

‘Nation-building and nationalism in Turkey and Europe’

A cooperation between the Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms of the University of Amsterdam
and the Netherlands Institute in Turkey

26-27 May 2016

CONFERENCE PRACTICALITIES

Conference contact person

For any questions regarding the practicalities or content of the conference you can contact Enno Maessen at ennomaessen@uva.nl.

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Thursday 26 May 2016

Netherlands Institute in Turkey/Research Centre for Anatolian Civilizations, Merkez Han, İstikal Caddesi 181, lecture room – 3rd floor.

10.00-10.30: Registration and coffee/tea.

10.30-11.30: Panel 1

- Ben Smuin – ‘Speaking to the State: Petitions and Nationalist Discourse in Late Ottoman and Mandate Syria’
- Enis Sulstarova – ‘Turkism and Neo-Albanianism: The Influence of Ziya Gökalp on the Writings of Branko Merxhani’

11.30-12.30: Panel 2

- Ömür Şans Yıldırım – ‘Presentation/Indoctrination of Turkishness: History Textbooks Taught In the Military Schools during the Reign of Abdülhamid II’
- Zülal Muslu – ‘The Imperial Consolidation of the Nation-State Building’

12.30-14.00: Lunch break

14.00-15.00: Panel 3

- Gökçe Gündoğdu – ‘Identity Formation and Occidentalism: The Foundation of Turkish and Western Language and Literature Departments in the Early Republican Period’
- Irmak Kurtulmuş – ‘An analysis of the representation of women within nationalist discourse in the light of Ömer Seyfettin's stories’

15.00-16.30: Coffee and tea

16.00-17.00: Panel 4

- Selvihan Kurt – ‘Building Izmir’s Cultural Memory: the Nationalization of the Cultural Properties in the Izmir Museum’
- Pelin Gürol-Öngören – ‘Formation of collective identity by means of the museums from the late Ottoman Empire to the early Turkish Republic’
- Nilay Özlü – ‘Reading late Ottoman architecture through nationalist lenses: The search for a national architecture’

Friday 27 May 2016

Netherlands Institute in Turkey/Research Centre for Anatolian Civilizations, Merkez Han, İstikal Caddesi 181, auditorium – basement (-2).

10.00-10.30: Registration and coffee/tea.

10.30-12.00: Panel 5

- Esra Almas – ‘Turanian Homecoming: the Russian-Ottoman Front in Ayaz Ishaki’s Üyge Tabı (Homeward)’
- Alexander Balistreri – ‘“Biz Dahi Türkük”: Turkish National Identity and Affective Commitments in the Ottoman–Caucasian Borderlands’
- Ali Kalirad – ‘At the crossroad of Identities: Ahmet Ağaoğlu in Istanbul, 1909-1910’

12.00-13.30: Lunch break

13.30-15.00: Panel 6

- Srdjan Jovanovic – ‘The Ottoman Empire as Friend and Foe: Perceptions of Ottoman Rule in Serbia and Bosnia and Thereupon Based Nationalisms’
- Milena Methodieva – ‘Identities, Culture and Politics Among the Muslims in Post-Ottoman Bulgaria, 1878-1908’
- Ana-Teodora Kurkina – ‘Nationalizing a region in the Balkans: the places of Macedonia and Dobruja in the projects of “Greater Bulgaria” (1908-1940)’

15.00-15.30: Coffee and tea

15.30-17.00: Panel 7

- Hakan Özoğlu – ‘Collective Remembering or Collective Forgetting: Kurdish Nationalism and Memory?’
- Berk Esen – ‘Mobilizing to Secede: Nations in the Making during the late Ottoman Period’
- Ümit Kurt – ‘The Balkan Wars and the rise of the reactionary modernist utopia in young Turk thought and the journal Türk Yurdu [Turkish Homeland]’ –

17.00-17.30: Closing remarks

KEYNOTES – Part of a separate public event hosted by the Consulate General of the Netherlands. See: <http://www.nit-istanbul.org/message/nationalism-in-turkey-and-other-parts-of-europe-1800-1950>

Joep Leerssen (University of Amsterdam): ‘Identity as epidemic: on the transnational diffusion of nationalism’

Biography: Joep Leerssen studied Comparative Literature and English at the University of Aachen and Anglo-Irish Studies at University College Dublin; he took his PhD in 1986 at the University of Utrecht. In that year he was appointed at the University of Amsterdam, where he obtained the chair in Modern European Literature in 1991.

He served as director of the Huizinga Institute (Dutch National Research Institute for Cultural Studies) from 1995 until 2006. He held the Erasmus Lecturership at Harvard University in 2003, was awarded the Spinoza Prize in 2008, and appointed Academy Professor by the Royal Netherlands Academy in 2010. He holds an honorary doctorate from the University of Bucharest (2014).

Uğur Ümit Üngör (Utrecht University and NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies): ‘Nationalisms in the (Post-)Ottoman Twilight: Culture, Geography, Contestation’

Biography: Uğur Ümit Üngör gained his Ph.D. in 2009 (*cum laude*) at the University of Amsterdam. In 2008-09, he was Lecturer in International History at the Department of History of the University of Sheffield, and in 2009-10, he was Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the Centre for War Studies of University College Dublin. Currently he is Associate Professor at the Department of History at Utrecht University and Research Fellow at the Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies in Amsterdam.

