

**THE PERSPECTIVES OF LATE OTTOMAN INTELLECTUALS  
ON PROGRESS - AN ANALYSIS ON THE WRITINGS OF  
KILIÇZADE HAKKI, FİLİBELİ AHMET HİLMİ AND AHMET  
AĞAOĞLU**

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by  
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## **AUTHOR DECLARATIONS**

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.
2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:
  - i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
  - ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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## ABSTRACT

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**July 2014**

### **THE PERSPECTIVES OF LATE OTTOMAN INTELLECTUALS ON PROGRESS - AN ANALYSIS ON THE WRITINGS OF KILIÇZADE HAKKI, FİLİBELİ AHMET HİLMİ AND AHMET AĞAOĞLU**

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the effects of fast changes brought about by the industrial revolution and modernization were felt deeply over the world. The Ottoman state had experienced the effects of this period deeply in economic, political and social aspects. Understanding what happened in the intellectual world of Ottomans, especially after the second constitution, gives us the opportunity to read the period through the perspective of intellectuals.

In this thesis, the aim is to present the perceptions and thoughts of three intellectuals who belonged to the three prominent movements Westernism, Islamism and Turkism. The common point of three individuals is to find the ways of saving and improving the Ottoman state that stayed back in comparison to its contemporaries and took many defeats in this period to the better level. These three intellectuals to be examined in this thesis are Kılıçzade Hakkı, Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi and Ahmet Ağaoğlu. Although they sometimes agree on the concepts of progress and modernization, they diverge from each other in some aspects.

#### **Keywords:**

Kılıçzade Hakkı, Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Progress, Modernization

## KISA ÖZET

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**Temmuz 2014**

### **SON DÖNEM OSMANLI AYDINLARININ TERAKKİYE BAKIŞLARI - KILIÇZADE HAKKI, FİLİBELİ AHMET HİLMİ VE AHMET AĞAOĞLU'NUN YAZILARININ TAHLİLİ**

19. ve 20. yüzyıllar tüm dünyada hızlı bir değişimin yaşandığı, sanayi devriminin ve modernleşmenin etkilerinin tüm dünyada derinden hissedildiği zamanlar olmuştur. Osmanlı Devleti'nin ekonomik, siyasi ve toplumsal açıdan buhranlı geçen bu son dönemindeki hissiyat şüphesiz dönemin aydınlarını oldukça etkilemiştir. Özellikle II. Meşrutiyet'ten sonra Osmanlı düşünce dünyasında neler olduğunu incelemek bize aydınlar ve onların algıları üzerinden bir dönem okuması yapma imkânı verir.

Bu tezde Batıcılık, İslamcılık ve Türkçülük olarak öne çıkan üç temel fikir akımından üç aydının terakki ile ilgili algıları ve fikirleri anlatılacaktır. Üçünün de ortak özelliği; çağdaşlarına nazaran geride kalan ve ağır yenilgilerle sarsılan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu bulunduğu kötü durumdan kurtarmanın ve ileri bir seviyeye taşımanın yollarını arayış içerisinde olmalarıdır. Çalışmada görüşleri incelenecek üç akımın temsilcisi olan aydınlar Kılıçzade Hakkı, Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi ve Ahmet Ağaoğlu'dur. Bu üç aydının, nasıl terakki edileceğine ve muasır bir devlet olunacağına dair fikirleri zaman zaman ortak noktalarda birleşse de zaman zaman birbirleriyle ters düşecek kadar ayrılmıştır.

#### **Anahtar Kelimeler:**

Kılıçzade Hakkı, Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Terakki,  
Modernleşme

## LIST OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL PAGE .....	iii
AUTHOR DECLARATIONS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
KISA ÖZET.....	vi
LIST OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LİST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	ix
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	x
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1 POLITICAL CULTURAL AND FRAME AFTER THE <i>TANZİMAT</i> .....	6
1.1 Ottoman Modernization Process .....	6
1.1.1 After <i>Tanzimat</i> .....	9
1.1.2 The Period of Abdülhamit II .....	15
1.2 Intellectual and Political Gropus.....	17
1.2.1 The Young Ottomans.....	17
1.2.2 The Young Turks and CUP .....	19
1.3. The Movements of Thought .....	24
1.3.1 Westernism .....	25
1.3.2 Islamism .....	29
1.3.3 Turkism .....	32
CHAPTER 2.....	36
2.1 The Perception of Progress .....	36
2.2 Political Frame of Progress .....	42
2.2.1 Progress of the Balkans .....	42
2.2.2 <i>İttihad-ı İslam</i> and Nationalism.....	45
2.2.3 Education .....	49
2.3. Cultral and Ideological Frame of Progres.....	56
2.3.1 Religion .....	56
2.3.2 The Alphabet .....	64
2.3.3 Women .....	68

<b>2.3.4</b>	<b>Historiography .....</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>2.3.4.1</b>	<b>The Discussion Between Kılıçzade Hakkı and Yusuf Suad.....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>2.3.4.2</b>	<b>Celâl Nuri's <i>Hatemü'l Enbiya</i> and Criticism of Kılıçzade Hakkı .....</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>2.3.4.3</b>	<b>Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi and <i>İslam Tarihi</i> .....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>2.3.4.4</b>	<b>Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi's Criticize of Dozy .....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>2.3.4.5</b>	<b>Ahmet Hilmi's Criticize to Celâl Nuri.....</b>	<b>85</b>
	<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>86</b>
	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>95</b>
	<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>109</b>



## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CUP	Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress
İSAM	İslam Arařtırmaları Merkezi
TÜBİTAK	Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Arařtırma Kurumu

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## INTRODUCTION

In the 18th century there were many things happening which affected the whole world economically, politically and socially. In this century, European states highly developed in industry and technology. They provided the raw material and the labor force from their colonies all around the world and created their source of wealth. All of these provided Western countries to reach a good level of prosperity. In connection with this, European countries took a big step in science and technique in parallel with economic development. The role played by science and the individual increased to the extent that the superiority of religion started to diminish. As a result of this, Europeans reached the point in which they embraced the idea that nothing could be more powerful and outstanding than reason and science.

Contrary to the level reached by European countries, there was observable backwardness in the Islamic World. Two main questions needed to be answered in order to make away with backwardness: What caused the backwardness and what is necessary to make progress against this backwardness? The answer to one of them would also lead to the answer of the other.

However, answering these questions was not enough because unlike the old shiny days of the Ottoman state, military defeats and economical crises were in question. In addition to this, the Islamic World was colonized every passing day. There were attacks by Western powers and furthermore, new social formations which affected the societies like nationalism appeared. In this political and social background, various movements of thought were on the rise in the last period of the state. Some of the most noteworthy of them were Westernism, Islamism and Turkism. Intellectuals associated with these movements came together around the same or similar ideas which provided progress of the state.

In the Ottoman state, these issues were evaluated by the ruling elite and intellectuals of the time. Although different intellectuals and groups of intellectuals gave various answers and proposed separate methods for progress, the main purpose always met in one essential point: To develop the state economically, politically and culturally like other developed states and provide the welfare of the society.

At that point, it is possible to talk about the existence of a consensus on the necessity of reaching the scientific and technological advancement level of Europeans. This was the main motive of progress and development. However, this required taking Europe as an example and its possible consequences brought a new dimension to progress issue. The question was how it would be possible to provide a real progress by taking Europe as an example with its all components such as culture, social structure, life style or only taking the technical tools like science, industry and technique. This question consisted of the essence of an important discussion which even today continues in some aspects.

The main point here is the probability of the entrance of culture and philosophy of a society or civilization when taking any instrument of the West with the aim of progress. In this regard, the most significant imports from the West for the sake of progress were science and technology. Ottomans sent students to Europe in order to learn the science and technique of the West and also modern schools were opened in the Ottoman state where European instructors were hired. As a natural result of this interaction, a trend of admiration of the West started to emerge.

For this reason, the discussions were mainly about what tools are necessary to take and what are not from the West. Movements of thought focused on this and presented different ways of progress. In this sense, some had no problem about taking the moral values and life styles in addition to the science and technique of the West. On the other hand, some thoughts influenced by the moral and cultural values of the West damages religion and culture of the society. Thus, the latter group offers to take only science and technical advancement of the West without compromising the existing culture and values.

Was it possible to make progress without Westernization? Even the answer is not always “yes”, it is certain that the way of development and progress is passing through at least having or using Europe’s science and technique. In addition to those who deemed it necessary to take some tools of the West as a basis for progress, a significant number of intellectuals, writers and bureaucrats had the opinion that progress is only possible by following the way of the West and Westernization with everything involved. However, there were debates about in which way and direction

the Westernization would take place and intellectuals presented their methods of progress based on their own world views and beliefs.

An important issue which caused many debates among intellectuals was the effect of religion. Many topics related to progress were also about religion. Therefore the question of whether Islam is an obstacle for progress remained in the agenda. Islam was seen by the Westernist thinkers as a leading cause of backwardness so the solution and progress offers were founded on the reformation or softening the dominance of Islam. However, in the Ottoman society, science and religion were seen together until the times when the signs of the modernity started to appear. Having a scientific education required to have also religious education because these two were not separate in the terminology. The word “ilm” both referred to scientific and religious knowledge.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the madrasahs depended on the religious authority. In this kind of state it was hard to question the place of religion and science.

On the other hand there were two groups among the Islamists when it came to the question of progress. One asserted that the positive sciences of the West give the rational and true knowledge so there is no need for other old philosophies. This group was called modernists. On the other side, conservatives did not deny the necessity of positive sciences and claimed that Islam and positive sciences could come together.<sup>2</sup> This is the point in which the perception of modern Islam appeared.

In this regard, intellectuals had been trying to figure out the reasons of the decline and the potential consequences of the modernization process. Even though they were coming from different backgrounds and advocated separate ideologies, they were in common with regards to maintaining the development of the state. The purpose of this study is to scrutinize three basis ideologies of the period, Westernism, Islamism and Turkism through the articles of three effective advocates of these movements of thought. The main point which will be examined is the issue of progress (*terakki*) based on the ideas of these three intellectuals. The individuals that

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<sup>1</sup> M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, Newyork, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p: 12.

<sup>2</sup> M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks*, p: 15.

will be studied are Kılıçzade Hakkı, a Westernist; Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, an Islamist; and Ahmet Ağaoğlu, a Turkist. They all wrote articles for eminent journals of the time and also authored many books and pamphlets which touched on the issue of progress.

The consciousness of history of a society consists of the readings, talkings, things and places seen. These elements lead to emerge the way of thinking among people.<sup>3</sup> The articles and books which were written by the intellectuals are the important factors for the aspect of affecting the way of thinking. Moreover these published products give the opportunity to understand the thoughts and history for the historian. In this sense, the topic of this thesis aims to look and shed light on the Ottoman intellectual history by focusing on the three representatives of three movements of thought in the last era of the Ottoman state. The boundaries of the phrase “last era” start from the institution of the Second Constitution and include the first twenty years of the republican era. Although others lived and maintained to write long time after the foundation of the republic, the writings of Ahmet Hilmi end in 1914 because of his death.

The first chapter of this study will include a general description of Ottoman modernization process in order to understand better and clearly the states of mind and ideological tendencies of these intellectuals. The political tension and structure of the Ottomans are certainly reflected in the intellectual’s way of thinking. None of them can isolate or stay away from this political effect. Therefore it starts by the pre-*Tanzimat* and presents all efforts of modernization. It also includes social, political and economical situation of the Ottoman state by focusing on the important organizations and events which left a mark in history. Therefore, the movements of thought, intellectual and political groups like the Young Ottomans, the Young Turks and Committee of Union and Progress are studied in this chapter with regards to their relation and contribution to modernization.

In the second chapter, the detailed life stories of three intellectuals will be presented in order to see the effects of the families they grew up in, social and

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<sup>3</sup> Salih, Özbaran *Tarih, Tarihiçi ve Toplum*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997, p: 52.

economic events, wars, schools, teachers, friends, cultural environment, community, publishings and movements of thought in their life. All of them had an impact on the development of their ideas and attitudes. It will be useful to see in what kind of environment they grew up and what their ideologies were. It is also possible for historian to observe the evolution of the identities and the position of the intellectuals in over time.

The third chapter focuses on the main topic of the thesis. The struggle of progress appeared in the public tools like newspapers, magazines, books and booklets. Topics about progress varied from education to science, women, religion, technology and many other issues. In this chapter, these topics of progress will be evaluated under two main headings as political frame and religious and ideological frame of progress, after the general construct of progress is drawn. Then the thoughts of three intellectuals will be presented separately under every heading.

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# CHAPTER 1

## POLITICAL AND CULTURAL FRAME AFTER THE *TANZİMAT*

### 1.1 Ottoman Modernization Process

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ottomans experienced the modernization process which led to a transformation in all institutions in social, cultural, technological, economical and political dimensions. Even though it dates back to earlier than the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 1839 *Tanzimat Fermanı* is generally assumed as the inception of this process but after this date the modernization and progress efforts were seen more obviously and as more tempestuous. However, it was not easy to convert and be situated in this process with its all institutions and social elements. It was also a depressing century for the Ottomans because of political and economic crises. The society was directly affected by the consequences of these phenomena. The first signs appeared in the defeats in war. Therefore Ottoman military became the one of the most discussed topics about the modernization process. The subject of military is generally seen as a first area which led to the acknowledgment of the backwardness of the empire. Moreover it is also the first area in which the modernization movements were seen. However this tendency of modernization happened by necessity not naturally.<sup>4</sup> This is mostly originated from technological inadequacy and also techniques of war were not improved enough as proper to materiality of the era. While Western countries were developing in industry and technology day by day, Ottomans confronted the results of these developments in the battle fields which the reality of that European powers were equipped by the new and modern weapons of the period.

It would not be wrong to say that Ottomans were aware about the need to import what developed the Western countries and brought them to the good level of improvement. In this sense İbrahim Müteferrika emphasizes the situation of the military. He points out the necessity of learning new war strategies and education

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<sup>4</sup> M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihat Ve Terakki Cemiyeti Ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, İstanbul: İletişim, 1985, p: 10.



from the Europe.<sup>5</sup> Also a quotation from Ebubekir Ratib Efendi indicates the state of affair.

“...In all European states, there are *mektebs* especially for war. They are called Military Academy. Academia means *mekteb* and military means soldiers. They inculcated every science and skills and arts such as *san'at* and *ilm ü marifet* related to war in these schools.“<sup>6</sup>

This attitude of Ottomans indicates that their main focus was on the practical and useful aspects of science and technology rather than science itself. Therefore the transfer of these things was planned via students who were sent to Europe. Another way to import science and technology was to open new modern schools like Mühendishane-i Bahr-i Hümayun in 1773 during the reign of Mustafa III and Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun in 1795 during the reign of Selim III and encouraging for the Western languages.<sup>7</sup>

All of the defeats and backwardness were in some way related to technological backwardness. In connection with this, Berkes explained the main reason Ottomans had many defeats in wars as an economical crisis of the state. The results of military defeats directly affected the state both economically and in public life. As opposite to general discourse of the bad effect of the religion and Islamic law (*şeriat*) were the topics of latter discussion.<sup>8</sup> This indicates why Ottoman modernization process started in the military area.

During the reign of Mustafa III, the regulation in the army started to be made in a Western way. Mühendishane-i Bahr-i Hümayun was opened in this era. It was one of the schools where positive sciences were taught and a French agent of Hungarian origin, Baron de Tott was a teacher in this school. He did lots of things for

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<sup>5</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, İstanbul: YKY, 2002, p: 55.

<sup>6</sup> Ebubekir Ratib Efendi'nin Seyahatnamesidir, İÜK-TY, D.2-6096, v13/b, 14/a-b, cited by M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyaset*, p: 12.

<sup>7</sup> Berrak Burçak, *Science, A Remedy for Ills. Healing "The Sick Man of Europe": A Case for Ottoman Scientism*, (phd thesis), Princeton University Department of Near Eastern Studies, January 2005, p: 1-9, cited by: Kahraman Şakul, "Nizam-ı Cedid Düşüncesinde Batılılaşma ve İslami Modernleşme", *Divan İlmi Araştırmalar*, no: 19, year: 2005/2, p: 128.

<sup>8</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, p: 76.

the development of the army. Positive and technical sciences were taught in this school in order to raise engineers like Europeans did. These courses were important in that they belonged to the area in which Ottomans first confronted European science and technique.<sup>9</sup>

Selim III was a kind of sultan who took reformation seriously. Tanpınar sees this period of Selim III as a phase of which imitating Europeans.<sup>10</sup> This situation shows that there was awareness about the superiority of the Europeans over Ottomans.<sup>11</sup> Therefore he made regulations and reforms in the areas of military, economy, education and state organization. In his period, a new medicine school and many embassies were opened in European cities like London, Vienna, Berlin and Paris. He also founded the *Meclis-i Meşveret* for organizing the consultation mechanism for the state affairs. In 1807, he established a new army called *Nizam-ı Cedid*. He brought military officers from mostly France and other countries of Europe and ordered to translate some French books so that they would train this new army. These European officers played a very important role on the transfer of sciences and ideology of Europe to Ottomans. Students learned French and they were open to any kind of new thought, which means that education became one of the ways of communication and European ideology was penetrating to the Ottomans this way.<sup>12</sup>

Mahmut II was also one of the reformist sultans. He made many reforms in bureaucracy, education, military and social areas. He succeeded to quell the janissary rebellion and in 1826 he created a new army which was a kind of continuation of the *Nizam-ı Cedid*. It is called *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*. He brought Prussian and German teachers for the education of new army and also sent students to Europe for military education. He also took the *müsadere* off, brought monthly salary system for the officers and conducted a population census. The bureaucracy and tax

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<sup>9</sup> Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1949, p: 12.

<sup>10</sup> Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19. Asır Türk*, p: 16.

<sup>11</sup> Mümtaz Turhan, *Kültür Değişmeleri - Sosyal Psikolojik Bakımdan Bir Tetkik*, Ankara: Doğan Kardeş Yayınları, 1951, p: 177.

<sup>12</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2010, p: 46.

collecting system were established. He founded *Rüşdiye* schools for boys. These schools offered modern education and presented new courses such as math and geography.<sup>13</sup> In 1827, a group of students were sent to Europe by the sultan for education. In 1831, a new military medicine school was founded in which modern medicine was taught. In the same years a military music school and a Military Academy (*Mekteb-i Harbiye*) were opened in Maçka.

In fact it is possible to see a formal emulation of Europe in the Ottoman state in cultural and social aspects. The clothes of the officers had changed and some clothes were replaced with the more modern ones such as *fes* which was used instead of *sarık* and pelerines, redingotes and pants instead of *cübbe*. In addition to these, the uniforms of the military men were changing and came to remind one of European military uniforms; despite these kinds of reforms were perceived as imitation (*mukallitlik*) in the society. The European style of tables and chairs started to be use. All of these clearly indicate the impression of European power and prestige on the Ottomans.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to these, Mahmut II also founded the chamber of translation where officers translated texts. These officers were educated and spoke at least one foreign language, namely French. The officers generally were students who learned modern medicine, positive sciences and who received a European education with rationalist thoughts. As a result of this, many reformist and Westernist intellectuals were raised through these ways. In other words, a person who was educated or found in these areas most probably had reformist feelings and engaged in reformist activities.<sup>15</sup> Besides, the first official newspaper *Takvim-i Vakayi* was published in that era.

### 1.1.1 After *Tanzimat*

In 1839, *Tanzimat Fermanı* was declared by Sultan Abdülmecid. It included a set of reforms in the areas such as military, bureaucracy, education, local regulations,

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<sup>13</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Türkiye 'de Din ve Siyaset – Makaleler III*, İstanbul: İletişim, 1991, p: 272.

<sup>14</sup> Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye 'nin Doğuşu*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, p: 100-103.

<sup>15</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye 'nin*, p: 70-75.

judicial system and communication. The statesmen of the *Tanzimat* like Mustafa Reşid Paşa, Ali Paşa and Fuat Paşa played a major role in bringing new legislation and regulations. It is possible to talk about the dominance and pressure of England and other European powers on the Ottoman government for the declaration of the *Tanzimat Fermanı*. The main intention of Europeans was to create equality between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the state.

On the side of the state, some reforms started to be made during the *Tanzimat* era. During that period, the Westernization method was accepted by the state apparatus. However, the essential question of how to limit the authority of the state remained.<sup>16</sup> The Ottoman state followed a balance policy in this era. Ottomans, running away from the attacks of Russia, took refuge in Europe for sustenance. However, this made Ottomans weaker in the face of Europe. As a result of this, European powers found the chance to interfere with the affairs of Ottomans. Therefore, Ottomans had to make some reforms in this direction which brought a new status to the Christian subjects.<sup>17</sup> The status of the non-Muslim community changed in the way of enjoying equal rights with the Muslim subjects of the state established by law by the *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*.

One of the most prominent aspects of the *Tanzimat* period is the centralization policy of the state. In centralized governments, the tools of bureaucracy become more powerful. Therefore, bureaucracy was more powerful in this period than in the past. The statesmen of the *Tanzimat* period were quite active and influential persons. Those bureaucrats were standing quite close to the European laws and regulations.<sup>18</sup> Especially Ali and Fuat Paşas were strong supporters of reforms and Westernization. New ministries were founded. The army gained a more modern structure and was equipped with new weapons. Furthermore, compulsory military service was put into practice in that period.

Another significant aspect of the *Tanzimat* period is the importance of intellectual-bureaucrats. Both *sadrâzams* and bureaucrats played a dominant role in

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<sup>16</sup> Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin*, p: 135.

<sup>17</sup> Mümtaz'er Türköne, *Siyasi İdeoloji Olarak İslamcılığın Doğuşu*, İstanbul: İletişim, 1991, p: 51, 52.

<sup>18</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, İstanbul: Timaş, 2009, p: 101, 103.

the administration. Those intellectual bureaucrats grew up and were educated in the state system, *Bab-ı Ali*. They were a part of the changing system in the state.<sup>19</sup> Besides, a separate intellectual class which criticized the state would emerge which later came to be known as Young Ottomans.

By trying to implement the military and administrative structure of the West, the culture and life style of Europe had found a wide place in the Ottoman society and daily life. It was an inevitable result of taking example one thing with its all aspects. Therefore, many daily life routines and materials became more parallel to European style in clothing, house decorations, culture and even the way people spend money.<sup>20</sup>

From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Christian population was in the way of becoming a nation. Once again by the pressure of Western powers, *Islahat Fermanı* was declared in 1856. It was a document that clearly stated equality between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. Until the declaration of the *ferman*, Muslims were the dominant subject (*millet-i hakime*) in the society. However, the *ferman* led to the disappearance of this status.<sup>21</sup> As a continuation of the *Tanzimat* reforms, a new constitution *Mecelle* was prepared between 1868-1870. In this term the institutions, reformations of the period and new law had mostly under the French affection.<sup>22</sup>

*Islahat Fermanı* was a second step after the *Tanzimat Fermanı* for the betterment of the situation of non-Muslim subjects in the Ottomans. Special taxes for non-Muslims like *cizye* and *haraç* were abolished. In the same vein, Christians would be responsible to join military service. However it was not possible to apply this precept as Davison stated.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En*, p: 104.

<sup>20</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi - Makaleler IV*, İstanbul: İletişim, 1991, p: 15.

<sup>21</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, p: 88.

<sup>22</sup> Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin*, p: 72.

<sup>23</sup> Roderic H. Davison, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Reform 1856-1876*, İstanbul: Papirüs, vol: 1, 1997, p: 69.

After *Islahat Fermanı*, the traditional side of education began to disappear. Because of this, *Islahat Fermanı* had a unique place in the modernization process of education. After the declaration of 1869 *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*, it seems the education wrapped itself up to the more secular structure and reform process invigorated.<sup>24</sup> In the new modern schools, there were more pragmatic classes in the course schedules.

*Islahat Fermanı* led to the emergence of the Ottomanization notion which defined all communities in the Ottoman identity. Therefore both Muslims and non-Muslims had the right to benefit from state schools. This meant that it was the end of education system which was based on the division of communities. *Rüşdiyes* were the highest education institutions in provinces until 1880s. Graduating from these schools was a prestigious thing in this respect. This made the *Rüştiyes* kind of an intellectual center of the region.<sup>25</sup> After 1867, Christian students were accepted to *Rüştiyes*. This regulation was put in progress with the intention of indicating to the great powers the equality among Ottoman people.<sup>26</sup>

Girl's schools were established relatively late in comparison to schools for boys.<sup>27</sup> First *Rüştiye* for girls was opened in 1859 in İstanbul. In the next years, eleven more followed it. For girls, there were not too many schools and teachers. In 1869, the first *Darülmuallimat* started to educate women teachers for *Rüşdiye* schools. The speech of Minister of Education Safvet Paşa about the school was published in *Takvim-i Vekayi*: "Women deserve all the respect and compliance. Their education is an important issue which requires attention because, a child is always

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<sup>24</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler", *Savaştan Barışa: 150. Yıldönümünde Kırım Savaşı ve Paris Antlaşması (1853-1856)*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 2007, p: 61.

