

“Unity in Language, Thoughts, Deeds”: The Ideas of Ismail Gasprinskii and Conceptualization of Turkic Nationalism in Turkey*

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At the last decades of the long 19th century, a prominent Russian Muslim journalist and educator, Ismail Gasprinskii (1851–1914), promoted a cultural-political project for Russian Muslims, which after the Revolution of 1905 gradually shifted to the idea of national-cultural autonomy within Russian empire, long after some of Gasprinskii’s ideas were reinterpreted and he personally became known as a pan-Turkist, especially in the USSR and in Turkey. This case study aims at examining how the image of Ismail Gasprinskii was embedded into pan-Turkic discourse in Turkey. Hence, we focus on key authors, including founders of pan-Turkism Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp, who initiated the process of portraying Gasprinskii as one of the “ideologists of pan-Turkism”. Following the main aim of the study, we also briefly analyze Gasprinskii’s cultural-political project for Russian Muslims, along with the ideas of pan-Turkism *per se*. We argue that there are two central narratives, which solidified the imagination of Gasprinskii as a “pan-Turkist”. First, the myth of his studying in Moscow military gymnasium amidst the “militant pan-Slavism”, and second, the pan-Turkic reinterpretation of the slogan “Unity in language, thoughts, deeds”, which appeared on the heading of Gasprinskii’s newspaper *Perevodchik-Terjiman* in October of 1912, two years before his death.

Keywords: Ismail Gasprinskii, Yusuf Akçura, Ziya Gökalp, *Perevodchik-Terjiman*, Russian Muslims, pan-Turkism, pan-Slavism.

Introduction

During the 37th session of the UNESCO General Conference in Paris in November 2013, at the suggestion of the Turkish mission to the organization, supported by the Ukraine, the Russian Muslim enlightener, publisher, and journalist Ismail Gasprinskii (1851–1914) was included in the annual list of Anniversaries of historic events and of eminent personalities celebrated by Member States and Associate Member in associa-

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ed, therefore affecting the imagination of Gasprinskii as an ideologist of pan-Turkism¹ [1–3 etc].

Thus, according to Pierre Bourdieu, “Texts circulate without their context; they don’t carry with the field of production they come from, and the receivers, themselves integrated in a different field of production, reinterpret them in accordance with their position in the field of reception”. Namely, authors and translators who interpret the ideas of foreign intellectuals in their own country always predetermine the perception of these ideas [5, pp. 539–553]. Meanwhile, the books of such Turkish authors as Yusuf Akçura and Cafer Seydahmet Kırmıer, in which Gasprinskii was portrayed as a protagonist of pan-Turkism, remain the most quoted sources on his biography and ideological persuasions [3; 4]. Moreover, these books somehow influenced the Western research tradition as well [6; 7 etc]. At the same time, regardless the Turkish or Western cases, similar attitude to Gasprinskii was also relevant to Soviet historiography, in which thanks to such a marker as “bourgeois nationalist” he was labeled as a pan-Turkist [8, 9]. However, as Mustafa Tuna notes: “With hindsight, we know that the global threat of pan-Islamism (or pan-Turkism) was fiction, at least until the First World War, and that no concerted Russian Muslim movement against the tsarist state ever existed” [10, p. 213].

In this study, mostly referring to internal Turkish narratives, we analyze how exactly it appeared to be, that Ismail Gasprinskii became known as an ideologist of pan-Turkism in Turkey. With this aim in view, first, we are going to reconstruct the essence of Gasprinskii’s project; then, give a brief review of a history of pan-Turkism in Turkey; and finally, define and chronologically compare those of Turkish studies, which marked Ismail Gasprinskii as all-Turkic nationalist or pan-Turkist.

Ismail Gasprinskii and his project for Russian Muslims

As a part of his project, Gasprinskii dealt with a wide range of cultural and socio-political issues for Russian Muslims, including creation of a national media, reformation of traditional system of Muslim education, partial restructuring of Muslim Spiritual Administrations, emancipation of Muslim women, as well as development of a common literary language and European-style literature [11].