His main areas of interest are state formation and nation formation, with a particular focus on mass violence. These interests necessitate a commitment to inter-disciplinarity at the intersections of social science and history. His most recent publications include *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property* (Continuum, 2011) and the award-winning *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913-1950* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

Apart from his academic life, Uğur writes columns and essays about cosmopolitan life on and across political and cultural boundaries. His essays offer an attempt at placing current global issues and themes in serious *and* ironic perspectives.

PANEL ABSTRACTS AND BIOGRAPHIES

Esra Almas (Haliç University, Istanbul): ‘Turanian Homecoming: the Russian-Ottoman Front in Ayaz Ishaki’s Üyge Tabı (Homeward)’

Abstract: The concurrent dismemberment of the Russian and the Ottoman Empires initiated major flux in the territories over which these centurial powers stretched. For the Turkic communities, a major ethnic group in both empires, their demise meant the reconfiguration of political and cultural identities. In this world where previous alliances and identifications were no longer valid, Turan, the dream of political and cultural union between the Turkish speaking peoples from the Balkans to China, provided a home to strive for and dream of.

One advocate of this cause is the Tatar man of letters and ideologue Ayaz Ishaki (1878-1954). Ishaki spent most of his life in exile from his native Kazan, crisscrossing Japan, Germany, Poland and Turkey, in pursuit of cementing cultural and political unity across borders and continents. Due to the cultural void between the Turkish peoples and cultures Ishaki worked towards filling, and the threat it posed to the states such policies took shape in, Ishaki's prolific career remained neglected, most notably in Turkey, where he spent the last fifteen years of his life. This paper traces the construction of now forgotten cultural memory and Ishaki's forgotten dream through his only available novel in Turkish, *Uyge Taba* (Towards Home, 1921), a Turanian fantasy of homecoming set in the Russian-Ottoman front in World War One.

Biography: Esra Almas is an Assistant Professor in Translation Studies at Haliç University, Istanbul. She completed her PhD at the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis, University of Amsterdam, where she also taught in the department of Literary Studies. Her research interests include Turkish and Turkic diaspora, exile narratives, urban imaginary and critical theory.

Alexander Balistreri (Princeton University, Princeton NJ): “‘Biz Dahi Türkük”: Turkish National Identity and Affective Commitments in the Ottoman–Caucasian Borderlands’

Abstract: Turkish-Muslim identity formation and nationalist mobilization in the Ottoman-Caucasian borderlands took place in a much different context than in the imperial center. The Turkic communities in this region (Ardahan, Kars, Ahıska, Iğdır) were diverse and potentially divided by linguistic and sectarian differences among Turks, Azeris (“Tatars”), Karapapaks/Terekemes, and Türkmén. Successive conquest by the Russian Empire through the nineteenth century brought the Turkophone Muslim population of the region into a new administrative context. Unlike in the Ottoman Empire, Turkic groups here were treated as minorities to be classified and studied anthropologically. Furthermore, these groups had earlier exposure to a different brand of Turkish nationalism inspired by the Jadidist movement of Russian Muslims. After World War I and the Russian Revolution, the fate of the Ottoman-Caucasus borderland was up for grabs, and the emerging states of the region all claimed sovereignty. My paper argues that this was one of the reasons Turkish identity broadened from communal or religious bonds to one based on political affiliations. Charting the historical development of Turkish national identity in northeast Anatolia, the paper is based on a comparison of sources from below (petitions and memoirs discussing group identity formation) alongside state-based sources like censuses, anthropologies, and archive documents in Turkish and Russian.

Biography: Alexander E. Balistreri earned his B.A. degree in Political Science (University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2006) before pursuing two M.A. degrees at Princeton University (Near Eastern Studies, 2008) and Sabancı University (Turkish Studies, 2011). Since 2011, Balistreri has been enrolled in the Ph.D. program in Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University, where he is conducting research on state- and nation-building in Turkey and the Caucasus. His recent article on political opposition in the early Turkish Republic won Brill Publishers’ first “Middle East and Islamic Studies Early-Career Paper Prize.”

Berk Esen (Bilkent University, Ankara): ‘Mobilizing to Secede: Nations in the Making during the late Ottoman Period’

