HUMANIST PERCEPTION OF CULTURE AND HISTORY IN THE 1938-1950
PERIOD OF REPUBLICAN TURKEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY
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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

MAY 2011

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

HUMANIST PERCEPTION OF CULTURE AND HISTORY IN THE 1938-1950 PERIOD OF REPUBLICAN TURKEY

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May 2011, 128 pages

Through this thesis, the perception of humanist culture and history in the Early Republican Turkey is examined in the context of the process of building national identity. The main assumption of this study is that humanism that ascends to being the main axe of official cultural policies and predominant cultural and intellectual movement of the period between 1938 and 1950 provide basis for building of national imagined community through its historical and territorial emphasis as a "civilizationist nationalist" fabrication.

Humanism is a project of a "returning to essence" which is cultural and civilization-based. Besides, it constructs national identity and culture with a Westernist-universalist approach. The perception of humanism is brought to agenda within the framework of some ruptures and continuities which in the sphere of nationalism and cultural policies. In this sense, it means construction of a "new imagination" complying with the requirements and priorities of the new regime with

its political and cultural tendencies. Therefore, humanism not only reinforced the emphasis of Turkish History Thesis on Anatolia but also ceases the Central Asianist and ethnicist tendencies of Turkish History Thesis. Therefore, as the territorial basis of the national identity, it embraces cultural heritage of Anatolia including the Classical and Byzantium Ages. In this way, humanism is forged as a patriotism that underlines western civilization and territorial bonds.

In this thesis, the perception of humanism is analyzed from a viewpoint of the interactions of culture and politics. In this respect, perception of humanism addressed within a binary perspective. While art, philology and translation are in the first part, history and archaeology studies are in the second part. In this sense, it is presented three prominent intellectuals which are concerned with numerous fields of the perception of humanism: Hasan-Âli Yücel, Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Arif Müfit Mansel. At this point, the dissertation elaborates how these intellectuals reconstitute the relations among the categories like peculiarity, nativity, civilization and universality. Furthermore, while analyzing, it indicates that the contradictions and semantic shifts are located in the definitions and characterizations of these humanist intellectuals, especially concerned about West and nationality.

Keywords: Humanism, Nationalism, Westernization, Archaeology, History

ÖZ

CUMHURİYET TÜRKİYESİ'NİN 1938-1950 ARASI DÖNEMİNDE HÜMANİST KÜLTÜR VE TARİH ANLAYIŞI

Kavut, Müslüm

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi : Yard. Doç. Dr. E. Attila Aytekin

Mayıs 2011, 128 sayfa

Bu tez, Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si hümanist kültür ve tarih anlayışını, ulusal kimliğin kuruluş süreci bağlamında incelemektedir. Çalışmanın temel varsayımı, 1938-1950 arası resmi kültür politikalarının ana ekseni ve hâkim kültürel ve entelektüel yaklaşım haline gelen hümanizmin, bir "medeniyetçi milliyetçi" kurgu olarak tarih ve toprak vurguları yoluyla, ulusal hayali cemaatin inşası için zemin oluşturduğu şeklindedir.

Hümanizm, kültürel ve medeniyet temelli bir "öze dönüş" projesidir. Aynı zamanda, Batıcı- evrenselci bir ulusal kimlik ve kültür kurgusudur. Kavram, kültür politikaları ve milliyetçilik anlayışı alanlarındaki bir takım kopuş ve süreklilikler çerçevesinde gündeme gelmiştir. Bu anlamda, politik ve kültürel varsayımları itibariyle, yeni rejimin ihtiyaç ve öncelikleriyle uyumlu bir yeni tahayyülün inşası anlamına gelmektedir. Bu noktada, hümanizm, Türk Tarih Tezinin Anadolu'ya ilişkin vurgularını derinleştirirken, Anadolu'ya yönelik bu ilgiyi, Orta Asyacı ve

etnisist dolayımlardan da kurtarmaktadır. Böylece, hümanizm, aynı zamanda hem Batı medeniyetini referans alan, hem de territoryal bağlara vurgu yapan bir vatanseverlik biçiminde ortaya çıkar.

Bu tezde, hümanizm yaklaşımı, siyaset ve kültür alanlarının etkileşimini temel alan bir bakışla ve ikili bir çerçeve içinden ele alınacaktır. Buna göre, ilk kısmı, sanat, filoloji ve tercüme faaliyetleri oluştururken, ikinci kısımda ise tarih ve arkeoloji çalışmaları yer almaktadır. Bu anlamda, hümanist yaklaşımın farklı yönleriyle ilgili olarak öne çıkan, üç temel isim ele alınacaktır: Hasan-Âli Yücel, Hilmi Ziya Ülken ve Arif Müfit Mansel. Bu noktada, bu düşünce adamlarının özgünlük, yerlilik, medeniyet ve evrensellik gibi kategoriler arasındaki ilişkiyi yeniden tanımlama ve kurma biçimleri üzerinde yoğunlaşılırken, özellikle Batıya ve ulusallığa ilişkin nitelendirme ve tanımlamalarındaki çelişki ve anlam kaymaları da ortaya konulacaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Hümanizm, Milliyetçilik, Batılılaşma, Arkeoloji, Tarih

To the Memory of My Father Yaşar Kavut

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis could not be written without the help and advice of many people. First I would like to express my gratitude to Asist. Prof. Dr. E. Attila Aytekin. He, far beyond the usual expectations from a supervisor, contributed the shaping of my thesis with his great endeavour, understanding and his invaluable comments.

I also owe thanks to committee members Prof. Dr. Raşit Kaya and Prof. Dr. Kurtuluş Kayalı for their valuable comments and suggestions. They did not hesitate to share their vast knowledge and experience. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Dr. Kurtuluş Kayalı who has always been a constant source of inspiration for me with his guidance and encouragement.

I would like to thank to my friends, Ruhi Demiray, İbrahim Gündoğdu, Sıla Demirörs, Çağlar Kurç, Feyza Kalav, Beyhan Erkurt, Adem Yeşilyurt, Rafet Uçkan and Zeynep Ceren Akyüz since they were always there in my hard times with their support, suggestions and criticisms.

Lastly, I am grateful to my beloved mother Emine Kavut for her love and tenderness along this stressful process and for her continuous belief in me. Knowing that all of them are a part of my life made me feel lucky and strong.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is focused on the relationship between humanist culture and history perception and the process of building national identity. It traces components and composition of a cultural and historical construct that arose as official cultural policy and dominant intellectual conduct during the period between 1938 and 1950 that can be characterized as the second term of early Republican Era. It examines functions of the elements, history and territory, in the process of constructing national integration and sense of belonging created by nationalism that is a kind of modern social organization. From this point of view, it concerns with the factors that make humanist cultural approach unavoidable.

Humanist approach has an aesthetic and political nature. It is a cultural and historical construct that is created through scientific disciplines from top to bottom as well as an approach that expresses reproduction of existing cultural and meaning codes in social and symbolic levels. Thus, my aim is to introduce how humanist movement was created at the point where political and social fields integrate and nationalism created. In other words, I want to show how historical and cultural narratives that are elements of collective identity became a tool for ideological integration.

Another component of humanist approach is that history and homeland perceptions are based on secular and anti-Ottoman understanding. The perceptions cast out Ottoman Empire with the wording "past as otherness" (Bora, 2009, p. 39) and consider Western civilization as an ideal. These are based on an approach of historical evolution. Humanism, as a natural and eternal reality, has been imagined as the Renaissance of the nation in their historical adventure. This construct indicates an invention of civilizationist and modernizing tradition.

In this context, the major claim of this study is that humanism is a new way of imagination in which a nation imagines itself. In this sense, humanism does not cast out ethnicity but expresses a patriotism that composes historical and territorial

relationships by pushing ethnicity background. This approach, at the same time, constitutes the main axis of predominant intellectual attitude that is engaged with politics and cultural policies of that period. Although humanism pushes ethnocentric aspect background and includes aesthetic and universalist emphasis, it is a competent example of civilizationist nationalism in Turkish history of political thought. In the literature concerning Turkish intellectual and cultural history, there are descriptive studies on the concept of humanism and those are philosophical or focused on the course of the concept in Turkey. In my study, I used some of these studies. In addition, I did not come across any study that deals with the cultural and political grounds of the concept integrally or that concerns with the relationship between the concept and the values that symbolically forms the social field and sense of belonging except a couple of sentences in some studies on different fields. Discussing humanism in the context of nationalism and "building a national image", as a totally new point of view, expresses the major part of the contribution of this study to the literature.

Furthermore, this study, from this point of historical evaluation, can suggest new ideas concerning the nature of nationalism. According to this, although nationalism is seen as a product of economic and political processes, especially with respect to its formation, it is generated from cultural field through symbols and narratives as a reality experienced in daily life. The role of cultural nationalist intellectuals in this manner is not less important than that of nationalist politicians. In addition, nationalism is not just a political system such as ideologies written in capital letters. In this sense, it is not used only by racist or fascist movements. It is interference with many ideologies in the realm of social and cultural meanings. Many reformist movements have also benefited from facilities, vast myth and symbol world of a nationalist social integration. In this sense, it can be seen that only Turanism and Turkism movements are examined in Turkey in the context of nationalism in the time period I deal with. Here, I will try to show that more liberal or universal movements have directly or indirectly nationalist characteristics from the example of humanist approach.

Within this scope, the thesis is composed of five parts. In the second part, I will mention the fact of nationalism in general terms. In this sense, first of all I will try to review notable approaches on nationalism theory. Among those, I will indicate the emphasis made by especially ethno-symbolism on myths and symbols that make references to specific histories of nations. At this point, I will suggest that ethno-symbolism talks in a symbolic and intellectual universe that constitutes the actual base on which nationalism arise. I will claim that it influences social world through a daily and cultural language. Then I will try to examine arising period of nationalism and the factors that call it into being. At this point, I will indicate that political model that is based on democratic citizenship of "the principle of nationality" mentioned by Hobsbawm that regard nation as identical to state and popular sovereignty has a nationalist essence. After mentioning historical and structural conversions that introduced nationalism, I will try to evaluate junction point of system of social values and reproduction in daily world especially through cultural factors and from the aspect of historiography. Then, I will mention formation processes of non-Western nationalists through historical models. From this point on, I will try to show the formation and nature of the category of "civilizationist nationalism" arisen from non-Western experiences in the context of its constructions of identity and history determined by the relationship with the West.

In the third part, I will try to give outlines of formation and development of Ottoman-Turkish nationalism as the historical base of the perception of humanist culture and history. In this context, I will try to discuss development of Turkish nationalism on a base that includes cultural and historical images. Especially, I will evaluate Turkish History Thesis as an ethnical mythology that is built historically and culturally.

In the fourth part, I will deal with the concept, humanism, as civilizationist nationalism, in terms of cultural policies and binary perspective related to each other. Regarding the first part, I will give a brief discussion on art and translation studies based on classical culture that is based on Western civilization and Roman-Greek historical heritage. I will discuss the grounds of these especially that unify political and aesthetical aspects. In the second part that constitutes the main point in terms of

my approach, I will try to discuss humanism concept as a new national imagination that is built to create historical and intellectual bonds with the West. At this point, I will mention especially the history and archaeology studies. Then I will try to share and evaluate the contributions of three figures that come to the fore with their significant studies on different fields and aspects of the issue in the context of building the national imagination. In this sense, I will claim that approaches of Hasan-Âli Yücel, Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Arif Müfit Mansel that attracted attention and that shaped the discussion in that period provide rich materials in terms of making the issue to be able to be discussed on political and social grounds.

In the conclusion part, by reminding the theoretical and historical grounds of the issue, I will complete my study with reemphasis that humanist approach has been shaped through current political requirements and conversion of bonds of national sense of belonging.

CHAPTER 2

A GENERAL VIEW ON THE THEORIES OF NATIONALISM

2.1 DEFINITION PROBLEMATIC AND CLASSIFICATION

Nationalism seems one of the most difficult terms to define in social sciences. In addition to this, almost all theoreticians related to the issue underlines the problem of definition and try to reach a definition. "In fact, this is probably the only point on which there is a general consensus among the scholars of national phenomena" (Özkırımlı, 2000, p. 58).

Clear differences in given studies, from the very beginning, show themselves in several approaches about what type of nationalism one looks at and how to consider it. For instance, John Breuilly laments that nationalism should be basically taken into account in three ways; as an ideology, a sentiment and a political action. Kellas defines nationalism as ideology and type of behavior, Kedourie as a doctrine, Smith as an ideological movement, Gellner as a political principle and Calhoun as a discourse (Özkırımlı, 2009, p. 74). These differences have been reflected on the way to cover the issue and the differentiation between foundational issues and processes. In connection with this epistemological chaos Hugh Seton Watson argues that "I am obliged to accept there cannot be a scientific definition of what the nation is, whereas there is a phenomenon of nation and it continues to exist." (Anderson, 2007, p. 17).

It is clear that differentiations in the definitions of nationalism are sourced by different approaches to the issue and different foundational principles. Accordingly, nationalism debates revolve around three basic questions and the polarizations are produced around these following questions:

- What is nation? What is nationalism?

- When were nations and nationalism born? To what extent are nations modern?

- Are there any different types of nationalism? If yes, what are they? (Özkırımlı, 2009, p. 70)

In other words, problem has been directly integrated with the questions about "birth day", roots and nature of nationalism. The basic point where all explanations stand on is formed by the relationship of nationalism with modernity, in other words, to what extent nationalism is modern. So that, it could be said that the answer to be given to following question has created the polarization that was clarified in the last thirty years (Özkırımlı, 2009, p. 77). That is why it would be more helpful to focus on this basic point before moving on to classifying nationalism theoretically and approaching the definition problem in this sense.

In this context, Anthony Smith's classification type as suitable to the general intention in literature could be referred. It may be claimed that nationalism theories are categorized in three: primoridalists, modernists and ethno-symbolists (Özkırımlı, 2009, p. 261).

At this point, I will try to reach a general perspective after listing the basic features of these three approaches. In terms of the problematization of nationalism, I find etnosymbolism more comprehensive. I will try to evaluate this approach with more detail. Especially, its strong emphasis on "the sense of belonging" and "historical background of the nations" will be the guide for my dissertation.

Today, primordialism that was mostly left by academic authorities has been used to nominate the ones who have been regarding nations as natural or ancient structures. Hobsbawm, in this issue, argues that this mentioned approach could not be applied in the analysis of nationalism any more (Hobsbawm E. , 1995, p. 27).

The approach, primordialism, is formed by the studies analyzing ethnic identity and the links forming this identity (Özkırımlı, 2009, p. 83). Moreover, it is divided into several views. The most extreme version of it is naturalism arguing that ethnic identity is a part of our existence as natural as our sense of smell, ability to talk and sexes. The past is seen as the nations' story of struggle about realizing themselves (Özkırımlı, 2009, p. 85). "Identity, purity, regeneration, the 'enemy', historical roots, self-emancipation, building the 'new man' and 'new community', collective sovereignty and participation-these are some of the themes that recur endlessly in the literature of nationalism." (Smith A. D., 1983, p. 21). The other group called perennialists, on the other hand, commonly agrees upon the idea that

nations have existed from the ancient times and they have not changed much. Accordingly, it is proposed that the national essence always remains the same even though formal differences could be observed (Özkırımlı, 2009, p. 93).

These ideas meet numerous needs of nation building processes. "They provide the chief impetus for the peculiar activities of nationalist movements: those philological, anthropological and historical researches of small coteries of intellectuals, the secret societies pressing for reform and independence, the reliance on censuses, the concern with symbol of solidarity" (Smith A. D., 1983, p. 22).

A second approach to nationalism could be headed under modernism. The common view about modernists is formed by the idea that nations and nationalism are peculiar to the modern era. Accordingly, mainly, the economic and socio-economic processes that create nations and nationalism. In this sense, the motto that nationalism creates nations but not vice versa forms modernists' approach. According to this view, nations and nationalism emerge as a reaction to or along with the modern processes of capitalism, industrialization, urbanization and secularism. Modernists view nationalism as a product of communal integration process where it radically influences the whole society and aims creating a new human with a hierarchical order and accordingly, where it spreads rational and secular values through community and mass communication tools (Smith A. D., 2009, pp. 87-88).

Modernist approaches contain many different theoretical angles and researchers emphasize different indicators. For instance, whereas Gellner monitors industrialization and culture over their impacts they create on society, Kedourie does the same to ideologies. Tom Nairn's studies particularly came forward in the 1970s' neo-Marxist and economy based explanations. The distinguished researchers coming after 1980s could be exemplified, such as Benedict Anderson emphasized mass communication tools and new imagination types and Eric Hobsbawm highlighted social movements in the context of a historical perspective (Özkırımlı, 2009, pp. 65-69). All these authors' common point is that they all considered their studies together with social, political and economic indicators openly integrated with these modern processes and on a historical background.

While saying that the nations and nationalism belong to the modern era, modernists are right. At the same time, in sense of evaluating nationalism within the context of economic and political dimensions of the social powers, they approach to the issue in an appropriate way. However, it has to be denoted that even if modernists are right, their approach are based on a lacking frame which disregards the long haul ties of belonging and subjective world of meanings. In this sense, it has to be said that we have to regard the establishment of the sense of unity which is ethnic-based, and in this line, it is required to think about myths and symbols which assist to this establishment; because what make nationalism are these popular narratives. At this point, ethno-symbolism appears as a remedy for the deficiencies of the modernist approach.

Ethno-symbolism as a pursuit for synthesis and as a reaction against primordialist and modernist approaches is used for classifying the theoreticians who focus on the effects of ethnical backgrounds of the nations in their nationalism studies. In parallel with modernism critiques, ethno-symbolism is very welcomed by the young generation researchers. Daniele Conversi among them defines ethno-symbolism as the approach which introduces the following claims: Nations could not be created from nonbeing; but rather, national identities are shaped by ancient myths, values and symbols. So, for Conversi, ethno-symbolism tries to abolish the polarization between primordialism and modern instrumentalism (Özkırımlı, 2009, p. 210).

Ethno-symbolists indicate the differences in formation processes of different nations in terms of universal intentions; and they point out particularly peculiar historical experiences and they emphasize the traces these experiences left. What differentiate the nations from each other are these mentioned elements, and at the same time, these explain the privileged position of myths, souvenirs and symbols. These roots structured a strong model whereas they received an adaptation and metamorphosis. Smith who sees himself as one representative of this view explains his motivation as analyzing the lineages of nations (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 10).

In this sense, ethno-symbolism tries to complete modernism by covering the differences between nations. While doing that, it finds modernist views as Eurocentric and proposes that it always deals with the West's history and it puts no stress on Asian or African communities' attempts to find their roots. It argues that they regard nationalist movements from above and they detract them. It suggests that the West which solved its problem of searching for roots centuries ago neglects the elements related to myths and memories, "privilege Western experience and understandings, while failing to do justice on non-Western and perhaps pre-modern historical varieties of the nation", however, it is an inevitable process that nations review their nationalistic historical roots through symbols and myths (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 22). This approach, inevitably, regards ethnic foundation as an important matter. Therefore, the main point ethno-symbolists focus on appears as the following: "the ways to prepare model and background for the construction of ethnicity and ethnic communities" (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 23).

It could be said that central to the preoccupations of ethno-symbolists is the need to understand the "inner world" of ethnicity and nationalism through an analysis of symbolic elements. In this sense, "it was necessary to account for the durability of ethnic groups in terms of mechanisms of symbolic bonds such as words, signs, languages, dress and architecture, the manner in which elites communicated symbols and successive mythic structures in which such symbols were embedded" (Smith A. D., 2009, p. 23). Smith used the concept of "myth-symbol complex" and he mentioned that the role of ethnies (ethnic communities) in this complex is being analysed through symbols, myths, values and memories.

Ethno-symbolists have several reasons to count cultural elements like symbols, myths, rituals and traditions as important in their nationalism analysis. Primarily, they play an essential role in structuring of the social structure in company with culture and they provide a common consciousness. Secondly, this community provides social ties through symbolical universe by language, religion, traditions and it shapes contradictory feelings against the ones who remain outside. Therefore, it permeates "we" and "they" by producing symbolic and daily level. Thirdly and lastly, they constitute continuity and a sense of belonging through emphasizing past

with the elements of shared values, memories and rituals. National anthems, flags, national holidays are all parts of this symbolic realm (Smith A. D., 2009, p. 25).

It can be more suitable to look closely to the relation between ethno-symbolists and modernism to understand principle approaches of ethno-symbolism in the context of the basic problematic I have defined. In fact, ethno symbolists also accept that nationalism is a product of modern era and they differentiate themselves from premordialists in reference to their view on modernity. On the other hand, they find theories explaining nationalism with modern process like capitalism, and industrialization unsatisfactory since these types of approaches deny the permanency of ethnic links. Smith notes this point by arguing that "ethno-symbolists share their view of the historical embeddedness of nations and nationalism but not their relatively restrictive definition or periodization." (Smith A. D., 2009, p. 29).

Ethno-symbolists emphasize the importance of cultural factors. Besides political oriented and state focused movements, they point out the movements standing on culturally focused and morally-emotionally bringing together aims and the subjective creation of nation being process. Therefore, ethno-symbolists are right when stating that the real ground of nationalism is ancient ethnic belonging ties and dominant cultural codes. In other words, it is the symbolical and imaginary aspect that forms nationalism's concrete and populist face. According to ethno-symbolists, cultural elements, myths and narratives form a more prior point than the political and institutional ones. In this sense, Smith emphasized that they regard "cultural nationalist intellectuals" with their critical roles on definition and revival of ethnic community through ancient myths, symbols and memories and accept them as nation-builders as much as state-centered political nationalists (Smith A. D., 2009, p. 24).

When to finish general evaluation about nationalism theories, it is important to remind that nationalism is a multi-faced and multi-dimensional variable that cannot be explained in one single form. In other words, there is no single theory explaining all the nationalism theories. That is why, it is essential to approach to the issue from a multivariable perspective, covering subjective conditions such as its local history to understand nationalism's development. In this sense, it seems that ethno-symbolism

is much more convenient to this multi-dimensional structure of nationalism (Özkırımlı, 2009, p. 281). In this perspective, such a quotation could be explanatory and operational: "Nationalism is a deception mode of interpretation that shapes our consciousness, in other words, that determines our identities, daily behaviors and attitudes" (Özkırımlı, 2009, p. 15).

In this sense, what ethno-symbolists show us is that we cannot understand nationalism as a simple political and ideological way and that they have to be taken into account as a cultural phenomenon. If we accept nationalism as Anderson's imagined community (Anderson, 1996), without no doubt, we also have to accept various social, economic and political conditions that render this imagination possible or obligatory. This goes me to argue about the problem of roots of nationalism. Moreover, in the light of ethno-symbolism, it is essential that our view would be developed in the way that it contains a specific language, belonging and symbolism when we dwell on nationalism as a new ideology and movement (Smith A. D., 1991, p. 8).These proto-national sides of nationalism compel me to focus on cultural spheres, especially history and landscape in the next chapter.

2.2 THE ROOTS OF NATIONALISM AND ITS MAIN COMPONENTS

It is pertinent to begin a starting point that how the concept of humanism transformed and used in modern processes. It gave us some clues about roots of nationalism. The linking of the concept of nation that addresses a particular race or root to a given land was realized through its interrelationship with a political unit or a state. Going over Hobsbawm's example, the Spanish Royal Dictionary's 1884 edition describes nation as a state recognizing a common governance mechanism above all or a political unit, and all the lands a state possesses with a community living over (Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 29).

In the first version of the same dictionary, which is published in 1726, the notions of "patria" or "tierra", which are one of the most significant elements of the nation and nationalism, meant a location where one was born and a set of lands as provincial regions. The concept that started to be related with a state in 1884 reached its contemporary meaning in 1925, the nation which is being loyal and beloved by

nationalist and includes the sum of substantial and moral values of today and past (Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 30).

In short, the meaning of nation and landscape changed in addition to sovereign nation state, ethnicity, language and common tradition and reached the emphasis of contemporary nationalism. In this sense, it can be said that nationalism is quite a young term politically and historically.

"The principle of nationality" that changed the political map of Europe between 1830 and 1878 is the starting point in terms of its beginning as a modern concept. Through this revolution era, nationalism gets closer to today's meaning of it which is based on equalization of a state, nation and people. "The 'nation' as considered, was the body of citizens whose collective sovereignty constituted them a state which was their political expressions" (Hobsbawm, 1993, pp. 18-19).

Analysing the bourgeois-liberal nation theory is needed to note that the "principle of nationality" is implied to certain nations that are considered as great size. According to this "threshold principle", self-determination concept was for the nations who could survive by themselves and it was noticing the nations who could reflect themselves culturally and economically (Hobsbawm, 1995, pp. 48-49).

Another dimension of "the principle of nationality" is the following: it was based on the idea of historical evolution through which human race was enlarging more and more. Thus, it was supposed that national movements were appropriate for national unity or national expansion. Nations were composed of different ethnicities as families were composed of different individuals. In other words, nation was symbolizing the evolution of human progress (Hobsbawm E. , 1995, p. 50). In this sense, whereas the term of nation was used for the groups having a state, nationality was used for the others. This transition was accepted as suitable to capitalism. In short, the most of prominent intellectuals, including Marx and Engels, were regarding some economic and sociological prerequisites to be a nation for a group. (Özkırımlı, 2009, pp. 50-52)

According to bourgeois liberal nation and national state concept, threshold principle which expresses the transition to nation from nationality has some characteristics. In this sense, there were three criteria that were identifying whether a society had a potential to be a nation or not. These were a historical tie with past, an existence of settled cultural elite having national and literal language, and a proven ability of conquest (Hobsbawm, 1995, pp. 55-57). It is clear that all these criteria are linked to social Darwinism or enlightenment which was popular intellectual inclinations in that period. The transformation of the concept of nation and the meaning it earned in the modern era also reveals the correlation that the modernists emphasis. In fact, political leaders also confessed this relationship. General Pidulski who was known as the saviour of Poland argues that "It is the state which makes the nation and not to nation the state" (Hobsbawm, 1993, pp. 44-45). Furthermore, Massimo D'Azeglio seemed to point at the future of nationalism admitting his famous phrase: "We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians" (Hobsbawm, 1993, p. 44). Because it became necessary for that constructed massive community to get reproduced in the minds as well as on the daily practices of members of that community; a connection with the feelings and dreams of the subaltern is achieved.

The hegemonic face of nationalisms stressed by ethno-symbolists will be focused on in this study; it will be evaluated in terms of cultural-symbolic sphere, historiography and the function of history. Before doing this, I will try to analyze the relationship between modernity and nationalism, the problematic of birth of nationalism within the context of socioeconomic and intellectual developments and processes.

It is mentioned about the historical, political, economic and social facts which render possible and obliged to imagine or invention of nation. Now It is pertinent to look at them in a further detail. At this point, it is suitable to review historical process of the 18th century's Europe who has significant roles in the emergence of nationalism (Anderson, 2007, p. 18).

As Hobsbawm also stated that nationalism is not only a system of setting up a state but it also exists in terms of the degree of the technological and economic progress. For instance, the emergence of national language should be thought with

the central national education program and a printing press. Before the general primary education, there was no national language and could not be (Hobsbawm, 1993, p. 96).