<sup>25</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908): İslamlaşma Otokrasi ve Disiplin*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2010, p: 94.

<sup>26</sup> Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamit Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991, p:91-93.

<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth Brown Frierson, *Unimagined Communities: State, Press and Gender in the Hamidian Era*, (phd thesis), Princeton University Department of Near Eastern Studies, 1996, p: 99.

with his mother from cradle to the school age. Therefore, women need an education as much as men.”<sup>28</sup> Only 13 students in nine years graduated from this school.

In addition, the *ferman* made it convenient for non-Muslim communities to establish their own schools. All of these innovations opened door for being a bureaucrat for non-Muslims. According to Somel, in this situation, Ottoman reformers were right to be concerned because non-Muslim communities had better education than Muslims, which meant that they could be able to have good positions in bureaucracy.

In this sense, the state started to introduce such reforms in *mahalle mektebs* and put *Rüşdiye* schools in place.<sup>29</sup> In 1869 a new regulation on education, *Maarif Nizamnamesi* was declared. According to this regulation, *rüşdiye*, *idadi* and *sultani* schools would be established. Course schedule of *rüşdiyes* consisted of Quran, Arabic, math and writing. In 1848, Persian, geography and geometry were added to the program. There were at the same time four types of schools in the state. Madrasahs with old style education, new schools like *rüşdiyes* and *idadis*, *idadis* minority schools and lastly missionary schools. In this situation the madrasahs were losing their importance.

In addition to these, some reforms were adopted in the judicial system. It is seen secularization in the court system even so *şeriat* was valid in supposedly. Until the time *Nizamiye* Courts were founded, non-Muslim people had a right to appeal *Kadı* Courts when they had cases about family, legacy, divorce etc. in order to solve their problems. Besides, if a non-Muslim and a Muslim had a problem, *Kadı* Courts was the only authority to solve it. This situation changed when the *Nizamiye* Courts were founded. Both the cases of Muslim and non-Muslims were solved in these courts. Also advocacy, prosecution and notary appeared in the judicial system. In that way Ottoman judicial system was becoming modern.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003, p: 79.

<sup>29</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin*, p: 22.

<sup>30</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En*, p: 207.

There were many calendars in the Ottoman state because of various religious communities and commercial and maritime activities. For instance, Muslims used Hijri calendar and Orthodox Christians used Julian calendar. In a similar way, there were two types of hours in order to divide the day as the hour *alaturca* or Turkish and the hour *alafranga* or Frankish. In the reform process of the *Tanzimat*, some reforms were introduced to solve the time difference. To this end, there would be some changes and regulations were adopted in the calendar, hours, office hours and holidays. *Mali* calendar began to be used for state and administration affairs. At the same time Hijri calendar continued to be used for the religious areas of life.<sup>31</sup>

The language simplification struggles of this period were reflected in literary language. *Divan* literature was classical literature and aimed at the elite class of the state. On the other hand, a new literature which appeared in the *Tanzimat* period aimed to be simpler and to reach the public. In 1851, *Encümen-i Daniş* was founded with the intention to improve Turkish language. A plan was made to prepare a Turkish grammar book and Turkish dictionary in that academy but it was not realized. *Encümen-i Daniş* could only be able to produce 12 volumes Ottoman History of Cevdet Paşa.<sup>32</sup>

Moreover the publishing of *Tercüman-ı Ahval* in 1860 and *Tasvir-i Efkar* in 1867 were developments which revitalized the press and public opinion. The newspapers and journals contributed a lot to the development and spreading of ideas in the Ottoman state. It became the tool for transferring ideas and there is no doubt that newspapers had a power to affect and change the attitudes of the society.

In that sense, Mümtaz'er Türköne formulates the emergence of ideologies by depending on three basic dynamics. First, journalist intellectuals who revealed their ideas by writing, second journals as a component of spreading ideas and the third newspaper readers as a mass open and sensitive to political issues.<sup>33</sup> The whole

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<sup>31</sup> François Georgeon, "Changes of time: An aspect of Ottoman Modernisation", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no: 44, 2011, p: 181-183.

<sup>32</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Türk Dil Sorunu", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: İletişim, vol: 2, 1985, p: 316.

<sup>33</sup> Mümtaz'er Türköne, *Siyasi İdeoloji*, p: 45.



circulation happened around the journal, journalist and journal reader. These appeared in the Ottoman society in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Many ideologies such as those of the Young Ottomans and Young Turks spread their ideas via these tools; newspapers and journals.

### 1.1.2 The Period of Abdülhamit II

In 1876, Abdülhamid II ascended to the throne and promised to change the administration to constitutional monarchy. During that time, the Balkans were in shambles, so Russia forced Ottomans to introduce some reforms and regulations for Bulgaria. In the same year, Abdülhamid II announced the *Kanun-i Esasi* and the First Constitution was declared. However, the council was closed indefinitely by Abdülhamid II in 1878 ten months after its opening.

The centralization policy of the *Tanzimat* Period culminated in the Hamidian period by means of communication and transformation instruments such as telegraph and railways.<sup>34</sup> Therefore Abdülhamid II enabled the spread of the telegraph network in every region of the state. The network was reached out to Hejaz and Basra. In this way it became possible to contact with all the territories of the state and also Europe. This connection of telegraph empowered the central authority and surveillance of the sultan.

In the era of Abdülhamid II, the components of transformation and communication developed highly. The seaports were widened. Railways were built in many regions of the state including those from İzmit to Haydarpaşa, Bursa to Mudanya and Ankara to Konya, to name a few. In 1902, decision was made to build a railway from Ankara to Bağdat. In this way Istanbul and Bağdat would be connected to each other. A railway from Damascus to Mecca was also built and was called Hejaz railways. The concessions of railways were given to German

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<sup>34</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin*, p: 122.

companies. Abdülhamid II made economic connections with them in the hope that they could be helpful for progress of the state.<sup>35</sup>

In the education area, Abdülhamid II made so many innovations and tried to make progress in this area. Many *ibtidai*, *rüşdiyye* and *idadi* schools which offered education in Western style were established. The number of military *rüşdiyes* and *idadis* increased. Moreover, many modern schools and colleges were founded. *Mekteb-i Mülkiye*, *Mekteb-i Hukuk*, *Maliye Mektebi*, *Halkalı Ziraat Mektebi*, *Mekteb-i Aşiret-i Hümayun*, *Darü'l- Muallimin-i Aliyye*, and *Darülfünun* were opened during his reign. It is important that schools for girls were opened such as Industrial school for girls (*kız sanayi mektepleri*) and Teacher's training schools for girls (*Darülmuallimat*).

After 1896, religion and moral courses increased in all kinds of schools all across the empire by order of Abdülhamid. *Askeri Mektepler Nezareti* emphasized that saving *din-i İslam* is the way of keeping the *Devlet-i Aliyye* alive.<sup>36</sup> In this period the state saw the Islam as a bounding factor. This solution was both pragmatic and ideological, according to Fortna. Ottoman state imitated the Western educational system by combining it with Islam. As a result of this synthesis, the state launched an Ottomanizing policy.<sup>37</sup>

Maybe the most prominent feature of his period was bans on publishing. There was censorship in all domestic and foreign political publications which

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<sup>35</sup> Cevdet Küçük, Abdülhamit II, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, vol: 1, 1988, p: 220.

<sup>36</sup> BBA Y.Mtev 199/74; 18 Şevval 1317/19 Şubat 1900, cited from: Selim Deringil, *İktidarın Sembolleri ve İdeoloji II. Abdülhamit Dönemi (1876-1909)*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002, p: 105.

<sup>37</sup> Benjamin Carr Fortna, *Education for the Empire: Ottoman State Secondary Schools During the Reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)*, (phd thesis), The University of Chicago Department of Near Eastern Languages&Civilizations, Chicago: Umi, 1997, p: 69.

criticized the sultan or the Ottoman state. They were not published or sold in the Ottoman territory.<sup>38</sup>

In 1876, even though there were many languages and dialects in the state, Turkish language was accepted as an official language of the state. In this period, Arabic and Persian words were removed from Turkish language for the purpose of purification. In this situation, the alphabet replacement discussions appeared in the intellectual environments. Some argued for the replacement of Arabic letters with the Latin alphabet and some proposed to introduce reformation in letters in order to make reading and writing easier. After the Second Constitution, Turkish became the compulsory language in primary schools.

The period of Abdulhamid II is open to different comments. In the years of his reign many reforms and innovations were made. These reforms played an important role in the modernization process of the state even though they were not enough to catch up with European competitors. On the other hand, there were restrictions in some areas of life in these years. For this reason some people expressed their gladness in a stirring way on the streets when the Second Constitution was declared.

## **1.2 Intellectual and Political Groups**

### **1.2.1 The Young Ottomans**

In this political frame of the state, a new group of intellectuals appeared who had the intention of developing the state both materially and mentally. They were called The Young Ottomans. It would not be wrong to say that they were religionist people and they looked for the ways of development. Zürcher defines them as a group of people who were unpleasant about the situation of the state. They followed the Islamic policy in order to stand against the emulation of the Europe.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ali Birinci, "Osmanlı Devletinde Matbuat ve Neşriyat Yasakları Tarihine Medhal", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol: 4, no: 7, 2006, p: 324.

<sup>39</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin*, p: 108, 109.

The Young Ottomans were seen as the predecessors of the Young Turks. In other words the CUP was a kind of successor of the Young Ottomans with regards to their main areas of interest. They had the same aims and same social and cultural codes.<sup>40</sup> They advocated liberal and nationalist ideas<sup>41</sup> and criticized some of the *Tanzimat* policies. In 1860s they claimed that the *Tanzimat* bureaucrats gave rise to a new upper echelon by causing a loss of culture and Islamic law. For them the Westernization efforts of the *Tanzimat* elites were superficial and *Tanzimat* was a cultural apery. This shows why they placed the Islamic law as a basis of democratic governance.<sup>42</sup>

The Young Ottomans were the first organizational group to advocate the rights of public. They emerged towards the end of the *Tanzimat* period. They criticized the state clearly and sharply in the press and proposed to adapt to the ideas of Western Europe in order to answer the needs of the Ottoman state. They were the first intellectual group who tried to make a synthesis between notions of the West and Islam.

After the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Young Ottomans brought into question topics like constitution and assembly. They promoted the idea of a parliament based on a constitution. In 1876, *Kanun-i Esasi* and parliamentary system were declared as urged by The Young Ottomans.<sup>43</sup> However, it lasted until the assembly was closed by Abdülhamid II in February 1878. After this, the existence of the Young Ottomans became weaker than in the past. Their effect mostly focused on modern literary works like writing novels rather than political opposition.<sup>44</sup>

In this period, as a result of many prohibitions, a new movement encyclopedism had appeared. It was only an intellectual movement which did not

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<sup>40</sup> Feroz Ahmad, *İttihat ve Terakki (1908-1914)*, İstanbul: Sander Yayınları, 1971, p: 37, 38.

<sup>41</sup> Ercüment Kuran, *Türkiye'nin Batılılaşması ve Milli Meseleler*, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994, p: 24.

<sup>42</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, p: 15, 16, 89.

<sup>43</sup> Mustafa Gencer, "Osmanlı Türk Modernleşme Sürecinde Kültür, Din ve Siyaset İlişkileri", *Turkish Studies*, vol:3/2, Spring 2008, p: 359.

<sup>44</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Türkiye'de Din*, p: 286, 287.

have any ideological or political foundation and also did not express any criticism against the state.<sup>45</sup>

Even intellectuals and high-ranking bureaucrats spoke a very complex language not understood by the majority of the population. In the *Tanzimat* period some linguistic reforms were introduced. There were lots of Arabic and Persian words in the Turkish language, which led to a wide gap between daily language and the official language so the simplification of language was aimed by some *Tanzimat* bureaucrats and intellectuals. For this purpose, the Young Ottomans urged the purification of the language and tried to clean up foreign words from the Turkish language. In this way the language was getting simpler. It is possible to observe this especially in the newspapers. The readers needed to understand the message of the journalists so journalists and authors took important steps on the simplification. İbrahim Şinasi was one of the journalists who provided an observable simplification in language.

### **1.2.2 The Young Turks and CUP**

In 1889, a group of people, İbrahim Temo, Abdullah Cevdet, Mehmet Reşit and İshak Sükuti founded a secret organization named *İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti* which emerged as a contrariety with the aim of progress and saving the state from bad conduct. They were students in medical school and their number increased in a short time. They attracted attention and the some of them were arrested by the government. As a result of this most of them ran away to Paris or some other foreign cities. However their growth did not stop. On the contrary, they moved in a more organized way and were called “Young Turks” in Europe.<sup>46</sup>

Maybe the most notable and general feature of them was that they were a qualified group of people educated in the schools founded by Abdülhamit II. This is mostly about the antinomy between the modern education given in these schools and

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<sup>45</sup> Şerif Mardin, “Tanzimat ve Aydınlar”, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: İletişim, vol: 1, 1985, p: 48.

<sup>46</sup> Ahmet B. Kuran, *İnkılap Tarihimiz ve Jön Türkler*, İstanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1945, p: 12.

the mentality of the autocracy of Abdülhamid's regime. His autocracy based mostly on religion came into conflict with the ideas of this educated generation. They were all young city-dwellers and also Muslim except one Shabbethai Jewish.<sup>47</sup>

As a predecessor of the CUP, Young Turks separated themselves from the other subjects of the state in religious and economical terms. Because all Non-Muslim subjects of the state had prosperity and their own works, educated Muslim subjects only found place in bureaucracy and military. This made the economical difference between two more apparent. Therefore the Young Turks consisted of people who were from similar economic background and religion. Zürcher defines this attitude of them as Ottoman Muslim Nationalism and sees it as the main cause of many latter events against non-Muslims like displacement of Armenians.<sup>48</sup> In other words, Young Turks were Muslim bureaucrats and military officers. In that case Islam became a national identity for them more than a religion.

Even though there were some differences, Young Turks might be considered as successors of the Young Ottomans. They were influenced by the Young Ottomans by reading their writings and other liberal and constitutional ideas.<sup>49</sup> According to Findley, the main difference between the two was the resources which they were influenced by. On the other hand, the Young Ottomans were influenced by the contemporary thoughts of Europe such as enlightenment and Romanticism whereas The Young Turks were under the effect of positive sciences and also sociology and psychology. Religion was another area they differed in. Islam had an important place for the Young Ottomans, which was one of the main themes of their ideology.<sup>50</sup>

On the contrary, The Young Turks were in the secular line even so they pretended to mind religion. Hanioglu presents two reasons for these kinds of acts of the Young Turks. Firstly it was the only way holding Islam in hand as a tool for

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<sup>47</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *Savaş, Devrim ve Uluslaşma- Türkiye Tarihinde Geçiş Dönemi (1908-1928)*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005, p:145.

<sup>48</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *Savaş, Devrim*, p: 151, 152.

<sup>49</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin*, p: 135, also see: Carter V. Findley, *Modern Türkiye Tarihi-İslam Milliyetçilik ve Modernlik 1789-2007*, İstanbul: Timaş, 2011, p: 161.

<sup>50</sup> Carter V. Findley, *Modern Türkiye*, p: 163.

reaching the public and establishing the modernization and Westernization. Secondly, Islam was a connective element in the society in the form of a “Muslim spirit.”<sup>51</sup>

In 1895, Ahmet Rıza and Turkish students who studied in Paris published a journal *Meşveret* and wrote articles against Abdülhamid II. They were against the *istibdat* regime and were supporters of constitutionalism. Therefore the journal met with many obstacles from the İstanbul government and had to move Brussels because of the punishments and pressure. In that period, Kuran states that Ahmed Rıza did not have the intention to found any organization but circumstances presented themselves.<sup>52</sup>

Many members of the organization who ran away from the pressure and the arrestments of the regime went to cities like Paris, Geneva and Cairo. Over time, they came together and became organized in these cities especially in Paris. Here, Ahmet Rıza became the leader of this organization movement and they founded the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat and Terakki Cemiyeti*) in 1895.

In 1896 August, members of CUP planned to make a coup in İstanbul by deposing Abdülhamid II but could not accomplish their aim and were arrested. Even though the organizers of the coup received punishments and were exiled to different cities, the number of the members of the organization was increasing day by day.<sup>53</sup> They came together and gained strength in Paris. However, there was one ideological incompatibility among the organization members. Ahmed Rıza was a positivist leader who was distant to religion. This situation was not welcomed by some members. Even though they were so close to scientific and materialist thoughts the disintegration could not be prevented.<sup>54</sup>

In this time, (Mizancı) Murad Bey was publishing *Mizan* in Egypt. He was the member of CUP and had contact with Ahmed Rıza. In this period there were two main newspapers of Young Turks *Meşveret* published in Paris by Ahmed Rıza and

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<sup>51</sup> M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks*, p: 201.

<sup>52</sup> Ahmet B. Kuran, *Inkilap Tarihimiz*, 1945, p:28.

<sup>53</sup> Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin*, p: 194-197.

<sup>54</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin*, p: 137.

*Mizan*. Murad Bey acted as the leader of the movement in the articles of *Mizan*. This behavior originated from the difference of understanding between Murad Bey and Ahmet Rıza especially about the position of religion in the movement.

In 4 July 1896, Murad Bey came to Paris as a result of pressures of the Ottoman government. At the same time, there existed some voices against Ahmed Rıza. The conflict was about his dominant style. Finally, as a result of both disintegration signals and opponent attitudes against Ahmed Rıza, the supporters of Murad Bey who were the majority chose him as a president in place of Ahmed Rıza in November 1896.<sup>55</sup>

Abdülhamid II followed the policy of drawing opponents close to him so he made offers for them to work with him in İstanbul. Most of the members of CUP requested his call and went to İstanbul. Murad Bey, the president of the movement was one of them who came to İstanbul and joined the sultan. This behavior of Murad Bey made him a traitor in the eyes of other members yet most of them joined this movement.<sup>56</sup> From then on, Ahmed Rıza became the president once again.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Young Turks were dispersed and the movement weakened. In 1906, Doctor Nazım and Bahaeddin Şakir who were exiled to Paris brought a fresh air to the organization. It united with the *Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti* which was founded in Thessaloniki in 1907. The important point is that they had the support of the army in Macedonia. In 24 July 1908, the Second Constitution was declared with military force and without meeting any resistance. In this way the constitutional system was active again after 29 years.

By the declaration of constitutionalism Ottomans had experinced the constitutional monarchy which meant that the public chose the government and the council was founded depending on the outcome of the election. After the dethronement of Abdülhamid II the power of government almost died. The

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<sup>55</sup> M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasa*, p: 206-212.

<sup>56</sup> Carter V. Findley, *Modern Türkiye*, p: 162.



government became the prominent one in the minds of public so that people do not care or know about who would be the sultan.<sup>57</sup>

The CUP needed to take power from some ideological identity. Its Ottomanist attitude had to end because Balkan nations declared independence. Therefore the CUP adopted the Turkist-Islamist point of view.<sup>58</sup> In this sense some reformations were adopted in the nationalist way. National Library, National Treasury and National Committee of Geography were founded. Special commercial entities with national fund were founded. There were workings on creating the perception of national history. Moreover national music, national film-making, national literature and purification of the language were on the agenda. These were the signs of transforming to a national state by adopting nationalistic moves.<sup>59</sup>

On the other hand it is obvious that religion had a prominent place in the Ottoman state. Islam in some way became the leading actor or part of the events. It affected the results of political affairs. Therefore it was the important part of appealing public opinion with the power which was coming from religious discourse. In that sense the CUP and the other active forces used it as a tool in the political conflict.<sup>60</sup> Both the CUP and the actors of counter-revolution did not move apart from the religious discourse.

In this period of CUP, many innovations took place in the state. Some steps towards modernization were taken. Legislative amendments were introduced. European style law was replacing Islamic law (*şeriat*).<sup>61</sup> Also many innovations were made in education. *İdadi* schools were changed and took the form of *Sultani* schools.

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<sup>57</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Sistemin Evrimi 1876-1980*, Ankara: İmge, 2007, p: 13.

<sup>58</sup> Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, vol: 2, 1952, p: 401, Feroz Ahmad, *İttihat ve Terakki*, p: 227.

<sup>59</sup> Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'nin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma Hareketi*, İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1996, p: 49, 50.

<sup>60</sup> Feroz Ahmad, *İttihat ve Terakki*, p: 73.

<sup>61</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin*, p: 150.

New schools were founded which gave secondary and higher education for girls and the first university for women was opened in 1915 in the building of *Darülfünun*.<sup>62</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman society, the place of women generally did not go beyond being a wife or mother. After the Second Constitution this picture changed at least for a little group of women. They started to be more visible in the society and in public offices. They obtained the right to be an officer. Women founded many associations and published journals such as *Kadınlar Dünyası*, *Demet*, *Hanımlar Alemi* for women especially after The Second Constitution. They held conferences and gave lectures about education, culture and issues related to the social situation of women. Even some of them acted in the way of their own thoughts and put themselves at the center of decision-making mechanism. In this sense they decreased or even sometimes entirely broke the priority of traditions in their lives.<sup>63</sup>

### 1.3 The Movements of Thought

From the declaration of The First Constitution to the foundation of Turkish Republic, there were many movements of thought in the Ottoman society. Especially after the second half of the Abdülhamid II reign, diversity was on the top level. There were many political, social and cultural movements like liberalism, materialism, positivism, pragmatism, spiritualism, moralism and immoralism.<sup>64</sup> They were all born out of the idea of promoting welfare for the state. However some of them achieved to reach and influence the majority of the population and some of them which were ideologically close to each other came together under the more general movement which will be mentioned in this chapter.

There were three movements which became prominent in this period. They were Westernism, Islamism and Turkism and all of them had the purpose of

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<sup>62</sup> Mustafa Ergün, "II. Meşrutiyet dönemindeki Eğitim Reformlarının Türk Modernleşmesindeki Yeri", *100. Yılında II. Meşrutiyet Gelenek ve Değişim Ekseninde Türk Modernleşmesi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildiriler*, İstanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2009, p: 270.

<sup>63</sup> Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis, 2011, p: 59.

<sup>64</sup> Osman Kafadar, *Türkiye'de Kültürel Dönüşümler ve Felsefe Eğitimi*, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2000, p: 170, 171.

contributing to the prosperity of the state. In this sense, they generally focused on the reasons of backwardness and possible solutions. In other words, three of them were seeking and looking for ways of progress. Although they basically seemed like they said totally different things, they mostly said the same things in different ways or methods because their aim was the same. Therefore it will not be wrong to say that it is not possible to draw the line between these three movements very sharply. In connection with this, Safa stresses this complex structure of the movements by stating that it is sometimes possible to call intellectuals as Turkist-Islamist, Turkist-Westernist or Islamist-Westernist.<sup>65</sup>

These movements produced large-scale projects in order to tell and prove the trueness of their movement. In this regard, they produced ideas, founded associations and published newspapers. In this chapter, these three movements will be presented and after every movement, the life of an intellectual will be presented in order to see and evaluate better the relation and the effects of the movements on the intellectuals.

### 1.3.1 Westernism

The word Westernization refers to the efforts to resemble modern civilizations and take them as an example in all or some aspects such as economy, technology, philosophy and science.<sup>66</sup> In the Ottoman state, the first signs of Westernization efforts go back to the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. At the end of this century, military defeats were the most critical issue which sped up the westernization movement. However, the emergence of Westernism as a systematical ideological movement occurred at the same time as the Second Constitution period and the representatives of this ideological movement were called as Westernists.<sup>67</sup> The intellectuals and authors of Westernism were generally educated in new schools which taught the ideas of the West. In other words, students of these schools were

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<sup>65</sup> Peyami Safa, *Türk İnkılabına Bakışlar*, Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1988, p: 14.

<sup>66</sup> Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1988, p: 152.

<sup>67</sup> M. Şükrü Hanioglu, "Batıcılık", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 1985, vol:5, p: 1382.

affected by the modern positive sciences of the West and idea of enlightenment. In that way, the philosophy and ideology of Europe started to transfer to the Ottoman society through these students.<sup>68</sup>

Westernist writers appeared in the newspaper *Mehtab* which was founded in 1911, three years after the declaration of the constitution. However, the most important newspaper of Westernism in the Ottomans was *İctihad*. It was first published in Geneva in 1904 by a prominent Westernist Doctor Abdullah Cevdet. As a result of Ottoman pressure, he had to move his printing center from Geneva to Cairo. A few years after the proclamation of the Second Constitution, the newspaper started to be published in İstanbul. The articles of the eminent names of Westernism like Abdullah Cevdet, Celâl Nuri, Kılıçzade Hakkı<sup>69</sup>, Rıza Tevfik, Bedi Nuri and Baha Tevfik were published in *İctihad*. Their articles are mostly on finding solutions for the structural, social and political problems of the Ottoman society. *İctihad*

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<sup>68</sup> Mustafa Gündüz, “Son Dönem Osmanlı Aydınlarının Yeni Birey Ve Aydın Oluşturma Düşünceleri”, *Erdem*, no:51, 2008, p:142.