Abstract: Why do some minority groups challenge imperial rule, while others are easily co-opted by the state? What explains the variation in the mobilization patterns of such groups? Existing research uses nationalism to explain the rapid collapse of imperial polities but says little on why minority groups differ greatly in their willingness for and timing of ethnic secession. Much of the evidence in the literature is derived from single case studies and is therefore mostly descriptive. Noting this gap in the literature, this paper will use the political opportunity model to evaluate the variation in the trajectory of ethno-communal movements that challenged the Ottoman Empire during the long 19th century. Instead of treating secession as the only possible outcome, this paper focuses on dissident political actors and analyzes why they mobilized against the central authority. First, I demonstrate how in the Ottoman Empire dissident groups had emerged within each ethno-religious community and gradually turned into “contentious movements” with distinct collective identities developed through coordinated claim-making against the state. Second, I argue that there was high variation - otherwise ignored by standard nationalist accounts - both among and within minority groups in their willingness to oppose the Ottoman rule. Some communities (Serbians and Greeks) successfully mobilized against Ottoman rule in the early 19th century, whereas others (Bulgarians, Romanians and Armenians) did so decades later and still others (Albanians, Kurds and Arabs) remained loyal to the imperial center until just before the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Third, I offer three factors to account for the variation in these groups’ trajectories: the presence of external allies, the concentration of an ethnic group in one region and the status of religion. In particular, I argue that those communities located closer to major European powers, which were sympathetic to their cause, tended to rebel against state authority earlier than others. Their success, however, depended on whether or not they constituted the majority of the population in their respective areas. Similarly, it was easier for non-Muslim groups whose members were excluded from the ruling networks to develop a common identity and subsequently seek independence. An in-depth case study of the Ottoman Empire adds a largely neglected historical dimension to the social movement literature. These findings offer new insights on the disintegration of multi-ethnic states by specifying the causal mechanisms through which dissident groups mobilized.

Biography: Berk Esen is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at Bilkent University. Before joining Bilkent University, he worked as a Post-doctoral Research Fellow at Sabancı University and received his PhD in Political Science from Cornell University. His research interests include political economy of development, authoritarian regimes, democratization, and political parties, with a regional focus on Latin America and the Middle East. His dissertation examines the political trajectory and economic policies of National-Developmentalist states in Turkey, Egypt, Mexico, and Argentina during the twentieth century. His most recent article, titled Nation-Building, Party-Strength, and Regime Consolidation: Kemalism in Comparative Perspective, was published in the special December 2014 issue of Turkish Studies.

Gökçe Gündoğdu (Sabancı University, Istanbul): ‘Identity Formation and Occidentalism: The Foundation of Turkish and Western Language and Literature Departments in the Early Republican Period’

Abstract: The project of modernization in the late Ottoman Empire and the early republican period based on the model of ‘the West’ overlap with Turkish nationalism and the quest for identity. The juxtaposition of modernization and nationalism gave way to the emergence of a complex relationship

with Western civilization. As such, Western civilization was a civilization that was admired, imitated and pursued to belong to, as well as a civilization that one should distinguish oneself from.

Mark Mazower argues that “Reconstructing a respectable record of nationalist struggle and resistance against imperial oppression became necessary for membership of the European club.” (Mazower, 2000: xlii) Considering Europe as yet another version of post-imperial identities, in my paper I would like to examine the relationship between nationalist identity formation and Occidentalism under the light of Mazower’s argument. Secondly, drawing on Meltem Ahiska’s usage of the term Occidentalism as the way “the West figures in the temporal/spatial imagining of modern Turkish national identity,” (Ahiska 2003: 354), I would like to discuss the Turkish trajectory of national identity construction, through a comparative case study on the foundation of Turkish language and literature as well as the Western language and literature departments in Ankara and Istanbul Universities and discover the complex relationship among them.

Biography: Gökçe Gündoğdu is a second-year graduate student in the Turkish Studies Department at Sabancı University, Istanbul with a tuition waiver scholarship. She also works as a teaching assistant for the course History of the Turkish Revolution. She took her undergraduate degree from the Department of Western Languages and Literatures at Bogazici University, Istanbul. She also studied at the University of Amsterdam in 2011 as an Erasmus student for a semester, where she took Cultural Studies, Psychoanalysis, and German Literature classes.

She currently works as a freelance Turkish Language Instructor, translator from English to Turkish, and editor for various publishing houses. She worked at Sel Yayıncılık, a prestigious publishing house in Istanbul, as a full time content editor for one year between 2013 and 2014.

She plans to write her thesis on Occidentalism in the education system in the early republican period. Among her interest areas are gender studies and nationalism in Turkey as well as in the Middle East, urban studies, Ottoman Istanbul, and migration studies.

Pelin Gürol-Öngören (TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Ankara): ‘Formation of collective identity by means of the museums from the late Ottoman Empire to the early Turkish Republic’

Abstract: As powerful visual instruments of modernity, museums have been formulated in multiple narratives under the impact of political ideologies in the modern world. The study aims to analyze the museums of different socio-political contexts of the late Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic comparatively by examining to what extent their buildings, collections, and displaying methods were utilized in the formation of collective identities as part of contemporary imperialist, nationalist, and modernist ideologies. The overall aim of the study is to analyze how history and cultural heritage were perceived and processed for the definition of a common cultural identity in the two different historical contexts by focusing on their display in museums. This study examines pioneering archaeological and ethnographic museums in Turkey, focusing on the Ottoman Imperial Museum [Müze-i Hümayun (1887-1891)], the Museum of Pious Foundations [Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi (1914)], Ankara Ethnographical Museum (1925-1927; opened in 1930), the non-implemented project including a National Museum (also called as Hittite Museum) (1933), and the Hittite Museum (also known as Eti Müzesi; and later called the Anatolian Civilizations Museum) (restoration began in 1938)]. In order to provide a critical evaluation, the study utilizes the knowledge produced not only in architecture but also in history, archaeology, ethnography, and museology while analyzing the formation of those museums within their respective contexts.

