

Multi-Perception of the Enlightenment Thinking in Nineteenth Century Turkey

Abstract

It could be observed from the early 19th century that a new perspective began to form gradually in the political life of the Ottomans on political-legal basis. This change that was consciously initiated by Mahmud II proved to be decisive with the declaration of the Imperial Edict of Reforms. Following the statesmen's approach to the Enlightenment State Philosophy and from the second half of the 19th century onwards views began to be developed by intellectuals in this direction as well. As a matter of fact, beginning with Şinasi, Ali Suavi, Namık Kemal, Munif Pasha and Ahmed Midhat Effendi are of the leading figures that developed the Enlightenment Movement in Turkey. On the other hand, although the aforesaid names united on the same basis, they approached the Enlightenment Thinking in different methods and contexts.

Key Terms

Enlightenment, Natural Law, Education, Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Munif Pasha.

Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Türkiyesinde Aydınlanma Düşüncesinin Çoklu İdrâki

Özet

19. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren Osmanlı siyasi hayatında adım adım siyasi-hukuki temelde yeni bir perspektifin oluşmaya başladığı gözlenebilir. II. Mahmud'un bilinçli bir girişimle başlattığı bu dönüşüm Tanzimat Fermanının ilanıyla kararlılığını göstermiştir. Devlet adamlarının aydınlanmacı devlet felsefesine yaklaşmalarının ardından ve 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren aydın kesimde de bu yönde görüşlerin

* Asst.Prof.Dr. at Uludağ University Faculty of Science and Literature Department of Sociology.

geliştiği görülmeye başlar. Şinasi'den başlayarak Ali Süavi, Namık Kemal, Ziya Paşa, Münif Paşa, Ahmed Midhat Efendi Türkiye'deki aydınlanma hareketini geliştiren başlıca isimlerdir. Ancak bu isimler aynı temelde birleşmiş olsalar bile Aydınlanma düşüncesine yöntem ve kapsam olarak farklı şekillerde yaklaşmışlardır.

Anahtar Terimler

Aydınlanma, Tabii Hukuk, Eğitim, Tanzimat Reformları, Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Münif Paşa.

State, church, superstitions, oppression, illiteracy, etc. were such institutions and concepts as started among the conditions that prepared the Western bourgeoisie in the late 17th century and continued during the 18th century against which the Enlightenment Movement struggled. The intellect, science and progression were the essential dynamics of that thinking while the rights for life, freedom and proprietorship were of the indispensable values praised by that thinking. If the enlightenment thought had not played the historic role in the 1789 Revolution as the ideological ammunition of the new class, it would not have been remembered with nothing but the thinking exercise that take place among the popular philosophy texts. Nevertheless, the enlightenment thinking foresaw the total social movement and – although it is not said that it created its own class from where it took frontiers – managed to meet its own class successfully and realized its thoughts step by step thus having become one of the strongest social engineering event that has been recognized by history after the religions.

Even if the Ottoman society's or State's social and cultural relations with the West date back to early 18th century, these relationships did not have much significance even at the time. It was after the French Revolution that the Western assault upon us went beyond military frontiers and began to invade institutions, values, in short the whole life (Mermutlu, 2003, 13). The nationalist and separatist movements provoked by the French Revolution first exerted its effect on the Christian subjects with such results as Kara Yorgi Rebellion (1803), Mora Rebellion (1821), the Independence of Greece (1829), the expansion of the independence of Walachia and Moldova Principalities, Serbia's becoming an independent principality, etc. (Okandan, 1940, 10).

In the meantime, the French Revolution had no serious intellectual impact on the Ottomans for a long time, for it was contemplated as an internal affair of France. The reigning era of Sultan Selim III was an era wherein the belief was prevalent that economic and industrial enterprises in addition to military enterprises would sufficiently fortify us against the West, which could be observed quite clearly in a report written by Halet Effendi to the Sultan:

"The whole capital of Europeans is but words... God knows, but I think if we happen to earn about twenty-five thousand akçes from some occurrences in three to four years and establish five factories that manufacture paper, glass, cloth and porcelain as well as a school where

languages and geographical sciences shall be taught, they shall have naught to lean against” (Karal, 1940, 33).

