

**The Intellectual Analysis of Azerbaijani National Project in the Late
Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century**

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Abstract

The present thesis discusses the debates of intellectuals regarding political and ideological tenets of Azerbaijani nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. I will present the evolution of Muslim intelligentsia in South Caucasus from mid-nineteenth till to the early twentieth century which corresponds to the time, the early ideas of the Azerbaijani national project started to develop. In this context, I will examine the roles of two intellectuals who committed themselves to the affairs of their native region and across. Ultimately, this will enable us to unravel their contributions and prospects regarding the Azerbaijani national project which will shed a light to the perspectives of intellectual history.

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Introduction

In this thesis, I aim to outline the different generations of intellectual currents within Turco-Muslim community of the South Caucasus region. From this context, I will analyze two of the native intellectuals' debates concerning newly emerging national movement in Turco-Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) within native and cross-border perspectives. Shortly, my goal in the thesis is to show both the implications of modern developments to Azerbaijani intellectuals' growing national consciousness and hence the latter's contribution to the political and ideological foundations of Azerbaijani-nation to be. Considering that it was the time intellectuals had been involved in cross-border affairs as much as into the affairs of their native region, we will also touch upon their cross-border activities. These intellectuals are – Ahmad Bay Aghaoglu and Ali Bay Huseynzada – whose activities and publications connected to the ideas of cultural enlightenment and national cohesion will be discussed further in the second and third chapters of the thesis.

Speaking of the methodology, I will use qualitative techniques of analysis by looking at the century-long intellectual movement in the region, particularly at two native intellectuals' political and ideological considerations. To reach this goal, I will characterize the source of influence to their ideas, their political and ideological crystallization and finally their solution methods to the shortcomings of their community regarding the language dilemma, national cohesion, communal rights, their material and moral state of being, etc. Ultimately, this will help me to grasp their agendas and their approaches concerning the future of their community. The conduct of the research will be materialized through the examination of first and second source literature.

The Existing Literature

In this sub-chapter, I am going to amplify some of the literature which was helpful to separate the research that has been done and the one that needs to be done. First to say that the studies on nineteenth century Azerbaijan have mostly covered the century-long Azerbaijani intellectual movement as a background to the main course of events in 1905-1920. Neither Tadeusz Swietochowski¹, Firouzah Mostashari² nor Audrey Altstadt³ have given the Azerbaijani intellectual movement within a theoretical framework that would study their nation-building process from its early mobilization till to the statehood. Considering two of the intellectuals, there has been only a handful of studies which have made a comprehensive examination of Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu and Ali Bey Huseynzada. Furthermore, the existing literature provided no comparative in-depth study on the given intellectuals. Holly Shissler⁴, Ozan Ozavci⁵ and Fahri Sakal's⁶ monographs on Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu focused much on the accuracy of the author's biography as well as literary contributions related to the liberal school of thought and less to his nationalist thoughts. Another shortcoming of these studies is the given intellectuals have been studied within Ottoman and Turkish socio-political contexts and not within the framework of the Azerbaijani national project. Aghaoglu's biographer Aziz Mirahmadov, on the other hand, presented a shallow description of intellectuals' timeline with

¹ Swietochowski, Tadeusz. *Russian Azerbaijan: Shaping of a national identity in a Muslim Community 1905-1920*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985) [Hereinafter cited as Swietochowski, *Russia and Azerbaijan A borderland Transition*]; Swietochowski, Tadeusz. *Russia and Azerbaijan: A borderland Transition*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995). [Hereinafter cited as Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*]

² Mostashari, Firouzeh. 2006. *On the Religious Frontier: Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus*. London: I.B. Tauris. [Hereinafter cited as Mostashari, *Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus*]

³ Altstadt, Audrey. *The Azerbaijani Turks: power and Identity under Russian Rule*. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1992). [Hereinafter cited as Altstadt, *The Azerbaijani Turks*]

⁴ Shissler A. Holly, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey, Between Two Empires*, (New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2002). [Hereinafter cited as Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*]

⁵ Ozan Ozavci, *Intellectual Origins of the Republic. Ahmed Aghaoglu and the Genealogy of Liberalism in Turkey*, (Leiden& Boston: Brill, 2015). [Hereinafter cited as Ozan Ozavci, *Intellectual Origins of the Republic*.]

⁶ Sakal Fahri, Ağaoğlu Ahmed Bey [Aghaoglu Ahmad Bey], (Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu Basımevi, 1999).

brief accounts of his intellectual life during his French and Caucasus period. Furthermore, François, Georgeon's anthological study⁷ covers Aghaoglu's educational and literary activities in Paris. The author especially studied the origins of Aghaoglu's Persian sympathies well which will be debated further in the second chapter. Considering Ali Bey Huseynzada, there have been only two major monographs on the intellectual that were authored by Ali Haydar Bayat⁸ and Azer Turan⁹. Both studies gave a descriptive examination of the intellectual's biography from Tiflis and Saint Petersburg education till to his Ottoman and Caucasus activities, but lacking analytical findings. There have also been articles written by Umut Uzer¹⁰, Emre Ershen¹¹ and Aydin Balayev¹² on Huseynzada's political and ideological account. These studies will also contribute to our debate concerning his political purposes and nationalist agenda. Finally, the existing studies have not presented the roles of these intellectuals within a form of a theoretical framework that would integrate the idea of statehood and nationhood as the ultimate goal of their struggle. The features of the given studies are going to be debated further in the second and third chapters. My research aims to give a comparative and theoretical study to these intellectuals which would distinguish their efforts from the other national

⁷ François, Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk modernleşmesi (1900-1930) [Ottoman-Turkish Modernity, Selected Articles]*, (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000). [Hereinafter cited As François, Georgeon, *Ottoman-Turkish Modernity*], 103-115.

⁸ Ali Haydar Bayat, *Hüseynzade Ali Bey*. (Ankara: Gün Ofset, 1998). [Hereinafter cited as A. Bayat, *Huseynzade Ali Bey*]

⁹ Turan, Azer. *Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə*. (Moscow: Salam, 2008). [Hereinafter cited as A. Turan, *Ali Bey Huseynzada*]

¹⁰ Uzer, Umut. Ali Bey Huseynzada and His Impact on National Thought in Turkey and the Caucasus, *Acta Via Serica*, 3, no. 2; (December 2018) [Hereinafter cited as Uzer, Umut. Ali Bey Huseynzada]

¹¹ Emre Ershen, *Azərbaycanda Siyasal-Kültürel Dönüşüm Süreci [The Period of Cultural and Political Change in Azerbaijan]*, 53-72; in *Azərbaycan'da Din ve Kimlik, [Religion and Identity in Azerbaijan]*, ed. Sevinc Alkan Özcan, Vugar İmanbeyli, (Istanbul: Küre yayınları, 2014) [Hereinafter cited as Emre Ershen, *The Period of Cultural and Political Change in Azerbaijan*]

¹² Balayev Aydın, *20ci Yüzyılın Başlarında Azərbaycan Türklerinde Ulusal Kimlik ve İdeoloji Oluşumu [The Formation of National Identity and ideology of Azerbaijani Turks in early 20th century]*, 76-85; in *Azərbaycan'da Din ve Kimlik, [Religion and Identity in Azerbaijan]*, ed. Sevinc Alkan Özcan, Vugar İmanbeyli, (Istanbul: Küre yayınları, 2014) [Hereinafter cited as Balayev Aydın, *The Formation of National Identity and ideology of Azerbaijani Turks in early 20th century*]

intellectuals. I am also going to apply a holistic approach which will illustrate not only their native influence and efforts but also in the cross-border regions.

To outline each one of these chapters, firstly, I will introduce the previous studies that will define some of the key terms in this research. Then, I will present a theoretical framework for the concept of the national intelligentsia and my research questions to the reader. With the general conceptual framework set-up in the introductory chapter, I will outline the evolving stages of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Muslim intelligentsia and make comparisons with another example of a national movement in the first chapter. In the II and III chapters, I will discuss the activities and literary contributions of two of the leading figures of the Azerbaijani national project- Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu and Ali Bey Huseynzada. I will introduce their early education and source of influence to their later coming national agenda. I will particularly focus on their debates regarding their identity dilemma, language question, Pan-ideologies and regarding the communal rights by looking at their literary works and their published articles in the native newspapers. I will also point out certain decisive shifts in Ahmed Bey Aghaoglu's ideological landscape which brought him closer to Ali Bay Huseynzada's line. In conclusion, I will merge my theoretical framework into two of the literary figure's ideological ambitions to reflect upon the role of these individuals who brought the idea of nationalism into the utmost ideological level. Now, let us characterize from the previous studies who the national intelligentsia was in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Who is National Intelligentsia?

To answer this question, we will look at the nineteenth and early twentieth-century intellectual movement in Muslim South Caucasus which is the period of transition from the traditional into modern society. The practice of modernity had been brought into the South Caucasus region

by Tsarist Russia after its last expansion into the region in 1828 with the Turkmenchay Treaty. Therefore, all the studies – T. Swietochowski¹³, A. Altstadt¹⁴ and F. Mostashari¹⁵ – justifiably cover the period from Tsarist rule in the region while describing the early national consciousness. Another feature of nineteenth-century Muslim South Caucasus is this was the period modern and secular schools (called “Russo-Tatar” schools) had been brought into the region by the Russian Empire. Unlike Muslim Madrasa schools which followed the traditional and strictly religious (sectarian) perspectives, the modern and secular schools (“Russo-Tatar” schools) created a new generation of intellectuals – with Hobsbawm’s term “The Modern Monks” – who wanted to contribute to the modern needs of social and political development of their community.¹⁶ Decades later, the traditional Madrasa schools were also re-organized by the native intellectuals with the new curricular method called “Usuli Jadid” schools, founded by Crimean intellectual Ismail Bey Gaspirali.¹⁷ According to Rustamova¹⁸ and Swietochowski,¹⁹ these “Modern Monks” initially sought to illuminate the native society regarding modern developments, and when the historic moment came, they started to realize their nation-building and state-building processes. Overall, the new generation of intellectuals

¹³ Swietochowski, Tadeusz. *Russian Azerbaijan: Shaping of a national identity in a Muslim Community 1905-1920*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Swietochowski, Tadeusz. *Russia and Azerbaijan: A borderland Transition*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

¹⁴ Altstadt, Audrey. *The Azerbaijani Turks: power and Identity under Russian Rule*. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1992).

¹⁵ Mostashari, Firouzeh. 2006. *On the Religious Frontier: Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus*. London: I.B. Tauris.

¹⁶ Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 23-24

Mostashari, *Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus*, 125-26.

¹⁷ Karpat, Kemal, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 290-91 [hereinafter cited as Karpat, Kemal, *The Politicization of Islam*]; Inalcik Halil, Devlet-i Aliyye (Osmanlı İmparatorluğu üzerine Araştırmalar) [“Devlet-I Aliyye” The Studies on the Ottoman Empire], (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015), 314-1 [hereinafter cited as Inalcik, “Devlet-I Aliyye” The Studies on the Ottoman Empire].

¹⁸ See: Rustamov, R. *1918'lere doğru Azerbaycanda Millik Kimlik Oluşumu Sürecinin Üç Bileşeni, [The Three Components of The Nation-Formation Period during 1918 in Azerbaijan]* 31-53. in *Azerbaycan'da Din ve Kimlik, [Religion and Identity in Azerbaijan]*, ed. Sevinc Alkan Özcan, Vugar İmanbeyli, (Istanbul: Küre yayınları, 2014) [Hereinafter cited as Balayev Aydın, *The Formation of National Identity and ideology of Azerbaijani Turks in early 20th century*]

¹⁹ See: Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 23-63.

– who had been graduates of “Russo-Tatar” and “Usuli Jadid” schools – became the main drivers of modernization and national enlightenment in course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Therefore, these two groups will be considered the national intelligentsia in our research.

The Definitions of Particular Terms

Before outlining the different stages of the Azerbaijani intellectual movement, I would like to introduce an intractability regarding the name of the subject community and its territorial space. Our difficulty lies with the fact that the name of the community along with the name of its territory was subject to a series of changes over the course of the nineteenth-century due to its search for unifying identity. Considering Christian nations such as Armenians, Georgians, Poles, and Finns, who were more privileged than their Muslim counterparts in the Russian Empire, as a consequence, they became more pronounced in ethnic terms and started their nation-building projects earlier.²⁰ In the case of Muslims of South Caucasus, the reason can be explained with Tsarist Russia’s inconsistent policies towards Muslims of South Caucasus throughout the nineteenth century which implied to their late modernization.²¹ Going more specifically into the name and the identity dilemma, while, the intellectual elite tended to identify themselves as Muslims in the mid-century, the upcoming elite began employing ethnic and regional usage of names - either as Turks, Caucasian Turks or Azerbaijani Turks – due to modernization by late nineteenth century. This marks the moment of the shift from religious-sectarian to an ethnic and territorial identification.²² Yet, sometimes the Muslim and the Turkish identifications were also getting interchangeably used by certain intellectuals which

²⁰ Tadeusz Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan, 1905-1920*, 39; Firouzeh Mostashari, *On the Religious Frontier: Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 129. [Hereinafter cited as Mostashari, *Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus*]

²¹ Mostashari, *Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus*, 129.

²² Akif Ashirli, *Azərbaycan Mətbuat Tarixi (1875-1920) [The Press History of Azerbaijan]* (Baku: Elm və Təhsil, 2009), 38. [Hereinafter cited as Ashirli, *The Press History of Azerbaijan*]

were making it more ambiguous. We can recall the double use of the terms like Tatar²³-Armenian or Muslim-Armenian war of 1905 as an example of the interchangeable use of practice. Aydin Balayev²⁴ thinks that the reason for the interchangeable use of these identifications was because of persisting religious appeal among the Azerbaijani Turks till the early twentieth century. Richard Pipes²⁵ also thinks that the roots of the national consciousness among Turkic groups within Tsarist Russia had strong ties to the religion of Islam which carried its presence till the Bolshevik revolution. Overall, Muslims in South Caucasus did start their nation-building projects much later than other nations within Russian dominion. The religion or ethnicity dilemma was crystallized in favor of ethnic-nationalism as late as the early twentieth century in the region with the founding of Azerbaijani nation-state. While addressing to the intellectual debates of mid-seventies - the time that notion of a territorial space just gained its early momentum with the term Azerbaijan - I will start using Azerbaijan interchangeably with Muslim South Caucasus. In the same manner, I will use the term Muslims while addressing the earlier generation of intellectuals, Turco-Muslims or Azerbaijani Turks while addressing to forthcoming generations. My aim for this application is to capture the intelligentsia's original view of its space and community instead of applying anachronistic use of the term - Azerbaijan or Azerbaijanis. I am also going to employ the same practice while referring to the whole of Russia's Muslim population. The reason is similar to the case of Azerbaijan where Muslim and Turkic identifications across Russia were getting interchangeable used as for the fact that the majority of Muslim groups were Turkic speakers.

²³ The Term Tatar was used to refer to the Turkic speaking population of South Caucasus region by the Russians.

²⁴ Balayev Aydın, *The Formation of National Identity and ideology of Azerbaijani Turks in early 20th century*, 76.

²⁵ Pipes, Richard, *The Formation of Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism. 1917-1923*, (Harward: Harward University Press, 1964) 13.

Another similar dilemma presented itself with the spelling of the native intellectuals' surnames and the native towns and cities. The innovation of using surnames came to Muslim South Caucasus with Russian rule and consequently, the native surnames were often given Russian endings such as Akhundov, Topchubashev, Aghayev, Huseynov, etc. However, some literary individuals usually tended to use native sounding versions of their respective surnames in their writings such as Akhundzada, Topchubashi, Aghaoglu or Huseynzada. Therefore, I will give preference to their own versions of surnames. Concerning the native city names, I will use Tiflis, instead of Tbilisi and Ganja instead of Elizavetpol for the same reason explained above.

There have been other names that are to be clearly defined before it becomes a potential of confusion to the reader. One of them is the name of the Ottoman State. The latter has changed its state doctrine three times in its last century. The state doctrine became "Islamism" during the reign of Abdul Hamit II (1876-1909). It became "Turkism" right after the Young Turks revolution (1908-1918). Finally, the basis of the first Turkish nation-state was laid by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1924.²⁶ From this account, I have termed three different names to the Ottoman state: 1. Ottoman Empire (1876-1908); 2. Ottoman Turkey (1908-1919); 3. Finally Kemalist Turkey (1924 onwards) by considering the change of political atmosphere in the Ottoman state in the respective years.

Lastly, the terms (Pan)Turkism, (Pan)Turanism, Pan-Islamism, and Azerbaijanism present a likewise debate. Although, the characteristics of Ali Bey Huseynzada and Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu's nationalism resemble the other Pan-Nationalist agendas (like Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism, etc.), neither favors using term Pan-Turkism in their articles where they simply use Turkism, Turkic ideal²⁷ or Turanism. Therefore, I will use "Turkism" or "Turanism" –

²⁶ See: Eissenstat, Howard. *Modernization, Imperial Nationalism, and the Ethnicization of Confessional Identity in the Late Ottoman Empire* in "Nationalizing Empires" by Berger Stefan and Alexei Miller, 2015. (Budapest: Central European University Press), 429-59.

²⁷ Original name: "Türkçülük Məfkurəsi"

These are the terms Huseynzada originally uses in his memoirs and penned articles – when I discuss Ali Bey Huseynzada’s timeline of activities and a series of articles in the third chapter. Despite, Aydin Balayev and Emre Ershen do not distinguish the two phenomena (“Turkism and “Turanism”),²⁸ the origins and the ideological background of both ideologies were different. Starting from Turkism, ethnic-nationalism emerged in Muslim South Caucasus with the influence of Russian “Narodniks” in the second phase of nineteenth century.²⁹ Therefore, the early Azerbaijani (Turco-Muslim) Turkists were focused on the native elements of Turkish identity. Afterward, the Crimean intellectual Ismayil Bey Gaspirali’s calling for “Unity in Language, Thought and Work”³⁰ and publishing a “Tarjuman” (Translator) (1883-1918) newspaper with an Ottomanized language attracted Azerbaijanis (Turco-Muslims) and many other Muslim groups to the unified cause of Turkism.³¹ In addition to Turkism, there was a separate cause of Turanism which dates to the linguistic theories of nineteenth-century Russian and Finnish scholarship who claimed the linguistic and ethnic kinship between Finno-Ugric and Altaic peoples.³² Turanism advocated the unity of the above-mentioned groups which entailed a much broader arena than Turkism. Both ideologies were later borrowed by Russia’s Turkic intellectuals such as Ali Bey Huseynzada, Yusuf Akchura and Mammad Amin Rasulzada who spread it among their countrymen. The term Pan-Islamism on the other hand was used by Ahmed Bey Aghaoglu for the first time in the native press. The founder of Pan-Islamism was Jamalladin Afghani whose ideology appealed to the collective consciousness of the “Islamic Umma” (the worldwide community of Muslim believers) regardless of ethnic,

²⁸ Balayev Aydin, *The Formation of National Identity and ideology of Azerbaijani Turks in early 20th century*, 76-85; Emre Ershen, *[The Period of Cultural and Political Change in Azerbaijan]*, 53-72.

