Hungarian Nationalism and Hungarian Pan-Turanism until the Beginning of the Second World War

ATTILA GÖKHUN DAYIOĞLU

sciendo

Politics in Central Europe (ISSN 1801-3422)
Vol. 18, No. 2
DOI: 10.2478/pce-2022-0010

Abstract: *After the Napoleonic Wars in the 19th century, the development and spread of nationalism in Europe began to accelerate. The development of the national consciousness of the peoples living under the domination of the empires in Europe damaged the legitimacy of the empires in Europe and started to threaten the existence of the empires in Europe. These nationalist movements especially affected the Habsburg Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Tsardom, and these regions became areas of nationalist conflict.*[1]

The word 'Turan', which is used to describe the Central Asian lands where Turkish tribes live, gained its ideological meaning in the 19th and 20th centuries. 'Turanism', which started to gain its ideological meaning in the second half of the 19th century in Hungary, which can be defined as an Asian country in the middle of Europe, has become an ideology identified with Hungarians, Hungarian nationalism and the Hungarian awakening. 'Hungarian Turanism', which has undergone many changes in its ideological depiction, was born and strengthened from the search for national identity among economic and social problems in Hungary, which is considered an 'insecure' society in Europe due to the threats of Slavic and Germanic elements. Hungarian nationalism and Hungarian identity, which were shaped in an ethnocultural context, evolved from a liberal/political basis to an ethnocultural and pan-nationalist practice. Especially at the beginning of the 20th century, the 'Hungarian Turanism' ideology, which started to strengthen with the Hungarian elites and intellectuals focusing on Hungarian national interests, culture and expansionist policies against external threats, led to the emergence of a new nationalism movement, Pan-Turanism.

1 Nationalist conflicts were formed on three bases. The first was conflicts between peoples and empires. The second was conflicts between empires. The third was the conflicts between the peoples who want independence and the states on which these peoples were dependent.

Hungarian nationalism and 'Hungarian Turanism' ideology, which started to develop and transform on different grounds, especially after the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, became stronger in the interwar period after the First World War and became an important part of the fascist Hungarian parties supported by Nazi Germany during the Second World War.

Keywords: ***Hungarian Nationalism, Turanism, Hungarian Turanism, Pan-Turanism.***

Introduction

Nationalism,[2] which first emerged as a modern ideology after the French Revolution of 1789,[3] began to spread and gain power in Europe after the French Revolution, especially during the Napoleonic Wars. Although it is impossible to make a common definition of nationalism covering all nations, the emergence of nationalism and the expansion process as a political movement can be classified. Accordingly, the emergence of nation-states, with the influence of the mental and institutional structure of nationalism that spread to Europe after the Napoleonic Wars, created the first wave of nationalism. This process can also be defined as 'civic and territorial nationalism', in which the liberating feature of nationalism comes to the fore and communities become nations. Nationalism, which became politicised as a result of the necessity of establishing a central state, especially as a result of the civil wars in Europe in this period,[4] started to gain strength with the popularity of individualism against absolute authoritarianism in 17th century France (Kohn 1960: 124–125). The period, which prioritised the historical backgrounds of the nations and in which the elements of origin, language, history and culture gained weight, created the second wave of nationalism. This period is when separatist and ethnocultural

2 This date for the birth of nationalism is related to the presence of nationalism in the political arena. So much so that the nationalist movements that emerged in different regions showed significant differences regarding different identity ideas, geographical designs and historiography. This situation makes it impossible to define nationalism covering all nations in terms of its definition and typologies.

3 The most important reason why the French Revolution could affect the political system of Europe is the rise of the bourgeoisie and capitalism, the alliance between the bourgeois class and the secular intellectuals against the church, and the fact that these factors created a new political system because the rise of the bourgeoisie and capitalism has forced change from below and strengthened the borders of existing states (Gellner 1983: 1). Especially in the 19th century, when nationalism began to reduce the power of religion in society and politics and glorified national differences and national individualism against the universalism of the past, the content of the concept of the state gave a new legitimacy and provided an opportunity for nations to establish their own states by taking the initiative against the state formation of each nation (Kedourie, 1993).

4 The term politicised nationalism was used to distinguish the literary nationalism found in Europe during the Renaissance period from the nationalism that emerged after it.

nationalism developed, especially when different identities living in empires started to become politicised. The second wave of nationalism led to the birth of a new nationalist movement. This new movement, called pan-nationalist movements, formed the characteristic of this period as a movement aiming to unite the peoples claimed to have geographical, religious, racial or linguistic commonality (Kazemzadeh 1968: 365). With the emphasis on the temporality of the national community, this movement, which is based on the dominance of geography, also led to the emergence of the myths of collapse, rebirth and the golden age (Smith 1986: 192; Smith 1991: 126). In addition, liberalism, which accompanied the first-period nationalist movements[5] (Kohn 1960: 189–191), left its place to the themes of conservatism such as organic society and authoritarianism in this period.

As for the theoretical framework of nationalism, three dominant theories play a dominant role. The first of these is 'primordialism', which describes nations as 'mega families' with ethnic ties (Connor 1992: 48; Watson 1977: 1) and claims that nations existed before the age of nations (Calhoun 1997: 31). The second is the 'modernist' approach, which sees nations as a tool of modernism, accepts that nations are culturally constructed (Gellner 1983: 1–12), states that nations are identities invented by the state in a certain geography, and is positioned directly opposite to 'primordialism' (Breuilly 1994: 8–15). The third is 'ethno-symbolism', which states that national identities are based on ethnic and historical extensions and explains the cultural reflexes and behaviours of nations with an emphasis on origin (Armstrong, 1982).

On the other hand, nationalism, which developed by showing different social and political characteristics in different regions,[6] was used in the transition from a feudal society to a capitalist nation type in Western Europe and was used by intellectuals in the process of building the nation-state in Eastern Europe. In other words, nationalism experienced a socio-political process towards nation formation from below in Western Europe, while it was developed in Eastern Europe before the formation of modern states and was used while following the nation-state model built by Western Europe. For example, German nationalism, which developed differently from the nationalism that developed in Western Europe – especially France and England – developed on a basis that gave importance to culture and the spirit of the people (Volksgeist) (Hayes 2016). German nationalism, which developed in a similar way to Eastern-type nationalism, is of great importance with this feature. Similar to Eastern European countries, Germany, which was able to establish its national unity later than Western Eu-

5 The central and nationalist process has aligned Western European societies with secular political developments, and liberalism has formed the core of this structure.

6 Nationalism as an ideology has three main aims no matter in which region it is developed. These are the creation of the national economy, the creation of a common culture and national identity and the integration of political movements by building modern political organisations.

ropean countries, became a country where the revolution was experienced from top to bottom due to the weakness of the bourgeoisie in the country and the key role played by the German intellectuals.[7] There are also similar goals that the German-type nationalism and the Western European elites and bourgeois try to achieve. So much so that the German intellectuals, who tried to unite the Germans around the nationalistic sentiment and a national state, did not make alliances with traditional nobles and clergy. At this point, it can be said that German nationalism developed by being influenced by Kant's political nationalism and Herder's organic solidarity/common cultural understanding (Kedourie 1993).

Although non-Western nationalism has shown ideological opposition to the West, it is a model based on the West. At this point, the general characteristics of non-Western nationalism are built on factors such as differentiation, nostalgia and historical heritage. Thus, the ideas of Central and Eastern European nationalists were born of myths and dreams about the future[8] (Kohn 1960: 331). At this point, two types of nationalism, Western European nationalism, and Eastern European nationalism can be distinguished in terms of their origins and basic characteristics.

Western European Nationalism:

- Has emerged as a result of existing political and social factors.
- Influenced by the idea of the Enlightenment.
- Individual freedom and rationalism played important roles.
- Has strengthened in the social and political arena as the discourse of the rising bourgeoisie.

Eastern European Nationalism:

- Has developed in backward societies which stuck in the past.
- Has developed its legitimacy through national and cultural factors as it is in struggles with existing states.
- Enlightenment thought was not as accepted as it was in Western Europe.
- Contrary to Enlightenment thought, the importance given to religion and the state has increased.
- Gave importance to national unity and power.

7 The biggest obstacle to the development of German nationalism was undoubtedly the lack of a strong bourgeoisie that could replace the landlords and principalities. For this reason, German intellectuals, romanticism, folk spirit and language factors played important roles in the development of German nationalism (Hans 1955: 34–35).

8 The close relationship established with the past and the idea of an ideal homeland that can be established in the future (Kohn 1960: 331).