Among the names who emphasize the relationship of nationalism with modern intellectual and social processes is Ernst Gellner. Gellner who defines nationalism as a political principle that presses the coincidence of national unity and political unit argues that it is industrialization that gave rise to the emergence of nation state. Gellner tries to summarize the paradigms that set the industrialization as a global process which emerges everywhere in a similar way. General view of the new period can be symbolized equalization and homogenization of phenomena. This regular and constant structure about reality corresponds to anonymous and equal communities in social life. Then, the unification of people's intellectual map in a continual and total system is interrelated to reunite them in mobile and permanent communities (Gellner, 2008, p. 96). The industrial society which is based on a world concept that is always open to endless discoveries and being formed by homogenous, systematical and non-discriminative laws is found on unrelieved growth and development. This type of society brings the world into usage of humanity with unlimited features of new technological possibilities and present infinite possibilities of new compositions (Gellner, 2008, p. 99).

Similarly, behaving in accordance with 'making profit to make profit' motto and choosing components such as labour, technique and materials within models of new social order are accepted as normal behavior of merchants and manufacturers of age of reason (Gellner, 2008, p. 98). Here is the point where Gellner put new styles of social life and forms of organization formed by intellectual principles of new rational world as the basis of modern nationalism. That is to say, in parallel with development, rationality and free enterprise are the bases of this new world, the economic development and the increase in production is bringing about the social roles. This novelty expressed here is not a simple change but retrogression of ancient structure and redraft of its borders. The reality symbolized the new period is that change became fixed and consistent. Similarly, change of occupation, as the constant situation, becomes a part of modern life. Gellner points out the division of labor

formed in complicated, continual and enchaining relations as the main factor on the emergence of nationalism (Gellner, 2008, p. 100). High level of division of labour and continually and rapidly changing system of economical status has some results in social realm.

To sum up, the separate dimension of the industrial society is its inclusion of a developed division of labor. The works are numerous and every single branch has its own specialist. However, the distance between the specialists is not too much. Accordingly, the industrial society has a standard and formal education which contributes to the development of the industrial values in the society. Formal education expresses literacy, basic usage of numbers, teaching of elementary technique and social abilities. It is assumed that could be transition in a short time from a special field to another in accordance with the social mobility in industrial society. Vocational training seems operational and essential (Gellner, 2008, pp. 101-105). The modern period is the one where cultural borders and political ones are colliding and nationalism is a reflection of this collision. Education is the chief actor that draws these borders, so led to social reproduction and makes social inheritance possible.

On the basis of developed technology and expectation of growth, a society emerged that needs both a communication form consist of common and standard written and spoken language, and, on the other hand, a mobile division of labor. In such a society, educational organization which draws the lines of technique and social requirements for every individual in the way to find a job shapes the frame of state organization. A centralized general education is compulsory for the modern state of industrial society. In fact, greater or smaller political units inapplicable for this educational schema are unable to be efficient.

To sum up, according to Gellner, nationalism is the organization of the human groups as the culturally homogeneous units (Gellner, 2008, p. 42). Nationalism is not because of the human nature but requirements of industrial society of modern age. In this sense, nationalism is a historical result drawn over the basic specialities of industrial society such as economic growth, progress, mobility and homogeneity.

Benedict Anderson also mentioned that nationalism is a special combination of different economic and cultural factors in an historical process. In this sense, Anderson defines nationalism as "imagined political community and, imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign." (Anderson, 1996, p. 6) In fact, all the communities except primordial villages were imagined and they should be separated by the way that they were imagined, not by falsity/genuineness.

Nationalism was born as "an attempt to look for a way to link the fellowship, government and time" (Anderson, 1996, p. 22) by resolving three notions of the religious community's situation about reality, the hierarchical and central public organizations based on dynasty and time conception associating cosmology and history. The most important factor rendering this attempt is capitalism and capitalist publishing. Book publishing has experienced all of the process about market publishing as an industry of capitalism. Initially, the market aimed to reach the literal Europe, so the narrow Latin language-speakers, and then diverged to appealing majority who use the living languages. The potential carried by the single language of the huge masses became inviting for the capitalism by time. Which rendered possible the imagination of the nation as a new type of society is the interrelationship between capitalism, printing and language variety (Anderson, 2007, p. 58).

The impacts of this printing over the forming of national consciousness were shaped by three different ways. First of all, these languages created an associated area of exchange and communication above the public languages but below the conventional theocratic society. People started to interact with other billions of others "like them" by written expressions and they also started to draw a line to differentiate themselves from the ones who do not look like them. This togetherness formed by publications became the core of this national imagined community.

Second the capitalist publishing supported the establishment of idea of ancientness which is basic subjective component of a nation by means of giving stability to language. The slowing of the changes in language emerged as the consequence of European languages took their modern shapes in the seventeenth century. This case fortifies the imaginative correlation between the history and

future of a nation and the feeling of continuity. It helps formation of national consciousness by this way.

Third and last, the capitalist publishing created a different government language. Thus, it gave rise to the birth of a new political-cultural shine by giving priority to one of the public languages or its accent. It needs to be stated that Anderson defends the fact that the language which became stable and superior society as the triggering force on national bonds and crucial component of nationalism is a result of a simultaneous process which is shaped with interrelationship between capitalism, technology, and variability of language. Anderson claims that this simultaneous side of the process is regarded at first but later it is transformed into a copied model (Anderson, 1996, pp. 42-45).

The above statements of modern economical and technical processes about roots of nationalism give us a general view. Nevertheless, it is inevitable to analyze how nationalism emerged by looking at its relationship with masses, as more specifically, how it is presented and how it affects the people. In this sense, it seems that the content and purpose of the new national imaginations can be seen as an exhibition about the unity of people in terms of an historical drama where the integrated past is discovered and presented like a museum (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 223). It corresponds to the point Anderson argues which is that nationalism posses an historical role of fulfilling the gap in the slacking bonds of relations between the humans. It is certain that the answer of the question of "why people dream of this imagined community"? is involved in cultural processes structures the social connections.

As Hobsbawm also mentioned, it may be that stimulating some of the "collective belonging feelings" was fundamental to these historical and specific samples of nationalist movements. Hobsbawm defines them as proto-national bonds and he emphasizes on their roles in the structure of imagined community. He states that these bonds are bereft of being a territorial political organization as a major element of nationalism (Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 65). The supra-local and popular identity forms that exceed the lines of daily life are important among all these bonds, particularly.

Historical motives have some special roles and functions in the forming of national consciousness (Aydın, 1999, p. 47). In this sense, the most significant criteria about being a proto-national is "the consciousness of belonging or having belonged to lasting political entity" (Hobsbawm, 1993, p. 73). If we express this with the nineteenth century way of expression, it means being an "historical nation". In other words, being a member of a real or historical state in today or in the past could create an impact in the minds of ordinary people about establishing a proto-nationalist belonging feelings (Hobsbawm, 1993, p. 76).

It is very hard to agree with Hobsbawm who sees that proto-national basis is intended and essential only for the national movements dream to found a state. He perceived these elements peculiar to non-constructed states, "nationalities". On the other hand, it could be negligible or relatively less cruel for shaping a national patriotism and loyalty in a constructed state. It could be seen that Hobsbawm underlines this approach with "modernist" concerns and intellectual limitations (Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 78). Even though I agree with the view of the nations are the direct consequences of states instead of its basis, it is clear that the process of nation building could not be reduced political process which refers state-building without the proto-national components.

On the other hand, Smith, identifies that the process of creating a nation is the redefining of the community's conventional values and symbols besides a sole struggle of political power, by challenging to Hobsbawm and other modernist theoreticians. In this sense, subjective notions of being a nation become prevail. We could consider these notions as the symbolical and social face of this process could be listed as shared cultural resemblances, ethnic myths, historical memory, territorial self belonging and solidaristic feelings (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 200).

For Smith, this nation building process that could be read as the process to nation from ethnie could be expressed by three ways: from isolation to activism, from quietism to mobilization and from culture to politics (Anthony D., 1999, p. 154). It could provide a better understanding in such a way that this relation is from politic to culture for Hobsbawm in order to see better the given difference.

Therefore, masses are given for the first time a clear cut form and an essential role in the new imagination. What homogenize the masses and what unite them with the "nation" are "language and education". Collective historical experiences find a specific and unique way of expression, further a total sui generis langue and form. Whereas language and education provide the unity by horizontal and institutional, the territorial and historical consciousness which determine the qualifications of language and education shape the process' vertical and subjective aspects related to semantic worlds. They also construct the part of the process which makes it unique and "our own". This apprehension is the way to mobilize the community by metaphysical items out of the religious context. There are two ways to reveal the "real state" as convenient to idealized past: poetical spaces and golden ages formed through the usage of landscape and history (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 220).

2.2.1 Modern National Nostalgias: The Uses of History

To engage in the past together with its values seems one of the characteristics of modern nations. Particularly the revealing of reform intentions in some nations and periodical social transforms intensify these tendencies. "That is why many Third World leaders address the history of its people when they wish to ratify their own policies and reforms. The practice of returning the past is generally seen in the period of quick and severe changes (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 225)." In modernizing societies, these historical ties are strongly needed. The basis of this need, as Anderson also argues, are searching continuity in changing societies, feeling of death, and the necessity to beat mortality.

The rise of science, utilitarian philosophy and materialism not only sharpened this need but also imprisoned the remedies outside of religious mechanisms which are included in the traditional societies. When the beliefs beyond empirical reality began to interrelate with secular and historical notions, it was fused to the concepts of people, history and patria (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 225).

The nostalgia of humanity to ethnic past became emergent and widespread in modern times. In the framework of Smith's point of view, these are not only fictions but also "understandable" and "knowable" histories that shape the ethnic essence. This past with "full" of complicated and sometimes confrontational motives

(sometimes too much) is pruned accordance with their objectives by the nationalists and narratives. So what kind of past is this? Hobsbawm answers this question with a past shaped with modern necessities, in his article "Inventing the Traditions" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2007). Invented traditions are the rituals and symbolic practices trying to instillation of norms and values that are directed by rules and based on leitmotivs as if they are standing on a natural continuity coming from history (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2007, p. 2). According to Hobsbawm, contrary to Smith's views, these traditions are mostly artificial and rhetorical. In short, they are the traditions that construct their own history from present by means of the forms versioned to new conditions, remind the past and consist of the repetitions that create a continuity impression. The tension is based on the one between the changes of the modern world and the endeavour to render unchanged at least some parts of the society. In this sense, they could be accepted as modern, internal to modernity but also a reaction against it, but could be regarded as its one face rather than being anti-modern. They belong to the world of images and symbols, to representative and ideological realm outside of the technical, functional and practical customs of the modern world. They seem much often in the rapid social transformation, in the periods where ancient social patterns are weakened, lost their elasticity or were removed (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2007, p. 6). As Hobsbawm mentions, the traditions are no longer required to be invented or to be regenerated in where former styles of life survive (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2007, p. 10) In short, these traditions are invented to fulfill the gap created during the transition or transformation periods.

Another important aspect is the requisition of even reformist movements, including the most revolutionary ones, to base their reforms on a common historical background. All these new, nationalist social engineering implications are paradoxically imprisoned to mould themselves within an historical context in the opposite point of new. They provide the social unification of modern nation through the fictive symbols and narrates that they are natural associations and they are rooted in the furthest antiquity (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2007, pp. 16-18).

In Smith's model, however, the mythologies studied by nationalists are structured by the legends, historical facts and real motives sampled from the historical documents, but not fabrications. What is done is the reunification of the real fragments of history in the framework of narrative like a novel. Accordingly, a past that was recreated should have some specialities such as coherency, uniqueness and a taste peculiar to ethnic core. According to Smith, the past serving modern necessities should also be "well protected" and "reconstructed". In his view, we could talk about "reconstruction" or a "rediscovery" depending on the situation of the ethnic past's protection rate, not about fabrication or a sole fiction (Smith A. D., 2002, pp. 227-229).

The ethnic past has some main characteristics. Firstly, they are elastic, multi-layered and open to various interpretations. All ethnie (ethnic community) has many different visions of "the past" which modern secular intellectuals want to interrelate in an aimed and harmonized structure. Conjunctural changes and different social groups where the intellectuals come from nourish these differences by bringing different aims and requisitions to the agenda (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 229).

Secondly and one of the basic characteristics of this "production" or "reconstruction" about history is the naturalist tendency it carries. Similarly, as we see when we analyze primordialism, nationalist historians perceive history as a struggle of arena of the nations. Nations are subject to natural laws managing the world. They are born, grow up, are destructed and revived. Destruction raise as a result of an internal deprivation as well as an outside impact and it is the role of nationalists to diminish these disturbed implications and get historical stream back on the rail (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 230).

Thirdly, it is essential to notice that this interest of the past gains meaning by being related to today. The goal is to give life to the past and to establish "a living past" with its full dimensions. This is never a sole chronological research or antiquarianism where historical studies guide; it is a romantic and passionate pursuit where the replies to necessities of daily life and reanalyzing the living past are being looked for (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 231).

Fourthly, while doing this, several scientific disciplines are used such as archaeology, philology, anthropology, history, folklore and sociology (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 232). "Through our archaeological rediscoveries and interpretations we locate 'ourselves' and dignify 'our communities' by reference to an ancient pedigree and time-honoured environment" (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 180).

Fifthly, national mythologies are evolutionist. What the historical drama as a result of this quest of "returning intelligentsia" (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 232) who are ambitious about finding their roots and return to the past should especially do while indoctrinating us an identity and value is primarily to define this community in an historical narrative so that it identifies its location among other communities by situating time and location, on the other hand to orientate this imagined community to the future by means of a reincarnation message. The point where it leads us is the pure primary state that is suitable according to naturalist intentions with a historical progression narrative (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 182). These ethnic mythologies resemble the motif of "Sleeping Beauty", pricked by external forces of evil and put to sleep until the nationalist dawn arrives to restore the community to its true self in a new 'golden age' (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 191). They make the history of the nation as a part of political fiction as well as they resolve history in a fragmental view with an evolutionary comprehension (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 191).

After emphasizing the basic features of ethnic narratives, it can be said that nations mostly exemplifying double head Janus by one face looking at history and the other to the future. In this sense, they need pasts and also myths. The peculiarities of the nations are provided by a differentiated culture. In fact, the best option is to base this unique culture over a glorified past. Whereas the modern international rivalry necessitates the mobilized communities, it seems that the best way to do is the goal of a golden age that requires being resurrected (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 272).

2.2.2 Poetical Spaces and Landscape: The Uses of Archaeology

One point where "national identity" and "national character" are nourished is the geographical aspect that was transformed to homeland by means of being interrelated to ethnicity through the ways of myths and symbols (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 267).

Smith emphasizes the qualification of being frequent antiquity of the relationship between ethnicity and territory and he gives the example of Turanism (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 184). Besides, these territorial nostalgias are also interrelated with more practical and daily concerns. They are justification (sometimes by involving a metaphysical mystery) of demands on territory where nations would be constructed over.

The homeland is the historical territory where our "ancestors" live and "which live in our hearts" beyond being a part of our identity and our locality. Sacred places, monuments and ruins that belong to our ancestors are important in this sense. The passion of the newly founded states hold to archaeology and the sanctification of natural landscapes and monuments are the result of the requirement for establishing continuity feeling that was created by "rediscovered but constant past" (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 271).

Ancient experiences belong to the history of the community are not simply narrate, they are interpreted in the light of new scientific disciplines and methods. Past exists there as a part of nation drama. Presentation and scientific justification construct the other part of the work where archaeology prevails (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 271). In other words, the construction and rationalization of the connections between people and territory necessitates grounding history in the land, a task facilitated by archaeology (Kohl, Kozelsky, & Nachman, 2007, p. 299).

Archaeology constitute a form of expression always have both scientific and political sides. Firstly, it should be introduce evidentiary standards. In other words, archaeological reconstructions are affiliated with "obligation to adhere to scholarly standards of logic and evidence (Kohl & Fawcett, 2000, p. 250). In this respect, as scientists, archaeologists can distance themselves from empirically non-justifiable narrates which resort to divine intervention or similar explanation of the past (Kohl & Fawcett, 2000, p. 8).

In addition to this scientific characteristic, archaeology has a political way of action as well. It can be argued that there is almost unavoidable or natural relationship between archaeology and nationalism. Nationalist ideologies have played an important role in creating sense of identities. In this sense, archaeology,

"has been haunted by attempts of varied nations to resurrect their greatness in the past by picking and choosing certain places and times to emphasize nationalist themes" (Kohl, Kozelsky, & Nachman, 2007, p. 301). In these cases, archaeological research, its publication, and the preservation of archaeological sites were affected by the patriotic agendas of the government. According to Trigger, nationalist archaeology is "used to glorify national past in an effort to encourage a spirit of unity and cooperate" (Trigger, 1984, p. 358). Moreover, it is highlighted that these archaeological activities was directed towards strengthening patriotic sentiments (Trigger, 1984, p. 358).

Political value of archaeology for nation-building processes has long been appreciated (Elon, 1994). Since its beginning, archaeological studies have been deeply included in nationalist projects, especially in the construction of national culture and identity. Many cases show us that the close relationship between archaeology, nationalism and the construction of national identities are affiliated. This close relation emerge both in different levels, such as ideological and material, and extensively. Thus, it is asserted that nationalist archaeology can be found "embedded within almost every regional tradition of archaeological research" (Kohl & Fawcett, 2000, p. 3). In parallel, Trigger said that "most archaeological traditions are probably nationalist orientation" (Trigger, 1984, p. 358). To sum up, it is obvious that archaeology plays a crucial role in the forging of the national consciousness and identity by emphasizing unity and indigenousness on lands and supporting territorial sense of national belonging.

2.3 NON-WESTERN NATIONALISMS: WHOSE IMAGINED COMMUNITY?

Nationalism was born not only in different forms in different periods but also was shaped differently in different parts of world. Thus, non-Western nationalist experiences should be analyzed within the peculiar framework reference to their history and territorial aspects.

As a result of the First and Second World Wars, nation-state became an international dominant norm. Hobsbawm calls this period as the "apogee of nationalism" (Hobsbawm E. , 1993, pp. 131-163). The exportation of these ideas and studies out of Europe happened in different ways and forms. These scientific and linguistic studies and nationalist ideas supported by them showed their initial impacts on geographically close countries such as Greece, Romania, Russia and Turkey.

Publication activities which are the main source of the emergence of these nationalist movements the based on rediscovery of public languages and cultures could not be thought of course by not considering the consumers of the market (Anderson, 1996, p. 42). To what extent the potential consumers of these publications such as aristocrats, landowners, professionists, officers and market figures arise when the non-Western geographies are considered? (Anderson, 1996, p. 44) After stating this precaution, it could be argued that the point of the fact that the call to the history for masses in according to their welcome to nationalist thoughts and to make them represents of the imagined community are prevailed. About non-Western examples of national genesis, Smith refers to the importance of nationalist struggles and the process of nation-building when he particularly says that nationalist factor has much more essential as an ideology (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 132).

To sum up, the second ten years of the 19th century rendered possible the replicability of the model of the sovereign nation state. This reproduction was seen in two different forms as again the implementations of Western imperial powers and "official nationalisms" as a result of the endeavours performed by the classical empires of ancient world in order to get used to soul of the new term (Anderson, 1996, p. 86).

The enlightened absolutist ideas of the West-European empires also distinguish into the fields of language and nationality. As an urgent precaution, the idea of integration of all the languages included in the borders of empire was implemented. In fact, this thought was not limited to the Western Europe. Perceiving national languages and structuring national belongings on this basis in accordance with the overall course of the world and the general atmosphere of the period seemed compulsory. If we look from the viewpoint of the empires, the major problem of this

period seemed to unite the subjects and so; the dynasties could not be indifferent to this case. Because it would not be achieved, unification would be prevented and the hate of the dominant ethnicity would be faced with its blaming of betrayal. When it was done, in the same manner, the hostility and hate of the other communities were inevitable. The intention to approach rising national identities became a general attitude for the given period's monarchies like Ottoman and the Russia (Anderson, 1996, pp. 85-88). This process that was also called as "the acceptance of subjects to the citizenship" emerged a type of "official nationalisms" could be regarded as authentique and indigenous. Whereas the "Russification" policy of the tsarism expresses articulation of, one old and one new, two political systems into each other with a conscious and harsh interventions and the unification of heterogeneous Russian population that consists of the subjects of tsar, it was sampling one of the well-known official nationalisms (Anderson, 1996, p. 86).

The same process has a similar impact upon the overseas colonies of the Western European empires. This was the second type of official nationalism that targeted domination of Western education and cultural life over the colonies.

If we consider more general point of view, official nationalisms set ground for the emergence of the Asian and African nationalisms through the implications they produced in the twentieth century. This complex historical experience of the Europeans started to be adopted in everywhere as a new model. For Anderson, this process involved in the modelling and of copying. Another point or similarity signify "copying" the newly anti-imperialist nationalisms and official nationalism of imperial states is that "isomorphism between each nationalisms territorial stretch and that of the previous imperial administrative unit" (Anderson, 1996, p. 114). The "last wave of nationalism" that is experienced in mostly colonized regions of Asia and Africa is a reaction against the global imperialism that became possible by the progressions of industrial capitalism. The emergence and main lines of these reactions are embedded in the historical course of the imperialist states' official nationalisms.

Finally, bilingual native intelligentsia with centrally educated whose reaching to the centre of empire and its promotion was prevented copies the former Western experiences and became the first compositors and depicters of postcolonial nationalisms by implicating and developing them (Anderson, 1996, p. 140).

Smith specified that the religious traditions are periodically cut to the bone under the influence of imperialist Western states and the local intellectuals are majorly appealed by the given Western ideologies and discourses. New, secular and modernist intellectuals promote in pursuance of the spirit of the period. According to Smith, three different approaches are observed with regards to the effects of money economy and Westernization. First one is traditionalism or a conscious and modernizing returning to tradition. The exact opposite is the messianic passionate (assimilation or modernism) intended for assimilating the Western modernity and its artefacts. Among them somewhere, as a third one and as a way of comprehension where the author considers it the most typical and plausible, a defensive endeavour takes part so as to revive the pure and uncorrupted community modelling golden age of collective past and synthesis the aspects of tradition with the features of Western modernity. The author calls this last one as the "reformist renaissancism." (Smith A. D., 1991, pp. 63-64).

Whereas Smith argues that the process could not be seen simply as the inventions or fabrications of the intellectuals, it could be seen as a combination of both practices of copying and creating. Whereas adaptation of the results of national identity process specific to the West and elimination of social institutions with religious sources implies the copying process, the content of this adaptation and its being based on ethnic past and its aspects in sense of building of national identity and formatting historical and territorial basis of imagination of national community structures the creative and original face of the process (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 160).

In Smith's model, non-Western national building samples have imperial and (anti) colonial routes seen as the two sub-types of bureaucratic addition/containing process. The imperial category is close to Anderson's "official nationalism" concept and it includes the formally independent and sovereign empires of the Russia, China, Japan and Ottoman. From the viewpoint of these empires, a requirement of

metamorphosis and reformation in political system and cultural life but not a salvation movement from the foreign sovereignty is on the agenda (Smith A. D., 2002, pp. 160-161).

Certain major specifications that characterize these empires in the process of nation building are as follows: an aristocratic culture and tradition foundation, the existence of important amount of ethnic minorities, a modernizing bureaucratic state mechanism, and an official and institutional nationalism (includes ideas, symbols and education). Among them, as nation-state models, Smith considers Turkey and Japan accomplished that the first one is separated from its imperial heritage in the way of redrew its own borders and the second one is ethnically homogeneous structure (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 161).

Second type is anti-imperialist nationalism in Smith's categorization about the process of non-Western nation buildings (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 168). Smith identifies that the majority of these samples have deprivations of both a political and a cultural identity because all kinds of solidarity ties and identities they had were the consequences of changes that the colonial power created. All established nations were defined by the colonialist state in terms of their borders and characters.

According to Smith, the limitedness of the response of anti-colonialism in practice also explicates the relationship between imitating and reactionary characters of these movements. The projects of "building a nation from zero" of the African and Asian intelligentsias are mainly originates to their Western nationalist educations. There is no doubt on the fact that European fountains influenced the nationalist colonized intelligentsia within the process of intellectual formation both through education, journey and books. This situation renders them synthetic and far from creativity in Smith's views (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 171).

Hobsbawm as well talks about the spreading of nationalist movements after 1918 Versailles Treaty and arguing that they are different from the European model geographically. The principles of being nation and self-determination affected colonized or semi colonized salvation movements' leaders through the education they took in the West and other Western-centered resources and enable to made them spoke in accordance with the langue of European nationalism. The French

Revolution and later the Russian one spread Mazzini's "principle of nationality" away throughout the world. Hence, the "national independence movements" of the Third World were emerged. However, these movements were against to sovereign invaders or their corporations in terms of their strangeness with reference to colors, wearing and habits which means anti-imperialist rather than being based on class difference or socioeconomic conflicts as in the West. With few exceptions, the regions where national movements raised on were religious-cultural areas drawn as a result of imperialist invasions. The religious or cultural elements that seem outside of the nation concept in Europe were notions that prevent national consciousness and encouraged by the imperial powers rather than serving the national consciousness as pro-national ties. For Hobsbawm they were lack of any substantial and intellectual resources of an original synthesis and creation process (Hobsbawm E. , 1993, p. 137).

All these discussed approaches, either modernist or ethno-symbolist, as seen, are all of the same mind about non-Western nationalisms. An important critique of the contemporary Western literature about anti-colonial nationalisms came from Partha Chatterjee on her 1993 dated "Whose Imagined Community" as a part of his "Nation and its Fragments" (Chatterjee, 1993) study which is seen as a significant reply of foremost texts of this argument. Chatterjee, first of all, addresses the question of if the underdeveloped states really obligate to choose their own imagined communities among Western models as Anderson argues, what else it remain to imagine. Again, he says that the same approach is not realist and empirical with relation to the anti-imperialist nationalisms of the non-Western world and that it means to colonize even their ability to imagine. According to Chatterjee, the most powerful and creative results of the Asian and African nationalisms stand on "the difference" regards to the Western nationalist models. Anti-colonial nationalism creates its own struggle fields, much before a political struggle, by dividing the worlds of social institutions and traditions into two; material and moral areas. Whereas it is acceptable that the results of the superiority of the West and its experiences could be imitated within the framework of the material area such as economics, state affairs, science and technology, the moral one that forms the core of the cultural identity is defined as out-of West and peculiar but with modern form.

This is the basic characteristic of the Asian and African anti-Western nationalism movements according to Chatterjee. They realized the project of building a national culture that is modern but not Western is possible in a moral/cultural area. This is where the nation is imagined and emerged. It creates its sovereignty in this moral area. "Modern, national, but different than the West" formula gives its historical basic color to these nationalisms by dominating the cultural, literal and familial fields (Chatterjee, 1993, pp. 9-17).

2.3.1 Civilizationist Nationalism

In the whole world that belated nationalism, two concerns set the ground foundation stones of modernization process are being "resemble to the West" or to interrelate to the West and also, an emphasis on historical and cultural peculiarities in the meaning of the basic insurance of being a nation. The opposition between these two basic aspects or tension is tried to remove via the point that the ideological and academic tools that were used to emphasis the peculiarity were taken from the Western world. Among these Western academic and scientific tools, especially archaeology, philology, anthropology and history of art have prevailed (Aydın, 2002, pp. 403-404).

