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Ziya Gökalp'in Düşüncelerindeki Bazı Anahtar Kelimelere Dair / M. Balcı (1-14. s.)

Ziya Gökalp'in Düşüncelerindeki Bazı Anahtar Kelimelere Dair

Mustafa BALCI[1]

Öz

Ziya Gökalp de İstiklal Marşı şairi Mehmet Akif gibi Tanzimat'tan sonra açılan Batı tarzı okullardan biri olan Baytar Mektebini bitirmiş ve başta pozitivizm olmak üzere bu okullarda devrin etkili düşünce akımlarının tesirinde kalmıştır. Türkçü veya Türk milliyetçisi olarak serdettiği görüş ve düşüncelerinde devrin en baskın fikir akımı, hatta bir inanç manzumesi olarak bile kabul edilen pozitivizmin etkilerini görmek mümkün. Balkan Harbi ile yaşanan çöküş travması,1. Cihan Harbi yıllarında etkisini sürdürmüştür. Ziya Gökalp'in fikirlerinin oluşum dönemi 2. Meşrutiyet devrinden önceye gitse de zihnen olgunlaşmış eserlerini verdiği dönem 20. asrın ilk 20 yılıdır. Söz konusu dönem Osmanlı devletinin yıkılışı ve yeni bir devlet olarak Cumhuriyetin kuruluşu yıllarına denk gelir. Yıkılmaya karşı durma ve yeniyi inşa etme arasında topluma, devlete çözüm yolları göstermeye çalışmış bir entelektüel olarak Ziya Gökalp İslamlaşmak, Türkleşmek gibi o devrin yabancısı olduğu yeni sözler kullanır. Bu kavramlar gibi kendi düşüncelerini ifade ettiği birtakım anahtar kelimeleri sıklıkla kullanmıştır. Bazısı topluma, bazısı düşünceye bazısı da iktisadi yapıya dönük olan bu kelimeler Ziya Gökalp düşüncesinin anlaşılmasında anahtar rolü üstlenmektedir. Dilin imkânlarını kullanarak türettiği söz konusu kavramlar yanında tarihe mal olmuş, edebi ve fikrî hafızadan silinmiş birtakım kelimelere de yeniden ruh vermiş ve bu türden bazı kelimeleri tekrar kullanıma sokmuştur. Bu makalede Ziya Gökalp'in fikrî ve edebî yazılarında sık kullandığı bazı kelime ve kavramlar üzerinde durulacak, Ziya Gökalp'in düşüncelerinde ve edebî metinlerindeki işlevleri gösterilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Pozitivizm, Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak, Kızıl Elma, Töre.

Some Remarks on Certain Keywords in Ziya Gökalp's Thought

Abstract

Just like Mehmed Akif, known as the poet of the Hymn to Independence (*İstiklal Marşı şairi*), Ziya Gökalp also obtained his degree from the School of Veterinary Medicine (*Baytar Mektebi*), which was one of the prominent schools opened during the post-Tanzimat period; and was thus highly influenced by contemporary strands of thought, and notably positivism. Hence, it is easy to discern the impact of positivism upon the ideas he propounded as a Turkish or Turkish nationalist. The trauma of collapse that the Ottoman Empire suffered in the wake of the Balkan War continued into the First World War years. Although the formation period of his ideas can be traced back to the years before the Second Constitutional Period, it was actually the first two decades of the 20th century when Ziya Gökalp penned his works of intellectual maturity and sophistication. The years in question correspond to the end of the Ottoman Empire and foundation of the Turkish Republic. As an intellectual striving to propose remedies for the Late Ottoman society and the state while faced with the dual mission of standing up against the collapse of the Empire and building a new society, Ziya Gökalp largely drew upon certain keywords expressing his own original ideas, along with the-then popular concepts such as Islamisation, Turkisation and modernization. Some of them pertaining to

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sociology and some others to ideology and economy, these keywords play a central role in understanding Ziya Gökalp's thought.

Key words: Positivism, Turkisation, Islamisation, Modernization, Golden Apple (*Kızıl Elma*), Code (*Töre*).

Introduction

The presence of Turkish in Anatolia as a written language dates back to the first half of the 13th century. Starting with Orkhon Inscriptions and followed by Uyghur and Karakhanid Turkic, this written language largely presents continuity, albeit certain geographical differences. In this sense, it is the continuation of Karakhanid Turkic involving an alphabet change and Uighur Turkic with its literary tradition. Flourishing in the Anatolian landmass as the written form of Oghuz dialect, however, this language developed mostly under the guidance of Arabic and Persian, rather than its two predecessors. Thus, the writing tradition of Oghuz dialect mainly rests upon the orthography of the Quran.

Oghuz dialect was established as a written language during age of principalities (*beylik*s), and later on evolved into the language of a global power under the Ottomans.

Emerging in Western Anatolia and expanding continuously towards the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire was actually the continuation of a small frontier principality surrounded by non-Muslim populations. Combined together with mass conversions in western territories, the unceasing Turkish migration from the east thanks to the sustainable settlement policy applied to the newly-conquered lands brought about a natural increase in Muslim population, which was paralleled by the expanding frontiers in the Balkan lands.

