

Charles University

Faculty of Arts

Department of Middle Eastern Studies

Bachelor's Thesis

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**Viewing the End of the Ottoman Empire
and the Beginning of the Turkish Republic
in a Turkish High School History Textbook Published in 1931**

Pohled na konec Osmanské říše a počátek Turecké republiky
v turecké učebnici dějepisu z roku 1931

Prague 2024

Supervisor: prof. PhDr. Jitka Malečková, CSc.

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Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

Declaration:

I declare that I have completed the bachelor's thesis independently, properly cited all sources and literature and that the work has not been used to obtain the same or a different degree at another university.

Prague, 6 May 2024

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Klíčová slova:

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Abstract:

This bachelor's thesis examines the portrayal and evaluation of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey between 1918 and 1924 in a Turkish high school history textbook published by the State Printing House in 1931. The thesis first provides an overview of the historical developments during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, focusing on events which led to the construction of the new Turkish historical narrative. The second part presents the four-volume series of history textbooks, one of which was the object of the analysis. The third section describes the methodology, particularly the modification of the Evaluative Assertion Analysis used to perform the analysis. The final part of the thesis is the analysis itself, with ample example statements from the textbook. The thesis aims to show how the Republic of Türkiye distanced itself from the Empire and constructed its historical narrative in the wake of its Ottoman legacy.

Abstrakt:

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá zobrazením a hodnocením Osmanské říše a Turecké republiky v letech 1918 až 1924 v turecké učebnici dějepisu pro střední školy vydané státním nakladatelstvím v roce 1931. Práce nejdříve podává přehled historického vývoje během 19. a začátku 20. století, se zaměřením na události, které vedly k vytvoření nového tureckého historického narativu. Druhá část práce představuje čtyřsvazkovou sérii učebnic dějepisu, z nichž jedna je předmětem analýzy. Třetí část popisuje metodologii, zvláště modifikaci analýzy hodnotících tvrzení (Evaluative Assertion Analysis) pro účely této práce. Finální část práce tvoří samotná analýza s četnými příklady výroků z dané učebnice. Cílem práce je ukázat, jak se Turecká republika distancovala od Osmanské říše a konstruovala svůj historický narativ.

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Writing history is as important as making history.¹

- *Mustafa Kemal*

Introduction

In 1923, the birth of the Republic of Turkey² marked the end of the centuries-old Ottoman Empire. Despite winning the War of Independence, the nascent Republic faced a number of challenges: European powers intended to claim parts of its territory, the country was exhausted by both the War of Independence and World World I, and not all its people were united in their ideals and loyalties. Mustafa Kemal, the first president, recognised the imperative of fostering unity and cohesion among the Turkish people, and to achieve this, a comprehensive nation-building effort was initiated, including the formation of the state's official historical narrative. This ambitious project aimed to reshape not only recent events but also thousands of years of history, providing the nation with a unifying ideal and a sense of pride. The historical narrative was an integral part of Kemalism, the official state ideology. As the Republic strategically established and consolidated its authority in all parts of people's lives, it ensured its dissemination and transmission, most notably through the education system.

The main research question is: how did the new Turkish state describe the last few years of the Ottoman Empire and the formative years of the Republic and evaluate them in its official historical narrative? To answer this question, a primary source, a high school history textbook, will be analysed to examine the portrayal of the two entities. The analysed textbook is part of a series titled *History (Tarih)*, which consists of four volumes. The series was

¹ Foss, Clive, "Kemal Atatürk: Giving a New Nation a New History," *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no. 5 (2014): 829. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24585890>.

² Given the contemporary context, and for orthographical reasons, this thesis will use *Republic of Turkey* rather than the current international name of *Republic of Türkiye*.

published in Istanbul by a State Printing House (*Devlet Matbaası*) in 1931³ and written by members of the Association for the Study of Turkish History,⁴ an organisation established at the directive of Mustafa Kemal. Most of the authors were simultaneously members of the Grand National Assembly (GNA), the Turkish parliamentary body, meaning its contents were under total control of the regime. The series was written along the main lines of the new official historical narrative under the personal direction of Mustafa Kemal.⁵ It remained the sole educational resource on history for the next decade and shaped the next generation of intellectuals.⁶ Only Volume IV of the series, titled Republic of Turkey (*Türkiye Cümhuriyeti*), will be used to perform the analysis. The textbook discusses events from the end of World War I to May 1931, and it will be described in more detail in chapter two.

Analyses of the Turkish historical narrative tend to concentrate on its depiction of antiquity and pre-Islamic history, possibly echoing the focus of the state-endorsed narrative itself. The depiction of these epochs perhaps attracts more attention due to its peculiar assertions supported by pseudo-scientific evidence. Conversely, studies of the portrayal of the Ottoman Empire are comparatively sparse. The treatment of the Empire within the official discourse, however little space it was given there, poses an intriguing subject for analysis as the Empire was a major player in the shaping of Middle Eastern and European history for nearly 700 years, and it was the direct predecessor of the Republic of Turkey. The hope of the thesis is to contribute to the current understanding of how the Republic distanced itself from the Empire and constructed its historical narrative in the wake of its Ottoman legacy.

To maintain focus and depth appropriate for a bachelor thesis, this work was assigned limits: only fifteen chapter sections covering the period from the conclusion of World War I

³ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV, Türkiye Cümhuriyeti* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931). The textbook does not list authors and only states that it was written by the Association for the Study of Turkish History (*Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyeti, T.T.T.C.*).

⁴ The Association was renamed Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*), a name which is in use to this day.

⁵ Foss, 'Kemal Atatürk', 829.

⁶ Étienne Copeaux, *Espaces et temps de la nation turque: Analyse d'une historiographie nationaliste (1931-1993)* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1997), 27.

to the abolition of the Caliphate (1918-1924) were analysed in detail. Additionally, while Mustafa Kemal was frequently referenced and certainly would make an interesting object of study within the context of Turkish history textbooks, this analysis consciously refrained from prioritising it. This decision was made to ensure that the portrayal of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic's approach to dealing with its historical legacy remained the main focus of the analysis.

The primary method used in this study was Evaluative Assertion Analysis (EAA), developed by Osgood et al.,⁷ which is a content analysis technique. Its aim is to discern attitudes and their intensity towards specific objects within a text. The EAA was modified for the specific purposes of analysing the text of the history textbook and it was supplemented by a thematic analysis utilised to identify recurring topics and gauge their relative prominence. Chapter three provides more details on the modification of the EAA and how it was combined with the thematic analysis.

The secondary literature used in this thesis provided a comprehensive understanding of the historical and methodological frameworks. Volume II of *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* by Shaw and Shaw⁸ details the historical developments in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, offering vital information for contextualising the historical background. Umut Uzer's *An Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism*⁹ and Eissenstat's contribution to *Nationalizing Empires*¹⁰ provided essential insights in exploring the intellectual landscape preceding Kemalism. The methodological framework, apart from the work of Osgood et al. mentioned above, benefitted significantly from *Methods of Text and*

⁷ Charles E. Osgood, Sol Saporta, and Jum Nunnally, 'Evaluative Assertion Analysis', *Litera* 3 (1956): 47–102.

⁸ Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

⁹ Umut Uzer, *An Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism: Between Turkish Ethnicity and Islamic Identity*, Utah Series in Middle East Studies (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016).

¹⁰ Howard Eissenstat, "Modernization, Imperial Nationalism, and the Ethnicization of Confessional Identity in the Late Ottoman Empire," in *Nationalizing Empires* (Central European University Press, 2015), 429–60. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9789633860175-010>.

Discourse Analysis by Titscher et al.,¹¹ and Průcha's *Textbooks: Theories and Analyses of an Educational Medium (Učebnice: teorie a analýzy edukačního média)*.¹²

Two key works which were instrumental for this thesis were Etienne Copeaux's *Espaces et temps de la nation turque, Analyse d'une historiographie nationaliste 1931-1993*¹³ and Aysel Morin's *Crafting Turkish National Identity, 1919-1927: A Rhetorical Approach*.¹⁴ Copeaux's work provided essential insights into the historical context and influences that led to the eventual formation of the official Turkish historical narrative. While his work informed the conceptual framework of this thesis, it primarily focuses on "the Turkish viewing of the Turkish world"¹⁵ and sets a chronological limit, not discussing events after 1919 to avoid direct engagement with Kemalism. Given that this thesis focuses on analysing the period between 1918 and 1923, integral to the formation of the state ideology, Morin's examination of the rhetoric and foundational myths of Kemalism proved very helpful. Her analysis of Mustafa Kemal's seminal 1927 speech (*Nutuk*), which identifies five founding political myths of Turkey, significantly enriched the study.

The structure of the thesis comprises an introduction, four chapters, and a conclusion. The first chapter presents the historical context, introducing events and concepts leading up to and contributing to the events of the 1920s and the construction of the Turkish historical narrative. The second chapter provides a description and an overview of the 4-volume series, which includes the analysed textbook. Chapter three outlines the methodology in detail, briefly presenting the original Evaluative Assertion Analysis in the first section, followed by a section detailing the modifications made to adapt the method for the purposes of this thesis.

¹¹ Stefan Titscher et al., *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2000).

¹² Jan Průcha, *Učebnice: Teorie a Analýzy Edukačního Média* (Brno: Paido, 1998).

¹³ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*.

¹⁴ Aysel Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity, 1919-1927: A Rhetorical Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2022).

¹⁵ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 28.

Lastly, chapter four presents the analysis, the core of this thesis, offering information about the results and providing numerous examples from the source.

Translation of the primary source, written in Ottoman Turkish¹⁶ was an integral part of the analysis, and it was done by the author, as were all citations translated from the work of Étienne Copeaux, written in French. All potential translation errors in this thesis are the responsibility of the author. The spelling of Turkish and Ottoman names adheres to modern Turkish spelling conventions, with the exception of excerpts from the primary source, where they are presented in their original form. A deliberate decision was made to capitalise the term *Turkish Nation* in the analysis, following the approach of the analysed textbook.¹⁷ Mustafa Kemal, popularly known as Atatürk, is always referred to as *Mustafa Kemal* or *Kemal* and never *Atatürk*, except in direct citations, as he adopted the moniker in 1934, and this thesis does not discuss events past 1932. Finally, whenever referring to the Republic of Türkiye, *the Republic of Turkey* or simply *the Republic* rather than *Türkiye* is used throughout the thesis to avoid the somewhat inelegant possessive construction of *Türkiye's*.

¹⁶ The textbook was written before the language reform took place (1932). Despite the textbook being written using the modified Latin script adopted in 1928, a significant part of the lexis was, in 1931, still heavily employing Arabic and Persian loanwords.

¹⁷ Although the use of capitalisation in the textbook is inconsistent.

1. Historical Context

1.1. From Empire to Republic¹⁸

The Ottoman Empire underwent a series of reforms during the 19th century known as Tanzimat (1839-1876), which aimed to modernise and make it more adaptive to the dramatic changes of the times. The Empire was lagging behind Europe in terms of industrial and military capabilities, and its integrity was threatened by rising national and separatist tendencies in its territories. The Tanzimat period was formally started¹⁹ by the Edict of Gülhane (*Hatt-i Şerif-i Gülhane*, 1839), promising equal rights to all people of the Empire, regardless of faith or ethnicity. The state adopted an official ideology of Ottomanism whose aim was to create a sense of a shared Ottoman identity. This was done in an attempt to mitigate the rise of nationalism and to foster social cohesion in the confessionally and ethnically cosmopolitan Empire.²⁰ Over the 19th century, Ottomanism became increasingly more Islamic in nature as the Empire's demography was changing with the loss of predominantly Christian territory.²¹ As Eissenstat explains, “[...]because the state had to address different populations simultaneously, and because political realities shifted over time, Ottomanism was not a consistent ideology; rather, it was a shifting set of themes which were emphasized more or less depending on audience and circumstance.”²²

In 1821, the government established a Translation Office (*Tercüme Odası*) to translate documents from European languages. One of the perhaps unforeseen consequences of this office's activities as it grew was a proliferation of European ideas among the young Ottoman intelligentsia.²³ The intellectuals started organising; they adopted the idea of an Ottoman

¹⁸ The dates of important events, as well as basic biographical information on important figures in this section were primarily taken from Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

¹⁹ The Empire started with extensive reforms under Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), even before the Edict.

²⁰ Eissenstat, “Modernization,” 459.

²¹ Eissenstat, “Modernization,” 450–51.

²² Eissenstat, “Modernization,” 459.

²³ This trend was intensified further by sending young officers and civil servants to study in Europe, particularly in France.

identity and established a movement called the Young Ottomans (*Yeni Osmanlılar*, 1865).²⁴ The movement was a rather heterodox group of individuals united in calls for a representative government and criticism of the government's reforms. They criticised the reforms for “lack of respect for Islamic law”,²⁵ ineffectiveness and for being overly Western.²⁶

In 1876, the first Ottoman Constitution (*Kanûn-ı Esâsî*),²⁷ written by an Ottoman statesman Midhat Paşa, was signed by Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909). The First Constitutional Era, however, was short-lived. During the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), fought primarily in and over the Balkans, the Sultan suspended the Constitution in 1878. The war ended a month later with the Treaty of San Stefano, and the Ottoman Empire lost a significant portion of its predominantly non-Muslim territories in Europe. This allowed Abdülhamid II to shift the focus of the state ideology. Instead of attempting to unite people of different faiths and ethnicities under Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism now seemed to be a potential way of bringing unity to the mostly Muslim, albeit still ethnically diverse Empire. This was done through the institution of the Caliphate: apart from being the Ottoman Sultan, Abdülhamid II also held the title of Caliph of Islam, which he began to emphasise, hoping it would keep other separatist tendencies at bay - particularly those of the Arabs.²⁸ The Sultan went on to rule as an absolutist monarch for three decades, during which time he continued with modernising reforms while implementing increasingly authoritative policies. One of the most important reforms under his rule was in the field of education, which saw the establishment of many European-style schools of both elementary and higher learning.²⁹ He

²⁴ Most of the founding members of the movement work at the Translation Office at the time.

