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# THE VOICE OF THE VANISHED EMPIRE FROM A FOREIGN LAND: TURKISH-OTTOMAN *MEDENIYET* NEWSPAPER IN BULGARIA IN THE 1930s

### Abstract

This research looks at the *Medeniyet*, a Turkish newspaper, launched in 1933 in Bulgaria. The goal is to show historical and political contexts of the newspaper, published in Ottoman language and opposing to Kemalists in Turkey, and discover main topics of its first ten issues. Research draws upon primary sources, never examined thoroughly before. At the end, all titles of the issues are given in modern Turkish transcription and in translation to English.

**Keywords:** Medeniyet, Turkish-Ottoman Press, Turks in Bulgaria, Kemalism, Turkish-Bulgarian Relations, Interwar Europe

The history of the Ottoman press began with the newspaper *Takvim-i Vekai*, which was launched in 1831. The first private newspaper, *Tercuman-i Ahval*, appeared 30 years later, and since the 1860s, there has been a rapid growth of the media in the Ottoman empire. This process did not bypass the Turks in Bulgaria.

With the expansion of the territory and the influence of the Ottoman Empire in Europe in the 14th and 15th century, the migration of Oguz Turks to the lands of modern Bulgaria began. By the time of the Russian–Turkish war of 1878, the Turkish-speaking population was about one third of the population of Bulgaria, and by the end of the 19th century, it made up about 14% of the population<sup>2</sup>. According to other sources, by 1900, the Turks made up 31.6% of the population<sup>3</sup>.

The size of the audience of the Turkish–Ottoman press in Bulgaria is confirmed by the number of newspapers produced—Acaroglu counted 125 of them up to 1944<sup>4</sup> — and the variety of views and trends presented. Autonomy, followed by the independent status of Bulgaria, served as a defense for the freedom of the Turkish–Ottoman press. Until the early 1930s, opposing (the ruling

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<sup>2</sup> Ali Eminov, *Turkish and other Muslim minorities in Bulgaria*, Routledge, New York, 1997, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Haşim Ertürk, Rasim Eminoğlu, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Bulgaristan'da Türk-İslam eğitimi ve kültür müesseseleri ve Medresetü'n-*Nüvvab, İstanbul, İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültürünü Araştırma Vakfı, 1993, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Türker Acaroğlu, Bulgaristan'da Türk 120 yıllık Türk gazeteciliği: 1865-1985, İstanbul, Gazeteciler Cemiyeti, 1990, pp. 3-65.

regime in Istanbul and Ankara) media had the opportunity to express its creators' views without fear of being closed immediately. The 1920s in Bulgaria was perhaps the most democratic era and the most fruitful ground for Turkish–Ottoman media in the country's entire history.

Karagoz divides the Turkish–Ottoman media outlets in Bulgaria from 1879 to 1945 into four groups:

1. Newspapers issued by the "rebels against the sultan" and the "enlightened Turks," who settled across the world, including those in Bulgaria, who were the supporters of the reforms (Karagöz, 1945, p. 3).

2. Party newspapers.

3. Nationalist and revolutionary newspapers.

4. Newspapers that were issued by the "reactionaries and hodjas" who fled from Turkey<sup>5</sup>.

Urgandokur referred to the following newspapers from the period of 1923– 1933 as being in the second group: *Chiftci Bilgisi, Ziya, Tundca,* and *Dostluk. Turan, Ozdilek, Istikbal, Rodop, Deliorman,* and others were placed in the third group (Urgandokur also listed the newspapers that Karagoz singled out into a separate first group). The fourth category includes *Aciksoz, Rumeli, Yarin,* and other newspapers, including *Medeniyet*, which is the subject of my research<sup>6</sup>.

# **Description of the Newspaper**

The newspaper *Medeniyet* [culture or civilization from Turkish/Arabic] was launched in September 1933 in Plovdiv and was printed at the Zarafet printing house. From issue 7, the print was moved to Sofia and to the printing house Nuvvab. The newspaper was published once a week, and then after issue 15, it was published once every 10 days until the printer closed; then it was published once every two weeks.

The format of the newspaper is close to that of the folio, which is 31 cm x 47 cm and contains four pages.

