

ABDULLAH CEVDET
AND
THE *GARPCILIK* MOVEMENT

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APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

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ABDULLAH CEVDET AND THE *GARPÇILIK* MOVEMENT

The aim of this study is to clarify the principles and goals of the *garpçılık* movement of the Second Constitutional era together with Abdullah Cevdet and his colleagues' proposals and the related implementations of the period. It also aims to finally the cultural background upon which the modern Turkey was based thus shedding light on the Atatürk period during which great changes had taken place in almost every aspect of life. Abdullah Cevdet was born in 1869 in Arapkir. His mind was shaped in the *Tıbbiye-i Şahane* both politically and ideologically. In 1897, as one of the Young Turk movement and as a political activist, he fled to Europe where he wrote against Abdulhamid II. But his most striking aspect would appear to be his philosophical stand. In 1904, Cevdet started to publish *İctihad*. During the CUP rule, *İctihad* was closed many times due to its articles against religion. After the Mondros Armistice the CUP government fall down and Abdullah Cevdet's writings gained more political shape. After the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, Abdullah Cevdet continued to work as publicist and did not take any official job in the new regime. The Turkish republic was founded following an independence war on the remaining territories of the Empire. "Westernization" became one of the basic principles of the Turkish Republic. It was adopted due to the fact that Western civilization was dominant in the world through its superiority in terms of science and technology which was being purported by the *Garpçı* thinkers for a long time. The cultural structure, therefore, was reformed radically during the first seven years of the Republic. The reforms reflected the great influences of the *garpçı* ideas which were aired within the limitations of the era, structural changes on various institutions such as religion, moral understanding, and family.

Key Words:

Modern Turkey, Modernization, Philosophy, Secularization, Materialism

Abdullah Cevdet, Garpçılık, Religion, Culture

KISA ÖZET

REFİK BÜRÜNGÜZ

Nisan 2005

ABDULLAH CEVDET VE GARPÇILIK HAREKETİ

Bu tezin amacı İkinci Meşrutiyet devri garpçılık hareketinin ana ilke ve amaçlarını, Abdullah Cevdet ve arkadaşlarının getirmiş oldukları önerileri, dönemin uygulamaları ve sonuçlarını ve nihai olarak da hayatın her yönünde büyük değişimlerin yaşandığı Atatürk dönemine ışık tutmak suretiyle kendisinin üzerinde modern Türkiye'nin yükseldiği kültürel arka planı incelemektir. Abdullah Cevdet, 1869'da Arapkir'de doğdu. Tıbbiye-i Şahane yılları siyasi düşünceleri ve fikir dünyasında değişikliklere sahne oldu. 1897'de rejim aleyhtarı bir Jön Türk ve siyasal eylemci olarak Avrupa'ya kaçtı. Fakat Abdullah Cevdet'in en çarpıcı özelliği felsefi duruşu ile ortaya çıkacaktı. Cevdet 1904'te, İctihad'ı yayımlamaya başladı. İttihad ve Terakki iktidarı sırasında İctihad dergisi birçok defa dine karşı neşrettiği makaleler yüzünden kapatıldı. Abdullah Cevdet mütareke yıllarında siyasi yazılarına tekrar ağırlık verdi. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilanından sonra, gazeteciliğe ve çevirilerine devam etti, devlet kademesinde herhangi bir görev almadı. 'Batılılaşma' Kurtuluş Savaşını müteakip elde kalan topraklarda kurulan yeni Türkiye'nin temel ilkelerinden biri oldu. Bilim ve teknoloji açısından üstünlüğün Garp medeniyetini başat güç haline getirmiş olması keyfiyetinden dolayı 'Batılılaşma' benimsendi ki bu da Garpçı düşünürler tarafından uzun yıllardan beri dillendirilmekteydi. Cumhuriyet'in ilanını müteakip ilk yedi yıl içerisinde kültürel yapı yeniden düzenlendi. Devrin kendine mahsus sınırlamaları dâhilinde ifade edilmiş olsalar da, Garpçıların din, ahlak anlayışı ve aile gibi kurumlar için önerdikleri yenileşme fikirleri yapılan bu reformlar üzerinde etkili oldu.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Modern Türkiye, Yenileşme, Felsefe, Laiklik, Materyalizm, Abdullah Cevdet, Garpçılık, Din, Kültür

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INTRODUCTION

The history of Ottoman reforms goes back to the early 17th century. Before turning to the West, some minor reform efforts during the periods of Osman II (1618-1622), Murad IV (1623-1640), and Köprülü Family(1653-1683) had been carried out. Those early reform proposals, however, were simply to identify the elements of corruption in the administrative system and to advise a return to honesty and efficiency (İpşirli, 1999:172). The reform was proposed by intellectuals, as in the cases of Ayn Ali, Koçi Bey, Avni Ömer Efendi, but since those scholars were fed from indigenous sources, it is not correct to assume that they were the initiators of Westernization in the Ottoman State (Hanioglu, 1992:149).

However, as the losses of land and defeats continued, the Ottoman Empire sought salvation in a series of reforms implemented in the military sphere. In an effort to increase the efficiency of these reforms, sultans and grand viziers turned to Western military science for help (Davison, 1963:21). And Russia, the eastern neighbor of the Ottomans, presented a good example to Ottoman statesmen on the benefits of adopting European military science which markedly increased the military strength of Russia (Hanioglu, 1995:7-8).

Hence, the experience of Westernization of Ottomans had started long before the *Garpcılık* movement of the Second Constitutional Period, which will be taken up in this study. The military defeats of the late 17th and the early 18th centuries made Ottoman statesmen turn to the West in order to understand what the reasons

behind those military victories were. The changing circumstances of the period obliged them to take some measures in order to stop the decline of the Ottoman Empire (Tanpınar, 1956: 9-10).

In the history of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire, the so-called Tulip Period (1717-1730) had an important place. In this period, first attempts were made in order to learn what major reasons contributed to Western development, therefore, some representatives were sent to Europe, and on their return to İstanbul they were asked to give an account of the West as they saw it. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi was the famous one. In 1721, he was sent to Paris as an ambassador and was instructed to survey aspects of Western industry and knowledge which would be applicable to the Empire. He returned to İstanbul with a favorable report on the West (Davison, 1963:22). The result of these first efforts seem to be felt in the architecture of public buildings and construction of *köşks* (which derived from English word 'kiosk') and marked increase in festivals and other types of entertainments. One of the important results of Westernization efforts of this period was the establishment of the first state sponsored press in İstanbul. The Mutefferika press was in operation for almost two decades during which 17 volume books mainly related to history, geography and language were published (Topdemir, 2002; Afyonucu, 2000).

During the following period reform efforts were mainly focused on the military area. Comte de Bonneval, originally a French officer, took refuge in the Ottoman State, became a Muslim and served in the Ottoman army during the Mahmud I period (1730-1754). Comte, now called Ahmed Paşa, worked hard in the

modernization of the Ottoman army and reformed *Humbaracı Ocağı* (corps of the Bombardier). This tendency in reforming the military units continued during the second half of the 18th century. To support the military reform efforts two important military engineering schools were established: *Mühendishane-i-Bahr-i Hümayun* (the naval engineering) was founded in 1773 and *Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun* (the military engineering) in 1795.

After the foundations of these engineering schools, the institutional reforms in the military sphere were followed by the establishment of *nizami* troops. The *Nizam-i cedid* independent of *Yeniçeri* system was established by Selim III. Most of the teachers of those schools were Turks but there were also foreign, predominantly French and a few English and Swedish, instructors. Arabic and French were compulsory. Hence, during the reign of Selim III (1789-1807) it became apparent that military reforms should be supported by educational ones. (Beydilli, 1999:175) However, the military reforms of Selim III harmed the vested interests of the Janissaries, who deposed Selim III and abolished his new order, *nizam-i cedid*.

Mahmud II (reigned 1808-1839) abolished the Janissary corps in 1826. The incident was called *Vak'a-i Hayriye* (the auspicious incident) and was followed by foundation of a new army called *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye* (the Victorious Mohammedan Soldiers). The introduction of Western-style military practice thus led to a whole new system of training and organization (Göçek: 1996, 69). Mahmud II was very eager to implement Westernizing reforms in order to consolidate the Ottoman Empire despite defeats in wars and losses of territories

(Revolts in Serbia and Morea of Greece, war against Russia concluded with Edirne Treaty, French occupation of Algeria and most strikingly periodic defeats against Mehmed Ali of Egypt, which later resulted in Egypt's autonomous status). After 1836, the cabinet system was adopted and European-style ministry was developed. By doing so, Mahmud II tried to rearrange the Ottoman administration based on a clearer division of labor and powers between "ministries". From 1831 onwards, the feudal fiefs (*timars*) of the *Sipahi* were abolished. Thus the subjects and tax payers directly linked to the ruler so as to strengthen the central government (Lewis, 1968:92). In other words, Mahmud II's efforts prepared a ground for subsequent reforms in the direction of modernization and secularization.

The educational reforms also continued during the reign of Mahmud II. In 1826, the medical school in the European sense was opened. It was followed by the opening of the Military School in 1834 and in the same year *Mızıka-i Hümayun*, the imperial orchestra was established. Primary education became compulsory. In 1838 *rüştiye* (equivalence of today's American elementary school) took its place in the educational system with the schools, *Mekteb-i Ulum-i Edebiye*, and *Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliye* (the name *Adliye* literally means law but the school had not such curriculum rather it was derived from the pseudonym of Mahmud II, *Adli*).

In 1839 Mahmud II died and was succeeded by his young son, Abdülmecid, and the *Tanzimat* reforms began with the Imperial Rescript of Gülhane, declared in November 1839. Mustafa Reşid Paşa (1800-1858), a powerful foreign minister

of the time (later grand vizier), was the real architect of the edit (Lewis, 1968:105). This was the first step towards a constitutional government in the Ottoman Empire. The *Hatt* guaranteed some certain rights such as the security of life and property, similar to the French Declaration of Rights of Man of 1789. In the new charter, a just way of allocation and collection of taxes and a regular army recruit all that would be applied equally to Muslims and the other *millet*s (religious communities) were promised. It constituted the fundamentals of the new political and legal order and contained the idea of limiting the arbitrary executive powers of the Sultan. Most important was the principle of equality of Ottoman subjects irrespective of their religions, convictions, which was aimed at preserving the unity of the empire by securing the loyalty of its Christian subjects by making them juridically equal to the Muslims. On the other hand, the *Tanzimat* defended the interests of the Ottoman administration and accelerated the process of centralization and bureaucratization of the Ottoman Empire.

Another important reform act was the second imperial rescript, *Islahat Fermanı* which was issued after the Crimean War in 1856. On 21 February 1856 the *hatt* was proclaimed, and on March 30 the Ottoman State as a victorious state signed the Treaty of Paris which meant the Ottoman Empire was formally admitted to the 'Concert of Europe'. The new imperial script restated the previous *Hatt-i Şerif* and translated it into terms that are more concrete. At that time, foreign influence was more explicit because of a reference to an article in the treaty than the assumed foreign intervention on the Gülhane Rescript (Davison, 1963:54).

In 1865 the Young Ottomans' society was formed. When Reşid Paşa died in 1858, Âli and Fuad Paşas firmly took the control of the bureaucratic government. Against the tight rule of these two Paşas, Young Ottomans, most notably İbrahim Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ziya Bey, Ali Suavi argued for a constitution, parliament, Ottomanism and patriotism between the years of 1865-1876. However, regarding religion and radical Westernization, they were more conservative than the *Tanzimat* statesmen who turned to the West. Chief among them Âli and Fuad Paşas who were in fact brought up by Reşid Paşa. The main difference of the Young Ottomans from the above mentioned *Tanzimat* Paşas was that they tried to reconcile the Western political institutions with Islam.

In this context, in his study, Mümtazer Türköne focused on the issue of Young Ottoman approach to Islamic relations. According to him, Islam had many aspects in the Young Ottoman thought. They used Islam as a tool of opposition against the ruling bureaucratic elite. Additionally, at the same time, there was a need for moral-based thought in order to bridge the ideological gap, which had occurred after the *Tanzimat* reforms which were not able to substitute the good and the bad after replacing the Şeriat (Türköne, 1991:88 and Şerif Mardin, 1962:118). It was also an effort aiming to find the equivalence of Natural Law in the Ottoman world (Mardin, 1971, 137) The Young Ottoman thought focused on finding Islamic equivalents of the Western conceptions with respect to a central issue which was democracy in their struggle for freedom. The term *Meşveret* was used for democracy, *şura* for parliament; in the place of modern “public opinion”, they presented “*ehlü'l hal ve'l akd*”. Those Islamic concepts had been used since

earlier times of Islam, however, the content was developed by attributing them new significance by the Young Ottomans. (Türköne, 1991:102)

By the efforts of the Young Ottomans, the process of *Tanzimat* reforms reached its climax in the Constitution of 1876. Sultan Abdülaziz was deposed and after a very short reign of Murad V Abdülhamid became the new Ottoman Sultan in August 1876. Midhat Paşa (1822-1883), as grand vizier was the prime force behind the constitution. The new sultan came to the throne promising to support constitutional government; however, the external and domestic crises early in his reign convinced him that only strong and centralized government could rescue the empire from collapse. The constitution functioned for a short period only. Abdülhamid soon dismissed its chief architect, Midhat Paşa in 1877 and dissolved the Parliament in 1878. He ruled with the suspended constitution until he was forced to restore it by the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Hence, the Young Ottoman movement was transformed into a new form as “the Young Turks”.

When the Young Turks escaped from the motherland to outside, they supposed to be supported by Western powers because of the liberal ideas they defended, the Western philosophy with which they imbued, as well as the westernized attitudes and manners which they assumed; but the situation was much more complex than they thought (Mardin, 1971:446). The struggle of the Young Turks for the transition from the despotic rule of Abdülhamid II to *usul-ü serbesti* (freedom) took more than 30 years. However, the Young Turks in the Westernization root of Turkey with the ideas they bore meant more than being a mere representative of this second oppositional generation to the ruling power. This second generation of

patriots was mostly under the influence of positivism. The Young Turks tried to apply positivism and social engineering as "the religion of humanity" (Korlaelçi, 2002:229)

The Ottoman view of the West since the time of Mahmud II had entered a new phase that was not only in the military domain as in the case of previous reform movements but also wanted the governmental and social structure of the West to be imitated. However, 'unlike Turkish reformers of the following century, they had no wish to become Europeans. They planned to understand Europe, to emulate its ways when necessary, but they were determined to remain Ottoman' (McCarthy, 2001:20). No doubt there were some people among the Young Turks who viewed Westernization as imitation of the Western manner in social relations (Mardin, 1971:425) but at least until the occurrence of the *Garpcılık* movement, such individual excesses do not allow us to describe the general character of Ottoman Westernization as total Westernization.

In this context, among others, one figure in the Young Turks movement who was distinguished with the idea of total Westernization, was Abdullah Cevdet. Abdullah Cevdet is generally accepted as one of the most influential thinkers on the ideological developments of modern Turkey. He devoted himself to achieving a cultural renaissance in the Ottoman society and published more than 72 books and a journal until his death.

In this work, this leading figure of the *Garpcılık* movement will be examined in detail. Abdullah Cevdet as one of the original founders of the secret committee in *Tıbbiye-i Şahane* (Royal Medical Academy) against the *Hamidian* regime which

was later called *İttihat ve Terakki*, and his subsequent roles in the “Young Turks movement” and as the first establisher of a publishing house in Europe with an Islamic title rightly occupies a central position in this study. Then in order to understand political atmosphere of the period, in which the *Garpcılık* movement occurred, we will briefly study the currents of thought that ran parallel to the *Garpcılık* movement and influential contemporary ideologies as well as the *Garpcılık*. Later the *garpcılık* movement will be surveyed and discussed in detail by examining the corpus of Abdullah Cevdet and of the other *Garpcı* thinkers.

Cevdet and his journal *İctihad* were at the center of serious discussions during the Second Constitutional Era and the *Garpcılık* was very vulnerable to the criticism by their opponents until the establishment of the new regime, the proclamation of the republic. In this study, *Garpcılık* movement and its parallels to *Kemalist* reforms will also be studied.

Additionally, under separate sections, the present study will have focused on some social and cultural institutions which were highly subjected to criticism, and supposed to be re-established by *Garpcı* thinkers in accordance with their anti-traditional world view.

CHAPTER 1

ABDULLAH CEVDET AND HIS IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

1.1. Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932)

Abdullah Cevdet was born in 1869 in Arapkir, a district of Mamurat'ul-aziz (Elazığ)¹, in Eastern Anatolia. He got his first education in a religious social surrounding (Hanioğlu, 1981:5). This religious education was given by his uncle who had served as an Imam in a local mosque and by his father *el-hac* Ömer Vasfi Efendi who was a middle-class civil bureaucrat serving in the army. Then he started his formal education at *Arapkir İptidai Mektebi* (Primary school). The next school he attended was the military school in Elazığ, *Mamurat'ul-aziz Askeri Rüştiyesi* from which he graduated in 1885. Later he continued his education in İstanbul in *Kuleli Askeri Tıbbiye İdadisi* (Military Medical School). He was one of the industrious pupils of the school and no record exists relating to his ties with the oppositional thinking (Hanioğlu, 1981:6).

After three years of *idadi* education in 1888 he attended *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-yi Askeriye-yi Şahane* (Imperial Military Medical School) wherein together with İbrahim Temo, Hikmet Emin and Mehmed Reşid established *İttihad-i Osmani Cemiyeti* in 1889 which was going to be named *Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Unity and Progress Committee-CUP) five years later (Hanioğlu, 1981:26).

¹Today, the district of Arapkir is within the province of Malatya.