With the *devşirme* law enacted under Murad II, the state started to recruit children gifted with certain talents, particularly those of non-Muslim Ottoman subjects in the Balkans. Taken away from their families and raised with a strong education program, children undergoing this process were eventually supposed to grow into skilled soldiers and bureaucrats. The act in question was intended to serve two main goals: Meeting the military personnel needs of the state, and facilitating the growth of Muslim population in Rumelia. Starting from the reign of Murad II, this practice of employing *devşirme*s in the army and later in various government departments gained an even greater momentum under Mehmed the Conqueror. In the eyes of the famous Turkish historian Uzunçarşılı, the *devşirme*s had a crucial impact on and substantial contribution to the state administration: "*So long as the devşirme law was carefully and duly executed, there were numerous statesmen such as viziers, governors who managed to climb among rank-and-file palace devşirmes (who were termed as "içoğlanı" by the palace household) raised with Turkish culture in particular, and many of them even succeeded in rising as high as the rank of Grand Vizier.*" (Uzunçarşılı, 1978)

This group termed by Uzunçarşılı as "*palace devşirmes*", some of whom were even lucky enough to be promoted to Grand Vizier, was recruited among novice Janissaries (*acemi oğlanlar*). They were highly-qualified statesmen educated in the institution known as Enderun (the inner court), "which was created under Murad II in the palace of Edirne but developed into a fully-fledged entity during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror" (İpşirli 1995). Turkified and Islamized over time, this bureaucratic cadre was a well-cultivated elite, which is manifested by their remarkable skill in using the Turkish language. All across Ottoman history, along with many great poets of *devşirme* origin; *devşirme*s also arguably

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formed a considerable portion of people who were employed in positions such as scribe, *reisülküttâb* (foreign affairs secretary), *nişancı* (chancellor) and *vak'anüvis* (chronicler), and who, one way or another, occupied themselves with writing as a profession. Given as well the *devşirme*s and others employed through various means, it would be easy to assume the existence of a substantial non-Turkish element among those who used Turkish as the language of either official correspondence or literature.

Starting to learn Turkish at the earliest at the age of eight and at latest at the age of twenty, members of this elite cadre had another point in common, i.e. their knowledge of Arabic and Persian besides Turkish. Owing to their almost equal command of these three languages which they acquired after their native tongues, the extremely rich vocabulary eventually provided Ottoman Turkish with a nearly unlimited capability to benefit from the two languages. This in turn equipped Turkish language with a solid background whereby any loanwords or loan translations from Arabic or Persian could easily be adopted for use.

The Ottoman Empire was organized in such a way that it was governed and ruled all its lands through *firman*s. It was *firman*s where the influence of Ottoman Turkish and power of the government were most strongly felt. Bearing the *tuğra* (official seal of the Sultan), *firman*s are the primary indicators of sovereignty reflecting the power and glory of the Empire in its peremptory wording and grave, fervent and pompous style. Echoing the grandeur and sovereignty of the state, the language used in *firman*s also manifested itself as the hallmark of literary language in genres such as *gazel* and *kaside*. Prose was composed using this same linguistic style as an indicator of masterfulness. Often criticized and repudiated by Ömer Seyfettin (1989:63-68) as "the language of the *Enderun*", this linguistic style had been created out of necessity and fulfilled the needs in the Imperial Age.

At certain points in history, this linguistic style was protested by some who argued that a more plain language should be preferred at the expense of such pompous style used in texts. One of the well-known examples of such protestors was the literary movement of *Türkî-yi Basit* (plain Turkish) that emerged in the 16th century and was most prominently represented by poets such as Tatavlalı Mahremî, Edirneli Nazmî, and Mahremî. Moreover, all poets using the Turkish syllabic meter and were also versed in Ottoman divan poetry were in fact among the unnamed proponents of the *Türkî-yi Basit* movement.

At the government level, Selim III ordered the official chronicler Edib Efendi through an imperial rescript (*hatt-ı hümayun*) to compose texts using a comprehensible language (clear expression or *açık ibare*), a fact mentioned by Enver Z. Karal (2001:52). The successor of Selim III, Mahmud II also continued this policy of clear expression. (Karal, 2001:53)

Developed during the age of principalities as a written language, the Anatolia-based Turkish language was then refined and expanded in parallel with the global expansion of the Ottoman lands. Transforming into a common language used in different parts of the Empire, it became a focus of political and literary debates from the early 19th-century onwards.

Many factors triggering such debates emerged one after another. One of such debates concerned the transition from written language to printed language. As a result of the introduction of printing press to the Ottoman Empire, texts produced and printed in the capital came to be widely read and demanded in all across the Empire, which entailed standardization in language. Proliferation of books, newspapers and magazines as a result of printing press and establishment of European-style schools during the Tanzimat era brought about the need for a standard education language along with a parallel

philosophical, scientific and literary language. Accessibility of newspapers and magazines to the general public required writers and poets to use an average press and literary language.

Emergence of the abovementioned circumstances led to debates on multiple levels revolving around Turkish language, which opened up different avenues of action with regard to their consequences. After having survived with a handful of dictionaries for centuries, the Turkish language later acquired tens of dictionaries during the twenty-year period from the last decade of the 19th century to the first decade of the 20th century.

Officially starting with the imperial rescript of Selim III calling for "clear expression", the debates on Turkish language were argued by many statesmen, scientists, and men of culture and art and created some changes observed to a certain extent as a result of policies adopted in various areas. One of the participants of these debates that continued in the early 20th century was Ziya Gökalp, who had his own views on the current condition and development of Turkish language, comprehensible and practical education language, and how to ensure the competitiveness of Turkish with European languages as a scientific and philosophical language and who expressed his views on different occasions, suggested solutions, and applied his solutions in his own texts.