Biography: Pelin Gürol Öngören graduated from TED Ankara College High School in 1997. She received her B.A. degree in 2001 from the Department of Interior Architecture and Environmental Design at Bilkent University. She completed her M.A. in 2003 and PhD degree in 2012 in the Graduate Program in Architectural History at Middle East Technical University (METU). Her M.A. thesis was published as a book by a German publisher in 2009. She received the 2011 METU Graduate School of Social Sciences Best Thesis Award for her PhD thesis entitled "Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic" supervised by Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan. She had worked at the Ankara Center of the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) between 2003-2014. She is currently working as Assistant Professor in the Department of Architecture at TOBB University of Economics and Technology.

Srdjan Jovanovic (Istanbul Şehir University, Istanbul): 'The Ottoman Empire as Friend and Foe: Perceptions of Ottoman Rule in Serbia and Bosnia and Thereupon Based Nationalisms'

Abstract: The Ottoman rule over the Balkans has a long history of diverging perceptions in Bosnia and Serbia. In Serbia, this perception is a predominantly negative one, commonly disseminated 'nation-wide' in history textbooks as the '500 years under the Turkish yoke', denoting also a failure of discerning the difference between the modern Turkish state and the Ottoman Empire, that are commonly seen as one, both in the academia and within lay discourse. During the wars of the Yugoslav secession and afterwards, this perception increased in intensity with the counter-perception found in Bosnia, where both Turkey and the Ottoman Empire are held in high regard among the Muslim population. A specific type of linguistic nationalism ensued in Bosnia, trying to linguistically connect the native language to Turkish and the state to Turkey, at the same moment exacerbating the already active Serbian nationalism that found strength in perpetuating the Ottoman Empire as an enemy. This article explores the intertwined nationalisms of Serbia and Bosnia and their interaction, where one sees Turkey as an ally, and the other as an enemy.

Biography: Srdjan M. Jovanović is a researcher and lecturer at the Istanbul Şehir University, as well as the Member of the Board of the Center for Good Governance Studies in Belgrade. He studied and taught at universities in Serbia, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Italy and Turkey. He is an author of several books in Serbo-Croatian, and a receiver of a number of scholarships, fellowships and grants. He speaks English, Serbo-Croatian, Czech and Swedish, as well as passive German and Russian. He currently teaches the class Society, Politics and the State in the Balkans; he is the editor of the volume History and Politics in the Western Balkans: Changes at the Turn of the Millennium (Center for Good Governance Studies, Belgrade).

Ali Kalirad (University of Tehran, Tehran): 'At the crossroad of Identities: Ahmet Ağaoğlu in Istanbul, 1909-1910'

Abstract: Ahmed Aghayev, better-known as Ahmet Ağaoğlu, (1869-1939) has been known as a prominent preacher of Turkism and one of the founding fathers of Azerbaijani identity. Although Ağaoğlu played a prominent role in intellectual and political spheres of the Caucasus and Turkey, there

is no comprehensive and critical study on his life and efforts. Generally the works have published about him deal with fragments of Ağaoğlu's activities and writings. Ağaoğlu's presence in Pan-turkist circles in Ottoman Empire, and then in nationalist movement in Kemalist Turkey, overshadowed parts of his earlier life. This paper examines one of the lesser-known episodes in his intellectual and political life: his participation in the committee of Iranian nationalists in Istanbul, and collaboration with their Persian organ, Soroush. A year later, Ağaoğlu began to propound the idea of "Iranian Turks" in the Ottoman newspaper, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and sowed the seeds of a Turkic identity. The portrait of Ahmet Ağaoğlu in Istanbul in 1909 and 1910 throws light on a part of the formation process of a national identity entitled "Azerbaijani" later.

Biography: Ali Kalirad is an assistant professor at Encyclopaedia Islamica Foundation, Tehran. He completed his PhD thesis on Ahmet Ağaoğlu's intellectual and political life at the University of Tehran, where he also teaches in the Department of History. The study was published in Persian in 2013 and it was honored in the 27th Iran Book House Award as the book of the season. His research interests include the emergence of nationalism in Turkey, Iran and the Caucasus and the intellectual history of the Middle East.

Ana-Teodora Kurkina (Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich): 'Nationalizing a region in the Balkans: the places of Macedonia and Dobruja in the projects of "Greater Bulgaria" (1908-1940)'

Abstract: The projects of "Greater Bulgaria," usually viewed as variations of similar plans for constructing Greater Romania, Serbia or Greece, represent a typical debate regarding contested territories and attempts to include them in a newly established state. The focus of the proposed paper is reconciling the homogenizing propaganda with the past and putting it into practice, investigated in the purview of social networks after the proclamation of Bulgaria's full independence in 1809. Therefore, the topic relates to the changes in state-building strategies after turning from the imperial to the nation-state agenda.