It is obvious that particularly archaeology is an inevitable source in the shaping of new nations states' ideologies as an intellectual reflective forms of transition to independence from colonialism (Aydın, 2002, p. 404). In this sense, archaeology seems to be organized and used by nation states emphasizing independence and ideologies like nationalism maybe as much as history. In particular, for non-Western nationalism primarily the state defines itself is equal with the West with reference to the historical past and this emphasis on independence and equality is not used simply as an argument for international level. Beyond this, it is used to persuade his members in this direction and restores their self-confidence. They are the fact that seems as a two specific modern functions of archaeology.

Here, the principle of the nationalist discourse is to take the position of equal in the family of nations, and beyond, to explicit that it has superiorities against to the West or that the Western civilization originated from it in reference to the historical

heritage of nation and the political and scientific instruments of the West (Aydın, 2002, p. 405).

For instance, Pharaonism authors like Taha Huseyin used the pyramid and temple scripts as their own peculiarities by differentiating them from other nations and define themselves. They assisted to correlate "modern" Egyptians and Pharaon-Ciptians (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 268). This thought enriches the Egyptians as the settlers of the country with the special feeling of the fact that they have settled near the Nile River with a thousands of years history and a strong sense of Islam and the distinctive character of this settling and territorial identity (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 264). One of the Egyptian nationalist leaders Mustafa Kamil considers that Egypt which established the first great civilization in the world. Again, one leader Ahmet Lütfi es-Seyyid discovered a Pharaonical essence in the Egyptian way of life. In short, we see the traces of a civilizationist nationalism that links its roots to Ancient Egypt in the Egyptian intellectual life before a nationalism whose Islamic color started to gain importance (Aydın, 2002, pp. 405-406)

Similar arguments were suggested by the Greeks. Antique Ion cities' ruins and temples which refer to "Great Hellen civilization" construct the Greek identity historically. Western Hellenism nourishes the glorified nation feelings by linking divine civilization to contemporary Greece. This type of Westernized intelligentsia argues that there is relativity between modern and Western norms and antique spirits. This secular Hellenistic view dedicates itself to "returning" which has certain principles like the ethical messages of Antique Greece, "self-discipline" and "rational inquiry" (Smith A. D., 2002, pp. 239-240).

Whereas the Hellenistic view among the numerous versions of nationalist emphasis towards the past gives importance to economic progress and technological advance by standing on gentle ideals of legal institutions and literal classism in education, they are intended to direct Greek social and political premises to the enlightenment road under the leadership of state and to a Western point of view (Smith A. D., 2002, p. 242).

Particularly, the modernist political actions that situate themselves against the Islamic traditionalism preferred to recruit history and historical legitimacy from the past. Whereas Lebanese Marunis developed Phonecianism, Iraqis developed Babylonism and Iran Shah developed Acamenidism, Turkey developed a Sumerian Eti Turkism by Kemalism. The main argument of all these national cultural histories is that the nation they belong to is the followers of "a civilization founder" antique society or societies (Aydın, 2002, p. 406).

In Turkey, just after the Turkish History Thesis fell from agenda, a type of civilizationist nationalism that tries to mix in a balance the links standing on territorial and being-togetherness by emphasizing the ethnic past and essence and while doing this, that tries to establish a historical ties between the newly-born Turkish nation and humanism concept and Renaissance values as the basis of Ancient Greece that leads to the Western world by emphasizing the major role that the Anatolia played on these historical intellectual progress. Before a detailed evaluation of this approach, it seems pertinent to review the course of nationalism between the period of Ottoman and Early Republican Turkey.

CHAPTER 3

AN ASSESSMENT ON THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OTTOMAN-TURKISH NATIONALISM

The general formation and development process of Turkish nationalism can be examined in three different periods. In this context, we will first try to examine the thought of Tanzimat (Reorganization) and Ottoman patriotism. Secondly, the issue will be evaluated within the framework of its tendencies during the "Party of Union and Progress" period. We will attempt to examine the emphasis on the concept of Ottoman nation and the evolution of Ottoman nationalism as an "official nationalism" based on language. In this context, the evolution from Ottomanism to Turkism during the Union and Progress period will be addressed. Third and last of all, the understanding of nationalism from the early republican period until 1938 will be assessed in relation to its transformation especially within the framework of the Turkish History Thesis.

Ottoman-Turkish experience, with reference to its beginning and development, seems closer to European type nationalism than to the post-colonial models. Here, the view that Ottoman-Turkish modernization has first adopted Western Europe models, then Eastern Europe models become quite common (Arai, 2008, p. 14). Together with China and Japan, Breuilly classifies Ottoman-Turkish nationalism as "reform nationalism outside of Europe" (Breuilly, 1994, s. 211-214). The phenomenon of copying the independent nation state model which emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century has taken place in the Ottoman Empire (Anderson, 2007, p. 96). This situation has come forth as an effort of former world empires to keep pace with the new period; in other words, as a type of "official nationalism". This process has surfaced as the import of the values possessed by the French Revolution. The French Revolution has entrusted the concept of nation with a political meaning. Besides ethnic origin, language and similar factors, this way of thinking entails the formation of nation based on "a common interest against discrimination". Therefore, the nation is identified with the society and state. The

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nation, as a group of citizens whose collective sovereignties have become concrete within the state, emphasizes a political and territorial union (Hobsbawm E. , 1995, pp. 34-36). An issue which comes forward at this point is the unification and homogenization of nationalities either to meet the requirements of an integrated market economy or with the purpose of preventing the separations of ethnic groups. In this period, with Western Europe empires at the forefront, the idea of combining the languages in all regions of the empires has been implemented. The homogenization of nationalities and the creation of a sense of an integrated national belonging which are regarded as the main problem in this period, has actually addressed language as a permanent process of assimilation. Since this model has found the most typical example in Tsarist Russia, it is also known as "Russification" (Anderson, 2007, p. 102). In essence, this process stands for monarchies getting closer to the nation state model with a desire to combine nationalities under a common national identity (Anderson, 2007, p. 102).

In that respect, Ottoman nationalism passed through a similar process. Considering the emergence of nationalism, it would be appropriate to concentrate on Tanzimat which takes place in the second half of the nineteenth century under the effects of the French Revolution and developing with a reformist characteristic. It would be described as "Ottoman patriotism". This understanding reflects a type of patriotism referring to Otomanism which has adopted the principles of "freedom, equality and nationality" based on the ideals of "freedom, equality and fraternity" of the French Revolution (Lewis by Arai, 2008, 15) and where this concept of nationality has been described under an umbrella of "Ottomanism". Therefore, the Tanzimat Declaration has established several political and legal reforms in order to impose a feeling upon these minorities as Ottoman citizens on equal terms, they will not face discrimination. The most important point of Tanzimat, from the aspect of nationalism and Ottoman patriotism, is that it recognizes all of the Ottoman subjects as equal before law regardless of religion (Arai, 2008, 17). Thus, without encompassing an ethnic emphasis, the idea was geographical togetherness in which everyone in the country, as a common ground, has sovereign and equal citizenship rights.

It is obvious that in the development of this understanding labelled as "Ottomanism", first of all, concepts like homeland, nation, liberty and equality which the process of westernization brought forth has been influential. These concepts have resulted from the group of minorities within the wide and heterogeneous geography of the empire who rebelled and demanded equality and liberty. Therefore, as a tool for survival which would hold these subjects together; the idea of an "Ottoman nation" has been brought to the agenda (Kushner, 1979, pp. 3-4). On the other hand, Turkish intellectuals and politicians making intellectual contacts with European nationalisms have wanted to strengthen the ties between all ethnic and religious groups living within the borders of the empire (Kushner, 1979, p. 9). Here, within the framework of the "Ottomanism" concept, nation has indicated a merging under the roof of a state in a particular region.

In this context, it would be acceptable that Tanzimat has responded to some requests of minorities (Berkes, 2002, p. 227). However, it has not entailed any references to the social channels, such as language and education that form their ideas. Therefore, the approach of patriotism during this period do not carry an ethnic emphasis, it also does not possess the factors and instruments necessary to construct a common history and culture. As indicated by ethnosymbolism, the process of creating a nation does not only constitute a political change. This process also encompasses the redefining of traditional values and images and for these images to be infuse into society through different channels. Various elements like operas, novels and architecture adopt these new imaginations to masses. Thus, the process of creating a national conscience and identity means that masses are unified within a "national destiny". On the other hand, the Tanzimat is deprived of the processes of homogenization and integration of nationalities whether through the creation of myths or through disciplines of art, literature and science.

However, actually for a long time there has been no deviation from the policy of Ottomanism. During the period until the Republic, this idea continued by being synthesized with the different types of Turkism. In particular, the approach of "Ottoman nation", within the political context of a philological nationalism, has been defended for a long time especially by nationalists who were borned in Turkey.

Also, it has been seen that from time to time, its significance has decreased or has regressed to a strategic-pragmatic level (Arai, 2008, pp. 102-103).

Secondly, in relation to the evolution of Ottoman nationalism and the emergence of the movement of Turkism, it is necessary to examine the Union and Progress period. According to Mardin, the first Turkist movement took place during the period of the Young Turks in the 1880's as an issue of linguistics. Turkism has developed as a cultural movement (Mardin, 2010, p. 65). On the other hand, according to Arai, all the Young Turks in Europe have embraced the idea of an "Ottoman nation" (Arai, 2008, p. 18). Here, a branch of Turkish nationalism (perhaps the most common branch) has evolved from the idea of an Ottoman nation. It has emerged as a pursuit for Turkish identity (Arai, 2008, p. 20). Cultural movement and a linguistic unity have been brought forward as supportive of a political integration within the Ottoman borders. For instance, right after the Young Turk revolution, with Yusuf Akçura being at the forefront, members of the Journal Türk Derneği which has brought together intellectuals either from the inside or outside the Ottoman Empire have tried to reconcile Ottoman patriotism and Turkish nationalism in their articles (Arai, 2008, 30). The general publishing policy of the journal has reflected the ideas of Ottoman nationalists (Arai, 2008, 44). Meanwhile, as we could see from the marks in the language, the journal has been getting closer to the official nationalism. In that respect, In the declaration of the journal, despite it has been mentioned that the Ottoman nation being formed by different ethnic societies has been accepted, the necessity for Ottoman Turkish, as a powerful source uniting the homeland and people together, to spread among all Ottomans has been underlined (Arai, 2008, 41). By reminding the emphasis on language in Anderson's modernist analysis, it shows that Ottoman Turkish has been used as a framework. As a result of the idea of an Ottoman nation and as a uniting element of different ethnic groups, simplification of language has emerged on the agenda (Arai, 2008, 36). A majority of Ottoman articles have especially concentrated on the simplification of language in order to maintain an Ottoman national unity (Arai,2008, 48).

The Journal Genç Kalemler starting to be published shortly after the journal entitled Türk Yurdu has also focused on the simplification of Ottoman Turkish under the leadership of figures such as Ali Canip and Ömer Seyfettin. In the meantime, Ottoman emphasis has slowly started moving towards Turkishness. It is expressed that Ottomanism has actually been constructed by Turks, but that over time it has become the common feature of all constituents of the empire with the exception of non-Muslims (Arai, 2008, 57). This point completely points towards "an official Ottoman nationalism". In other words, although not in an ethnic sense, the concept of "Ottoman" has started to corresponds a culture, the way of life and language. Thus, it has digressed from the framework of legal equality of Tanzimat thought.

At this point, it is asserted that Ottoman language, which represents the Muslim subjects, should be called Turkish. According to their assumptions, the simplification of the Ottoman language will in any case reveal its Turkish origin more. In this framework, Turkish world gain currency and the Ottoman Turks are regarded as members of the Turan family. In short, while on the one hand an Ottoman expression is being continued through the political boundaries of the Ottomans, on the other, a conscience of Turkishness and the Turkish world have started tok be emphasized with the use of Turkish (Arai, 2008, 57-58). The defence of the new language has become a primary issue for this new journal. However, the consciousness of Turkishness within language and literature has not been expressed on a political level, because it has been foreseen that this situation would not cause a unity as targeted, but would create a separation. In order to overcome this contradiction, Ömer Seyfettin has appealed to the distinction of ethnicity and nationality. Based on this, apart from continuing works on the culture and language of Anatolia as a treasure of Turkishness, it is also necessary to distinguish nationality as a political concept from these works. According to Ömer Seyfettin, "nationality means a community administered by a government" (Arai, 2008, 65). Ottomanism is also national, not ethnic. Therefore, an approach has been conveyed where Ottomanism and Turkish nationalism have been brought together. Furthermore, the approach of intellectuals of this period has been determined by the conflicts and crises arising between the political situation and intellectual ideas of the transition period. It could be seen that during this course, Ottomanism, which has rendered an

empty signifier, has tried to be filled with Turkishness. In any case, we can see that these two have been able to be frequently used in replace of each other (Arai, 2008, 69 and 72).

Those in connection with Genç Kalemler have also made contacts with the Union and Progress Party, contributing to new language policy. It has been accepted that Turkish, being the official language of the state since 1908, has to be taught to Ottoman citizens. Turkish has been utilized as one of the crucial ways to protect the integrity of the state which was regarded by the Union and Progress as the primary goal of this period (Arai, 2008, 77). This way, in line with the policy of keeping the Ottoman State together, on the one hand Ottomanism was emphasized, while on the other, Turkish was used as a power allowing the subjects, of whom most were Muslim, to be held integrated. In 1913, the evolution of Ottoman patriotism has created the result of Turkish nationalism to slowly show its influence in politics.

Turkism, which is the origin of Turkish nationalism, is a movement of culture and thought (Heyd, 1950, p. 104). Kushner addresses the contributions of Western authors and philosophers who have influenced Turkish intellectuals (Kushner, 1979, pp. 9-15). On the other hand, political Turkism has come from a Russian origin and emerged with the goal of an independent and unified Turkish state (Kushner, 1979, pp. 16-20). Pan-Islamism is seen as another source of Turkism (Kushner, 1979, pp. 6-7). In this context, we should especially focus on the effects of the policies during Abdülhamit's period. Abdülhamit, who has used Western opposition and foreign hostility within the Muslim world and specifically in the country, has adopted the political model described as "Islamism" (Kushner,1979, p. 5). This policy has adopted a double-sided function. While internally establishing unity and integrity among the Muslim citizens, externally it has strengthened the government's hand with the message of an Islamic unity (Kushner, 1979, p. 6).

The political situation of Abdülhamit's period has paved the way for Turkish ideas in many ways. Firstly, the pan-Islamist policy of the period has caused the Ottomans to be acquainted with Central Asian Turks. The interest in the Islamic world has allowed the Turks to realize the existence of their race outside the Empire (Kushner, 1979, pp. 15-16). Secondly, despite the serious censorships during

Abdülhamit's period, the newspapers developing technically have reached high circulations. Thirdly, the censoring of issues in internal politics has increased the interest in international events and their translations on these issues. This situation has in effect deepened the view of Western culture and has established the grounds for nationalist ideas. Fourth and last of all, with an unexpected influence, the censorship of political issues has triggered the discussions on matters relating to language and culture and has formed the cultural channels where Turkist movement could spread (Kushner, 1979, pp. 20-21).

Thus, based on these grounds, the Journal Türk Yurdu, carrying the significance of Caucasian nationalists, has begun to be published in November 1911. Three of the six founding members were of Russian origin: Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Hüseyinzade Ali and Yusuf Akçura. This journal had also sought simplification of language, but this time, to reach as many Turks as possible and to improve the "Turkish race" (Arai, 2008, p. 85). Unlike the previous examples, journal did not directly and fundamentally relate to the Ottomans. The "development and strengthening of the Turkish national spirit" had priority (Arai, 2008, p. 84). Ağaoğlu's article series entitled "Türk Alemi" (The Turkish World) and Akçura's "Türk Alemi" (The Turkish World) articles illustrate the Journal's line related to the Turkish World. At the same time, these articles have also been criticisms of Tanzimat and the thoughts of an Ottoman Nation and Ottomanism which were regarded as a new form of Tanzimat. They have opposed to the policy of assimilation and to the unification of nationalities within such context (Arai, 2008, p. 95).

There are fundamental differences between Ottomanism and the type of Turkish nationalism as addressed in this journal. Ottomanism comes to mean the simplification of language of Muslim citizens through feelings of nationhood and different nationalities uniting under a roof of Ottoman nation through the use of language. In essence, Turkish nationalism adopted by the Journal Türk Yurdu is not Ottomanist, but Panturkist and it seeks a national pride arising from being Turkish(Arai, 2008, p. 85). They defend that these elements which have lived together for six centuries have never been mixed and will not be mixed from then on either (Arai, 2008, p. 95).

The personal intellectual course of Ziya Gökalp of that period also illustrates this transformation within Turkish nationalism of the Ottoman period. Like most of the members of the Union and Progress Party, Ziya Gökalp had also embraced Ottomanism in the beginning. In one of his articles in 1911, he stated that the process of altering social revolution and values could be taken out of Ottoman spirit. He has filled in the formula of national culture sometimes with Turkish and from time to time with Ottoman contents. In his articles in 1913, he was closer to the "Tanzimat Era liberalism" and in relation to this opinion, he provided America as an example (Heyd,1950, p. 71-74; Arai, 2008, p. 100).

On the other hand, the Balkan War, as a political ideal, has been the event which ended Gökalp's zigzagging relation with Ottomanism, because then, the concern for a political integrity was left behind. Furthermore, he has seen that Ottomanism has not been sufficient in creating a Christian or Muslim spirit or a feeling of commitment (Heyd, 1950, p. 72).

Moreover, the categorical rejection of Ottomanism has been reduced from an ideal to a concrete condition and a practical purpose. Particularly in Akçura's articles, by regarding to the points caliphate and the ties in Eastern Europe, Ottomanism was considered as an instrument of safeguarding the interests of Turkishness. "If the Ottoman get into an accident, the Turkish nation would survive and will continue on its path and development" (Arai, 2008, pp. 102-103).

In summary, whether by means of a Turkey-originated nationalism which attempts to synthesize Ottomanism with Turkishness (and sometimes with Turanism) or coming from a Panturkist tradition with the purpose of creating an independent and integrated Turkish state in Russia, "nationalism of the Young Turk period" has led to nationalism of the Republican Period "with the effort to introduce a national conscience and the pride of being Turkish" (Arai, 2008, p. 146).

The Turkist vein evolving from Ottoman patriotism and pan-Turkist tendencies of Russian origin have united within the scope of republican ideals and political implementations. While Gökalp moves towards a point which underlines the ethnic feature from the view framed with an Ottomanist political assimilation, Akçura and other Caucasian originated nationalists comply with the official policies

of the new republic and present Turkist historical and cultural arguments to the assumption of Anatolia's Turkishness are all parts of this process (Ertekin, 2009, pp. 351-359). The intellectual inheritance of Young Turks has been passed on to Kemalists like Aziz Kansu and Afet İnan through Turkish nationalism institutions of the early period such as Türk Ocağı and Türk Yurdu (Copeaux, 61). During the years of the foundation of the Republic and the following, the figures shaping nationalist understanding have again been prominent intellectuals of nationalism of the Young Turk period such as Yusuf Akçura and Ahmet Ağaoğlu. They have also sustained their approaches in the new period through common grounds, particularly through their criticism of Ottomanism and emphases of ethnicity, history and language.

The transition from the Ottoman Empire to the republican and "national" Turkish State entailed a new formation of national identity and the "discovery of Turkishness". In order to establish legal and political roots, the grounds of a citizenship linkages and a sense of common territory have been used here. Moreover, the process of transforming existing ethnic ties into national ties has also been extensively brought to the agenda. As an element of a structural tension, Bora has referred to the intrinsic double-sidedness between the definition of a political-legal identity, determined by the citizenship link within the process of creating a national state and the definition of an essentialist identity being based on an ethnicist foundation (Bora, 2009, p. 21). Yıldız has also expressed that the Turkish national identity within the process of Kemalist construction, encompasses two constructive constituents as legal-political and ethnic (Yıldız, 2002, p. 216).

While identifying and continuing the cultural and historical arguments the Turkists had stressed until then, at the same time, by regarding Turkishness as a political and legal concept, Kemalist nationalism has strived towards constructing national identity through republican and democratic-participationist discourses and as an integrationist element. It could be seen here that the significance has moved from a civilizationist territorial perception and the basis of a legal-political citizenship to an ethnic sympathy and unity structured culturally and historically. To a great extent, the determining factor here is the historical course of "ethnic origin"

and western civilization and Anatolian features are used as motifs which would complete this.

Republican ideals and values remaining insufficient in reaching social and daily channels has brought forward a thesis of national continuity being based on a "mythological and so-called scientific" basis (Yıldız, 2002, 225). Nation is now collective belongings in which factors like language and ethnicity form sources for constructions of identity through disciplines like history and archaeology. Ethnic and linguistic features, by emerging from a "common glorious past", form the basis for national identity and the feeling of belonging. Kemalist nationalism, through the synthesis created from the double-sidedness between citizenship and ethnicity, constructed a new identity. In order to form the construction of a new identity and culture, the search for a new and civilized origin has intensely come to the agenda during this period. At this point, we could see in particular that the new Republic has moved within Anatolian geography and that the wide political restrictions standing on the way of ethnic expression has now been got rid of. Following the Balkans, the Muslim subjects in the Middle East had also seceded.

Furthermore, two fundamental issues have arisen within Anatolian geography. The first of these was the acceptance of the "Turkish nation" as an eternal and never-ending reality into the social life and the feelings of ordinary Anatolian people. For this, the new regime has to discover a "longue durée" which was in accordance with origins of modern and secular legitimacy. In this context, Central Asian origin emerged as a valid and suitable basis.

Secondly, the Kemalist Republic was faced with the problem of responding to the claims of Greeks and Armenians over Anatolia. The existence of Turks in this geography within the known history was quite new and weak in supporting a claim of settlement. Therefore, in order to show that Turkish existence in Anatolia has not begun in 1071, the claim that prehistoric civilizations have come from Central Asian and Turkish origin has been brought to the agenda. Therefore, the two main tendencies of Turkish nationalism in the 1920's and 30's emerge as being of Central Asian origin and as Ancient Anatolian civilizations. The historical and territorial

origin of Turkish identity has attempted to be constructed around these two geographical poles (Copeaux, 2006, p. 51).

However, if an understanding based on citizenship in which the emphasis on Anatolia has come forward, it is dangerous for evoking the Islamic and Ottoman period. Therefore, the Islamic period and in particular, the Ottoman past has given way to the pre-Islamic past as one of the fundamental elements of the construction of national identity during the Kemalist period. As the historical basis of cultural unity, these non-Islamic factors would firstly bring Turkish identity forward and furthermore, these would come into contact with western civilization in order to support Kemalist modernity (Yıldız, 2002, p. 212).

Within this framework, the Turkish History Thesis has also been created as an image of an ethnic nationalism based on history and culture. In order to integrate with the civilizations of Anatolia, an ethnic mythology referring to Central Asia's primordialism has been systematized and officialized. This construction has also created the opportunity to establish an equal and even superior relationship with western civilization from an ethnic basis.

The most important event which makes the understanding of nationalism of the period concrete is the Turkish History Thesis. It also represents Turkish nationalism entering a new phase. The Committee for the Study of Turkish History within the Turkish Hearths that wrote the Thesis[1] comprised of important figures like Yusuf Akçura, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Fuat Köprülü and Afet İnan. *"The Guidelines of Turkish History"* (Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları) (1930), as the first major book of the Committee, presented the new thesis. It was based on universal civilizations being evaluated within the scope of Turkish history and from an ethnic perspective. In that sense, it deals with how Turkish tribes moving from Central Asia have civilized other parts of the world. In the book which exceeds 600 pages, only 37 pages has been dedicated to Ottoman history (1930, pp. 568-605). The Committee gathered the 1st Congress of History in 1932. In this congress, which Mustafa Kemal has personally attended, the genealogical tree of Turkish History was formed through

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[1] Following the closing down of Turkish Hearts later on, the organization taking the name of the Committee for the Study of Turkish History, has been attached to community centers and become an official institution.

"evidence" from the disciplines of geography, geology, anthropology and history. In his speech entitled *"Before History and on the Dawn of History"*, Afet İnan has said that Central Asia was both the homeland of the people which "the insides and outsides of their heads have been formed in a different way from all its other types of humans" and also the cradle of high culture of humanity (1932, p. 24). As a "short and definite answer" she has also added as the complementary words that the homeland of the Turk is Central Asia and that the only race creating culture and representing Central Asian group of people is the Turks (1932, p. 31).

As it can be perceived from this point, based on the History Thesis, Central Asia which is the unique foundation of world civilization is also a Turkish homeland. All the developments originating from here have also been assessed within this ethnic history. On the other hand, Anatolia has formed the most fertile territories contributing to this origin. Anatolian civilizations, going all the way back before history, have been the product of the development being created by the pieces of work and values of civilizations passed on by Central Asian societies as a result of migrations. It is clear that the History Thesis has triggered the metaphor of the "golden age" in the construction of national identity through history. It represents a "return to the essence" which refers to Central Asian origin and the myth of a first state.

Hence, the Turkish History Thesis starts the line of European civilization from ethnic territory which its own national identity is linked to. "The essence of the History Thesis is the migration of brachycephalic communities" (Copeaux, 2006, 54) of Central Asian origin. As an origin of national identity, a pre-Ottoman link based on the History Thesis also indicates sovereignty over Anatolian territories. Therefore, the understanding of a civilization constructing ethnic past combines with the assertion of domination over Anatolia. This is of course possible with the association of the roots accepted within the Western civilization line of Anatolia with the Turkish ethnicity. In this context, the thesis represents a quest for an "ethnocentric civilizaonist" identity.

Meanwhile, one of the responsibilities given to the Committee for the Study of Turkish History was to conduct historical research over Turkish language. For this purpose, the Committee for the Study of Turkish Language was formed. Works on linguistics have constituted an essential factor of national belonging ever since. Simplification in language has initially been suggested. At the same time, based on the History Thesis, they tried to prove that many languages are of Turkish origin. Going to extremes within this movement of simplification introduced the "Sun Language Theory" in the Third Language Convention (1936) as a new and more comprehensive approach. According to this theory, all languages are based on Turkish. The Turks, being among the first persons who were the first community feeling the necessity of a language, had produced the first words and over time, all languages have evolved as different versions of this original language (Çağaptay, 2009, pp. 249-256). During this period, language has especially functioned as an indication of perenniality. In this context, compared to archaeological surveys, since linguistic bonds could more easily and broadly be used, the claims about being autochthonous and ethnic and cultural influences have frequently been tried to voice by way of the philology.