The medical academies were the first foundation of the opposition to the regime (Müge, 1996:78; Hanioglu, 1981:8). One student of the school said:

In the school, a spirit exclusive to both the teacher and students was the one which we may call as *tıbbiyeli ruhu*. This spirit had a profound substructure. The school had been established as a thorough Western institution by Mahmud II in 1827, from where the contemporary teachers graduated too. In the school, the curriculum had been in French for many years. This school was the first window of the Ottoman Empire for accessing to the West. The faces of the students were directed at the West. They were aware of differences between the West and the East and felt a deep sorrow of our backwardness. Thus, the medical school became the nest of patriotism; of love of freedom; of the efforts to get rid of Eastern laziness, to advance and to overtake the countries, which had already reached a high level of civilization (Sağlam, 1981:40-41)

Thus, during his studentship at the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye*, the oppositional thinking against the ruling regime had already been started and it was very much influenced by materialist-naturalist philosophy of some European thinkers such as Büchner, Spencer, and Darwin. İbrahim Temo (1869-1939), one of the co-founders of *İttihad-i Osmani Cemiyeti* (Committee of Ottoman Unity) which was later called *İttihad ve Terakki* (Unity and Progress) together with Abdullah Cevdet, wrote:

Within three years, the ideas awoke and opinions were ripe enough to establish strong opposition against Abdulhamid's rule (Temo, 1987: 9)

The years he spent at the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye* caused drastic changes in his ideas and worldview. In other words, Abdullah Cevdet's ideas had been shaped in the *Tıbbiye-yi Şahane* both politically and ideologically. Again, we know from the

memories of Temo that at that time when they decided to establish a secret society against the “despotic” regime of Abdulhamid in the school, Cevdet was timid in joining them because of his pious personality. This was the case in May 1889, end of his first year while joining in the foundation of the *Cemiyet*. Over three years he had experienced such radical changes in his ideas that in September 1891 when he was a fourth year student, he wrote an article promoting materialist ideas. Thus, this young religious minded student became imbued with biologic materialism within two years and became an active member of opposition against Abdulhamid II.

After his graduation from *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye* in 1894, Cevdet started to work in *Haydarpaşa Hospital* in İstanbul as an assistant eye physician and later in the same year, because of spread of cholera disease in Diyarbakır, he was sent temporarily to that city in November 1894. In Diyarbakır apart from his medical services, he actively worked to spread his ideas. It is widely held that he was primarily influential on Ziya Bey (Gökalp) who then joined the new *Cemiyet*. After his short stay in Diyarbakır, he returned to İstanbul in January 1895. The famous appeal of CUP was drafted by Cevdet in which people were called for acting against “the regime of tyranny”. The manifestation was significant in that it was the first time *Cemiyet* declared itself overtly to the public (Hanioglu, 1985:187). In the same year, Cevdet published Büchner’s work *Natur and Geist* in Turkish under the title of *Goril*.

In fact, before publishing *Goril*, Cevdet had published *Hiç* in 1891, *Tuluat*, *Türbe-i Masumiyet* and *Ramazan Bağçesi* in 1892 and *Masumiyet* in 1895, which

were small volumes of poetry except the *Ramazan Bağçesi*, which was the first book he wrote in prose. The *Nat-ı Şerif* (praise of the Prophet) which has caused contentions about his personal beliefs during and after his lifetime was also the opening part of this book. Eventually, because of his perpetual opposition against the regime he was arrested with other 33 dissidents who were mostly students in different academies and a few civil and military bureaucrats actively serving or retired. Subsequently in 1896, he was exiled to Tripoli where he was appointed as “arrested” eye physician of the military hospital in Tripoli. He continued to work closely with the local branch of the CUP. He sent some letters to the oppositional newspapers published in Europe like *Meşveret*. Because of his uncompromising attitudes, Cevdet was imprisoned but soon afterwards the military court released him. Having realized the difficulties before him, he escaped to Tunisia, which had been under French occupation since 1881.

Meanwhile, the opposition against Abdulhamid II was increasingly gaining strength and it had soon reached an organized level (Hanioglu, 1981:31-32). However, the victory of the Ottoman-Greek War of 1897 enhanced the sultan’s popularity. The sultan used this opportunity to launch a peace campaign in order to end the Young Turks’ opposition. *Serhafiye* (the chief of intelligence service) Ahmed Celaledin Paşa was appointed as the negotiator and sent to Europe at the pretext of a change of air (Hanioglu, 1995: 99).

In 1897 from Mahdia, a coastal town of Tunisia, Abdullah Cevdet went to Paris. After a while he moved to Geneva where together with İshak Sukuti, (1868-1903) started to publish a journal called *Osmanlı* in the same year. At the same

time he continued writing for *Meşveret*, the central organ of the CUP published in Paris by Ahmed Rıza since December 1895. He had contacts with the Russian nihilist groups located in Geneva. Moreover, together with İshak Sukuti, who was also a Kurd in origin, Cevdet wrote for the second journal of the Ottoman community in Geneva, *Kürdistan*, which was published by Abdurrahman Bedirhan, a Kurdish separatist nationalist (Hanioğlu, 1995: 117). In those articles, they called for the Kurdish people to unite with the Turks against Abdulhamid's tyranny but sometimes featured an ethnic viewpoint (Hanioğlu, 1995: 169). In August 1898, financial difficulties in printing the journal led them to negotiate with the Ottoman government, which offered 1500 francs salary per month to Abdullah Cevdet, İshak Sukuti and Tunalı Hilmi (1863-1928), the leading opposition figures in Europe, in return for stopping to criticize the government. After the deal was confirmed, Cevdet went back to Paris in order to give the impression that he quit the opposition against the government, but in fact he went on with his writings for the *Osmanlı* journal. Therefore, the government stopped paying him in May 1899. Ottoman diplomatic pressures on the Swiss Government for the expulsion of Young Turks from the country and previously mentioned financial problems led him to make another agreement with the government in July 1899. According to the deal, 70 exiled political figures would be freed and Cevdet had signed a document in which he declared that he would not write about anything except his professional carrier, medicine. However, Cevdet was trying to gain time and accumulate more money. His official appointment was made in August 1899, yet he had not joined the staff until December. A few days later, he went to Germany where he met the other prominent CUP members and sent a

postal card to Abdulhamid, which was highly in contrast with the required language. Despite his official position, he continued his activities and without official permission made travels in Europe to meet CUP leaders. At last, in 1903 he was dismissed from this official post due to his harsh quarrel with Mahmud Nedim Bey, the Ottoman Ambassador to Vienna. In addition to his political activities, Cevdet did not neglect to keep in touch with literal circles in Central Europe and published poems in French during the years serving in the Embassy. This official post was going to be used against him by his political opponents. For this reason during the CUP rule--after the constitutional revolution of 1908-- he was not given a position neither in bureaucracy nor in the government. Because of official job during the reign of Abdülhamid II he was depicted as traitor or accomplice. Another interesting point related to this case was that the Ottoman government continued to pay his salary though it was obviously known that he was still connected with the Young Turks. The reason behind this policy of the government towards Cevdet was its desire to limit his political effectiveness as far as it was possible (Hanioğlu, 1981:44).

After the dismissal, he went to Presbourg (today's Bratislava) but had to move back to Paris since he was forced to leave the territories of Austria – Hungary Empire in September 1903. After a short stay in Paris where he had not been received well by Ahmet Rıza who, from the beginning, opposed the agreement of those Geneva branch of the CUP members with the Sultan. Returning to Geneva, he started to re-publish *Osmanlı* journal; founded together with Edhem Ruhi *Osmanlı İttihad ve İnkılab Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Unity and

Revolution Society) in March 1904. In addition, the first issue of *İctihad* journal was published on 1 September 1904.

In the first issue of *İctihad* published in Geneva Cevdet said:

The goal of publishing this journal is to provide knowledge from the West to East and from the East to the West (Cevdet, 1905a).

In order to achieve this goal, he made translations from Sadi, Mevlana, Omar Khayyam as well as Shakespeare, Schiller and Byron.

Hanioglu said for this era:

...this new party [Ottoman Unity and Revolution Society] did not increase the importance of *İctihad* and Abdullah Cevdet started to play less important roles within the Young Turk movement (Hanioglu, 1981:50-51).

However, it was obvious that Cevdet was still seen as detrimental for the regime--at least in the eyes of İstanbul. It was for this reason that a few months later (on November 2, 1904) Cevdet was expelled from Geneva by Swiss officials because of huge pressure from the Ottoman officials. From Annemasse, the border town of France near Switzerland, Cevdet appealed the Swiss officials but it was of no use. Therefore, for a while *İctihad* was published in the absence of Cevdet in Geneva with the help of İbrahim Tosun.

After this compulsory leave, he went to Egypt and the ninth issue of *İctihad* was published in Cairo in October 1905. During his stay in Egypt (1905-1910), he

established close relations with the exponents of *adem-i merkeziyet* (decentralization) namely under the leadership of Prince Sabahaddin (1877-1948), one of the prominent Young Turk figures, by participating as an active member in the *Adem-i Merkeziyet ve Teşebbüs-ü Şahsi Cemiyeti* (the League for Private Initiative and Decentralization). In addition, another committee which was initiated by Egyptian and Arab nationalists *Şura-yi Osmani Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Society of Council) was also the organization in which Abdullah Cevdet had worked in collaboration. The article, which proposed the unnecessary of the Ottoman House for Turkey, made a spectacular effect on the intellectual and political circles. In 1908, Cevdet translated and published Reinhart Dozy's book named '*History of Islam*', which was consisted of heavy criticisms about Islam and its Prophet. He continued his political opposition against Abdülhamid II regularly and the *İctihad* journal contributed to oppositional movement in Egypt; made it stronger in shape and in quality (Hanioglu, 1981:56).

After the revolution of 1908, he preferred to stay in Cairo until the end of 1910. Then he returned to İstanbul where continued to publish *İctihad*. Most publicists who were pro-western and biological materialists contributed to the publication of *İctihad*. The most prominent among them were Kılıçzade Hakkı (1872-1960) and Celal Nuri (1877-1938). After his return to Istanbul, Cevdet started to depict Islam as an obstacle for social progress. Hence, for the first time in Ottoman history a periodical, namely *İctihad*, became the organ of an intellectual group who criticized Islam in the Ottoman Empire (Hanioglu, 1997:137-140).

Now, in the *İctihad* journal not the Islam itself but “irtica” (reactionism) was becoming one of main themes of the editorial staff. By doing so, Abdullah Cevdet and his colleagues claimed that they were trying to create an “enlightened” public opinion. Indeed, at times they caused a considerable stir. For instance, the issue of *İctihad* dated 14 March 1329 was published three times within a week due to the extensive demand. It contained an article criticizing *ulema* and mystics and the unusual demand for that issue indicates that at least they were partially successful for attracting public attention to their writings.²

In 1913, three high school teachers in Kastomonu were arrested by the police. One of them was a teacher of natural sciences who was teaching the Darwinian theory of evolution, the others, teacher of mathematics and French were supporting him when the teacher of Arabic accused him of being infidel and provoked students and other teachers against them. For this incident Abdullah Cevdet’s reaction was very harsh:

A country in which the teaching of Darwinism is still believed as a sin has not come out of the Middle Ages and such a country still in those ages has no right to a place in the twentieth century. This has to be understood by every head, with or without a *sarik* (turban) who does not want to be crushed (Cevdet, 1329c: 1271-1274).

At the colorful political atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Era Abdullah Cevdet joined *Osmanlı Demokrat Fırkası* (Ottoman Democratic Party) also known as *Fırka-yi İbad* (People Party) which had been founded by İbrahim

² The summarized version of this article “Sahte softalığa ve dervişliğe ilan-ı harb” written by Kılıçzade Hakkı’ will be given in the “public education” section of the thesis.

Temo. However, the party had sustained only a brief existence and joined the *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* (Freedom and Accord Party) Thereafter he remained out of political arena and tried to keep a stance as equal as possible when the CUP and *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* were struggling for power.

However, Cevdet and his fellows were effective in the domain of Ottoman press. The articles against the established religious institutions caused heated debates between Islamist pen of men and those pro-western intellectuals. Having similar secular outlook, the Pan Turkists wrote in their publications and also published their articles in *İctihad*. But Cevdet who was a man of extremes went so far as to advocate total westernization which caused a rift within the movement, therefore secular but selective Westernists Celal Nuri and Kılıçzade Hakkı established a new periodical called *Hürriyet-i Fikriye*.

During the CUP rule *İctihad* was closed many times due to the articles containing harsh criticism against religion. However, he continued to publish it time after time times under different names as *Cehd*, *İşhad*, *İştihad*, *Alem-i Ticaret ve Sanayi*. The last issue of that era was published on 12 February 1915 that the name *İctihad* was being reused but *İctihad* did not appear until the end of 1918 because of political pressures due to the fact that Cevdet was totally against the participation of Ottoman State in World War I especially taking part in the coalition with Germany against Britain. For this reason, from this time until the end of the national resistance era only 11 issues of *İctihad* were published.

His published works, original and translations continued in this period. He mainly focused on works related to social psychology but never neglected the

other fields: *Fenn-i Ruh* (Psychology, 1911), *Fünun u Felsefe ve Felsefe Sanihaları* (Natural Sciences and Philosophy, and Philosophical Reflections, 1913), *Asırların Panoraması yahud Tarih-i Kainata Bir Nazar* (History of Civilization by Weber, 1913), *Asrımızın Nüsus- u Felsefiyesi* (Les Aphorismes du temps present, Dr. Gustave Le Bon, 1914), *Rubaiyat-ı Hayyam ve Türkçeye Tercümeleri* (Omar Khayyam of Iran, 1914), *Dimağ ve Melekat-ı Akliyenin Fizyolojiya ve Hıfzısıhası* (Brain and Health-Care and Physiology of Intellectual Faculties, 1917), *Kral Lear* (Shakespeare, 1917).

During World War I (1914-1918) he focused on his translations but financial problems and tight censorship delayed publication of some of them till 1919 as he indicated in the book he translated from Le Bon (1918, p.5). After the Mudros Armistice, the CUP government had already fallen down and Abdullah Cevdet's writings gained shape that was more political. He defended policies in favor of France and Britain and heavily criticized former CUP policies. One of his striking political activities in this era was his role in the process of *İngiliz Muhipler Cemiyeti* (Friends of England Society) and his statements advocating British mandate (Hanioğlu, 1981:321). At the same time he wrote articles for the *Jin* which was the official organ of the Kurdish separatist movement namely *Kürdistan Teali Cemiyeti* (Society for the Advancement of Kurdistan) which also had a close relationship with the Great Britain. In an article published in early 1920 he advocated the Wilson principals and offered the application of those very principals to Kurds as to be asked for Turks of İzmir which was then under the occupation of Greece. During the era of national resistance, his stand was against

the independence movement initiated from Anatolia since he considered it as the continuation of CUP (Haniođlu, 1981:297).

In February 1919 he was sentenced to one-month imprisonment due to the article he wrote in *İctihad* in which he had criticized the *namaz*, as an Islamic practice. However, the new government, which came to power in the capital after the fall of CUP cabinet, in March 1919, appointed Cevdet as the Director of Public Health, which lasted about seven months and the highest official post he had reached in his life. However, it was significant that the first time the prostration of Muslim females was gaining legality and an old project of Kılıçzade Hakkı, was becoming real.³ After this short public service, he proceeded to publish *İctihad* and the language he used reached the level to criticizing Islam not with the practices but with its mere presence. In March 1922 during the transition from Empire to Republic, Cevdet published a pro-Baha'i faith article in which he recommended it as a world religion to replace Islam. It caused considerable agitation. In the article, he also used a rude language for the apostles of Religions. Then a public suit was instituted against him and he was sentenced to two years imprisonment in April 1922. However, he made an appeal against the decision. The procedure lasted until the first years of the newly established republic and in 1926 when the law against disparaging the religious apostles (*enbiyaya ta'n*) was abolished from the Turkish Penalty Code; the suit was dropped.

After the proclamation of Turkish Republic, Abdullah Cevdet continued to work as publicist and did not take any official job in the new regime since his

³ The article published in *İctihad* on 18 Temmuz 1329. See Appendix for the original text and its summarized English translation.

activities during Istanbul's occupation by the allies that stigmatized him as a collaborationist and ethnic Kurdish nationalist. In addition, his ideas about increasing in the size of population, and of improving agriculture through accepting immigrants from Europe, and his project to help improve the Turkish race by using of imported males from Europe was also one of the main hinderances which kept him out of politics. He continued to publish *İctihad*, original, and translated works until his death in November 1932. He died of a heart attack.

1.2. Philosophical Background of Abdullah Cevdet

Abdullah Cevdet had lived mainly in four different eras: The Hamidian era, the constitutional era, the national resistance era and the new regime--republican era in which he was faced with different difficulties and certain limitations. Naturally, he developed his ideas in accordance with the developments of those different eras. Consequently, Cevdet's different attitudes frequently bring about the confusion in the general readers mind and thereupon it is quite often to see the blundering and erroneous labels on Cevdet, which are completely dissimilar such as Turkist, Kurdist, even Islamist which actually he never inclined. As an example, in the first print of the book consisted of some poems of Omer Khayyam, the Iranian poet and mathematician lived between the years of 1048-1122 A.D., the first chapter of the book started with *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* i.e. opening phrase of all *Surahs* (Quranic chapters) in the Quran, meaning "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate", but in the second edition of the

book in 1926, just 12 years after the first edition this opening phrase did not appear and instead “Hayyam’s materialism” were explicitly emphasized for the readers. Consequently, in order to understand who Abdullah Cevdet was, it is necessary to examine his ideological background, which may lead to more accurate conclusions about Cevdet’s ideological stand.

When we examine his writings, we see mainly three different philosophers from three different fields: Buchner’s vulgar and metaphysical materialism, Gustave Le Bon’s elitism and, Guyau’s moralistic approach.