<sup>69</sup> İsmail Hakkı Kılıçoğlu was born in 1872, in Niş. When he was 8 years old, he emigrated to Manastır with his family because of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. He went to primary school, military *Rüşdiye* and *İdadi* school in this city. He started to Mühendishane-i Berri-i Humayun in İstanbul in 1890. He graduated in 1894 with a degree of artillery first lieutenant. Before he joined to “Erkan-ı Harbiyye” journey of Mustafa Kemal, he taught literary composition in many cities like Selanik, Manastır, Bağdat, Yemen, Edirne and İstanbul. In 1911, he was appointed to the management of Sütlice Mamulat Ambarı. After one year, he was appointed to the presidency of military service for İstanbul Central Command. He wrote in *İctihad* and his friends called him as Kılıçzade because his writings and narrative style were quite sharp. At the beginning of 1914, he was made to retire by the state because of his radical writings. Meanwhile, Celâl Nuri and Kılıçzade decided to leave *İctihad* and pressed *Hürriyet-i Fikriyye* in 1914. Its name was changed two times because of closing as *Serbest Fikir* and *Uhuvvet-i Fikriyye*. In 1918, he founded a new newspaper named *Kocaeli*. In 1923, he again started to write in *İctihad*. In 11 January 1924, he founded *Hür Fikir* at the request of Mustafa Kemal and praised the reforms of the new regime. On 16 December 1926, he became a deputy one time from Kocaeli later on four times from Muş. He strived to keep religion off his policies. He was married and had 8 children. He died in 14 April 1960. See; Celâl Pekdoğan, “Kılıçzade Hakkı”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, vol: 25, 2002, p: 416, *TBMM Albümü 1920-2010*, Ankara: TBMM Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müdürlüğü Yayınları, vol: 1-(1920-1950), p: 218.

struggled during 28 years against to clericalism.<sup>70</sup> Moreover there was a notable effort in the newspaper to spread Europe's social decorum (*adab-ı muaşeret*) among the individuals.<sup>71</sup>

Westernists set positivism and modern science as priority. This does not completely mean that they were intended to imitate the West as it is but it is clearly seen that the importance given to Islam was decreasing day by day.<sup>72</sup> They often wrote articles and did translation from European and orientalist writers. The book *İslamiyet Tarihi* which was written by Dutch orientalist Reinhardt Dozy and translated by Abdullah Cevdet was one example of these translations. In this book, there was much wrong and insulting information about Islam and the prophet. Thus Abdullah Cevdet got a lot of reaction because of this translation.

According to Westernist thinkers the basic reason of backwardness was Islam. They sometimes emphasized that the problem actually is not about Islam but the way people understood and lived Islam. In other words they took a stand against religion but this attitude essentially was aimed at individuals who exploited and abused religion for their own sake. Therefore traditional practices, superstitions and beliefs which contradict with the modern positive sciences are seen as regressive factors which prevent progress. It is possible to see many articles against *softalık* and Kılıçzade was the one who wrote about this quite keenly so eventually *İctihad* was closed by the government because of one of his writings about fake *softas*.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Peyami Safa, *Türk İnkılabına*, p: 13.

<sup>71</sup> M. Şükrü Hanoğlu, "Batılılaşma", TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992, vol: 5, p: 151.

<sup>72</sup> Emel Koç, "Klasik Materyalizm ve Pozitivizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi ve İlk Yansımaları", *Dicle Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi (DÜSBED)*, vol: 1, no:2, November 2009, p: 76.

<sup>73</sup> Even though the newspaper was closed many times, it continued to publish under different names and Kılıçzade was in the editorial staff. His book *İtikadat-ı Batılaya İlan-ı Harb* is mostly consisted of articles published in *İctihad*. These articles are generally about the deviances of the *softas* and people who have old and traditional thinking. His article "Pek Uyanık Bir Uyku" was found in this book along with other articles on education, rights and clothes of women. He often emphasized the need of reclamation of these topics in his articles and stories. His stories mostly showed how immorality and failure was widespread among the *medrese* students and public. He tried to show the difference and

According to Westernist authors, the rules of Islam (*şeriat*) restrict the all areas of life and cause backwardness. This way of thinking of Westernists indicates that they consider religious and state issues separately.<sup>74</sup> They wanted to adopt many reformations on religious treatments, made possible by the re-introduction of the judicial opinion (*bab-ı içtihad*). It is only possible in this way to become a modern state. They also sometimes proposed to give particular rights and superiorities to the special group of elites, even it is not close to democracy.<sup>75</sup> This was parallel with intelligentsia which was founded more useful by the Westernists.

Westernist writers prepared the schema that consisted of eighteen items which included many social, religious and structural reforms. It is written by Kılıçzade Hakkı under the name of “Pek Uyanık Bir Uyku” and published in *İctihad* in 21 February 1328 and 7 March 1329 (6 and 20 March 1913) in 55<sup>th</sup> and 57<sup>th</sup> issues of the newspaper. He has presented the necessities and some reform suggestions for the prosperity of the state and society. After the article was published, the newspaper was closed by the *Bab-ı Meşihat* (Şeyhülislamlık) because of “hurting religious sentiments”.<sup>76</sup> He made revolutionary suggestions for social change, which shows the general attitude of Westernist intellectuals. In this article, the education of *şehzades*, *softas* and women is mentioned and recommendations are put forward to establish modern schools. Kılıçzade proposed to give women more rights. Clothes and the headdresses were also topics for which revision was suggested. Another topic which he stressed was the superstitions and the need for some reformations on religion. Kılıçzade also mentioned the closing of old schools *tekkes* and *zaviyes* and opening of modern technical schools. Moreover, he wrote about the necessity of changing the economic attitudes of the society to be more interested in money and

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struggle between modern and traditional Muslims. See; Nesime Ceyhan, “İkinci Meşrutiyet Devri Türk Hikayesinde Din Duygusu ve Dini Müesseselerin Tenkidi”, *Turkish Studies*, vol:2/2, spring 2007, p: 144. It is possible to see a harsh critique of superstitions and the people who used religion for their self and economical benefits in his stories. His way of solution is clearly seen in his offer to take the West as a role model in every aspect.

<sup>74</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, p: 412.

<sup>75</sup> Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılâbı*, p: 440.

<sup>76</sup> Mustafa Gündüz, *II. Meşrutiyet’in Klasik Paradigmaları*, Ankara: Lotus, 2007, p: 71.

saving for a better life and economic development. For this, he offered to hang an insurance certificate on the walls under the panel of “Ya Hafız”.<sup>77</sup>

### 1.3.2 Islamism

Islamism is another prominent movement which developed after the Second Constitution. It is a movement which interprets religion as convenient for modernization.<sup>78</sup> Supporters of this movement found a way of keeping Ottoman state alive under religion. Islam might have this major role as a unifying power in the Ottoman state. Even though the roots of Islamism go back to the *Tanzimat* period, its political and social context changed in the Second Constitutional period. It drew more bigger attention of the society and supported total change.<sup>79</sup>

Many Islamist thinkers and authors brought forward their ideas via media organs Mehmet Akif, Mehmet Şemseddin (Günaltay), Said Halim Paşa, Babanzade Ahmed Naim, İsmail Hakkı (İzmirli), İsmail Fenni (Ertuğrul), Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi<sup>80</sup> were the eminent representatives of this movement. Thanks to the

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<sup>77</sup> It is one of the Allah’s names which means the best of the protectors. The point is here the protection.

<sup>78</sup> İsmail Kara, “Türkiye’de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi Üzerine Birkaç Not”, *Türkiye’de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Hareketi Sempozyum Tebliğleri*, İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2013, p:17, 18.

<sup>79</sup> Mustafa Gündüz, “Son Dönem”, p:153.

<sup>80</sup> Ahmed Hilmi was born in 1865, in Filibe. His father Babapaşazade Şehbender Süleyman Bey was a consul (*şehbender*). See; Zekeriyya Uludağ, *Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi ve Spiritüalizm*, Ankara: Akçağ, 1996, p: 37. He was called *Şehbenderzade* and *Filibeli* which means the son of a consul and indicates his place of birth. He got his first education from the mufti of Filibe and continued in a *rüşdiye* in Bulgaria. At the end of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 during the Rumeli Immigration, Ahmed Hilmi firstly immigrated to Edirne and later to İstanbul with his family. His educational life in İstanbul is unclear. Mostly it is said that he went to Galatasaray Sultanisi but there is lack of evidence for this information. On the other side, there are claims that he was an autodidact. See; Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, İstanbul: Eser Kültür Yayınları, vol:1-2, 1977, p: 109. He started to work in a Postal and Telegraph establishment thereafter and went to the İzmir with his family. In 1890, he was hired in Duyun-ı Umumiye and was appointed to a post in Beirut. However in some sources, it is stated that he was appointed to Beirut as a director of Postal

breakdown of the censorship, many Islamist journals and newspapers were published. These thinkers and authors were generally writing in Islamist journals like *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, *Sebilürreşad*, *Beyanü'l-Hak*, *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i İslamiye*, *Ceride-i Sofiye* and *İslam Mecmuası*.

There were technically two main groups within the Islamism movement. First one was generally called traditionalists and they argued that the right thing for the salvation and progress of the state depends on living Islam and abiding by the essence of it. They were completely against Westernism and the ideology of the West. The second one was the reformist/modernist Islamists who were the supporters some reforms and making *ictihad* if it necessary, without corrupting religion's essence. They were closer to ideas of the West and inclined to find the common points of the West and Islam.

*Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilürreşad* were the most important Islamist journals.<sup>81</sup> *Sırat-ı Müstakim* started to be published in August 1908. After its

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and Telgraph establishment in the same year. See; Mehmet Zeki Ekici, *II. Meşrutiyet Devri Fikir Adamı Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi Hayatı ve Eserleri* (Phd Thesis), İÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1997, p: 35. He came close to Young Turks in Beirut and then ran away to Egypt. He was in contact with Young Turks in Cairo, became a member of a political party Terakki-i Osmani Cemiyeti which was related to Young Turks. See; Abdullah Uçman, “Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, vol: 38, 2010, p: 424. In 1901, he came back to İstanbul and it is seen from his writings that he stayed in a prison as a political convict for seven or eight months. After a while, he was exiled to Fizan for unknown reason. However it is rumored that one of his friends denounced him. See; Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmet Hilmi. *İslam Tarihi*, trans: Ziya Nur, İstanbul: Ötüken, 1982, p: XX. After the Second Constitution, he taught philosophy lessons in Darülfünun and he also became a member of Darüşşafaka Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i İlmiye. Because of his critical writings, he was expelled to Kastamonu and then Bursa by the government at his own request. After he stayed approximately five months in the exile, in 1914 he died in İstanbul as a result of uncertain reason. One probability about his cause of death is the copper poisoning and another probability based on some assertions is the that he was killed by the Masons because of his anti Mason writings and discourses. See; Abdullah Uçman, “Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi”, p: 424.

<sup>81</sup> Peyami Safa, *Türk İnkılâbına*, p: 13.



publication was terminated, it was replaced by *Sebilürreşad* in 1912.<sup>82</sup> *Sırat-ı Müstakim*'s publication policy was on the side of modernist-Islamists, supporting the constitution and against the Abdülhamit II and his despotism. Most of its writers were influenced by the intellectuals of Asian origin like Cemaleddin Afgani, Abdürreşid İbrahim and Muhammed Abduh. After 1911, it assumed a harsher stance against the ideology of the West and after that pan-Islamism was advocated more strongly. *İslam Mecmuası* was also in the same line with *Sırat-ı Müstakim*. It asserted that Islam is a progressive religion and not the reason of backwardness.<sup>83</sup> On the other hand *Sebilürreşad* which was the successor of the *Sırat-ı Müstakim* was more conservative than its predecessor.<sup>84</sup>

*İttihad-ı İslam* (the union of Islam) is the most important issue of the Islamist movement. It means the unity in every aspect of all Muslim societies. It is aimed that the Islamic world would get rid of backwardness and get better by coming together under the leadership of Ottoman state. Progress was seen as a supplementary element of *İttihad-ı İslam*.<sup>85</sup> In this sense, nationalism existed as a controversial topic among the intellectuals. For Islamist thinkers, nationalism, in other words *kavmiyetçilik*, seemed as a destroying factor for the union of Islam. There were discussions about this between Islamist and Turkist writers. However, with the spread of nationalism among Arab nations such as in Egypt, Syria, the idea of *İttihad-ı İslam* got hurt. Moreover, Muslim nations of the Balkans took position against the Ottomans in the

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<sup>82</sup> By the announcement of Second Constitution Ahmed Hilmi came back to İstanbul and his active press life had started. He published *İttihad-ı İslam*, *Tonguç*, *Coşkun Kalender*, *Hikmet*, *Münakaşa*, *Kanat*, *Nimet* and *Teşrih*. He also wrote articles about politics, culture, civilization, education and philosophy in *İkdam*, *Yeni Tasvir-i Efkar*, *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, *Şehbal*, *Sancak* and *Necat*. He did not hesitate to criticize the government in his speeches and writings and also criticized the opposition party Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası by writing a book about it *Muhalefetin İflası: Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* (1914).

<sup>83</sup> Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılâbı*, p: 376.

<sup>84</sup> Sacit Kutlu, "İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminin Düşünce Akımları", Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 19 January 2008, p: 7,8.

<sup>85</sup> Azmi Özcan, "İslamcılık (İkinci Meşrutiyet)", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, vol: 23, 2001, p: 63.

Balkan Wars. All of these reasons casted doubt on the beliefs of *İttihad-ı İslam*. In this situation *İttihad-I İslam* gave in to nationalism.<sup>86</sup>

As contrary to Westernist thinkers who saw Islam as a regressive factor, Islamist thinkers thought that Islam would play an essential role in progress of the Ottoman state. They stated that the factors which caused the decline and failure of the state are moral corruption and wrong practices of Islam like superstitions. Therefore, reformist Islamists found the solution to leave all superstitions and to focus on the essence of Islam. In other words, the reason of backwardness was seen as distancing oneself from Islam. Therefore they tried to put forward the Islamic values which would provide progress and encourage substantial development.<sup>87</sup> Although this sometimes caused discussions of imitating the West, they were against imitating and the colonialism of the West.

Like other intellectuals of the state, most of the Islamist thinkers also see the technology and science of the West as essential. Opening modern schools led to the emergence of a new awareness among Islamist thinkers.<sup>88</sup> This awareness was common with the Westernist thinkers. On the other side, Islamist thinkers cared about the *ilmiye* classes and madrasahs which were losing significance. They wanted to improve the syllabus, books, students and teachers of the madrasahs.

### 1.3.3 Turkism

The movement of Turkism puts forward the Turkish nation as a factor of progress and development. Its aim is to provide the survival of the state by emphasizing the Turkish identity.<sup>89</sup> Although there were discussions and research on

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<sup>86</sup> İsmail Kara, *Türkiye’de İslamcılık Düşüncesi - Metinler/Kişiler I*, İstanbul: Risale, 1986, p: XXX.

<sup>87</sup> İlhan Kutluer, “İslamcılık (Düşüncede)”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, vol: 23, 2001, p: 65.

<sup>88</sup> Himmet Hülür; Anzavur Demirpolat, “Seçkincilik, Aydın Kimliği ve Süreklilik”, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no: 5, 1999, p: 375.

<sup>89</sup> M. Şükrü Hanoğlu, “Türkçülük”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: TDV, vol: 41, 2012, p: 551.

Turkish language, ethnical roots and identity, there was no intended Turkish movement even in the first years of the Second Constitution.

The movement emerged after the rise of nationalist movements in the Ottoman state especially after Balkan nations declared independence including Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbians. When nationalist ideas and actions started to spread among the Muslim Balkan and Arab nations, Turkism movement became more visible. After these improvements, İttihadçılar realized that the idea of unification Ottoman nations would no longer be effectual in the state so they found the solution in trusting Turkism.

Turkism movement developed by the leadership of Hüseyinzade Ali Turan, Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp. Ziya Gökalp was the initiator of the Durkheim school in Turkey. He tried to explain the basic dynamics of the Turkish society by the methodology of Durkheim school. In addition to these, Ahmet Ağaoğlu<sup>90</sup>,

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<sup>90</sup> Ahmet Ağaoğlu was born in 1869 in Şusa. His father Mirza Hasan and grandfather Mirza İbrahim were wealthy people who depended on traditional Shiah values. He finished primary school in his town and then took religious lessons from his uncle Mirza Mehmet. He finished high school in Tiflis. He first went to St. Petersburg to go to Polytechnic Institute then continued in Faculty of Law in Sorbonne University. In 1894, he went back to Caucasia. On his way back, he met Mizancı Murat, Münif Paşa and some other Young Turks in İstanbul. He thus had connection with the members of the CUP. However, they were directly related to politics and stayed distant to academism so Ağaoğlu and the Young Turks had different points in standing and aims. See: Ufuk Özcan, *Yüzyıl Dönümünde Batıcı Bir Aydın Ahmet Ağaoğlu ve Rol Değişikliği*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2010, p: 33. According to some sources, he taught French in Tiflis or worked as a bureaucrat in governorship of Bakü. See: A. Holly Shissler, *İki İmparatorluk Arasında Ahmet Ağaoğlu ve Yeni Türkiye*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005, p: 185. At the beginning of 1909, he ran away to İstanbul as a result of increasing pressure of Russian government and made contact with the Young Turks in İstanbul. He started to work as an education supervisor. At the end of 1910 he became a citizen of Ottoman state and settled in İstanbul with his family. After a while he was appointed to Süleymaniye Library. At the same time he gave Russian language and the history of Mongols lessons in Darülfünun. In 1912, he entered İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Meclis-i Umumi and became a member of parliament of Karahisar. In 1918, he became an advisor for the Ottoman army during the occupation of Caucasia. In 1919, he was arrested by the Ottoman government by the order of the English and was exiled to Malta because of committing a war crime. In 1921 he was released and went to Ankara to be on Mustafa

Mehmed Emin, Ömer Seyfettin, Celâl Sahir and Kazım Nami were the other prominent figures of Turkism.

In 1908, after the Second Constitution, Turkish Association (Türk Derneği) was founded under the leadership of Ahmet Mithat Efendi, Neci Asım, Mehmed Emin, Yusuf Akçura and Ahmed Ferid. Some other associations followed it such as Genç Kalemler Hareketi, Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti and Türk Ocağı. All of them advocated Turkish nationalism. Türk Ocağı has an important place both intellectually and politically. *Türk Yurdu* and *Genç Kalemler* were the prominent publishing elements of Turkism movement.

Turkist intellectuals laid stress on the importance of primitive language. It was seen as one of the main factors of a nation. In this sense, Arabic and Persian effect in the Turkish language and also foreign schools were criticized and language simplification was offered. Turkish intellectuals, particularly Ziya Gökalp believed in the necessity to constitute national consciousness. Therefore they accepted that education has an enormous role on creating national identity in kids and society.<sup>91</sup>

In his book *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, Yusuf Akçura presented his ideas about Turkism and other movements. Even though he admitted that Ottomanism was more useful, he did not find it practicable. Thus he offered Turkish nationalism, in other words *İttihad-ı Etrak* (unification of the Turks) as a solution for the survival of the state. With this idea aimed at reuniting all Turkish nations around the world. In this regard, Islam and the Ottoman state would be the one with sufficient power to bring together all Turkish nations.<sup>92</sup>

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Kemal's side. He retired in 1933 when he was on the bench after the university reform. He was married and had five children. In 19 May 1939 he died in İstanbul. See: *TBMM Albümü 1920-2010*, Ankara: TBMM Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müdürlüğü Yayınları, vol: 1- (1920-1950), p: 155, Nuri Yüce, "Ahmet Ağaoğlu", TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, vol: 1, 1988, p: 464-466.

<sup>91</sup> Uriel Heyd, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökleri*, İstanbul: Pınar, 2001, p: 129.

<sup>92</sup> Mustafa Gündüz, "Son Dönem", p:142.

Ahmet Ağaoğlu presented Islam and Turkism together as complementary elements. He made a synthesis of Turkishness and Islam in his articles published in *Türk Yurdu*.<sup>93</sup> According to him *kavmiyyetçilik* and religion complete each other. He was against the kind of nationalism which rejects religion. For him, *kavmiyyetçilik* has no meaning without religion. Ağaoğlu, like many Islamist intellectuals, supports the idea of importing the science and technique of the West. He claimed that if science were to be compatible with Islam, it would be possible to see Islam's essence.<sup>94</sup> In addition to this, he says that it is necessary for progress to get rid of superstitions and wrong implementations which became habitual in the society over time.

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<sup>93</sup> Ahmet Ağaoğlu had an active publishing life. He published a weekly newspaper *Füyuzat* with Hüseyinzade Ali in Tiflis in 1906. He wrote articles as a lead author for newspapers like *Hayat*, *İrşad* and *Terakki* published in Bakü in Azerbaijani language. In these articles, he aimed to unify and strengthen the position of the Muslim community in Azerbaijani and Caucasia. In 1901, his monograph "The Woman in Islam and Islamic World" was published in Russian. He also wrote articles for *Türk Yurdu*, *Sebilürreşad*, *İslam Mecmuası* and Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi's newspaper *Hikmet* and became a lead author in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*. In 1933 he published a newspaper *Akın* which was then closed by İnönü because of its critical writings. See: Nuri Yüce, "Ahmet Ağaoğlu", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, vol: 1, 1988, p: 466.

<sup>94</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Türk Alemleri 3", *Türk Yurdu*, year: 1, no: 3 (15 Kanunievvel 1327 - 28 December 1911), p: 48.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE TOPICS OF PROGRESS

#### 2.1 The Perception of Progress

The idea of progress and development is the common denominator bringing together all intellectuals studied in this thesis. Progress could depend on many topics and these topics are related to economy, policy or socio-cultural issues. It is important to state that religion most of the time appears as a controversial issue when progress is in question. It was sometimes seen as an obstacle for progress and sometimes as a supporter. It can be said that every topic related progress in some way is related to religion.

Three intellectuals found the declaration of the constitution quite useful and necessary and they stated how they were unpleasant of the governance of Abdülhamit II. Kılıçzade states multiple times in his writings that Abdulhamid II is a cruel sultan.<sup>95</sup> Filibeli also is delighted by the declaration of constitutionalism. He states this in his articles and says that this is the time to enjoy liberty rather than oppression. He says that it was not possible to think or say what you think before constitutionalism.<sup>96</sup> On the other hand, he was not supporting the CUP or Freedom and Accord Party (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*). He wrote a book about the failure of opposition party and criticized their policy and actions. In this book, he especially states that his aim is not to acquit ruling party.<sup>97</sup> It is important to understand his position. According to him the reign of Abdülhamid II is responsible for all the decline and eclipse of the Islam world. Termination of his rule is a very immense

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<sup>95</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Sahte Softalığa ve Dervişliğe İlan-ı Harb", *İctihad*, no:58, 14 March 1329, p: 1678.

<sup>96</sup> Ahmet Hilmi Bey, *Huzur-u Aklü Fen 'de Maddiyyun Meslek-i Dalaleti*, İstanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi, 1974, p: 68.

<sup>97</sup> Şehbenderzede Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Muhalefetin İflası İtilaf ve Hürriyet Fırkası*, İstanbul: Nehir Yayınları, 1991, p: 18.

improvement for Turkey and Muslims, which paved the way for progress. He likens constitutionalism to *yed-i Beyza* of Prophet Moses in the eye of common people.<sup>98</sup>

Kılıçzade Hakkı believes that progress is obviously necessary for the Ottoman society in every aspect including social and economic aspects. The way he proposed to achieve progress is to take everything and follow every way of the developed Western countries. Thus his advice and proposals about progress are based on becoming Westernized. In this scope he advises to avoid or leave some traditions which are not related to religion.

