself in doing the same. From its scholars to its people, from its institutions to its facilities, from the dear inhabitants of its peaceful parks to its centuries old quads, I have a huge list of people, places and things in Oxford to be thankful for.

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Clearly, the most valuable thing that Oxford gave me is my Oxfordian friends. They not only enriched my life with their friendships but also became an integral part of my personal development and the story of this dissertation. Vedica Kant has been always there for me as a true friend and an intellectual companion who contributed to the development of this dissertation notably. Throughout these years, our friendship has been one of the most beautiful and central parts of my Oxford experience. Fatemeh Shams has been an inspirational figure since the day that I met her. Our long conversations at Oxford, moments that we shared in different parts of the world, and her unique personality have always made me feel lucky for having her in my life as a very dear friend. Anoushe Modarresi was probably the first person that I got to know at Oxford. Back then I could not know that she was going to become one important part of my life at Oxford with her warm-hearted friendship. Şeyma Afacan and Başak Kilerci have been my Ottomanist partners in crime. In the past years, we shared a lot by discussing aspects of our works, supporting each others' work and organizing conferences. Günseli Gürel became part of my life at Oxford in the last phases of my DPhil. Yet, it is now almost impossible for me to imagine Oxford without her friendship. She supported my research process considerably and was a constant companion during my last years at Oxford. I was also fortunate to have friends to discuss the details of my studies, receive support or simply enjoy companionship such as Usman Ahmedani, Ünal Araç, Djene Rhys Bajalan, Kerem Bayrakçeken, Umberto Bongianino, Sermet Can, Ming Foong Cheong, Jonas Bergan

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DEDICATION

To my parents Pınar and Mehmet, my brother Cem, my sister-in-law Tuvana and my nephew Ege.

INTRODUCTION

"The policy of Ottomanism was ultimately doomed, for it forced unpopular concessions on all sides" asserts the entry on Ottomanism in *the Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, published in 2009.[1] This assumption is a good example of how the dominant historiography of the twentieth century reduced the impact and scope of Ottomanism to an insignificant political pursuit. According to this narrative, Ottomanism could not gain support among the different elements of Ottoman society in the face of increasing nationalist tendencies. It mainly remained as the weakening state's ideology, destined to perish along with the unavoidable collapse of the Empire. Consequently, in the words with which entry concludes, "Turkish nationalism took the place of Ottomanism in the modern period".[2]

The association of nationalism with "the modern period" in the encyclopaedia entry's conclusion is key to understanding periodization of the late Ottoman Empire and its implication in the dominant historiography. The narrative was built on an intrinsic dichotomy between the "old", which represented elements of the late Ottoman milieu, and the "new", referring to the components of a nation-state.[3] In this context, Ottomanism was not only an unviable political dream but also the product of an outdated political milieu, whereas nationalism was a phenomenon of the new era or simply "the modern period". This dichotomy obscured political and intellectual significance of Ottomanism and restricted its implications to the periodical borders of the late Ottoman Empire. Therefore, it did not provide an efficient ground to discuss the extensive legacy of Ottomanism and left our understanding of the subject deficient for most of the twentieth century.

[1] Yücel Bulut, "Ottomanism," in *the Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire,* eds. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 449.
[2] Ibid.
[3] For a critical examination of this dichotomy see Erik. J. Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building From the Ottoman Empire* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010), 41-44.

Contrary to such assumptions, however, Ottomanism was not a futile ideology. It was a political agenda originally aimed to produce a unifying, yet pluralist, identity for imperial subjects in the context of the political discourses of the period. Ottomanism was neither a static nor a monolithic pursuit.[4] It first appeared in the early nineteenth century as a state-sponsored project related to the state's broader efforts to expand its authority and build a stronger military. Over the course of the century, it evolved into a political phenomenon with multiple voices, altering the relations between state and people, introducing new political concepts into Ottoman life, and stimulating extensive intellectual debate regarding the Empire's sociopolitical dynamics.

Recent scholarship have brought a number of different Ottomanist voices to our attention, revealing that multiple Ottomanist actors triggered varying interpretations of Ottomanism with a wide range of implications.[5] These interpretations, as this dissertation will show, were not always compatible with or complementary to each other.[6] This proves that Ottomanism cannot be seen as a linear state policy. In fact, rather than a singular Ottomanism, it would be more correct to speak of multiple Ottomanisms within the milieu of the late Empire. Understanding the reasons and expectations of these different Ottomanisms is

[4] For a general examination of Ottomanism's evolving interpratation in the course of the nineteenth century see Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlıcılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)" [The Idea of Ottomanism in the Age of Ottoman Reform], in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce* [Political Thought in Modern Turkey], ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, vol.1 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 88-116.

[5] Some of the examples of these studies are Stefano Taglia, ed., "Ottomanism, Then &Now," *Die Welt des Islams* 56, no.3-4 (2016). (This special issue of *Die Welt Des Islams* examines Ottomanism from different angles through the articles written by Sotirios Dimitriadis, Hamit Bozarslan, Stefano Taglia, and Michael Talbot.) Julia P. Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Masayuki Ueno, "'For the Fatherland and the State': Armenians Negotiate the Tanzimat Reform," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45, no.1 (2013): 93-109; Sia Anagnostopoulou, "The 'Nation' of the Rum Sings of the Sultan. The Many Faces of Ottomanism," in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean, Historical Archives,* eds. L. Tanatar Baruh and V. Kechriotis (Athènes: Alpha Bank 2010), 79-105; Ussama Makdisi, "After 1860: Debating Religion, Reform, and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34, no.4 (2002): 601-617.

[6] For a brief discussion of this point also see Stefano Taglia "Ottomanism Then and Now: Historical and Contemporary Meanings: An Introduction," *Die Welt des Islams* 56, no.3-4 (2016). 283. For an example of competing Ottomanist discourses see Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans*, 103-131.

essential for us to comprehend the multi-faceted dynamics of the social and political spheres of the late Ottoman period.

Also, as Cohen explains, our improved understanding of Ottomanism in recent years has particularly benefited from the extending scope of Empire Studies.[7] While studies on citizenship and its broad implications were previously considered almost exclusively within the framework of nation-states, in recent years Ottoman scholars have begun situating the subject in the context of the late Ottoman period.[8] This attempt has provided a fresh approach to analyse how Ottomanism impacted the legal and political dynamics of imperial lands as well as individuals' sociopolitical perceptions in the late nineteenth century.

Aiming to participate in this growing scholarly dialogue on Ottomanism, this dissertation focuses on the intellectual pursuits of Tunalı Hilmi (1871- 1928), Avram Galanti (Abraham Galante) (1873-1961) and Mustafa Satı (Sati' al-Husri) (1880-1968) in the years 1894-1928.[9] This chronological focus includes arguably some of the most tumultuous years of Ottoman history. Its outset coincides with the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909), whose actions led him to have one of the most controversial legacies in the late Ottoman historiography.[10] It, then, continues with the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918), which started with the great hopes for the amelioration of the Ottoman socio-political system,

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[7] Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans*, xii.
[8] Ibid.; and Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).
[9] Depending on the language of the sources, the name of Galanti appears in the literature in three different formats: Avram Galanti, Abraham Galante and Avram Galante. In his works written in Turkish, he wrote his name as Avram Galanti; however in his French works, his name mainly appears as Abraham Galante. Furthermore, he used both formats of his names in his personal business-cards. In the main text of this dissertation, I use the Ottoman format of his name: Avram Galanti. However, when I referred one of his works in which his name as the author appears, for example, as Abraham Galante, in the footnotes I wrote his name as stated on the source. Similarly while Satı's name appear as Mustafa Satı or simply Satı in Ottoman period, he is generally known as *Sati' al-Husri* in the context of his career in Arab lands. In this dissertation I mainly use the name Mustafa Satı or Satı. However, when I refer to one of his writings published in Arabic, his name appears in the footnotes as it is given in the source.
[10] For a brief examination see Benjamin C. Fortna, "The Reign of Abdülhamid II." in *Cambridge History of Turkey,* ed. Reşat Kasaba, vol.4 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), 38.

yet ended with the collapse of the Empire as a result of the devastating consequences of World War I (1914-1918). Lastly, it concludes with the emergence and foundational years of the new political entities in Anatolia and the Middle East. Overall, these were years of deep political transformations with far-reaching impacts on multiple dynamics of the region.

Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı were three intellectuals who experienced the socio-political complexities of these years and witnessed the political shift from the Ottoman Empire to post-Ottoman successor states. Tunalı Hilmi was a highly active revolutionary among the Young Turks at the turn of the century. Although he lost his prominence within the movement after 1902, with the dawn of the new nationalist regime in Anatolia in the early 1920s, he appeared as one of the most outspoken and enthusiastic deputies of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara. Avram Galanti was a versatile Jewish intellectual. Early in his career he was deeply involved in the spheres of education and journalism in the Empire and beyond. From 1914 onward he primarily stood out as a dedicated scholar with a specific focus on language and history. Lastly, Mustafa Satı was an Ottoman bureaucrat of Arab descent who is considered one of the fathers of modern Ottoman pedagogy. His influence on education continued in the post-Ottoman period. After he departed from Istanbul in 1919, he became a pioneering Arab intellectual and left a significant legacy on the Arab national education system in Iraq.

In the face of the shifting political order in the region, Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı were not passive observers but active players endeavouring to sculpt their milieu. Although they came from different sociocultural backgrounds, the three intellectuals pursued similar intellectual agendas with similar ideological inclinations in their long careers. Following their early publications as committed Ottomanists in the Ottoman period, Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti turned into Turkish nationalists, while Mustafa Satı became a

pioneering Arab nationalist. Through a comparative study of their ideologies, the dissertation, firstly, explores the pillars of their Ottomanisms. In order to better understand the nature and implications of their ideological stances, it particularly examines how Hilmi, Galanti and Satı considered education and language as a means to promote their Ottomanist agendas. Relying on these analyses, the dissertation, next, reflects on the extent to which the three intellectuals' nationalisms in the post-Ottoman period were heirs to their Ottomanisms.

The temporal focus of the dissertation covering the years from 1894 to 1928 arises from number of factors. While the year 1894 marks the beginning of the early intellectual activities of Avram Galanti and Tunalı Hilmi, a number of reasons make 1928 a convenient year to limit the temporal scope of the research. In 1928, Tunalı Hilmi passed away. This was also the year of the alphabet reform in the Republic of Turkey. It marked a new sociocultural era. Galanti's reputation in this new era was influenced by his opposition to the reform proposals in the years before 1928. Further, Mustafa Satı resigned from his position as Director General of Education in Iraq in 1927. While, in the coming years, he continued to be one of the most influential figures in the educational sphere of Iraq and beyond, by the year of 1928 he did not hold the same executive authority over the Iraqi education system.

The examination of the three intellectuals' Ottomanist stances reveals the varying nature of Ottomanism in the multicultural dynamics of the late Ottoman Empire. A comparative approach to their ideas helps us reflect on the multiple factors influencing different interpretations of Ottomanism. It also allows us to comprehend the breadth of the implications of Ottomanist agendas for the political and intellectual spheres of imperial lands. It indicates that numerous concepts or tools that are often associated with the nation-state or nationalist trends in the broader historiography were indeed in circulation within the Ottoman territories through the Ottomanist discourses. This, in return, proves that Ottomanism need not be considered an ideology that was destined to perish. In fact, it had significant long-term

influences on people's perception of shared sociopolitical identity, relations between the state and individuals as well as among individuals, one's legal rights and duties, and one's attachment to the land. Moreover, the dissertation also demonstrates that the Ottomanist years of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı provided them with multiple discursive elements and tools to rely on when they reformulated their political stances over the course of the shift from one regime to another. Therefore, it argues that their Ottomanist and nationalist years contain important elements of continuity both in intellectual and practical terms.

Intellectual Efforts, Audiences and Outcomes

Having presented the main premises of the dissertation, a question appears immediately: Why are Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı particularly at the focus of this study? To put it simply, the comparative examination of the three figures' ideas provides us with a comprehensive perspective to approach Ottomanism and its legacy. To further elaborate on this brief answer, it would be beneficial for us to look at their overall intellectual pursuits in terms of their prolificacy, audience and, impact and question their intellectual identity. Among the three figures, Tunalı Hilmi stands out as a revolutionary political activist more than just a curious intellectual. Reaching his political goals was his priority, and he fought for his ideas through every channel possible. In this context, his intellectual output was primarily a means to reach his political goals. Most of his writings involved concise political messages, sometimes with a highly emotional tone, rather than deep intellectual discussions. In one of his speeches in the Grand National Assembly in Ankara, he said "Friends, I didn't read much, I couldn't write much either. I am just like a veterinary trained through farriery. Emotions are my life, my book. Yes, I occasionally talk about my memories; because, I prefer to put forward my own experience rather than talking about Karl Marx's theory or anyone else's [for that matter]. I am a man, and as a practical man [*ameli bir*

insan] I'll die."[11] Tunalı Hilmi made these statements when he was trying to counter the derisive attitudes of other deputies toward his own ideas in the Assembly. This defensive tone was different from his highly self-confident stance at the turn of the century, as will be shown in the coming chapters. Moreover, his self-deprecating remarks about his limited efforts at writing were an unfair, if not misleading, evaluation of his own activities. He published more than twenty-five works and contributed to different journals, especially in his early years of his career.[12] The years 1895 to 1902 were Hilmi's most prolific years of publication. Şükrü Hanioğlu argued that Hilmi's book *Murad* [Will], published in 1900, was his last intellectual work and his writings after that date did not show any intellectual depth.[13] Although Tunalı Hilmi did not always discuss intellectual problems systematically, as will be apparent in the coming chapters, the outcome of his prolific career provides us extensive material to reflect on his Ottomanism and his shift from Ottomanism to Turkish nationalism. He was not only a fervent opponent of the reign of Abdulhamid II, but was also concerned with the question of how to shape the future of an Ottomanist society once Abdulhamid was dethroned. In this context, he relied on his experiences and research, for he was extensively acquainted with the political discourses and problems of the period. The modern concepts or subjects including the sovereignty of the people, social equality between women and men, the rule of law or radical reforms on the use of Arabic letters for the Turkish language were only some of the subjects upon which his works touched. Through his works he was able to transmit his ideas to a wide range of audiences, particularly in the early period of his career. Yakup Kadri

[11] Parliamentary minutes of Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT), Term (T):1, Volume (V): 5; Session (S): 100, Page (P): 462.
[12] Some of his works, along with the works of Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı, will be presented and analyzed thoroughly in the coming chapters. For the list of Hilmi's available published works see Sabri Ateş, *Tunalı Hilmi Bey Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Aydın* [Tunalı Hilmi Bey: An Intellectual From Ottoman Empire to the Republic] (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 251-252.
[13] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Tunalı Hilmi Bey'in Devlet Modeli" [The State model of Tunalı Hilmi], *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, (Prof. Dr. Cavit Orhan Tütengil'e Armağan) Özel Sayı 2 (1984): 110.

Karaosmanoğlu, a prominent figure in modern Turkish literature, remarked that it was Tunalı Hilmi's writings that motivated him and many of his contemporaries to study in Europe.[14] Hilmi benefited from the networks of the Young Turks to reach varying literate and even illiterate audiences in different parts of the Ottoman territories and beyond.[15] While he wrote his works in Turkish, he used every possible means to have his publications translated into other languages spoken in Ottoman society.

In contrast to Hilmi's political activism, Avram Galanti appears primarily as an intellectual figure. He concluded a short autobiographical statement, which he wrote when he was elected a deputy of Niğde in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 1943, with the phrase: "In sum, from 1895 up to today I have served Turkey, which is my homeland, with all my strength. While doing this, my only aim has been the rise and greatness of Turkey. As I write these last sentences my conscience is at ease."[16] While, as we will see, this linear depiction of his pursuits from 1895 to 1943 was a simplification of a highly complex intellectual process, his will to intellectually serve his community and homeland was one of the driving forces behind his prolific intellectual career. The primary focus of this career was on questions regarding language and history. He published numerous works on these two subjects. Today, some of these publications might be considered as introductory sources for studies of Ottoman Jewry.[17] Hence, a British Jewish scholar from the University of Oxford, Cecil Roth, rightly defined him as "a single handed Jewish Historical Society".[18]

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[14] Yakup Kadri, *Bir Koca Çocuğun Ölümüne Dair* [Regarding the Death of a Big Boy], *Milliyet,* August 5, 1928, 2

[15] Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnkilap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele* [Reform Movements and National Struggle in Ottoman Empire] (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), 218, 228-229. His works were sent different places through the networks of Committee of Union and Progress. Furthermore, based on the letter Kuran's work provide us, it is possible to assume that some of his works were read aloud in front of an audience.

[16] Avram Galanti, *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Mebusları İçin Tercümeihal*, TBMM Sicil Arşivi, Dosya no.1272.

[17] For the list of Galanti's works see Rifat N. Bali, "Avram Galanti'nin Hayatı ve Eserlerinin Bibliyografyası" [The life of Avram Galanti and His Bibliography] in *Arabi Harfler Terakkimize Mani Değildir* [Arabic Letters are not an Obstacle for our Progress] (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1996), 14-29.

Deeply involved in the sociopolitical life of his community, Galanti also did not refrain from reflecting on political issues and educational matters. His discourses on these matters were often influenced by the complex power dynamics emerging from the sociopolitical position of the Jewish community within broader political context of the period. Thus, Galanti's writings offer a good window into the elements of a Jewish intellectual's political discourse at the time. Through his works, he aimed to address a wide range of audiences, including the members of his community, broader Ottoman readers, scholars, and Western Jews. The purpose and target audience dictated what language Galanti chose to write in. While French, Turkish and Ladino were the most common languages in his writings, he also wrote in Arabic and Hebrew.

Beside Galanti's will to serve his community as an intellectual, his own, pure intellectual curiosity drove his prolificacy. From a very young age, Galanti was a meticulous researcher. As we will see in chapter 1, he worked hard to improve his intellectual skills at every possible opportunity. Furthermore, as his studies on history and language progressed, he evolved into a scholar with intellectual integrity in his field. This integrity became most apparent during the discussions on the Romanization of the alphabet in the mid-1920s in Turkey. In these highly politicized discussions, Galanti was one of the most fervent opponents of Romanization of the alphabet. At the time, Galanti's opposition was a bold stance. This stance, moreover, was in contrast to the general pro-state and audience-oriented tone in Galanti's political writings. In this context, this boldness and contrast was perhaps an indicator of how Galanti internalized intellectual integrity in questions related to his own field.

Although especially the article section of this bibliography is not complete, it is one of the most, if not the most, up-to-date available bibliography on Galanti's works.

[18] See the copy of the letter sent from Cecil Roth to Joseph Habib Gerez for the occasion of Avram Galanti's jubilee, in *The Archives for the History of the Jewish People Jerusalem (CAHJP)*, P/112, File (F.) 1.

A similar intellectual curiosity is also visible in the activities of Mustafa Satı. Though initially interested in natural sciences, he slowly turned his attention to social sciences.[19] By the early 1910s he was one of the best-known pedagogues in the Ottoman territories with a very prolific intellectual portfolio. Acquainted with a broad academic literature and intellectual discussions on numerous aspects of pedagogy, sociology and psychology, Satı published more than ten books in Ottoman Turkish and edited and contributed to numerous journals on topics spanning from teaching methods in different disciplines to Ottoman patriotism. Many of his publications contained pioneering arguments and contents for Ottoman education life. This intellectual prolificacy continued to be an integral part of Satı's life after he departed for Arab lands in 1919.[20] While Satı exclusively wrote in Ottoman Turkish during his career in the Ottoman Empire, after he left Istanbul in 1919, he published his works mainly in Arabic. His extensive writings on multiple topics allowed him to address a wide range of audiences, including teachers, students at different levels, broader readers and intellectuals. Moreover, throughout his career, Satı held important state offices related to education first in the Ottoman Empire and then in different Arab countries. These offices allowed him directly to practice his ideas on education, psychology and sociology. In this context, the practical impact of Satı's intellectual efforts were more solid and far-reaching compared to the pursuits of Hilmi and Galanti.

Indeed, Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı were prolific figures with varying backgrounds and intellectual concerns. However, despite their relentless intellectual efforts, Hilmi, Galanti, and, to some extent, Satı did not enjoy as much attention as they

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[19] William L Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Satıʿ al-Husri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 16-17.

[20] For the list of his published boks in Ottoman Turkish and Arabic see Ibid., 185-191. For an extensive list of his articles in Ottoman Turkish see Şehbal Derya Acar, *Eğitimde Bir Üstâd, Satı Bey'i Tanımak* [A Master in the Education, Knowing Satı Bey] (Istanbul: Akademik Kitaplar, 2009). Also see Ali Çankaya Mücellidoğlu, *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler* [A New History of School of Political Sciences and its Graduates] (Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1968-1969), 3:855-859.

thought that they deserved from their contemporary audiences. I believe reflecting on problematic aspects of their relationship with their target audience is important for us to understand not only the historiography of their intellectual pursuits but also some personal, to a certain extent generalizable, difficulties that these dedicated figures had to face in the context of the turbulent late Ottoman and post-Ottoman political milieus.

Tunalı Hilmi considered being a deputy in the assembly in Ankara in 1920s an opportunity to apply his sociopolitical ideas in practice and to shape society in accordance with his own political agenda. Thus, he was one of the most active members of the assembly. Yet his active attitude and ideas were not always welcomed by other deputies. Often his speeches were interrupted and his ideas were disregarded. While Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu compared Tunalı Hilmi to one who had reached divine truth [*erenler*], he also asserted that Hilmi had a unique character that was alien to all those around him. Thus, according to Yakup Kadri, most people did not understand what Tunalı Hilmi said, which led to his marginalization in the later years of his life.[21] Samet Ağaoğlu, the son of famous pan-Turkist Ahmet Ağaoğlu, confirmed Yakup Kadri's narrative in his more intimate picture of Tunalı Hilmi's late years in his book *Babamın Arkadaşları* [My Father's Friends]. Ağaoğlu entitled the section on Tunalı Hilmi, *Anlaşılmayan Adam* [The Man who Is Not Understood] and remarked, "The illness of his [Hilmi's] wife, this attitude that is adopted against him [Hilmi] in the assembly, and not to be understood by others made him [Hilmi] even more addicted to alcohol, which he was already fond of. Sometimes he remained in his room for days without leaving his house and staying alone with alcohol, thoughts, which were ridiculed, and a broken hearth".[22] The meagre attendance at his funeral in Istanbul in 1928 confirms this isolated image of Hilmi in his late years. The newspaper *Milliyet* [Nationality]

[21] Yakup Kadri, *Ölümüne Dair*. Also see Ateş, *Tunalı*, 245-246.
[22] Samet Ağaoğlu, *Babamın Arkadaşları* (İstanbul: Nebioğlu Yayınevi, 1958), 24-25. Also see Ateş, *Tunalı*, 246.

partially blamed this situation on the last minute declaration of the details of the ceremony, which made the attendance of his friends from other cities impossible. But this low attendance did not escape the eyes of prominent Turkist intellectual Yusf Akçura, who gave a speech at Hilmi's funeral. After Akçura praised Hilmi's legacy in the political and intellectual life of the country, he reacted to the low attendance by shouting, "Where is *Darülfünun* [the University in Istanbul], where is *Türk Ocağı* [Turkish Hearths]?".[23]

The disappointment of Tunalı Hilmi with the outcome of his efforts in the late years of his life was also partially the continuation of what he probably felt following his efforts as a revolutionary political activist in the years 1895-1902. These years had a significant impact on his life. Despite his exhausting oppositional efforts against the reign of Abdulhamid II, he was gradually excluded from the centre of the oppositional movement from the early 1900s and lived a quiet life in Cairo from 1904 to 1909. The exclusion of Hilmi was not an exceptional example. During these years, the organizational framework of the opposition movement underwent a transformation. Thus, while some new names shone, others lost their prominence. Yet, Hilmi was disappointed by the outcomes of his early efforts. This was apparent in a letter written to his brother Fehmi in 1907. In this personal letter, Tunalı Hilmi confronted himself by acknowledging his actions as the source of his family's misery. He defined himself as a poor-spirited [*miskin*] person who claimed to be a supporter of freedom [*hürriyetçi*], a revolutionary and a nationalist; and who consumed his youth and power for his causes.[24]

The attendance to Galanti's funeral was also much lower than one would have expected. In the ceremony that took place in Neve Shalom Synagogue in Istanbul there were

[23] "The Funeral Ceremony of Tunalı Hilmi", *Milliyet,* July 28, 1928, 1.
[24] The transliterated copy of this letter written by Tunalı Hilmi to his brother Fehmi on 17 July 1907 was given to me by İnsan Tunalı. In the same letter he defines his state of mind as useless [*battal*], jobless [*muattal*] and a living corpse [*canlı cenaze*]. For the content and the context of the letter see Ateş, *Tunalı,* 111-115.

"about twenty attendants".[25] While this low-profile ceremony was in accordance with Galanti's last wishes, the number twenty seems remarkably low considering Galanti's ceaseless intellectual efforts, particularly in contributing to his own community's historical and cultural heritage.[26] For a jubilee ceremony of Avram Galanti on 6 January 1957, Cecile Roth wrote the following message,

> "Already before my birth, his name was well known in the world of learning, and he still continues year by year to produce further additions to the remarkable series of works by which he has made his reputation. Looking at my own publications I see one after the other in which I have drawn - and sometime to a very considerable extent - on his writings. For a hundred years to come, any scholar who attempts to write on the history of the Jews in Turkey, in the former Ottoman Empire, in the Near East in general, will continue to consult first and foremost what Abraham Galante has published on the subject - will feel grateful to him for the learning, the industry, and the perspicacity which he devoted to it."[27]

Yet, despite this scholarly praise for Galanti's prolificacy, his works did not receive appreciation from a broader audience. This indifference to his works was a source of sorrow to Galanti in his last years of his life. His close friend, the Jewish painter and poet Josef Habib Gerez, remarked that "the fact that he was devoting his works, or rather his life to an uninterested audience saddened him. He was an unfortunate author".[28] This indifference among general readers might be the result of a number of factors. His assimilationist ideas in terms of language, for which Galanti fervently argued from the early 1920s, might be one of the reasons for the lack of interest in his works among the general Jewish readers who were subjected to various socio-political pressures and unfair state policies between the1920s and

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[25] Önder Kaya, "Avram Galanti Hakkında" [About Avram Galanti] in *Türklük İncelemeleri* [Studies on Turkishness], by Avram Galanti (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2005), 18.
[26] In one of the letters, which Galante wrote few years before he passed away, Galante stated that "They should deliver my corpse to my last destination without any ostentatious ceremony which I don't like." J. Habib Gerez, Bir Dost Gözü İle. Prof A. Galante [From the Viewpoint of a Friend. Prof A. Galante], *Şalom Gazetesi,* February 27, 1985, Yaşam Dergisi (Newspaper Supplemet), 8. Similarly, Kalderon too remarks that he had simple funeral ceremony in accordance with his wishes. Albert E. Kalderon, *Abraham Galante: A Biography* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1983), 66.
[27] "A Letter From Cecil Roth to J. Habib Gerez", *CAHJP*, P/112, F.1.
[28] Gerez, "Prof A. Galante," 8. Also see Yusuf [Josef] Habib Gerez, sunuş [introduction] to *Türklük İncelemeleri,* by Avram Galanti (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2005), 9-11.

the 1950s.[29] On the other hand, this lack of interest might also be the result of the fact that the general reader -at least until recently- did not have many opportunities to reach Galanti's writings. Whatever the reason, given Galanti's persistence in serving his community through his intellectual efforts, this lack of interest was noteworthy. Yet, it was not exceptional. This problem might be easily generalized in the context of many other intellectuals' experiences in modern Turkey. For instance, other Jewish intellectuals' legacies also suffered from the indifference of the general reader in Turkey, as can be seen in the case of poet Isak Ferera (1883-1933), who, similarly, worked for the diffusion of the Turkish language among Ottoman Jews. [30] The fact that his poems written originally in Turkish are still waiting to be transliterated into modern Turkish reflects this lack of interest.[31] In this context, when Gerez defines Galanti as an unfortunate author, it is necessary to question who was indeed a fortunate author at the time, why and compared to whom. The answer to this may reside in the many different factors that defined relations between the general reader and intellectuals in Turkey, a relation which was rarely strong. Galanti's contemporary appreciation of this problematic relation between reader and intellectual offers us a clue to understand one of the most important struggles of Galanti's intellectual endeavors. According to Gerez, Galanti lamented that his works were published in Turkey yet read elsewhere.[32] This regret may well have been the reason for him to publish some of his most important writings in French rather

[29] For a brief and critical examination of the discourse in his works see Rıfat N. Bali, "Osmanlı/Türk Yahudiliği Tarihi İle İlgili Yayınlar ve İçerdikleri Tarih Söylemi – II," [Publications About the History of Ottoman/Turkish Jewry and Their Historical Discourse - II] *Tarih ve Toplum,* no.33 (Eylül 1996): 57.
[30] For the ideas of Isak Ferera on Turkish language see Laurent Mignon, "Türkçe Yahudi Edebiyatının Doğuş Sancıları: İsak Ferera Efendi and Mirat Dergisi" [The Birthing Pains of Jewish Literature in Turkish: İsak Ferera Efendi and Mirat Journal] in *Ana Metne Taşınan Dipnotlar: Türk Edebiyatı ve Kültürlerarasılık Üzerine Yazılar* [Footnotes Moving to the Main Text: Writings on Turkish Literature and Interculturality] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 18-21; Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Ottomanism in Ladino," *Mediterranean Programme Series: RSC No. 2002/20* (2002), 16-17.
[31] Mignon, "Yahudi Edebiyatının," 12.
[32] Gerez, "Prof A. Galante," 8.

than Turkish. This also may explain the apparent contradiction between his ceaseless attempts to promote Turkish and his multi-lingual production.

In comparison to Tunalı Hilm and Avram Galanti, Mustafa Satı's funeral ceremony in Iraq in 1968 provides us with very different picture. Upon his death, a large-scale funeral ceremony was organized and a national mourning was declared in Iraq. Bassam Tibi emphasizes these facts in order to draw his readers' attention to the significant political reputation of Satı at the time.[33] However, considering the fact that Satı's reputation had varied considerably depending on the period and place, thanks largely to Satı's shifting political pursuits, the extent of Satı's satisfaction with the outcome as well as the legacy of his intellectual efforts is a complex question.

During the Second Constitutional Period, Mustafa Satı's works and contributions to the education affairs of the Empire gave him a strong intellectual reputation. His works and efforts were appreciated by a wide range of audiences. For example, while the Turkist Yusuf Akçura, after highlighting the ideological difference between himself and Satı, remarked "whenever I met a Turkish youth coming from Russia or the Caucasus to study in Constantinople, I said to him: Try to enter the *Darülmuallimin* of Satı Bey".[34] Another prominent Turkist educator of the time, Gaspıralı İsmail described Satı as the "chieftain" [*başbuğ*] of the "education army" [*maarif ordusu*] in his writing published in *Türk Yurdu* [Turkish Homeland].[35] Some intellectuals of the time even thought that the well-deserved appreciation of Satı's efforts would last for centuries. [36] This was, indeed, an optimistic

[33] Bassam Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: A Critical Enquiry*, eds. and transl. Marion Farouk- Sluglett and Peter Sluglett (London: Macmillan Press, 1981), 122.
[34] Transl. by and qtd. in Cleveland, *Satı ʿ al-Husri,* 29.
[35] İsmail Gasprenski, "Türk Yurtçularına", Türk Yurdu, no.7 (1328 [1912]): 191. Also qtd. in Acar, *Bir Üstâd,* 56.
[36] In a conference organized for the seventieth anniversary of *Darülmuallimin*, a famous intellectual of the period Muallim Cevdet remarked, "This fiery mind [Satı] who fulfilled the position of natural sciences teaching assistant [*tabiiyat muallim muavinliği*] at *Darulmuallimin* ten years ago, and later became the directorate of the same institution for three years, will be honoured not only for days, not only for months, but for centuries to come". Muallim Cevdet, "Darülmuallimin Yetmişinci Sene-i

prediction, at least in the short term. The post-World War I borders of the Middle East divided not only lands but also the ideas over the legacy of Mustafa Satı. Various Turkish intellectuals of the early Republican period did not welcome Satı's departure for Syria in 1919.[37] Mehmet Erişirgil, in his work *Bir Fikir Adamının Romanı: Ziya Gökalp* [A Novel of a Man of Ideas: Ziya Gökalp], interpreted Satı's decision as an act of insincerity and ungratefulness.[38] He even questioned the sincerity of his Ottomanism during the last decade of the Empire. Erişirgil was not alone in this view. An important pedagogue Ismayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, to whose pedagogical career Mustafa Satı contributed significantly, argued that Mustafa Satı was, either consciously or unconsciously, an Arab nationalist before he left the Ottoman capitol.[39] Similarly, Ali Çankaya, the writer of an extensive work on *Mülkiye Mektebi* [School of Civil Administration], defined Satı as an implicit Arab nationalist.[40] Mustafa Satı was aware of this criticism of his decisions and ideological inclinations in Turkey after 1919. In the 1960s, he told the well-known Turkish sociologist Niyazi Berkes that, despite these criticisms, there were also prominent figures- like two-time Minister of Education of Turkey Hamdullah Suphi and journalist Ahmet Emin Yalman -who defended Satı's position. [41] Satı even sometimes attempted to directly answer some of these criticisms.[42] His defensive efforts, indeed, imply

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Devriyesi Münasebetiyle Verilen Konferans," *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası*, n.33-1, (1332): 200. Also qtd in. Acar, *Bir Üstâd* 37.

[37] For a discussion of Mustafa Satı's reputation among Republican intellectuals see Osman Kafadar, "Türk Aydınının Sâtı Bey Hakkında Kimi Yanılgıları Üzerine Düşünceler" [Thoughts on Some Misconceptions of Turkish Intellectuals Regarding Satı Bey], *Türkiye Günlüğü*, no. 46 (1997): 101-105.

[38] Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, *Bir Fikir Adamının Romanı: Ziya Gökalp* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1984), 147-148.

[39] Ismayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Hayatım* [My Life], ed. Ali Y. Baltacıoğlu (İstanbul: Dünya Yayınları, 1998), 93.

[40] Mücellidoğlu, *Mülkiyeliler,* 854-855.

[41] Niyazi Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında: İslamiyet, Milliyetçilik, Sosyalizm* [Islam, Nationalism, Socialism in Arab World] (İstanbul: Köprü Yayınları, 1969), 81, 93-94.

[42] Mücellidoğlu, *Mülkiyeliler,* 854.

his unease in the face of such accusations in the lands with which he never fully cut his connections.[43]

While a negative attitude against himself influenced the representation of Satı's legacy among early Republican intellectuals, he was embraced as one of the key figures of Arab nationalism in the post-1919 Middle East. Especially after he departed from Iraq in 1941, the number of his publications increased considerably. His works were quickly sold out following their publications.[44] They were studied in schools and were read within nationalist parties.[45] Yet, despite such extensive interest in his intellectual works, his life in Arab lands was hardly stable, and this was probably a source of sorrow for him.

When he was in Iraq (1921- 1941), he used every possible means to build a new education system in the country. This was, in Satı's words, "a difficult task that absorbed all [his] time and prevented [him] from publishing".[46] As he remarked at the beginning of his memoirs, his aim was to promote "the belief in the unity of the Arab nation". Yet, he thought, this main aim, for which he spent all of his time and means, became the actual reason of his deportation from Iraq following British forces' suppression of Rashid Ali al-Kaylani coup in 1941. Satı confessed that the acknowledgement of this situation was painful for him.[47] In the following years Satı was often on the move across Arab lands and beyond, as in most of his lifetime.

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[43] His sister Neriman was married to famous Turkish scholar Nusret Hızır. After he left Istanbul in 1919, he returned to the city and Ankara several times in different dates because of either professional or personal reasons. As we may assume he continued to have a broad range of network among the intellectual circles of the Republic of Turkey. See, Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında,* 75-76, 78, 95.
[44] Ibid., 80.
[45] Tibi, *Critical Enquiry,* 122.
[46] Abū Khaldūn Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, *The Day of Maysalun A Page from the Modern History of the Arabs*, transl. by Sidney Glazer (Washington: The Goetz Company, 1966), 13.
[47] Abū Khaldūn Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, *Mudhakkirātī fī al-ʿIrāq 1921-1941* [My Memoirs in Iraq 1921-1941], (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 1967), 10. Also, for a discussion of Satı's deportation from Iraq and partial translation of his thoughts on the subject in his Memoirs see Cleveland, *Sati' al Husri*, 76-77 (including footnote 74).

When Berkes visited Mustafa Satı in Cairo in 1966 he was surprised at the conditions in which Satı lived. According to Berkes, it seemed that he was living a solitary in a low-key environment. Berkes remarked that Sati's condition was different from the splendid lifestyles of intellectuals that he generally observed in Cairo.[48] Considering Satı's excessive engagement with his intellectual pursuit and high mobility throughout his life, it is possible to assume that he might have not developed any sense of concern for material goods. Nevertheless, these depictions reflect the irony in the life of Satı, who spent his life to clarify theoretically the socio-political and cultural relations between individual, land and state, yet could not find a permanent homeland for himself in which to live in peace.

A Brief Assessment of the Literature on the Three Intellectuals

This complex course of Satı's intellectual pursuit also had an impact on the historiography examining his ideas. One visible example of this influence might be observed in the temporal focus of the works on Mustafa Satı's career. In the current literature, most of the studies on Mustafa Satı's life focus exclusively on either the Ottoman or post-Ottoman years of his life.[49] This prevents us from comprehending the connections in his long career. In this context, a prominent exception is William Cleveland's book *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Satıʿ al-Husri.* The book stands out as the only scholarly work that approaches Satı's ideological stances comprehensively and contributes significantly to our understanding of Satı's long career as a whole. Yet, even the comprehensiveness of this prominent book has limits. Cleveland's

[48] Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında,* 77-78.
[49] Some of the sources that examine Satı's Arabist stances or career in Arab lands are L. M. Kenny, "Sati al-Husri's Views on Arab Nationalism," *Middle East Journal* 17, no.3 (1963): 231-256; Bassam Tibi, *Arab Nationalism A Critical Enquiry,* trans. Marion Farouk-Sluglett and Peter Sluglett (London: Macmillan Press, 1990); Adeed Dawisha, Arab Nationalism in Twentieth Century From Triumph to Despair (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 49-75; Youssef Choueiri, *Arab Nationalism : a History, Nation and State in the Arab World* (Oxford : Blackwell, 2000), 101-125; Reeva Spector Simon, *Iraq Between the Two World Wars The Militarist Origins of Tyranny,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). (Simon's book provides information on Satı's role in Iraq)

examination of Satı's Ottomanist years remains restricted compared to the extensive analysis of his Arabist years. The discussion of Satı's Ottomanist ideas relies mostly on available secondary literature rather than Satı's numerous own writings in Ottoman Turkish.[50]

Among Turkish readers, Satı's reputation remained under the influence of the negative interpretations of his political decisions in 1919. The works of two prominent scholars, Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Niyazi Berkes, in the 1960s were two of the early sources that discussed the intellectual pursuits of Mustafa Satı in the Ottoman period and contributed to the normalization of Satı's position in Turkish historiography.[51] The works of Ülken and Berkes were followed by additional studies focusing on Satı's role in the education life of the Empire. Moreover, particularly in the last two decades, there has been a visible increase in scholarly interest in Satı's ideas and works.[52] Yet, most of these studies do not engage with the influence Sati's Ottoman background had on his long career. Further, the broad implications of his Ottomanist pursuit and its legacy over his nationalist ideas still await extensive study.[53]

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[50] We should also highlight that Cleveland's book provides us with first-hand information about Satı's years in Ottoman Empire through Cleveland's questionnaire answered by Satı and a biographical summary given Cleveland by Satı.

[51] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* [The History of Modern Thought in Turkey] (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014). The first edition of the Ülken's book was published in 1966 by Selçuk Yayınları. Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında*, 74-99. Also, Berkes briefly mentions the intellectual discussion between Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Satı in his prominent work: *The Development of Secularism In Turkey* (London: C.Hurst & Co. Ltd., 1998), 408-410.

[52] Some of recent works examining different aspects of his years in Ottoman lands are Filiz Meşeci Giorgetti, "New School of Mustafa Satı Bey in Istanbul (1915)," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no.1-2 (2014): 42-58. Zakar, Adrien. "The End of Ottoman Positivism: The Gökalp-Al-Husari Debate of 1916." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47, no. 3 (2015): 580–83. In recent years some of his works transliterated into modern Turkish and thus became accessible for today's reader. Some of these sources are Acar, *Bir Üstâd;* Uğur Ünal and Togay Seçkin Birbudak, eds., *Mustafa Satı Bey ve Eğtime Dair Layihaları* [Mustafa Satı Bey and His Proposals Regarding Education], (Ankara: Murat Kitabevi, 2010); Osman Kafadar and Faruk Öztürk, eds., *M. Satı Bey: Eğitim ve Toplumsal Sorunlar Üzerine Konferanslar* [Conferences on Educational and Social Issues] (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002); Mustafa Gündüz, ed., *Mustafa Satı Bey ve Eğitim Bilimi: Fenn-i Terbiye, Cilt 1-2, Türkiye'de İlk Modern Eğitim Bilim Kitabı* [Mustafa Satı and the Science of Education: Science of Education V. 1-2, The First Modern Book on the Science of Education in Turkey] (Ankara: Otorite Yayınları, 2012); Cengiz Dönmez and Şahin Oruç, *II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Tarih Öğretimi* [History Education in the Second Constiutional Period] (Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi, 2006), 41-47, 95-111, 152-160.

[53] Two master's theses were written on aspects of Satı's Ottomanism: Kerem Tınaz, "An Inclusive Voice in an Exclusive Era: Satı Bey and His Ottomanist Pursuit" (M.Phil diss., University of Oxford,

The works and life of Tunalı Hilmi, too, did not draw serious scholarly interest until the last quarter of the twentieth century. As late as 1984 the famous scholar Tarık Zafer Tunaya lamented the scarcity of studies on Hilmi's ideas and life.[54] Hilmi's problematic relations with his own circle and audience in the last years of his life might have been one of the factors behind this general disinterest. Recently, however, scholarly works examining Tunalı Hilmi's intellectual output have increased significantly and, today, we have a good knowledge of Hilmi's efforts. The most important work that contributed to this knowledge is Sabri Ateş's book entitled *Tunalı Hilmi Bey: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Aydın* [Tunalı Hilmi Bey: An Intellectual From Ottoman Empire to the Republic]. Using an extensive array of primary sources, Ateş's book presents a comprehensive survey of Hilmi's life and ideas. Despite its valuable contribution to the literature, however, Ateş's book is not primarily concerned with interpreting the implications of Hilmi's political stance within the broader context of Ottomanism's legacy or revealing ideological continuities between his Ottomanist and nationalist years.[55] In addition to Ateş's extensive work, Hilmi's efforts became the focus of various subject-specific studies.[56] While these studies deepened our understanding of the

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2012) (My examinations in this MPhil thesis constitutes basis for some of my analysis of Satı's ideas in chapter 2 and chapter 4. Consequently I have quoted my MPhil thesis when appropriate. Overall in this DPhil dissertation I have expanded my analysis on Satı, advanced my arguments and provided new results.) Ertuğrul Zengin, "The Political and Social Thoughts of Satı Bey: Exploring the Ideology of an Ottoman Patriot" (M.A. diss., Bogaziçi University, 2010); Furthermore for a brief examination of Satı's Ottomanism in the context of other Arab and Kurdish Ottomanists see Hamit Bozarslan, "The Ottomanism of the Non-Turkish Groups: The Arabs and the Kurds after 1908," *Die Welt Des Islams* 56, no.3-4 (2016): 317-335.

[54] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, "Tunalı'nin Anayasa Tasarısı*"* [Tunalı's Draft of Constitution], *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.5 (May 1984): 4.

[55] Another useful source on Hilmi's ideological stances: Can Ulusoy, "Bir Jön Türk Olarak Tunalı Hilmi ve Siyasi Düşüncesi" [A Young Turk Tunalı Hilmi and His Political Ideas] (M.A. diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2009).

[56] Some of them are: M. Lutfullah Karaman, "Imparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e Uzanan Süreçte Osmanlıcılıktan Türk Milliyetçiliğine İdeolojik Dönüşümün Çarpıcı Bir Örneği: Tunalı Hilmi" [Tunalı Hilmi: An Outstanding Example of an Ideological Shift from Ottomanism to Turkism in the Transformation Period from the Empire to Republic], *Dünü ve Bu Günüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi*, no. 3 (1992): 69-79. Metin And, "Tunalı Hilmi ve Dilde Özleşme Üzerine Oyunu", [Tunalı Hilmi and His Game on the Pruification of the Language] *Türk Dili*, no. 219 (Aralık 1969); Hanioğlu, "Devlet Modeli". İsmail Kara, "Turban and Fez, Ulema as Opposition" in *Late Ottoman Society: The*

specific aspects of his career, a teleological reading of his pursuit has been a visible feature in some of these analyses. His Turkist ideas in the last decade of his life are either perceived as the inevitable outcome of his previous ideological inclinations or considered to be an intrinsic element of his mindset even in his Ottomanist years.[57] These approaches obscure any attempt to interpret any actual legacy and broader implications of his Ottomanism.

In contrast to the cases of Mustafa Satı and Tunalı Hilmi, there is a bigger gap in the literature regarding Galanti's career. His two biographies, written by his friend Abraham Elmaleh in 1947 and by Albert Kalderon in 1983, stand out as the most comprehensive sources providing the story of Galanti's life.[58] Kalderon's work in particular provides useful primary references for any scholar willing to reflect on the life of Galanti. Yet, both of these works approach Galanti with obvious sympathy and present his pursuits with a linear, appreciative discourse. Similar to the cases of Hilmi and Satı, it is also possible to observe a recent rising interest in the works of Galanti.[59] Some of his works are being transliterated into modern Turkish and republished. Although these are positive developments, they do not

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Intellectual Legacy, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 163-202. Enise Aslı Öztürk, *Tunalı Hilmi Bey'in I.TBMM'deki Yasal Faaliyetleri* [The Activities of Tunalı Hilmi in the First Term of Grand Nation Assembly of Turkey] (Zonguldak: Zonguldak Karaelmas Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008); Sacit Somel, "Tunalı Hilmi'nin 1902'de Cenevre'de Fransızca Olarak Yayımladığı *Halk Hakimiyeti* risalesi ve Anayasa Tasarısı," [The Draft of a Constitution and Pamphlet of Sovereignty of People Published by Tunalı Hilmi in French in Geneve in 1902] *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.3 (Mart 1984): 24-31.

[57] See for example, Karaman, "Tunalı Hilmi"; Hanioğlu, "Devlet Modeli"; Öztürk, *Yasal Faaliyetleri*.

[58] Kalderon, *Abraham*; Abraham Elmaleh, *Le professeur Abraham Galanté: sa vie et ses oeuvres* (İstanbul: Kağıt ve Basım İşleri AŞ, 1947). In addition, Rifat Bali states that the only work that stands as an exception in its scientific approach to the life of Galanti is the undergraduate dissertation of Nil Neli Kapsi written at Bogazici University in 1996. However I was unable to reach the dissertation. Bali, "Avram," 3. Two useful subject-specific writing on Galanti's intellectual pursuit are Avner Levi, "Kahire'de Gazetecilik Yılları ve Avram Galanti" [His Journalism Years in Cairo and Avram Galanti], *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.153 (Eylül 1996):13-22; Jacob M. Landau, "Due progetti per la colonizzazione del Sudan al principio del secolo XX," *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 21, no.6 (1955): 218-237.

[59] Avram Galanti, *Arabi Harfler Terakkimize Mani Değildir* [Arabic Letters are not an Obstacle for our Progress], translit. by Fethi Kale, (İstanbu: Bedir Yayınevi, 1996); Avram Galanti, *Türklük İncelemeleri, ed. and translit. by Önder Kaya* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2005); Avram Galanti, *Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş* [Citizen Speak Turkish], translit. by Ömer Türkoğlu (Ankara: Kebikeç Yayınları, 2000).

necessarily redress the abovementioned gap, as they have not presented any fresh analysis on his endeavours.

A possible reason for the gap in the literature on Galanti might be identified in the characteristics of the twentieth century's traditional Turkish nationalist historiography. One aspect of this particular writing of history has been to generally exclude the voices of ethno-religious minorities. With this in mind, it is true that Galanti's assimilationist ideological position would fit with the ideological discourse that the new Republic aimed to produce. Yet as a result of Galanti's fervent opposition to the Alphabet Reform in 1928, he was seen as an opponent of the new regime's language reform, which might be a partial explanation for traditional historiography's lack of interest in his works and personality.[60]

Galanti's marginal position in the historiography is also related to the particular challenges in studying Galanti's own life story and intellectual production. His writings from the early period of his intellectual career are difficult to access, which may have affected the quality and quantity of such studies. As Galanti did not have a settled life until his arrival in Istanbul in 1911, sources from before this time are dispersed in various locations. It is not easy to detect Galanti's writings in the journals he wrote either because the articles do not carry his signature, as in the journals *Doğru Söz* [True Word] and *Şura-yı Ümmet* [Council of the Muslim Community], or because issues containing his articles are not available, as with the journals of *Hizmet* [Service] and *Şura-yı Osmani* [Ottoman Council].[61] Moreover,

[60] Bali, "Avram," 11.

[61] Due to Galante's own writings and his biographies we know that he published articles in the Ottoman newspapers *Hizmet, Şura-yı Osmani, Şura-yı Ümmet, Meşveret, Doğru Söz* in the years before 1911 (None of the secondary sources provides the specific date that the articles published). To reach the copies of these newspapers I consulted National Library of Turkey, Ataturk Library in Istanbul, Beyazıt State Library and Izmir National Library. However I could not find any of these articles because of various reasons. For instance some of the libraries hold various copies of *Hizmet* yet none of available copies were published in the years between 1894-1902 which are the dates that Galante contributed to this newspaper. (According to various secondary sources, Galanti wrote series of articles titled *Maarifimiz ne yolda terakki eder?* [How Would Our Education Progress?] in *Hizmet*. I found handwritten copies of 8 different articles under the same title in his personal notebook located

following his death, his private archive was donated to the Rabbinate in Turkey. However, some of his documents were lost due to poor preservation and the rest were dispatched to the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Israel and the National Library of Israel.[62] In addition, Galanti wrote his works in various languages and alphabets. Thus, a Galanti scholar should be prepared to cope with multi-lingual and multi-alphabetical sources. These reflections on the potential challenges are also partially valid for the research on Tunalı Hilmi and Mustafa Satı. They were also highly mobile intellectuals. A complete study on their career as a whole requires extensive research on dispersed sources with different language requirements. Working comprehensively, therefore, on the pursuits of figures like Hilmi, Galanti, and Satı, whose ventures spanned different geographies and political orders, not only requires the extensive study of different sociopolitical dynamics, but also a readiness to face technical as well as historiographical challenges.

Engaged with these challenges, this study is built upon extensive research on sources in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, French, English and Turkish located in archives, libraries, and private collections of Turkey, the United Kingdom and Israel. It primarily contributes to the literature on the ideological pursuits of Hilmi, Galanti and Satı. It presents an in-depth examination of their Ottomanisms and analysis of the impact of their Ottomanisms over their nationalist stances. The comparative study of their pursuits particularly aids us in contextualizing and interpreting the three intellectuals' lives and key ideas on language and education.

This dissertation participates in the growing revisionist discussion on Ottomanism in the broader literature. Its comparative approach to the experiences of the three intellectuals

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in CAHJP, F.88) Moreover, I was able to scan every issue of *Doğru Söz,* however, as the articles did not carry writer's signature I was not able to detect Galante's writings.

[62] Bali, "Avram," 12.

provides us with an inclusive reading of Ottomanism in accordance with the multicultural dynamics of the late Ottoman milieu. Given the multiple interpretations of Ottomanism within society, this study's inclusivity and comparative methodology create certain advantages in an attempt to grasp the elements of the phenomenon. It allows us to extensively question the factors behind different interpretations of Ottomanism and reflect on the hybrid and evolving nature of the political agenda. Moreover, it provides us with multiple angles from which to assess the multiple implications of Ottomanism for the socio-political dynamics of the period.

The dissertation's comparative, transnational reading of the three intellectuals' ideological shifts constitutes one of the first comparative studies on the subject. Through its emphasis on the continuity in their two different ideological pursuits, it contributes to our understanding of the extent of the legacy of Ottomanism in post-Ottoman political dynamics. In this respect, this study aims to join the scholarly dialogue emphasizing the intellectual and political continuities between the Empire and post-Ottoman political entities. Accordingly, it emphasizes the fluid nature of the political, intellectual and social dynamics of the period and, thus, demonstrates that reality was much more complex than firm and linear depiction of the period by the nationalist historiographies of the twentieth century.

These competing nationalist historiographies, moreover, approached the political and intellectual history of the late Ottoman period as an extension of their nation's history. In these narratives, intellectuals or political activists of the late Ottoman period were primarily considered members of their prospective nations rather than integral members of Ottoman society. This resulted in the teleological and exclusive readings of Ottoman history, which obstructed our perception of how internal dynamics of the late Ottoman period functioned.[63]

[63] The influence of competing nationalist historiographies on our approaches to or understanding of Ottoman history has been discussed by numerous works. Here I would like to especially refer to two scholarly works that have been influential to my thinking since the very early years of my studies: Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire,*

To transcend these monolithic premises of nationalist historiography, this study emphasizes on the need of reading late Ottoman period inclusively. It is in this context that the dissertation examines the pursuits of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı collectively as the product and integral members of the multicultural Ottoman milieu. It, moreover, benefits from their pluralist discourse on Ottomanism to construct a pluralist reading of late Ottoman history in contrast to divisive nationalist reflections.

To consolidate the inclusive narrative of the dissertation, the chapters are organized thematically. This thematic examination allows me to put the three intellectuals into a direct dialogue while emphasizing the fact that they were the members of the same milieu. Furthermore, it helps to deepen the analysis on the pillars of their Ottomanism while discussing the similarities and differences in their pursuits collectively. Within this thematic framework, each chapter starts with a brief contextual discussion of the theme followed by a comparative discussion of the three intellectuals.

The Framework of the Dissertation

In his book *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building,* Zürcher asks "Who were the Young Turks?" in order to reveal the sociopolitical and cultural connections among the individuals who established the Young Turk movements.[64] Inspired by Zürcher's attempt, the first chapter of the dissertation aims to understand the dimensions of the late Ottoman milieu that created the Ottomanist mindsets of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı. To this end, it delves into four elements of the Hilmi, Galanti and Satı's early lives: family, education, career and mobility. It shows that, despite the differences in their sociocultural backgrounds, the late Ottoman milieu was successful in stimulating similar ideas, experiences and emotions that led them to pursue Ottomanist goals. The chapter, moreover, addresses the

1908-1918 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1-11; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds the Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 19-28.
[64] Zürcher, *Young Turk Legacy,* 95.

importance of the ideological and emotional tools with which the Ottomanist milieu provided the three intellectuals to better understand their ability to adapt themselves to the transformation from the empire to the nation-state.

The second chapter discusses the ways Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı conceptualized Ottomanism in the context of the three common themes that appear in various intensities in their Ottomanims: constitution, fatherland, and state. The chapter argues that the intellectual production of the three men highlights the multi-faceted, dynamic nature of Ottomanism toward the end of the Ottoman Empire. Delving into the elements of these different interpretations of Ottomanism, it discusses the multiple implications as well as limitations and problems of different attempts to conceptualize Ottomanism.

The third chapter of the dissertation focuses on the role of language in the Ottomanist ideas of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı in two different levels: i) the significance of language in defining Ottoman identity; ii) the accessibility and competency of the language in relation to their concerns over literacy and education issues in the Empire. Overall, these ideas constitute efficient channels to reveal the role of Ottomanist discourses in making questions on Ottoman Turkish[65] a central concern for the creation of Ottoman citizens and an integrated progressive society

The fourth chapter focuses on the ideas of the three intellectuals on education. Hilmi, Galanti and Satı considered education the key mechanism to transform society along Ottomanist lines. Thus, they were concerned with the tools and features of the late Ottoman education system. In this context, the chapter delves into Hilmi, Galanti and Satı's visions on

[65] In this dissertation, particularly in chapter 3, I use the terms Ottoman Turkish and Turkish to refer to Turkish language used in the late Ottoman period. One of the main reasons for the usage of both terms interchangeably to define the language is the impracticality of using exclusively one term while trying to reflect the sociopolitical fluidity and intellectual discussions of the period. Thus, in the dissertation, in order to refer to the official language of the period, I mainly address the language as Ottoman Turkish; however, when an Ottoman intellectual calls the language Turkish in his writing then I also refer to language as Turkish.

the organization and utilization of education, as well as the elements of their expectations from the education system. These examinations allow us not only to discuss the long-term significance, implications and limitations of their ideas, but also to explore the features of the individual and the society that they aimed to create within the context of their Ottomanist agenda.

Finally, the epilogue reflects on the legacy of their Ottomanist ideas overall by questioning the extent of the continuities between their Ottomanism and nationalism. To this end, the epilogue, first, presents the general elements of Hilmi, Galanti and Satı's nationalist ideas in the post-Ottoman period. Next, it discusses the continuities between their Ottomanism and nationalism under three topics: the conceptual framework of their political stances, their ideas on language and their visions for education. In general, the analysis of the epilogue indicates that the three intellectuals excessively utilized discursive and practical elements of their Ottomanist pursuit in formulating their nationalist ideas.

CHAPTER I

The Building of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı's Ottomanist Framework

"I don't think that anyone among us, nor among the generations to come after my age, would know whom this person [Mustafa Satı] is. Among the teachers, there are many who know that there is a Satı in our education history but, I guess, there are only a few who know that Satı al-Husri is this Satı Bey," wrote Niyazi Berkes, a prominent Turkish sociologist of the twentieth century, in his book *Arap Dünyasında İslamiyet, Milliyetçilik, Sosyalizm* [Islam, Nationalism, Socialism in Arab World].[1] Today the number of historians who know that Mustafa Satı and Sati al-Husri were actually the same person is, clearly, greater than the number of the historians in the 1960s. Over the last decades, increasing interest in Satı's career and ideas has granted him a stronger legacy in the pages of Ottoman historiography. However, the legacy of the Ottomanist milieu that formed certain aspects of Mustafa Satı's mindset during his long career in Ottoman and post-Ottoman periods still awaits comprehensive analytical examinations. This, we could argue, is also valid for Avram Galanti and, partially, Tunalı Hilmi.

Who were the families of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı? What types of education did they receive? What careers did they pursue? These basic questions open different windows for us to approach late Ottoman intellectual history through the experiences of these three intellectuals. On a personal level, the answers to these questions might lead us to comprehend potential factors behind Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı's Ottomanist pursuits and some of the sociopolitical pillars - the class, intellectual milieu, and

[1] Niyazi Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında: İslamiyet, Milliyetçilik, Sosyalizm* (İstanbul: Köprü Yayınları, 1969), 75.

political movements - of their early worldviews. These, moreover, might provide us with a basis to begin evaluating the long-term evolution of their intellectual visions as a whole. On a broader level, the answers may partially aid us in delving into the question of who the Ottomanists were. The three intellectuals were born in distant lands to families with different sociocultural backgrounds. Tunalı Hilmi was born into a Turkish-speaking Muslim family in the Balkans. Avram Galanti grew up in a Sephardic family living in the south west of Anatolia. Mustafa Satı was born in Sana to a Muslim Arab family. Yet, despite the differences in the cultural backgrounds of their families, they pursued similar political goals with similar intellectual concerns in the final decades of the Empire.

Engaging with these basic yet essential questions about their personal lives leads us to confront another equally important, yet more complex subject of inquiry: their mobility. As we will see throughout this chapter, from the beginning of their lives to the later years of their careers, mobility was an integral aspect of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı's experiences. This mobility not only provided them with various opportunities to promote their own intellectual pursuits, but was also influential in forming their perception of their identity and their political stances. It was very much shaped by the specific political and intellectual dynamics and technological developments of the period. Thus, studying the particular experiences of these three intellectuals helps us to understand the intellectual and emotional foundations of their political inclinations and also encourages us to look at how mobility was an important factor in this particular era that impacted the broader Ottoman intellectual milieu of the period.

Indeed, this chapter argues that, despite differences in the sociocultural backgrounds of the three intellectuals, the Ottomanist milieu of the late nineteenth century resulted in similar sociopolitical perspectives and identities for these three protagonists. Furthermore, the chapter suggests it is crucial for us to examine the influence of the Ottomanist milieu to

comprehend some of the essential building blocks of their political stances and intellectual lives in the post-Ottoman period. Therefore, it aims to map some of the intellectual and political tools available to Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı in the last decades of the Empire, which they used to cope with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. It asserts that the Ottomanist context of the late Ottoman Empire provided the necessary professional and emotional resources for the intellectuals to reintegrate themselves into a changing world. In this sense, this chapter contradicts a teleological interpretation that seeks to consider the Ottoman milieu as a laboratory or a preparatory stage for the post-Ottoman, nationalist period.[2] Instead, by examining three different types of Ottoman intellectuals this chapter allows us to study the late Ottoman period in accordance with the multicultural aspects of the Empire within the framework of the period's own integral dynamics.

The Political Context

The period in which Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı spent the early years of their lives is known as the *Hamidian* period, referring to the rule of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909). The detailed examination of this complex period, which became a subject of numerous scholarly research, is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, to understand the environment that shaped the early political and intellectual visions of the three intellectuals, it is important to highlight three aspects of this period. The first was a larger political vocabulary of educated Ottomans as a result of the Empire's expanding political and intellectual sphere during the period of extensive reforms known as *Tanzimat* (1839-1876). The birth of new intellectuals keen to disseminate their knowledge, the rise of the press, the increasing network of educational institutions, the growing number of publications on different subjects, the intensifying exchange of knowledge through developing

[2] For a brief critical examination of these approaches see Erik J. Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010), 43.

communication and transportation, and the increasing intellectual contact with lands beyond the Empire had transformed the intellectual environment. These new dynamics allowed and even encouraged the introduction of new ideas, and thus a new vocabulary, into the political and intellectual spheres. They, moreover, intensified the circulation of these ideas among Ottoman intellectuals and political circles.[3] The first constitution of the Empire, *Kanun-i Esasi* [Fundamental Law], was the work of the intellectuals influenced by these developments. The declaration of a constitution in 1876 represented a practical application of the ideas in circulation. As will be discussed further in the coming chapters, the constitution reorganized the Ottoman political system on the basis of the rule of law and equal citizenship in order to realize the state's Ottomanist agenda. This constitutional period lasted a little more than a year. Against the backdrop of the Russia-Ottoman War (1877-1878), Abdülhamid II (r.1876-1909) dissolved the parliament and shelved the constitution on February 13, 1878. However, the political system introduced by the constitution opened a Pandora's box. Although the constitution was no longer in force, its legacy, containing the ideas of the parliament, rule of law, and equality, had occupied the minds of many Ottoman intellectuals of the period as a potential system that could contribute to the survival of the Empire and the consolidation of Ottoman unity. Furthermore, these concepts constituted the core of the opposition to the oppressive aspects of Abdülhamid II's rule.

A second important feature of this period was the sense of urgency in the minds of Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals to find solutions to the problems of the Empire.

[3] Some of the dynamics of the intellectual sphere and how these dynamics evolved in the course of the nineteenth century will be discussed further in this chapter and the coming chapters. However, to see a partial picture of the changes happening at this time, one could review the increase in books, journals, and newspapers: "The number of books printed between 1729 and 1829 was only 180, while between 1876 and 1892 and 1893 and 1907 the figures were 6,357 and 10,601, respectively; the majority of these books dealt with secular subjects. The numbers of newspapers and journals grew from 87 and 144 in 1875 and 1883, to 226, 365, and 548 in 1895, 1903, and 1911, respectively." Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 102.

Economic crises, rising revolts in the Balkans, and increasing external pressure were some of the acute challenges to imperial rule at the outset of Abdülhamid II's reign. This picture deteriorated when the mounting tension between the Russian and Ottoman Empires turned into war on April 24, 1877. The war between the two powers lasted less than a year, but the results were devastating for the Ottoman Empire. Although the Berlin Congress, convened in June 1878, eased the severe aspects of the earlier San Stefano Treaty, signed by the Russian and Ottoman Empires, deep psychological and socio-economic effects were left on the Ottoman State and the public.[4] Prominent historian Kemal Karpat considered the Russo-Ottoman War to be a milestone in the history of late Ottoman Empire by asserting that this war terminated the belief that the Ottoman Empire was a *devlet-i muazzama* [great power] and a *devlet-i ebed müddet* [eternal state]. This, Karpat claimed, boosted the efforts of the Sultan and Ottoman intellectuals to discover the reasons behind the Empire's problems and solutions to overcome the weaknesses in the Ottoman State, economy, and society. [5] In other words, the concern for the survival of the Empire gradually became a shared idea and motivation for the intellectuals of the time.

The last aspect of the period was the paradoxical nature of the rule of Abdülhamid II. The Sultan was both a fervent modernizer and a firm protector of the status quo of his own rule. On the one hand, he inherited the reformist spirit of the *Tanzimat* period and took that spirit one step further. Under his rule, the Empire witnessed some of the most important infrastructural developments in education, communication, and transportation, which contributed significantly to the modernization of the Empire and left an important legacy on sociopolitical dynamics of the early twentieth century in the Middle East and the Balkans. On the other hand, during his reign, despotism accompanied the Sultan's gradually growing paranoia and was one of the defining features of his political regime. Abdülhamid II managed

[4] For a brief examination of these marks see Karpat, *Politicization,* 148-154.
[5] Ibid., 149.

to shift power back to the palace and into his own hands. He established an administrative organ based on favouritism and deployed various methods, including censorship, spy activities, and exile, to suppress dissident voices. These two different faces of the reign of Abdülhamid II introduced significant tension into the political sphere, which became one of the defining features of the Empire until the end of his rule in 1909. On the one hand, this tension damaged the status of the Empire in the face of internal and external challenges. On the other hand, however, this tension stimulated political and intellectual developments. Under the heavy pressure of the state, some intellectuals began examining topics, such as literature and science, which were not directly related to politics. This significantly expanded the scope of intellectual discussions at the time. Furthermore, this heavy pressure contributed to the multiplication of oppositional voices. Among these voices, Ottomans known as the Young Turks represented the broadest and strongest wing. Mostly trained in the modern schools of the Empire, they stood against the authoritarian rule of Abdülhamid II and defended a wide range of ideas, including constitution, freedom, equality, and rationalism. The Young Turks' political activism and intellectual productivity became one of the decisive forces in the fate of the Hamidian regime and its aftermath.