- In Eastern Europe, nationalism was used to fight for freedom against a foreign sovereign, if the nation is independent, nationalism was used to spread beyond existing borders.
- Reflected the demands of the traditional nobility and intellectuals (Snyder 1968: 55; Özkırımlı 2000: 42).

Regardless of the form, nationalism gains power as long as it can make its cause legitimate to the society it appeals to. So much so that the persuasiveness of nationalist discourse and its ability to exist in society constitute the most important issues of nationalism.

Pan-Nationalism and the Formation of Pan-Movements in Hungary

The concept of 'new nationalism', explained by Louis Snyder (1968), includes some pan movements as an ideology that emerged in historically undeveloped countries. At this point, pan movements have the idea of uniting societies with common ethnic and cultural ties rather than creating a society determined by values. According to the new nationalism, the nation cannot be reduced to political organisation and the nation cannot be limited by the state organisation; on the contrary, the political organisation is adjusted according to the nation. The borders of the state are defined in accordance with the national elements and the borders of the homeland are determined by this reality. In other words, the state is the product of an ideal.

Pan movements, which are broadly divided into three as pan-nationalist, pan-religious and pan-continental according to the elements on which they rise, have a structure that shows different characteristics according to the region in which they developed (Kohn 1948: 544). So much so that the pan-nationalist movements that developed on the European continent developed in Western Europe and Eastern Europe over different characteristics. Western European nationalism and pan movements in Western Europe developed depending on rational, civic, progressive, political and liberal values, while Eastern European nationalism and pan movements in Eastern Europe developed depending on romantic, cultural, reactionary, ethnic and authoritarian values.

Aiming to unite all peoples who share the same geography, language, race or religion, and derived from the ancient Greek word 'pan', meaning the 'whole of something' (Kazemzadeh 1968: 365), pan-movements constitute a broad variant of an existing nationalism (Snyder 1990: 200). These large-scale pan movements are quite compatible with Hans Kohn's (1960: 331) distinction between eastern and western nationalisms. At this point, romantic and culture-oriented pan--nationalism is conceptualised according to eastern nationalism. Pan-Slavism, which aimed to unite all Slavic peoples under the rule of Russia in the 1870s, was

the first example of a pan-nationalist movement (Kurat 1952: 241). The political consequences of Pan-Slavism, which fostered a 'cultural renaissance' among the Slavic peoples, began to appear in Russian public opinion and Slavic minorities in Eastern and Central Europe after the 1853–1856 Crimean War. Pan-Slavism, which started to be seen as a 'saviour' especially after the Russian Tsarism lost this war, also played an important role during the struggle for hegemonic power in the Balkans and Eastern Europe between the Russian Tsardom, the German Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As of this period, Russian politicians and intellectuals began to express their thoughts of seizing the lands inhabited by the Slavs in order to strengthen the Slavic identity (Kohn 1953: 160).

Pan-Germanism, which started to develop in German lands in the years when Pan-Slavic thought began to develop in Eastern Europe, was shaped by the term 'Volk', which especially characterised German nationalism, under the leadership of Fichte. Pan-Germanism, whose main goal was to unite all the scattered Germanic states and to establish an ideal German union, gained the support of liberal actors due to its revolutionary qualities (Kohn 1948: 547). Especially after the French Revolution, the political and religious unrest among the German youth motivated the German youth to resist the traditional order. This resistance has formed the aggressive character of many nationalist movements in Eastern Europe, and the resistance shown against older generations has inspired many renewal movements (Kedourie 1993).

The years after the 1870s was the period when nationalist movements began in Hungarian society. So much so that, during the 19th century, nationalism among Hungarian intellectuals in Hungary, especially against the Vienna administration, turned into Pan-Turanism through the work of Turkologists such as Vámbéry from the second half of the 19th century (Great Britain Foreign Office 1919). Pan-Turanism, which emerged in this period, is a political movement that aims to ensure the unity of all Ural-Altaic elements in Asia and Europe and to unite all Turan[9] races under the same flag and state. Despite this, the emergence of Pan-Turanism has been interpreted in different ways by many researchers.

Since the second half of the 19th century, the term 'Turan', which defines both the Hungarians' 'ideal of a distant homeland' and the unity of the Ural-Altaic and Fin-Hungarian peoples (Kowalczyk 2017: 51), can also be interpreted as the orientation of Hungarian culture to Central Asia. The most important criteria that form the basis of Hungarian Pan-Turanism are the longing for historical geography (to the period of the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom), which is the reflection of the combination of race, language and culture, the emphasis on the golden age, and the thoughts of resurrection and constant questioning of

9 At this point, Turan has been interpreted in different ways by various researchers. A term synonymous with Tatars according to Richardson, Mongolia and Manchuria region according to Hulme, nomadic Asian element according to Müller, the Ural-Altaic world according to Fraser and kinship between certain peoples according to Castren.

Hungary's tendency to the west, its convergence and adaptation[10] (Ungvary 2012). The aim of the Hungarians, who turned to their distant past to overcome (pre-Christian) their differences and loneliness in the lands they lived in, to establish a geopolitical union covering the Ural-Altaic peoples, language family and cultures[11] (Landau 1995: 80), led to the emergence of 'Hungarian Turanism' as a political movement (Duran – Orhun 2019: 558). 'Turanism', which developed as one of the Pan-nationalist ideologies in Europe in the 19th century,[12] was formed against the developing Pan-German and Pan-Slavic movements in neighbouring nations. Turanism, which developed as a kind of national,[13] cultural, identity and linguistic defence reaction/ideology/organisation on the ground of liberation and re-establishment against the assimilation policies imposed on the Hungarians, especially after the occupation of Hungary by the Habsburgs, developed and gained strength in the Hungarian lands (Winternitz 1985: 146). Because of these features, Pan-Turanism became the centre of both the ontological security concept and strategic tendencies of Hungarian nationalism. 'Hungarian Turanism', which gained strength as a national, cultural, identity and linguistic defence reaction/ideology, became a romantic, conservative and nationalist orientation for political independence at the beginning of the 20th century and became an even stronger ideology on Hungarian soil.

At this point, pan-movements place themselves in the new nationalist approach. For this reason, Hungarian Turanism, one of the pan-movements in Europe, emerged in the context of romantic and Eastern European type nationalism, which is called new nationalism.

10 The most important reason why the longing for the past and the tendency to the west, convergence and adaptation were constantly questioned is that the Hungarian lands, which is an important crossroads, have been invaded many times (especially by the Habsburgs and Slavs) and differ from other European nations in terms of language and culture. In addition, the Hungarians, who became isolated for these reasons, have undergone great changes under the influence of German, Slavic, Polish and Russian nations.

11 In the researches, it is mentioned that there are 27 Turan communities/nations. These are: Azeri, Avar, Bashkir, Bulgarian, Balkar, Buryat, Chuvash, Gagauz, Japanese, Kabardino, Karachay, Karakalpak, Kazakh, Kazakh Madjar, Kyrgyz, Qiniq, Mongolian, Nogai, Uzbek, Uzbek Madjar, Tatar, Turk, Tuva, Turkmen, Uyghur, Yakut and Hungarian communities/nations (Kadıoğlu 2014: 4).

12 Pan-ideologies have the aim of uniting societies with common ethnic and cultural ties.

13 National feelings, which have become increasingly widespread since the 19th century, formed the basis of the nationalist ideologies that developed in Central Europe. In this period, when the nationalist ideas between Eastern Europe and Western Europe began to diverge, Western European nationalism, which transitioned from a feudal structure to a capitalist nation-state, diverged from Eastern Europe, which tried to use nationalism to create a nation-state. In other words, while Western Europe went through a socio-political process during the nation-state formation, Eastern Europe tried to develop the ideology of nationalism before forming a nation-state. For this reason, Eastern Europe had to follow the nation-state model that Western Europe laid the foundations for (Oğuz 2005: 1–2).

A Brief History of the Hungarians and the Birth of Hungarian Nationalism

Although the Europeans, who see the Huns as the ancestors of the Hungarians, call the Hungarians 'Hungar'[14] and Hungary as 'Hungary', the Hungarians call themselves 'Magyar' and their country 'Magyarorszag'. Hungarians who came to Europe (to the Carpathian Basin) from Asia[15] in the 9th century and settled in their present lands '*Honfoglalas*'; were surrounded by Germans, Slavs and other European nations. Hungarians who were surrounded by Christian European tribes, were influenced by European tribes culturally and religiously, and they accepted Christianity in 1000 under the rule of Prince Istvan (Prince Vajk before converting to Christianity) and began to be ruled as a kingdom. After accepting Christianity under the leadership of Istvan, the Hungarians had the largest land in their history (Macartney 1953: 59). The lands owned by the Hungarians in this period are the lands targeted under the 'golden age' discourse even today (Magocsi and Pop 2002: 170). Although they were glorified by other European nations as the defender of Christianity in the east during the Istvan period, the Hungarians could not fully adopt the European culture.