Kılıçzade emphasizes the importance and benefit of trade and production as a component of progress. In one example, he tries to show different levels of progress of Muslim and non-Muslim farmers in the Ottoman society. He makes a comparison in order to show the importance of benefiting from industry and production. As the story goes, there are two neighbors in Anatolia, one is Christian Gregor Ağa and the other is Muslim Ahmet Ağa. They have a vineyard in the same size. Gregor Ağa makes use of his grapes for alcoholic drinks and earns lot of money by selling them. On the other hand, Ahmet Ağa can not prepare alcohol out of his grapes because the *imam* does not allow, so he sells his raw grapes to Gregor Ağa with a cheap price. Although Ahmet Ağa drinks alcohol, the *imam* does not care about this. Moreover the meal of Gregor Ağa is much better and richer compared to that of Ahmet Ağa. Kılıçzade regards this situation and limitations of the Islam as responsible for the downfall of the Muslims and the rise of non-Muslims. In his discourse, Islam is not the one to blame for backwardness. He blames practicing and understanding Islam in a wrong way.<sup>99</sup>

Ahmet Hilmi states that progress is the general situation that societies have been in relation yet the forms and the speed of evolution could be different in every society. In this sense, he stresses the necessity for being in contact with

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<sup>98</sup> Ahmed Akayef, "Darü'l-Hilafede Maarif-i İbtida'iyenin Hali ve Suret-i İslahı 1", *Sebilürreşad*, vol: 5, month: 10, year: 1326, no: 113, p:152 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete (Ahmet Ağaoğlu'nun Sırat-ı Müstakim ve Sebilürreşad Dergilerindeki Yazıları Üzerine Bir İnceleme)*, İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2007, p: 171.

<sup>99</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "İman", *Hürriyet-i Fikriyye*, no: 1, 3 February 1329, p: 3, 4.

developed Europe and accepting their idea of evolution in order to achieve progress. Although taking the idea of evolution is a right decision, taking the evolution form of Europe as it is may bring damage. He states that Europeans' way of evolution is suitable for their spirituality. It is certain that there are differences between these two societies so copying Europe's evolution process without questioning would be a distinct mistake.<sup>100</sup>

Ahmet Hilmi reaches the conclusion that Ottoman society will live the ideological and social evolution process which Europeans experienced before. He depicts a possible way of this evolution. In his analysis, there were two groups of people in the society. The first is the conservatives who can not understand the requirements of time, and the second one is those who are extremely against religion. The path of evolution contains a choice between wrong ideas which are asserted in the name of religion and the covered and forgotten truths of religion. Therefore all thinkers of the society should make an effort for evolution and progress.<sup>101</sup>

He thinks that the situation of the state is not substantial and the revolution (II Constitution) indicates how much the state needed a social and mental revolution. Therefore he mentions the importance of method and complains about the biggest problem of the Muslim world, namely lack of methodology. The aim is always to provide public improvements, the rise of the nation, purging morals and achieving progress as a state. However it is not possible to accomplish these things without a method and goal.<sup>102</sup> In a society, prominent thinkers should have personal and social aims and methods. In his way of thinking, having a purpose and proper method is an essential part of progress. He also sees the individual and intellectual freedom as an essential motivation for progress by stressing that it would not be possible to progress without these two.<sup>103</sup>

His one depiction indicates his approach to Europe and the place where he thought the best point to stand. In his perception, Europe is a "fair of ideas and

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<sup>100</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 1, 2.

<sup>101</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 2, 3.

<sup>102</sup> Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Üniversiteli Gençlerle*, p:17,18.

<sup>103</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 614.



results” and this fair should be observed carefully to choose the best “goods.” The awareness of whether the things we want to take are appropriate or not is important. If it does not contribute to the betterment of the nation and does not have a convenient nature for the structure of our society, it should be kept away. This is only possible by a conscious “selection” (*intibah*).<sup>104</sup> He puts religion in a special place in the aspect of progress. The dominant sense is religion in the East so damaging religious values of the society does not bring anything on the way of progress. Both setting religion aside and giving the religious will to the one who supplied with *İsrailiyyat* or *nakliyat* are the most devastating complications for progress. As a result of this attitude, religion would lose its true nature and cause ignorance and poverty. Therefore he advises to young university students, just like Kılıçzade Hakkı stressed before many times to stay away both ignorantly religiosity and copycat irreligion.<sup>105</sup> Ahmet Hilmi gives two reasons for the halt of progress. One is slackness, hostility for progress, ignorantly bigotry against the idea of development and missing the needs of time. Second is to be contended with simple acknowledgement, a shallow emulation.<sup>106</sup>

Ahmet Ağaoğlu, in his article which is written after two and a half year second constitutional, refers to period before constitutionalism and says that “in that times we used to put Europeans in a different place than they are, as accepting what they say is absolutely right and truth.”<sup>107</sup> For him, this is a kind of assimilation which means a mental captivity having an effect to could destroy the committee, nation and religion of the Ottomans. Ağaoğlu states that İslam *ulema* were looking for the necessities of progress and they were realized that it depends on the science, technique and the new industrial materials of the Europe. Therefore it was opened European style schools, teachers came from the West, some books were translated

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<sup>104</sup> Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Üniversiteli Gençlerle*, p:19, 20.

<sup>105</sup> Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Üniversiteli Gençlerle*, p: 32.

<sup>106</sup> Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Allah'ı İnkâr Mümkün müdür?*, İstanbul: Yakamoz, 2008, p: 18.

<sup>107</sup> Ahmed Akayef, “Alem-i İslam: Makalat; Vaz'iyet-i Siyasiye-i Hazıramız”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, vol: 5, month: 10, year: 1326, no: 111, p: 117-119 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 164,165.

and also students were sent to Europe for education, which show the tendency of Muslims to the Europe.<sup>108</sup>

He also emphasizes that comparing Turks with French, Germans, British or Russian would be an inequitable comparison because of that the history, geography, race and principles they based on are quite different.<sup>109</sup> Just like Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, he states that how absurd and harmful to imitate everything without questioning the good and bad things so his solution is to take the components of progress and development from within not outside.<sup>110</sup>

Ağaoğlu asserts that the sectarian divisions could be solved by three important groups of people. Those are *ulema*, teachers and authors. He likens them to antidote. However the problem is in the society that they did not do their responsibilities as it should be. As a result of this, superstitions and myths penetrated into the religion so most of the religion was perceived as superstitions by the majority of the society. Both in provinces and countries religion lost its function and the religious education became an elusive.<sup>111</sup> The enlightenment of people about religion and progress could be possible through these groups of people. Also he emphasizes the importance of schools by saying that the science and progress happens via schools.<sup>112</sup>

This situation caused to emergence of two types of religious class. The first one was the super class. They did not usually have contact with the public. They were mostly related to philosophy and wisdom (*hikmet*). Second group is the *ulema* who did not have a high knowledge. Ağaoğlu does not see a big difference between

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<sup>108</sup> Ahmed Agayef, “Türk Alemleri 4”, *Türk Yurdu*, year: 1, no: 5 (12 Kanunisanı 1327 – 25 January 1912), p: 81.

<sup>109</sup> Ahmed Agayef, “Türk Alemleri”, *Türk Yurdu*, year: 1, no: 2 (1 Kanunievvel 1327 – 24 December 1911), p: 30, 31.

<sup>110</sup> Ahmed Ağaoğlu, “Almanya Seyahati İntibaatından - Alman Kadınlığı”, *Türk Yurdu*, year: 5, no: 84 (21 May 1334 – 3 June 1915), p: 141.

<sup>111</sup> Ahmed Agayef, “Türk Alemleri - 8”, *Türk Yurdu*, year: 1, no: 18, (12 July 1328 – 25 July 1912), p: 297.

<sup>112</sup> Ahmet Ağaoğlu, “Tercüme-i Hal”, *Türk Yurdu*, year: 4, no: 73, (11 Kanunievvel 1330 – 24 December 1914), p: 15.

those second group and ordinary people. The reason of social ignorance about religion is these two classes. Both of them can not reach the society and tell them about religion.<sup>113</sup> In the regard of progress, he states that the nationalism (*kavmiyetçilik*) came from Europe to Turks. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Christians and Muslims came face to face many times because wars so the contacts of two increased in this period, which means they affected each others.<sup>114</sup> In that sense the Europe was the one who was superior as a civilization. As a result of this, their traditions, language, literature and national creeds were penetrating into the Muslims through the commercial materials, missionaries and books.<sup>115</sup>

Ağaoğlu sees the Turks as the most progressive and civilized people, after Japans, among the Asian nations. For him there are some indications of progressiveness.

- 1- Having a complete literature.
- 2- The press.
- 3- Sciences (*ulum* and *funun*).

According to him, Turks have these features. They have a complete literature and they stay ahead on pressing. This is an important issue because Ağaoğlu sees the Turkish newspapers which are pressed in other cities as a significant bridge between the West and the East. In the education, Turks are in the first line. The sciences of the West Asia consist of under favour of Turks. Except the some progressive Christian nations like Armenians, Turks are superior on this and they are progressing every single day. When it is compared to ten years ago, one hundred percent increasing number of the Turkish schools is the proof of this.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Türk Alemleri - 8", p: 297.

<sup>114</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Türk Alemleri 4", p: 80, 81.

<sup>115</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Türk Alemleri", p: 30.

<sup>116</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Türk Alemleri", p: 31.

## 2.2 Political Frame of Progress

### 2.2.1 Progress of the Balkans

Balkans is one of the most important regions of the Ottoman state. It had a complex structure which consisted of both Muslim and Non-Muslim population. It also had strategical geography by standing among Europe on the West, İstanbul in the East and Russia on the North. This situation affected the political and social history of the region. Therefore some ideas and movements like İttihad-ı İslam, Ottomanism, Westernism and İslamism found an area to spread in Balkans.

At the beginnings of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman state had faced many uprisings in the Balkans and lost an important piece of land. This issue affected and became a hot agenda in the public. Especially Bulgaria was the one which is possible to see the dynamism on political aspect. In this period it was mentioned on progress in newspapers and journals. Bulgarian press made many publishing about the bad situation of Bulgarians who lived in Macedonia so that they could be able to have support of European powers. This attitude of Bulgarian press affected the way of acting of Europe.<sup>117</sup>

One of the topics which three intellectuals in question mentioned is the causes of the fast Bulgarian progress after they gained their independence from the Ottomans. Although these three intellectuals predicated on the different reasons, they were on the same opinion.

According to Kılıçzade Hakkı, women and the female teachers are the two important members playing major role on the existence of a nation for a long time. According to him the betterment of the nation starts from the children not fathers. Therefore he indicates the reason of the backwardness is lying under the contempting and looking down women and female teachers. For him, the path of progress passes

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<sup>117</sup> Ahmet Koçak, "Bir Balkan Muhaciri: Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi Ve 'Hikmet' Gazetesinde Balkanlar", *Motif Akademi Halk Bilimi Dergisi*, 2012, p: 266, 267.

through to know the value of these two. Even so a progress happens without these factors; it would be only an illusion and pretended not a real one.<sup>118</sup>

In this sense Kılıçzade compares the Bulgarians and Ottomans by mentioning on Bulgarians were “mischievous and our sheepmen” and how Bulgaria was equal to Ottomans in the aspects of science and darkness, when it revolted from the Ottoman Empire after the Ottoman-Russian war. However in a short time approximately 35 years, hardworking Bulgarians proceeded and became better than Turks in science, art, agriculture, economy and even ethics. If it would be ask Bulgarians about how they reached to this level, their answer would be: “Women and female teachers of primary schools.”<sup>119</sup> The first thing they did was to choose skilled women as a teacher and send every part of their country so that they can enlighten their people. In many countries such as Japan, America, Germany the same thing is seen. Indeed, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the *muallimes* (women teachers) were recently appearing in the Turkish society while in the Balkans there have been many *muallimes* since *Tanzimat* period.<sup>120</sup>

Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi puts religion in a special place on the continuity and the base of a nation. Religion and the moral values give the colours to the society. A person gets some feelings such as humanity, virtue, pity, courage and fairness through religion and these are the basic dynamics for a society which desires to progress and develop. In this sense he mentioned on the fast progress of the Balkan nations in the last quarter-century. As a person who attached importance to religion, he explains the essence of their progress was based on an ideal which is feeding from Christianity and assistance of it, which indicates religion is not an obstacle for progress. Even though Christianity is not a kind of religion which loves and supports

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<sup>118</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Kadınlar ve Mekâtib-i İbtidaiye Muallimleri”, *İtikadât-ı Batılâya İlan-ı Harb*, İstanbul: Sancakciyan Matbaası, 1329, p:64.

<sup>119</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Kadınlar ve Mekâtib-i”, p: 64-67.

<sup>120</sup> İlber Ortaylı, “Batılılaşma Sorunu”, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 1, İstanbul: İletişim, 1985, p: 138.

science and progress, it brought benefit to Balkan nations because it is the mother of devotion and supporter of inner resources.<sup>121</sup>

In 1912, Aġaoġlu's articles in *Sebilürreşad* were generally about the situation of the state. Balkan Wars were taking place in the Balkans and in the North Africa Trablusgarb War was about to come to an end. Therefore his main point focuses on the topics such as those fateful days and how to save the state from being ruined.

Ahmet Aġaoġlu states that the government is not the one to bear all the responsibility of the situation; people are also a failure because they expect everything from the government. He makes an emphasis on initiative (*şahsi teşebbüs*) and gives a solution as finding the mistakes at ourselves and following the Bulgarians' footsteps on initiative. His advice signals to act with unity and solidarity altogether like Bulgarians did. He sincerely believes that the enterprise of Ottomans is able to bring about a new change for the benefit of Turks and Ottomans.<sup>122</sup> In this regard he complains about how the spirit of individualism (*ruh-i ferdiyyet*) has taken the place of spirit of a community (*ruh-i cemiyet*). This means that integrity was corrupted and divided into many groups. However integrity itself is a power whereas different groups are weak.<sup>123</sup> He also expresses the fast progress of Balkans in relation with schools European powers opened in the Balkans after they took the control. After a while local people get used to this situation and the soul of Europe entered to Islam societies. It means the first significations of progress emerged in these regions.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Ahmed Hilmi Bey, *Huzur-u Aklü*, p: 73.

<sup>122</sup> Ahmed Akayef, "Alem-i İslam: Siyasiyat; Bulgarların Müedde'iyatı", *Sirat-ı Müstakim*, vol: 4, month: 7, year: 1326, no: 100, p: 374, 375 cited by: Abdullah Gündoġdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 121, 122.

<sup>123</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Bir Memleket Nasıl Mahv Olur", *Sebilürreşad*, vol: 1-8, month: 7, year: 1328, no: 22-204, p: 421 cited by: Abdullah Gündoġdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 261.

<sup>124</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Türk Alemleri 4", p: 81.

### 2.2.2 *İttihad-ı İslam* and Nationalism

In the Ottoman state after the constitutionalism, the CUP tried to adopt Turkism and Ottomanism together. However Ottomanism could not be an effective ideology when the Balkan Wars started and Balkan nations were gaining independence from the Ottoman state. In this situation, the CUP found the solution in turning its face against Turkism. It is not a kind of Turkism which excluded the other subjects of the state but to protect the structure of the society.<sup>125</sup> In this situation, three intellectuals stated their attitude through the articles which were written about *ittihad-ı İslam* and nationalism.

Kılıçzade Hakkı mentioned that the *ittihad-ı İslam* issue through the writing a review for Celâl Nuri's books *Tarih-i Tedenniyat-ı Osmaniye* and *Mukadderat-ı Tarihiyye*. He sees *ittihad-ı İslam* as a political goal (*gaye-i siyasiye*).<sup>126</sup> He sees ignorance and disunion as reasons for the misery and weakness of the Islamic world. Muslims conquered the world, ended oppression and enlightened the ideas as a unity. However Muslim world does not have unity and therefore faces the consequences of this.<sup>127</sup>

In addition to this aspect of his ideas, it is not possible to provide *ittihad-ı İslam* under the hegemony of Turkish nation. For him, Ottomans are not powerful and have not progressed enough to bring together all Muslim communities under one rule. He offers to introduce an essential reformation and purge to create *ittihad-ı İslam* again. Therefore he presents the three rules for providing *ittihad-ı İslam*. The first thing to do is an essential purification and reformation in the dynasty. Secondly, he adds that *ulema* and *softas* should think freely and in order to reach this aim, stop putting *sarık* on their head. He lastly emphasizes the necessity of creating one sect in order to avoid discursion.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Mustafa Gencer, "Osmanlı – Türk Modernleşme", p: 360.

<sup>126</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Azadamard Gazetesi Ser-muharrirliği'ne", *İctihad*, no: 70, 4 July 1329, p: 1540.

<sup>127</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "İttihad-ı İslam", *İtikadât-ı Batılâya İlân-ı Harb*, İstanbul: Sancakciyan Matbaası, 1329, p: 124.

<sup>128</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "İttihad-ı İslam", p: 125-127.

He also mentions the terms such as “a national target” (*milli hedef*), “goal aim” (*gaye-i emel*) in his writings. The word “millet” is found many times and he stresses the importance of having a national purpose. He sees lack of aim and schedule as the reason for the decline of the state in.<sup>129</sup>

Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi criticizes the Turkism policy of CUP. Governors before the constitution tried to create a strong Ottoman nation but after the constitutionalism was declared, national feelings arose in the society. After he summarized the situation in that way, he found it a fantasy to create Turkism in Ottoman society which had lots of subjects. For him, it leads to a “fear of Turkism” in the society.<sup>130</sup>

He gives an example in order to explain the situation better. According to Kanun-i Esasi the official language (in the school education) was Turkish. This was perceived as a superiority and dominance of Turkishness, which led to the emergence of a fear of being Turkicized. Therefore he finds the Turkishness movement dangerous and does not support it.<sup>131</sup>

The rallying cry of *Hikmet* newspaper published by Ahmet Hilmi after the Second Constitution was “unity is life, division is death” (*ittihat hayattır, tefrika memattır*). It can be seen as a sign of his advocacy of *ittihad-ı İslam*.<sup>132</sup> In his article which was written under the pen name Özdemir he says:

“Today, we Ottoman Turks are 10 million, also there are 40 million Turks in Russia, Asia, Caucasia and Iran. Together there are 50 million of us. Even though we are separated from each other, we are in full unity. We all are the soldiers of Islam and this motherland, we all died in the right way and will continue to die.”<sup>133</sup>

In his perception of nation, religion and the nation can come together as pointed out above. In addition to this aspect of his writings, he also stressed that the

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<sup>129</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Zabıt”, *İctihad*, no: 67, 3 May 1329, p: 1458.

<sup>130</sup> Şehbenderzede Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Muhalefetin İflası*, p: 43.

<sup>131</sup> Şehbenderzede Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Muhalefetin İflası*, p: 44.

<sup>132</sup> Ahmet Tepekaya, “Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi ve Hikmet Dergisi”, *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, no: 8, winter 2006, p: 42.

<sup>133</sup> Özdemir, “Türk Kardeşlerime”, *Hikmet*, no: 10, 10 June 1326 - 23 June 1910, p: 5.



idea of *ümmet* is not against the idea of nation because *ümmet-i İslam* never assimilated or assaulted any nation under the control of Islamic rule.<sup>134</sup> Here the emphasis is on Islam as a connective element of different nations.

Ahmet Hilmi presented *ittihad-ı İslam* as a solution of colonizing policy of European powers especially England. They tried to divide Muslim societies by revealing language, race and religion differences among Muslims. In this way Muslims were not able to come together and thus became weaker. For him *ittihad-ı İslam* is the key point which could prevent the intention of splitting Muslims. He lays emphasis on “religious fellowship” and thinks that this feeling could make it difficult for colonialists to divide Muslims. He also thinks that colonialists used nationalism intentionally in order to reach their aim.<sup>135</sup> He emphasizes that *İttihad-ı İslam* is not only a religious movement. It is also the best way of showing the Europeans how powerful Muslims are. He sees a common enemy, the enemy of Turks or Arabs is also an enemy of Albanians or other Muslim communities. Thinking the opposite is one of the biggest mistakes.<sup>136</sup>

On the other hand Filibeli knocks the conflict between Europe’s rhetorically antinationalist attitude and reality. Even though Europeans say nationalism has no importance, the only important thing is humanity, all of them, British, Germans, French and Italians defend their motherlands to death. While they were so regardful about the continuity of their nation, Muslims do not see this and surmise that nationalism is a detrimental thing.<sup>137</sup>

Ahmet Ağaoglu claims that Turkish nationality exists but Turkish nation doesn’t. In his perception of nationality, race is not a nation only by itself. Also religion and language alone are not a nation. In that sense he defines the principles of the nationalism. Firstly language, secondly religion and thirdly the traces left by race.

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<sup>134</sup> Ahmet Hilmi, “Mısır Meselesi”, *Hikmet*, no: 10, 10 June 1326 - 23 June 1910, p: 2.

<sup>135</sup> Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, “Bugünkü Âlem-i İslam”, *Hikmet*, no: 43, 27 Kanunisani 1326 - 9 February 1911, p: 2.

<sup>136</sup> Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, “Genç Avrupa ve Hakk-ı İhtilâl”, *Hikmet*, no: 68, 21 July 1327 - 8 Şaban 1329, p: 2.

<sup>137</sup> Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Üniversiteli Gençlerle*, p:24.

He draws a picture of nationalism with the components of language such as literature, industry, music. Even though these three elements establish nationality, it should be lived in reality so that nationality could be a nation. He focuses on the importance of language and states that Turks should establish their own language and take over the essence of Islam. For this, there should be a suitable fix on religion and life. Therefore language should be developed consciously and religion should be shaped in a national form.<sup>138</sup> For him, religion is the spirit of a nation. Therefore a person who claims that he is nationalist can not be against religion. Being a nationalist means to support other elements of the nation such as religion, language, literature, traditions, policy and society.<sup>139</sup>

Ağaoğlu explains the importance of Islam and Turkism and mentions on the relation between two. According to him, Islam appeals to all Muslims and nations by the aim of reunite and melt in the same pot all of them. The essence of the unification here is religion. His criticism is to Islamists because they do not understand the feeling of nationalism (*kavmiyetçilik*). For him, Islam is lived in many countries so there existed different styles and understandings of Islam such as Shiism and Sunnism. In this sense, a person who wants to be helpful for Islam should do something like establishing schools and publishing newspapers. His point is that the person could only make these actions with Turkish language in the Ottoman example. Here nationalism became a part of an effort to help the Islam, which intended that serving for nation means serving for Islam.<sup>140</sup>

The importance of religion in nationalism for Ağaoğlu comes right after language. It plays an important role in the foundation of *kavmiyyet* and nations. Therefore it is not possible to think Turks apart from Islam. It is not only a religion for Turks and also a national religion because Islam and Turks had a common

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<sup>138</sup> Ahmed Ağaoğlu, "Milli Cereyan", *Türk Yurdu*, year: 5, no: 80, (19 March 1331 - 1 April 1915), p: 92.

<sup>139</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Türk Alemleri 6", *Türk Yurdu*, year: 1, no: 10, (22 March 1328 - 4 April 1912), p: 163.

<sup>140</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Türk Alemleri 5", *Türk Yurdu*, year: 1, no: 7, (9 February 1327 - 22 February 1912), p: 113.

history. It seems that religion and nation are not separate things. In his perception, supporting one of them means supporting another. In his words: “the one who wants to understand Turk, has to first examine and understand Islam.”<sup>141</sup>

Ağaoğlu states that Turkishness was spiritually fragmented because of Shia. The opposition of the sects damages Turkishness.<sup>142</sup> Ağaoğlu thinks that Islam has collected the Arabs on the unity of nations (*vahdet-i kavmiye*) but could not dispel the *asabiyet*. He explains *asabiyet* as negative nationalism and therefore found it improper for Islam. Instead, he protects *kavmiyet* and sees it as nationality. In this sense, *kavmiyet* includes the mass of people who feel the same way and the keystone of this feeling is language and religion.<sup>143</sup>

According to him, nationalism provides progress. In this sense nationalism makes it possible to understand the past and Westernism enables opening out and changing. These two features complete each other. Therefore he defines himself as both nationalist and Westernist.<sup>144</sup>

### 2.2.3 Education

Kılıçzade Hakkı indicates the importance of education with these words: “... only the political independency is not enough to be completely independent. The governments and nations lagging behind in the science and education are not independent.”<sup>145</sup> Especially education of women should be revised and medical schools for women should be established. In this way, some may be a doctor whereas others a nurse in service of the Red Crescent (*Hilal-i Ahmer*).<sup>146</sup> He also proposes to

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<sup>141</sup> Ahmed Agayef, “Türk Alemleri 6”, p: 163.

<sup>142</sup> Ahmed Agayef, “Türk Alemleri 8”, p: 296.

<sup>143</sup> Ahmed Agayef, “İslam’da Dava-yı Milliyet”, *Türk Yurdu*, year: 3, no: 71, (27 Teşrinisani 1330 – 10 December 1914), p: 390.

<sup>144</sup> Ahmed Ağaoğlu, “Tarihi Devirler Arasında Milliyet”, *Türk Yurdu*, vol: 17-3, no: 178-17, (March 1926), p: 246.

<sup>145</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “İttihad-ı İslam”, p: 125.

