

“An Intellectual’s Approach to Islam, Modernism, and Nationalism in Turkey:  
Samiha Ayverdi (1905-1993),” a thesis prepared by Ayşen Mderrisođlu

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## **GLOSSARY**

Al-Futuhât al-makkiyya: The Meccan Openings

Al-Shaykh al-Akbar: The Greatest Master

Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı: Directorate of Religious Affairs

Edep: Ethical virtues

Erkek Muallim Mektebi: Men's Teachers College

Fener Rum Lisesi: Fener Greek High School (İstanbul)

Fes: Ottoman headwear

Fusus al-hikam: Gems of Wisdoms

Galatasaray Mektebi Sultani: Galatasaray Sultan's School

Gülhane Hattı Hümayunu: Imperial Edict

Islahat: Improvement

İcazet and hilafet: Certificate and authority to serve as a spiritual guide

İftars: Evening meals after fasting

İlahiyat-i Ken'an: Hymns written and composed by Ken'an Rıfai

İstanbul Amerikan Board Neşriyat Dairesi: The Office of American Publishing Board

İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti: İstanbul Conquest Society

Kelimatullah: Exalting the religion of Allah

Meclis-i Maliye: Revenue Board

Meclis-i Maarif: Council of Education

Mecmua-i Fünun: Review of Sciences

Meşrutiyet: Constitutional Monarchy

Mukteza-yi Hayat: The Requirements for Living

Mürîd: Student in a sufi order

Mürşîd: Spiritual Guide

Nefs: In the first stages it means ego while the upper stages of its match to positive meanings in terms of Islam Sufism.

Office of Şeyhülislam: Office of Religious Affairs

Reaya: Ottoman subjects

Rehber-i Salikin: Guide for the followers

Sabetayist: Person who accepts Judaism but seems to be a Muslim

Sharia: The Way (Road) according to Quranic Citations

Sheikh-ül islam: The chief religious officer in the Ottoman empire

Süleymaniye Kız Numune Mektebi: Süleymaniye Girls Secondary School

Şeb-i Arus: Mevlana Memorial Ceremony

Şer'iyeye ve Evkaf Vekaleti: Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations

Tariqa: Religious Order

Tanzimat: Re-organization

Taassup/bağnazlık: Islamic fundamentalism

Tasavvuf: Sufism

Tedkik-i İlmiye: Scientific Research Center

Tekke: Dervish Lodge

Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu: The law on the unity of education

Tuhfe-i Ken'an: A Gift by Ken'an

Türk Kadınları Kültür Derneği: Turkish Women's Cultural Association

Ulema: Plural of 'alim' meaning religious scholar

Vahdet-i Vücut: Oneness of being

Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü: Yahya Kemal Institute

Yeniçeri: Ottoman Janissary soldier

Yeni Doğu Cemiyeti: New Birth Society

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ASALA: Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia (Ermenistan'ın Kurtuluşu İçin Ermeni Gizli Ordusu)

CUP: Committee of Union and Progress (İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti)

KAM: Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası (Magazine of Under the Dome Academy)

RPP: Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)

TGNA: Turkish Grand National Assembly (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi)

TTOA: Türk Tarihinde Osmanlı Asırları (Ottoman Centuries in Turkish History)

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Title: An Intellectual's Approach to Islam, Modernism, and Nationalism in Turkey:

Samiha Ayverdi (1905-1993)

Turkey had experienced a process of regeneration along Western lines as early as the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Despite the supporters of the process, there has been a considerable opposition to the westernization efforts on behalf of modernism in both the Ottoman and republican state. As an intellectual member of an elite and conservative circle, Samiha Ayverdi witnessed the period from the last years of the Ottoman Empire to the recent decades of the Turkish Republican state and produced productive analyzes and significant discourses in her forty-five year writing life. This study examines the distinct approach of a specific Turkish thinker to the most frequently discussed issues like Islam, modernism and nationalism in Turkey. It basically addresses the following question: How does Ayverdi approach the modernization process in the Ottoman period and radical secularizing policies in the new republican state?

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Başlık: Bir Entelektüel'in Türkiye'de İslam, Modernizm ve Milliyetçiliğe Yaklaşımı:

Samaha Ayverdi (1905-1993)

19. yüzyılın başından beri Türkiye Batı hattında yenilenme sürecini tecrübe etmiştir. Bu sürecin destekçilerinin yanı sıra, hem Osmanlı devleti'nde hem de Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde modernizm adına girişilen Batılılaşma gayretlerine ciddi bir muhalefet olmuştur. Elit ve muhafazakar bir çevreden gelen Samiha Ayverdi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son döneminden Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin son zamanlarını kapsayan bir döneme tanık olurken, kırk beş yıllık yazı hayatında önemli analizleri ve söylemleri olmuştur. Bu çalışma, bir Türk düşünürün, Türkiye'de çok sık tartışılan İslam, modernizm ve milliyetçilik gibi konulara yaklaşımını incelemektedir. Temel olarak şu soruları hedef almaktadır. Ayverdi, Osmanlı dönemindeki modernleşme sürecine ve yeni kurulan cumhuriyetçi devletin radikal politikalara nasıl yaklaşmaktadır?

## INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century saw the rising military, economic and political supremacy of the West put the Ottoman state under pressure. Fears of geo-political danger forced the Ottomans to modernize the military, bureaucracy, and economy of the empire along western lines as early as the beginning of the century. In this context, *Tanzimat* has been accepted as a watershed in the Ottoman reform process. In order to cope effectively with western powers, many reforms and changes came on the agenda in that period. During the nineteenth century, as a result of a sustained effort of reform, the honoured and long-preserved institutions of the classical Ottoman state were being replaced by new ones, inspired by an increasing interest about western thought, society, and government. A new, westernized ruling class emerged in that period and created a highly complex system of government that ruled with an autocracy unmatched in traditional times of the state. Westernized reforms, which began intensively during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, were extended and carried out during the reigns of the subsequent sultans by the reformist bureaucracy of the Men of *Tanzimat*: Mustafa Reşid Pasha, Ali Pasha, and Fuad Pasha. In parallel existence, a new civilian reformist group, which desired to regenerate the state and society along the western principles, emerged in the empire in the same century.

Ottoman reform process entered towards a non-returnable road after the foundation of the republican regime in Turkey. Kemalist regime shifted the gears of reform in a much more radical direction than its Ottoman predecessors by eradicating most of the ancient legal and learned institutions of the empire. Some of these reforms were the abolition of the caliphate; abolition of all dervish lodges; replacement of traditional clothing by Western styles; abolition of the fez; introduction of Latin alphabet; adoption of the solar calendar and changing of the Moslem holy day of the week from Friday into a workweek with Sunday becoming the official day of rest.

In similar fashion, reforms in the legal field began with the reorganization of the ministry of justice. First, *sharia* courts were closed down by the decision of new parliament which issued a civil code, verbatim translation of the Swiss code. In the field of education, the Kemalist regime pursued a similar pattern in terms of abolishment. A law on the unity of education was passed by the parliament. Approximately five hundred religious schools, which had been under the control of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations, were closed down in the same year. Furthermore, all other schools managed by foreigners, private foundations and local administrations were put under the control of the Ministry of Education.