Hungary, which was ruled as a kingdom until the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, came under the control of the Ottoman Empire from this date on. Hungary, which was under the control of the Ottoman Empire until the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz and the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz, came under the control of the Habsburg Empire as a result of these treaties (Turan 2012: 28–30). After the Hungarians became a part of the Habsburg Empire, the anti-imperialism that started in the Hungarian society became an important factor of the Hungarian national awakening. So much so that, due to the pressure and population policies of the Habsburg King Leopold I against the Hungarian people, the Hungarian Prince Ferenc II Rákóczi started an uprising against the Habsburg Empire in 1703 with the support of the French Kingdom.[16] The Hungarian uprising, which started in 1703 under the leadership of Rákóczi, and the period

14 The word *'Hungar'* is defined as the name of the Hungarian contingent (Nemeth 1930).

15 The claim of Hungarians to be a community of Asian origin can be examined on three bases. These are the origin, linguistic and geographical bases. The most striking claim about the origins of the Hungarians was made by the famous Hungarian Turkologist Ármin Vámbéry. So much so that, according to Vámbéry, the roots of Hungarian history go back to the Central Asia-Altai Mountains (Vámbéry 1887). It has also been suggested that Hungarians are related to many peoples belonging to the Ural-Altaic language family (Kowalczyk 2017 52). Especially at the end of the 19th century, there were debates about whether Hungarian was included in the Finno-Ugric language group or the Ural-Altaic language group. However, this discussion ended with the acceptance of the thesis that Hungarian was included in the Finno-Ugric language group. The geographical basis for the Hungarians to be an Asiatic state has emerged with modern Turkology studies. So much so that as a result of these researches, the Ural region was fixed as the centre of Hungarian migration.

16 Rákóczi's statement 'It is God's will to teach the Habsburg Empire that the Hungarian people will not be enslaved' revealed the main reason for this uprising (Molnar 2001: 136).

between 1711–1825 are considered to be the dates when the Hungarian national awakening began and strengthened (Cartledge 2011: 125).

After the death of Louis XIV in 1715, the Habsburg Empire, which managed to keep up with the changing power balances in Europe, changed the structure of the empire as a 'dual structure' with pragmatic sanctions after suppressing the Hungarian uprising in 1711 and managed to keep Hungary within the empire (Molnar 2001: 166). The 1776 American Revolution and the 1789 French Revolution laid the foundations of many political, economic and social transformations in Europe and inspired national independence movements against monarchies in multinational empires in Europe. In this context, the year 1848 was a period when the winds of revolution blew all over Europe, especially in France (Rapport 2010). In Hungary, one of the nations affected by this revolutionary wind that developed in Europe, the Hungarian Revolution, an independence movement against the monarchy, started between 1848–1849 with an emphasis on individualism, rationality and popular sovereignty, in the light of liberal ideas that laid the foundations of Hungarian nationalism[17] (Waterbury 2010: 28). However, Hungarian peasants, who made up the majority of the Hungarian people in this period, were far from the ideas of freedom and independence. So much so that, during the Napoleonic Wars 1803–1815, although Napoleon tried to revolt the Hungarians against Austria, the Hungarians said: 'France is far away. No more Rákóczi and Thököly. Hungarians have learned to run their own problems in line with their own interests'. For this reason, the Hungarians remained loyal to the Habsburg Empire (Molnar 2001: 163).

In this context, the Hungarian national movement, which the intellectual elite tried to develop on the basis of secular and national values, succeeded in mobilising the people, especially in line with language and culture. Especially Ferenc Kazinczy's 'triple language classification',[18] which played an important role in the massification and nationalisation of the Hungarian language, ignited the wick of the Hungarian national awakening. So much so that Kazinczy's classification laid the foundations for the cultural differences of the Hungarian people to turn into a political separation. Other important factors of the Hungarian national independence movement are undoubtedly the liberalisation of the Hungarian Constitution and the reform movements initiated by the Hungarian people with the aim of getting rid of medieval thought and having a say in the political will.

17 Hungarian poet János Batsányi announced the footsteps of the Hungarian revolution in February 1793 with these words: 'Revolution is inevitable in our land' (Molnar 2001: 159).

18 For Kazinczy, Latin was the language of the church, law and politics. German was the language of the monarchy. Hungarian was the language of the Hungarian people and the Hungarian elite (Molnar 2001: 165).

So much so that the reform demands initiated by Lajos Kossuth and liberal/nationalist movements[19] in the 1830s played an important role in the politicisation of Hungarian ethnicity by adopting the libertarian discourse of the French Revolution (Molnar 2001: 177–179). Undoubtedly, the most important achievement of these reform demands was the acceptance of Hungarian as an official language on the Hungarian side of the empire in 1836 (Molnar 2001: 180). As a result of meeting the reform demands of the Hungarians, the legal regulations that went down in history as the '31st of April Law' were arranged. As a result of these arrangements, it was decided to abolish the feudal lords, to remove the church from politics, to re-incorporate the lands taken from Hungary, especially Transylvania, into the Hungarian border, to ensure legal guarantees of fundamental rights and freedoms and to establish a prime ministerial unit within the Hungarian national government (Rapport 2010).

These arrangements brought Hungary one step closer to its goal of independence and Lajos Kossuth, one of the leaders of the independence movement, called the Hungarian people to national resistance in 1848.[20] Despite all these efforts, the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 could not reach the desired goals and the revolution was suppressed by the monarchy (Taylor 1948: 84). So much so that with the new constitution made on 4 March 1849, the monarchy turned into a central empire consisting of five regions, and dualism was re-established in 1866. On 29 May 1867 the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was proclaimed, with the Hungarian crowning of Franz Joseph I of Austria (Taylor 1948: 124; Güngörmüş 2010: 58). After this development, Hungarian lands were not affected by the separatist movements that developed in the Balkans in the 19th century, and the Hungarian prime minister at the time, Tisza István, stayed away from the environment of war and conflict for the inner peace of Hungary. However, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 brought the Empire back into the atmosphere of war and Franz Ferdinand wanted to switch to a 'trialist' state system by including the lands inhabited by the Slavic minorities into the monarchy. Trying to stay away from war after these developments, Hungary had to enter the war against its will as the monarchy brought the empire into a war atmosphere[21] (Güngörmüş 2010: 62).

19 Liberal/nationalist movements that supported the reform demands initiated under the leadership of Kossuth united in 1847 under the leadership of Kossuth and formed 'the Opposition Party *(Ellenzéki Párt)*'. After this transformation, the optimal distribution of public services, the establishment of equal voting rights and the legal guarantee of freedoms such as freedom of the press began to take place in the program of the Ellenzéki Párt. The Ellenzéki Párt also struggled with the monarchy for the establishment of the Hungarian national government, the abolition of feudal loyalties, the re-incorporation of Transylvania into the borders of Hungary and the expansion of the state's borders to 'all lands of the Kingdom of St. Stephen', including Transylvania and Croatia (Molnar 2001: 210; Taylor 1976: 60).

20 On 5 July 1848, Kossuth said in the Hungarian Parliament: 'Gentlemen, our country is in danger. Stand tall. I bow before the greatness of this nation. I'm telling you, there is such an effort that I feel the patriotism to my bones while I swear. They will not be able to defeat Hungary' (Çiloğlu 2019: 34).

21 Another reason for Hungary to enter the war was Hungary's concern about the annexation of the Transylvania region by Romania.

The formation of the ethno-cultural characteristics of Hungarian nationalism came to the fore on two grounds. The first of these was the idea that the Hungarians, an Asian community in Europe, had different cultural and sociological structures. The second was the feeling of insecurity that Hungarians felt towards other communities living around them. Undoubtedly, the events experienced had a great influence on the formation of this feeling of insecurity and its attainment of political consciousness. The most important of these events was undoubtedly the support of the Slav minorities and the Russian Tsardom against the Hungarians to the Habsburg monarchy during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. This situation led to the determination of the Slavic communities as unreliable 'others' in the political consciousness of the Hungarians and the formation of a reactionary attitude against the idea of Pan-Slavism (Sunar – Yolcu 2012: 157). At this point, Hungarians had formed a strong identity awareness based on ethno-culturalism against the idea of Pan-Slavism (Waterbury 2010: 32). Another factor that created the sense of insecurity among the Hungarians was the threat of Germany and Pan-Germanism, which tried to increase its influence in Central and Eastern Europe with the idea of 'Mitteleuropa' (Sunar –Yolcu 2012: 156).