According to Gasprinskii, this project aimed to “preserve unity within Russia, while preserving our ethnic nationality [*natsional’nost’*]”, in other words, to create a “Muslim nation” within the Russian Empire [12]. While speaking of “nation”, however, Gasprinskii has never appealed to independent nation-state for Muslims. What he actually advocated for was to provide conditions for further integration of consolidated Muslim community into imperial socio-political space.

As Gasprinskii testified to himself in 1911, the main aspects of this project were outlined in his pamphlet *Russkoye musulmanstvo: mysli, zametki, nablyudeniya musulmanina* [*Russian Mohammedanism: thoughts, notes, observations of a Muslim*], first published in 1881 [13]. In this work, Gasprinskii suggested Russian authorities to apply a system of governance “based on respect for ethnic nationality and full equality of all the tribes inhabiting the state” [14]. Well after that, in a significantly differed political atmosphere in

¹ In this study, we use the “pan-Turkism” term to denote the idea of political unification of various Turkic peoples under the auspices of Turkey.

the Russian empire amidst the Russian Revolution of 1905, this idea of Gasprinskii was rethought into the claims for “national-cultural autonomy” for Russian Muslims, promoted by the all-Russian Muslim Union “Ittifik al-Muslimin”.

National-cultural autonomy, according to Gasprinskii and other leaders of the “Ittifik al-Muslimin”, meant spiritual autonomy for Russian Muslims whose educational, religious, and to some extent also legal issues would be dealt within the community under the supervision of a unified Muslim Spiritual Administration (“Mahkam-i Islamiya”) [15]. Significantly, since the very establishment of the *Terjiman* in 1883, Gasprinskii systematically advocated for gradual unification of the four existing Muslim Spiritual Administrations (three for Sunnis and one for Shias), as well as for their supplementation with the secularly educated Muslims [16; 17]. However, he appealed not to eliminate but partially restructure existing institutions, which dealing with administration of Muslim community.

At the same time, Gasprinskii’s aspiration to develop a common literary language, national literature and press along with the reformed educational system could be better qualified as means to consolidate Muslim community within Russia. Meanwhile, he actively promoted knowledge of Russian among his Muslim readers, referring to possibilities of social mobility for those who speaks it [18]. In a similar vein, Gasprinskii advocated for women emancipation in order to socialize Muslim women, systematically promoting their education and active involvement into professional activities [19, 20]. Hence, this project aimed at Russian Muslims implied partial restructuration of the existing system of imperial governance towards Muslim subjects and reflected Gasprinskii’s understanding of their internal needs in terms of integration and social mobility. However, there were no claims for national independence, not to mention the global union of Turkic peoples under the auspice of the Ottoman empire.

The formation of pan-Turkism in Turkey

Throughout much of the Ottoman history the part of empire’s subjects, that will further be known as Turks, used to identify themselves not by ethnical but by confessional affiliation. They saw themselves as a part of Islamic Ummah, which doesn’t imply any national or ethnical differences between its members. The history of the empire’s Turkic substrate was almost completely forgotten and wasn’t emphasized in any special way in the main narrative of Islamic history from the time of the Prophet to early 19th century [21, p. 1]. Moreover, the term *Türk* itself had negative connotations, marking mostly inhabitants of the rural areas, and gained a lower social status within the urban population, who preferred to talk about themselves as Muslims, not Turks [21, pp. 20–21].

Religious self-identification was also maintained by the empire’s *millet* system, in which every major religious confession (Greek Orthodoxy, Judaism, Armenian Apostolic and Armenian Catholic Churches) had its own administrative institutions and could govern the communities on their own, on the condition of being loyal to Sultan and paying the property and *per capita* taxes right on time. In fact, there was a sort of autonomy for every *millet* within the Ottoman domain [22, pp. 24–42].