²⁵ Eissenstat, “Modernization,” 448.

²⁶ As multiple authors note, this was somewhat of an ironic twist of history since most of the members were educated and worked in institutions established with the reforms, effectively giving the Young Ottomans the power and tools to criticise them. Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity*, 27; Ahmet Şeyhun, *Islamist Thinkers in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 5.

²⁷ Though symbolically, the Constitution was a success, most of the still power remained with the Sultan.

²⁸ Eissenstat, “Modernization,” 451.

²⁹ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 249–53.

implemented rigid censorship on the then booming press industry and established a secret police, becoming increasingly paranoid about his own safety.³⁰

This environment of repression was a breeding ground for underground revolutionary groups. In 1889, the groups coalesced into a movement called the Young Turks (*Jön Türkler*), again, highly heterodox groups of intellectuals who called for the reinstatement of the constitutional government.³¹ A particularly powerful organisation developed in the movement, the Committee of Union and Progress or CUP (*İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*), modelled after the Italian Carbonari and working with previously exiled activists.³² In 1908, they achieved their goal, and after the so-called Young Turk Revolution, the constitution was reinstated, marking the beginning of the Second Constitutional Era. Finally, in 1909, Abdülhamid II was deposed by the CUP, a group of people who were educated in the very schools that the Sultan had established during his reign. He was replaced by his brother, Mehmed V (1909-1918).³³

The following years were turbulent; different factions within the Young Turk movement fought for political dominance with the CUP, which displayed increasingly authoritative tendencies.³⁴ A sociocultural current favouring Turkism or Pan-Turkism started developing among the elites and intelligentsia in cities, particularly in Istanbul. This current, influenced also by some European writers,³⁵ focused on ethnicity rather than faith. It emphasised the origins and the pre-Islamic history of the Turks and promoted the idea of their civilisational superiority. Some of the Young Turks were active in founding civic organisations within the movement, focusing mainly on educational efforts, establishing

³⁰ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 221.

³¹ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 255; Eissenstat, "Modernization," 455.

³² Serif Mardin, "The Young Ottomans," in *Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton University Press, 2019), 21. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691198637-004>.

³³ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 281–82.

³⁴ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 272–300.

³⁵ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 34–38.

journals and promoting the Turkish language, Turkish history, and Turkish cultural heritage.³⁶ Possibly the most influential organisation, which survives to this day,³⁷ was the Turkish Hearths (*Türk Ocakları*, 1912).³⁸

The ongoing political tensions culminated in a coup d'état in 1913, staged by a radical faction of the CUP. The following period is known as the Triumvirate of Three Paşas. The Empire entered World War I on the side of the Central Powers, eventually losing and signing the Armistice of Mudros (*Mondros Mütarekesi*, 1918). The armistice was supposed to facilitate the Allies' plans for the partition of the Empire by giving them the right to control the Straits and the right to occupy any part of the Empire in case of disorder. Istanbul was occupied, and the government was controlled by the Allies, particularly the British.³⁹

The Greek army moved in and landed in Izmir in May 1919, marking the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence. Mustafa Kemal - officially still an Ottoman army officer then - was tasked by the Sultan with inspecting the Ottoman armies.⁴⁰ However, when he landed in Samsun, a couple of days after the Greek occupation commenced, he started organising a resistance, the Turkish National Movement (*Millî Hareket*), consisting of irregular forces as well as army officers who were dissatisfied with the government's acceptance of the terms of the Armistice of Mudros. A National Pact (*Misak-ı Millî*) inspired by Wilson's 14 points was drafted at the Erzurum Congress (August 1919), declaring that the occupation and partition of the homeland would be resisted and a provisional government formed if the Istanbul government failed to maintain the unity and independence of the nation.⁴¹ While Mustafa Kemal was retrospectively portrayed as the sole leader of the

³⁶ It is important to note that Turkish does not differentiate between the words *Turkish* and *Turkic*. For the sake of simplicity, only the word *Turkish* was used here although the activities of the movement included those relating to what would be more appropriate to call *Turkic* languages, history and heritage. The term *Turkish* will be preferred in the thesis as it is the Turkish narrative that is its main focus.

³⁷ The organisation was closed in 1931 by the Kemalist regime and re-opened in 1949.

<https://www.turkocaklari.org.tr/>

³⁸ Uzer, *Intellectual History*, 30.

³⁹ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 327–29.

⁴⁰ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 342–3.

⁴¹ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 344–5.

National Movement during the War of Independence, he was but one of many, most notably İsmet İnönü, Kâzım Karabekir and Ali Fuat Cebesoy.⁴²

In the spring of 1920, a new parliament, dubbed the Grand National Assembly (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*, GNA) and composed of runaway members of the Ottoman parliament as well as newly elected members, convened in Ankara, effectively starting a counter-government.⁴³ Kemal planned to ask the Sultan to accept the Assembly's authority; the Sultan, however, issued a fatwa declaring the National Movement infidels. The GNA, in turn, had their fatwa issued by the mufti⁴⁴ in Ankara, declaring that the Sultan (and, therefore, the Caliphate) was under the influence of the Allies and it was the GNA's objective to save the Caliphate from its enemies. Fighting continued on multiple fronts, and the Allies prepared a peace treaty that would give considerable territorial concessions to the Allied forces, establish mandates in the Arab provinces, form spheres of influence in Anatolia and give control over Istanbul to the League of Nations.⁴⁵ This infamous treaty, the Treaty of Sèvres (August 1920), was widely unpopular, never ratified, and the GNA reacted to it by declaring the Constitution of the new Turkish State (*Teşkilât-ı Esasiye Kanunu*) in January 1921.⁴⁶

The National Movement was ultimately successful in its goal. The GNA voted to abolish the Sultanate, with a proposal drafted by Mustafa Kemal, on November 1, 1922.⁴⁷ Thus, an entity that ruled much of the Middle East and a portion of Europe for 700 years came to an end, and its last ruler, Sultan Mehmed VI (1918-1922),⁴⁸ was sent into exile. The

⁴² The official historiography of the early Republic suppressed mentions of any other leaders of the National Movement. İsmet İnönü was said to be Kemal's right-hand man, serving as the prime minister and after his death as the second president of the Republic. Karabekir and Cebesoy, on the other hand, attempted to form an opposition party to the one established by Kemal in the early years of the Republic but were imprisoned, later rehabilitated.

⁴³ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 349.

⁴⁴ A legal expert who has the right to issue rulings (fatwas) on religious matters.

⁴⁵ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 356.

⁴⁶ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 350.

⁴⁷ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 365.

⁴⁸ Mehmed VI was also known as Vahideddin, spelt as *Vahdettin* in the history textbook.

Caliphate, represented by Caliph Abdülmecid,⁴⁹ remained in place for the time being. The Allies were forced to renegotiate the Treaty of Sèvres at the Laussane Conference (November 1922), and the Treaty of Laussane was signed in July 1923. In September 1923, the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, RPP) was founded, and the Republic of Turkey was officially established in October of the same year, with Mustafa Kemal elected its first president. Six months later, in March 1924, the Caliphate was abolished by the GNA and the Caliph, together with his family, was sent into exile. With this decision, the last vestiges of the Ottoman Empire were extinguished.⁵⁰

What followed was a decade of radical changes and all-encompassing reforms under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal and the RPP.⁵¹ The reforms aimed to modernise and industrialise the country, to “transform the traditional Ottoman society to a modern one [...] within the span of one generation”,⁵² and to continue the nation-building project. One of the many reforms of this period was the alphabet reform (1928). Law No. 1353, On the Adoption and Application of the New Turkish Letters⁵³ came into effect on November 3, 1928, and Turkey was not to use the Arabo-Persian alphabet any longer. A new, Latin-based alphabet was adopted, whose most obvious purpose was distancing the Republic from its Islamic past. Almost overnight, however, most literate citizens suddenly became illiterate, as the law prohibited the use of the old Arabo-Persian alphabet not only in official documents but in personal correspondence as well. A less immediate and obvious but arguably more significant purpose of the reform is that it strategically took away the future generations' access to their history, thus ultimately “[helping] Kemalists accomplish one of their most difficult tasks: Formulating a new official identity for Turks based on a Kemalist reading of history.”⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Abdülmecid, Mehmed's cousin, was elected Caliph by the GNA. These developments attracted the attention of many Muslims from around the world.

⁵⁰ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 369.

⁵¹ From 1923 to 1950, Turkey was a one-party state.

⁵² Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 384.

⁵³ Lewis, Geoffrey, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 37.

⁵⁴ Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity*, 33.

This Kemalist reading of history was but a part of Kemalism, the state ideology of the Republic of Turkey. Most definitions of Kemalism state that it is based on six principles: Republicanism, Reformism, Laicism, Populism, Nationalism, and Statism,⁵⁵ and while it is true, it does not, in this minimalist form, quite capture the profundity of the ideology and the impact it had on Turkey. According to Morin, Kemal, through his speeches and books, “[...] left behind a whole new rhetorical universe of political ideals, vocabulary, myths, and symbols. [...] Word by word, argument by argument, one ideal, one symbol, one concept at a time, he built his magnum opus, the semantic universe of modern Turkish politics.”⁵⁶ This semantic universe and the ideology it brought forth included the new narrative of Turkish history, dubbed the Turkish History Thesis (*Türk Tarih Tezi*). The Thesis was dispersed by the government and weaved into most aspects of people's lives, including school textbooks, thus ensuring its transmission to future generations.

1.2. Constructing the New Narrative

It is essential to introduce several figures and organisations which, knowingly or not, contributed to creating the new history of the Turks to understand how the textbooks were conceptualised and written. Before introducing Turkish influences, we will begin, somewhat ironically, in Europe because it was European authors whose works on the Turkic peoples were subsequently used to formulate some aspects of the Turkish historical narrative. This narrative was later called the Turkish History Thesis, and it will be discussed in detail below.

Out of the many European authors whose works influenced the formation of the Thesis, only two will be introduced. Konstanty Borzęcki, or, as he was known in Istanbul, Mustafa Celâleddin Paşa (1826-1876) published a book called *Ancient and Modern Turks*⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 375.

⁵⁶ Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity*, 2.

⁵⁷ *Les turcs anciennes et modernes*, first published in Istanbul in French.

in 1869. It became an important source for some of the central tenets not only of the Turkish History Thesis but also of the Sun Language Theory.⁵⁸ His work would, among other things, suggest that Latin had developed from Turkish, a claim which was supported by “very troubling linguistical analogies.”⁵⁹ As Étienne Copeaux notes, Celâleddin's reasoning and methods of inference shaped how the historical narrative was constructed by the following generations of Turkish intellectuals.⁶⁰ Another influential European author whose works would later serve the purposes of the Turkish historical narrative was Léon Cahun (1841-1900), a French writer. His theory posited the existence of a prehistoric Central Asian Sea whose eventual evaporation would prompt the Turks settled around it to migrate westwards to Europe and, crucially, to Anatolia. According to Copeaux, Cahun was one of the authors who helped bring Ziya Gökalp towards the idea of Turkism.⁶¹

Ziya (1875-1924) was a sociologist and a writer. He was involved in the CUP and an active member of the Turkish Hearths since its establishment. Most active during the Young Turk era, when the ideas of Ottomanism were being confronted with Pan-Turkism and Turkism and questions of Westernisation clashed with those of the Islamic law, he attempted to “[...] reconcile the tensions among them. [He] argued that modernization could be achieved without a total westernization of culture.”⁶² Gökalp's oft mentioned work, *The Principles of Turkism (Türkçülüğün Esasları, 1923)* laid the groundwork for the state's official historical discourse,⁶³ and Morin states that “Turkism matured in Ziya Gökalp’s writings.”⁶⁴

A prominent figure that needs to be mentioned is Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), a writer, political activist, professor of political history, and later the president of the Association for

⁵⁸ The Sun Language Theory was a theory developed in Turkey in the 1930s and claimed that all languages of the world had developed from a single Turkic language, using pseudolinguistical evidence to support it.

⁵⁹ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 35.

⁶⁰ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 35.

⁶¹ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 45.

⁶² Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity*, 29.

⁶³ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 45.

⁶⁴ Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity*, 29.

the Study of Turkish History.⁶⁵ In 1904, he published an article titled Three Types of Policy (*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*) where he discusses Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism and asserts that Turkism, based on Turkish ethnicity, is the only viable option for the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁶ As Copeaux maintains, he too was fundamentally influenced by Cahun's works and was “[a] pivotal figure between the period of the first expression of Turkism and the formation of Kemalist historiography.”⁶⁷ He is listed as one of the co-authors of the analysed series of history textbooks as “Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, Member of Parliament from Istanbul, Professor of Political History at Ankara Law School and T.T.T.C.⁶⁸ Deputy Chief.”