The Treaty of Berlin in 1878 turned Macedonia into a province contested by Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, while Dobruja came entirely under Romanian control after the Balkan wars, reshaping the political map of the region. Exploring Bulgaria's plans for integration of the territories through the process of strengthening social networks in both provinces, the paper addresses the clash of the Bulgarian political imagination with the post-Ottoman identity. Its failure is explained through the inability to construct modernizing nation-building projects. The paper states that the ethnic borders, swept by the war, had little role in the homogenization process, while the economic and social ties formed much stronger and durable boundaries.

Biography: I am a Ph.D student at the Graduate School for East and Southeast European studies, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and the University of Regensburg, and I would like to apply for the "Nation-building and Nationalism in Turkey and Europe" conference. I am currently working on a dissertation dealing with the development of Balkan social networks and their connection to federative state-building projects produced by the Bulgarian revolutionary emigrants in the second half of the XIX century under the supervision of professor Ulf Brunnbauer.

I have previously studied history at CEU, where I have earned my second Master's degree and at the Lomonosov Moscow State University (MA, BA). I focus primarily on Bulgarian-Romanian relations in the XIX, beginning of the XX century, borderland disputes, social interconnections and the development of Balkan social and intellectual networking with its impact on XX century post-Ottoman

nation-building agendas. Please, find my abstract for the conference attached to the letter. Thank you very much for your time and consideration,

Selvihan Kurt (Sakarya University, Sakarya): ‘Building Izmir’s Cultural Memory: the Nationalization of the Cultural Properties in the Izmir Museum’

Abstract: Izmir was one of the cosmopolitan Ottoman cities, which was drastically transformed and homogenized after World War I. Transforming the cultural memory of the city was another aspect of this transformation. The Izmir Museum is a very crucial institution in the transformation of the city and its collective and cultural memory as a result of designating it as a culture center rather than a mere museum.

In this paper I propose to narrate the role of the museum in the nationalization of the cultural heritage of the city through acquiring the confiscated properties of the departed communities with references to the analyses of inventories of the confiscated properties and the other official documents about the acquisition process. The handover of Izmir’s cultural properties and their placement in the museum and the relation of those with the nationalization of the formerly cosmopolitan city are the other points that help to understand the role of the museum in this nationalization process.

Transformation of Izmir’s cultural heritage is a case study that might help to understand the role of confiscation and museums in the cultural memory of post-war Turkey.

Biography: I earned my MA degree from the History Department of Boğaziçi University in January, 2015. I am not currently enrolled in any PhD program. Currently, I work for TÖMER, Sakarya University as a Turkish Teacher. I teach Turkish to the foreign students of Sakarya University.

Ümit Kurt (Clark University, Main St. Worcester MA): ‘The Balkan Wars and the rise of the reactionary modernist utopia in young Turk thought and the journal Türk Yurdu [Turkish Homeland]’

Abstract: The construction of Turkish identity and nationalist ideology is not a natural end of a gradual rise of nationalism but an outcome of explosions, ruptures and climatic incidents. Like all other nationalisms, the Turkish nationalism that crystallized in the aftermath of Balkan Wars is also a compound of a comprehensive (yet inconsistent) set of ideas and system of thought. This paper maintains that the Balkan Wars are constitutive to Turkish nationalism. It devotes itself to delineate the contours and premises of this predisposition that had crystallized with the impact of the Balkan wars and enjoyed formative influence on the Turkish political culture and Turkish nationalism.

It will be maintained that these premises and themes made up ‘reactionary modernism’ adapting Jeffrey Herf’s terminology. These themes will be observed in Türk Yurdu (Turkish Homeland), the most eminent Turkist journal of the time and the intellectual organ of the Union and Progress Party (CUP). It develops a comparative view that assesses the Young Turk ideational trajectories in relation with the continent-wide intellectual and cultural shifts and rifts. By examining the articles published in this journal, this paper aims to analyze the fabric of Turkish nationalism, the patterns as exposed in these articles in the background of the devastating Balkan Wars.

Biography: Ümit Kurt is a PhD Candidate at the Holocaust and Genocide Studies Program in the History Department of Clark University and completing his dissertation. He has written extensively on confiscation of Armenian properties, history of Armenian Genocide, mass violence during the late 19th and early 20th century Ottoman Empire, forced conversion and assimilation during the Armenian genocide, early modern Turkish nationalism and the history of Aintab Armenians. His scholarly articles both in English and Turkish are published in Nations and Nationalism, Middle Eastern Studies, The Journal of Genocide Research, The Journal of Armenian Studies, Turkish Studies, Turkish Review, European Journal of Economics and Politics, Civil Society Journal, Modus Operandi: The Journal of Relational Social Sciences, Toplumsal Tarih, Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar, Cogito and Birikim. He is the author of the Great, hopeless Turkish race: fundamentals of Turkish nationalism in the Turkish homeland 1911-1916 (Istanbul: İletişim Publishing House, 2012) and editor of the Revolt and Destruction: Construction of the state from Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic and collective violence (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Publishing House, 2015). He is currently a visiting scholar in the Armenian Studies Programme at Fresno State University and is the author, with Taner Akçam, of The spirit of the laws: the plunder of wealth in the Armenian Genocide (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015).

