

Notes

- 1 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 102.
- 2 K. Renner, *Staat und Nation*, p. 89, quoted by Hobsbawm, *ibid.*, p. 101.
- 3 For the details of the ultimatum, see A. Kasravi, *Tarikh-e Hijdah Saleh-e Azarbayjan*, 9th edn (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 235–40.
- 4 R. Ramazine, *The Foreign Policy of Iran* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1966), pp. 103–8.
- 5 Ramazani, *The Foreign Policy of Iran*, p. 115.
- 6 S. A. Zenkovsky, *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 127–8.
- 7 R. Orbay, 'Hatıralar', *Yakinn Tarihimiz*, cilt I (Istanbul: Türkp petrol, 1963), pp. 16–29.
- 8 Y. Akçuroglu, ed., *Türk Yılı, 1928* (Istanbul: Yeni Metba'a, 1928), p. 396.
- 9 Y. Akçuroglu, *Üç Tarz-i Siyâset* (Cairo: Metba'a-i Qadr, 1909), pp. 11–12.
- 10 B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 343.
- 11 M. Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), p. 20.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 344.
- 13 Türk 'Alemleri *Türk Yurdu Birici Cilt 1327–1328* (Istanbul: Tanin Matba'ası, 1328/1912), p. 16.
- 14 'Iran Türkleri', *Türk Yurdu Birici Cilt 1327–1328* (Istanbul: Tanin Matba'ası, 1328/1912), pp. 106–11, 428–32, 551–6, 648–56, 670–72, 755–60.
- 15 See, for example, *Şâlâlê*, 17 January 1914.
- 16 See, for example, *Achiq Söz*, 20 August 1917.
- 17 *Achiq Söz*, 18 October 1917. Among the founders of Türk Ocağı was Abdullah Şa'iq, the younger brother of Yusuf Zia. For Yusuf Zia, see note 29.
- 18 Zenkovsky, *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia*, p. 262.
- 19 FO 371/4358, 1918.
- 20 *Achiq Söz*, 17 January 1918.

- 21 On the process of self-identification, see Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto Press, 1993), pp. 9–10.
- 22 Mohammad Khan Tarbiyat was the founder of the Democrat Party's Baku committee, and the director of Iranian Etehhad school in Baku. Other members: Mirza Mahmud Khan Parvaresh, Mirza 'Abdollah 'Abdolahzadeh, Shaykh Baqir Shirazi, Azhdar 'Alizadeh, Hosayn Khayyat, Hosayn Mahmuzadeh, Mir Hosayn Motazavi, Mirza 'Aliqoli (from Ashqabad, who later became the editor of the newspaper *Azərbaycan, Joz'-e layanfakk-e Iran*), Mir Jafar Javadzadeh Pishavari, Haji Mo'atlem Ja'farzadeh Kalkhali, Mirza Aqa Valizadeh, Sayfollah Ibrahimzadeh, 'Ali Akbar Osku'i (founder of Iranian gilde, labours executive committee). Because of his political activities Parvarish had to leave Baku in 1916; he went illegally to Iran. After the Russian Revolution of February 1917, the Democrat Party began to operate legally. See S. Javid, *Iran Sosal Demokrat (Adalat) Firqasi Haqqında Khataralarım* (Tehran: Lithography, 1980), pp. 9–10. The other Iranian societies and organizations in Baku included the 'Iran Independent party', pro-Iranian government, Javid p. 11. 'Sanduq-e Ta'avon-e Madrisa-e Etehad-e Iraniyan-e Baku', Javid, p. 13. 'Jam'iyat-e Ma'arif-e-I Iran' (an Adalat party front), Javid p. 17. 'Ijtima'iyun-Inqilabiyun (Sosal-Revolutioner). 'Ali Bayramov, was killed by Musavatists during their reign, Javid, p. 19. Furthermore, the Iranians had two schools: Etehad in the city centre and Tamadon (in the Sabunchi district). In March 1918, following the conflict between Musavatists and the Baku Commune, almost all Iranian societies were liquidated. Javid, pp. 14–15.
- 23 Ibid, p. 10.
- 24 On the origin of reconstructing Iran's pre-Islamic history in the nationalist discourse, see M. Tavaqoli-Targhi, 'Contested Memories: Narrative Structure and Allegorical Meaning of Iran's pre-Islamic History', *Iranian Studies*, vol. 29, nos. 1–2 (1996), pp. 149–175.
- 25 *Azərbaycan Joz'-e layanfakk-e Iran*, nos. 2 and 3, 2 and 6 February 1918.
- 26 I. Gershoni, 'Imagining and Reimagining the Past: The Use of History by Egyptian Nationalist Writers, 1919–1952', *History & Memory*, vol. 4, no. 2 (fall-winter 1992), p. 7.
- 27 T. Nipperdey, 'In Search of Identity: Romantic Nationalism, its Intellectual, Political and Social Background', in J. C. Eade, ed., *Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (Australian National University, 1983), p. 11.
- 28 FO 371/4358, 1918.
- 29 Yusuf Zia Talibzada was born in Burchali in Georgia in 1877. His father was a high-ranking mulla in the Caucasus region. When Yusuf was a child his mother took him, together with his brother 'Abdullāh, later 'Abdullāh Şa'iq to Mashhad to study. His teacher there was a dissident