Ziya Gökalp and His Views on Turkish Language

Born in the First Constitutional Period, Ziya Gökalp is one of the influential figures who, with his works and ideas, helped set the agenda during the transition from the Second Constitutional Period to the Early Republican Era. He is also renown for voluminous poems he composed, though they are not of great literary value. Instead, he rather distinguished himself as a Turkish nationalist thinker with his works on philosophy and sociology. A series of articles he published for various journals under the name *Türkçülüğün Umdeleri* (Principles of Turkism) was later published as a separate book titled *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Fundamentals of Turkism) (1339/1923).

A Turkish nationalist thinker with his ideas concerning the status of Turkish and language debates of the period as well as his relevant objections and responses, Gökalp puts forward certain views and a blueprint for the culturalization (*tahrîs / harslaşma*) and refinement (*tezhîb*) of Turkish language. His ideas on language appear in his works of various genre. Considering poetry to be a suitable channel for voicing his opinions along with essays and articles, Gökalp chose verse to express his ideas on language, say, with his poem *Lisan* (Language). Yet, as far as the very essence of his ideas on Turkish language is concerned, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* was the most important work where he attempted to present a systematic assessment, offer solutions and potential courses of action. The first chapter of the book is titled *Türkçülüğün Programı* (The Program of Turkism), which in turn contains the first section named *Lisanî Türkçülük* (Linguistic Turkism). Under the following subsections, this section delves into an assessment and discussion, which is followed by methods recommended to cultivate and refine "New Turkish": The Written and Spoken Languages (*Yazı Dili Konuşma Dili*), Arabic and Persian Loanwords Borrowed into Popular Language (*Halk Lisanına Girmiş Arapça ve Farsça Kelimeler*), Turkists and Purists (*Türkçüler ve Fesahatçiler*), Modes, Particles and Compounds (*Sigalar, Edatlar, Terkibler*), Culturalization and Refinement of New Turkish (*Yeni Türkçenin Harslaştırılması ve Tehzîbi*), and Principles of Linguistic Turkism (*Lisanî Türkçülüğün Umdeleri*). Subsequently, in order to lay the foundations "New Turkish", he lists the tenets of Linguistic Turkism, consisting of eleven articles (1339:97-122). Apart from his general comments on Turkish, his proposals for reforming and improving the language are equally noteworthy in this respect.

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According to Gökalp, those developing attitudes toward language issues could be considered under three categories: Turkists (*Türkçüler*), purists (*tasfiyeciler*) and standardists (*fesahatçiler*). Turkists, i.e. the group he represented, were in favor of constructing a language based on the spoken language that would constantly develop, expand and renew itself in the face of Europe. Purists advocated the policy of eliminating all Arabic and Persian words in Turkish and instead borrowing words from Old Turkic or Turkic dialects. Standardists, on the other hand, were the group in favor of hypercorrection, claiming that Arabic and Persian elements had to be used and articulated not according to the phonetics and semantics of the vernacular language, but in line with grammar rules, meanings and pronunciations of the donor language (1339:106-108)

Gökalp was the one to define the position of Turkists vis-à-vis the purists and standardists. He discusses the methodology required to construct the "New Turkish" in the subsection Culturalization and Refinement of New Turkish (*Yeni Türkçenin Harslaştırılması ve Tehzîbi*) under *Lisanî Türkçülük* (Linguistic Turkism): In this sense, he identifies two important steps to be taken, i.e. relieving the language of its extra weight and meeting its new needs. Here, the core of the matter and the hardest part was to meet the missing needs: "Hence, the complete remedy for our written language lies in searching for such missing words and bring them into place within our linguistic organism. This is the positive goal of new Turkish." (1339:116)

In the subsequent paragraphs, he notes certain steps to be taken toward the positive goal of a new Turkish. He argues that the missing words from the language are two parts, the first of which includes national expressions. Certain words existing in colloquial language should be compiled and added to new Turkish. Furthermore, works of folk literature and particularly the book of Dede Korkud, which is "comparable to the Iliad for Oghuz Turks" and "the mother of proper Turkish", will be a rich resource for the new Turkish language. (1339:117) Moreover, "one can also refer to other Turkish dialects" if need be. The second shortcoming concerns the "international words" required for "European concepts and meanings". "The most productive solution to construct these words in our language is that all literary masterpieces as well as all scientific and philosophical monographs written in European languages should be translated into the new Turkish language by first-rate language stylists with utmost care." (1339:118) Through such translations, the new Turkish language will adopt many new words, expressions, and difference linguistic nuances, which will add various capacities to Turkish. As for the method of developing new words needed during translation, Gökalp identifies several measures. The first is to refer to the Turkish language and this means referring to the vocabulary of Istanbul Turkish, which he defines as "the language used by the ladies of Istanbul". If the existing vocabulary does not suffice, then new words should be coined by combining Turkish root words with Turkish prefixes and suffixes. If this method is not the remedy, then one should fall back on Arabic and Persian vocabulary. When resorting to Arabic for scientific nomenclature, one should not look for grammatical constructions (*terkîb*), but rather single-word structures. Apart from all these, Gökalp underlines that the existence of certain foreign words of Western origin also needs to be tolerated.