<sup>146</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Ruya”, *İtikadât-ı Batılâya*, p: 50, 51.

organize schools in every neighborhood for old people who could not or did not go to school and learn to read-write.<sup>147</sup>

Kılıçzade emphasizes the necessity of removing madrasahs. In his view, new and perfect schools like *College de France* should be founded instead of Süleymaniye Madrasah and Ecole Polytecnic rather than Fatih Madrasah. In fact he wants to structure an educational system just like those in progressive countries. For him, *softalık* which needed more regulation should not be an occupation. Rather it should be a studentship which benefited from the opportunity of food service, clothing, accommodation and scholarship. He wants them to see in a more disciplinary mode.<sup>148</sup>

One side of his ideas about education comes to the forefront with a social aspect. He mentions how inappropriate is the dressing style of *softas*, their caps and dresses called *sarık* and *cübbe*. These clothes symbolize self sufficiency and culture so it should belong to only high ranked ulema (*ulema-yı kiram*) and not *softas*. Ordinary people in public should stop wearing these clothes even by order of the police.<sup>149</sup>

He says that “being a Muslim is not related to dressing, it resides in the hearts. Wearing a hat or a helmet does not make a person infidel. Muslims have a responsibility to have good nature and love good things.”<sup>150</sup>

Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi takes education into consideration in philosophy and Sufism and states that any inclination towards good and bad should be schooled.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Ruya”, *İtikadât-ı Batılâya*, p: 46.

<sup>148</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Ruya”, p: 52.

<sup>149</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Ruya”, p: 51-53.

<sup>150</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Zabıt”, p: 1459.

<sup>151</sup> In his exile years, Ahmed Hilmi contributed to the development of the region with educational activities and took the lead in opening a school in Fizan. In this period he paid attention to Islamic Sufism and accepted the way of Abdullah Selam Esmer el-Arusi as a religious order in this city. In his book *Senusiler ve Sultan Abdülhamit* (1907) he gives information about *Arusilik* which is one of the sects which common in North Africa. It is not a national sect and ranked every individual of Islam equal. Ahmet Hilmi stated that Arusis had great feelings of brotherhood and closeness for Turks. See;

In that way it could be possible to be virtuous.<sup>152</sup> As he emphasizes that a child remembers the first movements he sees and the first words he hears until the end of his life, he states that the most effective education is primary education (*terbiye-i ibtidaiye*) received from the mother, father, family and primary school teachers.<sup>153</sup>

He points out the negative effects of raising children with the education of a foreign governess. In rich families girls were commended to madams and mademoiselles for education. He does not approve of this because Muslim kids start to question about their own religion and their place and womenswear in Muslim societies after a while. According to him, children raised in the hands of madams will feel shame for their nations rather than boast and feel regret for the country they were born in.<sup>154</sup>

He states that mothers play the biggest role in raising children but they are mostly uneducated. Therefore it is necessary to educate mothers at least so that they could be able to nurture their children.<sup>155</sup> He also focuses on the importance of child psychology. He states the necessity of having knowledge about child psychology (*ilm-i ahval erruh-i etfal*).<sup>156</sup> In this sense he wrote about the significance of the suggestion. There is a big difference between suggestion and an ordinary word. Suggestion affects the answerer, for this reason Ahmet Hilmi says that it is important for education.<sup>157</sup>

When it comes to the issue of education, Filibeli mostly focuses on the education of *ulema* rather than on modern schools. He states that the industry has developed perfectly in European countries thanks to the power of science and technique and adds that the Islam does not say or order anything against science.

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Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Senusiler ve Sultan Abdülhamid (Asr-ı Hamidi'de Alem-i İslam ve Senusiler)*, prepared by: İsmail Cömert, İstanbul: Ses Yayınları, 1992, p: 25. He also wrote *İki Gavs-ı Enam* and published *Tasavvuf-ı İslami* in *Hikmet* about the sufism.

<sup>152</sup> “Terbiye İkinci Defa Yaradılıştır”, *Hikmet*, no: 46, 2 March 1911- 17 February 1326, p:2.

<sup>153</sup> “Terbiye İkinci Yaradılıştır” *Hikmet*, no: 49, 23 March 1911- 10 March 1327, p:3.

<sup>154</sup> “Terbiye İkinci Yaradılıştır”, no: 49, p: 4.

<sup>155</sup> “Terbiye İkinci Yaradılıştır”, *Hikmet*, no: 50, 30 March 1911 - 17 March 1327, p: 3.

<sup>156</sup> “Terbiye İkinci Yaradılıştır”, no: 50, p: 2.

<sup>157</sup> “Terbiye İkinci Yaradılıştır”, *Hikmet*, no: 51, 2 April 1911- 24 March 1327, p: 4.

This is why Muslims should have the science Europeans had in order to compete and stand up to a civilized and highly industrialized Europe. His point is to be careful about not emulating Europe. In this sense, Filibeli recommends to constitute a base on which religion and science come together. Therefore it is necessary to school *ulema* so that they are equipped with the knowledge of contemporary science and technique. For this, he lists some areas for the betterment of the education.

- 1- Specifying and sharing out the duties of the *ilmiye* class.
- 2- Making madrasahs like the modern schools in the aspects of form and method.
- 3- Reformation of the schooling
- 4- Raising a new special class who has a moral superiority

Filibeli gives importance to the spread of bad ideas in the public and in order to prevent this situation he emphasizes the importance of *ilmiye* class. It is necessary to put new sciences into the curricula. Especially *imams* who educate children and the public have very significant role in the villages because they tell superstitions and stories in the name of religion so they need to learn the basic principles of science.<sup>158</sup>

Ahmet Ađaođlu wrote a couple of articles about the deficiencies and failures of the education system in *Sebilürreşad*. In these articles it is clearly seen that his point of view on the education issue is one of the cornerstones of progress. As he worked as an education inspector, he had the chance to observe and interpret the situation of schools, teachers and students. He expands on the education issue in the Ottomans by comparing countries that offer good education like France and makes propositions in order to fix the system.

According to him, the worst and the biggest impact of the period of Abdulhamit II came over education. Even though all Ottomans were affected by this regime, there was an important difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in the level of negative effects of the regime. . The regime had not interfered in churches,

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<sup>158</sup> Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 639-645.

prayers, languages, schools and literature of the non-Muslim population. On the other hand Muslims were damaged in all aspects.<sup>159</sup>

He hardly criticizes the *İstibdat* regime and its bad impacts on the Muslim population through the education issue. The regime had damaged the spirit of attempt, activity, determination and resistance of the Muslim community. This vital situation of Muslim people needed to be fixed. Here, Ağaoğlu finds the only solution in founding coordinate schools based on strong principles and enabling the children of the country (*evlad-ı vatan*) to study in these schools. He thinks that his continuity of the government depends on the establishment of public education on reliable and true rudiments.<sup>160</sup>

On the other side the public hopes the government to fix the education system immediately. However it would not be as quick as they hoped so there will be need, in the words of Ağaoğlu, to enlighten common public and the tool of enlightenment is the education standing on durable and regular base. In this way people would comprehend the benefits of the constitutional government. In addition to this, they would believe that constitutionalism is the only way of reaching all the good levels of progress and development.<sup>161</sup>

In the case of education, he thinks that it is not only important for Istanbul, it also affected and involved other Muslim communities around the world. They put Ottomans in a marvelous place in their minds because of its conquests of foreign mainlands. The capital of the caliphate thus became a prominent place for Muslim students. The Muslim world strongly depended on Dersaadet morally so Ottomans should try to be the one to enhance education for the sake of the Muslim world. Students from every region of the world were coming to Dersaadet for a good

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<sup>159</sup> Ahmed Akayef, “Dârü’l-Hilâfede”, p: 151 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 168-170.

<sup>160</sup> Ahmed Akayef, “Dârü’l-Hilâfede”, p: 152 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 168-170.

<sup>161</sup> Ahmed Akayef, “Dârü’l-Hilâfede”, p: 152 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 171.

education. A young person who came from Tehran to Dersaadet by walking is just one of the many examples.<sup>162</sup>

Ağaoğlu was a perfectionist about some state issues and he was aware of this. He wanted to launch a project in the best way and see the country successful in every affair like France, England and Germans. When it comes to education the same thing is in question. However he emphasizes that it is possible with a grand and splendid potential which we do not have.<sup>163</sup>

In order to explain better, he gives an example and points at *ibtidai* schools. His wish is to make *ibtidai* schools as good as French schools but the French spent 277 million Francs for their schools. Although Ottomans need to fix their education system so much, the same thing does not seem possible.

After he researched all *ibtidai* and *rüşdiyye* schools in Istanbul, he came up with statistics on the numbers of students, buildings and teachers. As a result he ranges five essential general elements for the improvement of these schools:

- 1-Existence of buildings for schools
- 2-Inclination of public for science (*ilm*) and culture (*irfan*)
- 3-Presence of students
- 4-Enough money for expenses
- 5-Presence of teachers

According to the results of his research, there are approximately 400 *ibtidai* schools in Istanbul. The population of the city is about 500.000, which means that there were 1225 students for each school. This ratio nearly equals that of civilized countries. The total student number of *ibtidai* and *rüşdiyye* schools is 32079. The ratio of children going to *ibtidai* schools is 80 percent in the city. This rate is higher than most of the European countries including Germany, France, Belgium and Sweden.

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<sup>162</sup> Ahmed Akayef, “Dârü’l-Hilâfede”, p: 152 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 172-173.

<sup>163</sup> Ahmed Akayef, “Dârü’l-Hilâfe’de Maarif-i İbtida’iyenin Hâli ve Suret-i Islahı 2” *Sebilürreşad*, vol: 5, month: 10, year: 1326, no: 114, p: 163, 164 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 174, 175.



There were 19 pupils for each teacher while there were 40 for each teacher in France and Germany. Moreover school buildings were not in a good condition.<sup>164</sup>

Ağaoğlu placed great emphasis on teachers. If education is one of the main components of progress, teachers undoubtedly had a notable role in it. He states that their salary is 100-150 or rarely 200 *kuruş*. In spite of low payment and lack of heating system, they sustained their job very devotedly, which indicates their selflessness.<sup>165</sup>

In addition to this, the eagerness of the public is important factor for generalizing the education and achieving progress. The increasing school numbers shows that there is a tendency to go to school in the society. In the aspects of intelligence, Ottoman kids are in the same level with the kids of progressive nations like the French, German and British.<sup>166</sup>

The situation of the school buildings is the main deficiency in the education system. He describes them as old, damp, unclean and cold. He thinks those buildings should have been jails rather than school buildings. He protests against the common idea of the incapability of Ottoman children. The problem is not the capacity of the kids; it is the system of the education.<sup>167</sup>

Ahmet Ağaoğlu focuses on the clothing issue in one of his articles which is mostly about the importance of education. He complains that any person who wears a *sarık* and *cübbe* claim to be guiding the public. This led to the emergence of a competition environment. However this is not a competition in science and culture, it is on ignorance and bigotry. The solution he offered is to found an organizational

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<sup>164</sup> Ahmed Akayef, “Dârü’l-Hilâfe’de.. 2”, p: 164, 165 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 176-178.

<sup>165</sup> Ahmed Akayef, “Dârü’l-Hilâfe’de.. 2”, p: 165 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 179.

<sup>166</sup> Ahmed Akayef, “Dârü’l-Hilâfe’de.. 2”, p: 165 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 181.

<sup>167</sup> Ahmed Akayef, “Dârü’l-Hilâfe’de.. 2”, p: 166 cited by: Abdullah Gündoğdu, *Ümmetten Millete*, p: 182.

spiritual class immediately. Only people of this class who are educated in serious schools should have the duty of religious guidance.<sup>168</sup>

## **2.3 Religious and Ideological Frame of Progress**

### **2.3.1 Religion**

The approach of the three intellectuals to religion is one of the most important topics in the progress issue. Religion most of the time was seen related to the progress of the state because its penetration was felt in many areas the life such as politics, economy, philosophy and social life. However the discussions about religion were generally about whether it is an obstacle or not in front of progress.

Kılıçzade Hakkı presented his approach on religion clearly and sharply. His writings on religion are shaped around the war against ignorance and focuses on the enlightenment of religion. He states that it is possible to abandon an old and traditional practices and ideas which have no connection with the essence of the Islam and also to adopt reforms in order to catch appropriate implementations for the necessities of the era. For him religion did not have a kind of place which comprehends all the areas of life. It is generally seen with its social aspect without touching any political or practical area.

He believes in the existence and the oneness of Allah and that he is the one who has all the power. He controls all the creatures, earthly and spiritual issues. He created mankind with wisdom and made him the best of creatures. He sent Prophets in order to show his rules and the right way. His proofs are possible to be understood with science and wisdom. In that sense he states that he believed in the existence of angels but was not able to know the nature of them.<sup>169</sup> Kılıçzade sees logic and religion compatible with each other. One of them does not shatter another. In his perception, if something in religion does not fit logic, it is because we were not able to comprehend it. There is nothing superior than the mind. Thus it is not possible to

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<sup>168</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Türk Alemleri 8", p: 298.

<sup>169</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Mukaddime", p: 9, 10.

think of a religion without a mind. In this regard he criticized the papas of the Christians and *softas* then references to the Prophet's word "religion is composed of mind; one who does not have mind also does not have religion."<sup>170</sup>

Kılıçzade states that he examined the situation of the state and society and tried to find out the reasons of backwardness. The answer he reached is based on a mentality which prevents progress by creating some psychological and religious complications. In this regard he criticizes *softas* because they caused the decline of the society with sermons and the information of *israiliyyat*. According to him, *softas* advise to care less about earthly affairs and always work for the after-life. They also scare people with hellfire by emphasizing the evilness of focusing on gaining money. Therefore they recommend earning and doing with less. They see that earning money is not necessary because the Prophet was poor and also getting education is not necessary because the Prophet was not -literate. For them, wearing new clothes and eating on the table is also a sin because the Prophet wore patched clothes and ate on the floor table.<sup>171</sup> He reaches the conclusion that this causes the decline of economical and intellectual development. As a result of their sermons people do not have any encouragement for economic progress.<sup>172</sup> It is obvious that Kılıçzade criticized the lack of activity of *softas*. He focuses on the importance of doing something in order to reach an aim rather than praying, begging or counting one's beads 4444 times. It is a thing which pushed the society to laziness and waiting everything from Allah without making any effort.<sup>173</sup>

In his stories it is possible to see the critique of *softas* and people who practice the Islam differently from its essence. He draws a picture of ignorance of *softas* in his stories. In his two stories about the character Yunus Hoca, he mentions the education style of *softas* in the madrasahs.<sup>174</sup> These two stories were published in

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<sup>170</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Müslümanlık ve Hristiyanlık", *İctihad*, no: 68, 30 May 1329, p: 1479.

<sup>171</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Mukaddime", p: 5, 6.

<sup>172</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Darbe-i Kat'iyeye", *İtikadât-ı Batılâya İlân-ı Hârb*, İstanbul: Sancakciyan Matbaası, 1329, p: 105.

<sup>173</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Dervişlik, Softalık Meselesi", *İctihad*, no: 62, 18 April 1329, p: 1350.

<sup>174</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Yunus Hoca'nın Kendisi", *İctihad*, no: 73, 7 August 1913, p: 1601 - 1604.

*İctihad*. He tries to show how they are actually engaged in immoral behaviors even though they look like the owners of the religion.<sup>175</sup> There was another story of his which mentioned religious bigotry. “Dinsizler”<sup>176</sup> tells the struggle between modernist and traditionalist Muslims.

Another point Kılıçzade criticized was the closure of the *bab-ı ictihad*. Its purpose was to decide and bring new practices in religious issues in accordance with religion and the needs of time. In other words it is a kind of way of reformation. Here he complains that there is no way, institution or a group of people to do this. Therefore religion stays in the same level as when it was born. He also proposes the writing of new *tefsirs*. Kılıçzade thinks *softas* are responsible for this situation but he does not find them sufficiently equipped for making *ictihad*. For this reason, he calls them as fake *softas*.<sup>177</sup>

According to him, the reason of backwardness is *softas* and their mentality which prevented progress in other areas of life without religion such as literature, economy, agriculture, art, language and grammar. The Great Powers had important scientists but the reason why Ottomans do not have scientists like Newton, Pasteur, Röntgen is the *softas*. He deems *softas* responsible for the backwardness of the Süleymaniye Madrasah because of their old ideas, ignorance and traditions.<sup>178</sup> He also accuses *softas* of secluding women at home. It is not necessary to learn to read and write in the sight of them. Even though women are the most important element of the society, *softas* insisted on not seeing this reality and prevented the progress of women.<sup>179</sup> Kılıçzade argues for the freedom of women and says that “our religion never isolated women from men in the aspect of education.”<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Yunus Hoca Hikayeleri: Yunus Hoca Talebe”, *İctihad*, no: 77, 4 September 1913, p: 1703 - 1711.

<sup>176</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Dinsizler”, *İctihad*, no: 65, 9 May 1329, p: 1421 - 1425.

<sup>177</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Darbe-i Kat’iye”, p: 106.

<sup>178</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Sahte Softalığa ve Dervişliğe İlân-ı Harb”, *İctihad*, no: 58, 14 March 1329, p: 1279.

<sup>179</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Mukaddime”, p: 7.

<sup>180</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Mukaddime”, p: 11.

In addition to these, he says that there are real *ulema* who told the truth. However they could not even make a sound. It is seen that Kılıçzade fell out with *softas*. He considers *softas* ignorant people who condemned the Muslim world in ignorance for centuries. In the introduction of his book, he states that he could know them when he saw their *sarıks* on the heads.<sup>181</sup> Kılıçzade says that “being a Muslim does not manifest itself via clothes, Islam and peace are in the hearts. The one who wears a hat or a helmet does not become an infidel. Muslims have a responsibility to have good nature and love good things.”<sup>182</sup> *Softas*, for him, are not able to see their environment and the developments around the world so they are never open to new things and never support reformation. Thus he emphasizes that it is not possible to enlighten Islam and the Ottoman society with this attitude.<sup>183</sup> Ahmet Hilmi emphasizes that as religion weakened the conditions of backwardness emerged then not paying attention to the positive sciences and industry increased the decline in the state. In other words, moral and religious decline brings the political and social decline which was what exactly happened in the Ottomans.

In his perception of Islam, the spiritual and earthly side is not considered separately. Islam is a kind of religion which comprises both religious and social aspects of the life.<sup>184</sup> It has a judicial system which regulates every part of life such as family, economy, marriages and inheritance. He explains the relation between Islam and reason. He argues that all religions do hate the mind with the exception of Islam. According to him, Islam is the only most reasonable religion. Its social rules and practices are sensible. In order to prove this claim he shows the *ayets* and *hadith* which mention on the importance of *ilm* and intelligence.<sup>185</sup>

According to Filibeli, the most backward science branches in the Ottomans are theology and philosophy of religion. He expresses criticism on the *ulema* class about their methods and study of theology as if they were still in the middle ages.

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<sup>181</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Mukaddime”, p: 3, 4.

<sup>182</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Zabıt”, p: 1459.

<sup>183</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Darbe-i Kat’iye”, p: 108.

<sup>184</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 614.

<sup>185</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 612.

This makes the difference between *ulema* and the public bigger. There would be two results, if the *ulema* did not change their situation. One is that the public would be divided into two parts as the illiterate ones are the only people who remained respectful to *ulema* and educated nonbeliever ones. Another probability is that all people would come together to scatter these *ulema* then create a new class respond the needs.<sup>186</sup>

According to him, salvation is only possible by the tools of science and education. These tools should be used in favor of the society. He complains that the Muslim world is not aware about this fact. The decisions and suggestions of *ulema* are not suitable with the needs of the day and place. For instance, a student who goes to school which offers positive sciences education can not be contented and convinced when listening to a speech of the imam in a mosque. In this situation two groups in the society: Either an ignorant community or an intellectual group who are Muslim in appearance but bearing bad feelings for Islam.<sup>187</sup>

He states that “free thought” and “science and philosophy” are the dissident and competitor of Islam. Therefore Muslims need to have the mentality and science of Europe in order to stay alive both economically and politically. However, achieving this aim damages Islam so there is a need to reconcile science and religion.<sup>188</sup> For this, reformation in religion comes into question. He criticizes the *ulema* who insist on not seeing the danger Islam is facing. They prefer to keep millenary ideas and traditions alive rather than share ideas which could advance Islam. Then he offers a solution by advising to raise *ulema* with a good command of science and mentality of Europe.<sup>189</sup> However this attitude of religion was damaged as a result of personal views of *mezhebs* and some *alims*. The *nakil* feature of Islam got ahead of the mind. Therefore the importance of the mind decreased and was depreciated. Even though there is no clergy in Islam, some *seyhs*, *alims* had concessions and became privileged persons. As their number increased, there

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<sup>186</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 2.

<sup>187</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 638, 639.

<sup>188</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 643.

<sup>189</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 644.

appeared some features of clergy. Thus the place of mind changed in time in Islam.<sup>190</sup>

There is one group of people who stopped consideration and turned back to progress. They always say and repeat the same thing and never ponder on anything else. Filibeli criticizes this group because they stand apart from thinking in a different way or considering the fact that people who do not talk and think like them might be right. A clear feature of these people is going against the *ictihad*. They do not give any chance to anybody to make an *ictihad* and they are not eager to do it either.<sup>191</sup> Kılıçzade also describes *softas* with these features and accuses them of preventing progress and closing the *bab-ı ictihad*.

Ahmet Ağaoğlu defines religion as a system of principles which regulates the relation between man and god in both earthly and spiritual parts of the life.<sup>192</sup> In other words, it takes a role in social areas of life. The life of the Prophet becomes an example of how to organize this area. He especially emphasizes the aftermath of the hegira period of Medina. In this period, Muslims can see how religion was experienced in a social and political concept. There are examples of daily life issues. Therefore he compares Christianity and Islam in the aspects of social life arrangements by indicating that Prophet Jesus lived short and had not been in a situation which organized a social group. On the contrary, the Prophet of Islam was in a relation with a community which means that it is the necessity for the society to have regulations for the life.<sup>193</sup>

According to Ağaoğlu, the real essence of religion consists of beliefs and praying. Other details came to religion later. He argues that the important thing is the beliefs rather than earthly life by showing the verses of the Quran. He claims that all the verses about beliefs are certain and obvious whereas there were many verses which were unclear about earthly life. For him, this indicates that the important one

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<sup>190</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 612, 613.

<sup>191</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 4.

<sup>192</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "İslam Aleminde Görülen İnhitatin Sebepleri", *İslam Mecmuası*, vol: 1-2, no: 2, p: 55.

<sup>193</sup> Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Üç Medeniyet*, p: 29, 30.

is faith and not earthly practices. When it comes to earthly issues, he mentions the word of the Prophet which recommends solving of problems with reason.<sup>194</sup>

Here the emphasis is on the areas that religion had authority. This is faith and the topics related to beliefs which are expected to be between man and god. It would not be wrong to say that the remaining aspects are considered as circumstances that can change according to a given situation. In this sense the attitude of Ađaođlu is close to secular thought. He clearly advises to be free in earthly issues. What he perceived as freedom is not the the denial of religion but developing and working in daily and economic issues. In that way religion would be preserved and raised.<sup>195</sup>

Over time, the rules and law were changed by mankind in parallel to the needs and necessities of the society. This practice took place in also Islam but he states that this practice was forgotten and any kind of development or reformation was rejected. He mentions a group of people who put themselves in the place of representatives of religion. They stopped the development of the Islamic society in every aspect like social, political, educational, scientific and economic. He gives the example of education and stresses that it has no relation with religion. However an intention to introduce a reform or innovation on this side was put forward, those people stood against it. This happens because they think that they have all the authority so they intervene by claiming that the reformers are irreligious.<sup>196</sup>

As a result of this lack of change in rules and judgments, the progress of the society came to a halt and set Muslims at least 400 or 500 years behind the Europe. For him, salvation is possible only by accepting the rules which European powers accepted many years ago. He wrote about the reasons of backwardness in the Muslim world and states that the problem is not about religion, but about Muslims, their way of perception and living religion. He explores the causes of confusion and rejects some claims of Western intellectuals that Islam is an obstacle against progress. He

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<sup>194</sup> Ahmet Ađaođlu, *Üç Medeniyet*, p: 41.

<sup>195</sup> Ahmet Ađaođlu, *Üç Medeniyet*, p: 42.

<sup>196</sup> Ahmet Ađaođlu, *Üç Medeniyet*, p: 36, 37.



tries to rebut their claims by indicating that Christianity had taken its ancient Greek knowledge from Islam.