Besides we have to notice that during the nineteenth century lots of philosophical thinkers sought to build their theories on evolutionary principles. Therefore, Buchner and Le Bon inevitably lead us to another term that both of which were actually stemmed from: Darwinism. The formulation of the biological theory of evolution by means of natural selection by Charles Darwin virtually eliminated teleological explanations of biological phenomena and thereby buttressed material and physical interpretations of organic development.

1.2.1. Buchner

Abdullah Cevdet, the young religious minded student of *Tibbiye* wherein he started to evaluate his philosophical stand and ultimately materialistic approach gained an overt tone in his view of philosophy. The book played an essential role in that evolution is “*Spiritualisme et Materialisme*” of French materialist Felix Isnard had been given to Cevdet by İbrahim Temo (Süsheim, 1938:59). He, however, found the closest approximation of his thoughts in Buchner’s studies.

Buchner, Friedrich Karl Christian Ludvig (1824-1899), German philosopher and physician, was born at Darmstadt. He studied at Giessen, Strassburg, Wurzburg and Vienna. In 1852 he became lecturer in medicine at the University of Tübingen where he published his work "*Kraft und Stoff*" (Force and Matter) in 1855, which was published 16 times in Germany between the years 1855-1889. Buchner had the idea that Cevdet had eagerly been looking for: 'It is not worthy to spend ink unless philosophical demonstrations are not understood by every body' (Sena, 1974:314-315).

The full Turkish translation of the latter was going to be done by Baha Tevfik and Ahmed Nebil, the leading materialists of Ottoman intellectuals in 1910 and that of the chapter of "thought" which were translated by Cevdet in 1892.

The general appeal of materialism in the nineteenth century is shown by the popularity of the Buchner's work, *Kraft und Stoff* (Force and Matter), which passed through sixteen editions. Although the book has been seen to be philosophically crude, it is accepted as an accessible compendium of popular materialism or in other words, of vulgar materialism (Hanioglu, 1995:21).

Buchner, too, was an undiluted materialist, but he also approached the reconciliation of science and metaphysics. He was much less concerned to establish a scientific metaphysics than to protest against the romantic idealism of his predecessors and the theological interpretations of the universe.

Vulgar materialism was in general against idealist philosophy and in particular against the German idealist philosophy and occurred as a reaction against them.

Eminent representatives of the vulgar materialism were Vogt, Buchner, and Moleschott. According to them the other thinkers, i.e. idealists, were “deceitful” and they struggled to disseminate the current theories on natural sciences of their times to the people. In general, they refused the philosophy and tried to solve the entire philosophical matters by only using empirical means.

Here, therefore, we are faced with two main streams, which rooted Cevdet’s materialism. On the one hand, accessibility to the masses so called vulgarization and on the other is mixing of materialism with metaphysical elements. It helps to explain why Cevdet heavily emphasized on Islamic thinkers like Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi, an Islamic mystic.

1.2.2. Gustave Le Bon

Gustave Le Bon, too, was a medical doctor but his main studies were on anthropology, physics, sociology and social psychology. He was never accepted as a doctrinaire philosopher by his contemporaries whereas he seemed to them as vulgarizer of the sciences.

Gustave Le Bon (1841-1931) was born in Nogent-le-Rotrou, France, in 1841. He studied medicine in the University of Paris. After receiving his doctorate in medicine, he traveled Europe, Asia and North Africa while writing on archaeology and anthropology before beginning to write his most famous works on psychology - most notably “*Les lois psychologiques de l’évolution des peuples*” (1894; The Psychology of Peoples, translated into Turkish under the title

Ruh'ul Akvam by Cevdet) and *La psychologie des foules* (1895; *The Crowd, İlm-i Ruh-i İctimai*).

Le Bon represented aristocracy or at least a form of elitism and pitted against democracy. He distrusted common people, particularly when making collective decisions. His analysis of revolutionary crowds pictured them as primitive animals devoid of good decision-making abilities who had to be reigned in by a "strong man" or dictatorial figure:

If democracies had possessed the power they wield today at the time of the invention of mechanical looms or of the introduction of steam-power and of railways, the realization of these inventions would have been impossible, or would have been achieved at the cost of revolutions and repeated massacres. It is fortunate for the progress of civilization that the power of crowds only began to exist when the great discoveries of science and industry had already been effected (Le Bon, 1924:85-86).

Gustave Le Bon, founder of social psychology and pioneer in the field of collective behavior also had not so flattering ideas about women. According to him even in the most intelligent races there are a large number of women whose brains are closer in size to those of gorillas. He saw women represent the most inferior forms of human evolution, closer to children and savages than to an adult, civilized man. He thought they excelled in fickleness, inconsistency, absence of thought and logic, and incapacity to reason. He also admitted existence of some distinguished women, but he insisted on the idea that they were as exceptional as the birth of any monstrosity, as, for example, of a gorilla with two heads; consequently, we could neglect them entirely.

The teaching of Le Bon about woman was very influential on Abdullah Cevdet. But we have to admit that Cevdet was applying some censorship on his writing as in the case of omitting the word “woman” in translation, while enumerating inferior forms of life, for instance (Le Bon, 1924:61).

1.2.3. Guyau

Guyau, Jean-Marie (1854-1888), French moral and social philosopher who was known for his writings against religion.

In order to understand the attempts made by Abdullah Cevdet to build ethics on a purely scientific basis, we must examine most carefully the French thinker, J.M. Guyau (1854 -1888), who died at very young age. Guyau aimed at building ethics on a scientific basis on the one hand and on the other tried to eliminate from the realm of morality the considerations of personal, material interests or the striving for happiness, upon which the utilitarians based morality (Kropotkin, 1935: 330).

In his very early youth (at the age of 19), Guyau wrote a detailed work on the moral doctrines of Epicurus. It was *La Morale d'Epicure et ses rapports avec les Doctrines Contemporaines* (The Moral Teaching of Epicurus and its relation to the modern theories of morality). This work appeared in 1874 and was awarded with the prize of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. After five years of its publication, Guyau published his second highly valuable book, ‘La Morale Anglaise Contemporaine’ (Kropotkin, 1935: 330).

In this work, Guyau expounded and subjected to critical examination the moral teaching of Bentham, the Mills (father and son), Darwin, Spencer, and Bain. And

finally, in 1884, he published his remarkable work, "*Esquisse d'une Morale sans Obligation ni Sanction* (A Sketch of Morality Independent of Obligation or Sanction) which astonished scholars by its novel and just conclusions and by its artistic beauty of exposition. This book went through eight editions in France and was translated into all languages of Europe. (Kropotkin, 1935: 331)

The basis that this work depended upon was the conception of life in the broadest sense of the word, which Guyau assumed. According to Guyau life manifests itself in growth, in multiplication, in spreading. Ethics, therefore, should be consisting in seeking the means which nature's special aim is attained, -the growth and the development of life. The moral element in man needs, therefore, no coercion, no compulsory obligation, and no sanction. It develops in us by virtue of the very need of man to live a full, intensive, productive life. Man is not content with ordinary, commonplace existence; he seeks the opportunity to extend its limits, to accelerate its tempo, to fill it with varied impressions and emotional experiences. And as long as he feels in himself the ability to attain this end he will not wait for any coercion or command from outside. According to Guyau 'duty' is to feel the consciousness of a certain inward power. And to feel inwardly the greatest that one is capable of doing is really the first consciousness of what it is one's duty to do (Kropotkin, 1935: 331).

According to Guyau life has two aspects: the one, nutrition and assimilation and the other, production and fecundity. The more it takes in, the more it needs to give out; that is its law (Kropotkin, 1935:332).

Guyau points out that there is within man an inner approval of moral acts and a condemnation of our anti-social acts. It has been developing from the remotest past by virtue of social life. Moral approval and disapproval were naturally prompted in man by instinctive justice. And finally, the feeling of love and fraternity inherent in man, also acted in the same direction (Kropotkin, 1935:334)

Guyau understood that morality could not be built on egoism alone, as was the opinion of Epicurus, and later of the English utilitarians (Sena, 1975:291). He saw that inner harmony alone, and "*unity of being*" is not sufficient and included also the instinct of sociality (Kropotkin, 1935:334).

It is sufficient to consider the normal directions of psychic life; there will always be found a kind of inner pressure exercised by the activity itself in these directions. Thus moral obligation, which has its root in the very function of life happens to come in principle before thinking consciousness, and springs from the obscure and un-conscious depths of our being." (Guyau, A Sketch of Morality independent of Obligation or Sanction, 1898:93 cited by Kropotkin, 1935:336)

Guyau wrote:

Self-sacrifice takes its place among the general laws of life. It is not a mere negation of self and of personal life; it is this life itself raised to sublimity." (Guyau, A Sketch of Morality independent of Obligation or Sanction, 1898:125 cited by Kropotkin, 1935:336-337)

Religions all say, 'I hope because I believe, and because I believe in an external revelation.' We must say: 'I believe because I hope, and I hope because I feel in myself a wholly internal energy, which will have to be taken into account in the problem.' . . . It is action alone, which gives us confidence in our-selves, in others, and in the world. Abstract meditations, solitary thought, in the end weaken the vital forces." (Guyau, A Sketch of Morality independent of Obligation or Sanction, 1898:148 cited by Kropotkin, 1935:339)

This is, according to Guyau, what was to take the place of sanction, which the defenders of Christian morality sought in religion and in the promise of the happier life after death. According to him first, we find within ourselves the approval of the moral act, because our moral feeling, the feeling of fraternity, has been developing in man from the remotest times through social life and through observation of nature. Then man finds similar approval in the semi-conscious inclinations, habits, and instincts are deeply embedded in the nature of man as a social being. The whole human race has been brought up under these influences for thousands and thousands of years, and if there are at times periods in the life of mankind when all these best qualities seem to be forgotten, after a certain time humanity begins again to strive for them. And when we seek the origin of these feelings, we find that they are implanted in man even deeper than his consciousness (Kropotkin, 1935:339).

His works translated by Cevdet are:

Education and Heredity (*Terbiye ve Veraset*) (1927), İstanbul: Milli Matbaa (a state-owner printing house)

Vers d'un philosophe (*Bir Filozofun Şiirleri*) (1930), İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası (again under the sponsorship by the Ministry of Education)

A Sketch of Morality Independent of Obligation or Sanction (*Mükellefiyetsiz ve Müeyyidesiz Bir Ahlakın İcmali*- published as a series of article in the *İctihad*)

The Non-Religion of the Future: A Sociological Study (*İstikbalin Din Yokluğu*
only the introduction part was translated and published as a series of article in the
İctihad)

CHAPTER 2

CONTEMPORARY SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT AND THE GARPCILIK

2.1. Ottomanism (Osmanlıcılık)

Before the *Tanzimat*, the Ottoman State, as a multi-national and multi-religious entity granted partial autonomy to the Christian and Jewish *millet*s (communities) and recognized religious differences between various groups. This *millet* system allowed the accommodation of religious and regional particularism by the center (Gibb & Bowen, 1969:208). Nevertheless, the legitimating ideology of the Ottoman power structure was Islam, which justified a hierarchic division between rulers and ruled on the basis of *Şeriat* (Islamic law) (Mardin, 1962:81-82, 94-100). However, the state did not seek an ideology of nationhood through Islam. The community cultures of various subject people continued to exist independent of the state and constituted the “little” cultures of different groups. There was no unifying ideology of nationhood between the rulers and the masses, nor there was a desire to constitute one.

It was accepted that the starting point of Ottomanism was Sultan Mahmud II’s famous aphorism ‘I distinguish among my subjects, Muslims in the mosque, Christians in the church, and Jews in the synagogue’.

The main theme of this aphorism and of the *Gülhane Hatt-i Hümayunu* (Imperial Rescript of Gülhane) of 1839 was based on an understanding that the identity of Ottoman subjects should be determined by territorial affiliation rather than being a member of a religious group. This was the establishment of the basis for the eventual creation of an Ottoman nation in which subjects would benefit from identical civil rights irrespective of their religious affiliation (Mardin, 1962:14). Therefore, Ottomanism was created in order to form a new national identity. It was hoped that this new identity would be accepted by all subjects and save the territorial integrity of the Ottoman State in. The *Tanzimat* promised reforms in conscription, taxation and justice and that reforms would be applied equally to all in the empire. The *Tanzimat* would set the tone of next forty years (Davison, 1963:55).

Hence, after the proclamation of the *Tanzimat fermani*, Ottomanism, the first school of thought, had occurred. It meant that the state would treat all its citizens equally regardless of their religious affiliation. Sometimes this ideal was expressed in terms not only of equality but of “the fusion of the races” within the Empire--an expression used by two grand viziers, Fuad Paşa and Midhat Paşa (Davison, 1990:246).

After the French revolution, nationalistic ideas had emerged among the Christian communities and had started to prevail within the empire. We also have to notice that the Western powers and Russia started to influence formation of the ethnic identities within the empire during period of Mahmud II. For that reason, Ottomanism was brought as a tool to achieve unity of Ottoman subjects. In other

words, the rationale behind this policy was to strengthen the Ottoman Empire at a critical period in the face of *duvel-i muazzama* (Great Powers) pressures from outside and rebellions from inside. Anything that would bind the empire more closely together and win a grater loyalty of its subjects to the central government would be advantageous and welcome (Davison, 1990:99).

The new political solution was now *ittihad-ı anasır* (union of the different communities in the Empire). This was also acceptable in the *Garpcı* thinking as a political solution. There were two main reasons for *Garpcı* thinkers to support the idea of *ittihad-ı anasır*: The first, they were more interested in the intellectual enlightenment of individuals who made up the society of the empire regardless of their ethnic origin than looking for a new political solution i.e. nation state. Secondly, those fervent advocators of *ittihad-ı anasır* had to prefer to take a political position, which covers all ethnic groups within the empire, as a result of the fact that most of their ethnic origins were not “Turkish” like most of Young Turks. While the Turkish members moved towards Turkish nationalism, which became the guiding ideology of the CUP (especially after 1906), the non-Turkish members inclined to their own respective nationalist movements. İbrahim Temo, İsmail Kemal participated in the Albanian nationalist movement, and Abdullah Cevdet appeared as a leading intellectual in the Kurdish one (Hanioglu, 1995:211).

In fact, generally, Ottomanism was not assumed to be an independent school of thought from the other contemporary schools of the Second Consitutional Period since all movements of the era had been supposed to be already inclined to

Ottomanism (Tunaya, 1952:170-171). However, a few intellectuals who were not predominantly called as Westernist, Islamist or Turkist the label being Ottomanist therefore inevitably put them on. Satı (1884-1968), Ali Kemal (1868-1922) and Süleyman Nazif (1870-1927) were some examples of those Ottoman intellectuals who had acquired such title.

2.2. Islamism (İslamcılık)

The idea of *İttihad-i İslam* (union of all Muslims) was an alternative to the *Tanzimat*'s unaccomplished ideology of the *ittihad-i anasır* (Kara, 1997:28). The failure to put different *millets* into the new melting pot, hence, directed the *Tanzimat* statesmen into a new political course: *İttihad-i İslam* (Akçura, 1995:19-20).

However, Islamism as a school of thought has different aspects. The ideas, which made Şeriat (Islamic Law) into the capstone of political system, first had appeared in the articles of the Young Ottomans intellectuals who had appeared just after the *Tanzimat*'s regulations put into effect. These intellectuals and the political opposition group were critical about the fashion, which the *Tanzimat* statesmen had chosen in the process of modernization and the policies related to Ottoman governmental affairs. For instance, Namık Kemal had opposed French Penalty Code and advocated re-organization of Islamic *fıkıh* (jurisprudence) and its chapter of *ukubat* (punishments) (Türköne, 1991:73). Suavi had complained about negligence of *Mezalim* courts, an Islamic body of juridical review (Heyd, 1973:1), arguing that such erroneous stand was the result of disregard of Islamic institutions and this was the inevitable result of separation from religion and

politics (Türköne, 1991:74). Şemseddin Sami wrote a serial of booklets in which he emphasized that Islamic civilization and Muslim scientists played an important role in the history; Islam and its community had its own civilization contrary to the idea held by the West that the Muslims had no civilization. Those approaches also were seen as the occurrence of Pan-Islamic ideas aroused by the Young Ottomans, when the European “Pan” movements were concomitantly taking place (Mardin, 1962:60).

Beyond such early Islamic arguments, according to the intellectuals who were labeled as *İslamcı* (Islamist) during the Second Constitutional Period, the Ottoman State had been based on the *Şeriat*, which was its life and soul (Ülken, 1966:309). They held that the most effective and sole remedy for guaranteeing the survival of the State was through Islam. The Islamists, despite their internal differences, thought that the reasons for imperial decline had to be sought in the subversion and abandonment of Islamic institutions and laws (Tunaya, 1962:5-6). According to them, the Islamic world, particularly Ottomans, had retrogressed because of gradual negligence of Islamic principles. Therefore, they advocated a return to the unadulterated application of the *Şeriat* and their political solution revolved around the idea of a pan-Islamic empire consolidated around the institution of the Caliphate. Although the adoption of Western technology and material progress were deemed inevitable, Western culture must on no account be allowed to contaminate the value of Islam. This approach was an ideological and political response to Western political ideologies such as colonialism and response to

Western rooted philosophies like positivism and materialism (Türköne, 1991:24-32).

Modernity, revolution in manners, or moral decay and European dominance were also important areas of contention, not only because of religious opposition to innovation but because progress in the form of imported European technology resulted in the financial ruin of the state, inefficiency and corruption in government (Brummett, 2000:15).