Mustafa Kemal naturally played an essential role in the creation of the new historical narrative. After all, a large part of his influential speech, Nutuk, was his personal narration of the history of the Turks. Kemal was influenced by all the authors above; his personal library included works of both Celâleddin Paşa and Cahun, which he heavily annotated⁶⁹ and Morin asserts that “Gökâlp's work had a tremendous influence on how Atatürk conceptualized the Turkish Nation, and [...] provided the philosophical foundations of Kemalist ideology and Turkish nationalism.”⁷⁰ He took the thoughts and concepts that had been maturing for the last decades and took action to make them a reality. Under the auspices of the Turkish Hearths, a Committee for the Study of Turkish History (*Türk Tarihini Tetkik Heyeti*) was established in 1930. At the end of that same year, members of the Committee published a large volume titled *The Outlines of Turkish History (Türk Tarihinin Anahatları)*,⁷¹ where the Turkish History Thesis was presented in its entirety.⁷² However, only a year later, the Turkish Hearths (and with it, the Committee) was disbanded⁷³ and replaced by the Association for the Study

⁶⁵ Renamed the Turkish Historical Society in 1935

⁶⁶ Eissenstat, “Modernization,” 429–30.

⁶⁷ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 44.

⁶⁸ The Association for the Study of Turkish History (*Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyeti, T.T.T.C.*), later the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1935*).

⁶⁹ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 38.

⁷⁰ Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity*, 28.

⁷¹ Uzer, *Intellectual History*, 35.

⁷² Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 59.

⁷³ It was re-opened in 1949 and is still active: <https://www.turkocaklari.org.tr/>.

of Turkish History (*Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti, T.T.T.C.*).⁷⁴ It is worth noting that many of its members were, at the same time, members of the GNA. This meant that the narration and transmission of the historical narrative were now under absolute control of the regime.⁷⁵

It was this organisation's responsibility to write the series of history textbooks, simply titled *History (Tarih)*, that are the object of this thesis. Kemal not only participated in the meetings of the authors, he “read and corrected the proofs.”⁷⁶ Furthermore, in 1932, the first Turkish History Congress took place and as Copeaux asserts, “[the congress] is directly related to educational concerns. The audience to which it is addressed is, for the most part, made up of high school and college teachers [...]. In this case, we cannot speak of a scientific congress; it is rather a popularisation enterprise, which enlightens teachers who have been confronted with a new history program [...].”⁷⁷ These actions show how important the transmission of the “right” historical narrative was to Mustafa Kemal.

1.3. Turkish History Thesis

The Turkish History Thesis (*Türk Tarih Tezi*) was a perfectly formulated historical narrative that the new Republic of Turkey used as part of the Kemalist ideology. Its main goal was reinforcing (if not creating) a strong sense of Turkish identity. In the following section, three questions will be answered: what the contents of the Turkish History Thesis were, how it came to be, and finally, why it was formulated in the first place.

In 1930, the Committee for the Study of Turkish History published 100 copies of *The Outlines of Turkish History (Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları)*, where the Thesis was presented in its entirety for the first time. This work then became the basis of the history

⁷⁴ Copeaux notes that this was not simply a change of name, but another step in taking total control of the intellectual life in Republic. The Committee was established by an organisation that was 'born outside of Kemalism and before it'. With the establishment of the Association, it was Kemal, and the RPP, who controlled it. Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 60.

⁷⁵ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 60.

⁷⁶ Foss, “Kemal Atatürk”, 830.

⁷⁷ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 66.

textbooks.⁷⁸ The Thesis strongly emphasises the prehistoric and pre-Islamic periods of Turkish history, admiring Central Asia as their original motherland or *anayurt*, where the Turks thrived on the shores of the hypothetical Central Asian sea whose existence Cahun posited. What happened after they started migrating, however, is of crucial importance: the Thesis states that wherever the Turks migrated, they were the catalyst and driving force of civilisational progress, effectively taking credit for nearly every ancient civilisation known to man to date, including Sumer-Elam, Egyptian and Hittite civilisations,⁷⁹ as well as other peoples and cities known to have been in Anatolia, the Trojans, Ionians, Lydians and Cretans.⁸⁰ By claiming that the Turks built these civilisations, they could, and did, then use it to say that the Etruscan civilisation was Turkish as well.⁸¹ Thus, they come to the seemingly inevitable conclusion: it was the migrations of the Turkic people⁸² (and their civilisational genius) that “[...] were instrumental and effective in changing the deeply savage life that Europe was in at that time.”⁸³ The history of Islam is written in what Copeaux calls “the classical structure”, though he remarks that the pages on Islam are “imbued with a secular spirit which has no equivalent in today's textbooks.”⁸⁴ Finally, the Thesis attempts to de-emphasise the centuries of existence of the Ottoman Empire by simply not giving it proportionate space.⁸⁵

To learn how exactly this Thesis came to be, three main vectors of influence which led to its eventual formulation can be identified: the first vector was a European one. Some European authors formulated hypotheses which were not only adopted to become part of the Thesis, they were used as an argument of authority, as Copeaux asserts, “[...] under the pen of

⁷⁸ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 66.

⁷⁹ Mehmed Tevfik et al., *Tarih I, Tarihtenevelki Zamanlar ve Eski Zamanlar* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931), 30.

⁸⁰ Tevfik et al., *Tarih I*, 30–31.

⁸¹ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 35–36.

⁸² Which, according to the Thesis, included the Hittites, the Lydians, the Etruscans (...).

⁸³ Tevfik et al., *Tarih I*, 32.

⁸⁴ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 66.

⁸⁵ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 60.

a Westerner, a speech on the greatness of the Turks has more weight than under that of a Turk.”⁸⁶ The second vector came from the East with the discovery of the Orkhon stelae,⁸⁷ which was used as proof not only of the continuity and long history of the Turks but of their civilisational superiority: “[...] at the time of the stelae, 'Europeans were still illiterate’.”⁸⁸ Additionally, the Russian expansion into Turkic states of Central Asia, particularly in the last decades of the 19th century, prompted the formation of the Pan-Turkist movement, which inspired influential intellectuals who later helped shape the official historical discourse.⁸⁹ The third vector came from within the Empire itself. At the beginning of the 20th century, a number of cultural and political movements and societies were established with the goal of studying and/or promoting the Turkish language, history, folklore and, perhaps most of all, unity. Their message was easily amplified when an incredible journalistic and literary boom occurred in 1908.⁹⁰ Emphasising shared language and history as two of a plurality of possible commonalities is a typical way of establishing national identity, and it is very much *le signe du temps* of the late 19th and early 20th centuries both in Europe and the Middle East. The Turkish Nation was no exception, and eventually, the circumstances and the three vectors of influence coalesced into the Turkish History Thesis.

Lastly, we will briefly look at why the Thesis was formulated, apart from the goal of reinforcing national identity. Two reasons are of a corrective and one of an assertive nature. The corrective reasons aim to refute descriptions and misconceptions deemed unfavourable for the nationalistic project, particularly the reputation that the Turks have in European

⁸⁶ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 57.

⁸⁷ Multiple stelae from the 8th century were found by the team of N.M.Yadrintsev during an archeological expedition in Orkhon valley (sometimes spelt as Orhon). The inscriptions tell the tales of khagans of the Turkic Khagante, most notably Kul Tigin and Bilge Khan. The script was dubbed “the Turkic runes” by one of the translators of the inscriptions, Vilhelm Thomsen, a Danish linguist and Turkologist. The inscriptions can be viewed at <https://bitig.kz/>

⁸⁸ Necip Asım in Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 42–43.

⁸⁹ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 38, 45–46.

⁹⁰ Erol A. F. Baykal, “The 1908 Press Boom,” in *The Ottoman Press (1908-1923)* (Brill, 2019), 29, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004394889_004.

historiography, that of a barbaric, nomadic, uncultured and uncivilised people⁹¹ - a notion the Thesis attempts to correct by depicting the Turks as the original civilisational catalyst. The second correction that was to be made concerned the “Islamic veil”⁹² which concealed the historic achievements of the Turks since their adoption of Islam. This was addressed by highlighting the “Turkishness” of history's heroes and conquerors. The last reason why the Thesis was created is perhaps most important: to strongly assert the legitimacy and continuity of Turkish presence in Anatolia. After the First World War, the Greeks attempted to claim a part of Anatolia based on historic rights to the land - a claim which represented an existential threat to the Turkish Nation. Weaving and propagating a narrative which would place the Turks in Anatolia before the Greeks so that they could then insist on the continuity and legitimacy of their presence there became a crucial objective.⁹³

⁹¹ Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity*, 26; Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 33.

⁹² Lamenting the “merging of Turkishness and Turkish civilisation with Islam and Islamic civilisation” appears in the text of the Introduction of all four of the history textbooks, T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*; V.

⁹³ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 50–51.

2. The History Textbooks

2.1. The Series

The object of the analysis is part of a series of history textbooks for high school students. The series consists of four volumes, and it was published by the State Printing House (*Devlet Matbaası*) in 1931. The books are bound in hardcover, contain a great number of pictures and maps, both black and white and coloured and printed on quality paper. This, according to Copeaux, is indicative of the importance Mustafa Kemal placed on the teaching of history.⁹⁴ The first three volumes were not examined as thoroughly as Volume IV as they were not the main focus of the analysis; only the tables of contents were studied, and brief excerpts from some of the chapters in order to assess the overall tone and claims in the textbooks.

As a series, the textbooks display some commonalities. Firstly, they are written in a would-be academic manner, using footnotes and references, though they seem to be somewhat inconsistent and often incomplete,⁹⁵ and a majority of them only cite one source: Mustafa Kemal, most often from *Nutuk*. Secondly, the excerpts of Kemal's speeches are usually highlighted in bold text. The textbook also uses italics as a form of emphasis, though it seems they usually highlight phrases based more on their ideological nature rather than historical significance, as is apparent in the following excerpt: "One of the mottos of the Turkish revolution is to *root out* the problems and *never and in no way* take back the steps taken."⁹⁶ Another noticeable common aspect of the textbooks is the Introduction,⁹⁷ which is identical in all four volumes. The Introduction states the reasons for the creation and purposes of the textbooks explicitly: the true history of Turks and Turkishness had long been neglected, if not eliminated from the historical record entirely. It had also been fused with

⁹⁴ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 61. He also states that "They are quite beautiful library books."

⁹⁵ Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 73.

⁹⁶ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 145.

⁹⁷ T.T.T.C., "Mukaddime," V–VI.

Islam and Islamic civilisation, ignoring the “thousands of years of history of Turks” before Islam. The text states that a tradition of associating the Turks with a tent, tribe, horse, weapon, and battle, portraying their history solely as “adventures of blood and fire,” has seeped into school curricula and textbooks - a disagreeable situation this series aims to rectify. Additionally, there is a strong tendency to use personal pronouns of the first person plural, “we”, “us”, and “our”, whenever any Turkic nation, state, or event is mentioned, though not in all instances. Finally, all four volumes are written in highly expressive, emotional, and at times almost poetic language, often using metaphors, rhetorical questions and, not uncommonly, rousing sections from Mustafa Kemal's speeches.

Volumes I-III display a list of thirteen authors, Volume IV, however, contains no such list and simply states: “This book was written by the Association for the Study of Turkish History.”⁹⁸ It is important to note that the vast majority of authors were also members of the Parliament - their names are listed with their positions at the Association and the regions of Turkey that they represented. This shows that, as Foss states, “[writing the history textbooks] was a political more than an academic project.”⁹⁹

2.2. Volumes I-IV

History I: Prehistoric and Ancient times (Tarih I: Tarihtenevelki Zamanlar ve Eski Zamanlar) is 384 pages long: 346 pages of the text itself, 8 pages of a chronological listing of events of the period the book is concerned with, a detailed 29-page-long index, and additional 70 pages of pictures. The book is divided into chapters I-XIV, spanning prehistoric times, starting with the evolution of life on Earth and ending with Odoacer's defeat of Romulus and the fall of the Western Roman Empire.

⁹⁸ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, VII. It is assumed that Volume IV was written by the same authors though nowhere does it state so explicitly.

⁹⁹ Foss, “Kemal Atatürk,” 829.

In terms of territory, Europe is represented mainly by the Roman Empire and its predecessors, discussed in a chapter titled Ancient Italy and the Etruscans¹⁰⁰ at 86 pages, making it the longest chapter of the book, and the chapter Aegean Basin¹⁰¹ at 75 pages. China¹⁰² and India¹⁰³ have their own chapters, of 9 and 12 pages, respectively, and Africa is represented by a chapter titled Egypt,¹⁰⁴ which is 25 pages long. The rest of the book deals mainly with cultures of the Fertile Crescent, the Levant, and Anatolia, taking great care to show how many of these were actually cultures established by the Turks, having migrated from the anayurt.¹⁰⁵ The claim that the Turks were the original civilisational catalyst is strongly asserted in chapter II, titled A Look at the Great Turkish History and Civilization.¹⁰⁶ The chapter contains, among others, several sections about geographical locations, briefly introducing how the Turks civilised it. The sections include Sumer-Elam-Hittite, Egypt, and Europe, even though all of the above also have a dedicated chapter elsewhere in the book. The sole purpose of this chapter, it seems, is to establish the irrefutable fact of the Turkish civilisational genius. This assertion appears to be particularly vehement when referencing the Hittite civilisation, whose people were described as “Hittite Turks”, speaking a Turkic language.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ Tefik, et al., “Eski İtalya ve Etküsler,” (Sic) in *Tarih I*, 260–346.

¹⁰¹ Tefik, et al., “Ege Havzası,” in *Tarih I*, 184–259.

¹⁰² Tefik, et al., “Çin,” in *Tarih I*, 54–63.

¹⁰³ Tefik, et al., “Hint,” in *Tarih I*, 73–85.