Ağaoğlu basically finds Islam and Turkishness very close to each other and he analyses the reasons of backwardness of Turks. One thing which has vital importance is that the thinkers in Ottomans were experts in religion yet not in other sciences so they tended to interpret every issue like defeats in wars as a consequence of moral corruption. Because of this point of view, they always found a way of solution around moral and religious law (*şeriat*). He states that this is precisely true but not the only one. The other problems which thinkers did not realize was the advancement of the West in science and civilization. However Turks had realized the need of reclamation and started to move.<sup>197</sup>

In this regard, he mentions the reasons which caused the backwardness of the state. These are *ulema*, *ümera* and *erbab-ı kalem*. What he criticized was the blandishing attitude of the *alims*. *Ulema* do not behave and say anything against the wrong ways of arbitral practices. They do not object or speak, always flatter rather than say the truth. Also they sometimes support and give *fetvas* for arbitrary implementations. As a result of this, it becomes easy to act in a highhanded way for the government.<sup>198</sup>

According the Hikmet Bayur, Ağaoğlu and some other intellectuals tried to defend Islam as revealing the fact that Islam world is back and about to come down so there is need to accept new changes especially “old thinking” *softas* should have accept. By doing this, they sometimes were accused of ruining the religion and promoting irreligiousness so they aimed to prevent these kinds of propagandas.<sup>199</sup> Ahmet Ağaoğlu was close to the ideas of Cemaleddin Afgani. After stressing that Afgani was originally a Turk, he presents Afgani’s offer for progress. He advises to import the science and industry of any place in order to get rid of ignorance. He asserts that Europe had imported science and arts from us so from now on asking

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<sup>197</sup> Ahmed Agayef, “Türk Alemleri 3”, p: 47.

<sup>198</sup> Ahmed Agayef, “İslam Aleminde Görülen”, p: 56.

<sup>199</sup> Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı*, p: 384.

them to get these is like wanting our own property back. Afgani mentions a general topic which Kılıçzade and Filibeli mentioned before: That the Muslim's way of living Islam is wrong. When arts, science and industry were abandoned, superstitions and *bidats* replaced true Islam. This means that Islam is corrupted and it became a religion under arbitrary and imperative practices. Afgani proposes to purify the religion from superstitions. He also suggests a solution to examine Islam with science and arts from a political, social and moral perspectives.<sup>200</sup>

According to Ağaoğlu, as a result of this process people started to care about backwardness and the causes and consequences of it. Young Muslim students went to Europe to have better education. In this way a new hope built on sciences and the old Islam has emerged. In his perception, the old Islam was pure and correct but then corruptions appeared which led to postponement. He argues that religion was misused. He criticized the lack of translation of the Quran into Turkish. Turks were ignorant about the essence of Islam because they did not understand when they read the Quran or they even did not know the meanings of what they read in their praying. For this reason he insistently points out the importance of the translation of the Quran.<sup>201</sup>

### **2.3.2 The Alphabet**

The issue of the replacing the Arabic alphabet had a lot of emphasis in the intellectual's agenda. Latin alphabet was an alternative to Arabic alphabet. Although a few people suggested to create a unique alphabet, most of the intellectuals who wanted alphabet changing were the supporters of Latin alphabet. Most of them were known as the Westernist thinkers and writers. They frequently wrote about this issue in newspapers and journals. On the other side thinkers who argued for the Arabic alphabet were divided into two as people who do not want any replacement and those who proposed some reforms on Arabic letters.

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<sup>200</sup> Ahmed Agayef, "Türk Alemleri 3", p: 48.

<sup>201</sup> Ahmed Ağaoğlu, "Hitabe", *Türk Yurdu*, vol: 16-2, no: 172-11, (August 1925), p: 210.

In 1914, a series of articles was published in *Hürriyet-i Fikriyye* anonymously. It was quite supportive of the alphabet replacement so the newspaper was suspended by the government for a while.<sup>202</sup> In 1923, the alphabet issue appeared on the agenda in the İzmir Economy Congress. In the congress, Ali Nazmi, one of the representatives, raised the issue and then the head of the congress Kazım Karabekir and some other representatives stood up against it. After the congress, Kılıçzade Hakkı wrote three articles about this issue in *İctihad*.

In general, two technical subjects were propounded by the Latin alphabet supporters as reasons of modification. The most prominent one is the difficulty of learning to read and write in the Arabic alphabet. This is mostly a conformational and structural reason. Kılıçzade Hakkı emphasized that children experienced difficulties in their efforts to be literate and it takes at least three months to learn read and write even for the most intelligent<sup>203</sup>. Therefore many people are illiterate. He says "...even the most professional teacher cannot teach reading a newspaper in six months to the smartest child."<sup>204</sup> He states how Arabic alphabet makes reading hard with these words "even we who have lived half a century in the world have difficulty to read when we see an Arabic word for the first time. All of this is because of Arabic letters. When it comes to geography and history terms, we will never be able to read and write truly by using the Arabic alphabet."<sup>205</sup> In addition to this, those who wanted to replace the alphabet asserted that Arabic alphabet is not appropriate for our language. Celâl Nuri likened the Turkish language to European languages more than Semitic languages.<sup>206</sup>

As the third and probably the most significant reason, Arabic alphabet was generally seen by Westernist thinkers as one of the main factors underlying

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<sup>202</sup> M. Şakir Ülkütaşır, *Atatürk ve Harf Devrimi*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1973, p:41.

<sup>203</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "İzmir İktisat Kongresinde Harfler Meselesi-2", *İctihad*, No: 155, 1 July 1923, p: 3198.

<sup>204</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "İzmir İktisat Kongresinde Harfler Meselesi-3", *İctihad*, No: 156, 1 August 1923, p: 3215.

<sup>205</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "İzmir İktisat... 2", p: 3198.

<sup>206</sup> Celâl Nuri. *Tarih-i İstikbal 2 (Mesail-i Siyasiye)*, İstanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaa ve Kütüphanesi, 1331, p: 165.

backwardness. Celâl Nuri considered the Arabic alphabet as an essential barrier in the way of progress. He says “if we want to progress, we should examine the Latin alphabet as soon as possible.”<sup>207</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı in his book *Akvemü's-Siyer Münasebetiyle Son Cevab: Yusuf Suad Efendi'ye Tahsisen, Softalara Tamimen* mentions this topic in praise of the Latin alphabet. He states that the Latin alphabet has a marvelous effect for progress and also he accused *softas* and people like *softas* of “being deficient and dark, brooding persons” because they do not see the easiness of the Latin alphabet.<sup>208</sup>

On the other side, there were other thinkers who objected to alphabet changing with some defenses. One of the most important points they emphasized was the presumption of losing the cultural heritage accumulated during a thousands of years. It would probably create a cultural depression which leads to discrediting all the books in libraries.<sup>209</sup> One of the most debated issues was the idea of writing the Quran in the Latin alphabet which could not be an act from a religious perspective. If this happens, the Quran and other religious texts would lose their symbolic richness. It was like an indignity to its sacredness.<sup>210</sup> In another article he wrote a sentence from Quran with Latin letters and states that “writing in another alphabet is not a profanity, and the person who does this does not become an infidel.”<sup>211</sup>

There is no doubt that Kılıçzade Hakkı and other Westernist intellectuals found Latin alphabet more universal. In their perception of progress, European countries were the most advanced so they deserved to be taken as an example in many aspects. In this sense, all of these are the proof of how Arabic alphabet kept down the potential of Ottoman progress. On the contrary, opponents asserted that the Arabic alphabet is not an obstacle standing in front of progress or preventing the

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<sup>207</sup>Celâl Nuri, *Tarih-i İstikbal* 2, p: 165.

<sup>208</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, *Akvemü's-Siyer Münasebetiyle Son Cevab: Yusuf Suad Efendi'ye Tahsisen, Softalara Tamimen*, İstanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaa ve Kütüphanesi, 1331, p: 50.

<sup>209</sup> Zeynep Korkmaz, *Türk Dilinin Tarihi Akışı İçinde Atatürk ve Dil Devrimi*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1963, p: 37, 38.

<sup>210</sup> Şerif Mardin, “Playing Games With Names”, *Fragments of Culture The Everyday of Modern Turkey*, ed: Deniz Kandiyoti, Ayşe Saktanber, London.NY: I.B.Tauris & Co Publishers, 2002, p: 124.

<sup>211</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “İzmir İktisat... 2”, p: 3199.

establishment of relations with the West. They showed the example of Japans and stated how even though they used quite a hard and elusive alphabet, they proved that the alphabet does not prevent progress.

Ahmet Hilmi did not write any article about this issue but he states that “we do not even have a reasonable orthography method”<sup>212</sup> so he found it necessary to adopt some reforms in letters so that reading would be easier and the problem of misreading would disappear. Moreover an anonymous author wrote two articles in Ahmet Hilmi’s weekly paper *Hikmet* about alphabet reform. These articles may give an idea about his attitude. In Greek, German and Latin alphabets, every letter is written separately (*huruf-i munfasıla*). He mentions in his article that these styles of writing are much easier than the style which the letters are written by connecting with each other (*huruf-i muttasıla*). Because Arabic letters are *semi-muttasıl* and sometimes it is possible to read one word like another word by using some signs (*hareke*) over and under the letter makes reading easier but it makes handwriting harder and more complex. An author offers some ways to overcome this difficulty and mentions the most perfect offers for the alphabet topic. One is Milaslı Doktor İsmail Hakkı and the others are two brothers Mehmet Şakir Ramif and Mehmet Zaker Ramif.

Mehmet Şakir and Mehmet Zakir brothers offered a new Arabic alphabet written in the style of *kufi* because it is a more distinctive and easier writing style. They also added some new *harekes* and wrote the words as *munfasıl*. Filibeli criticizes the point that there are too many dots on the letters in their alphabet offer and *harekes* are not enough for Turkish language. However the style Doktor İsmail Hakkı offered is free from these weaknesses.<sup>213</sup> Also the style of Ramif brothers and Doktor İsmail Hakkı is difficult for in handwriting so it was essential to use different forms of alphabet for hand writing and press. Finally the author finds these two styles good but thinks that they need some refinements.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Allah’ı İnkâr*, p: 25.

<sup>213</sup> “Müslümanlarda Huruf ve İmla Meselesi ve İki Teşebbüs”, *Hikmet*, no: 60, 11 Cemaziyelahir 1329/ 26 May 1327, p: 6, 7.

<sup>214</sup> “Huruf İmla – Mukayese”, *Hikmet*, no: 61, 18 Cemaziyelahir 1329 – 2 June 1327, p: 8.

On the other hand, most Turkish thinkers were supporters of the Arabic alphabet. They thought that changing the alphabet would lead to more weakening of connection among Muslims. At the same time they cared about other Turkish nations under Russian control. They were using the Arabic alphabet until the 1920s so it was the common point which connected Turkish nations in the world. When all the Soviet Muslims had chosen the Latin alphabet in 1926, Turkish thinkers changed their attitudes and became more open to Latin alphabet.<sup>215</sup>

Apparently Ahmet Ağaoğlu was not thinking like those Turkish thinkers. He says in his book *İslamiyette Kadın (1901)* that salvation and economic, moral and political progress of the Muslim community depended on solving the women problem and alphabet reformation. He emphasizes that the difficulty of the Arabic alphabet is an obstacle in the way of to learning to read and write and in the way of enlightenment.<sup>216</sup> In another article written in 1928, Ağaoğlu states that “among the reform moves of the last seven years the most important and vital one is undoubtedly the replacement of letters. This issue is related to the future as far as it is related to past. It touches every area of social, individual and private life.”<sup>217</sup>

### 2.3.3 Women

Kılıçzade Hakkı wrote many articles about women, their education, covering, marriages and their place in the society. In all of his writings, he proposes to enhance women’s situation and rights. His attitude about women’s issue is clearly seen in the direction of enlarging the rights and position of them for the benefit and progress of the nation because a good family and women had significant role in the progress of the society and even the economy. For this purpose, he considers it

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<sup>215</sup> Hüseyin Sadoğlu, *Türkiye’de Ulusçuluk ve Dil Politikaları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003, p: 221.

<sup>216</sup> Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *İslamiyette Kadın*, Ankara: Birey ve Toplum Yayıncılık, 1985, p: 59, 60.

<sup>217</sup> Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Isparta*, 14 October 1928 cited by: Ayşegül Şentürk “Harf İnkilâbının Yapılışı ve Uygulanışında Basının Rolü”, *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no: 26, August 2012, p: 35.

appropriate for free thinking men and women to come together around an ideology and work together. In response to a lady's letter, he advises that women should act patiently in a movement of thought just like suffragettes did.<sup>218</sup>

There is no doubt that the *tesettür* of women was the one of the most debated topics. He complains that women cover themselves too much and that this affects their social life. This is because the society does not understand the meaning of *tesettür* and what they are doing is not convenient for the essence of Islam. According to him, the function of *tesettür* is to protect women's pudicity so there is no need to exaggerate *tesettür*. By claiming that the harms of *tesettür* are more than its benefits, he puts some of them in order. According to him, it firstly damages women's health. Secondly women remained uneducated because of it and lastly *tesettür* causes moral regression. Those reasons are enough to destroy a nation completely.<sup>219</sup>

He sees *tesettür* as a most important reason for women's lack of education and hereat their children remain ignorant because of their mothers. If those mothers did not cover themselves and received education, they would be able to raise more intellectual children. He elaborates on two more damages namely moral and political damages. The moral effect is the tendency to homosexuality and pederasty. He asserts that being covered influenced the sexual orientation of people negatively. Politically, he referred to Balkan nations and asserted that *tesettür* kept conquered societies culturally distant to Ottomans.<sup>220</sup> In another article, he complains about the behaviors of men to women by telling an anecdote that took place in the street. In the event, a *zabit* verbally harasses a young lady walking with another woman and people reacted by just looking as if something insignificant was happening. He considers the *zabit* as a murderer and complains about the silent men and Bab-ı Meşihat. He wants men to behave women more respectfully and gently and also asks

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<sup>218</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Kadınlar ve Mekatib-i", p: 70,71.

<sup>219</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Kadın ve Tesettür Meselesi", *İtikadât-ı Batılâya İlân-ı Harb*, İstanbul: Sancakciyan Matbaası, 1329, p:132-134.

<sup>220</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Kadın ve Tesettür", p:135, 136.

whether the Bab-1 Meşihat who publishes always declarations about women's veil and *çarşaf* would worry about this or not.<sup>221</sup>

His another criticism is for marriages without love. He finds it like a gambling between a woman and a man who do not see and love each other.<sup>222</sup> Love should come before marriage and people should marry because they loved each other. In this way, almost no *talak* or second marriage would take place in society. After he mentions *talak* and second marriages by false witnesses, he offers a solution about how to avoid this. He offers to solemnize the marriage in the municipality or in front of a special council for this.<sup>223</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı mentions the second wife issue in his article “Taaddüt-ü Nikah - Taaddüt-ü Zevcat”, published in *Hürriyet-i Fikriyye*. He refers to Fatma Saide Hanım from *Sıyanet* newspaper because she wrote about second marriages and the second wife issue. He states that there are many failures in the marital system in the empire. An example is given in which the Galata court does not allow second marriage but Istanbul court could allow it by cheating on rules.<sup>224</sup> In the last part of his article about marriage and divorce, he objects to Fatma Saide Hanım and says that “the Quran does not order to have second wife, it just permits a second wife. There is too big a difference between an order and permission. Asking *hocas* these kinds of issues is needless. One can solve this question with his own mind.”<sup>225</sup> Stressing the sufficiency of mind in order to reach a decision is important in showing the point of his approach to issues.

The issue of women had a wide place also in Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi's articles. It is possible to understand from his discourse that both progress and backwardness of the nation depends on women. A society which does not have good women and mothers is doomed to have troubles and regression. Because an ignorant woman can not give a good education and nurture her son; he can not be a helpful

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<sup>221</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Kadınlara Nasıl Hürmet Ediyoruz”, *İctihad*, no: 69, 27 June 1329, p: 1520, 1521.

<sup>222</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Kadın ve Tesettür”, p:137.

<sup>223</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Taaddüt-ü Nikah-Taaddüt-ü Zevcat”, *Hürriyet-i Fikriyye*, no: 9, 3 April 1330, p: 15.

<sup>224</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Taaddüt-ü Nikah”, p: 14.

<sup>225</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Taaddüt-ü Nikah”, p: 16.



man in the society. Therefore in his writings the importance of progress and the advancement of the women's situation are especially emphasized.<sup>226</sup>

Ahmet Hilmi wrote some articles about feminism because it was a widespread idea at the time and served as a solution to all problems about women. He gives answers to some assertions of feminism from scientific and religious perspectives. The topic which is specifically mentioned by feminists was the equality of women and men. Against the feminists who claimed equality, he gives an example of physiological difference. He compares the blood of women and men and indicates that the amount of the blood in men is a lot more than in women.<sup>227</sup> He also answered against the feminists' desire of working in the same jobs with men. As the civilization progressed, the task sharing between men and women had changed. However the roles and rights of two were shared before in a logical sense so the legitimacy of feminism came under the question.<sup>228</sup>

Ahmet Hilmi states that feminism corrupts moral values by imposing the idea of hating motherhood. Because pregnancy period and being a mother breaks the equality between women and men so when feminist women became pregnant they feel hatred and sadness. Moreover Feminism supporters do not give importance to maidenhood and see no difference between prostitution of a woman or a man. These are, for him, some of the facts which show the moral weakness of feminism.<sup>229</sup> He resists the educational wishes of feminism. Seeing that feminists want women to have the same education level with men, Filibeli, as proper to his general attitude, asserts that this would prevent women from carrying out most of their duties, most

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<sup>226</sup> Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, "Din, Hikmet ve Fen Karşısında Feminizm yani Kadınların Bais-i Felâketi Olan Nisaiyyun Mesleği", *Hikmet*, no: 6, 13 May 1326, p: 2.

<sup>227</sup> Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, "Din, Hikmet ve Fen Karşısında Feminizm yani Kadınların Bais-i Felâketi Olan Nisaiyyun Mesleği", *Hikmet*, no: 7, 20 May 1326, p: 3.

<sup>228</sup> Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, "Din, Hikmet ve Fen Karşısında Feminizm yani Kadınların Bais-i Felâketi Olan Nisaiyyun Mesleği", *Hikmet*, no: 8, 27 May 1326, p: 7.

<sup>229</sup> Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, "Din, Hikmet ve Fen Karşısında Feminizm yani Kadınların Bais-i Felâketi Olan Nisaiyyun Mesleği", *Hikmet*, no: 9, 3 June 1326, p: 8.

important of them being motherhood.<sup>230</sup> He criticized that in the society the structure of marriages is damaged and the value of raising a child became a less important issue.

Against feminism, he presents the place and rights of women in Islam. In this regard, the most important point he stressed on is the wrongness of the way Muslims practiced the Islam. He states that men are faultier than women in the topic of kidnapping girls in some regions of Anatolia. However these kinds of issues have no relation with Islam.<sup>231</sup> Also there is a big difference between the rights given by Islam and the reality in Islamic countries. The duties are shared in dissimilar ways because of the different disposition and physiology of two genders. Women are responsible to companionship and motherhood so men have to behave respectfully to women. This is why men had to provide the conservation and subsistence of the family. Even though some people and feminists considered this as an inequity, he states that this shows the value of women in Islam.<sup>232</sup>

Ahmet Hilmi references to Islam and says that women are answerable for *tesettür* because Islam wants to protect women from bad intentions. Its essential to preserve the honor of women because Islam values women. The form of *tesettür* comes from the time of the Prophet and the four great caliphs. He states that societies practice different forms of covering according to their tendencies and customs. Therefore there are always extremity and understatement. He states how wrong it is to put women in a sack with two holes like Iranians. In this example a sack means a *çarşaf* and two holes means the holes for the eyes of the women who wear this dress. This attitude indicates that he is against extreme *tesettür* like *çarşaf* and some forms of it.<sup>233</sup>

On the issue of second wife, he thinks that this is legal and reasonable if there

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<sup>230</sup> Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, "Din, Hikmet ve Fen Karşısında Feminizm yani Kadınların Bais-i Felâketi Olan Nisaiyyun Mesleği", *Hikmet*, no: 10, 10 June 1326, p: 7.

<sup>231</sup> Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, "İslam ve Kadınlar, Mazi, Hal ve İstikbal", *Hikmet*, no: 14, 21 July 1910 - 8 July 1326, p: 5.

<sup>232</sup> Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, "İslam ve Kadınlar", p: 4.

<sup>233</sup> Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, "İslam ve Kadınlar", p: 5.

is necessity. However he criticizes that rich people act arbitrarily about this. He also mentions the odalisque issue. He sees it as a tool of sybaritism. For him, odalisques are useful if it provides the continuity of the generation. Therefore he criticizes that in Islam *ulemas* not to care about this issue. Even though they are aware of this situation of women, they did not see the reasons of backwardness. They offered to revert to old habits in order to expel badness.<sup>234</sup>

Ahmet Ađaođlu tries to find out the reasons of the bad situation of Muslims and he reaches the answer that accusing only Islam is not a right attitude because the way Muslims lived Islam includes some problems. According to him, blaming only religion for creating all the problems would be reducing the importance of human factor as a main actor of religion. Therefore the relation between religion and human determines the situation of the society. Religions change their forms upon the conditions of the time and people shape them. The sects are the proof of this. In this sense we can explain the difference between the place of women in Islam and the situation of Muslim women.<sup>235</sup>

He mentions the *tesettür* of women and the roots of *çarşaf* as one of the *tesettür* styles. He asserts that *çarşaf* as a *tesettür* style precedes Islam in the East, which means it is a cultural clothing not a necessity of religion. However, according Quran, women are ordered to cover all of their bodies except hands and face.<sup>236</sup>

His general view about the situation of women is depends on the idea that there were effective examples of women who were more social and had active roles in Islamic civilizations like Umayyads, Abbasids and Spain. According to him, Islam is still experiencing its medieval ages and women live their worst era today in Islamic societies. The reasons why women lost their independence are moral and are also due to traditions coming from Syria and Iran. He sees progress of Muslims is possible only by adopting reforms in women's situation and alphabet. In this way

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<sup>234</sup> Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, "İslam ve Kadınlar", p: 5.

<sup>235</sup> Ahmet Ađaođlu, *İslamiyette Kadın*, p: 20, 21.

<sup>236</sup> Ahmet Ađaođlu, *İslamiyette Kadın*, p: 33, 34.

women would receive education and become good mothers who raise their children in a good way.<sup>237</sup>

He states that there are several features of Europe to take as an example. One of them is the situation of women. He says that “Although Europeans had many good, bountiful and fertile features related to women we took the ridiculous and negative features of the West.”<sup>238</sup> He stresses on the ignorance of women. For him, the essential teachers of a society are mothers and even though they just know how to pray (*namaz*) and can recite some *surahs* backwards, these are assumed as a good thing. These are the bad effects of ignorance so he criticizes replacing Islam with wrong ideas, superstitions and myths which is the main reason of backwardness of all Islamic societies.<sup>239</sup>

#### 2.3.4 Historiography

In this topic the first discussion will be on the critical review of Kılıçzade Hakkı versus Düzceli Yusuf Suad’s book *Akvemu’s-Siyer* which is written in order to tell the life story of the Prophet of Islam and the results that we can reach from the discussion of these two authors about *siyer* writing. On that account, it will be useful to give firstly a brief description about *siyer* writing and then about Yusuf Suad and his book, and lastly about the criticism of Kılıçzade.

*Siyer* is the plural form of the word *siret* which means a behavior, a way, a tradition, a moral of somebody. The word *siyer* literally refers to the life story of Prophet Muhammed (s.w.a). It talks about the Prophet’s life in every aspect such as his personality, politic and military struggles, rescript activities.<sup>240</sup> In another word, *siyer* involves the history of Islam.

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<sup>237</sup> Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *İslamiyette Kadın*, p: 59, 60.

<sup>238</sup> Ahmed Ağaoğlu, “Almanya Seyahati”, p: 141.

<sup>239</sup> Ahmed Agayef, “Türk Alemleri 8”, p: 298.

<sup>240</sup> Mustafa Fayda, “Siyer”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 37, İstanbul, 2009, p: 319.

Muslims needed *siyer* studies to read the teachings of Quran better. In other words the way to understand Quran better is possible by prospecting and understanding the life of Prophet. The studies on *siyer* and *hadis* might be deemed as a first example of Islamic historiography.<sup>241</sup> Even though these two were taken together at the beginning, they later became separate science fields.

*Siyer* texts are generally written in Arabic and Persian language in Ottomans. At the beginning of the modern era, Turkish words increased in these kinds of texts. As we will mention later, one of the points criticized by Kılıçzade Hakkı in Yusuf Suad's *Akvemu's-Siyer* is about this. Also in the classical period, *siyer* texts were sometimes in *nazım* (poetry) form, sometimes in *nesir* (prose) form and sometimes a combination of both.<sup>242</sup>

From the beginning of the modern era and later on, it is possible to see a remarkable difference between Ottoman period *siyers* and today's *siyers*. An important difference is that *siyer* writings started to be written on one particular issue. For instance, when democracy became prevalent, *siyer* writings were written with the theme of democracy or when peace became prominent the theme of *siyer* became peace.<sup>243</sup>

Like many other things which changed with modernism, *siyer* writing and the place of the Prophet of Islam in people's mind also changed. In the classical period of the empire, the sacredness of the Prophet and some of his personal features which made him a different and miraculous person compared to any other ordinary person were emphasized too much in the expression of his life. It is most probably done in order to reinforce his place in ordinary people's mind. However this does not mean that *siyer* authors did not believe in the Prophet of Islam this way. They

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<sup>241</sup> Bernard Lewis, *Islam in History: Ideas Men and Events in the Middle East*. London: Alcov, 1973, p: 183.