Regarding the print run, the data varies from 300 to 2,750 copies, but it seems that actual circulation was close to 2,000 copies. (For comparison, the circulation of other popular newspapers was as follows: *Turan*, 1000 copies; *Terbiye*, 1,500 copies; *Balkan*, 800–3,000 copies; *Chiftci*, 1,500 copies; and *Deliorman*, 1,000 copies; and the majority of newspapers had not printed more than 200–500 copies.) The cost of *Medeniyet* was 3 leva, annual subscription - 100 l.

It was printed in Ottoman-Arabic script. The title of the newspaper and the output data were also given in Bulgarian.

The owner of the newspaper was Ahmet Hikmet from Ipsala (Edirne). Due

<sup>5</sup> Adem Ruhi Karagöz, Bulgaristan Türk basını: 1879-1945, İstanbul Üniversite Matbaası, İstanbul, 1945, pp. 3–4.

<sup>6</sup> Melisa Urgandokur, Türkiye - Bulgaristan ilişkileri (1923-1933) (Master thesis), Celal Bayar Üniversitesi, Manisa, 2004, p. 227.

to cooperation with the Greeks in seizing Edirne, he was expelled from Turkish borders in 1924. Hikmet was a deputy in Greece, then moved to Bulgaria, where he opened the newspaper *Acik Soz*. In 1931, the Bulgarian authorities closed it, and Hikmet was exiled to a village near Shumni. In 1932, he returned to Plovdiv.

The editor of *Medeniyet*, famous *sheikh* Yusuf Shinasi Yakubov previously edited *Intibah* and *Sada-i Islam*. The director and editor of *Intibah* was the active author of *Medeniyet*, Nejip Mustafa Asym (d. 1935); Asym was a deputy Bulgarian mufti and a teacher of the madrasah Nuvvab. *Intibah* was closed due to the attacks of nationalists and revolutionary newspapers and the active actions of the Turkish Foreign Ministry.

The director of *Medeniyet* was Hadji Mehmed Ahmedov (Asenovgrad, a native of Turkey), who was previously a co-owner of *Acik Soz*.

With the 26<sup>th</sup> issue, *Medeniyet* became the official body of the Society for the Advocates of the Religion of Islam.

From issue 240 onward, the director was Ahmet Pehlivan oglu.

The newspaper existed thanks to the financial support of the head muftiate of Bulgaria, as well as various "Turkish opposition forces"<sup>7</sup>.

# **Political Context of Medeniyet Newspaper**

The position of the Bulgarian Turks changed greatly after Bulgaria gained autonomy (1878-1879) and independence (1908). From the representatives of the "state-forming" nation in the colony, the Turks became a minority in the country with an Orthodox majority. The situation was complicated by the opposition of the new homeland and heirs of the old metropolis, as well as the change in the foreign policy orientation of the Bulgarian authorities to Russia and the West. To determine the status of Muslims in Bulgaria, the Ottoman model of the "millet" was taken, the basis of which was laid by the Neuilly Treaty (1919). For some time, the Turks of Bulgaria, who did not play an active role in political life in the country and made up the rural population, were outside of the focus of Sofia's policy. However, the worsening relationship between Turkey and Bulgaria in the late 1920s to early 1930s and the growing degree of Bulgarian nationalism caused the internal "Turkish factor" to be paid more attention. By 1933, almost all Turkish-Ottoman newspapers were closed. In the same year, in Ankara, a bilateral Greek-Turkish "cordial accord" agreement was signed, which was directed against Bulgaria as well. Perhaps this context served as a fertile ground for the appearance of the newspaper Medeniyet, the launch of which was suspiciously close in time to this event. In 1934, a military coup took place in Sofia, as a result of which power became concentrated in the hands of Tsar Boris, who pursued an

<sup>7</sup> Hakkı İsmail Okday, Bulgaristan'da Türk basını, Basın Yayın Genel Müdürlüü, Ankara, 1982, pp. 117–119.

authoritarian policy and began rapprochement with National Socialist Germany. He led Bulgaria until the occupation of the country by Soviet troops in 1944. "One should think about that," wrote Acaroglu, "why Medeniyet was the only newspaper allowed to go out in 1933-1944, that is, in the years of WWI!!"<sup>8</sup>. "When all the newspapers with new views are closed, this one continues to come out," said Karagoz, also hinting at the editorial connection with the Bulgarian authorities<sup>9</sup>. Despite the a priori negative attitudes of these authors toward the Muslim (and Kemalism-opposing) press, and as a result of some factual mistakes (some other newspapers did come out in those years, although for short time periods), we still have to find the answers to the questions they asked.