At the same time, the Islamist thinkers tried to synthesize the Islamic ideas with Western ones that inevitably brought out a progressive and secular stand and rationalization of Islam. They favored the institutions of the European political system and the tools of social progress, saying that these were in fact more Islamic than being European. Famous Islamist Said Halim Paşa (1863-1921) was saying in his book named *İslamlaşmak* (Islamization):

When these are taken as a whole, it [Islam] manages and has control over the life of people. Those principals are ramified from each other but as a whole they have been harmonized almost perfectly so that they are not separable and dividable from each other, in which idealistic and positivistic schools are inserted compatibly (Said Halim, 1337:4).

Undoubtedly, the references that were given to the Western philosophical ideologies in the quotation clearly demonstrate the existence of contemporary westernized way of thinking in the minds of Islamist intellectuals.

For *garpçılar*, Islamism had three different aspects: the first, the *garpçi* thinkers completely disagreed with the idea of Islamization of Ottoman Empire.

Pious ways of life, devout manners and the behaviors exalted by religion were in a sharp contrast with the *Garpcilar*'s Westernized moral understanding. However, on the other hand as the belief of masses Islam had a great potential power to enlighten the people in accordance with science. Furthermore, the *garpcı* thinkers, too, were aware of political power of idea of *İttihad-ı İslam*. With an enlightened Islamic community, it would provide a leverage against unlimited political desires of Western states which were merciless just because of the growing emperialism in the West. From this point of view, the caliphal institutions had preserved its comparative importance in *garpcı* thinking. Thus, Abdullah Cevdet states:

The Ottoman rule congregates two different authorities in itself: the temporal government and the spiritual government. The former is well known but the spiritual government is assigned whereby solely Islamic Caliphate. Therefore, it is of primary importance that the spiritual government should possess the title of caliph. Let us cast aside Turkey's strategic importance, without holding the title of caliph, Turkish Emperor would become equated with the Moroccan king (Cevdet, 1905b).

According to Cevdet, the caliph who is elected and is vested with great power throughout his life could function above local governments, which consist of a veritable "republic of Islamic World". The caliph should work in accordance with the general interest of this "exclusive state" (Dozy, 1908:690). Cevdet, however, viewed this project as an utopia:

The contradiction among the races, ambitions of leaders, peoples' comparative lack of education thwarted this idea, which was also asked for by the medieval Christian kings (Dozy, 1908:690).

In fact, Abdullah Cevdet considers Islamism as an ideology stirred up by Europeans themselves, despite having a character as a movement against the Europeans. Cevdet set forth Indian Muslim Shaikh Kidwai⁴ as the founder of pan-Islamist movement emphasizing on Indians as akin to Slav, Latin and German races. By resting upon this racial affinity, therefore, he assumed that those Europeans had stirred up Muslims to follow a policy of unification along the lines of mutual interest as they had already done in the past. Then Abdullah Cevdet classified pan-Islamism in three different categories. The first type of Islamism is extending a mere help and participation along the lines of mutual political and political interest of all Muslim peoples. The second, to function on the way to become Muslim minorities master of their states or at least provide an adequate ground in order to go forward in this goal. The third type of Islamism was cultural response. This meant, to Cevdet, in order to reach the preceding goals, to pull away Europe from Islamic world through considering Europe as a source of immorality, and also to propagate Islam (Dozy, 1908:707).

After this classification, Cevdet styled them as delusion. According to Cevdet those ideas are not the benefit of Islam and he claimed that any Islamic government even the least developed one had never found it as applicable in history (Dozy, 1908:708).

⁴ Shaikh Kidwai (1878-1937) an Indian Muslim, one of the leading figure of Khilafat movement of India, author, lawyer and politician (Özcan, 2002).

2.3. Turkism (Türkçülük)

Although Turkism is identified as an idea opposed to Ottomanism and Islamism, the most common use of Turkism is about cultural and literary sentiment and currents. Cultural Turkism as it emerged in the late nineteenth century, signified an articulation of the distinctiveness of Turkish cultural markers by intellectuals like Şinasi (1826-1871), Ziya Paşa (1825-1880) Namık Kemal (1840-1888), Ahmed Vefik Paşa (1823-1891), Şemseddin Sami (1850-1904) and Necib Asım (1861-1935). Nowhere in their writings a challenge to Ottomanism and Islamism was seen; on the contrary, ‘they were eager to note their adherence to these doctrines’ (Kushner, 1977: 98).

Later, it represented the activation of cultural elements by intellectual responding to social, political and economic currents of the time. The most prominent among them were Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), Mehmed Emin Yurdakul (1869-1944), Ahmed Hikmet Müftüoğlu (1870-1927), Ahmet Ağaoğlu (1869-1939) and Yusuf Akçura (1876-1933).

Yusuf Akçura surveyed and compared the policies of Ottomanism, pan-Islamism and Turkism in his essay “*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*” (Three ways of Policy). *Üç Tarzı Siyaset* was first published in the Turkish newspaper *Türk*, which appeared in Cairo. It was published in the issues of May and June 1904 then reprinted as a pamphlet (Lewis, 1968:326). It is sometimes considered a manifesto for Pan-Turkism, which played a considerable role in the process of transforming the Ottoman Turks from an empire into a nation state. According to Akçura, the interest of the three major elements in the Ottoman Empire the –Turks, non

Turkish Muslims, and non-Muslims- did not altogether coincide. It was inevitable to recognize the national aspirations of the non-Turks and non-Muslims. Hence, there was only one thing left for the Turks: to recognize their own national aspirations and, to forget about being Ottomans, and to be content with being Turks (Akçura, 1995:17-40).

According to Turkists, the interests of the Ottoman State were not contrary to the interests of Muslims and Turks in general, inasmuch as both Muslim and Turkish subjects would become powerful by its gaining power, and at the same time other Muslims and outside Turks will also have support. But they viewed that the interests of Islam do not completely coincide with Ottoman and Turkish interests, because the strengthening of Islam would lead in the end to the separation of some non-Muslim peoples from the state. The rise of the conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims would lead to a partition of current Ottoman territories and its weakening (Akçura, 1995:17-40).

During the Second Constitutional Period, we witness a close relationship between the *Garpcı* thinkers and Turkist ones. They published articles in each other's journals. The secular outlook of both group of intellectuals was bringing them closer. However, Turkism was not seemed realistic by *Garpcı* thinkers and mostly, as it was in the case of Islamism; it was considered delusionai, utopian and an excessive conduct. After World War I, Cevdet was imputing the defeat of the Ottoman Empire to Ziya Gökalp and Ahmet Ağaoğlu and other Turkist thinkers whom taxed with want of insight by Cevdet (Cevdet, 1918)

2.4. Garpçılık Movement

Garpçılık (Westernism) was one of the ideological movements of the Second Constitutional Period which had been accepted as different from the term *batılılaşma* (westernization) (Tunaya, 1959:73) which had already started within the territories of the *devlet-i aliye* (the sublime state) at the end of the seventeenth century and became increasingly evident in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the military defeats suffered from the Western powers and Russia. The westernization, therefore, with the main stimulus of the military defense, had already been in progress within the Ottoman territories for some time.

The thinkers who stood in the forefront of the *garpçılık* movement were Abdullah Cevdet, Celal Nuri and Kılıçzade Hakkı. Those intellectuals and some subaltern others gathering around different journals and newspapers but mostly around the *İctihad* were offering solutions for the salvation of Ottoman Empire and for the people who lived within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. *İctihad* journal started to be published in 1904 by Abdullah Cevdet and taking advantage of liberty of the Second Constitutional Era the publicists who were in favor of secular modernization gathered around the *İctihad* journal. Naturally, those proposals had different emphasis than the intellectuals who made stress on Ottomanism and Islam. The main emphasis of the *Garpçular* was *Garb* (the West) itself concomitant with a humiliation which comes through the past

In the *Garpçi* thinking, the West stood as the best option among the others of which the Ottomans had to decide to choose one for their ultimate salvation. For

the *Garpcilar*, modernization was a cultural and moral issue as well as a material one. According to them modernization of a society without depending on cultural and intellectual substratum would not bring out the desired fruitions. Therefore, the main aim of the *Garpcilik* movement was to achieve radical moral and mental transformation among the Ottoman society (Berkes, 1998: 338).

According to Abdullah Cevdet, two capital factors play important role in maturing the society. The first one, he called the accelerating factor. This is consisted of new ideas, inventions, inclinations of nation even sometimes they would be mere dissimulations or dangerous excessive bounds. The second one is relegating factor. These relegating factors consist of a) creeds, which no amount of argument can shake them, b) manners which acquired religious influences, c) opinions which rest on superstitions, d) conservative inclinations, e) relentless hatreds but not endowing with proper reflections, f) want of being on time in some cases which requires acting methodically with insight, and g) resistance which comes from the instinct of preserving the status qua (Dozy, 1908: 702).

Over the years, the discussions on the adaptation of Western values as a sum or taking an eclectic attitude toward the West led the *Garpcilar* to be at different fronts. After the Balkan Wars of 1912, the aroused national sentiments also contributed to this split. Cevdet kept his philosophical stand in favor of the West but Kılıçzade and Celal Nuri took a counter stand against *duvel-i muazzama* (The great states of Europe) and felt antagonistic sentiments towards non-Muslim elements within the Empire. Hence a new journal called *Hürriyet-i Fikriye* led by Kılıçzade and Nuri. It had appeared. was published only 13 issues and was closed

down due to the pressure of the government, which was not pleased with the articles in favor of Latin script and the ideas against the established religion. This ideologic rift caused heated controversies among them. Even a booklet was published under the name *Zavallı Celal Nuri Bey* (Poor Celal Nuri) by *İctihad Publishing* which consisted of articles in favor of Abdullah Cevdet and his article *Şime-i Muhabbet* (Esprit of Love), written by Pro-Western intellectuals including Rıza Tevfik, Fehime Nüzhet, Celal Sahir, İhsan Şerif, Fazıl Ahmed, Faik Sabri, Ali Suad and Server Bedii who compiled the articles in a booklet form (Bedii, 1329). Beyond such national inclinations, Kılıçzade Hakkı and Celal Nuri's answer was for the problematic of modernizing of the society was different from that of Abdullah Cevdet. According to Kılıçzade and Nuri, the society was in need of acute *tecdid* (modernization with newly shaped values) but also *istifa-i ananat* (selected traditions and manners) should accompany it (Anonymous, 1329). Whereas according to Cevdet, the causes of decline were stemming from the existing old traditions and institutions, and society had no tradition worthy of preservation. In his own words,

It is nothing other than our own Asiatic minds, which made us expelled from Europe, and our degenerated traditions and institutions (Cevdet, 1330a)

Consequently, such way of thinking about the reasons of Ottoman decline inevitably brought Cevdet to the idea of total westernization. This diversification were called “total westernization” and “partial westernization” or with a slight difference in meaning, “pure westernization” and “nationalized westernization” (Tunaya, 1986:80).

Although such differences existed within the *Garpcılık* movement, in carrying their purposes into the fruition, they agreed on the the necessity of secularization of the state and the society as quickly as possible. *Garpcilar* were very effective on public opinion, at least we know some issues of *İctihad* were reprinted three times due to extra demand in the period of post revolution of 1908. However, they made a very limited impact on the Ottoman public opinion between the years 1915-1922. Meanwhile, the CUP government especially during World War I had some progressive steps towards Westernization such as accepting Gregorian calendar with some modifications, inauguration of a department for women in the new established *darulfünun* (university) in 1916, acceptance of women in the medical school and European fashion hats for military. Implementation of these reforms was attributed as influences of *garpcilar* on the CUP policies (Safa, 1988:44). But from viewpoint of the press despite the fact that *İctihad* journal itself continued under different names, it was not influential because of pressure of the governments which did not tolerate anti-Islamic publications during the war.

However, leaders of the *Garpcılık* movement received the fruits of their dreams after the new regime was established. Kılıçzade Hakkı between the years 1927-1946 and Celal Nuri 1923-1937 served as deputies in the Parliament. Again Celal Nuri was a member of commission which coded the new constitution of 1924. However, Abdullah Cevdet could not become a deputy because of his activities during Istanbul's occupation by the allies that stigmatized him as a collaborationist and ethnic Kurdish nationalist (Hanioglu, 1997:147). Thus, in a

pro-Western and pro-Kemalist book which was published after a few years of his death he would be described as a enlightened person but did some wrongful things in the realm of politics and nationality because of his credulous personality (Uraz, 1939: 55)

CHAPTER 3

THE GARPÇI APPROACH TOWARDS SOME POLITICAL CONCEPTS AND CULTURAL CONSTITUENTS

3.1. Religion

DİNİM

Mabudum fikr-i fazilet; namazım,

sevmektir her canı aciz muktedir.

Kiblem nihayetsiz feza; yıldızlar,

tesbihimin altun taneleridir.

27 July 1919 İctihad Evi

Abdullah Cevdet

3.1.1. Abdullah Cevdet's Perception of Religion

Abdullah Cevdet and his colleagues explained their ideas about religion in a very consistent manner. Religion as a faith, as a social spirit and as a social devise played different roles in their thoughts. The *Garpçılar* as pioneers of modernization in the Ottoman society consider religion as an institution, which should be replaced by science or at least re-shaped urgently. In the *Garpçı* thinking not the religion itself but the established religion was viewed as an obstacle on the road to modernization of the society.

As we have seen, Abdullah Cevdet's ideas embodied under the influence of various Western thinkers. In the last issue of *Ictihad*, which was published after

his death the commemorative articles about his personal faith are very contradictory even though written by his closest friends.⁵

In fact, as far as his personal faith was concerned, Abdullah Cevdet was not encouraged enough to proclaim how different his Islamic belief than the current one. During the years of the CUP rule, he preferred to be content with allusions. After World War I, his criticism against Islam became clearer. In the article, he wrote just after the proclamation of the Republic Cevdet made a frank confession and said that:

The reason we could not able to explain our ideas very clearly at that time [i.e. the period before the republic] was the CUP's fashion of government which was degenerated, cowardly and in cooperation with the black powers [supporters of reactions]. One of the reasons of our backwardness, I had had to hide, is the jacket of Islam which was tailored for Arabia and thwarted the growth of our national abilities since the time we have put it on. (Cevdet, 1924a)

As a result of his reasoning, Abdullah Cevdet was against the concept of God presented by Islam as omnipotent and intervening in temporal affairs. Besides, he objected to some names of God in Islamic faith as saying contradictory in itself (Meslier, 1929:31). *Rahman* (The Beneficent) versus *Kahhar* (The Subduer); *Zülentikam* (The Retaliator) and *Şedidülakab* (harsh in punishment) versus *Rauffurahim* (The Benign One), and some Quranic verses about the punishment of disobedient ancient communities are subjected to criticize by Cevdet (Meslier, 1929:33).

⁵ The last issue of *İctihad* was published by Cevdet's wife and daughter. It consisted of two parts. The first part had been edited by Cevdet himself a few days before his death and the second part had a documentary feature about his life, which was written by his closest friends and colleagues.

In addition, in many of his writings he underlined that the Islamic terminology he had used have different meanings than the established ones. Such concepts as *iman* (the faith), *ibadet* (the worship), *şehadet* (the martyrdom) had been used persistently by Cevdet. During the Russo-Japan War of 1905, he wrote:

The Japanese who died in the war against the Russians were martyrs. Martyrdom means to die for struggle of true path. God says that strive hard (**jahadu**) in the way of God. The way of God is not to be in the service of a tyrant. The way of God is the way of emancipation, honor, progress and working to be civilized. In short it is the way in which the means to bring happiness to the Islamic community is found. Our war is in Istanbul not on the borders of enemies. Because the real enemies of the fatherland, of the dignity and of the nation itself live in İstanbul and Abdulhamid's such creatures who do not bear any Islamic sign and peace caused the ruin and loss of Islamic territories by their betrayals and by their low moral state (Cevdet, 1905c).

Over the time, Abdullah Cevdet seems to have become more pessimistic as to the possibilities of Islam as a reference source for moral progress and after proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, he gradually started to give up using Islamic terminology which he consistently used before (Cf. Cevdet, 1926a, the most striking article on how Cevdet sharply ceased using Islamic arguments).

Interestingly, Cevdet again did not refrained from using Islamic concepts. Even in one of the footnotes of a book which he translated was consisted entirely of attacks on the idea of God and God's existence, in order to support the author, he appealed the the Quranic verse of the chapter of 61, *As-Saf*. It can be translated as 'O you who believe! Why do you say that which you do not do?' This book was *Le Bon Sens* written by Jean Meslier, a former member of the clergy class lived in France between the years of 1678-1733. He was a Roman Catholic priest served

as Vicar of Bue in Champagne, France for thirty years. However, this Catholic priest kept his atheism to himself while alive and it was only revealed after his death. Meslier believed that the only eternal reality was matter: nothing but matter existed. According to him, religion was a device used by the rich to oppress the poor and render them powerless and Christianity was distinguished by particularly ridiculous doctrines, such as the Trinity and the Incarnation. Cevdet translated this ‘atheism’s catechisms’ into Turkish with name *Akl-ı Selim* in which he described the book as “a sacred rebellion and a worship to the God of emancipation”.

3.1.2. Abdullah Cevdet’s Pantheistic Inclinations

Although Abdullah Cevdet was an stubborn materialist and as we have already studied how he was eager to use Islamic concepts as a device to ensure the progress of the Ottoman society and to access to people, still we have many indications that he had pantheistic inclinations. The Quranic versus such as “God sees everything” placed in his scientific translations (Le Bon, 1918:5). He published Rumi’s verses and explained some concepts of *tasavvuf* (Islamic mysticism) on the verses by saying “collective conciseness” (Cevdet 1329a). However, tracing his writings on Omer Khayyam, we may conclude that his view about pantheism is highly limited, even a humiliation about pantheism exists in his writings comparing it with materialism. Thus, he did not hesitate to describe Omer Khayyam as materialist whereas the pantheism of Hayyam was denied by Cevdet:

Hayyam was a materialist. However, his materialism was free form grossness. His allusions, his sarcasm and humiliations belong to a disobedient soul (Cevdet, 1926b).