<sup>242</sup> Berat Açıl, "Tercümeden Telif, Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Siyer Yazıcılığında Ne(ler) Değişti? [What have been changed in Siyar Literature from Ottoman Era to Now?]", *Siyer Edebiyat İlişkisi: Siyer Atölyesi 2010 Tebliğler Kitabı*, ed. Şerif Eskin, İstanbul: Meridyen Destek Kitaplığı, 2010, p: 175.

<sup>243</sup> Berat Açıl, "Tercümeden Telif", p: 176.

ideologically internalized this kind of narrative style. In contrast with elevating the Prophet with his miracles and out of ordinary features, in modern times, the Prophet is generally emphasized with his personal and moral aspects rather than divine features in *siyer* texts.

This discussion actually is based on the narrative discourse of the historian. The topics of history or historical personages are basically studied in two ways. The first is the one in which the narrative is completely or mostly based on the primary sources and true information which its reliability is proved. This is the phenomenon we call historical fact. Another narrative discourse is based on too much fiction rather than facts as Hayden White stated in his book *Metahistory*. According to White, historical evidence does not directly provide a story of what exactly happened for historians.<sup>244</sup> Therefore in this second type of narrative, historian or narrator builds his/her story on the words, behaviors and events which substantially were not said, behaved and happened.<sup>245</sup> This is what generally done for the life of Prophets.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were some discussions about the reliability of *siyer* texts as a result of orientalist approaches developed in the West. Orientalists claimed that *siyer* texts exaggerate the mystical and extraordinary aspects of the Prophet. In the Ottoman literature, it is possible to see in many *siyer* texts that fact and fiction are interlocked.

#### **2.3.4.1 The Discussion Between Kılıçzade Hakkı and Yusuf Suad**

On the Ottoman side of this orientalist approach, we see contradiction between two groups. Some Westernist intellectuals like Celâl Nuri, Kılıçzade Hakkı and Hüseyin Cahit, the one side of this polarization, confirmed orientalist's ideas about *siyer* writing. They argued that *siyer* texts should give up emphasis on the divine and splendid features of the Prophet and should reflect individual and ethical

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<sup>244</sup> Hayden White, *Metatarih-Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Avrupası 'nda Tarihsel İmgelem*, Ankara: Dost, 2008, p:21, 22.

<sup>245</sup> Mehmet Özdemir, "Siyer Yazıcılığındaki Değişim Üzerine", *Çağımızda Sosyal Değişme ve İslam*, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2007, p: 200.

ways of him. There is no doubt that these intellectuals were standing close to modernism and scientific understanding of Europe. On the other side, intellectuals like Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi and Manastırlı İsmail Hakkı were against the expressions of orientalist. They said that this approach of orientalist is completely wrong and intentional.<sup>246</sup>

When we come to our main subject, it seems that a similar discussion about *siyer* writing took place between Yusuf Suad and Kılıçzade Hakkı. Yusuf Suad was born in 1877 in Düzce. He is originally from Caucasia. He completed a madrasah education in İstanbul Şehzade Camii and had an *icazet*. He owned a Cherkes newspaper *Guaze* and *Akvemü's-Siyer* is published serially in this paper before being published in 1909.<sup>247</sup>

In 1911, Kılıçzade Hakkı wrote a critical article on Yusuf Suad's *Akvemu's-Siyer* in *İctihad*. In reply to Kılıçzade, Yusuf Suad wrote *Cevab: İctihad Gazetesi'ndeki Kılıçzade Hakkı İmzalı Makaleye* to defend his *siyer* book and lastly Kılıçzade Hakkı wrote *Akvemü's-Siyer Münasebetiyle Son Cevab: Yusuf Suad Efendi'ye Tahsisen, Softalara Tamimen* as an ultimate answer as it stated in the heading and the discussion ended at this point.

At the beginning of the article in *İctihad*, Kılıçzade Hakkı starts his criticism by emphasizing that the book has no relevance with the white paper behind it. In this advertisement it is said that this valuable book would be readable by anyone and contains significant information from essential Arabic *siyer* books which are not understood by people because they were written in Arabic language. In the first two footnotes, Kılıçzade Hakkı inferentially states how hard it is to believe in the reliability of this advertisement. His main point here is the language of the book. This is because *Akvemu's-Siyer* is written in two languages, Turkish and Arabic. According to him, this situation prevents the enjoyment of full benefit. As a result of this, neither Arab readers nor Turkish readers would be able to understand the whole

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<sup>246</sup> Mehmet Özdemir, "Siyer Yazıcılığı Üzerine", *Milel ve Nihal*, vol: 4, no: 3, İstanbul: Doğanbey Ladin Ofset, 2007, p: 154.

<sup>247</sup> Elmas Zeynep Arslan (Aksoy), *Circassian Organizations in the Ottoman Empire (1908-1923)*, Boğaziçi University (master thesis), 2008, p: 33.

book. The book should have been written in one language for a group of intended audience, in his opinion. He also adds that the Arabic language of the book is so difficult to understand even by any Arabic person if he is not well educated. In a similar way there are too many abandoned words in Turkish parts of the book. This makes it unreadable for ordinary people.

His point about the intended group indicates that Kılıçzade Hakkı does not only criticize the language, he also takes into consideration the potential positive effect of the book on people: “If the book is written for educated people this should have been stated. However we should aim to advance common people, not the educated elite. Only by raising the ideational level of this class, could we expect to provide welfare.”<sup>248</sup>

His second object is about the full of superstition foundation of the text, which makes it a storybook rather than a historical text. Kılıçzade Hakkı adds that there is an important absence of a reliable *siyer* book free from myths and superstitions. He hopes that Celâl Nuri’s book will soon fill this gap.<sup>249</sup>

He refers to some stories from the book in question as examples of myths. His aim is to show how irrational and exaggerated stories they are. One of them is about the first confrontation of the Prophet and Gabriel. In this occasion the angel behaved the Prophet inconveniently as terrifying. Gabriel’s behavior to the Prophet is not allowable. Because Gabriel’s duty is not to scare, he is just an angel assigned to inspire *vahy* to the Prophet. Kılıçzade states that as a result of these kinds of fictional descriptions, Christians have the courage to talk about the hysteric individual of our Prophet.<sup>250</sup> In that point he refers to Dozy’s book because when he was describing the Prophet, he asserted that the Prophet was hysterical and sometimes exhibited unnatural behaviors.

In Yusuf Suad’s narration, Gabriel had a huge appearance with yellow feet, green wings, red hair and he made the Prophet cry by strangling his throat.

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<sup>248</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Akvemu’s-Siyer”, *İctihad*, no: 66, p: 1436.

<sup>249</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Akvemu’s-Siyer”, p: 1434. He addresses to Celâl Nuri’s *Hatemü’l-Enbiya*.

<sup>250</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Akvemu’s-Siyer”, p: 1438.



According to Kılıçzade Hakkı, the angel Gabriel was pictured as fearsome and unnatural (*gayr-ı tabii*)<sup>251</sup> character. Also his description of the Prophet contained many unnatural events such as milk coming from his finger, his fast growing up and his ability to walk when he was a five months old baby, perfectly speaking in the ninth month and that before his second year he became a strong and big-boned man. By depending on two verses of the Quran, Kılıçzade Hakkı argued that there is no way that this story could be true. According to him, these fictional writings are in contradiction with “ve len tecide lisünnetillahi”<sup>252</sup> and “ene beşerun mislüküm.”<sup>253</sup>

It is important to note what Kılıçzade Hakkı describes as a superstition or not. By these examples it is possible to see how he draws the line of the superstitions. It can be seen in which situation narrative or discourse could diverge from reality and become a superstition. In his respect, the superstitious beliefs are things which are not possible to be made by mankind. Therefore he finds unnatural points of the book mythical and unreal. There is no doubt that the roots of his perception of superstition is coming from his close standing to the positivist ideas of the West.

Kılıçzade Hakkı evaluates the book from the perspective of reason and science. As an indicator of this, he states that these kinds of fictional stories could be impressive for people who lived ten centuries ago. However this is a time of progress (*asr-ı terakki*) and this untrue information put religion into the shades rather than evolvment, so intellectual and scientific minds would never be convinced by it. At this point, he gives a methodological advice that the book would be valuable for him and proper for the time of progress, if it was based on philosophy (*hikmet*), chemistry, cosmography and history of physics (*tarih-i tabii*).<sup>254</sup>

On the other side, Yusuf Suad was aware that the argument basically leans on the issue of progress. Therefore that he advocates that Islam is not an obstacle

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<sup>251</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Akvemu’s-Siyer”, p: 1438.

<sup>252</sup> El-Ahzab 33/62, “Allah’ın sünnetinde kesin olarak bir değişme bulamazsınız.” eng: “You will not find in the way of Allah any change.”

<sup>253</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Akvemu’s-Siyer”, p: 1437. El-Kehf 18/110, “Ben ancak sizin gibi bir beşerim.” eng: “I am only a man like you.”

<sup>254</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, “Akvemu’s-Siyer”, p: 1439.

which stands in the way of progress. However the problem is Muslims' way of living Islam. In his book, he emphasizes that hoping to achieve progress by taking Europe and America as an example, using their alphabet, dressing like them, removing women's cover are definitely a delusion.<sup>255</sup> Then he answers the critics of Kılıçzade Hakkı.

Yusuf Suad accounts for all censures in his responsive article. He says that the thing which Kılıçzade Hakkı called as superstition is actually the truth and denying miracles makes him an infidel.<sup>256</sup> He reminds the miracle examples of some other Prophets such as Süleyman, Yunus and İbrahim from the Quran then asks Kılıçzade if he believes in these miracles or not.<sup>257</sup> He also explains that when we read the whole verse from the Quran it writes “*yuhaileyye*”<sup>258</sup> this shows us that the Prophet was similar to ordinary people only as a mankind.<sup>259</sup>

As a conclusion of this discussion, Kılıçzade Hakkı wrote *Akvemü's-Siyer Münasebetiyle Son Cevab: Yusuf Suad Efendi'ye Tahsisen, Softalara Tamimen* in order to give a general answer to both Yusuf Suad and *softas*. His response does not contain direct answers to the points Yusuf Suad focused on. This book explains some important contradictions between traditional Islam and science. After he started by drawing a general view of science on the origin of the universe, he mentions the evolutionary process.<sup>260</sup> He also states that Allah has a scientific law on Earth so insisting on the miracles of the Prophet is inconsistent with it.<sup>261</sup> Towards the end of the book, he intensifies the critique against *softas* and states that the essential enemy of Islam is not in Europe or the Balkans, it is in the madrasahs and *Bab-ı Meşihat*.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Düzcü Yusuf Suad, *Akvemü's-Siyer, Cevab: İctihad Gazetesindeki Kılıçzade Hakkı İmzalı Makaleye*, İstanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaa ve Kütüphanesi, 1331, p: 5.

<sup>256</sup> Düzcü Yusuf Suad, *Akvemü's-Siyer, Cevab*, p: 13, 14.

<sup>257</sup> Düzcü Yusuf Suad, *Akvemü's-Siyer, Cevab*, p: 16.

<sup>258</sup> El-Kehf 18/110, “Bana vahyolunuyor.” eng: “whom has been revealed.”

<sup>259</sup> Düzcü Yusuf Suad, *Akvemü's-Siyer, Cevab*, p: 19.

<sup>260</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, *Akvemü's-Siyer Münasebetiyle*, p: 6-9.

<sup>261</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, *Akvemü's-Siyer Münasebetiyle*, p: 10-12.

<sup>262</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, *Akvemü's-Siyer Münasebetiyle*, p: 52.

### 2.3.4.2 Celâl Nuri's *Hatemü'l Enbiya* and Criticism of Kılıçzade

#### Hakkı

Celâl Nuri's book *Hatemü'l Enbiya* was published in 1332/1917. It discusses the way to write the life of Prophet and focuses on how to understand his life. In fact, it is a kind of book that gives the methodology rather than merely *siyer*. In this book Celâl Nuri aimed to change the image of the Prophet in minds and put forward the normal and characteristic features rather than miracles of him, in exactly the same way Kılıçzade wanted to see. He also sometimes referred to Dozy's *History of Islam* by presenting both good and bad ways of it.<sup>263</sup>

Although he is a Westernist writer, he protected his critical point of view versus Europe. He wrote *İttihad-ı İslam* with anti-emperialist feelings.<sup>264</sup> He came into conflict with Abdullah Cevdet because of his adverse thoughts about Islam.<sup>265</sup> In his book *Hatemü'l Enbiya*, he criticizes the literature of *siyer* and *hadis* with the materialist point of view even harder than the orientalist writers did.<sup>266</sup>

A year after Kılıçzade criticized Yûsuf Suad, he wrote two reviews in *Hürriyet-i Fikriyye* for Celâl Nuri's *siyer* book, *Hâtemü'l-Enbiya*. He again often focuses on traditional *siyer* books telling the miracles of Prophet then praises his book by the aspect of its description of the Prophet with his humanity. In order to bring up this topic, he draws attention to the battle of Badr. He argues that it would be better and natural to say Allah spread fear into infidels' hearts rather than asserting that angels helped the Muslim army.<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Mehmet Çog, *II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi İslam Tarihçiliği (1908-1918)*, (phd thesis), Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İslam Tarihi ve Sanatları İslam Tarihi Ana Bilim Dalı, 2004, p: 76-78.

<sup>264</sup> Tufan Ş. Buzpınar, "Öteki Üzerinden Hesaplaşma: Celâl Nuri ve Abdullah Cevdet'in Avrupa Tartışmaları Hakkında Bir Değerlendime", *Divan İlmi Araştırmalar*, no: 19, 2005/2, p: 154, 156.

<sup>265</sup> M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi*, Ankara: Üçdal, dateless, p: 331.

<sup>266</sup> İlhami Oruçoğlu, "Modern Sirah Literature: An Overview", *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, vol: 3, no: 20, October 2012, p: 243.

<sup>267</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Hatemi'l-Enbiya ve Celâl Nuri Bey 2", *Hürriyet-i Fikriyye*, İstanbul, no: 8, 1330, p: 4.

Kılıçzade complains about not using the science of the age sufficiently. His advice is to use science in order to understand the Quran and the words of the Prophet by writing a new *tefsir* and implementing science to *siyer*. In this way it would be possible to achieve progress.<sup>268</sup>

He describes the traditionalist approach and their amplifications about Prophet's life as the greatest evil for society. As a result of this, Muslims have an idea that their situation would be made better by the angels. However if the Prophet should have been an ideal with his tenacity, resistance, wisdom and brilliance, Muslims would have an advanced morality and character. In this way the intelligence and smartness would have better place than the miracles had in the society.<sup>269</sup>

His one censure to Celâl Nuri is about the effect of the period and location on the Prophet. Kılıçzade, opposing to Celâl Nuri, states that time and place had an important role in the Prophet's life. Therefore it is wrong to regard the Prophet disconnected to conditions of his location. Kılıçzade concludes his critique by advising impartiality even if the topic is about their own Prophet.<sup>270</sup>

The stance of Kılıçzade about the miracles is clearly stated in his other articles. According to him, the only miracle of the Prophet is his mind and the book Quran so there is no need to look for another miracle. The miracle stories which contradict with science are the fabrication of the *softas*.<sup>271</sup>

As it was pointed out above, Kılıçzade says that in the 14<sup>th</sup> Hijra century, the biggest miracles were the results of the mind. For instance, Bismarck is one of the genius persons of our times showing miracles. According to him, miracle means the works nobody can do so what Bismarck did is a miracle. His point about miracle

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<sup>268</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Hatemü'l-Enbiya ve Celâl Nuri Bey 1", *Hürriyet-i Fikriyye*, İstanbul, no: 7, 1329, p: 3, 4.

<sup>269</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Hatemü'l-Enbiya... 2", p: 4.

<sup>270</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Hatemü'l-Enbiya... 2", p: 5.

<sup>271</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Mukaddime", p: 9, 10.

is to comprehend the time and have a command on it. Celâl Nuri expresses this fact very well.<sup>272</sup>

### **2.3.4.3 Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi and *İslam Tarihi***

The book *İslam Tarihi* of Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi consists of two volumes. They were published in 1326 and 1327. It not only contains the life of the Prophet but also focuses on some other topics like *fıkıh*, *kelam*, philosophy, sciences, sociology, history, history of religions and Ottoman history. He mentions many topics about philosophy and religions. It is possible to see his approach on ideas and ideologies in this book and he arrives at sociological and cultural conclusion about the issues dealt with in the book. He wrote the life of Prophet from beginning the history of Arabs before the times of Prophet appeared until the period of Ottoman sultans.

### **2.3.4.4 Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi's Criticize of Dozy**

In *İslam Tarihi*, Ahmet Hilmi criticized the orientalist writer Dozy, because of his book *History of Islam*. European scholars wrote many works about Islam and history of Islam in their own methodology which Muslim scholars did not have. The *History of Islam* of Dozy was one of them and was translated by Abdullah Cevdet. After a while, Dozy's book was not the only one, too many books were written by orientalist writers. Ahmet Hilmi thinks that writing a refutation for only one of these kinds of books is not a solution. The most important problem is that refutations written by Muslims had no scientific value. Rather than this, the philosophy and methodology behind the orientalist thought should be understood and rejected, according to Ahmet Hilmi.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı, "Hatemü'l-Enbiya... 2", p: 5.

<sup>273</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 4.

When Ahmet Hilmi criticized Dozy, it seems that the main problem of the Muslim world is the lack of methodology. Thus the writing of the history of Islam and Prophet became the job of orientalist historians and authors. He emphasizes the importance of having a methodology. Muslims cannot be able to write their own history because of lack of methodology and the philosophy of history even they had many primary sources. In this regard, he asserts that the science of history is not weak in the Ottomans and Islamic sources. However most of them are too similar to each other and have common points if they were written by the same writer. He complains about the lack of analysis and criticism in these works. Moreover partly *İsrailiyat* and superstitions and even sometimes imaginary and untrue descriptions found place in the historical narratives.<sup>274</sup>

Thereon The Board of Education (*Maarif Vekaleti*) decided to found a committee called Tarih-i İslam Encümeni and Ahmet Hilmi became the head of it. The aim of the committee was to write a refutation because Dozy's *History of İslam* had so many reactions among Muslims. However the committee did not accomplish their aim and so Ahmet Hilmi wrote his book *İslam Tarihi* in order to fill this gap.

Ahmet Hilmi wrote his book in a chronological way and before he started to tell the life of Prophet, he criticized and rejected some points of Dozy's book in the first chapter. For instance, Dozy asserts that "Muhammed lost his irritable tempered and quite heated mother at six years old." Ahmet Hilmi argues against this and asks how Dozy knows these characteristic features of his mother. For him, this allegation of Dozy is story which is written to support his argument that the prophecy of Muhammed (s.w.a) is made up and he accuses him of insulting the Prophet by decreasing the spiritual value of him.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 3.

<sup>275</sup> Filibeli Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *İslam Tarihi*, p: 74-76.

#### 2.3.4.5 Ahmet Hilmi's Criticize to Celâl Nuri

Another discussion, not completely a discussion but a response took place between Celâl Nuri and Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi. Ahmet Hilmi wrote a criticism to Celâl Nuri's *Tarih-i İstikbal*. This book consists of three separate volumes but Filibeli only criticizes one of them, *Mesail-i Fikriyye*.

Ahmet Hilmi firstly finds Celâl Nuri's wording very dogmatic, which reminds some prominent materialists like Böhner, Hegel, Moleskott and Lange. Secondly, he states that there are contradictions between some ideas in the book. According to Filibeli, the author wants Islam to rise and spread yet his standpoint is not clear. Filibeli accuses Celâl Nuri of putting materialism into the place of Islam and trying to introduce materialism to the reader. Therefore Ahmet Hilmi tries to show how baseless materialism is. Celâl Nuri uses the term "itrah" with reference to extraction and ejection for the transaction of purgation and demystifying Islam and Filibeli described this situation as re-establishing the base of Islam.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Huzur-u Aklü*, p: 70-72.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, three intellectuals have sometimes shared the same arguments on the state and sometimes offered completely different ways and solutions about progress. All of them wanted to bring the state to a better situation. This wish of intellectuals originated from the desire to reach the level which developed Western countries achieved. In fact all intellectuals, writers and thinkers felt the depression of lagging behind a state which was a rival in both economic and cultural aspects of strongest states at one time. The reflection of this psychology of the period is obviously seen in their writings. As it is seen in the third chapter of this thesis, Kılıçzade Hakkı, Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi and Ahmet Ağaoğlu presented their ideas independently from each other through different tools in different or close times. These ideas sometimes collide with one another and lead to debates just like those on the alphabet and historiography issues.

The ideas of intellectuals constitute integrity in itself. If we take all the ideas of one of them we see that they do not conflict with each other. For example the expressions of Kılıçzade about women tally with the expressions about education. He does not express something very surprising. Therefore placing intellectuals into movements of thought is reasonable even it is hard to draw strict lines around people like Westernist, Islamist or Turkist.

From the ideas of Kılıçzade it is seen that progress is possible by following the way shaped around science and technique. In that way the rules or narratives or traditions stemming from religion which turn into stereotypes in the eye of society should be broken. The thing that would replace religion is reason. It is possible to reach best and rational style of life by interpretation based on reason. This enables distancing oneself from backward practices. Taking reason into the center of the life means to take European states as an example. They progressed in many areas and placed an enormous importance on science and reason. In this process of Europe, religion lost its importance and took a symbolic form. In this sense Kılıçzade proposes to follow same model with Western countries.



His perspective of progress is mostly based on the Westernization mentality, institutions and state apparatus. In this sense he absolutely supports constitutional monarchy in his writings. In relation with this, he criticizes and finds the reign of Abdülamid II despotic. The education he got in the Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun most probably has played a role in his ideas. It was one of the schools that offered positive sciences in the Ottoman state. Biological materialism, positivism, rationalism and new sciences were extensively embraced by the students. They tried to combine these new ideas with the teachings they received from their country, family, religion and traditions. Kılıçzade was one of them so he always perceived religion as a reason of backwardness. Whenever the topic is progress or the backwardness of the state, he makes a connection with religion.

As was seen in his ideas of, he generally touches the topic of women. For him this is related to both religion and the policies of the state. Thus he often emphasizes the importance of the women's situation and rights. The education of women was one of the most cited topics of Kılıçzade. He considers the backwardness of women in the society as directly related to the backwardness of the state because women and *muallimes* educate children. He proposed multiple times to establish schools exclusively for women. Kılıçzade laid emphasis on the social situation of women so he mentioned the *tesettür* issue. He often wrote in his articles that women should cover less in a *tesettür*. He sees it as a necessity of social life and the opposite of this was perceived as limiting the freedom of women. He also claims that the *tesettür* causes some immorality issues in the society. He evaluates it in the scope of honor finds it harmful that women cover too much and are secluded at home. For him women are the main part of the society and isolating them by covering them in a *tesettür* is a sign of ignorance.

Kılıçzade was against second marriages. This shows how he had the modern thought of his time. It seems that he appreciates the activities of suffragettes for their contribution to the rights of women. Also he criticizes the patriarchal behaviors of men against women which indicates his frame of mentality. In this sense he resists old style marriages and gives importance to the relationship between men and women. These ideas of Kılıçzade stayed one step ahead of many of his

contemporaries especially Islamist intellectuals. When he was criticizing some rules of Islam like *talak*, *tesettür* or second marriages he claimed that these do not exist in Islam. In other words, most of what happened in the society in the name of Islam were wrong practices according to him. His criticism was never directly aimed at Islam itself, he rather accused the people and mentality which led to a practice of Islam different from its essence. For this reason he was a strong supporter of religious reform. In this regard Kılıçzade harshly criticized the ideas and practices of madrasah students. He clearly states that one of the reasons of backwardness is *softas* and superstitious beliefs so he declares a war against them in his articles. According to him *softas* were batten on religion by using the senses of Muslims. What he stood against about *softas* was their thoughts which warped Islam. This attitude penetrates the society and prevents progress. Kılıçzade and Ahmet Ağaoğlu are against the clothes and tools which bring hierarchy among the society. Ağaoğlu sees these as a sign of bigotry. They perceive clothes like *sarık*, *cübbe* as a symbol of a religion which led to an ownership and competition about religion.