Another institution that reflected the understanding of the period was the Faculty of Language, History and Geography which opened in 1935. The faculty was established in line with the understanding of the new language and in a way which incorporated fields like anthropology and archaeology in order to examine the ethnical history. Anthropology in particular has greatly come forth in this period. The concern with the concept of ethnicity in order to display national identity has opened the way for benefiting from the contributions of especially physical anthropology. Özdoğan has expressed that within historical research concerning ethnicity in this period, physical anthropology and the works directed towards confirming the superiority of the Turkish race has drawn attention (Özdoğan, 2001, p. 86). Western theoretic accumulation and the popular approaches of the period have particularly been met with approval. The approach of anthropologists, who have especially stressed the significance of Asia outside the line of Western civilization, has been interpreted and used within a pragmatic framework and sometimes it is also distorted. Eugene Pittard's name has mainly come forward in this area. Afet İnan had

completed her doctorate study together with this famous anthropologist. In an interesting point which displays the period's "pragmatism", on the point entailing civilization creating prehistoric circles, Pittard underlines Proto-Hittites of Brachycephalic and Central Asian origins. He asserted that these tribes which have taken on different names in recent times have taken the name Turkish in Anatolia (1937, p. 72). This approach has been interpreted as a justification for giving these tribes the name Turkish. The popularity of anthropology has displayed itself in various realms. Anthropometric research has been conducted on the bones discovered during the excavations of the period (Maksudyan, 2007, p. 94). By examining the skull of the Turkish person, a physical anthropologic map of it has tried to be made. One of the interesting researches within the field of anthropology has been the digging up of Architect Sinan's grave in order to research his morphological and scientific personality and the examination of his bones by a group of members of Türk Tarih Kurumu (the Turkish Historical Society) (Çağaptay, 2009, 257).

The reflections of ethnic belonging within national unity of the period could be seen through symbols. These ethnic symbols have existed in many sections of daily lives. One of the most important of these is the symbol of the "grey wolf". While the grey wolf figure has been inscribed on paper moneys, it has also become the symbols of institutions like the Institute of Turkology (Özdoğan, 2001, p. 86). The personal existence of Mustafa Kemal has also become one of the founding symbols of Kemalist nationalism (Yıldız, 2002, p. 211). One of the other symbols which have gained popularity in that period has been the Hittite Sun symbol. This symbol has also been used until recently in order to indicate several territorial belongings and historical institutions. Apart from the names of institutions like Sümerbank and Etibank, many streets have been given Sumerian names. Furthermore, Eti has started being preferred as a woman's name (Çağaptay, 2009, 248-249). The increasing popularity of the History Thesis has not only been the result of public institutions like municipalities, community centers and party organs, but has also been the result of a broad propaganda initiative including daily newspapers and journals (Çağatay, 2009, 246). Therefore, "the Thesis" has held a

large space in academic publications. On the other hand, through the congress, teachers have established the thesis within the education life.

In summary, this First Period of the Early epublic heavily witnessed civilizationist and racist motifs on a political and popular level within the context of construction of national identity. The Kemalist formula has "rediscovered" Anatolia as a basis of the relations of historical belonging and as a continuation of an ethnic essence. Furthermore, this approach has also been a unique attempt to construct the emphasis of Turkishness through its link with Western civilization. In this context, it has tried to establish the bonds of national identity through a "civilizationist nationalist" perception.

Similar to what Yeğen assume, the thesis was constructed by fundamental starting points like being founder of civilization and equivalent of the West. Therefore, it has brought to the agenda the assertion that the civilizationist emphasis constitutes a more fundamental point than ethnicist tendency (Yeğen, 1996, pp. 19-24). It is without doubt that as much as being ethnicist, the Turkish History Thesis has also made civilizationist references. Moreover, it has brought forth the claim of ownership over Anatolia as a dominant problem. These two points have led to harsh critics voiced by a more systematic Turkist movement emerging in the subsequent period; in other words, the Racist-Turanist tradition, being represented by Nihal Atsız ((Ertekin, 2009, p. 361). This point draws attention for being a factor which establishes the transition between humanist approach and the History Thesis as will be examined in the following section. In other words, this situation shows that a "civilizationist nationalist" approach, based on the History Thesis, also entails some cores which have prepared the second period between 1938 and 1950 of the cultural policies of the Early Republican Period.

CHAPTER 4

THE PERCEPTION OF HUMANISM AS "CIVILIZATIONIST NATIONALISM" IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

4.1 A GENERAL VIEW ON TURKISH HUMANISM

To understand westernization movements and humanism concept between 1938 and 1950 through its historical context, it is essential to consider cultural policies of former episode of early republican period. When these two episodes are viewed in terms of their reciprocation, some ruptures and continuities may be seen. It may be necessary to examine how the ruptures and continuities between these two episodes emerged. First of all, inherent contradictions and evolution of first episode's cultural policies created some differences. Similarly, nascent political and cultural conditions were effective on the emergence of these differences. In addition to these structural and world-political dimensions of the process, features and preferences of prominent cultural and political figures were also efficient to mould the new cultural perception of the term.

At the beginning, it may be focus on the basic inclinations and general cultural appearance of the former period. The solution which was found to ease the tension between Westernism and nationalism appears as an "ethnocentric civilizationism" formula (Bora, 2009, p. 23) which was constructed to exceed mechanical and sharp differentiation between culture and civilization in the perceptions of Tanzimat and Gökalp and as a secular fiction excluded Ottoman heritage. This civilizationist emphasis and the extremist Westernism formed by Turkish History Thesis in this period also helped build the approach of second period. Mainly two common points ties these periods to each other: the attempt to form a relationship with West through national history (or vice versa partly) and the rejection of Muslim-Ottoman inheritance.

This formula linked the concept of "Western civilization" and the idea of "nationalism" by two different ways. Firstly, progressivism and modernism were connected to nationalism. On the other hand, its nationalism approach shaped within

a Western and civilizationist form and motive.[2] According to this perception, the Turkish Revolution both enhanced us to find our "real essence" and authentic identity and opened up new horizons in order to reach civilization idea by means of integration with the West (Engin, 1938, p. 25). It was signified that the most crucial ways of this progress were history and language reforms.

After mentioning these common points, it can be argued that the period between 1938 and 1950 had a relatively distinct ideological formation and cultural politics. Firstly, inherent inadequacies and contradictions of the Turkish History Thesis constituted one of the basic dynamics of this transition. In the thirties, Turkism put Turkish History Thesis forward on account of overcoming some antagonisms between the universal and the local or "being ourselves" and "being like the West". The aim was to produce historical and intellectual roots of an "Anti-West Westernization" in order to model the "enemy". Erich Auerbach stated this point in his letter posted from Turkey to Walter Benjamin. He formulated this way of thinking as "a nationalism which is fanatically anti-traditionist: rejection of all cultural heritage of Islam, bringing into a fantastic connection with a primitive Turkish identity and the goal of gaining a victory against Europe that is hatred but still admired." (Koçak, 2001, p. 393). In that respect, a "glorious past" and "primordial state" were also constructed.

This historical fiction which referred to Turkish Central Asian past was inadequate to promote territorial sense of belonging and spatially-built historical roots of national consciousness. As the historical background of national identity, it was not possible to be applied in the sense of an essential and peculiar source. "Ancient Turkish history and culture was too far both in historical and geographical manners and so, it remained as a synthetic fiction that did not lend itself to a popular romanticism" (Bora, 2009, p. 45). At this point, one can refer to persuasiveness and coherence that Smith mentions (2002, p. 228) in the sense that specifications should have been presented in an historical myths and narration might be referred. In this context, the Turkish History Thesis lacked both of these imaginative qualifications and components.

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[2] For a classical and typical example, see Saffet Engin (Engin, 1938).

As mentioned in the second chapter, Turkish History Thesis has a dilemma between its fictions in relation to its claim to purity in ethnic roots and autochthony on the one hand and its scopes of being connected to West and "a company of civilization", on the other (Aydın, 2002, p. 415). The Thesis with an overwhelming ethnocentric dimension was unacceptable and frightening for the Western world. Accordingly, it could not contribute to the new regime which was willing to build a strong and equal relation with West and also to be part of the West. Because the Thesis instrumentalized and nationalized the "Western Civilization" as the ingredient of "national essence and being", even when it blessed the supremacy of the West (Aydın, 2002, p. 415).

To hide hierarchical relations with the West or to soothe its effect, the regime tried to reverse this relation by way of attributing Western history and culture to its own "long durée" and ethnic mythology. On the other hand, its synthetic dimensions were so extreme that it exceeded the limits of a creative imagination and lack of any historical data. In other words, it was far from to support the idea of Westernization in spite of its favourable presumptions about Western civilization.

In addition to its ethnocentric and irredentist emphases, the most essential problem of this "ethnic civilizationist" paradigm was that it was inadequate to explain why we had to be "like-the-West" if the goal was really to aspire to return to Middle Eastern roots. Historical lineages of Western civilization were drawn by the modern sciences like archaeology and anthropology within a Eurocentric framework. The new regime had to refuse this Western perception of civilization. To endeavour to be like the West remained as a weak argument against this refusal of Western perception of the civilization.

Thus, it became important to get involved in widely accepted ideas about historical course and civilization and exclude and humiliate other figures of world history, mainly the East as a more common and more convenient way of thinking. From this point of view, Anatolia became a symbol of "civil adequacy" and "national coexistence" as a historical space and the founder of civilization. Hence, it was necessary to re-construct this national territory within its historical and archaeological connotations in accordance with modern requirements. Here,

humanism emerged as a new instrument of incorporation into the West and a new form of the project of "civilizationist nationalism" included in a "return to essence" and a peculiar imagination of national history and territory. Although this imagination did not eliminate the ethnic perception, it substantially smoothed the ethnic assumptions of the former period and in a sense, laid aside irredentist references and the Central Asia-based mythological fictions. As a result, "research directed to peculiar Turkish "vision of world" failed to keep the possession of being satisfactory, because of that the passionate enthusiasm driving along Kemalism began to fall down" (Couppeaux, 1998, p. 55).

In addition to these dynamics, the general conditions of World War II and the rising idea of fascism became a threatening force also gave rise to the transformation of the dominant intellectual and political approach to nationalism. In fact, irredentist and racist thoughts started to become a substantial threat against territorial integrity and these ideas began to collect proponents at a fast pace and popularized in these years. Therefore, regarding rising fascism as a danger transformed basic paradigms of nationalism intended for the civilizationist, humanist and territorial notions. This daily political effect framed main axes of nationalist imagination forms.

Lastly and correlatively, predominant politicians and men of culture influenced the transformation by means of their qualifications and inclinations. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was the patron for the Turkish History Thesis and the thesis lost this advantage after his death. On the other hand, his successor, İnönü was far from supporting the thesis. It may be mentioned that his term of leadership symbolised a comprehensive and total attempt for Westernization. It has been also claimed that he is also important for the predominance of the concept of the humanism and the latter became "a semi-official cultural policy" (Oktay, 2002, p. 233) using his views and support.[3] Similarly, Hasan-Âli Yücel seems the most crucial figure in relation to humanism and the related arguments as both thinker and politician. In this sense, Koçak's coining of the term as "Yücel's Turkish Humanism" seems appropriate (Koçak, 2001, p. 393).

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[3] For a more detailed view about Inonu's personel contributions, see Turan (2003, pp. 216-217) and Halman (Halman, 1999, pp. 87-92).

Yücel was interested in the main problems of education and culture since 1929 when he was appointed as education inspector. He was engaged in all the advances related to culture and art in early republican period. At this point, his intellectual aspect as well as his activism was distinguished. His interests were formed by reference to general arguments and processes of the term. For instance, he was intensively engaged with the problems about script and language in the process of 'Alphabet Revolution' (Coşkun, 2007, p. 34).

Afterwards, as representor of Ministry, Hasan-Âli Yücel joined Mustafa Kemal's Anatolian excursion that had been planned to take the pulse of people after Free Party experiment in 1930. After one year, Yücel took charge of the foundation of the Turkish Language Institution. Then, he dwelled upon the issues about culture, science and art along with his political life as a member of parliament and the minister of education. In particular, he was the dominant figure of humanist thought as an intellectual and also a politician. Yücel came to the forefront in terms of every step taken with respect to humanist approach such as the translation office and translation of classics, founding of classical branch in high schools, State Painting and Sculpture Exhibition, and reforming the Conservatoire. Actually, after he handed over the baton to Şemsettin Sami Sirer, the period which is symbolized with characteristics mostly related to humanism tended to regression and closed.

On the basis of these fragments, one can try to make a generalization about the term. Firstly, the general perception of humanism was oriented to enrich the idea of Westernization socially and culturally. Likewise, cultural policies reflected a basic inclination in the meaning of the "integrating with civil world" in the framework of the humanism concept. Moreover, collaterally, nationalism was modified as unification process of national integrity and masses in the framework of common ideas and myths and what is more, its reproduction and domination in daily life. Nationalism was reformed by means of some scientific disciplines like history and archaeology in accordance with the notions of "the Western civilization", "humanism" and "secularism".

The idea of humanism and the perception of classical culture found the basis of modern civilization in the classical age, in the world of Ancient Greek and Rome. This view reflected main ways of thinking of the arguments about humanism in Turkey (Sinanoğlu, 1980, p. 92-94). However, at the same time humanism was constructed a project of "return to the essence". This was a complementary and representative part of a "social engineering" with a civilizationist emphasis.

The Main axis of cultural politics in this period based on the idea of humanism referred to Roman-Greek roots within a Eurocentric framework. The chief purpose of this approach seemed to reconstruct historical roots of national identity within a new and civilizationist context. In other words, the basic formulation of approach was as follows: "our roots can be discovered thanks to the roots of the West". It was also put forward by Yahya Kemal that the search for historical roots of the West and touching upon its aesthetic and literal values by way of "humanist consciousness" rendered possible to have a peculiar and authentic self-consciousness beyond the imitation of the West (Koçak, 2001, 397). This implied an idea that "locality could be touched upon thanks to universality". On the other hand, the reduction of "being universal" and humanism to the framework of the West and Western examples of cultural and artistic works and additionally, identification of these as the elements which lacked of any connection with "us" and totally located out of "us" brought about some unfavourable consequences. This partial and excluding view rendered "the pursuit of humanist consciousness" to a part of "an alteration of civilization project" in relation to cultural sphere of national identity process.

4.2 THE BASIC COMPONENTS OF THE CONCEPTION OF HUMANISM

In accordance with the above mentioned tension, humanism approach will be evaluated in this thesis within a binary framework. The basic implementations of the term in the sphere of cultural policies can be made sense of within this binary perspective and what is more, the main axes of the perception of humanism can be followed from the point of correlations and internal tensions of this binary framework. As a result, it may be asserted that the large scale differences between

basic objectives and consequences of the argument stemmed from these internal tensions of the binary structure.

Thus, the conception of humanism may be classified into these two fundamental components:

- art, philology and translation studies

- history and archaeology studies

The first part of the approach was an attempt to express aesthetical links with the West on account of creating "humanist consciousness"[4]. On the other hand, the second one was the attempt to constitute a secular and anti-Ottoman culture and history perception as a ground of construction of a civilizationist nationalist tradition with an extensive emphasis on the West. These two elements melted into each other. On the other hand, they had contradictory ideational extensions. These intellectual dilemmas rendered the concept of humanism incapable of accomplishing its goals. In fact, the second part of the concept made the first one impossible. This discrepancy may be associated with the difference stated by Yahya Kemal between Ziya Gökalp and Tevfik Fikret based on distinction of aesthetics and scientificness (Koçak, 2001, pp. 394-395) or as more generally, as a conflict between the ideal of civilization and the nationalist perception.

Philology and translation studies enabled a complete and comprehensive view with reference to consciousness of humanism and classical thought. Besides, it was involved in some aesthetical and linguistic instruments shaping imaginative world of people. Similarly, it can be associated with universal and anthropocentric aspects of the thought of humanism in relation to its goals about individual and spiritual development. In this sense, perceiving the classical age and languages by way of not only knowledge but also feelings emerged via being a part of this aesthetic and literal universe. In this way, the fundamental goals of humanism and cultural basis of modern world could be touched upon. Thus, the concept of humanism may be absorbed as the common heritage of humanity. Similarly, it rendered possible considering histories and cultures of the non-Western world. In another words, it

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[4] The notion "Humanist consciousness" was taken from Sinanoğlu(1980).

could be perceived to humanism within a universal perspective. Humanism could be considered within a historical and total framework through studying the contributions of other cultures. Approaching humanism within the context of aesthetical dimensions and universal emphases could integrate the vernacular past with the historical fragments of West on a stable and functional ground. In fact, the historical heritage of humanism comes from diverse cultural and geographical origins. For example, middle age of Islamic world was also a fundamental cradle for the thought of humanism (Ortaylı, 1998, p. 372). This resource of humanist thought took part in classical works translated into Turkish in this period (Koçak, 2001, p. 396).

However, it should be underlined that these studies were related to general conjuncture, political preferences and cultural policies. Besides, they were also connected to historical construct and archaeological studies mentioned before as the second component. This dimension was brought to agenda alongside a universality which provided the opportunity of the comprehension of the West together with its historical and intellectual bases. Additionally, it can be seen that the pursuit of locality and peculiarity which constructed national identity and conscious with reference to historical and cultural narration with "modern" emphasis based on humanism. In this sense, the humanist perception of history and culture was distinct in comparison with the former period of early republican era. The main guideline of this approach was a project of "Turkish Humanism" composed of a historical fiction that put ethnic essence on the back burner, a cultural view based on a Eurocentric civilizationism and an intensively emphasized universality.

It can be stated that Ottomanness was excluded as the symbol of "the past as otherness" (Bora, 2009, p. 39) in accordance with the conception shaped by the Turkish History Thesis. This point is very crucial in analyzing the period of humanist culture. Again, this point adversely affected both the processes of constructing a new nationalist culture and history comprehension and establishing a new connection way with the West. I will try to follow this point throughout the chapter, especially when I evaluate the conceptualization of humanism in the last section. Here, it should suffice to argue that the period was characterized by the attempt devoted to invention of a civilizationist nationalist tradition based on a

secular and anti-Ottoman perception of history and culture. To sum up, the arguments conducted around the concept of humanism can be analyzed from the point of a binary structure with reference to both aesthetical and political aims. It is clear that these two dimensions were connected with each other. Firstly, national identity process pulled its historical belonging motives and aesthetical faces together through strong aesthetical fertileness of argument. Secondly, the advances in the field of art and universal culture were nourished under the auspices of the nationalist perception. In fact, distinguished intellectuals and politicians of the era approached the argument within this context; a binary structure was composed of engaged faces. However, none of these two spheres can be ignored or totally reduced to one another. Substantially, these are marched together with their internal conflicts and incompatibilities under the cover of an image reflecting a perfect harmony.

To analyze this problem with its diverse expansions in subsequent sections of my study, firstly, I will try to review philology, art and translation studies which can be seen as aesthetical and universal dimensions of the thought of humanism.

4.2.1 Humanism as Aesthetic Consciousness: Art, Philology and Translation of Classics

Yücel stated that the "first and foremost conception and feeling of the soul of humanism starts by means of adopting works of art" (Koçak, 2001, p. 396). Emphasizing this aspect of humanism, he symbolised the general way of approach to humanism. Thus, the absorption of aesthetical patterns and artistic works is essential in the sense that it was one of the main motives of the conception. These aesthetical and linguistic studies reflected the agenda of universalist- Westernist intellectuals in accordance with political and cultural preferences of the era.

Yücel organized the "Exhibition and Congress of First Turkish Publishing" on 1-3 May 1939, in the very early months of his Ministry of Education. The general problems of education and publishing world were evaluated in the congress. Moreover, the participants tried to determine which books of world literature would be translated to Turkish. In this way, Yücel showed his attention to translation of Classics. He said in the opening speech that "The Republican Turkey wishes and intends to be an elective part of Western culture and thought and is obliged to

translate intellectual pieces of civilized world and strengthen its character with the perception and thought of the universe" (Yücel, 1993, p. 4).

Yücel also organized "First State Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture" on 31th December 1939. It is clear that he paid attention to artistic sides of the connections with humanism by mediation of the West. Similarly, the foundation of conservatory was also another essential point in the name of the enhancement of the "humanist consciousness" while this occasion, Yücel mentioned that Western music should perceived "as if belong to us" and adopted (Koçak, 2001, p. 397).

At this point, it can be seen that the most essential parts of these initiatives were philology studies and translation of the classics. In the framework of the basic assumptions of the term, the quest about classical age and culture particularly concentrated on these fields. In 1940, the foundation of classical branch in high schools can be stated as the significant step that opened the new period. These were aimed at establishing a bond with classical age and the thought of humanism by way of educating next generations. Suat Sinanoğlu considers the foundation of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography[5] and taking part of Greek and Latin Philologies among the initial departments and the addition of Latin language as an obligatory course to the curricula of all the philology departments as a starting point of the humanist perception. Indeed, Sinanoğlu is right in his assessment that these events should be perceived as the early examples of the humanist approach (Sinanoğlu, 1980).

Another point mentioned by Sinanoğlu that "the fact that the teaching of classical language and literature based on the quest of Anatolian history" (Sinanoğlu, 1980, p. 94). In fact, these fields evaluated as the apprentice of the pursuits of "ethnical roots" in accordance with the popular interests of the former era. This point also implies that the transitions between two dimensions mentioned above. Thus, the involvement of classical age denoted a historical construction and the passion about "roots" and "ethnic essence". Ortaylı mentions that the high schools where the classical branches were founded did not teach classical Greek language and instead

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[5] It seems meaningful that this faculty is sometimes called in English as "The Faculty of Humanities" even today.

focused on literature (Ortaylı, 1998, p. 378). In this manner, the perception mainly reduced to one dimension and the arguments were instrumantalized.

4.2.2 Humanism as National Imagination: Uses of History and Archaeology

In that respect the concept of humanism is subsequent to the earlier period's civilizationist nationalist approach. The main target here is claiming possession on the political territories, and thereby historically forming territorial grounds of political sovereignty and bringing individual constituents together through the bond of patriotism.

Under these conditions, the necessity for giving insight of a new imagination emerged. This new imagination should reflect ambitions and priorities of the new regime. Similarly, its political and cultural targets should be integrated with ideological assumptions of the new regime. In this sense, the search for new synthesis came to the agenda in this period. Under this synthesis ethnic origin was not denied, but the emphasis over it mostly diminished. This synthesis as the constructive element of the national imagination did not tend to focus on historically far geographical destinations and extreme constructs, in contrast led to the present territories and to the cultures and states that emanated from this land. The most prominent feature of this synthesis was its Westernist and civilizationist emphasis in addition to the secular and "ethnic purity" presumptions. As Açık points out, humanism gradually began to be regarded as the condition for nationality instead of being admitted solely as the education schedule and narration ideal (Açık, 1998, p. 115).

At this point, in the first place the prominent figure of this period, Hasan-Âli Yücel's cultural and artistic initiations and their relationship with the new constructs of culture and history is worth mentioning. In that respect, these initiatives within the sphere of humanism related with the historical and cultural origins of the process of creation of identity and the construction of "us". In this sense, historically and culturally identity comprehension about "us" takes the West as the reference point. More precisely, the emphasis on the universalism and civilization associated with the West's products of culture and art gained importance. In a sense, Yücel regarded the

translation activities and chamber of translation as "contributive to the Turkey's membership to the Western cultural community" (Coşkun, 2007, p. 79).

At the same time, by means of that Western outcome, Yücel mentions about finding out the "essence" and turning back to the "already Westernist essence". His objection to Gökalp's "Turkification, Islamization and Modernization" formula lies here. He wants to switch it with the approach as "being Turkish". Yücel emphasizes necessity of feeling and cogitating Turkishness instead of the Turkification. Likewise in his speech for the establishment of the State Conservatory, defined as a new stage of Turkish humanism by Yücel, he asserted that the adoption of Western music does not mean separation from Turkishness. Our everything is "national since the society defines itself as the people of common history and shared future." (Koçak, 2001, p. 390). In that way he stresses both the process of "invention of tradition" which covers historical and social constructs together with what the basis of this process are.

Accordingly, this new synthesis or construct signifies the amalgamation of the national essence with the Western civilization and its cultural products. More precisely, that means these two constructs were accepted as the one and the same. Without doubt, it is a reactive quest against the binary oppositions of nationalism with Westernism and nativeness with universalism. At the same time, it is a reaction to the earlier period's sharp distinctions and eclectic integration attempts. Studies of history and archaeology composed two fundamental grounds of this approach.

These studies define the concept of humanism, which was the main axis of the cultural policies of the period, within the cultural domain. This point shows how political domain coincides with the cultural one. In a parallel way, Gellner figures out the creation of national consciousness by means of homogeneous and high culture (Gellner, 2008, pp. 113-117). The masses by returning to their historical and territorial roots and attaching themselves to their shared past and ideals are associated.

Yavuz Abadan article (1943) titled "Towards National Humanism" discusses finding out 'ourselves' and associates it with the nationally labelled search for the self, language and history. The conception of the world of Turk is defined as "the

romantic route which should not straggle from the rational diligence towards mysticism" (Açık, 1998, p. 122). In his article subsequent to the former one, he mentions that humanism in our context refers rights and duties of being a nation in contrast to the context of the enlightenment.

Therefore, while he mentions romanticism, he proclaims the reflections of the understanding of art and nationalist sympathy of the nations which experienced belated nationalism. At this point, particularly in the case of Abadan, the inner controversies and irregularities appear again. Humanism in general is connected with both enlightenment and secularism. History and archaeology are regarded and emphasized as the scientific way which could convey the truth to us. His approach indicates a romantic route for the feeling of belonging and national sympathy, which brings us to the slippery slope of the humanism debates. Humanism within the political conditions of this era swings back and forth from rising racism to territorial patriotism. In addition to that, the meeting point of these different imagination comes from their understanding of humanism which is made up of two fundamental components; first one is the patriotism as key to the universal territorial legitimacy assertion and the basis for the feeling of co-existence, second one is nationalism as the bridge which enables connection to the idealized western civilizations.

The journal *Yücel* also internalized a parallel approach, although its nationalist and essentialist emphasis was relatively low and did not contain overtones of romanticism. In the article titled *"Our Common Essay"*, the authors pointed out a route map as "finding ourselves by means of humanism" and that should be followed in order to accomplish the improvement in the Turkish art (1940, p. 6)

Following the publication of this volume of the journal, this phrase began to appear as the epitaph and had a definitive role for the content of the publication. In another article, Orhan Burian stresses the importance of history and asserts that our humanism can be formed only by doing research on our unknown past rather than imitating Greek, Latin and Enlightenment of Europe and at this point he cherished Yahya Kemal's historical consciousness (Burian, 1940, p. 72).

In this context, another scholar who is noteworthy to deal with in this period is Hilmi Ziya Ülken. The journal *İnsan*, which he published with friends, seems to be the most significant and serious publication due to the vital debates undertaken. The two books he produced in this period, "Humanist Patriotism" (1998) and "The Nation and Consciousness of History" (2008) are the best instances of how humanism was depicted as a nationalist imagination that emphasizes historical and territorial origins. According to Ülken, "in order to pursue a true nationalism, a broad humanism movement is necessary." (Açık, 1998, p. 115). Evidently, for Ülken, humanism constitutes a way for finding oneself, a production of the synthesis of origins of oneself.