Omer Hayyam consider God as universe and consider the universe as God. But to describe him as a pantheist is not quite true. His view is deeper than a pantheistic thought and conviction. In one of his verses, he says “be improved yourself on a path that while dualism is disappearing that you will reach the unity” (Cevdet, 1926b).

3.1.3. Islam as a Tool in the Garpcı Thinking

Seeing Islam as a device for shaping society formed the distinction between Kemalist and *Garpcı* secularization; this can also be considered as the most significant aspect of the *Garpcı* thinking. *Garpcı* thinkers preferred to emphasize that they were not against Islam although they viewed established Islam as an obstacle for social progress. For example, even Kılıçzade Hakkı fiercely defended Islam as “the most rational and natural religion among all the others” against an Ottoman Christian citizen on the pages of *İctihad* (Kılıçzade, 1329a). The thinkers of this school saw the customs and superstition of the established Islam as not intrinsic, but the expression of decadent society to which they belonged.

At the same time, they harshly attacked the role of the *ulema*, saying that true Islam did not recognize priesthood or any kind of intermediary between man and God. They were particularly critical of those men of religion whose positions were recognized by the state. The anti-clerical rhetoric of their speeches was very often combined with warnings about the danger coming from reactionaries, who would use religion for political ends (Cevdet, 1328). However, such a secular outlook did not prevent them using Islam and its social context.

The idea that Islam, as a rational and progressive religion was clearly borrowed from their Young Turk predecessors. In most of his articles in *Meşveret* and in other journals which he had published during his long stay in Paris, Ahmet Rıza had shown himself a convinced supporter of a secular order in which religion has abandoned its hold over education, administration and politics. Clearly, Islam as a revealed faith was not so concerned by Rıza, but it was important to him as social cement and as such more conducive to progress than other faiths (Mardin, 1983:138). Apologetic arguments defending the essential rationality and openness to science of Islam took up a large part of his writing. In Rıza's view, the transition from Islam to materialism and even positivism was much easier than that of Christianity. Even his private correspondence seems to show that Ahmet Rıza was fiercely anti-clerical (accusing the "ignorant *imams* and *softas*" of fostering obscurantism), but he did seem to believe that there was a "real" Islam which was entirely compatible with science and materialism (Mardin, 1983:135).

The *garpçı* thinkers borrowed Rıza's attitude toward religion and it was one of the key elements which gave an exclusive character to the movement. It made differed the *garpçı* intellectuals different from the other contemporary materialist philopshers like Tefvik Fikret, Baha Tefvik, and Subhi Edhem. *Garpçı* policy was depending on the religion and their efforts were concentrated on using its social context.

Abdullah Cevdet fiercely recommended that the modern and materialistic ideas should be promoted through "Islamic rhetoric" instead of using positivistic ones in order to convince people of rational thinking. Mentioning thinkers like Büchner

(1824-1899), a Darwinist German philosopher and physician who had huge impact on Abdullah Cevdet's shift from being a devoted Muslim to positivism, Hanioglu added:

Having deeply influenced by Gustave Le Bon's theories, Abdullah Cevdet maintained that the Ottoman intellectuals should replace Islamic notions with "scientific" ones, but always stitching them onto an Islamic "jacket" (Hanioglu, 1997:136).

Abdullah Cevdet was even saying to Ahmed Rıza, editor of the *Meşveret* journal in Paris:

...Not putting on the head of the *Meşveret* journal one of a nice saying of Prophet Muhammed (puh) who influences even the mountains through his sincerity and eloquence instead of a motto of Auguste Comte who says "I do not believe in god just because I do not see him" makes the *ummah* sorrowful who are able to see your publication (Cevdet, 1912:64).

It indicates how Cevdet went so far in using Islamic "jacket" than Ahmet Rıza who was also perceived real Islam different from the existing one.

According to Le Bon, the religious sentiment was independent of the worship of a divinity. He talks about strength of that sentiment. According to him, the great upheavals of nineteenth century occurred because of the convictions assuming a religious shape. Saying that 'Popular gods have never disappeared', Le bon claimed that they were alive under new forms. Even religious forms of atheism could exist if this belief would gain a wide currency. The Reformation, Saint Bartholomew, the Terror, and all analogous events were results of the

religious sentiments of crowds and not of the will of isolated individuals (Le Bon, 1924:106-113).

Thus as a devoted follower of Gustave Le Bon, Abdullah Cevdet was aware of the importance of religion for masses. As he put it:

Science is the religion of the elite, whereas the religion is the science of the masses. Therefore, while the religion of elite, science, has been improving without interruption, the science of the masses has not been improving parallel to science and does not refer to the science is the primary weakness of the Islamic world and Turkey. The remedy to weakness is to ensure a scientific worthiness for religion and provide a religious power for science (Cevdet 1329b).

In this respect, Hanioglu adds:

Abdullah Cevdet tried to claim that early Islamic thinkers had been biological materialists. In fact, they went even further and tried to prove that Islam itself was biological materialism (Hanioglu, 1981:135).

Again, Abdullah Cevdet wrote:

This soul has retained today a disastrous tendency. How should one make modern ideas and progress penetrate into the Muslim soul? It is this question, which I have asked myself for more than fifteen years, and have attempted to resolve. Therefore, we noted by our long experiences: the Muslim spirit will close all opening to the clarity if it comes immediately Christian world. It is necessary for us therefore to assume that the care of transfusion a new blood in the Muslim veins, to look for and to find all the progressive principles in the institution of the very Islam, and Islam some overflows. That is why we often talk about the Muslims and Islamism (Cevdet, 1905d).

Moreover, Cevdet had called his journal *İctihad* which literally means an important principle of “Islamic jurisprudence”, also fully demonstrates us that how he was so enthusiastic about using the Islamic jargon.

According to *garpcı* thinkers, the existing understanding of religion could not keep with modern advancements and it should be reconciled with science. For this “dream of *garpcı* thinkers” of replacement of Islam with “scientific religion” Hanioglu says:

In order to achieve this, Abdullah Cevdet believed that religion should be replaced by biological materialism at the end but he also admitted that this should be achieved by a gradual process (Hanioglu, 1981:334).

Actually, the reconciliation would be at the expense of Islam and religion was nothing but a device in the process of modernization. The approach that he followed in which religion had great part as a stepping-stone toward reaching the goal; he, thus, became accused of *takiye*, the dissimulation of beliefs to others (Alpay, 1998).

3.1.4. Translation of “History of Islam” and Its impact

During the Second Constitutional Period, taking advantage of the liberty in the country, Abdullah Cevdet along with some Westernizing Young Turks, tried first to prove that religion was unscientific and later to propose the idea of the unnecessary of religion. In 1908, Cevdet during his stay in Cairo translated

Reinhart Dozy's book named "*History of Islam*" which consisted of heavy criticisms about Islam and its Prophet. Since it contains some materials that could be seen as reflections of Abdullah Cevdet's thoughts, the book is of special importance. According to Hanioglu:

Both Dozy's book and Abdullah Cevdet's approving preface were viewed by the members of *ulema* as a profound and far-reaching attack against Islam and its prophet. It was certainly not possible to fit such views into any Islamic "jacket" because of direct blasphemy against the Prophet (Hanioglu, 1997:138).

Cevdet and his friends sold the book at a very reasonable price and distributed the copies in the public places like coffee houses in order to "enlighten" the people. Not surprisingly, Abdullah Cevdet could not return to İstanbul till the end of 1911 because of the reactions he received due to the translation of Dozy's book (Hanioglu, 1997:138-139).

The book consists of two volumes. At the end of each volume, Cevdet put his own remarks about Islam's last forty years in the name 'three observations'. In the first 'observation', he took up the causes of the decline of Islam. The first postulate he put forward was the differentiation of Islamic practices from nation to nation due to the mere fact the first appearance of Islam was shaped in accordance with the mere needs of Arabs of those times. Cevdet tried to consolidate his idea with the examples such as China, Egypt, Russia where the Islamic people of the geography is alleged to practice Islam with their pro-Islam cultural background (Dozy, 1908:686-687). However, in the first issue of *Ictihad*, Cevdet was exposing the idea of imbuing the local characteristics after the conquests. The

comparative lack of this fact was seen by him as one of the reasons of Ottoman decline (Cevdet, 1904). In fact, regarding the influences of other thoughts on Islam, Cevdet went so far as to claim the foundation of Islamic theology had a characteristically Christian stamp (Dozy, 1908:688). In the second observation under the title of “Islam and Europe in the Nineteenth Century”, in which Islamism was taken up by Cevdet. Here, Cevdet put Islamism into three into three different categories. The first one was aiming at the creation of necessary lines among the Islamic people who are living in various parts of the world and in need of an acute help. The Muslim minorities were the scope of the second category of Islamism and the third type of Islamism was representing the cultural one, which perceives Europe as a source of immorality from the points of view the propagation of Islam. In the third observation, with the title “religious reformation” in which as it can be gathered from the title Cevdet advocates the necessity of carrying out the reforms regarding Islam. According to Cevdet, it would be as inevitable now as it had been formerly attacked the dogmas of the Church, which have brought the salvation of Christianity, and Islam has already started to undergo this process. To him, bringing a new methodology to Islam would bring out the intertwining of contemporary values with Islam.

3.1.5. Other Eminent Garpçı Thinkers

Although the *garpçı* thinkers’ approach had differences in detail, the leading figures, Abdullah Cevdet, Celal Nuri and Kılıçzade Hakkı converged on one point that religion and society were to be reshaped.

3.1.5.1.Celal Nuri's Approach toward Religion

Celal Nuri did express his ideas about religion in a constant manner. Unlike Cevdet, the language he used was respectful, more academic and did not attempt to present them from the point of view of a believer as Cevdet constantly did. Thus, the positivist view was dominant in his writings. He viewed Islam as a cultural reality and evolution of Judaism and Christianity. However, he, too, was aware of the importance of religion for the masses and accepted religion as the most powerful device in penetrating to consciences of the Oriental societies. Hence, the power of religion would be strictly depended on how it was used; whether to ensure the development of those societies or conversely to gain a rapid momentum for declining. Expectedly, he saw the contemporary state of religion as one of the main factors of the Ottoman decline.

According to Celal Nuri, the contemporary Islamic practice from the viewpoint of *muamelat* (transactions amongst people) and *itikadat* (Islamic creeds) was in need of an urgent reformation (**vucub-u teccid**). In fact, the “peculiarity”, he thinks that had began before the Ottomans nevertheless Celal blamed the Ottomans:

Ottomans had carried on this fashion intensively that the *muteahhirin ulema* (later Islamic scholars) perceived religion as a whole with its *ahkam-ı uhreviye* (the rules of Hereafter) and *ahkam-ı dünyeviye* (the rules of temporal activities) which has been resulted as difficulties in the *muamelat-ı nas* among the Islamic nation (Nuri, 1331:160).

According to Celal Nuri the conservatism prevailed among the *ulema* thwarted the intellectual development of Muslim communities in general. The *ulema* who closed the gate of *ictihad* just served absolutism. Without freethinking, intellectuals like Kant, Bacon and Leibniz did not appear among the community. In particular, Celal sees the Ottoman *ulema* class as the worst example compared with the ones in the Arab world:

Among the Turkish *ulema* nobody occurred as Ibn Rushd who thought with a full scale of liberalism and expressed and declared his ideas with a great courage (Nuri, 1331:161).

This conservatism, to Celal Nuri, is a religious tyranny. Thereupon he reaches an interesting conclusion, the occurrence of *tarikats*. According to him, this tyranny caused the *tarikats* to gain popularity that they, in themselves, rested upon the irreligiousness and looked like some hidden committees and Masonic organizations run under a mysterious curtain. He stated that ‘with time those “clubs” in the hands of ignorant people got a ridiculous state’ (Nuri, 1331:161).

According to Celal Nuri, without reformation, Islam would not take its sublime place in the world:

The creed is not subject to change, it remains as it is, and not eligible to progress. However, *muemalat* is subject to change in accordance with the time. It is eligible to progress. Now, the most important reformation, which we should do, is to separate the affairs related to conscious and related to transactions amongst people. Islam hereby could be getting closer to real content of religion and find a position for itself among the clashing worlds. And there is no remedy other than this (Nuri, 1327).

Although Celal Nuri pointed out that the *itikad* was not subject to change he also believed that the Islamic *itikad* had lost its pure form and in need of purification from the superstitions and traditions.

3.1.5.2. Kılıçzade Hakkı's Approach toward Religion

Kılıçzade Hakkı started to contribute to *İctihad* by 21 February 1328, the volume of 55. He was the harshest one with the criticism against religion. In the articles he drafted the main theme again was religion but not with clinical analysis like Abdullah Cevdet and Celal Nuri whereas they contained detailed and gross criticisms against the *ulema* class who were both from low and high status.

By short summaries, he would like to describe how modern thinking reflects into family life and how it should be. Indeed, Kılıçzade Hakkı was very eager to do this task and in his stories, the characters frequently were divided into two: one is educated and western minded young individuals and the rest are *imams* or people who have religious mind. In these stories, he introduced Western life style like marriage, family life by these young characters and for imams or other conservative characters of the stories, the only one thing left was to be ridiculed.

Kılıçzade Hakkı interpreted the social events through using natural sciences. He alleged that Islam because of its strict rules was placing an obstacle for social progress. He tried to analyze Islam with sociological data and perceived the revelation as ill-natured psychology. Again according to him the science should embark on itself the role which previously undertaken by religion (Pekdoğan, 2002: 416). The article he wrote 'A Very Vigilant Sleep' in the *İctihad* journal

provides us detailed understanding about his idea on religion, which is also very striking as to the systematizing of *Garpcı* thought (Kılıçzade, 1327-1328).

3.2. Turkishness and the Fatherland

Although Abdullah Cevdet and other *Garpcı* thinkers consistently defended the idea of the “*İttihad-i Anasır*” (Unity of the elements), they were not sympathetic with the family who kept them united, namely the Ottoman dynasty. The severest criticism against the dynasty came from *Garpcı* thinkers among Ottoman intellectuals. Abdullah Cevdet described Ottoman dynasty as degenerated through the marriages with concubines (Cevdet, 1905e). This outlook was also compatible with and at the same time stemmed from the ideology, which gave shape to his intellectual stand, namely biological materialism.

In this connection, Cevdet had used the term *Türkiya* (Turkey) to describe “the Ottoman Empire” earlier than the other Ottoman intellectuals had. In the same vein, he disliked the term “*Osmanlılık*” (Ottomanism). He saw patriotism as based on shared interests of different communities and not should be on a basis of adherence to the monarchy. Therefore, Cevdet adopted a view of Turkishness, which emphasized the need of Turks, Kurds and Armenians to unite their destinies as a matter of common survival and place the rights of all on the same level. Addressing an Armenian in an open letter in *İctihad*, he asked:

Ah dearly beloved fellow citizen... rather than bearing the name of a depraved and tyrannical dynasty such as the Ottomans, is it not preferable to bear the name of Turkishness (*Türkiyalılık*) or Turkism (*Turklük*)? You are an Armenian, I am a Kurd, but both you and I have the right to be a minister of state, a representative of the nation in the “Council of Turkey”... Is Turkey not the fatherland of us all? (Cevdet, 1907a)

The concept of fatherland is one of the primary conceptions that played part in Cevdet's thinking. According to Cevdet, 'despite the fact that the saying "*hubbul vatan minel iman*" (Love of the fatherland is part of the faith) does exist that it does not have an impact on the minds of Muslims (Dozy, 1908:695). According to Abdullah Cevdet, the fatherland is a country in which one possesses liberty and human rights [vatan insanın hür ve hukuku insaniyesine sahip olduğu yerdir]. In the same vein, he scoffs at the Şinasi's famous verses, *Milletim nev-i beşerdir / Vatanım ruy-i zemin* (my nation is human kind / my fatherland is the entire world). Claiming that such a concept even still does not exist among the Muslims, Cevdet advocated the idea that Muslim nations had to create this sentiment of fatherland for their future salvation (Dozy, 1908:695).

Regarding the *Türklük*, when the constitution of Turkish Republic was being debated in 1924, a draft article which said "The people of Turkey, regardless of religion and race are Turks" aroused criticism. There were Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Kurds, in the Turkish Republic. A deputy asked that by passing an article, which states that they are Turks, are we going to be able to remove the differences? And which one of us will be satisfied that they are really Turks? Celal Nuri, a deputy from Gelibolu and reporter of the commission of constitution, replied:

We formerly used the adjective Ottoman and this adjective had applied to all. Now we are deleting it. There is a Turkish Republic in the place of the Empire. Not all the people in Turkey are Turkish and Muslim. What shall we call these? If we do not apply the adjective "Turk" to them how else can we call them? (cited by Davison, 1990:247)

3.3. Republicanism and Democracy

Among all the Young Turks, Abdullah Cevdet probably came closest to being a republican. This was quite clear in his argument on the subject:

I drew your attention to the difference that I am not saying Turkey belongs to subjects of Turkey. Because, the era of being subject to an absolute sovereign has already ended. The present time requires obeying law that is established and approved by the people themselves. We may shout as 'long live our king' but in that case, we would elect the king from among us (Cevdet, 1907b).

However, in Cevdet's approach to democracy, again Gustave Le Bon is very influential. He is very cautious to popular sovereignty as his mentor Le Bon. According to Cevdet, the populace had not possess an enlightened brain and the growing of socialist movement were obliged him to be cautious about the popular sovereignty. He believed that an enlightened minority should govern the state (Bolay, 2002). To Cevdet the democratic ideals are nothing but delusions. Sometimes, the restriction of the liberty of the individual by law is not perceived as a threat by Cevdet. For instance, at the time of Ataturk's reforms, he was offering a draft law for using domestically produced hats replacing the imported ones, forcing people for wearing hat, which was imposed by law. Cevdet described it as follows:

Should the wearing of hat had not been imposed by law and the recommendation had been seen sufficient, nobody would have worn it. Similarly, now you would see that if it is announced that people are free to decide what to wear nobody would choose the fez (Cevdet, 1929).