The concept of nation developed in the Ottoman Empire only in the 19th century against the background of intensified contacts with Europe and new internal challenges to imperial unity. During this period the empire opened its permanent embassies abroad, sent students to study in Europe, invited foreign military advisors for army. At the same

time the empire was challenged with an internal threat of disintegration, since its subjects, initially Christian ones, started to identify themselves in opposition to their “Muslim rulers. To prevent such tendencies the Ottoman state came up to ideology of *Ottomanism* in the *Tanzimat* period (1839–1871), which *de jure* inaugurated full civic and political equality of imperial subjects regardless of their religious affiliation. Previously, though, Ottoman Muslims were significantly privileged in a legal sphere [21, p. 3]. Despite its progressiveness, the new ideology was coldly greeted both by the Muslim elite and by the Ottoman Christians. Hence, the sultan Abdul Hamid II, who came to power with the liberal Ottomanist slogans, turned his attention to pan-Islamist ideas, which perfectly fitted with his Khalif title [21, p. 4].

The implementation of *Ottomanism* and *pan-Islamism* strategies in the empire tangibly failed by the beginning of the 20th century. Henceforth there was the pan-Turkism, which predetermined a public discourse in the last decade of the Ottoman empire [23]. After the Young Turk revolution of 1908, when the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittihat ve Terakki*) seized a power, pan-Turkism gradually gained more influence on the official level. The government of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), the founder of a new Republic of Turkey, inaugurated a gradual transition from pan-Turkic principles to *Turkish nationalism*. Henceforth the pan-Turkism in Turkey experienced whether complete prohibition and persecution of its followers or the periods of its prosperity and growth [24]. Nowadays, however, some of the nationalistic narratives in the modern Turkey — such as reference of Turkic domain to be located “from the Adriatic Sea to the Great Wall of China” — can be traced back to pan-Turkism discourse, which tangibly actualize itself in the periods of instability in the post-Soviet space.

Additionally, we assume that the pan-Turkism in Turkey is historically based on opposition to the Russian empire and pan-Slavism. Namely, the proponents of pan-Turkism appointed Russia to be a constituting *Other* for a common-Turkic identity, as on the make of pan-Turkism at the turn of 20th century the Turkic peoples of the world, apart from those of the Ottoman empire and China, were either under the rule of Moscow or in the process of joining the Russian imperial domain.

As Zaur Gasimov pointed out, the “circulation of ideas” between the Russian and Ottoman empires at the turn of the 20th century existed thanks to works of Turkic Muslim emigrants from Russia (Y. Akçura/Akchurin, C. S. Kırimer, A. Agoğlu/Agaev), who subsequently influenced a lot on formation of pan-Turkism in Turkey. According to Gasimov, moreover, future pan-Turkists were impressed by pan-Slavic [sic!] texts of N. Danilevsky, F. Dostoevsky or K. Aksakov, which constituted a dream of a *pan-Slavic* state under the auspice of Russia with a capital in *Tsargrad* (Constantinople). Such appeals, accordingly, were perceived by them as a great threat to the Ottoman empire [25, pp. 448–472].

So, Yusuf Akçura², while in Russia in 1904, anonymously published a three-part article called “Three Policies” (*Üç tarz-ı siyaset*) [26], which is considered to be a ground-break-

² Yusuf Akçura (Akçura, Akçuraoglu) (1876–1935) was a cousin of Ismail Gasprinskii's wife Zuhra and was known in Gasprinskii's house. He descended from a rich Tatar family of Akçuras from Simbirsk (present-day Ulyanovsk). After the death of his father, his family went to Constantinople where Akçura finished school and a military academy. He returned to Russia in 1903 and played a major part in All-Russian Muslim congresses (1903–1905). Moreover, since 1904 he was a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party of Russia. After Young Turks gained power, he came back to the Ottoman Empire, where starting in 1911 he published pan-Turkic journal *Türk yurdu* (Turkic Motherland). After 1915 he was interested in realizing the pan-Turkic project and even had a meeting with Vladimir Lenin in Zürich.

ing text for pan-Turkism. According to Akçura, these ‘three policies’ were the Ottomanism, Islamism and pan-Turkism. He briefly observed their history and then counted the pros and contras of each, therefore coming to conclusion, that the only fitting ideology for the Ottoman empire was the pan-Turkism.

Noteworthy, that the “Three Policies” to a great extent predetermines even modern studies of pan-Turkism. Nearly every related case-study reiterates the same arguments against the Ottomanism and pan-Islamism as those of Akçura, while explaining the reasons of their failure to consolidate the late-imperial Ottoman community.