In the introduction of *İnsan*, as the fundamental purposes, to "reveal the national role of partaken in history" and "to cognize the Western civilization through its essentials as a part of us" were listed together (İnsan, 1938, p. 1). At the same time, a primordial reading of history, parallel to the period's general survey, holds a place. Accordingly, it is believed that the position that was assured in the stream of history was lost because of the Ottomans. This condition is articulated through the metaphor of "sleeping beauty." History envisages an essential that does not change and designates a golden age (İnsan,1938, p. 1).

In the same issue, in his article "Against Tanzimat," Ülker regards "systematic and enduring translation" and "penetration into the Western science" and "to cognize the homeland" as the duties ascribed to the Turkish intellectual. Here, "to find oneself" is considered as the most important problem (Ülken, 1938, p. 6). Nonetheless, its relationship with the goals regarding the West is not well explained, as it is the case in the general argument. The question of "what is going to be the West's role in returning to oneself?" is not clearly answered.

Hilmi Ziya Ülken carries the emphasis on peculiarity further and discusses that the problems can be solved by not detaching the ties with the past, but instead, by regarding them as a source for constituting the present. He conveys this as: "the Arab-Persian would have a role with Latin-Greek." (Ülken, 1938, p. 12). In this sense, to be predicated on the West, he rejects the elimination of other elements and the rejection of cultural heritage.

In his article, "Greek Miracle" he also voices patriotism concept, which highlights the dependent territorial relations of the period, by mentioning the Sumer-Anatolian influence on Greek culture (Ülken, 1938, pp. 187-188). Actually, this emphasis virtually manifests itself in the archaeology studies which led to an opening in this period and acquired a diverse phase.

Archaeological studies of this period were oriented to Anatolia in parallel to the historical integrity of geography from prehistory to antiquity, which was the favourite period of early republic (Aydın, 2002, pp. 416-420). In this novel period, Arif Mufit Mansel stands out in the field of archaeology.

The first book of "The Aegean and the Greek History" (Mansel A. M., 1947) of the book series of World History, by the Turkish History Foundation should also be assessed in this context. To start the world history from this period also displays the main interest of that period. Mansel, in this study, without mentioning the ethnic origin problem of Anatolia, focuses on Greek history and emphasizes the Anatolian ethnic origin in the ethnicity formation of Antique Greek. According to him, most of the Akhas passed from Anatolia to Greece through the islands. Mansel states that "Akhas were not a pure Indo-Germanic race. Instead, they were formed as a result of the merge of Anatolian and European hordes" (Mansel, 1947, pp. 62-63). He tried to support this thesis by conveying evidence based on mythology and etymology.

In the context of the general understanding of the period, Mansel's interest in Archaic Greek and Rome is nourished by patriotism based on a claim of making civilization. In this sense, Anatolia is regarded as a genuine historic-territorial item. His notes on South Anatolia about Rome also reflect this point. He states that "All monuments are not Roman alongside the fact that they belonged to the Roman period. These are Anatolian elements constructed by the children of Anatolia. In order to assert superiority of Anatolian Art compared to Roman Art, Pamphylia (near Antalya) is more convenient with the isolated structure against to external effects than Ionia. In this sense, it is a *national duty* to study the monuments placed in this fertile cultural region of Anatolia." (Redford & Ergin, 2010, p.187).

4.3 THE MAIN FIGURES WHO HAVE SHAPED THE IDEA OF HUMANISM

In order to deal with the issue in a more elaborate and concrete way, it will be necessary to emphasize three prominent names: Hasan Ali Yücel, Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Arif Müfit Mansel. It is significant that each of these three individuals is particularly concerned with numerous fields in which humanist idea is reflected upon. They also address the issue with its different dimensions on political and intellectual levels.Therefore, examining these figures is important to draw a general framework of this approach and making a satisfactory analysis. Based on the main assumptions and the areas being affected by the idea of humanism in Turkey, it could be observed that these figures have a representative role upon this approach. Therefore, concerning these figures, the role of humanism in the process of the creation of national identity and construction of history and territory will be emphasized.

In the beginning, it is necessary to indicate that Hasan-Âli Yücel left his mark on his period and the humanist movement both as a politician and a bureaucrat and also as an intellectual. He first identified the aesthetic dimensions of the discussion. Here, he shaped events like the activity of translation or opening of the conservatory with his aesthetic approaches based on a "universal culture" and incorporated these as pieces of the humanism movement. Moreover, he strongly emphasized combining these initiatives, which forms a national conscience, with the construction of history and territory. Therefore, Hasan-Âli Yücel is the model who most comprehensively reflects the general approaches of that period. Also for being a politician, he had an influence over every intellectual development in that period.

Similarly, Hilmi Ziya Ülken highlighted the concept of "human" and the idea of humanism. By emphasizing "civilization transition", he wrote different works related to the various intellectual dimensions of this process. In particular, his book on the problem of translation entitled *"The Role of Translation in the Periods of Awakening"* (Ülken, 1997) displays his relations with the aesthetical field and his universalist side. Furthermore, by synthesizing humanism with the idea of nationalism, Ülken brings forth the notions of history and homeland.

Last of all, Arif Müfit Mansel also stands out with his works of history and archaeology that were written between 1937 and 1950. Within this framework, he conducted research especially on the history and archaeology of the classical age. He concentrated on the historical and cultural inheritance of Anatolia. Due to these general areas of concern, he clearly reflects certain intellectual tendencies of that period. As a figure with a significant function in the area of archaeology within the framework of the historical and territorial construction of national conscience during this period, he has gained prominence particularly for stressing the archaeological inheritance of the Classical Age Anatolia and the Aegean and Greek Civilizations. From this angle, he is a critical figure standing at the common ground of archaeology and history, which are the two powerful providers of the feelings of national belonging, and the inheritance of humanist culture. Moreover, Mansel provides a valuable source to the issue for nationalism being reconstructed among society and for being the point of intersection for archaeological, aesthetical, and scientific references.

4.3.1 Hasan-Âli Yücel: Politics, Culture and Humanism: "A Full Entry into Western Civilization Based on National Identity"

By examining Hasan-Âli Yücel, the main features of the issue will be comprehensively displayed. Moreover, we will try to present the approach of Yücel under the identity of being a politician and an intellectual. Instead of explaining his activities in detail, I will try to concentrate upon analyzing his thoughts. It is generally expressed that the period's cultural issues show parallellism with political power; in other words, political and cultural preferences in that period have been as close as never been before in other periods. As the Minister of National Education of that period, Hasan-Âli Yücel was also intensely busy with issues of aesthetics, culture, art, education and science. At the same time, he carried out many initiatives in these fields. His ideas and works in this period also put forth the main political and intellectual tendencies of the humanist approach. His deep marks exist in all dimensions (aesthetical, political) and in all areas (translation, conservatory, history, archaeology etc.) of the matter. Within this framework, his characteristic which brings the political and aesthetical area of the discussion together becomes visible. In

other words, through a study of his influence, the proximity of the aesthetical dimension of the humanist approach with its political dimension which comprises history and identity could be revealed.

As Kayalı has also expressed, the intellectual world of Hasan-Âli Yücel and the prominent intellectuals of that period were shaped by two main philosophical and cultural systems of idea: nationalism and humanism (Kayalı, 1997, pp. 13-14). During this period, these two have somehow tried to balance each other out and to carry out their conflicting relations between them through common ideals (civilization, modernity etc.). Therefore, while analyzing how Yücel understands humanism, we will firstly try to explain how he perceived nationalism and the key motives shaping his nationalism. Moreover, by expressing his view on cultural issues, we will try to observe how he combined this view with issues of history and archaeology. In other words, within the framework of nationalist humanism, we will examine his views concerning history and archaeology which are parallel to his cultural approach.

Before examining Yücel's understanding of nationalism, it would be appropriate to first see how he defines nation and nationality. He defines nationality as "a group of people knowing and recognizing themselves, having a side which is worth knowing and recognizing, and simply possessing a personality" (Yücel, 1998, p. 146). On the other hand, he defines nation as "a group whose personality has been determined" (Yücel, 1998, p. 146). Somewhere else, it is stated that "the entity known as society will obtain the qualification of a nation once its conscience becomes perfect" (Yücel, 1998, p. 136).

As the Minister of National Education, who was sensitive to the cultural issues of that period, he has accepted nation as a natural and never-ending eternal reality, with reflecting a primordial view. According to him, nation is a never-ending eternal entity and a natural phenomenon. Parallel to evolutionary thought and the understanding of bourgeois liberal nationalism of the nineteenth century, without rejecting the individual and the common values of humanity, Yücel accepts the nation as one of the complementary elements of these natural constructions, similar to intertwined circles. He believes that the universal problems of the world of culture

and art and their individual existential, philosophical origins cannot be separated from the nation's quest for itself and acquiring consciousness. For Yücel, the phenomenon of nation and nationalism is a resort within the historical development of humanity as a universal reality. Furthermore, Yücel crowns his naturalist perspective in relation to nationalism with an anthropomorphist viewpoint. According to this, nations, just like individuals, "possess an ideal as a point they regard as very far, but take the chance of reaching". By drawing the nation towards it, this ideal forms a source of power. This power is the "national will" (Yücel, 1998, p. 5). Therefore, Yücel also expresses the nation as people coming together beyond legal and political relations within the framework of certain goals. In this way, he emphasizes the nation's subjective dimensions related to the realms of feelings and meaning. According to this, nation is a union of feelings and ideas in which people come together for honourable goals. For this reason, national will is "a great truth emerging from within each Turk" (Yücel, 1998, p. 6). In this context, Yücel expresses the nation's subjective existence in relation to conscience and creation. He states that "Just like the soul which gives meaning to a substance, only national will could compensate for a nation's material weaknesses" (Yücel, 1998, p. 7). Nation is natural and a concrete and objective reality. Moreover, it must also be established in the minds and hearts as a union of feeling and belief. According to Yücel, what must be done is to "hear and discover our Turkishness" (Yücel, 1998, p. 185). The main goal is to "transform the Turkish community into a nation" through books and the press (Yücel, 1993, p. 5) and he states that "the exclamation of I am a Turk has been imponderable years ago, even for its owners" (Yücel, 1993, p. 166). It is clear that within the historical movements of humanity, this transformation is a move forward towards the future and civilization and is therefore a process which comprises all individual and collective positive characteristics. At the same time, it represents a struggle for existence and identity. Here, the republican revolution constitutes the critical point. The republican period is the "Renaissance of Turkishness" (Yücel, 1993, p. 168; Yücel, 1998, p. 182), and "going towards the bald and principle idea is the main quality of national achievement" (Yücel, 1993, p. 168). Actually, within his nationalist approach, Yücel's frequent mentioning of the "Renaissance" and "movement towards the origin" represents a typical "sleeping beauty" metaphor

among the main assumptions of primordialism. Accordingly, this sudden transformation and process of splitting expressed by republican revolutions stands for a return to a cultural origin and reaching a national identity. In his words, "the last revolutionary stage is for Turkish history to shake off these mixed understandings and to discover their selves by fully complying with European culture, which is based on positive sciences and is in conformity with their own naturalist character at most" (Yücel, 1998, p. 184). In other words, complying with European culture would actually mean that we would return to our naturalist character and origin. Therefore, we should attempt to revive and enliven our past (Yücel, 1998, p. 184).

In Hasan-Âli Yücel's statements and essays, the issue of nation and nationalism are fundamental. It perhaps, stands at the most central point which encompasses all the problems entailed. Yücel also emphasizes the significance of nation in terms of its relations with individuals. This is the only possible way to come existence heroisms, supremacies, virtues, and great creators within the fields of science and business that the national will gains an insight into individuals (Yücel, 1998, p. 5). Somewhere else, he states: "While the individual, as long as being an individual, is bound to fading away as if a leaf breaking off its branch, it will stay alive, similar to a leaf maintaining its freshness, as long as it remains attached to the great entity called nation" (Yücel, 1998, p. 92).

The people within national collective existence and a common past are connected to each other through the ideals of today and the future and this way, reach eternity: "within myself, I only see society as eternal" (Yücel, 1998, p. 136). Therefore, he reinforces the significance of nation which he defined as the perfect society. He continues in the following way: "Everything within me can die, but this great organism which existed before me and which will continue to exist after me is eternal. This concealing entity which will carry what was given to it to eternity with its existence and which will rescue it from dying off must be more sacred for us than anything else" (Yücel, 1998, p. 136). Each individual will "become more human, grow, improve and become eternal" in the amount of how much of their entire power they give to this sacred community in which they are a member of (Yücel, 1998, p.

137). At this point, the nation becomes the most fundamental value which forms us and becomes blessed as an inseparable and more superior part of our existence.

While the nation is blessed, the individual is also not neglected. According to Yücel, the individual has a relationship with the society in which they mutually bring forth each other's existence. Thus, contrary to Gökalp's formula that ignores the individual, he proposes a novel and more individualist synthesis. His viewpoint could be understood with the following statement: "However much I am living with everything I took from him, I will make him live as much with what I will give him. This is the correct meaning of there is no individual, there is a community" He presents his new formulation in the following way: "There is an individual, because there is a community. I exist, because we exist"(Yücel, 1998, p. 140). Here, an understanding of nation is also created which does not eliminate or deny the existence of an individual. The nation is a main element of belonging which brings together individuals. It is almost a social part of an individual's identity. In this context, while it constructs the individual as a historical and social entity, at the same time it gives meaning to their life with the values it brings. Yücel believes that "actually what we mean by individual is a composition. The individual is an entity which carries the inheritance of its generation within its organism, hides the origins of the numerous experiences of groups of people within its soul and is shaped by the countless effects of the society in which he is born to and the effects even when he is in the mother's womb" (Yücel, 1998, p. 199).

It is quite clear that for Yücel, the issue of nationalism has a very fundamental significance. He especially emphasizes that as a union of feeling and consensus, the nation should be established within the cultural field. His works can always be seen as the various ways for reaching this goal. Here, we should try to understand the content of this new approach which he emphasized as "discovering ourselves" and "returning to ourselves". Moreover, the issue of how the content of this national identity could be filled comes to surface. How could the existing "proto-national" elements and new elements be combined within the process of creating a nation? Through which motifs and patterns would the construct of nationalism be created? How would an "invention of tradition", which would increase nationalist feelings, be

formed? Now, we should try to examine Yücel's approach to answer these questions. As expressed in a line of poetry, Yücel has said that "commemorating the past is different, daily politics is different / national dream is different, national reality is different" (Yücel, 1960, p. 75).

During the period of humanist culture, the political situation determined the guidelines of nationalist imagination. The priorities of the new regime and the geographical connotations of ethnic mythology based on a territorial foundation are different. Similarly, the new regime established certain limits with its past in order to recreate itself. In summary, also during this period, the past was constructed based on today, today's necessities and opportunities.

The general image of this period and the most determining and critical point of the approach of Hasan-Âli Yücel is that the "ethnic civilizationist" emphasis adopted from the former period was reconstructed in a different way; in other words, ethnic elements persisted even though they were a bit trimmed. In addition, the aesthetical aspect was brought forth in a complementing manner and a Western emphasis was added to the civilizationism. Another tendency of the period is, though with Western mediation, to try to establish a link with a local culture and historical legacy. A similar interpretation could be made about Yücel's line of thought (Kayalı, 1997, p. 16). Thus, culturally, there has been an attempt to make a smoother and more complete synthesis. The emphasis on civilization and universalism was more on the forefront in this period.   Moreover, without linking this emphasis to an ethnic statement, humanists tried to base this civilizationism on a direct Eurocentric perception of history. While what is national and universal has once again been brought together, "national" is accepted as being in conformity with the universal cultural standards by the prominent humanist intellectuals. Therefore, the state of being national has been redefined with a Westernist and civilizationist viewpoint and content. In a closing speech delivered to the Second Education Council, as a result of all his views and speeches, Yücel has determined three main and common points: being nationalist, being revolutionary, and being secular. (Yücel, 1993, p. 176). It could be seen that all these three properties represent a Westernizationist, modernist, and civilizationist nationalism.

After summarizing Yücel and that period's general understanding, we can more closely examine the content of his universalist emphasis. Firstly, it could be seen that this universalism has been defined with properties of Western culture and values. For instance, Yücel correlates translation of ancient and modern cultural products and intellectual sources of civilized world's with the desire of being an elite part of Western community of culture and ideas. In another of his speeches, he talks about the "whole of civilization which holds the center of gravity in Europe", and thus displays a viewpoint which identifies civilization with Western culture (Yücel, 1993, p. 55). In a speech delivered in the opening ceremony of the Faculty of Science of Ankara University (8 November 1943), Yücel has stated that "no one should hesitate in that each progress must take place within the light of positive sciences. As a nation losing time in keeping up with those nations developing during the centuries following the European Renaissance in history, we must fill the gap" (Yücel, 1993, p. 214). Here, we can see that the emphasis on civilization takes place by regarding Europe as its center.

In order to better understand Yücel's emphasis on universalism based on Western values and structures and the cultural policies regarding civilization which once more accepts the West as the foundation, it might be useful to examine how he defines the West. In an article entitled "the East and the West", he states that "for the Turkish community to discover the today of Western nations which it is in connection with, it is required to create the ideas of yesterday taken as the basis, not as a concrete model, but as a soul, an understanding and a view" (Yücel, 1938, p. 10). Beyond the current and concrete images of the West, it is also considered important for its intellectual background and cultural images. Westernization is not restricted only to structural elements. Thus, there is also an understanding that the economic or political transformations must be complemented with cultural or social dimensions.

Similarly, the East-West distinction is also reproduced purely to the advantage of the West. For Yücel, this distinction also expresses a difference in world-view or way of life: "More than a geographical distinction, the East and the West are terms for philosophical impressions. Linking life to principles and taking it

seriously, systemizing tasks and letting it slide… Here are the intellectual reasons creating the successes for Westerners" (Yücel, 1938, p. 10). On the one hand, he defines the West as a dreamland or utopia which is completely separate from us. On the other hand, one should always see its deficiencies and regard it as a goal difficult to reach.

A second property of this universalism and the emphasis on civilization is that it relies on "nation" and Yücel conveys a formulation that "universalism is reached as a nation". One must also regard this formulation as a part of the understanding of universalist nationalism. In the modern sense and in a general framework, nation is a way to reach civilization. In this context, it is clear that the concept of nation, as a way of social life which is general and "forward", has not been restricted and formed with the culture and values of the country being lived in. Therefore, the role of proto-national and local elements, which are brought to the agenda in different ways in the formation of national identity constitutes a problematic point. Moreover, in reference to a modern and Western social organization, the concept of nation is constantly emphasized. "The Turks taking part on the side of Westerners as one of the United Nations" (Yücel, 1960, p. 71), aims "the full entry into Western civilization based on national existence" (Yücel, 1993, p. 294). In his speech given during his final years as minister at the United Nations' Education, Culture and Science Conference (4 November 1945), Yücel has presented perhaps his most universalist text. We can see a direct mention of universal culture without stressing the nation and an understanding of citizenship which does not entail elements like race, language, religion etc. for the first time in this text. He has stated that "the most secure way to reach the ideal of peace is to establish the nation's education on the principle of democracy which recognizes the rights of individuals". Yet, even in this piece Yücel conveys his nationalist approach: "it is necessary to adopt the policy of culture of each homeland to these principles without interfering in their national characteristics" (Yücel, 1993, p. 296).

On many occasions, Hasan-Âli Yücel has constructed civilization as a goal which could be reached through nationalist mediation. We can also see here that the formula of "the path of universalism passes through nationality" is recognized from

the universalist viewpoint of Yücel. Somewhere else, this time based on the concept of science, Yücel brings together universalism, the state of being national and individuality: "Science is an international worth. However, it should not be doubted that this international worth has emerged among nations which it will be established in. Therefore, science carries a national image and is based on a national principle. In fact, apart from this social aspect of science, it has always maintained its individual value" (Yücel, 1993, p. 221).

As it can be seen, Yücel's emphasis on nationalism, especially under the influence of a universal understanding of history, has affected its universalism. Therefore, nationality, as a stamping ground within the development of the history of humanity, is the result of a certain development. In this context, it is a mandatory point representing a development or level. "The interior side of a circle which could extend all the way up to humanity must surely touch upon the existence of its own nation… Nothing or no one which has not yet possessed a national characteristic cannot or has not reached an international worth" (Yücel, 1998, p. 149).

Yücel's belief that the way to obtain civilization and universalism is through the state of being national can be explained by him embracing the more peaceful understanding of bourgeois liberal nationalism of the nineteenth century with values of humanity and the concept of individual. Moreover, we can see that sometimes he increases the dosage of this nationalist emphasis. Sometimes, the concept of nation is isolated from this civilized and innovative context, while other times it is directly put forth against universalism. Actually, the focus is to a great extent still on the process of constructing a national identity and history. The issues of universalism and civilization are elements filling in the content of this construction. On the other hand, within daily politics and discussions, the meaning given to what is national changes and universalism is evaluated more broadly and integrally to the benefit of local cultural elements. In fact, this contradiction and dilemma always exist for Yücel. This will be seen later on with examples in a more concrete and detailed manner.

According to Yücel, who expresses that real universalism will take place by being national, the context of "national" will be determined again with universalist and civilizationist manners and patterns. This way, he has somehow tried to

overcome the first era of Early Republican Period's ethnic and isolated understanding of nationalism. What is national and nationalism have been regarded as a part of the ideal of civilization. It is also possible to interpret this statement in the following way: "The service we expect from scientists working and who can work here (Faculty of Language, History and Geography) will not only be exclusive to the Turkish nation. Each truth is for everyone. A scientific institution which has rightfully obtained the attribute of being national means that it is a completely civilized and humanist entity" (Yücel, 1993, p. 69).

Concerning how something which is national is defined, the following statement of Yücel is quite clarifying: "We already see the translations of world classics within our national literature and this is how we buy them, because describing Faust in my own beautiful Turkish language means that I have nationalized Faust. Moreover, we want to teach old Greek literature in our own mother tongue… We regard the translations of classics as the main characteristics of our national culture, because they also become Turkish pieces of literature in this way and in this meaning" (Yücel, 1993, p. 195). As it can be understood from these statements, bringing in the classics of world literature into our own language and including them within our national borders will be considered as nationalizing them. Therefore, what is national and what is universal is brought together. In other words, from then on, what is meant by national is being in conformity with universal cultural standards. Thus, the concept of "national" is redefined with a Western and civilizationist viewpoint and content.

As it could be understood from the title of his book entitled "Inside-Outside" (1938), Hasan-Âli Yücel examines the problem of the form-content distinction from different dimensions and areas. Moreover, apart from universalist and individual deductions, he also makes a criticism of Turkish history of modernization based on this distinction. In contrast, he presents an ideal thought which does not entail distinctions such as form-content, culture-civilization, and East-West. He has described this as "the goal of real civilization" (Yücel, 1938, p. 7). According to him, "form is nothing but exteriorizing the construction of the essential point." (Yücel, 1938, p. 7). Within the framework of the above-mentioned comparison, this seems

similar to Tevfik Fikret who internalizes modernization as a style and aesthetic and who represents the universal viewpoint.[6] Ziya Gökalp takes place where Yücel criticizes. In this sense, Gökalp conceptualizes the culture-civilization distinction and forms the opposite pole. In his statements which will be addressed below, we will see that he has always experienced drifts on this zigzagging line and that from time to time he reaches a similar point to Gökalp whom he has criticized many times. In his essay entitled "Our Measurement" in this same book, he focuses on the same point again and repeats the emphasis on "universal culture". In this article, an understanding comes forward again in which it is necessary for the "national" to be based on Western elements without distinguishing between content and style. It states that "our measurement concerning our national values is only international". The criterion of indigenousness or belonging to us is based on today's universal standards whose content can only be determined by Western elements. On this point, Hasan Ali Yücel makes a distinction between "according to us" and "ours". He explains that the criterion of what actually belongs to us (what is national) is based on universal (or Western) elements being applied by us. Concerning this issue, he states the following: "We do not want our art, ideas, literature, and economic life to be 'according to us', but to be 'ours'" (Yücel, 1938, p. 13). Based on this distinction, the problem of cultural elements taken from the West being reconstructed, with a creative interpretation, within our own culture or making a synthesis is eliminated. This situation contradicts the perspective of completely Westernizing which could be found in his statements and which is frequently attributed to Yücel, because points signifying the creative dimension of the process such as problematizing intellectual origins by us are removed. In order to be Western, stylistic elements or patterns or applying these in our own language (again with a scientific differentiation to an extent) is the question at hand.

By trying to reconcile both "the Turkish nation's civilized virtues" (Yücel, 1993, p. 68) (more through its historical construction) and the "civilized world" and the ideal of "accepting the values of advanced groups of people" (Yücel, 1993, p. 60)

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[6] Yücel's personal admiration of Tevfik Fikret is well known. Moreover, in 1928, Fikret's famous poetry book entitled *Ancient History- Towards Ninety Five* has been published with new letters (Coşkun, 2007: 34).

with being national, Hasan-Âli Yücel fosters his civilizationist nationalist approach bilaterally. Concerning the second point, Yücel asks the following question and responds to it: "Could civilization impede Turkishness? We will not perceive in that way." (Yücel, 1993, p. 60). The answer to this question also represents and conveys a new link established between civilization and nationalism. It also brings to mind the following question: Then what is it that brings to mind and this contradiction and causes it to be expressed as an objection? Without doubt it is Turkishness, firstly as the construction of civilization specific to the West and secondly as the existing culture, ironically being regarded as the opposite of this West by constructors such as Yücel. It is clear that this vision of civilization which is different and universal, or at least is not peculiar to the West, will not bring to mind such a contradiction and will not require this explanation.

Now we will try to examine in more detail Yücel's civilizationist nationalist approach from its perspectives within different areas such as art, literature, history and archaeology. First of all, we should express that the main element determining Yücel's approach within these fields is his naturalist view point which puts the nation as a never-ending eternal reality within the center of social life. In relation to this, various fields and disciplines such as science, art, culture and philosophy which have emerged within the civilized social life of humanity do not only possess dimensions related to human existence and international features, but are also created in relation to elements of nation among the concrete world. "The reality of nation" is a factor which determines and creates all these elements to an extent. It is stated that it is necessary for this situation to also be embraced by people performing these activities and that one must act with these principles in mind. As individuals, intellectuals are also the product of the community in which they live and of the entire nation of the world. Within this framework, in order to perform international tasks, they must act in accordance with the necessities of the community they live in and with a patriotic approach (Yücel, 1998, pp. 199-201).

It is thus expected from intellectuals to work in full accordance with the political postulates and practices of the regime. In a speech delivered to intellectuals in the Jubilee Conference (6 February 1943) organized for authors who had

completed their fiftieth year in the press, he said: "Not seeing the decisive practices and intense efforts directed towards our culture developing right besides us being entirely Turkish with a full strength and speed must be considered as negligence" (Yücel, 1993, p. 168).) As it can clearly be seen here, the processes of nation and nationalism within the private life of intellectuals have the characteristics of horizontally cutting intellectual differentiations and surfacing above all of these. In this context, it has a tendency to neutralize intellectuals.

Now we can look closer at how the content of nationalism could be filled and the civilizationist-nationalist function of the humanist approach through some of the fields put forth by Yücel one by one. We will address these fields from four different approaches towards the practices of publishing and translation, fine arts and conservatory, history, and archaeology. First, let us examine his views regarding the press and translation.