²⁹ Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 109; Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 29.

³⁰ Original Version: “Dilde, Fikirde, İşde Birlik”.

³¹ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 48; Inalcik, “Devlet-i Aliyye” The Studies on the Ottoman Empire, 314-15.

³² Lukasz Sommer, *Historical Linguistics Applied: Finno-Ugric Narratives in Finland and Estonia*, *Hungarian Historical Review* 3, no. 2 (2014), 398-400, 406.

linguistic and national differences.³³ Aghaoglu was influenced by Afghani's Pan-Islamism which promoted a liberal form of Islam and rational interpretation of religious texts.³⁴ Aghaoglu and other Pan-Islamists were later exposed to Turkism as well. Considering the idea of Azerbaijanism, this was rather territorial nationalism limiting itself to the boundaries of Turco-Muslim South Caucasus that was to become the Republic of Azerbaijan. The features of these ideologies will be covered in the next chapter.

Theoretical Framework to the Nation-Formation Processes

As the present research is dedicated to the intellectual analysis of nation-building, I am going to introduce a theoretical framework to the nation-building process. A study conducted by Miroslav Hroch regarding the mechanism of the rise of modern "nationalism" in Europe notes about two nation-building models: A ruling nation model and a subject-nation model. According to Hroch, the first form of nation-building model came to existence through the transformation from a feudal state into a modern state. It was the new ruling class who replaced the old regime and proclaimed itself the representatives of the entire nation. We can see that there is a linear development between a modern state-building and a modern nation-building processes in this form.³⁵ This model of nation-building corresponds to the states that had a long tradition of independent statehood. On these grounds, according to Hroch, most European empires including Russia and Ottoman Turkey fit well into this category. In all these empires, there is an actual shift from the dynastic into the nationwide sovereignty. National identity created by its nationalist intellectuals were easily integrated into the state apparatus. The state's territory and culture easily turned into the national territory and national culture.³⁶ The second

³³ Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 33

³⁴ Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 111-12.

³⁵ Miroslav Hroch, How Much Does Nation Formation Depend Upon Nationalism? (*East European Politics and Societies*) 4, no 1; (December 1990), 106. [Hereinafter cited as M.Hroch, How Much Does Nation Formation Depend Upon Nationalism?]

³⁶ Miroslav Hroch, *European Nations: Explaining Their Formation*, (London: Verso, 2015)

(subject-nation) model occurred in nations that existed as a subordinate group within these empires. Unlike the ruling-nation, the subject-nation model did not evolve in a linear manner with the modern state-building of the ruling nation but was rather in confrontation with it. In other words, the emergence of nationalism within a subject-nation occurred on the territory of these empires (ruling nation). M. Hroch outlines three preconditions into the subject-nation model: 1. The subject-nations are those who are usually not ruled by their own ethnic group; 2. The extent of the ethnic population within the subject-nation model usually does not coincide with the administrative units they are divided into; 3. The subject-nation model does not have cultural production in its own literary language. Hroch notes that if these circumstances are accompanied by the process of modernization, it paves the way for the emergence of national consciousness. To elaborate further, modernization breaks down the feudal and patriarchal relationships with the help of increased contacts which enables better lines of communication, increased administrative presence, industrialization, modern education and the mobility of populace within the subject-nation. These processes give an impact on the subjective needs of the growing number of intellectuals in the region by enabling them to find a new identity after the loss of their traditional socio-political ties to the local communities.³⁷ Additionally, M. Hroch designated three fundamental phases of national movement within subject-nation models of European context: Phase A (The period of scholarly interest) where national intellectuals would dedicate themselves to native scholarship as was typical of Enlightenment scholars. It would be early to claim that these intellectuals' subjective intention was to pave the way for a national movement; Phase B (The period of patriotic agitation) where the national intellectuals gained access to higher education and focused on cultural, linguistic and socio-political goals; Phase C (The rise of mass national movement) where the movement attained full national mobilization and independence. M. Hroch considers Phase B (the period of

³⁷ Miroslav Hroch, *How Much Does Nation Formation Depend Upon Nationalism?* 106.

patriotic agitation) as the most important one in which national intelligentsia laid the basis of early national consciousness with cultural, linguistic and socio-political activism.³⁸ I will introduce the Finnish case within the Russian Empire as an example to the subject nation model. M. Hroch examines the Finnish case from the Swedish colonial rule in the eighteenth century which corresponds to Phase A (the period of scholarly interest). In this period, the Swedish was the national language of which the early Finnish nobility was hugely influenced by. The early scholarly works on Finnish literature were conducted by the reformist Finnish clergy such as Bishop Mikael Agricola in the eighteenth century. Despite the early signs of an interest in Finnish language and culture were already existent at that point, the main cultural, linguistic and even political progress was made during the nineteenth century, after Finland's attachment into the Russian empire in 1809. Therefore, M. Hroch characterizes that period between 1820-1880 as Phase B (the period of patriotic agitation). This was also the period that Finland gained political autonomy within the Russian state while it had no under Sweden. Owing to a linguistic and cultural sense of incarnation into Finnish intelligentsia, and the political autonomy granted by Tsarist Russia, the Finnish national consciousness started to emerge among the teachers, students and Finnish clergy who founded the first Finnish literary societies and native periodicals. Another fact was that a large number of national intelligentsia was comprised of the Finnish ruling class in this period. Additionally, the movement gained the support of the Finnish bourgeoisie class (merchants and urban entrepreneurs). The Tsarist reforms of the 1860s further bolstered the Finnish movement where the early Finnish political parties emerged and the movement entered its mass character at the latest in the 1880s. The notion of Finnish national space was already well established in this period due to its political existence which was stimulating the Finnish ruling class and intelligentsia to defend the

³⁸ Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1985), 23-24. [Hereinafter cited as Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*]

political autonomy and acquire further political rights for the country. Therefore, the large place reserved to political objectives in the program of Finnish intelligentsia during Phase B. Finally, the time that peasants thoroughly joined the Finnish movement, the 1880s was the entrance into Phase C (the period of mass national movement) which ended with Finnish independence in 1918.³⁹ My choice of Finnish case was due to its relative similarity to the other subject-nation models – especially those of the Christian groups – within Russian Empire in terms of its early modernization. Similar to Finnish example, the Turco-Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) was ruled by Tsarist Russia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In addition, we will observe how the process of modernization did impact new social identifications within the native populace in the region. Thus, I will apply this theoretical framework into Turco-Muslim South Caucasus. Let us discover more deeply the century-long intellectual movement and two of the intellectuals' nationalist and political endeavors within the subject-nation model.

Research Questions:

1. To what extent do the individual efforts endeavored by the Azerbaijani intellectuals fit into the theoretical framework given by Miroslav Hroch?
2. Which were the factors that caused Aghaoglu to shift his ethnocultural identity and political sympathies over the years?
3. To which political purposes did Aghaoglu and Huseynzada strive for by promoting their political and ideological works?

³⁹ See: Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, (1985: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge) 62-75.

I CHAPTER

The emergence of National Intelligentsia in Muslim South Caucasus in the nineteenth and early twentieth century

This chapter will serve to demonstrate the development of the modern intellectual movement in Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) which will also exhibit the background to the two of the intellectuals Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu and Ali Bey Huseynzada. To analyze these generations more systematically, I will study the development of national intelligentsia in Azerbaijan by grouping them into three generations and applying the A, B and C Phases of national movement designated by Miroslav Hroch. This will further substantiate the ideological and institutional difference between the three generations and their political development under Tsarist rule as a subject-nation. Now, we will examine the century-long nation-formation more closely.

1.1 The First Generation of Literary Figures

As mentioned earlier, the modern intellectual movement emerged in Muslim South Caucasus with modern education brought by Russian rule. After the Russian incorporation, the South Caucasus region was divided into administrative regions that were ruled by Tsar appointed Russian Viceroys.⁴⁰ The Turco-Muslim inhabited administrative regions were Baku and Elizavetpol governorates where around 65-70 percent of the population were Turco-Muslims while the rest were mainly Armenian, and other groups such as Kurdish, Russian, etc. There was a large number of Turco-Muslims in Erivan governorate having a third of its population and Tiflis governorate with 15 percent.⁴¹ These numbers show that the administrative divisions were reorganized not based on ethnic divisions but imperial needs. Considering the Muslim intellectuals of South Caucasus, the first modernized intellectuals emerged between 1830-1860

⁴⁰ The Viceroyalty was an administrative and political authority of the Russian Empire in its semi-colonial territories.

⁴¹ See: Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 14-15;

- the early Russian rule - in the region from “Russo-Tatar” schools. It was the viceroy Mikhail Vorontsov (1844-1853) that facilitated the employment of “Russo-Tatar” graduates into government positions. These graduates were the children of native nobility and the Muslim clergy. The most prominent one among them was Mirza Fathali Akhundzada who was employed in Tsarist service as a translator and a bureaucrat, and Seyid Azim Shirvani who showed deep interest in secular sciences and opened a “Russo-Tatar” school in his hometown Shamakhi. They both were from the family of the native clergy. Their intellectual aim was the spread of western-style education and breaking up common people from traditional Madrasa schools. We can see strong leanings to secular and modern ideas with the distancing of religious practices in this generation. Alongside the native intellectuals, the Imperial Russian administration was also supportive of the spreading of cultural change who were interested in the modernization of native Muslims. The core motivation of Imperial support was its ambitions of breaking off the native Muslims’ religious and cultural ties to Persia.⁴² It was the same policy applied in the empire’s western provinces when Lithuanians were encouraged by the Imperial core to promote their own language and culture, which was a tool for Russian Empire to weaken Polish influence, in the same manner, Finns from Swedish influence or Latvians from German.⁴³ Furthermore, the Viceroy Vorontsov himself actively participated in the promotion of native literature, the native language and the history of Muslim South Caucasus; The Russian magazine “Kavkaz” (Caucasus) was urged to publish native Muslim poetry; the Tsarist government was sponsoring the research of Caucasologists which created an interest towards native folklore, language, and literature.⁴⁴ However, after Viceroy

⁴² Mehmet Emin Resulzade, *Kafkaz Türkleri* [Resulzade, Caucasian Turks] (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmalar Vakfı, 1993), 28-29.

⁴³ Alexei Miller, *The Romanov Empire and Nationalisms: Essays in the Methodology of Historical Research* (Budapest & New York: CEU press, 2006), 81-82; Karpat, Kemal, *The Politicization of Islam*, 295; Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 26.

⁴⁴ A. Huseynzada, *XIX əsrin ikinci yarısında Azərbaycan Tarixşünaslığı* (Baku, 1967), p. 32. cited in Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 26.

Vorontsov's departure in 1854, the Tsarist policy for the literary campaign among the native Muslims came to an end due to the change in political leadership and coming of the new Tsar.

The main literary contributor to this generation was Fatali Akhundzada. He wrote most of his poetry in the Persian language which was the language of literacy at the time, whilst an only small number of his novels were in Classical Azerbaijani ("Turki" language), a literary native language heavily influenced by Persian idioms. Most of his novels such as "Letters of Kemaluddovle", "Deceived Stars" were dedicated to the ignorance of Muslims and the author blamed the religion for the Muslim backwardness. He was especially harshly critical of the Shi'i clergy, whom he characterized as backward-looking predators. He advocated the enrolment of Muslim students in "Russo-Tatar" schools where they could learn western languages as well as modern subjects. Akhundzada was not only critical against religious classes, but also the religion itself. He was using a rational secularist tone against the religion which was notably expressed in one of his influential works "Letters of Kemaluddovle".⁴⁵ This generation also lacked the notion of a national-territorial space. It is particularly present in Akhundzada's writings where the depth of his preoccupation in his literary works demonstrate his attachment to Persia and identification with Iran.⁴⁶ In other words, his specific sentiments towards Muslim Trans-Caucasus were only within the framework of a bigger Iranian nation. Akhundzada also advocated the alphabet change from Arabic into Latin which he saw the chief obstacle for the backwardness of the native Muslim community. Having achieved no positive response from the Tsarist authorities, he took a journey to Istanbul. Akhundzada probably hoped for getting support from the Ottoman authorities for his alphabet reform project,

⁴⁵ See: Axundzadə, *Kəmalüddövlə Məktubları* [Akhundzada, *The Letters of Kemaluddovle*] in "Akhundzada's Writings in Three Volumes, II Volume" ed. Aziz Mirahmadov, (Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2006), 14-129.

⁴⁶ See: Axundzadə, *1871-ci il Martın 29-da Mirzə Yusif Xana Yazılmış Üçüncü Məktub* [Akhundzada, *The Copy of third letter written on March 29, 1871*] 263-267; Axundzadə, *Tehran Sakini Mirzə Məhəmməd Cəfər* [To Tehran dwelling Mirza Mahammad Jafar] 257-263 in "Akhundzada's Writings in Three Volumes, II Volume" ed. Aziz Mirahmadov, (Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2006).

especially due to constitutional reforms of the recent Tanzimat era (1856-1876) carried out by the Ottomans. Despite, his alphabet reform was favored by the “Ottoman Science Society”,⁴⁷ it was rejected due to its minor errors.⁴⁸ Akhundzada’s literary ambitions were proceeded by the second generation of intellectuals but with a slightly different view towards native culture. Overall, the early generation of the native intelligentsia in 1830-1860 corresponds to Miroslav Hroch’s periodization of Phase A (the period of scholarly interest) where the scholarly works were carried out on native language and literature, the native nobility was hugely influenced by the Persian language and the modern (“Russo-Tatar”) schools were introduced into the region. The other prevalent features of this generation were their advocacy of modern education and their criticism towards religion. Additionally, their literary works had not included any notion of national identity or national space to their native South Caucasus region or Azerbaijan.

1.2 The Second Generation of Literary Figures

The second generation of native literary figures started to emerge between 1860-1905. This generation of native intellectuals started studying at Russian Universities by using the opportunity of new Tsar’s education reform. They were already forming a group of some cohesion due to the growth of their numbers. Another feature of this generation was, they started working as teachers and journalists at local schools and gymnasiums, unlike the first generation who were bureaucrats, military officers, etc. Considering their view of the common people, these intellectuals had a strong tendency in their romanticizing the native peasantry which resembles very much Russian “Narodnik” (populist) movements. In fact, they were

⁴⁷ Original name: Osmanli Cemiyeti-Elmiyye

⁴⁸ Axundzadə, *Köhnə İslam Əlifbasını Dəyişdirmək Barədə Axundzadənin İran Maarif Nazirliyinə Göndərdiyi İzahatın Surəti* [Akhundzada, *The Copy of the Akhundzada’s Commentary to change the Islamic Alphabet sent to the Education Ministry of Iran*] in “Akhundzada’s Writings in Three Volumes, II Volume” ed. Aziz Mirahmadov, (Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2006), 239-40.

influenced by the romanticist “Narodnik” movements during their studies at Russian Universities. Therefore, this generation aimed to promote the native culture and the native language who were resentful about the empire’s treatment of the region as a colonial outpost.

The key figure of this generation was Hasan Bey Zardabi (1832-1907). He studied at a “Russo-Tatar” school in the city of Shamakhi and Tbilisi. After finishing school, he continued his education at Moscow State University where he became exposed to the “Narodnik” (populist) views. After his return, he started teaching at Baku gymnasium as well as engaged in journalistic and cultural pursuits in his native homeland. He founded the first newspaper (1875) “Akhinchi” (Ploughman) written in native Turkish vernacular which was the first Turkic language newspaper published in the Russian Empire. Unlike Akhundzada’s “Turki” language which was a language heavily influenced by Persian idioms and intelligible only to a handful of literati, Hasan Bey Zerdabi decided to use vernacular language to reach out to the ordinary people. The program of the “Akinchi” (Ploughman) newspaper was fully dedicated to the whims and wishes of the native peasantry. There were other intellectuals such as M. Fatali Akhundzada, dramatist Najaf Bey Vazirov and poet Seyid Azim Shirvani, who also contributed to the “Akinchi” newspaper with their knowledge and wisdom.⁴⁹ As Zardabi had long been suspected for his “Narodnik” views and his pro-Ottoman sympathies, his newspaper was closed down by the Caucasian Viceroyalty in the course of the Russo-Turkish wars (1877-1878).⁵⁰ Zardabi also published plenty of articles in other local newspapers such as “Kavkaz” (Caucasus), “Novoe Obozrenie” (New Review), “Zemledel’cheskaya Gazeta” (The Newspaper of Agriculture), “Kaspi” (Caspian) where he addressed to the poor conditions of Muslim

⁴⁹ Hasan Bey Zardabi, *Əkinçi: 1875-1877 [The Ploughman]*, ed. Aziz Mirahmadov, (Baku: Avrasiya Press, 2005) 6-9; 16-17. See: Mahmud Ismayilov (Ed), *Azərbaycan Tarixi. Yeddi Cildə. IV Cild. [The History of Azerbaijan. In Seven Volumes. IV Volume.]* (Baku: Elm, 2008), 362. [Hereinafter cited as Ismayilov, *The History of Azerbaijan. In Seven Volumes*]

⁵⁰ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 46-47; Ismayilov, *The History of Azerbaijan. In Seven Volumes, IV Volume*, 363.

peasantry and advocated for the land reform in the Caucasus. He also founded the first national theatre in Muslim South Caucasus. Generally, this generation was more conscious and aware of their social responsibilities. We can observe it in Zardabi's letter to Akhundzada's assertion that he did not have time and he needed to rest: "Maybe you wonder why you must labor and not another, why you must labor for free and not even hope to receive appreciation".⁵¹ This letter shows us the attachment and dedication of Zardabi to the needs of its society.

Another specificity of this generation was the capitalist development in all the native cities, especially their major city Baku with its huge oil reserves. When the bigger investments for a long-term period were allowed for the leasing of oil lands by 1882, this opened the gate for the industrialist to invest in Baku's oil industry. Baku changed from the position of a colonial town into a major world oil-producing center. While it had 14,000 inhabitants in 1863, this number became 206,000 in 1903, making it the largest city in the entire Caucasus region. The population was predominantly comprised of Muslims (native and non-native), Armenians and Russians where the rest were Jews, Georgians, Poles, Germans, etc.⁵² Such capitalist development also implied the emergence of the native bourgeoisie class in the city. One of such native capitalists was Haji Zeynalabdin Taghiyev (1838-1924) who not only did concern himself with the capitalist industry but also cooperated with the native intelligentsia, particularly with Zardabi. The wealthy industrial magnate lobbied for funds in Baku city дума for Zardabi's theatre, constructed a new building for the national theatre in his own property and founded the "Neshir-i Sherif" – a philanthropic society together with Zardabi to fund native (Turkish)⁵³ language schools.⁵⁴ Besides Taghiyev, there were other industrial and commercial entrepreneurs such as Shamsi Asadullayev and Musa Naghiyev who were involved in

⁵¹ Quoted in Mostashari, *Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus*, 131.