Russian researcher Naapetyan (also far from objectivity, he immediately accuses the Turks of being the "fifth column" in the title of his article), referring to the publication in Bulgaria Turks, emphasizes the opposition of Medeniyet to the Kemalists: "The conductor of the Republican government of Turkey ideology was Deliorman, while the more religious part of the Bulgarian Turks began publishing Medeniyet magazine, which carried out counterpropaganda against Ataturk"<sup>10</sup>.

No doubt exits concerning the continuity of Medeniyet with the previously issued Aciksoz and Intibah. Okday wrote about Aciksoz: "It represents the views of hodjas and refugees who opened the Nuvvab Madrasah in Shumen ... [It is the] organ of the Turkish Democratic Party in Paris"<sup>11</sup>. The connection of Medeniyet with the community of Madrasah Nuvvab is also obvious. As I said above, the newspaper was already being published at the printing house of the Madrasah beginning with the seventh issue. In addition, many authors of the articles were at the same time teachers in this madrassa. Hatiboglu, a modern author with Muslim views, believed that "in the beginning the newspaper defended the conservative line, then with an increase in the influence of the madrasah Nuvvab switched to reformist positions. [It] defended Islamic culture." Quoting the editor of Ahmet Hikmet, the researcher identified the goal of the publishers as follows: "To unite the true Muslims so that they protect religion, save the careless and youth from ignorance, religion from unworthy attacks, encourage the use of the laws of our country and show the direct path"<sup>12</sup>.

# The Main Themes of Medeniyet in 1933

The contents of the first 10 issues of Medeniyet (August 19-December 16,

<sup>8</sup> Türker Acaroğlu, *Bulgaristan'da Türk 120 yıllık Türk gazeteciliği: 1865-1985*, Gazeteciler Cemiyeti, İstanbul, 1990, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> Ruhi Adem Karagöz, Bulgaristan Türk basını: 1879-1945, İstanbul Üniversite Matbaası, İstanbul, 1945, pp. 59–60.

<sup>10</sup> Aykaram Naapetyan, *Turki Bolgarii: pyataya kolonna Ankary (Turks in Bulgaria: a Fifth Column of Ankara)*, 21 Vek, Vol. 5, No 1, 2007, p. 86.

<sup>11</sup> Hakkı İsmail Okday, Bulgaristan'da Türk basını, Basın Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, 1982, pp. 27–29.

<sup>12</sup> İbrahim Hatiboğlu, *Medeniyet*, İslâm Ansiklopedisi, TDV, İstanbul, Vol. 28, 2014, p. 302.

1933, containing more than 100 articles), which can generally be described as Islamic-political newspaper, can be classified according to the following topics.

1. Undoubtedly, the newspaper was politically oriented. Domestic and foreign policy were the most popular topics. The problems of international relations, especially those concerning Turkey, dominated the others. Greece, Austria and Germany, were often mentioned, and Russia, Central Asia, America, and other countries were also sometimes mentioned. Several issues in a row highlighted the union of Greece and Turkey, revealing the negative consequences of this treaty. Despite the fact that there were no categories in the newspaper, sometimes (apparently, when the number of messages was sufficient) the news was divided into intra-Bulgarian ("internal") and international ("external") news.

2. A lot of news covered the king of Bulgaria. For example, in 10<sup>th</sup> issue, there were a total of three stories (out of 17).

3. Kemalism and revolutionary ideologies in general, even from different corners of the globe, also occupied a significant share of publications in the context of threats to Bulgaria. The negative consequences for Kemalism in Turkey were shown through the decline of morality, the degradation of social relations, and so on. Sometimes, the newspaper's authors engaged in polemics with publications or statements by Kemalists. Representatives of Turkey in Bulgaria, the actions of the embassy, and the visits of certain Turkish politicians caused great concern to the editorial staff of the newspaper.

4. Almost every issue had news from Turkey. Apparently, they had no correspondents of their own, so the publications were mostly reprints—often with comments—from the national Turkish press.

5. The main redline of the newspaper, through the prism of which most of the topics were considered, was Islam. The newspaper had many articles both directly on Islamic theology and on topics related to religion, such as the introduction of the Latin alphabet and the development of world civilization. The very name of the newspaper (*Medeniyet*) means, according to the editorial in the first issue, "the Islamic civilization"<sup>13</sup>. The piety in relation to the monarchical regime and the caliphate is very noticeable.