This attitude of recovering the technical and economic deficit against Europe (Mermutlu, 2003, 304) was going to begin to be replaced during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II by a Western perception that had gone through the Enlightenment Thinking. The era of Sultan Mahmud I was the last period for us to dream of universal sovereignty. In fact, the Ottomans never forgot that they were a military nation even at the times when they were continuously defeated. The directions and attempts for reforms, the contacts and relations with Europe all were based upon military reasons. The real critical thinking started when military allegations stopped (Mermutlu, 2003, 336). When Sultan Mahmud II told Reshid Effendi (Pasha), “I mobilize three hundred thousand soldiers and defeat Europe”, Reshid Effendi replied, “You cannot defeat Europe even if you mobilize three hundred million soldiers; you have to protect people’s lives, properties and chastity in conformity to the orders of the Religion so that you can hinder Europe and draw people’s respect” (A. Adil, 1338, 19). It is thought that Reshid Effendi was in the same opinion as Lord Canning, an eminent name of the British foreign affairs over the same issues (Kaynar, 1985, 164). This reform movement whereby it is understood that the relationships with the West took their political-legal form during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II and which was officially announced in 1839 with the Imperial Edict of Reforms was resembled by Namik Kemal to the French Revolution and interpreted as such a significant event of transformation to be called ‘our revolutionary era’ (N. Kemal, Hadiqah, No. 14).

The fact that Declaration of Human Rights that had been accepted by the French Revolution was taken as an example in the Imperial Edict of Reforms sufficed that it be perceived as a revolution. However, it is to be accepted after the changes in the West had been definitely realized by the State – that although a series of reforms applied by Sultan Mahmud II in order to compensate for our deficit with the West had formed the bases for Tanzimah, which was a legal reform (and gave its name to an age), they were much more superior in power and effect (Ülken, 1966, 32). As a matter of fact, the following words uttered by Sultan Mahmud II on the day when he abolished the institution of Janissaries were almost in the form of a manifesto: “I wish that the Sultanate shall be an occasion of support for the nation not for terror. I lift seizure and confiscation. I even wish that the property of rebels be inherited by their children” (Birand, 1998, 20).

Hugo Grotius, of the pioneers of the Movement of Enlightenment, and later John Locke studied the doctrine of Natural Laws and stated that the *raison d’être* of the State was to protect these natural rights that emerged from the quintessence humankind. According to Grotius and Locke, the State is not a means of might and oppression but – to the contrary – the power generated for the protection of the rights and freedom of individuals. Actually, this philosophy of state had developed within the Enlightenment Thinking ever since Renaissance and thereby found a sound niche for itself (Birand, 1998, 16-18).

Even though it was with the influence of internal and external forces, it was witnessed – beginning with Sultan Mahmud II – that the sensitivity as regards to natural rights began to be expressed by the senior administrators, including sultans, on

every occasion. For example, in his enthronement speech and another speech in May 1868, Sultan Abdulaziz expressed that the might and longevity of a state would be possible only through absolute pursuit of the levied legislation... and "... the task of a government is to protect the freedom legislation of his people in any case and that its administration over people must not be by means of tyranny and oppression."

Again, institutional structuring was attempted after the promulgation of Tanzimah and with the foundation of Majlis Al-Ahqam Al-Adliyyah in 1840, an institution was established that would quite lessen the burden of the current political system and that would function in such manner as would resemble the parliamentary regime (Okandan, 1940, 118). Not sufficing therewith, Shurah Al-Dawlah was founded in 1868 and wherewith it is possible to see that the principle of the Separation of Powers was approached as well. On the other hand, the Imperial Edict of Reforms promulgated in 1839 was the expression of an obvious and clear direction towards the Enlightenment State Philosophy (Birand, 1998, 22-23). According to Namık Kemal, Tanzimah had cured the disease of oppression (Istibdah) in the heart of the State, which was called the 'Sick Man' and restored it its dynamism (N. Kemal, Ibrah, No. 48).