⁵² Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 21.

⁵³ Not to confuse with Ottoman Turkish

⁵⁴ Mostashari, *Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus*, 131.

providing financial aids to the native literary projects. Having received profits from the oil industry, they became millionaire philanthropists, patrons of cultural enlightenment and developers of the region's economy. The important part of the native cultural and political stratum of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was funded by these individuals.⁵⁵ To summarize, with the booming of the city's economy, the native bourgeoisie started to emerge who were acting as partners of these intellectuals and actively contributing to the blossoming of cultural and ethnic awareness in the Muslim South Caucasus.

When the "Akinchi" (Ploughman) newspaper was closed down, Zardabi's initiative was continued by the two brothers - Jalal E. Unsizade and Said Unsizade who were teachers in Tiflis Cadet Corps. Their newspaper was called "Ziya" (Aurora, 1879-1881), later continued with name – "Ziya-i Kafkasiyya" (Aurora of Caucasus, 1881-1884). The program of this newspaper entailed news of broader categories including socio-political problems of its reader. Another project was the literary journal "Keshkul" (Darwish Bowl, 1884-1891). This journal highly resembled Zardabi's "Akhinci" (Ploughman) concerning its programs. The journal included the publicist articles, translations from European, Russian and Middle Eastern literature, pieces on native language, native handicrafts, cultural and socio-political concerns of the people.⁵⁶ The culmination of literary developments was that the term "Azerbaijan" was used for the first time in the "Keshkul" journal while referring to the territory that was at the time Elizavetpol and Baku governorates and parts of Erivan governorate. It was the first time the idea of a national space was voiced by the native Turco-Muslims who were later to call themselves Azerbaijani Turks. Considering their language, the last three newspapers were

⁵⁵ See: Altstadt, Audrey. *The Azerbaijani Turks: power and Identity under Russian Rule*. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1992), 33-34.

⁵⁶ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]* (Baku: T.C Bakü Büyükelçiliği Kültür ve Tanıtım Merkezi, 2006), 47-47. [Hereinafter cited as Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *The History of Turkism*], 47-48; Ashirli, *The Press History of Azerbaijan*, 35.

gradually distancing from native vernacular and moving towards Ottoman Turkish.⁵⁷ Eventually, the last native language newspaper closed down was “Kashkul” in 1891 and no periodical was allowed in native language between 1891-1904. The native intellectuals had to keep promoting their agenda only through the Russian-language daily newspaper “Kaspi” until the liberal atmosphere would prevail over the autocratic rule in 1905.

Apart from “Narodnik” influences, another feature of this period was the above-mentioned Ottoman influence which was brought into the region by Crimean Tatar intellectual Ismail Bey Gaspirali’s “Tarjuman” (Interpreter 1883-1918) newspaper. Gaspirali was the pioneer among Russian Muslims in making publications in Ottoman Turkish. He aimed to create a language that was intelligible to all the Turkic speaking peoples of the Russian Empire. The newspaper was getting published in Bakchasaray and it was funded by Baku-based oil magnate H. Z. Taghiyev. Bernard Lewis⁵⁸ and A. Mandelshtam⁵⁹ notes that the national consciousness emerged among Russia’s Turkic groups through their exposure to romanticist movement of (Pan)Slavism. To support his argument, Yusuf Akchura also identifies in his memoirs the role of M.N. Katkov’s (Pan)Slavism in Gaspirali’s (Pan)Turkist collaborations.⁶⁰ Influenced by Gaspirali’s new ideas, Muslim intellectuals of South Caucasus also started linguistic Ottomanization of their press. The spread of Turkism in the region stimulated the search for self-awareness and the notion of distinction between religion and nationality. The “Kashkul” magazine was first to draw people’s attention to the distinction between the two terms. Yet, the notable difference between Turco-Muslim (or Azerbaijani) intellectuals and Crimean

⁵⁷ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 47-48; Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 29.

⁵⁸ See: Lewis, Bernard, *Modern Türkiyenin Doğuşu [The Birth of Modern Turkey]* (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayıncılık, 2013).

⁵⁹ A. Mandelshtam, “Vvedenie”, *Turtsiia i Panturanizm [“The Introduction”, Turkey and Pan-Turanism]* (Paris: Rodnik, 1930), 7.

⁶⁰ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 49-51; Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 115.

intellectuals was that sectarian strife had not been a pressing issue among Crimean intellectuals. The Christian groups also had no sectarian division, nor had they experienced any confrontation from religious classes. Whereas, the entire Muslim intelligentsia in South Caucasus was highly disturbed by the divisive sectarianism along with the corrupt state of religious classes.

Gaspirali's other innovation was his founding of a new education system called "Usuli Jadid". Unlike traditional Muslim schools which only included Koran recitation and Persian\Arabic studies, "Usuli Jadid" schools pioneered the inclusion of Maths, Geography, and Philosophy into the school curriculum of Muslim Madrasa education. The "Usuli Jadid" curriculum was first brought into Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) by the native intellectual S. A. Shirvani, M.T Sidqi, and M. Navvab in the second half of the nineteenth-century which quadrupled the trend of modernization among the common people in the region.

Overall, the second generation of the native intelligentsia in 1870-1905 corresponds to the early period of Phase B (the period of patriotic agitation) where the linguistic and cultural program became the center of the native intellectual movement. Benefiting from the Tsar's education reforms, they studied at Russian universities and later became teachers and journalists. They also gradually shifted to Turco-Muslim identification in this period due to their exposure to romanticist "Narodnik" influence as well as other Turco-Muslim intellectuals within Tsarist Russia. Furthermore, they pioneered the native language press, charity, and educational organizations as well as "Usuli Jadid" schools with the financial aid provided by the native bourgeoisie. But it was also due to break off from traditional livelihood and movement into bigger urban areas like Baku and Ganja and not to forget the multicultural atmosphere in these cities where communities lived in isolation. All these changes rendered the weakening of intra-level sectarian division and fostered a sense of ethnoreligious solidarity within the community which will be observed in the coming paragraph.

1.3 The Third Generation of Intellectuals-(Pan)Turkism, (Pan)Turanism, Pan-Islamism, and Azerbaijanism

The third generation of Intellectuals came of age between 1890s till 1918. Unlike the second generation, their activities not only were cultural but also political. In this period, Baku was in its peak of industrial development where the nationalist and revolutionary ideas were becoming widespread, the native bourgeoisie was prospering from the oil money, and the native nationalism and Pan-nationalism were attracting many native intellectuals to its cause. Post-1905 period especially pioneered the creation of first Turco-Muslim (Azerbaijani) political parties, the first political representation, and crystallization of Azerbaijani nationalism. This was also the time the native journalism peaked at the highest level of intellectual achievement by its publishing efforts. Considering the individual efforts, one of the intellectuals was Ali Bay Huseynzada (1864-1941) who pioneered the idea of Turkism in Azerbaijan. He was both impressed by the “Narodnik” movement during his stay in Saint Petersburg and collaborated with the underground opposition organization Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in Istanbul out of which the movement of Young Turks was to emerge. After his Ottoman experience, Huseynzada moved back to Baku where more promising circumstances appeared and continued his nationalist pursuits in Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan). Afterward, his followers emerged both in Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) and Ottoman Turkey.⁶¹ His timeline of literary and political activities will be discussed further in the third chapter of the thesis.

Another ideological movement in Turco-Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) was Pan-Islamism which emerged as a reaction to the Imperial expansion of European powers. Its founder was Jamaladdin Afghani, who had been a Persian literary figure and promoted the

⁶¹ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 109; Karpas, Kemal, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 375-376.

ideas of rationality within Muslims as well as Muslim solidarity. He was calling for the unity of Muslims worldwide against colonial exploitation.⁶² As Afghani's Pan-Islamism entailed a liberal form of Islam, it also supported nationalism among the Muslim nations. Influenced his ideas, Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu used the term Pan-Islamism in the native press for the first time. Despite being a leading intellectual of Pan-Islamism, Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu also later became exposed to the ideas of Turkism. I will discuss more deeply his timeline of literary and political activities in the second chapter of the thesis.

Turco-Muslim (Azerbaijani) intellectuals of this generation also dedicated themselves to the collective action and political representation of their community. Initially, they limited their activities to declarations in Baku Duma and publications in the Russian language newspaper - "Kaspi" (1881-1918). The owner of "Kaspi" was industrial magnate H. Z. Taghiyev and its editor in chief was Alimardan Bey Topchibashi. After 1905 revolution, the native intellectuals became more sound in their demands petitioning for equal rights for Muslims and Christians such as equal Muslim representation in city Dumas, the introduction of zemstvos in the native towns, improvements in banking systems, etc. Some of these demands were complied by the Tsarist regime that Russia's Muslim population gained full access to civil service careers, Muslim religious seminaries were granted equal status comparable to that of Christian seminaries, and Muslims were allowed to launch the native language classes in all types of schools⁶³ as well as permission to publish the native-language newspapers once more.⁶⁴ Subsequently, Turco-Muslims (Azerbaijanis) entered onto the Russia's Muslim politics by joining to the newly-created party of "Ittifak-i Muslimin" (Muslim Union). Volga Tatar and

⁶² See: Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani*, (Berkeley& Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 38-45. [Hereinafter cited as Nikki R. Keddie, *Political and Religious Writings of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani*]

⁶³ Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 46-47

⁶⁴ Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 125.

Crimean intellectuals chaired the “First and Second all Russia’s Muslim Congresses” convened in Nizhni Novgorod in 1905-1906, while the native intellectual A. Topchubashi chaired the third Congress.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the ideas of all Russian-Muslim movement gradually became less attractive to native intellectuals which were deriving from their attraction to native affairs and regional politics in the Caucasus. This eventually led to their loosening ties to the movement, leaving file to Tatars and concentrating on regional representation.

Considering their efforts in regional representation, six candidates from Turco-Muslims (Azerbaijanis) were elected in the elections to first State Duma: A. Topchubashi, A. Khasmammadov, A. Muradkhanov, I. Ziyadkhan, M.T.Aliyev, and playwright A. Haqverdiyev. However, after less than three months, the new elections were called upon based on modified electoral law which resulted in reduction of their representatives from six to five, and in the third Duma elections, it declined to one native delegate – K. Khasmammadov.⁶⁶ The hopes vested in Duma as a platform for protecting the rights of Turco-Muslims (or Azerbaijani Turks) gave no expected results due to electoral restrictions imposed by the Stolypin regime.

There were also native intellectuals called the Hummat group who were socialist in nature, associated with the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (RSDWP). But, Hummat was more concerned in its publications with Tsarist despotism and the foreign rule viewing it as the core source of oppression than with the conventional socialist struggle. The leading Hummat members were Mammad Amin Rasulzada, Mammad Hasan Hajinski, Mashadi Azizbayov and Nariman Narimanov who would later become the active participants of political struggle over Azerbaijan in 1918-1920. Hummat’s chief slogans were the spread of education as the surest

⁶⁵Ataxan Paşayev, *Vıborqdan Parisə Mücadilə* [Struggle from Viborg to Paris] edited by Dilqam Ahmad, 2020. *Capar* 1, (January), 25-26. [Hereinafter cited as Atakhan Pashayev, *The struggle from Viborg to Paris*]; Russia, Gosudarstvennaya Duma: Perviy Soyuz [The State Duma: First Union] (Moscow, 1906), 116-17 cited in Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 49.

⁶⁶ Ismayilov, *The History of Azerbaijan. In Seven Volumes, V Volume*, 159; Atakhan Pashayev, *The struggle from Viborg to Paris*, 26.

way to progress, improvements in the status of women and strengthening the role of native language, giving a secondary space to the ideas of the socialist revolution. After the October Manifesto of 1905, Finally, the Hummat group won one seat in the elections to the Second State Duma as Muslim Social Democratic Party.⁶⁷ They continued to promote their agenda chiefly through educational associations and the press. The first Hummat-led publication was “Davat-Koch” (Call), the bilingual Muslim-Armenian newspaper.⁶⁸ In February 1905, Muslim-Armenian intercommunal strife started in South Caucasus. Muslims had been grieved by the better economic conditions and socio-political advantages of Armenians which led to the year-long Muslim-Armenian violence in major urban centers and rural areas. “Davat-Koch” accused the Tsarist government of igniting the violence between the communities instead of stopping it. After sixteen issues, the press organ was closed down by the order of Baku governor. The Hummat revived its press activities with “Takammul” (Perfection) journal where its editors - Rasulzada and Hajinski - openly uttered the rejection of colonial rule, the need for mass education and the fight against the national oppression in its circulations. Afterward, the Hummat members became subject of repressions where some members like Narimanov and Afandiev were arrested, some others like Rasulzada, Buniatzada had to flee to Persia and Ottoman Turkey to avoid arrests.⁶⁹ Out of liberals and socialists, the native nationalist group emerged over the years who became determined to the Azerbaijani affairs. The important personality of this generation was Hummat member Mammad Amin Rasulzada who started his political career as a social-democrat. Besides, he was also influenced by Turkism which he developed further during his exile in Ottoman Turkey (1911-1913). By taking the advantage of Tsarist amnesty, Rasulzada returned back into Turco-Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan)

⁶⁷ Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 52.

⁶⁸ Ashirli, *The Press History of Azerbaijan*, 49-50.

⁶⁹ Nasiman Yaqublu, *The national Independence Movement of Azerbaijan and Rasulzada*, 26; Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 54-55;

in 1913. After having learned more about the real potential and capabilities of Ottoman Turkey, he started distancing himself from the unified cause of Turkism. thus, he became more focused on the native nationalism and Azerbaijani affairs.⁷⁰ Thus, Rasulzada started publishing articles in “Dirilik” (1914-1916) journal under the title of “Milli Dirilik” (National Awakening) where he laid the tenets of Azerbaijani nationalism (or Azerbaijanism) by premising the need for separate nation-state for every nation, integral to a certain territory. For Rasulzada, it was common territory; language; culture; religion; and common history that was to make Azerbaijani nationalism. He continued his writings in “Achiq Soz” newspaper (1915-1918) where he called for national and cultural freedoms to all the subject groups of Tsarist Russia.⁷¹ When the Bolshevik revolution took place, three South Caucasian states declared their independence as Transcaucasian Federation which did not last long. After the federation’s demise, Rasulzada declared the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan (1918-1920) and became the first head of the state. Thus, Mammad Amin Rasulzada pioneered the idea of Azerbaijanism for the first time which entailed territorial nationalism for native Turco-Muslims. Alimardan Topchubashi also became gradually focused on the Azerbaijani politics and native nationalism after having futile results in the Russian capital. His biographer A. Pashayev quotes⁷² Topchubashi’s speech before the Ottoman Sultan in 1919 where Topchubashi called himself an Azerbaijani Turk and aligned himself with Azerbaijani nationalism. He was elected as the foreign ambassador of Republic of Azerbaijan that tasked him to represent the new-born country in the Paris Peace Conference. After Topchubashi’s

⁷⁰ Mammad Amin Rasulzada, *O Panturanizme v Cvyaze c Kavkazskoy Problemoy* [M.A. Rasulzada, *About Pan-Turanism in connection to problems of Caucasus*] (Oxford: Society for Central Asian Studies, 1985), 79.

⁷¹ See: Mammad Amin Rasulzada, *Milli Dirilik [National Awakening]* in *Əsərləri: II Cild [Publications II Volume 1909-1914]* ed. Shirmammad Huseynov (Baku: Shirvan, 2001), 463-479; Nasiman Yaqublu, *The national Independence Movement of Azerbaijan and Rasulzada*, 31-35.

⁷² Atakhan Pashayev, *The struggle from Viborg to Paris*, 27-30.

year-long struggle in Paris, the Republic of Azerbaijan was *de-facto* recognized by the Paris Peace Conference in January 1920.

As for 1905-1918 publishing endeavors, the upheavals of the 1905 Russian revolution rendered the weakening of autocracy in the field of educational activities. This became an opportunity for the intelligentsia to fully release their accumulated energies to the forefront of their material production. There was significant growth in the number of books printed in the native language, and the native press was living its golden age. For instance, from 1905 till 1917 sixty-three newspapers and periodicals were circulating at one time or another, considering that the majority of Turco-Muslims (Azerbaijanis) were still illiterate.⁷³ Although many of the native newspapers enjoyed only local circulation, some found its readers far beyond their homeland. The most successful of them was the satirical magazine “Molla Nasraddin”. It had satirical content which was critical towards the clergy. They also preferred to publish in a native vernacular and was against any Ottoman-influenced literary format. “Molla Nasraddin” found subscribers in Cairo, Istanbul, Kazan, Crimea, faraway lands of Afghanistan and India.⁷⁴ More nationalistic and pro-Ottoman publications were “Hayat” (Life), “Fuyuzat” (Abundance) and “Irshad” (Guidance). The co-editor Ali Bey Huseynzada employed the term “Milliyetçilik” (Nationalism), even the precise loan word “Nasyonalizm” in these newspapers. Both Ali Bey Huseynzada and Ahmed Bey Aghaoglu believed that the 1905 Russian revolution was the opportunity to start thinking of a uniform identity for Turco-Muslims of South Caucasus.

All the native journalistic endeavors were getting financed by the fellow wealthy bourgeoisie. For instance, besides “Kaspi” and “Hayat”, the native millionaire Haji Zeynalabdin Taghiyev owned “Fuyuzat” and “Teze Hayat” (New Life). Similarly, the native aristocratic landowner

⁷³ A. Alstadt, *The Azerbaijani Bourgeoisie and the Cultural Enlightenment Movement in Baku: First Steps toward Nationalism*. In *Transcaucasia, Nationalism and Social Change* edited by Ronald Grigor Suny (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1996), 199-201.

⁷⁴ Ashirli, *The Press History of Azerbaijan*, 84.

Isa Ashurbayli financed the independent “Irshad” newspaper and literary journal “Shalala” (Waterfall) and subsidized some of the Hummat-led publications. The cooperation of native intellectuals and their bourgeoisie yielded immense results by both in reaching out to the public and in the spawn of the journalistic talents. Although most of the articles were written by native intellectuals, it was not uncommon to see articles written by non-native writers, particularly authors from Crimea, Qajar Persia and Ottoman Turkey.⁷⁵ After the increasing repressions by the Stolypin regime, most intellectuals took exile in Ottoman Turkey and continued their literary and political career until new opportunities would present themselves in Azerbaijan in 1918.

Overall, the third generation of intellectuals in 1890-1918 corresponds to the peak of Phase B (patriotic agitation) where the ideological and political projects were launched in the post-1905 period. The native intelligentsia founded their first political parties and made a first political representation in Russian Duma. The educational sphere was also in a favorable condition where the native bourgeoisie was supporting it with financial resources to raise national awareness among the common people. In addition, the multinational environment in Baku rendered further awareness among Turco-Muslims regarding the importance of community-building. The unique feature of this generation was they not only participated in the native affairs but became actively involved in the affairs of cross-regional (Russia’s Muslims) and cross-border (Ottoman) politics. In this period, the ethnoreligious (Turco-Muslim) identity became crystallized into national (Azerbaijani) identification. Finally, the early blueprints of Azerbaijani nationalism conceived by Rasulzada, and the first Azerbaijani state in 1918 opened Phase C (the period of mass national movement).