As an intellectual, who witnessed the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish republican state, Ayverdi is indeed important in terms of the developing Turkish intellectual life. Generally speaking, even if she is often classified as both nationalist and Islamist, I think that such a description is not sufficient enough. There exist, in fact, many researches on Ayverdi. We found an important numbers of essays, articles, theses, and dissertations on the thinker, yet these works are generally limited with the ‘sufi Ayverdi’ whereas she has significant discourses about the political and social issues in Turkish history. Nevertheless, the literature on Ayverdi largely neglects her intellectual contributions on Turkish political and social history. In this manner, my study will fill an important gap not only in the literature on Ayverdi, but will serve as central to understanding her stance on the Ottoman-Turkish modernization and Turkish nationalism. It will also highlight the Turkish branch of the Rıfai order and its position in the intellectual life of the thinker.

Even though my research does not aim to find answers to the questions such as ‘what happened to the members of the sufi orders after the secularizing reforms of the new regime’, ‘how they were incorporated into the new regime’, and ‘how they responded to this’, it will also give important data for these questions despite being limited to the Rıfai way.

In this study, my first objective is to examine Ayverdi's perception of modernism, nationalism, and Islam in Turkey. My questions can be classified as 'how a Turkish intellectual did evaluate the reform process in Turkey?'; 'what the faults of the reforms or reformists were from Ayverdi's point of view?'; 'which factors played roles in her way of thinking?' In this respect, I have studied both the thinker's own works – her articles, novels, narratives, memories, biographies, travels, and letters – and the secondary sources on the author.

In the coming pages, the life of Ayverdi will be first studied, and then I will turn to the works of the author. In this regard, there is a prominent dissertation on the life and works of the author titled 'Samiha Ayverdi, Hayatı- Eserleri' written by Banıççek Kırzioğlu.<sup>1</sup> In addition, there is a comprehensive biographical work titled 'Samiha Ayverdi Bibliyografyası', written by İsmet Binark.<sup>2</sup> Although both works document all the works of the author and give short information about them, I have also studied directly all the works of Ayverdi. A list of all the works has been ascertained in the bibliography part of my research.

In the second chapter, we will subject Rıfai order and its head, Kenan Rıfai, who is the sheikh of Altay Ümmi Kenan Dergahı (lodge) which was founded in 1908. It is a fact that it is not possible to know Ayverdi properly without examining religious influences on this thinker. Therefore, we planned to focus on questions such as 'what was the role of Kenan Rıfai in the life of Ayverdi?', and 'how did the Rıfai order affect her life?', 'on which parameters did these changes happen?', 'what has been the understanding of Islam in this order?' and, 'how were its relations with other orders and the government?'

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<sup>1</sup> Banıççek Kırzioğlu, "Samiha Ayverdi, Hayatı- Eserleri. Vol. I" (Ph.D.diss., Atatürk University, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> İsmet Binark, *Samiha Ayverdi Bibliyografyası* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 1999).

In the following chapters, the Ottoman modernization process will be first analyzed. We will examine the reform process, which began intensively during the *Tanzimat* period and continued in the subsequent decades. Rather than evaluating the reforms one by one, Ayverdi's thoughts and analyses on the Ottoman reform process will be studied in the contexts of *Tanzimat* and *Meşrutiyet*.

Then, we will focus on the Young Turks and the Committee of Union and Progress from the perspective of Ayverdi. In this regard, we will touch upon Ottomanism, Turkism and Westernism ideas. We will attempt to analyze her approaches to these three movements which were widely discussed among the Ottoman intellectuals and statesmen. Especially, we want to examine Ayverdi's approach to the Turkish nationalism and westernization issue.

Sustained western reforms would not be stopped in the newly founded republican state. Thus, the westernization policies of the new Turkish state caused discontent among some traditionalist and Islamist conservatives. Ayverdi is undoubtedly an instance for them. However, her understanding of Islam and tradition differs from many of her contemporaries. Therefore, after examining her perception of Islam and tradition, we will take a look at her critics on the policies of the new state.

After considering the abolition of sultanate and caliphate in the last part, we will touch upon the closure of dervish lodges. There were, indeed, a considerable discontent and resistance rising from the conservative wing to all these abolishment measures. In this sense, the radical decisions of the Kemalist regime would also affect Ayverdi's life and thoughts. Here we want to document how she approached the laws and decisions of the one-party government, what her stance was on these decisions as a witness and member of both elite and conservative circles in Turkey.

## **PART A: CONTEXTUALIZATION: Historical Background**

### **Chapter I: The Life and Works of Samiha Ayverdi**

Samiha Ayverdi was born in Şehzadebaşı, İstanbul in 1905. She was a member of a prominent family whose roots go back to the historical Ramazanoğulları.<sup>3</sup> Her father İsmail Hakkı Bey was an Ottoman military officer. Her mother Meliha Hanım's family roots go back to the Gül Baba.<sup>4</sup> Her mother's uncle İbrahim Efendi was the president of the Meclis-i Maliye (revenue board) for a while during the reign of the Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1909), and her grandmother Halet Hanım was the granddaughter of Hacı Süleyman Ağa, deputy from Egypt in the parliament of the Second Constitutional era.

Ayverdi's education began in *İnas Numune Mektebi* (primary school) when she was five years old. She graduated from *Süleymaniye Kız Numune Mektebi* (the secondary school for females) in 1921. She learned French at a proficient level, and read in the fields of history, philosophy, literature and mysticism (tasawwuf). However, the person who played the most significant role in her life was Ken'an Rıfai, the sheikh of the *Altay Ümmi Ken'an Dergahı* (dervish lodge) in Fatih area of İstanbul; this was a branch of the Rıfai *tariqa* (religious order). She was the most favorite *mürid* (student, applicant) of the *mürşid* (spiritual guide) in that place. After Ken'an Rıfai died in 1950, Ayverdi became the head of the Rıfai order. All her works were written under the influence of such an environment. She was a prolific author of numerous works including novels, stories, memories, biographies, discourses, and an autobiography, named *Aşk Budur* (This is Love), which was published in 1938 and was the first novel of Ayverdi. A few years later, she showed a concentration on intellectual and historical subjects. Tasawwuf (mysticism), the consciousness of history and civilization, and İstanbul can be classified as the main topics of these works.

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<sup>3</sup> Ramazanoğulları is a Turkish principality which was incorporated to the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>4</sup> Gül Baba is a *Bektaşî* dervish died in 1541 in Budapest invasion during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent.

As a person who lived in the last years of the Ottoman empire, she witnessed crucial events like the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy in 1908, the Balkan Wars 1912-1913, World War I and the collapse of the empire; she states that “I had unconsciously captured scenes from my childhood which scene by scene I recall since I was a year and a half years old. After all these accumulated years I suddenly found these scenes improved.”<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the political events of the Ottoman Empire captured the most important place in her historical writings; some of her writings were published in some magazines and newspapers such as *Havadis*, *Büyük Doğu*, *Türk Yurdu*, *Resimli İstanbul Haftası*, *Fatih ve İstanbul*, *Anıt*, *Selamet*, *Haber*, *Türk Hanımı*, *Ölçü*, *Hür Adam*, *Tercüman*...<sup>6</sup>

If we take a look at the private life of Ayverdi, we see that during the winter times she stayed in Şehzadebaşı at the İbrahim Efendi Konağı (mansion) while during the summer times she was staying in her parents’ mansion in Çamlıca. After she graduated from high school, she was married in 1921 and this marriage lasted for five years. She had a girl and two grandchildren. After she divorced, she began to live in the house of his brother Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi.<sup>7</sup> It is observed that she was coming from an elite family, so she did not have any economic trouble in her life, and she did not write her works under any economic concern.