Ismail Gasprinskii within the pan-Turkic discourse

One may say that there are two basic texts about the history of pan-Turkism. It is “Principles of Turkism” (*Türkçülüğün esasları*, 1923) by Ziya Gökalp³ [2] and “History of Turkism” (*Türkçülüğün tarihi*, 1928) by Yusuf Akçura [3].

According to both Gökalp and Akçura, ‘Turkism thought’ was inspired by European authors such as Arthur Lumley Davids, Joseph de Guignes, Arminius Vambery, and Leon Cahun, whose works were the first academic research on Turkic history with an image of the heroic ancient Turkic warrior, opposed to then-modern lazy and decadent Ottoman. As for Turkic founders of “Turkism” (i. e. pan-Turkism) there were listed Mustafa Celal-edin Paşa (formerly known as Konstanty Borzşekci), Süleyman Paşa, Ahmet Vefik Paşa, Necip Asım Yazıksız, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, Mirza Fethali Ahundov, Ismail Gasprinskii, Ahmet Agaev, Yusuf Akçura, and Ziya Gökalp, most of whom were either of Polish origin or originated from the Russian Empire. Interestingly, that the historiography of Turkish nationalism usually reiterates this list to a word.

At the same time, Ziya Gökalp only briefly touched on the Gasprinskii’s role in the history of pan-Turkism: “the second [of two “fathers of pan-Turkism” from Russia] was Ismail Gasprinskii who was publishing the *Terjiman* newspaper in Crimea, which promoted one of the main principles of Turkism about “Unity in language, thoughts, deeds”. “The language of *Terjiman* was understandable for both eastern and western Turkic peoples. They understood that there was a need in common language for all Turkic speakers. This newspaper is a living proof that there is a possibility to unify all Turkic peoples with one language” [2, pp. 12–13].

Akçura, however, gives a detailed biography of Gasprinskii in the “History of Turkism”, highlighting, in particular, his stay in Istanbul in 1874–75. According to Akçura, Gasprinskii repeatedly sought to get a job in one of the Ottoman governmental structures and, at the same time, he was writing the articles about the city and the empire for various Russian newspapers, therefore starting his journalism activities [3, p. 96]. Indeed, Gasprinskii was a reporter of a Russian newspaper *Novoye Vremya* (*New Time*) in this period [27, p. 176]. Contrary to Akçura’s belief, however, Gasprinskii was going not to get a job in Istanbul but to enroll to a military college⁴ [28, p. 128].

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey he became a strong follower of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In 1931 an influential Turkish Historical Society (*Türk tarih kurumu*) was founded under his supervision.

³ Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924) was a Turkish political figure, thinker, writer and publicist who was also engaged into conceptualization of pan-Turkism. He was a member of the Committee of Union and Progress which came to power in 1908 and was quite inclined to pan-Turkism.

⁴ Then-ambassador of the Russian empire Count Ignatiev protested Gasprinskii’s appeal to the Grand Vezier Mahmud Nedim Paşa and Gasprinskii therefore was refused entry.

Akçura also draws much attention to an early stage of Gasprinskii's publishing activities, pointing out that even before *Terjiman* he published two volumes of collected articles in 1882, *Tonguch (First-born)* and *Shafak (Daybreak)*. According to Akçura, there are some examples of Gasprinskii's pan-Turkic views in these volumes, which by the way are very few and could be found only by reading between the lines. Additionally, Akçura insists on "pan-Turkic" meaning of Terjiman's slogan "Unity in language, thoughts, deeds" [3, pp. 104–106].

As we assume, there is an intertextual myth about Gasprinskii's studying in a Moscow Military School in 1864–1867, which predetermines his future image as a pan-Turkist. According to this myth, his school life was amidst the atmosphere of a "radical pan-Slavism". Consequently, Gasprinskii with his friend Mustafa Davidovich left school and sought to escape to Turkey to take part in Cretan Revolt of 1866–1869 on the Ottoman side. In a similar vein, some authors insisted on Gasprinskii's acquaintance with the editor of *Moskovskiiie vedomosti (Moscow News)* Mikhail Katkov (1818–1887), whose "pan-Slavic views" supposedly influenced Gasprinskii's national identity and political views.