In fact, such a stand is not conformity with his following ideas about the progressive evolution of masses, which is recurrent in his writings:

Abdullah Cevdet, indeed, had stressed on the necessity of social revolution and attached more importance to social revolution than a political one during the days when the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 was taking place:

A French thinker whose name I do not remember said that before being republican, some virtues of republic should be possessed. Many people who are republican but do not possess those virtues of republic are nonsense. United States of North America and South America both are republican. However, the differences among them look like as absolute despotism and absolute liberty (Cevdet, 1330a)

By the name of preserving traditions, we have submitted our will to the superstitions. Meaning of progress is gaining upper hand over the spirit of conservatism without howls of furry means progress. If there howls of furry exist, it means it is a revolution. In the first issue of *İctihad* I said that 'a hasty revolution is a missed evolution'. Therefore, the ultimate destination point, which we would like to reach, is knowledge (Cevdet, 1329a).

3.4. Civilization and Knowledge

According to Cevdet, the nineteenth century witnessed great advancements in the process of progress. In his thinking, the French Revolution was the beginning of those changes, which made an acceleration effect on them. Cevdet states:

The American republics, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, and the Balkan states proclaimed their independence and existence after the revolution. In order to reach their goals they passed through three different stages. In the first phrase, they aroused the national sentiments and patriotic feeling through education, which provided individuals who acquired their personalities and was able to pledge peace to the world. The second stage

was heroic. They knew nothing was reaped without working so that daring shown the struggle against external enemies came about in this stage. The third stage was the easiest one: To become a member of the European states (Dozy, 1908:698)

According to Cevdet, even the first stage is not completed yet by Muslim nations. However, he appreciates reforms, which were implemented by Mahmud II and by Mehmed Ali Paşa in Egypt, as great steps in the way of progress:

They [Mahmud II and Mehmed Ali of Egypt] prepared the arrival of modern governments by doing away from application some laws of the *Şeriat* in conflict with contemporary civilization. For that reason, the judicial power vested to the office of *Kadı* confined to the affairs relating divorce, marriage, inheritance. In addition, the civil and the criminal courts had been established instead of their Islamic equivalents. Governmental affairs, civil affairs, military affairs all of them started to be reformed in accordance with the European methods. The oriental fashion of wearing was changed. The contact between the East and the West increased due to the development of means of transportation in respect of their speeds. The relations among Turkey and *duvel-i muazzama* (Great Powers) had been consolidated through the acceptance of Sultans and his ministers to the congress. Friendship and alliance treaties were signed. Turkish Empire had become a sphere of activation for European capital holders, artisans and engineers in trade and industry. The same relations benefits of economics between Turkey and Europe have been in increasing momentum. In short, the solid flourishing influence of the modern civilization began to make feel itself through various channels on withered but fruitful souls (Dozy, 1908:700-701).

Abdullah Cevdet did not regard the state of nature as a state of peace, good will and mutual assistance. Rather he considered it perpetual contention for honors, wealth and authority. Therefore, Cevdet considered the contemporary civilization as a “flood” which stemmed from Europe. Hence, trying to resist against this wild flood of civilization is useless and this flood is so merciless on the unwary and

disobedient. The nations that would like to survive have to obey it. According to him, transition to European civilization was a necessity. In his view, there was no other civilization than the European one. European civilization was ‘supreme’ and ‘the highest level’ which the human being has reached. It had to be accepted with ‘its roses and thorns’ (Cevdet, 1329d). Therefore, the problem was not arising from not having antagonistic sentiments against the Europeans but rather came from lack of an utter love to Europeans in our hearts (Cevdet, 1329d). Again Cevdet stated:

The civilization of our times is a mighty flood [seyil-i hurušan] which had forced a channel through Europe and utterly demolished every obstacle it finds on its way. The Muslim people must refrain from resisting this flood of civilization. They can preserve their national existence only by following this current. The Moroccan government, alas we have to say that like all Muslim governments, was not only indifferent to contemporary progress but also was the mortal enemy of modernization and progress (Cevdet, 1905f).

After the Tripoli War of 1911 and the Balkan Wars of 1912, a strong antagonism against Europe was prevailing throughout the Ottoman intellectuals including his Westernist colleagues Kılıçzade Hakkı and Celal Nuri (Nuri, 1329). However, unlike his colleagues Cevdet did not blame Western imperialism. He held the nation itself responsible. In his words, ‘the antagonism we feel to them was stemming from our sickness’ (Cevdet, 1329d). This stand is a kind of preemptive strategy of Cevdet as has been cited by Niyazi Berkes that ‘it would enhance obscurantism by spreading hate-the-West demagogy’(1998:393).

Cevdet equated “the western civilization” with “*irfan*” (knowledge) and used the terms quite interchangeably. According to him, the policies both Turkism and

Islamism need this knowledge to attain a lofty destiny. Abdullah Cevdet amended Ziya Gökalp's famous verses as follows:

Vatan ne Türkiya'dır, bizlere ne Türkistan

Vatan büyük ve müebbed bir ülkedir İRFAN (Cevdet, 1330b).

In a reply to an open letter published in *İctihad* Cevdet was saying:

A few days ago, a young man came to my office. I really liked the outfit that he had on. Then he wanted an article from me:

“We are going to publish a new journal named Yeni Turan (new Turan). I have come here for requesting an article from you, sir”, said the young man.

I earnestly analyzed this young man. I noticed that it was non-sense trying to find a sign on his face, which would prove his ability for overcoming various problems in reaching Turan country. I requested him to sit and wait for five minutes.

He sat down. Without showing any interest in books and journals that placed in my mobile library, just he sat down. Waited like an Andromeda status.

I wrote down rapidly those lines:

New Turan... what I understand from the Turan is that the territories of the Turks' first fatherland that is now supposed to be introduced a new sacred idea like *Ka'bah*. I just could say that God Bless them who perceive Turan like this. However, I would like to point utterly different Turan to the youth who care my opinions. This Turan is a place, which allows anyone who would like to reach it only through the universities, and factories of the USA and of Japan and no other roads exist for my new Turan. The youth who trust my views should know that a territory could only be called as 'fatherland' on the condition that the people who live there have their independence and dignity (Cevdet, 1329e).

3.5. Public Education

After the *Tanzimat*, due to the efforts of modernization and establishing closer relations with the West, there were four types of schools for public education in the Ottoman Empire:

1. Traditional Islamic schools (*mektep; medrese*)
2. Modern state schools (*rüstiye; idadi; sultani*)
3. Schools established and funded by *millet*s (the Greeks; the Armenians, the Jews etc.)
4. Schools run by foreign Catholic and Protestant missions (St. Joseph, Robert College etc.)

Garpcılar was very harsh against the traditional Islamic schools, which were seen by them as sources of idleness and a social class, which was made up by its students and its faculty members who fiercely supported absolutism for merely their self-interests. According to the *Garpcılar*, the *Medrese* was an institution in which scholastic education had been given to the students for centuries and such training was so inefficient as even students of those *medreses* were not able to read and write in Arabic and in Turkish despite the long years, they spent in those schools.

Kılıçzade enthusiastically suggested the closure of those schools entirely arguing that they were “unable to be reformed” in an article which was published in *İctihad* during the Second Constitutional period. Later, his articles related to

this subject were collected and published as a book under the title, “*İtikadat-ı Batılaya İlan-ı Harb*” (Declaration of War Against False Faith). After publishing that article, *medrese* students protested against him in the street of İstanbul and the government suspended the publication of *İctihad*. But the following issue of *İctihad* was published under the name of *Cehd*. In order to wrap off the heavy criticism of which Kılıçzade’s article attracted, Cevdet underlined the word *sahte* (false) and need to say they have no antagonism against the *softalık*. Yet the article of Kılıçzade was not so propitious as to be construed than the *softas* did. The article with both its style and content had the character of waging a war:

Now then it is enjoined upon us to declare a holy war against *softas* and *dervishes* who have thwarted us deliberately or just due to the obstinacy of ignorance they have from to be enlightened through the utterly commentary and the explanation of Quranic rules. ...Even in the glorious victories which great sultans had gained, in actual sense we have always been in the unbeaten party, since, we have never been in following a true goal. The biggest goal that we have had to satisfy the sultans’ palaces, *softalar* (students of *medrese*), *şeyhler* (mystic leaders), *dervişler* (Islamic mystics), *yeniçeriler* (Janissaries) in short those of people of doer of entire bad things and people of idleness and in order to come true that the blood of Muslim had been wasted.

To prove our allegation we do not need deep studies and a quick sight into our history would be enough. Are not those people who gave the permission to Yıldırım Bayazid for assassinating against his brother Yakup Çelebi? Are not those people who caused Yavuz Sultan Selim to give up the purpose, which would provide benefits to the fatherland? Who had compounded what had been done by the ages of *Kanuni* (Süleyman the Lawgiver) and thereafter to the things, which are wastefully extravagant? Who had caused the death of Osman II, young reformer sultan? Who had organized a hidden committee against the sultan Murat IV? Who had caused the martyrdom of Sultan Selim III and at last are not those people who had encouraged him in his entire action and murders of a plotter tyrant, Abdulhamid II? With using sacred titles like *muftiyyul enam* and *şeyhulislam* are they not the guardians and individuals which perceptible as the idea of obscurantism?

We may forgive them for the things they have all done, but in particular through their satanic *ictihad* they had thwarted using the printing machines

for the Quran which could have made unable to read it, can we forgive them for this? Personally, I do not. If those *softas* were not exist, the territory of the Islamic Ottoman state would have reached, in the north, to the Baltic sea; in the east, –possibly- to the Far East with an utter progress and prosperity. All Muslims would have learned their religious and civil duties and would not have faced a humiliation by the Christians. The technology would have been modernized; commercial and industrial developments would have been ensured. The weapon, which we need, would have been manufactured. The woman would have found the opportunity for their education.

Consequently, as a punishment for those vital faults and since as an institution is unable to be reformed, therefore, it should be abolished (Kılıçzade, 1329b).

Aside from religious education, the *Garpcı* thinkers were also discontented with modern Ottoman schools. Abdullah Cevdet and his colleagues frequently pointed out that the “Anglo-Saxon” system should be taken as a model for education. After the *Tanzimat* the modernization root of education had been following the French model. Abdullah Cevdet and İsmail Hami agreed on the reasons of educational inabilities derived from the French system (Hami, 1328; Cevdet, 1924b) Again, inspired from Le Bon, according to Cevdet the fruit of the same philosophical thought were different in the Latin and in the Anglo-Saxon world. He said:

If you ask the question ‘what do you believe in?’ to the student of the same philosophy in Anglo-Saxon and Latin worlds the former would say that ‘I believe in myself’ whereas the latter would reply as ‘I believe in nothing’ (Cevdet, 1924a).

Hence, Cevdet suggested that offering English language should be a compulsory foreign language course in the public schools and the entire Anglo-Saxon educational system should be taken as a model.

Another type of educational institution in the Ottoman Empire was mission schools. Interestingly, schools run by those foreign Catholic and Protestant missions (St. Joseph, Robert College etc.) were also subjected to criticism by the *Garpcilar*. The rapid growth of mission schools took place in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By the eve of World War I an unofficial count put the number French Catholic schools in the Ottoman Empire at 500, American schools at 675, and British at 178. The French schools enrolled 59,114 students, the American schools 34,317, and the British 12,800. There were also German, Italian, Austro-Hungarian and Russian schools in smaller numbers (Davison, 1990:167-168). Celal Nuri styled them as a place where mischievous acts were taking place (Nuri, 1331:295). In another article published in *İctihad*, in a dream or projection, the buildings of Robert College of Istanbul would alienate to a different public institution due to the lack of interest of people in foreign schools (Kılıçzade, 1329c).

The concept of *tevhid-i tedrisat* (the unity of [public] education) appeared as coeducation on the pages of *İctihad* but the conception is more related to unisex education rather than the unification of different school systems under the same umbrella. Although the latter, too, was of importance but in the conception, which Cevdet used, it means the boy and the girl would be educated at the same desk.

Cevdet offered it as a remedy for homosexual inclinations, which he claimed to have appeared in the schools among the same sex classes (Cevdet, 1924a).

However, the Kemalistic view of *tevhid-i tedrisat* was also proposed much before the Republic during the years of the Second Constitutional era by Cevdet saying that:

Supposing that the government had control over the fate of a nation, this would be an error or a misguidance. Only the youth would be the closest approximation of holding such a power. Today the most essential need of Turkey is a common esprit. This common esprit will be created by targeting a common goal for both individual and society, which is only possible through a standard education for all (Cevdet, 1329f).

3.6. Family Life and Ethics

Another thesis of *garpçılar* was about to create new ethics. Herein, on the one hand, Christian reforms affected their ideas (Hami,1328a); on the other, they sought to build moral values free from religion (Mardin, 1983:168). According to them, Islam as a style of life was not able to reconcile with modern values. Kılıçzade Hakkı and Abdullah Cevdet were against some Islamic practices like *namaz* (performing prayer), *oruç* (fasting), *tesettür* (women's covering) and even some traditions like "hospitality" (Cevdet 1329g) and *kanaat* (contentment) (Keçecizade, 1919) which were perceived as old-fashioned. Their aim was to substitute them with Western traditions and manners.

In short, they would like to describe how modern thinking reflects into family life and how it should be. Kılıçzade Hakkı was more eager to do this task and in

his stories, the characters were frequently divided into two: one was educated and western minded young individuals and the rest were *imams* or religious minded people. In these stories, he introduced Western life style related marriage, family life through these young characters and for imams and other conservative characters of those stories only one thing left was to be ridiculed.

According to Cevdet, in Islamic communities, the limits of family are too large. To him, such a structure had been designed for Arabs because they were not able to reach a social structure in which governments does exist. So as to preserve “person” Arabs needed “the tribal system”. Therefore, Abdullah Cevdet considers the polygamy as pendent of this system since those tribes were tended and needed to be numerically enormous (Dozy, 1908:691).

Abdullah Cevdet mentioned conquests as one of the main factors, which caused the accentuation of sexual desires and resulted in marring with concubines when he was trying to find out the causes of low social status of the woman in the Islamic World:

Such marriages hastened moral decadence of the society and the women who had her own emancipation started to be affected from these developments. And inevitably - but not fairly- so as to keep her dignty confined herself to living within the limits of houses and isolated from the world. The highest level of respect which woman received was only to be placed as if an ornamentation. Those isolation and keeping women in ignorance affected the offspring. Hence, woman had renounced all endeavors to provide education for the succeeding generations (Dozy, 1908:692-693).

While reading another *garpçı* thinker's writing we witness that even eastern type of family was subjected to humiliation:

We do not have any family life whereas Britons show respect saying "home life". In our society fathers do not have enough time for their children's education just because they busy themselves in satisfying their sexual desires (Samizade, 1330).

3.7. Women

Elbet deęil nasibi mezellet kadınlıęım

Elbet sefil olur kadın alçalır beşer

Tevfik Fikret

The position of women represents one of the touchstones of the *Garpçı* thought, and discussions on veiling, polygamy and divorce were the subjects of fiery confrontations in the comparative liberal atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Period. The *garpçı* thinkers discussed the issues related to women such as the veil, details of marriage, women's education and participation in public affairs.

Abdullah Cevdet was a steady advocate of making women full partners in the construction of the new Turkish civilization, calling for education of girls just as boys were educated and using their talents in professional fields like law, medicine, academia and politics. He repeated again and again his mantra that a country that failed to utilize the skills and abilities of only half its citizens could aspire to be only half of a country and those half countries could not hope to survive.

According to Cevdet the status of woman in a nation demonstrate the entire traits of the population. In addition, the organizational structure of the family in a nation reflects the entire organization of the nation. When Abdullah Cevdet counts the reasons of decline of the Islamic world, he included the status of woman among them:

- 1- Autocracy of sovereigns of the Islamic world
- 2- Ulema (Islamic scholars) who live showing without any objection in order to keep their interest or just because of their mental sleep.
- 3- Unislamic and strange shape of the veil that has been practiced by women.
- 4- The wrong way of believing in destiny (Cevdet, 1327a).

Cevdet was also aware that the most important work a woman did was the bearing and raising children (Cevdet, 1327b) He had no sympathy for any form of feminism, which denigrates this essential role (Cevdet, 1327c). Although such an approach was considered not compatible with modern values (Işın, 1987) writing in the 1910s, he was able to see that rabid feminism would be the “dragon” that would demolish the European civilization he admired so much. According to Cevdet:

In a women existence of four things are desirous:

- 1- The existence of virtue in her heart
- 2- The appearance of pertinence and modesty in her face
- 3- The appearance of smile, which comes from her mildness and gentleness in her lips
- 4- An occupation in her hands.

The woman's aim of life is to be found in those facts. Feminism is aiming at the equality of man and woman in respect of rights. The equality in rights is bound to equality in duties. Feminism is a bastard of the material progress. We speak of progress not civilization even we say material progress. Progress is different, civilization is different. Material progress is the dragon of our century. With the most innocent approximation, it has been corroding to the civilization.

The task of duties of woman is not lower than that which is incumbent upon men. The inequality of the rights between the man and woman is not inequality before laws rather it is a just simple differentiation in gender. As nations are consisted of families, the fortune of the family is arranged by woman. As families constitute a living body, form by their reunion a new being, the fortune of nations depends on sui generis intelligence and affection of women (Cevdet, 1327c).

