RELIGION AND WORLD CIVILIZATIONS

How Faith Shaped Societies from Antiquity to the Present

VOLUME 2

MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN WORLDS

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Next, the Ankara government dealt with the Southern Front, where conflicts took place between the irregular national forces commanded by nationalist officers and the French and their Armenian allies. With the Treaty of Ankara signed on October 20, 1921, this front was closed as the Ankara government was officially recognized by France, an Allied Power. The Italians also withdrew from the places they occupied without engaging in conflict with the Ankara government.

The hardest struggle in the Turkish War of Independence was fought against the Greeks supported by the British on the Western Front. The Greek forces had already landed in Izmir (Smyrna) on May 15, 1919, as part of their Asia Minor Campaign. They advanced as far as the interior of Anatolia, and in August 1921 even reached the outskirts of Ankara, the center of the National Struggle. Violent clashes broke out between the Greek and newly formed Turkish armies. A decisive moment came when the Turkish army won the Battle of Sakarya, lasting twenty-two days, in September 1921. As a result, the Greeks lost their offensive capabilities and retreated. After a year of preparation, Turkish forces launched the Great Offensive on August 26, which ended with the expulsion of the Greek forces to the Aegean Sea and the recapture of Izmir on September 9, 1922. For the Greeks, their celebrated Asia Minor Campaign turned into the Asia Minor Catastrophe. The Turkish army continued its march to retake Istanbul and the Turkish Straits as well. The Mudanya Armistice was signed between the Ankara government and the Allies on October 11, 1922. Soon after, the sultanate was abolished by the Turkish Parliament in Ankara on November 1, 1922, thus ending the Ottoman Empire. The peace treaty between the Ankara government and the Allies was signed in Lausanne on July 24, 1923, which officially recognized Turkey, the new Turkish state. The Lausanne Treaty, which superseded the Treaty of Sèvres, is the only treaty that still remains valid.

After the War of Independence, Mustafa Kemal oversaw many reforms to modernize and westernize Turkey and the Turkish nation. During this process, a republic was declared on October 29, 1923, and he became the president of the Republic of Turkey. The caliphate was abolished and madrasah and religious courts were closed in 1924. The new Civil Code, which gave women important rights, was adopted in 1926. The same year the Gregorian calendar was adopted instead of the Hijri and Julien calendars. The Turkish alphabet, which is based on Latin letters instead of the Ottoman alphabet consisting of Arabic scripts, was put into effect in 1928. In 1931, the measurements law was accepted abolishing the former Arabic length and weight measurement and replacing them with the metric system. Women were given the right to elect and be elected as deputies in 1934. By 1935, eighteen women and four non-Muslim deputies had been elected to the Turkish Parliament. In 1934, the Surname Law was adopted and Mustafa Kemal took the surname Atatürk meaning "Father of Turks." The weekly holiday was changed from Friday to Saturday afternoon to Sunday in 1935. The article "the religion of the state is Islam" was removed from the Constitution in 1928 and the principle of secularism was added to the Constitution in 1937. Turkey also pursued a peaceful foreign policy during the founding period and Atatürk's expression "Peace at Home, Peace in the World" became the motto of Turkish foreign policy. Accordingly, Turkey became a member of the League Nations in 1932.

Atatürk passed away on November 10, 1938. One of his close friends, İsmet İnönü, was elected as the new president. In 1939, World War II began, and Turkey remained neutral by following a balanced policy throughout the conflict. After the war, Turkey transitioned to a multiparty system and became one of the founding members of the United Nations. It fought alongside with the United States in the Korean War, and then became a member of NATO in 1952, taking part in the Western Bloc throughout the Cold War. Despite some setbacks, negotiations for full membership in the EU as a secular, democratic, and constitutional state have continued since the 1980s.