The Enlightenment was not the result of a natural evolution of thinking for the Ottomans, but it rose as a product of an intellectual inoculation that suddenly came from abroad in mid-19th century (Ülken, 1966, 78). Nonetheless, when they attempted to assess the Enlightenment from the point of the principles of Natural Laws, the Ottomans did not find it meaningful to resist the Enlightenment. It is not impossible to see or interpret the main principles of Natural Laws included in the classical Ottoman doctrine. The Natural Law philosophy we regard as the artery of the Enlightenment to the contrary of what is supposed to be hadn't difficulty in finding an easy place in the political and social layers of the Ottomans. As a matter of fact, this ease was incomparably further than that of the Western world. Apart from the fact that the said rights were accepted in the political and legal order of the society without the efforts and bloody revolutions covering the ages in the West, even the regime changes to further degrees were materialized in a shorter time and with less turmoil in comparison to the West. It is impossible to perceive that difference between the two societies or worlds without the consideration of historical-social reasons, for the Ottoman administration had been close to personal and arbitrary administration free from all kinds of laws within itself from the very beginning. As a matter of fact, the Legislation of Sultan Sulaiman stipulated that "If a Sultan were to act with his personal arbitrary initiatives, he would be dethroned and replaced by another member of the Dynasty" (Okandan, 194, 98). The type of administration approved by Montesquieu as a 'legislated Sultanate administration' was in fact an administration wherewith the Ottoman political tradition was not unfamiliar. That concept of administration did not allow the emergence of a ruler who would say, "I am the Law". That the issue of Natural Rights was mentioned in the Imperial Edict of Tanzimah and other edicts and speeches was therefore neither scorned nor drew too much attention; but they were overlooked as being a repetition of known facts. Those that assess the Imperial Edict of Tanzimah as a revolution are those intellectuals that consider the issue within the frame of Western political thinking. We can say that they compelled themselves to see it at the level of a revolution because tried to evaluate the fact that the essential concepts and ideals that had been noisily defended by Rousseau, Montesquieu and Locke was

pronounced with a jiffy declaration with the standard of the history of the Western political struggle. In fact, we could find this definition by Namık Kemal in Şinasi at an earlier time and in a stronger style: according to him, Reshid Pasha, who had authored the Imperial Edict of Tanzimah “was a hero who legislated without warring or shedding blood” (Şinasi, 1287). As a matter of fact, Tanzimah was a very significant period of transformation in our history from the points of its applications and the results it had induced rather than the articles in the edict on the security of people’s lives, property and chastity.

The state that promulgated and applied Tanzimah could not escape the mishap of encountering the later generation in spite of the noteworthy institutional steps in direction of Westernization. The senior staff of Tanzimah that took a courageous step towards the Enlightened State philosophy were accused by the young generation was fed by the Enlightenment Thinking – in the lightest sense of words – of inaptness; and the struggle was ongoing with two frontiers both of which supported Westernization and Civilization. For those that did not see the fight between the youth known as ‘New Ottomans’ and the Government that supported the West was a fight for power, that was nothing but a struggle for Enlightenment with all the formal conditions thereof: the attack of the revolutionist radical supporters of the Enlightenment against the conservationist supporters of the West. On the other hand, Abuzziyah Tawfiq disdained Reshid Pasha, who was called ‘Kodja’ (Great) by everybody, complaining that his support for Progress was exaggerated in an unjust manner, for although he had the whole initiative from 1838 to 1858 he abandoned us at a distant place that could not even be recovered in a century, leave aside informing us of the tendencies of the current century and approximating us to the contemporary qualities (Majmuah Al-Abuzziyah, No. 98). According to Abuzziyah, “During the era of Pashas after Tanzimah were neither schools that would be aware of the base slavery we were in and thus prescribe the ways of salvation wherefrom nor books that would open our minds... And here Şinasi and his first step into the political world as well as persistence and enthusiasm in the task of leadership ensured us to gain the merits so that we can prove our existence in today’s political world” (Abuzziyah, 1973, 76). “Şinasi’s emergence in the publication world is to be regarded as the first page of our age of progress. If Şinasi had not come into existence, neither Kemal nor those after him would have been raised...” (Abuzziyah, Majmuah Al-Abuzziyah, No.98). According to these statements, if Şinasi and his successors had not emerged, the Age of Tanzimah would have lasted for many more years without causing any movement in our intellectual and political world of conscience. In fact, Şinasi, who appeared as an intellectual to have organized his intellectual world in best manner in the Age of Tanzimah was an uncompromising supporter of Enlightenment and Civilization. The three qasidahs (poems) he wrote for Reshid Pasha in 1856, 57, 58 were sort of poetic reflections of the Enlightened Thoughts of Montesquieu and Voltaire. The thing he intended to realize with his applause of the Tanzimah Movement and principles with the following verses:

Our lives, goods and chastity are the candle of our hearts,

Your justice is a glass bell to protect it from the wind of reproach

was to establish the philosophical foundation required by the Tanzimah ideology upon universal and everlasting pillar having passed it through the Thought of Enlightenment.