The three intellectuals examined here were born in this complex and dynamic period of the Empire. As they grew up, they gradually became integral voices in this complexity. The rest of this chapter will focus on the details of the three intellectuals' life stories in order to better comprehend how each was shaped.

Family and Early Childhood

Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı were born as Ottoman citizens in the places far from each other. Tunalı Hilmi was born on August 28, 1871 in Eski Cuma, located

in today's Bulgaria.[6] This region had strong links to the central administration of the Empire. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the central administration implemented many of its reforms in the lands of Bulgaria first. Although the Christian population was dominant in most of Bulgaria, in Eski Cuma Muslims were the majority.[7] Avram Galanti was born in Bodrum, in southwestern Anatolia, on January 4, 1873. A district in the province of Aydın, Bodrum was a port town. At the time, approximately thirty Jewish families resided in Bodrum.[8] More than half of these families were relatives of Galanti, and their houses were located mainly in the Turkish district of the town.[9] This feature of their district probably provided Galanti with an early awareness of the coexistence of different ethno-religious groups in the Empire. Mustafa Satı was born in 1880 in Sana, the centre of *vilayet* of Yemen.[10] Ironically, the life of one of the most fervent Ottomanists of the Late Empire started in one of the most politically complicated lands of the Empire for the central administration. Sana, was one of the remotest peripheries of the Empire, and its control had been always problematic due to its distance from the central state and the inhabitants' resistance to accept the Ottomans as their legitimate rulers.[11]

Despite considerable distances and sociocultural differences among the regions where Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı were born, the intellectuals were all members

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[6] Tunalı Hilmi, "T.B.M.M Azası Tercüme-i hal Kağıdı," TBMM Sicil Arşivi, Dosya No. 65.
[7] Halil İnalcık, "Bulgaria," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd edition, eds. by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on August 05, 2016. <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2066/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1522>
[8] Avram Galante, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, vol. 2, in *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie* (Istanbul: ISIS Yayımcılık, 1985), 4:141. Also Kemal Karpat indicates the number of Jewish population in Bodrum according to the Ottoman General Census of 1881/2 as 82 (45 female and 37 male) approximately 0.590% of Bodrum's population. See, Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914 Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 122-123.
[9] Galante, "Juifs d'Anatolie," 141.
[10] Sources provides different date of birth for Satı. Cleveland, in a footnote remarks, "In an interview with the author on September 28, 1966, Satı al-Husri confirmed the correct date and place of his birth." William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Satiʿ al-Husri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 14.
[11] Bruce Masters, "Yemen," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 603.

of households integrated within the imperial system of the central administration. Their families had close sociopolitical and economic connections to the state due to their fathers' occupations. Thus, the interests of their families were tied to the interests of the Ottoman Empire. In accordance with these ties, the households of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı provided them with the preliminary resources and perspectives for the three intellectuals to be equal citizens of the Empire.

Tunalı Hilmi was the son of İsmail Hakkı Bey from the Kantarcıoğulları family and Rukiye Hanım from the Hacı Abdullahlar family.[12] At the outset of Hilmi's life the family had a strong economic background. They owned farms and a tobacco factory.[13] Yet the life of the family changed significantly a few years after Tunalı Hilmi's birth. The outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877 hit Tunalı Hilmi's family as it did thousands of other Ottoman Muslim inhabitants in Balkan lands. As a small child, Tunalı Hilmi witnessed the termination of the idea of *devlet-i muazzama* and *devlet-i ebed müddet* with his own eyes. The war was the reason for Hilmi's first forced migration, who was made to travel many times throughout his life due to economic problems, political choices, and his own exile. His family was one among thousands of families who immigrated to Ottoman lands in 1877.[14] It is likely that these first-hand traumas before, during, and after the war affected Hilmi and prepared the emotional and mental ground for his patriotic stances in the coming years of his life.[15] He and

[12] Sabri Ateş, *Tunalı Hilmi Bey Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Aydın* [Tunalı Hilmi Bey: An Intellectual From Ottoman Empire to the Republic] (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 2009), 14.
[13] Ibid., Uğurlu Tunalı, in his short biography of Tunalı Hilmi states that Hilmi's family was the owner of big farms [*çiftlik*]. Uğurlu Tunalı, *Tunalı Hilmi'nin Özgeçmişi*, Personal Archive of Uğurlu Tunalı.
[14] Nuri Akbayar, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Osmanlı Devleti Nüfusu" [The Population of Ottoman State After *Tanzimat*] in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* [The Encyclopedia of Turkey from Tanzimat to Republic], ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 5:1242. Karpat remarks that according to the consular reports during the 1877-1878 Russia-Ottoman War "300,000 Muslims (mostly Turks) were killed in the Danube province and eastern Rumelia of the approximately one million forced to flee (…)." Karpat, *Politicization,* 148.
[15] After examining the personal accounts of the late Ottoman period, Selçuk Akşin Somels remarks: "It seems that among those pre-school children of border regions these feelings of worry and immediate danger could strengthen the sense of ethnic identity, which possibly made them later more reliable to patriotic and nationalistic sentiments" Having spent his pre-school childhood in Bulgaria, I

his family arrived in Istanbul and settled in Üsküdar in 1877. The crises of the period damaged Hilmi's father's earning potential. After they arrived in Istanbul, İsmail Hakkı Bey became involved in commerce but failed in his venture. Then, he took a position as chief tax collector of a province [*vilayet sertahsildarı*] and was appointed to different cities in Anatolia, including Adana and Kastamonu.

Avram Galanti was a descendant of an old Sephardic family, whose members contributed to the religious and intellectual life of his community throughout the centuries.[16] His family was involved in the economic life of Bodrum. Galanti describes his grandfather and granduncle as two of the most important merchants in the town. Furthermore, his family members had close relations with the local state administration.[17] His father, Moshe Galanti, was the secretary of the court of first instance**;**[18] his grandfather was a member of the municipality; the brother of his grandfather was a member of the administrative council[19]; and his uncle was a treasurer of revenue.[20] Although it is difficult to estimate the exact numbers of Ottoman Jews working in or contributing to public services in the Empire at the time, the four

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believe it is possible to interpret Tunalı Hilmi's experiences with similar assumptions. Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908, Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 252.

[16] For some of the list of important names from Abraham Galante's family see, Abraham Elmaleh, *Le Professeur Abraham Galanté: sa vie et ses oeuvres* (İstanbul: Kağıt ve Basım İşleri AŞ, 1947). 10-16.

[17] Galante, "Juifs d'Anatolie," 143.

[18] Galanti writes his father's title in French as *1er secrétaire du tribunal de première instance.* This French title probably refers to *katib* [scribe] in the first judicial level of *Nizamiye* [regular] courts known as *bidayet.*

[19] Galanti defines the brother of his grandfather position as "*membre du conseil administratif*". Based on Galanti's explanation we can assume that he was the member of district administrative council [*kaza idare meclisi*]. The leading religious figures of the non-Muslim communities were the natural members of this council. İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri 1840-1880* [Ottoman Local Administration in *Tanzimat* Period 1840-1880] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000), 82.

[20] Galanti defines his uncle's position with the French title *trésorier du fisc*. This title probably refers to Bodrum *Rüsumat Sandık Emini*. Yet, I was unable to confirm whether he actually held this position in Bodrum.

members of Galanti's close family belonged to a minority in their own community in terms of their careers.[21]

Unfortunately, in light of the sources that I was able to consult, Galanti did not provide us with the details of his father's career. [22] Yet the fact that he was employed by the state implies that both the progressive circles of his own community and the Ottoman State could consider him a model citizen. Progressives in the Jewish community argued for the need for strong language skills and civic training to increase the participation of young Jews in Ottoman social, political and economic life starting from the 1840s.[23] From their perspective, this was necessary to improve the sociopolitical status of Ottoman Jewry and to turn Jews in the Empire into strong and equal elements of Ottoman society. Similarly, as will be examined in the next chapter, the Ottoman State implemented a series of political, legal, and social policies to integrate non-Muslims into Ottoman politics and society as, first, equal subjects and, later, as citizens of the Empire. Thus, by being eligible for employment by the state, Moshe Galanti was an example of an integrated citizen of Ottoman society at the time when Avram Galanti was born, from the perspectives of progressive circles of both his community and the state.

The members of Mustafa Satı's family were also in the service of the state. At the time of Satı Bey's birth, his father Muhammad Hilal ibn al-Sayyid Mustafa al-Husri, who was a descendant of a wealthy family from Aleppo, held the post of Directorate of the Court of Criminal Appeals [*Mahkeme-i İstinaf Reisi*] in Sana. Satı remarks that his father was appointed to Yemen following the reorganization of the judicial apparatus in the region. This reorganization, as Cleveland points out, was a result of reforms to organize a broader judicial

[21] The number of Jews in government service in Istanbul in 1885 was 99. Considering the Jewish male population represented in Istanbul's total population in 1885, the ratio of a Jewish presence in the government service was 0.44%. Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman* Empire (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), 111.
[22] Elmaleh remarks that his father served the Ottoman State for forty years. Elmaleh, *Professeur,* 16.
[23] The details of these arguments and practical incentives will be discussed in the coming chapters.

apparatus in the context of the state's efforts to modernize and centralize its system. [24] In the course of his early childhood, Satı travelled to distant lands - Adana, Ankara, Tripoli, again Yemen and Konya - with his family due to the appointments of his father. Like their father, Satı's two elder brothers, Bashir Majdi and Badi Nuri also established their careers in the civil service of the Empire. Bashir Majdi was a public prosecutor in Homs and Benghazi in the 1890s, while Badi Nuri acted first as director in the municipal government and then became a *mutasarrıf,* governor of a province's subdivision.[25]

Indeed, the strength and continuation of the state was in the families' interests as the state was the source of their income.[26] In particular, Mustafa Satı and Tunalı Hilmi's fathers' positions may have led them to establish state-related networks, which might have had an impact on the choices that various family members made in their lives.[27] Thus, the authority and legitimacy of the central state had a significant presence in the home lives of the three intellectuals. Furthermore, they grew up at a time when the Ottoman State was gradually intensifying its efforts to increase its visibility and inclusivity in every part of the Empire, especially on its peripheries. Considering the remote places where Mustafa Satı's father had his duties, such as Sana and Tripoli, and as a member of the ruling class, we can argue that Satı's father was one of the primary representatives of the Ottoman State's new visibility and was responsible for making the central state's presence felt more keenly in these furthest points of the Empire. Tunalı Hilmi's father's duties were also significant. Although he mainly served in Anatolia, his role as a chief tax collector was symbolic in the promotion of the state's visibility in and authority over its lands. Galanti's father, on the other hand, did not necessarily contribute to the visibility of the state through his work. His presence in the state

[24] Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında,* 89. Cleveland, *Sati' al-Husri*, 12-13.
[25] Ibid. 14-15.
[26] In Tunalı's case, this occurred after a certain age.
[27] For example, three sons of Muhammad Hilal ibn al-Sayyid Mustafa al-Husri became high level state servants. It is not illogical to think that his identity, career, and ideas might have had certain influences over the ideas and choices of his three sons.

apparatus, however, reflected an ethno-religiously inclusive picture of the Ottoman administration and thus represented another characteristics of the state in the late Empire. In short, multi-sided interactions between the state and the three intellectuals' families may have helped Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı create early emotional and mental ties with the state. Furthermore, the fact that Tunalı Hilmi and Mustafa Satı especially were constantly on the move with their families during childhood may have supported the early development of a sense of the multicultural dynamics of the Empire or at least an acquaintance with society's multicultural realities and challenges.

Apart from Satı's father, we do not know the educational backgrounds of the elder members of the intellectuals' families.[28] Clearly their fathers were literate. Moreover, with their progressive sociopolitical visions the families acted as the primary factors contributing to the adaptation and integration of young Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı into a multicultural Ottoman society. Tunalı Hilmi had a very mobile childhood with difficult socioeconomic conditions. Throughout his youth not only were his family's economic capabilities in a state of flux but also the sociocultural and political environment. However, wherever they moved, the family never neglected their son's education. He enrolled in his first school in Eski Cuma and then continued at *Yeni Cami Taş Mektebi* [New Mosque Primary School], which at the time was transformed into *ibtidai mektebi* [primary school], in Üsküdar. As his family moved to different cities in Anatolia, he enrolled in different schools, including *Mülkiye Rüşdiyesi* [Civil Preparatory School] and *Mülkiye İdadisi* [Civil High School] in Kastamonu and Adana.[29] Finally, after his family returned to Istanbul, Hilmi continued his education in military medical schools. The family's constant efforts to enrol their son in these schools demonstrate their awareness of the possible contributions that these

[28] Satı's father received a strong, traditional education in Aleppo and in Cairo. For details of his education see Cleveland, *Sati' al Husri*, 13.
[29] Uğurlu Tunalı, *Tunalı Hilmi*; Tunalı Hilmi, *Tercüme-i hal.*

new schools could provide to Tunalı Hilmi's intellect and future career. By socializing and training him in modern schools, his family raised him under the direct influence of the Ottomanist reforms in the Empire.

Similarly, Avram Galanti's family was the earliest engineer of his own future. Ladino was the language spoken in the house, but his father was a polyglot man.[30] He lived with Ladino yet earned his living with his knowledge of Turkish. Therefore, he should have internalized the importance of language skills in order to integrate into broader society. This was, most likely, one of his father's central motivations to send young Avram to Rhodes at the age of nine to enrol in a boarding school providing language and civic education to students. This kind of education would ease Galanti's continuation in the state schools and would enable him to pursue careers in different spheres. Avram Galanti sent his earliest letters to his father in different languages - Ladino and French - as if he wished to show his father his progress in his studies; he also expressed his goal to write a letter in Turkish. Galanti assured his father that he would not disappoint him in his progress and behaviour. These facts confirm the above assumption about the expectations of his father.[31] Furthermore, the enthusiasm in the household following Galanti's enrolment in the school and the specific wish of his mother, "may learning be for you as sweet as this pastry," on his first day of the school serve as a further sign of the importance of education within the family. [32] Additionally, Galanti's

[30] Elmaleh remarks that Moshe Galante "knew Hebrew, Turkish, Judeo-Espagnol [Ladino], and Greek." Elmaleh, *Professeur,* 16.

[31] Kalderon makes a similar analysis of Galanti's letters. He remarks that "the letters appear to be written, perhaps to reassure his father that he was indeed making progress in school. He vehemently promised in each instance that his father would be pleased with his studies and conduct." Yet according to Kalderon a possible reason of Galanti's efforts was a possible doubt that his father might have had in enrolling him to *Progress*. Thus, Kalderon thinks that Galanti was perhaps trying to "convince his father of the validity of his choice." Kalderon, *Abraham*, 8. Avram Galante, *Sixieme recueil de documents concernant les Juifs de Turquie et divers sujets Juifs*, in *Histoire Des Juifs De Turquie* (Istanbul: ISIS Yayımcılık, 1985), 6:339-341.

[32] Avram Galante, *Septieme recueil de documents concernant les Juifs de Turquie et divers sujets Juifs*, in *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie* (Istanbul: ISIS Yayımcılık, 1985), 7:25. Kalderon, *Abraham,* 6. For another example that shows his grandfather's appreciation of Galanti's education see Galante, "Juifs d'Anatolie," 144-145.

memories of his family members in relation to his education constitute a significant portion of the limited picture of his early life in his own writings. This might be the result of Galanti's own conscious choice to reflect a certain part of his past as well as an indication of how, starting from early childhood, he internalized the importance of education from the dominant, progressive worldview of his family.

Since Mustafa Satı was on the move along with his family due to his father's appointments, his family home became his first school. Although he was from an Arab-descendant family, both Ottoman Turkish and Arabic were spoken in the house. He also learnt French, another important language both for bureaucracy and intellectual life at the time, from his elder brothers. The utilization of primarily Ottoman Turkish was an indication of the fact that Satı's family belonged to an educated bureaucratic class in the Empire.[33] This position of Ottoman Turkish in the family had a visible impact on the language skills of Mustafa Satı. Until his departure from Ottoman lands in 1919, the Turkish language had been his first language for his writing career and daily life. Based on his observations during an interview with Mustafa Satı in the 1960s, Niyazi Berkes remarked that Satı spoke Arabic like a Turkish man.[34] Furthermore, despite his father's strong religious education, Mustafa Satı never received formal religious training. In other words, he was never encouraged or forced to interpret the world from religious teachings, and this should have contributed to his strong secular tendencies throughout his long career.

Indeed, Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı were born as citizens of the Empire in households that held sufficient socioeconomic resources to support their integration into Ottoman society. They belonged to a generation whose comprehension of the legal Ottoman identity was different than that of previous generations. When they were born, the citizen law (1869) was already in force. This meant that, according to the state, there were no

[33] Cleveland, *Sati' al-Husri,* 14.
[34] Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında,* 79.

longer subjects whose statuses were defined by their religious identities. They were considered citizens of the Empire. This is not to say that ethno-religious identities no longer played a role. On the contrary, despite the efforts of the Ottomanist agenda of the Empire, these identities were influential until the last days of the Empire. However, the legal framework that defined relations among individuals and between them and the state was different than that of the previous periods. This new framework was the only legal reality that Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı experienced from the very beginnings of their lives. Within this new framework, their families left early imprints of the Ottomanist milieu on each of their minds. This early influence continued to shape, perhaps deeply, the lives of the three intellectuals as they moved through the education system of the Empire.

Education

What was the nature of the education of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı? With whom did they socialize during their education? What was the environment of the institutions in which they were involved? How did their educations affect their career choices? The answers to these questions likely represent some of the strongest influences of the Late Ottoman milieu on the mindsets of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı. The three intellectuals were educated during a period of significant growth and investment in the educational affairs of the Empire. Education policies had already gained importance during the sociopolitical transformation of the *Tanzimat* period. [35] In the minds of the statesmen at that time, education was the main channel through which to spread the sociopolitical ideals of the *Tanzimat* period. Abdülhamid II inherited this vision from the *Tanzimat* period and increased its efficiency and scale considerably, leaving an important educational infrastructure for the coming decades. In this period the organizational scheme of educational affairs was extended to embrace both the centre and periphery. New financial

[35] Education reforms in the years 1839-1908 will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

resources were created to support educational investments, and the number of newly constructed schools reached ten thousand. In particular, there was a significant increase in the number of *idadi* schools, which provided secondary education, and *ibtidai* schools, which provided modern primary education. Many traditional primary schools, known as *sıbyan mektebi,* were transformed into modern *ibtidai* schools.[36] Despite the partial continuity of the *Tanzimat* spirit in reforms on educational affairs, Abdülhamid II left his own mark on the system. As Benjamin Fortna puts it, he changed both the diagnosis and cure for the educational system to solve imperial problems. Abdülhamid II aimed to curb European influence by challenging it, and limiting the scope of the adaptation of European aspects within the Ottoman educational system.[37]

Fortna identified two motivators behind the period's emphasis on the educational affairs of the state: fear and hope.[38] Fear stemmed from the fact that education, which was one of the core aspects of modern states in shaping their societies and official ideology, was under the increasing influence of missionaries, ethno-religious groups, and neighbouring states. This influence was an obstacle for the central state in realizing its political agenda, and the imperial education system was not strong enough to compete with it. Therefore, it was essential for the state to expand the range of state educational services in order to weaken the impact of non-state organizations. Yet fear was not the only thing motivating the state. There was also the hope that education might be the remedy for the Empire's problems and would allow the Empire to compete with its Western rivals.[39] Many statesmen at the time thought that

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[36] Bayram Kodaman remarks that in this period the number of *rüşdiye* increased from 250 to 600; *idadi* from 5 to 104, *Darulmuallimin* [Teacher's Training College for men] from 4 to 32 and *ibtidai* from 200 to 4,000-5,000. Furthermore, almost 10,000 *sıbyan* schools transformed into a modern *ibtidais*. See Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğiti Sistemi* [The Education System of Abdülhamid Period] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 164.
[37] Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom Islam, The State, And Education In The Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 9.
[38] See chapter 2 in ibid.
[39] While Mustafa Satı emphasizing the importance of hope for the future of the Empire, he states that the word hope was the slogan of *Darülmuallimin* [Teachers' Training College]. The word was in the

education was the main driver of Western success. Thus, they hoped that a strengthened educational system could similarly contribute to imperial efforts to solve internal and external challenges. Educated in the modern schools of the period, Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, Mustafa Satı, and many other intellectuals were the products of and participants in this hope. Throughout their careers, their continued beliefs in the abilities of education to overcome sociopolitical problems was a partial reflection of the success of modern education's agenda to transmit this hope to the minds of intellectuals. This was, in fact, the first important effect of their respective educations on their mindsets.

Medical schools were at the core of Tunalı Hilmi's educational background. After his graduation from *Fatih Askeri Rüşdiyesi* [Fatih Military Middle School] and then *Kuleli Askeri Tıbbiye İdadisi* [Kuleli Medical Military Highschool], he enrolled in *Gülhane Tıbbiyesi* [Gülhane Medical School]. In his senior year at Gülhane, he fled to Geneva on October 6, 1895 and joined the Ottoman opposition movement in Europe. In addition to his political activities in Geneva, he continued to train himself in different subjects. He attended law and sociology classes and received a degree in pedagogy.[40]

For Galanti, the boarding school in which he was enrolled at the age of nine was the first important step for his further education. This school, named 'Progress,' was opened through "the initiatives of French consul Moshe Franco in Rhodes" in 1882.[41] This was the first institution in which Galanti received extensive language training. The Turkish language that he learnt in the school was essential for him to be able to study in state schools without

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flag and coat of arms of the institution. Mustafa Satı, *Vatan İçin -5 Konferans-* [For The Fatherland -5 Conferences-] (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1329 [1913/1914]), 95. The central position of this term in the life of one of the central institutions for the education affairs of the Empire is a good example of how the term hope was a keyword to understand the state's concern over education in the late Ottoman Empire.

[40] Tunalı Hilmi, *Tercüme-i Hal*. Ateş, *Tunalı*,15-17.

[41] Avram Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Rhode, Chio, Cos, etc*, in *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie* (Istanbul: ISIS Yayımcılık, 1985), 7:103-104.

difficulty and to communicate with other students and teachers.[42] After Progress he continued his studies, first at the *rüşdiye school* in Bodrum and then at the *Mekteb-i İdadi Mülkiyesi* of Izmir.[43]

Mustafa Satı, on the other hand, received his education at one of the most important institutions for administrative and intellectual life of the Empire, *Mülkiye Mektebi* [School of Civil Administration]. The institution was the door through which one entered into the bureaucratic class at the time. He enrolled in *Mülkiye* in 1893, where he received both his secondary and higher education, and graduated in 1900.[44]

It is not possible to describe the full extent of the impact that these schools left on the mindsets of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı. However, looking at some of the common features of these modern institutions can aid us in understanding the sources of their future ideas. One main feature of their educations was the mostly secular and positivist nature of the training they received. It is true that it is not appropriate to consider the institutions they enrolled in as purely secular. Especially under the rule of Abdülhamid II, the curriculums of the modern education institutions began to include considerable religious elements in the years following 1885. Moreover, religious symbols within the schools were also present.[45] Yet, these institutions also carried deep marks left by the secular premises promoted by *Tanzimat* reforms in organizing education apparatus of the empire. In the *Tanzimat* period education gradually aimed to create a new educated class that would examine sociopolitical

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[42] Kalderon, *Abraham,* 6-9; Marc D. Angel, *The Jews of Rhodes: The History of a Sephardic Community* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1980), 78.
[43] Kalderon, *Abraham,* 11.
[44] Cleveland, *Sati' al-Husri*, 15-17; Ali Çankaya Mücellidoğlu, *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler* [A New History of School of Political Sciences and its Graduates] (Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1968-1969), 3:844.
[45] For the discussion of increasing influence of Islam on education at the time of Abdülhamid II and inappropriateness of calling the new education institutions in the Empire purely secular see: Fortna, *Imperial*, 22-26, 87-129, 130- 164, 202-247. Benjamin C. Fortna, "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman "Secular" Schools", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, 3 (2000): 369-393. Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains, Ideology and Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999), 93-101.

issues with a rational approach supported by the belief in meritocracy.[46] As will be discussed in detail in chapter 4, it promoted trust in worldly knowledge in attempts to understand and find solutions for the political, economic, and social problems facing the Empire.[47] More importantly, the state deployed secular education to transcend socially divisive lines based on religious identities and to construct a common Ottoman identity similar to the emerging national identities across the West.

The influence of secular elements of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı's educations on their perspectives and inclinations was highly visible. Although all three figures appreciated the sociopolitical significance of religion in life in the Empire and in their own communities, religion did not play a role in their intellectual approaches to problems or questions regarding society and politics. Tunalı Hilmi displayed a tendency to approach social or political problems as if they were sicknesses to be cured with the correct remedies.[48] He utilized analogies to compare his observations in nature and sociopolitical incidents.[49] Furthermore, he often explained his arguments and their possible long-term consequences as

[46] Karpat, *Politicization*, 98.
[47] In weekly award ceremonies, which were important events to award successful students of *Mekteb-i Mülkiye*, a signboard stating "The degree of the science is the highest grade" [*Rütbetü'l-ilm a'lel-meratib*] was always placed in the gardens of the schools revealing the importance of science within the educational agendas. Ali Kemal, *Ömrüm* [My Life] (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2004), 44-46. The dominant number of classes based on worldly knowledge in the curriculums also reveal the influence of secular premises on the education of these institutions: For example some of the classes Galanti attended in his *idadi* years were Ottoman, French, Arabic, Persian, arithmetic [*hesap]*, geometry [*hendese*], geography, history, science [*malumat-ı fenniye*]: CAHJP P/112, F.2.. Also, although there was increasing role of Islam in the curriculum of Mülkiye in 1890s, the classes based on worldly knowledge were still dominant in the curriculum. Besides extensive language education, there were classes related to natural and social sciences in changing intensity according to the level of the students. For the full curriculum see Ali Çankaya Mücellidoğlu, *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler* (Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1968-1969), 1:239 -243.
[48] For example, see Tunalı Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* [10th Khutbah] (Kahire: 1316 [1898/99]), 85. He remarks, "You are sick (…) Your sickness cannot be cured with violence and hardness. Your sickness is moral, spiritual; your problem is the lack of an alliance; the cure for this problem is an alliance."
[49] For example, see *10. Hutbe*, 41. Hilmi says, "When two clouds collide they make rain, lightning strikes, when two ideas get together every job becomes a blessing (…)"

if he were a doctor speaking to his patients.[50] Avram Galanti had argued, with some exceptions as will be discussed later, for the need for secular education as a tool for the integration of Ottoman Jewry, and his relations with the religious circles of his community were distant and often problematic. Lastly, Mustafa Satı was involved in educational institutions that promoted two main ideas according to prominent sociologist Şerif Mardin: i) positivism, an approach that only accepts scientific rationalization and verifiable data, and ii) realism, "an understanding of society that acknowledges economic dynamics and recognizes labour [*sa'y*] as fundamental*"*.[51] As Satı confirmed, the social and intellectual environment of these institutions became one of the most important sources that shaped his ideas as an educator in the later stages of his career.[52] Furthermore, the secular aspects of their educations, along with developments in the structural aspects of the education system, likely sowed the early seeds of the three intellectuals' understandings of progress as a concept. In the context of Foucault's ideas, Selçuk Akşin Somel points out that the education system at that time was structured in such a way to promote students' development gradually. Every phase of education intended to prepare students for the next step of their development, eventually assisting students in reaching their "final point of development." This progressive process indeed promoted the idea of "linear time" among people who were part of this system. Therefore, Somel argues, "it was not surprising that those generations of graduates

[50] He, in fact, defines new Ottomans as doctors. See *10. Hutbe*, 41. These were indeed common attitudes among the students of medical schools. For more detailed analysis of the medical school's impact on the mindset of students see Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* [A Political Thinker Doctor Abdullah Cevdet and his Period] (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981), 5-28.

[51] Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908* [The Political Thoughts of Young Turks, 1895-1908] (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 51.

[52] Satı remarked that "the observations, which appertain to my student life in *Mekteb-i Mulkiye*, happened to be the strongest amongst the ideas of influence in my future life as an educator." Mustafa Satı, "Mekteplerde Cemiyet ve Cemaat Hayatı II" [Social and Community Life in Schools], *Terbiye,* 5 (1334 [1918]), 192. A good example of Satı's interest in worldly knowledge is the fact that his nickname among his friends was Archimedes. Moreover, in his interview with Niyazi Berkes he said in his school year he desired to found a Museum of Natural History [*Tarih-i Tabii Müzesi*]. Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında,* 89.

from public schools became easily familiarized with the notions of evolution and progress in the positive sense."[53]

Language training was another important aspect of this secular education. Tunalı Hilmi learnt French during his education in medical school. Avram Galanti, by the end of his education at Progress, already had knowledge of French and Ottoman Turkish. During his education in *İzmir İdadisi* he continued to receive language training in French, Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Farsi.[54] Similarly, Mustafa Satı also received language training in French, Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Farsi. Although it is difficult to evaluate the efficiency of the language training they received,[55] studying the French language likely widened the scope of their intellectual visions. Thanks to their French skills, they were able to access works written in French on variety of subjects, expanding their intellectual, political, and social glossaries, and their knowledge of the vast range of discussions in Western intellectual circles.[56] It should also have made them aware of the sociopolitical developments in the Western world. In the long run, moreover, it enabled them to reach a French-speaking audience.[57] The French language also acted as a common medium of communication among Ottoman intellectuals from different linguistic backgrounds. As intellectual historian Johann Strauss noted, knowledge of French was widespread among educated individuals in the

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[53] Somel, *Modernization,* 7.
[54] CAHJP, P/112, F.2.
[55] For example, Avram Galanti, in his articles discussing the question of how to improve the education system in the Ottoman Empire, criticized the quality of French classes. He argued that the lack of harmony between the textbook and the curriculum made the quality of training poor. Avram Galanti, *Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder? Programların Tertibi* [How Would Our Education Progress, the Organization of the Programs], 3-4. in Galanti's personal notebook (GPN) located in CAHJP P/112, F.88. Furthermore, Ali Kemal, who studied in Mülkiye in the years between 1882-1887 complained about the quality of French education in the schools and remarked that students were not able to comprehend sophisticated works written in French. Ali Kemal, *Ömrüm*, 89. However, at this stage we should note that especially Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı already knew French before they received French classes in the state schools.
[56] For example, Cleveland remarks that Mustafa Satı benefited from his French skills when learning Western science and math. He was interested in "the French works on the history of scientific discovery." *Sati' al-Husri*, 16.
[57] Especially Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti benefited from their French skills in reaching audience within and beyond the Ottoman Empire.

Empire.[58] Thus, knowledge of the language equipped intellectuals with the skills to bypass some of the communication limitations derived from the multi-linguistic nature of Ottoman society. The French language facilitated the process of translating certain works into different communal languages within the Empire and enabled Ottoman intellectuals to reach broader audiences.

The schools that Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı attended were culturally and religiously mixed. This mixed composition was one of the policies of the state to promote its Ottomanist agenda in creating a common Ottoman identity.[59] The first signs of this policy occurred in the imperial edict [*Islahat Hatt-ı Hümayunu*] of 1856. The edict declared that every subject of the Empire could enrol in civil and military schools of the Empire. An important early amendment made *rüşdiye* schools, intermediary education institutions, admissible for non-Muslims in 1867.[60] This was followed by the foundation of the exemplary institution *Mekteb-i Sultani,* the Imperial School, today known as the Lycée of Galatasaray. This institution was the harbinger for the *idadi* schools, modern institutions of secondary education, which would be one of the main tools with which the Ottoman State spread its own political agenda among pupils from culturally and religiously mixed backgrounds throughout the last decades of the Empire.[61] These developments were followed

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[58] Johann Strauss, "A Constitution for a Multilingual Empire. Translations of the Kanun-ı Esasi and Other Official Texts Into Minority Languages" in *The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy,* eds. Herzog Christoph and Sharif Malek, (Würzburg: Ergon, 2010), 26.

[59] For a brief examination of the Ottoman State's reforms on education during the Tanzimat period in order to create schools composed of students coming from mixed backgrounds see Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), 244-250.

[60] Mahir Şaul, "The Mother Tongue of the Polyglot: Cosmopolitism and Nationalism among the Sepharadim of Istanbul" in *Turkish - Jewish Encounters*, ed. Mehmet Tütüncü (Netharland: Haarlem, 2001), 153. Davison remarks that due to practical reasons deriving from religious aspects in the curriculums of rüşdiye schools Christian and Muslim students were separated. See, Davison, *Reform,* 246, 248.

[61] Fortna by referring to the aims of the Imperial school argues that "by bringing them together, in one institution where they would study, exercise, eat, and sleep in common, the school took the radical step toward dismantling the formal barriers that separated the empire's subjects according to confessional affiliation." Fortna, *Imperial Classroom,* 102-103.

by the enactment of the Education Law in 1869. This law aimed to bring education under the control of the state through a centralized and rationalized scheme. It introduced a system through which the state could disseminate its own political agenda from the centre to the peripheries of the Empire in education institutions composed of students from many backgrounds. In this context, the schools the three intellectuals attended were outcomes of these inclusive Ottoman State policies. The mixed nature of these institutions was important in enabling Hilmi, Galanti, and Satı to socialize and study with students from different religious, cultural, and social backgrounds. In these schools students could learn more about the multicultural and pluralist nature of the Empire and familiarize themselves with differences that existed in Ottoman lands. Similarly, they could also feel the authority of the Ottoman State as the legal roof, which provided a system that enabled people to coexist through the bonds of equal citizenship. These features of the schools, in return, would have contributed significantly to the strengthening of the idea of a common Ottoman identity beyond any religious and cultural stratification in the minds of the three intellectuals as well as those of their peers. Having said that, the success of these institutions in bypassing differences in the Empire in order to create a common identity is open to debate. Despite the Ottoman State's efforts to unify students' mindsets through education, dissimilarities in the geographical origins, linguistic backgrounds, and socio-economic classes of the students often impacted their socialization habits and political perspectives and thus, possibly limited the extent of the influence of these school.[62]

[62] For example, İbrahim Temo, one of the founders of Committee of Union and Progress and a friend of Tunalı Hilmi, points to the disagreements between students from Istanbul [*Istanbullu*] and those coming from provinces [*taşralı*], which led to violent fights between two groups. İbrahim Temo, *İbrahim Temo'nun İttihad ve Terakki Anıları* [Union and Progress' Memories of İbrahim Temo] (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1987), 10. In another example, Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, an active Young Turk in the late Ottoman Empire states that the environment of the classroom in *Kuleli İdadisi* was successful in creating connections and collaborations between students with different geographical origins, yet in the break times students grouped and socialized with each other according to their geographical origins. According to Kuran, every group, including Albanians, Bulgarians, those from Tripoli, Circassians, Syrians, Bosnians, and Anatolians, had their own seats in the garden. Moreover,

The school years of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı coincided with increasing politicization within society. The modern schools of the Empire, especially *Tıbbiye, Mülkiye,* and *Harbiye,* were some of the sources of this politicization. Students in these institutions significantly aided this process through their intense political activism, which included the creation of student groups, the publishing of various newspapers, and the circulation of illegal books, journals, and pamphlets.[63] On the one hand, these activities were important channels through which students made contact with the world outside the institutions. Students were familiar with concepts such as fatherland [*vatan*], constitution, and freedom [*hürriyet*], which were the products of the sociopolitical and intellectual transformations in the course of the nineteenth century as well as the catalyst for further transformation. Moreover, as students became acquainted with the Young Turks' ideas on the rule of Abdülhamid II, their own discontent with the regime increased. On the other hand, due to these developments, the institutions became hubs of tension, mainly between the state and students. The politicized nature of the schools was not welcomed by Abdülhamid II, who interpreted most of the ideas or political entities outside of his own absolute control as threats to his rule. Thus, the regime deployed various methods - espionage, censorship, rule of conduct, and punishments - to provide absolute control over the lives of students as well as to limit the circulation of ideas and political activities. These measures, in turn, forced political activities to continue underground and possibly helped make prohibited political discourses even more attractive to students. More importantly, these ongoing tensions and crises became an integral part of students' educations.

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students from certain places were not allowed to sit in the places belonging to students from other geographical origins. Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Harbiye Mektebi'nde Hürriyet Mücadelesi* [The Struggle of Freedom in the Military Academy] (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009), 23.

[63] Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim" [Education in the Process of Modernization and Nationalism From the Empire to the Republic] in *Osmanlı Geçmişi ve Bugünün Türkiye'si* [The Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey], ed. Kemal H Karpat (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004), 171-172. For a brief examination of the impact of illegal publishing on students see Somel, *Modernization*, 267-270.

Of the three intellectuals, Tunalı Hilmi was the most politicized student. In the politicized atmosphere of the era medical schools were the earliest and some of the central sites for the politicization of students.[64] The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the organization that became the main political actor during the last two decades of the Empire, was originally founded at the Royal Medical Academy by a group of students in 1889 under the name Union of Ottomans. Politicized journals, works published in the West, and writings from influential political figures like Namık Kemal and Ziya Paşa were in circulation among students.[65] These political figures were especially important to the intellectual development of students. Namık Kemal was a master of romantic language able to sow the seeds of patriotism in his audience. A fervent supporter of a constitutional regime, Namık Kemal popularized and promoted the concepts of fatherland and liberty. Through his writings, ideas of land-based patriotism along with notions of equality and freedom became part of discussions on Ottomanism.[66] Ziya Paşa was another important figure in opposition circles of the late *Tanzimat* period. He contributed significantly to the diffusion of oppositional ideas through his active roles in journals such as *Muhbir* [Informant] and *Hürriyet* [Freedom]. The concepts of parliament and liberty became increasingly visible through such journals. Ziya Paşa's language in his writings was not as romantic and theoretical as the language of Namık Kemal. He was an intellectual with considerable experience in the *Tanzimat* politics of the Empire.[67] Accordingly, in his pieces he was often concerned with the administrative dynamics of the Empire and how to ameliorate them. In this context, his numerous works contributed significantly to the propagation of the ideas of justice and equality as necessary elements to consolidate the socioeconomic and political dynamics of the Empire.

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[64] Alkan, *İmparatorluk'tan*, 173.
[65] Temo, *Anıları,* 9. For an introduction to the two intellectuals' lives and ideas see Şerif Mardin, *Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (USA: Syracuse University Press, 2000).
[66] Namık Kemal's contribution to the dynamics of Ottomanism will be discussed in more depth in chapter 2.
[67] Mardin, *Genesis*, 337.

Tunalı Hilmi had become part of a network of politicized students in the early years of his education. His activities first began when he was a student at *Kuleli Askeri Tıbbiye İdadisi* with his weekly journal *Teşvik* [Incentive], though this handwritten journal produced only five issues. His activities were labelled as espionage and resulted in his imprisonment. Tunalı Hilmi continued to be involved in political activities at *Gülhane Tıbbiyesi* as well. There he established *Gizli Mektepliler Cemiyeti* [Society of Secret Students], which eventually merged with the CUP.[68] However, Hilmi's political activism drew the attention of the state, and he was forced to leave Ottoman lands in 1895.[69] His activities continued to bring destructive consequences for both himself and his family during the years 1895 to 1908.

Cleveland remarks that Mustafa Satı's years in *Mülkiye* do not provide us with a picture of a politicized student actively involved in "politically oriented societies."[70] Yet it is difficult not to imagine that a place as politicized as *Mülkiye* did not influence Satı's political worldview. This was one of the institutions reflecting the tension between the authoritarian state apparatus and students involved in oppositional movements. Despite increasing pressure, students continued to express their views through different means, including protests.[71] The ideas of the Young Ottomans had been in circulation among students through teachers, published newspapers, and books.[72] In fact, Mustafa Satı, in his piece explaining how collective attitudes might influence the attitudes of individuals in schools, admitted the influence of *Mülkiye*'s social and intellectual life on his ideas.[73] In this politicized environment, he also at times did not refrain from acting politically with his friends and

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[68] Tunalı Hilmi, *Tercüman-ı Hal*.

[69] Leaving Ottoman lands because of political pressure was common among the students of the modern schools of the Empire in the capital. In his memoir İbrahim Temo, who also left Ottoman lands in 1895, remarks that at the time figures like Ubeydullah Efendi, Beykozlu Zühdü, Arap Ahmed Verdani and Tunalı Hilmi left İstanbul through different routes. Temo, *Anıları*, 38.

[70] Cleveland, *Sati' al-Husri*, 16.

[71] Alkan, *İmparatorluk'tan*, 173

[72] Ibid.,172. Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 196.

[73] Mustafa Satı, "Mekteplerde Cemiyet ve Cemaat Hayatı I" *Terbiye,* no.4 (1334 [1918]): 159-160.

expressing his discomfort towards the rule of Abdülhamid II.[74] Moreover, he described how students were actively engaged with each other and enjoyed exchanging ideas on different subjects.[75] He acknowledged these interactions as one of the most important aspects of student life in *Mülkiye*. These interactions were possibly the source of his ability to access the works of Ahmed Rıza and the poems of Tevfik Fikret,[76] two politically and intellectually influential figures of the time. Ahmed Rıza was the head of CUP and the editor of *Meşveret* [Consultation], the publication of CUP. Inspired by the ideas of French philosopher Auguste Comte, Ahmed Rıza was a positivist intellectual. Two important notions of Comte, progress and order, were influential on Ahmed Rıza, who was concerned with the development of industry and agriculture in the Empire. Ahmed Rıza emphasized the central role of education for the socioeconomic development of the Empire and the attainment of progress. Furthermore, he perceived order as the necessary ground on which progress must be built.[77] On the other hand, Tevfik Fikret, who became Satı's good friend in the later phase of his life, was a humanist and progressive poet. From 1896 to 1902, he edited the journal of *Servet-i Fünun* [The Wealth of Science], a hub for innovative poets and writers at the time. Although the contents and aspects of Tevfik Fikret's poems changed over time, he was well known for his poems challenging the authoritarian rule of the Hamidian regime and propagating ideas of

[74] In his article *Mekteplerde Cemiyet ve Cemaat Hayatı*, Mustafa Satı remembers an incident that occurred in 1896/1897. According to Sati, after each religious holiday candies were sent to schools to be distributed to the pupils. It was again such a day when, after the ceremony of distributing candies sent by the Sultan, the principal asked the pupils to pray for Sultan Abdülhamid II and shouted, "Long live our Sultan!" None of the pupils responded to this call. Mustafa Satı says that such an action had not been planned in advance; the principal was left in a difficult situation under these circumstances and immediately left the premises. However, afterwards, a few pupils carried this action further and said, "Were we expected to shout for these candies?" as they threw them down to crush them. He further tells that following this, all school pupils followed suit and crushed their candies. And finally, Satı adds, that despite the years that had passed, they always recalled this revolt with pride. Ibid., 154-155.

[75] Mustafa Satı, "Mekteplerde II," 189-190.

[76] Based on the biographical summary given by and a questionnaire answered by Mustafa Satı himself, Cleveland remarks that Mustafa Satı "became acquainted with the secret publications of Ahmed Rıza and read the inspiring poetry of Tevfik Fikret while at *Mülkiye*." Cleveland, *Sati' al-Husri*, 16.

[77] Mardin, *Jön Türklerin*, 186-187.

freedom. The works of these two intellectuals - possibly along with the works of others such as Namık Kemal and Ziya Paşa - must have influenced and contributed to the pillars of Satı's Ottomanist agenda in subsequent years. This became partially clear when, in his speech given on the day of the announcement of the constitution in 1908, Satı acknowledged the importance of the works of Namık Kemal and Midhat Paşa in achieving the re-promulgation of the constitution.[78]

In the case of Avram Galanti, we have neither sources revealing his involvement in political activities during his school years nor any direct information about the publications that Galanti was able to access in his years at *idadi.* It is likely that Galanti was mainly concerned with his studies and conforming to the expectations of his father by not involving himself in any other activities in the context of broader Ottoman politics. Nevertheless, Galanti became acquainted with the internal affairs of Ottoman Jewry and the ongoing political conflicts between progressive and conservative circles inside his community from a very young age. As early as his years at Progress*,* Galanti read the journal *La Buena Esperansa* [The Good Hope], which was published in Ladino in İzmir.[79] The newspaper adopted an enlightening role, similar to the principles of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (AIU), the central, modern institution of the Ottoman Jewry's pedagogical life in the late Empire, which pursued a French-influenced 'civilizing mission' among the Ottoman Jewry.[80] This journal may have opened various windows for Galanti to acquaint himself with discussions on the ongoing political and intellectual transformations inside the Ottoman Jewry

[78] Cleveland, *Sati' al-Husri,* 21.
[79] Kalderon in his work on Galanti's life quotes the letter and in his analysis states, "We also learn of his almost precocious consciousness of his surroundings through the fact that in spite of his age he was already reading La Buena Esperansa, the Judeo-Spanish daily of İzmir distributed in Rhodes." Kalderon, *Abraham*, 9.
[80] Naim A. Güleryüz, *Türk Yahudi Basını Tarihi Süreli Yayınlar* [The History of Turkish Jew Press, Periodicals] (İstanbul: Gözlem GAzetecilik Basın ve Yayın A.Ş., 2015), 32. The role of AIU inside the sociopolitical and intellectual life of Ottoman Jewry will be discussed further in the coming chapters.

within the Ottomanist framework of the late Empire. Furthermore, *La Buena Esperansa* may have presented him with his first glimpses of the conflicts between progressive and conservative circles. However, Galanti learnt the extent of this conflict firsthand when a group of Jewish conservative zealots, who opposed the premises of modern education, vandalized his school's facilities and records in 1887.[81] The conservatives' action was part of a broader intra-community debate that lasted in varying intensity over the second half of the nineteenth century. As Rodrigue remarks, the debate was generated by the clash of two different worldviews. Jewish conservatives were seeking a community that was ruled according to religious principles and aimed to eliminate any threat that might challenge their advantageous position in the community, while progressives were striving to integrate the Jewish community into broader Ottoman society and the global community by employing modern education.[82] Indeed, by the time teenaged Galanti left Rhodes in 1887, he had already experienced political tension in his community arising from ongoing sociopolitical changes in a traumatic way. This could well have been an important factor shaping Galanti's future ideas on the debates between progressive and conservative circles.[83]

To sum up, the three intellectuals' minds were shaped by the principles of rational thinking and secular subjects. In their schooling they became familiar with many modern political concepts for which they fought throughout their lives. Their educations, furthermore, motivated them to discover more about life in the Empire and beyond. As members of mixed educational institutions, they experienced what the Ottomanist agenda sought in the broader framework of society. Moreover, the multidimensional impacts of their educational backgrounds provided Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı with the intellectual

[81] Kalderon, *Abraham,* 9.
[82] Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 41-42.
[83] Kalderon states that "it is hard to ignore the psychological effects this event might have had on Galante's developing mind. Certainly the vandalizing of his school must have left strong imprints reinforcing later in life his posture on liberal education." Kalderon, *Abraham,* 9.

and emotional tools, from which they would later benefit in their careers. Perhaps the immediate outcomes of their respective educations were their career inclinations following graduating from or dropping out of these institutions.

Career

In contrast to the other subtopics - family, education, and mobility - that this chapter examines, the subject of career does not necessarily stand out as one of the factors that shaped the early lives of these three intellectuals. Instead, in the short term, their careers might be considered the outcomes of their early lives. However, in the long term, their career choices were as important as other factors in helping us examine their legacies in the late Ottoman period, and, thus, to comprehend their careers as a whole. The career paths of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı in the late Ottoman period differed. Hilmi became a revolutionary activist. Avram Galanti chose to be, first, an educator and journalist and, then, an academic. Lastly Mustafa Satı, except for a short interval, became an educator and eventually a pioneering pedagogue in the Empire. Yet, no matter the path they chose, their main motivation was to contribute to the ongoing sociopolitical transformation in the Empire. The subject of education became one of their main concerns as a result of the hope transmitted by their own training. Consequently, they all turned into actors who aimed to sculpt the society in which they lived rather than passive observers of the changing era. Their commitment to action indeed, was one of the longest lasting outcomes of their mindsets.

After Tunalı Hilmi left Ottoman lands in 1895, he went to Europe and became one of the most active oppositional figures among the Young Turks. Mardin defined Tunalı Hilmi as one of the few true revolutionaries among the Young Turks in the early years of the movement.[84] His main concern was contributing to oppositional movements in order to overthrow the Hamidian regime and restore constitutional order. To this end, following his

[84] Mardin, *Jön Türklerin*, 145.

arrival in Europe, he actively worked as a member of the CUP in Geneva and Paris, two main centres for the early activities of the group. In 1904, Tunalı Hilmi moved to Cairo, where he stayed until 1909. We do not have much information about his years in Cairo. Ateş tells us that he and his family had economic difficulties there. One of his sources of income came from giving private Turkish classes to the children of elite Ottoman families in the city.[85] After Tunalı Hilmi returned to Istanbul in 1909, he assumed different posts in the state administration. He acted as *kaymakam* [head official of a district] in different towns, including Karadeniz Ereğlisi, Silivri, Bayburt, Ordu, Beykoz, and Gemlik. He was appointed to the position of *Sevkıyat-ı Hariciye Memuru* in *Muhacirin Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi* [Foreign Deportation Official in General Directorate of Emigrants] in 1916. His duty was to inspect and organize the affairs of immigrants and refugees.[86] In 1919 he became the deputy of Bolu and entered Ottoman parliament.

The career of Avram Galanti developed mainly in the sphere of education. Starting from the early years of his career, he aimed to achieve two goals: to obtain a respectable position in the broader Ottoman society and to contribute to the sociopolitical and intellectual life of his community. Therefore, he had a very active life on both broader imperial and specific communal levels. The aspects of this multi-directional activism provide us with important clues with which to interpret his reader-oriented intellectual productions over the course of his career. Furthermore, these aspects complicate any attempt to follow his career path with a linear narrative. Following his graduation from *İzmir İdadisi*, he lived in Rhodes from 1894 to 1902. In Rhodes he worked in both communal and imperial education institutions. He was a teacher in *Rodos Mektebi İdadisi*.[87] In 1895 he founded a grammar

[85] Ateş, *Tunalı*, 108-115.
[86] Tunalı Hilmi, *Tercüme-i hal.* Ateş, *Tunalı*, 122-123.
[87] He was appointed first as a French teacher; afterwards, he also taught Math. Galante, "Juifs d'Anatolie," 146; and CAHJP, P/112, F.9, F.25.

school, *Tiferet Israel,* which failed after a short period.[88] Then he worked toward the foundation of another modern school, which eventually became affiliated with the AIU as a result of his consistent efforts to find additional funding for the survival of the institution.[89] During his time in Rhodes, he also had strong relations with the central administration. In this context, two positions he held were especially significant in revealing the extent of these relations and the young Galanti's authority over the educational and intellectual affairs of the area. First, he was an inspector for the Ministry of Public of Education in the Ottoman Archipelago.[90] The position enabled him to make long trips around the province that encompassed the Aegean islands and provided him with extensive responsibilities over the supervision of Muslim and non-Muslim schools in the region.[91] Secondly, on the islands he worked as a censor for the Hamidian regime. At the time censorship was one of the central means utilized by Abdülhamid II's rule to control publishing affairs and the press. Galanti's duties, mainly assigned by the Ministry of Education, included supervision over the content of certain books studied in Christian schools, supervision over the content of books imported from the West, and the creation of records that would list the permitted and prohibited published materials and their writers.[92] After Rhodes, he moved to Izmir, where he worked as a French teacher at a private Ottoman school *Darülirfan* [House of Knowledge]. During his life in Rhodes and Izmir, Galanti was also involved in journalistic activities and pursued research on language and history-related questions.[93] His journalistic and research activities continued more intensively during his stay in Cairo from 1904 to 1909. Galanti's active life,

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[88] For a brief information about *Tiferet Israel* see Galante, "Juifs De Rhode," 104.
[89] For a more detailed examination of Galanti's efforts to improve Jewish education in Rhodes see Kalderon, *Abraham,* 13-17.
[90] Ibid., 17.
[91] CAHJP, P/112, F.124.
[92] Most likely Galanti perceived this position as a valuable source of income. From his personal documents we learn that he also inquired about any available censor positions provided by the Administration of Education Affairs in İzmir before he left Rhodes in 1902. Yet, as we can gather, there was no open position for a censor at the time. ARC. Ms. Var. 411 Abraham Galanté Collection, Archives Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem
[93] Kalderon, *Abraham*, 13.

in the context of both imperial and communal affairs, was a clear indication of his wide intellectual capabilities and command over the imperial and communal affairs. This, moreover, brought him crucial self-confidence, which perhaps supplied him the motivation to run as a candidate deputy of Rhodes on April 5, 1912. [94] However, this application was presumably never answered as the Italians invaded Rhodes just a month after Galanti's request.[95] Galanti's research activities turned into professional concerns starting in 1914 when he was appointed as the assistant of Professor G. Bergstrasser, the Chair of Comparative Semitic Languages and of Ancient History of Semitic Peoples in Istanbul, during the reorganization of the universities. After the dismissal of German professors at the end of World War I, Galanti was appointed as a professor in the same department and held this position until his retirement in 1933.[96]

Mustafa Satı, save for a short period between 1905 and 1909, occupied himself with education affairs throughout his career. After he graduated from *Mülkiye,* he became a natural science teacher in an *idadi* in the *vilayet* of Yanya. [97] Moreover, from 1902 to 1905 he was a *Maiyyet Memuru* [assistant official of an official of higher rank] in Yanya. Satı quit teaching in 1905 as a result of increasing pressure by the regime. He simply felt inefficient as a teacher in circumstances in which the required teaching methods and textbooks were, according to

[94] This presentation is apparent when he wants to convince his audience that his words on a certain subject are reliable or that he is an eligible man for a certain positions which he seeks to obtain. For example, in a piece in which he compared congregation schools and schools of AIU in order to promote the efforts of AIU to the French public, he said, "The author of this line was a teacher of an Ottoman high school, a censor, and an inspector. He is well acquainted with Turkey and, thus, is able to deal with such a delicate and interesting question." Abraham Galante, *Écoles des Congrégations et écoles de l'Alliance Israélite en Turquie, Leurs Esprits, Rôles et Résultats.* (9 December 1904), 2. (This 38-pagelong hand-written piece is located in CAHJP P/112, F.82. It was written as a response to the accusations during a parliamentary session in France against AIU activities in the East. I did not come across the published version of the piece). Considering AIU's lack of confidence in locals, as a person who tried to consolidate his relations with the Alliance and Western Jewish audiences, Galanti's efforts to prove his intellectual adroitness is understandable.
[95] CAHJP, P/112, F.25.
[96] Kalderon, *Abraham*, 41, 55.
[97] Cleveland, *Sati' al-Husri,* 17.

Satı, full of mistakes.[98] Next, Satı served as *kaymakam* in the *vilayet* of Kosova and in 1907 was transferred to Florina in the *vilayet* of Macedonia.[99] After the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, he returned to Istanbul and held teaching positions in several institutions.[100] In 1909, Mustafa Satı became the director of *Darülmuallimin-i Ali* [Teachers' Training College]. Until his resignation in 1912, he undertook extensive reforms to improve the educational outcomes of this prominent institution.[101] His actions during his tenure left an important legacy on the education system and intellectual spheres of the late Ottoman Empire. After he left *Darülmuallimin-i Ali* Mustafa Satı continued to serve different educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire. He served *Darüşşafaka Mektebi* [Orphanage School] as a director for a short period. Inspired by the New School movement in Europe, he founded a school called *Yeni Mektep* [The New School] in 1915.[102] This school was to apply and experiment with modern teaching methods that he observed in the West. In 1915 he also established *Darülterbiye* [House of Training], an institution aimed to train nurses [*mürebbiye*].[103] Satı's efforts to understand the limits of education, improve the quality of the education mechanism, and extend the impact of education channels among different facets of society were all reflections of his deep belief in education's ability to transform society.

Despite differences in their career paths, one common aspect of the three intellectuals' career goals was their inclination to perceive themselves as agents to enlighten society. Their intellectual productivity was an outcome of this perception and became integral parts of their

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[98] Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında,* 89. In his interview with Berkes, Satı stated, "But I quit teaching when Abdülhamid's repressive period started. During classes it was not allowed to teach anything besides the books. However, the books were full of errors." Similarly, Cleveland highlights that as Satı's criticism about the aspects of the existent regime increased along with his concerns about the methods of teaching in the schools, he drew the attention of the censors, making him feel limited in terms of achieving his goals as a school teacher. *Sati' al-Husri*, 18.
[99] Mücellidoğlu*, Mülkiye*, 3:844.
[100] Şehbal Derya Acar, *Eğitimde Bir Üstâd, Satı Bey'i Tanımak* (Istanbul: Akademik Kitaplar, 2009) 28.
[101] For an examination of his actions during his duty in *Darülmuallimin-i Ali* see, Ibid. 36-57.
[102] For an examination of Satı's attempt see Filiz Meşeci Giorgetti, "New School of Mustafa Satı Bey in Istanbul (1915)," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no.1-2 (2014): 42-58
[103] Acar, *Eğitimde*, 31.

career paths. Sometimes they considered their written works as channels to reach society; sometimes they provided guidebooks or textbooks on subjects they had researched or for sociopolitical changes they sought. Sometimes they wrote simply to record their observations. Whatever their motivations, the scope of this intellectual productivity clearly reveals that education within the Empire was one of their main concerns.

As mentioned above, Tunalı Hilmi started publishing his ideas at a very early age, when he attended *Kuleli Askeri Tıbbiyesi*. From 1895 to 1902, Hilmi contributed to more than seven newspapers, including *Mizan* [Balance], one of the official newspapers the Young Turks started in 1896,[104] *Osmanlı* [Ottoman], an oppositional newspaper founded by two prominent Young Turks Abdullah Cevdet and İshak Sukuti, *Kanun-i Esasi*, an oppositional newspaper published in Cairo, and *Tokmak* [Mallet], a satirical journal published by the Young Turks in Geneva. In the meantime, Hilmi wrote eleven pamphlets called *Hutbe* [Sermon], propaganda pieces of different lengths.[105] He also published nine other works. Among them, *Murad* [Will], a draft of a potential Ottomanist constitution, and *Avrupa'da Tahsil* [Education in Europe], a guidebook that presented detailed information about education and life in Geneva, were important contributions to the intellectual circles of the Empire.[106]

Researching, writing, and publishing were at the centre of Galanti's life. Starting from his years in Rhodes he contributed to a number of journals published in different languages, including *La Buena Esperanza, Archives Israélites,* a Jewish journal published in France, *Hizmet* [Mission], one of the long-lasting newspapers in Izmir, *El Nuvelista* [New News], a Ladino newspaper in İzmir, *Meschveret,* the newspaper of the CUP, *La Vara* [Stick], a

[104] *Mizan* was published by Mizancı Murad in Istanbul from 1886 until it was shut down in 1890. Murad restarted publishing it in 1896 in Geneva, Cairo, and Paris.
[105] He wrote these pamphlets between 1896 and 1901. Moreover, he published two additional writings for *11. Hutbe* and the second edition of *10. Hutbe,* with an additional part in 1909/10.
[106] Tunalı Hilmi, *Murad* (Kahire: 1318 [1900]); Tunalı Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil* (Cenevre: 1320 [1902]).

newspaper published by Galanti in Cairo, and *Hilal-i Ahmer Mecmuası* [The Journal of Red Crescent], the official journal of the Red Crescent. He wrote with a number of motivations. On the one hand, his writings were the outcome of research that aimed to reveal the cultural and historical heritage of Ottoman Jewry. On the other hand, his writings were channels he used to promote his own sociopolitical visions on education, the internal affairs of the community, and the broader sociopolitical context of the Ottoman Empire.

Similar to Tunalı and Galanti, Mustafa Satı published from a young age. Throughout his years in the Ottoman Empire, he published over ten books. Some of them, such as *Fenn-i Terbiye* [The Science of Education], *Etnoğrafya: İlm-i Akvam* [Ethnography], and *İlm-i Nebat* [Biology], were pioneering works in their fields.[107] Furthermore, Mustafa Satı contributed to numerous journals, including *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* [The Journal of Elementary Education], a pioneering pedagogy journal edited by Mustafa Satı himself, *Ulum-u İktisadiye ve İctimaiye* [Economic and Social Sciences], the first liberal journal of the Empire, *Ictihad* [Interpretation], a journal published by Abdullah Cevdet on political, social, and scientific issues, and *Yeni Mecmua* [New Journal], a Turkish nationalist journal published under the guidance of Ziya Gökalp. Among the variety of subjects that his writings dealt with, education stood out as the central theme. His works had a groundbreaking influence on the introduction of new education methods and subjects. Furthermore, as in the examples of *Vatan İçin* [For Fatherland] and *Ümit ve Azim* [Hope and Determination], he deployed his works as channels through which to promote his sociopolitical views.[108]

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[107] Mustafa Satı, *Fenni Terbiye* (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1325 [1909]); Mustafa Satı, *Etnoğrafya: İlm-i Akvam* (Istanbul: Kitaphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1327 [1911]); Mustafa Satı, *İlm-i Nebat* (İstanbul: Kader Matbuası, 1325 [1909]).

[108] Satı, *Vatan İçin*; The book *Vatan İçin* consists of Satı's five seminars given in *Darülfunun*. The names of the seminars were respectively: *Vatan Fikri* [Idea of Fatherland], *Terbiye-i Vataniye* [Patriotic Education], *Vazaif-i Vataniye* [Patriotic Duties], *Müdafa-ı Millîye* [National Defense], and *Prusya'nın Intibahı ve Fichte'nin Nutukları* [*The Awakening of Prussia and of Fichte's Speeches*]. Mustafa Satı, *Ümit ve Azim* (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1329 [1913]). *Ümit ve Azim* consists of Satı's nine seminars given in *Darülmuallimin*. The names of the seminars were respectively: *Ne İçin Geri Kaldık?* [Why we Lagged Backward], *Ümit ve Azim*, *Irk ve Terbiye* [Race and Education],

The three intellectuals, except for some significant differences in the case of Avram Galanti, were oppositional voices in the Empire during their early careers. They belonged to a part of Ottoman society that aimed for sustained sociopolitical transformation and stood against the forces preserving the status quo. In the case of Tunalı Hilmi, his oppositional activism constituted the central aspect of his life in the years between 1895 and 1909. For Hilmi, Abdülhamid II was *püsküllü bela* [a great nuisance] who should be disposed of for the sake of the Empire's future.[109] The origin of Hilmi's opposition to the rule of Abdülhamid II lies in his ideological stance, which did not match with the ruling vision of the Sultan. Influenced by the ideas of the Young Ottomans on the subjects of the constitution and freedom, he perceived the oppressive rule of the Sultan as one of the primary causes of many problems in the Empire. In time, personal experiences also significantly contributed to his oppositional political stance. From his years in school onward, Tunalı Hilmi witnessed and was subjected to serious political pressure that resulted in political, economic, and social misery. Both he and many of his friends were either forced to flee in exile or imprisoned, and their economic and social well-beings suffered considerably.[110] In addition, the most personal hit came to Tunalı Hilmi when the Sultan's administration decided to target his family. As the Hamidian regime could not convince Hilmi to cease his political activities,[111] it first imprisoned his father and two brothers and then exiled them. In exile his father died from a heart attack. One of his brothers began to experience mental health problems and eventually died in a fit of hysteria. At the time, Hilmi learnt of the situation through letters he received

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Çocuklarımızın Zekası [The Intelligence of Our Childeren]*, Meslek Aşkı ve Fedakarlık* [The Love of Profession and Sacrifice], *Hayat-ı Hususiye ve Hayat-ı Meslekiye* [Private Life and Professional Life], *İlk Kablo* [First Cable], *Metrenin Misahası* [Surveying of Meter]*; Azimkar and Fedakar Olalım* [Let us be Determined and Self-Sacrificing].

[109] Hilmi, *Murad*, 14.

[110] For example see the letter that Tunalı Hilmi received from his friend from Medical School Ethem Ruhi who was exiled to Tripolitania in Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnkilap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), 226-227.

[111] Tunalı Hilmi, in fact, agreed twice to stop his activities, first in 1897, before his family suffered, and at the end of 1899. He considered these agreements a means to find money for the Young Turks' political efforts and continued to work against the Hamidian regime.

from his other brother.[112] It is highly possible that the dramatic consequence of his political activities turned his general enmity towards the regime into a deep, personal hatred and a desire to take actual revenge on Abdülhamid II.[113]

Galanti's stand against the suppressive regime presents seemingly contradictory picture. At the time when Tunalı Hilmi was in exile, struggling with political pressures and actively opposing the rule of Abdülhamid, Galanti held two key positions as a censor and an inspector of the Ministry of Public of Education. Moreover, his early writings contained some appreciative statements supporting Abdülhamid II's contributions to education affairs of the country.[114] He, in the meantime, claims that he was affiliated with the CUP since his years in Rhodes, an affiliation in conflict with his duties as censor. Censorship was one of the central state apparatuses targeting the activities of CUP members.[115] Although his biographer

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[112] Ibid. 232. Ateş, *Tunalı*, 31.

[113] The lines in Tunalı Hilmi's work in Oh!... reveal the extent of the destructive impact of these individual experiences on his psyche: "Since the elder brother, the son [Tunalı Hilmi] was a crazy rebel, on the one hand a seventy years old father and a brother [Hilmi's father and brother](…) who still lives in misery in Africa and on the other hand two brothers, one 12 years old and the other 18 years old, were searched and found. They were detained for 4 months in separate cells and for 4 months together in Taşkışla… They [brothers and the father] did not die! In fact they [state officials-soldiers] wanted to kill them so that they [brothers and the father] were exiled to Mosul and Baghdad, with a journey on foot lasted for 72 days. The father, that great Ottoman, that honest Ottoman (…), who tolerated everything except one thing of a gendarme, a pimp for whom I cannot find a name, dies. Those in Bagdad have been there ever since that time. If you would only know how much effort I make both for writing and not writing these lines… Shortly, here I am, like all of you, like many of you, I am a wounded who suffered tortures in an exceptional way since they [the state officials] applied the punishments of my guilt to my father and brothers as they could not catch me. Therefore relying on this point, uf… on this murder that I committed, I say: Lets erase the personal and private traces of the past from our minds, our hearts." *Oh!...*, 10-11. In his unpublished thesis, Can Ulusoy raises similar points and argues that the word "intikam" [vengeance] had both political and individual connotations for Tunalı Hilmi. Can Ulusoy, "Bir Jön Türk Olarak Tunalı Hilmi ve Siyasi Düşüncesi" [As a Young Turk Tunalı Hilmi and His Political Ideas] (MA diss., Istanbul University, 2009), 21.