Ercan Karakoc

See also: Volume 2: Seljuk and Ottoman Civilizations: Abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate; Armenian Genocide; Collapse of the Ottoman Empire; Founding and Influence of the National Vision Movement on Modern Turkey; *Jihad*, World War I, and the Ottoman Empire; Millet System; Ottoman Empire

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Founding and Influence of the National Vision Movement on Modern Turkey

The National Vision (Milli Görüş) is a religious-political movement that was established in 1969 by the Turkish

politician Necmettin Erbakan (1926–2011) to transform Turkey into an Islamic state. Erbakan led the movement and shaped its anti-secular and anti-Westernization viewpoint. The movement rejects violent revolution but actively promotes orthodox Islamic values, morality, and education, as the foundation of national economic power. It advocates close relationships with other powerful Muslim states with the ultimate goal of uniting them through economic cooperation and eventually forming an Islamic military union like NATO. According to its motto of "Just Order" (Adil Düzen), it calls for a productive, free-market economy—without interest—as the best way to support the oppressed.

The National Vision has had a significant impact on modern Turkish politics and a series of conservative political parties have represented this movement since the 1970s. However, many of these parties have been banned by either the Constitutional Court or military presidential administrations for opposing secularism with the exception of the Felicity Party (Saadet Partisi, SP)—which has remained active. The first party of the movement, the National Order (Milli Nizam Partisi, MNP), was founded by Erbakan in 1970. But, the court banned the MNP after the Military Memorandum of 1971. The second, the National Salvation (Milli Selamet Partisi, MSP), was formed in 1972 and then participated in some coalition governments until 1980, with Erbakan serving as deputy prime minister in these coalitions. In the September 12, 1980, coup, however, a newly formed military administration banned the MSP and barred Erbakan from politics for ten years.

The Welfare Party (Refah Partisi, RP) was then founded by Erbakan's friends in 1983, with the goal of carrying on the work of the National Movement. Thanks to a 1987 referendum that allowed banned politicians to reenter politics, Erbakan returned and became the head of the RP, which achieved great success in local elections in 1994. While Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who would later become the prime minister and the president of Turkey, respectively, became the mayor of Istanbul, the other party candidate won the mayoralty of the capital city of Ankara. The RP became the leading party in the 1995 general elections and formed a coalition government with the True Path Party (Doğru Yol Partisi, DYP). Thus, while an Islamist party formed a government as the senior party for the first time, Erbakan became the first Turkish prime minister with an Islamist background in June 1996 and made his first foreign visit to Iran. He then moved quickly to form Developing-8 (D-8), with member states, including Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Malesia, Nigeria, and Pakistan, as an alternative to the Western-dominated Group of Seven (G-7).

The so-called postmodern coup military memorandum of February 28, 1997, forced Erbakan to resign in June 1997. The court then banned the RP in January 1998 and again barred Erbakan from politics for five years. Meanwhile his friends formed a new party called the Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi, FP), but it was also banned by the court in 2001. After this, the movement and party split into two factions of traditionalists and reformists. The traditionalists of the SP continued as a true heir of the movement while the latter, including Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, founded the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP), which has been ruling Turkey since 2002. During this time, due to his political ban and old age, Erbakan stayed in the background and died in 2011. Although Numan Kurtulmuş, who had served with Erbakan, was elected the head of the SP, he later left from Erbakan and joined in the AKP with his close friends at the invitation of Erdoğan in 2012, under whom he has held several prominent positions in both the party and government.

The National Vision experienced its greatest influence during the AKP period. President Erdoğan, for example, initially separated himself rhetorically from the movement, but after 2009, through his speeches, practices, and policies, he actively began to support the same goals of the National Vision. This has been most notably reflected in Erdoğan's criticism of Israel and support for the Palestinians, the development of close relations with the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas after the 2011 Arab protests, his increased criticism of Western cultural and financial influence, his promotion of Islamic causes and interests in Turkey through the opening of new religious schools (Imam Hatip Okulları) and the promotion of graduates of religious schools and faculty of theology in important positions throughout the Turkish government and bureaucracy, and the building of the monumental Ataşehir and Çamlıca Mosques.

There are also various organizations associated with the National Vision that support the goals and values of the movement. The most notable is a Turkish daily newspaper, *Milli Gazete* (*National Newspaper*), which has been based in Istanbul since 1973. The newspaper's motto is a verse of the Qur'an, "The truth has come, and falsehood has vanished" (Hak geldi, batıl zail oldu) (Al-Isra, 17:81).