Gökalp defined a broader methodology consisting of (i) using the existing Turkish words, (ii) Turkish word formation, (iii) borrowing Arabic and Persian words, (iv) word formation according to Arabic rules and finally, (v) directly borrowing "foreign" words and using them in line with Turkish orthography. Motivated by the ultimate goal of refining and enriching Turkish language, this methodology is well-reflected in certain words he used in his essays, articles and poems. Consequently, with a closer look into the key concepts of Ziya Gökalp's thought such as *töre* (law / custom), *Kızıl Elma* (Golden Apple),

türkleşmek (Turkification), *islamlaşmak* (Islamization), *muâsırlaşmak* (modernization), *hars* (culture) and *mefkûre* (ideal); it would be easy to identify them as the products of linguistic Turkism.

Töre

Widely used in literary texts of the 16th, 16th and 17th centuries, the word *töre* later on lost its popularity in the two subsequent centuries, but still found its way to dictionaries in the form of lexical entries. According to the data in *Tarama Sözlüğü* (Thesaurus of the Turkish Language), the word was seen for the last time in literary language through the following couplet of the poet Sabit (1650-1712): "*Bu sohbetin hele ahbaba hoş gelir töresi/ Döğe döğe alınır bûse fasl-ı helvada*" (The etiquette of this association especially appeals to the friends / One forcefully snatches a kiss in the dessert banquet). Later examples belong to the 18th and 19th centuries, and are obtained exclusively from dictionaries. As poets and writes of the last two centuries of the Ottoman Empire did not pay much attention to the word up until Gökalp, *töre* did hardly appear in the language of the bureaucracy, politics and literature. Likewise, Ziya Gökalp was well aware that literary circles consigned the word almost to oblivion. For the opening sentence of his book Türk Töresi (The Turkish *Töre*) is as follows: "Customs dating from the time of Seljuks and early Ottomans were called the Oghuz *töre*" (Gökalp 1339:3). The present-day lexical meanings of the word and its areas of use engraved in social memory only appeared after the successful attempt by Ziya Gökalp to revive it.

The importance Gökalp attached to the term *töre* is evident from the fact that he dedicated a book titled *Türk Töresi*. Further, with his introductory remark that "one could also think that the word *töre* has might be cognate with the word *Türk*" (*Töre kelimesinin, Türk kelimesiyle bir cevherden olması da hatıra gelebilir*), he argues that there could even be some etymological connection between the word *Türk* and *töre* (p. 4). Though he accepts that this is still a "hypothesis" as Turkologists dismiss the claim, it signifies the importance he attached to the term "töre".

Türk Töresi consists of chapters called *mebhas*. The introductory part delves into a retrospective analysis of the word *töre*, starting from Ottomans back to the Seljuk, Karakhanid and Köktürk periods, respectively. The book contains five such chapters. While the first three investigates into the notion of religion among old Turks, the fourth chapter presents a discussion on old Turkic cosmogony and the pertinent legends, and the final chapter deals with the cosmogonic elements in the sagas.

Gökalp makes the following remarks on the word *töre* appearing in Orkhon Inscriptions: "Thomsen translated the word *törüg* here as "law". However, in another context, he interpreted it in the sense of institutions: "You, Turkic Oghuz lords and peoples, take heed to what I am telling [you]: Unless the sky above does collapse and unless the earth below does give way, who would be able to destroy your state and institutions?" (Écoutez, nobles et peuples des Ogouz turcs! Le ciel en haut ne les ayant pas écrasés, ni la terre en bas ayant éclaté, ô peuple turc, qui est-ce qui a ruiné ton empire et les institutions?) "In the first of these two examples, we see the words *törü* and *el* with the letter *kef* [g] in the forms *törüg* and *ilig*; while in the second they appear with the letter *nûn* [n] in the forms *törün* and *ilin*. The letters *kef* and *nûn* here are suffixes." (Gökalp 1339:3-4)[2]

In a similar vein, after quoting the sentence "eçüm apam bumın kagan istemi kagan olurmış türk bodunıŋ ilin törüsin tutabirmiş" ([above the sons of men stood] my ancestors Bumin Qaghan and İstämi

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[2]   Rendered into modern Turkish as follows: "Türk Oğuz Beyleri ve halkları işitiniz! Yukarıdan gök basmadıysa, aşağıdan yer delinmediyse, sizin devletinizi ve müesseselerinizi kim yıktı?"

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Qaghan. Having become the masters of the Türk people, they installed and ruled its empire and fixed the law of the country) in his work *Orhun Abideleri* (Orkhon Inscriptions), Şemseddin Sami makes the following remark about the word "*törü*" here: "*törü* means law and order, and is interestingly similar to the Hebrew words *tora* and *toran*".[3]

Found surprisingly evocative of the word *törü* in the eyes of Şemseddin Sami, the word *Tora*, has several meanings such as law, code, religious commandments etc. in Jewish sources. "It contains the first five books of Tanakh (Pentateuch) and the Ten Commandments revealed to Moses in Mount Sinai, all of which constitute a religious canon containing and celebrating the covenant between God and his people.[4] The word "tora" has its origins in the Hebrew word *torah*, which could be roughly translated as "teaching", "learning" or "law". [...] Tora, was written by Prophet Moses; thus, it is called "Moses' book of the law".[5] And Moses made an end of speaking all these words to all Israel, and he said unto them: "Set your hearts unto all the words which I testify among you this day, which ye shall command your children to observe to do, all the words of this law..."[6]

Originally a Hebrew word, Tora is a part of Old Testament or Tanakh, i.e. the Holy Book of Judaism. As the word was borrowed from Arabic to Turkish the form "tevrat" emerged out of the Arabic orthography (تـوراة), which eventually established itself as such in Turkish language:. In fact, its nominative form in Arabic also allows for pronouncing as "torah": As the sound 'o' originally lacks in Arabic, it can also be pronounced as "tūrah" or "tevrah/t". Tora refers to the body of rules binding Jews as it defines religious rules, laws regulating human relations and ordinances of prayer.