Celal Nuri, in his book *Tarih-i Tedenniyat-i Osmaniye*, allocate a full chapter for woman (Nuri, 1331:248-258). First, he summarizes the contemporary developments regarding the status of woman and the level which the world has reached by saying "even in the Scandinavian countries, it is imperfect" (Nuri, 1331:248). Nevertheless he praises the developments relating the status of woman and considers it "as an important step of progress"(Nuri, 1331:249).

The contemporary status of women in the Ottoman society according to Nuri is unnatural and he claimed that such a state was not conformity with the ancient Islam and the manners of ancient Turks by commenting:

It is a tradition comes from the middle ages. *Çarşaf* [the outfit which covers all body of a woman] is a bad heritage from Byzantium, not Islamic. Are the Muslim women in Russia who is unveiled in a lower state with regard to moral values? Never! (Nuri, 1331:252).

However, Celal Nuri to some extent had been refrained from the rapid changes as to the woman status. He says:

A person in order to acquire his/her own rights entirely should be at the age of majority. The status of women in the Ottoman society has not yet reached that level. However, the first subsequent goal must be uplifted the womanhood by giving full rights to them (Nuri, 1331:256-257).

Kılıçzade relates the Western economic development with the status of woman and the family as to be shaped in Europe. He touched in many of his articles on the status of women. He looked at polygamy from the viewpoint of family more than equality basis between man and woman. He claimed that the family must be set out the love and the love should come before the marriage. Therefore, he thinks the flirting would eliminate the polygamy naturally. According to him, a person who did not feel any connection with his family cannot could not any motivation for being industrious. For the divorce, the permission that Islam gives should be limited due to the changing state of people therefore he introduced municipalities as a sole authority for solemnization of marriage and suggested to quit the Islamic way of divorce (Kılıçzade, 1330).

3.8. Systemization and Kemalist Reforms

The inner contradictions led *garpçılar* to many positions where they had to vacillate, and to inconsistencies. Then they were accused of being not able to systematize their ideas (Tunaya, 1996:81). However, relating attempts to systemize their ideas, the most important document is Kılıçzade Hakkı's writing

which was published under the title ‘A Very Vigilant Sleep’ in the *İctihad* journal (Kılıçzade, 1327; Kılıçzade, 1328). For this article, Hanioglu says:

This westernization plan, drafted by Kılıçzade Hakkı of which every item was implemented under the name of ‘Atatürk’s reformations’. Therefore, this plan demonstrates how *garpçı* thinkers’ westernization utopia had impact on the Turkish Republic as well as their radical views for social change (Hanioglu, 1981:375).

The program consisted of 18 articles, which have been accepted as the “manifesto” of the *garpçılık* movement. The first article was regulating the education, training and marriage of Ottoman princes. The second article was about the interpretation of a religious phenomena *tevekkül* (trusting in God) so that a new understanding would be imposed on Muslims free from the fatalism and creating a religious sensitiveness, which fosters Muslim to defend their fatherland. The third article was about the abolishment of *fes* therefore adopting a new national hat ‘in accordance with the refinement of the present time’. The fourth and fifth articles were about women. The woman would never veil during their educations and before the marriage. Police and religious circles would not have any right to interfere in the style of married women’s covering. The sixth and seventh article was related with abolishing of *tekkes* and *zaviyes* (Islamic mystics’ lodges). The article eight again dealt with a religious issue that the vows of Muslim Saints should be banned and such donations should go treasures of societies of Navy and National Defense. According to ninth article municipalities will pay great attention to matters related to food and drinks hygiene and cleanness and will teach such practices and virtues of being industrious to the people. The

tenth article was relating about the regulations of societies. In the eleventh article again like *kanaat* (contentment) and *fakr* (poverty) some Islamic phenomenon had been corrected. In the articles twelve, fourteen and seventeen again the main issue was religion: Re-starting of *ictihat* (Islamic judiciary interpretations) institution, uniting Islamic sects, and sermonizing in Turkish language. By the sixteenth article, private entrepreneurship was promoted. The thirteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth articles were about reforms on military, language and law.

The adaptation of Latin alphabet, unification of education was also proposed by Abdullah Cevdet long before these reforms were implemented. During the discussions of language law Cevdet said:

A long time ago, while we were saying that, ‘we have to get rid of these *herif* (guys) and *huruf* (script)’; our goal was accepting Latin alphabet. Now we have already got rid of these theologians and now it is time is to get rid of Arabic script (Cevdet, 1925).

In Abdullah Cevdet’s rhetoric, Mustafa Kemal was depicted as the apostle of progress and civilization. During the years the reforms progressively made, Abdullah Cevdet himself assumed the task to strengthen the reforms and preparing a propitious ground for the forthcoming reforms (Cevdet, 1926c).

CONCLUSIONS

During the period starting from the 1908 Revolution until the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the struggle among three schools, namely Westernism, Islamism, and Turkism continued and the effects of such confrontations dominated the colorful atmosphere of the era. The Westernism movement--which advocated the idea that 'there is no second civilization; civilization means European civilization, which must be imported with both its roses and its thorns'--made significant gains over the others, and the new regime was based on principles that had long been developed by *garpçı* thinkers and labeled it *Muasırlaşmak*.

Abdullah Cevdet, as one of the founders of the Young Turk Movement in the Ottoman Empire, was a thoroughgoing agnostic and secularist who admired European civilization and preached to his fellow Turks that Turkey could only be saved from disintegration by adopting European civilization. In fact, after 1923, there was little question that modernization necessitated a wholesale adoption of Western values, which clearly indicates the impact of the *Garpçı* movement on the process of building up the new Turkish state. One could argue that without the labor of the *garpçılar*, modern Turkey could not have been modeled after Europe or at least could not have got such a propitious ground for the revolutionary reforms of the 1920's and 1930's.

Many of the ideas originally put forward by Cevdet and his friends made a huge impact on the new regime. As explained in the preceding chapters, all republican reforms had been proposed by *garpcı* thinkers during the second constitutional period. In this context, Mustafa Kemal was able to tell in a conversation with Abdullah Cevdet, that ‘Doctor! Until now, you have written about many things. Now, we may bring them to realization’ (Hanioglu, 1997:147). Kılıçzade Hakkı’s manifesto which was published during the Balkan Wars (in which accepting the Latin alphabet, the dress hat instead of the *fes*, to abolish *medreses*, had been strongly advocated), also clearly demonstrates how *garpcı* ideas were effective at a time when political and social thoughts were being reshaped during the late Ottoman and early republican periods.

Despite the fact that the naturalist and materialist philosophies were highly influential on their ideas, Garpcılar used social sciences, especially sociology, to formulate them. For social theories, Comte and Le Bon's ideas provided a model and an epistemological framework. Reading Ottoman history in a certain manner they considered the Ottoman *ulema*, identified with the higher clergy of Western Christendom as theocrats and blamed them for Turkey's backwardness in its present state.

Per se, *the Garpcılar* were not motivated by a deeply religious spirit. Nevertheless, they were deeply interested in their religion not a belief system but as a reform facilitating factor in the society. This aspect of the *Garpcı* thinkers formed the main distinction with the Kemalist secularization program in which

religion was not used as a device in imposing the Westernist thought on the people.

Abdullah Cevdet was not so much interested in socialism. The limited impact of Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 on the new Turkish Republic may account for at least partially Abdullah Cevdet's and their friends lack of interest in historical materialism--which was developed by Marx and Engels who sought to formulate laws of social, economic and historical developments--but did not defend metaphysical materialism. It seems that the lack of metaphysical materialism in their thought made Cevdet and his friends reluctant towards dialectical materialism. The lack of existence of such a basis may also be explain for why, in the colorful atmosphere of the Second Constitutional era, a strong socialist movement did not occur. Besides, Le Bon, the mentor of Abdullah Cevdet, was vehemently opposed to socialism, labeling it as "more dangerous religion".

Another reason for their reluctance to Marxism, in which religion was rejected, is that Cevdet and his mentor Ahmet Rıza perceived religion as a social cement which bring us to the concept of solidarism. This solidarist understanding reflects itself as *devletçilik* (etatism) and *halkçılık* (populism) in Kemalist reforms. This understanding, which saw society as a cohesive unit without any class and without different interest groups whether ideologically or economically diversified, made the early Republican ruling elite too relaxed and indifferent to the transformation of the traditional society into the democratic one.

Furthermore, after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, Abdullah Cevdet could not produce anything new and put aside his liberal thoughts (such as

freedom of expression of thought, and of conscience at a time when the conservative elements were suppressed in the process of Kemalist reforms. This reformation process was faster than the idea of Abdullah Cevdet's evolutionary progress of the society. It was not compatible with the Anglo-Saxon fashion of liberalism which he frequently preferred. But his materialistic mind and his instincts made him fully content with these rapid alterations of the greater part of Turkish values which would now be based on the secular basis for which he struggled throughout his life.

The concepts of democracy and the idea of representative government did not gain any priority in the *Garpçı* thinking. The *garpçı* thinkers were not so inclined to argue the political forms of modernization and progressive steps toward democracy. This elitist view inspired by Le Bon "for the people, despite the people" also inherited by the politicians who advocate the above-mentioned solidatary ideas.

The history of discussions and accusations surrounding reactionist and progressive themes in contemporary Turkey goes back to the *garpçılık* movement. In fact, the *Garpçılar* used Islamic and nationalistic terms, but these were not more than a device in the process of enlightenment. This positivist – progressive opposition and later ruling elite perceived religion as "the bulk of superstition" that belongs to the ignorant crowd. The slogan of the late Ottoman and early republican elite was "science is the religion of the elite whereas religion is the science of the people". Thus, science had been understood as antithesis of religion. Attributing science such a transcending nature and attempting to load

science with the roles religion had up until then played, increased tensions between science and religion. In this context, it is observed that words such as *itikadat-i batila* (false faith) were to be explicitly equated with “religion” in those controversies. Hence, the religion-science conflict was transformed into new phase as the conflict between the elite and ordinary people that we still face at present.

APPENDIX A

The following article was published in *İctihad* on 18 Temmuz 1329-31 July 1913. The most striking aspect of the article was its nature, which reflects *Garpcı* projection for 1980's within the context of Ottoman Empire, its institutions and its people. Following are the original text and the summarized translation of the article written by Kılıçzade Hakkı:

ایستیلن شی اساساً قورقوله جق قادر خدشه بخش بر ماده ده کیلیدی . آرتیق اکلاشلیمیشدی که بزم ترقی ایده مملکتمز، مترقی ملتار کی چالیشه مدیغمز دندر . بونک د، اک بو بونک سببی قادین ایله ارکاک یعنی انکی نصف بشرک یکدی بکرنیدن آیری یاشاماسی ایدی . ایکجیسی ده دین نامنا ایله ری سورولمش اولان بمض اسرانیلیاتک اورتادز قالدیرماسی ایدی . نسترک قالدیرماسی ظن اولوندی قدار مشکل اولمادی .

بونک لزومه، تدقیقات عمیقهلری نتیجه سنده اطمینان حاصل ایش اولانلر بیرلشدیلر . بونک ایچین اصلا سیاسی اولمایان بیر جمعیت تشکیل ایتدیلر ؛ بوجمیت قسماً خفی و قسماً جلی ایدی . جمعیتی تشکیل ایدنلر اول باول یونکی حیات اجتماعی ایچین بیریکلی (مسلمان آداب معاشرتی) لایحه سی تنظیم ایتدیلر که جمعیتک ابلک اجتماع عمومی سنده مناقشات شدیدله و مذاکرات مدیده دن صورکه محور و ثبات صورتیله برحوق تصحیحاتی حاوی اولدینی خالد هیئت عمومی سی اتفاسق آرا ایله قبول ایدلیدی . بولایحه تک مذاکره سی انساننده قادین مبعوثلرندن فاطمه احمد پاش خانم افندی بو بایده کی وقوف و اختصاصی یوزندن لایحه مبعوثیه بیر جوق مهم وفائده بخش موادک یکیدن درج ایدیلسنه موفق اولمق صورتیله آکسباب شهرت ایلشدی . جمعیتک نظرندله بیر قانون شکلی کسب ایدن لایحه مذکوره محتویاتی قطعاً تطبیق اولونمایه باشلادی . بکی جمعیتک بوضوک موفقیتی ، حرکات عمومی ملیده بکی بیر فعالیت دوره سی حصوله کتیردی . بونک اک بو بونک فائده سی ملتک نظافت و تراکتندله وجوده کتیردی انقلاب عظیم ایدی . آرتیق اسکسی کبی میدولاً کیرلی انسانلر ، قادیتره طاشقیقلنده بولان اخلاقسز لر کورولموردی . باب مشیخت ، میلان عمومی اوزریسه بوکی ایشلردن تامیله قطع علاقه ایلدی . او شمیدی مدرسه لریک و مدرسه نشینانک اصلاح احوالی ایچین جانسپارانه چالیشیوردی . ذاتاً بکی شیخ الاسلام افندی حضرتلری درس عادتده کی تحصیلنی ولوندرده کتیرچده اوج سه فلسفه تحصیل

یوندوقده براسلام مؤسسسه خیره سنده عائد بربر وارمش . بو بونک مستأجری کچن سننه موسیو بودریا اسمنده بر اجنی ایش . او بر ایچون ۵۲ یچنی فرائق ویرکی ویرمه سی ایجاب ایده چکی برورقه ایله اخبار ایدلش . بو سنه مستأجر او بری جعفر اسمنده بشقه بر برلی مستأجره دورا ایش . بوندن بسیط برشی اولاماز ، دکلی؟ فقط شخصی کوره ویرکینک جرابرده نه قدر تبدل ایتدیکنی شمیدی کوروب حیرت ایده چکسکز . بو بکی مستأجر عرب دکلی یا ، احوالده عرب ویرکیسی ویرمه جک . همده نه قدر : نام ۶۳۶ فرائق ۳۶ سانتیم ۵۲ یچنی فرائق ده عادی ویرکی ، جمعاً ۶۸۸ فرائق ۸۶ سانتیم یعنی بر اوروپالینک مکلف اولدینی ویرکینک ۱۳ مثلی . « نجبا یچین ؟ » دبه بر سؤال وارد اولوریا . . . چونکه ایدنم ، بو مسلمان دکلی ؟ اونک نظاماً مکلف اولدینی ویرکیدن بشقه شرعاً مکلف اولدینی ویرکیلر وار : عشر شرعیسی وار . زکاتی وار ، او برلر وقف اعتبار اولدیننه کوره اجاره وقفه سی وار ، مقاطعه سی وار و نهایت ظن ایدرم عرب اولماسنک آری مسلمان اولماسنک ده آری جزیه ویا جزای قدیبری وار . صفال ویرکیسی بر قراچ کره ایشتمدی اما عرب ویرکیسی ده بکی ایشیدیمورم . یوقسه فرانسه حکومتی بر عربی اون اوج اوروپالی به معبادل طوندینی کوستره جک درجه ده اظهار محویت ایتک ایتیه بورده ایشک بو ایچملکرلی بزلی آ کلاما بورز ؟

۱۴ نوموز ۳۲۹

ینا

۱۴۰۰ سنه هجریه - نده

عقد نکاح درنکی

آتش زاده اسماعیل حق بکه [*] طوغری و سربست دوشونلرک استحصاله جانسپارانه چالیشدق لری انقلاب اجتماعی نهایت وجوده کلشدی . فی الحقیقه بو ، اولدوقجه بو بونک کوچلکلره حصول بولدی . مع مافیله شایان شکر اندرکه قان دو کولمده . مجاهدلرک مسأنیانه و حکیمانانه حرکاتلری سایه سنده ملت کورولدیسیر باطیر دیسر بر دورده دن دیگر دوره به کچدی . بو استحاله دورنده بعض مناسبتسز لکار اولمادی ده کیل ؛ فقط مسلکته پک زیاده اختصاص کسب ایش اولان بولیس هیئت ، بو مناسبتسز لکارک پک محدود بر دأثر داخنده قالمسنه ، احرای نأیر ایشیدی .

[*] آداب معاشرت حفته کی وعده ایلرینک اونونولماسی رجا ایدرم .

ایمپوردری. ضابط یتشدرمک اصولی پک زیاده جدبت کسب ایتدیکی ایچین هرکس ضابط اولامبوردری. بناء علیه اوردونک اخلاقنده بوصورنه تحول کالی واردی. بودورک شایان شکران تاسیسات عسکر بهسندن بریسی ده «آقینچی» الایلرینک تشکیلی ایدی. خاصه آقینچی آلایمز اوروپاده بیله دبیلرده داستان اولمشدی. بو الای دائماً بیک فلیج موجودینی محافظه ایدیوردی. حیوانلری خالص اللدم عرب جنسی ایدی. بو آلایه ضابط اولوق ایچین مملکت ایفای خدمت ایتیش اصیل بر خاندانه منسوب اولوق وطنک اک عالی مدرسه سی اولان [تورک دارالفنون عالیسندن] نشأت ایتیش بولونمق لازمدی. بوندن ماعدا مدافعه ملیه جمعیتیه یوز لادن دون اولماق اوزره بر مبلغ ده اعانه ایتیش مجبوری واردی که بونی کال متله ايفایده چک بر چوقلری واردی. فقط عین زمانده دیگر فضائلی ده حاضر اولوق لازم کایوردی.