Generally, the issue of publishing is a "civil case" and is influential in the process of constructing the conscience of the nation. In the First Publishing Conference (1-5 May 1939), Yücel emphasizes that "the important role of propaganda can never be doubted". In this context, translation has also come forth during this period. According to Yücel, "translation is an intellectual, ideological and civilized transformation" (Yücel, 1993, p. 55). The ideal of Westernization has forced Turkey to "translate the old and new products of idea of the civilized world into their own language and to strengthen its self through the world of perception and thinking" (Yücel, 1993, p. 4). Yücel's stance on this issue could especially be seen with the following statement regarding the publishing of the Translation Magazine (19 May 1940): "In our eyes, translation is not a mechanical transfer. For any piece to be considered as transformed to the mother tongue, the owner of that piece must embrace the mentality, or to state more correctly, must really penetrate into the cultural soul of the community in which the author is a member of" (Yücel, 1993, p. 55). In this same speech, he has stated that "civilization is a whole" and has added that "throughout history's different periods, we have added new elements to it and have gained elements from it which is new to us" (Yücel, 1993, p. 55).

This approach regards the West and its cultural products from the outside and as a foreigner to our world and values and it is an example of the thought of going towards imitation. Based on this, translation is not only regarded as the sharing, being affected by and feeling the humane, aesthetic and universal literary products of different geographies and cultures. At the same time, it represents the penetration into the soul of those cultures and reaching the riches of feelings and ideas of those cultures.

Furthermore, Yücel expresses the works of art as "searching for national identity within art" (Yücel, 1993, p. 30). In his statement delivered during the talks on the Conservatory Law (13 July 1940) he has presented very important hints concerning the ways and content of this goal. Firstly, the fields of activity and aims of the conservatory have been expressed. According to this, two main fields of activity of music and representation have been determined. The goal in the field of music is to "internationally prepare the artists representing our soul and feelings in terms of technique and value" (Yücel, 1993, p. 57). Hence, the ways and instruments representing our world of feelings and ideas are constructed based on ideal Western standards. Thus, Western styles and patterns go beyond being a technical element and are regarded as features decorating our spiritual world and ideas with "universal" values and standards. Musical instruments are listed according to their importance and it is said that musicians could be raised to play instruments distant to our culture, starting from instruments such as the piano, the organ and the harp and then the stringed instruments, the wind instruments and lastly, musicians could be trained in singing.

The discussion of being national constitutes an interesting point during the debates. Why the adjective "national" is not added to the name of the "conservatory" and what its relationship with our local traditions of art constitute a point of criticism. In response to the criticisms, a formulation that "conservatory is international, but this does not mean that it is not national" (Yücel, 1993, p. 58) has been emphasized. This point is also important for showing the difference between the synthesis between Westernism and nationalism in the former period and in that period. It represents nationalism as getting rid of its emphasis in relation to ethnic origins and

gaining a more refined and aesthetic tendency. At the same time, it displays the opportunity for a more comfortable and smoother combination with concepts like universalism and civilization.

The solution of this issue is the following: "It is not correct to make a differentiation among Western music, Eastern music, Turkish style music, and European style music. It is the same for all branches of art." (Yücel, 1993, p. 60). The universalism here is not a viewpoint which considers the relations between all cultures and their historical links, but is actually a hierarchical and Eurocentric universalism which takes into consideration modern, current and most popular Western products of that day. Although it contains a smoother rejection or a limited totality in comparison to the former period, this is a totality which does not go beyond being sprinkled as nostalgic elements of Turkish Islamic classics. Yücel also examines our accumulations (what is mean here by "us" again carries an indigenousness emphasis). By stating "but we will not do all these outside the experiences of developed lands within the history of art" (Yücel, 1993, p. 61), he expresses that elements like folk music and Ottoman Court music could only take place through Western forms (Yücel, 1993, p. 61). So, humanism and universalism are understood as Western forms and branches of art, along with Western standards and styles. It also shows that the opportunity of this humanism being understood in terms of real philosophical roots which also touches upon our history has failed to be put into action.

The issue has also been brought to the agenda again in the talks held during the Ministry Budget (26 May 1943). In response to a question related to native stories and native works of art being considered as works of theatre and opera, Hasan-Âli Yücel has referred to universal standards and has added: "However, if great native works of art are composed in the future and if they gain significance and become classic, perceiving them as unable to play due to their nativeness cannot be a point in question. On the contrary, encouraging these kinds of national (in terms of being in conformity to civilized standards) pieces is among the state conservatory's tasks" (Yücel, 1993, p. 195). It can be clearly seen here that concepts are defined in various ways case by case based on unstable grounds. Moreover, with minor play on

words, logical contradictions are concealed. A few lines above, while pieces considered as being nationalized and belong to national culture are now classified as foreign works, the national characteristics of native works signify an indigenousness and belonging to homeland instead of universal standards until then.

As it can be seen, this universal cultural and aesthetic understanding is weakened by the slightest criticism emphasizing originality, makes concessions and is unable to hide anything. What actually takes place here is the split between the universalist intellectual's world of feelings and thoughts. Western products which are said to belong to us and are accepted as a part of national culture are actually as foreign and distant to us as possible. Although this gap is attempted to be reduced to issues of universal standards, pattern, style and language and is aimed to be eliminated with the help of these elements and although it is tried to be resolved through the style-content distinction, it frequently rises to the surface and emerges as logical contradictions. In other words, elements which are sometimes "nationalized" through elements of style according to universal standards and the necessities of its period and sometimes by making it Turkish or presenting it in a Turkish platform can at the same time be defined by "foreign works of art" (Yücel, 1993, p. 195) and "being very distant from us in terms of time and place (concerning indigenousness)"(Yücel, 1993, p. 195).

In the midst of such confusions, Yücel also makes statements in which he uses a stronger indigenous tone. For example, in his speech delivered at the inauguration of the Sixth State Art and Sculpture Exhibition (31 October 1944), he has stated that "the Turkish artist should not doubt that he is in search for the Turkish land's color and scent" (Yücel, 1993, p. 252). What he means by this color and scent is expressed in another one of his articles. In this article, Yücel states that "while listening to Ulvi Cemal Erkin's new composition in the School of Music Teachers, I heard of modern Western music in the form of a breeze from my homeland" (Yücel, 1938, p. 74). In the image recalled by this composition, Yücel has a vision of his homeland's shapes and farmers. Moreover, the oriental items in the composition disturb him. He finds these tones, which reminds him of the Ottoman period, Eastern, suffocative and foreign. It reminds the author of "camel caravans which walked at a

snail's pace in the sandy deserts" (Yücel, 1938, p. 75). Apparently these melodies are no longer regarded as belonging to us. They are no longer among the factors which define us. The content of what is national is entirely peculiar to Western and "civilized" form and elements.

One of the other fields on which the idea of humanism as a civilizationist and nationalist construction from the viewpoint of Hasan-Âli Yücel is based on history. He defines history as the most essential source which links the chain of national memory and national unity (Yücel, 1960, p. 72). "National unity is a lively, active and dynamic idea which has come from the very past until today and which has skipped from today to the times ahead. Without history, it is not possible to neither feel nor understand this unity" (Yücel, 1993, p. 217). Concerning Turkish nation, he specifies that "a nation which its history is twin with the history" (Yücel, 1960, p. 71). Here, apart from Yücel's naturalist viewpoint, there are also hints concerning the significance he bestows on history. We will try to analyze his historical approach and the similarities and differences with the former period; in other words, we will try to analyze in terms of the ethnic emphasis of the former period and his civilizationist and universalist viewpoint.

In the speech delivered during the opening of the new building of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography (4 November 1940), Hasan Ali Yücel has expressed some ideas which also display his historical approach. He first states that, instead of enlightening "the glorious history of the nation extending for centuries", "the men of the empire" have attempted to obscure it as much as possible. Therefore, an anti-Ottoman view point and in relation, an emphasis on Turkishness and Turkish History has come forward (Yücel, 1993, p. 68).

On the other hand, in his speech delivered during the opening of the Second Education Council (15 February 1940), he has expressed that as an innovation of the Republican Period's historical understanding and opposite to the understanding until then, he considers our history "as a whole, not being separated from world history, but within world history and in an objective way" (Yücel, 1993, p. 174). Moreover, he also mentions the "great support of understanding history this way in providing national education to our children" (Yücel, 1993, p. 174). He shares the former

concern for the ancient Turkish history and he brings it forth by slightly disregarding the ethnic tones of its emphasis on civilization and universalist style. He lists the essential priorities of current program of history under these three main headings: The Turkish nation having the oldest and most extensive history, laying emphasis on the history of Western nations due to our interest in Western civilization, and history of the republic and revolutionary history (Yücel, 1993, p. 174).

In the statement delivered during the First District Officials Course (2 March 1942) he stated that Turks are not restricted to search only for our own historical sources and by indicating that we are also concerned with world events, he displays a universalist approach. Although moderate and restricted, his approach in relation to the Thesis of History is critical. He conveys some of the aspects he finds negative and incorrect. He expresses that perhaps "romantic and very emotional" aspects could be found, but this should also be considered as natural. This condition is a result of the initiative of "living once again" evoked within souls by great victories. After expressing this, he emphasizes the positive aspects and the universalist-civilizationist elements. According to this, history, "apart from searching for ourselves which extends all the way before history, has been linked to a manner which sees all world civilizations in relevance to us" (Yücel, 1993, p. 119). The marks of this Universalist tendency can always be seen in searching for Turkish features within the Old Greek civilization and in the examination of the role of Turkish Etruscan within Roman civilization (Yücel, 1993, p. 119).

Also in the speech delivered during the opening of the Third Turkish History Congress (15.11.1943), he has defended the Turkish History Thesis in its general terms. However, his approach could be accepted as a civilizationist, scientific and Anatolianist interpretation of the Turkish History Thesis. By firstly expressing "the History Thesis which considers Central Asia as the source and today's Turkey as the native country" (Yücel, 1993, p. 217), its relation with Anatolia is emphasized. In addition, he emphasizes how civilized the Turks are and as proof of this, the works of today's Republic of Turkey is presented rather than the former periods of history. Another element which increases the universalist and scientific emphasis is his indication that one is not contended with only studying our history, but all world

events are addressed in a scientific and objective manner. Last of all, Sumerian civilization being a Ural-Altaic civilization has been recalled (Yücel, 1993, p. 217). Through this way, not only the roots of Central Asia and ethnic emphases have not been rejected, but the past of Anatolia and universal civilization has been emphasized. Therefore, a civilizationist nationalist formulation is created in which ethnic emphases are rasped and Anatolia is being focused on.

Another point which Hasan-Âli Yücel touches upon when underlining the historical and territorial roots of national identity is the practices related to archaeology and the museum studies. Through certain means, he refers to the importance of cultural inheritance beneath the soil in the construction of national identity. He formulizes this approach as "viewing the Turkish homeland through a scientific eye". Another dimension of archaeology which contributes to national identity is presenting us the historical legitimacy on our territory. In other words, as an autochthonous and a civilization creator nation, archaeology also helps us in demonstrating to the outsiders our belonging to the territories we live on: "While drawing the attention of the whole world to our homeland and to us by digging up our works of civilization from beneath the soil, we are required to inform and teach the entire world today everything we have on our territory (Yücel, 1998, p. 89). In this context, Yücel regards museums and universities as the main institutions constituting the two dimensions, which are the historical and territorial roots of national identity. For instance, when opening the First Education Council (17 July 1939), he stated that the government was trying to enrich museums and increase their numbers. Moreover, concerning the significance of museums and archaeology, he has said the following: "We are continuing our excavation works which are embraced with admiration and amazement worldwide. Revealing the new proofs of us guiding civilization in every stage of history from under Turkish territories through Turkish men of Islam is a goal which we strive to achieve everyday" (Yücel, 1993, p. 26).

A second institution entrusted with a task within the initiative in the field of archaeology is universities. On this point, referring to science in general and archaeology in particular, he states the following: "It is our primary principle for our

high institutes of science, even in the most theoretic matters, to take us as the starting point, the Turkish nation and the holy Turkish homeland as the closest reality, and all living and non-living things on top and beneath our territories and make them an issue of research" (Yücel, 1993, p. 94).

In conclusion, Hasan-Âli Yücel's viewpoint is especially significant because it includes all the aesthetic and political dimensions of the discussion. Moreover, as the Minister of National Education, he also shaped and expressed the formal policies of the state. As seen on different levels, Yücel's humanism indicates a nationalism which is far from reflecting our own history and culture. Therefore, he hinders the construction of identity right from the start. On the other hand, what is mentioned is a union with the West which is void of historical basis and real aesthetic platforms, because no matter how much Hasan-Âli Yücel emphasizes the opposite, the West is perceived as an element isolated from us and a foreign world. In short, within Hasan-Âli Yücel's personal ideas, all the contradictions and distortions of the humanist culture movement emerges. In effect, this explains to a certain extent the short life and the limitation of influences of an understanding which has become a formal cultural policy and in this framework, of an extensive and strong educational and cultural initiative.

4.3.2 Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Philosophy, Society and Humanism: "Civilization is an Ongoing Humanism"

Hilmi Ziya Ülken addresses the issue of humanism for the first time in his book entitled *"The Role of Translation in Periods of Awakening"* (Ülken, 1997) which analyzes the influence of relationships between different civilizations that mutually fosters each other and the continuities in this context within the development of those civilizations. The main thesis of the book is that the "awakenings" or civilization initiatives achieved by communities, which are the products of different histories and geographies, actually fosters each other intellectually by mixing in with a great and general civilization movement and that translation forms the mainstream of this fostering. Essentially, according to this, "civilization is an ongoing movement" (Ülken, 1997, p. 6) and within this movement, "each nation is new water which mixes into the stream of great

civilization" (Ülken, 1997, p. 6). This could be possible by recognizing all the new ideas until the point it dissolves in this water, in other words, by accepting its historical heritage. What confronts us here is a varied form of the universalist-naturalist understanding of liberal nationalism. Historical drama or "sleeping beauty", which is regarded as a process unique to the nations and constructed as a result of their rights and wrongs rather than by external influences, is actually created as a result of the mutual interactions of different civilizations. Ülken talks about the "evolution" which forms the historical process and he explains this evolution by the laws of nature (Ülken, 1997, p. 10). According to this, just as in nature, the evolution of a community is also subject to the laws of nature. Furthermore, Ülken believes that this change is not spontaneous and ongoing, because the key condition of the evolving of a community is for it to encounter other communities and to be influenced by them. By stating that "mutual impact is what constitutes the progress" (Ülken, 1997, p. 11), Ülken displays the variation he brings into this issue. Civilizations which are considered to be constructed separately actually do not emerge and develop as the result of closed and spontaneous processes. This is because a community which keeps its self cannot create anything new. In essence, "there is only one civilization: this is the mutual effects between groups of people growing, increasing and extending" (Ülken, 1997, p. 11). A community could only be included within the scope of this great civilization by taking advantage of the widespread inheritance of mankind being formed with the contributions of different communities and can improve this scope further with creative contributions. The process of creativity and contributions unique to the great movement could only be within the range of the width and depth of this concern and quest towards the outside. Expressing it through the words of Ülken, "without undergoing a period of apprenticeship, one cannot become a master" (Ülken, 1997, p. 11). In other words, joining into the sole and great civilization movement and making a unique and creative contribution could only be accomplished by opening the doors to all influences in an extensive and permissive manner. Here, Ülken has theorized the universalist view point, its mutual impacts and the successive awakenings in a model which displays how these have caused the great movements of the sole civilization.

On the other hand, remaining as part of the great inheritance of mankind and civilization is based on the preservation of great roots and links and the continuation of exchange with other branches of civilization (Ülken, 1997, p. 13). With this way, the role of national awakening within the evolutionary developing line of the nation emerges. By also being fostered by the mainstream of "mutual impact", after the sleeping period which represents introversion (for 'us' it means the Ottoman period), the periods of national awakening represent participation in the civilization movement. The most important feature of Western civilization is its being established culture of history, or in other words, attempting to enrich it by opening its door to the former initiatives of civilization (Ülken, 1997, p. 13). According to Ülken, translation is the primary and most important source of the mutual impact. Therefore, "translation is what provides the periods of awakening with creative power" (Ülken, 1997, p. 14). All the new approaches and unique contributions of the great initiatives of civilization and periods of awakening worldwide are the result of a rich translation activity and foreign intellectual influence. Such influence creates an atmosphere of intellectual prosperity and brings depth into debates related to the critical issues of mankind. The "deep and internal" reactions arising as a result constitute the creative products of this translation process. In other words, after adopting the effects of different traditions of philosophy and beliefs and after acting as apprentices to them, original pieces of work start being formed from these interactions (Ülken, 1997, pp. 25-26).

Ülken argues that there is a tendency for the critical issues in major books to be addressed based on the readers' own questions and interpretations and by being broadened. Successively, these studies move towards features which are unique to them and entirely become independent books which display new tendencies. The value of the translation is so great that sometimes these researches and criticisms can become the most significant works of these civilizations (Ülken, 1997, p. 55). By blending various influences which are parallel and in contradiction to each other, the power of great initiatives for ideas and the periods of awakening form a new composition (Ülken, 1997, p. 88).

Moreover, according to Ülken, by way of translation, the recognition of intellectuals of other civilizations becomes possible. Therefore, individuals will be able to take and utilize the ideas which could provide the basis for their own problems from these intellectuals. This way, prolonging traditions are formed through the continuity of these ideas and different civilizations. At the same time, they write criticisms of philosophers whom they see as being in opposition to them and improve their arguments. With this, they broaden and strengthen the area of their approaches. By extending the scope of the issue, their perspectives on different fields also start being taken into account (Ülken, 1997, p. 90). Actually, while this process brings a new view on the issue from a different framework and paradigm on the one hand, on the other, this new approach is carried and developed to new fields in respect to the new issue (Ülken, 1997, p. 90).

The important point here is that as the feeder of a lively environment of ideas, translation is brought to the agenda by intellectuals that relate the translated pieces their own problems. They take the translated works as the foundation and discuss them within the framework of their own viewpoints. What comes into question is that different methods and different experiences come to the agenda and are taken advantage of as examples seen in other civilizations. Without doubt, this situation is beyond a simple imitation and signifies that a creative influence of the translation is expected. Moreover, in how long and how the process considered as the "period of apprenticeship" could be overcome has been left uncertain. From this aspect, he trusts the translation too much and almost regards creativity as a feature which will be obtained on its own and spontaneously.

Following this general framework, he returns to the concrete situation and describes the period he is in as "a new period of awakening of the Turkish nation" (Ülken, 1997, p. 17). This shows that apart from Ülken's interest in theoretic matters, he is also sensitive to what is current and concrete. His theoretical approach is addressed based on the problems of the society he lives in and in relation to those problems. On this point, he emphasizes the significance of the activity of translation which he regards as one of the main issues of society. Therefore, this also foreshadows his initiative which he will undertake in this field. After all, he also

focuses on the *"new activity of translation in Turkey"* inserted into the second edition of his book in 1947. He states that these translations are much more successful either in their quality or numbers compared to those in the former periods. He gives the good news that if translation continues at the same pace and with the same seriousness, Turkey will possess all the literary and philosophical classics that it needs in ten or fifteen years (Ülken, 1997, pp. 351-354). Hilmi Ziya Ülken is therefore also pleased with the general tendency and practice of translation during this period. His approach is in accordance with Hasan-Âli Yücel and the general understanding of the period.

Ülken expresses that in order to understand the situation back then and what must be done, it is necessary to look back on history, because "to better understand how much space must be allotted to translation, it is necessary to analyze the roles of translation one by one in the former periods of awakening" (Ülken, 1997, p. 17). Therefore, by addressing the issue from a theoretical and historical perspective, Ülken suggests a program for the resolution of the period's cultural problems. With the help of the examination of the contributions of different historical periods and geographies to the stream of common civilization, this suggestion is also included in this movement creatively through the activity of translation and recognition. At the point arrived, within the framework of the ideals and requirements of the Republic Period, it deems necessary to recognize of Western civilization and its intellectual roots, which forms the most competent and comprehensive link of the chain of civilization, through translations. It is also expressed that conformity to the civilization described as ongoing humanism is addressed together by being dispersed over a vast geography and with the contributions of different cultures. Moreover, it is mentioned that this should not be confined only to the latest period and Western geography (Ülken, 1997, pp. 17-18).

In his analysis of Western Renaissance, he states that the process which prepares this civilization movement is the translation of Greek and Islamic classics during the twelfth and thirteenth century of the Middle Ages. After working as an apprentice for them for a long time, the phase of criticism and creation emerged and

developed as a new step in the Renaissance civilization movement (Ülken, 1997, p. 286).

Furthermore, the Renaissance movement is regarded as having an exceptional and special place within the development of civilization. "Among the movements of awakening, it is the most complete and comprehensive one" (Ülken, 1997, p. 288). The movement of awakening has emerged in an extraordinary degree and in many different fields such as literature, fine arts, techniques, science and philosophy. Therefore, since the Renaissance movement has triggered a fundamental revolution and creation movement within all social institutions, it has been regarded by Hilmi Ziya Ülken as the greatest of the periods of awakening and as a full rebirth (Ülken, 1997, pp. 291-293).

In Ülken's approach, it could be seen that the understanding of civilization, based on a universalist perspective and confined to the West, has changed only to a certain degree. Moreover, it could also been seen that this does not go beyond adding a Turkish-Islamic awakening amongst the Ancient Greek and Renaissance movements. In conclusion, the emphasis on translations is, in parallel with the significance bestowed on it by Ülken, in the latest period.

To put it briefly, from the aspect of the role of translations, two points emerge in particular in the approach of Ülken. Firstly, the activity of translation, as an element which maintains the universal continuity of ideas, is influential on the national awakening movements of the latest period. Especially the direct relationship of the language with the process of nation building makes translation an irrevocable fragment of the fully developed ideological and cultural life for each nation (Ülken, 1997, pp. 294-295). Secondly, the essential breaking point in our translation adventure addresses post-Tanzimat period. Because of the fact that not only formal pieces of work technically translate, but also it is started to translate in areas like art and philosophy which signify a total change of mentality. By this way, it is expressed that the confrontation of the East and West turns entirely into a struggle. It could be understood here that the opportunity of "mutual effect complex" expressing opportunity to "recognize" and "select" is being entailed only to overcoming the formal Westernization of the thought of Tanzimat. Therefore, the actual point which

forms the significance of translation for Ülken is revealed: "the Westernization of the homeland" (Ülken, 1997, p.347). "Translation is the adaptation of an entire civilization" (Ülken, 1997, p.348), whereas "conscious, effective and a full translation is worthy for making it possible to accept the effects already being started through the most attentive and prepared way as possible" (Ülken, 1997, p.349).

With his book published in 1936 entitled *"Humanist Patriotism"*, Hilmi Ziya Ülken addressed the issue of humanism once again. Based on philosophical concepts such as existance, ethics, action and truth, the book examines the relation of the concept of "humanity" presented as a universal ideal with the concept of nationality and patriotism presented as facts.

In order to examine the approach he displays, it might be useful to study the book's own language and logic and to emphasize some of the important points. First of all, Hilmi Ziya touches upon the relationship between theory and practice here as well. In fact, by stating that "the entire value of philosophical thought is to give a meaning and direction to our life" (Ülken, 1998, p. 7), he underlines the complementary nature of reality and theory.

Besides his viewpoint towards philosophy, this emphasis also gives clues about his approach here. In this book where he comprehensively displays his approximation on humanism, he has chosen the relationship between theory and practice as the starting point, or rather; he has problematized the philosophical approaches towards this relationship. According to Ülken, the one firstly has to do reduce one to the other and then, just as in Hume and Kant, realize its drawbacks and accept the independent principles of both. At the same time, this means that a duality takes place which differentiates science and belief along with facts and ideals and that it contradicted the individual's unity and integrity. However, against this, Ülken indicates that theory and practice are not separate phenomenon and are two aspects of a whole in the universal-scale like they are in individual-scale as well. The objection of Croce, who is parallel with Ülken and the phenomenology movement, have put forth that theory and practice cannot be regarded separately from each other. At the same time, this requires considering the dimensions of reality directed

towards consciousness and existence together and this forms the starting point of Ülken (Ülken, 1998, pp. 8-9).

In relation to the perceptions of knowledge in a more general and universal matter, he mentions the distinction between the provisions of reality and value. According to this, the provisions of reality and value could only be separated from this aspect: while the provisions of reality convey the facts or what has taken place, the provisions of value express the ideal or what is possible to take place. Therefore, Ülken makes a differentiation between "provisions of fact" and "provisions of ideal". The area of fact is limited, finite and incomplete. There is no universality and generality there. On the other hand, ideal is the area of what is possible. It is unlimited, infinite, complete and competent. Universality and generality exists in this area. What separates them is not the contradistinction between intellectualness and concreteness. They could only be separated with the distinction of infinity-finite and the future-now (Ülken, 1998, pp. 17-18).

Later on, Ülken identifies a third category which combines these two points and this entails the provisions of truth. What brings together the provisions of fact and ideal is "place-time as a concrete and ongoing continuum whose all moments and points are joined to each other" (Ülken, 1998, p. 25). Ülken explains at length the continuity and unity of "place-time" by also referring to Hegel. According to this, the provisions which will inform us about the "cosmos" and its truth are neither the provisions of fact nor of ideal. This knowledge could only be obtained from the provisions of truth which is constituted of the complete and whole and conscious of the place-time continuum and the entity and human (phenomenon) adopting a state of consciousness. Only the combining of fact and ideal gives us the truth. Throug this way, Ülken brings together these elements which has complementary parts under the umbrella of truth (Ülken, 1998, pp. 28-29).

Thus, based on this point, Ülken expresses the purpose of the book. He says that he has organized this book in order to combine the two successive and complementary elements of truth by introducing a substantiating and non-constructive dialectics in replace to Hegel's dialectics. Therefore, the issue for him is the application of the dialectics established by these two complementary elements on

the issue of entity and human; in other words, the issue of how we will deduce knowledge, ethics and politics from the truth of ethos (Ülken, 1998, p. 29). Right on this point, Ülken tends towards applying this philosophical assumption, as a branch of the synthesis between theory and practice, on the society he lives in. In other words, based on a universalist reality and conceptual level, he actually presents an approach towards a social issue and a concrete situation.

He firstly indicates that the moral activities of an entity or human in the form of the continuum of place-time present a provision of truth. In other words, according to Ülken, moral activities bring together fact and ideal. However, the distinguishing feature of moral activities is that it is an activity taking place personally. Moral activities are sui generis, unique and independent. They are original and personal. Because of the fact that despite these activities are being possible to perform and being desirable, they cannot always be achieved. In this context, they are ideal and are included within the provisions of ideal. While the facts of moral activities are the society, collective sense and customs and tradition, for being personal, its ideal is "humanism" as an abstract and general example of human qualities (Ülken, 1998, pp. 36-38). By this way, humanism is regarded as the only and sole ideal of a moral activity in a personal provision of truth, In other words, the ideal which represents what is personal and possible within moral activities is humanism. On the other hand, as the factual aspect of a moral activity is what is collective and real and which already exists. However, this also does not mean that the moral activity has surrendered to collective reality, a common world and traditions and customs. Similarly, an eternal will is not attributed to personal possibility, namely, to an original and free personality. True moral activities emerge from a continuous and developing process which links reality to ideals (Ülken, 1998, p. 38-39).