Undoubtedly, another reason for the formation of the distrusted the 'other' idea in the Hungarian political consciousness was the Treaty of Trianon, which was signed on 4 June 1920 after the First World War. So much so that Hungary faced the threat of surrendering the south of its lands to the Serbs, Transylvania to Romania and the Slovak lands to the Czechs, with the Armistice of Belgrade, signed with the Entente Powers on 13 November 1918. With the establishment of the Hungarian Council Republic on 21 March 1919, Hungary defended its rights in line with the Wilson Principles. Despite this, the Treaty of Trianon, which was signed, caused the almost complete destruction of Hungary. Hungary, which lost 70% of its territory and 60% of its population as a result of the Treaty of Trianon (Waterbury 2010: 30–31), had to give land to Romania in the east, Italy and Yugoslavia in the south, and Czechoslovakia and Poland in the north (Sunar – Yolcu 2012: 165).

The Treaty of Trianon had three major effects on the Hungarians. The first of these effects was the image of collapse, which reinforced the idea of political loneliness and insecurity for the Hungarians in Europe with the fragmentation of the Hungarian lands. The second effect was the establishment of the perception of the unreliable other, which has been firmly embedded in the Hungarian identity. The third effect was the emergence of ethnic and irredentist nationalism as a result of the Hungarians coming under the domination of other countries.[22]

22 After the Treaty of Trianon, the Hungarian minorities, who broke away from the homeland, tried to create political awareness in the regions they were in. These political awareness's have focused on providing international support and legitimacy in the context of the right to self-determination and keeping the motivation of attachment to the homeland alive (Waterbury 2010: 35–36).

At this point, it can be said that the Treaty of Trianon caused the birth of irredentist and revisionist nationalism in Hungary because the Hungarians felt unfairly tried, convicted and humiliated after the Treaty of Trianon (Waterbury 2010: 32). On the other hand, Hungarian revisionism was not affected by the aggressive revisionist policies of the period as much as the Germans and Italians. The Hungarians, who broke away from the homeland after the Treaty of Trianon, continued to raise political awareness in regions that they lived in.

History of Hungarian Turanism

The term Turanism is derived from the Persian word 'Turan', used to describe nomadic and anti-Iranian tribes living in Central Asia and the lands north of today's Iran.[23] Although Hungarians, who were surrounded by Germans and Slavs after they came to their homeland in Europe, tried to reduce their feelings of exclusion and loneliness by accepting Christianity in 1000, cultural differences did not disappear. The Hungarians, who did not want to be culturally assimilated after the adoption of Christianity, started the struggle to keep Hungary alive against the Germanic and Slavic nations in the region they lived in since the Middle Ages. Firstly, Hungarians, who tried to create a national identity for their state, considered the Huns and Attila as their ancestors and investigated the Hun-Hungarian partnerships. Especially the *'Gesta Hungarorum'* in the 13th century (Önen 2005: 51) and the *'Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum'* written by Mark Kalti in the 14th century led the Hungarians to search for their own past (Korkut 2017: 74). The desire of the Hungarians to research their own past continued in the 13th and 14th centuries, and many Hungarian clergies went to Central Asia.

Especially after the end of the Ottoman Empire's dominance in the region, the Hungarians, who came under the control of the Habsburgs in 1686, started to unite under the idea of 'Orientalism' by starting a strong nationalist movement – even though they were a privileged group within the empire – focused on the Hungarian culture, language and history against the Habsburg administration[24] (Breuilly 1994: 412–413). In this period, Hungarians, who had to face the 'Germanisation' policies implemented by the Habsburgs and the Romanian and Slovak immigrants sent to Budapest in the 18th century, then struggled against the Slavic threat that became stronger in the region. Particularly, during the Hungarians' 1848–1849 independence struggle, the joint action of the Habsburgs, Slavs, Russians and Austrians against the Hungarians and the

23 Geographically, it is not clear exactly which region the term Turan describes, but probably this region defines an area between the Caspian Sea and the Tian Shan (Önen 2005: 35).

24 Hungarians established the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1827 in order to put their culture, language and history-oriented movements on a scientific basis. This institution has naturally become the academic centre of these subjects.

Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism movements[25] that were strengthened in the region created and developed the thoughts of 'loneliness and third-class nation in Europe'[26] in the Hungarian society. The threats faced by the Hungarians in Europe, the idea of loneliness and the formation of national self-consciousness pushed the Hungarians to seek their own roots (Özkırımlı 2015; Kessler 1967: 9–13; Kaymaz 1975: 439).

The concept of Turan, which started to be used after the Hungarians settled in Europe, started to gain popularity in the second half of the 19th century when world politics turned to Central Asia. For this reason, the term Turan was first conceptualised in Hungarian literature as a geographical term by Ferenc Pulszky in 1839, as a race and language family in the book *'The Classification of Turanian Language'*, written by the German Turkologist Max Müller in 1854,[27] and as an anthropological concept by Géza Nagy (Duran – Orhun 2019: 558).

Since the 1850s, with the increasing interest in linguistic studies and Hungarian scientists on this subject, the Turan hypothesis has become scientifically

25 Hungary, which established an autonomous government as a result of the restructuring of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a dual monarchy in 1867, had lands inhabited by Slavic minorities (Breuilly 1994: 429). Especially in the 19th century, as the cultural and political assets of the Slavic minorities supported by Russia, which tried to accelerate the modernisation process, gained strength in Hungary, the Hungarians realised that not only the Pan-Germanic movements but also the Pan-Slavic movements posed a serious threat to the Hungarian culture and politics (Kessler 1967: 37–39). For this reason, in this period, Hungary started a strong assimilation policy against the Slavic minorities within itself (undoubtedly, the Austrian government had a role in this policy of the Hungarians. In fact, this policy aimed to stop Russia's expansionist policies by using Slavic minorities), but because this policy was severely criticised by France and England, Hungary got closer to Germany. However, this alliance came to an end as a result of the Hungarians' mistreatment of the German minority and the German-Austrian alliance was formed. The resulting political and economic conditions caused Hungarian nationalists to turn their faces to the east. The main purpose of this policy was to get closer to Germany against the rising Pan-Slavic threat. As a result, Hungary's eastward-turning policies resulted in the strengthening of the relations between Turanism and Hungarian nationalists (Özdoğan 2002: 63–64).

26 Hungarians' thoughts of loneliness and third-class nation in Europe, have developed especially with the negative attitudes of the European nations against the Hungarians for a long time. For example, in medieval sources, the Hungarians were depicted as an 'Asian race', 'barbarians', 'a foreign group' and a 'nation excluded from the Indo-European language family' (Sinor 1966: 21). Also, in the 18th century, the Germans portrayed the Hungarians as 'a community that should be sent back to Asia'. In the Paris Peace Conference, on the other hand, Hungarians were depicted as 'a cruel and rude Turan tribe' and as 'a nation that disrupted the traditional and deep-rooted order of Europe, like the Turks'. These views and discourses of Western European countries about Hungarians played an important role in the formation of nationalism and Turanism ideas that developed in Hungarians (Borsody 1988: 26–27). On the other hand, in 1896, the French Turkologist Leon Cahun interpreted the Asian nomads, which had been known as 'backward' civilizations until then, as 'societies with their own special histories' in his book *'Introduction a l'historie l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols des Origines a 1405'*. This interpretation of Cahun played an important role in the increase of Turanist feelings in Hungary (Akbaba 2017: 542).

27 Müller, who divided the world languages into three as Indo-European/Aryan, Semitic and Eurasian (Turan/Ural-Altaic) in his book, revealed the origin of Turanism (Korkut 2017:74). Müller stated that the Ural-Altaic language family is a part of the agglutinative Central Asian language and was used by 'warrior and nomadic tribes' and stated the Hungarians as a nation that fit this linguistic and cultural structure (Winternitz 1985: 145). Although this idea was later refuted by other studies and emphasised that the term is only a geographical term, it formed an important basis for ongoing studies.

important in Hungary. The term Turan, which has been discussed through linguistic research since this date, was developed by Pál Hunfalvy, who wanted to establish this subject on scientific grounds, founded the Hungarian Ethnographic Society[28] in 1889 and believed that the Hungarian language includes elements from both Ural-Altaic and Finno-Ugrian language families (Winternitz 1985: 149). Then, in 1895, Géza Nagy (Ármin Vámbéry's student) used the term both as a synonym for the Ural-Altaic language family and as an anthropological concept to describe Central Asian nomads such as the Huns, Tatars, Turks, Kyrgyz – and even Koreans and Japanese[29] (Laszlo 2010: 10; Kessler 1967: 68–71). Apart from these researches, undoubtedly, the most important regional studies were those conducted in the 19th century by Sándor Kőrösi Csoma and Ármin Vámbéry.[30] Csoma's studies on the homeland of the Hungarians increased the interest of the Hungarians in their past homeland. On the other hand, Vámbéry's studies[31] have concluded that the Hungarian language and race are related to the Turks (Vámbéry 1882; Vámbéry 1895). As a result, the orientalist studies of both Csoma and Vámbéry and the aim of the term Turan to establish political unity among all Turanian peoples on an ethno-cultural basis contributed significantly to the strengthening and spread of the 'Turan' movement and Hungarian nationalism in Hungary.