⁷⁵ Swietochowski, *Russia and Azerbaijan. Borderland in Transition*, 57.

Conclusion

To put Azerbaijani national movement into three preconditions concerning M. Hroch's subject-nation model: 1. Muslim South Caucasus had no political sovereignty under the Russian empire and was directly ruled by Russian viceroyalty; 2. The extent of Turco-Muslim population also did not coincide to the Tsarist administrative units where neither of the administrative units was divided based on Turco-Muslim homogeneity. 3. Finally, the Turco-Muslims (Azerbaijanis) initially used Persian and not their native tongue as the literary language. The native language press and schools only emerged during the 1870s which only spread thoroughly into the region after 1905 political liberalization. In line with Hroch's description, the national consciousness emerged in Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) with the modern secular schools ("Russo-Tatar" and "Usuli-Jadid"), with the impact of Russian and neighboring national movement into the native Muslims due to better line of communication, as well as with industrialization and mobility of populace into urban areas that had weakened the feudal relationship in native Azerbaijan and rendered the quest for the new socio-political bonds. In comparison with Hroch's example of Finnish national movement, there is a similar range of developments in Phase A in both movements where both national intellectuals used former literary languages – Swedish in Finland, Persian in Azerbaijan – as the *lingua franca*, and identified themselves with the former imperial territories – Sweden for Finns and Persia for Azerbaijanis – instead of having ethnic territorialism. The difference is while Phase A in the case of Azerbaijan took place in 1830-1860, in the case of Finland, it took place a hundred years earlier. The reason for such a year gap is simply because the practice of modernity arrived in Finland a century before than it arrived in Azerbaijan due to the latter's distance and cultural distinction from Europe. The modern developments also display the peculiarity of Azerbaijani case where the Azerbaijani intellectuals in Phase A – who had been modern ("Russo-Tatar") school graduates – were secularized individuals, the Finnish intellectuals, however, were from

the religious classes. The reason for this distinction is modernized Muslim (Azerbaijani) intelligentsia only emerged from secular schools where the Muslim religious schools were not in line with modern developments. In the Finnish case, there seems to be no collusion between the Christian religion and modernity which allowed the religious classes to lead the intellectual movement in Phase A. In Phase B (the national agitation period), both national intellectuals pursued a linguistic and cultural nationalism by creating native language periodicals and educational institutions. In both cases, Phase B took place during the rise of capitalism where the national bourgeoisie class contributed to the cultural revival of fellow countrymen. Considering their distinctions, Phase B corresponds to the period of 1860-1910 in the case of Azerbaijan, and the period of 1820-1880 in Finland. Additionally, Azerbaijan had no political rule under Tsarist Russia which limited its national intelligentsia to the teachers and political activists, while Finland did possess a political autonomy which added the Finnish ruling class to the Finnish intellectual movement in Phase B. Azerbaijani intellectuals also joined the Pan-movements in this period which was not the case among the Finnish intellectuals. Finally, the national intelligentsia in Finland entered the Phase C in 1880-1918 where the Finnish national movement was already crystallized as territorial nationalism in its early period. Azerbaijani intellectuals, however, continued their national agitation in the post-1905 until the early blueprints of Azerbaijani nation-state were eventually introduced by Mammad Amin Rasulzada in the 1910s, which marked the beginning of Phase C in the Azerbaijani nationalism. As the periodization of the intellectual movement in Azerbaijan has been introduced, let us now characterize two intellectuals' – Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu and Ali Bey Huseynzada – political and ideological pursuits within this theoretical framework.

The Two Leading Ideological Figures of Azerbaijani Intellectual Movement: Ahmed Bey Aghaoglu and Ali Bey Huseynzada

II CHAPTER

Ahmed Bey Aghaoglu

Now, I will discuss one of the literary figure's involvement in the political and ideological movement in Turco-Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) and across. I will mainly focus on his early life, French and Caucasus writings as well as his Ottoman and Azerbaijani activities which will unravel his political and ideological agenda. The study will be conducted through the examination of his memoirs, his son Samet Aghaoglu and Volga Tatar intellectual Yusuf Akchura, as well as the biographies penned by Holly Shissler, Ozan Ozavci, and François, Georgeon. Meanwhile, I will analyze, and debate over his writings which will substantiate my findings regarding his national crystallization, as well as political and ideological agenda.

2.1 His Early life and Education

To further articulate the individual contributions of native literati, Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu was born in 1869 in Shusha, Karabakh of Elizavetpol governorate with the family name Aghayev. As outlined in the previous chapter, Muslims of South Caucasian, no matter what their ethnic origins, identified themselves with the culture and religion of Islam. He was from a patriarchal Shi'ite family. As he notes, if someone were to ask his father, Mirza Hasan, "Who are you?" he would say, "I am from the community of prophet Mohammed and a follower of Ali." But he would never think of himself as Turco-Muslim or Azerbaijani Turk.⁷⁶ Both of his parents

⁷⁶ Əhməd Bəy Ağaoğlu, 67 il sonra [Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, 67 years later] in *Şuşa, Sankt Peterburq və Paris Xatirələri* [Shusha, Saint-Petersburg and Paris memories] edited by Dilqam Ahmad, Gunel Mukhtarova, (Baku: Capar, 2019), [Thereinafter cited as, Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, 67 years later] 27.

were well-educated and respected persons in their native Shusha city who took good care of their son's early education. Another responsible person in his early education was his uncle Mirza Mahammad who was an orthodox Islamic scholar. Under his patronage, Ahmed Bey Aghaoglu received private Arabic and Persian lessons and later enrolled in the local madrasa school.⁷⁷ However, Aghaoglu's mother was displeased to see his son in a religious school, therefore, she secretly arranged Russian lessons for him when he was eight years old. Since, young Ahmad acquired better conduct in Russian after a while due to his Russian teacher's effective teaching techniques than those of teachings in religious school and, it was also the governor of Shusha that started preaching noble Muslim families to register their children in the Russian school which convinced his father in registering Ahmad in a Russian gymnasium. Thus, young Ahmad started to receive a secular education in his early teens.⁷⁸ Young Ahmad also says about his Arabic classes in his memoirs:

“I still hadn't managed to understand anything in Arabic despite four years of study, however, I mastered Russian writing in three months. I could read and understand all the books in Russian. The Russian books were also appealing with all the pictures, strange stories, fairy-tales... While others [he means Persian and Arabic books] were full of unattractive and dry set of ideas, which was not enticing at all.”⁷⁹

His description of Madrasa teachings illustrates that the curriculum in the Muslim schools was limited to Quran recitation, Persian grammar, standards of classical poetry written in Persian, Turkish and some knowledge in Sharia Law. The teaching techniques were based on blind recitation giving little emphasis on explanation of the texts. Modern studies such as mathematics, western languages, natural sciences, geography, etc., were not part of Muslim

⁷⁷ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, 67 years later, 29-33.

⁷⁸ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, 67 years later, 34-35.

⁷⁹ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, 67 years later, 33.

Madrassa schools. The alphabet issue was still an obstacle which was left unresolved since the times of Akhundzada. The Arabic alphabet was difficult and not well adapted to the phonetic structure of the Turkish language, making it more challenging for its speakers to attain literacy in the native language.

In Shusha gymnasium, he learned about the “Narodnichestvo” (Populist) movement and came across forbidden literature like Chernishevsky’s “What is to be done?” novel as well as pamphlets about historical materialism. Even the teachers themselves were all opposed to the autocracy and they were proponents of revolutionary ideas, despite the official ban to discussing revolution.⁸⁰ The most notable memories from his gymnasium education was his description of how Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy’s religious view together with romanticized peasant lifestyle influenced his ideas regarding “Narodnik” (populist) movements.⁸¹ Having received a traditional education in Muslim Madrasa school and modern education in a Russian school, Aghaoglu noted that he had already been getting concerned with the questions of why there was a huge difference between the two school systems. He felt like living in two souls, at school with one soul, and at home with another.⁸² Thus, his early perception of different civilizations started to emerge with the experience of the Russian school.

After passing all the examinations necessary for admission to Polytechnic Institute of St. Petersburg, he set out for the capital in 1887. He was staying in a rooming house for Caucasian students in St. Petersburg. It was also this period that Young Ahmad met for the first time two men – Ali Bey Huseynzada and Alimardan Bey Topchibashi – whom he shared ideological and political journey in Turkey and Azerbaijan.⁸³ Young Ahmad’s intentions were to study at Polytechnic Institute but according to his son’s notes, the examiner failed him from the last

⁸⁰ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, 67 years later, 38-39.

⁸¹ Ozan Ozavci, *Intellectual Origins of the Republic*. 38-39.

⁸² Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, 67 years later, 36.

⁸³ Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 61-62.

exam who had been anti-Semitic and mistaken him for a Jew.⁸⁴ Yusuf Akchura claims in his notes that the reason for stopping his Petersburg education was Aghaoglu's health problems.⁸⁵ In 1888, Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu launched his journey to Paris to continue his education with the mind full of complex influences.

To summarize his early life and education, his sectarian and religious identity was at the forefront of his considerations at this period which resembles the features characteristic to Phase A. But, this was also the time Aghaoglu had first been introduced to revolutionary and romanticist literature which laid the basis for the upcoming political and ideological journey relevant to Phase B (the national agitation). Having studied Oriental Languages and Law in Paris, he would return to his native Caucasus with full of political and ideological considerations ready to apply.

2.2 Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu's French Influences

Ahmad Aghaoglu arrived in Paris in 1888. His early months in Paris were full of difficulties since he spoke virtually no French and were short in money. After a period of learning French, he found courage and walked into the College de France. Following the schedule-board, he decided to attend James Darmesteter's lecture on Firdovsi's poetry, which impressed him enormously.⁸⁶ After the lecture, he enrolled in College de France and from this day forward started specializing in Oriental Studies under the supervision of James Darmesteter.⁸⁷ Through

⁸⁴ Əhməd Bəy Ağaoğlu, *Peterburqda Tələbə Həyatı* [Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, Student life in St. Petersburg] in *Şuşa, Sankt Peterburq və Paris Xatirələri* [Shusha, Saint-Petersburg and Paris memories] edited by Dilqam Ahmad, Gunel Mukhtarova, (Baku: Capar, 2019), 67.

⁸⁵ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi* [The History of Turkism] 114.

⁸⁶ Əhməd Bəy Ağaoğlu, *College de France* [Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, College de France] in *Şuşa, Sankt Peterburq və Paris Xatirələri* [Shusha, Saint-Petersburg and Paris memories] edited by Dilqam Ahmad, Gunel Mukhtarova, (Baku: Capar, 2019), 88-89. [Hereinafter cited as Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, College de France]

⁸⁷ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi* [The History of Turkism], 115; Aziz Mirahmadov. *Autobiography of Əhməd Bəy Ağaoğlu*. (Baku: Ərgünəş, 2014), 14-15 [Hereinafter cited as Mirahmadov. *Autobiography of Əhməd Bəy Ağaoğlu*].

him, Ahmad was introduced to Ernest Renan and the circle of Madame Juliette Adam. These connections helped Ahmad's early writing career in which his articles entitled "La Société Persane" (The Persian Society) started to appear in various Paris journals between 1891 and 1893.⁸⁸ Aghaoglu was also sending these articles back to Trans-Caucasus where it was getting published in Tiflis based "Kavkaz" newspaper.⁸⁹ While working on "La Société Persane", Aghaoglu also attended the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London in 1892 and presented a paper on the Mazdean origins of Shiism which was printed in 1893 in the Transactions of the Congress.⁹⁰

Considering his French connections and influences, Darmesteter and Renan were the chief sources that gave shape to his ideas. Darmesteter was the author of numerous extensive works on ancient Persian philology and pre-Islamic religious history of Persia. The Renan himself, on the other hand, was the most famous French literary figure of the time with his knowledge on Greek, Latin, Hebrew languages as well as Biblical commentary and his extensive works on the history of religions.⁹¹ These years in France and associations with French intellectuals appeared to have produced an overwhelming influence on Ahmad Bey. For instance, Ernest Renan, Adam Smith and Darmesteter's views regarding the need for keeping religion outside the governmental affairs remained an important part of Aghaoglu's understanding concerning the potential of religion's negative effect to the state affairs. Their other influence on Ahmad's ideological path was their view of religion as a unifying aspect of identity and a fundamental

⁸⁸ Quliyev, Vilayet. Ağaoğlu Paris elmi-ədəbi mühitində və mətbuatında [Aghaoglu, In the Parisian journalistic and publicist circles] edited by Dilqam Ahmad, 2019. *Capar* Special edition, (October), 40-41 [Hereinafter cited as Vilayet, Quliyev. Aghaoglu in the Parisian Journalistic and Publicist circles].

⁸⁹ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi* [The History of Turkism], 117.

⁹⁰ Əhməd Bəy Ağaoğlu, Şərqsünaslıq Konqresində [Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, In the Congress of Orientalism] in *Seçilmiş Əsərləri* [Selected Works of Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu] ed. Asif Rustamli. (Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2007), 313-314. [Hereinafter cited as Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, In the Congress of Orientalism]

⁹¹ See: Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 67.

part of the human condition. We will observe similar ideas in his Caucasus writings concerning the role of religion. He was equally exposed to the ideology of French revolution through the readings of French Enlightenment. Aghaoglu's chief aim was the self-strengthening of his native community influenced by Renan's and Darmesteter's ideas regarding well-ordered government and individual liberty. Another influential person was Jamaladdin Afghani - a founder of a widespread Muslim doctrine of Pan-Islamism - during his French sojourn.

Afghani was not a Russian Muslim, nor had he specific connection to the political and cultural affairs of the South Caucasus region. Nonetheless, his ideas regarding the defense of Islam in the modern world gained a prominent role among Muslim intellectuals across the globe, including in Muslim South Caucasus. In his entire career, he engaged in a wide variety of political activities in Europe and the Muslim Middle East as he aimed for Muslim self-strengthening against the encroachments of European powers. To continue further, Jamaladdin Afghani developed his Pan-Islamic ideas during his French days. He was mainly interested in political considerations of this new ideology. His platform was based on two pillars: The first was to benefit from West's material production, notably its science, technology, modern education, and political institutions. The second pillar was the need for Muslim nations to build up a sense of pride in their identity which was to help them to develop a feeling of moral strength to out-manuever West.⁹² These two would be the necessary columns for their self-strengthening. His other interesting take was his urge to spreading the ideas of rationality among Muslims by construing the interpretation of the Quran with the tenets of rationality and modern science, a claim never was encountered among other Muslim modernizers by the time.⁹³

⁹² Nikki R. Keddie, *Political and Religious Writings of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani*, 38-39.

⁹³ Nikki R. Keddie, *Political and Religious Writings of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani*, 40-45.

Aghaoglu knew and admired Afghani's ideas. Despite, Holly Shissler claims to have no record of Afghani's visit to Paris at that time⁹⁴, Aghaoglu noted that he had met with Afghani in Paris and hosted him at his apartment for weeks.⁹⁵ In his series of articles entitled "Turk Alemleri" (The Turkic world), Aghaoglu says that it was Afghani who gave a new spirit to the Islamist movement by encouraging Muslim solidarity and a sense of pride among Muslim nations instead of letting them believe that the West is inherently superior.⁹⁶ Many of Afghani's views are reflected in Aghaoglu's positions which will be noticeable when we discuss his Caucasian writings concerning the matters of Muslim solidarity. But, let us discuss more his French writings and the origins of his ideas.

2.3 French Writings

Going more specifically into his French writings, the bulk of his writings were comprised of series of seven substantial articles in Paris that appeared under "La Société Persane" between 1891 and 1893. His articles contained variety of topics from cultural to political affairs. Yet, the striking part of his writings is already visible in the title which he called "La Société Persane" (meaning "Persian Society" in French.) In all his French articles, Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu considered himself a Persian while discussing his native culture. Considering that he later would become one of the proponents of Turkish Nationalism, this identification might seem surprising: The explanation given by Georgeon François⁹⁷ characterizes Aghaoglu's Persian sympathies with Renan's admiring view of Persian history which became the major

⁹⁴ Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 113.

⁹⁵ Quoted in Dilqam Ahmad, Gunel Mukhtarova. "Introduction to Ahmed Bey Aghaoglu" in *Şuşa, Sankt Peterburq və Paris Xatirələri [Shusha, Saint-Petersburg and Paris memories]* (Baku: Capar, 2019), 5; Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyn Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 117-18.

⁹⁶ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, In *Türk Yurdu* (1914/15), 6.8, 2263 cited in Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 114.

⁹⁷ François, Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk modernleşmesi (1900-1930) [Ottoman-Turkish Modernity, Selected Articles]*, (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000), 108.

influence on Aghaoglu's self-identification. While, Holly Shissler's⁹⁸ explanation is rather compelling. Holly Shissler claims that as a Middle Easterner and living in Western capital in the late nineteenth century, it would be a reason that Aghaoglu saw some value in identifying himself with Aryan nationality. Renan's theoretical contributions regarding the characteristics of the "Aryan" and "Semite" opposition or Darmesteter's essays on "Race and Tradition" could have served Aghaoglu's take on Persian culture's superiority than his native Turkish one. Another biographer Vilayet Guliyev⁹⁹ thinks that it was also about the language of instruction during his education. Aghaoglu took his Madrasa education in Persian and Arabic, studied Gymnasium in Russian and then continued his university education in French. He never had a chance to study in his mother tongue. As a matter of fact, instruction of the language was a key factor in shaping the national consciousness. Therefore, Aghaoglu needed more time to revisit his "real" identity which was going to emerge after his return to the Caucasus.

The most relevant explanation for his Persian sympathies is that Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu came from a Shi'ite family of South Caucasus region where Persian cultural dominion had existed for millennia and a region whose early intellectuals had a tradition of Persian literacy. It is also known that he grew up in a place where his family would identify with their clan, and the sectarian cause, not by any ethnic or linguistic affiliation, not as a Turk. However, his sectarian identity - Shi'ism - can easily be associated with Persian culture. Secondly, he was also known to be acquainted with the writings of early native intellectuals like Akhundzada who had been sympathetic to the Persian cause. Renan and Darmesteter's teachings on Persian history and philology influenced him further. I do not think Aghaoglu deemed Persia to be superior as claimed by Holly Shissler due to its Aryan associations. The way Aghaoglu expressed his interest in the Persian literature in his memoir shows that he had been simply a deep admirer

⁹⁸ Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 82.

⁹⁹ Vilayet, Quliyev. Aghaoglu in the Parisian Journalistic and Publicist circles, 38-39.

of Persian culture having no indication of the Aryanness.¹⁰⁰ These factors along with his Persian sympathy in his French articles reveal that during his French sojourn, he genuinely viewed himself as Persian. He also had a lack of sympathy towards Turkish culture during his years in France. For instance, he was trying to absolve the negative features present in Persian society such as the oppression of women by putting all the blame on the Turks. In any event, it seems that Aghaoglu came from Russia as Shi'ite Muslim and during his French studies transformed it into Persian national identity by the influence of his mentors.