She travelled to some European countries like France, Germany, Italy, Australia and Romania. She travelled to Seville in 1980 to present a paper: ‘A Communication Prepared for the Islamic Conference’. It is possible to find her impressions about these countries in her

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<sup>5</sup> “Bir buçuk yaşından itibaren sahne sahne hatırladığım çocukluğumda, farkında olmaksızın yakalamış olduğum tabloları, üst üste biriken senelerden sonra birdenbire inkişaf edivermiş buldum.” See, Samiha Ayverdi, *Bir Dünyadan Bir Dünyaya* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2005), p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Baniççek Kırzioğlu, "Samiha Ayverdi, Hayatı- Eserleri. Vol. I" (Ph.D.diss., Atatürk University, 1990). p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (1899-1984) was born in İstanbul. He was one of the most famous architects in the Turkish Republic. He restored a significant numbers of historical monuments in Turkey. Moreover, he wrote about the Ottoman architecture and monuments. His work consisting of eight volumes is a valuable research about the Ottoman monuments. The first-four volume includes the Ottoman architectural monuments, which were built in a period covering from the time of Ertuğrul Gazi (father of the first Ottoman sultan) until the time of sultan Mehmet the Conqueror. The last four volume includes the Ottoman monuments in the Europe territories. See <http://ekremhakkıAyverdi.org/> for a detailed information about him.

work which was made up of her travel notes *and called Yeryüzünde Birkaç Adım* (A Few Steps on the Face of the Earth), published in 1984,.

Ayverdi founded the *Türk Kadınları Kültür Derneği* (Turkish Women's Culture Association) in 1966. She established the *Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı* (Kubbealtı Academia Culture and Art Foundation) with Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi and his wife İlhan Ayverdi. Moreover, she was one of the founder members of Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü (Yahya Kemal Institute), *İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti* (İstanbul Conquest Society), and *Yeni Doğuş Cemiyeti* (New Birth Society).<sup>8</sup>

Even if she was not far from the political elites in such organizations, she did not prefer to play an active role in political life. It is noteworthy to state that the traditional *Şeb-i Arus* (Mevlana Memorial Ceremony), which is celebrated in Konya every year, was for the first time organized by her in 1954.<sup>9</sup> In addition, she was concerned about environmental issues. She organized the tree planting project in the Fatih region. She also did not ignore the younger generations; during Ramadan months *iftars* (evening meals after fasting) were organized for children in her home. These events – *iftars* for children - first began in 1957 and continued throughout her life time.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, Ayverdi was in close relations with the well-known writers, poets, musicians, politicians in Turkey in her lifetime. Her ideas became very influential on these people who always appreciated her works and services. For instance, Cemil Meriç<sup>11</sup>, who is one of the most important followers of Ayverdi, wrote that “our goal is the same, but our

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<sup>8</sup> Cemalnur Sargut, *Samiha Ayverdi ile Sırta Yolculuk*, (İstanbul: Nefes Yayınları, 2009), pp. iv-v.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.160-161.

<sup>10</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, *Ne İdik Ne Olduk*, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2007), p.99.

<sup>11</sup> Cemil Meriç (1916-1987) was born in Hatay. He translated some works of Victor Hugo and Honore de Balzac in Turkish. He made an extensive research about western civilization. Also, he wrote for some magazines such as *Türk Edebiyatı*, *Yeni Devir*, *Yirminci Asır*, *Pınar*, *Doğuş*, *Yeni İnsan*, and *Edebiyat*.

facades are separated. Your glorious name has always encouraged me to struggle with the blasphemy, treachery and fatuity.”<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Ayverdi also became influential on some persons playing important role in the politics, art, literature of Turkey such as Necip Fazıl Kısakürek,<sup>13</sup> Mehmet Ali Ayni,<sup>14</sup> Kemal Altinkaya,<sup>15</sup> Enis Behiç Koryürek,<sup>16</sup> Hamide Remzi Uzbark,<sup>17</sup> Andre Duchemin,<sup>18</sup> and an important number of politicians such as Rasim Başara,<sup>19</sup> Nuri Pazarcıbaşı,<sup>20</sup> Ömer Rıza Doğrul,<sup>21</sup> Sedat Zeki Örs,<sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> and Tevfik İleri.<sup>24</sup>

Due to the works and services of Ayverdi, several awards were granted to her. Among these awards were 'Language Award of the Year' was granted by the Writers Union of Turkey in 1988 for her work *Hey Gidi Günler Hey*; 'Super Service Award' by the Family Research Institution of the Turkish Prime Ministry in 1990; 'Super Service Award' by the Turkish Union of the Authors of Intellectual and Scientific Works in 1992,<sup>25</sup> Her 87 years of life came to an end in 1993 in her home in Fatih. Her grave is located in the Merkez Efendi Tomb in Zeytinburnu.

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<sup>12</sup> “Dava bir, cephe ayrı. Küfre, hamakate, ihanete kılıç sallarken nam-ı bülendiniz daima bir vesile-i teşvik oldu.” See Cemalnur Sargut, p.155.

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix C for the conversation between Ayverdi and Necip Fazıl at Ayverdi’s home. Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1904-1983) was a poet, novelist, playwright. It is possible to see him as one of the leaders of Islamist section in Turkey.

<sup>14</sup> Mehmet Ali Ayni (1869-1945) was a professor in *Darülfünun İlahiyat Fakültesi* (faculty of theology), he wrote in the fields of tasawwuf and philosophy. Some examples from his works are *Hacı Bayram Veli*, *Tasavvuf Tarihi*, *Şeyh’i Ekberi Niçin Severim*, *Abdülkadir Geylani*, *Muallim-i Sani*, *Farabi*, and *Türk Ahlakçıları*.

<sup>15</sup> Kemal Altinkaya; on the other hand, was the Turkish novelist of 20th century. Some works of Altinkaya are *Bizim Mahalle*, *Ha Gayret Hasip Efendi*, and *Dalga Geçen Adam*.

<sup>16</sup> Enis Behiç Koryürek (1893-1949) is a well-known poet in Turkey. Some examples of his poem works are *Miras*, *Varidat-ı Süleyman*, and *Güneşin Ölümü*.

<sup>17</sup> Hamide Remzi Uzbark was born in 1918. He was a law professor in the Faculty of Law at Ankara University.

<sup>18</sup> Andre Duchemin (1908-1992) is a French Catholic priest. He taught French literature at *Lycée Français Privé Saint-Benoît* for thirty years.

<sup>19</sup> Rasim Başara (1884-1945) was the representative in the *Osmanlı Meclis-i Mebusanı* (Ottoman parliament), and in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA).

<sup>20</sup> Nuri Pazarcıbaşı was born in 1885. He was the representative from Sivas in the TGNA.

<sup>21</sup> Ömer Rıza Doğrul (1883-1952) was born in Cairo and the groom of Mehmet Akif Ersoy. Also, Doğrul was a writer, journalist, and representative in the TGNA.

<sup>22</sup> Sedat Zeki Örs was born in 1888. Örs was a diplomat, and the representative in the TGNA. Also, he knows French, German, Italian, English and Russian.

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix B for the interview between Ayverdi and Sedat Zeki Örs. The topics of this interview consists of Islam, tasawwuf, dervish lodges, *Tanzimat*, Ottoman education system, Turkish language and literature.