This myth traced back to Akçura's "History of Turkism", which states:

"National feeling and national consciousness awakened in him during his years in Russian military school. The reason for this were the articles about the Cretan Revolt, written by Katkov and targeting Turks, as well as following discussions in an ultra-nationalist Russian family, in whose house Gasprinskii has been spending Sundays. At that time Ismail-bey was 14–15 years old. Passionate articles in *Moskovskiiie vedomosti*, where Mikhail Katkov harshly criticized Turks and Muslims, angered Ismail-bey some much, that in the summer of 1867 he with his friend (Mustafa Mirza Davidovicz) decided to go to Crete and offer all his military skills, that he gained during his years in a military school. But in Odessa gendarmes took his friend and him off the boat because of absent passports and sent them home to their parents" [3, pp. 93–95].

Despite Akçura's close acquaintance with Gasprinskii, who was a husband of his cousin Zukhra Akçurina, Yusuf Akçura was hardly an impartial expert on the latter's biography. Thus, according to the official excerpt from the Moscow military gymnasium, Gasprinskii didn't finish the whole course there, while being "dismissed for family reasons" [29, p. 215]. That consequently casts doubt over the Akçura's version about Odessa adventure.

Moreover, it remains unclear whether Gasprinskii and M. Katkov were acquainted at all. At least none of them leave a record on this point. Incidentally, however, in August 1887, two weeks after the death of the editor of *Moskovskiiie vedomosti*, Gasprinskii published in *Terjiman* an obituary, highlighting Katkov's prominent contribution to Russian journalism [30].

Nevertheless, the history of Gasprinskii's acquaintance with Katkov was furthered in a very popular in Turkey and frequently quoted biographical book *Gaspiralı Ismail-bey*, published in 1934 in Istanbul. The author is Cafer Seydahmet Kırımer (1889–1960), a widely known Crimean-Tatar politician, high-rank administrator in the Government of the Crimean People's Republic (December 1917 — February 1918) and a Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sulkiwicz's Crimean Regional Government (June–November 1918), who emigrated to Turkey in 1918. In Kırımer's book, M. Katkov is mistakenly named Ivan and has a professor degree. Kırımer also repeats the story of Gasprinskii's attempt to participate in a Cretan Revolt [4, pp. 17–18].

In all probability, it was in this book exactly that Gasprinskii was named in a Turkish manner as “Gaspıralı” for the first time [4, p. 16]. This form later was fixed in a Turkish and partially in a Western discourse. Gasprinskii himself, however, has never used this “Gaspıralı” form, signing only by his official surname. Moreover, this book, despite several blunders, predetermined Gasprinskii’s image as an initiator of a Turkic-Muslim struggle for independence from the Russian Empire [For example: 31, pp. 970–980; 32, p. 392].

Thus, according to V. H. Basher, one of the authors of an influential pan-Turkic journal *Türk yurdu*, Kırımer’s book was one of a few sources about Gasprinskii’s biography in Turkey as before the collapse of the USSR Turkish scholars lacked access to archives of the “Terjiman” and other sources, located in the Soviet Union [33, p. 84]. Notably, as early as in 1934, a Berlin-based magazine *Osteuropa* published an article “Ismail Gasprinskii: on the issue of national movement of Russian Turks” (*Ismail-bey Gasprinskii: zur nationalen Bewegung der Russlandtürken*) by Gerhard von Mende (1904–1963)⁵, a German orientalist close to the SS. This article was actually a positive review of Kırımer’s book and was focused on strengthening the narrative of Russian Turks as a “single nation”, actively struggling for its independence from the Russian Empire [6, pp. 39–44].