In relation to the term "töre", Gökalp recites the saying "El kaldı törü kalmaz" (One can abandon his state, but not his law), which was recorded by Mahmud al-Kasghari in his *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* (Compendium of the Language of Turks) (Atalay 1992: Vol. 2, p. 25), and remarks that, even if the word itself was forgotten, it still survived as a way of life: "Turks tend to migrate from places lost to the enemy to places where their national law still hold sway, which attests to the fact that the proverb is still alive in the souls without being put into words." (1339:4) Based on the meanings that Gökalp demonstrates by drawing upon historical sources, the term *töre* in Turkish refers to the body of rules strictly binding a community, though not related to any monotheistic religion. As some form of devotion that is not abandoned regardless of the place of residence, تـوره (töre/tora) is the indispensable foundation for two different societies.

Did the semantic and phonetic similarity between *tora* and *töre* occur as a result of some contamination, or is it a very ancient borrowing or influence? Or could it be an archaic word dating from Turks belonging to old monotheistic religions? It seems unlikely to answer such questions with the information at hand.

Tarama Sözlüğü (Thesaurus of the Turkish Language) and *Yeni Tarama Sözlüğü* (New Thesaurus of the Turkish Language) provide the word only as its variant "türe", revealing that lexicographers based their entry on the pronunciation in local dialects. For the orthographic form تـور allows both the pronunciations *töre* and *türe*. Starting from the most recent dictionary by Devellioğlu and going back to some late Ottoman dictionaries such as *Kamus-ı Türkî, Lehçetü'l-lugat, Cudî Lugati*, one cannot find

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[3]   Orhun Yazıtları -Türkçedeki İlk Çalışmalar- ed. M. Balcı, p. 47, Konya, 2011
[4]   http://yahudilik.uzerine.com/index.jsp?objid=3398 (Accessed on 18.02.2018)
[5]   https://www.jw.org/tr/kutsal-kitabin-ogrettikleri/sorular/tora-pentatok/ (Accessed on 21.10.2017)
[6]   "Musa bütün bu kelimeleri tüm İsrail'e anlatmayı bitirdi. Ve onlara "Kalplerinize bugün size tanıklık etmeyi üstlendiğim tüm kelimeleri koyun, böylece çocuklarınıza Tora'nın tüm sözlerini yerine getirmeye uymalarını emredebilirsiniz" http://laitman.info.tr/category/tora/ (Accessed on 18.02.2018)

the word *töre*, indicating that it failed to secure itself a place to find its way into the official use of modern Turkish. Thus, it is a rarely-found linguistic phenomenon that Ziya Gökalp retrieved the word from history and popular dialects and brought it back to circulation.

Kızılelma

Kızılelma (Golden Apple) has been recognized as a sign of world domination and sovereignty throughout the history of Turks. Orhan Ş. Gökyay, who authored a series of articles and an entry under the Encyclopedia of Islam (*İslam Ansiklopedisi*) on Kızılelma, points out to the relation between the word and Ottoman sultans: "The Portraits of the Ottoman Sultans collection at the Topkapı Palace Museum (Bağdat Köşkü, nr. 408, vr. 32a) depicts an apple in the hands of seven sultans out of eight, from Mehmed Çelebi to Murad III. Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, Bayezid II, and Selim II hold the apples in their left hands, while the other sultans hold them in their right hands. Selim I, on the other hand, holds an apple in each hand". He states that the sultans regarded Kızılelma as the integrity of the Ottoman's everlasting reign. (İA Kızılelma)

The word Kızılelma faded into oblivion following the Tanzimat era (Gökyay, ibid). After the Balkan Wars, Gökalp resurfaced this symbolic notion, which is ever present in the profound memory of Turks. He authored a poetic story under the same name and re-invented Kızılelma for Turks as a symbol of a modern and prosperous lifestyle.

The poem was first published in 1913, and later in 1918 was included in a book under the same title (Tansel 1989:XLII). Following the Second Constitutional Period, another prominent figure, Ö. Seyfeddin also published a story under the same title. Ö. Seyfeddin's Kızılelma is built around the phrase "*Padişahım Kızılelma'yacak*" (To Golden Apple My Sultan), which was chanted by soldiers before the army set out for a campaign during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, and was offered as a rendition that captures the thrill of the Ottoman raids and conquests. Though it is generally understood as the sign of an attempt to familiarize readers with the social fervor of the age of conquests, Gökalp's Kızılelma appears before its audience with a different interpretation.

The author begins the poem by going beyond the concept of time that stories build their foundation upon and creates a time almost impossible to exist:

> Once upon a time, there was
>
> Not a soul but God, as of late (Tansel 1989:7)

The poem takes place in a surreal time and narrates the story of a maiden named Ay Hanım (lit. 'Miss Moon'), whose mother was a Kirghiz from the tribe of Koŋrad. Ay Hanım came from a wealthy family living in Baku and was very proud of being a Turk. Although we can trace her mother's heritage back to her tribe, not much is known about her father apart from his sudden death along with her mother. This double death occurred while Ay Hanım was studying abroad in Paris.