¹⁰⁴ Tefik, et al., “Mısır,” in *Tarih I*, 101–26.

¹⁰⁵ The term *anayurt* refers to the original Turkish homeland in Central Asia

¹⁰⁶ Tefik, et al., “Büyük Türk Tarih ve Medeniyetine Bir Nazar,” in *Tarih I*, 25–53.

¹⁰⁷ Tefik et al., *Tarih I*, 128–29. Bedřich Hrozný published his work, *The Language of the Hittites: Its Structure and Belonging to the Indo-European Language Family* in 1917. It is unclear if the textbook authors simply did not know about the research in 1931 and used an argument ad ignorantiam, as Copeaux claims was typical of Turkish intellectuals, or they decided to ignore it. Ignorance is, however, unlikely as Hrozný's research naturally started in Anatolia. Copeaux, *Espaces et temps*, 35–36.

The chronological listing of events begins with “9000 [BC]¹⁰⁸ - The beginning of civilised life in the anayurt”¹⁰⁹ and concludes with “[AD] 476 - The end of the Western Roman Empire” and “[AD] 581 - The end of the Tuvan dominance in China.”¹¹⁰

History II: Middle Ages (Tarih II: Ortazamanlar) is 391 pages long: 340 pages of the text itself, 21 pages of a chronological listing of events of the period the book is concerned with, a 28-page-long index, and 72 pages of pictures. The book is divided into chapters I-XXXII, narrating the “Middle Ages”.

The very first chapter of the book, titled Entering the Middle Ages from Antiquity,¹¹¹ mentions Christopher Kellner's coinage of the term and the fact that choosing any one historical event over another to delineate a historical period is always somewhat arbitrary and, therefore, debatable.¹¹² It would appear, however, that it does not explain why the authors then made the choice of using the term - and how they defined it. The rest of the first chapter continues with a summary of the Western Roman Empire in the last three centuries of its existence, which could be roughly equated to the traditional viewing of the beginning of the Middle Ages in Europe. The chapter, however, does not mention the commonly viewed concluding points of the Middle Ages specifically.¹¹³ This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that when initially introducing the term, the text does list some of the expected dates that European history uses as the figurative concluding points of the Middle Ages (the Fall of

¹⁰⁸ This date is preceded by five eras: 1) “40-80 (sic) million years [BC] - The beginning of first life”; 2) “4-40 (sic) million years [BC] - The emergence of first mammals”; 3) “50 thousand years [BC] - People start making tools”; 4) “20 thousand years [BC] - The beginning of migration from the anayurt”; 5) “12 thousand years [BC] - The end of the Paleolithic Period in the anayurt”. “BC” and “AD” replaced the contemporary “ME” - *Milattan Evvel* (Before Christ) and “MS” - *Milattan Sonra* (After Christ)

¹⁰⁹ Tevfik et al., *Tarih I*, 347.

¹¹⁰ Tevfik et al., *Tarih I*, 354.

¹¹¹ Mehmed Tevfik et al., “Eskizamandan Ortazamana Girerken,” in *Tarih II, Ortazamanlar*, (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931), 1–20.

¹¹² Mehmed Tevfik et al., *Tarih II, Ortazamanlar* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931), 1.

¹¹³ As the volume was not examined thoroughly, it is possible the concluding points are mentioned elsewhere in the text.

the Eastern Roman Empire, the invention of the printing press, or Columbus' voyage to America).¹¹⁴

The first two events in the chronological listing are “50 [AD] - The Yuezhi invasion of India under the rule of Kushans and capture of Punjab” and “[AD] 102-109 - The Romans enter Southern Gaul.”¹¹⁵ The last two events are “[AD] 1857 - The Sipahi rebellion in India, the capture of Delhi by the British and the end of the Indo-Turkish Empire” and “[AD] 1858 - Transfer of administration of India from the British Trading Company to the British Government.”¹¹⁶

In terms of territory, Europe and European entities are mentioned in 13 chapters, most of which are relatively short (1 to 6 pages) - the first one discusses the Roman Empire¹¹⁷ and the last the Crusades.¹¹⁸ India is represented by chapters Medieval Indian World,¹¹⁹ India under Muslim-Turkish Administration,¹²⁰ and Babur Empire in India,¹²¹ totalling 19 pages. More than ten chapters deal with Turkic states established in Asia (e.g. Karluk State,¹²² Türgesh State,¹²³ The Turco-Mongolian Empire,¹²⁴...), most of which are between 1 to 10 pages long, with the exception of the chapter Medieval Anatolian Turkish States¹²⁵ at 28 pages. The territories of Egypt, the Arabian peninsula, and the Levant are discussed in several chapters, most notably a chapter titled The History of Islam.¹²⁶ At 105 pages, it is the longest chapter in the book by far, effectively taking up nearly a third of the textbook.

¹¹⁴ Tefik et al., *Tarih II*, 2.

¹¹⁵ Tefik et al., *Tarih II*, 341.

¹¹⁶ Tefik et al., *Tarih II*, 362.

¹¹⁷ Tefik et al., “Eskizamandan Ortazamana Girerken,” in *Tarih II*, 1–20.

¹¹⁸ Tefik et al., “Haçlılar Seferleri,” in *Tarih II*, 225–30.

¹¹⁹ Tefik et al., “Ortazamanda Hint Âlemi,” in *Tarih II*, 287–91.

¹²⁰ Tefik et al., “Müslüman Türkler İdaresinde Hint,” in *Tarih II*, 292–98.

¹²¹ Tefik et al., “Hindistanda Babür İmparatorluğu,” in *Tarih II*, 31–40.

¹²² Tefik et al., “Karluk Devleti,” in *Tarih II*, 57–58.

¹²³ Tefik et al., “Türkeş Devleti,” in *Tarih II*, 54–56.

¹²⁴ Tefik et al., “Türk-Moğol İmparatorluğu,” in *Tarih II*, 239–47.

¹²⁵ Tefik et al., “Ortazamanda Anadolu Türk Devletleri,” in *Tarih II*, 258–86.

¹²⁶ Tefik et al., “İslâm Tarihi,” in *Tarih II*, 79–184.

History III: Ottoman-Turkish History in the Modern Era and Recent Times (Tarih III: Yeni ve Yakın Zamanlarda Osmanlı-Türk Tarihi) is the shortest volume in the series: it consists of 153 pages of text, two pages depicting the Ottoman lineage, a 6-page chronological listing of events, a 20-page-long index and additional 95 pages of pictures. The book is divided into chapters I-IV, all of which cover the history of the Ottoman Empire.

Chapter I, titled The Establishment of the Ottoman State,¹²⁷ tells of the origins of the Ottomans and their initial conquests in Anatolia and Europe on 23 pages of text. Chapter II, 34 pages long and simply titled The Ottoman Empire,¹²⁸ first and foremost details the story of the conquest of Istanbul. It does so surprisingly levelly, especially considering the vehemence of narration present elsewhere in the series. Despite not having defined the term “the Middle Ages” in Volume II, here, it reads, “*This event was accepted as the end of the Middle Ages and was instrumental for the beginning of a new era of civilisation and humanity.*”¹²⁹ Despite the overall level tone, there is a subchapter titled Mehmet II. Roman Emperor.¹³⁰ Chapter III, titled Decline of the Empire,¹³¹ is 28 pages long and divided into two subchapters - The Period of Stagnation (1579-1683) and The Period of Retreat (1683-1792). The final chapter deals with the “disintegration and decline” of the Empire, describing the events between 1792 and 1919.¹³² At 65 pages, it is the longest chapter of the volume. Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of Volume III is its length: it manages to concentrate seven centuries of history of an empire spanning three continents on a mere 153 pages, conceivably confirming the aim of the History Thesis to understate and deemphasise the history of the Ottoman Empire, rather than on its Golden Age focusing on its fall.

¹²⁷ Mehmed Tevfik et al., “Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluşu,” in *Tarih III, Yeni ve Yakın Zamanlarda Osmanlı-Türk Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931), 1–23.

¹²⁸ Tefvik et al., “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu,” in *Tarih III*, 24–58.

¹²⁹ Mehmed Tevfik et al., *Tarih III, Yeni ve Yakın Zamanlarda Osmanlı-Türk Tarihi* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931), 25. Original emphasis.

¹³⁰ Tefvik et al., *Tarih III*, 31.

¹³¹ Tefvik et al., “İmparatorluğun İnhitatu,” in *Tarih III*, 59–87.

¹³² Tefvik et al., “İmparatorluğun İnhilâli ve İnkırazı (1792-1919),” in *Tarih III*, 88–153.

History IV: Republic of Turkey (Tarih IV: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti), the focus of this thesis, covers the shortest period of all previous volumes. It deals with events from the end of WWI through the 20s and concludes in 1931, mentioning events from the late spring of 1931. It is worth noting that the book was published six months later, in November 1931. On 336 pages of text, it details the events of only 13 years. This is especially striking (though unsurprising) when compared with Volume III. The textbook includes ten pages of a detailed chronological listing of events, a 15-page long index, and an additional 132 pages of pictures. Unlike the previous volumes, it also includes an appendix of 8 pages with copies of orders, letters and telegraph communications of Mustafa Kemal.¹³³ The structure of the book is also somewhat different because it is divided into two parts, not just chapters. Part I is titled The Foundation of the Republic of Turkey¹³⁴ and is further divided into two chapters, Establishment of Another State by the Turkish Nation¹³⁵ and War of Independence,¹³⁶ both of which include 7-8 subchapters. Part II is titled The Revolutionary and Reconstruction Stages After the War of Independence¹³⁷ and contains nine chapters, some divided into subchapters A-G, others into subchapters without a particular designation other than the title of the chapter itself.¹³⁸

The book heavily focuses on events within the new state's borders and on the state of and relationship with European countries in a post-war world. Additionally, it seems intent on comparing the new Republic with the Ottoman Empire, especially in part II, where it deals with topics like religion, law, education, industry, trade, health, social administration and defence; it often approaches the subject in terms of “then” vs “now”, e.g. chapter VII, Economic and Financial Revolution and Reforms,¹³⁹ subchapter C - Industry,¹⁴⁰ is subdivided

¹³³ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 337–46.

¹³⁴ T.T.T.C., “I. Kısım - Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Kuruluşu.” in *Tarih IV*, 1–133.

¹³⁵ T.T.T.C., “Türk Milletinin Yeni Bir Devlet Daha Kurması,” in *Tarih IV*, 1–55.

¹³⁶ T.T.T.C., “İstiklâl Harbi,” in *Tarih IV*, 56–133.

¹³⁷ T.T.T.C., “II. Kısım - İstiklâl Harbinden Sora İnkilâp ve İslahat Safhaları,” in *Tarih IV*, 137–335.

¹³⁸ See Appendix 1 for a detailed Table of Contents of Volume IV.

¹³⁹ T.T.T.C., “İktisadî, Malî İnkilâp ve İslahat Cereyanları,” in *Tarih IV*, 270–317.

¹⁴⁰ T.T.T.C., “C. Sanayi Sahasında,” in *Tarih IV*, 287–90.

further into - The Death of Turkish National Industry in the Ottoman Sultanate¹⁴¹ and
The Revival of the Turkish National Industry.¹⁴²

	Pages - text	Pages - illustrations/ photographs	Chapters	Years in Chronology
Vol I - Prehistoric and Ancient times	346	70	XXIV	BC 80 mil. - AD 581
Vol II - Middle Ages	340	72	XXXII	50 - 1858
Vol III - Ottoman-Turkish History in the Modern Era and Recent Times	153	95	IV	1071 - 1920
Vol IV - Republic of Turkey	336	132	Part I: II Part II: IX	1880 - May 10th 1931

Figure 1

¹⁴¹ T.T.T.C., "C. Osmanlı Saltanatında Türk Millî Sanayiinin Ölümü," in *Tarih IV*, 287.

¹⁴² T.T.T.C., "C. Türk Millî Sanayiinin Dirilişi," in *Tarih IV*, 287–89.

3. Methodology

3.1. Evaluative Assertion Analysis

The aim of this thesis is to determine how the new Turkish state portrayed, described, and evaluated its predecessor in the last few years of existence of the Ottoman Empire in the official (i.e. government-sanctioned) historical narrative. Using the techniques of content analysis techniques, a selected part of the text from a state-issued history textbook was analysed to ascertain how the Ottoman Empire was portrayed barely ten years after its official dissolution. For the qualitative portion of the analysis, a modified Evaluative Assertion Analysis (EAA) was used, a technique within qualitative content analysis.

The Evaluative Assertion Analysis (EAA), described by Osgood et al.,¹⁴³ aims to determine the attitudes of a source toward an *attitude object* (AO) - be it a concept, a person or a place. This is done in four stages: I) identifying and isolating the AO, II) creating a set of all evaluative assertions about the AO, III) assigning directions and intensity to the assertions, and IV) allocating the assertions and their intensity and direction to an evaluative scale. The technique is best performed by a set of coders to ensure maximum objectivity and reliability: in the first stage of the analysis, one coder examines the selected text and identifies all sentences or phrases where the AO is being evaluated. This means that they not only identify sentences where the AO is mentioned directly but also all sentences which refer to the AO by way of pronouns or other parts of speech. Then, the specific mention of the AO - stripped of all common meaning terms - is replaced by an arbitrary symbol (e.g. "XY"). Statements thus modified are then analysed by a different coder in stage II to limit the possibility of the coders' unconscious bias towards either one of the producers of a statement or any particular AO affecting the analysis. This was somewhat simpler in the analysis presented in this thesis, as it only deals with statements from a singular source as opposed to analyses that would aim

¹⁴³ Osgood, et al., "Evaluative Assertion Analysis," 47–102.

to show and compare the differences in attitudes and evaluations of one AO by different sources.