Irmak Kurtulmuş (Boğaziçi University, Istanbul): ‘An analysis of the representation of women within nationalist discourse in the light of Ömer Seyfettin's stories’

Abstract: Since the 19th century, westernization in the Ottoman Empire has induced a transformation within the society, and the question of the representation of women has become a significant issue within this process. Scholars have questioned the place of Turkish women's emancipation and liberation within modernization projects, and they figured out that “modernization” has been used as a framework within which each intellectual outlook has defined its own “ideal woman” in the Tanzimat, Second Constitutional and Republican periods. The meaning of the word “homeland” was re-evaluated and re-defined in the nation-building process, and women became symbols of “pure” cultural and national values that needed to be preserved, while virtuous, educated mothers bound to their traditional values proved to be the legitimate symbol of the empire (Zihnioğlu, 2003). For this reason, women became objects of discussion between traditionalism and modernism, and the “woman question” was transformed into a question of the Turkish nation. In this paper, I will analyze different representations of women in the light of the literature as an indispensable source to explore the prevailing stereotypes of women, and particularly focus on the female characters of the most considerable nationalist author, Ömer Seyfettin, that were intensified within the nationalist discourse.

Biography: I have majored in Political Science and International Relations and Sociology in Boğaziçi University. Currently, I am a M.A. candidate of ATA in Boğaziçi University; and I have been awarded an LLM in International Human Rights Law by the University of Essex to study in the following academic year, 2016/2017. My professional experience includes one year work experience as a reporter, in NTV for 8 months, and as a project assistant at the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation for 4 months. I am highly interested in the forms and expressions of Turkish nationalism, different discourses on democracy and tensions between different political and ethnic identities.

Milena Methodieva (University of Toronto, Toronto): 'Identities, Culture and Politics Among the Muslims in Post-Ottoman Bulgaria, 1878-1908'

Abstract: The modern Bulgarian state established in 1878 had a substantial Muslim population who at the beginning of the 20th century numbered about 600,000, and made about 15% of all local inhabitants. A living legacy of the centuries long Ottoman rule in the region, these Muslims were Bulgaria's largest and politically most significant minority community. Most of them were Turks, with smaller numbers of Slavophone Muslims (Pomaks), Tatars, and Muslim Roma. As they transformed from being part of the larger Ottoman Balkan Muslim polity into a minority community in the aspiring Bulgarian nation-state the local Muslims also began debating questions of belonging, loyalty, and identity. The paper explores the transformations of identity among Bulgaria's Muslims and the ways in which they imagined themselves during the crucial period of transition from Ottoman imperial to national rule in Bulgaria. It demonstrates how under the influence of factors such as Bulgarian nationalist discourse and initiatives, the repercussions of the violent struggles for neighboring Ottoman Macedonia, the opportunity to participate in local parliamentary politics, the expansion of the Young Turk opposition organization, and the experience of being a minority community many of Bulgaria's Muslims, particularly those living in the cities, experienced fast politicization. For them Muslim became a political, as well as a confessional identity, but they used designations, such as Ottoman, and ethnic terms, such as Turk and Tatar interchangeably. At the same time they expressed strong attachment to their native places in Bulgaria. The paper explores the expression of such complex identities and the related debates by examining publications and petitions of Bulgarian Muslims, as well as their participation in local politics, and various cultural initiatives, such as theater. The paper is based on Ottoman and Bulgarian archival sources, as well as the press of Bulgaria's Muslims.

Biography: Milena Methodieva is an assistant professor at the Department of History at the University of Toronto, Canada. She specializes in the history of the Ottoman Empire in the 19-20th centuries, and the post-Ottoman Balkans. She is particularly interested in topics such as late Ottoman politics and society, post-Ottoman/post-imperial transitions, minorities and majorities, nationalism, population migrations, and Islam, Muslims, and Muslim culture in the Balkans. She received her PhD from Princeton University, MA from Bilkent University, and BA from the American University in Bulgaria. She is currently working on a monograph exploring the transition from Ottoman imperial to nation-state rule in Bulgaria, the fate of the Ottoman heritage there, and the movement for cultural reform and political mobilization among the local Muslims in the period 1878-1908. She serves as the Vice President Internal of the Canadian Society for the Advancement of Turkish Studies.

Zülal Muslu (Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense University, Paris): 'The Imperial Consolidation of the Nation-State Building'

Abstract: The late Ottoman Empire is usually studied under the prism of modernization that primarily aimed to prevent it from its imminent decline and to protect its integrity. Overwhelmed by the Western growing industrialization and expansionist leanings, and facing its progressive dislocation, the Sublime Porte carried out a deep administrative and legal reorganization movement on the European pattern, called the Tanzimat (1839-1876) that culminated in the first Ottoman constitution, the Kanûn-i Esâsî, which tend to embrace the ethnic and religious diversity of the Empire. This paper will attempt to both nuance the common analytical prism of the modernization and reverse the perspective on the rise of

nationalism focusing on the state rather than ethnic groups. With the so-called modernization, the new Ottoman legal system mirrored the paradigmatic shift of the 19th century international law towards the territory-based sovereignty at the expense of the Ottoman traditional personal law regime. Although nationalism did reach neither the Ottoman elites nor Anatolian populations by the end of the 19th century, the reforms impacted on the traditional legal philosophy in minds of reformers and on the identity of all Ottoman subjects, setting thus paradoxically the ground for nationalism and the upcoming nation state.