Şinasi lasted his line of Enlightenment and Civilization with the papers he published. For instance, the work written by E. Vattel on basis of Natural Laws under the title of 'Legislation of Man' (Huquq Al-Nas) was translated and published in the newspaper of Taswir Al-Afkar in episodes.

It is known that the issue of religion is elaborated particularly and anew in the Thought of Enlightenment. In fact, the deist perception that formed by Voltaire among these was going to be adopted by Şinasi and even religious poems were going to be written thereon (Şinasi, 1287).

The newspaper published by Şinasi increased the tendency towards the Western world, thereby having played a significant role in the formation of a young generation, who were nourished with new thoughts, among whom were Namık Kemal, Abuzziyah, Agah Effendi, and even Ali Suavi. As a matter of fact, those state officials and students sent to Europe by the State were part of our relationships with Europe; nevertheless, those individual contacts failed to go beyond the level of etiquettes that had been developing over the Western world and to turn into a movement of thought and action. The impressions and determinations of Mustafa Sami Effendi might be regarded as the most efficient examples of this manner. It was after Şinasi that the affairs related to the society and State began to interpreted not with groping, impressions and rationalism but with the Enlightenment Thought almost in a systematic manner. Several months after he had met Şinasi, Namık Kemal translated the work of Montesquieu titled 'Considerations over the Reasons for the Rise and Fall of Romans' and published it in the magazine called 'Mir'ah'. Again, we are informed by Abuzziyah (Abuzziyah, 106, 21) and Rıza Nur that he also translated 'Social Contract' by Rousseau; 'Spirit of Laws' by Montesquieu; 'An Essay over the Development History of the Human Spirit' by Condorcet; and even some works of Bacon (Ülken, 1940, 775). Still, Ziya Pasha translated the works of Rousseau titled Emile and Les Confessions (TBEA, 2001, 941) clearly proved their determination to carry the essential works of the Enlightenment to our intellectual agenda. The thing that is even more significant than the fact that the aforesaid authors had translated the mentioned works is that they took these works as an indispensable basis for their own thoughts. The Natural Law Doctrine and the Social Contract Theory were exactly repeated in Namık Kemal as they had been expressed in Rousseau. It may be observed that Namık Kemal imitated Rousseau beginning from the explanation that the Contract was not a historical concept but a logical fiction; that – contrary to that of Hobbes – the Contract was not one of sovereignty and property but a Contract to bind both the ruler and the citizens (Birand, 1998, 40).

In most of his articles, in Hürriyet, Namık Kemal was inspired by the works of Rousseau titled the Social Contract and the Sources of Inequality between Human-beings. Eventually, the thesis of Rousseau that man is a free being not only formed the pivot of the political thinking of Namık Kemal but also served as the basis of his romanticism. As is known, he was a poet of freedom. Also, Hürriyet (Liberty) was the name to the newspaper he published with Ziya Pasha when they fled to Europe. According to Namık Kemal, "Now that man was created as a free being, he is to benefit from this bounty bestowed upon him by Allah". Again, in his view, "People's right of liberty is eternal as is the Divine Justice" (Hürriyet, No.1). Like Rousseau, while he expressed that man could not forsake his freedom even with his own will, he always

paid attention to observing the differences with the intellectuals of the Enlightenment based the concept of Natural Rights, which they considered free from God's existence, on the eternal human reason, Namık Kemal regarded this concept as a bounty of God. Therefore, the Concept of Natural Law, which was used to form the basis of the same ideology, gained separate references with the Thinkers of Enlightenment and Namık Kemal parallel to philosophical thinking (Birand, 1998, 36). As a matter of fact, also according to Ali Suavi, the thing that was called Natural Law was in fact the Divine Law (Ülken, 1966, 124).