As a result of the orientalist studies of Csoma and Vámbéry, the idea of Turan[32] was adopted and accepted as a geographical, historical and ethno-cultural concept by the Hungarian elite who supported a new national ideology.

28 Although the society initially supported the Finn-Ugrian school against the Ural-Altaic school, it started to support the Ural-Altaic school after 1890 (Kessler 1967: 67). As a defender of the Ural-Altaic school, the society started to publish the journal *'Keleti Szemle'* (Oriental Review) in 1900 and played an important role in the international promotion of this school.

29 There are important Byzantine, Arab and Iranian sources emphasising that the Hungarians are a people of Asian-Turkish origin. Undoubtedly the most important of these examples are the inscription *'ΓΕΩΒΙΤΖΑC ΠΙΣΤΟC ΚΡΑΛΗC ΤΟΥΡΚΙΑC' (Geovitzas, faithful King of the Land of the Turks)* on the Holy Crown of Hungary and the Greek Orthodox Church naming the Hungarian Orthodox Church as 'Metropolitanate of Tourkia' (Baan 1999: 46).

30 The orientalist studies of Hungarians during this period were divided into academic and political studies. Studies that focused on the Ural-Altay thesis academically, focused on Turanism politically. Academic studies have formed the basis of political research on Turanism.

31 Ármin Vámbéry's work named *'A Magyarok Eredete'* (The Origin of the Hungarians), published in 1882 stated that the Hungarian language, physiology and anthropology showed features closer to the Turks (Kessler 1967: 67–68). The most important feature of this study was the introduction of Turan as an ethnographic term to the Hungarian public and Hungarian academy. However, this evaluation led to an academic war between Hungarian Turkology and the Finno-Ugric school *'Ugor-Török Haboru'* (Ugor--Turkish War) (Hubbes 2011: 5). One of the most important representatives of the Finno-Ugric school, Joszef Budenz's work *'Magyar-Ugor Összehasonlito'* (Hungarian-Ugric Comparison), published in 1881, revealed the similarities between the Hungarian language and the Finno-Ugric languages. However, as a result of the Ural-Altaic thought being more effective politically, it was concluded that the Hungarian language is a 'Turani' language formed by a mixture of Turkish-Ugric languages (Great Britain Naval Intelligence Division 2017; Winternitz 1985: 152).

32 The term Turanism was defined both positively and negatively, especially in Hungary at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. For example, Árpád Zempléni (1865–1919) in

In this period, the highly educated Hungarian upper classes, who were the spokesmen of the Hungarian national identity, did not ignore their eastern roots, and wanted to maintain their secular, modern and culturally traditional influence, supported the idea of Turan,[33] which they saw as an ideology against the western orientation (Kessler 1967: 17–18). For this reason, '*Turani Tarsasag*'[34] (Turan Society), which was founded in 1910[35] by a group of Hungarian elites, scientists and politicians, began to gain political and academic power in Hungary (Kessler 1967; Ablonczy 2005; Kincses 1991: 30; Önen 2003: 29–32). This society, which managed to survive until 1944, managed to be effective in the spread and strengthening of Turanism in Hungary as a defensive nationalist, economic expansionist and anti-liberal[36] ideology focused on political independence in Hungary, with the support of the Hungarian upper classes and official institutions[37] (Kövecsi-Olah 2012: 70–71; Önen, 2015; Önen 2003: 31–32). In addition, the journal named *'Turan'*, which the society started to publish in 1913, made economic, cultural, social and linguistic studies until 1944 (Oba 1995: 130), when the society was closed and made the real goals of Hungarian Turanism understandable (Önen 2015: 65; Korkut 2017: 75). The economic and financial structures of Asian countries, which is one of the most important is-

1917 and the Hungarian general dictionary Révai Nagy Lexikona (Volume XVIII, 1925) in 1925 stated that 'Turanism is an effort and a kind of self-defence for the cultural, economic and political rapprochement and cooperation of the Ural, Altai, Finnish and Mongolian peoples'. On the other hand, Gyula Germanus (1884–1979), Zoltán Szász and Miklós Kállay (1887–1967) stated that 'Turanism is an imaginary kinship, a product of imagination without a scientific basis, and a non-new idea-longing used to gain political interests' (Szasz 1916; Laszlo 2010).

33 The aim of Turanism, which received serious support in Hungary since the 1890s, was to secure the national rights of the Hungarians and to turn the Hungarians' face to the east politically and culturally. According to this situation, it was possible to talk about the three-way benefits of Turan for the Hungarians. These were, firstly, the Hungarians' preservation of their national unity, secondly, the liberation of Hungary from the oppression of the Viennese government, and finally, the restoration of the historical role as the representative of the Turan world in Europe (Kessler 1967: 12–13).

34 The most important aims of the society were: 'Geographical, historical, sociological, linguistic, archaeological and anthropological investigation of the roots of the Hungarians and their connections with the Ural-Altaic peoples, in accordance with the Hungarian national interests and study, dissemination, promotion and development of the national culture and economy of the Ural-Altaic peoples (Balkans, Ottoman and Middle East)' (Cholnoky 1940: 14; Kessler 1967: 29; Ablonczy 2005: 90).

35 '*Turáni Dalok'* (Turani Songs), published by Árpád Zempléni, who was known as 'the Prophet of Hungarian Turanism' in 1910, became the handbook of Hungarian Turanists at that time and had a great impact (Tanay 2018). This work of Zempléni stated that 'Hungarians' real brothers and sisters are in the East', as an expression of Hungarians' disillusionment with Europe (Önen 2003: 28). '*Turani Dalok'* and Zempléni mobilised the Hungarian Turanists and led the establishment of the '*Turani Tarsasag'* (Turan Society).

36 In the 19th century, there was a rapidly urbanising and developing bourgeois class in Hungary. However, the aristocratic class, the spokespersons of Hungarian nationalism, did not allow the liberal elements of the developing bourgeois class to be included in the cultural and political arena and wanted to preserve and maintain their own political and cultural influences. The most appropriate thought for the opposition of the Hungarian aristocratic class to the bourgeois-liberal wave was Turanism.

37 For this reason, the nationalist movements that developed in Hungary did not consist of unfounded populist movements, but of an elitist movement seeking a new ideology.

sues that the magazine especially focuses on (Paikert 1913), played an important role in the development of economic and financial Turanism, and this situation emerged clearly before and during the First World War[38].

The idea of Turanism was used to raise the awareness of Hungarian people belonging to the Turan race against the Pan-Germanic, Pan-Slavic and Pan--Orthodox movements that developed in the region (Korkut 2017: 77), as well as for Hungary's economic interests. So much so that, after the revolution in Russia, the thought of Turan became much more useful for Hungary politically and the word Turan gained geographical, linguistic and ethnic meanings. However, Hungary's loss of territory as a result of the Treaty of Trianon, which it had to sign after losing the First World War, created a great disappointment both for the Hungarian Turanists, who had expansionist goals and for the Hungarian Turanism.