Biography: Based at the Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense University (Paris, France) and associated with the Max-Planck-Institute for European Legal History (Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany), I am finishing my PhD. After graduating in international law, I completed my postgraduate education in the Department of History and Anthropology of Law at Paris Ouest University (France), and in the Department of Diplomacy and International Relations at the University of Auvergne I (France). My work focuses on the commercial mixed courts in the late Nineteenth century's Ottoman Empire, with particular emphasis on sovereignty issues, legal pluralism, transplant and encounters in the growing global trade and colonial context.

Nilay Özlü (Boğaziçi University, Istanbul): 'Reading late Ottoman architecture through nationalist lenses: The search for a national architecture'

Abstract: This paper discusses the questions of "national architecture" or "nationalism through architecture" together with the issues of historicism, cosmopolitanism, and identity in the late Ottoman and early Republican contexts. The works of Levantine, Greek, Armenian and European architects shaped the urban fabric of Ottoman Istanbul especially during the 19th century. Many significant buildings such as palaces, mosques, mansions, tombs, and barracks together with new building types such as universities, schools, hospitals, archives, banks, hotels, apartments, post offices, clock towers, and museums were designed by non-Muslim architects of the era. The patrons of these architectural edifices varied from imperial family to Ottoman notables and from non-Muslim communities to European governments, those of whom took part in the rapid transformation of the capital. Historicism, eclecticism, revivalism, and neoclassicism defined the architectural language of the era, where novel building types with new techniques and materials started to reflect the cosmopolitan and multi-national context of the late Ottoman socio-political environment.

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish Republic empowered the nationalist and anti-cosmopolitan agendas, and tools for self-representation and national identity were redefined. With an urge to "re-discover" Turkish architecture and its pure forms, exclusion of "foreign" items became an instrument for nation building strategy. A historiographical survey of the Republican era confirms that many architects and scholars of the young Turkish Republic rejected the architecture of the 19th century and labeled it as a period of "decline" and "corruption", marked by the works of foreign and non-Muslim architects, such as that of Balyan family, Alexandre Vallaury, Raimondo D'Aronco, Guiseppe and Gaspare Fossati, Vasilaki and Yanko Ioannidis.

The first part of the paper will briefly introduce some of the well-known non-Muslim architects of the 19th century and their most significant buildings in Istanbul. The second part will focus on the early Republican response to the late Ottoman architecture and analyze the nationalist ideologies immersed in architectural discourses. Within the scope of this paper, the issues of Turkey's first architectural magazine *Mimar/Arkitekt* were scanned from 1931 to 1944, together with several other

architectural publications. This paper not only discusses the architectural language of the late 19th century; but also scrutinizes the changing language of architectural history in producing meaning and conflicting discourses of nationalism.

Biography: Nilay is an architect from Middle East Technical University, with an MBA degree from the University of San Francisco and holds a MArch degree from Yildiz Technical University in the Department of History and Theory of Architecture. Currently, she is a PhD candidate at Bosphorus University, Department of History and working as a Project Coordinator for the Topkapı Palace restoration projects. She also teaches at Istanbul Kemerburgaz University and Istanbul Bilgi University and writes for art, architecture, and history magazines and journals. Her co-edited volume "The City in the Muslim World" was recently published by Routledge. Her topics of interests include Ottoman visual culture, 18th and 19th century Istanbul, contemporary urban theory and critical architectural theory. She participated "Getty Connecting Art Historians" project for three consecutive years and was awarded "Samuel H. Kress Foundation Fellowship" by the Society of Architectural Historians and "The Barakat Trust Grant" for her doctoral research.

Hakan Özoğlu (University of Central Florida, Orlando FL): 'Collective Remembering or Collective Forgetting: Kurdish Nationalism and Memory?'

Abstract: This paper will discuss the role of memory in forms of collective remembering and collective forgetting as a tool to create a myth of a nation. More particularly, I will look into the issue of remembering the past in a particular way to allow the creation of Kurdish nationalism in late Ottoman history. As such my proposal is relevant to the theme of the conference: the revaluation of the Ottoman past in nationalist discourses of the former Ottoman lands.

I will also look into the relationship between Kurdish nationalism and the "past"; in other words, what type of connection did Kurdish nationalism have with the "past" when it emerged triggered by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I. How did Kurdish nationalism created/imagined an "organic link" with past through selective memory? What is the role of the interaction between Kurdish groups and the Ottoman state in the formation of Kurdish identity and nationalism?

By way of conclusion, I will also comment on the genealogy of Kurdish nationalism and what is left from the original ideology. I will claim that the remnant of the original Kurdish nationalism is in continual adjustment.