Getting back to the subject of acquaintance between Gasprinskii and Katkov and former’s supposed escape to Turkey, there are some contemporary studies, which continue the line, suggested by Akçura. For instance, a modern Turkish scholar Y. Sarinay, with the reference to M. Saray, believes that Katkov was one of Gasprinskii’s teachers in a military school, even though Katkov has never taught there [35, p. 54]. C. W. Hostler, the author of a “Turkism and the Soviets, claims that Gasprinskii spent a summer with Katkov’s family [36, pp. 127–128]. Additionally, Turkish historian I. Turkoglu describes Katkov as a friend of Gasprinskii’s parents, who took Gasprinskii under his wing during latter’s school years in Moscow [37, pp. 1445–1446].

The similar narrative can be found in a modern four-volume set *Ismail Gaspıralı. Selected Works (İsmail Gaspıralı. Seçilmiş eserleri)*, edited by Y. Akpınar and published by Ötüken publishing house⁶. In the foreword to the 4th volume, Akpınar states: “Pan-Slavism or Russian ultra-nationalism became a widespread and important ideology among Russian military man and intelligentsia in the middle of the 19th century and was very influential in military schools. Gasprinskii’s national identity started to form in the atmosphere of hostility to Muslims and Turks, which he learned and observed in a Moscow military school” [38, p. 12]. Akpınar also repeated the myth about Gasprinskii’s escape to join the Cretan Revolt.

At the same time, there is another significant point to predetermine Gasprinskii’s image as an ideologist of pan-Turkism. It is a slogan “Unity in language, thoughts, deeds”, which for the first time appeared in a heading of *Terjiman* only in 1912, two years before Gasprinskii’s death. The authors, who seeks to embed this slogan into pan-Turkic dis-

⁵ Gerhard von Mende was born in the Russian Empire, in Riga, in a rich banker’s family. In 1918 his father was killed by Bolsheviks and the family escaped to Germany. During World War II he served as head of the Caucasus division at the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territory, but despite his nationalistic views wasn’t a nazi himself. He actively participated in the formation of volunteer Muslim SS army units. After the end of the war he was one of the leading specialists on USSR’s Muslims and was the head of Eastern European Research Center sponsored by German Ministry of Foreign Affairs [34, 24–27].

⁶ Ötüken is one of the main Turkish publishing houses, focused on literature about Turks, Turkic peoples, Turkish nationalism and nationalists. The very name of this publishing house refers to a heritage of ancient Turks.

course, however, believe that the essence of Gasprinskii's longstanding editorial policy in *Terjiman* was to unite all Turkic peoples under the auspice of Turkey (for example: Gökalp; Akçura; Kırimer).

Moreover, several Turkish newspapers and magazines of pan-Turkic orientation use the slogan "Unity in language, thoughts, deeds" to present themselves as followers of "Gasprinskii's principles". First of all, there is the oldest pan-Turkic magazine *Türk yurdu*⁷ (*Turkic motherland*), which was founded by Y. Akçura and publishing intermittently from 1911⁸. The magazine is issued in Turkish or, upon its own statement, in Turkish Turkic language⁹. Its logo consists of the symbol of pan-Turkism: a "Bozkurt" ("Grey Wolf"), the slogan "Unity in language, thoughts, deeds", and the year of its establishment, 1911. One of its main sections is a "Turkic world".

The second is a Turkey-based Crimean Tatar newspaper *Qırım'ın sesi*¹⁰ (*Voice of Crimea*). It presents itself as the heir of *Terjiman*, using the slogan "Unity in language, thoughts, deeds" to promote the unification of all Turkic peoples of the world under the auspice of Turkey. The newspaper, in the line with pan-Turkic discourse, names different Turkic peoples according to their living area — "Crimean Turks" (Crimean Tatars), "Azerbaijan Turks" (Azeris), etc. At the same time the date of the newspaper's first issue (27th of February 2015) refers to "the anniversary of Crimea's occupation by Russia" — namely, the 27th of February 2014, when the Russian flags were put up on the state institutions after a demonstration, held the day before near the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Crimea in Simferopol¹¹.