Hungarian Turan in Inter-War Period

After the start of the First World War, the Hungarians began to seek alliances and common interests between the Ottomans and Bulgaria.[39] The deepening Hungarian-Turkish-Bulgarian-Japanese solidarity against common rivals – the Slavs and to the Russians – the thoughts that the Turanist expansion would take place with the support of the Russian Turks – Crimean Tatars, Kazan Tatars and Azeris – and that the defence policy that developed in connection with Hungary's loneliness in Europe would come to an end, made Hungarian Turanism gain popularity in Hungary with romantic and expansionist tendencies (Kessler 1967). Hungarian Turanists thought that they could achieve victory with their allies (German Empire-Austria-Hungarian Empire-Ottoman Empire and Kingdom of Bulgaria) at the end of the war,[40] realise the Turan ideal, increase

38 In 1916, while the First World War was going on, *'Magyar Keleti Kulturközpont'* (Hungarian Eastern Cultural Center) was added to the name of *'Turani Tarsasag'* (Turan Society) and with the support of important Hungarian scientists, it started to publish in English, German, French and Turkish languages (Kowalczyk 2017: 53; Oba 1995: 13). This change was made both for the promotion of Hungarian Turanism, which gained popularity in the First World War, to a wider audience, and for the society to establish the institutional framework of its research in Asia (Demirkan 2020: 48). On the other hand, in this period, the thoughts against Hungarian Turanism and Hungarian Turan societies became widespread in Hungary. People such as Zoltán Szász, Julius Németh and the journals *'Nyugat'* (West) and *'Magyar Szemle'* (Hungarian Review) represented an important opposition to the Hungarian Turanism and Hungarian Turan societies that developed in Hungary. Opponents and journals criticising Hungarian Turanism as 'a belief in imaginary ethnic relations', 'unrealistic and scientifically unfounded', criticised Turanian societies as 'places that damaged Turanism and produced rousing', and Hungarian society as 'a constant anti-European' (Dow 2002: 31–35).

39 The potential of solidarity between Hungarians, Turks and Bulgarians during the war was recognised by the allies. The Allies evaluated this rapprochement as 'a solid bloc stretching from the Middle Danube to Mesopotamia', 'a union with extraordinary political potential' and 'a strong move against the common enemy Russia' (Stoddard 1917: 21).

40 The fact that Hungarian Turanists participated in the First World War alongside the German Empire of Aryan origin, to which they were ideologically opposed to, shows that Hungarian Turanism contains

their economic interests in Southeast Europe, and end the Pan-Slavic threat in the region by rising to the position of the leader of all Turan nations/race. However, the loss of the war was the beginning of change for Hungarian Turanism, Hungarian Turanists and Turan Societies.

Changes in Hungarian Turanism, Hungarian Turanists and Turanian Societies had two main turning points. The first turning point of change was experienced in 1922 with the emergence of Italian fascism. The Turanists' acceptance of Mussolini as the leader of a bloodless coup and their admiration for his resistance against socialism and anarchy enabled the Hungarian Turanists to gain power during the Horthy period (Demirkan 2000: 58; Szendrei 2010: 29). The second turning point of the change is that Turanism, which was introduced by Vámbéry in Hungary, took a different shape in Hungary during and after the war. Differentiating from Vámbéry's narrative, Turan became a nationalist movement that started to target the Jewish community, which these structures housed, as a precaution taken against both the communist structuring that came to power after the war – Pan-Slavic and Russian hostilities of the Turanists began to evolve into anti-communism in this period – and the developing bourgeois class (Szabo 2003).

After the war, the first step of the change in Hungarian Turanism, Hungarian Turanists and Turan Societies was seen in the first '*Turan'* magazine issue of 1918. The defeat in the war caused the Hungarians to change their understanding of Turanism, and it was written that Turan, which had previously been attributed to linguistic and political meanings, was only a term associated with geography and economic interests (Önen 2003: 42–46). According to this definition, Hungarian Turanism was not only a result of the alienation of Hungarians from other European countries but an instrumental ideology as a result of Hungarians and Turanians seeking economic interests. However, the Hungarian Turanists, who believed that Turanism had a hidden political agenda, managed to keep the Turan ideology in Hungarian politics, with some changes, until the beginning of the Second World War, despite the defeat in the First World War (Oğuz 2005: 107).

The communist terror experienced in Hungary in 1919 after the First World War caused turmoil and chaos in the society, seriously damaged the power of Béla Kun and did not make it possible to support any idea or ideology in the country. After the end of Béla Kun's rule, under the rule of Miklós Horthy, who became the head of Hungary, Turan thought and societies started to gain power again and three main Turan societies/groups were formed. These were: '*Kőrösi Csoma Tarsasag'*[41] (Kőrösi Csoma Society), an academic group founded under

various contradictions. However, on the other hand, this situation can also be interpreted as a policy emphasising the priority of Hungarian citizens.

41 Teleki argued that 'Turan is a geographical and ethno-cultural structure and there is no scientific evidence for the common origin of the Turan peoples'. For this reason, Teleki considered the political Turan as

the leadership of Count Teleki, '*Magyarorszagi Turan Szövetseg'* (Hungarian Turan Association), which was founded with the participation of nine Turanist societies under the leadership of Jenő Cholnoky and showed radical features, and '*Turani Tarsasag'* (Turan Society), which was reactivated under the leadership of Gyula Pekár[42].

These Turanist societies, which developed between the two wars, were influential in Hungary with different views, despite the difficult conditions in Hungary after the war. Especially in this period, due to the financial difficulties in Hungary, Turanist societies started to need the donations of their members to survive. For example, '*Turani Tarsasag'* (Turan Society), which started to operate again under the leadership of Pekár, was obliged to Pekár and Pekár's connections, although it received support from the Hungarian government. This obligation of the society to Pekár caused the society to become a personal organisation of Pekár until his death in 1937[43] (Kessler 1967). On the other hand, the radical '*Magyarorszagi Turan Szövetseg'* (Hungarian Turan Association), founded by members who left the '*Turani Tarsasag'* (Turan Society) group, focused less on academic studies and worked to make political Turanism a popular ideology in Hungary. However, in the interwar period, '*Turani Tarsasag'* (Turan Society) played a much more important role in Hungarian politics until 1937 with the support of Hungary's political elite.

In the interwar period, other Turanian societies were established in Hungary apart from the main societies. These groups, which were not as influential as '*Magyarorszagi Turan Szövetseg'* (Hungarian Turan Association) and '*Turani Tarsasag'*[44] (Turan Society), were generally much more radical and neo-pagan (like '*Turani Egyistenhivok'* (Turan Monotheists) Turanist groups than the two main societies (some even inspired by German National Socialism (Turmezei, 1935)) (Kessler 1967). The biggest reason why these groups – especially neo-pagan Turanist groups – were not successful is that they could not get the support of

a concept far from scientific reality (Demirkan 2020: 44–45). However, these studies have been useful for the Turanian thought, which was popularised in Hungary, quickly became politicised and based on ideas such as common origin, myths, destiny, race and romance (although it doesn't need scientific evidence (Schmidt 1925) (Turda 2010: 33–39).

42 Despite the different groups that formed, Hungarian Turanists operated under the roof of two main societies. These groups were the radical '*Magyarorszagi Turan Szövetseg'* (Hungarian Turan Association) led by Cholkony and the '*Turani Tarsasag'* (Turan Society) founded in 1910. Showing radical features in the interwar period, '*Turan Szövetseg'* (Turan Association) focused on anti-aristocratic, anti-capitalist, anti-bureaucratic, anti-modernist, anti-Western and anti-European, racist, anti-Pan-Germanic and anti--Pan-Slavic ideas. Despite *Turan Szövetseg*'s radicalism, although the two societies did collaborate from time to time, *Turani Tarsasag* played a more active role thanks to the political elites who supported it and the Turan magazine, which started to be published again (Kowalczyk 2017: 54–55).

43 Gyula Pekár's death in 1937 temporarily interrupted the work of the society.

44 '*Turani Tarsasag'* (Turan Society) criticised the Horthy regime in the interwar period and its successor, *'Nyilaskeresztes Part – Hungarista Mozgalom'* (Arrow Cross Party), headed by Ferenc Szálasi, for being pro-German/Pro-Aryan (Turmezei 1935).

the Horthy regime, which was founded on Christian values. '*Turani Tarsasag'* (Turan Society), which started to gain strength again under the leadership of Hungarian Turanists and Jenő Cholnoky, who thought that the Second World War could be a potential source of revision against the Treaty of Trianon, gained the support of Hungarian citizens (Kessler 1967).

Talking about the unity of Turan in the 1930s and undertaking the task of being a bridge between the peoples of Asia and Europe, the Turanists attributed a racist meaning to Turan, considering the potential for an alliance between Bulgaria, and Japan and other Turan nations. In this way, Turan thought differed from the anti-Pan-Slavic and anti-Pan-Germanic thought on which it was founded, and took on an anti-Semitic, anti-Aryan form, and became a thought meant to 'unite of all Turanian peoples'. Turanism became a discourse of the Hungarian radical right, especially in the first half of the 20th century, and started to gain strength in the interwar period. With the influence of Hungarian Turanists being influenced by Mussolini's actions in Italy, the fascist thought, totalitarian government support, racism and anti-communism that developed among the Hungarian Turanists became the structures that formed the basis of the Turanian thought (Demirkan 2020: 60). Hungarian Turanists, who started to seek ways to cooperate with Turkish nationalists under the influence of these ideas (Çolak 2011: 94), advocated strategic rapprochement with Japan after Japan's invasion of Manchuria and the Germany-Japan alliance.