<sup>24</sup> Tevfik İleri (1912-1961) was the representative during the Democratic Party government between 1950-1960.

<sup>25</sup> Banıççek Kırzioğlu., p. 47.

## The Works of Ayverdi

Ayverdi as a witness of the last years of the empire feels a responsibility to devolve what she had been experienced to the future generations. She states that “as being almost the last children of Turkey of the empire, who have played puss in the corner in a military, political, social and economical historic arena in which we were cheek by jowl, we have the obligation and the responsibility to devolve what we have seen, heard, tasted and smelled, to the coming generations.”<sup>26</sup>

Ayverdi was a prolific author of numerous works including novels, stories, memories, biographies, and discourses. If we classified these works, the novels with their publication dates are *Aşk Budur* in 1938, *Batmayan Gün* (The Day that Never Sets) in 1939, *Ateş Ağacı* (The Tree of Fire) in 1941, *Yaşayan Ölü* (The Living Death) in 1942, *İnsan ve Şeytan* (Human and Satan) in 1942, *Son Menzil* (The Final Destination) in 1943, *Yolcu Nereye Gidiyorsun* (O Passenger, Where are you going?) in 1944, *Mesihpaşa İmamı* (Imam of Mesihpaşa) in 1948; the written memories are *İbrahim Efendi Konağı* (İbrahim Efendi’s Mansion) in 1964, *Bir Dünyadan Bir Dünyaya* (From One World to Another) in 1974, *Hatıralarla Başbaşa* (Together with Memories) in 1977, *Rahmet Kapısı* (The Door of Compassion) in 1985, *Hey Gidi Günler Hey* (Oh Those Olden Days) in 1988, *Küplücedeki Köşk* (The Mansion in Küplüce) in 1989, *Ah Tuna Vah Tuna* (O the Danube River) in 1990, *Bağ Bozumu* (Vintage) in 1987, *Ratibe* in 2002, *Ezeli Dostlar* (Eternal Friends) in 2003, *İki Aşına* (Two Acquaintances) in 2003; her works in the historical and cultural fields are *Boğaziçi’nde Tarih*

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<sup>26</sup> “Biz İmparatorluk Türkiye’si’nin hemen son evladları; içinde haşır neşir olduğumuz askeri, siyasi, içtimai, ve iktisadi bir tarih meydanında köşe kapmaca oynamış kimseler olarak, görüp duyduklarımızı, tadıp kokladıklarımızı, kudretimiz ölçüsünde, gelecek nesillere intikal ettirmek mecburiyet ve mesuliyetinin altında bulunuyoruz.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *İbrahim Efendi Konağı* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2009), preface part.

(History in the Bosphorus) in 1966, *Türk-Rus Münasebetleri ve Muharebeleri* (Turkish-Russian Affairs and Wars) in 1970, *Türk Tarihinde Osmanlı Asırları* (The Ottoman Centuries in Turkish History) in 1975, *Türkiye'nin Ermeni Meselesi* (Turkey's Armenian Question) in 1976; her biographies are *Ken'an Rıfai ve Yirminci Asrın Işığında Müslümanlık* (Ken'an Rıfai and Islam in the Light of the Twentieth Century) in 1951, *Edebi ve Manevi Dünyası İçinde Fatih* (Mehmed the Conqueror in His Literal and Spiritual World) in 1953, *Abide Şahsiyetler* (Monumental Personalities) in 1976; an autobiography work titled *Dost* (Friend) in 1980; a travel work named *Yeryüzünde Bir Kaç Adım* (A Few Step on the Face of the Earth) in 1984; a narrative entitled *Mabedde Bir Gece* (A Night in the Temple) in 1940; her narrative poems are *Yusuŕçuk* (Dragonfly) in 1946, *Hancı* (the Innkeeper) in 1988, *Dile Gelen Taş* (The Stone that Begins to Talk) in 1999; books consisting of essays and articles are *İstanbul Geceleri* (İstanbul Nights) in 1952, *Kölelikten Efendiliğe* (Let us not to be Slaves but Masters) in 1978, *Milli Kültür Meseleleri ve Maarif Davamız* (Our National-Cultural Affairs and Our Problem with the System of Education) in 1976, *Ne İdik Ne Olduk* (What We Used to Be, and What We Have Become) in 1985; and the works made up of her letters which are *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye* (Turkey versus Missionary Work) in 1969 and *Mektuplardan Gelen Ses* (Voice Coming from the Letters) in 1985.<sup>27</sup>

I want to give some brief information about which topics take a position in the aforementioned works of Ayverdi. As we mentioned, her first work is *Aşk Budur* (This is Love) written in 1938. Divine love is the main topic of this novel. Love is used as a medium to explain the thought of (tasawwuf) mysticism. Likewise, the second novel of the author called *Batmayan Gün* (The Day that Never Sets) written in 1939 is about divine love, also. In addition to tasawwuf ideas, the author focuses on the cultural issues in the Turkish society and

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<sup>27</sup> See Bibliography for the list of the all works of Ayverdi.

degeneration of the Turkish society as a result of westernization process. Another work of Ayverdi called *Ateş Ağacı* (The Tree of Fire) written in 1941. In this novel, a French woman who believes in Christianity and a Muslim Turk's mutual love paves the way of divine love. Shortly, mortal love converts to the divine love in the novel. In 1942, Ayverdi wrote two novels called *Yaşayan Ölü* (The Living Death) and *İnsan ve Şeytan* (Human and Satan). Both novels are about divine love.

The author depicts the process of being mature spiritually in *Yaşayan Ölü*, while she explains the struggle between the good and bad sides in human beings and the spirit and *nefs* (ego) belonging to people in the novel of *İnsan ve Şeytan*. Additionally, the struggle between the material world and moral values take place in it. In the subsequent year, the author writes about divine love in *Son Menzil* (Final Destination). According to her, the last destination of any individual should be divine love. Ayverdi wrote *Yolcu Nereye Gidiyorsun* (O Passenger, Where are you going?) in 1944 with the degeneration of the Turkish society as the topic of this novel. In her following work, *Mesihpaşa İmamı* (the Imam of Mesihpaşa) written in 1948, Ayverdi touches upon cultural problems with the main theme being the westernization process of the Ottoman Empire and its handicaps.

The memoirs written by Ayverdi can be classified first of all as *İbrahim Efendi Konağı* (İbrahim Efendi's Mansion), consisting of twenty-four short memories written in 1964. The author explains the causes of the cultural degeneration in Turkish society while analyzing the dissolution of the Ottoman state in this work. The author wrote *Bir Dünyadan Bir Dünyaya* (From One World to Another) in 1974, *Hatıralarla Başbaşa* (Together with Memories) in 1977, *Rahmet Kapısı* (The Door of Compassion) in 1985, *Bağ Bozumu* (Vintage) in 1987, *Hey Gidi Günler Hey* (The Olden Days) in 1988, *Küplücedeki Köşk* (The Mansion in Küplüce) in 1989, *Ah Tuna Vah Tuna* (O the Danube River) in 1990. These works, in fact,

show the scepticism of the author about the disappearing Turkish values, and also reflect her feelings about the Islamic belief, tasawwuf and homeland. After the death of the Ayverdi, some of her memoirs - *Ratibe* in 2002, *Ezeli Dostlar* (Eternal Friends) in 2003, *İki Aşına* (Two Acquaintances) in 2003 - were published by *Kubbealtı Neşriyat*.