Another media outlet in this list is a Turkey-based Crimean Tatar magazine *Emel (Aim)*¹². Its founder was Mustejip Ulkusal (1899–1996), — a prominent Romanian-Turkish activist of Crimean Tatar origin, close fellow of C. S. Kırimer¹³. Despite the magazine is issued in Turkish, it believes itself to be those, who maintain and develop the Crimean

⁷ Magazine's web page: <https://www.turkyurdu.com.tr/index.php>

⁸ *Türk yurdu* was published in 1911–1918 in Constantinople and was connected to "Turkish hearths". The magazine renewed its activity in Ankara in 1923–1931. Between 1943–1987 publishing was not very regular. Since 1987 magazine was reborn and now issues regularly as the official mouthpiece of modern *Turkish Hearths*.

⁹ It is typical pan-Turkic perception of all Turkic languages as dialect of common Turkic language. Even so separate languages are called "Turkish Turkic", "Azeri Turkic", "Tatar Turkic". The magazine owned by Professor Mehmet Oz, who leads the head office of the "Turkish Hearths" organization — a cultural wing of an ultra-nationalist Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), associated with pan-Turkic ideology.

¹⁰ This newspaper is one of the main informational sources about Crimean Tatar diaspora of Turkey, publishes information about the life of different Turkic communities on a regular basis and has a special section "Turkic world". The newspaper is published in latinised Crimean Tatar language, but some of the articles are in Turkish or Azerbaijani.

¹¹ For example: <https://crimea.ria.ru/krymskayavesna/20160227/1103455665.html>

¹² Initially, *Emel* was established in Romania, being published there from 1931 to 1941. In 1941 magazine's editor-in-chief M. Ulkusal emigrated from Romania to Turkey and then re-established the *Emel* magazine in Ankara in 1960.

¹³ M. Ulkusal was born in the Romanian part of Dobruja region, inhabited by a Crimean Tatar community up to this day. During the short existence of Crimean People's Republic (December, 1917 — February, 1918) he moved to Crimea and collaborated with the republican government under the leadership of Noman Chelebijhan and Cafer Seydahmet (Kırimer). After the crushing of the government, Ulkusal returned to Romania and later left to Turkey after closing of "*Emel*" magazine in 1941. In 1942 after complete German occupation of Crimea he visited Berlin with Cafer Seydahmet Kırimer trying to find support among the leaders of the Third Reich for the idea of creating a Crimean Tatar Government on the peninsula. They did not get what they sought and returned to Turkey empty-handed.

Tatar language. The official mission of the “Emel Kırım” foundation¹⁴, which owning the magazine, is the following: “According to aims of Crimean Tatar national movement and pledge of “Unity in language, thoughts, deeds” bequeathed to us by Gasprinskii, to investigate in a scientific and popular format the culture, civilization, history, language, literature and art of Turkic peoples of the world, especially Crimean Tatars, and promote research works of this kind, spread and popularize them”¹⁵.

Additionally, there are many scientific and public events, which held in Turkey under the slogan “Unity in language, thoughts, deeds”¹⁶, particularly those are under the auspice of the “Turkish Hearths”¹⁷. Moreover, even prominent Turkish politicians use this slogan in their speeches. Among them are the current president of the Republic of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan¹⁸, and leader of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) Devlet Bahçeli¹⁹, who is currently a coalition partner of Erdoğan.

All of the aforesaid answer the question, that we posed in the beginning of this article. Namely, why exactly it was Turkey, who suggested Gasprinskii to be included in an annual UNESCO-list of historic events and of eminent personalities in 2014.

Conclusion

Gasprinskii’s project, aiming at consolidating and empowering the Russian Muslims as a particular group of imperial subjects, was based primarily on the aspiration to provide the conditions for their better integration into imperial society. Gradually, though, this project evolved into the idea of national-cultural autonomy for Muslims within the Russian Empire.

However, the transfer of this ideas without their context and their adoption in Turkish “national field” amidst the conceptualization of pan-Turkism in the late decade of the Ottoman Empire, led to their significant reinterpretation.

Popularization of Gasprinskii’s image as an ideologist of pan-Turkism became possible thanks to his aspiration to create common literary language for Russian Muslims as well as thanks to his slogan “Unity in language, thoughts, deeds”, which seamlessly blended into the pan-Turkic discourse as a “unifying principle” aiming at political consolidation of different Turkic peoples under the auspice of Turkey.