However, the heavy defeat at the end of the Second World War again disappointed the Hungarian Turanists. After the German supporter Ferenc Szálasi's rule in Hungary, Hungary became a communist country because of the occupation by the Soviet Union. This has resulted in the withdrawal, banning and marginalisation of all Turanian activities in Hungary and all Turanian activities (publications, organisations and societies) have become almost completely dysfunctional by 1989.

Conclusion

Hungarians, who have a very different structure from their neighbours in Europe in terms of both language and culture, have tried to adapt to European culture, but they have not been very successful in providing cultural and political adaptation. For this reason, Hungarian Turanism, which developed in a cultural and linguistic focus, should be accepted as a unique ideology in the context of its relations with European and non-Christian peoples. Hungarian Turanism, which developed as a defence in Hungary, and was influenced by Pan ideologies in Europe, has turned into a search for identity and a political and economic re-existence in this direction.

Although the 1848 Revolution initiated by the Hungarians against the Habsburgs failed, it laid an important foundation for the development of Hungarian

ethnic identity. Especially in this process, Russia's support of the Habsburgs led to the creation of the 'other' picture in the Hungarian identity and the Hungarian identity to have an ethno-cultural structure. The Treaty of Trianon, which was another breaking point of Hungarian nationalism, caused the Hungarians to develop a feeling of alienation and loneliness in Europe. So much so, that Hungary lost most of its territory and its population because of the Treaty of Trianon, causing 'irredentism' and 'pan-nationalist' ideas to play a dominant role in Hungarian nationalism. For this reason, Hungarian Turanism, which manifests itself as an expression of geographical imagination, emerged as the strategic expansion of the Hungarians, who were isolated in Europe and felt the threat of Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism.

Although the influence of Hungarian Turanism decreased with revisionist movements after the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary was included in the Second World War on the side of the Germans in line with the Hungarian political goals that developed in the inter-war period. In Hungary, which was occupied by the Soviet Union after the loss of the war, nationalism changed shape and turned into a struggle for 'establishment' and 'liberation'. At this point, although the Hungarian uprising against the Soviet Union in 1956 ended in failure, this struggle can be considered as an extremely important event for Hungarian nationalism.

It seems that the idea of Turanism, which has survived the political conditions Hungary has been through for a long time, is not just a fantasy revealed by wars (Schmidt, 1925). It is an active thought with a social base and mass culture, which should not be taken lightly in Hungary.

So much so that Hungarian nationalism, which started to develop again after the democratisation movements in Hungary, had an important role in the re-development of Hungarian Turanism and its inclusion in Hungarian politics, especially between 2003–2018, under the leadership of Jobbik and certain groups. On the other hand, the Mi Hazank party, founded by radical-minded members who left the party after Jobbik changed its policies and became a more liberal and European supporter party in 2018, defends radical views in Hungary today. At this point, modern Hungarian Turanism, represented by the Hungarian radical right, is becoming more popular in the crisis environment of the West with its opposition to the European Union, NATO, globalisation and liberalism. Moreover, Hungarian nationalism, which developed in a political environment where the effects of the Treaty of Trianon signed after the First World War became entrenched, also provides a suitable environment for the development of Hungarian Turanism.

References

Ablonczy, B. (2005): *'Pal Teleki (1879–1941)',* Budapest.

Akbaba, Y. (2017):. *'Eski Türk Tarihi Araştırmalarının İlki Öncü İsmi: Mustafa Celaleddin Paşa ve David Leon Cahun (Two Pioneers of Ancient Turkish History Studies: Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha and David Leon Cahun)',* SUTAD, 42, 531–546.

Akçalı, E. – Korkut, U. (2012): 'Geographical Matanarratives in East-Central Europe: Neo-Turanism in Hungary*', Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 53(5), 596–614.

Armstrong, John (1982): *'Nations Before Nationalism',* The University of North Carolina Press.

Baan, I. (1999): 'The Metropolitanate of Tourkia. The Organization of the Byzantine Church in Hungary in the Middle Ages', in Prinzing, Günter and Salamon, Maciej. *'Byzanz und Ostmitteleuropa 950–1453 (Byzantium and East-Central Europe 950–1453)',* Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 45–55.

Biro, A. Z – Zalan, A. – Volgyi, A. – Pamjav, H. (2009): 'A Y-Chromosomal Comparison of the Madjars (Kazakhstan) and the Magyars (Hungary)', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 139(3), 1–6.

Borsody, S. (1988): *'The Hungarians: A Divided Nation',* Yale Center for International and Area Studies.

Breuilly, J. (1994): *'Nationalism and the State',* The University of Chicago Press.

Calhoun, C. (1997): *'Nationalism',* University of Minnesota Press.

Carr, E. (1968): *'Nationalism and After',* Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Cartledge, B. (2011): *'The Will to Survive A History of Hungary',* Columbia University Press.

Cholnoky, J. (1940): *'Ös Hazabol Uj Hazaba',* Nemzeti Könyvar, 20, 1–32.

Connor, W. (1992): 'The Nation and Its Myth', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 33, pp. 48–57.

Çiloğlu, B. (2019): *'1848–1849 Macar Özgürlük Mücadelesi ve Macar Mülteciler Meselesi (1848–1849 Hungarian Freedom Struggle and Hungarian Refugee Issue)',* Master Thesis, University of Hacettepe, Ankara.

Çolak, M. (2011): *'Macar Turancıları ve Atatürk (Macar Kaynaklarına Göre) (Hungarian Turanists and Atatürk (According to Hungarian Sources))',* Türk Yurdu Magazine, 290, Ankara.

Demirkan, T. (2020): *'Macar Turancıları (Hungarian Turanians)',* Selenge Publishing, Istanbul.

Dow, F.(2002): *'The Broken Crown: Reappraisals of Hungarian Identity in the Interwar Years',* available at https://www.europeana.eu/ga/item/92006/BibliographicResource_1000095227587 (24. 6. 2021).

Duran, A. – Orhun, F. (2019): 'Macarlar, Macaristan ve Turancılık (Hungarians, Hungary and Turanism)', *History Studies*, 11(2), 557–571.

Feher, M. (2014): *'Hungarian Court Rules Newscasters Can't Deem Jobbik Far-Right'.* available at https://www.wsj.com/articles/BL-NEB-7618 (3. 7. 2021).

Great Britain Foreign Office (1919): *'The Rise of the Turks – The Pan-Turanian Movement'.*

Great Britain Naval Intelligence Division (2017): *'A Manual on the Turanians and Pan-Turanianism'*, Forgotten Books.

Güngörmüş, N. (2010): *'Macaristan'da Değişim ve Demokrasiye Geçiş (1989–2009) (Change and Transition to Democracy in Hungary (1989–2009))'*, Köksav Publishing.

Gyöngyösi, M. *'Statement of Jobbik Against Accusations re Breivik-Case'*. available at https://www.jobbik.com/statement_jobbik_against_accusations_re_breivik-case.

Hayes, Ca. (2016): *'Nationalism: A Religion'*, Routledge.

Hubbes, L.-A. (2011): *'A Comparative Investigation of Romanian and Hungarian Ethno-Pagan Blogs'*, Reconect Working Papers, 2, 1–12.

Jobbik.com (2010): *'Gabor Vona: Europe Kept Silent – Interview'*, available at http://www.jobbik.com/gabor_vona_europe_kept_silent_-_interview.

Jobbik.com (2013): *'Gabor Vona: The Future of Eurasia will be Based on Traditions'*, available at https://www.jobbik.com/g%C3%A1bor_vona_future_eurasia_will_be_based_traditions. (5. 7. 2021).

Jobbik.com (2020): *'Jobbik's Brief History'*, available at https://www.jobbik.com/short_summary_about_jobbik. (3. 7. 2021).

Kadıoğlu, M. (2014): *'Turan Yolunda: Macaristan İzlenimleri ve Turancılık (On the Road to Turan: Impressions of Hungary and Turanism)'*, Türk Dünyası Research Foundation, Istanbul.

Kaymaz, N. (1977): *'Türkçü Tarih Görüşü (Turkist View of History)'*, Philosophy Institution Seminar, Ankara, 433–443.

Kazemzadeh, F. (1968): 'Pan Movements', in Shills, David. *'Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences'*, 2, 365–370.

Kedourie, E. (1993): *'Nationalism'*, Blackwell Publishers.