Ayverdi's works in the historical and cultural fields include *Boğaziçi'nde Tarih* (History in the Bosphorus) written in 1966. The author says about the work in the preface that "This work is not the history of the Bosphorus Straits. Maybe it is composed of some marks taken from the memory of the Bosphorus which lived under the Turkish rule."<sup>28</sup> In addition, *Türk-Rus Münasebetleri ve Muharebeleri* (Turkish-Russian Affairs and Wars), which consisted of two parts, was written in 1970. The first part of the work is about communist ideology, the first communist actions in Turkey, the role of the Soviet Russia attempting to spread its ideology of communism in Turkey and the first historical relations between Ottomans and Russians. The second part of the work; on the other hand, includes the period in which Ottoman-Russian relations began during the reign of Sultan Beyazid II (1481-1512) and covers the subsequent centuries of the empire. In short, she focuses on the Ottoman-Russian relations between 1481-1922.

In addition, *Türk Tarihinde Osmanlı Asırları* (The Ottoman Centuries in Turkish History), which was written in 1975, was first published in three volumes. The history of Seljuk State and the Ottoman Empire is written in detail, as a kind of summary of the history of these two states with the comments of Ayverdi included. Another work of Ayverdi is *Türkiye'nin Ermeni Meselesi* (Turkey's Armenian Question). This is about the Turks who

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<sup>28</sup> "Bu kitap, bir Boğaziçi tarihi değildir. Belki Türk idare ve tarihindeki Boğaziçi'nin hafızasından alınmış bazı çizgilerden ibarettir." See preface of Samiha Ayverdi, *Boğaziçi'nde Tarih* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2008).

were under the attacks of the Armenian armed bands in the Ottoman Empire during World War I. Ayverdi states that she wrote it because of the attacks of Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)<sup>29</sup> from 1973 to 1987 on Turkish diplomats, officers and their families.<sup>30</sup>

*Ken'an Rıfai ve Yirminci Asrın Işığında Müslümanlık* (Ken'an Rıfai and Islam in the Light of Twentieth Century) is the first biography work of Ayverdi. It was written in 1951 by Ayverdi, Nezihe Araz, Safiye Erol and Sofi Huri. It consisted of three parts; the first part was written by Ayverdi and Nezihe Araz, the second part by Safiye Erol, and the last part was written by Sofi Huri.

The second work of biography written by Ayverdi is *Edebi ve Manevi Dünyası İçinde Fatih* (Mehmed the Conqueror in His Literal and Spiritual World) in 1953. The reign of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror (1432-1481) is the subject of this work. Another work of biography by Ayverdi was written in 1976 and entitled *Abide Şahsiyetler* (Monumental Personalities). It consisted of the biographies of significant names for Turkish history such as Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi (1207-1273), Yunus Emre (1240-1321), Baki (1526-1600), Cezayirli Hasan Paşa (1713-1790), Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873-1936), Tevfik İleri (1912-1961).<sup>31</sup> In addition, Ayverdi wrote an autobiography called *Dost* (Friend) in 1980 which is the autobiography of Ken'an Rıfai.

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<sup>29</sup> Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) was a terrorist organisation, that operated from 1973 to 1987. More than thirty Turkish diplomats, officers and their family members were killed by this organisation.

<sup>30</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, *Türkiye'nin Ermeni Meselesi*, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2007), p.VII.

<sup>31</sup> Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi is a Turkish *sufi* (mystic) poet, founder sheikh of *Mevlevi* order in Konya, and lived between 1207-1273. He is the writer of *Mesnevi*, *Divan-ı Kebir* and *Fihri Ma-fih*. . Moreover, UNESCO named Rumi one of the main cultural figures of world, and dedicated 2007 as 'The International Mevlana Year'; Yunus Emre lived in Anatolia between 1240-1321. He is one of the most famous mystic poets in Turkey. Also, UNESCO dedicated 1991 as 'The International Yunus Emre Year'; Baki is a poet living between 1526-1600 in the Ottoman empire; Cezayirli Hasan Paşa is an Ottoman statesman living between 1713-1790; Mehmet Akif

*Yeryüzünde Bir Kaç Adım* (A Few Step on the Face of the Earth), which was written in 1984, is made up of Ayverdi's travel notes. In 1946, a narrative called *Yusuřçuk* (Dragonfly) was written by the author. Divine love is the main theme of this work. Ayverdi wrote a narrative named *Mabedde Bir Gece* (A Night in the Temple) consisting of thirty-six short stories, memories in 1940. The first story of the book, which is called as *Mabedde Bir Gece*, is also the title of the work. Divine love is once again the main topic of this short story.<sup>32</sup> She wrote *Hancı* (the Innkeeper) in 1988 and *Dile Gelen Taş* (The Stone that Begin to Talk) in 1999. Divine love is again the main theme of these works.

*İstanbul Geceleri* (İstanbul Nights) in 1952, *Kölelikten Efendiliğe* (Let us not to be Slaves but Masters) in 1978, *Milli Kültür Meseleleri ve Maarif Davamız* (Our National-Cultural Affairs and Our Problem with the System of Education) in 1976, *Ne İdik Ne Olduk* (What We Used to Be, and What We Have Become) in 1985 are made up of the essays and articles of Ayverdi.

Moreover, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye* (Turkey versus Missionary Work), which consist of the letters of Ayverdi, was first published in 1969. Ayverdi writes these letters in correspondence with Christian missionaries. Likewise, *Mektuplardan Gelen Ses* (Voice Coming from the Letters), which was written in 1985, consisted of the letters of Ayverdi. She writes them to her grandson Sinan Uluant and his sister Gülşah Akçal.

It is important to remember that Ayverdi tries to create a synthesis of East and West in her works. She is well-informed about both the eastern and western civilizations. In her works, some historical characters from these two civilizations take considerable place. She

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Ersoy lived between 1873-1936, and he became representative in the Turkish parliament between 1920-1923. He is also the writer of Turkish national anthem.

<sup>32</sup> Andreas Tietze translated a narrative namely *Dilenci* (Mendicant) as 'Der Bettler' in German from Ayverdi's works *Mabedde Bir Gece*. İsmet Binark, *Samiha Ayverdi Bibliyografyası*, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 1999), p.12.

subjects some important persons from eastern civilization in her works such as: Muhittin-i Arabi, Ahmed'er Rıfai, Şems-i Tebrizi, Mevlana, Yunus Emre, Baki, Dede Efendi, Molla Cami, Buddha, Beyazıd-i Bistani, Tacızade Cafer Çelebi, Ebülfeda, İbni Batuta, Peçevili İbrahim Efendi, Historian Dursun Bey, Aşık Paşazade, Mimar Sinan, Ömer Hayyam, Fuzuli, Hafız, Sadi, İbn-i Rüşd, İbn-i Haldun, Mehmed Akif Ersoy, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Nihat Sami Banarlı, and others..