[114] For example in his article *Mektep Notlarının Tesirat ve Netaici* [Effects and Results of School Grades] he uses following words to mention his activities ""The ideas that the education, which shines in the times of his Excellency's rule, our lord the honored Sultan Abdülhamid II, will move forward one step[…];" Avram Galanti, *Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder?: Mektep Notlarının Tesirat ve Netaici* [The Impact and the Result of School Grades] in *GPN,* CAHJP P/112, F.88.

[115] Tunalı Hilmi was one of the intellectuals whose works were captured and destroyed by state apparatus. See for example, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Maarif Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi

Kalderon points out this contradiction, he depicts Galanti's years in Rhodes with an admiring narrative, supposing that Galanti started to feel uneasy about the suppressive characteristics of the regime and acted in response to these feelings. Kalderon, thus claims that he "voluntarily resigned" from his duty as a censor. However, considering the fact that Galanti sought a censor position in İzmir before he left Rhodes in 1902, Kalderon's narrative of Galanti's years in Rhodes seems questionable.[116] Furthermore, Kalderon continues to rely on this narrative to describe Galanti's years in İzmir and depicts this time as his "struggle for freedom" in the face of pressure from the state and conservative circles in the community. This narrative is in accordance with Galanti's own accounts. In a private letter, Galanti explained his reason for going to Cairo was "to live in a free country and give a free course to my intellectual and moral aptitudes".[117] However, Avner Levi challenges this narrative by pointing to Galanti's failure to obtain the position and the respect he sought as the main motive behind his decision to leave for Cairo.[118] After he arrived in Cairo in 1905, Galanti's political activities promoting the Young Turks' political aims become relatively easier to trace. He had good relations with the CUP and supported their cause in Cairo. He aided them in circulating their newspapers in different parts of the Empire.[119] He also contributed to Young Turk newspapers such as *Şura-ı Ümmet* [Consultation] and *Mechveret*. Through *Mısır Cemiyeti Israiliyesi* [The Jewish

(MF.MKT), 489/34, 29.10.1317; BOA, Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi (DH.MKT), 2499/16, 29.02.1319; BOA, DH.MKT, 499/49, 01.02.1320.

[116] ARC. Ms. Var. 411.

[117] qtd. and trns. in Kalderon, *Abraham*, 29.

[118] Avner Levi, "Kahire'de Gazetecilik Yılları ve Avram Galanti," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.153 (Eylül 1996): 14.

[119] For example, from his correspondences we understand that Galanti helped the Young Turks send *Şura-ı Ümmet* to Yemen. ARC. Ms. Var. 411. Moreover both Galanti and his biographer Kalderon argue that Galanti also used his own contacts for the delivery of different published materials in Ottoman lands. See Avram Galanti, *Türkler ve Yahudiler [Turks and Jews]* (İstanbul: Gözlem, 1995), 49, 108; Kalderon, *Abraham*. 31-32.

Society of Egypt], a committee founded by Galanti, he supported Ahmed Rıza's wing inside the Young Turk movement.[120]

It is also important to note that throughout his early years, Galanti had a discordant relationship with the religious authority of the Jewish community, especially with Moşe ha-Levi, the acting chief rabbi for Ottoman Jews from 1872 to 1908. Kalderon remarks that Galanti's oppositional stance against Moşe ha-Levi began in Rhodes as a result of the acting chief rabbi's passive attitude in the face of blood libels in the Ottoman territories and "poor administration".[121] After moving to Izmir, Galanti raised his voice considerably to reflect his uneasiness with the religious authorities. In Cairo, in his journal *La Vara* [Stick], Galanti increasingly voiced his uneasiness.[122] As its name implies, Galanti used the journal as "a stick" against the leading circles of the community, especially against Moşe ha-Levi. Rather than argument- and fact-based writings, the journal, according to the account of Avner Levi, contained different pieces that seemed to be written with a sense of hatred and vengeance. His sharp and aggressive language in the journal was not welcomed by various prominent Jewish writers like İzak Gabay, the editor of *El Telegrafo,* and David Fresko, long-lasting editor of one of the most important Ladino newspapers, *El Tiempo.*[123]

Galanti pursued different intellectual and political goals as well during his time in Cairo. The most noteworthy among them was the preparation of a report to allocate Sudan to the Jews as a homeland, which was sent to different Jewish institutions in the West.[124] Although his efforts did not receive any response from these institutions, it was a significant

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120 For a brief discussion about *Mısır Cemiyeti Israiliyesi* see Galante, *Türkler,* 49. For correspondence between Galanti and Ahmet Rıza see Ibid., 50.
121 Kalderon, *Abraham*, 22.
122 For the examination of the journal see, Levi, "Kahire'de".
123 Ibid. 149.
124 Some of these organizations were the Jewish Territorial Organization (London), the American Jewish Committee (New York), and Zionistisches Centralbureau (Cologne). CAHJP, P/112 .

attempt that shows us the wide extent of Galanti's intellectual interests as well his concern for the broader Jewish community.

From the early years of his career, Mustafa Satı showed his intellectual discomfort with the sociopolitical milieu surrounding him in the Balkans. His first clear oppositional statement was his resignation from his position at the secondary school of Yanya. This was a clear demonstration of Satı's distrust of the system, of which he aimed to be a part. In the coming years when he was in Manastir, he also established close relations with the CUP. Although we do not know the full extent of the relations between Satı and the CUP, there was reciprocal trust among the members of the committee and Satı. The fact that in Manastir, following the restoration of the constitution in 1908, the CUP asked Satı to welcome the delegations, which declared their support for the Constitutional regime, clearly reveals the depth of this trust.[125] This trust continued after Satı moved to Istanbul, where he was appointed to be the head of *Darülmuallimin,* a central institution in the Ottoman education system, in 1909.

Indeed, despite the different paths that these three men chose for their careers, their interests in the educational affairs of their society and intellectual curiosities were central to their professional lives. Their career choices provided them with experiences upon which they were able to build further in the post-Ottoman period. Throughout their careers, they established professional and individual connections from which they benefited throughout their lives. There is no doubt that the increasing mobility of people and ideas in the context of the period's developing technology and particular sociopolitical dynamics was essential in the creation of these connections. The impact of this increasing mobility deserves further attention for us to understand how extensively it influenced the lives of the three intellectuals. Thus, it is the next and final topic that we will discuss in this chapter.

[125] Cleveland, *Sati' al-Husri*, 20.

Mobility

The life of the three intellectuals coincided with the period of imperial history when there was a visible increase in the movement of ideas and people. In today's Ottoman historiography, the impact of this increasing mobility on the intellectual sphere of the late Empire stands out as one of the subjects in need of more thorough study. In particular, questions regarding how mobility in a certain intellectual class contributed to the promotion of certain ideologies and networks that shaped the political and intellectual landscape of the late Ottoman lands would allow us to expand our understanding of the late Ottoman intellectual milieu and its legacy over post-Ottoman period.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, mobility had become a more inclusive phenomenon and considerably transformed the intensity of the intellectual and political interactions among people in the lands of the Empire and beyond. This was partially an outcome of the technological developments that started in the Empire in the mid-nineteenth century and intensified during the reign of Abdülhamid II. The expansion of railroads, the introduction of steamships into the eastern Mediterranean, and the spread of the telegraph, either directly or indirectly, contributed significantly to the mobility of people and their ideas.[126] Combined with a gradually increasing number of intellectual endeavours and intensifying circulation of ideas at the time, the technological developments supported the

[126] Erik Zürcher, *Turkey A Modern History* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 77-78. For an examination of developments at the time see Engin Vahdettin, *Rumeli Demiryolları* [Rumelia Railroads] (Istanbul: Eren, 1993); Murat Özyüksel, *Anadolu Bağdat Demiryolları* [Anatolia Baghdad Railroads] (Istanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1988); Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and Mustafa Kaçar eds., *Çağını yakalayan Osmanlı!: Osmanlı Devleti'nde Modern Haberleşme ve Ulaştırma Teknikleri* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1995); Bülent Varlık, "Bir Yarı-Sömürge Olma Simgesi: Yabancı Posta Örgütleri" [A Symbol of Becoming Semi-Colonized: Foreign Postal Services] in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 6:1653-1656. Avner Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 126-128. Wishnitzer's work provides further list of secondary sources on the subject.

creation of mass networks which could now transmit ideas and knowledge more widely than ever before.

Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı belonged to one of the earliest generations who participated in and benefitted from the intellectual opportunities that came with this increasing mobility. Furthermore, in the midst of these developments, movement and exposure to new settings became common aspects of the lives of the three intellectuals, shaping their worldviews. The reasons behind their mobile lives differed based on their individual experiences. One clear reason why they had to keep on the move was the oppressive nature of Abdülhamid II's rule. The dynamics of the period did not provide a secure and stable environment for people to freely pursue their intellectual interests or to make their oppositional voices heard. Hilmi, Galanti and Satı were among numerous intellectuals at the time who were either forced to leave the Empire or preferred to change their locations to seek new opportunities. For example, after Hilmi fled imperial lands in 1895, he could not return until the end of Hamidian rule; Galanti preferred to move to Cairo in 1904, hoping that the city could provide him with a more convenient intellectual atmosphere for his own pursuits; and Satı left his teaching position in Yanya to look for opportunities elsewhere to pursue his own sociopolitical goals. Another factor that allowed them to be mobile was their career choices. Tunalı Hilmi decided to be an active revolutionary, and one of the costs of his choice was the forgoing of a settled life for many years. Avram Galanti was a dedicated researcher from the very onset of his intellectual career. He, thus, undertook numerous journeys to pursue his research interests. Mustafa Satı worked in the state bureaucracy, which would potentially require him to move to different places from time to time. In addition, other personal motives such as family, sociopolitical incidents, political activism, and intellectual curiosity were factors that allowed the intellectuals to be highly mobile in their early lives.

The scarcity of research on the specific contributions of exposure to Ottoman and non-Ottoman cities to the visions of the late Ottoman intellectuals limits our ability to discuss some potential factors that may have shaped the mindsets of Hilmi, Galanti, and Satı.

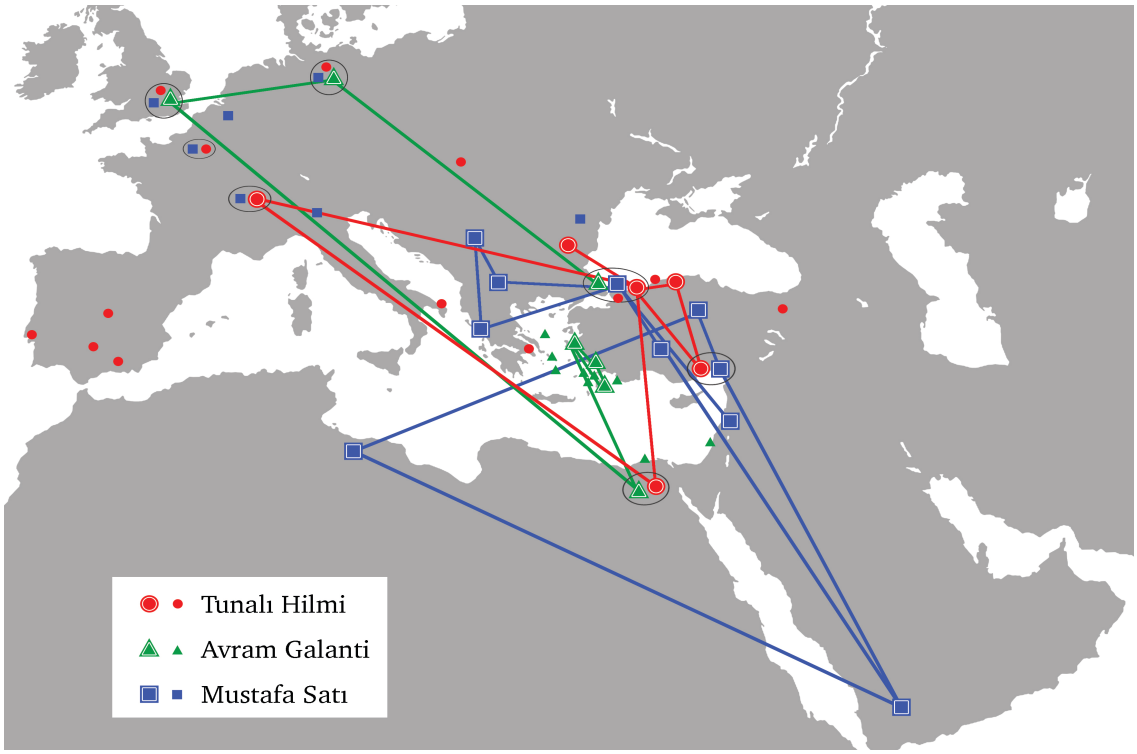


Figure 1. A Mobility Map of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı in the years 1871-1920

As can be seen from their mobility map[127], they travelled across Ottoman and non-Ottoman cities from very young ages. The scopes of their perceptions of Ottoman lands and beyond were clearly broader than an ordinary citizen in the late Ottoman Empire. Either all three intellectuals, or at least two of them, spent a considerable amount of time in cities such as Istanbul, Cairo, Geneva, and London. These were intellectually vibrant places, which might have provided them with personal and professional opportunities. Cairo was, for instance, a hub of intellectuals and activists who immigrated from a wide range of locations, from the Mediterranean coasts to Russian lands. In such a vibrant context, Cairo was a vital node in the

[127] By providing general information about locations, the map aims to help the reader in imagining the extent of three intellectuals' mobility in the years between 1871-1920. The connected places represent some of the main locations where each intellectual spent time whereas the separate points indicate their visits to or stays in certain locations for certain periods of time. It is important to note that this map neither includes every location that these three intellectuals visited nor reflects the exact itineraries of their journeys.

network that would tie together many socio-political activities taking place in different lands. Ideas and news from all over the world were circulating among the people of the city through numerous written and oral intellectual activities. [128] Similarly, the intellectual and political life of Istanbul must have left deep imprints on the minds of the three intellectuals. Despite the increasing political pressure on intellectual life at the time when Tunalı Hilmi and Mustafa Satı were students, intellectual opportunities in the city remained abundant. Networks among students, bookshops, and the circulation of different books and newspapers provided them with different windows through which to extend the borders of their intellectual visions and increased their awareness of the multi-cultural intellectual dynamics of the Empire. Furthermore, after they moved to Istanbul - at different times following the restoration of the constitution in 1908 - Mustafa Satı and Avram Galanti, in particular, became actors who not only benefited from the intellectual opportunities in the city but also contributed significantly to the intellectual sphere of the city. Another common destination of the three intellectuals, London had been a centre of attraction for Ottoman intellectuals from the early periods of the nineteenth century. It was one the centres for the political and intellectual activities of the Young Ottomans in the late 1860s. The two important Young Ottomans oppositional newspapers, *Muhbir*, issued by Ali Suavi, and *Hürriyet,* issued by Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha, were published in London. As apparent in Namık Kemal's article *Terakki* [Progress], the Young Ottomans considered London to be the epitome of a politically, socially, and

[128] Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860-1914* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2010), 35-59. For example, at the time, theater was one of the most important agents for the circulation of ideas and news in the city. Ilham Khuri-Makdisi defines the stage in Cairo, Beirut, and Alexandria at the time as "a press of the masses". She highlights the fact that plays introduced a window for non-elite audiences to "access to information on local and global political developments". It provided a space through which people could be part of the political discussions happening in the country and beyond. (Ibid., 83-84) Given this, it is possible that Tunalı Hilmi, who showed a great effort to effectively communicate with the widest number of people possible, might have been influenced by the efficacy of the stage in circulating ideas in Cairo. This might potentially be one of the explanations for why most of his works written after his return from Cairo were written in the form of theatrical plays while he did not prefer to this style in his writing at the end of nineteenth century.

economically developed city, and, as Namık Kemal did in his article, presented the city as a model for Ottoman readers.[129] Namık Kemal's enthusiasm for London was echoed in the writings of future Ottoman intellectuals. Moreover, as in the examples of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı, the city continued to attract Ottoman intellectuals who wished to research, study, or simply observe. Indeed, being able to examine the specific features of the main destination points of the three intellectuals, which is beyond the scope of this chapter, might provide us with information that would further aid us in reaching a more comprehensive understanding of their individual intellectual visions. Furthermore, a broader reading of their movements would be equally helpful for us to pinpoint the specific impacts of various locations on Hilmi, Galanti, and Satı.

Their mobility, first of all, was an important source for the enrichment of their intellects. It allowed them to learn different ideological trends and, most probably, the presence of different realities within the Empire, or in a wider global context. This, in return, would have strengthened their abilities to empathize and produce deeper intellectual works. For example, Florina was a seminal location in which Mustafa Satı became acquainted with socialist ideas and the extent of nationalist movements. As Cleveland remarks, Greek and Bulgarian rebels were very active in Florina. This allowed Satı to observe these movements.[130] Furthermore, in his interview with Berkes, Satı stated that, "The Bulgarian movements were nationalist, but at the same time they were socialist as well. I learnt the term 'proletariat' for the first time from a Bulgarian blacksmith who came to my house for a repair."[131]

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[129] Namık Kemal, "Terakki," in Namık Kemal, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi Meseleleri Bütün Makaleler* [The Issues of Ottoman Modernization Complete Articles], eds. Nergiz Yılmaz Aydoğdu and İsmail Kara (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005), 212-220.
[130] Cleveland, *Sati' al-Husri*, 19.
[131] Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında,* 90.

In examining Hilmi's learned glossary we can detect the influence the different locations where he lived had on him. For example, in his French work *Un projet d'organisation de la souveraineté du peuple en Turquie*, he used the terms "democracy" and "democrat." However, in the Turkish version of this work published in the same year, we do not see the sentences containing these terms.[132] His selective attitude towards the terms suggests that he was aware of the sociopolitical differences between the audiences he aimed to reach as well as their different sociopolitical contexts. This can be interpreted as one of the constructive outcomes of his observations and studies during his time in the West.

Similarly, the writings of Galanti were reader-oriented as will be shown in the coming chapters. He was careful to establish his arguments based on the expectations of his audience. We can clearly discuss Galanti's awareness of a diverse readership in the nature of his activism and the relationship between his communal identity and broader society. Nonetheless, his mobile life must have provided him with additional opportunities to acquaint himself with the perspectives of different audiences.

Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı travelled many times to obtain new information on certain subjects, or at least transformed their travels into observational studies. Perhaps, this was one of the outcomes of their educations and social circles. Their classes and intellectual interactions must have pushed the limits of their visions and encouraged them to discover the world beyond their daily lives.[133] During his years of exile in Europe, Tunalı Hilmi conducted research on education and politics in the West. His purpose was to improve

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[132] Tunalı Hilmi, *Un projet d'organisation de la souveraineté du peuple en Turquie* (Geneve: Imprimerie Ch. Eggiman et C., 1902), 9; Tunalı Hilmi, *Ahali Hakimliği Bir Şart Bir Dilek* [The Sovereignty of People, A Charter - A Wish] (1320 [1902]). Tunalı Hilmi uses this term in Ottoman Turkish in the preface of his work *Mebuslar Meclisi Kapısında Bir Köylü, Memiş Çavuş: Bu Meclise Girmeliyim* [A Peasant at the Door of Parliament, Sergeant Memiş: I Must Enter this Parliament], published in 1326 [1908/09]. (I accessed this source through the transliterated version located in the personal archive of Uğurlu Tunalı)

[133] For a reflection on the period from which to interpret how their classes and social circles potentially influenced their wills to explore the world beyond their lives see Ali Kemal, *Ömrüm*, 89, 96.

his intellectual vision and transmit more knowledge to his reader. In this regard, the process through which he created his work *Avrupa'da Tahsil* was quintessential. He wrote it upon arriving in Geneva by conducting observational field trips in local schools. In the writing process he also benefited from documents he received from the local authorities.

Similar to Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti also benefited from trips he took for his own intellectual interests. From his years in Rhodes onward, wherever he went, he collected information on the culture and history of his own community and utilized this research in his future works. For example, from 1902 to 1904 when he worked in Izmir, he travelled around taking notes about Jewish communities living in Western Anatolia. Decades later, these notes constituted some of the sources for his two-volume book, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*.[134] He further benefited from his journeys by learning the local languages and acquainting himself with the sociopolitical life of the places he visited. In that sense, for example, his stay in London in 1909 and 1910 was very productive. There, he developed his English skills and learnt more about European politics.[135]

Mustafa Satı also benefited from his journeys by making observations through which he developed his ideas regarding education. In the course of the Second Constitutional Period, it was common among Ottoman educators to travel to the West in order to observe educational systems and to import some of the methods and tools deemed useful for the Ottoman educational system.[136] For this purpose, Mustafa Satı conducted trips to various

[134] Kalderon, *Abraham*, 27. The first volume of the book was published in 1937, and the second volume was published in 1939.
[135] During his time in London, Galanti kept a journal of sorts. In this fifty-six-page private notebook he writes about his days in London, his studies, his observations on the city, politics, and journeys he undertook. Galanti wrote this notebook in English as a part of his efforts to develop his English skills. The fact that his notebook includes corrections made with a different pen implies that a second person was reading his writings in order to make corrections. He concludes his notebook with the statement: "In a few words, I am content in regard to my journey through (…), besides my linguistic knowledge I am becoming master of European social and political life." CAHJP P/112, F.11.
[136] Other prominent educators of the time who visited Europe were Kazım Nami Duru and İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu. In this period university students also started to be sent to Europe to conduct studies on related fields. For more information see Giorgetti, "New School", 42-58; 46-48.

countries in the West, including Italy, Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, England, and Romania between 1910 and 1916.[137] As Meşeci remarks, these were seminal journeys in shaping his ideas on education and inspiring him to introduce some of the European methods into the Ottoman system.[138] For example, Satı was inspired by the New School movement in Europe. His founding of the *Yeni Mektep* [New School] in 1915 was one of the clear reflections of how Satı transformed his theoretical observations during this trip into practice during his life within Ottoman lands.

The extensive networks in which the intellectuals were involved or created over the years were another indication of their mobility. These networks, extending from Istanbul to Cairo, from Paris to the Balkans, and from Rhodes to London, provided them with different channels from which to receive information, find jobs, earn incomes, widen the scopes of their intellectual knowledge, strengthen their political pursuits, and disseminate their ideas. When Tunalı Hilmi arrived in Geneva in 1895, he was already familiar with a network of Young Turks in the city.[139] In a short period, he became one of the most visible members of the opposition movement. He contributed especially to the activities in Geneva, Cairo, and Paris until 1902. In looking only at the letters that Tunalı Hilmi received, it is possible to see that he had connections from Russia to Tripolitania and from the United States to Syria. While some of his contacts provided him with information on politics, their daily lives, and personal problems, others supported his intellectual efforts by translating his works into different languages.[140]

Similarly, Galanti began to build his own network starting from his years in Rhodes. His multi-directional career aided him in establishing contact with people from different

[137] Ibid., 46.
[138] Ibid., 46, 51
[139] Ateş, *Tunalı*, 16.
[140] Many of the letters that Tunalı received are published in Kuran's book *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnkilap Hareketleri.* For some of the examples of these letters see ibid., 217, 219, 220, 221, 226, 227, 228.

regions and backgrounds, including state officials, important members of the CUP, Jewish intellectuals, community leaders, and prominent Jewish figures in the West. His rich network allowed him to be an intermediary, bypassing the suppressive mechanisms of the state to receive information.[141] Particularly when he was in Cairo, as editor of *La Vara,* he had direct correspondences in important cities such as Istanbul, Salonica, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. These were important channels for Galanti to reach different circles as well as sources of important information. For instance, his Istanbul correspondent was a poet from Edirne named Isaac Navon.[142] According to Avner Levi, when Navon visited Istanbul he stayed in the house of Moşe ha-Levi as a guest.[143] Considering Galanti's enmity towards Moşe ha-Levi, this was an interesting connection. Moreover, the correspondence might have provided him with insider information.

Last but not least, due to his ideas and achievements in circulation, Mustafa Satı was on the radar of many prominent intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire. When he became the principal of *Darulmuallimin,* he preferred to work with new teachers including "Halid Ziya, Tevfik Fikret, Vasil Naum, Hamdullah Suphi (…) Ali Nusret, Ruşen Eşref, [and] Fazıl Ahmed".[144] The fact that he was able to direct such a rich cadre implies the broad extent of his network and his seminal position in it during the early years of the Second Constitutional Period. Moreover, an examination of Mustafa Satı's individual relations with these teachers

[141] Galanti remarks that he tried to establish a correspondence between Ahmet Rıza and Imam Yahya Hamidaddin in Yemen in order for the imam to voice his expectations and concerns. Galante, *Türkler*, 108. Another example: Kalderon claims that Galanti assisted poet Eşref, a friend of his from Rhodes, to send some of his books, which were critical of the regime, to Ottoman lands using Galanti's connections in the Empire and French post office. Kalderon, *Abraham*, 32.
[142] Elmaleh, *Professeur*, 23-25.
[143] Avner, "Kahire'de," 148.
[144] Acar, *Eğitimde,* 36. Halid Ziya (1866-1945) was a pioneering novelist in Turkish literature. Vasil Naum (1855-1915) was an notable chemistry teacher who worked in important modern education institutions of the late Empire. Hamdullah Suphi (1885-1966) was a prominent nationalist writer and literature teacher. Ali Nusret (1874-1912) was a well-known man of letter and literature teacher. Ruşen Eşref (1892-1959) was a writer who taught language and literature. Mehmed Siraceddin (1877-1938) who spent his life in semi-exile during Hamidian regime, taught classes on natural sciences. Fazıl Ahmed (1884-1967) was a teacher whose name gradually became popular after 1908. He taught different classes including literature, philosophy, pedagogy, French, and psychology.

might tell us more about the relation between increasing mobility and network at the time. For example, another teacher with whom he worked in *Darulmuallimin* was Muallim Cevdet, a dedicated intellectual who taught at some of the most important educational institutions of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey and was known as one of the fathers of the modern archives in Turkey. They met on a trip Mustafa Satı took to Paris in 1910.[145] At the time, Muallim Cevdet was also visiting Europe to receive training in various subjects at different institutions, first in Geneva and then in Paris. Following an encounter with each other, Mustafa Satı offered him a position in *Darulmuallimin*, and Muallim Cevdet began teaching at the institution.

Indeed, the opportunities created by their mobile lives stand out as important factors that strengthened the three intellectuals' intellectual pursuits. Their travels not only expanded their intellectual visions but also shaped their Ottomanist stances. The Ottoman State's significant investments in transportation and communication infrastructure in the late Ottoman Empire clearly contributed to the state's efforts to create a shared Ottoman identity and to redefine relations between the centre and periphery. In this context, the fact that the three intellectuals were on the move throughout their childhoods and young adult lives might have aided them in developing an understanding of the centre and periphery similar to the expectations of the Ottomanist agenda of the state by familiarizing them with the multicultural dynamics of the Empire and creating a sense of the legitimacy of the state's administration over such vast lands. It would likewise be difficult to disregard the possible emotional and psychological impact of their mobile life on their political stances. While, as mentioned above, the factors that forced Tunalı Hilmi to be mobile in his early years had influenced his patriotic and oppositional stance. Mustafa Satı's experiences in Balkans, as it will be apparent in the coming chapters, had direct impacts on his conclusions over questions on education and language. Also, Galanti was in search of different paths during the first

[145] Ibid.

decade of twentieth century. Yet from 1911 he had a more stable career and settled life. In this context it is possible to assume that the outcomes of his multi-sided activities along with his mobility during these years helped him to clarify his ideas and feelings about his own homeland. Furthermore, their mobility provided them with concrete human, intellectual, and economic resources from which they would benefit throughout their lives. It supported their intellectual pursuits from many different angles and expanded their intellectual visions, which helped them reach diverse audiences, understand different perspectives, and face the challenges emerging from the sociopolitical turmoil of the time. Moreover, this mobility helped them promote their career goals and establish long-lasting connections, the legacies of which require further attention to fully understand the influence of late Ottoman intellectual life on the intellectual and political developments of the post-Ottoman period.

Conclusion

The early lives of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı provide us with a great deal of insight into their sociopolitical inclinations and intellectual visions. Their family lives, educations, and mobility shaped their early mindsets in accordance with the Ottomanist milieu of the period. From young ages they began observing and experiencing a sociocultural environment that solidified the Ottomanist ideals of the period. They, moreover, witnessed the increasing visibility of Ottoman rule in terms of political legitimacy, financial resources, and the provision of certain services such as education. As they grew up and were trained as integrated and equal citizens of the Empire, they also began to be exposed to the concepts and ideas shaping the sociopolitical milieu of the period. Their socioculturally integrated life, along with the multicultural dynamics of the Empire, gained further meaning for them with their own intellectual visions shaped around Ottomanist ideals.

These aspects of their early lives constituted important intellectual and political assets in the three intellectuals' hands. These assets not only defined the pillars of their pursuits in the late Ottoman period but also provided practical and theoretical backgrounds from which they were able to benefit throughout their lives. When the Ottoman Empire came to the end of its story, the three intellectuals made ideological decisions that defined their paths in the emerging new political era. Whatever the individual reasoning of the three intellectuals' decisions was at the time of such drastic political transformation, it is important to note they were all equipped with the necessary intellectual visions, sociopolitical networks, and acclaimed careers to pursue their aims. Their backgrounds had made them strong enough to face the challenges, overcome the complexities, and emerge as active players in sculpting the aspects of the new political era.[146]

Furthermore, the three intellectuals continued to carry the signs of their Ottoman backgrounds in their lives into the post-Ottoman period. Although the continuities in their intellectual and political visions will be examined in the epilogue, at this point it is also useful to highlight the importance of the Ottoman context to interpret practical aspects of their lives in the post-Ottoman period. Without taking into consideration Tunalı Hilmi's early life, it would not be possible to understand, for example, his interest in the subject of refugees during his years in the national assembly of the new regime.[147] Likewise, without remembering the content of young Galanti's letters, which aimed to convince his father about his own diligence in school, it is not possible to argue for certain parallels in content and promises between these letters and the those that Galanti received from his nephew Santo in the years 1939 and 1942. Thus, it would not be possible to discuss broader potential similarities in the sociocultural context of their lives that pushed these family members, in two different periods,

[146] This point will be briefly discussed in the Epilogue.
[147] For an example of his thoughts on the subject which he voiced in the assembly of the new regime see Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Term 2, Volume 9, Session 49, Page 100.

to insist on their individual educational progress.[148] Last but not least, without considering Mustafa Satı's productive and rich intellectual background in the capital of the Empire, we cannot contextualize why, some forty years after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Niyazi Berkes thought that Satı still spoke Arabic as if he was a Turkish man. The early lives and education of these three intellectuals, therefore, allow us to appreciate the degree to which concepts and identities, which seem to be set-in-stone today, remained fluid in the early twentieth century.

[148] In Galanti's personal documents, located in the archives department of the National Library of Israel, there are four letters sent to Galanti by his nephew Santo. Two of these letters were sent in 1939. In the first letter Santo shows his own dedication to being an enlightened citizen and asks his uncle's opinion about where to continue his high school education. In the second letter, he informs Galanti about the results of his attempts to enroll in İzmir High School and express his thanks to his uncle. Other two letters were sent in 1942. In these two short letters one of the subjects that Santo does not neglect to mention is his success and diligence in his studies. Clearly, considering Galanti's intellectual reputation, it is normal that Santo asked his uncle's opinion on his education. However, in the meantime, his attempts to show his own diligence imply certain parallels between Galanti's letters to his father and Santo's letters to his uncle. This potential parallelism indeed might be perceived an angle to discuss the continuities in the sociocultural dynamics of the Galanti's family from the late Ottoman period to the Republican era within the broader framework of the experiences of Jewish community in the region. ARC. Ms. Var. 411.

CHAPTER II

Three Intellectuals with Three Different Ottomanisms

"Turk, Arab, Greek, Armenian... these now hang on this neck of mine, kiss my face and eyes, why? Good heavens... What a sweet crowd this is… What a beautiful day this is… What a brotherhood this is, what an Ottomaness this is… Oh!" wrote Tunalı Hilmi to portray both his enthusiasm and that of the people around him in Cairo following the restoration of the constitution on July 23, 1908.[1] A postcard dating from the same year also depicted a similar crowd of men and women, celebrating the restoration of the constitution.[2] In this postcard, moreover, a portrait of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909), surrounded by the coat of arms of the Ottoman Empire, was placed on the upper part of the image, symbolizing the high and embracing authority of the Sultan and the state. Beneath his portrait, a belt held by doves and surrounded by bay leaves carried statements written in five different languages - Armenian, Greek, Ottoman, French, and Ladino. The central script on the belt proclaimed, in Ottoman, in the first line, *yaşasın hürriyet* [long live freedom], referring to the constitution and, in the second line, *müsavat-uhuvvet-adalet* [equality, brotherhood, justice], echoing a widespread motto of the period. On both sides of these expressions, similar remarks were inscribed in the other



Figure 2 A Postcard Depicting the Celebrations Following the Restoration of the Constitution

[1] Tunalı Hilmi, *Oh!...* (Kahire: Osmanlı Matbaası, 1327 [1909]), 23.
[2] For the postcard and similar examples see Osman Köker, ed., *Souvenir of Liberty Postcards and Medals from the Collection of Orlando Carlo Calumeno* (İstanbul: Bir Zamanlar Yayıncılık, 2008), 68.

four languages.[3] These depictions of harmonious plurality and multiculturalism were an expression of some of the principles of Ottomanism. Emerging in the early nineteenth century as a state-project, Ottomanism was not a monolithic political agenda. The different interpretations and premises of Ottomanism appeared over the course of the last decades of the Empire, with the participation of multiple actors in the Ottomanist cause. Clearly, this multiplicity of voices complicates efforts to provide a singular definition of Ottomanism. Is it a means to secure loyalty to the state? Is it a supranational identity that leaves a peaceful space for a multi-national society? Is it a secular project that approaches religious communities on equal terms? The answers to these sorts of questions might vary according to the perspective that we take as a reference. This permeable definition of Ottomanism on the one hand indicates the hybrid and dynamic nature of Ottomanism, on the other hand it gives us a hint about the broad implications of Ottomanism for the sociopolitical and intellectual life of the late Empire.

A contemporary liberal Turkish intellectual, Murat Belge, suggests that the Ottoman Empire's success in creating an environment for different cultures to coexist until the nineteenth century was essential in creating a mixed culture in the Middle East.[4] Although the extent and nature of this coexistence is a subject of scholarly discussion, we can broadly argue that Ottomanism was an attempt to reinterpret this cultural coexistence in Ottoman lands in the context of dominant political discourses of the nineteenth century. In the end, this attempt failed. As early as 1907 the prominent Turkist intellectual Yusuf Akçura considered this failure inevitable. In his influential essay *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* [Three Types of Polity], he posited that the realization of the Ottomanist agenda could strengthen the Ottoman state. However, he thought, its premises did not match the realities of Ottoman society, and thus Ottomanism

[3] Armenian, Greek, French, and Ladino versions states: "long live the constitution, liberty-equality-fraternity". Ibid.
[4] Murat Belge, "Ortadoğu'nun Ortak Kültürü" [Shared Culture of the Middle East], in *Tarihten Güncelliğe* [From the History to the Actuality] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), 85-87.

could not gain a sphere of influence among the masses. Only a limited number of statesmen supported its cause.[5] These assumptions of Akçura constituted some of the building blocks of nationalist historiography examining the subject in the course of the twentieth century. Today, however, thanks to a growing number of scholars in the last two decades, we know that Ottomanism reached further segments of society and influenced politics and intellectual life in a way not previously acknowledged. Exploring further these segments and the voices that shaped Ottomanism at the turn of the century is crucial for a better understanding of the final phase of the Empire. To this end, adopting an inclusive perspective that reflects the actual multicultural dynamics of the era is essential in drawing a comprehensive picture of Ottomanism and its implications.[6]

Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı were three of many Ottomanist voices at the time. Focusing on the conceptual pillars of their political stance, this chapter argues that their Ottomanist perceptions stand out as cases that display the varying nature of Ottomanism. Their individual experiences within the Empire resulted in their different interpretations of Ottomanism, each with its own inherited limits that reveal problems in the general conceptualization of the ideology at the time. Moreover, the examination of these perspectives shows that Ottomanism cannot be perceived as the central state's insignificant and disconnected attempt to create a unifying identity to counteract nationalist trends. It was instead a political agenda, originally inspired by and responding to nationalist discourses, which then flourished along with new intellectual waves of the era and eventually became an influential political phenomenon that left deep imprints on the Ottomans' perceptions of identity, state, and land.

[5] Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976), 27-31.
[6] Belge, "Ortadoğu'nun," 87. Belge underlines the necessity of adopting an inclusive perspective to examine the broader history of the Middle East.

A Short Introduction to Ottomanism

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, emerging nationalism and new administrative and social discourses derived from politics posed challenges for the Ottoman state. Changing global economic dynamics with the industrial age and increasing colonialist and imperialist ambitions of Western powers turned these challenges into immediate threats to the united structure of the Empire. Thus, the Ottoman state launched an extensive reform process to consolidate its administrative system and military, as well as to readjust relations between the state and its subjects. These early political attempts, prominent sociologist Şerif Mardin argues, were mainly influenced by nation-state models and put forward two immediate problems for Ottoman elites: i) how to integrate non-Muslims into the newly emerging political system and ii) how to integrate Muslims who inhabited the peripheries of the Empire into the central system.[7] The solution was to promote a common Ottoman identity under the framework of the Ottomanist agenda. This common identity aimed to blur sociopolitical differences between communities and to unite all subjects under the umbrella of an inclusive Ottoman identity.

The imperial edict [*Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*] declared on November 3, 1839 and the imperial edict [*Islahat Hatt-ı Hümayunu*] declared on February 28, 1856 were two early milestones of Ottomanism. The former marked the beginning of an intensive reformation period known as *Tanzimat* (1839-1876). The document was an important first step in enumerating basic rights, such as the guarantee of security of life and property, and it underlined the just application of laws for every subject of the Empire. The latter embraced

[7] Şerif Mardin, "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?," *Daedalus* 102, no.1, Post-Traditional Societies (1973): 175. In fact, Mardin claims that there were three problems requiring solutions. These problems were integration of non-Muslims, integration of Muslims in the periphery, and the participation of "discrete elements" in the political system. I mentioned two of these points as the last one drew attention later than the other two.

the previous edict and took its promises one step further.[8] It emphasized the heartfelt bonds of patriotism [*revabat-ı kalbi-ı vatandaşı*],[9] and declared equality between Muslim and non-Muslims under the law. During this early phase of Ottomanism (1830s-early 1860s), the state, represented both by the Sultan, who stood out as a "father" figure concerned for and generous to his own subjects, and by a small but gradually growing, new bureaucratic class, were the dominant voices in shaping the characteristics of this agenda.[10]

The reform process, along with the global context of the nineteenth century, had a direct impact on intellectual development in the Empire. Increasing interaction with the West, the opening of modern institutions of education, and the development of the press gradually created an intellectual sphere, which was, to a certain extent, beyond the control of the state. This new sphere provided multiple channels for the spread of ideas and for a flourishing opposition, especially against authoritarian aspects of the period. The first important opposition movement to use these opportunities was a group called the Young Ottomans. Most members of this new intellectual group were, ironically, trained inside the network of a newly emerging modern state bureaucracy. They knew Western languages, mainly French, and had close contact with Western politics and intellectual life.[11] Their ideas varied, and they argued in support of a wide range of concepts, including modernism, Islamism, and constitutionalism. Yet, they mostly agreed on the need to criticize both the means of the

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[8] For a brief comparison of the two documents see Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), 54-57.

[9] Somel remarks that *Islahat fermanı* was possibly the first Ottoman official document which included the concept of *vatandaş* [citizen]. Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlıcılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, vol.1, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 96.

[10] Ibid. 94. For a detailed examination of Ottomanism during these years see Ibid., 92-104. For an example of how the Ottoman state bolstered the Sultan's symbolic upper role in the implication of reforms and the establishment of rightful order, see the speech of Fuad Pasha, Ottoman Foreign Minister, in Lebanon in 1861, quoted in Ussama Makdisi, "After 1860: Debating Religion, Reform, and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34, no.4 (2002): 605-606. This agenda at the time also carried elitist tendencies. See Ibid. and Somel, "Osmanlıcılık Düşüncesi," 95-96.

[11] Joseph G. Rahme, "Namik Kemal's Constitutional Ottomanism and non-Muslims," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 10, no.1 (1999): 25.

Ottoman modernization process, which was heavily influenced by the West, and the increasing authoritarianism of the bureaucracy.[12] Although different opposition movements had existed throughout the history of the Empire, the Young Ottomans represented a new intellectual and political phase. They benefited from existing channels within the intellectual sphere, which allowed them to challenge the authoritarian bureaucracy and to influence the masses without necessarily resorting to violence.[13] Moreover, this group effectively moved the debates regarding Ottomanism from the hands of the political authorities to the intellectual sphere.[14] This, in return, provided a new domain for Ottomanism to be discussed from different angles. In other words, with the Young Ottomans, Ottomanism now was not only a state-centred political issue but also an intellectual subject nurtured by critics and supporters alike and was allowed to flourish in a sphere in which the state did not hold direct control.

The Young Ottomans contributed to Ottomanist ideals considerably by presenting the feeling of attachment to territory as an aspect of Ottoman patriotism. Solidarity, through the concept of patriotism in relation to *patrie* [fatherland], was an important legacy of the French Revolution on politics of the nineteenth century. Ottoman elites were aware of these concepts as early as the end of the eighteenth century. Yet the systematic intellectual discussions of these terms in the Empire started with the Young Ottomans.[15] Namık Kemal effectively presented the idea of *vatan* [fatherland] to promote land-based patriotism. The word *vatan*, of Arabic origin, meant "one's place of residence, which may be adopted or temporary."[16] Namık Kemal turned this word into a political concept that highlighted the spiritual ties

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[12] İlber Ortaylı, "Bir Aydın Gurubu Yeni Osmanlılar" [A Intellectual Group Young Turks] in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 6:1702.
[13] Şerif Mardin, "Yeni Osmanlılar ve Siyasi Fikirleri" [Young Ottomans and Their Political Ideas], in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 6:1699; Ortaylı, "Aydın Gurubu," 1702,1703.
[14] Somel, "Osmanlıcılık Düşüncesi", 104.
[15] Behlül Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan: The Making of a National Homeland in Turkey* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 29-45.
[16] Bernard Lewis, "Watan," *Journal of Contemporary History* 26, no.3/4 (1991): 524.

between individual and fatherland.[17] He believed the concept of fatherland encompassed not only a material entity but also a sacred idea that sprang from supreme sentiments [*hissiyat-ı ulviye*], such as nation, freedom, fraternity, and sovereignty.[18] As the term fatherland was placed at the centre of the discussions on Ottoman identity, it became one of the reflections of the changing relations between land, state, and people.[19] Moreover, because they were critical of the authoritarian regime and Western influence on the reformation process, the Young Ottomans sought new interpretations of modernization in the context of Ottoman cultural heritage. They searched for equality and justice within society and came to believe that both could be attained through the practice called *meşveret* [consultation], which, according to Mardin, meant representative government in the political ideas of Namık Kemal.[20] Furthermore, the need for a constitution stood at the centre of the Young Ottomans' Ottomanist agenda. They believed that a constitution could provide checks and balances for the authoritarianism of the state. They also saw the establishment of a constitution as a strategy to consolidate the ties between Ottomans by incorporating different segments of society into politics. The formation of a constitution, they thought, could be an incentive for inhabitants of the Empire to unite around an Ottoman identity that provided equal rights for all.

These ideas of the Young Ottomans played an influential role in the process that brought about the first Ottoman constitution, *Kanun-i Esasi*, in 1876. The promulgation of the document was the peak of the Ottomanist agenda in the nineteenth century. The constitution placed the concept of equal citizenship at the centre of its approach to Ottoman identity.

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[17] Kemal H. Karpat, *Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Fate, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 329-331.
[18] Namık Kemal, "Vatan" [Fatherland], in *Namık Kemal ve İbret Gazetesi* [Namık Kemal and Ibret Newspaper], ed. Mustafa Nihat Özön (İstanbul: YKY, 1997), 257.
[19] For a detailed examination of the concept *vatan* see Lewis, "Watan."
[20] For a piece that provides the political aims of Young Turks see "Ḥub al-waṭan min al-īmān," *Hürriyet*, no.1, June 29, 1868, 1. Şerif Mardin, *Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (USA: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 308-309.

Article 8 defined Ottomanness as the following: "All subjects of the Ottoman state, without distinction of any religious group and sect they belong to, are called Ottoman and the status of the Ottoman is acquired or lost according to the conditions defined by law."[21] This inclusive document was considered to be a remedy for both the internal and external problems of the time. Yet, these hopes did not last long, as almost a year after the declaration of the constitution Abdülhamid II shut down the parliament and shelved the constitution. The end of the first constitutional regime marked the beginning of the oppressive Hamidian Period.

During the rule of Abdülhamid II, Islam gradually assumed a pivotal role in state policy. According to Benjamin Fortna, the aim in promoting Islam was twofold. Firstly, at the end of the Russia-Ottoman War, the population structure of the Empire changed drastically due to the flow of Ottoman refugees into Ottoman Anatolia and the loss of Balkan lands inhabited by Christians. Therefore, in an Empire with a predominantly Muslim population, Abdülhamid thought that Islam could be a cohesive element among the inhabitants of Ottoman territories. Secondly, in the face of rising imperialist threats and the increasing importance of diplomacy, the Islamic identity of the Ottoman state was considered to be an important political card to be played as soft power.[22] To further these two aims, the official Ottomanism of the state started to demonstrate Islamic tendencies. Yet even this version of Ottomanism was not entirely exclusive for non-Muslim communities that were willing to find a place inside the framework of this agenda. For example, as Julia Cohen argues, while the state's relations with Armenian and Greek communities were tense at the end of the nineteenth century, the Jewish community concurrently promoted both Islamic symbols to conform with the expectations of the regime and ideas of an integrated society with equal

[21] Şeref Gözübıyık and Suna Kili, *Türk Anayasa Metinleri 1839-1980* [The Turkish Constitution Texts 1839-1980] (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları No.496, 1982), 28.
[22] Benjamin C. Fortna, "The Reign of Abdulhamid II," In *Cambridge History of Turkey,* ed. Reşat Kasaba, vol.4 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), 48.

citizenship, in accordance with the civic version of Ottomanism.[23] At the same time, by the Hamidian Period, the official Ottomanism of the state was only one version of this concept. It had already spread considerably throughout Ottoman society and transformed into a multiplicity of voices in political and intellectual spheres. Different agents with different backgrounds endeavoured to be involved in the pursuit of Ottomanism. Varying motives behind the multiplication of Ottomanist interpretations included the desire to become equal citizens, to integrate into broader society, to obtain and preserve power, and to fulfil intellectual concerns.[24]

Indeed, by the time Tunalı Hilmi, Mustafa Satı, and Avram Galanti began entertaining political and social questions, Ottomanism was already a complex subject of negotiations within and among the state, communities, and intellectuals. Moreover, it was an important topic of discussion in the intellectual sphere in which they were involved. At the time, one important characteristic of this sphere was the increasing impact of secular and rational thinking. This was a partial outcome of the diffusion of positivism, a philosophical system that prioritized science in reaching knowledge, into Ottoman intellectual life during the second half of the nineteenth century through modern educational institutions, increasing

[23] Julia P. Cohen, "Between Civic and Islamic Ottomanism: Jewish Imperial Citizenship in the Hamidian Era", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44, no.2 (2012): 240.

[24] Recent studies provide a wide range of examples in regards to the multiple interpretations of Ottomanism and different motives or ideas behind the support of Ottomanism. For example, Cohen, in her book focusing on Sephardi communities in Salonica, Istanbul, and Izmir, presents the story of the Ottoman Jewry's efforts to join and contribute to the Ottomanist agenda of the state in the final decades of the Empire. Julia P. Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). Makdisi provides us with the case of Syrian intellectual and educator Butrus al-Bustani, who introduced his own vision of secular liberal citizenship without challenging the broader premises of the Ottoman reform process. Makdisi, "After 1860". Anagnostopoulou analyzes Helleno-Ottomanism as a discourse which arose inside the Greek community at the time of deep transition in the Ottoman Empire. Sia Anagnostopoulou, "The 'Nation' of the Rum Sings of the Sultan. The Many Faces of Ottomanism", in *Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean, Historical Archives,* eds. L. Tanatar Baruh and V. Kechriotis (Athènes: Alpha Bank 2010), 79-105). Ueno's article shows how the Armenian community negotiated with *Tanzimat* reforms. According to Ueno, this negotiation process led to the pluralization of the *Tanzimat* process in accordance with the particular purposes of Armenian community. Masayuki Ueno, "'For the Fatherland and the State': Armenians Negotiate the Tanzimat Reform," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45, no.1 (2013): 93-109.

communication with the West and developing press and literature activities.[25] The minds of Tunalı Hilmi, Mustafa Satı and Avram Galanti were not immune to this feature of the intellectual life. Their Ottomanist pursuits, therefore, cannot be comprehended without reflecting on the some impacts of this intellectual milieu.

Rational and secular thinking among intellectuals prioritized the role of reason in questioning social and political problems from the mid-nineteenth century onward. İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871), a pioneering Ottoman poet, journalist, and thinker, was one of the first intellectual to rationally approach the relations between the sociopolitical order of the Empire and the people.[26] For him, the mind was the key to understanding the world, and human beings stood at the centre of that world. Thus, human was a significant concern for him. Perhaps the best example that represents the central position humans held in his mind are two short verses from his book *Müntahabat-ı Eş-ârım* [Anthology of My Poems] in 1862: *"Milletim nev-i beşerdir vatanım rû-yi zemin"* [My nation is humankind my fatherland is earth].[27] These verses originated from Victor Hugo's definition of global citizenship in 1843.[28] While it is matter of discussion whether Şinasi actually believed what he wrote at the time, the verses are an example of changing conceptions of identity and a clear harbinger of the coming discussions on human beings, identity, and the state from a rational, as well as romantic, approach.[29] One of the most significant intellectuals who contributed to these discussions in subsequent years was the free-thinking poet and teacher Tevfik Fikret (1867-

[25] Murtaza Korlaelçi, "Pozitivist Düşüncenin İthali" [The Importation of Positivist Ideas], in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, vol.1 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 214.
[26] Ekrem Işın, "Osmanlı Modernleşmesi ve Pozitivizm" [Ottoman Modernization and Positivism], in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 2:355.
[27] The verses qtd. in Laurent Mignon, "Tanzimat Sonrası Türk Edebiyatında Alternatif Okumalar" [Alternative Readings in Post-Tanzimat Turkish Literature] in *Ana Metne Taşınan Dipnotlar: Türk Edebiyatı ve Kültürlerarasılık Üzerine Yazılar* [Footnotes Moving to the Main Text: Writings on Turkish Literature and Interculturality] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 166.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Mignon underlines the difference between the rational reform of İbrahim Şinasi and romantic revolution of Victor Hugo and remarks that most likely these verses were simply a direct translation of Hugo's lines without any deeper consideration of them. Ibid., 166.

1915). Similarly, he prioritized reason and science and argued for political freedoms and patriotism in his works. As one of the most progressive writers of his time, Tevfik Fikret in his poem *Haluk'un Amentüsü* [Creed of Haluk], written in 1911, stated *"Toprak vatanım, nev-i beşer milletim (...)"* [Earth is my fatherland and humanity is my nation].[30] By inscribing verses similar to those of Şinasi in his own poem, Tevfik Fikret was, most likely, artistically acknowledging Şinasi's legacy on his own intellectual pursuits: an optimism concerning the abilities of the enlightened human, a desire to understand society and human beings beyond sociopolitical labels, and a belief in the power of science.[31] Mustafa Satı, Tunalı Hilmi, and Avram Galanti were part of the intellectual heritage that started with Şinasi and moved towards Tevfik Fikret and beyond. Specifically, in the ideas of Mustafa Satı and Tunalı Hilmi a view of humankind as a whole and a desire to see humans united were visible. Mustafa Satı, in an article published in 1908, while discussing the similarities and differences between societies and organisms, questioned if

> "(…) Is it not that the big confederation will take form with the union of existent nations and government just as several governments came into being with the union of several nations? Just as the equality and freedom that existed in all human societies in their beginnings were gradually destroyed and then returned and reestablished, and just as a long period of subjugation destroyed the period of original equality and then was followed by a period of civilized and hopeful equality, is it that present society will one day reach a parallel and equal form to the anarchy [*anarşi*] and communism [*komunizm*] of the primordial times?"[32]

To Mustafa Satı, the size of a society, the extent of solidarity among people, and the division of labour indicated how far a society had progressed. When a society reached the level of full progress, then the answer for the above questions would be 'yes, it will be'. Therefore, it is possible to claim that for Mustafa Satı, Ottoman unity, under the umbrella of a common Ottoman identity, represented a model of a more progressed society than small-scale

[30] Tevfik Fikret, *Bütün Şiirleri: 3* [Complete Poems:3] (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 1984), 36.
[31] Mignon raises this point. He remarks that Tevfik Fikret, with his verses, addresses the legacy of Hugo and Şinasi on his own mindset. Mignon, "Tanzimat Sonrası," 166.
[32] Mustafa Satı, "Uzviyetler ve Cemiyetler" [Organisms and Societies], *Ulum-i İktisadiye ve İçtimaiye Mecmuası* [The Journal of Economic and Social Sciences], no.8 (1325 [1909]): 454.

sociopolitical entities. In other words, perhaps Ottoman unity meant another step forward toward the unity of humankind. Tunalı Hilmi, with similar motives, emphasized the idea of the inevitability of unity among people. He stated:

> "Do not unite if you wish: but… you careless people, know this, o human kind!.. The future wants union: Union wants to rule the world, wants to grow. It grows. It grows more and more (…) The unions of yesterday, merged with another union today, are yet another union. It overwhelmed, devoured, absorbed the one from yesterday; and this one too shall perish in the arms of a union of tomorrow. And that one shall merge with another union, division shall diminish gradually. It will disappear, unity shall emerge! You can still be sad... The future, according to the human kind, means one single union."[33]

Whether he said this pragmatically, for the sake of convincing his audience of the need to pursue Ottomanism, or rationally, for the fact that he believed what he said, is open to endless discussion. In any case, these statements reveal that Ottomanism, for these two thinkers, was not only a political agenda to achieve but also a sociopolitical necessity justified by the arguments in circulation within the intellectual sphere of the time.

The fact that Tunalı Hilmi and Mustafa Satı argued for unity did not mean that they ignored or were critical of their particular ethnic or religious identities. They simply preferred not to put them forward.[34] In Galanti's case, however, national identity took a different form. Although for Satı and Hilmi it is possible to talk about the presence of a national consciousness, in addition to their religious identities at the time, Galanti's identity was mainly derived from cultural aspects of Judaism. This point partially clarifies Galanti's strong connection to and focused concern with his own Jewish community. Moreover, compared to other non-Muslim communities, a collective national consciousness could not find solid ground inside the Jewish community until the Empire's last days. This partially contributed to the Empire's early attempt to fuse its Ottomanist principles into the Ottoman Jewry.

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[33] Tunalı Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (Kahire: 1316 [1898/99]), 50.

[34] For example, Tunalı Hilmi remarks that, "I am a human being. Of course I am from one of the human races. But it is between me and history. I also have religious sentiments. And this is between me and god. There is no need here for all of this." Tunalı Hilmi, *11. Hutbe* (1318 [1900/01]), 8.

In Tunalı Hilmi, Mustafa Satı and Avram Galanti's worldview, religion did not play a role in approaching sociopolitical issues. Yet, this did not mean that they discarded religion completely. They were all aware of the social and historical importance of religion in the society in which they lived and utilized religious rhetoric in promoting their Ottomanist agendas. This was a common attitude among the secular intellectuals at the time. Abdullah Cevdet, one of the founders of Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), was one noteworthy example of this inclination. He was a pioneering intellectual influenced by materialism and social Darwinism as well as the Baha'i faith in the later years of his career. Although he had concerns about certain sociopolitical implications of religion, he acknowledged its importance within society. He deployed Islamic arguments both to oppose Abdülhamid II's rule and to gain support from religious circles.[35] Tunalı Hilmi took a similar approach towards religion. Although he was not religious, he deployed religious rhetoric and arguments in his works. The title of his Ottomanist propaganda pamphlets, *Hutbe* [Sermon], was quintessential in that sense. The word *hutbe* refers to the Islamic religious sermons given on Fridays and two religious festivals. Thus, given the fact that these works were also read aloud, the title was a conscious choice of the writer to attract the attention of the reader and influence him or her more effectively.[36] Mustafa Satı also deployed Islam as a part of his eclectic and pragmatic Ottomanism. He perceived Islam not only as a moral religion but also a social one. He argued that it was more influential than Christianity in establishing ties based on shared ideas, emotions, and habits among believers.[37] Thus, as will be discussed below, he defined Islam as

[35] Necati Alkan, "'The eternal enemy of Isla ̄m': Abdullah Cevdet and the Baha'i religion," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68, no.1 (2005): 3-12. Kerem Ünüvar, "Abdullah Cevdet," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, vol.1 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 98.

[36] In a letter sent by Süleyman Nazif, an Ottoman intellectual, to Tunalı Hilmi in 1897, Nazif states, "I listened to your recent *Hutbe*'s as well with deep humility and veneration." Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnkilap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), 228.

[37] Mustafa Satı, *Vatan İçin -5 Konferans-* (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1329 [1913]), 25-26.

one of the components of Ottoman identity. Lastly, Galanti appreciated the key role of his religion in the sociocultural aspects of his own community. He especially emphasized the need for improvement in Hebrew education to strengthen students' knowledge of Judaism and, consequently, of their own culture.[38] However, his emphasis on religion was in relation to his own community, in contrast to Hilmi and Satı, who discussed religion in relation to the dynamics of broader society and Ottomanism. Clearly, the reasons for this difference was the fact that Muslims were in the majority and that Islam had an influential position in the sociopolitical dynamics of the Empire.

The Ottomanist Perspectives of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı

In these intellectual contexts, Hilmi, Galanti, and Satı presented three different approaches to Ottomanism. Tunalı Hilmi's Ottomanism could be defined as constitutionalist Ottomanism. It appeared as a supra-national agenda aiming to unite Ottoman citizens around a constitution, which, for Hilmi, could establish equality and protection of the rights of every Ottoman who lived under the rule of the Empire. He proposed this agenda to provide a solution for the authoritarian rule of Abdülhamid and to preserve the unity of the Empire. Mustafa Satı, on the other hand, wrote most of his Ottomanist works during the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918), when the constitution was already in place and no longer a primary concern for intellectuals. He endeavoured to clarify and promote the characteristics of Ottoman identity for which the terms fatherland [*vatan*] and patriotism [*vatanperverlik*] played central roles. He perceived these as the core entities upon which common Ottoman identity flourished. In this context, his Ottomanism, simply, was a set-of-ideas inspired by Western paradigms about nation and nationalism, moulded to particular Ottoman needs, and aimed to be deployed against external and internal threats. Lastly, Avram Galanti provides us

[38] Abraham Galante, "La langue Turque et les Israélites de Turquie (Part 3)," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXII, no.27 (1901): 212.

with an Ottomanist stance particularly concerned with the sociopolitical status of the Jewish community. In the context of the documents being consulted for this dissertation, Galanti identified himself as neither Ottoman nor Ottomanist. Furthermore, he did not attempt to define what Ottomanism was or who an Ottoman might be, a noteworthy difference from Tunalı Hilmi and Mustafa Satı. His perspective, in fact, stands out as an echo of the Ottoman state's efforts to integrate various communities into a broader imperial society. Galanti's priority was Ottoman Jewry. His concern was to turn Ottoman Jews into integrated and equal citizens of the Empire. Thus, he welcomed the Ottomanist premises of the period. However, despite differences in the intellectuals' approaches and motivations, three main themes in their Ottomanism emerge with various intensities: constitution, fatherland, and state. These three themes, in the meantime, were the main symbols of the changing conceptions of identity. They were strictly related to the "ideas of parliamentary government, of a shared national consciousness and a duty to one's homeland, and of secular rationalism," all of which, according to Worringer, "contributed to the 19th-century discourse on how to become 'modern' in the empire."[39] Thus, the central place of these themes in Hilmi, Galanti, and Satı's ideas clearly represented shifts in relations between the state, land, and individuals in the contexts of their Ottomanist agendas.

Constitution

The first constitutional period (December 23, 1876 - February 16, 1878) was short and did not bring about drastic changes in the nature of the regime in the Empire. The executive organ of the state was the dominant actor inside the system, the powers of which were solely concentrated in the hands of the Sultan, whose status was defined in the constitution as

[39] Renée Worringer, "'Sick Man of Europe' or 'Japan of the Near East'?: Constructing Ottoman Modernity in the Hamidian and Young Turk Eras," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, no.2 (2004): 209.

omnipotent.[40] Yet the constitution, written with inclusive language, was the first serious step toward a parliamentary culture in Ottoman lands. It introduced the idea of a state administration that, to a certain extent, was organized according to a division of powers. Moreover, the system allowed, to a limited extent, different segments of society to participate in politics for the first time. Indeed, this short period managed to leave an important legacy, which politically and intellectually challenged the oppressive rule of Abdülhamid II in subsequent years.

For Tunalı Hilmi the constitution was the necessary framework inside which his conception of Ottomanism could work to promote plurality within society. In the second edition of his *10. Hutbe*, Hilmi explained his understanding of Ottoman identity:

> Hence, Ottomanism is an envelope. This envelope contains the accounts of trade partners. These accounts complete each other. If there is a mistake in one of the accounts, it will be corrected. If there is thievery, all the partners would rise to their feet and do whatever is necessary. Or Ottomanism is a cauldron. Those who boil in there, are not those from Turkey but their rights. But what heats it, is the fire of <Ottomanism>; Its watchman is the one from Turkey, the Ottoman. Or Ottomanism is a stove. The pots boiling on this stove are for a table: for Turkey. And Turkey belongs to those from Turkey. Therefore, there are those who carry the ingredients to the stove. In brief, Ottomanism is like this: take nations of different colors and kinds. Mix them together. Put into a container. If you look after thousands years, you can see that each nation has preserved its own characteristics. Maybe with time they have become stuck together, but, individual unique characteristics will remain. In fact, by being stuck together they have gained strength so as not to suffer under any force or be blown away by any wind.[41]

Indeed, for Hilmi, Ottomanness was a political identity derived from a common interest. In a way, he perceived Ottoman identity as a pact that provided protection and support for communities' own sociocultural and political assets; within this pact every party was equal and would benefit equally. His understanding of Ottoman identity did not provide any emotional motivation for readers to support Ottomanism. As Mustafa Satı underlined, at the

[40] The fifth article defined the Sultan as sacred and free of liability. Gözübıyık and Kili, *Metinleri*, 27.
[41] Tunalı Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (2nd Edition) (Kahire, 1327 [1909/1910]), 68-69.

time, some criticized the concept of Ottoman identity for its lack of cultural or spiritual features.[42] Answering such criticisms was important for Ottomanists to promote their political agendas in the face of nationalist movements' successes in mobilizing people by utilising cultural and historical references. Yet, Hilmi's approach left these criticisms unanswered.

Hilmi explained the framework of the pact that created Ottoman identity in his work *Murad* [Will], published in 1899/1900. This work was an answer to the question, 'what shall we do tomorrow?,' referring to the day after the end of the Hamidian era, and was written to complete the Ottomanist propaganda pamphlets *Hutbe.*[43] A section of *Murad* could be described as a draft of a constitution, which concretized his Ottomanist vision.

Murad suggested a definition of citizenship similar to that of the 1876 Constitution: "All subjects of the Ottoman State shall be called Ottoman: Each Ottoman shall have personal freedom and may be deprived of this personal freedom only under the circumstances specified by the statute and law to the extent provided by the provisions of the law."[44] In *Murad*, the basic rights of Ottomans were clearly stated and guaranteed. Every level of administration, including the military, was open to every Ottoman citizen.[45] However, we should note that the word 'every' in Tunalı Hilmi's explanations did not always include women. Although Tunalı Hilmi emphasized the equality of women and men in society, when it came to elections, only men held the right to vote and could stand for election, which was the case in almost every part of the world at the time.[46] Therefore, Hilmi's ethnically and religiously inclusive

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[42] Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 25.
[43] Tunalı Hilmi, *Murad* (Kahire: 1318 [1900]), 196.
[44] Ibid., 75-76.
[45] Hilmi stated that the conscription of non-Muslims would begin five years after the restoration of the constitution. According to him, this was important not for the sake of equality but to be able to re-motivate Muslims, especially Turks, to support the Ottomanist agenda. Ibid., 80-81. This inclusive approach was also apparent in Hilmi's work *A Charter* (1902).
[46] Two exceptional cases in which women had gained the right to vote in national basis at the time Hilmi published his works were New Zealand (1893) and Australia (1902). Article 63 in Hilmi's work *Murad* remarks that every Ottoman who reached the age of military service may vote and stand for election. Hilmi, *Murad,* 174. In his work *Ahali Hakimliği* Hilmi, Hilmi states that every male Ottoman

proposal had limits in terms of gender. Moreover, as Şükrü Hanioğlu remarks, his work suggested a hierarchically structured and specialized state model.[47] The detailed explanation of the various aspects of administration - including assemblies, elections, the taxation system, and education - aimed to clarify how an Ottomanist regime would integrate its citizens into the administration and the sociopolitical sphere of the country and, thus, create a united society.