In his 1892 paper presented at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London, Aghaoglu viewed Shi'ism as the national religion of Persia. He gave an explanation that Persia had been a civilization with its distinct religious and traditional practices from the rest of its neighbors. When the Arab empire conquered Persia, the country converted from Mazdaism into Islam. However, it lasted until the country found the way to express her distinct identity and converted into the Shi'ite denomination.¹⁰¹ Together with cultural affiliation, Aghaoglu also expressed his political ambitions where he cast Shi'ite Iran (Persia) as the future leader of the Muslim world in the political map.

In addition to "Oriental Studies", Aghaoglu took a Law degree in Paris.¹⁰² After learning the death of his father in 1894, he set his journey back to South Caucasus. According to Yusuf Akchura's notes, his journey took through Istanbul where Aghaoglu stayed there for four months. In Istanbul, he got to meet liberal intellectuals and CUP (the Young Turks) associate political activists such as Munif Pasha (the former minister of education) and historian Mizanci Murat.¹⁰³ In general, the mid-1890s were the times that the activities of the Committee of Union

¹⁰⁰ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, *College de France*, 88-89.

¹⁰¹ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, *In the Congress of Orientalism*, 323-24.

¹⁰² Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçüliyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 115; Mirahmadov. *Autobiography of Əhməd Bəy Ağaoğlu*, 14.

¹⁰³ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçüliyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 118.

and Progress (CUP) were starting to grow. In addition, Aghaoglu's old friend from Saint Petersburg days, Ali Bey Huseynzada was the leading member of the CUP organization at the time. He might also help Aghaoglu for creating contacts with the above-mentioned members of the committee. Aghaoglu's early contacts with CUP intellectuals contributed to his integration into Ottoman politics during exile in Ottoman Turkey. Overall, when they both returned to Baku, they worked closely while engaging in literary and political activities.

To sum up his French sojourn, Aghaoglu's Paris writings demonstrate his deep influences left from his sectarian family background, his Shi'ite Madrasa education as well as Darmesteter's and Renan's admiration towards Persian civilization which drew him to construct his early national identity as Persian. The features of sectarian and pre-existing (Persian) affiliations prove him as an individual of the Phase A period. Nonetheless, we will observe radical shifts in his national identity which will be observed in his Caucasus writings. Considering his view of political and religious affairs, Aghaoglu was aware of certain challenges confronted by his countryman concerning the reactionary role of religion and religious clergy. Equally influenced by the ideas of liberalism, national consciousness, representative institutions, and political rights through his French mentors combined with Afghani's Pan-Islamism, Aghaoglu would find harmony between nationalism and Islam during his Caucasus experience.

2.4 Aghaoglu's Caucasus Activities

When Aghaoglu reached to the Caucasus in 1896, he started working as a French teacher first in Tiflis, and later in Baku. He also wrote articles in the Russian language press like "Kaspi" "Kavkaz" and "Sankt Peterburqskie Vedomosti" (The Newspaper of Saint Petersburg). He petitioned several times to Viceroyalty through native millionaire Zeynalabdin Taghiyev's help for the publishing of native language newspaper "Mashriq" (The East) in Baku but was

denied.¹⁰⁴ Years-long labor unrests in major industrial cities and the grave consequences of the Russo-Japanese war paved the way to the first Russian Revolution in 1905, opening the space to the political liberalization across the empire. The native language press again became the center of the literary and political activism among native Turco-Muslims. Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu became actively involved into a wide variety of spheres and played a significant role in the dynamics of the region's affairs. He became the co-editor of Baku based-daily journals such as "Hayat" (Life), "Irshad" (Guidance), "Taraqqi" (Progress)¹⁰⁵, published his first monograph entitled "Women according to Islam and Islamic World" where he argued against discrimination and seclusion of women characterizing it detrimental to the Islamic society.¹⁰⁶ In the forthcoming years, he published another work – "Islam and Akhund" where he complained about the harmful effects of clerical corruption.¹⁰⁷ (I will discuss this work in forthcoming paragraphs) In addition to his journalistic and intellectual endeavors, he was also an active participant in political affairs in Baku, particularly during times of turmoil in 1905 and forward. He was elected as a public officer to Baku city Duma. He laid the foundation of the Turco-Muslims (Azerbaijani Turks) defense organization which later became a political party.¹⁰⁸ On the cultural level, he helped to establish the educational foundation "Neshr-I Maarif" Society. Finally, due to the increasing repressions of the Stolypin regime, he was forced to flee to Istanbul in early 1909.

Before addressing the specifics of his writings, I would like to elaborate more on the political context of the time. After all the labor unrests, political activation and inter-ethnic conflict between Armenians and the Muslim population in the region, Tsar Nicolas II decided to issue

¹⁰⁴ Mostashari, *Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus*, 134; Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 118.

¹⁰⁵ Asif Rustamli (ed), introduction to *Selected Works of Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu*, 12.

¹⁰⁶ Ahmad bey Aghaoglu, *İslamiyyette Kadın [Women according to Islam and Islamic World]* (Ankara: Birey Toplum, 1985).

¹⁰⁷ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, *Islam and Akhund*, 35-49.

¹⁰⁸ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 122.

decrees to calm the populace. Despite the limited nature of these decrees that were to propose legislative reforms, it was the first step towards the popular participation in government which was received by the native intellectuals (including Aghaoglu) with optimism. It was also the first time Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijani (Turco-Muslim) liberals presented their demands concerning the legislative reforms within the ethnonational lines. Ahmed Bey Aghaoglu, Ali Bey Huseynzada, and Alimardan Bey Topchubashi were the three delegates selected to represent the Muslim population of South Caucasus.¹⁰⁹ Eventually, Azerbaijani delegates obtained permission to publish daily Azerbaijani newspaper “Hayat” in Baku. Azerbaijani delegates also decided to come together with other Muslim delegates of the Russian Empire and create a political party – “İttifak-i Muslimin” (Muslim Union) - that could represent all the Muslims of the empire. Within this framework, three All-Russian Muslim congresses took place between 1905-1906 that was discussed in the I chapter. Considering the newspaper, the millionaire Zeynalabdin Taghiyev decided to fund the “Hayat” newspapers, Aghaoglu and Huseynzada became its co-editors.¹¹⁰

Going back into Muslim-Armenian strife, the clashes began in early 1905 escalated in the summer and fall of 1905. Aghaoglu traveled Ganja at the time where the severe violence took place. Speaking at the mosque, he called the populace to tranquility. Despite his urging to stop the bloodshed, he also played a key role in creating a Muslim defense organization called “Difai” in Ganja¹¹¹ which was meant to respond to any potential of Armenian attacks against the very Muslims in South Caucasus. It continued to be active until the end of 1908. Following the increasing repressions of the Stolypin regime, the organization was eventually

¹⁰⁹ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 122; Aşırılı, *The History of Azerbaijani Press: 1875-1920*, 61.

¹¹⁰ Aşırılı, *The History of Azerbaijani Press: 1875-1920*, 61.

¹¹¹ Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 128; Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 122.

disintegrated. All in all, it was a period of extraordinary political activities, civil unrest, ethnic violence in the South Caucasus region and Aghaoglu was involved into every aspect of it.

2.5 His Growing Turkism

Aghaoglu's articles appeared almost in all the native press organs of the time. He discussed a variety of topics in his articles such as Turkism, Pan-Islamism, ethno-communal issues and community rights. I will discuss his changing view regarding Persian and Turkish identification during his literary and political experience in his native Caucasus.

Let us discover his identity revisit from the way he addressed to his native group in his Caucasus articles. For instance, Aghaoglu employed various terms to his native community in the "Hayat" newspaper. The most commonly used terms in "Hayat" articles are "Caucasian Muslims", "Transcaucasian Muslims" or "Caucasian Turks". It is still the case that he was using both terms – religious and ethnic – while addressing to his community. But in contrast to his French writings which he explicitly identified himself as Persian, in his Caucasian writings, he was already calling himself and his community as "Turks". In his article "The Situation of Muslim Peoples" published at "Hayat" newspaper, he indicated three groups – Arabs, Persians, and the Turkic peoples – as the champions of the Islamic world and praised the role of Turks in their effort to augmenting the Islamic civilization. He claimed that "if not for Turco-Tatars, there would be no Islam as it stands now" and continued claiming "it was the Seljuk Turks who stood against the Crusades [...] when Arabs lost Spain, it was the Ottoman Turks who secured the European frontiers of Islam by conquering Constantinople..."¹¹² He also added that Turkic rulers had always been proponents of intellectual progress who

¹¹² Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, *Müsəlman Xalqlarının Vəziyyəti* [The Situation of Muslim Peoples], (Baku: Kaspi, 1903), 328.

surrounded themselves with the scholars and invested in their scientific and philosophical works.¹¹³ In another article published in “Kaspi” newspaper, he discussed the periodic development of political opposition in Ottoman Empire from Midhat Pasha to the Young Turks¹¹⁴. His partisanship towards and regrets over the mistakes made by the “Young Turks” proves his already grown national consciousness which was Turco-Muslim and political loyalty which was Ottoman Turkey. Despite his Ottoman centered Turkism expressed in a romanticist style, no discussion of Turanism has been encountered in his Caucasus and Ottoman writings.

Despite an identity revisit towards Turkish-ness, the religion was still an ongoing issue in Aghaoglu’s Caucasus writings. His modernist Islamist views, his critique of clergy and his Pan-Islamism from French days were to remain unchanged in his Caucasus days. The only difference was in Caucasus writings, Aghaoglu started to minimize sectarian differences in Islam and solely focus on the moral and material unity of Muslim peoples. One of the examples was his satirical drama entitled “Islam and Akhund”. This is a dramatic dialogue between the personification of Islam and the “Akhund” who characterizes the clergy. Islam is described in starving fashion, while the “Akhund” is described as rich and fat-looking. In this play, Aghaoglu tried to give a message to the Islamic world how the true meaning of Islam was lost due to the wrong practice brought by the clergy - Akhund.¹¹⁵ Aghaoglu believed that all the misfortunes of Islamic civilization were because of shortcomings of the education system which needed reform. Apart from Aghaoglu’s modernist Islamist views, this essay shows that his Pan-Islamist views in the Caucasus days were also to remain in place. But this time, it was expressed within “İttifak-i Muslimin” (Russia’s Muslims) party or Ottoman based CUP

¹¹³ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, *The Situation of Muslim Peoples*, (Baku: Kaspi, 1903), 330.

¹¹⁴ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, *Tərəqqiçilər yaxud Gənc Türklər* [Progressives or The Young Turks], (Baku: Kaspi, 1903), 333-38.

¹¹⁵ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, *Islam and Akhund*, 35-49.

(Committee of Union and Progress) party. In his other essays published in “Sebilürreşad” newspaper during his exile in Ottoman Turkey, he called on the world Muslims to rally around the Ottoman Sultan.¹¹⁶ It shows that his Turkism and Pan-Islamism was in no conflict but rather in harmony. Similar to Afghani, Aghaoglu limited his Pan-Islamism into a political doctrine by both employing it in his political activism and by disregarding its theological side in his essays. All these prove that Aghaoglu saw Pan-Islamism as a political tool for the mobilization of other Muslims around Ottoman Turkey.

Overall, Aghaoglu’s ideas towards the role of Turks in the Islamic civilization was getting reversed. In his French writings, Aghaoglu put all the blame for the decline of the Muslim world on the growing influence of Turks and Mongols. While in Caucasus writings we observe the opposite, where he praised the role of Turks and blamed Persians for all the ills of Islamic civilization. It was also the case that he was still committed to Pan-Islamism, but this time his pursuit of Muslim unity was viewed under the Ottoman leadership rather than Persia. These changes indicate that he was grown conscious about his ethnic identity which was still to crystallize. Adding further, his notion of Ottoman-led Pan-Islamism indicates his choice of the Ottoman Empire as the potential leader of the Muslim world.

2.6 His Writings Regarding Muslim-Armenian Conflict

Aghaoglu also touches upon his concern about inter-communal relations between Armenians and the Turco-Muslim population of South Caucasus. His focus of discussion in this regard was Muslim-Armenian fights which was published in the Russian newspaper entitled “The truth about Baku events”.¹¹⁷ He denounced the Russian news outlets where the Muslims were

¹¹⁶ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, *Siyasat: Vaz’iyyet-i Haziremiz*, (Istanbul: Sebilürreşad, №186, 1912), 66-67 cited in Ozan Ozavci, *The Intellectual Origins of the Republic*, 105.

¹¹⁷ Əhməd Bəy Ağaoğlu, *Bakı Hadisələri haqqında Həqiqət*, (St. Petersburg: Sankt Peterburqskiye Vedomosti, №97-98, 1905) [Ahmad bey Aghaoglu, *The Truth About Baku Events*], in “*Ağaoğlu: Məqalələr və Sənədlər Toplusu. Qafqazda Milli Məsələ*” [“*Collection of Articles and Documents: Caucasus in the National Issue*”]

portrayed as perpetrators and Armenians as pure victims of the whole event. He called such news, the propaganda of Armenians, and tried to demonstrate that such a one-sided view of the whole event was bound to create anti-Muslim sentiments amongst Russian authorities and population.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, he mentioned that he did not believe there had been any religious or ethnic hostility between the communities up to date. On the contrary, the two communities co-existed together for centuries as friendly neighbors and their cultural similarity was proof that they lived through an exchange of values rather than isolation. For Aghaoglu all the blame was to be put to the greedy Armenian bourgeoisie and the Tsarist government who had been interested in backing wealthy Armenians and denouncing Muslims.¹¹⁹ Clear from the rhetoric, Aghaoglu viewed Armenians and other Christian minorities as enjoying a privileged position in South Caucasus over Turco-Muslims. According to Aghaoglu, they never wanted Turco-Muslims to achieve equal privileges as it would make Muslims potential competitors to Armenians themselves. In his speech in the Muslim-Armenian peace congress convened in Tiflis in 1906, Aghaoglu noted: “If Armenians have their political party (referring to “Dashnaksutyun”) with armed resources for years [...] we also need to found one and arm it, so we could keep the peace in the region.”¹²⁰ This speech explicates that his founding of the “Difai” Muslim defense organization was a reaction to the Armenian “Dashnaksutyun” party where he viewed the native Turco-Muslims to be in competition with Armenian community.

The Question of Nationalism in the Caucasus] ed. R.F. Cabbarov, (Baku: Mütərcim, 2019), 150-161. [hereinafter cited as Ahmad bey Aghaoglu, *The Truth about Baku events*, 1905).

¹¹⁸ Ahmad bey Aghaoglu, *The Truth about Baku events*, (St. Petersburg: Sankt Peterburqskiye Vedomosti, №97, 1905), 151.

¹¹⁹ Ahmad bey Aghaoglu, *The Truth about Baku events*, (St. Petersburg: Sankt Peterburqskiye Vedomosti, №97, 1905), 152.

¹²⁰ Quoted in Fərhad Cabbarov, “Bizim də gərək mükəmməl və müsəlləh partiyalarımız olsun” [Farhad Jabbarov, “We also need to have perfect and armed parties”] edited by Dilqam Ahmad, 2019. *Capar* Special edition, (October), 42.

2.7 Identity Shift

To analyze more systematically Aghaoglu's identity shift, I can give two reasons – cross-border politics and native nationalism - that will explain the major influences for his identity revisit during his Caucasus sojourn. After returning from France to the Caucasus, his journey took him through Istanbul where he stayed for four months. During his short stay in Istanbul, Aghaoglu created contacts with CUP (Young Turks) members and got acquainted with their activities through Ali Bey Huseynzada's help. We also have to consider that it was his first visit to Ottoman soil which might have been a potential encouragement seeing politically active people among kin-groups. This was the first insight that had discerned Aghaoglu regarding the future of Turkish political milieu. The second insight for Aghaoglu's growing Turkism– as he praised the Turks and blamed the Persians for all the ills of the Islamic civilization – seems his shifting perception towards Ottoman Empire's possible lead among the Muslim world rather than Persia. Holly Shissler¹²¹ correctly explains it with the reason that the Ottoman empire was under a much more profound modernization process, whereas Persia was on the verge of backwardness and despotism, for Ottomans were still resisting against "European Empires", whereas Persia was already divided between Russian and British spheres of influence in 1907. Considering the native insights for Aghaoglu's identity revisit, the first insight was his perception of ongoing competition with Armenians which impacted his urge for in-group solidarity of native Turco-Muslims and the embrace of native ethnic components than Persian or any other. The second native insight might be the fact that his native community did also become more conscious regarding their identity – as Muslim and as Turk – due to an increasing number of "Usuli-Jadid" schools which had rendered the increase of literacy among the masses,

¹²¹ Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 120.

at the expense of deep-rooted sectarian loyalties. These were the reasons that could be reckoned for his identity revisit.

2.8 His Writings Regarding Rights of Native Turco-Muslims

Apart from his ideological considerations, he also expressed his political considerations regarding the post-1905 period which entailed governmental reforms and its reflection on the rights of native Turco-Muslims. After the Muslim-Armenian fights over 1905, the new viceroy was appointed to restore order and start reforms in local courts, at city дума, within the police, etc. In his series of articles “The Present State of Caucasus”, Aghaoglu discussed the nature of reforms and what to do to benefit from the possibilities of these reforms. Aghaoglu supported the freedom of consciousness on equal terms for all as well as the creation of native-administered courts and zemstvos given by the Viceroy. He further reckoned the previous governing structures to be unequal for the Turco-Muslims which had caused their relative backwardness compared to neighboring nations.¹²² In this series, Aghaoglu demonstrated a deep concern regarding the Tsarist reform promises to the native Turco-Muslim community. For him, the creation of local autonomy was the solution to all the societal problems in his native region. But his political considerations for his community were limited to the autonomy where he expressed no vision of prospects to Azerbaijan’s independence in his Caucasus articles. Instead, his political prospects were expressed within Ottoman Turkey using a romanticist literary style. All these characteristics fit into Phase B (national agitation) where he identified himself with native nationalism and started the national agitation by joining the

¹²² Əhməd Bəy Ağaoğlu, Qafqazın Hal-hazır 1905 [Ahmad bey Aghaoglu, The Current Status of Caucasus], (Baku: Hayat, №4, 1905). in “*Ağaoğlu: Məqalələr və Sənədlər Toplusu. Qafqazda Milli Məsələ*” [“Collection of Articles and Documents: The Question of Nationalism in the Caucasus”] ed. R.F. Cabbarov, (Baku: Mütərcim, 2019), 171-85. [hereinafter cited as Ahmad bey Aghaoglu, The Current Status of Caucasus, 1905]

native literary and political activism. His involvement in the politics, however, was to arrive in the coming years.