Ercan Karakoc

See also: Volume 2: Medieval Arab Civilization: Compilation of the Qur'an; *Seljuk and Ottoman Civilizations:* Establishment of the Secular Republic of Turkey; *Volume 3: Early Modern and Modern Middle East:* Founding of Modern Israel; Hamas and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

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Ghazis

Throughout the medieval Islamic period (early seventh–late fifteenth centuries), one of the fundamental characteristics of the Oriental world in the areas of the Middle and the Near East was their ghazi ideology for the foundation of the Prophet Muhammad's new religion, Islam. By the term "ghazi(s)," one refers to the Muslim fighters, upholders, defenders, and warriors for the expansion of the Islamic faith in the medieval Arabic and Turkish periods (Turkish, *ğazi*) to the early Ottoman centuries. The term "ghazi" originates from the Arabic word *ghazw(a)*, i.e., military expedition or raid (*razzia*), which is associated with the *ghaza* or "Holy War" (widely known in our times as *jihad*), waged from the abode of the true faith (*Dar al-Islam*) against the abode of confrontation (*Dar al-Harb*) against both infidels and heretics inside and outside the Muslim frontiers.

As expected, however, ghazi bands often degenerated into wandering brigands and freebooters given to pillage and looting. The first eponymous ghazi warrior, the semi-legendary Abdallah al-Battal (from *battal*, meaning hero, "the brave one") dates from Umayyad times and his death against the Byzantines in 740 at the Battle of Acroenum/Afyun Karahisar is often associated with the Sayyid Battal Ghazi of the Turkish *Battal-name* epic, whose legend in subsequent centuries lingered on in accounts like that of the late twelfth-century traveling Syrian sheikh in the service of the Ayyubids of Egypt and Syria, al-Harawi. In the course of the long Arab-Byzantine and Turco-Byzantine hostilities in Asia Minor (Anatolia), ghazis are seen as the equivalent of the Byzantine border troops, guards, or fighters of the *akritai*. However, since gradually the Abbasids of Baghdad were to introduce Turkophone mercenaries into their armies from the ninth century onward, the Arab-Byzantine confrontations would eventually develop into Turco-Byzantine wars. From the later eleventh century onward, the Christian rulers of the frontier zone (*udj*, Turkish, *uc*, i.e., "border") in the intermittent struggle with Islam were called *tekfur* in important Oriental sources by authors such as Ibn Bibi, Enveri, Ibn Battuta, Yakhshi Fakih, Mehmed Neshri, and Kemal-Pasha-Zade.

In early Turkish times, when the Turkophone dynasties would gradually replace the power of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad and other Arabic dynasties of the Orient (mid-eleventh century onward), the ghazis were to become fighters in the frontier zone under their *udj* beys, especially in central Asia under the Samanids and Ghaznavids and in Anatolia chiefly among the Turcoman/Turkmen bands of the Rum Seljuks and the Danishmendids. The first Turco-Iranian *salar-i ghaziyan* (commanders of the ghazis) are to be traced among the first Ghaznavid rulers of central Asia (late tenth–first half of eleventh century), while the first pre-Ottoman Turks whose leaders were to bear the honorific title of ghazi in the Byzantine-Turkish frontier zone, following the Byzantine Empire's defeat by the Great Seljuks of Baghdad at Manzikert in 1071, were the Danishmendids. The founder of this dynasty, Malik Danishmend Ghazi (ca. 1071/1085–1104/1106), who traced his lineage from Sayyid Battal Ghazi, and his successor, Amir Ghazi Gümüshtegin (1104/1106–1134), were to distinguish themselves—often in alliance with the Seljuks of Rum—against the crusaders, in a period when the ghazi element in those areas had been significantly reinforced by the massive immigration of Turkophone Oghuz tribes from the east. In that context, the ensuing struggle of Muslims against crusaders in the Holy Land might be considered as a *ghaza* of the former against the latter, though the armies of the three formidable opponents of the crusaders in the twelfth century (i.e., Imad al-Din Zangi, Nur al-Din, and Salah al-Din or Saladin) did not consist of ghazi bands but rather of professional mercenary troops of Turkish and Kurdish origins. Gradually the "ghazi corporations" of Anatolia came to be closely associated with important mystic organizations influenced by Sufi Islam, like the *futuwwa*, especially after the reforms introduced by the Abbasid caliph al-Nasir around the year 1200. According to these reforms, a special investiture ceremony was introduced, conferring the title of "ghazi" and granting weapons and ritual emblems or coats of arms to the invested Muslim fighters.