Two main reasons lie behind Hilmi's insistence on a constitution for his Ottomanist ends. The first reason was the intellectual and political context. At the time, rationality became an important reference for the organization of administrative and legal affairs of state and society.[48] The hierarchically-structured and thoroughly-explained model, utilized in his work *Murad,* reveals Hilmi's belief in the need for a similar state structure. Furthermore, as Hanioğlu points out, the highly structured nature of his model provides evidence of Hilmi's elitist tendencies, tendencies that were common among Young Turks who were inspired by French social psychologist Gustave Le Bon. They perceived themselves, as in the well-known example of Abdullah Cevdet, as doctors who had the solutions to the "illnesses" of society.[49] As discussed in chapter 1, this tendency was also apparent in Hilmi's language. Despite his elitist attitude, one of Hilmi's primary aims had always been to reach ordinary people and integrate them into the administrative system of the state. The most concrete reflection of his

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reached the age of 21 has a right to vote and stand for election. Tunalı Hilmi, *Türkiye'de Ahali Hakimliği Bir Şart -Bir Dilek* [The Sovereignty of People in Turkey: A Charter - A Wish] (1320 [1902]), 18. We should also note that Tunalı Hilmi supported women rights and emphasized on the social equality between man and woman at the time. See Tunalı Hilmi, *Bir Şart* [A Charter] (1320 [1902]), 8,10; and *Murad*, 97. Also during his years in the assembly of the new regime in Ankara, he was one of the deputies supported enfranchisement of woman and faced with opposition because of his egalitarian ideas on the subject. See Sabri Ateş, *Tunalı Hilmi Bey: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Aydın* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009) 224-225; Enise Aslı Öztürk, *Tunalı Hilmi Bey'in I.TBMM'deki Yasal Faaliyetleri* (Zonguldak: Zonguldak Karaelmas Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), 89-90.

[47] Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Tunalı Hilmi Bey'in Devlet Modeli," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, Özel Sayı* 2 (1984): 111.

[48] Işın, "Pozitivizm," 354.

[49] Ünüvar, "Abdullah," 99.

aim was the title *Türkiye'de Ahali Hakimliği Bir Şart - Bir Dilek* [The Sovereignty of People in Turkey, A Charter - A Wish] that he gave to his work written in 1902 to clarify further the aspects of the constitutional regime that he envisaged for Ottoman society. He remarked that *" ahali hakimliği* [the sovereignty of people] means that the people themselves supervise and own their state, their proprietorship, all the goods and properties, almost all business, and also themselves."[50] Years later, in 1928, when nationalist Yusuf Akçura claimed that Tunalı Hilmi was the first person to envisage a democratic rule in Ottoman lands, he was probably referring to Hilmi's ideas in *Ahali Hakimliği*.[51] In the French version of the work, Tunalı Hilmi advised his readers to be pioneers of democracy in the East.[52] This, he thought, could be possible through following the guidelines that he presented in his work. Two pillars of this guideline were a decentralized administrative system built upon various assemblies at different sociopolitical levels and a detailed election system. The aim of these pillars was to create a representative state system for Ottoman *ahali*. The word *ahali* in the title was a significant choice. According to Şemsettin Sami, the meaning of the term in French was *peuple* or *le public*.[53] Tunalı Hilmi probably chose this word to address all Ottomans beyond any ethnic and religious division.[54] While this reveals the inclusive nature of his Ottomanism, the collective emphasis on common people also indicates the Ottomanist roots of his populist stance, which became more apparent when he turned into a nationalist in the later parts of his

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50 Hilmi, *Ahali Hakimliği*, 4.
51 "Tunalı Hilmi Bey'in Cenaze Merasimi" [The Funeral Ceremony of Tunalı Hilmi], *Milliyet*, Temmuz 28, 1928, 1.
52 Tunalı Hilmi, *Un d'organisation de la souveraineté du peuple en Turquie* (Geneve: Imprimerie Ch. Eggiman et C., 1902), 9
53 Şemsettin Sami defined *peuple* with the word *ahali* in his French-Turkish dictionary and translated *ahali* as *le public* in his Turkish-French dictionary. Şemsettin Sami, *Kamus-ı Fransevi: Fransızca'dan Türkçe'ye Lügat Kitabı* [French-Turkish Dictionary] (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1905), 1681; Şemsettin Sami, *Kamus-ı Fransevi: Türkçe'den Fransızca'ya Lügat* [Turkish-French Dictionary] (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1885), 198. Also see Zafer Toprak, "Türkiye'de "Narodnik" Milliyetçiliği ve Halkçılık [Nationalism and Populism of "Narodnik" in Turkey] (1908-1918)," *Tarih Tarih*. Accessed January 5, 2018, https://www.tarihtarih.com/?Syf=26&Syz=352410&/Türkiyede-Narodnik-Milliyetçiliği-ve-Halkçılık-(1908-1918)-/-Prof.-Dr.-Zafer-Toprak, par. 5.
54 See Toprak's discussion on the connotations of the term *halk* [people] during Second Constiutional Period in Ibid.

life. In addition, his endeavour to promote the status of common people within the Ottoman system under the framework of democracy suggests a connection between the emergence of democratic ideals and Ottomanism in imperial lands. As in the example of Tunalı's ideas, inclusive Ottomanist proposals not only laid the political groundwork for democratic ideals to emerge, but also stimulated, debates which either directly or indirectly promoted some of the early steps of democratic consciousness in the region, as we will also see in the discussions regarding the language in chapter 3. Having said that, considering the elitist tendencies of Hilmi, his populist ideas seemed to be self-contradictory. This contradiction, indeed, might have hindered the communication between himself and his target audience. Furthermore, his constitution and administrative models required an extensive and strong administrative apparatus. In this respect, the feasibility of such a project in the economic and political context of the period was highly questionable.

In Hilmi's mind, moreover, the primary desire of the people of the world was to live 'humanly' and peacefully. He remarked, "Living humanly… What do we want from that? Living humanly means to be in a state of equality and unity."[55] Such an environment, he believed, could only be achieved within the framework of a constitution. However, despite his constant emphasis on equality and unity, the fact that there were both explicit and implicit tendencies to highlight the prominent position of Muslims, and especially Turks, in his Ottomanist arguments, created ambiguities. This was apparent, for instance, in his statement: "Amongst us, the Turks must be at the frontline of the revolt! (…) The Turks are the true Ottomans. Every Ottoman must read what a Turk writes. [For] Turkish language is indeed the Ottoman language."[56] For Hilmi, the Turkish language was one of the main definers of 'Turkishness'. In this respect, the central position of Turkish identity in the cultural aspects of Ottomanism was problematic for a pluralist political agenda. Such statements could only have

[55] Hilmi, *Murat*, 4.
[56] Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (1316), 2.

exacerbated concerns regarding the viability of coexistence under Ottoman rule, which had already been raised especially in the context of the tense relations between the state and Armenian and Greek communities at the end of 1890s. In Hilmi's mind, moreover, Turks were the main group to act as a check and balance mechanism that would supervise the Ottomanist agenda of the state and be alert to threats.[57] With regard to such ideas, Hanioğlu claims that Hilmi's understanding of Ottomanism intended to create a society in which Turks would be the sovereign entity.[58] The specific emphasis on Turkish elements was apparent, and, as will be seen in the following chapters, some of his ideas contributed to the foundations of Turkish nationalism. Yet, while making claims on the long-term direction of his wider political agenda, as Hanioğlu did, we should also take some other aspects of Hilmi's ideas into consideration. Integration and, to a certain extent, centralization were two main concerns in his mind. In this respect, Turkish elements mostly appeared as a factor that could aid him in achieving integration and centralization. In spite of the central position of Turks in his agenda, Turkish identity was only one of the components under the umbrella of Ottoman identity. He remarked that "Turks will be destroyed if they cease to be Ottomans; they will also be destroyed if they put images that are harmful to Ottomanism in their minds."[59] He even argued against the name "Young Turks," believing that the term was not inclusive enough. He claimed, "In Turkish, and particularly for our purposes, what Europeans call '*Jön Türk/Jeunes Turcs*' is not <young Turk, new Turk> but < New Ottoman>. First of all, in French it must be '*Les Jeunes Ottomans'* instead of < Les Jeunes Turcs>, which misleads and even frightens many people."[60] The words "for our purposes" were key in this statement. They referred to his aim to consolidate the sociopolitical structure of the Empire through an Ottomanist agenda shaped around a pluralist constitution.

[57] Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (1327), 72.
[58] Hanioğlu, "Modeli," 113.
[59] Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (1316), 30.
[60] Hilmi, *11. Hutbe*, 26.

Hilmi often attempted to convince his readers that Ottomanism was not a threat to ethnic identities, claiming, for example, that Ottomanness "is a spiritual garment that does not constrain the national body that it covers. On the contrary, it ensouls, nurtures, fosters, and enlivens [that body]."[61] Considering the threats that different nationalist movements posed to the Ottoman Empire and how Hilmi criticized them, his stress on Ottomanism's possible contribution to national identities was paradoxical. This paradox, in fact, was the source of various debates concerning whether or not to loosen the control of the central state over certain sociopolitical features of the period. Providing more freedom could create a sphere in which nationalist movements could flourish and endanger Ottomanist visions. This debate continued until the last years of the Empire.

The second reason for Tunalı Hilmi's insistence on a constitution was his belief that it could unite communities, protecting them from their common enemies, both internal and external. According to Hilmi, internally, the rule of Sultan Abdülhamid II was a common threat for every community as he exploited and polarized society.[62] For the rationalist Hilmi, the characteristics of Abdülhamid's administration, including the abolishment of the Constitution, increasing authoritarianism, and an emphasis on loyalty rather than merit within the bureaucracy represented negative examples of an administration. However, we should note that his criticism of Abdülhamid's rule was not always fair.[63] In order to understand the full nature of his opposition to Abdülhamid in context, we must also take Hilmi's personal experiences into consideration. It is likely that the dramatic consequences of his political activities on his family turned his general enmity towards the regime into the deep, personal hatred for Abdülhamid as discussed in chapter 1.

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[61] Hilmi, *Oh!...,* 12.
[62] Tunalı Hilmi expresses similar claims in his various writings. For example, see *10. Hutbe*, (1316), 11.
[63] For example, although the Ottoman state and its services expanded significantly at the time of Abdulhamid II, Hilmi criticised the regime for not providing infrastructural services. Tunalı Hilmi, *Evvel ve Ahir* [First and Last] (Cenevre: 1316 [1898]), 14-16.

External threats to communities, on the other hand, were the Great Powers of the time inciting nationalist rivalries within the empire in order to pursue their own interests in Ottoman lands.[64] To Hilmi, a constitution that could protect the cultural richness of diverse communities could motivate people to unite. In fact, at the time this aspect encouraged some people to support Ottomanist ends. For example, Kemal Karpat claims that the Vlachs thought that if Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbians succeeded in their nationalist aims over Macedonia, assimilation of Macedonian society could result.[65] In this context, the rule of an administration organized under an Ottomanist constitution, which would be a guarantor for the sustainment of different communities in peace, could eliminate such fears and provide an incentive for the Vlachs to internalize the supranational Ottoman identity.

The validity of Tunalı Hilmi's suggestions regarding the constitution as an incentive for unity, can be indirectly confirmed by Avram Galanti's Jewish perspective as well. It is true that Galanti did not explicitly voice his opinions on the constitution. This was perhaps a result of his hesitance to delve into such a controversial political question. Considering the fact that he was employed by the state or was looking for job opportunities in state institutions until his departure for Cairo in 1904, such an attitude would be understandable. Furthermore, as will be discussed below, Galanti's hesitance would be in accordance with Ottoman Jews' general reluctance to engage with issues that might lead them to come into conflict with the official position of the state. Nevertheless, his general ideas on the dynamics of his community reveal his pro-constitutional mindset. Galanti was aware of the world, of the

[64] "So, I ask you: do you hope to find ease and peace in the principality or the kingdom? (...) There is no ease and peace in the principality and the kingdom nor such a principality or kingdom has been founded. It cannot be done! Apart from what we have already said, there is one more thing to add, and it is the following: Russians and Austrians from above ... Germans and Italians from below, French and English from right and left, all of them have opened their mouths like hungry wolves: they spread seeds of malice among you through the hands of your consanguine brothers, who say to seek the endurance of the nation." Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (1316), 21.
[65] Kemal Karpat, "The Memoirs of N. Batzaria: The Young Turks and Nationalism," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6, no.3 (1975): 287-288.

conditions of Jewish communities beyond the imperial borders, and of the internal dynamics of the Empire. He was in close contact with progressive circles in the Jewish community in the Ottoman Empire and Jewish intellectual circles in France. Therefore, as a proponent of the further integration of the Jewish community into broader Ottoman society, Galanti, arguably, had a perception of integration influenced by the emancipation stories of French Jews. Following the French Revolution, Jews in France, through a long and convoluted process, adopted various aspects of local culture and were eventually granted equal citizenship status.[66] In the Ottoman context, adoption of the local culture for Jews meant mainly learning "the language that is spoken here,"[67] i.e. Turkish, in order to integrate into the socio-economic life of the Empire, and welcoming the Ottoman state's efforts to include the community in the daily life of society. This integration would be in the interests of both the state and the Jewish community. Thus, Galanti stressed the necessity of disseminating the Turkish language into the Jewish community.

Learning Turkish was also one of the main expectations of the central state's official Ottomanist agenda for non-Turkish speaking communities in the Empire. Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, while centralizing its state administration, the state began promoting Turkish as one of the main aspects of Ottoman identity and its Ottomanist agenda. In this respect, the Constitution of 1876 was a milestone. Article 18 of the Constitution defined Turkish as the official language of the Ottoman State and required it as a prerequisite for employment in public offices. Furthermore, Article 68 established the ability to speak Turkish as a prerequisite to become a member of parliament.[68]

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[66] Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 5-8.
[67] This is the expression that Galanti used to refer Turkish language in his letter to his father qtd in. Albert E. Kalderon, *Abraham Galante: A Biography* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1983), 7.
[68] Gözübıyık and Kili, *Metinleri,* 29, 36.

Galanti's primary concerns were the current and future interests of his own community. To this end, utilitarian reasons motivated him to support the promotion of the Turkish language and, thus, the Ottomanist agenda. Galanti was one of the supporters of the progressive ideas that began to emerge inside the Ottoman Jewish community from the second quarter of the nineteenth century. He argued that before the *Alliance Israéllite Universelle* (AIU), the central institution of the Ottoman Jewry's pedagogical life in the late Ottoman Empire, started founding its schools in Ottoman lands in 1865, the Jewish community was in a state of ignorance.[69] In fact, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in general, Jewish intellectual life was declining in comparison to that of the previous century.[70] Likewise, the economic indicators of the late eighteenth century, which Levy provides, depict the Jewish community in an economic depression.[71] Moreover, Levy implies that over the first decades of the nineteenth century, the situation deteriorated in the face of political and military incidents such as a rise of *Ayans* [local leaders] and the abolition of the Janissary corps, which damaged the network and interests of various local Jewish communities.[72] The community remained mainly under the influence of conservative circles and, thus, gradually became introverted and disconnected from the other components of Ottoman society, as well as developments on a global scale. This picture was being reshaped with the efforts of the community's internal actors, external Jewish initiatives, and the Ottoman central administration's Ottomanist agenda. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the voice of a progressive group inside the Jewish community had gradually risen. They were seeking to increase the number of schools providing secular education with more emphasis on language and professional training. In return, they believed this could support Jewish youth in their

[69] Abraham Galante, "La langue Turque et les Israélites de Turquie (Part 1)," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXII, no.16 (1901): 126.
[70] Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), 92.
[71] Ibid., 90-92.
[72] Ibid., 93-97.

efforts to politically and socioeconomically integrate into the broader imperial structure. It was in this context that Galanti similarly argued for the need for integration and expressed his opinion in conformity with the Ottomanist agenda of the period. In the face of a lack of proper Turkish language education and the promotion of the French language in the curriculum of AIU, the questions posed by Avram Galanti were a clear reflection of his perception:

> Can [the curriculum of AIU] contribute to his/her [the student's] entry to the schools [higher state schools] and to the bureaucracy? Due to the ignorance of the language of the country, no. What about a commercial company? Still no, because, here, the trade requires the knowledge of several languages, as Greeks and Armenians know very well.[73]

Indeed, how to encourage his co-religionists to attend state schools, how to help his co-religionists' promotion within the Ottoman administration system, and how to increase the economic and political competitive power of his co-religionists vis-à-vis other members of Ottoman society were questions that greatly concerned Galanti. His willingness to answer these questions represented an example of the expectation of the fulfilment of the Ottomanist agenda to make Jews equal and fully integrated citizens of the Empire. These two aims of Galanti - equality and integration - were also central premises of Tunalı Hilmi's vision of an Ottoman constitution.

When Mustafa Satı began actively writing about education and society, the constitutional regime had already been restored and was no longer one of his primary concerns. Moreover, the amendments to the constitution in 1909 pruned the extensive rights of the Sultan and shifted the regime towards a constitutional monarchy.[74] However, as prominent Turkish sociologist Hilmi Ziya Ülken points out, in the years following the restoration of the constitution, the political changes could not fulfil the sociopolitical

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[73] Abraham Galante, "L'enseignement dans les écoles de l'Alliance et la nécessité de leur réorganisation: Les écoles de l'Alliance Israélite en Turquie et la nécessité absolue de leur reorganisation (Part 2)," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXIII, no.27 (1901): 206.
[74] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, "1876 Kanun- Esasisi ve Türkiye'de Anayasa Geleneği" [The Constitution of 1876 and the Tradition of Constitution in Turkey], in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 1:37.

expectations of the Ottomans.[75] Moreover, the enthusiasm that welcomed the 1908 Revolution gradually disappeared. In this context, an idea of pursuing social revolution, Ülken argues, appeared among intellectuals. Prominent in these debates, Tevfik Fikret argued for further reformation on the basis of social and political principles derived from the West. Mehmet Akif Ersoy, a poet and teacher with Islamist tendencies, was another figure in the discussion. Yet, contrary to Tevfik Fikret, he was critical of the West's sociocultural influence on the Empire.[76] Mustafa Satı also joined these debates. He perceived the re-promulgation of the constitution and the suppression of the 31 March Incident[77] as "political and administrative revolutions". For him, these incidents were a medium through which to pursue further changes in a society that was to attain "true freedom" [*hürriyet-i hakikiye*] and "serious progress" [*terakkiyat-ı ciddiye*]. In other words, the constitution was not an end but rather an essential means. The ends, on the other hand, could be only attained by transforming recent achievements in politics, which were primarily established through the constitution, into "social revolution" [*inkilab-ı ictimai*].[78] An awareness of a common Ottoman identity was one of the key aims of this social revolution. The terms fatherland [*vatan*] and patriotism [*vatanperverlik*] were two central concepts for this awareness, and Satı gave them a leading role in his Ottomanist writings.

[75] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 215-216.
[76] Ibid., 216.
[77] 31 March Incident (13 April 1909) was a counterrevolution attempt against the constitutional regime.
[78] Mustafa Satı, *Layihalarım* [My Proposals], in *Mustafa Satı Bey ve Eğtime Dair Layihaları,* translit. by Uğur Ünal and Togay Seçkin Birbudak (Ankara: Murat Kitabevi, 2010), 126. Kerem Tınaz, "An Inclusive Voice in an Exclusive Era: Satı Bey and His Ottomanist Pursuit" (M.Phil diss., University of Oxford, 2012), 53. Satı's perception of social revolution will be discussed further in the following chapters.

Fatherland

For Mustafa Satı, the clarification of the terms patriotism and fatherland was essential to consolidate the bonds that shaped the imagined Ottoman political community.[79] His arguments on the subject derived from his series of historical and political examinations on the concept of fatherland in Europe. In this respect, the Germans and French were two different, yet important, models.[80] He thought that from the early nineteenth century on, in Germany, fatherland meant "the collective body of land and race while race stood for language".[81] Hence, for him, "anyone who is able to speak German is a citizen and every land that those German speakers inhabit is the fatherland".[82] He went on by stating that according to the French model, which he mainly drew from the ideas of French thinker Ernest Renan, "fatherland, before anything else, is the product of history, demand, and will; to live together and to be willing to live together were more important reasons than blood ties in the concept of citizenship".[83] He then remarked that "in France, state and history revealed the nation; whereas in Germany, on the contrary, only the nation made the history and the state. Thus, while the idea of fatherland in France was based on history and state, in Germany it was derived from language and nation".[84] Mustafa Satı's categorization was, indeed, problematic. A nation could not create an idea of fatherland, as the concept of nation itself was mainly a creation of a state and an intellectual endeavour in the course of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the state, in both cases, was active in the creation of the idea of fatherland, along with the concept of the nation.[85] Having identified these differences in the models, he opposed

[79] The term " an imagined political community" is the central aspect of Benedict Anderson's famous definition of a nation. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.
[80] In addition to these two cases, Satı also introduced Switzerland and Japan as other two examples on the subject.
[81] Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 7.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid., 8.
[84] Ibid., 9. Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice", 29-31.
[85] Alain Dieckhoff, "Nation and Nationalism in France: Between Idealism and Reality," Workshop:

any essentialist approach and argued for the necessity to assess the characteristics of fatherland in relation to a country's own particular dynamics.[86] He utilized an eclectic and pragmatic approach to define the Ottoman fatherland and avoided any specific reference to ethnicity or language.[87] In this respect, the arguments made by Ernest Renan in his famous lecture "What is a nation?" were some of Mustafa Satı's main references in his further analysis and in shaping his ideas on Ottoman identity. In this lecture, Renan's definition of nation was based on spiritual ties derived from societies' past and present.[88] These ties, namely history and state, were the source of the people's will to live together. Unlike the approach of German thinkers, which focused on a shared language, Renan focused on the open consent and will to live together thanks to inclusive spiritual ties in his lecture.[89] This approach to nation also appeared in Mustafa Satı's understanding of Ottoman identity shaped around the Ottoman fatherland.

In Satı's narrative, the terms fatherland and patriotism were the most inclusive concepts. For him, one's country [*memleket*], or the place where one was born and lived,[90] was a specific part of a broader fatherland. Similarly, patriotism, which he defined as "to love and be loyal to fatherland; to strive for the material and spiritual [*manen*] progress of fatherland; to share her success or disappointments; (…) to struggle vigorously and sacrifice for the protection of the land, honour and pride of the fatherland," was the extension of one's love for his or her country.[91] He was also aware of the existence of different nationalist tendencies in the Empire and thought that nationalist feelings could contradict the patriotism

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National Identity and Euroscepticism: A Comparison Between France and the United Kingdom (13 May 2005), 2-4.
[86] Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 13.
[87] Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice," 35.
[88] Ernest Renan, "What Is a Nation?," *Nation and Narration,* ed. Homi K. Bhabha, trans. Martin Thom (Great Britain: Routledge, 2006), 19.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 14.
[91] Ibid., 6, 14.

that one should feel for the broader fatherland. Thus, he, perhaps naively, argued that "here, nationalism is permissible and necessary. Yet, it has to be patriotic".[92] The distinction between nationalism and patriotism was fluid in Mustafa Satı's categorization. This was especially apparent in his terminology. He used terms *millî* [national] and *vatani* [patriotic] almost identically. In many points, he utilized the terms *millî,* such as *millî iktisad* [national economy], *müdafa-i millî* [national defence], and *milli marşlar* [national anthems], to refer to common Ottoman aspects. In this respect, the deployment of the term "national" with secular connotations was important.[93] It shows that "nation" was used in the context of the Empire and referred to common aspects of the people as it did in the context of nation states emerging in the post-Ottoman period.

Mustafa Satı was aware that a common identity was imagined in the minds of the people. Thus, he distinguished fatherland from country by arguing that, contrary to a country, the borders of a fatherland were not visible. The spiritual [*manevi*] ties among the people of a fatherland defined the extent of that fatherland.[94] Thus, he argued

> "(…) the spirituality, or spirit of fatherland are common feelings among people living on the same land, emotions, ideas, memories, aims, worries, customs ... Some 'fatherland's contain all of these aspects while others contain only one specific aspect. All those aspects are ordered in a different hierarchy in different 'fatherland's".[95]

Satı, emphasizing the practical importance of Islam in Ottoman society, addressed religion as the first spiritual component of the Ottoman fatherland. He claimed that historically the Empire was always attached to the idea that "religion and nation, both are

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[92] Ibid. 29.

[93] For example see Ibid. 46, 73. For an examination of his terminology Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice," 8-10.

[94] Ibid., 17.

[95] Ibid., p. 23. Satı addressed four main spiritual components that could be perceived as factors that could unite people with each other: unity of blood [*kanın birliği*], unity of language [*lisan birliği*], unity of religion [*din birliği*], and unity of history [*tarih birliği*]. He examined all four factors in the context of different examples and concluded that none of them might be considered indispensable to the creation of unity among people. *Vatan İçin,* 17-23.

one." [96] Thus, this historical context provided common values, goals, and agendas for the Muslims of Ottoman society. Moreover, parallel to Makdisi's argument suggesting Islam was deployed "to signify the empire's modern historical and cultural difference from the West in an era of otherwise rampant westernization", Islam, in the writings of Satı, appeared to be one of the significant aspects distinguishing the Empire from the West.[97] Yet his specification of Islam as a spiritual tie obviously contradicted his own pluralistic agenda. Despite Balkan War's impact on the Empire's demography by 1913, non-Muslims still constituted an important portion of the population with their own particular and increasing consciousness of identity.[98] Thus, the conceptualization of an identity around the Islamic ties of the majority could inevitably jeopardize the expectations of non-Muslims. Therefore, it could lead to the bankruptcy of the plural society Ottomanism aimed to foster.

Satı perceived the unity of the past as the second element of the Ottoman fatherland. For him, this element could generate common experiences for the whole society and, thus, could bridge the divides between the past, today's interests, and the future's agenda for the communities within Ottoman society. Satı's emphasis on the past was reminiscent of Renan's emphasis on history in his definition of nation, which he argues is the basis for French nationhood.[99] Both of them introduced history as a factor that could generate common mental and emotional perceptions and unite people. Mustafa Satı argued that

> "The past is the most fundamental aspect of the sense of fatherland and the idea of fatherland. (…) Whereas the events that belong to the past permeate into every

[96] Ibid., p. 27.
[97] In his writings Satı endeavoured to show how Islam was an internal and distinctive part of political and cultural aspects of the Empire. See *Vatan İçin*, 25-27. He, moreover, aimed to prove that Islam was compatible with the socio-political requirements of the era and was not an obstacle to progress. See "Medeniyet-i İslamiye" [The Islamic Civilization], *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası*, [The Journal of Elementary Education] 11 (1327 [1911]) 182.
[98] See statistics in regards to Ottoman population in 1914 in Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914 Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 188-189. For a broader examination of this component see Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice", 36-37.
[99] For Renan's inspiration on Satı see Ibid. 40-42, 64.

> mind and every heart, thereby stimulating ideas within every mind and a sensation within every heart due to the fact that it is an event." [100]

Yet, the idea of shared history was problematic within the context of the Empire. It was difficult to refer to one 'common history' that would be accepted by every segment of society due to the multi-cultural structure of the Empire and the fact that centuries-long historical dynamics had affected the memories of various communities in different ways.

Satı suggested deploying a variety of means to present the past to the people of the present day.[101] He pointed out the significance of national history museums [*tarih-i millî müzehaneleri*], monuments, memorial days, and the celebration of important events.[102] Clearly, these kinds of institutions and events have played a crucial role in the creation of imagined communities from at least the nineteenth century. Yet, in the Ottoman context, realizing this strategy inevitably generated questions about the criteria used to define common symbols in the Ottoman Empire, about which places could be promoted as common memorial places, and about where the common memorial places would be located. Furthermore, Satı utilized the rhetoric of a common enemy and shared past difficulties in order to create a sense of common history.[103] He addressed, for example, the Hamidian regime's despotic period. The rhetoric of a common enemy in the near past could be a way to create a partial perception of a shared past. However, when considering early Ottoman history, an argument for the presence of a common past could not be appropriate. In fact, Satı had to answer an important question regarding the validity of his own arguments on this shared history: how would one write the history of the expansionist years of the Empire with an inclusive perspective which

[100] Mustafa Satı, "Tarih Tedrisinin Usul-u Esasiyesi" [Fundamental Method of the History Lesson], *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası*, no. 8 (1326 [1910]): 94.
[101] Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 39.
[102] Ibid.
[103] "Until very recently, all Ottoman communities experienced common catastrophes and were suppressed all together by a general mal-administration (...) Now before these communities there are common enemies and common dangers; their futures are tied up, their true interests are united." Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 27.

could be accepted by every element of Ottoman society? It was a basic yet complex question which he did not answer satisfactorily.[104]

The third component of the Ottoman fatherland was "spirit of the Orient" [*şarklı ruhu*] or "temperament of the Orient" [*şarklı şimesi*]. This was Satı's original invention regarding the elements of Ottoman identity. He aimed to transcend any cultural differences inside Ottoman society and argued for the presence of elements specific to the Orient. This was, indeed, an essentialist approach involving Orientalist features. Satı stated that "among all Ottomans, and especially among ordinary people, there are common habits and emotions […] despite the differences in language and religion".[105] He defined these shared elements as "the spirit of the Orient." According to him many proverbs, fables, jokes and music in multicultural Ottoman society carried the signs of this spirit. [106] He, thus, emphasized the characteristics of "the self" in comparison to "the other" in order to highlight the distinctiveness of an Ottoman identity. This approach, which derives from the problematic assumption of an essentialist distinction between "the West" and "the East," is an example of how a person from the Orient contributed to Orientalist discourses. Perhaps he perceived this characteristic as an inclusive and secular element that could bypass ethnic and religious divisions inside Ottoman society. However, such essentialism could only be supported through overgeneralizations that ignored many pluralist aspects of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, it is debatable if such an essentialist component with such vague cultural borders could be a motive for unification.

Indeed, similar to Namık Kemal, Mustafa Satı defined the fatherland as an emotional concept that generated common feelings among people. Considering Namık Kemal's influence on Tunalı Hilmi, one could have expected a similar discussion of fatherland from

[104] Satı's approach to history will be further discussed in chapter 4. Also see, Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice", 37-38, 63.
[105] Ibid., 28.
[106] Ibid.

him as well. However, Hilmi did not delve into any detailed discussion of fatherland in his books. Instead, perhaps more interestingly, he insisted on the term *Türkiye* [Turkey] and *Türkiyeli* [one from Turkey] in defining the lands and common identity of Ottomans. The history of these two words in the context of, first, Ottoman history and, later, Turkish history is controversial. The word *Türkiye*, derived from the Italian word *Turchia*, has a long history in the West.[107] Yet, as far as we know, in the Ottoman political context, the word began to be used only in the second half of the nineteenth century.[108] The word *Türkiyeli*, on the other hand, according to Baskın Oran's research, was first used by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Oran claims that Mustafa Kemal used the term in July, 1923.[109] However, Tunalı Hilmi began his *11. Hutbe* by addressing his readers as "*Türkiyeliler!*" as early as 1901.[110] His word choice might have been influenced by Western political language as a result of his gradually increasing interaction with the West. The French version of the same *Hutbe* began with the word "*Turquialilar*," whose meaning was defined as "*originaires de Turquie*" [those from Turkey].[111] This half-French and half-Turkish word supports the idea that Hilmi's term was an attempt to adapt the original word *Turchia*.[112]

According to Hilmi, *Türkiyelilik* [the state of being from Turkey] meant being Ottoman.[113] For him, the concept defined every Ottoman beyond religious or ethnic identities.[114] He used the word *Osmanlı* [Ottoman] interchangeably with *Türkiyeli*. As an

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[107] Baskın Oran, "The Issue of 'Turkish' and 'Türkiyeli' (Turkey National; from Turkey)," *Exploring Turkishness: Rights, Identity and the EU Essay Series*, The Foreign Policy Center, (January 2011), 3. <http://www.baskinoran.com/makale/FPC-2010-1314.pdf>

[108] Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 332.

[109] Oran, 3.

[110] Tunalı Hilmi, *11. Hutbe*, 2.

[111] Tunalı Hilmi, *XI Houtbe (Discours)* (Geneve, 1901), 5.

[112] Tunalı Hilmi to spell the word "*Türkiyeliler" (*تركياليلر) in Ottoman used "ا" in the fifth letter of the word which gives the sound of "a" as in the word of Turchia. Thus, this also implies that this was a direct translation.

[113] *11. Hutbe,* the Title Page. Also see Tunalı Hilmi, *Bir Şart* [A Charter] (1320 [1902]), 5.

[114] We must leave Jewishness in the synagogue, Christianity in the church and Islam in the mosque. Being Ottoman does not mean being a Turk. Being Ottoman is to be from Turkey. Tunalı Hilmi, *Oh!*, 11-12.

identity, it directly referred to the inclusive bonds of citizenship in Ottoman lands. He utilized *Türkiye* to define Ottoman lands by stating, "Turkey belongs to those from Turkey". Despite the inclusive meaning of the word, some could find his choice to use "Turkey" to define Ottoman lands controversial, as the word itself has connotations of "Turk". Considering the fact that he argued against the name of "Young Turks" with the concern that it was not inclusive enough, Tunalı Hilmi could have chosen a different word that would have referred to Ottomans more inclusively. Yet he did not, and perhaps this could be considered further evidence of the central position of Turks in his approach to Ottomanism.

The term *Türkiye* in Hilmi's own rhetoric was one of the early examples of defining the lands of the state as *Türkiye*. This word was, arguably, deployed in relation to the changing conceptions of identity and relations between state, land, and citizens. Similar to Hilmi's claim that "Turkey belongs to those from Turkey," Abdullah Cevdet, in his piece written in 1907, remarked that "Our fatherland is Turkey; Turkey belongs to the citizens of Turkey".[115] His understanding of citizenship was inclusive in terms of religion, ethnicity, and gender.[116] Furthermore, in the subsequent pages of his book, he also clarified that for him, Turkey also referred to the government of the Ottoman Empire.[117] In the aftermath of 1908 Revolution, this specific way of defining Ottoman lands became increasingly widespread. Mustafa Satı also called Ottoman lands 'Turkey' in his book in 1909. In a footnote regarding Europe's understanding of the word 'Turk', he stated that, "the word 'Turk' in Europe inclusively refers to all Muslims of Turkey - Ottoman Muslims".[118] In 1914, for Ömer Seyfettin, similarly, the word 'Turkey' referred to the physical fatherland that contained all the Ottoman territories.[119] One of the most detailed writings on the concepts of *Türkiye* and

[115] Abdullah Cevdet, Uyanınız! Uyanınız! [*Wake up! Wake up!*] (Mısır: Matbaa Ictihad, 1908), 5.
[116] Ibid., 6.
[117] Ibid., 25.
[118] Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 89.
[119] Özkan, *Turkish Vatan,* 74.

Türkiyeli, at the time, came from Ziya Gökalp. In his article *Türkçülük ve Türkiyecilik* [Turkism and Turkeyism] he claimed that being a Turk [*Türk*] and being from Turkey [*Türkiyeli*] were two different qualities. He continued by stating, "everyone from Turkey is not a Turk, and every Turk is not from Turkey".[120] Furthermore, he concluded by saying Turkey is the name of the state.[121] In his statements, again, the emphasis was on the point that the name *Türkiyeli* refers not to any ethnic identity but to a secular identity derived from the bonds between citizens, the state, and the land. Indeed, Tunalı Hilmi's emphasis on *Türkiye* and *Türkiyeli* represents an early phase of the story of these terms' political connotations. It reveals that the word *Türkiye* emerged as a modern name of the Ottoman lands in the context of political transformations, partially led by an Ottomanist agenda. In this respect, the name *Türkiyeli* was the secular identity of the people who held citizenship in the Ottoman state.

We do not see a detailed discussion of the relationship between land and identity in the context of the Ottoman Empire in the writings of Avram Galanti. Although some of his pieces imply that the concept of fatherland in relation to the Ottoman context represented both an idea and a geographical entity, he generally does not examine the premises of the concept in depth.[122] Thus, it is difficult to speculate on the specific aspects of Galanti's understanding

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[120] Ziya Gökalp, "Türkçülük ve Türkiyecilik" [Turkism and Turkeyism], *Yeni Mecmua,* 51 (1918): 482.

[121] Ibid.

[122] For example, in his article titled *Kadınlarda Maarifin Noksaniyetinin Tesiri* [The Impact of the Lack of Education among Women] Galanti underlines the importance of internalizing the meaning of *vatan* for kids. In other words he use the concept *vatan* as if it was an idea to feel, learn, and think about. In another piece titled *Mekatib-i İbtidaiye Rüşdi ve İdadi* he uses the term *evlad-ı vatan* (son of fatherland). The term, in this context, refers to a specific geography. Avram Galanti, *Tahsil-i Nisanın Cemiyet-i Beşeriyeye Tesiri* [The Influence of Women Education on Humanity]*; Kadınlarda Maarifin Noksaniyetinin Tesiri* - in Galanti's personal notebook (GPN) located in CAHJP P/112, F.88: (The article *"Tahsil-i Nisanın…"* is located in Galanti's handwritten notebook that compiles a series of articles titled *Maarifimiz ne yolda terakki eder?* This article in particular is one of the only two articles within the notebook under a different title. Given that in the last page of the article one can read the name Isaac Galante, a note on authorship seems relevant. This signature is in a different ink and script than that of the article, and it appears twice as if someone is practicing writing. While I have not been able to identify Isaac Galante, it seems improbable that the signature represents any type of authorship over the article. The article seems to be written in the same hand as all other articles. Furthermore, the pen with which signature was made is not used in any other page in the notebook. This leads me to

of Ottoman fatherland or the role Jews were given in it. He did, however, demonstrate a more detailed concern for the concept in the context of a broader Jewish identity. As mentioned in chapter 1, during his years in Egypt (1904-1909), one of the many sociopolitical activities in which he was involved was the drafting of a proposal to allocate Sudan to the Jews as a homeland. He shared the document with different international Jewish organizations, seeking support. Furthermore, following the 1908 Revolution, Galanti did not return to Ottoman lands but rather went to Britain and there attempted to obtain answers for his proposal for a Jewish homeland.[123] Therefore, considering Galanti's interest in the question of 'fatherland' for his own Jewish identity, it is reasonable to ask how strong Galanti's Ottomanist stand was at the time. However, we should also recall that during his years in Cairo he was in close contact with the Young Turks in Europe and actively supported them in their Ottomanist endeavours. Thus, his concern with a fatherland in regards to his own specific Jewish identity should be interpreted in relation to rising nationalist ideologies, anti-Semitism in the West as well as in Ottoman lands, and the oppressive and unpredictable nature of the Hamidian era. In this context, it might be argued that, with the burden of his quasi-exile in Cairo, Galanti had been losing his belief in the possibility of a pluralist society in which Jews could peacefully live, or at least he had been searching for political alternatives that could provide for the wellbeing of the Jewish community, which was his primary concern.[124] Furthermore, until the last decades

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believe that the signature was made later or does not have any relevance to the text itself. However, I have not yet been able to confirm this assumption.) Avram Galanti, *Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder?: Mekatib-i İdadi, Rüşdi ve İdadi* [How Would Our Education Progress?: Primary, Middle and Secondary Schools] in *GPN*, CAHJP P/112, F.88.

[123] Jacob M. Landau, "Due progetti per la colonizzazione del Sudan al principio del secolo XX," *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 21, no.6 (1955): 229. For the handwritten copy of the proposal see CAHJP P/112, F.88.

[124] At the very last stage of my research I came across another notebook of Galanti. The notebook includes a short essay in which he explains that the aims of Zionists on Palestine were impossible to realize. The essay was written in English and was dated in London on 13 November 1909. In the essay, Galanti states that he has "never been a Zionist." Furthermore, he defines "Turkey" as "the fatherland of Turkish Jews" and expresses his approval for "the new regime" (restoration of the Constitution) in the Empire. Although, I did not have opportunity to reflect on the document for this

of the Empire, the fusion of secular ideas with national references had been limited within the Jewish community. In this context, most Jewish religious and secular elites sought good relations with the state, despite the changes in the main actors dominating state policies. Galanti was not an exception and was supportive of the Ottoman state, which is the third common aspect in the Ottomanist ideas of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı.

State

Given rising anti-Semitism in the West and the serious problems faced by Jewish communities in Russia and the Balkan countries in the final decades of the nineteenth century, the rule of the Ottoman state provided more stable homelands for the Jewish community than most other countries did.[125] This relative stability was partially a result of Ottoman Jews' pro-state political stance or, at least, passive political profile in regards to heated political topics.[126] Ottoman Jews' desire to ameliorate their sociopolitical status was one of the factors behind their pro-state position. From the 1840s onward, the community underwent considerable transformation in the context of Ottomanist policy, along with the stimulus toward modernization arising from within the community. The ideology of Ottomanism encouraged Jews to integrate socially and economically into Ottoman society while preserving their own identities. These developments were in accordance with the community's goals and motivated them to support state policies. Besides their desires, fear was also influential in their relations with the state. In the context of the blood libels against Jews, their Christian neighbours were the main reason of Ottoman Jews' concerns about their

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thesis, a preliminary look into the contents of the essay does not contradict or modifies in any significant way the argument of this study. CAHJP P/112, F.76.

[125] Levy, *Sephardim,* 122-123. Galanti was also well aware of this situation. For example see Abraham Galante, "La tolérance dans les écoles Turques: excellents rapports entre les cultes," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LIX, no.29 (1898): 237.

[126] Isak Ferera, an Ottoman Jewish intellectual embracing multicultural Ottomanism, considered the political passivity of the community as one of the reasons of Ottoman state's positive approach to Ottoman Jewry. Laurent Mignon, "İshak Değil, İsak Olmak" [To be Isak, not Ishak] in *Hüzünlü Özgürlük, Yahudi Edebiyatı ve Düşüncesi Üzerine Yazılar* [Melancholic Freedom, Writings on Jewish Literature and Thought] (İstanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın, 2014), 109.

security within the imperial lands. In this context, good relations with their state was almost the only option for the community to effectively strengthen their position vis-à-vis offensive attitudes against themselves.[127] Unlike the various Christian communities of the Empire, Ottoman Jewry did not have any significant connection with any other foreign state that could support their position in Ottoman lands through soft or hard powers. Furthermore, some other aspects of Ottoman Jewry helped consolidate relations between the community and the state. In contrast to the Greek and Armenian communities, Ottoman Jews did not develop a national consciousness. Zionism was far from being an appealing ideology for most Jews in the Ottoman Empire at the time.[128] Their demographic features were likewise different from Armenian and Greek communities. They were less populated and were settled in a more dispersed manner.[129] Therefore, from the state's point of view, the dynamics within the community did not have threatening implications for the state administration.

In this respect, Galanti had concrete historical and political reasons to support the state and, as mentioned above, to be hesitant to voice arguments that could lead him to contradict the official position of the Ottoman state. Thus, he deployed an appreciative discourse in regards to the Ottoman state and encouraged Jews to appreciate it as well. It is in this context that he also regarded knowledge of the Turkish language as a way to show the Ottoman Jewry's patriotism and loyalty to the Sultan and as a way to consolidate relations between Muslims and Jews: "One should also give the same importance to Turkish, which is the

[127] For a brief account regarding blood libels against Jews in Ottoman lands see Avram Galanti, *Türkler ve Yahudiler (Turks and Jews)* (İstanbul: Gözlem, 1995), 34-38. Galanti's narrative is a good example of how some Jewish intellectuals considered the Ottoman state as a protector of Jews at the time. Also see ibid., 30-34. This narrative of Galanti will be discussed further in Epilogue.
[128] For an examination of the Zionist movement in the Ottoman lands see Esther Benbassa, "Zionism in the Ottoman Empire at the End of the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century," *Studies in Zionism* 11, no.2 (1990): 127-140.
[129] Christoph Giesel, "Status and Situation of the Jews in Turkey: Historical Line of Development and Contemporary Circumstances in the Context of Socio-political Transformations" in *Turkish Jews in Contemporary Turkey,* eds. Rıfat N. Bali and Laurent-Olivier Mallet (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2015), 33.

language used in our daily lives, to show our gratitude to the rule of the Sultan and to strengthen the ties of harmony that bind us with Muslims".[130]

Galanti's appreciative language was an indicator of an unequal relation between the state and the Jewish community in his mind.[131] While the state appeared to be the protector or promoter of Jews in Ottoman lands, members of the community expected to be loyal to the rule of the state. This approach of Galanti was part of a broader discourse promoting the idea of a special relationship between the Ottoman state and Ottoman Jews. The rule of the Ottoman state, according to this discourse, became a shelter for the community and allowed them to practice their religion. Thus, Ottoman Jewry was indebted to the rule of the Ottoman state.[132] This indebtedness required Jews to be active and loyal members of Ottoman society and to adopt a pro-state political stance.

In the context of this excessive emphasis on the loyalty to the Ottoman rule, it is reasonable to ask to what extent Galanti's Ottomanism was a manifestation of loyalty to the state as a result of the potentially fragile position of his community rather than genuine support of the ideology's multicultural principals. It is possible to argue that the loyalty to Ottoman state stands as the central aspect of his political stance. However, as we saw in this chapter and will become more apparent in the coming chapters, Galanti also adhered to some of the broader Ottomanist goals at both intellectual and socio-political levels, such as the creation of an integrated society and the attainment of progress. Therefore, while Galanti's discourse included a heavy emphasis on the state, any approach that would not consider

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[130] Galante, "L'enseignement dans les écoles (Part 2)," 206.
[131] That the Ottoman state and Muslims considered Jews as a "*sadık millet"* [loyal nation] (a title mainly associated with the Armenian community in the course of the nineteenth century) at the time was a source of happiness for Galanti. He considered this perception a reflection of the kindness of Ottoman Muslims and the respect that was shown to Jews by the state. Galante, "La tolérance dans les écoles Turques," 237. This unequal relations in Galanti's mind will be discussed further in the epilogue. For another example of his appreciative tone see Abraham Galante, "Trois calomnies de sangre," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXII, no.17 (1901): 132.
[132] Cohen, Becoming, 29.

broader aspects of his stance in an attempt to analyse his Ottomanism would be deficient. Nevertheless, the state also held an important symbolic and practical position in the Ottomanist ideas of Mustafa Satı and Tunalı Hilmi. They considered the Ottoman state a roof for all Ottomans. Hence, they aimed to consolidate the loyalty of all citizens to the Ottoman state, while simultaneously expecting the state to promote Ottomanist principals and consciousness.

Mustafa Satı addressed the Ottoman state and its rule as the ultimate definers of the characteristics of the Ottoman fatherland and citizens' ties with one other. In his understanding of fatherland, material features played an important role, in addition to spiritual elements. In determining these material entities, Satı's reference was clear: the borders of the Ottoman state. He was not a romantic thinker and did not approach the subject in terms of cultural community as Germans did. He remarked:

> "Our fatherland is not the land where this or that language is spoken; our fatherland is the land which is located under the shade of the Ottoman flag and the rule of the Ottoman state; it is the land where both glorious and disgraced periods of Ottoman history were lived. Our citizens are not the people who speak this or that language; our citizens are people who live under the rule of this state, gathered around this flag, and responsible for the consolidation of this state and flag."[133]

His approach put forward a rational understanding of unity. The will to live together under the Ottoman state without any reference to cultural aspects was primary. Satı's emphasis on the state could be interpreted as a pragmatic and inclusive answer to the conditions at the time, including the gradually changing borders and cultural dynamics of the Empire, the nationalist claims based on specific cultural features, and the multicultural, historical, and political features of the Empire.

For Tunalı Hilmi, the concept of the state was also prominent, as evidenced by his detailed presentation of state administration in his work *Murad*. The state was the roof under

[133] Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 24.

which equal rights and common responsibilities functioned, with the constitution acting as a source of the will and consent to live together. This detailed administration and education system, which will be discussed in the following chapters, was central to Hilmi's model. The reason for this design was to enable citizens to reach full political and social integration within Ottoman society. This, indeed, would mean the realization of the Ottomanist agenda under the guidance, or at least support, of the state. However, as mentioned above, given the economic and political difficulties that the Ottoman state faced throughout the last decades of the Empire, its ability to fulfil such a complex project was doubtful. Lastly, the nature of the relationship between the state and citizens in the minds of Satı, Hilmi and, partially, Galanti was also noteworthy. It was based on reciprocal duties and responsibilities shaped around citizenship bonds. The state's duty was to provide security, stability, and socioeconomic services. The citizens' responsibilities, which were mainly defined under the concept of duty to one's fatherland, were to work for the intensification of the state system and be active members of an integrated society.

Conclusion

The ideas of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı represent three different interpretations of Ottomanism that all had the same goal: to create the general consent to live together as a part of an integrated society in which all citizens had equal rights under the Ottoman state. On the one hand, an aspect of this goal was to promote and secure the loyalty to the Ottoman state. The three intellectuals aimed to convince their readers that somehow the perpetuity of the Ottoman state was in the interest of all ethnic and religious groups living under Ottoman rule. On the other hand, Ottomanism for the three intellectuals was to promote a supranational identity that would create a space for a multicultural society. In this respect, Tunalı Hilmi conceptualized Ottoman identity as a rational and civic political entity. He proposed to build this identity upon a constitutional ground, which would organize an equal

and just society. Mustafa Satı emphasized on common Ottoman fatherland. He argued inclusively that the aspects of the Ottoman fatherland united Ottomans' past, present and future. Lastly, Avram Galanti mainly approached the issue with concerns deriving from his communal identity. Still, his efforts to define Ottoman Jewry as an integral element of Ottoman society was in conformity with the Ottoman state's efforts to create a system that allowed for different cultures to coexist in harmony.

Yet their multiculturalist arguments were not free from limitations or dilemmas. The privileged position of Turks, and to some extent Muslims, in the narrative of Tunalı Hilmi created a hierarchical depiction of the groups within Ottoman society. Similarly, Mustafa Satı's emphasis on Islam as a unifier was problematic as it risked jeopardising inclusivity of his Ottomanist agenda. Furthermore, his attempt to situate unity in the context of a shared history posed problems that were difficult to solve. Finally, Galanti's ideas do not provide us many clues about how he perceived Ottoman society as a whole, leading one naturally to question the extent of Galanti's Ottomanism.

Overall, the hybrid nature of their Ottomanism and the differences in the elements of their Ottomanisms could be interpreted as a harbinger of Ottomanism's failure. One could argue that because Ottomanism was unable to introduce a common systematized political pursuit, it was destined to fail in the long run. Indeed, different interpretations of Ottomanism could have been an obstacle to the efficiency of idea. However, we can also consider these multiple interpretations to be a natural outcome of a complex political attempt to change conceptions of identity within a multicultural society with an extensive history. In this respect, the presence of different interpretations represented the multifaceted and pervasive impact of the Ottomanist agenda. Clarification of the characteristics of these different Ottomanist perceptions is essential for us to comprehend the intellectual and political legacy of the Ottoman Empire in the post-Ottoman period.

The discussion of the ideas of these three intellectuals demonstrates that the changing conceptions of state, individual, and land were an integral part of the story of Ottomanism in the last century of the Empire. In the course of Ottomanist endeavours, the state transformed from a vehicle that mainly promoted the omnipotent authority of the Sultan over lands and subjects into a mechanism that represented and served the people bound by the legal ties of citizenship. Similarly, individuals seen as the subjects of the Sultan became equal citizens whose rights and duties were defined by the constitution and their emotional ties to the fatherland. Lastly, land, which had once been the property of the Sultan, became a source of emotional bonds between citizens of the same territory and, thus, the home of an "imagined political community." With their intellectual efforts, Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı were active participants in this transformation. Tunalı Hilmi promoted discussions shaped by the widespread political discourses of the century regarding the ties of citizenship, the state's duties, and equal rights of citizens. Mainly inspired by the arguments of Renan, Mustafa Satı adapted nationalist rhetoric to an Ottoman context and promoted an extensive discourse to create an awareness of a national Ottoman identity. Lastly, Galanti emphasized on the role of common language for the transformation of a partially isolated community into a fully integrated and equal segment of Ottoman society.

Their intellectual rhetoric reveals that the roots of many sociopolitical terms and concepts, which continue to affect our lives today, were originated in the Late Ottoman period. For example, they regularly utilized terms such as *millî, memleket, vatandaş,* and *Türkiye* with secular connotations to define relations between land, state, and citizens. This shows that such terms, often exclusively considered in the context of nation-states, should be examined in broader political and periodical contexts. Moreover, similar terms deployed by Hilmi, Galanti, and Satı sometimes carried different meanings. For example, while for Hilmi, the term "Turk" mainly referred to a specific ethnic group, for Mustafa Satı, depending on the

context, it could refer to all Muslims in the Empire.[134] Hilmi and Satı used the term related to nation (*millet*) mainly with secular connotations, while Galanti used the term with the classical meaning in Ottoman society, referring to the main religious communities. Thus, it is necessary for us to approach terms regarding identities not as fixed but as fluid elements within the complex milieu of the Late Ottoman Empire.

Last but not least, another common aspect of these three intellectuals was their active effort in realising their political pursuits. They were not passive writers but rather active players who were keen to sculpt aspects of their society in accordance with their Ottomanist worldviews. Yet, for such an aim they needed tools: language and education. Thus, these tools will be the focus of the following chapters which will thereby offer a more holistic view of the three intellectual's political visions and the nature of the transformations they experienced in the subsequent years of their intellectual careers

[134] Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 89.

CHAPTER III

The Role of Language in Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı's Ottomanist Visions

The nationalist historiographies of the twentieth century mainly approached developments related to the Turkish language over the course of the nineteenth century through teleological lenses. Turkish historiography perceived these developments as organic aspects of the inevitable rise of a Turkish national consciousness. Similarly, some other national historiographies of the post-Ottoman period reflected the increasing influence of the Turkish language as evidence of how Turkish nationalism gradually dominated the politics of the Empire and alienated non-Turkish groups. Undoubtedly, the intellectual and political developments related to the Turkish language hold an important place in understanding the story of Turkish nationalism. However, this is only one chapter of a broad story that could be written about the role that the Turkish language played within the context of the late Ottoman Empire.

By the nineteenth century, vernaculars already held a solid place in European politics. States considered vernacular languages crucial tools in mobilizing the masses towards common goals and in centralizing their administrative systems, and ethnic groups perceived them as essential for defining identities as well as for voicing political claims. Overall, vernaculars were accepted as an important element in the establishment of national consciousness.[1] In this context, the Ottoman state chose to promote Ottoman Turkish as one of the pillars of its Ottomanist agenda to create a common identity and re-structure its political system in a similar fashion to that of nation-state models. However, promoting

[1] For a detailed discussion of this process see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006), 37-46.

Ottoman Turkish as a common language for all Ottomans was a complex task. In addition to the political and logistical complications, the multi-lingual social dynamics of the Empire and the specific features of Ottoman Turkish posed significant challenges for the realization of such a policy.

Ottoman Turkish was mainly utilized in the administrative and literary life of the Empire. The colloquial Turkish in Anatolia constituted the core of the language, but it borrowed heavily from Persian and Arabic.[2] Thus, the full command of Ottoman Turkish also required significant familiarity with these two languages. Its complex nature, according to various nineteenth-century Ottoman intellectuals, was one reason for the disparity between this written language and spoken Turkish. Additionally, Ottoman Turkish was only one of the languages in use in a multi-lingual Ottoman society. Prior to the nineteenth century, in addition to various spoken languages, the written languages in the Empire had included Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Hebrew and Ladino. By the nineteenth century, this list of written languages had expanded further.[3] Accordingly, different alphabets were in circulation in the sociocultural life of the Empire. Moreover, even the same language could be written in different alphabets, as in the examples of some Turkish-speaking Greek and Armenian communities, who utilized the alphabet of their own religious communities for Turkish.[4] Thus, in the context of this multilingual picture of the Empire and the specific features of Ottoman Turkish, the central state's aim to promote Ottoman Turkish stimulated debates and raised a number of contentious questions, including whether or not Ottoman

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[2] Christine Woodhead, "Ottoman Languages," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 143; Celia Kerslake, "Ottoman Turkish," in *The Turkic Languages,* eds. Lars Johanson, Eva A. Csato, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1998), 179-182.

[3] Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)?," *Middle Eastern Literatures: incorporating Edebiyat* 6, no.1 (2003): 40. Also see Johan Strauss, "Linguistic Diversity and Everyday Life in the Ottoman Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans (late 19th–early 20th century)," *The History of the Family* 16, no.2 (2011): 126-141; Woodhead, "Ottoman Language," 143-156.

[4] For a deeper understanding of literary languages in Ottoman Empire see Strauss, "Who Read," 39-76.

Turkish could be an element of modern Ottoman identity, how capable Ottoman Turkish was as a medium of communication to achieve Ottomanist goals, and how possible it was for the state to achieve its centralizing goals through Ottoman Turkish.

These politically oriented questions surrounding language elicited a strong response in the intellectual sphere of the Empire, which, in turn, significantly expanded the implications of the debates on Ottoman Turkish in the course of the nineteenth century.[5] Standardization, simplification and competency of the language became a concern of Ottoman intellectuals within the context of their broad Ottomanist goals. Moreover, the issue of literacy in the Empire was at the heart of these multi-angled language discussions. Without a high literacy rate in the society, any political goals or considerations in relation to language were meaningless. A partial result of this concern was the addition of debates on the use of the Arabo-Persian script to the broader language discussions.

Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı did not remain outside of these extensive discussions. In their Ottomanist ideas, language occupied an important place. They discussed the significance of the Turkish language within the Ottomanist agenda and problematized the philological features of the language in the context of their sociopolitical aims. However, despite the three intellectuals' similar concerns on language, their particular focuses and conclusions sometimes differed due to their own intellectual or political perspectives. The overall examination of their ideas on Turkish shows the wide role language played within the context of the Ottomanist agenda. Moreover, their ideas on language stand as different cases which reveal how Ottomanism transformed questions surrounding language

[5] For an examination of debates over Ottoman Turkish in the late Ottoman Empire see Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri* [Development and Simplification Phases in Turkish Language] (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1972); Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey* (Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1954); Kamile İmer, *Türkiye'de Dil Planlaması: Türk Dil Devrimi* [Language Planning in Turkey: Turkish Language Revolution] (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, Kültür Eserleri, 2001).

into broad political discussions about its influence on identity construction, its political ability to reflect sociopolitical changes occurring in the system in the nineteenth century, and its use as a tool for Ottoman intellectuals and bureaucrats to adapt to the political requirements of the era. Naturally, this transformation was not free of complexities. In the face of these complications, however, Ottomanism aimed to produce its own means to promote its premises. The ideas of these three intellectuals, in this context, also help us to detect and examine some of these strategies and thus to understand how Ottomanism worked within society. Last but not least, these reflections represent a legacy of Ottomanism, specifically on these intellectuals' nationalist ideas and, in general, on the political and intellectual sphere of the post-Ottoman period.

Language: A Central Issue for Ottoman Citizenship Building

The concern over a common language as part of Ottoman identity had grown in the Empire in light of the state's policies to promote Ottoman Turkish and intellectual discussions on different aspects of the language. By the mid-nineteenth century, most Western states had already adopted vernaculars as their official languages and had deployed them as a part of their identity politics.[6] At the time of increasing Western pressure and nationalist movements, the Ottoman Empire did not refrain from following a similar path. Thus, as part of its efforts to re-structure its sociopolitical system following the Imperial Edict in 1839, the state began to promote the Turkish language. The goal of the Ottoman state was twofold. It aimed, first, to benefit from a common language in centralizing its state system and, second, to deploy it as one of the elements in creating a common Ottoman identity. The first milestone that ensured the central place of Turkish in the official Ottomanist state agenda was the enactment of an education law in 1869. The law established central state supervision on education affairs and made Turkish the language of instruction in state schools "except for the lower elementary

[6] Anderson, *Imagined,* 85.

schools for non-Muslims".[7] Seven years after the law was implemented, the status of Turkish was fully consolidated with the promulgation of *Kanun-i Esasi* [The Fundamental Law] in 1876. Article 18 of the constitution defined Turkish as the official language of the Ottoman State by stating: "Knowledge of Turkish, which is the official language of the state, is required to be eligible for public offices*."*[8] Furthermore, Article 68 established a speaking knowledge of Turkish as a prerequisite to be a member of the parliament.[9] These were, indeed, the clearest indications of the high standing Turkish held in the policies of the Empire. Yet these articles did not appear out of nowhere. Instead, they were both a part and an outcome of ongoing state initiatives and extensive intellectual debates.

As the idea of a common language gained significance in the Empire, the question of literacy and the organization of an efficient education apparatus through which to diffuse Ottomanist ideals became greater concerns. These were, in fact, interconnected issues that held significant importance for the realization of a unified Ottoman society and the creation of a modern Ottoman citizen. As Benjamin Fortna points out, at the time, literacy and education were becoming the main tools of states across the globe to establish national identities.[10] The Ottoman State did not remain outside these political trends. As will be discussed in detail in chapter 4, the state had intensified its efforts to extend the scope and inclusivity of its central education apparatus by the mid-century. One of the early significant acts of the state was to

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[7] C. Ernest Dawn, "The Origins of Arab Nationalism," in *The Origins of Arab Nationalism,* eds. Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, Reeva S. Simon (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 20.

[8] Şeref Gözübıyık and Suna Kili, *Türk Anayasa Metinleri 1839-1980* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları No. 496, 1982), 29.

[9]Ibid., 36. The same article ends as: "Knowledge of reading Turkish and even writing in that language at an acceptable level will be a required condition to be a deputy in the elections, which will be held at the end of the first four years*."*

[10] Benjamin Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 13-16.

allow non-Muslim students to enrol in *Rüştiye* schools in 1867.[11] However, in its efforts, the state had to deal with significant problems such as a lack of financial and qualified human resources. Furthermore, it had to compete with other non-state education networks in order to reach its aims of inclusivity. Among these non-state actors, the schools of the Armenian and Greek communities - and later the network of *Alliance Israélite* - were especially significant competitors as they already had well-established institutions that had significant influence over their own communal educational affairs. Having said that, prominent historian Carter Findley estimates that, as a result of its efforts, the Ottoman State managed to raise the Muslim literacy rate from around 1 percentage at the beginning of the nineteenth century to 5-10 percentage at the end of the century. [12] This increase reflects the Ottoman State's highly significant but, given the extent of their goals, insufficient efforts. Therefore, the question of how to increase the literacy rate remained a heated subject for bureaucrats and intellectuals until the very end of the Empire. This concern, along with the state's broader aim of promoting Ottoman Turkish, triggered extensive discussions over various aspects of the language with two main focuses: accessibility and competency of the common language.

Sultan Mahmud II (r.1808-1839) was one of the earliest official figures to initiate the discussion on language. One of the Sultan's main goals was to centralize the state system. As a part of this concern, the first official Ottoman newspaper *Takvim-i Vakayi* [Calendar of

[11] Mahir Şaul, "The Mother Tongue of the Polyglot: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism among the Sephardim of Istanbul," in *Turkish - Jewish Encounters*, ed. Mehmet Tütüncü (Netharland: Haarlem, 2001), 153.

[12] Carter V. Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 139. Different studies provide different estimations on literacy rate. For example Donald Quataert estimates that, the Ottoman State managed to raise the Muslim literacy rate from 2-3 percentage at the beginning of the nineteenth century to possibly 15 percentage at the end of the century. Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 169. It is also important to note that the numbers does not reflect significant gender imbalance in literacy rates. For an evaluation of estimations on literacy rate see François Georgeon, "Lire et écrire à la fin de l'Empire ottoman: quelques remarques introductives," in *Oral et écrit dans le monde turc-ottoman*, ed. Nicolas Vatin, *REMMM* 75–76 (1995): 171–73.

Events] was founded in 1831.[13] The newspaper planned to issue official announcements and important internal and external news. It also sought to facilitate communication between the state and society. In this context, it's no surprise that the Sultan was concerned with the accessibility of the language in the newspaper's Ottoman Turkish edition.[14] The factor behind his concern was probably his aim to help the newspaper reach a wider audience.

The concern over the accessibility of the language was also visible among the new bureaucratic class of the nineteenth century, which first emerged at the time of Mahmud II. Some of the *Tanzimat* period's key bureaucrats, Mustafa Reşit Paşa, Sadık Rıfat Paşa, Ali Paşa and Fuat Paşa, who might also be considered members of the Empire's intellectual sphere, stressed the necessity of simple language in administrative writings and official announcements of the state. Their aim was to overcome the gaps between written and spoken languages in order to make the state documents more accessible and, thus, strengthen ties between the administration and Ottoman society.[15] This was also a reflection of the new relations between the state and society as perceived by the modern bureaucratic class of the Empire.

The emphasis on simple language was also an important issue among members of the gradually expanding intellectual sphere of the Empire in the nineteenth century. As mentioned, some intellectuals perceived themselves as agents to enlighten the wider public. Thus, they sought for a language that would allow them to reach the widest audience possible;

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[13] *Takvim-i Vakayi* was also published in Greek, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, and French. Yet the translated issues of the newspaper did not always display continuity in terms of publication of the issues and translations of the news. See, Johann Strauss, "*'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute'* Printing and publishing in a multi-ethnic society," in *Late Ottoman Society, Intellectual Legacy,* ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (Abingdon: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 240.

[14] Konur Ertop, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Dil Sadeleşmesi" [From Tanzimat to Republic - The Simplification of Language], in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 2:333.

[15] Ertop, "Sadelşemesi," 334; Enver Ziya Karal, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Türk Dili Sorunu" [The Problem of Turkish Language After Tanzimat], in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 2:316. Levend, *Evreleri*, 82.

for them, language was a means rather than an end. They problematized the linguistic complexities of Ottoman Turkish and argued for its simplification. An article published in the first private Ottoman Turkish newspaper, *Ceride-i Havadis* [Journal of News], in 1840 was an early example of a journal piece pointing out the gap between the written and spoken language of the Empire. The aim of the piece was to introduce Mustafa Sami Efendi's work, *Avrupa Risalesi* [A Pamphlet on Europe]. Emphasizing the similarity between written and spoken languages in Europe, the article argued that the characteristics of European languages facilitated the exchange of ideas between different segments of society. A similar exchange of opinions among Ottomans, it asserted, was not possible due to the characteristics of Ottoman written language.[16] One of the forefathers of Ottoman journalism, İbrahim Şinasi was one of the first intellectuals to stress the importance of closing the gap between spoken and written languages. In the preface to the first issue of *Tercüman-ı Ahval* [Interpreter of Events], the Empire's second private newspaper founded by Şinasi and Agah Efendi, he clearly expressed newspapers' responsibility and desire to utilize simple language in order to reach as large an audience as possible.[17] The need to bridge spoken and written languages continued to be voiced throughout the second half of the century by other prolific Ottoman intellectuals, such as Ali Suavi and Şemsettin Sami.[18] In the context of ongoing political transformation, these debates also reflected a concern over how to increase the accessibility of knowledge for the people. Undoubtedly such concerns were seminal for changing trends in the circulation of ideas and the rise of a sociopolitical consciousness among the population. These debates,

[16] Ertop, "Sadeleşmesi," 334.
[17] Şinasi remarks: "There is no need to explain that, while speech is a divine gift for the expression of thought, writing is the finest invention of the human intelligence, consisting as it does in the science of depicting speech by means of the pen. Proceeding from a regard for this truth, editorial notice is hereby given that it is a bounden duty to write this newspaper in a way that will be easily understood by the public at large." qtd. in and trans. by Lewis, *Catastrophic Success,*13.
[18] Levend, *Evreleri*, 115, 130.

moreover, served as a channel for the new intellectuals to question the relations between themselves and society.