His attitude in the alphabet debates demonstrates how he wants to take Europe as an example both in mentality and in formal dimension. Although he asserted multiple times that the Arabic alphabet is difficult in learning to read and write, he implied that changing alphabet would enable a stronger connection with Europe so it was a remarkable part of Westernizing. For that reason he does not mention any other alternative about this issue. In this regard an important step would be taken on the path to progress.

The most clear issue which manifests the modernist way of Kılıçzade is historiography. This issue shows his attitude about sanctifying something in the name of religion. He criticized the method of writing about the life and characteristics of the Prophet. His criticism was for the narrative which is far away from the necessities of science. The *siyers* which were full of miracles and the mystical narratives of the Prophet were seen as dissuading. Instead of this he supports narratives based on reason and reliable primary sources. This indicates that he wants to see the features of modern history texts in the writing of Prophet's life. For him believing that the Prophet had extraordinary features both does not provide

anything useful and causes to reveal a distorted perception of religion in the society. He considers positive sciences when he assesses the value of a production or thought. This is against progress and reason because it is not proper to reason and science. Kılıçzade strengthens his claim by depending on the Quran. He asserts that the Quran does not support any superficial or miraculous narrative about the Prophet. Therefore he asserts that these kinds of things were incorporated into the religion later. Here, his point is against the mentality of *softas*.

His approach to religion is more likely to stem from a secular point of view. He never denies the basic rules of Islamic faith and most of the time rejects everything which contradicts with positive sciences. He lays a great emphasis on earthly issues for progress. In his belief of religion, reason is at the center so he argues that anything compatible with sciences is also compatible with religion.

Kılıçzade emphasizes the necessity to abolish dynasty, which means that he gave importance to the sovereignty of the public. Although he does not focus especially on the Turkish nation he found it necessary to have common national aims. This might be interpreted in a way that he had Turkist characteristics to a certain extent.

For Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, progress is a thing that could happen in different places and societies and in various forms. It is not true to imitate developed countries for progress. This is such an action which brings more damage than benefit. His point is to behave reasonably and distinguish between good and evil no matter what the topic is. Thus progress appears like a process of evolvement in the perception of Ahmet Hilmi. Against the Westernist intellectuals who saw religion as an impediment for progress he asserts the total opposite of this. He claims that Muslims founded the grounds of science and philosophy and the Europeans learned these from Muslims. Thus their modern science is based on those which were once upon a time in the hands of Muslims. From this point of view he absolutely does not find Islam as a reason of backwardness; on the contrary he asserts that abandoning Islam caused backwardness.

Ahmet Hilmi stands in the middle of these two arguments. One of these points is traditionalist conservatives and the second is religion hater Westernists. Therefore he sometimes supports the reforms in religion but it is very important that Islam has an irreversible place in his perspective of an ideal society, state and progress schedule. His ideology of progress was based on founding a state which was developed and respectful to sentimental values. His commitment to the Arusi sect raises his sensitivity about moral issues.

Ahmet Hilmi states that the progress elements of Europe are not suitable for the Ottoman society so the aperty brings damage rather than profit. This is the point of view which Kılıçzade never mentioned. However, Ağaoğlu agrees with Ahmet Hilmi. For this, Ahmed Hilmi defends the time honored discourse of today that “importing the science and technique of the West and not its culture”. This awareness emerged as a result of changing cultural and religious values of the last period of Ottomans and sheds new light on the question of progress that the role and function of the religion in the way of progress for Ahmed Hilmi.

As an Islamist thinker, Ahmet Hilmi never isolates Islam from the process of progress. In fact he does not separate religion from the issues of life, which indicates that he was a religionist person. In many decisions or proposals it is seen that he uses the rules of Islam as a point of departure. Like Kılıçzade, he criticizes the superstitious and wrong beliefs incorporated into Islam. He emphasizes the importance of seeing the essence of Islam. Even though Kılıçzade argued the same point about the essence of Islam, their points of view are different from each other. When Kılıçzade stressed this point, he put religion in the background. On the other hand, Ahmet Hilmi does not decrease the significance of Islam, he wants to highlight and elevate its essence by following a progressive method. He believes in the positive effect of spiritual power of religions and finds it necessary for the progress of nations.

Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi was related to philosophy differently from the other Islamist thinkers. He believed that unifying the essence of Islam and science of the West would bring progress. He thought that the sciences and techniques of Europe are necessary for the Muslim nations and it would be no problem to import and use

it. Moreover he states that these actually belonged to Muslims once upon a time so taking and using them is the same as making use of one's own use.<sup>277</sup> However he is against the taking cultural mentality of the West. According to him, progress is not possible by imitating Europe without choosing what is useful and right and what is not. In this regard, one of his main points is the senselessness of the imitating Europe's visual components such as clothing, singing and traveling rather than learning the points they technically reached.<sup>278</sup>

He put forward two significant factors towards progress. These factors are method and goals and he proposes thinkers to take on this task. Also freedom is an important factor mentioned in his articles. In that sense he praises the constitution. He was also critical of the governance of Abdülhamid II like Kılıçzade Hakkı. Ahmet Ağaoğlu is also in the same opinion about Abdülhamid II and he states that progress is not possible without constitutionalism. This point of view is one of the common points of three of them.

In the alphabet issue Ahmed Hilmi displays an Islamist attitude but not the one against the reformation of the alphabet. His idea about this is different from traditionalist Islamists. Therefore he is open to the idea of reclamation but not changing the alphabet. It seems that he did not see the Arabic letters as an obstacle against progress. He realized that there was a need for regulation and that it was possible to solve alphabet problem in that way. However trying to import the Latin alphabet could not be the part of progress.

Ahmet Hilmi gave importance to the topic of women and he correlates the issues about women with progress. The most prominent point in his articles is the education of women. Women should receive good education because they play a major role in the society. Again in this topic he approaches through the perspective of science and progress but he does not keep religion out. In addition his criticism of feminism is for that reason. He finds the thoughts of feminists unsuitable and stands

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<sup>277</sup> Şeyh Mihrudin Arusi. "Avrupa Medeniyeti Nereden Geldi? Bu Medeniyetin Doğru İsmi Nedir?", *Hikmet*, 25 R. Ahir 1328, no: 3, p:3,4.

<sup>278</sup> Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Üniversiteli Gençlerle Bir Konuşma: Milletimizi ve Vatanımızı Yükseltmek İçin Hangi Yolu Seçelim*, İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1963, p:23.

against their ideas about women. The position he presented for women against feminists is more conservative than the borders of Islam.

His ideas about education are also based on reformation of the institutions and schedules. He is always supportive of learning modern sciences. Therefore he proposes to make innovations on the education of *ilmiye* class and *ulema*. He also states the importance he gave to the education of children because progress starts from the children of the society and parents, especially mothers, are the people who nurture them. This is why he attached importance to education of women.

Ahmet Hilmi is a kind of person who made a great effort for the progress of his society and Muslims. He was aware about the backwardness of the Muslims and focused on the reasons of this. One of these reasons he often stated is the lack of methodology. In order to close this gap and write the true history of the life of prophet he wrote his *İslam Tarihi*. This could be evaluated as a war against the orientalist writers just like Kılıçzade did for the *softas*. The position of him about national feelings is close to the unity of Islam rather than Turkish nationalism. As proper to his general attitude he cares about the *ümmet* consciousness.

In the perspective of Ahmed Ağaoğlu, progress is possible under the circumstances which protect Turkish nationality. In this sense religion and nation complete each other. Therefore it is not possible to build progress without these two. In addition to these he emphasized the necessity of following the West as an example especially in science, technique and industry.

His perception of religion is secular especially after his youth when his worldview developed. He does care about religion but its form is limited as a regulator of social life. It only comprises the aspect of faith and the earthly issues do not depend on religion. He does not indicate religion as a reason of backwardness but criticizes the superiority and dominance of some groups over Islam. His main point is about the *bab-ı ictihad* and the loss that was experienced because innovations halted. In that point the views of Kılıçzade jibe with Ağaoğlu. They both are supporters of reforms in Islam so *bab-ı ictihad* had found a place in their ideas of progress.

He makes a comparison with developed European countries in the areas of progress but does not find it true to implement the life forms of Europe. For him, on the way of progress intellectuals of the state played a major role. Their role is to raise awareness about progress, religion and the fallacy of the superstitions. It is possible to see the effect of his university years in France. He grew up in a traditional religionist Shiah Muslim family and went to St. Petersburg first and then to Paris. He obviously was influenced by the Western culture and mentality so the complexity of his different stages of life is seen in his ideas and writings. For that reason, he sometimes supported the formal features of the Europe. In this sense he pushed the traditional way of Islam and supported reforms like Kılıçzade Hakkı and Ahmed Hilmi.

When it comes to most important point about Aġaoġlu, he sees the nation precisely together with language and religion. His definition of a nation is based on these two and not race. Therefore he evaluates the reasons of both progress and backwardness with the issue of nation. He focuses on the reasons of way of increasing Turkishness. It is seen that Aġaoġlu gives importance to unity and solidarity. He sees these qualities as a part of progress and evaluates them in the frame of national consciousness.

According to Aġaoġlu, the society should fix their situation for progress of the state and it is highly about social and political issues. In this sense he presents many proposals for the betterment of education as a person who had worked as an education inspector. He believes that education would contribute to the progress of the nation. In the topic about the women he basically questions the place of women in Islam and society. He reaches the conclusion that the situation of women in the Ottoman state is completely different than what happened in the first years of Islam. His emphasis is on how the perception of women changed in the Islamic world after the period of the Prophet. He claims that wrong practices emerged after the Prophet and the backwardness of women and the society is depends on this. Therefore he criticizes the *çarşaf* and accuses some nations of changing the essence of Islam.

All intellectuals are in the same opinion about the basic elements of the society. For instance, they highly care about raising children. They believed that

during their upbringing, children receive education from two sources, one is home and the other is school. At home, generally speaking, mothers played bigger role in the education of the child than the fathers in conservative societies. The same thing is true in the Ottoman society. For this reason they mentioned how important education of the mothers is because they raise the children. They also basically in the same opinion on the necessity of making progress for the state. Most of the time, they do not touch on this topic directly but the topics they wrote were generally related the progress.



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## **APPENDICES**



**Kılıçzade Hakkı**

*(TBMM Albümü 1920-2010, vol: 1 (1920-1950), p: 218)*





**Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi**

(Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, *Üniversiteli Gençlerle Bir Konuşma*, p: 34)



**Ahmet Ağaođlu**

*(TBMM Albümü 1920-2010, vol: 1 (1920-1950), p: 155)*

# ایجتہاد

مؤسس :  
 عداللہ جوڈت  
 کوزہس :  
 عدالی کونونہ ایجنڈا  
 IDJTIHAD  
 Constantinople

آبویہ  
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 نوکیلا ۲۰ غروش  
 مالک ادیبہ ۷ فراتی ۶ فراتی  
 نسخہ : ۵۰ پارہ

دور دینی ست

حریت فکریہ خادم، پیشہ کوٹلری نشر ایڈیٹر اقتصادی، اجتماعی، ادبی مجموعہ

### قسطوں زدہ قرون وسطی

قسطوں غار منک یرمچی مکینوں :

شو کو نژدہ قسطوں محیط جہالت و تعصبی قودورکان  
 یوسدانوں نظر دکنیزه قویاتی یعنی زمانہ بورادہ بوتون  
 جدیدہ جارستان کنجک و عراق اردوستہ ( اجتهاد ) ک  
 معاقتی دیلمک ایستبورم . هر خطوه انجازه دو غرو  
 فوشق و سلاحتی دمنمک ایچین شقایی اوزرینہ دآیلاری  
 مردقیقہ نیکی چکک اوغراشان زواللی ملت و اولک ،  
 بی بیاس کفیلر ایچنده یتقداری قره قوت شو دقیقہ  
 قسطوں مک قره یرجهانندن باشقا هیچ یرمچی قوشایان  
 هواننده غریب روزکارل حصوله کتیردیلر .

ایتدیلر . مکشیده ، تکامل طبعی دن ، ( داروین ) نظریه  
 شدن بحث ایتدیکاری بهامسیله ایشدل ال چکر بریللری  
 واوراتک عدلیه به تودبی درمیان ایتدی . بو اقسام  
 فرانسوزجه معلمی جلال بک حقیقده توقیف مذکره می  
 ویرلری . شیمدی جسددر . مسکده ال بو بک رول  
 ایا ایدن سارطلی توریکه معلمی جاسی میا ، حفرایا  
 معلمی عارف ، و بولرک باشلیجه آلت ابرائیمی ملیسلی  
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 ایکی میصره ایکی خدمه ... ایشته بورادهمک حقیقت و جهل  
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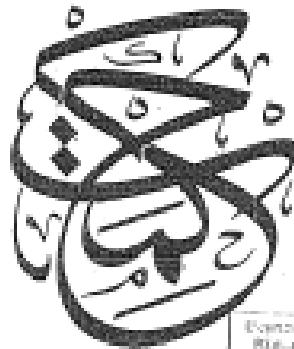
والیز او بو بک غالب بک بک آجینه می بر صورتده  
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شیمدی مسکله بک دعا فحیحی : عربی معلمک آرقسنه  
 برسورل خلق طویلانورق کتایجیاری باجمایی در . انسان  
 بونظرمار قارشینسند قوزی کی حایم اولان اولس  
 امورک نه عقلم خدمت انک ایشته دکاری بر دورلو  
 کسدرهمبور . مکشیده و ولایجه تمین ایدیلن تحقیقات  
 رسیمک کجسی کتج مظمارک رانی تمامیه مبداه  
 قویمش ایکن ایش بردها عدلیه به تودیم ایدیش . معارف  
 نظرانسه تلمراف چکبدری و سنور بر مفشک اعزایی

First page of İctihad

(İctihad, no: 58)

مسابقاتی :  
تورم نامه اول  
سر علی



ارشد و سرمدی :  
بشک اولی بدست داریت همسایه  
قاربات صاحب انبار ایسرای اولیاد  
سظمی سرمد ۳۰ پارس لنگر اوزرکن  
ر ای کتبی اسطوخار و مکتب کورج  
فرشدر

شرایط انفرادی :  
سختی ۲۰ - ۲۰ کی اولی  
۲۵ گردش

ماده ایست ایری :  
سختی ۲۰ - ۲۰ کی اولی و ترقی اولیاد  
ایستادی و مکتب کورج  
سرمه کتبی کتبی اسطوخار و مکتب کورج  
کوتی و ترقی اسطوخار و مکتب کورج  
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ساده سرمدی و سرمدی

سرمدی

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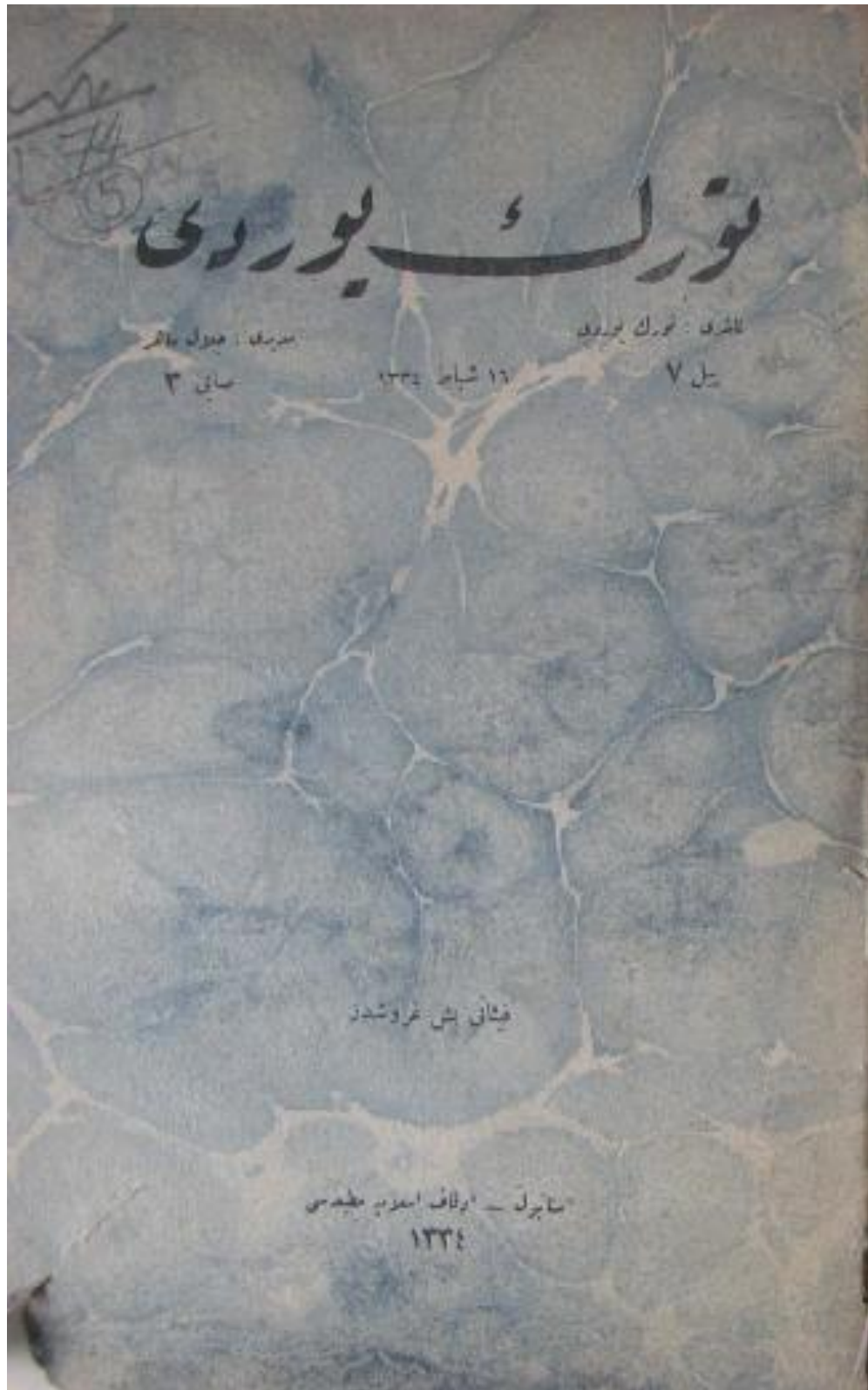
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First page of *Türk Yurdu*

(*Türk Yurdu*, no: 3)

18 August 1327 (AH) 18

مکتبہ

# تورک یوردی

تورک کرک فائده سنه چالشیر اون بش کونده بر چیقار

## مقصد و مسلك

تورک کرک خدمت ایتک ، تورکاره فائده طوقوندیرمق استیورز . مقصدیمز ،  
ایشته بودر . مقصده ایشمک ایچون هانکی یوللردن یورویه جکمزى ،  
مجموعه مرک مندرجاتی کوسیتزه چکندن ، مسلکمزک تشریحی فضله بولپورز .  
تکری یاردیمیمز اولسون !

تورک یوردی

قربان بایرامنی بوتون دین قارده شلیممه تیریک ایدهرز .

تحریر و اداره هیاتی

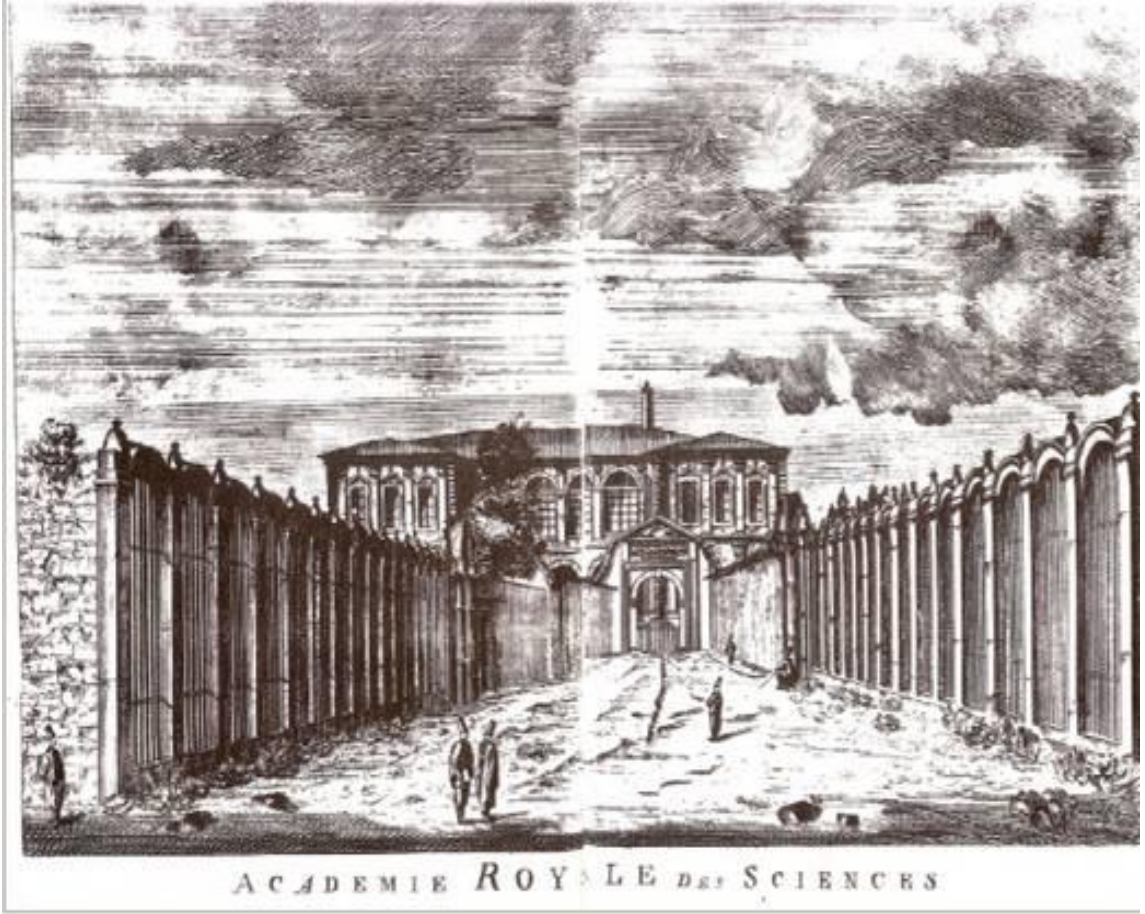
## ادبیات

### دمیرچی

بن برکچوک چوقو فکن برزوالی سفیلیم ؛  
عمرک آغیر یومروغی بنی دخی ایکتدی ؛  
قوپاریغ فریادی یینه یکا دیکتدی ؛  
چوقوقتلر هیچ کیمسه صورمادی که بن کیمم ؟

Splash page of *Türk Yurdu*

(*Türk Yurdu*, no: 1)



**Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun where Kılıçzade Hakkı graduated**

(Mahmud Raif Efendi, *Tableau des nouveaux reglemens del'Empire Ottoman*, p: 38)

راميف قارداشارك حروفى

ب. س. م. ا. ل. ه. و. ح. ح. م. ن. ف. ا. ل. و. ح. ح. ي. ي. ن.

# آيزى جىزىلارنىڭ ئىفاسى

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ا ب پ ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك گ ل م ن و ه و ح ح م ن ف ا ل و ح ح ي ي ن

## ايزى جىزىلارنىڭ

ئىفاسى

دوقتور اسماعيل حقى بىكك حروفى

ا ب پ ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك گ ل م ن و ه و ح ح م ن ف ا ل و ح ح ي ي ن

ا ب پ ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك گ ل م ن و ه و ح ح م ن ف ا ل و ح ح ي ي ن

بىزنىڭ شىنجاڭدىكى قانداق بىر دىيارىمىز كۆرۈش  
 قانداق شىنجاڭدىكى شىنجاڭ بىر سۆيۈپ بىر  
 ۋازدىمىز، كۆرۈش دا شىنجاڭدىكى شىنجاڭ ۋاسىتىسى  
 لىڭگىنى بىر كۆرۈش بىر ۋاسىتىسى لىڭگىنى  
 ۋاسىتىسى ۋاسىتىسى بىزنىڭ شىنجاڭ ۋاسىتىسى  
 قانداق كۆرۈش ۋاسىتىسى ۋاسىتىسى ۋاسىتىسى  
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The letters of Ramif Brothers

(Hikmet, no: 61, p: 5)



# ضروب امثال

ا

اے اچھے قرہ کون ایچون در.  
اے لمیان چوچوئے مہمہ ویرمذلر.  
از ویرن جاندن ویرر چوچو ویرن مالدن.

a

اللاه ہر کسک قالینہ کورہ ویرر.  
امانتہ خیانت اولمذ.  
انسانہ باق قزق ال.

The writing style which was proposed by the Iran ambassador Melkom Han

(Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, p: 313)