In spite of all his utter proximity to the Thought of Enlightenment, the most noteworthy difference of Namık Kemal from the supporters of Enlightenment, and even the supporters of Enlightenment in Turkey, was his utter Faithful Attitude to such an extent that he was sure if he had any doubt as to their appropriateness to the decrees he believed in, he would end the political struggle to which he dedicated his life without any hesitation. He expressed this in an article in *Hürriyet*:

"If an assembly were formed to make a constitution and I were there due to the lack of man, I would first wish that every article thereof is in conformity to Fatwahs. And if this view of mine were not accepted, I would resign from the Assembly." (*Hürriyet*, No. 12). With all his liberalism, the attitude in Ziya Pasha was the same, too (*Hürriyet*, No. 41).

While the Reformist Romanticism that Namık Kemal represented successfully accepted and tried to adopt the superiority of the West in the political system and technical means, it regarded the Western culture's total invasion of the Empire as a vital hazard on the other; thereby taking refuge with the former traditions and institutions anew. This was actually instinct whereon the dualism that was prevalent over Tanzimah was based (Birand, 1998, 10-1). Namık Kemal, who was a conservative constitutionalist loyal to Islam and the Ottoman tradition in his writings, could be described as a Thinker of Enlightenment of medium stature who got his power from that very tradition and intended to exert attempts according to the political views from the West (Ülken, 1966, 133, 151).

Although he was a Madrasah student with his headgear, Ali Suavi exposed such attitudes as were quite casual and far from conservatism from the points of his attitudes as regards to religion and traditions in comparison to those of Namık Kemal. As a matter of fact, according to Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Ali Suavi was the essential name of the Enlightenment with us. Although he had been educated at Madrasahs, he attacked the scholastic thoughts of Madrasahs; although he was a faqih (Islamic jurist), he rebelled against Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence) and first defended Laicism. On the other hand, he backed Turkism as a reaction against pan-Ottoman (Ülken, 1966, 101). According to Ali Suavi, the essence of politics that was summarized as justice by Plato and Muslim scholars and as benefit by Hobbes was the social utility, on which basis a community's rights were the security of their lives, chastity and properties. The administration's legality was commensurate to its conformity to the requirements and capability of the place and time where and when it was found. The True Ruler is Allah while the true government is the public government. There could be no other government in the world that was more perfect and more legal than the Republic. However, the tyrant government was not the monarchic or oligarchic government but the government that

did not consider the public's benefits (Ülken, 1966, 125). Although the foundation of the government was divine, the application manners thereof were not divine. Again, the knowledge of politics could not be gained from the Qur'an and the Religion but Geography, History, Economics, and the similar sciences and experimental applications (Ülken, 1966, 125). Ali Suavi's approach to the issue of Caliphate was different, too. In his point of view, there could be no Caliphate in Islam. Caliphate was an exceptional case that was peculiar to Abu Baqr. The Caliphate of those that succeeded him was meaningless (Ülken, 1966, 110). On the other hand, Ali Suavi was interested in Le Play's separation of individual and social types that pointed to the essential features of the East and the West as well as Gobineau's thesis of the inequality of human races, as a result of which he reached the belief that Turks were a superior race (Ülken, 1966, 105, 111).

Apart from his radical views and fierce fights on political issues, another constant effort of Ali Suavi was his attempts in education. That most antagonistic and demagogic man in the New Ottomans team always felt the burden of a supreme responsibility like education on his shoulders even at the times when he was the prisoner of the harsh conditions he himself had induced; and did his best to find a way out to materialize it within his own possibilities. After he had taught at the Rushdiyah School in Bursa, he carried on his career as a preacher at mosques. After he had returned from Europe, he was appointed as the Principal of Galatasaray Secondary School. When he started publishing the daily *Ulum* in Paris – as would be understood from the name of the said newspaper – he was interested more in scientific publications than political publications; and in the 64-page book-like newspaper he touched all kinds of sciences; and not sufficing therewith, he decided to publish an encyclopedia. The planned encyclopedia was going to be published in fascicles as a supplementary of the daily *Ulum* and was going to be in 10 volumes at completion and each volume was going to be made up of one thousand pages. The encyclopedia he named *Qamus Al-Ulum wa'l Maarif* (The Lexicon of Science and Education) was unfortunately – as was the case in every work of the time – not completed; rather, it was published in only 82 pages. However, that enterprise was significant from the point of being the first attempt for an encyclopedia. For this reason, we are to assess that attempt of our intellectuals from this aspect in their consideration of the role of encyclopedias in the French Enlightenment. As a matter of fact, the gap which Munif Pasha tried to fill in with the publication of *Majmu'ah Al-Funun* (Magazine of Science) in 1862 was again that need for an encyclopedia. The intellectuals of the time believed that enlightenment without an encyclopedia would remain incomplete.