3.2. Modification of the EAA

The EEA was modified for the purposes of this thesis, particularly the original stages III and IV. The analysis below consisted of five stages: I) identifying AOs relevant to the analysis, II) selecting and processing specific parts of the textbook based on the defined AOs, III) extracting and subsequently simplifying all statements relating to the chosen AOs present in the selected body of text, IV) evaluating the statements on a 5-point intensity scale where -2 represented “very negative” evaluations and 2 represented “very positive” evaluations, V) creating categories of recurring themes and tendencies in the set of statements to get a sense of which themes were most prominent both in terms of frequency and intensity.

Stage I of the analysis involved identifying relevant Attitude objects (AO). Attitude objects, as defined by Osgood et al., are “signs whose evaluative meanings vary extremely with the person producing or receiving them,”¹⁴⁴ so while the words *beautiful*, *intelligent*, or *honourable* will be understood by the majority of reasonably proficient English speakers as something positive, opinions will vary greatly when confronted with the words *capitalism*, *Austria* or *Donald Trump*. For this analysis, the main AO was “Ottoman Empire,” but there are quite a few other terms which represent a part of the entity, so relying solely on the presence of the word “empire” would not be sufficient - the Ottoman Empire is most often referred to as “Ottoman State” (*Osmanlı Devleti*) or “Ottoman Sultanate” (*Osmanlı Saltanati*). It is for this reason that the word “Ottoman” became the main AO, no matter if it was followed by the word “state”, “sultanate”, or “country”. Assuming that persons engaged in governing or working for the government of the Ottoman Empire directly represented the

¹⁴⁴ Osgood, et al., “Evaluative Assertion Analysis,” 49.

Ottoman Empire itself, they are considered AOs as well, be they sultans, vezirs, or officials (by titles or names). Special attention was paid to the keywords “Caliphate” and “Istanbul” as they often referred to the Ottoman Empire as well: the “Istanbul government” was the government of the Ottoman Empire in the eyes of the authors, just like the “Caliphate” was an institution represented by the Ottoman Empire. All of the above-mentioned AOs were assigned to set 1.

To gauge the scope of the negativity/positivity displayed in the text, an additional set of AOs was defined, this time relating to the source of the text - the representatives of the newly formed Turkish Republic, known today as the Republic of Türkiye. The Turkish “state”, ”republic”, ”homeland”, ”people”, ”nation” (...) were established as the second set of AOs, together with all references to the persons portrayed as having represented the Republic, e.g. Mustafa Kemal. All of the above-mentioned AOs belong to set 2.

Stage II entailed selecting, translating and processing the sample text. As mentioned above, the textbook was written in 1931, which presented several challenges for the analysis: the language of the textbook differs greatly from modern Turkish, not only in terms of syntax but also lexis. The language reform, which aimed to purify the language of most of its Arabic and Persian loanwords, began in 1932 - one year after the publication of the textbook. This means that the language of the textbook is quite difficult to read for a student of modern Turkish. What might perhaps best illustrate the dramatic change in the language is the fact that even *Nutuk*, the famous speech of Mustafa Kemal delivered in 1927, has been ”translated” into increasingly modern Turkish several times¹⁴⁵ since its first publication to reflect the changes in the language. For this reason, the selected chapters of the textbook were first translated into English to facilitate the analysis. Additionally, given the relative inexperience of the author and the complexity and pitfalls that come with a translation of

¹⁴⁵ Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform*, 2–3.

such a language, there is a possibility that the translation may be, on occasion, imperfect or flawed, particularly when the importance of tone and emotionally charged words are involved. More experienced and knowledgeable parties consulted some more challenging parts of the translation. However, the potential for error remains.

The selection of text was based on three criteria: 1) the presence of keywords (AOs) in the title of (sub)chapters which discussed domestic rather than international events, such as: “Ottoman”, “Sultan/ate”, “Istanbul Government”, “Caliphate”, “Turkish”, “Republic”; 2) indication that the (sub)chapters would provide a direct comparison between “then” and “now” or “Ottoman” and “Turkish” (e.g. Part I, Chapter C: The Situation of the Ottoman State at the End of the World War; subchapters The Sultan and His Government's Perspective and The Turkish Nation's Perspective), and 3) the (sub)chapters concerned events between 1918 and 1924. Based on these criteria, with the aim of a comparatively even distribution of the subchapters within the studied period, and an attempt not to select too large a sample for the purposes of a bachelor thesis, 15 subchapters of varying lengths were selected, resulting in approximately 52 standardised pages of text to be analysed (see app.1 for a list of chapters).

In stage III of the analysis, statements pertaining to both sets of AOs were extracted and subsequently simplified. Within the scope of this thesis, it was regrettably not possible to have the benefit of multiple coders. To attempt to avoid or at least mitigate bias, an AI language model was used to verify the selection of the evaluative statements. Because there was only one coder and one source of the statements, isolating and replacing the AO with an arbitrary symbol was deemed futile and, on that account, not performed. Instead, all statements relating to the defined AOs were extracted from each subchapter and compiled in a spreadsheet. That is all sentences, evaluative or not, which referenced any of the defined AOs were extracted and compiled. This was done to avoid having to assign an evaluative

quality to the statement itself at this stage, which could lead to misrepresenting or omitting some of the AOs or statements.

Turkish - both modern and Ottoman - tends to form sentences longer than the average sentence uttered in English, and there were a great number of statements in which AOs from both set 1 and set 2 were mentioned and evaluated. Such sentences were simplified and/or divided for the purposes of the analysis.

After extracting the statements from a subchapter, the same portion of the text was copied to Chat GPT together with prompts to extract all statements relating to the two sets of AOs. The list of statements that Chat GPT generated based on the text was then compared with the compilation of statements extracted by the coder to verify that none were accidentally omitted. This required some initial testing before the set of instructions used was adjusted for the task at hand. Nevertheless, as the developers of Chat GPT (via Chat GPT itself) warn, it is not 100% reliable and especially when it comes to assessing finer subtleties of language, it falls short. Therefore, it was used solely as a supplementary tool to assist in verifying the identification of all sentences pertaining to the AOs.

The statements were then evaluated in stage IV. Any qualitative analysis is subjective, and this analysis is no different. Though there are techniques that aim to manage the degree of subjectivity to preserve the validity and credibility of the results, not all of them were applicable, particularly because the research was done by one person. Additionally, while it would have been simpler to assign only negative/positive values to the statements, upon preliminary examination of the evaluative statements, a need for a scale emerged - even if it was a modest one. For that reason, both values were assigned two levels of intensity: -2 = very negative; -1 = negative; 1 = positive; 2 = very positive. Not all statements, however, were evaluative. Some of them were simple statements of fact (e.g. "Mustafa Kemal went to

Erzurum.”¹⁴⁶), neither positive nor negative - as one would hope to find in a history textbook, after all. These statements were assigned 0 = neutral.

The method used to decide whether a statement is “very negative/very positive” or only “negative/positive” was based mainly on lexical verbs - whether or not they were action verbs or stative verbs and what objects/modifiers were used. The author's assumption is that “acting” is generally better/worse than “being”. Therefore, the statement “Men in the government were sometimes dishonourable[...]”¹⁴⁷ was assigned the value of -1, while “The Ottoman Sultan bowed to the wishes of the enemies.”¹⁴⁸ was assigned the value of -2. This system helped navigate the statements but was not applicable to all of them, and contextual cues were used to ultimately decide which value would be assigned: while the statement “Abdülmeçit was not far behind Vahdettin in betrayal.”¹⁴⁹ does only use a stative verb, the implication of Abdülmeçit having betrayed [the Turkish Nation] is quite clear and the statement received a value of -2.

Similarly, assigning 0 was, at times, debatable. In such cases, context cues and the commonality of a term were vital in the evaluative process while keeping in mind the limits and dangers of translation. The text uses the verb *parçalanmak* to describe the end of the Ottoman Empire. *Parça* means a “fragment” or “piece”; the causative suffix *-lan* suggests that the verb stem is made or caused to happen (by someone or something); *-mak* is the infinitive suffix. Therefore, the verb quite literally means “to be fragmented”. There are many words used to describe the end of the Empire in English, including collapse, dissolution, disintegration, fall ..., none of which are particularly neutral. Because they are so commonly used, however, whenever the word *parçalanmak* was used in this context without any other modifiers, it was assigned the value of 0, even though it could certainly be a matter of debate.

¹⁴⁶ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 39.

¹⁴⁷ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 13.

¹⁴⁸ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 13.

¹⁴⁹ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 159.

The evaluations made in the text had to be viewed from the point of view of those who had originally made those evaluations and, ideally, with the perspective of the potential reader in mind as well. So while the statements “Mustafa Kemal went to Erzurum” and “The Empire was about to collapse” received 0, a neutral evaluation, some statements that to the neutral observer would perhaps seem as simple statements of fact without any particular negative or positive value, did not receive 0. This was necessary simply because the aim of the analysis is to analyse the *Turkish* perception of the late Ottoman Empire and, what's more, how it was communicated to students. “They [Ferit Paşa and those around him] gave orders to military and civil officials in the provinces not to obey Mustafa Kemal.”¹⁵⁰ An observer interested solely in the lexical would most likely assign 0. The statement itself does not contain any individual words that would reasonably be viewed as particularly negative. However, the sample text is taken from a textbook that was meant to be studied by adolescents who had presumably spent their childhood in the less-than-ideal situation of war amid Mustafa Kemal being presented as the Father of the Nation, the saviour and ultimate hero. In such context, for anyone to forbid obeying “the Great Gazi”¹⁵¹ is nothing short of a crime, and in the context of the text, it is presented as such. Therefore, this statement received the value of -2 despite not containing any overtly negative common-meaning words.

Seemingly counter-intuitive evaluations were made when the text mentioned the sacrifice and suffering of the Turks, e.g. “[...] the Turk [who] had spilt the pure blood in his veins with generosity for centuries in order to save Islam from oppression and slavery and to honour it [...]”¹⁵² While mentions of spilling blood would not typically be considered positive, the text aims to portray the Turks as self-sacrificing heroes willing to go to incredible lengths to achieve their goals. From the Turkish point of view, therefore, this sentence merits the evaluation of 2.

¹⁵⁰ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 40.

¹⁵¹ As the textbook often calls him.

¹⁵² T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 157–58.

Finally, in stage V, the statements were categorised thematically. Four identical categories were created for each of the two sets: 1) Leadership and Governance, 2) Positive Characteristics, 3) Negative Characteristics, 4) Treatment of Women; and several additional categories unique to each set: 5) Betrayal of the Turkish Nation, 6) Enemies and Danger to the Turkish Nation, 7) Belittling the Significance of the Ottoman Empire, for set 1, the Ottoman set; and 8) Victims and Sacrifice, 9) Legitimacy of the Turkish Nation, 10) Internal Enemy, and 11) Turks' Predestination for/Historical Record of Greatness for set 2, the Turkish set. Statements that did not fall into any category were placed in a category labelled Other.

4. Analysis

As was mentioned above, the aim of the thesis is to analyse the portrayal of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, using 15 selected subchapters from the textbook. The subchapters were translated, and every statement pertaining to the previously defined AOs was simplified and subsequently evaluated. The analysis will be described below, together with example statements. Although it may seem that the number of quoted example statements is large, it was deemed useful mainly because of the evocative language that often escaped academic description and speaks for itself.

The textbook uses two forms of highlighting certain parts of the text: **bold font** to indicate direct speech and *italics*. The italics and bold used in the excerpts are unchanged, referring to the parts of the text highlighted the same way in the original textbook. The textbook uses rich language with a large amount of attributes which results in lengthy sentences. For the purposes of the evaluations, the statements were simplified and often dissected. They are not shared in their simplified form for contextual purposes; instead, the relevant parts are underlined by the author if the statement contains more than one AO or refers to multiple categories. Additionally, as quite a large amount of examples are provided in the text, statements longer than 50 words appear as free-standing blocks of text without quotation marks.

In total, 569 statements were evaluated, 285 of which pertain to set 1 (Ottoman attitude objects) and 284 to set 2 (Turkish attitude objects). As the graph below demonstrates, the statements on the Ottoman attitude objects were mostly negative, and the statements on the Turkish attitude objects were mostly positive. Statements which received a negative evaluation in set 2 always referred to an internal enemy, which will be discussed below.