6. Publications in the form of an appeal to the authorities of Bulgaria existed as well, and the editorial board clearly considered the authorities of Bulgaria as its audience. In particular, the publication addressed to the Minister of Education is very indicative:

As you know, in Turkey a republic has been established on a laicist basis... The basis of revolutions is youth... Schools in Turkey forbid religious

<sup>13</sup> Ahmet Hikmet, *Medeniyet nedir*, Medeniyet, Issue 1, Plovdiv, 1933, p. 1.

lessons. Spiritual and divine can not be taught to young people in any way, heavy punishments are foreseen for this. As young people do not comprehend the Creator [in school], they do not worship him. Moral values have completely changed. The policy of education is built on the basis of materialistic worldview, pleasure and debauchery (bohemianism). When there was a caliphate in Turkey, the Muslims were bound to it. Today, despite the fact that we are formally Turks; and because we are Muslims, our faith is strong and we are attached to it, we have no relationship with the godless revolution and the current government of Turkey. While there are free laws of Bulgaria, we do not need any patronage . . . But here some of the Turks want to introduce a laicist system like in Turkey. They have enlisted the support of some education inspectors and are sowing the seeds of turmoil . . .<sup>14</sup>

7. In addition to politics and Islam, the newspaper listed obituaries in a certain place, advertising (the Nuvvab printing house, in particular) news of the local Muslim community.

Thus, it can be argued that the Ottoman press continued to exist almost until the end of the World War II, despite the fact that the empire itself was long gone. The position and number of Muslim Turks living in Bulgaria was sufficient for a large number of press to be published, and only the policy of the authorities led to their almost complete disappearance in the early 1930s. Medeniyet, de facto representing an edition adapted to the political situation — a synthesis of pro-Muslim newspapers and magazines published before — was launched as a counterpoint to the common censor broomstick. At the same time, it cannot be said that the content of the newspaper was dictated by the Bulgarian government: this was a fairly authentic edition, where the authors were wellknown and competent Muslim figures who brought up guite acute topics in the sphere of politics, religion, culture and international relations. First of all, in 1933 Medeniyet represented the voice of the religious part of the Turkish minority, painfully adjusting to new realities and not always having time to reflect on the serious changes in public and political life that occurred in many European countries and in Bulgaria, in particular. Further study of the newspaper is extremely interesting because of the political context (strengthening Hitler's power, the allied relations of Bulgaria and Germany, relations with Turkey, World War II, etc.), as well as tracking the evolution of editorial and author's views on issues related to Islam and the position of the Turks in Bulgarian society.

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Below are all the headings of the first 10 issues of *Medeniyet*. I have transcribed them into modern Turkish and English. If there were no heading, the

<sup>14</sup> Ahmet Hikmet, Maarif Nazarı muhteremi dohtur Boyadjiev hazretlerine açık arz-ı hal, Medeniyet, Issue 9, Plovdiv, 1933, pp. 1-4.

main message is described in brackets in a few words. Headings are given in the order of reading priority from the first page to the fourth, from right to left, and from top to bottom, on separate pages.

lssue	Heading in Turkish	Heading in Turkish
№1, August 19, 1933	Mesleğimiz	Our vocation
	Medenyet nedir	What is civilization
	Beyanname-i dini	The religious manifesto
	Filibe'de nümayiş ve katl	The show and murder in Filibe
	Kuba'da 'isyan	Rebellion in Cuba
	Iraktaki ihtilal	The revolution in Iraq
	Türkiye'de	In Turkey
	Siyasi ziyaretler	Political visits
	Uzak Şark'de neler oluyor?	What is happening in the Far East?
	Sofiya kongresi	Sofia Congress
	Musiyev (Hayriyev) ne için seyahat ediyor	Why does Musiyev-Hayriyev travel?
	Radikal kongresinde	At the Congress of radicals
	Radikal kongresinin kararı	The decision of the Congress of radicals
	Almanya-Avusturya münasabeti	Relations between Germany and Austria
	Son bir ikaz	Last warning
№2, September 1, 1933	Medenyet nedir	What is civilization? [continuation]
	Yeni harf meselesi	The problem of the new alphabet
	Fransızlar, Alemi İslamı anarşiden kurtaracak ancak hilafetin iadesidir diyorlar	The French say that only the return of the caliphate will save the world of Is- lam from anarchy
	Bulgar maarif nezaretinin mühim bir kararı	One important decision of the Ministry of education of Bulgaria
	Asuri ne Nasturi isyanı	The Revolt of the Assyrians and Nesto- rians
	Mühim bir casusluk	An important event in the field of espionage
	İtibar	Attention
	Gençler okusun! //	Let the youth read!
	Mezahib müdür gospodin Guruyefin dikkatine	To the attention of the director [of the committee] on the affairs of religions, Mr. Guruyev