On the other hand, Ayverdi also touches upon important western characters such as Pierre Cornaille, Socrates, Marc Aurel, Durkheim, Shakespeare, Diogenes, Bergson, Plato, Proklos, Pisagor, Hume, Diderot, Denis, Antonios, Bertrand, Russel, William Black, Frankler, Gustave Le Bon, Voltaire, Heine, Villon, Gibbon, Rembrant, Hammer, Seely, Deny, Stephan Zweig, Lady Montaque, and others. Ayverdi thinks that it is possible to get a useful seed for the Turk-Muslim world if different civilizations are brought together and mixed in the same place.<sup>33</sup> In short, we can say the author had knowledge and ideas about western and eastern civilizations without making any negative distinction between these two, and she walked along the way drawn by Ken'an Rıfai.

## **Chapter II. Influence of Ken'an Rıfai (1867-1950) and Rıfai Order on Samiha Ayverdi**

In this part, I will try to explain the influence of tasawwuf education on Samiha Ayverdi and which sufi's works did guide her life philosophy. In order to do this, I will first give brief information about her spiritual guide who had the most significant role in her life, Ken'an Rıfai, the Sheikh of *Altay Ümmi Ken'an Dergahı* in Fatih, İstanbul. It is not possible to understand Ayverdi's way of thinking, and works without examining the way of Ken'an Rıfai and his order. It is obvious that after joining the Rıfai *tariqa* (religious order) her life changed drastically. Therefore, I plan to take a look that on which parameters these changes

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<sup>33</sup> Baniçiçek Kırzioğlu., pp. 32-33.

happened. How did these changes affect her intellectual life? Moreover, we have some questions whether there is any change in her way of thinking after the death of Ken'an Rifai, or if it is possible to see a consistency in her ideas and thoughts in terms of her intellectual life.

Ayverdi joined the Rifai *tariqa* back in the 1920s. Her uncle, Doctor Server Hilmi Bey<sup>34</sup> was the closest friend of Ken'an Rifai, sheikh of *Altay Ümmi Ken'an Dergahı* in Fatih which opened in 1908. Their friendship dated from *Galatasaray Mektebi Sultani* (a high school in İstanbul) which was one of the best education institutions in the Ottoman Empire.

Ken'an Rifai was born in Selanica in 1867. His mother was Hatice Cenan. His father, Abdülhalim, was the son of Hacı Hasan, a member of a dynastic family from Filibe. After graduating from high school, he was given a position at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Ottoman State. Subsequently, he was appointed as the assistant to the German Supervisor, Mr. Groll, at the Ministry of Postal Services. After that, as principal of education he worked in some Ottoman cities such as Balıkesir, Adana, Manastır, Üsküp, Trabzon. Later, he worked in *Numune-i Terakki*, and *Medine-i Münevvere İdadi-i Hamidi* (high schools in the empire). Coming back to İstanbul, he worked as an instructor of French language at *Erkek Muallim Mektebi* in İstanbul (Teachers's College for Males). He also worked as a council member at *Tedkik-i İlmiye* (Scientific Research Center), the principal of *Darıüşşafaka Lisesi* in İstanbul (high school), and a member of *Meclis-i Maarif* (Council of Education). Moreover, he taught Turkish language in *Fener Rum Lisesi* in İstanbul (high school for Greeks). He knew eight languages like French, German, English, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Circassian, as well as his native language. His music life was also varied and consisted of playing the ney-flute, violin

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<sup>34</sup> Server Hilmi Bey (Büyükaksoy) was close friend of Ken'an Rifai from Galatasaray Lycee. He was one of the first people who became affiliated with Ken'an Rifai's order. He worked as a doctor for thirty-five years. Moreover, he was the president of the Chamber of Dentists of İstanbul between 1920-1930.

and piano. Furthermore, he had some literary works such as *Mukteza-yi Hayat* (the Requirements for Living), *Rehber-i Salikin* (A Guide for the followers), *Tuhfe-i Ken'an* (A Gift by Ken'an), *Ahmed-er Rıfai, İlahiyat-i Ken'an* (including hymns written and composed by Ken'an Rıfai), A Commentary Volume of *Mesnevi-i Şerif* written by Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi.

The first *mürşid* (spiritual guide) of Ken'an Rıfai was *Filibeli* Ethem Efendi (a sheikh of the *Kadiri* order). Ethem Efendi was also the *mürşid* of Hatice Cenân, mother of Ken'an Rıfai. This reveals the connection of Ken'an Rıfai to the *Kadiri* order. Then, while he worked in Medina as the principal at *Medine-i Münevvere İdadi-i Hamidi* for four years, Ken'an Rıfai became affiliated to the Rıfai sheikh, Seyyid Hamza er-Rıfai, who granted to Ken'an Rıfai the *icazet* and *hilafet* (certificate and authority to serve as a spiritual guide). After coming back to İstanbul, Ken'an Rıfai opened his own *tekke* (dervish lodge) in the backyard of his home in Fatih in 1908. It was to be one of the last dervish lodges founded in the Ottoman empire. In fact, he was not coming from a sufi tradition; that is, as a graduate of *Galatasaray Mektebi Sultani*, he was actually a stranger to the dervish rituals and ceremonies. Ken'an Rıfai states that "I did not grow up in a *tekke* tradition. While we opened our *tekke*, I attempted to learn some methods and practices from other dervish lodges with my elder brother."<sup>35</sup> In fact, according to Ken'an Rıfai, the dervish rituals should not be so important in a sufi order; instead, the *edep* (ethical virtues), wisdom, and humaneness should be the most significant requirements of a sufi order.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, Safiye Erol, Nezihe Araz, and Sofi Huri, *Ken'an Rıfai ve Yirminci Asrın Işığında Müslümanlık* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2003), p. 122. "Ben tekmeden yetişmedim. Dergah açılacağı zaman ağabeyimle tekke tekke gezip, usul erkan öğrenmeye çalışmıştık."

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122. "Şeyhler meclisinde filan kimse beyyumi zikri çok güzel yaptırıyor, falan kayyumi zikirde daha ileri gibi hükümlerle, mürşitliği zikir ve devranda üstat olmakla ölçerlerdi. Halbuki tarikat demek, edep, irfan ve insanlık demektir."

Ken'an Rıfai's approach to both religion and science can be summarized as the following " person is not able to become a modern-type of person who can fulfil the demands of our age if he rigidly holds to the dogmas and has not enough knowledge about the contents and the aims of the grand religions. On the other hand, a person can also become a fanatic of science and a slave of scientific dogmas which is equally dangerous."<sup>37</sup> In other words, he believed that both science and religion should be rescued from their fanatics, and he offered a balance between them. In addition, his perception of tasawwuf is important for a better understanding of the Rıfai *tariqa* and its *murids*. In summary, he does not approach to tasawwuf as only a moral and ethical issue as Gazali did. Nor does he consider it as only *vahdet-i vücud* (the uniqueness of existence) like Muhittin-i Arabi did. Neither does he totally free himself from 'this world' and 'the other world' due to love for God as Mevlana did. Combining these three, he shaped the Rıfai way.<sup>38</sup>

According to Ken'an Rıfai, tasawwuf means unification. Nothing can take place without God's will power. Such a perception is possible only through the unity of mind and soul, the core of which is the God. His other definitions about tasawwuf are: "tasawwuf means the ethical virtues which mean good manners; the ethical virtues means *edep* (adap); the key *edep* means seeing no one but God as the one and only ruler and creator."<sup>39</sup> It is observed that he was deeply under the influence of the idea of *vahdet-i vücud* which was developed by Muhittin-i Arabi.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, Ken'an Rıfai believes that all religions nourished from the same source (from God) are one in terms of their meaning. He states that

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 209. "Büyük dinlerin mahiyet ve gayeleri üzerinde kafi derecede bilgi sahibi olmadan ve basit bir iman planı içinde bir takım dogmalara bağlanıp kalarak çağımızın ihtiyaçlarını yerine getiren modern insan tipine varamazsak, din softalığının karşı kutbuna gidip, ilim softalığını müdafa ederek ve insanı bir takım ilmi dogmaların esiri yapmak aynı derecede tehlikelidir."