ایشته موضوع بحث ایتیمک ایستدیکمز عقد نکاح درنکی، تورکیانک، ترقی یوللرنده شتابان اولدینی بویله بیردورده «خاصه آقینچی آلای» یوز باشیلرندن بری اولان بیلماز اوغلی [حسن بکه تورک میلیونرلرندن حیوانات تاجری شفیق بکک، [قیزلره مخصوص عالی مدرسه] دن علی اعلا شهادتنامه لی، کریمه سی نیجه خانمه عائد ایدی. هرایکی فامیلیاروم ایلی حصارنده اقامت ایدیوردلری. یتیش سنه اول امریقا موجودیتی کویک تپه لرندن بوغاز ایچی ساکنلرینه کویستن او محنتم مانی، عدم رغبت یوزوندن بالمجبوریه درس لرینی چوقدن تعطیل ایتیش، اینه سی شهراماتی طرفندن مایه ایدیله رک عمومی خسته خانه حاله افراغ ایدلشدی. شهراماتی، روم ایلی ایله اناتولی بی بکد بکرینه ربط ایچین حصارلر ازمه سنده دنیانک اک جسم کویروسنی انشا ایتدیوردی. بو کویرونک طرفنده کی یوزره تره لک نابت قسملری اکال ایدلشدی. صره بش یوز متره لک اورته و آصمه قسمه کشیدی. بوغاز ایچی طرفی قاترله قدر اوزانان بکر میشر مترو عرضنده بیر جادیی حاوی، ریجتملره ترمشیدی. بورجتملر اوررنده حفته

ایتمکله اکال ایتیش وصوکره براییکی سنه مدتله اوروپا وامر یقاده تبع مقصدیه طولاشمشیدی.

مشارالیه حضرتلری، بومید و فائده بخش سیا - ختلرنده: دعالرک، ندرلرک امور دنیویه ده اصلا فائده بخش اولمده لرینه مایه قناعت حاصل ایتدکارندن علمانک، محررانده قوللاندقلری، او معهود و پک ساخته [داعیلری] تعمیرینی قالدیرتمشیدی، و امور دنیویه عائد بر مصلحت ایچین دعا سوزینی ایتتمک ایسته میوردی. عزم واری؟ چالیشمق واری؟ اوراده الله واردر، دییوردی. طشره یه کیده چک مأمورین علمیه یی قبول ایتدیکی زمان صوگ سوزلری بو اولوردی:

— اقدیلر، نظردقتکزی جلب ایدرم، عوامی دعا تارله او یوشوقلغه ده کیل بالفعل نمونه ویره رک عزمه وسیعیه تشویق ایدیکز. مسلمانلری قورتاره چق یکانه بدیر بودر! مدرسه لرده، تفسیر درس لری یاننده ایچیلرک، تورانلرک تدقیق، فقهک یاننده اوروپا قوانین مجموعه سی و الخ... درس لری تعقیب اولونیوردی. بوتون طلبه: دراپری، هکالی، قاتی، دارویی، دوزینی، اوکوست قوتی - کافر، ولفسزین - او قویور و تدقیق ایدیوردی. مختلف اسپورلر، حفظ الصحه درس لری مدرسه لرده مهمجه موقعلری اشغال ایدیوردلری. آرتق طلبه علومک بورده اللیسی - افعال قبیحه یوزوندن - مزارلرک عددینی تزید ایتمکدن قورتولمشلردی. عسکرلرک، سلاح استعمالک قدسینی تقدیر ایتیش اولان طلبه علوم حکومتک پک محق اولان امرینی بوتون یورکلرله قبول ایتمشلردی. هفته ده بر کون اسلحه استعمالی وسنه ده ایکی هفته تطبیقات تعلیم لریه اشتغال ایدیوردلردی. مملکتنده بر پیرینک خصم جانی سیاسی فرقه لر قالدامشیدی. هرکس ال بیرلکیله وطنک ترقیسنه پک زیاده چالیشیور و موفق اولیوردی.

قادیتر یزک حیات عمومیه اشتراکندن صوکره ضابطلر یزده نیرک و تمیز خاصه لری پک زیاده انکشاف ایتشدی. اولجه هفته ده بیر دفعه تراش اولمایان اوچولیا ضابط شعبدی یومه بیر دفعه تراش اولقله همان اکثفا

خطی الکتریک تراموایی اوچوب کیدیوردی . شرکت خپریه پک زیادہ تکمل اتمشدی . صوک زمانلرده جلب ایتمدیکی الکتریقله متحرک واپورلری فنک بدایندن معدود ایدی . اک داری بکرمی مترو عرضنده اولان پایتخت سوقاقلرنده اوتوموبیللر بررقوش کچی اوچورلردی . دکزده باجهلی استموطرا کورولموردی . اولنرک یرینی صوک سیستم موطوربوطرا اشغل ایدیوردی . ایشته بوتون بوسائط تقلیدن استفاده ایدن مدعوین آقین آقین ، شفیق بک جسیم قورولقرا ایچنده کی محتشم اقامتگاهنه شتاب ایدیورلردی . مایسک پک لطیف بر کونی ایدی . کلرله پک مراقل بوتلان شفیق ، اقامتگاهنی جدا یر ککستان حاله کتیرمشدی . اوکل قوقولری ایچنده انسانک غشی اولماماسی قابل ده کیل ایدی . نهوک بوتون سالونلری هنجاهنج طولمشدی . اورته قاتده دکزه ناظر اک بویوک سالون مراسم ایچین تخصیص ایدلمشیدی . نکاح بوراده عقد ایدیله چکدی .

علما وکلا ، اعیان ومعاونان ... دن مع عائله مدعو اولانلرک هپسی بوسالونده اجتماع اتمشدردی . خاندان سلطنتدن مدعو اولان متوفی ولی الدین افندی حضرتلرینک مخدومی پرنس صمصمه ایله همشیره سی قایا سلطان جمعیه الک زیادہ شرفیخش اولان مسافرلردن ایدی . شیخ الاسلام افندی حضرتلرینک رفیقہ محترمه لری ایله دیگر کبار مدعوین خاتم افندیلر پک مدید اولان فقط هیچده آچیق صاحبق اولمایان تووالترلیله شعشه فشان اولورلردی . بوراده اک زیادہ افتخاری قاپارتن کیفیت ، هرکسک صرتنده صرف ملی قاشلردن یچیلوب دیکلمش ملیوسانک بولوماسی ایدی . بروسه فایزقه لرینک ترقیاتی لسان ستایشله یاد اولونویوردی . ایستانبول اک محتشم دیکیش مغازه سی اولان [سوسلی مغازه سی] پک ظریف بر حوطوز ایجاد اتمشدی . قایا سلطان حضرتلرینک باشنده کی حوطوز بوتون قادیلر حسدی تیحرک ایدیوردی .

حاسة قول اردوسی طرفدن کوندر بان پیاده بیرنجی چالدران الانی موزیقه سی پک لطیف و صرف ملی پارچه لرله

مسافرینی اکلندریوردی . کان کیدن خدمت ایدن لر ، بیرسکونت ، بیرانتظام مخصوص ایله کیروب چیقورلردی . قهوه لرینی ایچمش شکرلرینی یمیش اولان مسافرلر ، باقره لی احمد بکک یتشدیردیکی دنیاک الک نفیس توتونلردن معمول ، سیغاره لک دومانلرینی صاوورویوردی . هرکس یاننده کی ارقاداشیله کوزوشور فقط بومصاحبلر یوز سنه اول اولدینی کچی مالایینی شیلره انحصار ایتیوردی . مفتی افندی استانبول اک مشهور آوقاتی اولان رفیق بکله « کلاله » حقنده مداوله افکار ایدیور اناطولی قاضی عسکری طربانی زاده همدی افندی دارالفنون طب شعبه سی مدیری رضا بکله تولد عیسی بختنده حدتسز شدتسز مناقشه ایدیورلردی . شیخ الاسلام افندی حضرتلرینک حریمی نفیسه خاتم افندی کچن سنه کی لوندره سیاحتنده « اوقفورده » ده دیکله مش اولدینی برقاچ فلسفه درسندن ملهم اوله رق پروفیسور جون هاردینگ نظریاتی حقنده کی تنقیداتی تورکارک اک بویوک فیلسوفی اولان احمد رضا توفیق بک دیکلتورلردی . آرتیق بوکی مسائلک مناقشه سی الی سنه اول اولدینی کچی یکدیگری تکفیرله نهایت بولموردی . مملکتنده تشکل انجمن اولان اساسلی سیاسی فرقه لر افرادی شیمدی شخصلری ده کبل ، فکرلری ، پروگراملری تنقید ایدیورلردی . مملکتک منافع عمومیه سنده پک صیق اشتراک وارتباطلری واردی . یمش سنه اولکی تقویم وقایع مجلده تی کوزدن کچیرنلر او وقتکی حالات روحیه یه ، وقوفسرلغه ، تفریه یه حیران قالیورلردی . شو سالونده یکدیگریله پک صمبانه کورو . شمکده اولان ایکی بویوک فرقه رؤسای یمش سنه اول ارتکاب ایدیلن خطالردن دولانی کندی سلفلرینی عادتاً تلغین ایدیورلردی . مملکتده کی بوتون بوتیدلات نافعنه ک وجوده کسنه قادیلرک نه قادیلر یاردیمی اولمشدی ! هرکس کندی تماشاسنده ، کندی ذوقده ، کندی مباحثه سنده ایکن بیرس :

مراسمه باشلانور . دیه باغیردی .
بونی متعاقب سراپا قیریلار کینمش وحقیقی سیاس

زنگلی کولردن معمول برز هلال ایله سینه لرینی زتمش اولان [روم ایلی حصاری تیم قیزلر مکتبی] طائبانی سالونه کیردیلر ، معلم لرندن بریسی باشلرنده بولونیوردی . بومکتبک مؤسس وحامیسی شفیق بک ایدی . بناء علیه قیزلر عرض شکران ضمننده بکک بوشرفلی یوم مسعودینی تعزیز و تقدیسه گلشلردی .

اولاء دارالفنون الهیات شعبه سی مأذونلرندن بودروملی محمد افندی بک شهرت قرانان «عظمت سبحانیه» الهیسی لاهوتی بیر اهنگ ایله او قودیلر . آنی متعاقب دارالفنون ادبیات شعبه سندن مأذونلر بویوک شاعر و طنپور کال بکک «وطنک روحی» منظومه سی اهنگدار بیر نغمه ایله او قودیلر . وطن حسیله چار بقده بولتان قلبلر طیشاری به فیز لایه جق کبی ایدیلر بونی متعاقب الای موزیقه سی ملی مارشی چالغنه باشلادی بوتون دعوتیلر هب بیر اغزدن اشتراک ایتدیلر . بودورده ، عثمانیلر او حاله گلشلردی که ملی مارش چالندی زمان ایشیدنلرک اغزله اشتراک اتمه سی قابل ده کیلیدی . جوق دفعه پایتحت سرپا بر قونسر سالونی کسلیمش اولوردی . ایشته بوشوق و هیجان اره سنده نشانیلر سالونه کیردیلر ؛ مدعونک آلبشیرینه مستغرق اولدقلری حالده سالونک اورناسنه موضوع و چیچکلرله ترین ایدلش مکاف ماصه نک اوکنه او طور دیلر .

حسن بک ، ایری وقوتلی وجودی ، جبهه سنده عثمانلی آرمه سی پارلایان مغفیری ، مغفرتده کی بیاض آت قویروغی ، بلنده کی سلیمی بالاسی ایله ؛ نجیه خانم محترم توالی ، لطافت اندامی ، اصیل نورانی جبهه سیله نظر دقتی جلب ایدیورلردی .

محلله امامی [مدرسه سلیمانیه] دن مأذون و عربجه وتورکجه دن ماعدا ایکی اوروپا لسانته واقف سلیمان افندی نشانیلرک قارشوسنه او طور ددی . وشاهدلری دعوت ایتدی ، حسن بکک شاهدلری الای قوماندانی ایله الایک مقنسی ایدی . نجیه خانمک شاهدلری ده [قیزلره مخصوص عالی مدرسه] مدیره سی ایله باش معلمه سی ایدی . یرلرینه او طور دقدن صوکره الای قوماندانی میرالای آچا بک

قیام ایتدی ، ییلماز عالم سنک وطنه ایفا ایتدکاری خدماتی وحسن بکک عالم سنک جدا بر خیر الحاقی اولدیغنی والایده کندیسيله افتخار ایتدیکنی بویوزدواجی تسعید ایتدیکنی سوبلیدی . مکتب مدیره سی حسینه خانم قیام ایتدی . نجیه خانمک اصالتندن ، تربیه سندن ، سی وغیرتندن ، وقوفندن وبالخاصه وطنپرورلکندن وهلال احمر بوغاز ایچی شعبه سی ریاستنده ایفا ایتدیکی خدمات نافعده دن بحث ایتدی وبویوزدواجی تسعید ایتدیکنی سوبلیدی . متعاقباً امام افندی مقاله شرائطی وطیب راپورلرینی او قودی . طیب راپورلری هر ایکی طرفک صحت تامه ایله حیاتدار اولدوقلرینی تأیید ایدیوردی . بواصول سابق شهرامینی فاضل بکک بر اثر مستحسنی ایدی . اون سنه دن بری دوام ایدیوردی .

تورکیه بو خصوصده بوتون اقوام متمدنه یه تفوق ایتشدی . امام افندی اصولاً نشانیلره بکدیکنی زوج وزوجه لکه قبول ایتدیکلرینی شفاهاً سوبلیدی ونکاح عقد اولوندی . کابن وکوه کی ایله شاهدلر ازدواج مقاله نامه سی امضا ایتدیلر . بومقاله استانبول قاضیلغنده ده کیل شهر اماننده تنظیم اولونمشدی . استانبول قاضیلغنی لغو ایدیله لی تمام اوتوز بش سنه اولمشدی .

امام افندی دطاسنی تورکجه او قودی . حاضرین اکلادقلری ایچون بوتون وارقلر ایله آمین دیدیلر . شربتلر توزیع ایدیلرکن خوش الحان بیر حافظ افندی سوره نسادن بر عشر شریف او قودی . حاضریندین بیر مثلا افندی باب مشیختجه مصدق تورکجه ترجمه سی سوبلیدی ، ذاتاً هر کس قرآنه او قدر یابنجی ده کیلیدی . بک مکمل صورتده ترجمه ایدینش اولان قرآن کریم هر هوده آرتیق اکلایه رق تلاوت اولونیوردی . و اکلایه یلینی ایچین اسلامک فضیلتی تقدیر و تقدیس اولونیوردی . هر کس ، باخصوص قدما نک وضع ایتدیکی قیودک الغاسندن صوکره ، مسلمان بولوندیغنه حمدوشا ایدیوردی . قواعد اجتماعیه وقرآنیه تامایله اکلایه سولمشدی . هر کس بیلیوردی که قرآن یالکز صوقتارله مخصوص بیر سزده کیلدر . او ، انسانلرک

A Wedding Ceremony in the Year of 1400 A.H (1980 A.D.)

To Ateşzade İsmail Hakkı

The social revolution, for which the people who have true and liberal minds enthusiastically struggled for long years had eventually taken place. It had been understood that the reason of our backwardness was derived from our inability to work such an extent as the developed countries have done. And the reason of this comparative lack of work with relation to the others was the separation of men and women that each of them make up half of the human being. And the second reason was the existence of some Jewish lore which was replaced Islam. Unveiling the woman did not become as difficult as it was expected. In order to realize these achievements a semi open - semi hidden society had been established. This society had declared a bill of etiquette. The bill had taken effect. The manner and hygiene of the people uplifted. The Meşihat, therefore, quitted involving such subjects as the result of this great tendency. In fact the Şeyhulislam had already studied philosophy in Cambridge University for three years and had stayed couple of years around Europe and USA for the observational purposes. He has already noticed that no benefit of sacrifices or prays for the mundane developments. In the medreses, *tefsir* with bible and gospel, and *fıkıh* with the European law have already started to be taught. Students have started to read all philosophers without hesitation and without to be accused of infidel and they started to exercise various sports.

Sacredness of the duty of military service had become understood. Although the military officers used to have beard shave once a week, now they started to shave at least once in a day. The *Akıncı birlikleri* (military raiding units) had been already established.

Behold! We would like to speak about the wedding ceremony of Yılmaz, the son of Hasan, and Necibe who was the daughter of a Turkish millionaire businessman in the cereal business. Both families were living in Rumelihsarı, a Bosphorous district of Istanbul where the Robert College is located. The buildings of Robert College [The American Protestant School] were alienated to a hospital because of insufficient demand. The Istanbul municipality had built the biggest bridge of the world, which connects Asia and Europe to each other. There were automobiles in size of around 20 meters flying over the streets of the capital like a bird.

The guests who were chosen among high religious and state functionaries, member of senate and house of common etc... were present with their wives who were wearing elegant toilets. The ceremony starts: First rhymes and then the poem *Vatanımın ruhu* (the soul of my fatherland) of Namık Kemal were being recited. The Imam of the local mosque who graduated from *Medrese-i Süleymaniye* and was capable of speaking two European languages in addition to Turkish and Arabic invited the testmons. The testimony of the bride was a lady and was working in Girl's High School as a principal which the bride graduated from. And the other testimony was the Colonel of *Akıncı Birlikleri* which the bridegroom belongs. The wedding contract had already been made by Istanbul municipality

not by the *kadılık*. Actually, the *kadılık* was abolished thirty years ago. The Imam prayed in Turkish. Then a *hafiz efendi* (a person who memorize whole Quran) recited some verses from Quran and followingly the recited verses were translated into Turkish by himself. Actually, since the Quran was already been read in Turkish in private houses, the attendees were familiar with the meaning.

The *farz* were understood and new *ictihads* had already been made. In this manner, people have gained the opportunity to work freely in factories, in hospitals and in the plantations founded on the minerals beds without feeling any problems relating their consciences. The Islamic courts had been already abolished and the task was vested to the Court of First Instance. The abolishment of veil had ensured betterment on schools, families, societies, hospitals. The polygamy had been officially abandoned and the biological necessities of the people who were unmarried or not being able to marry has been considered [the legally allowed brothels was in service].

APPENDIX B



The portrait of Abdullah Cevdet

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