	Ben Kemalistim 'diyenler okusun!	Let those who say, "I am a Kemalist," read it!
	Zarafet Matbaası	Printing house Zarafet [advertising]
№3, September 10, 1933	Nur-ı İslam sönmeyecektir	The light of Islam will not go out
	Arz-ı teşekkür	Announcement of gratitude
	Harf meselesi	The problem with the new alphabet
	Zalim	Tyrant
	Viyana'da Türkiye'den kurtuluş bayramı	The holiday of salvation from Turkey in Vienna
	Viyana ihtifali	Celebrations in Vienna
	Irak emiri Feysal Bern'de öldü	The emir of Iraq Faisal died in Berne
№4, September 23, 1933	Türk - Yunan ittihadı: Bizans hakimiyeti ihya mı oluyor?	Turkish—Greek Union: revival of Byzan- tine rule?
	İslam'da hilafet	The Caliphate in Islam
	Türk - Yunan misakının metni	Text of the agreement between Turkey and Greece
	Yunan ricali Fener Patrikhanesinde	The Greeks in the church of Constanti- nople
	Yazıklar olsun!	A shame!
	Mücahid bir müfti //	A mujahid Mufti
№5, October 2, 1933	İnkılab karşısında Bulgaristan müsülmanları	Bulgarian Muslims in the face of revolu- tion
	Bulgar - Türk dostluğ	Bulgarian—Turkish Friendship
	Yunanlar tezvirata başladı	The Greeks started spreading lies
	Harb mağlülleri birliği	Union of War Veterans
	Türkiye nüfüsü artıyor	The population of Turkey is growing
	N/A	[About the death of Mustafa Fevzi]
	Şehzade Abdulkadir Efendi	Prince Abdulkadir Efendi
	N/A	[Turkish Consul in Plovdiv went to Kircali for a month for inspection]
	Hindenburg çekiliyor mu?	Hindenburg departs from politics?
	Viyana'da siyasi bir cinaye	Political assassination in Vienna
	Grajdansky klüb terhinmi ediliyor?	A civic club is taken hostage?
	ltizar	Apologies

	Şayan dikkat bir istihbara cevap	Answer to the information, worthy of attention
	Venizelos da Istanbulda!	Venizelos in Istanbul, too!
№ 6, October 12, 1933	Maarif Nazarı muhteremi dohtur Boy- adjiev hazretlerine açık arz-ı hal	An open letter to the esteemed Minister of education Boyadjiev
	Türk edipleri de cihan matbuatının hürriyetinden sıkılmağa başladılar	Turkish writers have begun to get tired of the freedom of the world press, too
	Fes giyenlere müjde	Good news for those who wear fez
	Türkiye müsülmanları ne günlere kimin ellerine kalmış, yahu!	Oh, God, in what hands the muslims of Turkey fell into, at what time!
	Dostluk hatırası	Reminder of friendship
	Türk - Yunan dostluğunun Bulgaristan- daki akisleri	Echo of Greek—Turkish Friendship in Bulgaria
	Tayinler	Appointments
	Türk-Yunan misakının semerelerinden bir numune	One of the fruits of the Turkish–Greek union
	N/A	[After the alliance with Greece, the Kemalists change teachers in Western Trakya and introduce their agents]
	Türk haberleri	News from Turkey
№7, November 13, 1933	Müslümanlarda buhranı-ictimai ve tedavisi	Social upheaval among Muslims and its treatment
	Eşkal-i idare	Formation of power
	N/A	[From a special reporter in Romania]
	Tarih-i ilm	History of Sciences
	N/A	[An announcement]
	Yeni harf meselesi	The problem with the new alphabet
	Yeni Türk mefkurecilerinindi	They belonged to the new Turkish dreamers
	Hayırlı bir müessese	Good institution
	İ'tizar	Apologies
№8, November 24, 1933	Müslümanlarda buhranı-ictimai ve tedavisi	Social upheaval among Muslims and its treatment
	"Mir" gazetesindeki hezeyanlar dolayısıyla	In connection with the nonsense in the Mir newspaper