With her soul enlightened in Paris, this beautiful maiden comes back to Baku equipped with the knowledge of new education methods and the science of pedagogy with a goal to set up schools in Turan and "shine the light of truth upon souls". She establishes two schools named "*İstikbal Beşiği*" (Cradle of Future), one for girls and the other for boys. She herself desires to learn about the Islamic spirituality from someone qualified.

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The keywords of positivism, i.e. enlightenment and its tools, can often be observed in Kızılelma. For instance, the protagonist of the narrative is a maiden named Ay Hanım. The symbolic narrative manifests itself to the reader through the name of the protagonist. Moon, as we know it, is not a source of light itself, but merely its reflector and diffuser. In a similar vein, in Kızılelma, Ay Hanım establishes a school to reflect the light of positivism she received from Paris on Turan.

The concept of light as a tool of positivist thought is reflected in many different sentences through the use of words such as *ay* (moon; Ay Hanım repeats 17 times), *nâr* (flame), *nûr* (light), *hakîkat nûru* (the light of truth), *ziyâ* (light), *ışıldamak* (shine), *lem'a* (glitter), *güneş* (sun), *işrak* (sunrise), *od* (fire), *ışık* (light), *münevver* (enlightened).

General Tone of the Era: Signs of Enlightenment and Positivism

It should not come as a surprise that the poem *Kızılelma* leads us to a city in the middle of Europe instead of taking us back to old Turkic people, places where Turkic dialects are spoken or the Ottoman times, as Ömer Seyfeddin's story does, and aspires to acquire modern science instead of promising a school that would teach Turkism and Islamism. Positivism was the dominant philosophy between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of 20th century. Ziya Gökalp formed his ideas and echoed them in his writings and poems during this period. Someone who comes across this literature, for the first time, may come to believe that the intellectuals of the 19th century Ottoman Empire were fascinated by the concept of "light", when they observe the frequency of words such as *tenvîr* (illumination), *envâr* (splendor), *nûr* (radiance), *aydın* (enlightened), *şua* (beam) are used. This phenomenon can only be explained by the impact of the Enlightenment ideology, which left its mark on the 18th century Western thought, the Ottoman intellectuals. To put it more clearly, the passion of the Ottoman Empire's "*enlightened*" for light, as their name implies, is related to the Enlightenment ideology's emphasis on "human mind" and "a mind enlightened through its own capacity". On the other hand, the Ottoman intellectuals' interest in the "enlightened mind" is more than a mere philosophical and intellectual interest, and also represents a pragmatic approach. Indeed, the 19th century Ottoman intellectuals took upon themselves the mission of saving the state. This mission then necessitates reforms on the political, economic, administrative, and of course social aspects of the order of state and society, i.e. a prolonged struggle against the traditional constructs of the "old" order. It appears that starting with Şinasi, late Ottoman intellectuals adopted the concept of the secular mind, which came into existence as a result of the long-standing secularization in the West and was hailed as an "object of faith" during the Age of Enlightenment, as their most effective weapon in their struggle against the "old" which stood for "faith and belief".

Gökalp too graduated from the school of veterinary (*Baytar mektebi*), a Western style school opened after the Tanzimat era, and was influenced by the prominent movements of thought of the period, especially positivism. It is possible to observe the influence of positivism, the most dominant movement of thought of the period even accepted as a system of faith, on his views and ideas as a Turkist or a Turkish nationalist. It the same vein, the words and concepts frequently observed in his literary and scholarly works can be brought under the same umbrella of "light" and they all belong to Positivism, i.e. the dominant school of thought during the period. Gökalp re-invents these by assimilating them in literature or his world of ideas. His discourse in Kızılelma reflects the European positivist approach and perspectives already present in his education and the period he lived in.

Türkleşme (Turkification), *İslamlaşma* (Islamization), *Muâsırlaşma* (Modernization)

These three terms are indeed the sign of Gökalp's way of coining nomenclature within the limits of Turkish language, i.e. the first method he proposed in his work *Lisanî Türkçülük*. Instead of using words such as *islamisme, pan-islamisme* and *modernisme*, he personally tried to apply his own suggestions, thereby contributing to Turkish language.

One of the most famous works of Gökalp is the collection of his articles named *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (Turkification, Islamization, Modernization), where he tries to articulate his views in ideological terms. Published under the same name in the journal *Türk Yurdu*, the first among these articles appeared in March 1328 (Rumi year). The publication date of the articles corresponds to the period shortly after the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, which is actually a sign of a deep trauma that also needs to be considered when commenting on its contents.

Here, it would be useful to investigate into the status of these words (which are morphologically alike and present a somewhat condensed version of Ziya Gökalp's thought) in terms of the capabilities and semantic world of Turkish language.

Modern Turkish has a total of 905 commonly-used reciprocal verbs, formed with the denominal derivational suffix +lAş- (+la-ş- and +le-ş-) (485 verbs with +la-ş-, and 420 with +le-ş-) (Gemalmaz et al. 2004: 31-37). Verbs of this voice indicate either reciprocity, meaning that multiple persons perform an act simultaneously (i.e. *cenkleşmek* 'to fight each other') or reciprocally (i.e. *selamlaşmak*, 'to salute each other'); or a process whereby the subject is transformed from one state into another, with the implicit functions of passive voice (i.e. *kömürleşmek* 'to become carbonized', *kötüleşmek* 'to get worse', *köyleşmek* 'to become rustic', *biçimsizleşmek* 'to become amorphous', *sıvılaşmak* 'liquefy', *tuhaflaşmak* 'to become weird').