Biography: Hakan Özoğlu earned a BA degree in Social Anthropology from Istanbul University and a PhD in History from the Ohio State University. He is currently a professor of history and the Director of Middle Eastern Studies at University of Central Florida. His publications include *Kurdish Notables and the Ottoman State* (SUNY Press, 2004) and *From Caliphate to Secular State* (ABC-Clio-Preager, 2011). His books and essays have been translated in four languages. Özoğlu's current research deals with "the Tenure of Admiral Mark Lamber Bristol in Turkey, 1919-1927."

Ben Smuin (University of California, San Diego, LA Jolla CA): 'Speaking to the State: Petitions and Nationalist Discourse in Late Ottoman and Mandate Syria'

Abstract: Using Ottoman, French, and Arabic sources, this paper examines petitions from Syrian nationalists in the 1920s and 1930s as part of a larger project on citizenship and nationalism in Late Ottoman and Mandate Syria. The writing of petitions was an Ottoman institution and a form of citizenship practice that allowed political participation and provided a forum for the articulation of nationalist demands. Throughout the later years of the Ottoman Empire, professional scribes (*arzuhalciler*) well-versed in the language of state discourse wrote thousands of petitions that made their way from the provinces to the imperial center. These Ottoman-era petitions serve as interesting comparisons for the numerous petitions written by Syrian nationalists like ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Kayyali, co-founder of the Syrian National Bloc, during the interwar period. The content and audience changed during the transition from Empire to nationstate, but the basic formula of petitions remained the same. In this study, I hope to contribute to the growing body of literature that challenges the once-rigid divide between late Ottoman and ‘modern’ Syrian historiography by showing how an Ottoman institution was effectively adopted and repurposed by Syrian nationalists to help them articulate their demands for justice and independence in the post-Ottoman Arab Middle East.

Biography: Benjamin Smuin is a PhD Candidate in Modern Middle Eastern history at the University of California, San Diego, and earned his M.A. in Middle East Studies-History from the University of Utah in 2011. He is currently conducting research in Istanbul for his dissertation on the relationship between citizenship practice and petitioning in late Ottoman and Mandate Syria. He is advised by Hasan Kayali and Michael Provence.

Enis Sulstarova (University of Tirana, Tirana): ‘Turkism and Neo-Albanianism: The Influence of Ziya Gökalp on the Writings of Branko Merxhani’

Abstract: Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) was on the intellectual influences in the emergence of Turkish nationalism and the founding of Republic of Turkey. In the interwar period his work was closely imitated in Albania by Branko Merxhani (1894-1981), a sociologist and publicist who propagated the doctrine of Neo-Albanianism as a statist and national ideology for the modernization of the Albanian Kingdom. Although Merxhani did not acknowledge his intellectual debt to Gökalp for his own work, he mentioned him as one of the spiritual leaders of new Turkish generation. This paper will present the similarities in the sociologies of nation and modernization espoused by Gökalp and Merxhani, by looking at key texts from both authors, thus contributing to the investigations on the intellectual influences of the Turkish nationalism and nation-building policies in the post-imperial area of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

Biography: Enis Sulstarova’s affiliation is with the Department of Sociology, University of Tirana, Albania. He holds a doctorate in sociology from the University of Tirana, a master degree in political science and bachelor degree in sociology, from the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey. His fields of interests are political sociology, nationalism and identity politics. His publications include several books in Albanian language about the nationalism, idea of Europe and Orientalism of Albanian intellectuals’ discourses in the modern history of the country.

Ömür Şans Yıldırım (Middle East Technical University, Ankara): ‘Presentation/Indoctrination of Turkishness: History Textbooks Taught In the Military Schools during the Reign of Abdülhamid II’

Abstract: In nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, three ideologies became prominent to establish a new allegiance between the state and the population: Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism. In contrast to Ottomanism and Islamism which were initiated by the state, Turkism commenced to be influential in the late nineteenth century as a linguistic/cultural movement which searched for Turkishness’ ethnic identity. Only around 1913 Turkism became a formal ideology, and the Balkan Wars—particularly the Albanian Declaration of Independence of 1912—constituted a decisive turn for the politicization of Turkism within the scope of nation-building. This study aims to focus on the early phase of Turkism—which appeared as a cultural movement—by examining how Turkishness as an ethnic identity in line with the Turkish origins of the Ottoman Empire was demonstrated in the history textbooks taught in the military schools during the reign of Abdülhamid II. Since the Young Turks—who were the initiators of Turkism as a political ideology after 1913 as well as being the founder cadres of the Turkish Republic—were educated at these schools, a contextual analysis of these textbooks regarding the presentation of Turkishness and its ethnic origins provides an entry for understanding the roots of Turkish Nationalism, identity formation and nation-building process in the post-imperial era.

Biography: I am currently a Ph.D, candidate and research assistant at the History Department of Middle East Technical University, Ankara. Turkey. My main area of expertise is Ottoman History with a specific focus on the history education in the late Ottoman Empire. In line with my research, I have had the opportunity to undertake short-term researches in the British Library, Victoria and Albert Museum’s Children’s Literature Collections and the British National Archives.