Discussions of the simplification of language also reflected aspects of changing political relations between the state and individuals over the course of the nineteenth century. One striking example of this reflection was *Şiir ve İnşa* [Poetry and Composition] by Ziya Paşa, published in *Hürriyet* [Freedom] newspaper in 1868. In this piece, Ziya Paşa, a prolific writer and important statesman, touched on various problems and linguistic features of Ottoman Turkish while examining the characteristics of Ottoman poetry.[19] He asked, "What is the benefit of reading the officially announced Sultan's decrees and written decrees in front of common people? Or are these written papers special only for those who possess literary composition skills?" He then continued to argue that people in Ottoman lands were not aware of their rights as they were not able to understand them and, thus, were still subjected to injustices. Yet, Ziya Paşa remarked, any kind of infringement by authorities was not possible in France or England, as the people of these countries were aware of the laws and could sue the officials immediately.[20] Thus, in Ziya Paşa's mind, the simplification of the language was necessary for the consolidation of the rule of law and the accountability of the political system in accordance with the Ottomanist agenda of the period. This approach to the features of the language, indeed, represented one of the early seeds of the development of democratic ideals in the society's political consciousness.

Discussions on the simplicity of language went hand in hand with debates over standardization and competency. As early as 1840, Mustafa Sami Efendi drew his readers'

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[19] Ziya Paşa, "Şiir ve İnşa," *Hurriyet*, no.11, September 7, 1868. For transliterated version of the text see Levend, *Evreleri*, 117- 122.

[20] Ziya Paşa, "Şiir ve İnşa," 5. A similar idea was also mentioned by Namık Kemal. In his article *Lisan-ı Osmani'nin Edebiyatı Hakkında Bazı Mülahaztı Şamildir* [Observations on Literature in the Ottoman Language], he stated, "Even of literates in Istanbul, perhaps one in ten is incapable of getting as much as he would like from a normally phrased note or even from a State law, the guarantor of his rights." Qtd. in and transl. by Lewis, *Catastrophic Success*, 13.

attention to the efforts of Western states to standardize their languages as part of their goals to increase literacy and diffuse education.[21] With similar aims, the Ottoman State also showed interest in the standardization of the language in order to make it accessible to all and competent to support education. To this end, one of the most important early initiatives was the foundation of *Encümen-i Danış* [Ottoman Academy of Sciences] in 1851. Reşit Paşa and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa were two statesmen behind this institution. Some of the aims of the Academy were to prepare textbooks on different subjects in Turkish and to support studies on the Turkish language. It especially urged the utilization of simple Turkish in academic works.[22] As its first resolution, the Academy prepared a book of Turkish grammar, a Turkish dictionary, and a book of Turkish history.[23] However, *Encümen-i Danış* lasted only eleven years, and the Academy could not accomplish most of its goals. Considering non-Ottoman examples of such an academy, *Encümen-i Danış* was a latecomer. *Académie Française* [French Academy], founded in 1635, stood out as an inspiration for *Encümen-i Daniş*. The Ottoman Empire's rival, the Russian Empire, founded the Russian Academy in 1783. The Russian Academy was also inspired by the French Academy and worked on the development of the Russian language. It published a Russian dictionary in the years between 1789-1794 and a Russian grammar book in 1802.[24] These institutions played important roles in the promotion of their national languages over the course of the nineteenth century. Compared to these examples, the lifespan and legacy of *Encümen-i Daniş* was very limited. Yet, as the first significant official attempt, it was an important model for later efforts to promote and systematize studies on language in the coming years of the Empire and post-Ottoman period.

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[21] Mustafa Sami Efendi, *Avrupa Risalesi* [A Pamphlet of Europe] (1852), 38.
[22] Cahit Bilim, "İlk Türk Bilim Akademisi: Encümen-i Daniş" [The first Turkish Academy of Science: Ottoman Academy of Sciences], *Hacettepe Üniverisitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 3, no. 2 (1985): 84-87.
[23] Karal, "Sorunu," 316.
[24] Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry Into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (London: Methuen, 1977), 83.

As the intellectuals discussed elements of the language in the context of their concerns over literacy and education, the Arabo-Persian alphabet also became a subject of inquiry. Münif Paşa was one of the first intellectuals who openly problematized the features of the alphabet. He was a former translator of Arabic and Persian in *Tercüme Odası* and had been one of the main initiators for the foundation of *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* [Ottoman Scientific Society], an institution founded by Ottoman intellectuals with similar purposes to *Encümen-i Daniş.* In his speech given at the society in 1862, Münif Paşa stressed the difficulties arising from possible alternative readings of some letters in the Ottoman alphabet. Thus, he proposed two solutions: i) to utilize full vocalization through diacritics, ii) to write letters separately.[25] A year later Azeri intellectual Mirza Fath-Ali Akhundzade (1812–1878) presented one of the earliest concrete proposals for the revision of the alphabet to *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye*. The committee found his idea useful and accepted the need to revise aspects of the alphabet. Yet they did not approve the proposal due to two main concerns: i) it did not facilitate the printing process of the language; ii) a modification on the alphabet could lead to the oblivion of ancient Islamic works.[26] In the coming years, these points would be two common arguments made by intellectuals opposing a change in the alphabet.

Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı did not abstain from voicing their own ideas on language. Some of the most popular questions asked at that time occupied significant places in their minds. What was the role of the Turkish language in the Ottomanist project? Was the promotion of Turkish feasible as a part of every Ottoman's identity? Were other communities ready to welcome Turkish as part of their sociopolitical identities? Did the promotion of Turkish mean the suppression of local or communal linguistic skills of some Ottoman communities? In the context of their Ottomanist visions, their works extensively

[25] Münif Paşa, "İmla Meselesi" [The Issue of Ortography], in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Alfabe Tartışmaları* [The Discussions of the Alphabet From the Tanzimat to the Republic], ed. and translit. Hüseyin Yorulmaz (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1995), 25-28.
[26] Levend, *Evreleri*, 156.

addressed the implications of such questions. Furthermore, they believed that a competent and standardized language could help create a common identity, increase literacy, spread education and, thus, eventually help society attain progress. To this end, they were interested in discussions on the linguistic aspects of Turkish, though their focuses differed.

Tunalı Hilmi mainly wrote on the subject in the context of his political activism and political ideas, while Avram Galanti examined the topic with his philologist curiosity and political concerns. Mustafa Satı, on the other hand, delved into certain questions mainly within the framework of education-related issues. Examining these differences along with their broader ideas on the subject allow us to further comprehend the nature of their Ottomanist ideas. Their ideas on language did not necessarily define the directions of the debates, yet they all contributed to arguments on a subject that had been influential in defining the place of language in both the Ottoman and post-Ottoman periods.

The Place of Language in Defining Ottoman Identity for the Three Intellectuals

The concept *Osmanlıcasına* [like an Ottoman] catches a reader's eye often in the lines of the *10th Hutbe*. Tunalı Hilmi underlined the importance of "asking after someone like an Ottoman" [*Osmanlıcasına haber sormak*], "communicating like an Ottoman" [*Osmanlıcasına dertleşmek*], and "thinking like an Ottoman" [*Osmanlıcasına düşünmek*] in the context of his central goal to promote an emotional and mental unity among different communities within Ottoman society. Clearly, a common language was necessary for the realization of these aims. This common language, according to Hilmi, was Turkish. In his writings, he presented Turkish as a catalyst to create an emotionally and politically integrated society and thus assigned it a central place in his Ottomanist stance. He clarified the details of the central place of Turkish in his work *Murad* [Will]. Article 53 of the draft constitution presented in *Murad*

stated that Turkish will be the official language of the Ottoman state.[27] Two of the main focuses of this draft were the administrative structure of the state and the education system. In both areas language held a significant place. The draft defined Turkish as the language to be used in state affairs and knowledge of Turkish as a requirement to be an official in the Ottoman state.[28] Similarly, the draft assigned an important role to Turkish in its proposal regarding secondary and higher education.[29] According to Hilmi's model, secondary schools, in which the language of instruction was not Turkish, were to offer courses in Turkish, while Turkish was also to be the language of instruction in public schools for higher education.[30]

Tunalı Hilmi had examined the Ottoman constitution and laws in the process of writing *Murad*. The fact that there were significant parallels between his approach to the Turkish language and the policies of the central state shows that Hilmi approved the state's approach to the use of Turkish in this period. The state's policies, however, were not always welcomed by every part of Ottoman society. As the idea of nation gradually spread among Ottoman communities, some ethnic groups perceived the promotion of Turkish as an offensive political act against their own cultures. These accusations were voiced especially by Arabs in response to the policies of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) during the Second Constitutional Period. Various contemporary sources viewed Ottomanist policies as Turkification measures.[31] These sources have laid the basis for a number of historians in the the twentieth century to interpret Arab nationalism as a reaction to the Turkist policies of the

[27] Tunalı Hilmi, *Murad* (Kahire: 1318 [1900]), 102.
[28] Article 54 of the text states: "Every clerk will be a Turkish speaker and, according to the job, will be Turkish literate. All formalities in the government departments will be executed in Turkish". Ibid., 102.
[29] The model did not impose any language requirement on the institutions of primary education. According to Tunalı Hilmi, these institutions' instruction language could be the local language, and the locals could decide whether or not Turkish classes would be present in the curriculum. Ibid., 100.
[30] Ibid., 100-101.
[31] For example, in the 1910s one of the members of an Arab society listed nine points to demonstrate the ways that CUP repressed Arabs. His points focused mainly on two issues: i) the lack of Arab representation in the administrative organs of the state and CUP, ii) the elimination and repression of the Arab language. Eliezer Tauber, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements* (London: Frank Cass, 1993), 57.

Ottoman State.[32] However, the main motivation of the state in deploying Turkish was to centralize its state system. Furthermore, its policies did not pose any direct threat to the linguistic assets of any ethnic group.[33] This attitude of the Ottoman State remained consistent until its final dissolution. Even at the last phase of the Empire, when there was intense intellectual interest in the Turkish language as an internal element of Turkish nationalism, the Ottoman State did not impose Turkish with assimilative intentions. As Dawn indicates, the linguistic policies of the Second Constitutional era were mainly continuous with previous periods.[34] The state did not interfere with the usage of Arabic in the press, literature, or local practices and did not prohibit the teaching of local languages.[35]

Likewise, Tunalı Hilmi's emphasis on the Turkish language in his own writings might have prompted similar accusations. In fact, Hilmi's constant efforts to prove that the proliferation of Turkish as part of the Ottomanist agenda could not inflict any harm on existing cultures or languages in Ottoman society might be interpreted as his anticipation of such accusations.[36] His ideas on the language led some historians to describe his pursuit as having eventual Turkist ends.[37] It is true that some of his statements regarding the role of Turkish within society contain patronizing language, such as in the opening sentence for *10th*

[32] For a brief historiographical discussion of the approach see Dawn, "Arab Nationalism," 11-19.
[33]Johann Strauss in his article "*The Millets and The Ottoman Language"* provides us an angle to evaluate the central state's policies on Turkish language was whether a threat or not for other languages during the Tanzimat period. He argues that the policies of the Tanzimat period provided a suitable environment for Greek language to flourish. Johann Strauss, "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th - 20th Centuries)," *Die Welt des Islams* 35, no.2 (1995): 230.
[34] Dawn, "Arab Nationalism", 19-23.
[35] The only significant change in terms of language at the last decade of the Empire was the requirement of Turkish in all courts of the empire. Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 92. However, there was also a law, which ordered the presence of a translator in every court for people who did not know the official language. Dawn, "Arab Nationalism," 20.
[36] For example see: Hilmi, *Murad,* 100, 103.
[37] For example see M. Lütfullah Karaman, "Imparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e Uzanan Süreçte Osmanlıcılıktan Türk Milliyetçiliğine İdeolojik Dönüşümün Çarpıcı Bir Örneği: Tunalı Hilmi," *Dünü ve Bu Günüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi*, no.3 (1992), 74-75. Karaman thinks that some of Tunalı Hilmi's statements give the impression that there was, clearly, an inherent Turkism in his own mind from the early period of his career.

Hutbe: "Turks are the native Ottomans. Every Ottoman must be able to read what a Turk writes.*"*[38] However, in evaluating these statements, we should also take the nature of the works that contain them into consideration before reaching broad conclusions on Hilmi's political goals. For example, those whom he calls Turks, mainly referring to the Turkish-speaking Muslim community in the Empire, was the target audience of his series of *Hutbes,* which were written in Turkish. Hilmi's aim was to lead his readers towards certain political goals with simple and direct messages rather than complex, well-structuralized statements. The introduction in the Arabic version of the text did not include these statements as its target audience was different.[39] On the other hand, his works *Murad* and *Bir Şart* [A Charter] provide us with his more detailed proposals regarding the policies to pursue in order to construct society within the framework of his Ottomanist visions and thus grant us a deeper perspective from which to understand his political aims.[40] His proposals within these works reveal that while Tunalı Hilmi aimed to promote Turkish as the main language of the state, he also embraced the multi-linguistic reality of the Ottoman Empire and did not pursue any assimilative political goals.

In *Murad*, Hilmi clearly remarks that it was important for Ottomans not to take offense regarding their religion, nationality, or language.[41] To this end, his ideas promoted a sociopolitical space in which local languages could continue to exist in practice and theory. He proposed that the language of instruction for primary education, and in some cases secondary education, should be the local language. Similarly, he supported the idea of

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[38] Tunalı Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (Kahire: 1316[1898/99]), 2.
[39] Tunalı Hilmi, *al-Khuṭbah al-ʻĀshirah* [10th Khutbah], trans. Āmīn Ānthakī (al-Qāhirah: Ṭabʿah al-Thānīyah 1326[1908]).
[40] Tunalı Hilmi, *Şart* (1320 [1902])
[41] Hilmi, *Murad*, 103. Also see Article 31 in Tunalı Hilmi, *Un projet d'organisation de la souverainete de peuple en* Turquie (Geneva, 1902), 27. Hilmi remarks, "The house, the post, the liberty of education, the religion, the consciousness and the race of each Ottomans are inviolable." In the Turkish version of his work, however, the same article does not include the terms liberty of education, the religion, the consciousness and the race. Hilmi, *Şart*, 7.

utilizing the local language of the majority along with Turkish in legal affairs. Moreover, Hilmi emphasized the use of translation to reach non-Turkish speaking citizens of the Empire. He proposed publishing laws in local languages alongside Turkish and a newspaper in every community's local language.[42] Hilmi's proposals were in support of multiculturalism. Furthermore, his written concerns reflect an early phase of discussions on the basic constitutional rights of citizens in terms of receiving an education in one's native language, having access to the state apparatus, and being informed about one's personal rights. In this context, moreover, the promotion of both local and central languages in Hilmi's text represents a promising attempt to address concerns of intellectuals such as Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal over the ability of citizens to understand the laws and know their own rights. Undoubtedly the feasibility of Hilmi's proposals in the context of the late Ottoman Empire remains an important question, as these sorts of projects required a strong and widespread educational system, a large number of trained bureaucrats, and extensive economic resources. Given the limited achievements of the Empire on education and economic indicators, it was a highly challenging task for such a system to be fully established.[43]

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[42] Hilmi, *Murad*, 100-104, 160; Hilmi, *Şart,* 8. From the viewpoint of the state these proposals of Hilmi were necessary measures to increase the efficiency of the state apparatus and centralize the state system. Moreover, these were also requests coming from peripheries at the time. See Kayalı, *Arabs,* 93. The imperial administration was already conscious of these needs. Regarding this, one of the measures that the state undertook was the utilization of translation mechanisms from the early nineteenth century onwards. The state translated some of its official documents into other languages in order the facilitate communication between the state and the public. Especially in the second half of the century, many laws including the Penal Code, Commercial Code, Provincial Reform Law and, most importantly *Kanun-i Esasi*, were translated into other languages. For a discussion on the subject see Johann Strauss, "A Constitution for a Multilingual Empire. Translations of the Kanun-ı Esasi and Other Official Texts Into Minority Languages," in *The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy, eds.* Herzog Christoph and Sharif Malek (Würzburg: Ergon, 2010), 21-51. Moreover, starting from the last decade of the nineteenth century, the state paid attention to improving bureaucrats' necessary linguistic skills for their future appointments. Accordingly, the state reorganized the curriculum of the *Mülkiye* in 1891 and required "every student to receive courses in Arabic, Greek, Armenian, or Albanian" Kayalı, *Arabs*. 93. Also for the amendments on the curriculum of Mülkiye see Ali Çankaya Mücellidoğlu, *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler* (Ankara: Mars Matbaası, 1968-1969), 1:239-253.
[43] This issue will be discussed further in chapter 4.

Tunalı Hilmi also perceived translation as an effective channel through which to bypass the language limitations among different communities and, thus, to facilitate daily communication in Ottoman society. As he was voicing his opinions on the subject, translation was already functioning in the gradually developing printing and publishing sectors of the Empire. Thanks to multiple translations made of the same newspapers, readers from different communities speaking various languages were able to read similar news.[44] They were being exposed similar emotions, ideas, and fictional narratives through the translations of Western literature into different languages within Ottoman society.[45] Furthermore, these readers of different languages were familiarizing themselves with similar terms and political concepts.[46] Translation at the time, indeed, served as an efficient tool to introduce literary works and news from one Ottoman community to another or from beyond Ottoman borders to Ottoman readers. It was, thus, an important practice that aided Ottomanism in intensifying intra-communal relations and constructing a shared mindset among Ottomans.[47] Being aware of the possible contributions of translations to the Ottoman

[44] One of the most well known examples was the publication of the official Ottoman newspaper *Takvim-i Vakayi*. As mentioned above, it was published in Armenian, Greek, Arabic, French, and Persian.

[45] Some of these works are *Manuscrit venu de Ste Helene, Monte-Cristo and Genoveva.* For a detailed discussion on the topic see Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)?," *Middle Eastern Literatures: Incorporating Edebiyat* 6 no.1 (2003): 61-65.

[46] For example see Bernard Lewis, "D̲jumhūriyya", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed.*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Online. Accessed on 19 April 2018 <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2066/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2112>; Bernard Lewis, "The Ottoman Legacy to Contemporary Political Arabic," in *Imperial Legacy: the Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East,* ed. L. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 203-213.

[47] The translation practices in the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire stand out as an important subject that can aid us in improving our understanding of Ottomanism. 'Who were the translators? Why did they choose to translate certain works and not others? How did translation influence the language of the original works? Did translations generate new terms and descriptions in the translated language?' These are some of the questions that need to be addressed more extensively in the context of Ottomanism. I am thankful to Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, who shared with me her many insights on the importance of translation during our conversations at ANAMED during the year 2014-15. The lectures she delivered on her new research made me realize of the need of more research on this subject matter.

cause, Tunalı Hilmi attached significant importance to the subject. In the preface of his 10th Hutbe, he remarked:

> *The publications and communications made in the language of any community must be translated into the languages of the other communities. Turks are the native Ottomans. Every Ottoman must be able to read what a Turk writes. The Turkish language means the Ottoman language. No use … Not every Ottoman can understand this. If s/he cannot understand this, can't anyone make her/him understand it? I will do my best for this. I will try to have this sermon translated to Albanian, Armenian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Arabic, Iranian, Serbian, Kurdish, and Ladino.*[48]

Tunalı Hilmi's emphasis on the need to translate communities' languages to each other was consistent with the requirements of the multi-linguistic society and pluralist political pursuits. He believed the utilization of such a practice was necessary for the multi-linguistic Empire to survive.[49] However, given the presence of vast linguistic diversity in the Empire, this was a highly ambitious proposal. In this context, Tunalı Hilmi also proposed the foundation of a company that would publish pieces in every language within Ottoman society.[50] This could work, in Hilmi's mind, as a sort of an Ottomanist propaganda agent that would spread Ottomanist ideals within society and eventually contribute to the creation of a common Ottoman mindset. However, Tunalı Hilmi did not provide any additional insights about the organizational features of the company, the works that would be published, or the languages that would be translated. He, moreover, did not discuss the possibility of realizing such an aim in the context of existing intellectual and economic dynamics. Therefore, in the pages of Tunalı Hilmi's work, the proposal remains a meaningful, yet groundless suggestion. Still, Tunalı Hilmi displayed real efforts to translate his own works, at least, into the other

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[48] Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (1316), 2.
[49] For example in the introduction of his work written in French Hilmi remarks, "A political party trying to estabilish itself in a country like Turkey cannot present or promote itself and its programme in two words and even with one or two langauges. […] The reform plans of the party and its principals should be explained to people in details, almost mathematically, with a colloquial langauge and in all languages spoken in Turkey; otherwise nor people neither party militants would know what will happen and particularly what they need to do when the time comes." Hilmi, *Projet,* 5.
[50] Tunalı Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (1327 [1909/1910]), 66.

languages of Ottoman society to reach as wide an audience as possible. To this end, he used his own language skills and benefited from his own network.[51] In addition to the languages listed in the above quotation, he also translated some of his works into French. This was a significant choice. On the one hand, French could be a means to reach non-Ottoman readers, to explain his own political agenda, and to attract their support; on the other hand, French was widely known by educated citizens of the Empire; thus, it could be considered as one of the mediums through which to communicate with an Ottoman audience and to facilitate the translation of the work into other languages in the Empire.[52]

Despite these translation efforts, the above quotation implies that, in Hilmi's mind, Turkish remained the central language to be translated into other communities' languages. This might indeed be interpreted as a hierarchical depiction of the multicultural Empire. Thus, it might be considered contradictory with the egalitarian and inclusive premises of his Ottomanist agenda. This depiction moreover stands out as one example that possibly opened the doors of scepticism for Hilmi's readers, leading them to question the end goals of his Ottomanist stance. However, this depiction might equally be the outcome of pragmatic reasoning in the search to increase the efficiency of a central state's rule over a multilinguistic society. Such reasoning would be fully consistent with Hilmi's broader ideas discussed above.

Indeed, Tunalı Hilmi perceived the Turkish language as an internal aspect of the Ottomanist system. His efforts to assign Turkish a central position in the administrative and

[51] For example, Cemil, who at the time was in New York, was one of the individuals who translated Tunalı Hilmi's 10th Hutbe into Arabic. As far as we can see from the letter Cemil wrote on June 30, 1899, Cemil was a correspondent and dedicated friend of Tunalı Hilmi who was informing him about the political issues regarding Ottoman Empire in New York and was ready to assist him in his pursuit in every possible ways. For the letter see Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnkilap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), 241. However, the Arabic copy which I was able to access was translated by Emin Antaki and published in 1908.

[52] For example see Tunalı Hilmi, *Türkiye'de Ahali Hakimliği Bir Şart -Bir Dilek* [The Sovereignty of People in Turkey: A Charter - A Wish] (1320 [1902]), 4. In the "*Yarın*" [Tomorrow] section of the book. Tunalı Hilmi remarks, "We re-examined how sovereignty of people [*ahali hakimliği*] could exist in our society in the context of the few points stated in *Murad*. We further explained and clarified the concept. We wanted Ottomans as well as friends of Ottomans who don't speak Turkish to know. Thus we translated it into French."

political affairs of the Empire were part of his belief in the need to create an integrated sociopolitical system and a common language to create a shared mindset among the Ottomans. His systematic proposals on the topic of language were neither assimilative nor threatening to multicultural aspects of the Ottoman Empire.

The role that Avram Galanti defined for Turkish was in a similar vein to the expectations of Tunalı Hilmi. Galanti perceived Turkish as the key for Jews to be able to involve themselves in the sociopolitical life of the Empire as equal citizens. This, in turn, would improve the political and economic aspects of his community. Therefore, the language was a main subject in Galanti's pursuit of the integration of Ottoman Jewry into the Ottoman political system and society.

Galanti, at the age of eleven, in one of his letters sent to his father from Rhodes, wrote, "I am now occupied with all my strength to advance and up to now I was busy (to learn) solely two languages: Ivrit [Hebrew] and French; but now we also started [to learn] the language that is spoken here by a teacher knowledgeable in Arabic and Turkish […] And my *esperansa* [hope] is in the near future [*en serka diyas*] to be able to write a couple of lines in that language [Turkish]".[53] At the time, Turkish, which became one of his primary intellectual concerns later in his life, was his fourth language after Ladino, French, and Hebrew. These words were, perhaps, what his father Moshe Galanti was hoping to hear from his son since the moment he had decided to enrol young Avram in a boarding school with a progressive curriculum. As discussed in a previous chapter, for progressive Jews at the time, integration was at the centre of the idea of progress. In this context, knowledge of Turkish represented the key for integration and thus the attainment of progress in the community. These ideas, that were likely to be his father's main motivation in sending his son to such a boarding school, formed the foundation for Galanti's ideas regarding the Turkish language.

[53] Qtd in Albert E. Kalderon, *Abraham Galante: A Biography* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1983), 7.

From the 1840s onward, prominent Jewish figures and modern institutions in the community had expressed these progressive stances. Within the community, the first official statement on the importance of Turkish appeared in a message that was sent to every community synagogue by the Chief Rabbi. The message was the result of British philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore's efforts. Following the blood libels against Jews in Damascus and Rhodes in 1840, Montefiore visited Istanbul to meet Ottoman statesmen, including the Sultan himself, and prominent figures of the Jewish community. An influential British Jew, Montefiore was concerned with rising anti-Semitism among Christians and with Ottoman Jewry's inability to cope with groundless accusations, which clearly reflected the community's impotent condition. He believed that widespread illiteracy in Turkish among Ottoman Jewry was one of the reasons for their vulnerable position in the Empire. Therefore, the official message from the Chief Rabbi reflected these concerns and encouraged Jews to learn Turkish.[54] The letter itself was written in three languages - Turkish, Hebrew, and Ladino. Hence, as Mignon remarks, this meant that the community embraced Turkish as one of its official languages.[55] This initial step of encouraging Turkish did not lead to any immediate changes. Yet, starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, initiatives promoting the learning of Turkish in the Jewish community had accelerated. The first Jewish school providing Turkish in its curriculum opened its doors in Hasköy on November 23, 1854.[56] Thereafter, all newly founded modern Jewish schools' curriculums included Turkish

[54] Abigail Green, *Moses Montefiore Jewish Liberator, Imperial Hero* (USA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 148-155; Şaul, "Polyglot", 152-3; Laurent Mignon, "Avram, İsak and the Others: Notes on the Genesis of Judeo-Turkish Literature," in *Turkish Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek Speaking Muslim and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire,* eds. Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez (İstanbul: Eren, 2011), 73-74; For the transliterated version of the letter see Avram Galanti, *Türkler ve Yahudiler* [Turks and Jews] (İstanbul: Gözlem, 1995), 173; for the official version of the letter see Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), Illustration n. 21.
[55] Mignon, "Avram", 74.
[56] Aron Rodrigue , *French Jews, Turkish Jews The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 40.

classes to varying degrees.[57] Some alumni clubs of modern schools or philanthropic organizations launched programs for the diffusion of the Turkish language.[58] Moreover, the Jewish press in Ladino that flourished from the 1840s onward paid considerable attention to the subject. For example, the first daily Ladino newspaper, *el Tiempo,* founded in 1872, explicitly underlined the importance of Turkish literacy for the socioeconomic survival of the community within the Empire and published "a section written in Turkish transliterated in Hebrew letters, every second or third day".[59] Moreover, some newspapers such as *Zaman* [Time]*, Ceride-i Tercüme* [Journal of Translation]*,* and *Üstad* [Master] were printed entirely or partly in Turkish with Hebrew letters.[60] There is no doubt that these initiatives faced some opposition within the community. Modern schools in particular faced serious resistance from conservative circles, as they challenged the social status and economic income of Jewish clergy.[61] Although the opposition did not have a decisive impact on the initiatives to diffuse Turkish, the overall result of attempts to spread Turkish literacy were far from successful. At the end of the nineteenth century, according to Moise Franco, a Jewish educator and intellectual at the time, only 1,000 of the 300,000 Jews living in Ottoman territories could speak and argue in Turkish in comparison to 80-100,000 Jews who had these same skills in French.[62] Although the concrete validity of this numerical picture is open to discussion, it points to the poor status of Turkish among Ottoman Jews. *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (AIU) played a considerable role in this sociocultural picture. Galanti was highly critical of

[57] Galanti, *Türkler*, 174.
[58] Esther Benbassa, *Une Diaspora Sepharade En Transition Istanbul, XIXe- XXe Siècle* (Paris : Éditions du Cerf, 1993), 106.
[59] Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Ottomanism in Ladino," EUI-*Mediterranean Programme Series: RSC No. 2002/20* (2002), 5.
[60] Galanti, *Türkler*, 162; Laurent Mignon, "Judeo-Turkish," in *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, eds. Aaron Rubin and Lily Kahn (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Laurent Mignon, "From İshak to İsak The Birth Pangs of Jewish Turkish Literature," in *Turkish Jews in Contemporary Turkey,* eds. Rıfat N. Bali and Laurent-Olivier Mallet (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2015), 270.
[61] Rodrigue, *Alliance*, 41-43.
[62] Norman A. Stillman, "Middle Eastern and North African Jewries Confront Modernity: Orientation, Disorientation, Reorientation," in *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries: History and Culture in the Modern Era*, ed. Harvey E. Goldberg (Blomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 64-65.

the institution's linguistic achievements in the Empire and argued for the revision of the structure of language training in the institutes.[63]

The AIU's education strategies sought to realize a Eurocentric modernization of Ottoman Jewry. The AIU insisted on the diffusion of French language and culture, and the language of instruction in the schools was French.[64] This was the result of the AIU's implicit belief in the superiority of French civilization. According to the AIU, French was the language of civilization, which had the potential to emancipate people. The emancipation process that French Jews experienced following the French Revolution was decisive on the Alliance's ideas regarding the superiority of the French language.[65] The second important language in the curriculum of AIU schools was Hebrew. Providing a strong religious education for the building of Jewish identity was also one of the aims of AIU schools. Yet Rodrigue remarks that the incompetence of Hebrew teachers, who were mainly local rabbis, hindered the attainment of this goal or, at least, resulted in varying levels of success in different AIU schools.[66] After French and Hebrew, Turkish was the third language to be taught in these schools. However, instruction in Turkish had long posed a dilemma for the AIU. Although its official ideology perceived the knowledge of the country's language as essential for the emancipation of the community, the teaching of Turkish had never been a priority in the AIU's curriculum.[67] The lack of good Turkish teachers and of appropriate teaching methods and materials had further reduced the effectiveness of the classes.[68] Last but not least, in the AIU's curriculum strategy there was no place for Ladino. This language had

[63] Abraham Galante, "La langue Turque et les Israélites de Turquie (Part 3)," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXII, no.27 (1901): 211-212; Abraham Galante, "L'enseignement dans les écoles de l'Alliance et la nécessité de leur réorganisation: Les écoles de l'Alliance Israélite en Turquie et la nécessité absolue de leur reorganisation (Part 2)," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXIII, no.27 (1902): 206-207.
[64] Rodrigue, *Alliance*, 71.
[65] Ibid., 75-76, 88.
[66] Ibid., 80-81.
[67] Ibid., 86-88.
[68] Ibid., 86.

been among the clearest identity markers of the Sephardic Jews in the Empire for centuries. Moreover, Ladino was not only a fairly developed literary language at the time, it was also the most common language in the Jewish press.[69] Yet, as Rodrigue remarks, in the context of its French-dominated sociocultural and political agenda, the AIU tried to eliminate Ladino in the Jewish community in the Empire.[70]

In his writings Galanti, too, did not ignore the contemporary importance of French, but he underlined the crucial necessity of improving the quality and quantity of local language requirements for students. Thus, in his article "L'enseignement dans les écoles de l'Alliance et la nécessité de leur réorganisation," Galanti urged the principals of AIU schools to "recall that their graduates continue to live in Turkey and need the language of the country."[71] In this respect Galanti underlined the importance of the education of two languages, Hebrew and Turkish. He remarked

> […] to provide our children with a serious education, the *Alliance Israélite* ought to modify the program of its schools in a way that the teaching hours of French, Turkish and Hebrew would be equal. [72]

According to Galanti, literacy in Turkish was necessary for students to be able to continue their education in state schools, to be employed in state offices, and to increase Jews' presence in the economic and social life of the empire.[73] Moreover, similar to Western Jews' early motivations for promoting the diffusion of Turkish in 1840s, Galanti may have thought that the diffusion of Turkish among Ottoman Jews was crucial in the fight against blood libels that continued to exist until the end of the Empire. We do not see a direct argument on the subject in his currently available sources, but, from Kalderon's work, we learn that Galanti

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[69] Şaul, *Polyglot,* 144. For an examinaiton of the cultural and intellectual importance of Ladino see Aron Rodrigue, "The Ottoman Diaspora: The Rise and Fall of Ladino Literary Culture," in *Cultures of the Jews: A New History,* ed. David Biale (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), 863-885.
[70] Rodrigue, *Alliance*, 85-86.
[71] Abraham Galante, "L'enseignement dans les écoles de l'Alliance et la nécessité de leur réorganisation (Part 3)," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXIII, no.30 (1902): 228.
[72] Galante, "La langue Turque," 212.
[73] Galante, "L'enseignement dans les écoles (Part 2)," 206.

studied Greek in order to understand ideas about blood libels circulating in the Greek press and wrote articles in French, Turkish, and Ladino to share his own views on the topic.[74] Therefore it is possible that he viewed the learning of Turkish as important to the community's ability to defend itself. Similarly, he perceived learning Turkish as a way to appreciate the Ottoman State's protective position in the context of blood libels. He concluded his article "Trois calomnies de sang" [Three blood libels], in which he mentions three different incidents of blood libels in the late Empire, with the remark "However, we Jews of Turkey must be grateful to our magnanimous Sultan, who loves and protects us, and to the Muslim people who treat us with kindness."[75] These sorts of statements were part of Galanti's broader appreciative discourse as discussed in chapter 2. Learning Turkish also remained a way to secure the community's relations with the state and to strengthen connections between Ottoman Jews and Ottoman Muslims in the fragile internal and external context of the period.[76] Furthermore, a reading knowledge of Hebrew was essential for the preservation of Jewish religious identity and to intensify and improve the cultural consciousness of the Jewish community.[77] In Galanti's explanations, Turkish and Hebrew stood as integral and equal components of Jewish identity in the Ottoman Empire. There was no hierarchical relationship between the two languages, and they were seen as complementary sociocultural skills for Ottoman Jews. Such a dual promotion was the reflection of the inclusive aims of an Ottomanist stance in accordance with the multilinguistic dynamics of the Empire. One noteworthy aspect, however, was Galanti's cavalier approach to Ladino, an inseparable

[74] Kalderon, *Abraham*, 22.
[75] Abraham Galante, "Trois calomnies de sangre," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXII, no.17 (1901): 132.
[76] Galanti, " L'enseignement dans les écoles (Part 2)," 206.
[77] At the end of the nineteenth century Galanti thought that Judaism in the east was in decadence. According to him, the main reason for this spiritual decadence was the lack of Hebrew knowledge among Jews. He perceived Hebrew as essential for the understanding of religious teachings, yet he thought at the time it was "entirely abandoned" in the East. Abraham Galante, "La predication Juive en Turquie, décadence religieuse," *Archives Israélites,* Paris*,* LVX, no.29 (1889): 111.

component of Sephardim identity, in his series of writings focusing on education. One explanation for his approach could simply be his target audience and his career expectations at the time. The audience for Galanti's series of articles published in *Archives Israélites* consisted mainly of French Jews. Furthermore, Galanti had serious funding concerns for his educational initiatives in Rhodes, and AIU stood out as one of his possible financial resources.[78] Similarly, he could have had sought some further career opportunities at the AIU.[79] Therefore, Galanti might have avoided making arguments contradictory to the principles and sociopolitical aims of AIU. Another possible explanation for Galanti's lack of enthusiasm for Ladino could perhaps be that it was common for intellectuals at the time to despise Ladino. Despite the fact that Ladino was the most common medium through which ideas were exchanged in the community's press, some Jewish intellectuals perceived Ladino as unsupportive to the progress of the community due to the perception that it was archaic and linguistically poor. David Fresco, a well-known Sephardi journalist and the long-lasting editor of one of the most important Ladino journals, *El Tiempo,* argued that because Ladino lacked "the official trappings of linguistic respectability," Ladino-speaking Jews were "mute people."[80] Moreover, the traditional education, which was simply a religious education, employed Ladino as the language of instruction. Therefore, with the gradual spread of modern education within the community, Ladino symbolized the old way of teaching. Galanti could have been influenced by these arguments, especially due to the fact that, as the language of instruction used in religious institutions, Ladino did not fit well with Galanti's broader

[78] During his time in Rhodes, Galanti wrote articles to draw Western Jews' attention to education conditions in Rhodes and ask for financial support. For example see **"**Appel a la charité Juive pour la foundation d'une école," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXIV, no.47 (1898): 381-82.
[79] Avner Levi thinks that Galanti sought to become the principal of Alliance schools in Rhodes and Izmir. Avner Levi, "Kahire'de Gazetecilik Yılları ve Avram Galanti," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.153 (Eylül 1996):13-14.
[80] David M. Bunis, "Modernization and the Language Question among Judezmo-Speaking Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire," in *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries: History and Culture in the Modern Era*, ed. Harvey E. Goldberg (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 227. Also see Rodrigue, "Ottoman Diaspora," 881-882.

sociopolitical and integrationist aims nor his secular mindset. Yet these assumptions are questionable, as Galanti had always been concerned with the sociocultural heritage of his community. In fact, his early works attest that he did not entirely neglect Ladino.[81] Furthermore, he acknowledged and appreciated the Ottoman Jewish press, of which the most common language was Ladino. He perceived the Jewish press as "el professor del pueblo" [people's professor], as he remarked in one of his articles in 1904.[82] Similarly, when he criticized the religious decadence among Eastern Jews, he noted the fact that the Ladino press in Istanbul, Izmir, and Salonika could be the initial source for the modern "awakening" of the Jewish people.[83] Indeed, Galanti's approach to Ladino presents a complex picture, reflecting his convoluted efforts to promote his community at a time of drastic sociopolitical transformations. Therefore, it is better to interpret his undetermined position not as a reflection of the superficiality of his ideas but as a fluid attempt in the course of fluid times.

Despite Galanti's communal-oriented interest in Turkish, he also had an interest in the issue in his role as an inspector of the Ministry of Education in the Ottoman Archipelago. As part of this task, he was responsible for the supervision of the educational conditions in both Muslim and non-Muslim schools. One of the main focuses of his brief reports on the education facilities on the islands of Sömbeki, Meyis, İstanköy, and İncirli was the status of Turkish classes in the schools, implying that the state requested its inspector to pay particular

[81] One of Galanti's early systematic researches on language was on proverb and romances in Ladino. During his time in Rhodes at the dawn of the new century he collected proverbs and romances used among Jews in the region. He shared his research with *Revue Hispanique* in Paris. At sum he sent the journal 481 proverbs and 14 romances. The proverbs were published in 1907 by Ramon Mendes Fidal in his work Catologo dal Romancero. For the list of proverbs and a brief explanation about this collection see Avram Galante, *Quatrieme recueil de documents concernant les Juifs de Turquie Proverbes Judeo-Espagnols,* in *Histoire Des Juifs De Turquie* (Istanbul: ISIS Yayımcılık, 1985), 6:227-238; Avram Galante, *Sixieme recueil de documents concernant les Juifs de Turquie et divers sujets Juifs,* in *Histoire Des Juifs De Turquie* (Istanbul: ISIS Yayımcılık, 1985), 6:354-361. Also for brief explanation of his research process see Kalderon, *Abraham,* 18.
[82] qtd in Mignon, *"Avram",* 76
[83] Galanti, "La predication," 111.

attention to this.[84] In one section of the report on Sömbeki, Galanti remarks that he managed to appoint a teacher to teach Ottoman Turkish in a Christian school. Similarly, he informs the state that Turkish classes would be added to the curriculum in İstanköy by that year. Moreover, in the report on İncirli, he states that Turkish classes could not be added to the curriculum due to financial problems. Indeed, in the early years of his career, Galanti was one of the official actors working for the promotion of the Turkish language. Galanti's close relationship with the state might have helped him comprehend the central state's policies on language as well as sculpted and intensified his integrationist approach.

Compared to the approaches of Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti, Mustafa Satı's ideas on language represented a different perspective on the role of language in Ottoman society. Satı did not necessarily perceive the Turkish language as a part of Ottoman identity, despite the fact that he did appreciate the influence of language on one's identity formation. Influenced by the ideas of German thinkers Johann Gottfried Herder and, especially, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Mustafa Satı acknowledged the ability of a language to unite people in their ideals and emotions. In a lecture titled *Prusya'nın Intibahı ve Fichte'nin Nutuklarrı* [The Awakening of Prussia and Fichte's Speeches] addressed to the audience at *Darülfünûn* [Ottoman University], Mustafa Satı elaborated on Fichte's role in the construction of German national consciousness.[85] One of the main focuses of this lecture was Fichte's series of speeches titled *Addresses to the German Nation*. As Elie Kedourie remarks, considering the fact that the German nation did not exist as a political entity at the time of his speeches, the title referred to Fichte's belief that language was the central factor in creating a nation.[86] Fichte stated, "We give the name of people to men whose organs of speech are influenced by the same external conditions, who live together, and who develop their language in

[84] According to the scribble copy of the report, Galanti wrote the reports in Rhodes in 1317 [1901] and dispatched it to the directorate of education affairs in the Ottoman Archipelago. CAHJP P/112, F.124.
[85] Mustafa Satı, *Vatan İçin -5 Konferans-* (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası,1329 [1913]), 97-126.
[86] Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism,* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1961), 68-69.

continuous communication with each other."[87] He believed that language was inseparable from one's identity and had a direct influence on one's mindset due to its historical and cultural features. This direct influence, in return, could create commonalities in the mental and emotional worlds of speakers of the same language; after these commonalities were created, this group might be defined a nation.[88] Mustafa Satı, in his writings focusing on the concepts of fatherland and patriotism, examined language as a potential element in the creation of the idea of fatherland. In his analysis he approved some of Fichte's points on language, stating:

> Language is the most important means of exchange of feelings and ideas; […] language is one of the most important reasons for the similarities in feelings and ideas. Every language is a treasury of ideas and feelings and is like a form of thinking and reasoning. Learning a language is, to a certain extent, like mastering the ideas and feelings emphasized by the words of that language. Speaking the same language means, to a certain extent, thinking and expressing yourself in the same manner. Finally, language is like a transfer of the ancestors' thinking patterns… due to these reasons, language is the most important spiritual tie between people. More than anything, a nation means a language. […] Losing its language would mean the destruction of that nation.[89]

Yet Ottoman society housed numerous languages for centuries. Satı was well aware of this reality. He thought that, in such a multilingual society, it was not possible to talk about only one language that could have a common historical and cultural impact on different segments of society. Thus, he refrained from defining language as one of the common elements of Ottoman identity in his speeches in *Darulmuallimin* [Teacher Training College for men] and remarked, *"*Could we adopt the approach to fatherland which has driven the formation of Germany? Might we build the idea and concept of fatherland especially upon language? I suppose we don't need to think too much for answering this question: Definitely, no! Language is the shortest bond binding the Ottomans to each other".*[90]* Furthermore, although

[87] qtd. in Ibid., 64.
[88] Ibid., 62-70.
[89] Satı, *Vatan İçin,* 18-19.
[90] Ibid., 24.

Satı appreciated some of the ideas of Fichte and Herder, he diverged from them by arguing that none of the social or cultural components, including language, might be defined as a required or decisive element to describe one's fatherland and citizenship. For Satı, there were clear examples that showed the possibility of being a part of a common and shared fatherland without sharing a common language. The United States of America [*Cemahir-i Müteffika*] was one of these examples. He argued that although people in the United States spoke English, they were not English. On the other hand, while people in Belgium and Switzerland spoke different languages, they considered themselves as belonging to the same fatherland.[91]

To understand the significance of Mustafa Satı's stance on the subject, we should also take the broader context into consideration. At the time he gave his speeches on Ottoman identity,[92] the Empire was undergoing some of its most economically and socio-politically turbulent years in the midst of the Balkan Wars. The population and territorial structure of the Empire was in transformation. The political significance of Arab lands had increased considerably. Yet, at the same time, nationalism in both Turkish and Arabic communities was on the rise, and discussions on language had started to take new shapes with the rise of both Turkist and Arabist literary groups. To this already complex political picture, we may add the fact that Mustafa Satı was an Arab. He was born in Arab lands of the Empire and spent his childhood there. Yet his Turkish language skills had always been stronger than his Arabic. Therefore, it is not surprising that Mustafa Satı put forward an argument that would transcend the claims of separatist nationalist groups, and in the meantime would represent an inclusive stance justifying his Ottomanist identity and ideas. Thus, despite the fact that he appreciated the potential role of language as described by German thinkers, he refuted arguments referring to language as an essential element of a nation and defined Ottoman identity accordingly.

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[91] Ibid., 20.

[92] As explained in the second chapter, Satı delivered his series of speeches, which was published with the title of *Vatan İçin,* and explained his ideas on fatherland and patriotism, as early as 1913.

Satı's ideas on the role of language in building Ottoman identity, however, were not entirely clear-cut. Almost a year after he gave the speech on *Darumuallimin*, his article titled *Yanya… ve Yanyalarımız* [Janina and our Janinas] revealed that he actually did not disregard the Turkish language's role entirely in defining people and/or land as Ottoman. He wrote his article following the loss of Janina as a result of the Balkan Wars. For him Janina was a special place; he lived there from 1900 to 1905. He was familiar with the region and cherished his memories of the *vilayet*. Thus, its loss might have made him question the territorial and sociopolitical transformation the Empire was undergoing. In this context, after expressing his sorrow regarding the loss of Janina, Mustafa Satı asked a tough question, which he reportedly asked himself many times when he lived in Janina: "That place - had it really belonged to us?"[93] According to Satı it had never belonged to the Ottoman Empire morally [*manen*].[94] He remarked that everyone in Janina, including Muslims, spoke Greek.[95] Furthermore, according to Satı, only some old women knew Turkish, and even those who knew it preferred to speak Greek because they claimed Greek was their national language [*lisan-ı millimiz*]. Satı claimed that this was a result of the lack of well-established Ottoman educational institutions; thus, compared to the high literacy rate in Greek, the literacy rate in Ottoman Turkish was very low.

Indeed, a year after his lecture in *Darulmuallimin*, Satı viewed the Turkish language as an influential medium through which a sense of belonging and attachment could appear in the minds of the people within the lands of the Empire. Was this a contradiction in Satı's ideas, a transformation, or neither? The fact that Satı asked himself whether Janina had ever been belonged to the Empire, during and after his stay there, suggests that he never found a

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[93] Mustafa Satı, "Yanya… ve Yanyalarımız", *Terbiye Mecmuası* [Journal of Education], no. 3 (1330): 97.

[94] He also states that "while that place belonged to us politically and administratively, it economically and culturally belonged to others." Ibid.

[95] Satı remarks that mawlid was read in Greek, and Muslims, who gathered in the Mosque of Arslan Paşa Mosque, said salavat with the order of "ekatomiya salavatiya." Ibid., 98.

satısfactory answer to the question of the relation between language and a common Ottoman identity. We can assume that Satı reached different conclusions in different contexts. Considering again the context in which Galanti was writing, it is reasonable to assume that just as the years 1913 and 1914 were fluid in terms of population structure, geographical borders, political developments, and economic dynamics, so too were aspects of Satı's interpretations of the subject. Therefore, although his ideas reveal certain contradictions, the importance of the question of language in relation to one's identity and sociopolitical status in the Ottomanist order of the Empire had been as concrete in Satı's mind as in the cases of Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti.

The political importance of language indeed held many meanings for Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı. At the heart of their discussions on language on the political level were questions of literacy in Ottoman Turkish and a concern for educational systems that were able to propagate Ottomanist principles. From this interlinkage arose discussions on the accessibility and competency of the features of the language in practice. Thus, the three intellectuals delved into aspects of the language with their own specific concerns in mind.

Discussing the Features of Language to Make It an Efficient Tool of an Ottomanist Agenda

Among the three intellectuals, Tunalı Hilmi's writings on the features of language had the broadest scope. His discussion of Ottoman Turkish was constructed around the need to simplify the language. To him, simplification meant the Turkification of the language by using the Turkish spoken by common people as a main reference. In this context, his writings mainly criticized the existent features of the language rather than systematically examining features of the language in order to suggest new alterations.

His populist stance and political activism were influential in his approach to the subject. As discussed in chapter 2, one of his political aims was to create *ahali hakimliği* [the sovereignty of people] in Ottoman lands. A requirement for establishing such sovereignty was eliminating the sociopolitical divisions between the ruling class and common people. For Hilmi, the gap between the literary and spoken languages was one of the main elements of these divisions. Thus, for the creation of a participatory pluralist political system, the elimination of this difference was essential. This concern, which had its intellectual roots in Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal's arguments for making the language accessible for all citizens, was a clear reflection of the political transformation underway in the Empire and a contribution to the development of democratic ideals in the imperial territories.

Hilmi's desire to deliver his messages to his audience in the most efficient way possible was another reason for his insistence on the simplification of the language. His target audience was the common people. Therefore, like many other Ottoman intellectuals, he strove for the utilization of a common spoken language over a sophisticated literary language, which probably would have remained unintelligible for most Turkish-speaking citizens in Ottoman society. However, this effort was meaningless in the face of the high rate of illiteracy among the Turkish-speaking Muslim population. Before the intelligibility of language could take precedence, the public's ability to read was a more basic problem to be solved. Yet some of Hilmi's works were read aloud among groups. Therefore, the fact that the language in which he wrote was close to spoken Turkish was an advantage for Hilmi, allowing him to communicate with his intended audience. Yet it was not a solution. The long-term solution was to diffuse education and thus increase the literacy rate.

It was not a coincidence that Tunalı Hilmi presented most of his concrete suggestions on the features of Ottoman Turkish at the very end of his work *Avrupa'da Tahsil* [Education

in Europe].[96] Education was key in his mind for creating the citizens that he envisaged in the context of his Ottomanist vision. The competency and accessibility of the language as well as an efficient education were necessities. According to Hilmi, unlike in the West where there was no difference between spoken and written languages, the gap between the literary language and the language in daily use in the Empire was an obstacle preventing education from acting as a catalyst to socioeconomic progress. He believed that science and other knowledge could be disseminated among people only through an intelligible language designed for ordinary people. This language could only be attained through the simplification of the common language. In this context, Hilmi thought that the works of Şinasi and Namık Kemal were important in showing how accessible language might be a source of progress.[97] Indeed, both Şinasi and Namık Kemal strongly criticized the complexity of the written language. Yet to argue that their writing styles were able to transcend the abovementioned concerns would be overly optimistic. At the time, even Namık Kemal himself criticized the shortcomings of his own writings based on the character of the language that he utilized.[98]

In order to attain an accessible and competent language, Hilmi's first focus was grammar. He believed that for the Turkish language to be called "Turkish," the elimination of non-Turkish rules was the first requirement. At the time, Hilmi was not alone in insisting on the purging of non-Turkish grammar rules. For example, one of the most prolific writers of the period, Ahmet Midhat, had also voiced similar ideas. In one of his pieces published in *Basiret* [Foresight] in 1871, he remarked, "If we were to sweep away all the *izafets* and all the adjectives there are in Arabic and Persian, if seven hundred people today understand what we write, tomorrow it will surely be seven thousand."[99] Ahmed Midhat's argument was indeed simplistic and superficial. Yet it was true that many Turkish-speaking Ottoman intellectuals at

[96] Tunalı Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil* (Cenevre: 1320 [1902]), 262-272.
[97] Ibid., 269.
[98] Levend, *Evreleri*, 115.
[99] Qtd. and transl. by Lewis, *Catastrophic Success,* 16.

the time believed that the elimination of non-Turkish rules from the language would increase its accessibility as it would aid in the standardization of the language. This, in turn, might contribute to common people's efforts to obtain proficiency of the language. For example, Ahmed Midhat himself was careful to use only Turkish grammar in his texts. Moreover, by the end of the nineteenth century, more and more Ottoman writers were careful to avoid Persian constructions.[100]

Tunalı Hilmi also opposed the utilization of Arabic and Persian words. He urged his reader to use Turkish words and benefit from the Turkish dictionary. This suggestion, however, required further arguments to convince the reader. The competency of Turkish words in fulfilling the vocabulary needs of modern educated or intellectual subjects was a topic of heated discussion among the bureaucrats and intellectuals at the time. For example, Namık Kemal was against the change of the language of instruction from French to Turkish in the Military Medical School. He thought that school would not be able to educate doctors in Turkish because of the lack of textbooks and appropriate medical terminology in the language. [101] In Hilmi's published books he does not seem to make any attempt to contribute to these discussions. Furthermore, his proposal to utilize Turkish dictionaries had practical limitations. A dictionary was indeed an important resource that could support the development of a language. However, a dictionary, of the kind that Hilmi encouraged his reader to use, was compiled as late as 1901 by Şemsettin Sami with the title *Kamus-ı Türki*.[102] In other words, the availability and, thus, accessibility of Turkish dictionaries in the late Empire were limited.

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[100] Ibid., 21.
[101] Karal, "Sorunu," 322.
[102] The need for the production of dictionaries to develop the language was voiced by different intellectuals such as Namık Kemal, Ahmet Mithat, and Emrullah Efendi in the course of the century. Connectedly, there had been various attempts to compile dictionaries among which Ahmet Vefik Paşa's *Lehce-i Osmani* [Ottoman Dictionary] stands out as one of the most well known. See Levend, *Evreleri*, 162-167, 246-250.

Tunalı Hilmi furthermore argued for the standardization of orthography within the exclusive reference of Turkish. He proposed that the state found a *Yazı Cemiyeti* [the Committee of Orthography], which would work on the rules of orthography.[103] The issue of orthography was also one of the central topics in most intellectuals' discussions on language. Over the course of the century, intellectuals paid more and more attention to the topic. However, considering texts published by intellectuals such as Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi, and Ahmet Mithat, Levend argued that most of these writings were essentially complaints focused on the need for the standardization of the orthography. They did not scientifically examine the subject.[104] Tunalı Hilmi's ideas were in a similar vein to these concerned intellectuals. He reflected his interest on the issue yet did not provide any deep analysis.

Questions regarding language also held a significant place in Avram Galanti's writings. In the early years of his intellectual career, he was interested in the subject as an amateur researcher and educator. In the later years of his life, the topic turned into his professional focus as an academic. Raised in a polyglot family, Galanti always questioned the links between different languages and their specific philological aspects. His early philological inquiries were mainly concentrated on Ladino and Hebrew. [105] The prominence of these two languages over Turkish in his amateur research might be the result of few factors. First, he learnt Turkish at the age of eleven as his fourth language. Thus, it might have taken some time for Galanti to be confident enough to study the language more critically.

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[103] Hilmi, *Şart*, 12; Hilmi, *Projet*, 29. Also see Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil,* 265-266.

[104] Levend, *Evreleri*, 149.

[105] For example see Galante, *Quatrieme recueil,* 227-283. Moreover, Galanti delivered several lectures on the subject at the Egyptian Institute in Cairo during his stay in the city from 1904 to 1909. The titles of the lectures were *De L'influence Phonétique et Tonique Hellenique sur la Phonétique et la Tonique Hébraique (*published with the same title in Cairo by Karmona & Zara publishing house in 1906); *De La Contribution de la Langue Arabe à la Renaissance de la Langue Hébraique* (published with the same title in Cairo by Karmona & Zara in 1907); *La Langue Espagnole en Orient et ses Déformations* (The same year this lecture was also published in Cairo. The piece was welcomed with interest by some Journals published in France and Italian languages in Cairo. See the press clippings in CAHJP P/112, F.205.)

Second, from the very beginning, Galanti was concerned with the affairs of his own community. He might have simply preferred to deal with the languages that had greater cultural and social meanings in his own private and communal life. Whatever the motivation was, these early amateur investigations helped him make a name for himself as a philologist - in addition to a well-known journalist and educator - among enlightened Jewish circles.[106]

From his early years he also showed an interest in the quality of the language of instruction used in Ottoman state schools. As an education inspector he was familiar with the classes and its materials. In this context, in his article series *Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder* [How Would Our Education Progress], he problematized the competency and intelligibility of language in the educational affairs of the Empire. Firstly, Galanti thought that the education was not strong enough to equip the students with the necessary language skills to proceed with their educations in the higher levels. In primary education, students were not taught properly how to read and write. Furthermore, their education did not introduce them to the specialized vocabulary or terminology that would aid them in learning certain subjects at higher levels. Secondly, he questioned the language used in the teaching materials. He argued that the language used in some teaching materials was either vague or complicated, and, thus the simplification of the language was necessary.[107]

The competency of the language for educational and scientific purposes continued to hold an important place in Galanti's scholarship in the later years of his career. He, in a way, perceived the relationship between language and education as reciprocal. The quality of a language was essential for the development of education; in turn, the quality of an education was essential for the development of a language. As an academic in his later career, the question of how to enrich the Turkish language to make it compatible with the needs of the

[106] The press clippings in CAHJP P/112, F.205.
[107] Avram Galanti, *Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder?: Usul-i Telif-i Kütüb* [How Would Our Education Progress? Methods of Composing Books] in Galanti's personal notebook located in CAHJP P/112, F.88.

era stood out as one of his top research focuses. For instance, he was interested in terminologies that could enrich the language and increase its academic compatibility. He emphasized the need to use Turkish in the translation of scientific terms. Yet, in cases in which a Turkish translation was not possible, he thought, Arabic and Persian could stand in. As an academic, he believed that the examination of the linguistic features of language was a science, and analysis of languages should be conducted through scientific methods and principles. Thus, he stressed the importance of forming a scientific committee to work on dictionaries, dictation, and terminologies.[108]

His academic position as the Chair of Comparative Semitic Languages and of Ancient History of Semitic Peoples at Istanbul University opened doors for him to carry out his research professionally. While benefitting from the academic resources of the University and the National Library of Beyazid, Galanti extended the scope of his research on Turkish language.[109] Discussions on the historical development of Turkish, the relations between Turkish and other languages, the origins of the alphabet, and etymology became common themes of Galanti's writings.[110] This was indeed the outcome of his academic career and intellectual curiosity. Yet in interpreting the significance of his focuses we should not disregard the context. During the Second Constitutional Period, the Turkish language had become a major element of Turkish nationalism and identity, which had been systematically promoted by Turkish literary clubs and nationalist writers. Therefore, at the time, Turkish was a popular subject of discussion encouraged by many different political camps.

In this context, Galanti's writings started to appear more often in journals whose main audience was Turkish-speaking Muslim readers. Among them, *Yeni Mecmua* [New Journal],

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[108] Avram Galanti, "Türkçe'de İhdas Olunan Kelimat ve Istılahat Etrafında Bazı Mülahazat" [Some Reflections on Words and Terms Produced in Turkish] in *Küçük Türk Tetebbular* [Brief Turkish Studies] (İstanbul: Kağıtçılık ve Matbaacılık, 1925), 69.
[109] Kalderon, *Abraham*, 41-42.
[110] For some examples of his pieces see Avram Galanti, *Türklük İncelemeleri,* ed. and translit. Önder Kaya (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2005).

founded by one of the forefathers of Turkish nationalism, Ziya Gökalp, was a noteworthy example. *Yeni Mecmua* was a Turkish nationalist journal which hosted the writings of several important nationalist intellectuals, including Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, Ömer Seyfettin, and Ali Canip Yöntem. Galanti's contributions to these journals in the years 1917 and 1918 not only enabled him to reach a wider audience but also allowed his voice to be heard among nationalist circles.

In contrast to Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti, Mustafa Satı was mainly concerned with literacy and the efficiency of education in the Empire. Therefore, in the context of his pedagogical interests, he participated in debates over the alphabet. By the time Mustafa Satı began voicing his opinions, the relations between alphabet, literacy, and efficiency of education was already a heated subject among late Ottoman intellectuals. In the midst of increasing arguments for a reform of the alphabet in the early 1860s, a pioneering Ottoman publisher, Ebuzziya Tevfik, argued that it was the education methods in use that were inhibiting the reading skills of the people. Ebuzziya Tevfik published his article on the subject in the newspaper *Terakki* [Progress] as a response to a piece by Hayreddin Bey published in the same newspaper in 1869. Hayrettin Bey, in his article, claimed that the features of the current alphabet had complicated the learning process of both reading and writing and, thus, decreased the quality of education in other subjects. Although he accepted the historical significance of the alphabet, he argued that as long as the Arabo-Persian alphabet remained the same, the attainment of progress in Ottoman society would be very difficult.[111] Ebuzziya Tevfik opposed Hayrettin Bey's argument with a point-by-point examination of Hayrettin Bey's text. Ebuzziya Tevfik highlighted the problems in the education system that complicated the reading and writing process and thus hindered progress. Therefore, he emphasized the necessity to rework the education system to overcome problems of literacy

[111] Hayreddin Bey, "Maarif-i Umumiye," [Public Education] in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Alfabe Tartışmaları*, ed. and translit. Hüseyin Yorulmaz (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1995), 29-31.

and educational efficiency.[112] In the coming years, Ebuzziya Tevfik's proposals would lay some of the groundwork for similar arguments on the subject.

As a leading pedagogue in the late Empire, Mustafa Satı also studied the relation between the alphabet and literacy rate with a focus on educational methods. Satı admitted the presence of various difficulties within the alphabet in use, yet he was a reformist rather than a supporter of the idea of abandoning the alphabet altogether. He proposed the reconsideration of teaching methods and possible modifications to various characteristics of the alphabet. In order to clarify his position on the subject, Satı published two different articles in the journal of *Ictihad* in 1913.[113] He structured his first article around three main questions: i) Is the current alphabet an obstacle to progress? ii) Is it possible and/or appropriate for Ottoman society, which has an old literature, to adopt a new alphabet? iii) Is it possible to simplify the alphabet through reforming it? These were some of the main questions within a broader debate, and Satı's answers did not remain unnoticed by his contemporaries. Immediately after publication, two more articles in two different journals were published in response to Satı's pieces in *Ictihad*. Satı subsequently wrote a second article further clarifying his position in the debate.

Mustafa Satı considered inaccurate the argument that the alphabet in use was a factor in the backwardness of the Empire. For him, an alphabet could not be linked to the backwardness of a society. He cited Japan as an example. In the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, Japan achieved remarkable success in modernizing itself and repelling imperialist threats. This was an inspirational story for Ottoman intellectuals, and many saw Japan's progress as an instructive case for the Empire's sociopolitical imperial efforts of the

[112] Ebuzziya Tevfik, "Hayreddin Bey'e Cevap," [An Answer to Hayreddin Bey] in in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Alfabe Tartışmaları*, ed. and translit. Hüseyin Yorulmaz (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1995) 32-40.
[113] Mustafa Satı, "Elifba Meselesi" [The Issue of Elifba], *Ictihad,* 61 (1329 [1913]): 1327-1329. Mustafa Satı, "Elifba Meselesi Hakkında Bir İzah" [An Explanation About the Issue of Elifba], *Ictihad,* 64 (1329 [1913]): 1387-1388.

time.[114] Satı considered the Japanese alphabet as one of the most difficult alphabets; thus, if an alphabet could be an obstacle for progress, Japan could not have attained its achievements. Therefore, he proposed, it was necessary to search for the source of backwardness not in the alphabet, but in different aspects of the imperial system.

Satı's second point was the problem of cultural continuity in the case of a change in the alphabet. This was, indeed, a sensitive subject, as it related to the Islamic heritage of the Empire. However, Satı did not examine the subject from this angle; instead, he focused on the relations between language and literature and their impact on the consciousness of nations. He thought it was not possible for a society with an old literature to take the radical step of changing its alphabet. He elaborated on this point in his second article by using the metaphor of a tree and its soil. To illustrate the complexity of the impact an alphabet had on a nation, he used the analogy of convoluted roots nourishing a tree. He drew a parallel between the relation of a tree to its soil and the relation of the soul of a nation to its alphabet. He concluded this metaphor by claiming:

> The soul of a nation is its language and literature, more than anything else. The books and writings are guardians and diffusers of language and literature in countries which have passed beyond the primitive stage. The alphabet is like the foundational form [*mevadd-ı müşekkelesi*] of these books and writings. Any change, which might occur in it, which might be made to it, regardless of its speed, would always be gradual. Radical reform in the alphabet is not possible.[115]

This statement was a clear indicator that Satı did not believe in the possibility or accuracy of any radical attempt to change the alphabet. However, his statement was in contradiction with his assumptions on the role of a language in the creation of Ottoman identity. As mentioned above, Satı, in his lecture in 1913, did not consider any language an integral aspect of Ottoman identity. Therefore a change in the aspects of a language should not have had a deep

[114] Renée Worringer, "'Sick Man of Europe' or 'Japan of the near East'?: Constructing Ottoman Modernity in the Hamidian and Young Turk Eras," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, (2004): 210.
[115] Mustafa Satı, "Bir İzah," 1388.

impact on the consciousnesses of Ottomans. This was, indeed, another example of the fluidity of Satı's ideas on the subject at the time. Nevertheless, his argument was consistent with his broader pragmatic agenda of strengthening sociocultural ties among the citizens of the Empire. Satı presented these arguments in the devastating geographical and sociocultural aftermath of the Balkan Wars (1912 - 1913), at a time when connecting Arab and Turkish populations was ever more important. As explained in chapter 2, it was in this context that Satı also emphasized Islam as one of the components of Ottoman identity. He could have considered the idea of changing alphabet as a significant threat to the sociocultural unity of the Ottoman population; abandoning the Arabic script could represent a significant break between the centre and vast lands of the Empire settled by the Arabic-speaking population. This break, in turn, would only support the causes of separatist nationalist agendas.