So, it is these moral activities within the area of truth which brings together and synthesizes dual contradictions of object-thing, ideal-reality or individual-society, "because, practical and theoretical mind combine in the area of truth" (Ülken, 1998, p. 40). One of the concepts in the realm of truth is "humanist patriotism". Because, this concept expresses the political unity and conjunction

between patriotism, which is the political field of the provisions of fact, and humanism, which is the political field of the provisions of ideal (Ülken, 1998, p. 40).

Now, based on this general framework, we can examine how Ülken combines the concepts of humanism, nation and patriotism. We have already seen the difference between the beliefs of ideal and fact. According to Ülken, the beliefs of ideal and fact are confused with each other. The most important of these is the ideals of racism and "borderless nationalism". While the race and nation are facts, by becoming identified with imperialist goals in the 19th century, they have been presented as ideals. Moreover, Ülken has indicated that while racism is rapidly being abolished, borderless nationalism has been related to a certain reality of homeland by fixing itself and has become a form of patriotism (Ülken, 1998, p. 53). It is obvious that the period indicated here is actually where Racist and Turanist movements displayed a tendency to develop. In elsewhere, the Turanists and visionary Turkists are shown as an example of those adhering to ideals (Ülken, 1998, p. 55). It does not define nationalism as an ideal, but as a belief of fact. That is to say, it confines it to definite, concrete and present elements. While conveying his approach towards nationalism in this way, Ülken also presents a response to this concrete political condition. It could be seen that this response brings forth universalism and territorial attachment instead of ethnic emphases. Ülken's understanding of humanist patriotism is a goal that reconciles the ideal and the fact. He defines humanist patriotism as follows: "starting humanist ideal with the reality of homeland, reaching mankind by starting with the homeland and introducing to mankind through unique color of homeland and so, adopting a new identity". Moreover, achieving humanism is presented as a precondition to become a nation. According to Ülken, "great nations are only those which create a humanist idea. For a community, become a real nation can only be possible by creating a humanist ideal" (Ülken, 1998, pp. 55-56). Here, nationalism is restricted by being identified with patriotism which signifies a territorial integrity and a factual asset. Moreover, through linking the successful achievement of this factual reality (the nation), a universalist scope has been added to the ideal of "creating a humanist value".

Based on this, the concept which integrates all the beliefs of fact at a universal level is the homeland. On the opposite, humanism is the common concept which brings all ideal beliefs together. In this context, Ülken finds the ideal of humanism as a common feature at the basis of all universal religions, and intellectual and economical movements. However, we can see that this "universalism" is not such universal. He believes that movements of humanism lose its shape among savage societies after their spread. For example, Christianity has degenerated in Africa and Buddhism, in Mongolia (Ülken, 1998, p. 54). Here, Ülken practically finds himself at a distance to the West, but more Western compared to some other countries. He speaks with the "wisdom" of a country which has Westernized or due to its history and tradition, does not lack this opportunity like some poorer or remoter countries do. This situation reflects a psychology similar to the arrogance of a noble rich man who has become poor.

Ülken focuses specifically on Gandhi as an example of humanist patriotism. He states that Gandhi's policy of passive resistance and non-violence was actually an obligation due to being at the bottom step of "humanistic levels" or for being a member of an enslaved society. It can also been seen here that a hierarchical distinction exists between nations based on the superiority of the West. Moreover, Ülken talks about Gandhi's negative stance towards Europe and his policy of "non-attendance". This stance does not mean there is non-attendance within humanism and civilization as Tagore and other authors who misunderstand him believe. It is a reaction towards the West's selfishness and colonial pressure. According to this understanding, this rejection is not whole, but is partial and it does not mean that there will be non-attendance in the real ideals represented by the West and humanism (Ülken, 1998, pp. 64-66). Here, he actually softens Gandhi's criticism which entirely rejects Western ideals and values. By stating that he has rejected the West's features which are based on factual power and wealth, along with its colonial approach, he has brought Gandhi to the point of "Westernizationism despite the West". Without doubt, this is a more suitable and unproblematic viewpoint for Ülken. One of the points which convey Ülken's stance on this matter is his criticism of "local color". According to this, although one does not reduce civilization to form and technique, those attempting to add a native cultural color to this, which is unique to each nation,

narrows the concept of culture and confines it to a local and personal color. This unnecessary excess is regarded as a search for a synthesis like a dance with zeybek costumes or the melodies of Aşık Kerem within organ music. They do not reflect real national art. The process of production and contribution could only be possible by working as apprentice to the developing (and clearly Western) new art. Being involved in the civilization movement could be possible by being included within this cultural process, because according to Ülken, culture and civilization are the same things. National culture cannot be formed through this local color understanding, but with a universal perception of culture and each nation could only enter the road of civilization in this way (Ülken, 1998, pp. 137-139). He equates nationalism and Westernization unequivocally: "For us, Europeanization and nationalization are the same things. For us, entering European civilization means that while on the one hand we accept the international social organizations today, on the other, we enter national life which is considered as today's one and only social life" (Ülken, 1998, p. 192). Later on in 1938, Ülken began to publish *the Journal İnsan* together with Sebahattin Eyüboğlu and Celaleddin Ezine. This journal has become the most significant platform for the debate. Ülken himself has expressed that they have tried to defend the ideal of humanism in this journal (Ülken, 1939, p. 693). Ülken's intellectual influence could be seen in the Journal in that the course of the Journal was set by his articles. The first of the two important articles putting forth the Journal's line is the anonymous article *"Purpose"* found at the beginning of the first volume. Although anonymous, it could be understood that, it was written mostly by Ülken. In particular, the criticism towards the Ottoman period and Westernization of the Tanzimat Reform along with the understanding of "radical Westernization" stands out. In this context, it is stated that "The renaissance that the Turkish reform had to achieve during Tanzimat was only done a century later" (1938, p. 1). In the article, the Journal's principles and goals are also listed. In general, the idea of the Turkish nation's historical evolution and development is the foundation as an eternal and perpetual reality. Goals such as "cleaning the remains of the closed and mystical world", "revealing the role we played in history", "recognizing the artifacts of civilization from its origins" and "re-attending the world's movement" are listed (1938, pp. 1-2). In a sentence pointing out increasing our horizon to world scale,

"world scale" written in bold to draws attention. This emphasis as an essential point shows the importance given to view ourselves once again from a new and "universal" scale and constructing our national identity from a civilizationist perspective. Among the practices in relation to our past and that will be taken as the foundation and on a "world scale" are considered the Turkish-Islamic civilization which links the Sumerians and Ancient Greece to the West. Last of all, as the main point of the Renaissance, the authors does not neglect to refer to the key formulation of the period: "the guidance of Western methods in order to discover ourselves" (1938, p. 2).

In this first volume, there is a comprehensive article of Ülken entitled *"Against Tanzimat"*. In the article, he puts forth "discovering ourselves" and "returning to ourselves" as the most essential problem of the time (Ülken, 1938, p. 7). Moreover, models of a cosmopolitan person who admires the West and an egocentric person who is introverted are criticized. Admiration of the West, the formalism of Tanzimat and Westernism based on form are identified with each other. He writes that since this approach cannot really and clearly see the West, in other words, since it cannot touch the West with its values and culture, then it also cannot completely understand the East and cannot give it a modern form. A form without content prevents observing the internal content from a new and "universal" point of view. On the other hand, introvertism which forms the opposite pole of admiration of the West is never a way to discover ourselves. In this context, the idea of culture being a national spirit and conscience deprives our civilization of the rationalizing and humanist opportunities of especially Greek-Latin cultures. On this point, Ülken finds Ahmet Ağaoğlu's criticism of Gökalp's distinction between culture and civilization valid. He states that "it could be seen how open and powerful this approach is which conveys that unless we look from a world scale, it will not be possible to discover ourselves" (Ülken, 1938, p. 12). By also expressing that "we will deepen however much we have widened" (Ülken, 1938, p. 14), he displays his viewpoint which could be formulated as "from universal to the local". Based on this, the link to be established with Western culture and its historical roots on the largest scale will equally strengthen how we view ourselves.

In the article entitled *"The March of Civilization"* on the second volume of the Journal, by firstly expressing that "going from us to the clan, to the nation and confederation of nations, groups of people are regarded as widening circles" (Ülken, 1938, p. 88), he displays his naturalist and universalist view point. He repeats that civilizations are not closed circles which have been imprisoned within their selves. By defining human civilization as the term to describe the result of increasing mutual relations and interactions between societies, he repeats his Universalist viewpoint and continues his approach seen in his book entitled *"The Role of Translation"*.

The article entitled *"The Greek Miracle"* in the third volume is also a reflection of his universalist approach towards civilization. He is against ignoring Greek civilization being perceived as a miracle in accordance with this general view and the effects of different civilizations which create this. He expresses that he sees Sumerian-Anatolian civilization as the most important of these effects. Moreover, it is interesting that as the cradle of modern civilization, he has indicated Mesopotamia and Anatolia instead of Central Asia which reflects the view of the Turkish History Thesis (Ülken, 1938, pp. 187-188).

In his article entitled *"Getting to know our Country"* in the fifth volume, he states that "the only way to view ourselves is to adjust our eyes to the future world scale: getting to recognize the West deeply, creating a renaissance of ideas and art, translating Greek-Roman and new Western books to our language are the preparations for this viewpoint". This way, he illustrates again "from the universal to local" or the view of us through the West. Furthermore, he heralds that both the consciences of recognizing the West and ourselves have awakened in the recent years (Ülken, 1938, p. 376).

In the article entitled *"Tanzimat and Humanism"* in the ninth volume, he returns to the issue by referring to Burhan Belge's series of writings entitled *"Human and Culture"* in *Ulus* Newspaper which was the period's formal media organ of the government. He expresses that he agrees to a great extent with Burhan Belge's article which emphasizes the superiority of Western civilization. Moreover, he underlines that these articles are not about only one person's personal thoughts, but is the general ideal of a period. Achieving this task which he indicates is addressed

together by the society and government, it will be the product of a mutual and continuous practice. In relation to the issue, he states that until three centuries ago, while the existence of several humanisms was possible, now the world wants a single civilization and a single humanism. However, he says that after acquiring humanist culture by going down to Greek-Latin roots and after achieving this measure, our former world could be examined and features in it could be selected which will live within the new values. Therefore, in relation to the West, while returning to ourselves could create duality and decline within a superficial view, "it will be very efficient, colorful and meaningful within a deep culture which is based on such a single civilization and single humanism" (Ülken, 1939, p. 691).

As it can be seen clearly, whether based on the themes or the approach to the issue, his articles in *"İnsan"* are parallel to the two previous books mentioned above. The Tanzimat criticism and the perspective of an entire Westernization which supports "mutual influence theory" and the stages of civilization come to the forefront. The approach of adjusting viewpoint from a Western perspective which is sublimated as being the farthest stage which civilization has reached and Turkish-Islamic heritage and tradition being approached from this Western view has frequently been emphasized. Furthermore, there are also references to the features of the only active civilization in our past like the Sumerian-Anatolian civilization which is appropriate.

Hilmi Ziya Ülken has returned to the issue almost nine years later following his articles in the *the Journal İnsan* with his book written in 1948 entitled *"Nation and Consciousness of History"* (Ülken, 2008). In this book, he mainly examines the process of becoming a nation. Parallel to his approach in "Humanist Patriotism", he also defines the nation in this book from an evolutionist and universalist perspective: "the nation is the true society forming the foundation of modern civilization"(Ülken, 2008, p. 181). The goal of the nation is considered to be "the culture and civilization formed by the creation of personal values and combining with the creations of other nations" (Ülken, 2008, p. 178). Furthermore, he expresses that "nations are separate from each other through personal initiatives of creation, but are connected to each other through the universalism and humanism of the created values" (Ülken, 2008,

p.177). As can be seen in these examples, Ülken's approach which does not exclude individual and humanity from the nation, but articulate these categories continues. Moreover, universalist and civilizationist emphases continue to determine the nation's goal and tendencies.

Furthermore, all ethnic elements, according to Ülken, by being based on a common and original consciousness of history, must create value with their own will. National civilization is based on the consciousness of history (Ülken, 2008, p.177). Ülken argues that societies not possessing these traits cannot be a nation. While the nation adds a personal significance to international values, they can only be an element within this sort of creating initiative of any nation. Moreover, he expresses that paleontological elements, in other words, the ethnic elements which have lost their role within historical creation cannot be a nation. Again, he refers here to the Hegelian distinction of nation as historical and non-historical and underlines the threshold principle of nineteenth century nationalism (Ülken, 2008, p.178).

The interesting point here is his emphasis on culture and history within the emphasis on creativity and originality. Actually, the distinctions of material-moral or culture-civilization which he has always criticized could be seen here. Similarly, he puts forth that the term nation really conveys that "the nation exists within the subconscious mind" (Ülken, 2008, p.171). Again, similar to this approach, while he criticizes the thought of Tanzimat and Ahmet Mithat, he says that "all beliefs, customs and traditions belonging to the homeland are regarded as dark features within this frame of mind". This approach has rejected the most original roots of the homeland (Ülken, 2008, p. 174). Clearly, a contradiction could be seen here. This somewhat represents the confusion experienced by the Turkish intellectuals of that period. As can be seen, even one of the most serious and important intellectuals of the period like Hilmi Ziya Ülken could push the concerns of integrality and consistency to the background and display an approach which regards the general tendencies of the period. As Kayalı has said, "if all works of Hilmi Ziya Ülken are read carefully, it could be seen that some features of the periods they were written in are significantly reflected in his writings" (Kayalı, 1994, p. 176). In the context of this period, we can be confronted with two different portraits of Hilmi Ziya Ülken

which could be distinguished to a certain extent. First of all, we can come across the author who is essentially devoted to the humanist culture approach and has written *"the Role of Translation", "Humanist Patriotism"* and *"the Journal İnsan"* in accordance with this approach. Then, in his book *"Consciousness of Nation and History"*, a portrait of Hilmi Ziya Ülken can be seen which speaks within the political and intellectual agenda in which the humanist approach is gradually pushed to the background and who has somewhat varied his thoughts. This situation is an indication that the approach has started losing its intellectual appeal in this second period and also that the rich platform of discussion surrounding this concept has been lost.

4.3.3 Arif Müfit Mansel, Ancient History, Archaeology and Humanism: "The Superiority of Anatolian Art to Roman Art"

The issues of archaeology and ancient history in relation to the humanist culture approach have not been discussed sufficiently. The issue is mostly addressed through issues of aesthetic and philology in a correct, but incomplete matter. Yet, as mentioned above, Hasan-Âli Yücel himself mentioned in many places the significance of archaeology and history in the researching and putting forth of our historical prosperities both above and under the ground. In the general literature of nationalism, a close relationship between archaeology and nationalism is a condition which is frequently emphasized. It is known that this relationship is almost inevitable and spontaneous and that archaeology provides the instruments for "scientifically" maintaining the historical and territorial legitimacy in the construction of national identities. Especially being autochthonous, meaning the claim of being settled and creating civilization and the construction of the sense of unity and togetherness in order to strengthen social connections, have made the importance of archaeology for all societies impossible to be ignored. Through archaeology, as a scientific branch which brings together what is concrete and historical, all states have searched for solutions to current political issues and requirements. A country like the USA, which has no links with Ancient History, is also included in this (Redford & Ergin, 2010, p. 11).

In particular, from the aspect of experiences outside the West taking place relatively late to the process of nationalization, archaeology has very critical functions. First of all, in relation to these societies, by being scientific, archaeology has a function as a branch of Westernization. In the context of Turkish historical experience, this feature also comes forth. In fact, it is expressed that many states lean towards archaeology as part of their search for identity after they gain their national independences and the only exception to this is that archaeology has emerged in the Ottoman Empire as a requirement of Westernization independent from the process of nationalization and the search for a glorious past (Özdoğan M., 2001, p. 31). Furthermore, it is indicated that this has formed a tradition which has been symbolized through the line of Osman Hamdi Bey and which has cut off the umbilical cord of ideology-archaeology to a certain extent (Özdoğan M., 2001, p. 32). This situation comprises an important point which must also be taken into consideration when evaluating the works of Arif Müfit Mansel. Secondly, archaeology gives these societies a chance to discover a glorious past as an historical heritage which is sometimes superior to the West or being a resource of West and sometimes articulated somehow to the line of Western civilization.

My main assertion related to the period under examination is that there has been a transition from the first approach towards the second. In other words, an ethnic mythology, being a source of Western civilization, being converted to a perception based on a Eurocentric line of historical evolution. Transition from the studies which revolves around the Turkish History Thesis and concentrates on prehistoric periods to the Classical Age coincides with a paradigmatic change when addressing the past in the meaning of a decrease of ethnic emphasis. In other words, apart from ethnic references, Greek and Roman inheritance is given importance within the context of territorial bonds. However, this still does not mean that the existence of the Turkish History Thesis and the "ethnic essence continuing for centuries" has openly been rejected. It could be said that avoiding a discussion over the former assumptions, the main paradigm in relation to necessities has changed and the ethnocentric view has lost its significance.

Parallel to the transition in the general approach of the period, it could be seen that the focus has moved from prehistory to the Classical Age and from ethnic stresses to the historical sources of a territorial unity; in other words, to the peculiar and prosperous cultural heritage of Anatolia. On this point, Arif Müfit Mansel's works in this period which concerns history of antiquity and archaeology especially stand out. Since the period of humanist culture has not been addressed much in relation to archaeology, Arif Müfit Mansel's works have not been discussed much either. Therefore, I find it necessary to provide some foreknowledge about Mansel on whom very little research has been conducted when compared to the other figures addressed.

Arif Müfit Mansel was born in 1905 in Istanbul as a child of a wealthy family coming from Ottoman bureaucracy. Mansel, who has received a good education in high quality private schools like the German School and the Saint Benoit High School, has completed his university education in Germany in the field of archaeology with the scholarship of Berlin Museums Directorship. He has completed his university education, which he started in 1925, within a short period like four years. His doctoral thesis entitled *"The Construction of Floor among Greeks and Romans"* has been published as a book there and accepted as a successful attempt at research and synthesis (Eyice, 1976, p. 303). Upon returning to his hometown in 1929, he has started working as Vice General Director of Archaeology Museums. After Osman Hamdi Bey who had carried out a critical archaeological initiative during the Ottoman period within the field of Classical Age, the person who took the position of General Director from him was his brother Halil Ethem Eldem. By taking the position of General Director in 1931 and managing this organization as a director, Aziz Ogan had given Mansel the opportunity to comfortably deal with scientific research (Eyice, 1976, p. 304). He has carried out this duty until 1946 in which he has resigned.

Therefore, Arif Müfit has first started his scientific research with his descriptive articles of the works of art entering the museum. Meanwhile, he has conducted some research within the area of history. Within the framework of the project of rewriting *"The Guideline of Turkish History"*, he has written a paper on

Iran. Then, he has published this under the title *"Iranian History and Archaeology"* (Mansel A. M., 1934). Later on, while on the one hand giving significance to his research conducted in the field of history, on the other, he has started to give lectures of Ancient History in the Faculty of Literature, Arts and Social Sciences at Istanbul University. In this period, he focuses on Aegean History in particular and produces works which examines the relations of Aegean and Greek civilizations with neighbouring civilizations. In the Second Turkish Historical Congress, he presented a declaration entitled *"The Issue of Achaeans in Aegean History"* (Mansel A. M., 1937). In this, he especially concentrated on the transitions and similarities between Aegean and Greek culture and Anatolia with philological and archaeological evidences. Especially by tracing the migration movements taking place in that period, he tried to bring forward the factors in the creation of these civilizations. In the meantime, he also took the chance to conduct research in Greece in 1937 on behalf of the Turkish Historical Society which he was a member of. After this, he wrote several other pieces of work within the field of history, some of which are in the form of textbooks. Eventually in 1947, as indicated by Eyice as his greatest work as a historian, Mansel wrote the book entitled *"Aegean and Greek History"* (1947). This book presents a historical, archaeological, political and cultural analysis of the period until the third century B.C. known as the earliest period of the history of Greece and the Aegean Islands. It is a rather comprehensive and extensive piece of work. At the same time, it goes beyond only being a narrow historical research and is supported with rich evidence through its main field of archaeology and evaluates the interactions between different cultures from a wider perspective including philology, art and architecture.

Mansel was the director of several excavations in various regions of Turkey during the period. Moreover, also with what he wrote in this field, while reflecting the perspective and agenda of the period, at the same time he has also left a highly important written memory behind for the archaeologists following him. The excavations conducted in Yalova in 1935, which were the first in Turkey in relation to classical archaeology, have conveyed his leadership in this area (Abbasoğlu, 2010, p. 183). Then, in 1936, he was appointed to the chairmanship of the excavations in Thrace by the Turkish Historical Society and based on these excavations, in 1938 he

published his book entitled "The Culture and History of Thrace" (Mansel, 1938). Later on, he started his excavations in the regions of Southern Anatolia and Antalya which constitute the second phase of his archaeological works. Starting in 1946, he started excavations firstly in Perge and then in Side. Until his death in 1975, while sometimes being concerned with excavations in other Anatolian cities, he continued his excavations in Side and Perge (Abbasoğlu, 2010, p. 189). The reports, which he published especially concerning the excavations in this period, not only entail the scientific results of the excavations, but also draw attention for being presented as texts which establish in particular the perspective of the period, while in general it conveys the characteristics of archaeology in Turkey.

Now, I should try to discuss the important historical and archaeological works Arif Müfit Mansel has performed in this period; in other words, I will try to evaluate and situate them from the viewpoint of humanist thought. In order to do this, I should first start with historical works and in this context, it would be appropriate to try to display the continuity and fragmentations in Mansel's approach.

Extending *"The Issue of Achaeans in Aegean History"* presented in the Second Turkish History Congress (1937), Mansel has published it separately also in 1937. In this, Mansel defines the Achaeans as "the general name of the tribes living in Greece before the Dorians" (Mansel, 1937, p. 14) and concentrates on their origins, their ways of arrival to this region, and their interactions with other communities during these migration movements. Right at the very beginning, by stating that "it must be accepted that these Central Asian peoples have invaded Asia Minor and perhaps also Europe through Anatolia and by travelling towards the South from here, have invaded Greek territories" (Mansel, 1937, p. 14), he has conveyed his view point. He focused on Central Asian origins of these communities and their migration movements going from the East towards the West. The Achaeans, arriving on Greek territories in small groups by a migration which had continued for centuries, have significantly influenced this culture: "In 3000 BC, Anatolia and the entire Aegean basin were part of a single cultural region" (Mansel, 1937, p. 14), When asking who are these people "who have carried a rather high culture along with metals" (Mansel, 1937, p. 8), he tries to give the answer through philological

links. First of all, the languages of Anatolian civilizations such as Karia, Lycia, Cilicia and Cappadocia forms a union and this means a cultural unity. Furthermore, upon the examination of the relationship of the Hittite language with these Anatolian languages, it was seen that these Anatolian languages are connected to the languages of Proto-Hittites. Therefore, the link was established between Greece and Central Asia through Anatolia in the context of language and culture. In summary, he concluded that towards the middle of the three thousand's (B.C.), a tribe similar to the proto-Hittites, thus of Central Asian origin, started moving from Anatolia and invaded Greece (Mansel, 1937, p. 5). Mansel observed many parallelisms between the Achaeans and Hittites. In particular, he showed the parallelisms between what is written in the legends concerning Iliad and Kadesh as examples (Mansel, 1937, p. 26).

Therefore, we can see that while he focused on the issue of the origins of the Achaeans, he did not satisfied with the Anatolian origins and also focused on their roots and points towards the roots in Central Asia. He emphasized archaeological evidences which show that a migration movement whose roots come from Central Asia walked through Anatolia and invaded the islands and Greece. Based on this, he accepted that an East-West migration emerged at the beginning of the Middle Hellenic period invaded Greece from Central Asia and through Anatolia (Mansel, 1937, pp. 8-9). According to Mansel, this migration took place in the following way: Towards 2000 B.C., a Central Asian tribe called Achaean moved towards the West. Some reached Southern Russia and Crimea, moving from the Caucasus towards the north. It is possible that some of them entered Greece. However, the actual bigger part separated into two in Eastern Anatolia, moving towards Syria on the one hand, and towards Southern and Western Anatolia on the other. They invaded the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Samos through Anatolia. Then, by invading Greece through these, they established a great civilization there (Mansel, 1937, p. 15).

It is understood that Mansel indirectly underlined Anatolia as the second homeland of Central Asian tribes. These tribes did not remained there and moved towards the West, invading the entire Aegean basin and Greece within it. Through these movements whose roots come from Central Asia, the Aegean was not

introduced only with metals, but also with a completely new and superior culture and way of life.

Now, we can look more closely at the evidences provided by Mansel to support his approach. Some of these are archaeological evidences like ceramics of that period and openly displays Central Asian origins over Anatolian and Aegean civilizations. Moreover, he also presented philological evidence which convey this effect. In that sense, the names of many of the cultural centers and castles in Greece were not Indo-Germanic, but were based on Anatolian languages. Furthermore, a majority of the names in the Homer's epic were not Indo-Germanic, but took from the language of Lycia (Mansel, 1937, p. 16). The word "Pelops" which contains the word "op" in it is also not Indo-Germanic. It seems related to the word "oba" (Mansel, 1937, p. 18). For the same reason, the name of the King of Athens, Kekrops, could also not be Indo-Germanic. This is a name encountered on the Western coasts of Anatolia (Mansel, 1937, p. 18).

Despite all the evidence, there are different views on the origins of the Achaeans. Yet, Mansel does not believe in the European origin thesis which most researchers accept (Mansel, 1937, p. 10). He does not find the documents put forth by European archaeologists who assert that the Achaeans have come from the North correct and clarifying (Mansel, 1937, pp. 21-25).

In conclusion, it could be seen that in this writing, parallel to the general understanding of that period, Mansel acted on the grounds similar to that of the Turkish History Thesis which was still on the agenda then. Moreover, ethnicity was left relatively vague. The words East and Central Asia are preferred instead of Turkishness. Therefore, it may have been also seen that he kept his distance to ethnic emphasis and put forward a geographical criterion.

A year later, based on his excavations in that region, Mansel has published his book entitled *"The Culture and History of Thrace"* (1938). Similar to his approach towards the Achaeans, he defended in his book that several tribes generally known as Trak, whose roots also came from Central Asia since prehistoric periods, arrived here and formed the autochthonous community of the region (Mansel, 1938, p. 10). Based on this, a great wave of migration, whose origin comes from Central Asia,

moved towards the West and invaded Thrace. Towards the middle of the three thousands (B.C.), some brachycephalic and even hyper-brachycephalic tribes, understood as being relatives of Proto-Hittites, arrived in Thrace from Anatolia's Western and Southern coasts (Mansel, 1938, p. 22). Again, different philological and archaeological evidences have been presented here as a proof of his approach. For instance, archaeological

evidences like ornamental ceramic cultures passing from Anatolia to Thrace or the similarities of the two stone axes found near Şarköy with the stone axes belonging to the Troy II excavations were presented. Moreover, through examples like the names of places like Pergamon or Larisa, frequently encountered in Anatolia, also being found in Thrace or the name of the tribe in Thrace known as Krusai showing resemblance to the island of Krusa in Southwest Anatolia, linguistic ties were tried to establish between Anatolia and Thrace (Mansel, 1938, p. 22).