Kenez, P. (2009): *'Reviving Racism and Nationalism: Hungary Moves to the Right'*, The New Leader, November/December.

Kessler, J. (1967): *'Turanism and Pan-Turanism in Hungary: 1890–1945'*, University of California.

Kincses, E. (1991): *'A Turani Gondolat (Turan Thought)'*, Östörtenet es Nemzettudat, 1919–1931, Balassi Publishing.

Kohn, H. (1948): *'Encyclopedia of Nationalism'*, Paragon House, New York.

Kohn, H. (1948): 'Pan-Movements'. *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 2, 544–553.

Kohn, H. (1953): *'Pan-Slavizm, Its History and Ideology'*, Indiana University Press.

Kohn, H. (1955): *'Nationalism: Its Meaning and History'*, Van Nostrand Company.

Kohn, H. (1960): *'The Idea of Nationalism'*, The Macmillan Company, New York.

Korkut, U. (2017): 'Resentment and Reorganization: Anti-Western Discourse and the Making of Eurasianism in Hungary', *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, 38, 71–90.

Kowalczyk, M. (2017): 'Hungarian Turanism. From the Birth of the Ideology to Modernity – an Outline of the Problem', *Historia i Polityka*, 20 (27), 49–63.

Kövecsi-Olah, P. (2012): *'A Török es a Magyar Turanizmus Kapcsolata a 20.Szazad elsö Feleben (The Relationship between Turkish and Hungarian Turanism in the First Half of the 20th Century)',* Keletkutatas, Budapest.

Kurat, N. (1952): 'Panslavizm', *AÜDTCF Magazine*, 10–11(1–4), 241–278.

Kurultaj.hu. *'Mi a Kurultaj? (What is Kurultaj?)',* available at http://kurultaj.hu/kurultaj/. (27. 6. 2021).

Landau, J. (1995): *'Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation',* Indiana University Press.

Laszlo, S. (2010): *'A Turanizmus',* Attraktor.

Lemke, T. (2001): 'The Birth of Biopolitics: Michel Foucault's Lecture at the Colled de France on Neo-Liberal Governmentality', *Economy and Society*, 30(2), 190–207.

Macartney, C. (1953): *'The Medieval Hungarian Historians: A Critical and Analytical Guide',* Cambridge University Press.

Magocsi, P. –– Pop, I. (2002): *'Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture',* University of Toronto.

Molnar, M. (2001): *'A Concise History of Hungary',* Cambridge University Press.

Nemeth, G. (1930): *'A Honfoglalo Magyarsag Kialakulasa (Formation of the Conquering Hungarians)',* Budapest.

Oba, E. (1995): *'Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Doğuşu (The Birth of Turkish Nationalism)',* Ankara.

Oğuz, A. (2005): *'The Interplay between Turkish and Hungarian Nationalism: Ottoman Pan-Turkism and Hungarian Turanism (1890–1918)',* The Middle East Technical University Master Thesis, Ankara.

Önen, N. (2003): *'Turancı Hareketler: Macaristan ve Türkiye (1910–1944) (Turanist Movements: Hungary and Turkey (1910–1944))',* Ankara University PhD Thesis, Ankara.

Önen, N. (2005): *'İki Turan: Macaristan ve Türkiye'de Turancılık (Two Turan: Turanism in Hungary and Turkey)',* İletişim Publishing.

Özdoğan, G. (2002): *'Turan'dan Bozkurt'a: Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük (1931–1946) (From Turan to Bozkurt: Turkism in the One-Party Era (1931–1946))',* İletişim Publishing.

Özkırımlı, U. (2000): *'Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction',* Palgrave, New York.

Özkırımlı, U. (2015): *'Milliyetçilik Kuramları: Eleştirel Bir Bakış (Nationalism Theories: A Critical Look)',* East-West.

Paikert, A. (1913): 'Azsia Jövöje (The Future of Asia)', *Turan*, 1(1), 7–14.

Rapport, M. (2010): *'1848: Year of Revolution',* Basic Books.

Rev, I. (2015): *'Hungary's Politics of Hate',* available at https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/26/opinion/hungarys-politics-of-hate.html. (3. 7. 2021).

Schmidt, J. (1925): *'Turanizmus',* Nyugat, 20.

Sinor, D. (1966): *'History of Hungary',* Praeger, New York.

Smith, A. (1986): *'The Ethnic Origins of Nations',* Blackwell Publishing.

Smith, A. (1991): *'National Identity',* Penguin Books, London.

Snyder, L. (1968): *'The New Nationalism',* Cornell University Press, New York.

Snyder, L. (1990): *'Macro-Nationalisms'* Encyclopedia of Nationalism, Paragon House.

Stoddard, L. (1917): 'Pan-Turanism', *The American Political Science Review*, 11(1), 12–23.

Sunar, B. – Yolcu, S. (2012): *'*Orta Avrupa'da Yalnız Bir Asyatik Devlet: Macaristan (1848–1943) (A Lonely Asiatic State in Central Europe: Hungary (1848–1943))*',* in Okay, Yeliz. *'Macar Kardeşler (Hungarian Brothers)',* Doğu Publishing, 151–173.

Szabo, M. (2003): *'Az Ujkonzervativizmus es a Jobboldali Radikalizmus Törtenete (1867–1918) (New Conservatism and the History of Right-wing Radicalism (1867–1918))',* Budapest.

Szasz, Z. (1916): *'Turanizmus',* Nyugat, 16.

Tanay, Y. (2018): *'Macaristan'da Turancılığın Gelişmesi Tarihi (History of the Development of Turanism in Hungary)',* available at https://www.tahtapod.com/blog/macaristan-da-turanciligin--gelismesi-tarihi. (23. 6. 2021).

Taylor, A. J. P. (1976): *'The Habsburh Monarchy, 1809–1918: A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary',* The University of Chicago Press.

Turan, N. (2012): '1699 Karlofça'ya Kadar Orta Avrupa'da Bir Osmanlı Üssünün Tarihi: Macaristan (History of an Ottoman Base in Central Europe until 1699 Karlowitz: Hungary)*',* in Okay, Y. *'Macar Kardeşler: Macar-Türk İlişkileri Üzerine Makaleler (Hungarian Brothers: Articles on Hungarian-Turkish Relations)',* Istanbul, 9–30.

Turda, M. (2010): 'Entangled Traditions of Race: Physical Anthropology in Hungary and Romania (1900–1940)', *Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology*, 58, 32–46.

Turmezei, L. (1935): *'A Turan Sajtoiroda es Törtenete',* Budapest.

Ungvary, K. (2012): *'Turanism: the 'New' Ideology of the Far-Right',* available at http:// budapesttimes-archiv.bzt.hu/2012/02/05/turanism-the-new-ideology-of-the-far-right/. (17. 6. 2021).

Uslu, A. (2014): *'Macaristan'da Milliyetçilik ve Turancılık: Jobbik Örneği (Nationalism and Turanism in Hungary: The Example of Jobbik)',* 21.Yüzyıl, 62, 67–72.

Vámbéry, Á. (1882): *'A Magyarok Eredete: Ethnologiai Tanulmany (The Origin of the Hungarians: Ethnological Study)',* A Magyar Tudomanyos Akademia Könyvkiado Hivatala: Budapest.

Vámbéry, Á. (1887): *'Hungary: In Ancient, Medieval and Modern Times'.*

Vámbéry, Á. (1895): *'A Magyarsag Keletkezese es Gyarapodasa (The Formation and Growth of the Hungarians)',* Budapest.

Waterbury, M. (2010): *'Between State and Nation: Diaspora Politics and Kin-State Nationalism in Hungary',* Palgrave Macmillan.

Watson, S. (1977): *'Nations and State',* Westview Press.

Winternitz, J. (1985): 'The 'Turanian' Hypothesis and Magyar Nationalism in the Nineteenth--Century', in Sussex, Roland and Eade, J. C. *'Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Europe',* Slavica Publishers, 143–158.

Zizek, S. (2000): 'Why We All Love to Hate Haider?', *New Left Review*, 2, 37–45.

Attila Gökhun Dayıoğlu *was born in Istanbul (Turkey) in 1992. He completed his undergraduate education in Political Science Department of Işık University between 2010–2015 and his master's degree in Political Science Department of Wroclaw University between 2015–2017, where he continues his academic education as a PhD candidate since 2017. His main areas of interest are politics of the Visegrad region, far-right and right-wing parties, far-right parties in the Visegrad countries, right--wing populism, Hungarian politics and Fidesz. E-mail: a.gokhun@hotmail.com; ORCID: 0000–0001–7197–1670.*