Mustafa Satı agreed that the alphabet in use had problems, which complicated the reading process. Yet, he believed, these problems could be overcome through amendments in the dictation of certain words and in features of the alphabet. In fact, for Satı, dictation held a significant role in complicating the reading process. Thus, he suggested standardizing the dictation system through utilizing full syllables and writing the words as they are spoken. This, he believed, would significantly facilitate the reading process. Another of Satı's focuses was the lack of symbols to indicate different pronunciations of the letter "و". He believed the utilization of certain signs could help readers pronounce the letter correctly and may eliminate a deficiency in the alphabet. Furthermore, Satı drew his readers' attention to the abundance of the shapes of letters used in printing. To him this variety, derived from aesthetic concerns, was unnecessary. The number of shapes could be reduced to facilitate the reading process. Lastly, Satı considered the teaching methods for reading skills problematic and argued for their revision. Satı argued that the alphabet was the most important subject of elementary education as it was one of the infrastructural pillars of further education. In his article *Elifbayı*

Nasıl Öğretmeli [How to Teach Elifba], Satı introduced his ideas on the subject in detail. He presented possible revisions to the teaching methods focusing on four main points: i) how to name and vocalize letters in the alphabet, ii) the methods of syllabifying, iii) the order in which the letters were taught, and iv) several strategies to support students' understanding and memorization process.[116] Indeed, for Satı, the alphabet's capability to act as a channel to transmit the language into a written form was of vital importance. In addition, a revision in the teaching of the alphabet was necessary to establish a strong education system flourishing from top to bottom. An education such as this would not only contribute to the progress of the Empire but also enrich Ottomans' sense of their own distinct identities.

At the time, Avram Galanti did not get directly involved in the alphabet discussions. However, as an inspector he was well aware of the importance of reading and writing classes and focused his attention on improving the materials used to teach the alphabet. He thought that the education system of the Empire needed a standardized textbook that would be accessible to every student receiving education in the public schools. He argued that, although there were a few different textbooks written according to new methods, most students in the peripheries could not benefit from them due to a lack of access. He claimed that in rural areas students continued to utilize old textbooks to learn the alphabet, which were inefficient and complicated the learning process. If this continued, he argued, it would create a weak foundation, disabling students from proceeding further with their education as well as posing an obstacle for overall educational progress.[117] Galanti thought, like Satı, that the need to revise the education methods and materials constituted the crux of the Empire's literacy problem as opposed to specific features of the Arabo-persian alphabet.

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[116] Mustafa Satı, "Elifbayı Nasıl Öğretmeli," *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası*, no.1, (1909): 20-23.
[117] Avram Galanti, *Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder? Programların Tertibi* in *GPN*, CAHJP P/112, F.88. Avram Galanti, "Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder?: Mekatib-i İbtidai, Rüşdi ve İdadi" [How Would Our Education Progress? Primary, Middle and Secondary Schools] in *GPN*, CAHJP P/112, F.88.

Similar also to Mustafa Satı, Tunalı Hilmi perceived inadequacies in the alphabet as one of the primary subjects in need of consideration in relation to discussions on language. Hilmi believed that an alphabet was the core element of a language when it came to issues regarding literacy and the diffusion of education. To clarify the importance of the subject, Tunalı Hilmi opened the section of *Avrupa'da Tahsil,* in which he detailed his ideas on language, with the quotation: "Give me a perfect alphabet to give you a perfect language, give me a perfect language to give you a perfect civilization."[118]

Although most Ottoman intellectuals agreed on the presence of problems in the alphabet, discussions over the issue involved several different approaches. Among the different intellectual stances, Tunalı Hilmi's was one of the most radical at the time. In his mind the existent alphabet was deficient, useless, difficult to read and presented an obstacle for the progress of society. His solution was pragmatic and sharp: "If our letters cannot be moulded for being written like in French, one by one, then they should be omitted and other letters should be accepted."[119] Hilmi did not support his proposal with extensive reasoning nor did he discuss whether such a change was politically or culturally possible. However, he felt the need to respond to the ideas of Namık Kemal, for whom he showed great admiration. In his article *Kıraat ve Islah-ı Huruf Meselesi* [Reading and Reformation of Letters], Namık Kemal voiced one of the most common arguments opposing a change of the alphabet script. He remarked that such an act would damage a literate person's ability to access Islamic works that were produced since the thirteenth century.[120] Furthermore, Kemal did not believe in the

[118] Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil*, 262. Tunalı Hilmi claims that this statement belongs to German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.
[119] Ibid., 266.
[120] Namık Kemal, "Kıraat ve Islah-ı Huruf Meselesi," in in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Alfabe Tartışmaları,* ed. and translit. Hüseyin Yorulmaz (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1995), 50. This concern of Namık Kemal was also voiced by other intellectuals of the time. For a similar concern see Hüseyin Çelik, *Ali Suavi ve Dönemi* [Ali Suavi and his Period] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), 639.

feasibility of the transliteration of ancient works into the new alphabet proposed.[121] Overall, like many other intellectuals of the time, Namık Kemal perceived the idea of changing letters as impractical and unnecessary. In the face of Kemal's arguments on intellectual and cultural continuity, Tunalı Hilmi answered by arguing that it was more beneficial and important to look towards the future rather than the past. Furthermore, he argued that the seminal works of the past might always be transliterated to the new letters.[122] However, Hilmi did not present any further convincing arguments on the feasibility of transliteration.

Throughout these discussions, one important point of consideration for the intellectuals who opposed a change in the alphabet was the religious importance of Arabic script; the Koran, after all, was written in the Arabic script. As Bernard Lewis argued, Muslim believers considered the Arabic script divine and eternal. Furthermore, the alphabet had historically been a sociocultural asset distinguishing Muslims from non-Muslims in the Empire.[123] This concern for the religious aspect of the alphabet was likely not an issue that required excessive consideration for Hilmi because, like Ali Suavi, Hilmi was in favour of Turkifying the language of religion as well.[124] To him, Turks made a mistake by adopting a religion using the Arabic language. Not only could Turks not understand sacred texts of their religion, but the education in the Empire could not be in Turkish, and, thus, education could not diffuse into the society. In other words, Hilmi claimed , while Islam could contribute to the development of Turks, the Arabic language became an obstacle to their progress.[125]

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[121] Namık Kemal, "Kıraat," in *Alfabe Tartışmaları,* 53.
[122] Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil*, 266.
[123] Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) 425-426.
[124]Ali Suavi was in favour of using Turkish in readings and speeches on religion. He also perceived the problem of the alphabet as an "earthly issue" rather than a religion-related subject. Therefore, to him, any amendment on the alphabet was allowed and possible. Ertop, "Sadeleşmesi," 336. Also see Çelik, *Ali Suavi*, 640-641.
[125] Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil*, 269.

Conclusion

The Ottoman State acknowledged the importance of a common language for the first time in its plans to centralize and modernize the political system. However, as the scope and reach of its Ottomanist agenda extended, the state's concern over language increased. Ottoman Turkish gradually became one of the main components of an aim to create modern Ottoman citizens. At a time of increasing pressure from the West and internal nationalist movements, such a development represented the Empire's effort to cope with this pressure through the same tools adopted by political systems with nationalist agendas.

This rising importance of Ottoman Turkish brought the language question to the centre of political and intellectual debates on a wide range of topics, including identity, literacy, education, and progress. Moreover, this process led to the emergence of numerous questions on the features and capabilities of the language. Indeed, while Ottomanism was redefining the elements of society and politics, Ottoman Turkish emerged as one of the central tools in shaping and defining a new Ottoman society.

The ideas of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı on language provide three different perspectives from which to examine the role of language in Ottoman politics as a reflection of the transformation in the sociopolitical dynamics of the Empire in the nineteenth century. One of the main aspects of this transformation was the new position of language within sociopolitical identity. In accordance with the official agenda of the state, Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti supported the promotion of the Turkish language as an integral part of the construction of a common Ottoman identity. Mustafa Satı, on the other hand, did not define the language as a part of Ottoman identity, yet he did not deny its importance in the creation of a shared mindset among Ottomans. At a time of rising importance of vernaculars in the distinction between modern national identities, the three intellectuals perceived the promotion of a common language as essential to create a shared

Ottoman consciousness. This consciousness would symbolically make Ottoman identity distinct from others. Moreover, it would bridge the minds of Ottomans by transcending sociocultural divisions within Ottoman society. The substantiality of this aim subsequently led the intellectuals to question the competency and accessibility of Ottoman Turkish. Thus, their ideas on the subject also present examples of how late Ottoman intellectuals considered language as a tool to redefine relations in the sociopolitical sphere of the Empire and circulate knowledge among members of the society.

The nationalist historiographies of the twentieth century discussed the rise of the Turkish language over the course of the late Ottoman Empire in relation to the emergence of Turkish nationalism and a nation-state in the post-Ottoman period. Thus, the development of Turkish has mainly been interpreted through teleological lenses. However, the Turkish language entered discussions on common identity, modern administration, and education through Ottomanist agendas. It is important to situate the subject in this context, as this will aid us in comprehending the nature, aims, and tools of Ottomanism. Furthermore, resituating the subject also opens up new angles from which to analyse how Ottomanism worked in such a multicultural society. For example, the promotion of one common language in such a mixed society presented significant obstacles. In addition to complications arising from widespread illiteracy and the lack of proficiency in the educational apparatus, the multiplicity of active spoken and written languages constituted important challenges for the realization of such a policy. Being aware of these limitations, the three intellectuals produced their own strategies to either bypass or reinterpret the picture. In this context, Tunalı Hilmi's suggestions on translation stand out as an important example. His proposal not only represents an attempt to transcend these limitations but also points to one of the ways Ottomanism functioned in a multi-linguistic society. Galanti also perceived the promotion of Turkish and Hebrew as a necessity for the promotion of Ottoman Jews' identity construction. In his mind, these two

languages were not competitors but complementary to each other in raising the consciousness of Ottoman Jews. Galanti's approach might be interpreted as an inclusive and pluralist Ottomanism. Mustafa Satı also refrained from any exclusivist claims and, thus, did not perceive language as a part of Ottoman identity. Yet he also underlined the importance of the promotion of a common language through which a stronger education system could be built for the future of the Empire.

It is difficult to claim that the Ottoman Empire was successful in its policies to promote Turkish as a part of common identity. Yet this failed attempt in practice left intellectual and political impacts in the post-Ottoman periods. In this context, the ideas of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı also provide us with channels through which to examine the legacy of these impacts on their own thoughts. As will be discussed in the epilogue, their ideas on the subject of language laid the theoretical and practical infrastructure for their arguments in the post-Ottoman period. Tunalı Hilmi's promotion of language as a reflection of populist ideas, Galanti's insistence on language as a means to define Jews in the broader community, and Satı's appreciation of Fichte's concepts are some of the subjects with strong continuities in both periods. Furthermore, their arguments on the competency and accessibility of language reveal multiple examples of the Ottoman roots of the language discussions in the post-Ottoman period. These continuities should remind us of the need to make our perspectives more inclusive in order to fully analyse the intellectual and political legacy of the last century of the Empire on the dynamics of the post-Ottoman period in the region.

CHAPTER IV

Education as the Spring of Tomorrow's Ottomanist Society

The journal *Servet-i Fünün* [The Wealth of Science] represented one of the milestones of Ottoman intellectual life in the late Ottoman Empire. Founded at a time of increasing political pressure and censorship in 1894, literature, art and science were the main topics that filled its pages. With the contributions of prominent authors such as Tevfik Fikret, Hüseyin Cahit, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, and Cenap Sahabeddin, the journal appeared as the hub of the literary movement known as *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* [The New Literature]. Defending the idea of art for art's sake, Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem was one of the leading figures of this movement. For Western-oriented intellectuals, his ideas were a source of inspiration. In his memoir *Ömrüm* [My Life], Ali Kemal described Ekrem as a master in the literary milieu of the Empire. After praising the features of his literary works, Ali Kemal claimed that Ekrem's anecdotes always contained messages that made his audience think. One such anecdote, according to Ali Kemal, was as follows:

> "The late Fuat Pasha once formed a committee of the notable officials in the Sublime Porte. During a committee session he opened up a discussion about the establishment of a school for higher education. One of the members posed the following question:
> - What will become of those who would get diplomas from that school?
> Fuat Pasha answered:
> - They will grow into men [*Adam olacaklardır*].
> The member repeated his question:
> - Yes, Sir, it's obvious that they will grow into men. However, where will they be appointed, which job will they do?
> The Pasha, with a majestic expression, again just said:
> - They will grow into men.
> Once this formidable answer had been repeated three times, silence fully dominated the session. All committee members appreciated the high meaning of those few words; they understood that the mission of this school was much more than educating government officials."[1]

[1] Ali Kemal, *Ömrüm* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2004), 55.

The expression “growing into men” in the progressive environment of the nineteenth century, indeed, carried a message as well as a novel meaning for audiences. ‘A man’ [*adam*] in Fuat Pasha’s statement referred to a new type of individual whose qualities began to be discussed in the *Tanzimat* period. From an Ottomanist perspective, this new type of man should have two main features. First, a man was expected to be a self-conscious Ottoman. This meant his sociopolitical mindset should be sculpted by modern political discourses, such as freedom, fatherland, and constitution. Furthermore, he should consider himself to be an equal citizen of Ottoman society. Second, a man should be able to comprehend the progressive nature of the century. Thus, a man should make sense of the contemporary world mainly through a secular lens with the means provided by the gradually developing natural and social sciences. These attributes could then aid him in designing and contributing to progressive goals in Ottoman society. As men would develop these characteristics in schools, the story also refers to the expectations of the Ottoman intellectuals - such as Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem and Ali Kemal - for modern educational institutions. They considered these schools not only mechanisms to produce practical and technical solutions for the administrative or economic problems of the Empire, but also hubs of the modern sciences that would stimulate broader transformations in society. In short, as this story implies, educational institutions in particular stood out as a source of hope for many Ottoman intellectuals for the future of the Empire.

These expectations for public education in the Empire brought the tools and scope of educational affairs under close scrutiny in the nineteenth century. Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals launched discussions on educational methods, materials, facilities, teachers, and channels in order to increase efficiency and expand the impact of education. Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı were also part of these discussions. Yet, clearly, the scope and intensity of the subject in their works varied considerably.

Tunalı Hilmi had never been a professional pedagogue or teacher. He was a revolutionary who was aware of the importance of education for the realization of any long-term sociopolitical agenda. On the other hand, Avram Galanti was an active figure in education within the Empire and, specifically, in the Jewish community. He worked in various communal and imperial education institutions on different levels. His professional activities highlight his broad familiarity with aspects of educational affairs in the Empire. Mustafa Satı was an exceptional figure when it came to his works on education. He spent his life working to improve the educational affairs of his own country, both theoretically and practically.

Despite the differences in the content and intensity of their interests in education, Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı all acknowledged the crucial role of education in reaching their own individual sociopolitical goals. Their acknowledgement was derived from a shared set of ideas on the ability of education to transform the sociopolitical dynamics of society. Formulated by the dynamics of the nineteenth century, the concepts of "ignorance" and "progress" stood at the centre of their views on education's transformative abilities. They were two interrelated concepts. Ignorance stood out as the top public enemy of sorts for the three intellectuals. Understood as a lack of modern, worldly knowledge, its elimination from society was the first requirement to gain access to the civilized world and to begin diffusing understandings of progress. Originating in the Age of Enlightenment in Europe, progress, in the broadest sense, referred to the gradual and steady improvement of sociopolitical, economic, and intellectual conditions of societies guided by worldly knowledge. According to the three intellectuals, the elimination of ignorance and attainment of progress were necessary for the Ottomans to be able to confront the changing and challenging political and economic realities of the world and, thus, to promote the will of Ottomans to live together in the future.

These aims, moreover, were integral elements of their patriotic discourses as they envisaged a correlation between enlightenment and the creation of conscious Ottomans and, thus, patriots.

Through the tools of modern education, Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı believed that the state's education apparatus could create a sense of Ottomanness in the minds of people and a common will to live together. In the face of the increasing influence of non-state educational institutions on the sociopolitical dynamics of the Empire, to them, these educational potentials were essential for the survival of the Empire. Under these conditions, the three intellectuals participated in intellectual discussions on the quality and scope of education in the Empire. They argued for the need to build an education apparatus that would reach the masses beginning from the primary level of education. This apparatus, according to Tunalı, Galanti, and Sati, should be shaped around inclusivity and secular aims.

As we will see, their ideas on education had limitations and problems, particularly in terms of implementation. Their efforts, however, contributed in important ways to the Ottomanist milieu of the nineteenth century and its goal to create equal Ottoman citizens in the Empire. Their ideas, moreover, open different windows for the modern analysis of the nature and shortcomings of Ottomanism's utilization of education for its own ends. They allow us to understand a part of the Ottoman legacy, upon which further educational developments were built in the post-Ottoman period, and, thus, provide us with traces of developments that would have intellectual and political echoes in imperial lands both in the short and long term.

The Creation of Public Education in the Late Ottoman Empire

The needs of the military in the late eighteenth century provided an early impetus for the modernization of the Ottoman education system. In the face of the Ottoman army's inadequate competitive power against the Habsburgs and Russia, Ottomans sought to

understand and follow "the scientific foundations" underlying the hard power of their rivals.[2] The first product of this desire was the foundation of the Naval Engineering School in 1773. This institution was followed by the Engineering School for Armed Forces in 1795 and the Military Medical School in 1826. In this early period of educational modernization in the Empire, the transformation of education continued to occur primarily in pragmatic and military zones rather than in educational institutions themselves, as part of a broader reformation in the Empire.[3] However, this does not mean that these military institutions did not have an effect on the intellectual life of the Empire. Providing training in positive sciences and practical subjects, they slowly but gradually contributed to the introduction of rational thinking and the strengthening of relations between Ottomans and the outside world. They also played an important role in redefining the limits of the intellectual realm of the Empire. New terms, influencing Ottoman's understanding of knowledge, began to infuse into Ottoman intellectual life, partially, through channels provided by these schools. For example, the term *maarif* was quintessential, which meant "the process of becoming acquainted with things unknown."[4] These "unknown things" referred to technical and scientific knowledge. As Niyazi Berkes clarifies, they stood beyond the scope of *ilm*, which was practiced by the *ulema* to pursue knowledge in questions related to Islam using references to old texts or authorities. Instead, this technical and scientific knowledge could only be attained through the means of *fen*, which included observation, research, experimentation, and discovery. In fact, according to *fen,* these were the only source from which to attain knowledge and to understand the world around human beings.[5] This novel approach to the knowledge, which originated in the

[2] Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908, Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 20.
[3] Ibid., 20-22.
[4] Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1998), 99.
[5] Ibid., 99-100. The distinction between the terms *ilm* and *fen* made by Niyazi Berkes is useful on paper to highlight the difference in the nature of the knowledge that scientists and *ulama* seeks to reach and the developments in the intellectual sphere of the Empire. However, in the context of the

Age of Enlightenment in Europe, provided a future-oriented worldview for its practitioners. Followers started to believe that they could progressively reshape the future of the Empire through the means of *fen*. Indeed, the early phase of the modernization of the education system, spanning almost half a century, followed a slow, limited path while producing footprints that would leave broad, long-term effects.

From 1845, however, the slow progress of education modernization began to quicken during the *Tanzimat* period. Aiming to conduct broad-based reform programs, men of this period did not omit the sphere of education. They intended to benefit from educational transformation in order to promote their Ottomanist goals. By supporting reform programs, they aimed to increase the Empire's competitive power to ensure its survival in the context of global developments. One of the first stimuli to encourage a focus on educational affairs more fully came from the edict of Abdülmecid in 1845. Somel defines this edict "as the first document, which considered different levels of education as a whole while emphasizing the necessity to expand public schools outside Istanbul".[6] It forced the Ottoman state to take immediate initiatives towards the expansion of education channels and to institutionalize educational affairs within a more secular and centralized framework. These ideas were promoted further by Reşit Paşa, whose authority over state politics increased in 1845.[7] Reşit Paşa considered education a central factor in the success of European states and both supported and initiated educational reforms in the Empire for Ottomanist aims.[8]

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daily life of the nineteenth century the distinction in the usage of the terms was far from being that clear. Ottomans used both terms almost interchangeably in order to refer to branches of sciences throughout the nineteenth century.

[6] Somel, *Modernization*, 37.

[7] A short period after Reşit Paşa became foreign minister for a second time in October 1845, he was appointed grand vizier in 1846.

[8] Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 9. In his letter written in 1834 from Paris, Mustafa Reşit Paşa defined civilisation as 'the education of man and a practicing of orderliness'. Qtd. in Einer Wigen, "The Education of Ottoman Man and the Practice of Orderliness," in *Civilizing Emotions Concepts in Nineteenth-Century Asia and Europe*, Margrit Pernau et al. (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2015), 110.

One of the cornerstones of the *Tanzimat* period, the *Islahat Fermanı* changed some of the central aspects of education system of the Empire. As Somel points out, this edict provided an important base on which the Empire could build its own inclusive education scheme and expand its reach at every level of education.[9] It, furthermore, allowed non-Muslims to enrol in military and civil schools of the Empire.[10] This was an overt reflection of the state's aim to create a collective Ottoman mindset through education. Inevitably, this aim required new amendments to the educational administration, curricula, and teaching methods.[11] Thus, it accelerated the state's initiatives to standardize and centralize educational affairs. Furthermore, the document allowed non-Muslims to freely open their own schools, which were supervised by a mixed community called *Meclis-i Muhtelit-i Maarif.* Some historians have criticized this particular right given to non-Muslims alongside other articles promoting sociopolitical equality for different elements of Ottoman society. They teleologically argued that these articles accelerated the dissolution of the Empire and, thus, did not contribute positively to the Empire's educational affairs.[12] It is true that in the year following the *Islahat Fermanı*, the educational institutions and networks of non-Muslim communities expanded considerably.[13] Yet, in addition to the Empire's will to create an inclusive, Ottomanist system of education, these rights granted to non-Muslims pushed the state to take more concrete steps towards the centralization of the education system in order to assume tighter control over institutions within the Empire and to spread official ideology.

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[9] Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler" [Crimean War, *Islahat* Edict and Transformation in Ottoman Education Affairs], *150.Yıldönümünde Kırım Savaşı ve Paris Antlaşması (1853-1856)*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi 2007, retrieved from: http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/5529/1/Kırım_Savaşı,_Islahat_Fermanı_ve_Eğitim.pdf, 15-16.
[10] Kodaman, *Abdülhamid*, 15. Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Geçmişten Günümüze Azınlık Okulları: Sorunlar ve Çözümler Projesi Raporu, C.1: Gayrimüslim Okulları Nasıl Azınlık Okullarına Dönüştü* [V.1: How did Non-Muslim Schools Turned into Minority Schols] (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2013), 11.
[11] Ibid.*, 11-15.*
[12] For example, see Kodaman, *Abdülhamid*, 15.
[13] Somel, *Gayrimüslim Okulları,* 33-35, 44-48.

The immediate result of the *Islahat Fermanı* was the foundation of the Ministry of Education in 1857. The emergence of the ministry was the climax of the institutionalization process of educational affairs which had started with the foundation of *Mekâtib-i Rüşdiye Nezareti* in 1838. The Ministry assumed full responsibility and control over educational affairs, which was a blow to religious institutions and narrowed their own influence over education. In this way, the foundation of the ministry also represented a cornerstone for the secularization of educational institutions. Furthermore, the ministry aimed to establish closer supervision over non-public education institutions and non-Muslim education networks.

Following this institutionalisation, the influence of an Ottomanist agenda in shaping education gained visibility. Documents dated to 1861 reveal that the ministry envisaged education on three levels: i) *sıbyan mektepleri* [primary school], ii) *rüşdiye mektepleri* [middle school], and iii) professional schools.[14] The first level of education was to be organized in line with local cultures, whereas the second and tertiary levels of education were to be offered in religiously and culturally mixed settings. It was at this time that Turkish was proposed as the language of instruction, and classes on the natural sciences were to be provided. [15] On the local level, the state did not interfere with the cultural aspects of communities. More broadly, however, it aimed to create a common mindset communicated through the Turkish language. [16] Furthermore, by offering training in the natural sciences at the upper levels of education, the state aimed to utilize schools as an infrastructure upon which progress in the Empire might be achieved.

The systematization of educational affairs under the control of a ministry in the *Tanzimat* period was finalized with the Regulation of Public Education in 1869. The regulation was the first substantial attempt to detail and concretize the responsibilities and

[14] Somel, *Modernization*, 45.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Kodaman, *Abdülhamid,* 16-17.

aims of the ministry in the framework of the law. It was influenced by the French education system and continued to be the main reference for educational organization until 1913. The regulation, concerned with both educational quantity and quality, contained provisions regarding institutions, administrative structure, supervision, teachers, financial resources, training methods, and so on. Its scope aimed for an inclusive Ottomanization of the education system and gave special attention to the provinces, as it intended to create a unified and standardized education scheme.[17]

The regulation likewise boosted efforts toward the secularization of educational affairs. With the former arrangements, primary education was mainly left in the hands of local communities and organized following religious guidelines. However, the regulation deeply challenged religion's influence on primary education. The state was keen to extend its central control over primary education beyond ethno-religious divisions and to reach a larger number of students directly for the diffusion of its own agenda. The regulation placed human sciences under the control of the ministry, breaking another sphere of influence of the *ulema*. As Somel remarks, the regulation emphasized "worldly knowledge" as the main purpose of education,[18] which derived from Ottoman statesmen's own trust in the natural and human sciences. They considered worldly knowledge the source of progress in Western countries. Thus, they believed this knowledge should be an integral part of the Ottoman education system if progress was sought in the Empire.

The Ottoman intellectual realm shared the state's enthusiasm for education reform in the Empire. Many intellectuals of the time encouraged the state to intensify its initiatives, introduced new ideas with the aim to contribute to education reform, and attempted to act as agents of education in order to enlighten their own readers. In the days following the declaration of the constitution in 1876, Ahmet Midhat Efendi, one of the well-known

[17] Kodaman, *Abdülhamid,* 22-27. Somel, *Modernization,* 88.
[18] Ibid., 88-89.

intellectuals most eager to enlighten his readers, wrote "We want to study, become men. … Educate us, enrich us … so that we can proudly say that we are Ottomans. We want progress, Grand Vizier!."[19] His words, addressing Midhat Paşa, one of the architects of the first constitution, are a quintessential statement of a late Ottoman intellectual's expectations of the state and trust in the abilities of education to transform society. These intellectuals considered education a critical force behind the achievements of advanced countries of the time. Mustafa Sami Efendi, one of the important Ottoman diplomats of the *Tanzimat* period, considered education and science the main factors behind the developed socioeconomic conditions in Western countries, which he expressed in his work *Avrupa Risalesi,* published in 1840.[20] This position gained more prominence with the ideas of the pioneering intellectual İbrahim Şinasi. He argued that reason and law were two building blocks of a modern, rational person, which were also important characteristics of any contemporary civilization. Therefore, it was essential for reason and law to be prevalent in Ottoman society. [21] This could mainly be achieved through education. In this context, intellectuals also considered themselves responsible for the diffusion of education and thus acted as its agents. For example, Ali Suavi defined one of the aims of his newspaper *Muhbir* as the support of efforts in the development of education. To promote this goal, he sent some issues of *Muhbir* to various schools in Istanbul. Apart from being a strategy to reach wider audience, as Akyüz remarks, this act also challenged the prevalent methods in *medreses.*[22]

As the *Tanzimat* period vitalized publishing in the Empire, books published on pedagogy and various aspects of education increased their visibility and circulation. Books

[19] Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi* [The History of Education From Ottoman Empire to Today] (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), 107.
[20] Mustafa Sami Efendi, *Avrupa Risalesi* (1852), 28-29, 32-35, 37-39.
[21] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 73-74.
[22] Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi, Başlangıçtan 1985'e* [Turkish Education History, From Beginning to 1985] (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Yayınları, 1985), 174.

examining the practices of and training in reading - such as *Nuhbe-t'ül Etfal* by Mehmet Rüştü and *Elifba-yı Osmani* by Selim Sabit - were some of the earliest works on education. Considering the importance of literacy in contemporary intellectuals' concern regarding the circulation of ideas in society, it is not surprising that reading methods were the focus of some of the early books on education. Over the course of the late nineteenth century, the number of pedagogy books gradually increased and their scope broadened. Teaching methods and materials, example classes, student types, and guides for different aspects of education became the focuses of several books. Furthermore, pioneering works on pedagogy from the West began entering the Ottoman intellectual realm through translation. Among them, Ziya Paşa's attempt to translate *Emile* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau was an important example. When *Emile* was published in the eighteenth century, it rapidly became a groundbreaking work on education, drastically challenging conventional methods and institutions in Europe. Ziya Paşa published translated portions of this book in a newspaper.[23] Although he could not publish the complete translation at the time, his choice represented an intellectual attempt to understand and introduce new discussions on education. His attempt was also representative of Ottoman intellectuals' broader consideration of translation as an important channel through which to educate people about Western ideas. Indeed, these different publications became some of the early building blocks of modern pedagogy in Ottoman lands. [24] This intellectual dynamism would contribute significantly to the revision of understandings of childhood and its relation to training methods.[25]

Despite this political and intellectual enthusiasm regarding education in the nineteenth century, outcomes surely fell short of the expectations of Ottoman statesmen and

[23] Ibid., 168. Mustafa Gündüz, "J. J. Rousseau'nun Osmanlı Aydınlarına Etkileri", in *Osmanlı Mirası Cumhuriyet'in İnşası Modernleşme, Eğitim, Kültür ve Aydınlar* (Ankara: Lotus Yayınevi, 2010), 89.
[24] To see the list of some of the books published on the subject see Akyüz, *Eğitim Tarihi*, 186-193.
[25] Füsun Üstel, *Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* [In the Pursuit of An Acceptable Citizen, Civic Education from Constitutional Period to Today] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), 30-32.

intellectuals. Sakaoğlu remarks that at the end of the nineteenth century, the number of primary education institutions was around 20,000. Based on these numbers, Sakaoğlu estimates that the number of students who received primary education was around 400,000, which represented roughly two percent of the Ottoman population at the time. [26] Furthermore, the quality of this education varied considerably according to location, institution, and teacher.

This unpromising picture of education in the Empire was the result of factors that hindered intellectual and political efforts throughout the century. Among these factors, financial problems were perhaps the most basic and most visible. The creation of a standardized, widespread education in such vast lands required a vast infrastructure comprised of teachers, facilities, materials, and means for research. This infrastructure, in turn, required significant investments. However, deeply affected by political crises, wars, debts, and poor management, the state was hardly able to provide adequate resources to support these investments.[27] Partially dependent on financial problems, another obstacle was the scarcity of human resources that could act as agents of education.[28] Among these agents, the most prominent were teachers. However, schools that could train teachers were not sufficient to fulfil the needs of the many schools emerging throughout the late Ottoman Empire. As the state failed in training its teachers, it relied on other resources to solve the deficiency. One solution, for example, was to recruit students coming from *medreses.* Thus, it was nearly impossible to provide fully standardized education on certain themes as teachers came from

[26] He estimates that the number of *sıbyan mektebi*, schools providing primary education using old methods, was around 20,000, and the number of *iptidai* schools, primary school providing modern education, was around 300. He estimates that every school had 20 students on average. Sakaoğlu, *Eğitim*, 113.
[27] For example, see Kodaman, *Abdülhamid,* 156-158.
[28] Avram Galanti's piece on the progress of education involves various criticisms on the agents of education. One of the important points that he raises is the ability of writers of primary education textbooks. He elaborates on the difficulty of writing a textbook for a child and argues that a person needs to be able to understand every aspect of a child in order to be able to write a textbook. Yet, none of the textbooks, he believes, were written by such a writer. Avram Galanti, "Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder?: Usul-u Telif-i Kütüb" in *Galanti's personal notebook (GPN)* in CAHJP P/112, F.88.

different backgrounds with no professional pedagogical training.[29] Another difficulty hindering the state's efforts was the resistance of certain sociopolitical groups to the modernization of educational affairs. Among these groups, the *ulema* was perhaps the most visible in the *Tanzimat* period. As it felt its sphere of influence threatened, the *ulema* sometimes adopted a hostile stand against change.[30] Last but not least, any attempt at widespread educational standardization in such a multicultural Empire faced various obstacles, perhaps the most important of which were the education networks which were already established by certain ethno-religious groups. The state needed not only to create its own centralized and modernized education apparatus but also to break the influence of non-state actors in order to achieve the goals of its own sociopolitical agenda.

Despite these difficulties, none of the factors mentioned here were able to weaken Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals' trust in the transformative potential of education in society. Thus, they continued to strive for the improvement of the education system until the very end of the Empire. Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı were not exceptions. They each contributed to these widespread intellectual efforts from their own Ottomanist perspectives.

The Three Intellectuals' Expectation from Education: A Tool to Ottomanize Society

In *Avrupa'da Tahsil*, Tunalı Hilmi wrote, "Education is the foundation of humanity, of all this world. It is the foundation of the foundation of foundation. Oh, no, no. It is its foundation, as well as its roof and all its other things. Everything is education and

[29] For a brief examination of teachers' education and its deficiencies in 1839-1908 see Kodaman, *Abdülhamid*, 145-156. Also, Galanti criticizes the non-standardized training of teachers. He claims that in some places teachers opened and closed schools whenever they wanted. He adds that teachers sometimes benefitted from students for their own business. Once, he remarks, his teacher at *Rüşdiye*, brought every student to his house to clean the garden of his house. Avram Galanti, "Seyyar Mualimler" [Mobile Teachers] (possibly this is the 6th part of his article series *Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder?*) in *GPN*, CAHJP P/112, F.88.

[30] One of the early examples of this attitude was Mahmud II's failure to send 150 selected students to Europe to receive education in 1830-31. Although he planned to send students to Europe for further training, he could not implement his plan because of the reactions. Somel, *Modernization*, 22.

pedagogy."[31] The central role of education was equally evident in the writings of Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı. They considered education the determinant element sculpting political, social, and economic features of a society. Furthermore, like many other contemporary Ottoman intellectuals, all were convinced of the crucial role education played in the global success of European powers.

In this context, the three intellectuals considered education a battlefield on which different worldviews and ideologies challenged each other in order to influence the ideas and emotions of future generations in imperial lands. Thus, they urged the Empire to consolidate its education apparatus and network in order to diffuse a conscious Ottoman identity into every part of society and to create equal citizens that would actively contribute to socioeconomic life.

Tunalı Hilmi elaborated on the importance of the education apparatus in shaping the Empire's future with Ottomanist premises in his book on Macedonia. Hilmi remarked that five different ethno-nationalist groups - Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarians, Albanians, and Vlachs - were in exclusive rivalry in Macedonia; moreover, the situation was constantly deteriorating at the time. According to him, this condition in Macedonia was an instructive case for Ottomanists who were concerned about the future of the Empire. Thus, it was essential for Ottomanists to understand the factors that made Macedonia such a fragile and hostile geography. [32]

Tunalı Hilmi argued that the primary cause of the region's unpromising picture was the lack of schools promoting Ottomanist principles. According to him, different groups in the region were fighting each other with a spiritual weapon [*silah-ı manevi*], - education - to expand their sociocultural and political influence. In the face of the educational activities of

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[31] Tunalı Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil* (Cenevre: 1320 [1902]), 233-234.
[32] Tunalı Hilmi, *Makedonya: Mazisi, İstikbali, Hali* [Macedonia: Its Past, Future, Present] (Kahire, 1326 [1908]), 20.

missionaries and schools of ethno-religious groups, he argued that it was essential for the Empire to deploy its own Ottomanist means to dominate the education realm in order to overcome the deteriorating situation in Macedonia:

> The defense of Macedonia and the improvement of conditions is possible only with the spiritual weapon … The factory which would provide this weapon is the school… The number of schools should increase; to this end, each Ottoman should take the risk of making the necessary sacrifice. Each school should be worthy of being called an 'Ottoman cradle'. […] Through collective efforts, the sons of the fatherland should be provided with an Ottomanist intellectual training [*Osmanlıcasına bir terbiye-i fikriye*]. Fearful mothers and fathers should be told that Ottomanism is not a threat to any nation. It must not be forgotten: education in the schools should be built on this ground. In this way, once the wrong opinions about Ottomanism start to disappear from the minds, once the virtue and glory of Ottomanism start to settle in the minds; […] then everybody will become Ottoman, […] everyone with an Ottoman citizenship [*tebaa-ı Osmaniyeden*] - regardless of who might be Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian - will call him or herself 'Ottoman'.[33]

Similarly, Mustafa Satı also deployed the metaphors of war and weaponry in order to explain the importance of educational affairs for the survival of the Empire. He started his pioneering pedagogical work *Fenn-i Terbiye* [The Science of Education] with a concise statement: "The Ottomanness of tomorrow will be prepared in the schools of today."[34] He addressed the teachers in these schools as "school-teacher troops" [*muallim orduları*].[35] The task of these troops was to diffuse Ottomanist principles to secure the future of the Ottoman state. Moreover, in Mustafa Satı's opinion, the activities of these "troops" were essential in the context of imperialist rivalry and competing non-state education institutions within Ottoman lands. In his talk, given in *Darülfünun* [Ottoman University] when Ottoman armies

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[33] Ibid. 45-46.

[34] Mustafa Satı, *Fenn-i Terbiye* (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1325 [1909]), 2. Also, in his writing originally published in *Tanin* in 1909 and then was added to his work *Layihalarım* he says that: "One of French intellectuals [*rical-i maarifinden*] once said that "France of tomorrow is being prepared in today's schools". Accordingly, we can remark that "Ottomanness of tomorrow will be prepared in today's schools and in the context of this statement we may conclude: The future and prosperity of Ottomansses will be correlated with the success of the efforts in the reformation of the schools". Mustafa Satı, *Layihalarım* [My Proposals], in *Mustafa Satı Bey ve Eğtime Dair Layihaları* [Mustafa Satı Bey and His Proposals Regarding Education], translit. Uğur Ünal and Togay Seçkin Birbudak (Ankara: Murat Kitabevi, 2010), 126.

[35] Satı, *Fenn-i,* 8.

were fighting against Bulgarian armies in Çatalca in 1913, he described teachers as if they were an army defending the lands of the state. This defence was against Western powers' efforts to expand their sociopolitical and cultural influence over Ottoman lands through schools, textbooks, and missionaries. Five years after what Tunalı Hilmi wrote of the roles of schools in Macedonia, Mustafa Satı also argued that, before the invasion of Rumelia, different political groups expanded their sphere of influence in Ottoman lands through various educational means. He thought that Ottomans should acknowledge the potential outcomes of these kinds of education-related initiatives and should strive to consolidate the Ottoman education system in order to defend the lands of the State.[36]

Avram Galanti attached similar importance to schools and teachers in the Empire. He believed that the future of the Empire was dependent on teachers.[37] His expectation from schools and teachers was to make their pupils useful citizens for the fatherland and humanity in general. This meant that he expected students to be self-aware of their identity, state, and fatherland and to build skills that would allow them to participate in the socioeconomic and political life of broader Ottoman society.[38] Moreover, Galanti also acknowledged the negative impacts of certain non-Ottoman education networks on the sociopolitical dynamics of the Empire. In his writing *Ecoles des Congrégations et Ecoles de l'Alliance Israélite en Turquie*, Galanti criticized the activities of Catholic schools in Ottoman lands. These purely religious institutions, he argued, promoted hatred among different groups within Ottoman lands, posed a threat for the Ottomanist agenda of the state, and were detrimental to the sovereignty of the

[36] Mustafa Satı, *Vatan İçin -5 Konferans*- (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası,1329 [1913]), 74-76.
[37] Avram Galanti, "Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder?: Taltif ve Terakki-i Muallimin" [How Would Our Education Progress? Appreciation and Progress of Teacher] in *GPN*, CAHJP P/112, F.88.
[38] This is a common discourse in Galanti's writings. To see elements of this discourse see Avram Galanti, "Maarifimiz Ne Yolda Terakki Eder?: Mekatib-i İbtidai, Rüşdi ve İdadi" [How Would Our Education Progress? Primary, Middle and Secondary Schools] in *GPN*, CAHJP P/112, F.88; Abraham Galante, "La langue Turque et les Israélites de Turquie (Part 2)," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXII, no.25 (1901): 197-198.

Ottoman state. [39] In the same article, Galanti discussed the impact and reputation of educational institutions of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (AIU) in the Ottoman Empire as completely opposite those of Catholic schools. To him, the AIU provided students from different backgrounds with a secular education for free. Their activities promoted patriotism among Ottoman Jews and were in accordance with the expectations of the state. In fact, he argued that Catholic schools promoted French interests while harming Ottoman interests, whereas the AIU contributed to both French and Ottoman interests.[40]

Besides the fact that some of his pro-AIU arguments in this piece contradicted some of his previous remarks on the AIU, [41] his claim about the AIU's potential contributions to French and Ottoman interests was at the same time self-contradictory. It was true that the functions of AIU institutions were different than those of Catholic French schools. The AIU was careful not to position itself with the French government and not to politicize its institutions. Its schools aimed to act as neutral educational institutions. Furthermore, as Rodrigue explains, its institutions were not officially supported or protected by the French

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[39] Abraham Galante, *Écoles des Congrégations et écoles de l'Alliance Israélite en Turquie, leurs esprits, rôles et résultats.* (9 December 1904), 13, 20-23.

[40] Ibid. 25-27, 38.

[41] His fully pro-AIU stance was in contrast with some of his claims in his former articles published in *Archives Israélites*. For example, as will be discussed in the later parts of this chapter, in his previous articles Galanti complained about the quality of the education in AIU institutions mainly as a result of the misadministration by the principals of the schools. He claimed that some of the principals were ruling the schools in a corrupt manner, and the institutions exclusively focused on French education at the expense of Hebrew and Turkish. Therefore, AIU institutions, according to Galanti, were not fulfilling some of its main principles. These contradictions might be interpreted as a reflection of the fluidity of Galanti's intellectual stance at the time. However, in my opinion, the reason for the contradiction should also be sought in Galanti's target audience and the articles' production dates. For the articles published in *Archives Israélites* the target audience was French Jews who were influential at AIU. The articles were mainly intra-communal published at the time when, as Avner Levi thinks, Galanti might have pursued some personal goals in order to obtain a position in one of the AIU schools. On the other hand, the target audience of *Écoles des Congrégations et écoles de l'Alliance Israélite en Turquie* was the French public and politicians. In this article he was in a defensive position against attacks on one of the most important Jewish institutions in the Ottoman Empire, the AIU. Abraham Galante, "L'enseignement dans les écoles de l'Alliance et la nécessité de leur réorganisation," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXIII (1902): Part 1 in no.25, 190-191; Part 2 in no.27, 206-207; Part 3 in no.30, 228- 229; Part 4 in no.32, 244-245; part 5 in no.35, 270; part 6 in no.51, 396; Avner Levi, "Kahire'de Gazetecilik Yılları ve Avram Galanti," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.153 (Eylül 1996)13-14.

government until the early twentieth century. These neutral efforts of the AIU were also acknowledged by the Ottoman state. Following the start of World War I, AIU schools continued to operate in imperial lands, while other institutions under the protection of France ceased to function.[42] However, despite their functional neutrality, the principles of the AIU originated in the premises of French *mission civilisatrice*, a colonialist discourse aimed to legitimize interventions and colonial expansion. The main component of the French *mission civilisatrice* was the deployment of the French language. The proponents of this colonialist discourse considered the French language superior to other languages and an efficient conveyor of French culture. Thus, they thought diffusing French would mean the spread of French culture.[43] This, in return, would establish a significant sphere of influence for France.

In accordance with colonialist discourses of the time, French Jews believed that coreligionists in the East were immoral and corrupted.[44] The enlightenment of Eastern Jews was a must for their survival. To this end, French Jews prescribed French as the language of instruction in AIU schools. Believing in the capabilities of French culture to bring forth progress, they perceived the French language as the most efficient channel through which to transmit French cultural dynamics into the minds of Eastern Jews. Furthermore, the AIU had practical reasons to utilize French in its schools. French was one of the most widespread languages in the Levant and had strong control over the economic life of the region. Nevertheless, the promotion of French in AIU schools was a significant contribution to the colonialist French cause of the *mission civilisatrice.*

As explained in chapter 3, the Turkish language should also have been one of the central components of AIU's curriculum. As AIU aimed for the full emancipation of Eastern

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[42] Yet, in order to continue functioning, AIU schools "were declared as Ottoman communal institutions". Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 148-155.
[43] Mathew Burrows, "'*Mission Civilisatrice*': French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860–1914", *The Historical Journal* 29, no.1 (1986): 127.
[44] Ibid., 123; Also see, Rodrigue, *Alliance*, 72.

Jews in broader Ottoman society, learning Turkish was essential. However, AIU schools in Ottoman lands did not prioritize teaching Turkish due to ideological and practical reasons. Therefore, considering Ottomanism's aim to create a distinct Ottoman identity and, thus, promote the Turkish language, from the perspective of Ottomanists the AIU did not serve the Ottoman state's agenda as much as it served the French *mission civilisatrice*.[45]

Having said that, it is clear that AIU institutions made undeniable contributions to the development of individual skills among Jewish youth in the Empire and culturally impacted Ottoman Jewry. The AIU's philosophy originated from France's education policies; in addition, the experiences of French Jews had been an important reference from which Galanti's understanding of the importance of education was shaped. In fact, education policies that had mainly originated in Western countries influenced the ideas of all three intellectuals, contributing to their views on the importance and potentialities of education. In Galanti's case, in addition to France, Germany and Britain's educational systems were references for his claims on broader Ottoman educational affairs. For Tunalı Hilmi, on the other hand, educational affairs in Geneva had been pivotal in his understanding of the organization of education and its abilities. Lastly, in the case of Mustafa Satı, the list of influential countries expanded considerably. As mentioned in chapter 1, Satı undertook professional trips to France, Germany, Italy, Britain, Belgium, and Romania in order to observe and experience different education institutions and methods. The three intellectuals deployed the positive outcomes of education systems in these countries, namely the achievement of progress, as rhetorical tools to prove the validity of their arguments regarding educational reformation.[46]

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[45] As discussed in different parts of this dissertation Galanti had been critical of excessive French influence on the activities and curriculums of AIU. Nevertheless, this does not change the fact that his argument involves certain contradictory elements.

[46] The elements of their ideas on education will be discussed below in detail. But to give an example, in their discussions of the need to promote an education scheme with a bottom-up approach, Galanti referred to, generally, European countries and, specifically, Germany. Mustafa Satı drew his readers' attention to Japan, Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Germany.

Despite the perceptibility of these Western countries as references in their works, it is difficult to claim the same visibility for specific intellectuals that may have inspired Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti, especially. An obvious reason for this is the fact that Hilmi and Galanti did not necessarily give direct references for specific ideas. Instead, they quoted or mentioned Western intellectual figures in their writings, mainly, to support their intellectual positions. For example, Hilmi provided a list of important books on pedagogy at the end of *Avrupa'da Tahsil*. The list included works by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Herbert Spencer, and Alfred Binet and works on pioneering figures such as Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, and Immanuel Kant.[47] In order to support his own arguments, Galanti quoted intellectuals such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant.[48] However, these broad lists or concise quotations from intellectuals do not help us to evaluate how much time Hilmi or Galanti may have spent on such readings or answer questions regarding their individual interpretations of these texts as they related to their Ottomanist ideas or certain sociocultural dynamics of their societies. On the other hand, Mustafa Satı's extensive writings on education and his practical suggestions to improve the Ottoman education system give a clearer picture of the sources he read and his interpretations of readings which enabled him to utilize these ideas within the framework of Ottoman society.[49] His writings also reveal that he did not simply adopt the approaches he observed and studied. Instead, he utilised his own eclectic approach to adapt them to the conditions of the Empire. The school that he founded,

[47] Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil, Appendix*: 36-40.
[48] Avram Galanti, *Tahsil-i Nisanın Cemiyet-i Beşeriyeye Tesiri; Kadınlarda Maarifin Noksaniyetinin Tesiri* in *GPN*, CAHJP P/112, F.88.
[49] The examination of the extensive list of pedagogue and thinkers that inspired Mustafa Satı is beyond the scope of this chapter. For certain analysis remarks on these names see Mustafa Gündüz, "Satı Bey'in ve Fenn-i Terbiye'nin Fikir Kaynakları" [The Intellectual Sources of Satı and Fenn-i Terbiye] in *Mustafa Satı Bey ve Eğitim Bilimi: Fenn-i Terbiye Cilt 1-2, Türkiye'de İlk Modern Eğitim Bilim Kitabı*, hzr. Mustafa Gündüz, (Ankara: Otorite, 2012), 20-23; Ertuğrul Zengin, "The Political and Social Thoughts of Satı Bey: Exploring the Ideology of an Ottoman Patriot" (MA diss., Boğaziçi University, 2010); Ülken, Düşünce Tarihi, 245-266; William L Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Satiʿ al-Husri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 31-32.

Yeni Mektep, is a good example of how Satı's own synthesis aimed to contribute to the education system in the Empire. In the foundation of the school, the kindergarten of pioneering pedagogue Friedrich Wilhelm August Froebel stood out as his main reference. However, instead of imitating the structure of the kindergarten, Satı aimed to create an early child education structure that would work in an Ottoman context. Therefore, his efforts resulted in a combination of the ideas of several thinkers, mainly Froebel and Italian pedagogue Maria Tecla Artemisia Montessori, in a manner that would be suitable with the psychological and social requirements of an Eastern culture.[50] The eclectic nature of Satı's vision was also apparent in his utilization of the ideas of Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Satı was well aware that Fichte's sociopolitical ideas that emphasized the links between language and the notion of nationhood were not applicable to the Ottoman case. However, Satı appreciated Fichte's ability to transform ideas into action and his emphasis on the mobilization of the tools of national education to achieve unifying sociopolitical agendas. Though he did not agree with the content of his ideas within the Ottoman context, he utilized his rhetoric and methods to promote his own sociopolitical goals.[51]

Having underlined the central importance that the three intellectuals attached to education as part of their Ottomanist goals and some of the broad references which helped to create their visions, it is time to delve into the details of their ideas on the subject. What were the features of the education system they envisaged for Ottoman society? What aims did they desire to reach in Ottoman society through education? And what tools did they rely on? These are some of the questions that are essential for us to answer in order to understand their

[50] For the detailed examination of Satı's synthesis for the practices in *Yeni Mektep* see Filiz Meşeci Giorgetti, "New School of Mustafa Satı Bey in Istanbul (1915)," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no.1-2 (2014): 55-57. For a journal piece that refers to the eclectic educational vision of Satı in founding *Yeni Mektep* see "Yeni Mektep," *İctihad* 127, 30 Kânûn-i sâni 1330/1915, 477–8.
[51] For Satı's ideas on Fichte see Satı, *Vatan İçin,* 104-126. Kerem Tınaz, "An Inclusive Voice in an Exclusive Era: Satı Bey and His Ottomanist Pursuit" (M.Phil diss., University of Oxford, 2012), 86-87. Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri, 38.*

visions and the borders of the intellectual heritage that the late Ottoman Empire left to the post-Ottoman period. The answers to these questions will be the focus of the rest of this chapter.

The Features of an Ottomanist Education in the Three Intellectuals' Minds

The trust Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı shared in the impact of education went hand-in-hand with their belief in the influence of nurture on the development of children. They thought that one's early environment and education was the main determinant of one's ideas and skill development. They did not believe in the presence of essentialist characteristics that defined a community's status vis-à-vis others'. Mustafa Satı especially covered this subject widely in his writings. He argued against the idea of essentialist national dispositions. For him, the examples of the transformations in Germany and Japan during the nineteenth century revealed that aspects of a nation could be changed within a short period of time. Thus, he remarked that "the talents/virtues of nations become clearer not according to their fundamental dispositions, but rather according to the shape these dispositions assume; whereas these shapes become clearer according to the societal structure of the nation and the style of education."[52] Avram Galanti and Tunalı Hilmi did not discuss these issues as excessively as Satı. Yet, like Satı, their emphasis on nurture's impact on certain features of citizens or coreligionists was visible in their writings. [53] A child's education, for them, constituted the main pillar of a child's nurture. Therefore, they discussed the features of public education that were necessary to produce the best possible outcome within the context of their Ottomanist agendas.

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[52] Mustafa Satı, "Irk ve Terbiye" [Race and Education], *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası*, no.17 (1327 [1911]): 166. Also see Mustafa Satı, "Çocuklarımızın Zekası" [The Intelligence of Our Childeren], *Yeni Mektep,* no.14 (1328 [1912]): 417-422.

[53] For example, in his discussions on the status of Ottoman Jewry in comparison to other ethno-religious communities, Galanti referred to education as the factor that most affected the status of communities within broader Ottoman society. See Galante, "La langue Turque," 197-198.

For Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı, the education system should reach the masses and should be developed with a bottom-up approach. Raised at a time of mounting efforts of the Empire to expand primary education,[54] they all recognized the particular importance of primary education in the broader education system.

Tunalı Hilmi's draft of a constitution published in French focused significantly on the promotion of primary education. His draft proposed the allocation of the majority of the state's education budget towards primary education. He argued for this level of education to be compulsory and free for every Ottoman, including girls, with additional state support for students' educational materials. Moreover, he suggested sending 500 students to Europe to receive pedagogical training and to observe primary education institutions, in particular.[55] Similarly, Avram Galanti in his writings examined the different levels of education in the Empire, remarking that "primary schools are the most essential elements of an education apparatus of a state." At the same time, he highlighted European states' efforts to develop their primary education. Yet, despite the importance of primary education, he thought that conditions in imperial lands were not adequately supportive due to problems related to teachers, materials, and opportunities in general.[56] Lastly, Mustafa Satı demonstrated his belief in the need to develop education utilising a bottom-up approach by being one of the most outspoken opponents of a theory known as *Tuba Ağacı* [Ailanthus]. This theory, the name of which referred to a tree believed to be located in heaven and standing downward with its roots in the sky, claimed that the sources of the sciences were located at the top of the education chain. Thus, the proponent of this theory Emrullah Efendi (1858-1914), who became the minister of education twice and was an important education reformer of the

[54] For more on the development of primary education in the early phase of the Ottoman reform period see Somel, *Modernization*, 15-64 and Kodaman, *Abdülhamid,* 57-91.
[55] Tunalı Hilmi, *Un projet d'organisation de la souverainete de peuple en* Turquie (Geneva, 1902), 28-29. Also see Turkish version of the draft : *Şart* (1320 [1902]), 8-9. Tunalı Hilmi, *Murad* (Kahire: 1318 [1900]), 97.
[56] Galanti, "Mekatib-i İbtidai."

Second Constitutional Period, argued for the need to reform the education system using a top-down approach. His ideas were reflections of, on one hand, his elitist tendencies in organizing society and, on the other, his perception of this approach as the pragmatic and expeditious strategy to strengthen education and, thus, produce solutions for the sociopolitical affairs of the Empire in the short run. Mustafa Satı summarized his objections to this theory in his articles *Tuba Ağacı Nazariyesi* [Theory of Tuba Tree] and *Tuba Ağacı Hakkında Bir İzah* [An Explanation About Tuba Tree] published in *Muallim*.[57] He remarked, "Every science and every teaching institution needs a foundation. I know neither any science, nor can I imagine any teaching institution that could stand by itself as if hanging like an Ailanthus."[58] It is in the context of this argument that he believed primary schools to be the foundation for consolidating the education system on every level. Satı believed that no educational level could be improved without support from the lower levels. Thus, he asked rhetorically:

> "Is it possible to have a secondary school where there is no elementary school, or to have a university where there is no secondary school? Is it possible for an individual to have a good higher education without having a good lower/fundamental education? Is it possible for one to specialize in advanced sciences, without having been taught fundamental sciences?".[59]

Avram Galanti shared Mustafa Satı's concerns about the need for a strong foundational education system. He remarked, "Nowadays, only 15% of secondary school pupils are competent - the others are poor. This situation is the consequence of the poor condition of primary education in schools. However, if a proper education existed in primary schools, then 80% of pupils would be competent - the others would be poor."[60] For Galanti, problems in the lower levels of education inevitably decreased the efficiency and strength of education in the

[57] Mustafa Satı, "Tuba Ağacı Nazariyesi," *Muallim*, no. 12 (1333 [1917]): 359-366; Mustafa Satı, "Tuba Ağacı Hakkında Bir İzah," *Muallim,* no. 13 (1333 [1917]): 386-388.
[58] Ibid., 386. Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice," 53-54.
[59] Ibid., 387.
[60] Galanti, "Mekatib-i İbtidai."

higher levels. Thus, it was important to begin the organization of educational affairs from the bottom.

In addition, Mustafa Satı and Avram Galanti considered primary education the most widespread and convenient channel to diffuse education into the masses more broadly in order to realize social transformations, the details of which will be discussed below. According to Galanti, the majority of people in society would receive their education only in these schools and, thus, would proceed through their lives utilizing the skills that were gained there.[61] Similarly, Mustafa Satı argued that "their [primary schools'] number everywhere – including in the most developed countries – is many times higher than the number of secondary and higher education institutions."[62] Thus, primary schools' sphere of influence was the most extensive within the education apparatus of the state.

Both intellectuals, moreover, brought forward examples from the educational policies of different countries to prove the validity of their arguments on the importance of primary education. While Galanti referred to European countries in general (especially Germany), Mustafa Satı drew his readers' attention to Japan, Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Germany. Considering the fact that all of these countries had strived to develop into independent powers with distinct national identities over the course of the nineteenth century, Satı and Galanti's utilization of these examples demonstrates the partial political and practical parallels between these political entities' nationalist agendas and the intellectuals' Ottomanist pursuits.

In their discussions on the expansion of mass education, the education of women also stood out as an important subject considered by Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı. The emphasis on women's education in the Empire appeared over the course of the extensive reform processes of the *Tanzimat* period. One of the early arguments for the

[61] Ibid.
[62] Satı, *Fenn-i,* 6.

necessity of women's education was shaped around women's roles as mothers. An important statesman of this period, Sadık Rıfat Paşa, considered the "motherly embrace the earliest school for human being."[63] Thus, educating a woman, who would eventually be the "earliest school" for a child, was an essential issue at a time when bureaucrats aimed to mobilize every possible channel of education. Although this argument did not derive from a concern for gender equality, such discussions were a clear sign that in the *Tanzimat* period new opportunities began to appear for women in broader society. In this context, Galanti's ideas on women's education echoed those of some *Tanzimat* intellectuals. Similar to Namık Kemal, who saw the correlation between the level of education of women and the level of general progress in the West, Galanti perceived women's education as an essential factor for a country's progress.[64] He argued that educating women was essential to women's roles as the earliest educators of children. One of Galanti's expectations from women was to impress on their children's hearts and minds ideas of nation, fatherland, state, and sultan. To this end, he thought, educated women could be more successful than illiterate ones. On the other hand, Hilmi's ideas about woman did not necessarily refer to their roles as mothers. It, in fact, derived from his belief in the social equality of woman and man. In his draft of a constitution, he supported his ideas on equal education arrangements for girls and boys with a concise statement: "Woman is equal to man and free." He furthermore explained his words in the

[63] Qtd in. Somel, *Modernization,* 57. Also, see the speech delivered by Minister of Education Saffet Paşa in Hasan Ali Koçer, "Türkiye'de Kadın Eğitimi," [Women Education in Turkey] Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi 5, no.1 (1972), 95. Similar to Sadık Rıfat Paşa and Galanti, he also discussed women as the earliest educators of children. Similar emphasis on women's roles as a mother in the context of discussions about women's education was visible in Egypt too. See Beth Baron, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 36-39. Clearly, this emphasis was a part of a large discussion about women and education in Egypt at the time. See for example, Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt : Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven &London: Yale University Press, 1994), 122-143. Qasim Amin, *The Liberation of Women; And, the New Woman : Two Documents in the History of Egyptian Feminism,* trans. Samiha Sidhom Peterson (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000). Huda Shaarawi, *Harem Years The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist (1879-1924)*, trans. and ed. Margot Badran (London: Virago press, 1986).

[64] The reference for his ideas was women education in Germany, Britain and France. Galanti, "Tahsil-i Nisanın."

footnote with a proverb: "If a male lion is called 'lion', shouldn't we call a female lion 'lion' too?"[65] His interest in women's education was also apparent in his book *Avrupa'da Tahsil*. Throughout its pages, the book discusses the visibility of women in educational affairs in Geneva. Furthermore, in its conclusion, Hilmi encouraged female students, like their male counterparts, to go to Europe for an education. This, he considered, was a necessity for the progress of Ottoman society.[66] Like many other late Ottoman intellectuals, Mustafa Satı, too, acknowledged the importance of women in the education of children and, thus, in the transmission of ideas about *vatan*. He concluded one of the conferences that he delivered in front of a female audience with the statement, "It is said that 'the hand that rocks the cradle dominates the world'. When this hand decides to save a nation, to persevere in supporting the nation starting from the cradle, then that nation will face the future with no fears at all… as long as the determination and perseverance of that hand is unshakable and enlightened."[67] Moreover, Satı's efforts in promoting women's education did not remain entirely within the confines of theory. He led initiatives for the improvement of women's education. *Yeni Mektep* [The New School], founded by Satı in 1915, was an outcome of such an initiative. Inspired by ideas associated with the New School in Europe, this pioneering school mainly sought to train girls.[68]

In general, secular lenses sculpted the three intellectuals' ideas on the content of inclusive public education. They were concerned with the promotion of worldly and practical subjects because they considered knowledge of them a requirement to becoming an active part of the contemporary world. Religion was not considered an important educational topic. Tunalı Hilmi, after highlighting and admiring different secular features of schools in Geneva

[65] Hilmi, *Projet*, 28; Hilmi, *Şart,* 10.
[66] Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil,* 252.
[67] Mustafa Satı, "Aile Kucağında Vatan Terbiyesi" [Education of Fatherland at the Arm of Family], *Terbiye Mecmuası*, no. 1 (1330 [1914]): 36.
[68] Giorgetti, "New School," 52-54.

throughout *Avrupa'da Tahsil*, in the section entitled *İlahiyat Şubesi* [Divinity School], remarked, "Has any attention been paid to the curricula of the schools mentioned above? None of them contain any classes regarding tenets of faith. The tenets of faith are taught by mothers and fathers."[69] Similarly, the teaching of secular subjects at early ages were the source of inspiration for Mustafa Satı's ideas. Although he did not ignore the importance of religion in the social life of society as a whole, he advocated for secular tools in the training of individuals as the content of his numerous pedagogical works reveal. Lastly, Avram Galanti, too, highlighted the need for the teaching of practical and secular subjects in his writings focusing on both broader Ottoman society and the Jewish community. However, in relation to his ideas on the cultural aspects of Ottoman Jewry, he perceived Judaism to be the main component of a distinct Jewish communal culture. Thus, he also argued for the improvement of Hebrew education in order to develop students' abilities to understand their religion and, through it, their culture. [70] Furthermore, in his criticism of poor - or at least varying degrees of poor - Hebrew education in AIU schools, Galanti proclaimed, "I personally know some young people who are embarrassed to have Jewish names and scorn Jewish holidays and traditions."[71] Also, Mahir Şaul states that, as a result of the cultural influence of the AIU's education, French names such as "Robert, Jacques, and Albert" had become more common than "names of Hebrew origin such as Hayim, Yuda, and Avram." This cultural influence even had a partial impact on the decoration of synagogues and

[69] Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil*, 121.
[70] Abraham Galante, "La predication Juive en Turquie, Décadence Religieuse," *Archives Israélites*, Parisi, LVX, no.29 (1889): 111. Galanti also criticized the principals of AIU schools for teaching students math, geography and history in a way that would not contribute to their knowledge of religion and fatherland. Galante, "L'enseignement dans les écoles (Part 3)," 228-229.
[71] Abraham Galante, "La langue Turque et les Israélites de Turquie (Part 3)," *Archives Israélites*, Paris, LXII, no.27 (1901): 212. Provision of a good religious education for the strengthening of Jewish identity was one of the aims of AIU schools. Yet, Rodrigue remarks that the incompetence of Hebrew teachers, who were mainly local rabbis, hindered the attainment of this goal or, at least, resulted in varying levels of success in different AIU schools. Rodrigue, *Alliance,* 80-81.

traditional ceremonies.[72] Therefore, Galanti's promotion of Hebrew education should primarily be interpreted in the context of his will to preserve the distinctive culture of his community and his reaction to the excessive influence of French culture on the AIU's education agenda rather than purely religious concerns.

Indeed, the three intellectuals argued for public education to be developed with a bottom-up approach and believed in the necessity of adopting inclusive methods. The reason behind their insistence on a bottom-up approach was this model's ability to reach Ottoman children to the broadest extent possible and to create adult patriotic Ottoman citizens of tomorrow. In other words, they believed that an education with such an extensive reach could rearrange the dynamics of society along Ottomanist lines and create an infrastructure upon which a stronger future could be built. Indeed, educational mechanisms could be utilized as tools for social engineering within society.

Two Keywords of The Three Intellectuals' Ottomanist Education Vision: Cehalet [Ignorance] and Progress

In the minds of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı, the features of the eventual socoiopolitical order that they aimed to reach was defined by the West. At the time, the term *medeniyet* [civilization] was commonly used among Ottoman intellectuals to refer to the features of the contemporary sociopolitical stage in the West. For Ottomans, the meaning of *medeniyet* originated from two sources. *Muqaddima,* the greatest work of pioneering Muslim historian Ibn Khaldun, was the first. This work made a distinction between *medeniyet* and *bedeviyet*. While the term *bedeviyet* pertained to nomadic life and culture, the term *medeniyet* referred to settled city life and culture. The second source was the French understanding of the concept of civilisation and Ottoman intellectuals' efforts to make sense

[72] Mahir Şaul, "The Mother Tongue of the Polyglot: Cosmopolitism and Nationalism among the Sepharadim of Istanbul", in *Turkish - Jewish Encounters*, ed. Mehmet Tütüncü (Netharland: Haarlem, 2001), 148.

of it. The concept, at first, was translated as *sivilizasyon*. In time however, the term *medeniyet* began to be used as the translation of 'civilisation'. *Medeniyet* referred to an order of arranging sociopolitical relations in a society within the framework of a just system. Its foundational element was education, and its outcomes were peace and prosperity.[73] This understanding of civilization set the goals for the sociopolitical agenda of the three intellectuals. They believed that by constructing such an order in Ottoman lands they could both consolidate the contemporary structure of society and lay the foundation for a future, common agenda. Furthermore, Tunalı Hilmi and Mustafa Satı, in particular, believed that the attainment of such an order and becoming a part of civilization was necessary for the survival of the Empire at a time of increasing Western imperialist claims. In reaching these goals education was essential because only its modern tools could allow the realization of two crucial aspects of civilization: the elimination of *cehalet* [ignorance] and the attainment of progress.