Overall Evaluations of Ottoman and Turkish AOs

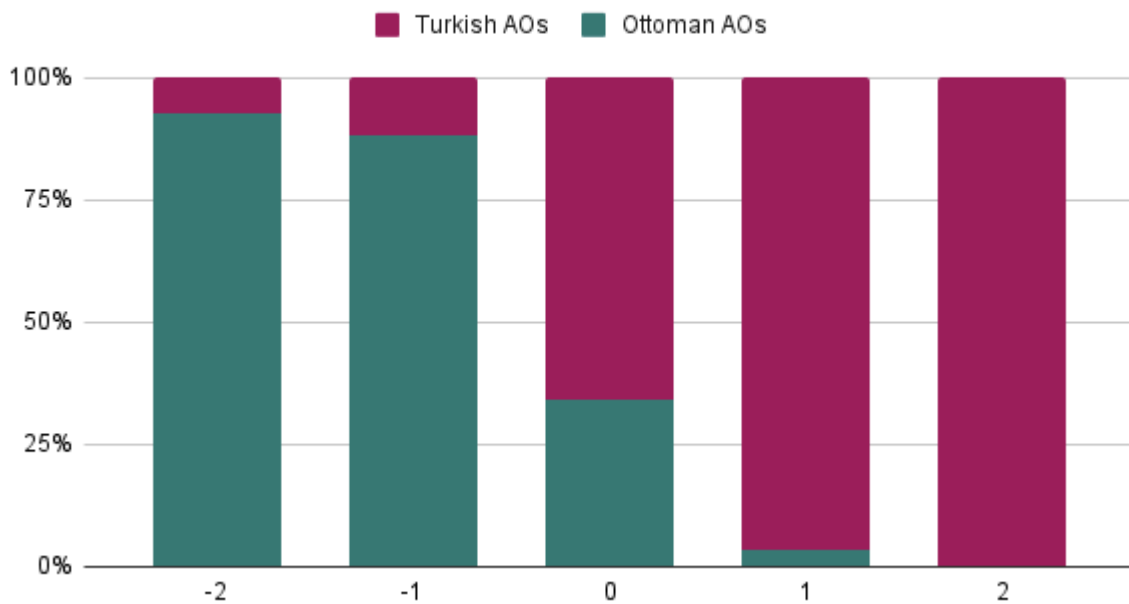


Figure 2

Further analysis of the statements involved categorising them based on themes and measuring their prevalence in the sample. First, the four categories identical for both sets will be described and compared. Then, the unique categories created for the repeatedly emerging themes for each set will be introduced and discussed. The four categories created for both set 1 and 2 were: Leadership and Governance, Positive Characteristics, Negative Characteristics, and Treatment of Women.

In Set 1, nearly 31% of the statements (88) fell into the Leadership and Governance category, and they ranged from neutral, such as “Damat Ferit Paşa was the head of the Istanbul government.”¹⁵³ to very negative: “[...] the Ottoman Sultan and the Ottoman Government [were] not doing anything or did not want to do anything against the collapse of

¹⁵³ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 39.

the Empire and the constant invasion and disintegration of the country by the enemies [...].”¹⁵⁴

In set 2, the Leadership and Governance category included 115 statements out of 284, or 40,5% and ranged from neutral to very positive:

In a country under the influence of all these negative factors, *Mustafa Kemal* tried to *establish a new state* and form a new army, alone, without money, relying only on his own genius, will and power, and on the love, respect and reputation he gained among the Turkish Nation with his victories in the Great War.¹⁵⁵

Based on the evaluations made, the Ottoman category may as well be called Leadership and Governance Failures as they were mostly negative. The statements in the Turkish set, however, were mostly neutral, with a third of the statements receiving a positive or a very positive evaluation, as is evident in the graph below (Figure 3). Figure 3 was created specifically for this category to illustrate the stark contrast between the portrayal of Ottoman and Turkish leadership and governance.

¹⁵⁴ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 14.

¹⁵⁵ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 132. “The Great War” references the First World War. In this instance, the original term in the textbook is *Umumî Harp*, though the War is referenced as *Büyük Harp* - “Great War” or *Cihan Harp* - “World War,” elsewhere in the text.

Ottoman Leadership vs Turkish Leadership

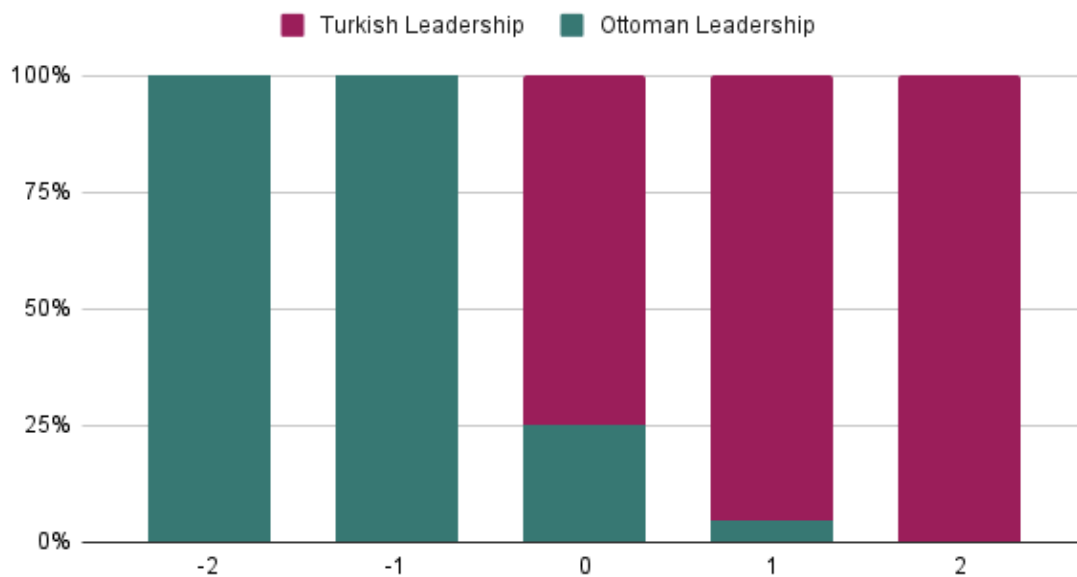


Figure 3

The categories of Positive and Negative Characteristics were created because the text used a large number of attributes. Therefore, it was deemed worthwhile to reflect this tendency in separate categories. They tell a similar story as the previous category, though admittedly a more positive one for the Turkish AOs. The sample contained 43 positive statements describing the Turkish Nation and country and their qualities, e.g., “The very powerful and creative Turkish Nation stood wounded, tired, but alive and hopeful.”¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, there were 23 negative statements describing the Ottoman AOs, mostly referring to the Sultan or members of the government: “A sultan devoid of patriotism and passion, and a government governed by men who were sometimes dishonourable and low, sometimes weak and cowardly, could not have a positive and beneficial perspective on the situation of the country.”¹⁵⁷ Interestingly, there were two statements that spoke of the positive

¹⁵⁶ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 14.

¹⁵⁷ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 13.

characteristics of the Ottoman AOs, though somewhat tentatively: “There were some honourable and patriotic people among the Ottoman government officials; but there were no people with the courage, determination, bravery and power to try to change this painful situation.”¹⁵⁸ There were no statements that would refer to any negative qualities of the Turkish Nation.

Finally, a category labelled Treatment of Women was created for both set 1 and 2. 21 statements described how the Ottoman AOs treated women, 17 of which were very negative. Conversely, out of the 19 statements discussing the Turkish treatment of women, 11 were positive and eight very positive, most often reflecting the claim that the Turkish Nation has always been a “feminist” one, an idea that was promoted already at the time of Ziya Gökalp.¹⁵⁹ All statements in this category were exclusively taken from a chapter titled The Position of Turkish Women in the Laws and Social Life of the Ottoman Sultanate,¹⁶⁰ as women were not discussed elsewhere in the sample. The chapter depicts the life of women under the rule of the Ottoman Sultanate and juxtaposes it with how the Turkish Nation treats and has always treated women. In what seems to be an appalled tone that permeates the entire chapter, the authors describe that women had to “cover themselves from head to toe”,¹⁶¹ characterising it as cruel. They denounce the Sultanate and, more specifically, “some Arab-Islamic imams who were brought up in the Middle Ages”¹⁶² for shaming women in the pursuit of knowledge: “[...] it had become shameful and sinful for [women] to read, write, and develop their own ideas and knowledge.”¹⁶³ Some aspects of social life are then mentioned: “Girls were married without *seeing or knowing* the men with whom they would spend their entire lives.”¹⁶⁴ In addition to the possibility of marrying more than one woman,

¹⁵⁸ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 13.

¹⁵⁹ Foss, “Kemal Atatürk,” 840.

¹⁶⁰ T.T.T.C., “Osmanlı Saltanatı Kanunlarında ve İçtimaî Hayatında Türk Kadınının Mevkii,” in *Tarih IV*, 221–24.

¹⁶¹ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 222.

¹⁶² T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 221.

¹⁶³ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 221.

¹⁶⁴ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 222.

a man “sometimes could even get many concubines”.¹⁶⁵ This state of affairs is described as “[...] a real period of a dungeon, disaster and suffering for Turkish women.”¹⁶⁶

Then the chapter turns and describes the position of women and their treatment by the Turkish Nation: “[...] the Turkish Nation, as a nation with the highest spiritual culture, recognised the equal rights of women and men and the esteemed position of *friendship and compatriotism*¹⁶⁷ of women in social life for thousands of years and before any other nation.”¹⁶⁸ The chapter emphasises that the “movement against women”¹⁶⁹ never reached beyond the towns and cities and that “Anatolian and Rumelian Turks, as in many other points, have persevered in remaining loyal to their national culture.”¹⁷⁰

This chapter differs from others in that it contains an excerpt from a work by someone other than Mustafa Kemal, that of an Arab traveller, Ibn Battuta.¹⁷¹ The passage, among other things, states that “the faces [of the people in Anatolia are] very beautiful, their clothes clean, and their food [is] delicious.”¹⁷² but the textbook goes further to say:

[Ibn Battuta] mentions the high position of women in Turkish areas other than Anatolia, for example, in India, [...] in short, in every place where Turkishness lived and dominated. For example, when talking about the cities of Kipchak Turks, he says: 'I saw a strange situation here. This is because Turks respect women very much. Their position is higher than that of men. [...]'¹⁷³

It is clear that the textbook aims to show that the Turkish Nation has historically treated women equally and that they held positions of power. The chapter strongly asserts

¹⁶⁵ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 222.

¹⁶⁶ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 223.

¹⁶⁷ The original text uses the phrase *yurt kardeşliği*. *Yurt* means “homeland,” and *kardeşlik* “brotherhood,” although perhaps more accurately, “siblinghood,” as Turkish does not use grammatical gender.

¹⁶⁸ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 223.

¹⁶⁹ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 223.

¹⁷⁰ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 223.

¹⁷¹ The accuracy of the passage was not studied and verified. It is assumed the passage was taken from Battuta's work *Rihla*, however, in addition to no page references being made (unlike the citations of Mustafa Kemal's *Nutuk*, which usually reference a page number), the textbook does not even mention the work by its name.

¹⁷² T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 224.

¹⁷³ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 224.

that: “This life of despotism and slavery into which women were thrown had nothing to do with Turkishness or *Turkish social principles*.”¹⁷⁴ Interestingly, this statement is immediately followed by: “The Sultanate had made this fanaticism and reactionism a strong force for itself; it took it from foreign cultures and tried to apply it to Turkish life.”¹⁷⁵ The “foreign cultures” mentioned are not specified, but it would seem that the authors are attempting to suggest that here, they do not attribute “fanaticism and reactionism” to the Sultanate as its inherent characteristics, despite accusing them of both multiple times elsewhere but rather as foreign import.

The categories common to both sets revealed that the textbooks'—and therefore the regime's—objective is to highlight not only the vast differences between the Ottoman and Turkish styles of governance but also the contrast between their social principles and personal characters.

The themes that emerged in the sample and were placed in unique categories for set 1, the Ottoman AOs, were Betrayal of the Turkish Nation, Enemies and Danger to the Turks, and Belittling the Significance of the Ottoman Empire.

Statements which pertained to or included the words betrayal, treachery or treason accounted for almost 20% of all statements from set 1, e.g. “[...]Vahdettin and Damat Ferit's betrayal of the Turkish Nation became evident [...]”¹⁷⁶ This was intriguing because, by the very definition of the word, a betrayal or treason can only be committed by an entity that one trusts and considers an ally, if not anything more. Therefore, by accusing the Sultan or the state officials of betrayal or treason, the authors of the textbooks indicate that the Sultan (and presumably the entity he represented) was at some point considered an ally, someone the Turkish Nation could trust at some unspecified point in history. However, the sample also contains statements seemingly indicating the opposite: “[Only Sultan Vahdettin and his

¹⁷⁴ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 223.

¹⁷⁵ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 223.

¹⁷⁶ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 40.

Government could think] that the National Government would abandon the principles gained at the expense of the blood of the most valuable children of the Nation [...] and return the Nation to the clutches of the Ottoman Sultanate again.¹⁷⁷ This statement suggests the Turkish Nation was (again, at an unspecified point in history) “in the clutches of the Ottoman Sultanate” - an institution represented by the Sultan. This subtle tension, usually hidden in expressive metaphors, tends to surface repeatedly.

Another category was created for statements claiming that the Ottoman AOs were the enemy and represented a danger to the Turkish Nation: “[...] Ferit Paşa's Government [...] decided to *attack* the Turkish Nation's national independence and freedom movement from behind and *from within*.”¹⁷⁸ Such statements accounted for nearly 14,5% of the statements in set 1. Interestingly, statements that were negative or very negative, depicting the enmity and danger of the Ottoman AOs mostly mentioned the institutions of the Sultanate and Caliphate. On several occasions, the Sultanate is referred to as a personal Sultanate,¹⁷⁹ possibly emphasising the fact that power was held by one individual and that such an arrangement was harmful.

This differentiation could perhaps be explained by what seems to be an attempt to show the harms of autocratic rule¹⁸⁰ and to separate the institutions of the Sultanate and Caliphate from the Ottoman *State* or *country*. In fact, most of the contempt is reserved for the former two. They are portrayed as something layered over the Ottoman Empire/State (on one occasion called the Ottoman-Turkish State)¹⁸¹ to its detriment and not as institutions intrinsically intertwined with and representative of the Empire/State itself:

¹⁷⁷ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 123.