The processes of social change that Turkey experienced in the post-Tanzimat period were mainly shaped by four different ways of thinking. More commonly referred to as Ottomanism, Islamism, Turkism, and Westernism today, these movements were generally designated with different names such as Ottoman Unity (*İttihad-ı Osmanî*), Islamic Unity (*İttihâd-ı İslâm*), Turkism, Turanism, Westernism (*Garblılık*), Modernism (*Muasırlık*), Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turkism, etc. Gökalp, on the other hand, tried to express himself using different terms: Turkification, Islamization, and Modernization.

These terms must have stood for different concepts than their entries in the Turkish Dictionary (*Türkçe Sözlük*) of the Turkish Language Association, for when we try to understand them with their lexical meanings, the meaning of, say, Turkification seems illogical for Turks. Although the presence of such word seems to create discrepancy given Gökalp's ideas and the political and social circumstances of the said period, what he meant by Turkification was not for Turks to Turkify and non-Turks to abandon their nationality, but for Turks to reclaim their own state by educating people in every field.

In his article titled "*Terbiye*" (Education), Gökalp first provides a summary by stating that "our goals in education are threefold: Turkishness, Islam and Modernity", after which he explains how to understand the concept of "Turkification" (Gökalp 1918:35):

"A Turkish father cannot consent to let his child not be able speak, read and write Turkish and not know about the history of Turks."

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Another essential requirement for the perfection of Turkish education and protection of Turkish identity is "to know about Islamic faith and rituals as well as the history of Islam". Gökalp goes on to note that the same Turkish father "would want for his child to grow up not only as a Turk and Muslim but also as a modern individual". The third stage involves "modern education" (*asır terbiyesi*) as a way of survival in competing with the West because "Turkish education" and "Islamic education" do not suffice for the survival of an individual or society. Therefore, one should also learn the sciences developed by Europeans so as to acquire the knowledge and skills required by the time. This requirement was evident during the Balkan Wars: "Our ineptness in governing the state and our weakness in terms of military strategy and supplies that caused the Balkan defeat resulted from this very reason." (Gökalp 1918:6); "We have demonstrated our inability to use the instruments of our century not only in the world of economics but also in military world. The standard for knowledge is action. With our failure in action, we have proven our unfortunateness in knowledge." (Gökalp 1918:36)

Eventually becoming a motto for Gökalp's thought, these three terms actually refer to a three-stage path needed to ensure one's survival on earth with his Turkish identity. Transforming Turks into the prevailing element of the state entails learning about Islamic faith and prayers as well as Islamic sciences, being a part of the Islamic *ummah* in international relations, developing mastery of skills so as to use the instruments of Europeans, and thereby being able to compete with them at the scientific and technical levels. Thus, in the eyes of Gökalp, Turkification refers to a state of maturity whereby Turks, i.e. the fundamental element of the state, acquire know-how on areas other than civil servant, shepherd and farmer, which are industry, manufacturing, trade and private enterprise, consequently holding sway over state organization in all aspects. As a result, unlike suggested by the function of the suffix "+leş-" (i.e. change from one state into another), Turkification has to do with *a state organization run by Turks*. He maintains that the underlying cause behind the traumatic Balkan defeat was "weakness in terms of military strategy and supplies", and the lack of a strong government was mainly caused by the economic impotency of Turks (Gökalp, 1918:6).

Considered together with their synonyms found in *Türkçe Sözlük*, the verb *İslâmlaşmak* (to Islamize), however, has some obscure and ambiguous connotations. Had the author used the term *Müslümanlaşmak* (Muslimization), this would probably be a more easily understandable concept, for there exists some qualitative difference between the sign of this used word and its very root. The reason why he chose to use *İslâmlaşmak* instead of *Müslümanlaşmak* was not about piety, fear of God or observance of religious duties, but rather because he saw Islam as a means to defend and preserve Turkishness, and differing from Europe while becoming modernized as the remedy to non-Europeanization. Further, Islamization also has the aim to be a part of the Islamic community (*ummah*) in international relations. Rather than the aim of being Muslims per se, this process is intended to help people internalize Islamic knowledge and culture, remain distant from Western patterns of behavior, and possess the intellectual capacity to safeguard their own identities. Hence, Gökalp considers Islamization to be an integral part of Turkishness.

Just like Turkification, the verb *muasırlaşmak* (to modernize) also needs to be understood as a sociological concept. Dictionaries list the following meanings of the word *muasır*: 'each of the individuals living in the same century, contemporary, living during the same period of time'[7]. As it seems unlikely to ascribe meaning to the verb *muasırlaşmak* merely through its core meanings, Gökalp derived this verb out of the said word, loading them with meanings such as 'competing and keeping up with

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[7]   'Bir asırda yaşayanlardan her biri, hem-asır olan, aynı devirde yaşayan'.

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Europeans'. For him, this verb has to do with the ability to acquire the same competence with the contemporary and adversary Europeans and attain a position enabling Turks to compete with them in science and technology (production and use).

"The contemporaries of a period are those who are able to manufacture and use all instruments devised by the most advanced nations in the field of technology. Hence, today modernization for us means the ability to produce and use dreadnoughts, automobiles and aircrafts, just like the Europeans do." (Gökalp 1918:9)

Uriel Heyd claims that Gökalp actually borrowed the concepts of Turkification, Islamization and modernization from his close friend Hüseyinzâde Ali, who appealed all "Turks to Turkify, Islamize and Europeanize" in his journal *Füyuzat*, which appeared in Baku from 1907 on (Heyd 1980:110) By contrast, Gökalp calls Turks not to Turkify, but to cultivate themselves and take up responsibility at all levels of the government, which in turn requires consciousness of the Islamic umma and mastery over sciences to be on equal footing with Europe.