2.9 Aghaoglu's Exile in Ottoman Empire

In early 1909, Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu and Ali Bey Huseynzada had to flee into Ottoman lands due to the increasing repressions by Tsarist government. On the other hand, it was also the success of the Young Turk Revolution in Ottoman Empire in mid-1908 which made Istanbul an attractive place for the young intellectuals to seek their adventure further. Aghaoglu notes by referring to his last days in South Caucasus:

In 1908 a revolution had taken place in Turkey [...] Some individuals I knew had risen to its head. At the same time, the new Viceroy of the Caucasus - Count-Vorontsov-Dashkov - had decided to seize, and banish me no matter what. As soon as I learned this I decided to escape, and I fled to Istanbul towards the close of 1908.¹²³

Aghaoglu's earlier connections with the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) helped him to find a job shortly after his arrival from South Caucasus. He started teaching Russian and Turco-Mongolian history at Istanbul University.¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ Besides, he operated as the chief-editor of the "Tercüman-i Hakikat" (The Interpreter of Truth) newspaper and wrote in more than seven Ottoman journals.¹²⁶ But some of the journals were personally founded by him. Aghaoglu founded the influential Turkism journal called "Turk Yurdu" (Turkish Homeland) in cooperation with Ali Bey Huseynzada and Volga-Tatar emigre Yusuf Akchura in 1911.¹²⁷

¹²³ Yusuf Akchura, *Türkçülük [Turkism]*, in *Türk Yılı* (İstanbul: Türk Ocağı Yayınevi, 1928), 433-34.

¹²⁴ The original name is "İstanbul Darülfünun" which means "Istanbul University".

¹²⁵ Ozavci, *Intellectual Origins of the Republic*, 77.

¹²⁶ Ozavci, *Intellectual Origins of the Republic*, 80.

¹²⁷ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, About Yusuf Akchura, (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet, №41, №42, 1935), 93-94; Akchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüğün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 122; Ustel, Fusun. *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları [Turkish Nationalism from the Empire into the Nation-State: The Turkish Hearts 1912-1931]*. (Istanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2004), 42-43. [Hereinafter cited as Ustel Füsun, Turkish Nationalism from the Empire into the Nation-State]

This journal also became the organ of “Turk Yurdu Cemiyeti” (Turkish Homeland Society) established by six intellectuals, three of them were above-mentioned intellectuals. The goal of this society was to cooperate with students and publish journal by discussing the topics of national solidarity, the deteriorating conditions of Ottoman Turkey and the improvements in education. The three emigres aimed to create organizations that would promote the cause of Turkic peoples, particularly those living under Russian yoke.¹²⁸ Another organization was “Turk Ocakları” (The Turkish Hearts) founded by the medical students with the guidance given by Aghaoglu, Huseynzada, Akchura, and Gaspirali.¹²⁹ This organization was less concerned to deal with politics and more to deal with the educational, intellectual, social and economic situation of the Turks. Overall, both organizations became the most important forums for the ideas of Turkism and national consciousness in Ottoman Turkey.

Considering the crystallization of his ethnic identity, he published series of articles named “Turk Alemleri” (The Turkic World) in the “Turk Yurdu” journal where he expressed preference towards nationalism over Pan-Islamist cause for the first time calling the latter idealist but outdated. Nevertheless, he praised the Pan-Islamist cause due to its elasticity which had paved the way for the emergence of national consciousness among Muslim nations.¹³⁰

To continue his political career, Aghaoglu joined the Central Committee of CUP in 1912. He was also elected as a deputy from Karahisar to the Ottoman Parliament in 1914. Despite, he was already well-integrated into the Ottoman politics and social life with the full-membership into the ruling party, holding a position within the elective body, publishing constantly at Ottoman journals, he never lost interest in the cause of Russia’s Muslims, especially in the

¹²⁸ Ustel Füsün, *Turkish Nationalism from the Empire into the Nation-State*, 42-43.

¹²⁹ Akchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi [The History of Turkism]*, 131.

¹³⁰ Ahmad bey Aghaoglu, *Türk Alemleri [The Turkic World]*, (Istanbul: Turk Yurdu, №1/294;295, 1911), cited in Suleyman Seyfi Ogun, *Türk Politik Kültürü [The Turkish Political Culture]*, (Istanbul: ALFA, 2000), 296-97.

Azerbaijani cause. Therefore, his activities during the first world war as an Ottoman political figure were to be seen in the context of Azerbaijan as much as Ottoman Turkey which will be discussed below.

In 1915, Aghaoglu joined the society called “Society for the Defence of Rights of the Muslim Turco-Tatar Peoples of Russia”.¹³¹ This society was making demands on equal representation in Duma, freedom of religion to the Muslim peoples, cultural autonomy and full economic rights for Russia’s Muslim population which was supported by the Ottoman Empire.¹³² In the same year, the Society distributed a pamphlet and a memorandum to the governments of Central powers and published them in local newspapers at Sofia, Budapest, Vienna, and Berlin. In a similar fashion, the society affiliating itself with the League of Allogenes of Russia sent an appeal by telegram to President Woodrow Wilson in May 1916 signed by Aghaoglu, Huseynzada, Akchura and Ibragimov (another Volga-Tatar emigre).¹³³ In June 1916, the society participated in the Third International Conference of Nationalities held in Lausanne, Switzerland. At the conference, Aghaoglu and Huseynzada represented the Azerbaijani Turks, while Yusuf Akchura represented Volga-Tatars and the number of other Muslim minorities in the Russian Empire.¹³⁴

When the Russian Empire was dropped out of the First World War with the signing of Brest-Litovsk treaty in March 1918, Ottomans under the leadership of Nuri Pasha¹³⁵ entered into the Caucasus with the force called The Army of Islam. Aghaoglu was the political advisor to Nuri Pasha, and he accompanied the “Army of Islam” into Azerbaijan. As a result, Ottomans had remained in Azerbaijan as the protectorate of the new republic until the Mudros armistice was

¹³¹ The Original name: “Rusya Müslümanları Türk-Tatar Milletleri Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti”

¹³² Ozavci, *Intellectual Origins of the Republic*, 85.

¹³³ A. Turan, *Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə*, 44-45.

¹³⁴ Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 162; Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 83.

¹³⁵ A brother to Ottoman Military Officer Enver Pasha

signed in November 1918, which demanded Ottomans to retreat into pre-war borders. Aghaoglu stayed in the new-born Republic of Azerbaijan to help fellow countrymen in the state-building. With the parliamentary elections taking place in December 1918 in Azerbaijan, Aghaoglu was elected as a member of Zangezur district. One of the polemics took place at the parliament on December 26, 1918, between Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu and the founder of Azerbaijan Mammad Amin Rasulzada where Aghaoglu was on the side of unification of Azerbaijan and Ottoman Turkey. Whilst, Rasulzada absolutely rejected it by denouncing any unification calls.¹³⁶

Considering Aghaoglu's vision of Turkism, there has been a debate over whether Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu was a romanticist intellectual or a realist one. Georgeon Francois characterizes Aghaoglu as an individual who kept aside non-rational features of Turkic nationalism by putting him more into the realist side.¹³⁷ Aydin Balayev thinks that he was neither a romanticist nor a realist thinker. Firstly, he knew that it was impossible to realize the idea of Turkism that would have covered all the Turkic speaking peoples. But, what he believed was the possibility of the unification of Turkey and Azerbaijan. Balayev further explains Aghaoglu's preference towards unification of Turkey and Azerbaijan by claiming Aghaoglu might have had geopolitical considerations – the location of Azerbaijan in a geopolitical map where Russia, Ottoman, and Persian geostrategic interests conflict with each-other – that independent Azerbaijan was impossible to resist. Besides geopolitics, as Balayev notes, Aghaoglu's other consideration might have been the weak institutional legacy of Azerbaijani state as well as weaker political and national consciousness among the Azerbaijani Turks.

¹³⁶ Azerbaidjanskaya Demokraticeskaya Respublika [Azerbaijani Democratic Republic] (1918-1920). Parliament. Stenograficheskaya Otcheti [Shorthand Reports], (Baku: Izd-vo Azerbaidjan, 1998). 48-49.

¹³⁷ Francois, Georgeon. 1996, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri. Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935) [The origins of Turkic Nationalism, Yusuf Akchura]* (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları), 50.

My explanation for this debate is Aghaoglu had been a long-time proponent of Ottoman-led Pan-Islamism and Turkism. All his essays concerning Pan-Islamism and Turkism throughout his Caucasus and early Ottoman period contained a true romanticist style where he had called both Muslims and Turkic peoples simultaneously to rally around the Ottoman Turkey. However, after he was involved in Ottoman politics, he probably did become more aware of the other political realities such as geopolitics and the necessity of strong institutional legacy. Thus, Aghaoglu's response to Rasulzada during parliamentary discussions was interesting in that regard. Aghaoglu reminded that all he had said was part of the reality and he did not want to live in a dream like Rasulzada.¹³⁸ His articles published during 1918 also entail a realist approach where he discusses the dilemmas related to ongoing politics than to the cause of Turkism or Pan-Islamism. Therefore, I agree with Aydin Balayev with the fact, Aghaoglu was considering the political reality of the time where it was neither possible to have the country recognized nor was it possible to survive within the periphery of strong Russia. Another fact that proves his realism in this period is his son Samet Aghaoglu's notes about his father. According to Samet Aghaoglu, his father was not a Turanist thinker, and all he wanted was to see the unification of Ottoman Turkey and Azerbaijan as a federation or a unitary state. While Turkestan (meaning Central Asia) and other Turan affiliate groups should acquire their independence as a separate entity.¹³⁹ Overall, we can see a leaning from romanticism towards realism in Aghaoglu's account in this period.

In his last article published in his native Azerbaijan, he called himself and his community Azerbaijani Turks and discussed the challenges of representing his new-born country's interest due to plentiful misinformation and negative label in the western political circles. This was the

¹³⁸ Azerbaidjanskaya Demokraticeskaya Respublika [Azerbaijani Democratic Republic] (1918-1920). Parliament. Stenograficheskaya Otcheti [Shorthand Reports], (Baku: Izd-vo Azerbaidjan, 1998), 88.

¹³⁹ Samet Aghaoglu, Hayat bir Macera. Çocukluk Hatıraları [Life is an Adventure. Childhood memories] (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003), 51.

last article he penned in the native Azerbaijani press.¹⁴⁰ A month later, Aghaoglu was appointed to represent the Republic of Azerbaijan at Paris Peace Conference together with Foreign Ambassador of Azerbaijan Alimerdan Bey Topchubashi. Their trip to Paris took from Istanbul where they stayed waiting for their visa.¹⁴¹ But, he could not make it till to Paris, for he was arrested by the new Ottoman government at the request of the British government with charges of war crimes. He was sent to Malta with other leading members of CUP only to be released on 1921 as part of the deal Malta prisoners were exchanged for British prisoners captured by Turkish nationalist forces. By the time Aghaoglu was released, The Republic of Azerbaijan had already been incorporated into the Soviet state. Therefore, Aghaoglu set out for Ankara to start his service within the Kemalist government. When Nariman Narimanov - the chairman of Azerbaijan SSR – invited Aghaoglu to Baku to collaborate with the new Bolshevik government in Azerbaijan in 1921 May, Aghaoglu refused him by saying that he did not agree with the Bolshevik ideology. He further reminded Narimanov regarding his view towards Ottoman Turkey as the only salvation for the Turkic peoples, thereby he would stay in and work for the Ankara government.¹⁴² This answer also proves that apart from his realism, it was also his political crystallization which was Ottoman Turkey.

Conclusion

To summarize Aghaoglu's timeline of ideological and political Odyssey, we can see constant changes in his ideological and political agenda. In his Caucasus and Saint Petersburg years, he

¹⁴⁰ Ahmad bey Aghaoglu, *Bakı, 8 dekabr [Baku, 8th of December] in Əhməd Ağaoğlu. Mən Kiməm [Ahmad Aghaoglu. Who am I]* edited by Vilayət Guliyev, Afag Masud (Baku: Azərbaycan Dövlət Tərcümə Mərkəzi, 2019).

¹⁴¹ Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, *Batımdan İstanbula Gidiş [On Our Way From Batum to Istanbul]*, in *Mütərikə və Sürgün Hatıraları [The Memories of Armistice and Exile]* ed. Ertan Eğribel, Ufuk Özcan (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2010), 47-48.

¹⁴² Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, *Nəriman Nərimanovun Mektubuna Cəvab [The Response to Narimanov's Letter]*, in *Mütərikə və Sürgün Hatıraları [The Memories of Armistice and Exile]* ed. Ertan Eğribel, Ufuk Özcan (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2010), 141-42; Dilqam Ahmad, Gunel Mukhtarova. "Introduction to Ahmed Bey Aghaoglu" in *Şuşa, Sankt Peterburq və Paris Xatirələri [Shusha, Saint-Petersburg and Paris memories]* (Baku: Capar, 2019), 8-9.

identified himself with religious-sectarian identity, namely as Shi'ite Muslim due to his family background and Muslim Madrasa education. During Paris years, his religious-sectarian identity was combined with his Persian sympathies coming from his French influences, particularly Ernest Renan's and James Darmesteter's admiration towards Persian milieu. Jamaladdin Afghani's Pan-Islamism gave further influence on his political agenda resulting in his prospects of worldwide Muslim unity under the Persian leadership. The given features of the intellectual resemble Phase A of M. Hroch's periodization of subject-nation theory.

The current study also presented that after his visit and cooperation with CUP intellectuals in Ottoman capital, as well as his return to native Caucasus (1897-1909) reintegrated him into native Turco-Muslim (Azerbaijani) cause. His perception of competition with Armenians was another source of concern for Aghaoglu which added to his nationalism. Having influenced by Ottoman political circles and native Azerbaijani affairs, Aghaoglu shifted from Persian into Turkish identity, became the adherent of Turkism, and continued his socio-political activism which was already a moment of the shift into Phase B (national agitation). Besides, his political Islam (Pan-Islamism) against the European powers also remained in the place where this time it was viewed under the Ottoman leadership. His essays demonstrate that his socio-political agenda was yet romanticist during his Caucasus sojourn.

Finally, his Ottoman sojourn (1909-1918) marked the beginning of Phase C where he was involved in the Ottoman and Azerbaijani state politics. Aghaoglu became easily integrated into the Ottoman political and intellectual circles due to his earlier connections with Ottoman intellectuals. He was elected into the Ottoman parliament and became the founding member of several nationalist societies at the time. However, he also kept interested in the affairs of Azerbaijan where he concentrated his efforts on the promotion of the rights of native Turco-Muslims. Meanwhile, he also became the deputy of the Azerbaijani parliament. Despite his self-identification as an Azerbaijani Turk, it was already seen from his earlier essays that

Aghaoglu saw his native community as part of Turkism cause under the Ottoman Turkey's leadership. In the meantime, Aghaoglu became an experienced politician due to his involvement in Ottoman and European politics, which had made him more aware of the political realities of the time. Therefore, he still wished to see Azerbaijan as part of Ottoman Turkey by probably thinking that by no means independent Azerbaijan could survive such political realities. Besides, despite his representation of Azerbaijani Turks in Ottoman capital, in European circles and in Azerbaijani parliament which proves his moral connections to Azerbaijan, he solved the dilemma of statehood by his choice of Ottoman (and later Kemalist) Turkey. After his release from Malta, Aghaoglu stayed in Kemalist Turkey and continued the rest of his life as a statesman, publicist and public intellectual in the new republic.

III CHAPTER

Ali Bey Huseynzada

In this chapter, I am going to discuss another literary figure's contributions to the nation-building processes in Turco-Muslim South Caucasus. I will notably study his early life which is going to reveal the early influence on his thought, and his involvement in intellectual and socio-political affairs in Ottoman Empire and in native Azerbaijan which will explicate his political and ideological concerns. The research will be conducted through the examination of Ali Bey Huseynzada's, Yusuf Akchura's memoirs as well as biographies written by Azer Turan and Ali Haydar Bayat. I will particularly touch upon his "Hayat" and "Fuyuzat" publications to substantiate my claims regarding his intellectuals' contributions and prospects to the Azerbaijani national project.

3.1 His Early life and Education

Ali Bey Huseynzada was born in the town of Salyan, Azerbaijan in 1864. His biographer Azer Turan¹⁴³ claims that young Ali's early nationalist influences and early literary motivations came from his family, particularly his uncle Sheyk Ahmad Salyani who worked as the head of Shi'ite Muslims in Tiflis. Another personality claimed to be influential in the future formation of Ali Bey Huseynzada was Mirza Fatali Akhundzada. Yusuf Akchura notes that it was Sheyk Ahmad and Akhundzada's long-lasting polemics over the issues of religion and nationality which influenced young Ali in his early years of formation.¹⁴⁴ Ali was enrolled at Tiflis based-Muslim Madrasa school with the help of his uncle Sheyk Ahmad when he was six years old. However, he seemed dissatisfied with his school education which he noted in his memoirs. His description of Madrasa teachings was similar to Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu which proves that such shortcomings were typical among the Muslims schools in the South Caucasus region.

¹⁴³ A. Turan, *Ali Bey Huseynzada*, 11-12.

¹⁴⁴ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 107.

Huseynzada found neither Koran lessons nor foreign languages useful. He was also arguing that despite being a fellow Muslim he was still unable to comprehend Koran, neither could he read and write in his native Turkish. After Madrasa education, he was admitted to Tiflis Gymnasium where he made his early acquaintance with natural sciences as well as Russian and French.¹⁴⁵

Graduating from Tiflis Gymnasium, young Huseynzada decided to enroll at Saint-Petersburg State University to the Department of Physics and Mathematics in 1885. While mastering natural sciences, he also audited numbers of courses in the Department of Turcology where he got acquainted with the methodology of its scholarship.¹⁴⁶ Besides his early nationalist influences from Sheyk Ahmad and Akhundzada, it seems he came to know the typology of Turkic and all Turan affiliate groups (Altaic and Uralic) at Turcology studies through Russian and Finnish authors in Saint Petersburg. According to Aydin Balayev, the literary figure got close acquaintance with the ideas of Pan-Slavism as well in the Russian capital from the students and intellectual circles which might also be his early attraction to Pan-nationalisms.¹⁴⁷ Adding to Balayev's finding, It was also the time Ismail Bey Gaspirali's Terjuman newspaper (1883-1918) and "Unity in Language, Thought and Work" slogan was circulating among the Muslim students in Russia which could be an inspiration for Huseynzada's idea of a common Turkic language. Overall, both his acquaintance with Pan-Slavists, "Narodnik" circles, as well as an apprenticeship in Turcology Studies, and acquaintance with Russian and Finnish scholarship probably encouraged him for his upcoming political and nationalist collaborations. That is to say, the above-mentioned features of Huseynzada mark the early Phase B (national

¹⁴⁵ Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, Nümunə Məktəbi [Ali Bey Huseynzada, The School of Experience, №184-87] edited by Dilqam Ahmad, 2019. *Capar* 2, (January).

¹⁴⁶ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi* [The History of Turkism], 108.