To sum up, Mansel emphasized that the tribes settling in this region created several original cultures. These tribes, whose roots came from Central Asia and who were named as Trak, maintained their identities and cultures since prehistory to the 4th century and throughout all the periods they lived under Roman domination. The Traks were displayed as a tribe who were never kept under a full sovereignty and who were not refrained from any struggle in order to protect their freedom (Mansel, 1938, pp. 45-46). According to Mansel, "what an important scientific and national duty it is for us to research the history and culture of such a tribe surfaces on its own" (Mansel, 1938, p. 46). Therefore, scientificness and nationality tried to be integrated again here. First of all, these scientific activities of high standards emerged as the requirement of a national and modern state. Furthermore, through a scientific field like archaeology, it became possible to examine the cultural heritage of a society which lived on our own territories and to establish new and strong historical ties in this way. Mansel also indicated that the significance of these excavations and research can not only be confined to the history and culture of Thrace, but that it would greatly contribute to the history and culture of the entire world (Mansel, 1938, p. 22). As another balancing factor like being scientific, he introduced universalism

here. While not deviating from ethnic emphasis, he also conveyed to us that he acted in accordance to an understanding of universal history and culture.

The most important book which is slightly different from works in his first period and which allows us to evaluate it within humanist perception is *"Aegean and Greek History"* (Mansel, 1947). We should first indicate that Mansel also tried to display here the relationship of Greek civilization with high civilizations in neighboring countries. He particularly underlined the essentials of Asia Minor and the links of Anatolia and Egypt. In this, parallel to Hilmi Ziya Ülken's article entitled *"The Greek Miracle"* (Ülken, 1938), he emphasized the idea that the Greeks did not constructed this superior civilization from scratch, but established it upon the heritage of the former civilizations close to them (Mansel, 1947, p. 6). For instance, he expressed that the people who brought the culture of mining to Greece have been Anatolians (Mansel, 1947, p. 18). He especially stressed the migrations taking place from Anatolia to Greece. According to Mansel, apart from geographical names, these Anatolian people brought Greece elements relating to way of life and culture such as weapons, musical instruments, types of poems and sports (Mansel, 1947, p. 19).

"The links between Anatolia and Greece" (Mansel, 1947, p. 24) were emphasized at every opportunity. Tribes like Pelasg, Leleg and Kar which existed before the Greeks in this region are of Western Anatolian origin and were also written in this way in the texts of Greek historians (Mansel, 1947, p 21) In his assessment of the ethnicity of Crete which exists within Greek civilization, there was an emphasis neither on Turks, nor on Central Asia. He stated that "the entire civilization of Crete has been formed by the Kars or the Anatolian tribes which are their close relatives" (Mansel, 1947, p. 46). Mansel believed that the religious factors of Crete form the essence of Anatolia. Goddesses holding a significant position within the belief system, the transferring of the cult of Astarte and the existence of half human, half dragon creatures showed the influence of Anatolian religions over Greece (Mansel, 1947, p. 51).

Another important point is the issue of Greece and the Achaeans, where the fracturing of intellectual thought became clarified. According to this, Mansel also reiterated here the view that a great migration of tribes brought the Achaeans to

Greece. Moreover, he expressed that the Achaeans have been accepted by European historians as Indo-Germanics moving from Middle European bronze culture to the south. In spite of this, he explained his view in the following way:

> *"Although not entirely rejecting that some tribes have arrived from Middle Europe to Greece during these periods, we believe that a majority of the Achaeans, just like the Western Anatolian tribes of year 3 thousand, have come to Greece from Anatolia through the islands and therefore, that the Achaeans are not purely Indo-Germanics, but is a race created as a result of the blending of Anatolian and European tribes with each other" (Mansel, 1947, p. 63).*

Through this way, for the first time he conveyed that he agreed with the view that part of the Achaeans are Indo-Germanics of European origin. At the same time, he no longer defined the Achaeans with their Central Asian origins, but as a "Western Anatolian tribe". At this point, the emphasis on Central Asia has been abolished. From then on, philological and archaeological evidences have been put forth in order to explain the relationship between Greece with Anatolian civilizations like Lydia, Phrygia, and Karia (Mansel A. M., 1947, p. 64).

This approach was also reflected on the archaeological works he conducted in the same years. In the report (Mansel, 1949) he published in relation to the Perge excavations he started in 1946, based on the architectural characteristics of the pieces he excavated, Mansel searched for marks of a unique Anatolian style. Similarities were found between a tomb discovered during the Perge excavations with one found in Alanya, another tomb again in Perge and two more tombs discovered near Denizli and these were considered within the same group. According to Mansel, there was no doubt that all these tombs were included within the group known as "Pamphylia tombs" (Mansel, 1949, p. 23). Moreover, he also mentioned about the tombs that carrying the specified characteristics and the ones found in Italy. He asserted that based on the values of all of these in the context of motifs and style being related to Anatolia, they are each an Anatolian work and were brought to Italy from Anatolia (Mansel, 1949, p. 24) After explaining the similarities among them, he said that all of them were constructed in a Pamphylia workshop whose place was not yet located (Mansel, 1949, p. 24).

He specifically focused on the relations of Perge with those in other areas of Anatolia. According to this, just like in other regions of Anatolia, there were fewer tombs decorated with embossments in Perge compared to the plainer ones. Again, just like in other areas of Anatolia, the significance of a tomb in Perge decorated from all four sides lives on in a vibrant manner (Mansel, 1949, p. 26). Furthermore, based on the physical similarities of the tombs, he puts forth how widespread these types of tombs were. Thus, he defended that in the creation of these types of tombs, Anatolia, understood as being the country of origin, played a much greater role than presumed until now (Mansel, 1949, p. 25). This way, by displaying the area of influence, he reinforced again the civilization creator aspect of Anatolia. As an example, he showed the works of an archaeologist named G. Rodenwaldt who "indicated the important position of Anatolia ever since in tomb art" (Mansel, 1949, p. 27). According to this, "tombs with garland" were first constructed in Anatolia in the first century A.D. and has spread from here to Syria, Egypt, Greece and Rome. This "Pamphylia group" encompassed not only the tombs found in Anatolia, but also several tombs discovered in Italy (Mansel, 1949, p. 27). Based on this, Mansel argued that besides this rich material showing the existence of many workshops in Anatolia in that period and he also defended that beyond replying the local necessities, these workshops also widely exported to neighboring countries and in particular to Italy (Mansel, 1949, p. 28).

In summary, this work of Mansel attempted at emphasizing the uniqueness of Anatolian art and architecture and to capture the similarities and differences among them. Moreover, based on the differences with Italian works of art in the Classical period, it seeks an exceptional cultural perception. Therefore, these works, as the cultural assets possessed by a peculiar territory, have been transformed into instruments of an intrinsic and outward oriented, double-sided pursuit for self-confidence and unity.

In Mansel's preliminary report (1951) on the excavations in Side in 1947, a similar approach was conveyed. In this report, he expressed that these pieces belonging essentially to the Roman period actually carried several originalities which are unique to Anatolia (Mansel, 1951, p. 2). Moreover, based on this assumption, it

would not be correct to put forth the idea that Mansel's position towards archaeology and towards the period concerned was only restricted to contributing in revealing ethnic history. Here, what is done was, instead of rejecting the contributions of the Roman period or searching for the origins of these contributions in an ethnic mythology, the bringing forth of Anatolia as an element which emphasis territorial bond (Mansel, 1951, pp. 2-3).

Again, attention was drawn here to the similarities between the elements emerging among ruins and the Anatolian monuments which appeared earlier. Therefore, the marks of an entirely distinctive and integrated Anatolian aesthetic and architecture could be seen (Mansel, 1951, pp. 7-8). Some of the foundings were especially specified in the way that is "understood as being created by Anatolian artists" (Mansel, 1951, p. 8). In addition, the reality of not coming across often to these monuments which belong to the Roman period and their special positions within Roman architecture were emphasized as differentiating features (Mansel, 1951, p. 11). The similarities of the pieces presented with the findings from other excavations in Anatolia were frequently emphasized with a feeling of a territorial identity. He illustrated that researches emphasis on the uniqueness of one piece and similar researches which would be conducted in the Anatolian region in relation to the architectural features of archaeological remains, will also present other features of this piece (Mansel, 1951, p. 13).

In his report (1956) concerning year 1948, he again drawn attention to the similarities between architectural features based on descriptions of Anatolian coins (Mansel, 1956, p. 12). Moreover, from the point of the features of a temple, he said that legends, coins, sculptures and miscellaneous works of art showed that the culture of Thyke (goddess) spread to a large area in Anatolia (Mansel, 1956, p. 12). This quest for generalization and analogy has frequently was repeated. For instance, it was expressed that one-eyed garlands were often encountered in Anatolia and north Syrian cities and that the garlands of Side belong to the same group (Mansel, 1956, p. 12). Concerning the architectural features of houses and streets, in reference to another characteristic, he has indicated "the characteristic of narrow streets distinct to Mediterranean cities". Two other houses were said to belong to a group of houses

with courtyards which are again distinct to the Mediterranean region. The examples provided in order to draw a similarity are again Aegean settlements like Priene, Milet, and Delos (Mansel, 1956, p. 20). Concerning the houses, he said that the information required in determining the characterization of Anatolian architecture of ancient period is few and in this way he displayed his inclination towards comparison. Right after, he added that the houses of Side carry several similarities with Antakya houses constructed in the same period and lists these similarities (Mansel, 1956, p. 22-23).

In conclusion, all these searches for differences took place in the reports concerning the excavations displayed that an identity was being created independent of ethnic origins and through an Anatolian image. Thus, the archaeological discoveries either in Greek or Roman civilizations or no matter on which ethnic origin it was based on, was considered crucial for being the peculiar examples of the heritage of Anatolian culture. It is clear that this approach also pointed towards a universalist patriotism in accordance with the new humanist synthesis created between nationalism and Westernization in this period.

Evaluating especially with respect to the general tendencies of the period, it could be seen that Mansel never made an ethnocentric reference. This approach of Mansel is also seen in his works accomplished when the Turkish History Thesis was popular. In his works after 1938, it could be observed that even the emphasis on Central Asia has almost entirely been eliminated. Questioning whether the cradle of European civilization is Greece, apart from being a reactive opposition to the West, is also an instrument included within the line of Western civilization. As distinguished from the History Thesis, this questioning does not take place with an ethnic perspective which reduces civilization to only one source. Moreover, within the context of Greek civilization, "Anatolia" appeared as the most important predecessor among others. This rejection towards "the miracle of Greece" is no longer expressed to the advantage of Central Asia, but to the benefit of Anatolia. Mansel's works of archaeology and antiquity are also directed towards the construction of a sense of territorial belonging created by the evaluation of

Anatolia's cultural heritage along with a type of Westernist-universalist national identity.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The main claim of this study is that humanism that became the main axe of official culture policies and substantial cultural and intellectual movement of the period between 1938 and 1950 constitutes a base for building of national imagined community through historical and territorial elements as a "civilizationist nationalist" construction.

Ethnic, linguistic or territory-based national integration efforts of Turkey date back to old times. Especially histories of language and territory-based nationalisms date back to late Ottoman Modernization Period and Tanzimat. Several periods of this modernization history rise on the bases of evaluation and criticism of the previous periods. This represents a richness of experience and knowledge that cannot be underestimated. In early stages of this period, different military, economic or political structures of West have been observed and it was tried to use these structures on existing social structure. Then, the changes required to be made had progressed from modern state device to new social values and behavioural patterns. Nationalist movements and nationalist imagination and applications that arose depending on nationalist movements developed in line with above mentioned way. In this sense, symbol and meaning fields that are included in construction of a cultural identity which is accompanied by a political conversion started to gain importance. This caused re-imagination of many fields from aesthetic rules of art to structure of scientific disciplines. The bases on which this new imagination depend are series of Western standards and values.

Nevertheless, construction of a national identity that makes references only to modern Western standards and lifestyles cannot be projected. As Chatterjee indicates, "difference" from West composes the strongest and creative results of non-Western nationalist approaches (Chatterjee, 1993, pp. 3-14). Thus, nationalism gains currency as a product of modern era and as a result of modernization but it is not a fact that can be shaped only from top to bottom. It somehow should be integrated

with nostalgias and values of subalterns. It is obvious that nationalism that gained currency as a solution of sharp ruptures and emotional gaps created by modernity could not correspond to these nostalgias as a system that is limited to only Western lifestyle. At this point, reconstruction of cultural field and social sense of belonging through existing territorial and historical elements or construction of a new culture and history complying with the aims gains currency.

This problem which non-Western nationalisms face with requires different applications for each case. At the same time, different needs of different terms require these imaginations to be created in a completely new way from today to past. In this context, new republic emphasized a civilization that unifies Westernist and essentialist-ethnicist properties. In this sense, it can be seen as a quest that unifies difference and peculiarity claims of each nationalist approach with Western values. This understanding, at the same time, indicates "love-hate" dilemma against West. The way of discovering national identity is in our relationship with the West and sequacious differentiation-assimilation processes. In this process, differences become similarities and this conversion occurs towards the national identity and national "essence". At this point the concept "civilization" arises. Eurocentric envisagement way of civilization is not refused totally. Instead, this understanding is revised with an ethno-historical discourse that will form a base for national sense of belonging. "Contemporary civilization" is associated with ethnic mythology as an inheritor of Roman and Greek civilizations that are formed under the effects of Central Asia and Turkish-origin Hittite and Etruscan civilizations. Western civilization is nationalized with this "sui generis" universalism while the quest concerning ourselves is reduced to a mythic Central Asia origin and thus to an ethnicist "Anatolianism" shaped according to this origin.

Humanism concept has gained currency in this kind of tension as a cure for "scarred consciences" as stated by Shayegan (1997). Perception of humanist culture, as an original synthesis of post 1938 period, aimed to finish this high tension relationship with the West and to meet local cultural resources by use of the comfort of this intellectual "peace". It is believed that this process of "returning to self" can be realized by again these Western standards and intellectual possibilities. It has been

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accepted that as the tendency on West gets deeper, the process of return to self gets deeper. This is the meaning of the humanist motto "finding self through West". The evaluation of "relative restoration" by Koçak (2001, p. 393) regarding the period arises from a share given to local resources in cultural synthesis although it is cautious and also practiced within an artificial way.

These local resources do not include any references to an ethnic mythology or a supra-territoryal imagine anymore. In this sense, ultra-integrative and source of self-confidence ethnic fantasies that balances political minimalism in Kemal Atatürk Period are left behind. Reactive stance against West, in a more accurate wording, love-hate dilemma is suspended. Instead, a more balanced and soft integration quest takes place. In addition, the tension created by Armenian and Greek claims on territorial ownership of Anatolia has disappeared. Furthermore, it can be perceived that an ethnical expression does not allow for territorial integration and it is inconsistent with a Westernist and universal tendency.

At this point, humanism arises as the main axis of cultural policies. Generally speaking, humanism expresses that intellectual roots of modern era are from Classical Age, meaning Ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. With the way of arising in Turkey, it principally includes art, literature, philology and translation activities to provide an aesthetic contact with the West. However, at the same time, humanism is a part of the idea "alteration of civilization" in this period. Humanism, in this sense, reflects a cultural identity design. It has been designed to be a "universal culture" and civilization-based "return to self" project that makes references to the West. In this project, "Anatolia" comes into prominence as a predominant image on which territorial and historical origins of national identity are gathered together. In this sense, focus of history studies moves from prehistory to antiquity while interests in archaeological studies moves from prehistoric civilizations such as Hittite and Sumerian civilizations of which speculative arguments are made on their ethnical origins to Classical Age and civilization of Byzantium. During this change, the most impacted science is anthropology that is accepted as a "racial science". Government assistance for this realm and regarding intellectual popularity tend to lose its importance in this period.

In this sense, first of all I mentioned the problem how nationalism should be handled. From the point of a distinction that is materialized in the relationship between nationalism and modernity and that arises from diversification of understanding about the roots and nature of nationalism, nationalism theories are evaluated under three titles: Primordialism, modernism and ethno-symbolism.

Although the point of view of primordialists according to which nations are eternal and constant is not scientifically valid, it is informative and considerable because it reflects the predominant standpoint of the period we examine. In fact, this understanding, also, is designed to correspond to several needs of a nationalist ideology and the process of nation-building.

Modernism, the second approach of nationalism, indicates that the underlying basic fact of nation and nationalism is modernity and related social and economic transformations. Thus, nationalism is deemed to be part of an idea of modernity that aims to create a new person. According to modernists, nationalism is a product of a hierarchical and systematic process of social integration that is carried out by a new standard education system, mass communication and media. By examining nationalism as a whole with its economic and political aspects of social reality and by historicizing it, modernism certainly has a crucial role in literature of nationalism. It attracts attention by indicating that nations and nationalism, as a political movement, are not essential but constructed categories by stating "nations are created by nationalism but nationalism is not created by nations". In my opinion, modernism presents substantial studies that introduced fictional aspects of this process. In this sense, modernism, with the new initiatives it brought, implies a very significant stage of theory of nationalism. However, modernists do not pay enough attention to cultural roots of nationalism which is a living reality. They do not make emphasis on the social channels that make nationalism immanent for daily life. They indicate the nationalism as a result of economic and political conditions and that is formed from top to bottom. In a similar vein, they do not mention social codes of meaning and culture, symbols and myths on which this imagination rise. Therefore, modernism pushes significance of diversity that is of specific historical experiences into background while dealing with the nationalism issue through a universal model.

Modernism, considering all these aspects, is not closely related to symbolic and popular faces of nationalism.

Ethno-symbolism is introduced to reply the missing parts of modernism as it ignores differences between nations, efforts made in quest of origin and functions of myths and elements related to memory in this manner. This theory indicates that it is an inevitable process that nations look for or rediscover their historical origins through symbols and myths. At this point, I made emphasis on special attention paid by ethno-symbolism on historical origin quest that composes nationalism without acknowledging primordialist naturalism. By this way, ethno-symbolism exposes structure of nationalism that brings itself into being through imaginary bond system and social value codes. Contributions of ethno-symbolist approach showed us that nationalism is not only an ideology or a way of doing politics but also a cultural phenomenon. At this point, it should be highlighted that the ethno-symbolist approximation includes a special language, soul and symbolism which are composes our standpoint when examining nationalism. Consequently, ethno-symbolism was selected among these three approaches as a base. As they compose a strong synthesis and an explanatory perception, ethno symbolist assumptions seems pertinent in assessing basic developments and intellectual choices of the period.

Then, I tried to mention emerging process of nationalism and the factors that bring it into the existence. In this sense, contributions of economy and industrialization-based theories were reviewed. However, nation, as a process of cultural building, is constructed to form the worlds of meaning of modern individuals. Hence, mobilizing social senses of belonging through a historical drama which presents an integrated history is especially substantial in terms of formation of nationalism. Nation building process and nationalism creates a new type of imagination which includes making or redefining traditional values and images. One of the most important elements of this process is a history design or invention of tradition that is shaped according to modern requirements. This history design has been built as imaginary elements in accordance with modern political necessaries and that the aim of this is to build a living history. I mentioned that another aspect of formation of national identity is the process of converting soil (or terra) into the motherland through myths and symbols. In this process, territory is being historicized

as a spatial ground of symbolic integration of community. In this respect, discourse of antiquity of territory is used as an integrative and imaginary factor on which nation will be created. At this point, the relationship between archaeology and nationalism comes into prominence. In this manner, ruins and monuments reinforce the sense of continuity and they are deemed to be concrete evidences of being perennial. In this sense, archaeology serves for national integration to reveal an historical territory.

Afterwards, I reviewed experiences of nationalism of non-Western geographies. Nationalism was propagated in non-European geographies over and over and under different political models. Some similarities can be found in our history under these models. Therefore, civilizationist nationalisms are composed through inevitable relationship between the West and modernization programs applied by the world that are late-nationalized. Civilizationist nationalism has two main concerns which are equity with the West and territorial sovereignty. As a result of a scientific activity that is organized on the basis of Western values and standards, this type of nationalism has tried to prove that they are inheritors of a historical past that is equal or superior to that of the West. In this chapter, I tried to introduce basic intellectual and scientific tools of this claim and tried to concretize the approach through several examples of civilizationist nationalism.

After that, I evaluated formation and development of Ottoman-Turkish nationalism. I examined the issue through transitivity and differences of three consecutive periods. These three periods are Tanzimat idea and Ottoman patriotism, Ottoman-Turkish nationalism in Young Turks Period as a language-based "official nationalism" and nationalist thought of Atatürk Period. At the same time, development of Ottoman-Turkish nationalism was examined on a basis that includes culture and history imaginations. Especially; discourse of Ottoman nationalism on the homeland concept, approximation of Young Turks that emphasizes subjective elements of belonging such as language and common history and lastly the ethnic discourse of Turkish History Thesis that is built culturally and historically should be emphasized. The Anatolianist territorial references and the universalism based on Western civilization of Turkish History Thesis should be also evaluated under this

ethnic mythological discourse. In this sense, it was tried to indicate historical background and political cultural grounds of former period of humanist approach.

Subsequently, humanism was viewed as a civilizationist nationalist form of imagination which includes history and homeland constructions. Hence, this concept comes to the agenda within the context of its continuity and ruptures with the historical frame drawn in the previous section. In addition to the effects of political conditions and dominant political figures in the process, the concept arises under the interaction of political and cultural fields and so under the main framework of cultural policies. In this respect, humanist approach is explained under binary frames that are related to each other. Art, philology and translation activities are in the first part and history and archaeology studies are in the second part. Regarding the first part, art and translation studies depending on Western civilization and Roman-Greek historical heritage and based on classical culture were discussed. Particularly, the nature that brings aesthetical and political aspects together of developments such as foundation of the Conservatory and translation of the Classics were emphasized. In the second part that is the most substantial one in terms of our issue and that composed the key point because of our way of approach, it was stated that humanism has been mentioned to be a basis for constructing national culture and a historical and territorial grounds for imagined national community. From my point of view, humanism, in this sense, as civilizationist nationalism, establishes new national bonds in harmony with the West while fulfilling the function of being patriotism-based territorial grounds of political sovereignty. In this sense, it is a sequence of previous civilizationist nationalism approach. It means construction of a "new imagination" complying with requirements and priorities of new regime. Humanism, in this respect, completely corresponds with ideological principles of the new regime with its political and cultural tendencies. Thus, humanism deepens the emphasis of Turkish History Thesis on Anatolia. Humanism ceases approach of Turkish History Thesis of Central Asianist and ethnic mediations. Hence, as the territorial basis of national identity, it embraces cultural heritage of Anatolia including the Classical and Byzantium Ages. Consequently, humanism is formed as a patriotism that historically underlines Western civilization and territorial bonds.

After indicating rising conditions of humanism and its outlines in this manner, the aforementioned aspects of humanism approach can be examined in details and in a more concrete way in terms of three important names that make emphasis on humanist approach. In this sense, I assessed approaches of Hasan-Âli Yücel, Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Arif Müfit Mansel.

First of all, Hasan-Âli Yücel as a politician and also as an intellectual is reviewed to have significant effect on culture policies of that period. Yücel has leaded the humanism-based fields of art, education and publication activities and has plays a significant role in these fields. In addition, he expresses a humanist patriotism in his books and speeches through history and homeland elements. As far as I am concerned, Yücel is the most essential figure of that period with his pioneering, extensity of sphere of influence and multidimensionality in the fields he interested in. From this point of view, Yücel reflects the general viewpoint of that period. In other words, in my opinion, Hasan-Âli Yücel has reflected the mainstream approach the period extensively and detailed in his writings and speeches. Furthermore, in that period, studies of Yücel effectively propound the close relationship between politics and culture.

The second name discussed is Himi Ziya Ülken. He also exerts from a universalist perspective that cultural awakenings experienced by different communities are fed from each other and that translation activities had a significant role in this relationship. In this sense, he describes the period in which he lived as the "awakening period" of Turkish nation. Ülken, within the frame of ideas and requirements of Republican Period, emphasizes on the importance of recognizing the Western civilization that composes the most competent and comprehensive ring of civilization chain and its intellectual roots. Hence, in parallel with the standpoint of that period, he expresses translation activities as part of nation-building and Westernization processes. In "Humanist Patriotism" that is the opus magnum of Ülken He tries to integrate humanism with nationalism and patriotism notions in terms of philosophy. At this point, he emphasizes on universalism and territorial cohesion rather than ethnic origins. Ülken, in his studies in this period, has stressed on the interaction between civilizations. He also has grounded on a profound and total Westernization perspective.

Lastly, I discussed Arif Müfit Mansel who was an archaeologist of classical age as the third name. At this point, I initially emphasized on the close relationship between archaeology and nationalism and especially late-nationalism experiences. The role of archaeology, especially for the movement of humanism, can be seen from the point of "discovering" a historical heritage and a glorious past that is articulated into western civilization. Greek and Roman heritage, excluding its ethnic emphasis, is noticed through the point of territorial ties in this period also in Turkey. In my opinion, Mansel as a Classical Age archaeologist and First Age historian also is a prominent character in that period with his studies. Therefore, analysing studies of Mansel in terms of humanism, the point that Mansel does not make any direct ethnic references in his studies is noteworthy. He has almost no emphasis on Central Asia or it disappears with time. At this point, as an inheritor of Greek civilization, it is important that Mansel emphasizes on Anatolia. Thus, from my point of view, Mansel's studies on archaeology and first age history means that Anatolian cultural heritage is regarded from the point of territorial sense of belonging. Considering these aspects, these studies are related to a Westernist-universalist construction of national culture and identity.

As a conclusion, humanism that is designed as a "return to essence" project based on culture and civilization always tried to achieve this evolution through the mediation of the West. Hence, the main perspective is to look at with the eyes of West and to return to its own reality by this way. We can see that a schematic and corny dichotomy between East and West has been mentioned in this formulation. Therefore, Western civilization is said to be grounded on Greek-Roman traditions, and against this Eastern meaning Arabic-Persian tradition that should be avoided has been placed. As a result of this understanding, an anti-Ottoman based history and homeland perception has been constructed. Humanist intellectuals, on the one hand are encouraged by this approach while on the other hand they actually perceive and feel that "Western civilization" is totally external to them; nevertheless they run towards Western civilization as an idea. Humanism is a culture-based civilizationist nationalist construction that steers for this idea. This construction casts out Ottoman civilization as depicting it as "past as otherness" and suppressed the aspect of this process that mobilizes masses. On the other hand, in parallel, they perceive the West

as the ultimate target to be reached that is also external as well and precludes an integrated and organic relationship that is aimed at. Nevertheless, humanism is a good example for nature of nationalism that uses culture-based and past-related symbols and myths. Furthermore, in terms of the arguments on Westernization and the relationship between universality and indigenousness, it states an historical representation of a living tension with its political and intellectual aspects.

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