Of these three goals, the first is a state of national coexistence or national consciousness, which is to be attained through newspapers; while the second refers to a state of religious coexistence or *ummah* consciousness, which is to be materialized through the Book, i.e. the Holy Quran. The third, on the other hand, is a state of progressive coexistence or consciousness of modernity (*modernisme*), which is to be materialized through technical advances in contemporary Europe, a product of scientific and technological activities (Gökalp 1918:9).

Hars

Resorting to loan-translation from the Arabic language, Gökalp came up with the word *hars*, which has the same meaning with "culture" in the Western languages. Some of the intellectuals of the period found this word to be inconsistent with the phonetics of Turkish and semantically inadequate, which limited its general acceptance. Although the word *irfân* (wisdom) was once suggested in place of *hars*, Gökalp and his followers continued to use *hars* for a long time (Meriç 1986:8). Those who opted for translation during the Purism period proposed the use of *ekin*, which found its place among certain circles. Gökalp coined and used the word *hars* to capture the meaning of "culture". It is a manifestation of his "falling back on Arabic and Persian vocabulary" method in the face of "new concepts and meanings" originating from Europe.

Mefkûre

Referring to the word "ideal", one of the fundamental concepts in Western languages, *Mefkûre* was derived by Gökalp from the root "*fkr*" according to Arabic rules. The word could not escape the wrath of purists during the Republican era and gave way to *ülkü* for a time, however, the word *ideal* achieved full dominance today. *Mefkûre* may have been considered as a gain if it could coexist with words like *fikir* (idea) and *tefekkür* (contemplation) in Turkish. Disowned by the Arabs and abandoned by the Turks, *mefkûre* is a historical sign as a symbol of an era.

Gökalp was also very sensitive about the nomenclature demanded by the ever-progressing science to reach the level of modern civilizations. He tried not to employ words of European origin in his articles, and instead coined new Turkish, Arabic, and Persian terms for new concepts. He reflected some of his thoughts on language as a prelude to progressing in the fields of science as the Europeans and not

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becoming like them in *Lisan*, one of his articles on *Turkification, Islamization,* and *Modernization* in parallel with *Lisanî Türkçülük:*

"Our language has been expanding for the past 50 to 60 years. As the light of this age shines upon our country, our eyes witness new works of art and our minds embrace new concepts." (Gökalp 1976: 15).

Gökalp's stance on protecting – or advocating for protecting – these two Islamic languages along with Turkish, is a sign of his vigilance over guarding the unity of Turks and the unity of the *ummah*. "The sensibility of resorting to Arabic or Persian for the equivalents of the nomenclature and rejecting foreign words, is not exclusive to Turkish. All Islamic languages have common ground on this issue. Unified in the religious expressions, as well as nomenclature of the miscellaneous disciplines under religion, these languages are obliged to conserve this unity in the new nomenclature. Because, for instance, if the Turks of Russia import words from Russian, the Turks in China import words from Chinese, and we import words from French or another European language, our dialects will become distanced from each other. However, if we import words from Arabic and Persian or Turkish, they will become closer to one another. The Christian world inherited their nomenclature from Greek and Latin. Borrowing this foreign nomenclature directly into Islamic languages may cause the *ummah* to break apart" (Gökalp 1918:11-12).

As a philosopher and a sociologist, Gökalp tried to express his ideas in the journals he published and the articles and books he authored. He also occupied himself with politics and looked for ways of applying his ideas to the society through a political program. Furthermore, he employed the means of literature to communicate his views to a broader audience and authored stories, tales, and especially poems.

Conclusion

Although *Türkçülüğün Esasları* may not be classified as a purely sociological work, its author treats his subjects from a sociological perspective. Gökalp's remarks on Turkish language, or, in his own words, "New Turkish", are important for the formation, borrowing or loan-translation of the new nomenclature so as to meet the need for new concepts in the field of sociology. One may draw upon these views and generalize them to all new scientific disciplines. Surviving a grave process of purification, Turkish language suffers from nomenclature problems, which is still a relevant and hot topic for the successors of Gökalp. Among the ways used for new concepts, the method of "drawing upon Arabic and Persian" does not apply to the present day. Still, it is much needed for Muslim societies to attain the capability of shared feeling and thinking.

Consequently, looking at some of the frequently used words in Gökalp's works, one can recognize that he is a man of thought and action with no conflicting ideas and discourse. Instead of borrowing and adopting Western nomenclature, he advocates and exercises a search for solutions through the locals, relatives, and cultural cognates. The words *Töre* and *Kızılelma* were retrieved from history and revived. On the other hand, *türkleşmek, islamlaşmak,* and *muasırlaşmak* were derived within the rules of Turkish. These three concepts are a sign of the thought cultivated by the author. They all call for an end to the period of misery brought by the Balkan War and a search for remedy. Likewise, the words *hars* and *mefkûre* are a sign of concern in creating indigenous concepts against words of Western origin.

It is evident that Gökalp tried to manifest an indigenous and national stance in the face of the West without becoming distanced from the intellectual and literary movements of the period. The roadmap

he laid out in his work *Türkçülüğün Esasları* is applicable, as he demonstrates so with the keywords closely examined in this paper.

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