¹⁴⁷ Balayev Aydın, 20ci Yüzyılın Başlarında Azərbaycan Türklerinde Ulusal Kimlik ve İdeoloji Oluşumu [The Formation of National Identity and ideology of Azerbaijani Turks in early 20th century], in *Azərbaycan'da Din və Kimlik*, [Religion and Identity in Azerbaijan], ed. Sevinc Alkan Özcan, Vugar İmanbeyli, (Istanbul: Küre yayınları, 2014), 79.

agitation period) in his timeline where these nationalist influences were to be his motivations for the upcoming socio-political collaborations during his Ottoman and Caucasus sojourn.

3.2 His Ottoman Years

When Huseynzada graduated from Saint-Petersburg University in 1889, he decided to move to Ottoman capital Istanbul to continue his education at Military Medical School. However, the main reason to study in Ottoman capital, as he noted had been his attachment to the Turkishness:

“I am a Turk and a Muslim. Turkey is also a Turkish and a Muslim state. From this account, Turkey is my homeland more than any other place. Therefore, I have to get acquainted with my new homeland and get to know its citizens.”¹⁴⁸

After moving to Istanbul, Huseynzada became involved in the political activism in Ottoman capital where he joined the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) from its early foundation. The conversations took place between Ishaq Sukuti and Ubeydullah Efendi, the founding members of the CUP. Ishaq Sukuti introduced Ali Bey Huseynzada as “Russian Nihilist” (meaning a nihilist from Russia) then corrected his mistake calling him a “Turkish Nihilist”. Afterward, discussions went further to the arena of intellectual movements in Petersburg and the other Russian cities which Huseynzada described to his colleagues the way young Russian students were collaborating in the forms of secret organizations at Petersburg, at Moscow and Kazan universities. Days after this conversation, Ishaq Sukuti invited him to join to their new organization, CUP.¹⁴⁹ During his Istanbul sojourn, he began his early literary career by making

¹⁴⁸A. Bayat, *Huseynzade Ali Bey*, 10.

¹⁴⁹See: Öli Bəy Hüseynzadə, “İttihat ve Terakki” Nasıl Kuruldu? Übeydullah Efendinin Oynadığı Roller [Ali Bey Huseynzada, How was the Committee of Union and Progress came to existence? The Role played by Ubeydullah Efendi] in *Hüseynzade Ali Turan ve Türkiyede Yayınladığı Eserleri*

translations from European authors including Goethe's plays, Greek poems and mythological pieces into Turkish. Huseynzada started writing poems and his articles with Turan penname already from 1892. In one of his poems with Turan penname Huseynzada addressed to the Hungarian people:

You are the brothers to us, Hungarian kin,

Our ancestors are of Turan origin.

We are of the same religion, the religion of justice,

Is it ever possible to divide us Koran and the Bible?

It was the Gengis khan, who shook the entire world,

It was the Tamerlane who ruled the king of kings.

The realms of the kings were taken over by the conquerers...¹⁵⁰

As Abdul Hamit's regime was highly repressive towards the nationalists of any kind, political raids were constantly taking place to the schools. In one of such raids, Huseynzada was detained in 1892 with the charge of reading harmful books. During two weeks of imprisonment, his above-mentioned poem started circulating among the Military Medical School students.¹⁵¹ As for the poem, the inclusion of Hungarians shows that Huseynzada was already a (Pan)Turanist thinker. His use of Turan penname further proves his scope of nationalist imagination which was Turanism. Huseynzada had been the first intellectual who introduced the idea of Turan into the young Ottoman intellectuals. Despite, Umut Uzer¹⁵² claimed this to be the only Turanist page in his life, we will observe ideas regarding his imagined Turan in his Caucasus articles.

[*Huseynzada Ali Turan and his publications in Turkey*] ed. Ali Haydar Bayat (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmalar Vakfı, 1992), 149-59.

¹⁵⁰ Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, Məktub-I Məxsus [Ali Bey Huseynzada, The Particular Letter] in *Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə: Seçilmiş Əsərləri* [The Selected Works] ed. Bayramli Ofeliya, Turan Azer (Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2007), 32.

¹⁵¹ A. Bayat, Huseynzade, *Ali Bey Huseynzade*, 12.

¹⁵² Umut Uzer, Ali Bey Huseynzada, 144-45.

In 1895, Ali Bey Huseynzada graduated from the military medical school with the rank of a captain and joined Haydarpasha Military Hospital as an assistant at the Dermatology and Syphilis Department.¹⁵³ During this time, he also met Ziya Gokalp, who later became the leading ideologist of Turkish nationalism, benefiting chiefly from Huseynzada.¹⁵⁴ In the meantime, Huseynzada improved his Ottoman Turkish through books written by Ottoman authors to soften his Caucasian dialect. One of the authors Huseynzada mentioned in his memoir was playwright Khalid Ziya Ushakgil.¹⁵⁵ Considering his literary career of the time being, one of his notable articles entitled “A Particular Letter” was published in Cairo-based newspaper “The Turk”. In this article, Huseynzada refuted the commonly-accepted “Tatar” misnomer given to the people of Crimea, Kazan, Orenburg, and urged people to address them with their real name, “The Turks”. He also for the first time publicly touched upon the language question of all the Turkic speaking peoples where he justified the influential role of Ottoman Turkish into the other Turkic dialects in Crimea, in Kazan, and Shirvan.^{156 157} This was the beginning of his deliberation regarding the common Turkic language hypothesis.

Overall, Unlike Aghaoglu who was influenced by the sectarian family environment and Persian sympathies of his French mentors, Huseynzada acquired his early nationalist motivations from family members which were further nourished through his Turcology studies, Pan-Slavist encounters as well as Gaspirali’s “Tarjuman” newspaper. Afterward, these motivations were accompanied by his political collaborations in Istanbul which became an encouragement for

¹⁵³ Umut Uzer, Ali Bey Huseynzada, 138.

¹⁵⁴ Karpat, Kemal, *The Politicization of Islam*, 375-376.

¹⁵⁵ See: Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, “İttihat ve Terakki” Nasıl Kuruldu? Übeydullah Efendinin Oynadığı Roller [Ali Bey Huseynzada, How was the Committee of Union and Progress came to existence? The Role played by Ubeydullah Efendi] in *Hüseynzade Ali Turan ve Türkiyede Yayınladığı Eserleri* [*Huseynzada Ali Turan and his publications in Turkey*], 333-42.

¹⁵⁶ Shirvan is the Eastern territories of Azerbaijan where the Shirvani dialect is spoken. The reason for his use of Shirvan, and not Azerbaijan is due to his reference point to the particular dialect.

¹⁵⁷ Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, Məktubi-Məxsus [Ali Bey Huseynzada, The Particular Letter] *The Turk*, №56, 1904. in “*Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə: Seçilmiş Əsərləri*” [*Selected Works*] ed. Turan Azer, Ofeliya Bayramli (Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2019), 30-31.

him to envision the same pan-nationalist movement among the Turkic peoples. In parallel to Turkism, His Turan penname and inclusion of Hungarians show Turanism was on his agenda too which he would continue during his Caucasus sojourn. He was yet to develop his ideas regarding Turkism and Turanism into an ideological framework in the coming years. Taking all into account, Huseynzada seems to be influenced by both in-group and out-group nationalisms which draw the epicenter of his analysis into the questions of the common Turkic language and the common Turkic nation as well to be reflected in his political ambitions.

3.3. His Caucasus Years

Huseynzada's return to the Russian Caucasus coincided with labor unrest, ethnic conflict and in the wider context of the Russo-Japanese war which altogether paved the way to the February revolution of 1905. Taking this advantage, all the Muslim communities sent their delegates to the capital Petersburg to present their demands concerning the legislative reforms. In his memoirs, Huseynzada similarly notes that:

“Due to Russia's crippled far east politics, it resulted in Russia's defeat by the Japanese. Taking this into account, fed up with the autocratic regime, people rose and demanded the constitution. To present their demands, Azerbaijani Turks (or Caucasian Muslims) also sent their delegates to Petersburg...”¹⁵⁸

As discussed in the II chapter, Azerbaijani intellectuals sent three representatives to Saint-Petersburg to defend the rights of their fellow countrymen who were Ali Bey Huseynzada, Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, and Alimardan Bey Topchubashi. They also participated in the first all Russia's Muslims Congress convened in Nijni Novgorod in August 1905.¹⁵⁹ Eventually, with the effort given by the Azerbaijani and other Muslim delegates, the Muslim populace acquired equal status to the Christians by gaining full access to civil service careers, permission to

¹⁵⁸ Quoted from A. Turan, *Ali Bey Huseynzada*, 30.

¹⁵⁹ A. Bayat, Huseynzade, *Ali Bey*, 14.

religious seminaries, to launch native language classes at native schools as well as permission to publish a native language newspaper.¹⁶⁰ All these efforts gave rise to the native language periodicals, the two - "Hayat" (Life) and "Fuyuzat" (Abundance) - of which Ali Bey Huseynzada later became the editor in chief between 1905-1907. He also operated as the chief editor of the "Kaspi" newspaper for a short period. After repressions on the native language press, Ali Bey Huseynzada had to discontinue his journalistic career and start working as a director as well as a Turkish language teacher at native school "Saadat".¹⁶¹

3.4 His Caucasus Articles

Speaking more deeply about his journalistic career in South Caucasus, Huseynzada began his first editorship along with Ahmed Bey Aghaoglu in the "Hayat" newspaper between 1905-1906. Ali Bey Huseynzada's publications chiefly covered the discussion of Turkism and Turanism through the series of articles using a language influenced by Ottoman Turkish, articulate with the concerns of common Turan ancestry. He also touched upon the question of common literary language, Muslim-Armenian strife, Ottoman resistance against European powers, etc. After the closure of "Hayat", Huseynzada founded the "Fuyuzat" journal between 1906-1907 in which he kept his advocacy of national consciousness by publishing 32 editions. Both press organs were funded by native millionaire Zeynalabdin Taghiyev.

His first article in "Hayat" was "The Task of our Newspaper" where he discussed its expected role as serving to the societal and national purpose by showing the people what are the ways to catch up with the evolving nations of the west. He also shortly discussed the importance of native (he calls it Turkish) language and of Islamic religion to the nation. Subsequently, he tried to convince that it is possible for his community both to welcome the modern needs of European civilization and keep one's adherence to the religion of Islam and to one's

¹⁶⁰ Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 125.

¹⁶¹ A. Turan, *Ali Bey Huseynzada*, 33.

Turkishness.¹⁶² He continued this discussion in “Hayat” and “Füyuzat” where he would turn it into a triple ideology - “Turkify, Islamicize and Europeanize”. Indeed, the native intellectuals were already exposed to western ideas, were conscious about their Turkic and Muslim identity. But, Huseynzada was the one who spelled it out as a triple ideology for the first time and advocated to his readers in different article series in “Hayat”¹⁶³ and “Füyuzat”.¹⁶⁴ A decade later, this slogan would become the ideological foundation of his native community and the first Azerbaijani Democratic state came to exist in 1918-1920. The slogan was taken as the symbols of Azerbaijani tricolor, blue representing Turkic identity, red representing democracy and country’s path towards modernity, green representing Islamic heritage. The head of Azerbaijani state, Mammad Amin Rasulzada confirmed Ali Bey Huseynzada to be the ideological father of the Republic of Azerbaijan and praised him for his genius.¹⁶⁵ His slogan was also borrowed and introduced into the Ottoman audience by Ziya Gokalp who acknowledged Huseynzada as one of his important teachers.¹⁶⁶

The most worrisome topic for Huseynzada was the language dilemma of his native community. In “A Few Words about the Language of Our Newspaper”¹⁶⁷ and “The Language Dilemma

¹⁶² See: Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, Qəzetimizin Məsləki [Ali Bey Huseynzada, The Task of our Newspaper] (Baku: “Hayat”, №1, 1905) in “*Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə: Seçilmiş Əsərləri*” [“*Selected Works*” ed. Turan Azer, Ofeliya Bayramli (Baku: Şərq-Qərb, 2019), 32-37.

¹⁶³ See: Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, Qəzetimizin Məsləki [Ali Bey Huseynzada, The Task of our Newspaper] (Baku: Hayat”, №1, 1905), Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, Türklər kimdir və kimlərdən ibarətdir? [Ali Bey Huseynzada, Who are the Turks and Whom are they comprised of?] (Baku: Hayat, №4; 9; 16; 22; 35; 52; 81; 82, 1905), 41-70.

¹⁶⁴ Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, Kasablanka Fəciəsi və Osmanlı-İran Komediya [Ali Bey Huseynzada, The Casablanca tragedy and Ottoman-Iranian Comedy] (Baku: “Füyuzat”, №24, 1907) in “Füyuzat (1906-1907)” edited by Bayramli Ofeliya. (Baku: Çarşıoğlu, 2006), 370-73; Hüseynzadə Ali Bey, İntikad Ediyoruz, İntikad Olunuz, (Baku: “Füyuzat”, №23, 1907) ed. Ali Haydar Bayat (Ankara: Gün Ofset, 1998), 32.

¹⁶⁵ Mehmed Emin Resulzade, *Kafkasya Türkleri*, (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmalar Vakfı, 1993), 34.

¹⁶⁶ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüyyün Tarixi* [The History of Turkism], 109.

¹⁶⁷ See: Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, Qəzetimizin Dili Haqqında Bir Neçə Söz [Ali Bey Huseynzada, A Few Words about the Language of Our Newspaper] (Baku: Hayat, №7, 1905), 38-41.

Again”¹⁶⁸ articles, Huseynzada discussed which literary format should be the best to put in writing. Huseynzada thought that it would be better to create a common literary language than to standardize every Turkic language separately. The only way for him was to benefit from the riches of other Turkic languages, especially from Ottoman Turkish.¹⁶⁹ Compared to Molla Nasraddin thinkers who were dedicated to the maintenance and purity of native dialect, Huseynzada’s language hypothesis was going beyond the limits of native nationalism and covering all the Turkic peoples. For instance, the language he employed throughout the “Hayat” and “Fuyuzat” publications was influenced by the standards of Ottoman Turkish. It seems there were already two models of linguistic nationalism in Azerbaijan where Huseynzada opted for the common Turkic language with Ottoman influence. Molla Nasreddin thinkers, on the other hand, opted for Azerbaijani Turkish dialect with strong native nationalism.

His other series of articles were also dedicated to the question of Turkic peoples. In this series entitled “Who are the Turks and Who are They Composed of? “,¹⁷⁰ he tried to characterize the racial, linguistic and confessional composition of all the Turkic peoples and to envisage a single Turkic nation from Macedonia till to the steppes of Central Asia and Siberia. The most interesting part of the article was his linguistic divide of Ural-Altaic languages.¹⁷¹ He justified the claimed kinship of these groups by indicating to the morphological, phonological and syntactic similarities of these languages and, divided them as Finno-Ugric, Samoyedic languages of Siberia, Turkic, Mongolic, Tungus and finally Japonic groups. Despite

¹⁶⁸ See: Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, *Yenə Dil Müşkülü* [Ali Bey Huseynzada, *The Language Dilemma Again*] (Baku: Hayat, №112, 1905), 92-95.

¹⁶⁹ Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, *Qəzetimizin Dili Haqqında Bir Neçə Söz* [Ali Bey Huseynzada, *A Few Words about the Language of Our Newspaper*] (Baku: Hayat, №7, 1905), 38-41.

¹⁷⁰ Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, *Türklər kimdir və kimlərdən ibarətdir?* [Ali Bey Huseynzada, *Who are the Turks and Whom are they comprised of?*] (Baku: Hayat, №4; 9; 16; 22; 35; 52; 81; 82, 1905), 41-70.

¹⁷¹ Ali Bey Huseynzada, *Who are the Turks and Who are they comprised of?*] (Baku: Hayat, № 22), 50-53.

Swietochowski¹⁷² put all Huseynzada's views under the framework of (Pan)Turkism, his inclusion of Finnish and Hungarian peoples into the category of kin-groups shows that his Pan-nationalism was not limited to only Turkic peoples where it included all Turan affiliate groups. Yet, his (Pan)Turanism presented no political framework, articulate with only ethnocultural interests. Huseynzada was the first native intellectual to share such a deep and comprehensive methodological approach regarding Turanism to the native Turco-Muslims in the native press. It was also the first time in the history of Azerbaijani Turks where the ethnic and linguistic basis of nationalism was presented to the native reader.

His other discussion entailed his concerns towards Armenians. In "Advice and Notice to our Armenian Countrymen"¹⁷³ and "Nationality and Humanity"¹⁷⁴ articles, he shared Aghaoglu's distress regarding inter-communal relations between Armenians and Muslims. Huseynzada blamed Armenian intellectuals for failing in their place to reconcile the communities, and complained about some Armenian intellectuals' worrisome attitude towards Muslim intellectual revival. Huseynzada's confrontational discourse vis-à-vis Armenian intellectuals shows that he also saw his community to be in competition with Armenians, view similar to Aghaoglu.

Huseynzada had been a pro-Ottoman thinker from his Istanbul times. In one of his articles - "Europeans and the Case of Macedonia"¹⁷⁵ – published in "Hayat", Huseynzada openly expressed his Ottoman sympathies to the native audience. He discussed the ideological and political struggle between the European empires and Ottomans. The discussion of the article followed the Ottoman experience with European penetrations where Ottomans had shrunk to

¹⁷² Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, 33.

¹⁷³ See: Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə Erməni Vətəndaşlarımıza Tövsiyə və İxtarətımız [Ali Bey Huseynzada, Advice to our Armenian Countrymen] (Baku: Hayat, №21, 1905), 70-74.

¹⁷⁴ See: Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, Milliyyət və İnsaniyyət [Ali Bey Huseynzada, Nationality and Humanity] (Baku: Hayat, №68, 1906), 110-14.

¹⁷⁵ See: Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, Avropalılar və Makedoniya [Ali Bey Huseynzada, Europeans and The Case of Macedonia] (Baku: Hayat, №105; 106, 1905), 86-92.

its weakest through European invasions and the turn was for Ottoman Macedonia that time. Throughout the article, Huseynzada sided himself with the Ottoman empire whom he viewed as the only sovereign among the Muslim world resisting against “Christian-Europe”. This article shows his agenda of Ottoman Turkey’s possible lead not only among Turkic peoples but also among the world Muslims. His support for the Muslim nations in his “Hayat” articles demonstrates that Huseynzada also sympathized with political Islam which indicates his Pan-Islamism. Apart from Pan-Islamism, his promotion of Ottoman influenced common Turkic language, siding with Ottoman politics and calling Turkic peoples to rally around the Ottoman Empire explicates further the political prospects of his Turkism.

All in all, “Hayat” and “Fuyuzat” periodicals were closed down by the Stolypin regime due to its radical-revolutionary, politically articulate and nationalist texture. Huseynzada continued his literary career in “Irshad”, “Taraqqi” and “Haqiqat” newspapers.¹⁷⁶ Eventually, the political prospects of 1905 constitutional reform gave no expected results. Stolypin’s policy of political repressions rendered the expulsion of all the native intellectuals from South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) either to Qajar Persia or to Ottoman Turkey. On the 4th of December 1910, Ali Bey Huseynzada too left his homeland for Ottoman capital, Istanbul.