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 222. "Tasavvuf mekarim-i ahlaktır (güzel ahlak), mekarim-i ahlak ise edeptir, edep ise Haktan başka bir şey görmemektir."

<sup>40</sup> Muhittin-i Arabi (1165-1240) was born in Murcia, Spain. He had many works. *Fusus al-hikam* (The Ringstones of the Wisdoms) and *al-Futuhat al-makkiyya* (The Meccan Openings) are well-known works of Arabi. In Sufi tradition he is called as *al-Shaykh al-Akbar*, the Greatest Master. He died in Damascus in 1242.

“as a matter of fact, all religions are one. All religions from the primitive ones to the ones delivered by Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Muhammed are the same in terms of their meanings. Their aim must be to achieve purification of a person and, thus, reach God. Religion experiences are progressive phases just as are a student’s educational life from elementary school to university and reaches the most mature state in Islam.”<sup>41</sup>

Ken’an Rifai aimed to enlighten and guide his students according to the principles of the twentieth century. Even though Ken’an Rifai believed that a Muslim should act through the principles of the age, he strictly adhered to *Sharia* (the rules of God according to the Quran). He states that “each cultural institution will indeed serve for human beings when the *Sharia* is implemented properly, and such a conscious control will prevent exploiting among individuals and nations.”<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, in his teachings, there has been a significant opposition to Wahhabi understanding of *Sharia* and Wahhabi interpretation of Islam. For instance, Samiha Ayverdi defines *sharia* as “there is only *sharia* for those who are anchored at the outer face of faith. However, *sharia* is similar to a door opening to tasawwuf. It is like the Quran, in need of unveiling. *Sharia* is like man. Just like gnosis and knowledge hidden in the human cannot evolve all at once, secrets of tasawwuf hidden in the *sharia* cannot be perceived or seen unless you have a lens. And that lens is the perfect human being.”<sup>43</sup> According to Ayverdi, *sharia* is the basic requirement of the Islam religion, but it needs the help of tasawwuf for a better understanding and application in life. She claims that *sharia* is not the product of Islamic fundamentalism in essence.

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<sup>41</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, Safiye Erol, Nezihe Araz, and Sofi Huri., p. 166. “Esas itibariyle bütün dinler birdir. İptidai dinlerden tutunuz, İbrahim’den, Musa’dan, İsa’dan, Hz Muhammed’e kadar bütün dinler mana itibariyle aynıdır. Maksat tasfiye-i derun ve Allah’ı tanımak ve bulmaktır. Din de ilk mektepten üniversiteye gelinceye kadar bir talebenin geçirdiği taallüm safahatını geçirmiş ve İslamiyette kemalini bulmuştur.”

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 170. “Ancak Şeriat temin edildiği zamandır ki her kültür müessesesi hakikaten beşeriyetin hizmetine girecek ve bu şuurlu kontrol, ferdin ferdi veya milletlerin milletleri istismarına mani olacaktır.”

<sup>43</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, *Bir Dünyadan Bir Dünyaya* (İstanbul: Kubbealti Neşriyatı, 2005), p. 86. “İmanın dış yüzüne demir atıp kalmış olanlar için yalnız şeriat vardır. Halbuki şeriat, tasavvufa açılan bir kapıya benzer. O da tıpkı Kur’an gibi peçesi açılmaya, keşfedilmeye muhtaçtır. Şeriat, insan gibidir. İnsanda saklı irfan ve bilgi nasıl birdenbire inkişaf edemezse, şeriatte, gizli tasavvuf sırları da elde bir adese, bir büyütücü olmadıkça, sezilemez, görülemez. İşte o adese de kamil insandır.”

It is noteworthy to state that, Ken'an Rıfai believed that all women should be exalted all over the world as Islam should do. For him, woman should exist in all fields of life, and he gives a special importance to women and women rights. Thus, it is possible to see an important numbers of women who joined the Rıfai order. Besides Samiha Ayverdi, we see many intellectual female writers and thinkers in this order such as Nezihe Araz,<sup>44</sup> Semiha Cemal,<sup>45</sup> Safiye Erol<sup>46</sup> and Sofi Huri<sup>47</sup>. However, Ken'an Rıfai was subjected to some accusations due to his woman *mürids*.<sup>48</sup> These women were not treated as inferior in Rıfai *tariqa* while many sunni orthodox Muslims and other tariqas saw woman as subordinate to man; that's why, his order was an extraordinary case in the beginning of the twentieth century. The women were not excluded from the Rıfai rituals or conversations by Ken'an Rıfai. In fact, these are not acceptable practices for many *tariqas* in Turkey even in the twenty-first century.

Furthermore, many women in the Rıfai order did not wear any headscarf. There was no coercion on women about clothing in this order. Importantly, they see that headscarf was a product of traditions rather than a religious condition. At this point, Ayverdi expressed that

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<sup>44</sup> Nezihe Araz (1922-1999) was born in Konya. She graduated from the Faculty of Literature, History and Geography. She began her career as a journalist in 1952, and work for some journals and magazines such as *Havadis*, *Yeni Sabah*, *Yeni İstanbul*, *Milliyet*, *Güneş* and *Meydan*. She has many literary works like novels, poems, biographies, film scenarios, opera lyrics, poetry, daily columns and worked on some research projects focusing on Turkish and Anatolian culture as well as the importance of women in Turkey. See, *Ken'an Rıfai ve Yirminci Asrın Işığında Müslümanlık*, p. 570.

<sup>45</sup> Semiha Cemal (1905-1936) was coming from Evrenos family, and she was the cousin of Samiha Ayverdi. Ken'an Rıfai wanted Semiha Cemal to take a philosophy education, and to translate some philosophical works of *Plato*, *Epiktet*, *Markus Orellyus*. So, the first translation of *Plato* in Turkish belongs to Semiha Cemal. Moreover, she translated *Fedon*, *Alkibiyad*, *Apoloji*, *Kriton*, *Hipyas*, *Otifon* in Turkish. Furthermore, she wrote *Aşk Peygamberi*, *Güldemeti*, and *Aşk*. Also, she wrote for some magazines such as *Hayat* and *Mihrap*. See, *Samiha Ayverdi ile Sirra Yolculuk*, p. 35.

<sup>46</sup> Safiye Erol (1902-1964) was born in Edirne. She attended to the French School of Tutoring. Then, she passed to the German High School in Haydarpaşa. She completed her undergraduate and doctorate studies on philosophy in Germany. She served in the Republican People's Party for a while. She wrote four novels, two translation, two etudes and hundreds of articles. <http://www.writersofturkey.net/doku.php/safiye.erol>

<sup>47</sup> Sofi Huri (1897-1983) was born in Aleppo as a daughter of an Ottoman priest. After graduating from Gaziantep American College, she went to Cambridge in U.K. Then, she began to work in *İstanbul Amerikan Board Neşriyat Dairesi* (the Office of American Publishing Board) for 47 years. In a position of editor she worked for the preparation of the Redhouse Dictionary. She knew Arabic, Greek, Latin, French, English, and Armenian languages. *Ken'an Rıfai ve Yirminci Asrın Işığında Müslümanlık*, p. 572.