In the line with the pan-Turkic discourse in Turkey many significant aspects of Gasprinskii’s biography along with the actual essence of his project were either eliminated from narratives as irrelevant or significantly rewritten. This is how the myths of Gasprinskii’s acquaintance with M. Katkov as well as of his attempt to participate in the

¹⁴ The foundation was established in 1986 for publishing the magazine

¹⁵ More details.: <http://www.emelvakfi.org/yazi.asp?YaziNo=2358> tarihçe

¹⁶ For example: <https://www.turkocaklari.org.tr/sube/turhal-subesi/turhal-subesinden-39-dilde-iste-fikirde-birlik-39-paneli-5116>; <https://www.sondakika.com/haber/haber-dilde-fikirde-iste-birlik-paneli/>; <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/kultur-sanat/korkut-ata-turk-dunyasi-film-festivali-8-aralikta-baslayacak/2038269>

¹⁷ For example <https://www.turkocaklari.org.tr/haberler/eskisehir-subesi-dilde-fikirde-iste-birlik-siari-lya-faaliyetlerine-devam-ediyor-10170>

¹⁸ For example: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/politika/mhp-genel-baskani-bahceli-turkce-durus-gosterirsek-milli-vicdanin-cagrisini-isitiriz/1264754>

¹⁹ For example: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-bir-kere-yukselen-bayrak-bir-daha-inmez/1613417>

Cretan Revolt emerged, both objectifying the struggle against Russian pan-Slavism. At the same time, the fact that Gasprinskii's project was focused on Russian Muslims and, therefore, was not applicable for non-Muslim Turks or Turks from abroad, was also concealed. Moreover, the slogan "Unity in language, thoughts, deeds" was portrayed as Gasprinskii's long-standing editorial policy in the "Terjiman", even though this slogan did not exist until October of 1912.

Thus, Ismail Gasprinskii was listed among the proponents of the pan-Turkism in early 1920s, well after his death, in the classic works of Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura, the founders of this ideological bent in Turkey. Henceforth, such an image was furthered in a biographical essay of Gasprinskii written by C. S. Kırımer in 1934, never afterwards being revised in Turkish historiography.

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«Единство в языке, мыслях, делах»: идеи Исмаила Гаспринского и концептуализация тюркского национализма в Турции*

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На рубеже XIX–XX вв. российско-мусульманский просветитель и журналист Исмаил Гаспринский (1851–1914) выступил с культурно-политическим проектом для российских мусульман, который в условиях Первой русской революции (1905–1907) трансформировался в идею мусульманской национально-культурной автономии в составе Российской империи. Позднее некоторые идеи И. Гаспринского получили новые ин-

* Статья является результатом исследовательского проекта, реализованного в рамках Программы фундаментальных исследований в Национальном исследовательском университете «Высшая школа экономики».

терпретации, а сам он стал известен, в первую очередь в СССР и Турции, как идеолог пантюркизма. Рассматриваются процесс встраивания образа Исмаила Гаспринского в пантюркистский дискурс в Турции и авторы, способствовавшие включению И. Гаспринского в число идеологов этого течения. Среди них основоположники пантюркизма в Турции Юсуф Акчура и Зия Гёкальп, которые в своих канонических текстах популяризировали соответствующий образ И. Гаспринского. Вместе с тем дается краткий анализ мусульманского культурно-политического проекта, предложенного Исмаилом Гаспринским, наряду с ключевыми идеями пантюркизма. В ходе исследования удалось выделить два центральных нарратива, на основе которых в Турции закрепился образ Гаспринского-пантюркиста, — миф о его обучении в Московской военной гимназии в условиях «воинствующего панславизма» и пантюркистская интерпретация лозунга «Единство в языке, мыслях, делах», под которым с октября 1912 г. выходила газета Исмаила Гаспринского «Переводчик-Терджиман».

Ключевые слова: Исмаил Гаспринский, Юсуф Акчура, Зия Гёкальп, газета «Переводчик-Терджиман», российские мусульмане, пантюркизм, панславизм.

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