¹⁷⁸ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 40.

¹⁷⁹ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 124,151,158. *Şahsi saltanat* or *ferdi saltanat* as in a “personal” or “individual sultanate”

¹⁸⁰ An attempt that might seem somewhat amusing as it is made in a textbook written on the directive and under the personal supervision of a president.

¹⁸¹ T.T.T.C., “Osmanlı-Türk Devleti,” in *Tarih IV*, 133.

If this wretched man [Selim I] had not tried to take the title of Caliphate [...], an institution that would hinder the development of the Ottoman Empire according to the requirements of the century would not have been created, and Turkishness would not have suffered many losses due to carrying this empty title.¹⁸²

Possibly the most emblematic example of naming the Sultanate and Caliphate (and not the “Ottoman State” per se) the enemy and of the evocative language that is used throughout the book is the following excerpt:

[...] the Caliph gathered all the Sultanate and Caliphate forces and servants and his actions in attacking those who devoted their lives to Anatolian lands to save Turkish dignity and independence were worse than the actions of the enemies. He used all the means and tools at his disposal to hit the patriots who tried to push the sphere of disaster that suddenly fell on the homeland beyond the national borders with their wounded chests and shattered hands, with poisonous arrows of treason and to pick at the national pact with an owl's beak. *He could not show even the primitive display of honour as the last emperor of the Byzantine Empire, Constantine*, who died in the streets of Vefa¹⁸³ for the sake of the throne and Christianity, and he escaped from the homeland, which he had no power to sink, with an enemy armoured vehicle.¹⁸⁴

The two statements above may reveal another tension in the text: frequently speaking of the danger that the Sultanate and Caliphate represent, almost exclusively blaming the suffering of the country and the Nation on them on the one hand and, on the other, repeatedly claiming that the institutions had no power. This brings us to the last category unique to the Ottoman set: Belittling the Significance of the Ottoman Sultanate, the Sultan and the institutions he represented. Such statements made up 10,5% of all the statements in set 1:

It is incomprehensible that the Ottoman viziers and ministers [...] still valued the phantoms such as the Ottoman Sultanate and the Islamic Caliphate, which were just

¹⁸² T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 156–57.

¹⁸³ *Vefa* refers to a district in the historical centre of Istanbul.

¹⁸⁴ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 158. The excerpt is from a chapter titled Abolition of the Caliphate, which discusses Sultan Mehmed VI (1918-1922).

meaningless traditions and titles, and [that they] saw the possibility of preserving the Ottoman State and envisioned a general interest in this preservation even [...] after it became clear that the Sultan's government had no value or importance, not only in Anatolia but even within the walls of Istanbul.¹⁸⁵

The following graph (Figure 4) shows the representation of all categories created for set 1 to demonstrate how prevalent each theme was. Statements which did not fit any specific category were placed under “Other”.

Set 1: Ottoman AOs

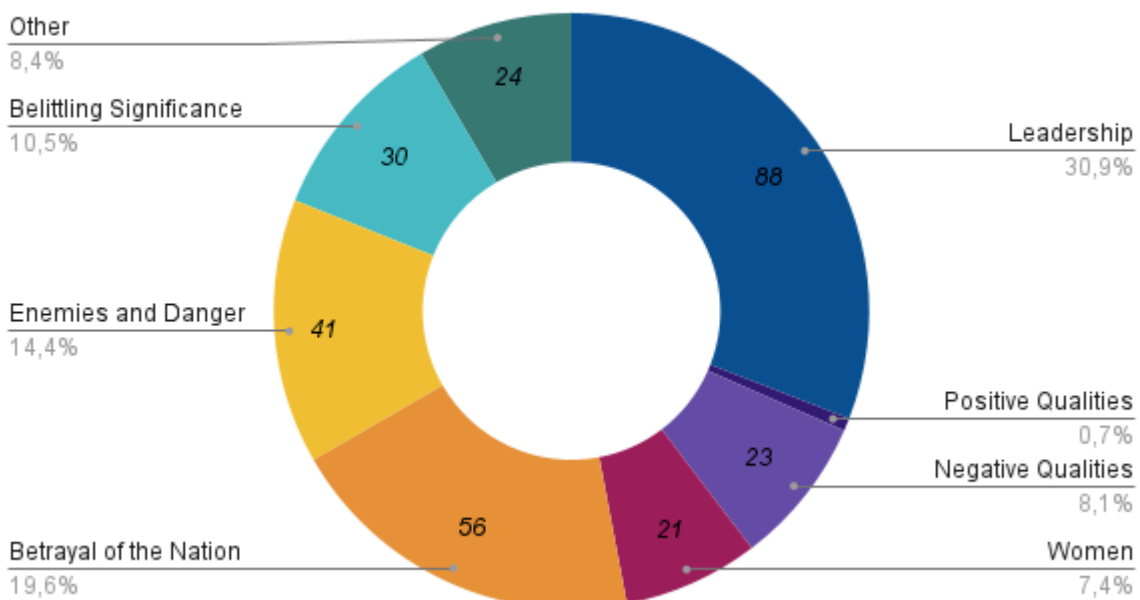


Figure 4

The themes that emerged in the sample and were placed in categories unique for set 2 were Victims and Sacrifice, Legitimacy, Internal Enemy, and Turks' Predestination for/Historical Record of Greatness.

The category relating to the sacrifice of the Turkish Nation or their being victims contained 22 statements, almost 8% of the total number of statements in set 2. Although this

¹⁸⁵ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 90.

category could have been divided into two categories (one labelled Victims and another labelled Sacrifice), it was deemed more useful to present them within one category as the concepts of sacrifice and victimhood were often used together, perhaps to reach one goal. Employing depictions of sacrifice appears to strive to establish a sort of standard worth emulating, suggesting that sacrificing oneself for an ideal, for one's country, and for the Nation is commendable. The portrayal of victimhood gives the impression of constructing a strong image of an external enemy that must be defeated – even at the cost of personal sacrifice. The statements frequently mention the Turkish homeland and independence being violated and the boundless sacrifice of the Turkish people in the name of the Nation, as is clear in the following example:

The young officers and minor civil servants staying in Istanbul and the real Turks [...] [were] risking even being hanged and cut down [...]. During this self-sacrificing work, many officers were captured [...]; Many *porters and bargemen* were taken and sent to do penal labour; some were even hanged. But despite all these dangers, their national service was not interrupted.¹⁸⁶

This is very much in line with two of the five founding political myths of the Kemalist ideology that Morin described in her work, *Crafting Turkish National Identity, 1919-1927*. First, the myth of the First Duty, essentially a call to arms used in the Kemalist discourse, which “[...] depicted Turks as an historically military people who were fond of their freedom and ready to die for it.”¹⁸⁷ (emphasis added). One of the aspects of the second myth, the Myth of Encirclement, was the idea that “[...]Turks were surrounded by enemies on all sides and had no friends.”¹⁸⁸ The statements in this category seem to employ elements of both these myths, perpetuating the idea that the Nation has enemies and it is every Turk's duty to fight

¹⁸⁶ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 91.

¹⁸⁷ Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity*, 8.

¹⁸⁸ Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity*, 10. Morin notes that the Myth of Encirclement had a secondary role in the Kemalist discourse and mainly referred to the Turks “loneliness” of being caught between the East and the West, reframed by Kemal to be “uniqueness” and a bridge between the East and the West.

against them, no matter the cost: **“No matter who violated the Turkish ancestral homeland and the independence of the Turks, the whole nation had to respond to them and fight against them.”**¹⁸⁹ In one instance, the statements mention the Turks' sacrifice in the name of Islam as well: “[...] the Turk [who] had poured the pure blood in his veins with generosity for centuries in order to save Islam from oppression and slavery and to honour it [...]”¹⁹⁰

Another category unique to set 2 was labelled Legitimacy and included statements that asserted, in no uncertain terms, the legitimacy of Turkish presence in Anatolia: “These movements, which were against the legitimate and national Turkish State that was being formed [...]”¹⁹¹ or: “[...] the Turkish Nation, [...] the owner and ruler of the original¹⁹² country, immediately took action to improve the situation and save *their motherland*.”¹⁹³ This statement claims ownership of the land outright, but also, this chapter contains the word *anayurt*, which is otherwise used only in reference to Central Asia, and its referencing Anatolia was not found anywhere else in the sample. Establishing the legitimacy of Turkish presence in Anatolia was an existential question for the young Republic; the memory of the Treaty of Sèvres, the Allies attempting to claim parts of Anatolia had left its mark.

The next category, Internal Enemy, included 28 statements and accounted for 10% of the statements in set 2. This category related to the existence, actions or characteristics of some form of an internal enemy, whether they were opposition voices in the Grand National Assembly or supporters of the Sultan who were dubbed “rebels” and “internal traitors”: “For this reason, Mustafa Kemal had to deal with the internal traitors as well as the enemy fronts.”¹⁹⁴ The evaluations of the statements in this category ranged from neutral to very negative and they are the only statements which received negative or very negative

¹⁸⁹ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 145. Original emphasis, as this statement is an excerpt from Kemal's Nutuk, referenced as “Nutuk”, sahife: 10, (*Liiks tabi*, S. 13-14)

¹⁹⁰ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 157–58.

¹⁹¹ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 67.

¹⁹² The original text contains the word *asil*, translated as “original [country],” but could also mean “real.”

¹⁹³ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 14.

¹⁹⁴ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 67.

evaluations in set 2. This category aligned with Morin's founding myth category of the Internal Enemy:

In Nutuk, Atatürk defined those who opposed the resistance movement, refused to join it, and questioned his authority as internal enemies. The targets of the Internal Enemy evolved from foreign mandate-seekers to the Ottoman government and the Sultan, as Atatürk recounted the events that took place during the different phases of the national resistance. When the resistance ended in 1923 with the victory of Turks, the myth found its last target in the opponents of modernization.¹⁹⁵

Last but not least, a category labelled Turks' Predestination for/Historical Record of Greatness contained 13 statements that either claimed such predestination or spoke of evidence of it, as is apparent from the following statement: “The wonderful power hidden in the essence of the Turkish Nation has been manifested in the form of heroes who have, since ancient times, controlled religions and civilisations and changed the course of history.”¹⁹⁶ These statements directly refer to one of the main tenets of the History Thesis, depicting Turks as history's main civilisational force.

The following graph (Figure 5) shows the representation of all categories created for set 2 to demonstrate how prevalent each theme was.

¹⁹⁵ Morin, *Crafting Turkish National Identity*, 9.

¹⁹⁶ T.T.T.C., *Tarih IV*, 14.

Set 2: Turkish AOs

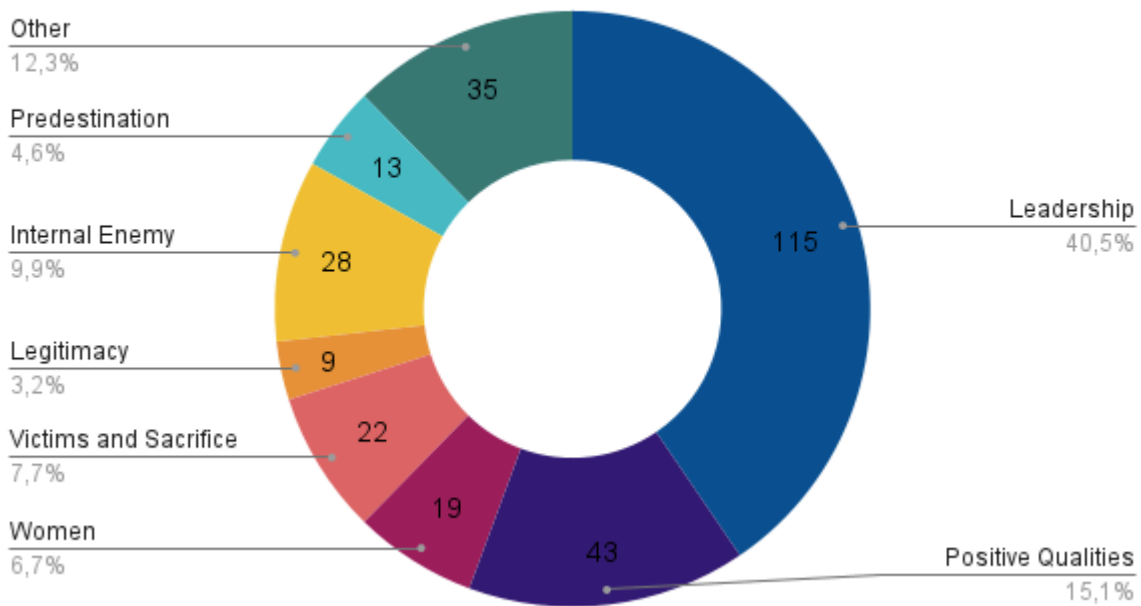


Figure 5

Collectively, the statements often reference the main principles of the Turkish History Thesis; despite the fact that the analysed chapters mainly concern the years 1918-1924, Turkish origins are mentioned, and the text reminds the students of the Turks' historical significance, of the civilisational force that they have always been, and repeatedly assert Anatolia to be their homeland. The way the Ottoman State is described and evaluated in this narration may seem clear at first glance; the textbook paints a picture of a treacherous Ottoman Sultanate led by weak and easily influenced men who have usurped and threatened the freedom and dignity of the Turkish Nation. The Caliph and the Caliphate are depicted as an empty title and a meaningless institution. The analysis has demonstrated that the evaluation of the Ottoman AOs is, overall, negative.