Anatolian Turk called Zia, whose name Yusuf adopted. After finishing elementary school in Mashhad, he went to Kerbela and became a mulla. Returning to Baku in 1899, he started his career in the service of Haj Zaynolabidin Taqiov, at whose order he translated *Hashf al-Haqaiq* into Azerbaijani. Three copies of the book was presented to the Shah of Iran, the Amir of Afghanistan and the Ottoman Sultan. Yusuf Zia was asked to take the Sultan's copy to Istanbul. In 1907 he went to Istanbul and joined the CUP. He served with the Ottoman forces in the 1912 Balkan war and received the title of Pasha. He spent periods as an Ottoman secret agent in Iranian Azerbaijan. Following the Bolshevik takeover he temporarily joined the Bolsheviks and spent some time in Nakhjivan. Later he joined Enver Pasha in Turkistan and became his deputy. Following the death of Enver, while attempting to escape to Afghanistan he was drowned in the Panj river.

- 30 For a detailed study of *Teşkilât-i Mahsusa's* activities in Iran, the Caucasus and Central Asia', in Tabaki, ed., *The Great War in Iran* (St Antony's Publications, forthcoming).
- 31 FO 371/4358, 1918.
- 32 Kasravi, *Tarikh-e Hejdah Saleh-e Azarbayjan*, vol. 2.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Kasravi, *Tarikh-e Hejdah Saleh-e Azarbayjan*, vol. 2, p. 872.
- 35 Azar, A. op. cit., p. 299.
- 36 FO 371/6342, 1921.
- 37 J. J. Linz and A. Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation, Southern Europe, South America, and post-Communist Europe* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 25.
- 38 'Türk Ocağında Konfirans', *Yeni Mecmu'a*, no. 81, 2 August 1923, pp. 317-8.
- 39 See, for example, *Ayandeh*, nos. 1 (1925), 8 (1926); *Iranshahr*, no. 2 (1923). The magazine *Iranshahr* was first published in Berlin, in June 1922. The editor, Hosayn Kazemzadeh, maintained close contact with intellectuals in Europe who were involved with Iranian studies, and his magazine was soon exercising a powerful influence in political and intellectual circles in Iran. During the five years of *Iranshahr's* existence, forty-eight issues appeared and special attention was often paid to Azerbaijan. Indeed, there were nine long articles devoted to the subject.
- 40 Afshar, M., 'Aghaz-nameh', *Ayandeh*, no. 1 1925.
- 41 Afshar, M., 'Khatar-i zard', *Ayandeh*, no. 24 (1927).
- 42 Nipperdey, 'In Search of Identity', p. 15.