Majmuah Al-Funun was actually planned to be the publication of *Jamiyyah Al-Ilmiyyah Al-Uthmaniyyah* (Scientific Association of Ottomans) was a magazine that was published in three periods until 1888, the first of which was in 1862. Munif Pasha, the founder of the *Jamiyyah Al-Ilmiyyah* and the magazine, was a vastly-cultured intellectual, who was versed in French, English and German apart from the Eastern languages, officiated as the President of *Majlis Al-Maarif* (The Assembly of Education) and as the Minister of Education for three periods. In fact, his mansion in Istanbul Haseki was a place where scholars of science and culture from both the Occident and the Orient met. Munif Pasha, who had once taught at *Maqtab Al-Mulkiyyah* for some

time, gave Sultan Abludhamid II private classes on Economics and Politics with his vast knowledge in the Science of Economics.

Although the major field Majmu'ah Al-Funun focused on was related to positive sciences, it was possible to see articles on such branches as philosophy and anthropology therein from time to time. The article of Hayrullah Effendi on human-beings' coming into existence and dispersion may be regarded as the first example of articles on anthropology. As for the examples on philosophy, it was possible to see such articles as the one by Said Effendi on the unison of theory and practice wherein an important philosophical problem that has been studied ever since Hegel in diverse manners took place (Ülken, 1966, 86). As a matter of fact, Munif Pasha's relation with philosophy was at an advanced level that would rank him among the pioneers of the history of the contemporary philosophy. With his translation of the work of Fênelon, in which he introduced all the antique Greek philosopher from French and published it in the issues of Majmu'ah Al-Funun from No. 13 to 45 under the title of History of Greek Philosophers, as well as with the work titled Muhawarah Al-Hiqamiyyah, which he made a book in 1859, he undersigned noteworthy works in our changing history of thought. Still, it was Munif Pasha, who first became aware of the obligation to pass from the story-like and didactic understanding of history on to genetic history in Turkey.

Although the interest and pleasure in books were high in the Ottoman society, the issue of general librarianship failed to reach the desired level. After Tanzimah, the classification tables of libraries began to be prepared with a view to introducing a new system, whereby it was aimed to establish such libraries as were absolutely new in reference to contents and order on basis of Western principles. The first example of this sort of libraries was the Library of Jamiyyah Al-Ilmiyyah Al-Uthmaniyyah (Scientific Association of Ottomans) established by Munif Pasha (Cumbur, 1964, 691-692).

Apart from that modern library that was established by Munif Pasha in the Tas Maqtab (Stone School) Building in Çiçek Bazaar, he was also the founder of the General Library of Bayezid, which is one of the most valuable and great libraries of our time, during the time when he was Minister of Education. The premises of Jamiyyah Al-Ilmiyyah in the Çiçek Bazaar housed extremely efficient services. Another social event Munif Pasha held there were conferences and classes open to the public, among which the first exemplary activities of an absolutely new understanding like the History Classes of Hayrullah Effendi. In 1862 and 1863, the classes of Dar Al-Funun were held open to public, after which the lesson notes were later published in Şinasi's Taswir Al-Afkar and Munif Pasha's Majmu'ah Al-Funun, which were in print at the time.

The classes of Hiqmah Al-Tarih, which were considered the first Sociology classes in Turkey, were lectured by Ahmed Wafiq Pasha at public sessions, after which they were published in Şinasi's newspaper in episodes and later published in form of books.

As is seen, although he had officiated in high positions of the State, Munif Pasha was not interested and involved in politics. In fact, he was a supporter of Educational Enlightenment who believed that the future and progress of the country would be possible by way of education. He expressed his principle of publication in the first issue of Majmu'ah Al-Funun with this statement: "This very Majmu'ah Al-Funun... will give

useful information on sciences and industry other than religion and daily politics” (Majmu’ah Al-Funun, No.1). Nevertheless, although information was given on foreign political affairs after a while to some extent, the policy not to publish any articles or news on the Religion continued. Although no mention was overtly made in Şinasi’s daily of such a principle, no article was published in it on Religion. That joint attitude of these two supporters of Enlightenment could be the contemplation that articles that elaborated on religious thinking apart from such issues on sciences and education – that they weightily zoomed in on – as were observed through modern focuses did not have any spoiling effects over those values they believed in and tried to disseminate. Resorting to religious references even in such issues as would support themselves would come to mean being drawn into the former tradition, for the essential strategy of modern and Enlightening Thinking was to get rid of religious references (Mermutlu, 2003, 219-220). The systematic indifference of Munif Pasha and Şinasi towards Religion was the joint attitude of these very two.

The reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II was a period in which political thoughts and movements were suppressed but educational activities developed and spread the most. In fact, Munif Pasha officiated as the Minister of Education for three terms in this era. Still, it was this period wherein the studies and researches of Ahmed Midhat Effendi, of the most eminent publicists and educators of Turkey, actually gained pace. With an incentive to filter and publicize the Western culture that had been imported into the country ever since Tanzimah, to encourage people to read and again – in his own words – “to fill in people’s minds with enlightened thoughts in place of the superstitions of the ancient fairy stories printed by Ajems (Persians)”, Ahmed Midhat Effendi authored a great number of works on general philosophy, religious philosophy, law, economics, politics, literature, poetry, story, novel, psychology, ethics, etc. After he worked as the editor of *Taqwim Al-Waka’i* and *Matbaah Al-Amirah*, he founded his own paper *Tarjuman Al-Haqiqah*. He was sponsored by Sultan Abdulhamid II with this newspaper, which was actually published from 1876 to 1908. In fact, that newspaper turned out to be school where a great number of litterateurs and authors like Hüseyin Rahmi, Ahmed Rasim, etc. were raised (Ülken, 1966, 157-166). Ahmed Midhat Effendi expressed in many articles of his that he was against the obstacles before thinking, as an example of which he made mention of the tortures of the courts of inquisition in history. On the other hand, he accepted the hazards of unrestricted liberty. Again, he opposed political liberty causing anarchy and the economic liberalism defended enthusiastically by Ohannes and Namik Kemal. He added that there could be no grounds for the implementation of Adam Smith’s economy, the capability of application whereof was even questioned in European countries, in our country. He also stated that we had to write the economic works that were appropriate for our country even if we had acquired the basic knowledge from Adam Smith and the like since every country had a different economic structure and conditions (Ülken, 1966, 172).

Ahmed Midhat Effendi divided sciences into three groups as positive sciences, exact sciences and probable sciences and stated that the Science of Economics should be considered as one of the probable sciences like philosophy; and that it would be more meaningful that philosophy should solely limit its subject to ethics rather than touching the essences of other sciences (Ülken, 1966, 168).

Even if he was not a supporter of liberty, Ahmed Midhat Effendi first elaborated upon the concept of liberty as a philosophical term outside of the frame of political thinking in his article titled "The Definition of Liberty" and examined it in an extremely efficient manner. While the thinkers of Tanzimah and the New Ottomans had been only interested in political issues of thought till then, it was first Ahmed Midhat Effendi in the Turkish life of thinking that they began to contemplate over the philosophical problems of the West (Ülken, 1966, 160-2).

A. Midhat Effendi compiled and published his works *Tarih Al-Adyan* (History of Religions) on religions in the modern sense and *Tarih Al-Hiqmah* (History of Philosophy) on the history of philosophy from the lectures he gave at the university. Although his work *Tarih Al-Adyan* was a book on the history of religions, it was a leading study that elaborated upon the affairs of the religious sociology with its general lines (Mermutlu, 2000, 93-100).

I think I have to make mention of a last name: Abuzziyah Tawfik, who was wished and endeavored, in his own words, to "complete the training gained from the West with the education of the East". Abuzziyah, who said, "Kemal accepted me as a student of knowledge; but I could not prove the skill he wished; I took the way of Şinasi in thinking, I headed for politics" (*Majmu'ah Al-Abuzziyah*, No.96), became one of the unforgettable names of our country's political and cultural history with his publications in the newspaper of *Taswir Al-Afqar*, which he got from Şinasi, and in the review *Majmu'ah Al-Abuzziyah*, which he himself published, until his death in 1913; with hundreds of books published in his printing press – the quality of which is hard to excel; with the political struggles he gave and the exiles he suffered.

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