The concept of *cehalet* might be considered one of the key words of the sociopolitical agendas of all three intellectuals. Referring to a lack of worldly practical and rational knowledge, all of their educational visions defined ignorance as one of the main targets to eliminate within Ottoman society. This was their first priority in their pursuits to create a new type of 'man' in society, a man conscious of his Ottoman identity and able to contribute to society through his individual skills. In other words, the concept of *cehalet* was very much integrated within the patriotic rhetoric of the three intellectuals. Yet, *cehalet* was neither the three intellectuals' innovation nor an uncommon term in the nineteenth century or prior.[74]

[73] Wigen, "Orderliness," 109-111.
[74] For an extensive examination of the concept of ignorance within the context of the intellectual discussions about the science in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century see M. Alper Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots Debating Science, State, and Society in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

The word *cehalet* in Ottoman Turkish was derived from the Arabic tri-consonantal root *j-h-l*. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* defines *jahila* as "to be ignorant, not to know, and to be irrational."[75] Although the core meaning of the word in Arabic had been stable for centuries, its connotations differed according to the various sociopolitical dynamics of different periods. Especially in the Islamic period, the word gained significance in relation to the teaching of Islam. Yakup Bıyıkoğlu remarks that eleventh-century prominent Islamic scholar Raghib Isfahani pointed out three different meanings of the word *jahl/jahāla* in his study examining terms in the Quran. The first of these meanings, which, according to Isfahani, was the term's main definition, was "that a self is lacking in knowledge".[76] We can assume that "knowledge" in this definition referred to information originating from Islamic teachings and rules. It is in the context of this meaning that the term *Jāhilīyah* emerged to refer to the period and sociocultural conditions prior to the rise of Islam in Arab lands. The religious connotation of the term has survived from the very beginning of Islam to today, with changing interpretations.[77] Yet, religion has not been the only influence on the shifting connotations of the word.

In the late nineteenth century, secular connotations of the term gained importance among Ottoman intellectuals. According to Şemsettin Sami's *Kamus-ı Türki*, the term *cehalet* in Turkish also meant "ignorance".[78] Moreover, the adjective form of the word *cahil* meant, firstly, "ignorant" and, secondly, "uneducated" [*okumamış*]. To demonstrate the second meaning of the term, Sami utilised the following example sentence: "Educate this child in

[75] Hans Wehr, "jahila," in *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J Milton Cowan (Librairie du Liban, 1980), 144.
[76] Yakup Bıyıkoğlu, "Kuran'da Cahiliye Kavramı" [The Term Cahiliye in Quran] *Dokuz Eylül Ünivrsitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 2, no.36 (2012): 236.
[77] For a brief examination of the concept *Jāhilīyah* see Eleanor Abdella Doumato and Byron D. Cannon, "Jāhilīyah" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World, Oxford Islamic Studies Online.* Accessed: December 27, 2017, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0406.
[78] Şemsettin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki* [Turkish Dictionary] (İstanbul: İkdam Matbaası, 1317), 488.

order not to leave him or her ignorant."[79] Considering the period, it is possible to claim that the verb "educate" in this sentence referred to the provision of training in new education institutions of the Empire. Secular subjects constituted an important part of the education offered in these schools. Therefore, relying on the meaning of this sentence, it is possible to conclude that the one who did not study the subjects provided in these schools would have been considered *cahil* by certain intellectuals of the time.

A more secular connotation of the term began to take hold from the very beginning of the *Tanzimat* period. Just one year after the promulgation of the *Tanzimat* edict, Mustafa Sami Efendi highlighted the importance of the issue of ignorance in his work *Avrupa Risalesi*. According to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Avrupa Risalesi* was one of the early works that encouraged its audience to think about conditions in Europe in comparison to Ottoman lands.[80] In this comparison, the subject of ignorance was a clear reference point for Mustafa Sami. He claimed that, for Europeans, the most embarrassing character trait was ignorance. Thus, he argued, they had worked hard for its elimination by diffusing education into every layer of society and benefiting from the natural and social sciences in every area of life; as a result of this work, Europeans had reached their current sociopolitical and economic status.[81] The focus on ignorance was one of the early harbingers of further debates about how to fight ignorance within the borders of Ottoman Empire. One of the early official views on the subject appeared in the edict of Sultan Abdülmecid issued in 1845. The edict referred to the "elimination of the ignorance of the subjects in all issues, religiously and worldly" as one of the vital problems of the Empire.[82] Abdülmecid pointed to the need to found new schools in order to suppress ignorance in society. The education offered in these schools should rely

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[79] Ibid., 468. *"Şu çocuğu okutup cahil bırakmayın."*
[80] Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* [19th Century History of Turkish Literature] (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 124.
[81] Mustafa Sami, *Avrupa,* 27-38. Also see Yalçınkaya, *Patriots*, 48-53.
[82] Transl. by and qtd. in Ibid, 59.

mainly on worldly knowledge and its source, the sciences.[83] The decisive role this type of education played in the state-supported fight against ignorance reached its zenith with the promulgation of the Public Education Regulation in 1869. The Regulation placed the deployment of sciences at the centre of education policies. In the introduction, the Regulation stated, "It is needless to state and explain that sciences and learning are the principal sources of prosperity. The realization of the progress that mankind has a propensity for […] all depend on knowledge and learning."[84]

While the period witnessed an ever increasing influence of worldly knowledge, the importance of religious knowledge did not disappear with the arrival of the Tanzimat period. As is evident in Abdülmecid's edict too, throughout the nineteenth century religious knowledge continued to play a role in the educational and intellectual spheres of the Empire. It remained especially influential in primary education. Moreover, in the *Hamidian* period, religious knowledge became more prevalent in the newly-founded higher state schools.[85] At the same time, however, the appreciation of knowledge deriving from natural and social sciences grew among intellectuals and statesmen in an unprecedented way, never before seen in the Empire. This type of knowledge gradually turned into the primary - though not the only - framework used in examining affairs related to politics, the economy, and society. It provided a new and different lens through which to perceive worldly affairs separate from that of religion. These developments resulted in a gradual reformation of the meaning of ignorance with highly secular connotations over the course of the century.

The secular connotations of the term had strong connections to some Ottomanist rhetoric of the time. Tunalı Hilmi remarked that the lack of an alliance among Ottomans was

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[83] Ibid., 59.
[84] Ibid., 79.
[85] For a discussion of the role of Islam in the education sphere of the late Ottoman Empire see Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Chp. 3 and Chp. 6.

an illness, the cause of which was ignorance.[86] According to him, the cure to this illness was to become a new Ottoman.[87] We can define Tunalı Hilmi's understanding of the new Ottoman as an individual who was self-conscious of his equal Ottoman identity and was equipped with necessary worldly knowledge to contribute to improving conditions in the Empire. In other words, new Ottomans were the new type of man to which Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem referred in his brief story mentioned above.

Galanti's ideas about ignorance were in a similar vein with those of Tunalı Hilmi. One of the reasons Galanti promoted primary education was its ability to fight more effectively against ignorance to the broadest extent; eliminating ignorance within society was one of Galanti's highest intellectual priorities.[88] Furthermore, he appreciated the AIU's efforts because he thought that through the knowledge of state and fatherland pupils gained in these schools, they could become more patriotic members of society.[89]

Similarly, Mustafa Satı defined ignorance as the strongest and most destructive enemy. In Satı's mind, ignorance was the number one enemy of "school-teacher troops" and could be defeated through primary education. In fact, he considered his work *Fenn-i Terbiye* a partial guide for this fight and, thus, in the creation of the "Ottomanness" of tomorrow.[90] Indeed, in the minds of the three intellectuals, the elimination of ignorance was an integral component in the discussion on the promotion of patriotism and, thus, Ottomanism within society. Patriotism as a result of the elimination of ignorance was the product of intellectual developments in the *Tanzimat* period. As early as 1838, the memorandum prepared by the Council of Public Works remarked that "an ignorant could not '[truly] know the state of

[86] Tunalı Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (Kahire: 1316 [1898-99]), 37-42.
[87] Ibid., 26-28.
[88] Galanti, "Mekatib-i İbtidai,"
[89] Galanti, *Écoles des Congrégations,* 25-27.
[90] Satı, *Fenn-i,* 7-8.

whose auspices they exist under, and what love for the fatherland means".[91] Yalçınkaya shows that over the course of the century, becoming enlightened gradually appeared as the main requirement for as well as the purpose of being an Ottoman patriot. Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı reiterated this requirement and, thus, supported the training of a new type of man for the benefit of Ottoman society. Moreover, the enlightenment of Ottomans through education was necessary to be able to construct a common future built upon another key word of the three intellectuals' sociopolitical agendas - progress.

In the late Ottoman Empire, some intellectuals perceived the world in which they lived as a "world of progress."[92] It was a matter of life or death for the Ottoman Empire to adapt to the requirements of this new world. Tevfik Fikret eloquently expressed this concern of these late Ottoman intellectuals with the lines, "Don't forget, your epoch is the epoch of abundant thunderbolts; at each thunderbolt, a night, a shadow falls apart; a horizon of a rise opens up, life rises; those who do not rise would fall: either progress or fall down!"[93]

The attainment of progress was dependent on the elimination of ignorance. Thus, the two concepts were interlinked with the promotion of worldly knowledge as their shared central premise. As this idea became more common among Ottoman intellectuals, the sciences based on worldly knowledge gained importance. Ottoman intellectuals and statesmen argued that the sciences provided the tools to examine politics, society, economics, and technology. They believed that these tools could not only produce solutions for contemporary problems but could also shape the future of society in a way that would make the sociopolitical and economic life of the Empire gradually and progressively stronger. In return,

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[91] Transl. by and qtd. in Yalçınkaya, *Patriots*, 57.
[92] Ibid.,127.
[93] The original lines of Tevfik Fikret are the following: *"Asrın, unutma, barikalar asr-ı feyzidir; Her yıldırımda bir gece, bir gölge devrilir; Bir ufk-ı i'tila açılır, yükselir hayat; Yükselmeyen düşer: ya terakki, ya inhitat!"* Tevfik Fikret*, Haluk'un Defteri, Şermin, Son Şiirler, Bütün Şiirleri:3* [The Notebook of Haluk, Şermin, Complete Poems] (İstanbul: Can Yayınları: 1984), 88.

this common vision of a future built upon the idea of progress could be a way to unify different communities within Ottoman society.

Originating from the ideas of the Enlightenment thinkers, the future-oriented focus on progress was a novelty of the nineteenth century in the worldview of Ottoman intellectuals. First of all, progress was tied to types of knowledge that differed from those within a religious framework. This worldly knowledge could be obtained through research, study, debate, and discovery using scientific tools and methods. Secondly, the future within the framework of progress would be an outcome of individuals' skills and minds. This understanding of the future gave Ottoman intellectuals the hope of participation in the civilized world and, thus, the ability to confront both internal and external problems of the Empire. Yet, its realization was dependent on the Ottoman system's ability to create new types of men. The path to the achievement of this goal was clear, and the starting point was education.

That there was a direct connection between modern education and the attainment of progress was a common view held among Ottoman intellectuals. One of the early intellectuals to draw his readers' attention to this relation was Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. He defined education as the central means through which progress, the base of a civilisation, could be attained.[94] Namık Kemal also presented similar opinions on progress in his famous article *Terakki* [Progress].[95] Namık Kemal's discussion of progress did not rely on one specific definition of the concept. Instead, he presented snapshots of progress in different fields through observations made in London. Sociopolitical conditions,[96] economic dynamics, and technological developments[97] in the city were part of his depiction of progress. Science and

[94] Wigen, "Orderliness," 111.
[95] Namık Kemal, "Terakki," in Namık Kemal, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi Meseleleri Bütün Makaleler,* eds. Nergiz Yılmaz Aydoğdu and İsmail Kara (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005), 212-220. Also, for an analysis of Namık Kemal's ideas see Wigen, "Orderliness," 112-113.
[96] i.e. laws, parliament, libraries, the press, and schools.
[97] i.e. factories, transportation, production, and the press.

its promotion, according to Namık Kemal, was one the factors that made this level of multifaceted progress possible in the West.

As debates on progress continued, more theoretical explanations on the foundations of progress began to appear within Ottoman intellectual circles. The ideas of liberal Ottoman thinker Prince Sabahaddin were an example for theoretical approaches at time. In order to understand infrastructural aspects of progress, he examined the sociocultural dynamics of different societies. Hilmi Ziya Ülken explains that inspired by thinkers like Edmond Demolins and Henri de Tourville, Sabahaddin made a distinction between Eastern and Western social types. While Eastern social types were communitarian, Western social types were particularist. For the realization of progress in the Ottoman Empire, the transformation of society from a communitarian into particularist one was a necessity. In other words, he argued for a complete transformation in the dynamics of society. For him, only such a social revolution could establish the necessary infrastructure for further revolutions in the fields of politics and economy. Sabahaddin agreed that education was the main tool to achieve such social transformation.[98]

Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı's understandings of progress were shaped in the context of a wide range of discussions on the concept. They all internalized the quick-changing nature of the era in which they lived and agreed on the importance of being adaptable to the requirements of the era's progressive nature. They believed that worldly knowledge was at the core of this progressiveness. Therefore, the promotion of worldly knowledge within Ottoman society was a priority and concern for them. As worldly knowledge was in constant development, in order to promote it, society needed modern

[98] Ülken, *Düşünce Tarihi*, 177 -178.

education institutions utilizing up-to-date tools and methods. In the context of their future-oriented perspectives, the only reality they recognized was the dynamism of the period.[99]

In their minds, the achievement of progress in Ottoman society was essential to firmly establish the place of the Empire in the international arena and to strengthen Ottomans' will to live together in harmony. They maintained that their experiences in the West provided them with the necessary instructions to work towards progress and urged Ottomans to follow their examples. This insistence on the adoption of Western examples was noteworthy in the context of increasing Orientalist and nationalist discourses at the time. Based on essentialist arguments, these discourses mainly served to prove the superiority of the West and to justify imperialist encroachment over their rivals' dominions. The three intellectuals were not in agreement with any essentialist arguments regarding the dispositions of the people, especially in relation to the Ottoman Empire, and aimed to refute essentialist discourses through the promotion of Western educational methods within the education system. In other words, they aimed to adopt their own tools to fight against the cultural and political encroachment of Western powers.

The focus of the three intellectuals' approaches to progress differed according to their professional and sociocultural differences. Tunalı Hilmi's understanding of progress was based upon two main pillars of thought. The first was the idea of concrete material progress made visible through technological and economic development. The second pillar was political progress, which referred to an inclusive pluralist and just political system. In Hilmi's mind the emergence of such progress was strictly related to the quality of education. Hilmi

[99] They were aware of the fact that education affairs of the Empire should be in constant regeneration in accordance with the progressive nature of the period. Tunalı Hilmi in the conclusion of *Avrupa'da Tahsil* quotes the following: *"*Don't strive to make your child conform to your own education; he was created for other times*". Avrupa'da Tahsil*, 271-272. Similarly, Avram Galanti proposed organizing competitions for the creation of textbooks every five years with the argument, "the teaching methods and kinds of books change in time". Avram Galanti, "Usul-ı Telif-i*".*

depicted this close relationship best in his work *Avrupa'da Tahsil*. The title of the book referred to Hilmi's aim to eventually write a general guidebook on education institutions in Europe. Yet, in practice, he thought that the preparation of such a voluminous work was not feasible, so he limited the scope of his book. The book was clearly written with an excessive admiration for the education institutions of Europe, in particular Geneva. It mainly offered descriptive details of the education institutions in the city. Moreover, it indirectly informed readers about the concerns of modern pedagogy, such as the size of classes, degrees, teaching materials, and reward systems. This kind of a guidebook on education at the time was not the result of an exceptional interest. As Tunalı Hilmi remarks, there were other Ottomans who shared his interest on writing such guides.[100] They perceived these works as channels through which to support and encourage students to come to Europe for their studies. [101] In this context, as mentioned in the Introduction of this study, they were indeed successful in their efforts.[102]

However, describing *Avrupa'da Tahsil* solely as a guidebook for education would be to underestimate the aim and the content of the book. First of all, the choice of Geneva as the focus of the book was noteworthy. Compared to cities like London and Paris, Geneva did not hold a similar level of importance in the international political and intellectual context of the period. Yet it was one of the central points for the Young Turk movements at the end of the nineteenth century.[103] The city had become an important point in the network of Ottoman

[100] In his book, *Avrupa'da Tahsil*, Tunalı Hilmi mentions an Ottoman who he met in Egypt. He says that this fellow citizen prepared a book on education in Paris. (6) Tunalı Hilmi remarks that although the book was not yet published, he thought it would be released at some point soon. It is likely that the fellow Ottoman citizen that Hilmi mentions was Doktor Necmeddin Ârif, and the guide book that he prepared was titled Paris'de Tahsil. The book was published in Egypt in 1322 [1904/1905].
[101] Tunalı Hilmi in particular perceived these guides as essential resources to support a student's decision to receive education in Europe and emphasized the need to increase the number of these resources. Furthermore, he also underlined the enlightening aspect of these guides for those who were not familiar with the West. *Avrupa'da Tahsil*, 7-9.
[102] Yakup Kadri, Bir Koca Çocuğun Ölümüne Dair, Milliyet, August 5, 1928, 2.
[103] For a brief examination of the subject see, Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981), 29-40.

intellectuals. Moreover, it seems that, compared to the tumultuous lives of late Ottoman intellectuals, intellectual life could thrive in Switzerland, an environment in which Ottomans too could pursue their intellectual and political goals freely. In addition, the high level of welfare, the liberal political environment, the advanced infrastructure of the cities, and the abundant nature in the country made it an ideal place where observations could be made to gain a better understanding of the sociopolitical and economic dynamics of life in the West.[104] Considering these features of Geneva, Hilmi provided a detailed picture of the city in order to help his audience feel what progress meant and how it impacted economic, sociocultural, and political life.[105] His narrative of the city is reminiscent of Namık Kemal's presentation of London in his article *Terakki* in its reflection of images of progress in different fields. Hilmi focused on outcomes of the current sociopolitical and cultural order in the city. Through his narrative it appears that, to him, progress included a multiplicity of means of transportation, accessibility to knowledge, a productive intellectual milieu, a vibrant social life, peaceful public places, a systematized and bureaucratized state apparatus, the economic welfare of citizens, a general consciousness of the importance of science, and the advanced nature of scientific studies in the city. These things not only improved the quality of individuals' lives but also made the city collectively strong and peaceful.

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[104] For example, Ali Kemal depicts Switzerland as follows: "Switzerland is a prosperous and fortunate country in every aspect. There is no disorder [*hercümerc*], greed [*ihtiras*], and disturbance [*iğtişaş*], even in the politics. They live in peace and tranquility." Ali Kemal, *Ömrüm*, 112. One of the ideological fathers of Turkish Republic, Ziya Gökalp, also made a noteworthy reference to Switzerland. In his collection of verses *The Red Apple*, he proposed the construction of a Turkish village in Switzerland called the Red Apple. Ziya Gökalp, *Kızıl Elma,* (Hayriye Matbaası, 1330[1914]), 23. One reason for his idea might have been the fact that different languages and cultures coexisted in Switzerland without the domination of a central cultural policy. Therefore, Switzerland could, in a way, provide an appropriate place for Turkish culture to flourish without being overwhelmingly influenced by any other culture. Another reason, as he explains, was the presence of political and intellectual freedom in the country. This would allow them to pursue their agenda freely. Also Tunalı Hilmi justified his choice of Geneva as a case subject with the following statements: "Geneva is the most convenient place of education for a Turk, an Easterner. Geneva is a drop from the ocean of education, civilization… A drop like a sea, like a calm sea." *Avrupa'da Tahsil*, 15.

[105] The style of this attempt of Hilmi reminds Namık Kemal's approach to London in his article *Terakki*.

In addition to these social, public, and scientific pictures of progress, Hilmi presents his expectations of a progressive political order in his works. As mentioned in chapter 2, Hilmi defined the will of a person as the will to live humanly. For him living humanly meant being an equal member of a unified society.[106] Such unification could only be established through an egalitarian constitution that guaranteed the rule of law in society. In other words, the premises of his Ottomanist agenda represented his own ideas of political progress.

The fact that his narrative of the city was followed by a detailed description of the education system in Geneva implies a direct correlation between the progressive conditions of the life in the city and the education system. Therefore, we can claim that through his narrative Hilmi not only tried to provide pictures of progress but also a roadmap to achieve this progress within an Ottoman context. For Hilmi, the path to progress required one to follow the pedagogical models of the West.[107] Yet, as Hilmi did not extensively discuss the feasibility or suitability of deployment of these tools within Ottoman lands, his book remains only a reflection of his admiration for the sociopolitical conditions in the West, and his assertions do not stand as concrete proposals.

Mustafa Satı's writings adopt a broader perspective from which to think about progress. He argued that being a part of contemporary civilization was essential for the survival of the Empire. In his mind, the premises of this contemporary civilization were defined by Western culture at the time. Therefore, being a part of it meant the adoption of Western cultural principles. He considered progress to be one of the central components of this culture and, thus, opened aspects of the concept to discussion. Mustafa Satı did not romanticize the notion of progress through a pure admiration for the West. Instead, he approached the concept with a realist and critical lens. He remarked, "Civilization is not mercy, kindness, justice, and humanity as we usually perceive. Civilization is solely

[106] Hilmi, *Murad*, 4.
[107] Hilmi, *Avrupa'da Tahsil,* 234.

prosperity [*umran*] and progress [*terakki*]. Civilization cannot be thought of as anything other than a carriage of progress moving rapidly forward that does not even mind the people and tribes crushed under it."[108] Thus, in order to avoid being crushed, Satı prioritized the achievement of "true freedom" [*hürriyet-i hakikiye*] and "serious progress" [*terakkiyat-ı ciddiye*].[109] Satı believed that these could only be achieved through the transformation of the political revolution of 1908 into a social revolution. He appreciated the importance of political gains. However, he believed that concrete change could only be achieved through social revolutions that were built upon the gains of a political revolution.[110] Considering Satı's career pursuits, one can safely assume that, in his mind, the primary means to realize social revolution were the tools of modern pedagogy.

Looking at the examples of Bulgaria, Romania, and Japan, Satı believed that the realization of progress in Ottoman society was highly possible. Among these examples, Japan was especially significant. Japan's political and military achievements were popular topics in the intellectual realm of the late Empire. Many Ottoman intellectuals perceived the story of Japan's modernization and its success against imperialist challenges as an inspiring story from which the Empire could learn.[111] Satı also defined Japan's achievements as "the miraculous [*mucizeli*] example of rapid progress", proposing that Japan was a valuable, instructive example [*kıymetli bir ders-i ibrettir*] for the Empire. Thus, his examination of Japan provides us with Satı's plan to attain "true progress" [*hakikaten terakki*] in Ottoman society: "To strive to acquire and experience [*temsil*] European civilization, to attach importance to activities and reforms regarding prosperity [*umran*] and knowledge [*irfan*], to undertake intellectual

[108] *Satı, Vatan İçin,* 91-92.
[109] Satı, *Layihalarım,* 86. Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice," 69-71.
[110] For an examination of Satı's understanding of social revolution through a comparison between his and Gökalp's ideas see Zengin, "The Political and Social Thoughts," 79-109.
[111] Renée Worringer. "'Sick Man of Europe' or 'Japan of the Near East'?: Constructing Ottoman Modernity in the Hamidian and Young Turk Eras," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, no.2 (May 2004): 210.

pursuits and activities on mentioned fields."[112] Unlike Ziya Gökalp, who placed a division between culture and civilization with relatively visible borders, Satı's approach to civilization was comprehensive. To be a part of a civilization and, thus, to attain progress in society, his work suggested the need to adopt and imitate [*iktibas ve taklit*] Westerners' theoretical-practical sciences, education, and legal codes, as the Japanese did.[113] These steps were necessary in order to create a social transformation upon which further political developments could occur. In Mustafa Satı's mind, this social transformation would mean the creation of a society organized around just laws and consisting of individuals with a conscious Ottoman identity, professional skills, and trained minds and bodies.

Preoccupied with the sociopolitical status of his own community, Avram Galanti also stressed the correlation between progress and education. He argued that education was an essential element in the transformation of individuals into productive and equal members of society. This transformation would, in return, contribute to the progress of broader society and the state. He remarked:

> "The state is a large committee formed by many nations [*akvam-ı kesireden*]. Consequently, the progress of a state means the progress of its parts, that is of the nations that form that state. As pointed out above, just as the civilization of a nation is created on the intellectual level [*derece-i arifleriyle*] by members of that nation - the expression 'members of the nation' refers to men and women - it is the natural order that the civilization of a state is created on the educational level by the nations which form that state."[114]

Although Galanti excessively criticized the quality of education in the Empire, he appreciated the Ottoman state's efforts to be part of a progressive world through its broader, inclusive reform programs.[115] As part of this, he was especially concerned with Ottoman Jewry's ability to be a part of these efforts and benefit from its outcomes. Thus, in his mind,

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[112] Mustafa Satı and Faik Sabri (Duran), *Büyük Milletlerden Japonlar, Almanlar* [Two of Great Nations Japanese, Germans] (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1329 [1913]) 36-37.
[113] Ibid., 34. Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice," 78, 81-84.
[114] Galanti, "Tahsil-i Nisanın."
[115] For example see Galante, *Écoles des Congrégations,* 20, 27.

the first meaning of progress referred to the amelioration of the sociopolitical and economic status of Ottoman Jewry in order for Jews to become integral and active members of a progressive society. These ideas of Galanti originated in French Jews' experience of emancipation over the course of the nineteenth century. This experience was neither linear nor complete at the time. However, it provided an important example of the transformation of a Jewish community into an integrated part of a broader society with gradually but significantly improving socioeconomic and political status. The details of this experience began to disseminate among Ottoman Jews in the aftermath of the blood libels against Jews in Damascus and Rhodes in 1840. The idea of "regeneration" was at the core of this experience.[116] Referring to the enlightenment process among French Jewry, to "regenerate" meant to achieve complete emancipation through improving the intellectual and moral features of the community, reconsidering traditional aspects of Jewish culture, equipping members of the community with the necessary economic skills, and gaining full equality. Indeed, the term "regeneration" aimed to transform Ottoman Jewry into fully equal, progressive members of a broader, civilized society. Through initiatives of both Western and Ottoman Jewry, the process of regeneration began influencing the Jewish community in the Empire. A gradually enlarging Jewish press and newly emerging Jewish institutions were the main promoters of the process. Undoubtedly the AIU was prominent among these institutions.

In addition to his ideas originating in the initiatives and experiences of Western Jews in France, we should also mention the influence of imperial conditions. Like Tunalı Hilmi and Mustafa Satı, Avram Galanti was also an active member of the Ottoman intellectual milieu. Thus, the influence of this milieu cannot be omitted. What Galanti sought for the Jewish community was, at the same time, promoted by the Ottomanist intellectual and political agenda of the state. Through the secularization of public education the state aimed to produce

[116] For the examination of the premises and implications of the term "regenerate" see Rodrigue, *Alliance,* 5-6.

individuals who were able to actively participate in the socioeconomic and political life of the progressive milieu. Galanti spent his youth in schools that were a product of this agenda. Starting from the 1870s, the Ottoman state had already started to introduce language and practical courses into the curricula of *rüşdiye* schools, especially those located in port cities such as İzmir and Beirut.[117] Trained in the *İdadi* of İzmir, Galanti likely observed firsthand the state's emphasis on certain subjects. These observations might have had some influence on his early perceptions of what a required education for Jewish pupils in the Ottoman Empire should look like.

In any case, Galanti's approach to the concept of progress was primarily shaped by the need to make Jews useful citizens of the community, or, in other words, able to participate actively in the economic, social, and political life of the Empire. Their usefulness could contribute to raising Ottoman Jewry's status in society and promote egalitarianism more generally. This would also promote Jews' integration into the sociopolitical system of the Empire.

Indeed, inspired by the socioeconomic and political conditions in the West, the three intellectuals attached a great deal of importance to the promotion of worldly knowledge through the tools of modern pedagogy. The aim of this promotion was to eliminate ignorance and attain progress in society. In the minds of the three intellectuals, the achievements of these two goals would mean the creation of an Ottoman society with members who were aware of their Ottomanness shaped around modern discourses of the period, active contributors to their society, and willing to be an integral part of a common Ottoman vision for today and the future. In other words, these two educational goals, according to these intellectuals, were also the elements of their patriotic Ottoman discourses. But the question remains to be answered: What were the specific educational methods that would promote the

[117] Somel, *Modernization*, 56.

building of these patriotic bonds among Ottomans? Specifically, what were the elements of "*Osmanlıcasına bir terbiye-i fikriye*" according to Tunalı Hilmi? Or, through which means could schools create the Ottomanness of tomorrow according to Satı? Or, finally, for Galanti, which specific subjects would lead Jews toward an appreciation of the dynamics of their fatherland? In a multicultural empire surrounded by the increasing influence of non-state educational institutions, these were difficult yet essential questions to answer for the three intellectuals as they sought to promote an education system that would contribute to their Ottomanist causes.

The Creation of a Shared Mindset

As Ateş remarks, in his Ottomanist state model *Murad,* Tunalı Hilmi allocated a significant amount of attention to the subject of education because he was aware that a shared sense of Ottomanness could be best achieved through a systematized education system diffusing Ottomanist principles.[118] To this end, as mentioned above, he envisaged widespread free and compulsory primary education in schools under state supervision. In his mind, moreover, the education budget should exceed the budgets of other state organs.[119] In the meantime, it is important to note that Hilmi proposed that local powers be a part of educational affairs. The language of primary education would be defined according to the local language, and the presence of Turkish language classes in curricula would be decided by local committees. Furthermore, these local committees would have the authority to define the language of instruction in *rüşdiye* schools.[120] Given the fact that Hilmi considered the Turkish language one of the central components of Ottoman identity, this decentralized structure was a challenging as well as contradictory aspect of Hilmi's Ottomanist agenda.

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[118] Sabri Ateş, *Tunalı Hilmi Bey: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Aydın* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 98.
[119] Hilmi, *Projet*, 27-29. Hilmi, *Şart,* 8-12.
[120] Hilmi, *Murad*, 100-101.

In the creation of Ottoman identity, Hilmi emphasized the physical aspects of education facilities. He argued for the arrangement of facilities to have inclusive surroundings. Such an arrangement, he thought, would transcend the restrictive sociocultural borders of communities and would have an integrationist impact on the minds of students:

> "[…] Those most precious schools should be removed from the corners of the temples - on one side there should be a hodja with a turban, on another side a monk, and a bit further a rabbi to give classes. And then, the children should all mix with each other and have fun!… Let them fight and struggle … get mad at each other. They will make peace again and will love each other again! …"[121]

In this statement, it is especially interesting to see that despite Hilmi's secular mindset and ideas of Ottomanness that extended beyond communal identities, his method to make educational institutions inclusive was to put different religious communities under the same roof with their own teaching agents, rather than to enforce a common education for every Ottoman child. Despite his belief in the importance of worldly knowledge as a sign of intellectual advancement, Hilmi's statements clearly remind us one more time of the continuing influence of religion in primary level education. This solution might also be interpreted as in agreement with his constant insistence that Ottomanism was not a threat to any ethno-religious identity in the Empire. His statements are likewise in accordance with his flexible proposals regarding language requirements in primary education.

Despite the details he provides on the proposed education system and institutions in order to pursue Ottomanist aims in his writings, Hilmi does not provide any hints about what an "Ottomanist training" [*Osmanlıcasına bir terbiye*] might entail in order to create a unified and shared mindset. Although he was not a professional pedagogue or a teacher, considering his constant focus on the subject, one would expect him to be more specific regarding the content of such an education. For example, in his *10. Hutbe,* he says, "Don't turn around inquiring how shall we handle the antipathy among us; first of all, remember that your

[121] Ibid. 99-100.

ancestors lived all together in peace without saying Jewish, Christian, Druse, Muslim [...]."[122] In the context of such a statement, one wonders if teaching a shared history could be a part of Tunalı Hilmi's understanding *of* an Ottomanist training. Moreover, if it was, then what would the content of such a history be? Unfortunately Hilmi's writings do not provide us with any satisfactory answers for such inquiries.

Avram Galanti did not differ much from Tunalı Hilmi in failing to support some of his broader proposals of an Ottomanist education system with additional explanation. For example, Galanti thought that the diffusion of the concepts of fatherland, state, and nation was essential for Ottomans' transformation into individuals who would be beneficial to the nation.[123] However, in discussions of the subject, he did not provide more information as to how these concepts could be strengthened in the minds of Ottoman children. Furthermore, in one of his writings, after criticizing the quality of teachers and books in primary education, he asked certain questions: "Shouldn't our children, our peasants, have some knowledge of geography? Even briefly, shouldn't they learn the history of our state and the history of Islam?"[124] These questions were important for Galanti in his discussions on transforming students into useful people to serve their countries. Yet, again, he did not explain, for example, how a history of Islam could present an inclusive picture of the past for a Jewish, Armenian, or Greek student in primary education.

On the other hand, Galanti's writings on the education of Jewish pupils in particular involved more concrete details which can help us comprehend his expectations from education as part of his Ottomanist stance. Inspired by the experiences of French Jews, Galanti appreciated the impact of assimilation on the Jewish community. For him, assimilation referred to the process of Jews gaining the necessary intellectual and cultural

[122] Hilmi, *10. Hutbe* (1316), 86.
[123] Galanti, "Tahsil-i Nisanın."
[124] Galanti, "Mekatib-i İbtidai."

skills to achieve integration into broader society. This integration included the active participation of Ottoman Jews in the economic and political life of the society, concern for the issues of broader society, and recognition of political and sociocultural bonds with the lands in which they lived - that is, their fatherland - without turning their backs on their own distinct communal identities.[125] Galanti expected contemporary education to promote this assimilation process and considered secular education with heavy language training more apt to achieve this goal because, he thought, that the premises of such an education could provide the necessary skills for Jewish individuals to become integral members of their society. To this end, he appreciated the principles of the AIU's institutions as they aimed to emancipate Jewish pupils by equipping them with the necessary linguistic and practical skills.

In the context of his Ottomanist efforts, it might also be important to note that his arguments were more focused on local dynamics regarding the education of Jewish pupils. Although he was appreciative of the AIU's contributions to the lives of Ottoman Jews, he was also very critical of the French influence in the AIU's educational institutions. As previously discussed, Galanti urged AIU schools to extend the teaching hours of Turkish and Hebrew in the curriculum. Moreover, Galanti argued for the further localization of AIU schools. He believed that the principals of the institutions were the main obstacles to the attainment of the AIU's goals. Galanti believed that principals were poorly connected to the local people and were not adequately aware of local dynamics. Furthermore, he argued that principals cared little about teaching students subjects related to their own religion or country. The attitudes of the principals, according to Galanti, went against the fundamental aims of the AIU. He thought that principals should better recognize the fact that these pupils would continue to live in the Ottoman Empire after graduation. In order to overcome these obstacles, Galanti proposed the establishment of local committees that could act as local check-and-balance

[125] Galante, *Écoles des Congrégations,* 25-27, 32-33.

mechanisms for AIU schools. He thought that the presence of such committees would help AIU institutions adapt to local conditions and contribute to the development of local students more effectively.[126] Galanti's criticisms of AIU principals were not entirely fair. The AIU central committees had already taken the directors' extensive authority over school functions in 1883-84 and standardized school programs.[127] Yet, considering Ottomans' efforts to resist non-Ottoman influences over the Empire's educational affairs, his argument for the need to localize schools is noteworthy in trying to encourage these schools to adapt to the expectations of an emerging sociopolitical system in the Empire.

On the other hand, unlike Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti, Mustafa Satı provided further explanation that can help us understand which educational tools, he thought, could stimulate shared emotions and ideas among Ottomans. Satı's initial descriptions of patriotism adopted an essentialist approach to the subject. He described patriotism as an emotion resembling the love for one's mother; it was not an outcome of rational reasoning but, instead, based on sincere love and deep instinct [*kalbi bir muhabbet, derin bir insiyak*].[128] However, contradicting his own essentialist claims in the following pages, he stated that the basic requirement for loving something was to be acquainted with it. Thus, to love the fatherland, one had to learn every aspect of it.[129] And, according to him, patriotic education [*terbiye-i vataniye*] was the main device through which to shape students' sociopolitical inclinations and moral values in a way to stimulate such patriotic feelings.[130] In his mind, three main subjects to generate patriotism among students were history, geography and civic education [*malumat-ı medeniye*].

[126] Galante, "L'enseignement dans les écoles (Part 6)," 396.
[127] Rodrigue, *Alliance,* 71.
[128] Satı, *Vatan İçin,* 32. Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice," 59.
[129] Ibid*.,* 35.
[130] Ibid., 56.

Satı believed the most important element to development of ideas of fatherland and patriotic feelings was a shared history. He argued that "nothing, no lesson, can replace history in terms of teaching patriotism."[131] He perceived history education as an agent to transmit common experiences, grief, sufferings, and victories from the past to create shared emotions, ideas, future goals and, thus, to build solidarity between citizens. He supported his ideas again with his observations on the history of German unification. He thought that history classes were the most effective tools utilized within German schools to prepare for political unification in that geography.[132] This close relationship between history classes and patriotism made history classes for Mustafa Satı the most important means of achieving true unity and progress in Ottoman society. In other words, through his writing on history classes he, one more time, highlighted the correlation between progressive members of society and self-consciousness shaped around the modern discourses of the period.[133]

It was in this context that he argued that the examination of historical subjects should be reflective of national conscience, and, furthermore, that hopes and aims and should be conducted from a national [*millî*] and patriotic [*vatani*] perspective.[134] However, although he mentioned Ahmet Refik's *Küçük Tarihi Osmani* and Ahmet Rasim's *Osmanlı Tarihi* as two examples of national and patriotic approaches,[135] the content of such approaches were not made explicit in his own writings. According to his Ottomanist stance, patriotism was an inclusive and high concept in comparison to nationalism. Therefore, it is difficult to clarify how a historiography could be national and patriotic concurrently according to Satı.[136]

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[131] Satı, "Tarih Tedrisinin Usul-u Esasiyesi," *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası*, no. 8 (1326 [1910]): 94-95.
[132] Ibid., 96.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid., 95.
[135] Ibid., 98.
[136] Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice," 62.

Satı thought that, at the level of primary education, the task of education was to generate certain ideas and moral principles within the minds of children rather than to transmit concrete knowledge. In this connection, he suggested focusing on recent history, as it was easier for children to imagine. In fact, such a focus could allow teachers to introduce historical subjects with an inclusive lens. For example, as Satı highlighted, the suppressive aspects of previous periods and the story of constitutional regimes were experienced by many different groups relatively similarly. In contrast, narrating the earlier history of the Ottoman Empire with an eye toward inclusivity was a complex task. Considering this, the example of a history class he suggested in *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası* [The Journal of Primary Education], "How was Istanbul Conquered," was especially appealing, since the conquest of Istanbul could easily have different representations in the minds of people from different backgrounds. In these delicate circumstances, Mustafa Satı started the discussion over the question of to whom Istanbul belonged. He argued that every Ottoman had the right of ownership of Istanbul. Furthermore, throughout this particular text, he did not mention any specific cultural group, except generally, referring only to Ottomans and Istanbulites, or to political entities and figures, excepting the Ottoman state and Mehmed the Conqueror.[137] In other words, he did not marginalize any group within his discussion of Istanbul. However, even the word "conquer" in the title had enough connotations that could stimulate certain negative feelings within some groups who might have perceived the conquering of Istanbul as a loss rather than a conquest. Therefore, Satı's proposed history class is a good example of the difficulties of narrating the history of the multi-cultural Empire from an inclusive perspective in an era of rising nationalist tendencies.

In addition, Satı proposed to focus firstly on teaching local history in classes in order to increase the efficiency of learning. However, it is not clear how appropriate it might have

[137] Satı, "İstanbul Nasıl Fethedildi?," *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası - Ders Numuneleri Kısmı*, no. 3 (1326 [1910]): 96-105.

been vis-a-vis his goals for inclusivity. At a time when a number of culturally and politically exclusive perspectives were growing, this method could easily turn into a means to alienate people from one another. Furthermore, making this method a part of the standardized education scheme included practical problems like the writing of textbooks and training of history teachers.[138]

In addition to history education, Mustafa Satı emphasized the importance of geography education in order to teach the material aspects of fatherland as well as certain aspects of foreign states.[139] He considered geography education an effective tool for students in their efforts to imagine their fatherland and to feel a part of it. For him, geography classes could increase student's awareness of their distinct Ottoman identity by highlighting actual borders of the fatherland.

The last main component of Mustafa Satı's understanding of patriotic education was civic education. Compared to history and geography, civic education was a latecomer to the Ottoman education system. It was introduced into the curriculum in the aftermath of 1908 as a part of the state's agenda to create modern Ottoman citizens. The state aimed to develop a shared basis of identity and bonds of loyalty among Ottomans through such classes.[140] Satı also considered civic education a channel through which to promote a better understanding of citizenship. The classes could acquaint the equal citizens of the Empire with the state and the benefits of laws. Moreover, they could promote legal bonds within society.[141] These, in return, would consolidate the constitutional order in the Empire and the people's will to live together under the Ottoman state's roof.

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[138] Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice", 64.
[139] Satı, "Coğrafya Nasıl Tedris Olunmalıdır" [How Geography Should Be Taught], *Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Mecmuası* no. 12, (1327 [1911]): 244. Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice," 65.
[140] Füsun Üstel, "II. Meşrutiyet ve Vatandaşın 'İcad'ı" [The Second Constitutional Period and the "Invention" of Citizenship] *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce,* vol.1, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 168-169.
[141] Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 40-41. Tınaz, "Inclusive Voice," 66.

In addition to the above-mentioned three subjects, Mustafa Satı also stressed the importance of literature and music in national education. These were important cultural and social means that could strengthen one's attachment to one's fatherland and generate patriotism among citizens. Furthermore, he believed, they could become a source of bonds among citizens of the Empire by stimulating common emotions and ideals. Satı was especially interested in patriotic songs and national anthems. Based on his observations in Europe, he was convinced that national anthems strongly stimulated people's patriotism; thus, children should be raised with these kinds of songs. According to Satı, the influence of such songs originated in their shared popularity among people. And, he thought, the fact that Ottomans did not have a national anthem was an issue requiring attention for the sake of creating and preserving a common identity.[142]

Indeed, Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti and Mustafa Satı shared the belief that education was an effective channel through which a sense of "Ottomanness" could be generated, and, thus, it was capable of promoting patriotism within Ottoman society. Yet, their proposals for change contained certain flaws and limitations. Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti did not support certain concepts or arguments with further explanation and support. They both failed, for example, to explain in detail what would be expected from history or geography classes. On the other hand, Mustafa Satı provides detailed description and justifications for his own proposals. Yet, his writings do not acknowledge the probable challenges he was likely to face due to the sociopolitical restrictions of the era. For example, he does not elaborate on the topics a history textbook should cover in order to write the country's history from an inclusive perspective at a time of increasing separatist movements. Which topics could stimulate shared feelings in Ottomans and create the will to live together? It is true that a focus on recent history was an option, as Satı proposed. Yet, would a narrative based on the suppressive

[142] Ibid. 41-47. Satı proposed a popular anthem of the period, "*Kalkın Ey Ehl-i Vatan*" [Rise Up hey People of Vatan] as the anthem of the Empire. "Inclusive Voice," 67-68.

aspects of the Hamidian regime have been enough to unite people? At a time of multiplying nationalist, exclusive narratives of history, Ottomans were clearly in need of a more structured and inclusive approach to the past in order to be able to deploy it effectively as a part of an Ottomanist agenda. Yet, this was not an easy task, and although Satı showed significant effort, none of the three intellectuals were necessarily successful in addressing the complexity of this task.

Conclusion

When Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı participated in discussions on education, the subject had already been under the scrutiny of statesmen and intellectuals for decades. The role children would play in the future of society was an important subject to consider. To ensure the future of the Empire, the training of these children into new types of Ottomans was crucial.

The three intellectuals understood the importance of these concerns from the very beginning of their intellectual careers. Therefore, they placed this subject at the centre of their Ottomanist pursuits and tried to contribute to the efforts promoting Ottomanist initiatives on education-related subjects. Clearly, their contributions varied considerably on both practical and theoretical levels. Yet, beyond these differences, all three intellectuals agreed that an education based on worldly knowledge that utilised the tools of modern pedagogy was one of, if not the most effective way to promote Ottoman identity and create an Ottomanist society, which would fulfil the requirements of modern political and economic discourses.

They promoted an inclusive, secular education scheme with a bottom-up approach. From their points of view, this model was the most efficient way to diffuse education to the broadest extent and to create a supported infrastructure in order to achieve certain social, and thus political, transformations within society. These transformations were explained and

justified on the basis of the concepts of "ignorance" and "progress", both of which were integral parts of the three intellectuals' patriotic discourses.

The three intellectuals' efforts provide us with a prime example of how, in the context of an Ottomanist agenda, Ottoman children were beginning to be considered citizens of tomorrow, and, thus, their education became a wider concern.[143] Education, in the minds of Ottomanists, was understood as a valuable mechanism that should be mobilized in order to sculpt the ideas and emotions of children towards social and political goals conceptualized within the framework of discourses on patriotism, nationhood, and citizenship.

Their ideas and efforts also allow us to consider the nature and extent of the tools they aimed to deploy in order to reach their goals. Besides their ideas on the structure and scope of education, their discussions of certain subjects provide us a window through which to understand how Ottomanists aimed to plant the seeds of patriotism in the minds of children in the late Ottoman period. Moreover, in their discussions we may detect limitations and flaws in their efforts to mobilize the tools of education, especially considering the Empire's multicultural atmosphere and rising nationalist trends of the period.

Finally, the ideas of the three intellectuals on education provide us important reference points to pursue the legacy of the late Ottoman Empire in the post-Ottoman period. While the three intellectuals' specific ideas allow us to discuss the Ottomanist background of their nationalism in the post-Ottoman period, the general discussions in which they participated can aid us in forming a more complete picture of the intellectual heritage of education that post-Ottoman political entities would inherit.

[143] For the shifting importance of children within the framework of the central state's aim to pursue its own patriotic Ottomanist agenda see Üstel, *Makbul Vatandaş'ın,* 30-32.

EPILOGUE

From Ottomanism to Nationalism: A Fluid Path with Numerous Bridges

According to Peyami Safa, "Ottomanism was hanged with Ali Kemal in İzmit" on November 6, 1922.[1] Whether or not Ali Kemal was the last true Ottomanist, Ottomanism as an ideology had already become a nonviable political pursuit in practice several years before Ali Kemal was killed. For Ottomans, World War I (WWI) concluded with the Mudros Armistice on October 30, 1918. The war not only exhausted the human, economic, and social resources of the Empire but also, in practice, brought an end to its six centuries-long story. In an interview, Mustafa Satı remarked, "I had already understood in the course of WWI that Ottomanism had ended."[2] Indeed, the outcome of the war entirely changed the political landscape of Ottoman lands. In the face of severe post-war settlement conditions, a resistance movement emerged in Anatolia.[3] Armed and political efforts in Anatolia over the course of four years resulted in the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on July 24, 1923 between the Allies[4] and representatives from the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. The treaty recognized most of the current borders of Turkey and provided a sovereign and legal ground for the declaration of the Republic on October 29, 1923. On the other hand, in the former Arab lands of the Ottoman state, the wills of Britain and France had been decisive factors in defining the borders of the new political map. Control of this geography in the aftermath of WWI was

[1] Peyami Safa, *Türk İnkılabına Bakışlar* [Reflections on Turkish Revolution] (İstanbul: İnkilab Kitabevi, 1958), 83.
[2] Niyazi Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında: İslamiyet, Milliyetçilik, Sosyalizm* (İstanbul: Köprü Yayınları, 1969), 82.
[3] The international treaty that aimed to settle the future of Ottoman lands was a latecomer compared to the treaties agreed on with Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Its premises were agreed on at the San Remo Conference in 1920 and officialized with the Treaty of Sevres signed August 1920 between the Sultan's administration and the victorious powers. This harsh treaty not only left a small territory to be recognized as Ottoman in Anatolia, but also almost reduced the sovereignty of the Ottoman state to the level of null and void. It also formally ended any political connections between the Ottoman state and its Arab lands.
[4] The full list of the parties signed the treaty includes Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Romania, Japan, and the State of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

shared between Britain and France under the system called *mandate*.[5] Under the system, Britain took control of Iraq, Palestine, and later Transjordan, and France practiced direct authority over Syria and Lebanon.

These new dynamics in former Ottoman lands provided a significant impetus for the rise of nationalism. In the political vacuum left by the collapse of Ottoman control in the region, nationalist pursuits gained additional visibility, intensity, and validity. New political entities or local political groups started to promote their own nationalist agendas through their own apparatuses and aimed to create new bonds of loyalty among people of the region. This resulted in the proliferation of nationalist discourses, which had an extensive impact on the life of people in most of the former Ottoman lands.

Indeed, in the years following WWI, the Ottoman Empire had gone and Ottomanism, in practice, took its place in the pages of history. Yet the lives and struggles of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı continued. In the face of these broad transformations, the three intellectuals chose to be actively involved in, to use the words of Mustafa Satı, "the stage of making history" for this new political era.[6] Their career backgrounds had given them a solid foundation for their activities in this new period. Tunalı Hilmi was a deputy of Bolu in the last assembly of the Ottoman state. Following the closure of the assembly in April 1920, Hilmi joined the resistance forces in Anatolia and became a deputy in the new assembly founded by the resistance movement in Ankara. Despite being relatively silent in his intellectual and political pursuits from 1904, in the new assembly he showed that he had never lost his revolutionary enthusiasm. Other deputies in the assembly did not always welcome his

[5] This system enabled Britain and France to hold control over former Ottoman territories and colonies of Germany with a seeming acceptance of these territories' eventual independence over their own affairs.

[6] Abū Khaldūn Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, *The Day of Maysalun: A Page From the Modern History of the Arabs*, trans. Sidney Glazer (Washington: The Middle East Institute, 1966), 92.

enthusiasm or his ideas. Often he faced objections and criticism in the assembly.[7] Yet, until his death in 1928, he never stopped defending his ideas in the most outspoken manner possible.[8] After the war, Avram Galanti remained in Istanbul. On the one hand he continued to work in the university obtaining the title of professor from 1918 onward. On the other, he became actively involved in publishing activities. He contributed to a wide range of journals on different subjects. While Istanbul was under occupation in the course of the national struggle in Anatolia, he wrote pieces in Turkish, French, and Ladino newspapers in order "to defend the interest of the country."[9] With the foundation of the new Republic in 1923, he diverted his intellectual efforts to defining the place of Jews within the new political context. Lastly, Mustafa Satı moved to Damascus in 1919. When he moved there his reputation had already prepared his place in the new political journey of his life.[10] As a pioneering pedagogue, he was a well-known figure in the former lands of the Empire. In a short time, he became a close companion of Amir Faisal. When Faisal was appointed King of Iraq in 1921, Mustafa Satı was ready to expend his energy to construct an Arab national education system in Iraq.

Despite this continuity in their career paths, the eventual aims of their intellectual pursuits were now different. In the context of the new political order, they were all outspoken

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[7] It seems that rather than his ideas, sometimes his energetic and outspoken attitude was the source of the opposition with which he faced. Parliamentary minutes of the period contain numerous examples of this opposition. For a brief examination of his position in the assembly Sabri Ateş, *Tunalı Hilmi Bey Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Aydın* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 2009). Ateş's book also provide a good overview of the ideas that Tunalı Hilmi argued for in the assembly. Moreover, to read an extensive account on the activities of Tunalı Hilmi in the dates 23.04.1920 - 10.08.1923 see Enise Aslı Öztürk, *Tunalı Hilmi Bey'in I. TBMM'deki Yasal Faaliyetleri* (Zonguldak: Zonguldak Karaelmas Üniversitesi Yayını, 2008).

[8] In the last months of his life, which mainly covered his third term in the assembly, Tunalı Hilmi could not actively contribute to activities in the assembly due to his poor health. Ateş, *Tunalı*, 243.

[9] Avram Galanti, *Türkler ve Yahudiler* (İstanbul: Gözlem, 1995), 94. Also see, Avram Galanti, - *T.B.M.M Azası Tercümeihal Kağıdı*, TBMM Sicil Arşivi, Dosya No. 1272.

[10] Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında*, 85; William L Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Satiʿ al-Husri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 52.

nationalists in different parts of former Ottoman lands. Tunalı Hilmi was a dedicated follower of Mustafa Kemal's nationalist agenda. His ideas on the Turkish language were at the centre of his Turkist stance. In the new order, Avram Galanti also gradually emerged as a fervent nationalist who worked for the assimilation of the Jewish community into the broader society of the new Republic of Turkey. Language was the key component of his understanding of a nation, and history was the tool to reflect the shared past upon which a common future could be built. Mustafa Satı, lastly, became one of the most important pan-Arabists in post-Ottoman Arab lands. The two key elements of his Arabism were the Arab language and common history. The means to achieve his nationalist aims was again education.

The three intellectuals' stances were mainly conceptualized along the lines of cultural nationalism, which prioritized the role of language in the creation of a shared culture. The characteristics of this approach indeed represented a partial shift in their political pursuits. While their Ottomanism was mainly based on inclusive claims with a more liberal tone, their nationalisms, as Cleveland claimed in the context of Satı's experiences, aimed for specific loyalties with a less inclusive, if not exclusive, implications.[11] Accordingly, their eventual political goals and the scope of their political stances had changed. However, despite these visible differences in their pursuits, their political stances in two different political worlds were built on similar intellectual grounds. Their basic framework, terminology, and concerns in conceptualizing sociopolitical relations showed important continuities. The state remained an element in their discourse. Moreover, they relied on similar apparatuses and justifications to realize their political aims.

This epilogue discusses these continuities in the political pursuits of the three intellectuals in two different political orders to reveal the legacy of Ottomanism in their later, nationalist stances. Two interlinked questions stand at its centre: i) What were the elements of

[11] Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri,* 69.

their nationalist ideas in the post-Ottoman era? And, ii) To what extent were their nationalisms heirs of their Ottomanisms? The answers below reveal that Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı significantly benefited from their Ottomanist backgrounds in constructing new loyalties within a new political era. This conclusion allows us to better comprehend the nature and the scope of Ottomanism and provides us with solid ground on which to evaluate the political and intellectual heritage that Ottomanism left in the former Ottoman geography in the short and long term. This evaluation, moreover, once again reminds us that Ottomanism cannot be seen only as a political pursuit that was destined to perish and the flawed nature of historiographical and political approaches that draw sharp lines between the political structure of the Empire and the nation-state in the period.

Clearly, the intensity and components of the continuity present in each of the three intellectuals' specific stances differed. Moreover, the extent and scope of three intellectuals' nationalist views do not contain similar levels of depth. For example, Tunalı Hilmi was a strong-willed politician that debated passionately for his own ideas. He, moreover, continued to deploy his written works as a means to support his political activities.[12] Although these sources provide us with enough material to examine some basic pillars of his Turkish nationalism in the early Republican period and of the society in which he desired to live, they do not present a complete theoretical discussion of Turkish nationalism. Moreover, these materials reveal the fluid nature of Hilmi's ideology and understanding of concepts, especially in the early years of his presence in the assembly. As Ateş points out, some of his written pieces reveal his Islamic tendencies in the very early days of his entrance to the new

[12] The three works that Hilmi wrote in the early 1920s are *Büyük Millet Meclisi Azaları Memiş Çavuş Sayvanında* [Members of the Grand National Assembly Under Tent of Memiş Sergeant] (Sinop: Matbaası, 1338 [1922]); *Köylü Memiş Çavuş Ankara'da Halk Dersleri Kürsüsünde* [Peasent Memiş Sergeant is at the People Classes] (İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, 1339 [1923]); *Köylü Memiş Çavuş Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde* [Peasent Memiş Sergeant is at Grand National Assembly] (Bursa: Hilal Matbaası, 1339 [1923]).

assembly in Ankara.[13] Also, in those days, he still argued that he was the representative of all Ottomans and used the term Turk to refer inclusively to every element of Ottoman society.[14] On the other hand, Avram Galanti mainly discussed the question of nationalism in the context of his efforts to define the place of the Jewish community under the new regime. Therefore, although he dealt with some of the broad issues on nationalism, he mainly approached the subject with a limited scope, aiming to promote his own sociopolitical agenda. Lastly, Mustafa Satı became one of the most important Pan-Arabist thinkers in the post-Ottoman period. This fame was derived from his determined attitude to discuss questions regarding nationalism on both global and local scales and to clarify the factors shaping Arab national identity. Although differences in the intensity of their arguments and extent of continuity in their specific pursuits create an imbalance which must be dealt with in our attempt to compare the three intellectuals' stances, they, at the same time, provide us with an inclusive perspective to assess the nature and extent of the legacy of Ottomanism over nationalisms in the post-Ottoman era.

The Nationalism of the Three Intellectuals

Common people were the main concern of Tunalı Hilmi's political activities throughout his life. In the post-Ottoman context, common people for him mainly referred to Turkish-speaking Muslim peasants (*köylü*). According to him, these people constituted the political and cultural core of the Turkish nation. As a Turkish nationalist, his priority was to

[13] Ateş, *Tunalı*, 241. Hilmi, *Millet Meclisi'nde,* 7. In the footnote Hilmi wrote: "When I escaped from Istanbul and joined the assembly on April 2nd 1336, my first feeling whispered to my soul that I was in the presence of the largest ummah registered first time in the history of Islam."
[14] For his claim that he was the representative of all Ottomans see Ateş, *Tunalı*, 250. For his perception of Ottomans as Turks see quotation and comment in Ibid., 239; and for the full statements of Hilmi see *Halk Dersleri Kürsüsünde*, 33. He remarks, "As if absence of Turkish (*Türkçesizlik*) became intolerable for the Turk. For this reason the Turk lost millions of Turks! Arabia, Lands of Laz, Bosnia, even Africa… For them, Kurdistan and Africa became friends of mutes and graves of the living."

construct a sociopolitical system, which would be based on the shared cultural elements of these common people, would motivate them to live together, and would support their progress. In the context of these aims, Turkish language, for Hilmi, was the primary element of a people's shared culture and, thus, was also the main component of his Turkish nationalism.

Over the course of the nationalist struggle in Anatolia, a survey was conducted in the National Assembly. Deputies were asked to answer the question *"*What does the prosperity and efficiency of our national struggle, which we will win, depend on?" In 1921 Tunalı Hilmi answered this question by referring to a few lines in his series of *Memiş Çavuş* - "Revolution!.. Kids!... Revolution!..; First of all: independence in Turkish".[15] For Tunalı Hilmi, the language contained the elements that constructed Turkish consciousness. It was a cultural source defining one's emotions and ideas. Hence, he argued that a Turkist, first of all, should be an adherent of the Turkish language [*Türkçeci*].[16] This important role of language originated in his belief in the strong connection between mind and language. He thought that if one loses his language, he would also lose his national consciousness.[17] Hence, in one of his assembly speeches, he argued:

> "I have told this many times. Let's assume that a nation is my enemy and God asks me: do you prefer to be under the bayonet of that enemy for a hundred years or those Arabic and Farsi rules, which took the independence of your language, to remain in your language for hundred years? Good God! I would prefer the former. Let the bayonet of the enemy remain in control for a hundred years - the independence of my language would have been saved. If my language is freed, Good God, I would start speaking with the language of my nation, and I would get rid of that bayonet soon."[18]

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[15] Cihangir Gündoğdu, ed., *İlk Meclis Birinci Dönem TBMM Milletvekillerinin Gelecekten Beklendikleri Anketi* [A Survey On the Future Expectations of the First Term Deputies of Turkish Grand National Assembly] (Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2004), 5, 81.
[16] Tunalı Hilmi, *Halk Dersleri Kürsüsünde,* 35.
[17] Ibid.*,* 52.
[18] Parliamentary minutes of Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT), Term (T):2, Volume (V): 23, Session (S): 79, Page (P): 387

Avram Galanti, as a Turkish nationalist, agreed with Tunalı Hilmi's prioritization of language in defining a nation. Inspired by Gökalp, who argued that national attachment required a sharing of culture and that language was the basic agent to provide a collective foundation to generate this sharing, Galanti adopted a cultural nationalism along secular lines.[19] He believed that a common culture was essential to establish solidarity and unity within society. In this connection, similar to Gökalp, Galanti considered language the main element to generate it. In 1925 he wrote "Those [who live in Turkey but don't speak Turkish] might be considered as Turks in name, but they cannot be Turks in spirit, thought, and heart. Because they cannot feel Turkishness. Because they lack one of the motivations/factors that would make them feel Turkishness." [20] In other words, he considered language to be the main element that was able to define one's feeling and ideas.[21] To him, voluntarism did not play a role in the creation of a united society. He claimed, "Nobody in the world would rush to pay taxes or join the army voluntarily, unless there is a fear of law. A country, above all, survives through the spiritual attachment of its children."[22]

Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti's approaches were in accordance with the official ideology of the regime, the principles of which became more concrete after the declaration of the Republic in 1923. The new regime aimed to create a secular Turkish nation-state based on the understanding of a homogenous social structure and defined Turkishness in the frame of language and culture. The fifth article of the 1927 statute of the Republican People's Party defined the unity of language, emotion, and ideas as the strongest bonds among citizens and

[19] Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* [The Principles of Turkism] (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1958),16. Avram Galanti, "Türkleşmek Yolu" [The Path of Becoming Turk], in *Küçük Türk Tetebbular* (İstanbul: Kağıtçılık ve Matbaacılık, 1925), 140-143.
[20] Ibid., 143.
[21] Ibid., 142-143.
[22] Ibid., 144.

emphasized the duty of the party to diffuse and develop Turkish language and culture.[23] Similarly, Mustafa Kemal referred to linguistic unity, shared history, and shared morality as three of the components that constituted the basis of the Turkish nation.[24] Besides the abovementioned harmony between certain ideas of the two intellectuals and the official ideology, their ideas were not always in accordance with the official agenda of the regime.

While the regime had never pursued an irredentist policy and its cultural arguments were aimed to be practiced only within its political borders, Tunalı Hilmi's arguments on language had implications that went beyond actual political borders. In his explanations it seemed that the essentialist features of a language also defined the natural borders of a nation. This in return created the basis of Hilmi's Turanist inclinations. Emerging in the late nineteenth century and popularized over the course of the Second Constitutional Period, Turanism pursued the unification of Turkic people living in and beyond the lands of, first, the Ottoman Empire and, then, the Republic of Turkey. Although Tunalı Hilmi did not provide us with detailed explanations clarifying his vision of Turanism, in his accounts *Turan* appeared as the eventual goal for a Turkist. He believed that the standardization and purification of the Turkish language would lay the groundwork for the emergence of *Turan*. Thus, he wrote: "Attack like a Turk. To what? To the Stranger in my lovely language Turkish! Every curse would disappear: Red *Turan* would arise!" [25]

On the other hand, Galanti's disagreement was especially apparent when the regime decided to implement alphabet reform as the first main revolutionary step towards reforming the Turkish language as part of the nation-building process of the Republic. In the face of discussions regarding the Romanization of the script, Galanti fervently opposed such a

[23] Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması (1923-1931)* [The Foundation of Single Party 's Rule (1923-1931)] (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1981), 382.
[24] Quoted. in Hugh Poulton, *Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic* (London: Hurst & Company, 1997), 100: According to Mustafa Kemal, the other bases were: political unity, territorial unity, and unity of lineage and roots.
[25] Hilmi, *Halk Dersleri Kürsüsünde,* 56.

proposal. He was one of the most outspoken intellectuals on the subject. He published books and joined discussions in newspapers, the most noteworthy of which were his articles published in *Akşam* alongside pieces by other intellectuals, such as Ali Canip, Muallim Cevdet, Halit Ziya, Abdullah Cevdet, and Mustafa Şekip.[26] He collected these articles along with some of his other short pieces on the subject in his book entitled *Arabi Harfler Terakkimize Mani Değildir* [Arabic Letters are not an Obstacle for our Progress]. The book provided one of the most extensive examinations of the subject at the time. He constructed his arguments around linguistic, grammatical, historical-cultural, and political reasons.[27] Reminiscent of Mustafa Satı's arguments on the discussion in 1913, in one of his articles Galanti also focused on the example of Japan in order to show how an alphabet cannot be considered an obstacle for progress.[28] Although many of the objections he voiced in this collection deserve special attention, his historical-cultural argument was particularly noteworthy in relation to Galanti's ideas on language and Jewish identity as a whole in the years 1894-1928. He claimed, "it [Romanization] would condemn to oblivion the written works [*müellefat*] of our [Turks'] ancestors" and "would cut all ties with our past."[29] In the context of alphabet reform, these objections were obviously reasonable. However, given the fact that Galanti showed no interest in Ladino as an inseparable part of Turkish Jews' cultural consciousness at the time, his position on the alphabet in the context of broader society was somehow self-contradictory.

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[26] The two books that he published on the subject are Avram Galanti, *Türkçe'de Arabi ve Latin Harfleri ve İmla Meseleleri* [Arabic and Latin letters in Turkish and Ortography Issues] (İstanbul: Kağıçılık ve Matbaacılık AŞ, 1925) and Avram Galanti, *Arabi Harfleri Terakkimize Mani Değildir,* translit. Fethi Kale (Istanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1996). The former contains five of his articles published in *Akşam* newspaper on the dates, 24 March 1926, 4 April, 13 April 1926, 19 May 1926, and 29-30 April 1926, respectively.

[27] Avram Galanti, "Latin Harflerini Kabul Etmeli mi Etmemeli mi?" [Shall We Accept the Latin Script or Not] in *Arabi Harfleri Terakkimize Mani Değildir,* translit. Fethi Kale (Istanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1996), 17-18.

[28] Avram Galanti, "Arab ve Japon Yazıları," [Arabic and Japanese Scripts] in *Arabi Harfleri Terakkimize Mani Değildir,* translit. Fethi Kale (Istanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1996), 29-34.

[29] Galanti, "Latin Harflerini," 18.