However, the analysis also revealed subtle tensions in approaching the Ottoman entities and, occasionally, what seemed to be slightly inconsistent statements. This was difficult to pinpoint as the statements were at times vague and unclear when it came to

referring to the past, often not using dates or events to mark a potential change in attitudes in time and simply speaking of them as if they were constant and irrefutable. This approach is not ideal for scientific works but is perhaps to be expected in a textbook that was written for the purposes of transmitting a historical narrative of a state ideology. The tensions and inconsistencies included the Sultanate being described in negative terms and at the same time, seemingly diverting the responsibility from the Sultanate to foreign powers or foreign influences. Additionally, although the Sultanate and Caliphate are denounced for their actions and blamed for the Turks' suffering, they are at the same time referred to as meaningless and powerless institutions.

Conclusion

The aim of the thesis was to analyse how the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic were portrayed between 1918 and 1924 in a high school textbook published in 1931. To perform the analysis, Evaluative Assertion Analysis, which was modified by the author and combined with a thematic analysis, was used. Working with the EAA was useful in assessing the overall attitudes towards an object, and the thematic analysis was invaluable in identifying the recurring themes. Combining these two methods proved to be highly constructive, particularly while working with a text so heavily influenced by ideology. The process of simplifying the often lengthy and convoluted statements according to the method of the EEA was crucial for identifying the repeatedly emerging themes and its design helped ensure objectivity and avoidance of personal bias. Having multiple coders, however, would undoubtedly enhance its effectiveness.

Keeping to the relatively strict design of the method was a vital part of the evaluating process, as it contained a slight but unavoidable dissonance: the statements needed to be evaluated, but the evaluation had to be made from a particular perspective: that of the Turkish state - not the author. The aim of the thesis was, after all, to examine how the *Turkish state* described the Ottoman Empire and itself, meaning how the *state* viewed and portrayed the situation between 1918 and 1924. This at times presented the author with thought-provoking questions, particularly when the intended reader, a high-school student who grew up in the Republic of Turkey in the 1920s, was taken into consideration.

The main research question was: how did the new Turkish state describe the last few years of the Ottoman Empire and the formative years of the Republic and evaluate them in its official historical narrative? The analysis clearly showed that the aim of the textbook was to depict especially the Ottoman Sultanate and Caliphate in a negative, and often nearly dismissive way, while the Republic, along with the Turkish Nation, was portrayed in a very

positive way, at times to the point of glorification. There seemed to be an attempt to differentiate between the Ottoman *Sultanate* and *Caliphate* and the Ottoman *Empire/State*. This approach could have perhaps solved the conundrum of how to frame the last 700 years of history. The young Republic attempted to distance itself from the Ottoman and Muslim (as in non-secular) dimensions of the Ottoman legacy while claiming and maintaining its Turkish element; the Ottoman State was established by the Turks, therefore its achievements are, to a point, Turkish. However, the Sultanate and Caliphate were either corrupt or influenced by foreigners, thus, through no fault of the Turks, becoming harmful.

To confirm and validate this theory, however, a more thorough analysis would need to be performed on a larger sample from Volume IV - and perhaps more importantly, Volume III, as its sole focus is the Ottoman Empire. This could potentially be an interesting subsequent line of inquiry, as would a study of Ottoman history textbooks to see how they evaluated the Turks and portrayed Turkic/sh history. It would be equally as interesting to see how Turkish attitudes developed over time in a comparative study of history textbooks published in Turkey in the 20th century and how the different generations of Turkish people view themselves today in relation to their country's Ottoman past.

Working with such a primary source, state-endorsed history textbooks, was highly engaging, though arduous. The language it was written in proved to be particularly challenging. It is a language that is no longer used outside of academic study and translating it required the use of dictionaries of three different languages: Turkish, Arabic and Persian. This often presented the author with multiple translation options and conundrums. Apart from the lexis, the syntax was occasionally unusual as well, and that, combined with the length of a typical sentence written in Ottoman Turkish, led to ambivalent statements. Such statements, even after consulting more experienced parties, sometimes required a judgment call by the author, keeping the aims of the textbooks, their historical context and their authors' objectives

in mind. Finally, the level of poetry used throughout the textbook often proved trying as well, as the author is not accustomed to working with such an expressive language particularly in what is presented as an academic work, a history textbook. Analysing it, however, resulted in a unique and at times intense experience of being immersed in the proverbial heart of a state ideology. One can only imagine what effect the text might have had on adolescents who had, most likely, personally witnessed the consequences of war in their country.

The key points that the readers of the textbook - the students, young citizens of the new Republic - were plausibly meant to take from it were that the Ottoman personal Sultanate was harmful to the Turkish Nation and the Caliphate obsolete. The Turkish Nation suffered for its independence, and the willingness to fight for it, and for the Republic is expected of every Turk. Finally, the overall tone of the text suggests that the Turkish Nation emerged victorious because of its inherent strength of spirit and fortitude - and because the Turkish Nation is, historically, meant to emerge victorious.

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Appendix 1

A translated Table of contents of Volume IV of the series of history textbooks follows. The sections that were selected for the analysed sample are indicated by bold text and colour.

Chapter	Page	Subchapter	Section	Section					
PART I FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY	PART I FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY	PART I FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY	PART I FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY	PART I FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY					
					A	1	A New Turkish State	Great War Area and the Participating States Wilson's "14 Points" The Defeat of the Allied States Paris Conference and Peace Treaties "League of Nations" The New Face of Europe Treaty of Sèvres The Degree of Application of the Principle of Nationality Central Europe End of War Revolutions, "Bolshevism" in Russia "Fascism" in Italy, Spanish Revolution Economic Depression xxx Activity of Christian elements Turkish Defense Organisations Organisations Harmful to Unity and Defense,	
					B	1-7	The position of European states at the end of the Great War	The View of the Sultan and His Government on the Situation of the Ottoman State The Turkish Nation's View of the Situation Mustafa Kemal's view of the Situation	
					C	8-16	The Situation of the Ottoman State at the End of the World War	Mustafa Kemal's youth Beginnings of Political Activity His Services in the Khazari Army Services in the Turco-Italian War Services in the Balkan War Mustafa Kemal in the World War The Attempt to Save the Turks and Establish a New Turkish State	
					D	16-27	Mustafa Kemal	Greek Occupation of Izmir Partition of Ottoman Countries Response of the Turks; Western Fronts Beginning of Mustafa Kemal's Gathering of the Turkish Nation and Army Congress of Erzurum and Sivas Anatolian and Rumelian Defense Law Society	
					E	27-39	National Defense	The Position Taken by the Istanbul Government against the National Movement and its Consequences The Cabinet of Ali Rıza Paşa The Issue of the "Members of the Parliament" The Last "Member of the Ottoman Parliament" Allied Occupation of Istanbul Dismissal of the Members of Parliament	
					F	39-49	National Defense and the Istanbul Government	"Grand National Assembly of Türkiye" "The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye"	
					G	49-55	Foundation of the New Turkish State in		
					I. ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW STATE OF THE TURKISH NATION				

Chapter	Page	Subchapter	Section
PART II REVOLUTIONARY AND RECONSTRUCTION STAGES AFTER THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE			
I - FROM LAUSANNE TO THE OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE REPUBLIC	137-144		The Last Days of the First Grand National Assembly
			Ingratitude
			Decision to Renew the Elections Election of the Second Grand National Assembly; The Transformation of the Anatolian and Rumelia Defense Law Society into the "People's Party" Approval of the Treaty of Lausanne in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Withdrawal of the Allied Forces from Our Lands Ankara: Center of the New Turkish State (13 November 1923)
II - DECLARATION OF THE REPUBLIC	145-155		The Procedure Followed in the Implementation of Turkish Revolution and Reform Movements
			The First Opposition Fusions in the Second Grand National Assembly; Resignation of the Government Amendments to the Constitution; Cabinet Procedure in Government Formation
III - ABOLITION OF THE CALIPHATE	156-162		Republic: the New Turkish State Taking Its Real Name
			Gazi Mustafa Kemal: The First President of the Republic of Turkey Days after the Proclamation of the "Republic" What Was the Final Meaning and Significance of the Words Caliph and Caliphate? Caliph Abdülmecit Efendi; Removal of the Caliph and the Dynasty
IV - POLITICAL CURRENTS IN THE REPUBLIC PERIOD	163-202		The Development and Provisions of the Constitution The Main Provisions of Our Constitution The Power of the National Sovereignty, Separation of Powers and Balance of Powers Republican People's Party and Its Programme Gazi Mustafa Kemal, the Leader of the People's Party Great Speech Third Great Congress of the People's Party of the Republic (10 May 1931) Programme Opposition Currents in the Second Grand National Assembly, Progressive Republican Party Reactionary Movements Great Degeneration: The Intention and Attempt to kill the Gazi Independence Courts and the Law on Ensuring Peace Second and Third Periods of the Grand National Assembly, Liberal Republican Party Fourth Grand National Assembly, Labour and Peasant Deputies, Independent Candidates Domestic Politics of the Republic of Turkey Foreign Policy of the Republic of Turkey
			Religion and State
			Law and Justice in the Ottoman State
			Abolition of Sharia and Evkaf Ministry and Sharia Courts
			Explanation of the Legal Revolution by the Great Revolutionary Turkish Civil Code
			Separation of Religion and State
			203-217
			A

Chapter	Page	Subchapter (Secular State)	Section	Section
V - RELIGIOUS, LEGAL REVOLUTION AND REFORM			Amendment of the Constitution on the Basis of Separation of Religion and State The Secularisation and Development of the National Foundations General Administration	
	B	217-221	Judicial Development of the New Turkish State	Opening of Ankara Law School New Laws in the Justice System
	C	221-229	Women's Law	The Position of Turkish Women in the Laws and Social Life of the Ottoman Sultanate The Position of Turkish Women in the Laws and Social Life of our Republic Political Rights of Turkish Women; The Right to Elect and Be Elected for Municipal Councils
	D	229-240	Abolition of Superstitious Customs and Traditions That Are Believed to Be Based on Religious Principles	What Headgear was Fez, How Was It Adopted in Turkey? Hat!... Gazi's Trip to Kastamonu - Inebolu Sufi Orders, Sheikhdoms, Dervishes, Dervish Lodges, Zawiya, Mausoleums, Tombs, Robes and Turban (Guise of Scholarship) Government Decrees Acceptance of International Calendar and Time; New Numbers
VI - REVOLUTION AND REFORM CURRENTS IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING	A	241-245	Education and Revolution in the Ottoman Sultanate	Education and Upbringing until the Tanzimat Era Education and Upbringing in the Tanzimat Era Education and Upbringing in the Constitutional Era (1908-1918)
	B	245-260	The Situation of Education and Upbringing in the Republic of Turkey	During the National Struggle (1919 - 1923) After the Proclamation of the Republic Unification of Education The Alphabet Reform; Adoption of Turkish Letters (1928) Nationalisation of History and Civics Education Minority and Foreign Schools
	C	260-269	Educational and Training Goals of the Republic	Main Principles New and Old considerations in the Application of Training and Education Republic and Teacher Sports in Schools and General Development in Sports Life The Motto of Turkish Athletes
	A	270-274	National economy is the most important element of state policy.	A Brief Overview of the Past The Importance Given to Economic Affairs during the Years of the National Struggle Outline of Economic and Financial Policy
				Special Importance Given to the Peasant Abolition of Tithe Protective Measures for Producers through Government Aid Measures for Planting and Cultivation Breeding Increasing the Agricultural Profession and Specialisation Agricultural Struggle
	B	274-287	Agriculture	

Chapter	Page	Subchapter	Section	Section	
VII - ECONOMY, FINANCIAL REVOLUTIONS AND REFORM CURRENTS	C		Ziraat Bankası (Agricultural Bank)		
			Agricultural Credit Cooperatives		
			Gazi's farming		
			A Veteran Farmer with No Land		
	287-290	Industry	The Death of Turkish National Industry in the Ottoman Sultanate		
			The Revival of the Turkish National Industry		
	D	290-301	Trade	Modernisation of the System of Measurements	
				Trade in Various Periods of the Ottoman Sultanate	
				In the Period of the Republic of Turkey, Revival of the Domestic and Foreign Trade	
				Laws and Practices in Domestic and International Trade	
Commercial Credit Establishments; Corporatism Insurance					
İş Bankası (Business Bank)					
Maritime Trade and Shipping					
Laws and Practices in Maritime Trade					
National Economy and Savings Society					
E				301-306	Mining, Forestry, Farming
	Forestry				
	Farming				
F	307-315	Infrastructure	Infrastructure Policy in the Republic of Turkey		
			The History of the Development of the Railway Policy of the Republic of Turkey		
			Railway Politics and İsmet Paşa		
			The Success of the Railway Policy		
			Roads, Bridges, Waterworks		
G	315-317	Statistics and Population	Statistics		
			Population		
VIII - NEW INFLUENCES AND IMPLEMENTATIONS IN HEALTH AND SOCIAL HEALTH WORKS	318-330		Health and Social Assistance in the Ottoman Empire		
			Health and Social Assistance in the Republic of Turkey		
			Turkish Red Crescent Society		
IX - TURKISH ARMY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE	331-225		Turkish Protectorate Association		
			Turkishness and Military Service		
			In the Last Period of the Ottoman Sultanate		
			At the Beginning of the National Struggle		
APPENDIX	337-346		Army of the Republic of Turkey		
			Turkish Aircraft Association		
CHRONOLOGY	347-357				
INDEX	359-374				