Huseynzada’s literary and political activism during his Caucasus period marked the peak of Phase B where he started the national agitation by joining the native literary and political activism, articulate with ethno-communal and nationalist concerns. He mainly involved himself in two major issues during his Caucasus sojourn which concerned both native and cross-border affairs. He demanded equal rights for the Turco-Muslims (Azerbaijanis) in Russia’s capital and represented his countrymen in Russia’s Muslim congresses in Nijni Novgorod which involved him more into the native affairs. In addition, his journalistic and

¹⁷⁶ A. Bayat, *Huseynzade Ali Bey*, 16.

educational activities in Baku reflect his Azerbaijani concerns where he touched upon the questions of national consciousness within his native community and confrontation with Armenians that impacted his urge for solidarity with native Turco-Muslims. He also identified himself and his community either Azerbaijani Turks or Caucasian Turks. Moreover, he advocated his reader the triple ideology in which he wanted to see his community Turkic, European (modernized) and Islamic. This triple formula made the peak of his literary career which was to become the basis of Republican values in Azerbaijan.

He also shared his cross-border concerns, where he introduced the ideas of Turkism, Turanism, and Pan-Islamism into his reader in his Caucasus articles. He supported the other Muslim nations under the Pan-Islamist agenda which illustrates his favorable view of political Islam. But, his Pan-Islamism was also a political tool for the consolidation of Ottoman Turkey's political sovereignty over the Muslim nations. Considering the Turkism and Turanism debate, his discussion of Turanism entailed linguistic and ethnocultural interests where no political prospects were present. His Turkism, on the other hand, was more articulate with political prospects, where Huseynzada hypothesized the idea of a common Turkic language and wished to see the Turkic peoples under the Ottoman rule. In general, Huseynzada's Caucasus articles had a high romanticist overtone which was explicit in his wording. The Post-1905 period had been the magnitude of Huseynzada's literary career. His political activism, on the other hand, was yet to continue.

3.5 Huseynzada's Ottoman Activities

The time Huseynzada arrived in Istanbul, he started as a teaching assistant at Military Medical School. In the next year, he was elected as the member of the presidium of "CUP Society" along with Ziya Gokalp and other Ottoman intellectuals.¹⁷⁷ As mentioned in the previous

¹⁷⁷ A. Bayat, *Huseynzade Ali Bey*, 19

chapter, Ali Bey Huseynzada too was one of the founders of “Turk Yurdu Cemiyeti” (Turkish Homeland Society), the “Turk Yurdu” (Turkish Homeland) journal and “Turk Ocaklari” (The Turkish Heats) educational organization along with Aghaoglu and Volga Tatar intellectual Yusuf Akchura.¹⁷⁸ As for the first world war, Huseynzada was one of those Presidium members of the “CUP Society” who did not want Ottoman Turkey to join any of the warring sides. This resulted in the annulment of Presidium, and he was removed from the political decision making in its early years.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, he continued his political activism through the “Society for the Defence of Rights of Muslim Turco-Tatar Peoples of Russia” that was led by Huseynzada, Aghaoglu, Akchura and two other Russian-born Turkic intellectuals. They went to the capital cities of Ottoman-allies to distribute the memorandum denouncing the Russian Empire’s discrimination against its Turco-Muslim subjects. The memorandum penned by Ali Bey Huseynzada was circulating in Budapest which included the following content:

“Russia forcibly had taken the representative and other inherent rights of Turkic and other Muslim peoples. Any form of mutual contact between kin-groups are forbidden; For instance, it is forbidden to a Kazanian or to a Caucasian Turk to buy a property or land in Turkestan or Kyrgyz territories¹⁸⁰. Turks in Russia are even deprived to perform their most sacred religious duties. Any form of cultural and national education was banned entirely...”¹⁸¹

The rest of its content included information about political and societal affairs as well as the level of modernization among Russia’s Turks. The texture of Huseynzada’s memorandum shows that he wanted to create awareness among European circles regarding the conditions of Turkic groups under Russian rule. It was especially to give a message about the self-

¹⁷⁸ Akhchuraoglu Yusuf, *Türkçülüüün Tarixi [The History of Turkism]*, 122; 131; Ustel Füsün, *Turkish Nationalism from the Empire into the Nation-State*, 42-43; Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, About Yusuf Akchura, (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet, №41, №42, 1935), 93-94.

¹⁷⁹ A. Bayat, *Huseynzade Ali Bey*, 20; Umut Uzer, Ali Bey Huseynzada, 139.

¹⁸⁰ Kyrgyz had been the former name of Kazakh people until the region experienced separate nation-building projects with the Soviet guidance.

¹⁸¹ Quoted in A. Bayat, *Huseynzade Ali Bey*, 20-21.

determination of Turkic peoples living in the Russian Empire after the war was over. It was distributed to state officials in Budapest, Vienna, and Berlin. Besides, Huseynzada was one of the four signatories of a telegram sent to Woodrow Wilson in May 1916 asking for help to the nations living under Russian yoke. He participated and, together with Aghaoglu represented Azerbaijan in the Third International Conference of Nationalities in June 1916.¹⁸²

When the Ottoman troops entered into Azerbaijan with the leadership of Nuri Pasha in June 1918, Huseynzada reported in his article “My Thoughts While I was in Azerbaijan” that he traveled to Batum and later to Nuri Pasha’s encampment in Ganja together with Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu for a diplomatic mission.¹⁸³ The article was still written in a romanticist style where Huseynzada commented “Azerbaijan and Anatolia are complementing each-other” by pointing to the arrival of the Ottoman troops into Azerbaijan. He also wrote metaphorically “Mount Erciyes in Turkey is now uniting with the Caucasus Mountains” calling this as the unification of Turkey and Azerbaijan.¹⁸⁴ These comments demonstrate his ongoing Turkism where he viewed himself belonging to both countries. But, the political prospects of his Turkism were to remain with Ottoman Turkey in which he would want to see Azerbaijan as part of this plan. Huseynzada’s Ottoman period marks the beginning of Phase C where he entered into political decision-making within a state apparatus. But, his romanticist overtone was also a sign of Phase B (the period of national agitation). What was common about both Huseynzada and Aghaoglu, their choice of statehood did not correspond to their native region which mainly emanated from their exposure to Pan-nationalism. Thus, it rendered a lack of territorial nationalism. Despite

¹⁸² Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, 1916 yılı Ocak ayında Berlin’de Türk kavimleri Kongresi’ne sunduğu tebliğ [The Memorandum that was presented in the Congress of Turkic peoples] in *Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə* ed. Ali Haydar Bayat (Ankara: Gün Ofset, 1998) 57-60; Shissler, *Ahmet Ağaoğlu and The New Turkey*, 162

¹⁸³ Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, *Azərbaycanda Düşündüklerim* [Ali Bey Huseynzada, My Thoughts While I was in Azerbaijan] in *Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə* ed. Ali Haydar Bayat (Ankara: Gün Ofset, 1998), 308-309; A. Bayat, *Hüseynzadə Ali Bey*, 25.

¹⁸⁴ Əli Bəy Hüseynzadə, *Azərbaycanda Düşündüklerim* [Ali Bey Huseynzada, My Thoughts While I was in Azerbaijan], 308-309.

Huseynzada took no part in the foundation of Azerbaijani statehood, the ideological tenets of the Republic of Azerbaijan were founded on his triple formula.

Meanwhile, Huseynzada returned to Istanbul with Mammad Amin Rasulzada and other Azerbaijani statesmen to participate in the “Conference for the Transcaucasian States”. His biographer Ali Haydar Bayat notes that Huseynzada had barely avoided being sent to the Malta island as a war criminal in 1919 which had happened to Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu and many other CUP members.¹⁸⁵ Ali Bey Huseynzada continued the rest of his life in Kemalist Turkey and started working at the Turkish Ministry of Education in 1924.¹⁸⁶ He only traveled once into Azerbaijan to participate in the “First Turcological Congress” convened in Baku. He became a Professor at the Dermatology Department of Istanbul Military Medical School working there until he was appointed an Education Minister of Turkey in 1933. Ali Bey Huseynzada passed away in 1940 in Istanbul.¹⁸⁷

Conclusion

To summarize Huseynzada’s timeline of ideological and political Odyssey, the study shows that his early years correspond to the early Phase B of Hroch’s periodization of subject-nation model, as Huseynzada was influenced by his nationally conscious family environment, the Pan-Slavist encounters, Gaspirali’s early blueprints of Turkism and the Turcology studies at university. It seems after moving into Istanbul, he did crystallize his early agenda as Turanism and Turkism where both were explicated in a literary romanticist style. His first national agitation took place in Ottoman capital where he advocated the ideas of Turanism among university students. To compare with Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu, neither was the case for his early times who grew up in a religious-sectarian family environment, committed himself to the Pan-

¹⁸⁵ A. Bayat, *Huseynzade Ali Bey*, 23.

¹⁸⁶ Umut Uzer, Ali Bey Huseynzada, 139

¹⁸⁷ A. Bayat, *Huseynzade Ali Bey*, 24-25.

Islamist ideology and upheld into pre-existing - Shiite and Persian - identities during Saint Petersburg and French sojourns, all was typical of Hroch's periodization of Phase A.

Huseynzada's Caucasus activities marked the peak of his Phase B (period of national agitation) where Huseynzada joined the political and literary activism in this period. He voiced Turco-Muslim (Azerbaijani) demands before the Russian government and represented the native community in Russia's Muslim congresses. Similarly, he touched upon the native concerns such as Muslim-Armenian confrontation in South Caucasus and literacy among the native populace. Meanwhile, most of his ideological texture was vastly amplified in his journalistic texts where he mainly concerned himself with Turanism and Turkism. His articles on topics related to Turanism had a literary framework with merely ethnocultural concerns. Whereas, his Turkism entailed a political framework where Huseynzada explicated his view of Ottoman Turkey as the ruling political entity before the Turkic and Muslim nations. Considering Aghaoglu, he eventually shifted his sense of belonging from Persian into Turkish by the time and joined the national agitation in his native Caucasus which marks the beginning of Phase B in his timeline. Unlike Huseynzada, Aghaoglu expressed no interest in Turanism in this period. His Turkism was also distinctive where it was imbued with Pan-Islamism that was expressed in his interchangeable use of Muslim and Turkish identifications.

Finally, after moving to Ottoman Turkey, Huseynzada became directly involved into Ottoman politics by having a membership to the presidium of CUP which was the beginning of Phase C. On the other hand, his persisting romanticism was also the common feature of Phase B intellectuals of Azerbaijan who mostly engaged in political and literary activism, and not the political decision-making. Owing to his Ottoman political collaborations as well as his romanticist perception of the idea of statehood, he sympathized with the political framework of Turkism that was Ottoman Turkey and not Azerbaijan. Despite showing no regard to the cause of Azerbaijanism and Azerbaijani statehood in his literary and political journey, the

tenets of Azerbaijani statehood was founded on his ideas. Aghaoglu also joined the actual politics both in Ottoman Turkey and independent Azerbaijan which marked his beginning of Phase C. But, he became a realist thinker in this period which was probably emanating from his political experience. Finally, both intellectuals expressed their choice of statehood with Ottoman Turkey.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Going back to the research questions, the Azerbaijani national movement came into existence in line with the features of Miroslav Hroch's subject-nation model where it had no political sovereignty, its governorates were not divided on ethnic-relevance, and its language had no use for cultural and political purposes under Tsarist Russia. His A, B and C periodization of European national movements also fit the case of Azerbaijan where the modern and secular education was brought into the native practice by the Tsarist Russia from which the early modern intelligentsia emerged who pioneered the secular education, the native scholarship, still upheld to the pre-existing practices, and had no notion of national consciousness, giving rise to Phase A between 1830-1860. Afterward, the Turco-Muslim intellectuals entered Phase B by having "Narodnik" and Pan-Slavist influence at Russian universities, and by giving rise to the national consciousness among the native community through founding educational institutions and native language press backed by the newly emerging native urban bourgeoisie in 1860-1905. Due to the increase of communication, modern education, industrialization, and urban livelihood, these intellectuals happened to better reach out to the community with their concerns of native and Pan-movements. Finally, the 1905 revolution brought the liberal atmosphere into the Tsarist Russia which peaked the Phase B in native Turco-Muslims (Azerbaijanis) with the rocketing circulation of the native press, the political representation, native educational institutions, etc. Besides the 1905 revolution and Pan-movements, it was

also the ethnic clashes with Armenians in 1905 which mobilized the native Turco-Muslims founding the first native political parties emanating from the sense of competition with the neighboring national movements. Finally, the idea of a territorial statehood and nationhood was first conceptualized by Mammad Amin Rasulzade in the 1910s, thus giving rise to the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1918 and marking the beginning of Phase C in Azerbaijan.

The comparative study with the Finnish national movement demonstrates that the nation-building process in the Tsarist ruled Turco-Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) had its distinctive features. Unlike the Finnish case, the national consciousness among the native Turco-Muslims had a belated start due to an underprivileged status under Tsarist Russia and the persistence of Islamic religion within the native community. Despite strict secularization was pursued by the Tsarist rule among the first generation by considering Islam's discord with modernity, the religious character of the Azerbaijani case still presented itself in the second and the third generation of native intellectual movement where the Pan-Islamism accompanied the (Pan)Turkism and territorial nationalism in Azerbaijan throughout Phase B and C as we observed it through the interchangeable use of Turkic and Muslim identities in various situations. Yet, it was also the secular education, detachment from religious mindset, and the liberal nature of the Pan-Islamist movement which rendered the shift in the sense of belonging from "Islamic Umma" into a nationalist mindset. The comparative study with the Finnish case also shows that the national consciousness in Turco-Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijani) initially developed within the framework of Pan-nationalisms rather than as a territorial nationalism. As they were Muslims who had been underprivileged groups and had no political autonomy under the Russian rule unlike the Finnish case, they decided to identify with the unified Muslim movement spreading the Empire which gradually shifted to a unified Turkic movement (Pan-Turkism). In parallel, the Turco-Muslim (Azerbaijani) intellectuals were also advocating the social and cultural enlightenment among the native populace through the native

language press. Therefore, it seems the national movement in Turco-Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) was emerging in the form of both native and Pan-nationalist movements which were all intertwined until the early twentieth century. It was only separated from each other when the native intellectuals arrived at the territorial nationalism as late as the 1910s which promoted the idea of Azerbaijani nationalism called Azerbaijanism and opened the Phase C. The comparison with the Finnish case also demonstrates that the reason for such a late arrival to the territorial nationalism in Azerbaijani case was due to lack of any kind of political self-rule. Therefore, some intellectuals kept their commitments to the Pan-movements and not the territorial nationalism in their Phase C, as we observed in our study of Aghaoglu and Huseynzada's ideological and political landscape.

The application of Hroch's theoretical framework to the cases of Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu and Ali Bey Huseynzada within a comparative study shows that the development of national intelligentsia in Turco-Muslim South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) was not only belated but also uneven which was due to several reasons. One of the reasons can be explained with the parallel existence of Muslim Madrasa and "Russo-Tatar" schools which were reflected in Aghaoglu's early influence from a sectarian family environment in contrast to Huseynzada's early influence from a relatively nationalist family environment. The study also shows that this influence followed Aghaoglu till to his French sojourn where he transformed it into a Persian identity that was typical to Phase A, while Huseynzada became a Turkist and Turanist thinker, typical to Phase B. Despite Holly Shissler associated Aghaoglu's early Persian sympathies with his Aryan influence, I found no written evidence of Aghaoglu's Aryan sympathies. His memoirs, on the other hand, simply prove that he had only been sympathetic toward Persia owing to the cultural richness which enticed him to imagine a Persian identity for himself, the case similar among the earlier generations of native Turco-Muslims. To continue further, another reason for the unevenness of Turco-Muslim national consciousness was also the direct

role of Islamic faith which caused Pan-Islamist tendencies within Aghaoglu and most other native thinkers, while those – including Huseynzada – who were already exposed to ethnic-nationalism pursued a Pan-nationalist path. In the meantime, Huseynzada joined the cause of nationalism through his Russian experience from Pan-Slavist groups, university studies, and Gaspirali's early ideas. Aghaoglu, on the other hand, still maintained his agenda of Pan-Islamism throughout his Caucasus times. Parallel to Pan-Islamism, he finally revisited his ethnic identity only through his Ottoman experience during his visit to Istanbul where he experienced the potential of Turkish nationalist and politically active milieu. The experience in Ottoman lands probably signaled him for Ottoman power in a geopolitical setting which led him to sympathize with the Ottoman cause in his Caucasus times. The other attraction toward Turkism presented itself through his involvement into native affairs where he encountered the neighboring nationalisms – mainly Armenian – and the activation within the native Turco-Muslims which marked the beginning of his Phase B. Additionally, as the previous studies by Bernard Lewis and A. Mandelshtam linked the early origins of national consciousness within the Turco-Muslim groups to the Russian empire, my comparative study of these two intellectuals showed the contrary results where Aghaoglu's earliest attraction toward national consciousness emanated from his exposure to the Ottoman Empire, unlike Huseynzada.

The other reason for the uneven nationalist developments was the short time framework where these individuals were exposed to different ideologies such as Pan-Islamist and (Pan)Turkist ideas. Therefore, we can see identity shifts in Aghaoglu's timeline from Shiite to Persian and finally to Turco-Muslim identity in such a short period. Finally, most Turco-Muslim (Azerbaijani) intellectuals including Huseynzada and Aghaoglu had already become fully conscious about their ethnic identity by 1905 which brought the peak of their national agitation period. Although both intellectuals run at the forefront of literary and political activism in their native Azerbaijan, neither identified any political prospects to territorial nationalism, only

voicing the Ottoman-led Turkism. The study also demonstrates that after Aghaoglu and Huseynzada were exiled from Russian Azerbaijan into the Ottoman Empire, they became more incorporated into the Ottoman cause by becoming the leading political figures within the empire which was also the beginning of Phase C in their timeline. Unlike them, Mammad Amin Rasulzada returned from his Ottoman exile back to Russian Azerbaijan and founded the early ideas of his territorial nationalism called Azerbaijanism. Despite, both Ali Bey Huseynzada and Ahmad Bey Aghaoglu identified as Azerbaijani Turks, the study shows that they were determined about their skepticism toward the possibility and the need of independent Azerbaijan – whilst Huseynzada formed a romanticist conclusion regarding the situation, Aghaoglu came to the same conclusion with his realist judgment – while believing the potential of political incorporation of Azerbaijani territories into Ottoman Turkey. The latter conclusions also summarize that Aghaoglu and Huseynzada's features were inconsistent with Miroslav Hroch's periodization of Phase C where their Pan-nationalist and cross-border affections became more crystallized than the native affections, as it shifted their political purpose from independence calls for Azerbaijan toward the unification calls with Ottoman Turkey.

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