A law passed in the parliament on November 1, 1928 declared the adoption and implementation of Roman characters in Turkey. Galanti's ideas, along with the opinions of other opposition voices, could not gain any ground in the face of the strong will of the regime on the subject. Yet, as Rıfat Bali remarks, Galanti continued to believe in the validity of some of his arguments on the subject even years later, as became apparent with his opposition to proposals regarding the Romanization of Hebrew script.[30]

Similar to the ideas of Tunalı Hilmi and Avram Galanti, Satı's Arabist stance was also built primarily on the concept of a common language. According to him, language was the most important spiritual element needed to form a nation and to make that nation distinct. This ability of language, Satı believed, derived from the three functions of language. First, it enabled people to understand each other; second, it was an instrument of thought, and lastly, it was a transmitter of ideas and knowledge from previous generations to contemporaries. Therefore, he argued that language was the architect of a certain way of thinking and feeling that could create unity of thought and emotion in speakers of the same language. It, moreover, was the repository of a nation's cultural and intellectual DNA. Thus, he argued, its loss would mean the extinction of the nation that speaks the language.[31] In other words, if Satı were to hear Hilmi's previously mentioned statement regarding his preference to live under an enemy's bayonet over losing the independence of his language, Satı probably would have agreed.[32]

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[30] Rifat N. Bali, "Avram Galanti'nin Hayatı ve Eserlerinin Bibliyografyası" in *Arabi Harfler Terakkimize Mani Değildir*, by Avram Galanti (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1996), 11. For Galanti's position on the subject see Abraham Galante, *L'adoption des caractéres Latins dans la langue Hébraique, signifie sa dislocation* (İstanbul: Hüner Basımevi, 1950). For Galanti's brief evaluation of the consequences of the alpahabet reform see Ibid., 7-8.

[31] Abū Khaldūn Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, "ʿAwāmil al-qawmīyyah" [The Factors of Nationalism] in *Abḥāth mukhtārah fi al-qawmīyyah al-ʿArabīyyah* (Bayrūt:: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Wahdah al-ʿArabīyyah, 1985), 35-36: This writing derives from Satı's lecture given in 1928 in Bagdhad; Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri*, 99-100.

[32] In his lecture in 1928, Mustafa Satı makes a similar statement. He argued that a society which is under invasion but did not lose its language could always regain its independence and freedom.

In addition to a common language, Satı introduced shared history as the second element of a nation. To him, shared history was the "consciousness and memory" of a nation.[33] He argued that it constructed a "spiritual kinship" among people by bringing their emotions and tendencies closer to each other.[34] This closeness derived from the past could create a motive to produce a common future agenda. The unity of history, in Satı's mind, was far from being an absolute concept. He admitted that no nation might have a fully shared history throughout the previous centuries. He instead suggested to focus on the "most important pages of history," which played a key role in shaping a nation's culture, language, and character.[35] In defining these "most important pages of history," Satı, as many other nationalists, deployed an eclectic and pragmatic approach. He suggested his readers ignore certain parts of the past and focus exclusively on the moments that would potentially aid in the construction of a perception of unified history.[36]

The idea of shared history also emerged as an important rhetorical device in Avram Galanti's nationalistic stance. In the course of his efforts to define Jewish identity in the context of rising nationalism in the new regime, history, for Galanti, was a means to create the perception of a common past for Turkish Muslims and Jews and to consolidate a belief in a common future for these two communities. His book *Türkler ve Yahudiler* [Turks and Jews], a collection of historical materials regarding relations between Jews and Turks, was an important example of Galanti's rhetoric on a shared past. *Türkler ve Yahudiler*, along with his other work *Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş* [Citizen Speak Turkish], which will be discussed below,

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However, if it replaced its language with the language of its invaders, then there was no hope for that nation's freedom and independence. "ʿAwāmil al-qawmīyyah", 36.

[33] Ibid., 36. For the examination of the topic also see. Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri*, 102; L. M. Kenny, "Sāṭi' Al-Ḥuṣrī's Views on Arab Nationalism," *Middle East Journal* 17, no.3 (1963): 239, Bassam Tibi, *Arab Nationalism A Critical Enquiry,* Transl. by Marion Farouk-Sluglett and Peter Sluglett (London: Macmillan Press, 1990), 147.

[34] Sāṭiʿ, "ʿAwāmil al-qawmīyyah," 36.

[35] Ibid., 46.

[36] Ibid., 47.

was prepared at a time of increasing accusations against Jews for being unpatriotic and when criticisms of Jews' poor Turkish language skills were common. In other words, published in 1928, these two works of Galanti were direct responses to the rising hostility against Jews in Turkey. The aim of the work was to point out, despite cultural barriers such as language, the existence of common socio-political and emotional foundations for the future coexistence and mutual goals of Turkish-Muslims and Turkish-Jews. He focused especially on three aspects of these relations. Firstly, he highlighted supposed good relations between Muslims and Jews throughout history.[37] Secondly, he pointed to the mutual cooperation and interests between Muslim Turks and Jews under Ottoman rule. In general, however, these relations drawn by Galanti were far from being relations between equals. In his narration, Turks stood as the protectors and Jews as the loyal subjects within broader society. Undoubtedly, this picture was problematic when it came to encouraging the full integration of the two groups, as their statuses were depicted hierarchically. Lastly, he underlined the common enemy, namely Christians, and in particular, Greeks. His rhetoric often presented Muslims and Jews as united against the "other" - Christians. The identification of a common enemy was a widespread strategy in nation-building processes as it implied a shared threat that unified the interests of different groups in society and emphasized the sociopolitical border between certain groups. Moreover, the emphasis on Greeks by Galanti was especially significant, as Greek identity had represented one of the key "others" in the development of Turkish nationalism.[38]

[37] For a brief assessment of this kind of narrative see Julia Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1-6.

[38] For an examination of the Greek identity as "the other" in the development of Turkish nationalism see Herkül Millas, "Milli Türk Kimliği ve "Öteki" (Yunan)" [Turkish National Identity and "the Other" (Greek)], *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce,* eds. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil, vol.4 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 193-200; Herkül Millas, *The Imagined Other as National Identity: Greeks and Turks* (Ankara: CSDP, 2002); Herkül Millas, *Nations and Identities - The Case of Greeks and Turks* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016).

Indeed, considering these primary aspects of the three intellectuals' nationalist stances, we can conclude that they conceptualized their positions along the lines of cultural nationalism. While in their Ottomanist years the three intellectuals, to varying degrees, considered common will a factor in creating bonds of loyalty among citizens of the Empire, as nationalists, they now perceived this common will as an outcome of actual factors uniting society. As explained above, the role of language in constructing a shared culture was one of these actual factors; all three intellectuals agreed on this point. The idea of prioritizing a common language in the conceptualization of a nation mainly originated in the ideas of German romantic nationalists like Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte. For these romantic thinkers, language contained the shared thoughts, emotions, symbols, and codes of a nation. Thus, according to these thinkers, language was key for the existence of a nation.[39] While in his Ottomanist years, Satı interpreted this German model of nationalism as one of two main approaches to conceiving a nation, as an Arabist he considered it the only viable model. He openly refuted the French model of nationalism, which put significant emphasis on common will. He argued that a will was an abstract term that could only be the outcome of a shared language and history. [40] The exclusive adoption of a German-originated concept of nation by Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı could have come from a number of factors. One of them is the fact that, after years of struggle, their political pursuit of Ottomanism had failed. Even though this failure was by no means inevitable, they were all witnesses to this complex process. In return, this experience might have led each of them to reach certain conclusions regarding the strength of certain models to organize society within the framework of nationalist discourses. Moreover, in the context of an ongoing broad political transformation, re-adjustment of their political stances was a necessity. They re-

[39] Tibi, *Critical Enquiry,*129; Adeed Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in Twentieth Century From Triumph to Despair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 60.
[40] Sāṭiʿ, "ʿAwāmil al-qawmīyyah," 43-45. For examination of nationalist Satı's ideas on Renan's approach see Tibi, *Critical Enquiry,*149-154.

interpreted concepts, with which they were already familiar, in a direction that would fit best with the new dynamics present. Whatever the reason, the eventual goals and certain characteristics of their nationalist pursuits in the post-Ottoman period differed from the more liberal tones of their Ottomanist stances.

While, as explained below, Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı approached cultural bonds with essentialist lenses, in their narratives the state appeared as an element that shaped the extent and influence of these bonds. For Hilmi, the state was the top representative of a nation and fatherland. In a discussion on parliamentarian oath-taking he remarked, "There is especially one point: they say fatherland and nation; no! If they say State it would include both fatherland and nation."[41] Hence, to him, the extensive presence of the state reflected the unity of a nation. Moreover, according to him, a state which would fully allow common people to participate in its affairs would be a manifestation of the people's sovereignty.[42] As the top representative of a nation, fatherland, and sovereignty, the state was assigned a pivotal role by Hilmi in influencing social, political, and economic aspects within the new regime. Also, according to Avram Galanti, the important status of the state was visible. The state was a central organ that would look out for a nation's interest. Thus, it was responsible for taking the necessary measures to promote the unity of language within society and, thus, to strengthen and unite a nation.[43] He described the state as the upper roof under which a nation existed in a certain order. It was in this context, as part of his efforts to find a place for Jews in broader society of the new regime, that he deployed his rhetoric to highlight good historical relations between Jews and the state, as explained above. Through this rhetoric, he attempted, in a way, to show how Jews had been loyal and useful components under the "roof" of the state. Mustafa Satı, lastly, focused on the theoretical and practical

[41] GNAT, T.2, V.1, S.1, P.3.
[42] GNAT, T.1, V.21, S.67, P.210. Some further elements of the state system that Hilmi envisaged will be discussed below.
[43] Galanti, "Türkleşmek Yolu," 148-149.

relations of state and nation. To him, a state was a sovereign political entity, which directly influenced the extent and characteristics of nationalism and patriotism within specific territories. Considering the characteristics of this influence, the borders of the state were decisive. According to Satı, an ideal level of this influence emerged when the lands in which a nation settled matched the actual borders of a state. However, it was also possible that one nation might be living under the same state with different nations or with one dominant nation. Furthermore, members of a nation might be settled under the rule of different states. Such conditions, he thought, would define the nature of patriotic policies that a nation might be subjected to. Whatever the relation was between state and nation, in Satı's mind the eternal and dominant component was the nation. Therefore, we can argue that, according to Satı, as long as a nation did not lose its language, the establishment of a state that corresponded with the borders in which a nation lived was unavoidable.[44] In other words, while, like Hilmi and Galanti, Satı admitted the importance of a state, he did not expect a state to actively build a nation since a nation historically existed independent of a state, in accordance with the thought of German romantic nationalists.

Despite these broad, common points in their nationalist stances, one important element showing a clear difference in their ideas was the place of religion in defining a nation. Among the three intellectuals, religion was most visible in the narratives of Tunalı Hilmi. His accounts in the early years of the assembly imply his inclination to consider Islam characteristic of the Turkish nation. This is not to say that Hilmi considered religion as important as the Turkish language in defining Turkishness. Turkish, in theory, had always remained the top definer of Turkishness for Hilmi, and he supported the use of Turkish in religious life and practices. He, moreover, argued for the Turkification of religious

[44] Abū Khaldūn Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, "al-Waṭaniyyah wa al-qawmīyyah," [Patriotism and Nationalism] in *Abḥāth mukhtārah fi al-qawmīyyah al-ʿArabīyyah* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Wahdah al-ʻArabīyyah, 1985), 24-26, ; Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri,* 93-96.

education.[45] However, it is possible that he perceived Islam as a factor of Turkishness, which created strong cultural bonds among individuals. This idea was apparent in his approach to population movements and especially the population exchange between Turkey and Greece, which took place just months before the new Republic was declared in 1923. He showed great interest in issues concerning refugees or population movements. He was once a refugee himself and was sensitive to and well aware of the complexity of the issue. He also believed in the necessity of repopulating the lands of the new regime in accordance with its sociopolitical agenda. He argued for the relocation of numerous Turks located in remote places - including Yemen, Sudan, and Morocco - even if they were not willing to come.[46] Putting aside the fact that these ideas contradicted Hilmi's sensitivity to the experience of a refugee,[47] it is logical to assume that the main factor that made Hilmi define these people as Turks was their Muslim identity with their Ottoman background. His stance regarding the population exchange was likewise in a similar vein. As a result of the exchange, 1.2 million Greeks were forced to leave their homes in Turkey.[48] Many of the Greeks who left were actually either native or fluent Turkish speakers and perhaps did not even speak Greek. The main factor ruling the exchange was "religious affiliation".[49] Hilmi considered this exchange a positive process for the wellbeing of Turkey. Despite his essentialist ideas on the impact of language on one's consciousness, he did not consider the questionability of deporting

[45] For an example of Hilmi's ideas showing his support of using Turkish as the language of religion see Hilmi, *Halk Dersleri Kürsüsünde,* 43. GNAT, T.2, V.8, S.40, P.827.
[46] GNAT, T.2, V.2, S.35, P.628.
[47] One of his statements in the assembly might be considered a clear example of this sensitivity: I would tell you one thing my friends: it's very painful to be a refugee; a refugee is like an uprooted tree. In order to make him able to settle you should examine and investigate the problem at the spiritual (*ruhiyat*) level (…)". GNAT, T.2, V.9, S.49, P.100.
[48] Kemal Kirişçi, "Migration and Turkey: the dynamics of state, society and politics" in *Cambridge History of Turkey,* ed. Reşat Kasaba, vol.4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 176.
[49] Erik J. Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010), 229.

thousands of Turkish-speaking people based on religion.[50] He, moreover, was mainly interested in taking necessary measures in order to prevent the return of the deported population and providing better opportunities for incoming Muslim refugees, some of whom possibly did not speak Turkish at all.[51] This dilemma in his ideas was also apparent in the official ideology of the regime at the time. The new Republic aimed and claimed to be as inclusive as possible by emphasizing that culture derived mainly from the unity of language within a secular framework. A secondary school history textbook, published in 1931, defined the Turk as "any individual within the Republic of Turkey, whatever his faith, who speaks Turkish, grows up with Turkish culture, and adopts the Turkish ideal."[52] Yet, as in the dramatic example of the population exchange, practice clearly deviated from theory.

Mustafa Satı did not assign as active a role to religion as Tunalı Hilmi in defining the sociocultural borders of an Arab nation. However, he also did not exclude religion from his explanations. In his discussion of the factors establishing a nation, Satı did not consider universal religions, like Islam and Christianity, an element which could lead to the unification of different communities. Yet, he thought, they could contribute to the consolidation of national consciousness. The extent of this contribution depended on the religion's language and its role in political history. In this context, although he did not consider a universal religion one of the main elements of Arab national consciousness, he acknowledged the historical importance of Islam for Arab culture.[53] According to Bassam Tibi, Satı's approach to religion at the time reflected his inspiration derived from the works of Ibn Khaldun. In his efforts to explain the solidarity among members of a social group, Ibn Khaldun came up with the term *asabiyya*, which referred to sociopolitical bonds within a group. As the group

[50] GNAT, T.2, V.2, S.35, P.627.
[51] GNAT, T.2, V.4, S.66, P.171. For an example of his concerns on the conditions of refugees see GNAT, T.2, V.9, S.49, P.99-101.
[52] Qtd in Zürcher, *Young Turk*, 233.
[53] Sāṭiʿ, "ʿAwāmil al-qawmīyyah," 37-43. Cleveland argues, "He [Satı] was perhaps the first to call for total Arab unity exclusive of Islamic ties". *Satıʿ al-Husri,* 85.

progressed socioeconomically, the strength of *assabiya* decreased. Ibn Khaldun considered religion to be only one of several contributors to *asabiyya* and not an absolute factor to building solidarity per se. As Tibi explains, the influence of Ibn Khaldun on Satı's ideas reflects the eclectic nature of Satı's intellectual efforts. As in his Ottomanist years, instead of focusing on one possible model, he tried to synthesize different sources to promote an inclusive nationalist stance that would match the characteristics of Arab society.[54]

Galanti's ideas on religion as a Turkish nationalist differed from those of Hilmi and Satı. In an article following the death of Ziya Gökalp in 1924, Galanti argued, "The gradual evolution of this spirit [Turkish consciousness] within a nation is a necessity of nature [*emr-i tabii*] and a sequence of history [*suret-i tarihiye*]."[55] It seemed that in this sequence of history religion did not play a role, according to Galanti. Language was the main and exclusive component creating national consciousness. In theory, this was in accordance with the seemingly secular building blocks of the new regime. These blocks would then allow Galanti to open a path for making Jews integrated citizens of the country. In this context, Galanti consciously chose not to focus on the religious identity of his community. Thus, for example, Hebrew, which Galanti once considered an important element of Jewish identity in the Ottoman Empire, lost its place in his writings related to language at the time. Considering the premises and expectations of the new regime, this was a viable strategy in his sociopolitical pursuits.

Indeed, as the political landscape of Ottoman geography was reshaped, Hilmi, Galanti, and Satı turned into outspoken supporters of nationalism in their lands. Most of the current literature does not examine the nationalist stances of the three intellectuals beyond the premises of stark dividing lines drawn by the nationalist historiographies of the twentieth

[54] Tibi, *Critical Enquiry*, 138-141.
[55] Avram Galanti, "Yeni Türk Tarihinde Ziya Gökalp" [Ziya Gökalp in the New Turkish History], in *Küçük Türk Tetebbular* (İstanbul: Kağıtçılık ve Matbaacılık, 1925), 124.

century between the Ottoman Empire and post-Ottoman political entities. Therefore, bridges or integral continuities in their ideological pursuits have not necessarily been the subject of extensive discussion. Yet, approaching their ideas as a whole reveals that significant continuities exist in their ideological pursuits in two different worlds. Therefore, having outlined the broader aspects of the three intellectuals' nationalist stances, it is time to highlight the continuities between their Ottomanisms and nationalisms. To this end, we will examine three main aspects of their nationalist stances: i) conceptual framework, ii) language, and iii) education.

Conceptual Framework

One of the important elements of continuity found in the ideological pursuits of the three intellectuals is the common ground upon which they built their ideological stances as both Ottomanists and nationalists. To uncover this common ground, Tunalı Hilmi's populist stance constitutes a good starting point. In his Ottomanist years, the main concern of his political activism was the common people. His constitutionalist Ottomanism aimed to build a system that would provide *ahali hakimliği* [sovereignty of the people] in Ottoman lands. Such a system, as we have seen, would be the guarantor as well as the reflection of the will of common Ottomans to live together. The system would achieve this by providing equality, allowing people to be involved in every sphere of the country, and paving the way for progress. The concern for the common people and, thus, his populist stance at the core of his political activities, continued to be the most visible factor behind his ideas in the post-Ottoman period. It is true that the characteristics of the common people in his mind were different now,[56] yet the aims of his political pursuits continued to develop around the idea of

[56] Considering Tunalı Hilmi's emphasis on Turkish and Muslim components of the Ottoman Empire in his Ottomanist years, one can argue that Hilmi's populism had always primarily referred to and had been concerned with the Turkish and Muslim community. Therefore, his populism and nationalism, in fact, went hand in hand from the very beginning. However, rather than focusing on specific

creating *ahali hakimliği* in the new regime.[57] Such sovereignty in the new regime would fully establish a harmonious relationship between nation, state, and fatherland. It would moreover reflect the full independence of the nation and prepare the ground for a progressive future. To this end, he argued for the need to build a state system upon a decentralized state structure with an election system that would reflect the will of the people in the broadest sense possible. Such a state system would allow ordinary people to be involved in the state apparatus and to represent themselves most accurately. Hilmi's expectations constituted the framework of his speeches on the administrative and election affairs of the new regime. In parliamentary discussions on the organization of representation and election issues, the direct sources of his ideas were his own works written during the Ottoman period. He proposed the similar system that he detailed in his works *Ahali Hakimliği* and *Murad*. He stated in the assembly, "I plead you to make my method, whose realization I have been arguing for twenty-five years, reach my nation."[58] In addition, in the discussions he advocated the decentralization of the system. He underlined that from the days that he read the writings of Mithat Paşa in his school years, he had supported decentralization.[59] Hilmi was very enthusiastic throughout these discussions, as he had found a venue in which to present his ideas, which he had advocated for years.[60] In the end, however, his proposals were not accepted. Yet, he never changed his course. In response to the final decisions taken on the subject in the assembly, he wrote the last volume of the *Köylü Memiş Çavuş* series. This was

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statements, I believe we should look at the sociopolitical system which he proposed through his works in his Ottomanist years. In this context, it is clear that the framework of these works in the Ottoman period provide us with a more inclusive and pluralist framework than his goals as a Turkist in the new regime.

[57] In his speeches in the assembly, Tunalı Hilmi does not conceptualize his ideas as *ahali hakimliği*, which he once clarified in his work titled *Türkiye'de Ahali Hakimliği Bir Şart - Bir Dilek.* Yet he directly refers to his own work as a source where he detailed his ideas on the subject. GNAT, T.1, V.5, S.100, P.463-464. Also see Hilmi, *Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde*, 50-51.

[58] GNAT, T.1, V.5, S.100, P.464.

[59] GNAT, T.1, V.6, S.119, P.484-85.

[60] Hilmi, *Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde*, 50-51.

another piece in which he criticized the sociopolitical gaps that did not allow common people to participate in the system. At the end of the introduction to this work, he remarked that the despotism which had already been demolished was political, and now was the time to demolish social despotism. In his mind, this could only be achieved through democracy, which, according to him, meant the full influence of common people over sociopolitical dynamics of the system and society - in other words, populism.[61]

Populism was one of the building blocks of the new regime. The fact that the name of the founding party of the new Republic was *Halk Fırkası* [People's Party] was a clear indicator of the concept's ideological significance for the regime. Zürcher defines one of the primary definitions of the term as "the advocacy of absolute national solidarity in which each section of society had a specific role to play."[62] In the literature, the source of this pivotal concept's meaning and implications were mainly discussed in relation to the rise of nationalism over the course of the Second Constitutional Period.[63] Populism and nationalism were introduced as highly interlinked terms supporting each other's rise in the political scene of the period. Although it is not possible to deny the reciprocal influence of these two terms at the time, defining the nationalist movements of Second Constitutional period as the actual origin of populism in Ottoman lands prevents us from seeing Ottomanism's role in its genesis. In this context, the continuity in Hilmi's ideas, like his emphasis on *Ahali Hakimliği*, is a valuable angle from which it is possible to expand the scope of approaches to the concept.[64]

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[61] Ibid., 8.
[62] Erik J. Zürcher, "Ottoman Sources of Kemalist Thought" in *Late Ottoman Society The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London: RoutedgeCurzon, 2005), 21.
[63] For example, see Zafer Toprak, "Türkiye'de "Narodnik" Milliyetçiliği ve Halkçılık (1908-1918)" [Narodnik Nationalism and Populism in Turkey], Tarih Tarih. Accessed January 5, 2018, https://www.tarihtarih.com/?Syf=26&Syz=352410&/Türkiyede-Narodnik-Milliyetçiliği-ve-Halkçılık-(1908-1918)-/-Prof.-Dr.-Zafer-Toprak; Mehmet Özden, "Türkiye'de Halkçılığın Evrimi (1908-1918)," [Evolution of Populism in Turkey] *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no.16 (2006): 89-100.
[64] Partially in accordance with the abovementioned literature we should note that Tunalı Hilmi's *Memiş Çavuş* series, which reflects his populism in an obvious manner, was published in the course of the Second Constitutional Period and after. Yet the harbingers of his populism in these works can easily be seen in his works published at the dawn of the twentieth century.

Zafer Toprak remarks that the word *ahali* [people] was an important infrastructural term for the emergence of the concept *halk* [people].[65] Yet, he does not contextualize the connotations of *ahali* in Ottomanist developments of the time. As in the example of the constitutionalist Ottomanism of Hilmi, there is a broad context in which to think about the relations between populism and Ottomanism. In Hilmi's writings from his Ottomanist years, there is a clear attempt to create complete solidarity among common Ottomans through an egalitarian system. This attempt was in accordance with the theoretical implications of populism in the Early Republican Period. Although he did not define his efforts as populism in his writings at the dawn of the new century, he perceived the system that he proposed as democracy.[66] This assertion came more than a decade before Ziya Gökalp, one of the most important promoters of populism, considered populism the translation of the word democracy.[67]

Despite Hilmi's emphasis on the common people, his strong focus on the state and encouragement of etatism led other deputies in the early years of the assembly to attack and accuse him of being statist. Ateş, moreover, interpreted Hilmi's similar pro-state statements as indicative of how his ideas had changed from the period in which he wrote *Ahali Hakimliği*.[68] Yet, we should note that his emphasis on the state was also a partial element of continuity in his ideas. As discussed in the previous chapters, the state constituted a roof under which common people, with equal rights and common responsibilities, lived. The prominence of the concept in the organization of society in the context of this Ottomanist period might be observed in the detailed explanation of the state apparatus in his work *Murad.* Similarly, in the early 1920s, Hilmi argued that the state was not an organ independent from or dominant

[65] Toprak, "Halkçılık," par. 5.
[66] Tunalı Hilmi, *Un projet d'organisation de la souverainete de peuple en* Turquie (Geneva : Imprimerie Ch. Eggiman et C., 1902), 9.
[67] Toprak, "Halkçılık," par. 6-7.
[68] Ateş, *Tunalı*. 220, Ateş specifically refers to Hilmi's following statement: "There is especially one point, they say fatherland and nation; no! If they say State it would include both fatherland and nation." GNAT, T.2, V.1, S.1, P.3.

over the will of common people. Instead, it was representative as well as reflective of the sovereignty of the people, which was supposed to be formed in the framework of his already proposed election and representation system. He argued, "Sir, state, nation, government are not different things."[69] This was because, he believed, people were the essence of the government and the government was the legitimate organ running the state.[70] Therefore, his emphasis on the state was not contradictory to the superior position that he envisaged for common people within the system. Having said that, from the beginning to the end of his career, his specific ideas on the aspects of the state were not always internally consistent. For example, in the Ottoman period, despite his aim for the construction of a decentralized state system, he assigned certain authorities to central state officials.[71] Similarly, in his speeches in the parliament of the new regime, his emphasis on the need to decentralize the state administration in light of his earlier ideas was not entirely compatible with his support for etatism in some state economic affairs. However, rather than approach these contradictions simply as inconsistencies or superficialities in his thoughts, it would be more beneficial for us to examine them in the context of the complexity and fluidity of the period and, thus, as Hilmi's efforts to read and manoeuvre in his time.

As in the case of Hilmi, Avram Galanti's main concern also remained stable. From the beginning of the new regime he strived to define the place of the Jewish community in

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69 GNAT, T.1, V.21, S.67, P.210.

70 Ibid., P.214.

71 His proposed system, similar to the existent administrative structure of late Ottoman period, divided the Ottoman Empire into six administrative units (*capital, vilayet, sancak, kaza, nahiye, köy*) and suggested the establishment of assemblies consisting of common people in every unit along with the administrative assemblies. In addition in the capitol there would be two main assemblies: i) Assembly of Common People [*Ahali Meclisi*] and ii) the Senate [*Ayan meclisi*). Furthermore, he completed his scheme with the creation of associations [*cemiyet*], *ara hakimleri,* and *divan*. This multi-layer administrative system aimed to include every segment of society into the administration and to create different check-and-balance structures. However, state authorities, according to their ranks, had a right to temporarily close down assemblies in different levels. Considering the fact that these assemblies were the main element providing the sovereignty of people, a state official's ability to close down the assembly could possibly lead to certain contradictions. Tunalı Hilmi, *Türkiye'de Ahali Hakimliği Bir Şart -Bir Dilek* (1320 [1902]), 6-18.

broader society similar to his Ottomanist years. His ideas on language again were at the centre of his efforts. Obviously, as a nationalist, now his opinions on language were deeper in content and broader in their implications. To him, language was the main element able to define one's feeling and ideas.[72] Thus, he argued for the employment of the Turkish language for the linguistic assimilation of Jews - that is, basically, the process in which the community abandons its spoken language in favour of another language in broader society. In his works Galanti did not argue explicitly for complete cultural transformation inside the Jewish community. For example, while another Turkish nationalist Jewish intellectual, Tekin Alp, argued for the eradication of the consciousness of community among Jews through measures such as the exclusive use of Turkish names, we do not see such radical encouragements in Galanti's writings.[73] Yet, one should note that considering his nationalism and understanding of language as an integral part of an individual's identity, Galanti's insistence on Turkish, eventually, not only meant linguistic transformation but also an important cultural change for the creation of a Turkish national identity among Jews. This, he believed, was a necessary process for Jews to become equal and progressive citizens of their society. Originating in the experiences of French Jews, this basic concern and tool of Galanti's political pursuits remained stable in both periods.

Clearly, the place of Turkish in the official ideology of the two regimes was not the same. While the Ottoman Empire utilized the Turkish language as a part of its attempts to centralize the state's system and create bridges between different communities of broader Ottoman society, the Republic of Turkey placed it at the core of its nationalist agenda and defined it as an essential element of Turkishness. Accordingly, the intensity and extent of Galanti's assimilationist stance differed in the two periods. As an Ottomanist he stressed the

[72] Galanti, "Türkleşmek Yolu," 142-143.
[73] To see ten orders of Tekin Alp for Turkification see Tekin Alp, *Türkleştirme* [Turkification] (Ankara: TC Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001), 75.

importance of knowing Turkish along with Hebrew and French. While Turkish was the key for Jews' full socioeconomic and political integration into society, Hebrew was important for the preservation of a distinct religious culture. Therefore, assimilation in this Ottomanist context mainly contained political, economic, and social implications. With the new regime, however, his assimilationist stance turned into an exclusive agenda that also had strong cultural implications. This extension of implications did not entail a radical transformation in his ideas. Rather it was an adaptation to the political dynamics of the period in order to achieve the basic goal of defining Jews as an integral part of society.

Yet, this adaptation of his assimilationist stance was not free from complexity. Nationalist Galanti perceived non-Turkish speaking minority groups as a factor that could lead to war and, mainly referring to Christians in the Turkish Republic, argued that

> It is necessary to eliminate the grounds that cause or lead to war. One of these conditions is the heterogeneous minorities that exist within the masses. […] The minorities, which live in the heart of the given nation and are not assimilated, constitute a great danger for the nation. […] We know how much we have suffered because of these minorities. There is no other way than assimilating these minorities within the nation in order to end this situation.[74]

As is apparent, the survival of any local or ethnic groups' language was not a concern for Galanti. In fact, he considered their very presence a threat, which needed to be eliminated. However, given Galanti's arguments regarding the robust connection between language and identity, it is interesting that he ignored the possibility that to ask members of certain communities systematically to abandon their language would lead to traumatic consequences in the collective memory of these groups, which could well lead to significant future conflicts within society. In that respect, the reactions of the Kurdish population to systematic assimilation policies of the state over the course of Republican history is an important example of how these kinds of policies could result in highly destructive consequences.

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[74] Galanti, "Türkleşmek Yolu," 150-151.

In Galanti's broader political pursuits, another important site of continuity was his emphasis on the state. He first expected the state to promote assimilation within society. In order to support his position, he relied on arguments deriving from his own historical claims:

> History, which scientifically examines the existence of old nations constituted by the unification of various clans and groups, searches for primary motivations/reasons that are necessary for the emergence of this unification. These motivations consist of religion, class, custom, and particularly language. Among the various clans and groups, which remained under the influence of the same motivations, a unity would gradually emerge. With the destruction of the motivations, which established this unity, and particularly the language, which promoted the creation of emotion and consciousness, unity would also be destroyed. The foreign elements existing within a nation would either be assimilated by nationality, or nationality itself would collapse or be transformed.[75]

According to Galanti, every state that acted for the sake of the country should have taken this explanation into consideration.[76] In other words, Galanti relied on the state to organise relations between groups and dynamics within society in the direction he sought. Moreover, as he viewed the state as the highest authority of the land, he continued to deploy rhetoric depicting unequal relations between the state and the Jewish community. While he depicted Jews as appreciative and loyal members living under the Turkish state, he also encouraged Jews to be open to the policies of the central state, much as he had in the late Ottoman period.

In the course of his Arabist pursuits, one of the Mustafa Satı's first activities was to define the infrastructural concepts to build further the pillars of his Arabism. Satı's goal here was not less complex than his Ottomanist efforts. Promoting a foundation for Arabism in Iraq and beyond was an ambitious aim. In the broader political sphere of the region, such a stance was far from being unchallenged. Islam and regionalism, which emphasized regional identities in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, relied on loyalties that did not match the premises of Arabism. Sectarianism and tribalism were also significant factors complicating the question of national loyalties. Furthermore, on no account was the Arabic language a standardized

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[75] Galanti, "Türkleşmek Yolu," 138.
[76] Ibid., 148.

method of communication that could bypass every other sociocultural difference in the region.[77] Also, Iraq's diverse sociocultural dynamics made pursuing any nationalist ideology very difficult. The population structure of the new country included deeply divisive religious and national lines in addition to excessive socioeconomic and cultural diversities.[78] Despite these difficulties, Satı, from day one in his new home, was eager to promote national bonds that would transcend these diversities among the inhabitants of Iraq. To this end, he did not need to delve into new concepts, as he had already clarified some of them through his Ottomanist ideas. Thus, with certain amendments in accordance with the results of broader political transformations, he was able to deploy them again. In other words, surprisingly, the conceptual infrastructure of Arabist Satı had strong similarities with the infrastructural efforts of his Ottomanist years.

The two foundational terms of his Arabism were patriotism [*al-waṭaniyyah*] and nationalism [*al-qawmīyyah*]. One of his early attempts to clarify these terms in Iraq was in his lecture given in Teacher's Training College in 1923. He defined patriotism as "the love of fatherland [*al-waṭan*] and to feel an internal attachment to it" and nationalism "as the love of nation [*al-ummah*] and to feel an internal attachment to it."[79] He believed theoretically that the essences of these two concepts were very close to each other as "the love of fatherland naturally entails a love for the people inhabiting it, and, similarly, love of the nation implies a love of the land on which that nation lies."[80] Yet, he thought, a third concept, the state (*al-dawlah*), was the factor defining the actual nature of relations between fatherland and

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[77] Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism*, 83-87
[78] Ibid., 88-92; William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009), 204-208; Hanna Batatu, "Of the Diversity of Iraqis, the Incohesiveness of Their Society, and Their Progress in the Monarchic Period toward a Consolidated Political Structure," in *The Modern Middle East*, eds. Albert Hourani, Philip Khoury and Mary C.Wilson (New York: I.B.Tauris&Co.Ltd, 2011) 503-525.
[79] Sāṭiʿ, "al-Waṭaniyyah wa al-qawmīyyah," 23; Also qtd. and transl. by Kenny, "Sāṭi' Al-Ḥuṣrī's," 233.
[80] Qtd. in and transl. by Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri*, 93; Sāṭiʿ, "al-Waṭaniyyah wa al-qawmīyyah," 23.

nationalism. Based on the population structure of its lands, a state could define the nature of the patriotism to which a nation might be exposed.[81] Although patriotism and nationalism shared almost similar ground in their significance to the Arab nation in his explanations, in Satı's terminological formulation nationalism seemed to be the most important element.[82] While patriotism might have been open to external influence in the context of state dynamics, a nation and one's attachment to it were like a historical entity. Indeed, while his Ottomanism closely resembled the French model, prioritizing the state as the reflection and promoter of a will to live together, his Arabism, with reference to German cultural nationalism, prioritized nation as the most important as well as eternal element defining the aspects of the state and fatherland.[83]

Satı perceived a person's love for his fatherland as the extension of his love for his homeland; similarly, one's love for one's nation was the extension of one's love for one's family or close circle. Thus, according to Satı, "a person would consider his homeland as a part of his fatherland and his family and people of his town as a branch of his citizens."[84] However, Satı thought, a person could not establish a direct attachment to fatherland and nation in the same way that he or she establishes it for his or her hometown and nation; a person actually experiences his town but knows only a part of his fatherland and nation. Thus, Satı argued that these broader attachments "would arise from intellectual and moral factors." His formulation to explain the basis of Arab nationalism directly recalls his attempts to clarify his understanding of Ottoman identity in his lecture, *The Idea of Fatherland and The Love of Fatherland* [*Vatan Fikri ve Vatan Muhabbeti*].[85] It is true that there was a difference in the degree of emphasis put on patriotism, even though he utilized the terms patriotism and

[81] Ibid., 24-26.
[82] Cleveland has a similar conclusion. See Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri,* 93.
[83] Sāṭiʿ, "al-Waṭaniyyah wa al-qawmīyyah," 26.
[84] Ibid., 28.
[85] Satı Bey, *Vatan İçin -5 Konferans*- (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1329 [1913]), 3-29.

nationalism almost interchangeably in both periods. In his speech in 1913 he prioritized the concept of patriotism and used it as an umbrella term, whereas, in the post-Ottoman context, he emphasized both terms to almost an equal degree and examined more extensively the relations between patriotism and nationalism. This extension in his explanations was in accordance with the dynamics of the broader political transformation. Having noticed these changes, he used similar basic initial reasoning in discussing, first, Ottoman identity and, years later, Arab identity. In his narration clarifying the basis of these concepts, especially patriotism, he at times utilized identical arguments and remarks. He always approached patriotism and nationalism as spiritual concepts mainly imagined through factors discussed above and in chapter 2. This shared ground upon which he explained his Ottomanist and Arabist ideas reveals that both of his political stances originated from the same root. This root, moreover, could eventually stimulate a perception of identity similar in nature in both political contexts.

In light of this foundational discussion of his Arabism, as we have seen, a shared history was one of the main blocks of his nationalist stance. Indeed, this element displayed considerable continuity in his life in both periods. He perceived a shared history as a key element of Arab identity. Once again, however, his understanding of shared history referred to understandings of selective phases of the past from a specific perspective, which would stimulate people's motivation to consider themselves as a part of a united whole. In other words, although as a nationalist he diverged from Ernest Renan's approach to nation in a broader framework, Satı continued to embrace Renan's emphasis on the past with similar expectations that he underlined once as an Ottomanist. Throughout his career, Satı regarded history as an efficient means through which to create in people a belief in shared experiences, perceptions, and interests.

Language

The other element of Mustafa Satı's Arabism, common language, was the central element where his Arabism differed from his Ottomanism. As part of his efforts to answer the question regarding factors that constitute a nation[86] in his Ottomanist years, Satı did not consider language a necessary element of fatherland and did not include it as a part of Ottoman identity. As he moved to Arab lands, however, he began to argue that language was the only essential element to become a nation. His ideas on what constituted a nation had clearly shifted; in addition, the scope of his ideological stance had changed.

Despite this fundamental shift, Satı had never denied the significance of language in the context of discussions on nation. In fact, when discussing language as one of the potential bonds that tied people to each other in 1913, he explained the importance and role of language for a nation using similar justifications that he would use in 1928 while clarifying elements of Arabism. In both periods, he concluded, with different wording, that the loss of a national language would mean the destruction of that nation.[87] As explained, despite his similar remarks in both periods, his eventual analysis on the role of language differed in the two periods. This difference originated in eclectic and pragmatic features of Satı's ideological pursuits. In 1913, in the context of the Ottoman Empire, he concluded that the German model prioritizing the role of language in the constitution of a nation could not be a valid option for Ottomans to pursue.[88] Thus, he conceptualized Ottoman identity following Ernest Renan's ideas. As time passed, however, Satı revised his ideas to adapt to shifting dynamics. In an interview with Cleveland, Satı remarked that "of all the European thinkers he had read, he felt

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[86] In the Ottoman context, Satı mainly formulated his question around patriotism and fatherland rather than the concept of nation. Yet, the nature of the bonds that he defined and the factors that he discussed showed strong similarities. As mentioned in different parts of this dissertation, we should note that the borders that differentiated patriotism from nationalism in his narrative had always been fluid.

[87] Sāṭiʿ, "ʿAwāmil al-qawmīyyah," 36; Satı, *Vatan İçin*, 19.

[88] Ibid., 24.

that the German theorists and the example of German nationalism were the most instructive for the needs of the Arabs."[89] As much as he was a theoretician, Satı was also a man of action. Thus, the viability of his ideas had always been an important point of consideration for him. Considering the effective role of language in the construction of a unified German nation, the success of a linguistic emphasis in presenting a distinctive German culture, and the unpopularity of the colonialist presence of France and Britain in the region, his conclusion on the suitability of German's approach to nation for his Arabism was understandable.[90] In other words, as he once did in the context of his efforts to conceptualize Ottoman identity and in the framework of his nationalist discourses, with eclectic vision, he adopted an approach to nation which, he thought, fit best to the circumstances.

Tunalı Hilmi's ideas on language contained more continuities compared to Satı's position on the subject. As in his Ottomanist years, his interest in language was deeply related to his broader ideas on the relationship between the common people, state, and fatherland. Therefore, in his writings and statements in the assembly, he discussed features of the Turkish language in a similar framework to his expectations derived from his Ottomanist years.

When Tunalı Hilmi discussed the independence of the Turkish language in the first survey of the assembly, one of the main, if not *the* main, implications of his statement was his belief in the need to Turkify the language. To him, Turkification meant the elimination of non-Turkish rules from the language. He admitted there was no language that did not import words from other languages, and, thus, the scope of his claims mainly rested on orthography, grammar, syntax, dictionary, and script. He defined his stance on the issue as prescriptive and constructed his arguments accordingly, just as he had done in his Ottomanist years.[91]

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[89] Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri*, 86 (footnote 7).
[90] Tibi, *Critical Enquiry*, 125-127; Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism*, 64-66.
[91] GNAT, T.2, V.1, S.12, P.337-342.

Hilmi thought that the Turkification of the language was necessary for common people's ability to gain full sovereignty over sociopolitical affairs of the new regime, to create independent consciousness, and to provide an adequate intellectual framework for the progress of the nation. To him, the language in use - mainly among upper-strata - was "bastard" [*piç*], "filthy" [*murder*], and "murderer" [*katil*].[92] It was worse than "Esperanto" and created significant mental and cultural gaps between different strata of society. Moreover, according to Hilmi, such a language prevented the common people's participation in different aspects of sociopolitical life in Turkey. In assembly he often drew the attention of deputies to the issue.[93] In a discussion on *İtibari Zirai Birliği Kanunu* he remarked, "I do not understand the law that is made for villages. Friends! I implore, at least let the Commission write this law with a language used by villagers [*köylüce bir dil*]." When another deputy opposed him by saying, "Everyone would understand that," Hilmi answered "Everyone would understand that! You are 'everyone' that is made up of ten thousand people. But there is another 'everyone' consisting of ten million, and that everyone is, in fact, what we must conform to!"[94] These reflections of his populist stance at the time had clear roots in the political ideas of his Ottomanist period. The elimination of sociopolitical barriers within the dynamics of the political system, the promotion of the circulation of knowledge, and the consolidation of the status of common people through a common language accessible to all were visible aims and concerns in Hilmi's Ottomanist goals. Furthermore, he also underlined the need to develop Turkish as a scientific language. There were two reasons

[92] GNAT, T.2, V.25, S.95, P.39

[93] Not only did he make long explanations on the subject, but he also often interrupted discussions in order to urge either speakers to use Turkish words or the assembly to revise the language of the laws. See GNAT, T2, V.3, S.59 P.665; T2, V23, S.74, P281. We should also note that at times he was also interrupted by the members urging him not to use non-Turkish words. See, for example, the same discussion in T2, V.3, S.59 P.665.

[94] GNAT, T.2, V.8, S.43, P.996.

for these suggestions. He thought that this was necessary for the progress of the intellectual and scientific sphere in Turkey and for these spheres to become less dependent on intellectual sources from outside the country. [95] As we have examined in the previous chapters, all of these concerns were also often discussed within late Ottoman intellectual life, and Hilmi participated in these discussions with similar ideas and suggestions.

However, now that Hilmi was a deputy in the assembly, he did not want to leave his thoughts solely on paper. He was in fact one of the earliest voices heralding the new regime's revolutionary approach to the question of language. In light of the abovementioned suggestions, he introduced a bill called "the law on Turkish language" [*Türkçe Kanunu*] on August 26, 1923.[96] The bill consisted of ten articles. First, it proposed the foundation of a commission for the Turkish language under the Ministry of Education in order to produce studies on the alphabet, orthography, and Turkish rules. His main expectation from the law was the elimination of non-Turkish rules and the rise of Turkish as an independent language that would be compatible with the requirements of the modern world. For instance, the commission was expected to run specialized committees for the Turkification of terminologies for different branches of the sciences. The nature of the bill was revolutionary. It required the commission to declare its findings by 1342 [1926] and the state to enforce these findings in all kinds of publications, in the education affairs of the country, and in state affairs in accordance with deadlines listed in the bill.

The proposed bill did not provide any detail of Hilmi's expectations regarding the alphabet. Considering his radical stance on the subject in his Ottomanist years, one would

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[95] Hilmi, *Halk Dersleri Kürsüsünde,* 27, 39. Hilmi, *Memiş Çavuş Sayvanında,* 18.
[96] GNAT, T.2, V.1, S.10, P.295. For the actual content of the bill see "Türkçe Kanunu" [Law on Turkish Langauge], *Hakimiyet-i Milliye,* 27 August 1923, 3. For a brief discussion of the law see Levend*, Evreleri*, 391.

expect to see clearer statements on the topic, which became one of the most heated subjects of discussion in the coming years. Instead, the bill only mentioned the alphabet as one subject that the commission could work on. Nevertheless, considering his other statements, we can conclude his unease with the alphabet continued to exist. When the deputy of İzmir Şükrü Saraçoğlu, one of the first deputies who touched upon the question of the alphabet in the assembly, voiced his criticism of the Arabic alphabet as a source of illiteracy in Turkey, Hilmi showed his support for Saraçoğlu and asked him also to criticize features of the language.[97] Hilmi, moreover, voiced his uneasiness with the alphabet through his series on *Memiş Çavuş*. To him, different shapes of the same letter and the way the script was written and read were problems that hindered the intelligibility of the language.[98]

After the discussions had concluded, the bill was rejected on September 1, 1923. However, it was true that, as Tunalı Hilmi claimed, by introducing this bill he had sowed one of the early legal seeds of a heated discussion on language to come in the following years.[99]

Deeply concerned with the discussions of the Turkification of the language in the intellectual sphere, Avram Galanti did not fail to notice Hilmi's proposed bill. As many other intellectuals at the time, Galanti was also in support of the simplification of the Turkish language. However, unlike the revolutionary approaches of the regime, which became gradually apparent, Galanti's stance on the question of language might be described as evolutionary. In this context, he did not support Hilmi's bill on the law of Turkish language. In an article published on September 13, 1923, he opposed this bill on the grounds of three main points. First, the Turkish language was not linguistically ready to support the development of scientists or intellectuals without the help of Arabic and Persian. In fact, he

[97] For the part of Saraçoğlu's statement and its context see Agah Sırrı Levend*, Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri* (Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1972), 392-405. For the complete account of Şükrü Saraçoğlu's speech and Tunalı Hilmi's indirect support see GNAT, T.2, V.6, S.111, P.336.
[98] Hilmi, *Halk Dersleri Kürsüsünde,* 25-28.
[99] GNAT, T.2, V.1, S.12, P.337-342.

thought, such a revolutionary elimination of Arabic and Persian rules would be a deterioration of present conditions. Second, he believed, the acceptance of that bill and, thus, the application of it by the proposed deadlines would prevent many students from understanding contemporary and previously published materials, as most of them contained many Arabic and Persian words and rules. Lastly, according to him, the issue of language was an exclusively scientific subject. Thus, as he wrote in his article published in 1917, he thought that rather than administrative commissions, scientific committees should be responsible for making decisions or proposing certain amendments to the issue.[100] In other words, from the very early years of his career, Galanti believed that linguistic issues should remain in the domain of scientific inquiries and should not be directly influenced by non-scientific initiatives. When he opposed Romanization of the script as discussed above, the political nature of discussions on the topic again stood out as one of the reasons to explain Galanti's oppositional stance on the subject.[101]

Apart from his concern over the characteristics of Turkish, the main continuity to highlight in Galanti's ideas regarding language was the place of Turkish in his efforts to integrate Jews into broader society. The ability to speak the official language and, thus, to meet the regime's expectations as well as to be able to participate in every sociopolitical sphere of the country had been Galanti's main, consistent concern in order to make Jews equal citizens of their homelands. Although there had been changes in the intensity and scope of his arguments as discussed above, his efforts to define Jews' place in society through the

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[100] Avram Galanti, "Arabi ve Farisi Kavaidinden Ayıklanmış Türkçe" [Turkish Cleaned by Arabic and Farsi Rules], in *Küçük Türk Tetebbular* (İstanbul: Kağıtçılık ve Matbaacılık, 1925) 82-85. For his article published in 1917 see Avram Galanti, "Türkçe'de İhdas Olunan Kelimat ve Istılahat Etrafında Bazı Mülahazat" in *Küçük Türk Tetebbular* (İstanbul: Kağıtçılık ve Matbaacılık, 1925)*,* 69.

[101] For example, see a discussion on the article Avram Galanti, Bakü Türkoloji Kongresi'nin Gayr-ı İlmi Kararı [Unscientific Decision of Baku Turkology Congress] in *Arabi Harfleri Terakkimize Mani Değildir,* translit. Fethi Kale (Istanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1996) 7-12.

promotion of an official language - that is, Turkish - was indeed a significant and continuous pursuit.

Considering the linguistic abilities of the Jewish community in the 1920s, Galanti's efforts were not free from serious complexities. In the population census of 1927, "84% of the 81.872 Jews registered their mother tongue as *Yahudice*, which meant Judeo-Spanish (Ladino)."[102] Furthermore, French was still one of the most common languages among Jews.[103] Galanti's method to overcome the issues stemming from the Jewish community's poor Turkish skills was to propose the deployment of education, as he voiced many times in the late Ottoman Empire.

Education

In 1925 Galanti wrote, "What saves a country is the spiritual attachment to it which beats in the heart. This spirit saved Istanbul and Turkey. To feel this spirit, first of all, one should take country/national education (*memleket terbiyesi*); that is, one should be prepared to [feel this spirit]."[104] In other words, according to him, through education starting from an early age, one could feel the "spirit" attached to the rest of society. According to Galanti, this spirit mainly originated in the common language: Turkish. Therefore, in light of these statements and the abovementioned statistics, the immediate question is, how could the majority of Jews, including Galanti, who were educated in other languages besides Turkish, feel this spirit? Fully conscious of the complexity of this picture, Galanti employed his academic works on philology to justify the situation and suggested methods to ameliorate conditions. His work *Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş,* which explored the reasons behind some of the non-Turkish population's inability to speak Turkish and explained how to overcome the

[102] Mahir Şaul, "The Mother Tongue of the Polyglot: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism among the Sephardim of Istanbul," in *Turkish - Jewish Encounters*, ed. Mehmet Tütüncü (Netharland: Haarlem, 2001), 157.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Galanti, "Türkleşmek Yolu," 145.

problem, was especially pivotal. Overall, this work, along with Galanti's other piece *Türkler ve Yahudiler,* sought to define the place of the Jewish community within the Turkish nation and, in particular, to convince two different readerships using two different agendas. For the Turkish-Muslim population, who expected the Jewish community to be assimilated, the books provided a collection of historical sources or philological and sociological clarifications to respond to their assimilationist expectations. For the Jewish community, who were adapting to the new political order, the books attempted to define the pillars and history of their shared identity and to remove ideal barriers to their linguistic assimilation within Turkish society.

According to Galanti, the state was the central mechanism to dictate the process of diffusion of Turkish, and schools were the only agents capable of accomplishing this goal.[105] In his book *Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş* he defined the process of Turkification, dividing it into three phases: i) basic stage [*devre-i asliye*]; ii) transfer stage [*devre-i nakıle*]; iii) intended stage [*devre-i müstakbele*].[106] According to Galanti's theory, whilst in the first stage the household does not speak Turkish at all, in the second stage, as a result of the education system, the younger members of the household would continue their lives as bilingual individuals. They would speak Turkish in school and their native language in the home. Yet, in the last stage, as the third generation grew up with Turkish-speaking parents and studied Turkish in school, the language of the household would become solely Turkish.[107] Galanti's ideas were now clearly more systematized and sought a more intensive process in transforming the linguistic abilities of the Jewish community. Yet the subjects of his proposal - the state, the Jewish community, and educational institutions - and the nature of his expectations from these subjects to overcome the abovementioned complexities clearly derived from his Ottomanist days.

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[105] Avram Galanti, *Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş Yahud Türkçe'nin Tamimi Meselesi Tarihi, İçtimai, Siyasi Tedkik.* (İstanbul: Hüsn-ü Tabiat Matbaası, 1928), 65-66.
[106] Ibid, 9-10.
[107] Ibid.

Despite the continuities in his mindset, Galanti's ideas did not provide a flawless method to pursue. He viewed linguistic assimilation through education policies as if it were a necessary and linear process at the end of which both the nation and the community would benefit. Although he approached language as the main aspect of human consciousness, in his philological explanations, language appeared as a tool to communicate, which might simply be transformed through efficient policies. As discussed above, his explanations ignored any objections that might be raised from the groups that might eventually challenge or hinder the process of linguistic assimilation. His linear perception of assimilation even contradicted his own explanations of the language skills of Jews. For example, in *Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş,* he claimed, "To make this kind of request [asking people who were educated in French to speak Turkish], would mean to ask for the impossible. But, it might be said that 'here is Turkey, and everyone must know Turkish.' It is true. Yet, it is the state's responsibility to teach everyone Turkish."[108] However, in the same book he also remarked that the Jewish community could not easily participate in the application of the Ottoman state's policies regarding the diffusion of Turkish by stating, "Although the Turkish government [Ottoman state] invited Turkish-Jews to walk towards the path of progress [learning Turkish to establish a united society], these [Jews] did not accept the invitation due to the bigotry and ignorance."[109] Apart from the superficiality of the latter argument and explanation, even his own statement revealed that a variety of factors might have played roles in the language skills of certain communities and that assimilation could not be promoted as a linear process that eventually results in a unified society.

Similar to Galanti, Tunalı Hilmi also assigned a pivotal role to the state's education apparatus in promoting the nationalist ideas for which he argued. As in his Ottomanist years, he continued to consider the tools of modern education as a source of hope for the progress of

[108] Ibid., 13.
[109] Ibid., 46.

society and argued for extending education's sphere of influence in a way that would include every sector of society. He maintained that it was the government's duty to provide everyone - girls and boys - with an education. Echoing his emphasis at the dawn of the twentieth century, he was concerned with the education of girls within the educational system of the new regime, for he believed that receiving education was the right of every child in the society.[110]

In reaching for these goals, he considered primary education the most important level of education because this was the stage at which pupils learned how to read and, thus, took their first steps towards gradually becoming enlightened members of broader society. Therefore, teaching methods, course materials, and primary school teachers were some of the topics of consideration for Hilmi during his time as deputy. As discussed in chapter 4, these topics were also integral part of intellectual debates in the late Ottoman period and a clear concern in Hilmi's Ottomanist writings.

In Hilmi's explanations of his vision for education, Western sources again stood out as his main reference and inspiration. As early as 1921, Hilmi aimed to draw other deputies' attention to the success of German nationalism under the influence of Fichte and the education system which emerged there accordingly. He proposed to dispatch students to Western countries as well as to Japan so that they may examine these nations' educational affairs.[111]

The influence of Western thinkers - especially Pestalozzi and Fichte - was also apparent in Satı's efforts to diffuse Arab consciousness using the tools of education. Following his arrival to Iraq, he emerged as one of the most influential figures in the education sphere of the country. He held various important bureaucratic positions, taught

[110] "If there is anything more important than a duty, then that is a right. A child's literacy and training, in other words, saving a child from his or her worst enemy, ignorance, is our duty. Therefore, it is child's right. That child, that creature, must ask for his or her right." GNAT, T.1, V.4, S78, P.539.
[111] GNAT, T.1, V.8, S.148, P.182.

classes, and contributed to journals on education during his time in Iraq.[112] Among the positions he held in Iraq, the directorate of general education was undoubtedly the most influential. The director of general education was the key figure in the highly centralized administrative structure of educational affairs in Iraq.[113] The position allowed Satı to execute his own educational agenda from 1923 to 1927. One of his primary aims was to eliminate the influence of British rule over the educational affairs of the country and to restructure education along nationalist lines. The earliest outcome of this aim was the organization of primary education in 1922. This organization, similar to the Ottoman education system, benefited from the French model. The primary goal of the new curriculum was to increase a shared national consciousness in Iraqi pupils.[114]

The curriculum that he designed for Iraq aimed to foster a cohesive society through the promotion of nationalistic feelings that would stimulate bonds of loyalty among citizens of Iraq and with the Iraqi state. It would, moreover, generate the will to live together. According to Simon, Satı's "purpose was exactly the same as that of the nineteenth-century German and French nationalists—to use the schools to inculcate the nationalist spirit."[115] One of the primary tools "to inculcate the nationalist spirit" in Satı's curriculum was history classes. To him, the focus of history classes should be the history of fatherland and nation in

[112] Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri*, 62. For the list of the positions that he held during his time in Iraq see Abū Khaldūn Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, *Mudhakkirātī fī al-ʿIrāq 1921-1941* [My Memoirs in Iraq 1921-1941], (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 1967), 9.
[113] Matta Akrawi, *Curriculum Construction in the Public Primary Schools of Iraq in the Light of a Study of the Political, Economic, Social, Hygienic and Educational Conditions and Problems of the Country, with Some Reference to the Education of Teachers: A Preliminary Investigation* (New York: Columbia University, 1942), 141-142, 145.
[114] Sāṭiʿ, *Mudhakkirātī*, 213; Akrawi, *Curriculum Construction,* 180; Reeva Spector Simon, *Iraq Between the Two World Wars The Militarist Origins of Tyranny,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 71-75.
[115] Ibid., 73.

order "to consolidate patriotic and nationalistic feelings" in pupils.[116] As in his Ottomanist years, he was highly selective when it came to the subjects and tools used to create perceptions of nation in the minds of students.[117] As Cleveland points out, Satı's approach was parallel to that of Ernest Renan, who similarly highlighted that certain parts of history were worth remembering and others should be forgotten in order to promote a nation.[118] In addition, Satı deployed other courses to support the generation of national consciousness and bonds, similar to those he utilized in his Ottomanist years. This included singing courses, in which Satı urged teachers to pick songs that would inspire and stimulate patriotic feelings in pupils. Another important subject in Satı's curriculum was civic and moral information. As its name implies, the goal of the course was to introduce students to their moral and civil duties. This class was especially important, according to Satı, as it could serve to intensify bonds among and between citizens and the state.

The curriculum's aim to disseminate an Arabist national consciousness is reminiscent of Ziya Gökalp's ideas on the eventual goal of education. According to Gökalp, judgement values of a nation represented the culture of that nation. These judgment values - such as "fatherland is sacred" and "father is honorable" - were the results of a shared collective national conscience rather than individual consciousness. Therefore, Gökalp argued that education had to strive to transfer this culture to the souls of individuals in society.[119] In the late Ottoman period, Satı did not agree with Gökalp's approach. While Gökalp's primary reference was sociology, Satı prioritized psychology. Therefore his primary focus was the individual rather than society as a whole. He aimed to train individuals to be patriotic and useful citizens who would eventually contribute to the generation of a collective

[116] Sāṭiʿ, *Mudhakkirātī*, 215. Also, for the translation of the introduction part of the history classes section in the 1922 curriculum, which is provided by the Satı in his memoir, see Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri*, 147.
[117] Sāṭiʿ, *Mudhakkirātī*, 216; Sāṭiʿ, "ʿAwāmil al-qawmīyyah," 46-47.
[118] Cleveland, *Satiʿ al-Husri*, 145.
[119] Ziya Gökalp, "Milli Terbiye" [National Education], *Muallim,* no.1 (15 July 1332): 3.

consciousness in broader society. Yet, as he moved to Arab lands, Satı also adopted Gökalp's approach to the question of education. In the literature, this shift in Satı's approach has been interpreted as one aspect as well as a reflection of his transformation from a liberal Ottomanist to a hard-line Arabist.[120] It, indeed, represented a shift in his ideas. He acknowledged that, at the time, he opposed Gökalp's ideas on the basis of his belief in the need to stand against exclusive nationalist ideas for the interests of an inclusive Ottomanism. This shift, however, does not detract from certain clear continuities in the tools, strategies, and justifications that Satı proposed in order to promote patriotic emotions and create patriotic consciousness, first as an Ottomanist and then as an Arabist. As we have seen in chapter 4, Satı explained his ideas on how to deploy education to strengthen patriotic bonds that would make Ottomans closer to each other in his lecture *Terbiye-i Vataniye* [Patriotic Education] in 1913. To him, in order to reach that goal, *terbiye-i vataniye* should have introduced and promoted the shared elements of fatherland. To this end, history, geography, and civic education formed the core of *terbiye-i vataniye*. Furthermore, he proposed to support these subjects through literature and national songs as well as other activities that would stimulate patriotic feelings. Nine years later, these subjects would constitute the basic premises of the abovementioned curriculum in 1922. In both periods, the tools and justifications of Satı's claims showed continuity. For example, in the new curriculum, he emphasized the importance of civic education because he thought that it was essential to clarify citizenship ties and their implications in relations among citizens and the state.[121] These were, indeed, similar points to those that he voiced in his lecture in 1913. Moreover, even some of his instructions for subjects were identical. This was especially apparent for history classes. In both periods he

[120] For example see Berkes, *Arap Dünyasında,* 88, 96-97; Simon, *Iraq,* 70.
[121] Sāṭiʿ, *Mudhakkirātī*, 217-218.

highlighted the need to be selective about topics and to support students in imagining historical events.[122]

Conclusion

Ottomanism was an extensive political attempt that introduced many of the tools and concepts of nation-state into the lives of people in the lands of the Empire. As its premises and interpretations evolved over the course of the late Ottoman Empire, Ottomanism transformed the relations between land, state, and individuals in accordance with nationalist discourses. With these transformations, Ottomanism's eventual aim was to build a common unified future for Ottomans. In the end it failed. However, its extensive impact on the sociopolitical and intellectual sphere of Ottoman lands left an important legacy and heritage over the former dominions of the Empire.

Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı participated in the discussions of Ottomanism towards the last two decades of the Empire. They were three of the many voices that perceived Ottomanism as the true political path to follow for every Ottoman. As the Ottoman Empire collapsed, they emerged as outspoken nationalists in the new political entities of the post-Ottoman period. This dissertation has focused on the intellectual experiences of these three intellectuals in the years 1894-1928. Through an examination of their ideas, it has sought to provide an inclusive and comparative perspective with the aim of reflecting the multicultural dynamics of the Empire and, thus, to offer a comprehensive assessment of Ottomanism. By approaching their careers as a whole from 1894-1928, it has also intended to provide a concrete picture of continuities in their intellectual pursuits in order to transcend sharp historiographical divisions between two different political orders.

Considering the three intellectuals on individual levels, this perspective aids us in filling the gap in the literature regarding the significance and specific aspects of their

[122] Ibid., 215-217.

intellectual careers and political activities. On the collective level, the perspective this dissertation adopts contributes to and widens our perspective on the period and the subject as a whole. First of all, it reveals that nothing about the failure of Ottomanism might be considered inevitable. Despite socioeconomic and political limitations both in theory and practice, these three intellectuals continued to contribute to the Ottomanist cause until the very last years of the Empire because they, like many other intellectuals at the time, considered Ottomanism the only viable agenda for the future of the Empire.

However, at some point in the course of extensive transformations in the final years of the Empire, the three intellectuals re-shaped their discourses along narrower, nationalist lines. It is neither important nor necessary for us to understand the specific points of the reformation of their pursuits. As we can see in the convoluted nature of the relations between their Ottomanist and nationalist ideas, this reformation emerged neither linearly nor was it distinguished by sharp points or divisions. Instead, the more important line of inquiry lies in the extent of this reformation in their pursuits in order to reach beyond the divisive lines of nationalist historiographies between the two political periods. In other words, we may simply ask, to what extent were the nationalisms of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı heirs to their Ottomanisms? As we have seen above, their nationalisms benefited from the concepts, discourses, strategies, and justifications utilised by their Ottomanisms. Thus, a great deal of continuity existed in their pursuits. This continuity, in return, reveals the problematic nature of approaches that aim to divide ideological inclinations or state policies into two periods along strict and absolute lines.

Moreover, the scope of the three intellectuals' Ottomanisms, along with its legacy for the later periods, help us to better understand the nature and extent of the significance of Ottomanism. Many concepts, discourses, and tools that were mainly interpreted within the context of a nation or nation-state were indeed a part of their Ottomanist pursuits. Patriotism,

citizenship, fatherland, Turkey, and democracy are some of the terms that come to one's mind, in the first instance. Moreover, Tunalı Hilmi's populist rhetoric, Avram Galanti's efforts to transform Jews into useful and equal citizens in society, and Mustafa Satı's utilization of patriotic education are just some of the broader frameworks that appear in every stage of their political pursuits. Considering the extensive borders of their intellectual and political efforts, this list of similarities or components of the heritage that Ottomanism left might easily be added to. The length of this list proves the significance of the intellectual and political heritage that Ottomanism left over the region. Furthermore, it also pushes us to reconsider the theoretical and conceptual divisions in literature between the apparatus and tools of Empire and nation-states in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The examination of the three intellectuals' Ottomanisms also aids us in analysing limitations and problems in the nature of their ideological agenda. As we have seen throughout the dissertation, despite their search for unifying factors and strategic proposals for the success of their agendas, their eventual conclusions contained problems and complications in either efficiency or viability, or the consistency of their ideas within the context of sociopolitical and cultural dynamics. These problems open a partial window through which to examine the factors of the failure of Ottomanism. Still, the limitations in the nature of their ideologies should not lead us to consider them as Ottomanism's natural failure in the face of nationalist ideologies in post-Ottoman political entities. As we approach their careers as a whole, we can see that some of the broader shortcomings in their ideas continued to persist throughout their post-Ottoman careers as well. For example, considering the sociocultural structure of Iraq in the post-Ottoman era, one might conclude that Mustafa Satı's aim to build a unified Ottoman community was no less viable than his aim to create a unified nation in Iraq. Or, given the cultural and linguistic realities of the Jewish community,

Galanti's effort to define Jews as integrated citizens of the Ottoman system was probably a more viable intellectual aim than defining them as equal citizens of the new nation-state.

Last but not least, it is important to remember once more that Ottomanism first emerged as a state-sponsored project and gradually developed into a multiplicity of voices over the course of the late Ottoman Empire. As more and more voices using different languages and alphabets participated in the cause of Ottomanism, new interpretations and expectations emerged within the political and intellectual spheres of the Empire. In this context, the Ottomanisms of Tunalı Hilmi, Avram Galanti, and Mustafa Satı represent only three individual examples of this multiplicity of voices. Therefore, the improvement of our understanding of the premises, impacts, and legacies of Ottomanism depends upon our own willingness to hear other voices waiting to be heard as integral parts of the late Ottoman period. Such an effort, naturally, requires us to transcend the conclusions of divisive nationalist historiographies of the twentieth century and to approach Ottomanists of the late Ottoman Empire inclusively as a part of one broad Ottoman milieu.

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