	N/A	[About the probability of a Russian— Japanese war]
	Almanyadan kovulan Yahudiler Türkiye'ye mi yerleşecek?	Will the Jews driven from Germany settle in Turkey?
	Afgan kralı Nadir Han öldürüldü	The King of Afghanistan Nadir Khan was assassinated
	Japonlar hazırlanıyor	The Japanese are preparing
	Karlova şimendifer hattının resmi keşadı	Official opening of the railway in Karlova
	Parası olanlar okusun	Let those who have money read
	Türkiye sefareti vekili-harici Fuad Beyin mağrifetleri	The machinations of Fuad Bey, repre- sentative of the Turkish embassy
	Kamara havadisleri	Events of the Chamber
	Nüvvab Matbaası	Printing house [of madrasa] Nuvvab [advertising]
№9, December 4, 1933	Leyle-i Beraat	Night of Beraat
	Müslümanlarda buhranı-ictimai ve tedavisi	Social upheaval among Muslims and its treatment
	Ankara hükümetinin harf inkilabı	The alphabetical revolution of the gov- ernment of Ankara
	Leyle-i Mirac	Night of Mirage
	Türkistan Çini Sultanı	The Sultan of Chinese Turkestan
	Eşkal-i idare	Formation of power
	Çar hazretleri Belgrada gidecekler	His Highness the Tsar will go to Belgrade
	N/A	[About diphtheria in Germany]
	Yeni tayinlat	New appointments
	N/A	[About opening a railway in Plovdiv]
	Dikkat	Attention [on subscription]
	Takvim	Calendar [advertising]
	Nüvvab Matbaası	Printing house [madrasa] Nuvvab [ad- vertising]
№10, December 16, 1933	Ramadan al-mubarek	Blessed be Ramadan
	Müslümanlarda buhranı-ictimai ve tedavis	Social upheaval among Muslims and its cure
	Eşkal-i idare	Formation of power

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Bulgar-Yunan muzakeresi	Bulgarian—Greek talks
Tamirat borçları meselesi	The problem of payment for reparations
Çar hazretlerinin Belgrad seyahatı	The journey of His Highness the Tsar to Belgrade
Borçlar kanunu ne oluyor?	What happens to the law on debts?
Çar hazretlerinin Romanya seyahatı da tahkik oluyor	His Highness the Tsar also carries out a trip to Romania
Asılsız haberler	Unfounded news [about the resignation of the government]
lstanbulda yangın	Fire in Istanbul
Fransızların çarımız hakkındaki takdirlerı //	The approval of our King by the French
Yunan hariciye nazarı Romada	Greek Foreign Minister in Rome
Taşkentte bulunan mühabir mahsusus- muzdan	From our special correspondent in Tash- kent
Fransızlar yine Amerikaya borcunu ödemiyor	The French do not pay [their] debts to America again
Dikkat	Attention [on subscription]
 İ'lan	Announcement [advertising about the watchmaker]
Nüvvab Matbaası	Printing house [madrassa] Nuvvab [ad- vertising]

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## Илшат Саетов

# ГЛАС НЕСТАЛОГ ЦАРСТВА ИЗ СТРАНЕ ДРЖАВЕ: ОСМАНСКЕ НОВИНЕ MEDENIYET У БУГАРСКОЈ 1930-ТИХ ГОДИНА

#### Сажетак

Овај чланак се бави турским новинама *Medeniyet*, које су основане 1933. године у Бугарској. Циљ рада је да покаже историјски и политички концепт ових новина, које су штампане на османском језику и биле опозиционе кемалистичкој Турској. Рад открива теме објављене у првих десет бројева. Истраживање се заснива на примарним изворима који нису раније истраживани. На крају, сви наслови су понуђени са модерном турском транскрипцијом и преводима на енглески језик.

**Кључне речи:** Medeniyet, турско-османска штампа, Турци у Бугарској, кемализам, турско-бугарски односи, међуратна Европа

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