<sup>48</sup> Refik Halit Karay wrote a novel in 1956 called as *Kadınlar Tekkesi* in which inspired from the Rıfai order.

“the most widely spoken issue about the subject of women in Islam is her dress, her behaviour in the society, veiling, her apparel... etc. The matter about the outward appearance, whether dress, beard, hair, moustache, etc. are national but not religious in terms of their origin. There is no such thing as religious attire but there is national attire. This is why there has been no unity of attire among Islamic nations. Moreover, this unity cannot be seen even among the people in one nation. There are great differences in the attire not only among cities but also among counties and villages which are very close to each other.”<sup>49</sup>

Ken’an Rıfai and his many followers have been accused of being irreligious, or *Sabetayist* (who believe in Judaism but seem as Muslims).<sup>50</sup> The Rıfai order, interpreting religion of Islam through the principles of the era, is still under the attacks of many Islamic circles in Turkey today. Ken’an Rıfai touched upon the accusations and attacks in his poem as below;

“Religious call us irreligious  
Irreligious speak ill of us  
We are not with anybody  
But also with everybody”<sup>51</sup>

Almost all followers of the Rıfai *tariqa* were well-educated and many held significant positions in the society and state such as the poets, politicians, scientists, scholars, patriarchs, priests and *sheikhul islams* (the chief religious officers in the empire). For instance, some

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<sup>49</sup> "Yine Islam, da kadın konusunda en çok sözü edilen noktalardan biri de, kadının giyim kuşam, cemiyet içi davranışları, örtünmesi süsü vs.'dir. Kılık kıyafet, giyim kuşam, saç, sakal, bıyık vs. ile ilgili hususlar menşe' itibariyle dini değil millidir. Dini değil, milli kıyafet vardır. Bu sebeple Müslüman milletler arasında kıyafet birliği yoktu ve olmamıştır. Hatta bir milletin bütünü içinde bile bu birlik göze çarpmaz. Vilayetler arasında olduğu kadar, kazalar ve birbirine çok yakın köyler arasında dahi kıyafet bakımından büyük ayrılıklar göze çarpar." See Appendix for the full text.

<sup>50</sup> Soner Yalçın is a journalist, and the writer of *Beyaz Müslümanların Büyük Sırrı* lacking of an academic value. According to Yalçın, many intellectuals, politicians and the members of many *tariqas* in Turkey have been *Sabetayist* (belives Jewish religion, but seems as a Muslim). In this work, Yalçın shows Ken’an Rıfai, and his followers as *Sabetayist*. Ironically, while Yalçın claims that Ken’an Rıfai and his followers as *Sabetayist*, his reference sources are the works of Ken’an Rıfai’s followers such as *Ken’an Rıfai ve Yirminci Asrın Işığında Müslümanlık*. In short, his work does not present any logical evidence supporting his arguement in this work. See Soner Yalçın, *Beyaz Müslümanların Sırrı: Efendi 2*, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2006).

<sup>51</sup> “Dinli der dinsiz bize. Levn eder dinsiz bizi. Biz ne ondan bundanız. Hemde ondan bundanız.” Samiha Ayverdi, *Rahmet Kapısı* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2008), p. 231.

*murids* of Ken'an Rıfai were Haydarizade İbrahim Efendi (*sheikhul islam*), Andre Duchemin (French Catholic priest), Monseyör Abid (representative of İstanbul *Keldani* Patriach),<sup>52</sup> Rıfat Araz,<sup>53</sup> Enis Behiç Koryürek, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi,<sup>54</sup> and Sheikh Bahreddin Efendi.<sup>55</sup>

After the closure of Ümmi Ken'an Dergahı in 1925 by the law abolishing all dervish lodges in Turkey, Ken'an Rıfai did not show any resistance to this law, and he continued to provide service to his *murids* without violating any laws until his death in 1950. In that respect, it is worthy of a closer look at the interview of Ken'an Rıfai's grandson, Kenan Gürsoy (professor of philosophy and the Council General of Turkey in Vatican since 2009)<sup>56</sup>.

“When the dervish lodges were closed down in 1925, my grandfather closed his dervish lodge without showing any resistance. This place was reorganized as a part of his home. When we were junior, we did not see any religious sign reflecting its structure of a dervish lodge in that place. He (Ken'an Rıfai) obeyed the laws of the state. When his dervish lodge was closed down, he said, “there are more than 300 dervish lodges in İstanbul, yet except a few of them, many lack of merit.” He also said, “one day it will be opened, but it will be opened as an academia.” His last sentence, due to the word of ‘academia’, impressed my generation; that is the second generation after him. That is, we have asked ourselves about what we should do many times. But, I think that we can find the answer if we look at his attitude when the dervish lodges were closed down.

After 1925, he continued his job in the educational field. He was appointed as the principal of *Darüşşafaka Lisesi* in İstanbul (high school) after coming back from

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<sup>52</sup> *Keldanis* are *Süryanis* who were the members of Keldani Catholic Church. The name of *Kalde* was originated from a *Kalde* region in Babylon .

<sup>53</sup> Rıfat Araz (1879-1964) was the representative in the Turkish National Assembly between 1927-1943. He is the father of Nezihe Araz.

<sup>54</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, Safiye Erol, Nezihe Araz, and Sofi Huri., pp. 113-114.

<sup>55</sup> Bahreddin Efendi was a sheikh (spiritual guide) in the *Kadiri* order. But then, he left *Kadiri* order, and became *murid* (student) of Ken'an Rıfai. See *Ken'an Rıfai ve Yirminci Asrın Işığında Müslümanlık*, pp. 119-120.

<sup>56</sup> Kenan Gürsoy was born in Ankara in 1950. After he finished high school, at the Saint Benoit French High School for boys, he studied philosophy in the universities of Rennes and the Sorbonne. After he returned to Turkey, he became an assistant in the Philosophy Department of Atatürk University. He finished his doctorate in 1979, became a docent in 1983 and finished his PhD in 1989. He taught in the Faculties of Languages and History/Geography, and occupied a full-time position at Galatasaray University between 1997-2009. He was president of philosophy department and the dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science at Galatasaray University. In 2009, he was appointed as the Council General of Turkey in Vatican.

Medina and, this school is a quite important place. Until 1925, he was both a sheikh of a dervish lodge and served as the principal of *Darişşafaka Lisesi* at the same time. It means he did not mix up these two roles. He continued with his task as a civil and state staff in the high school while he was keeping his position as the sheikh of Rıfai order. After the closure of the dervish lodges; that is the period covering from 1925 to 1950, his conversations continued in his home. He was influential on a great number of poets, scholars, and philosophers. His close student Samiha Ayverdi, Ekrem Ayverdi, Enis Behiç Koryürek, Nezihe Araz can be shown from this group...

...He (Ken'an Rıfai) was so influential on the education of Samiha Ayverdi who grew up very well in intellectual terms. Additionally, my uncle had undergraduate degree from two departments. Just think, as if you had been in the 1920s. He (Ken'an Rıfai) made my uncle (Kazım Büyükaksoy) have two degrees from the faculty of theology and faculty of pharmacy. Furthermore, his education in the fields of music and religious fields can be added into them. That is, he tried to grow up a perfect type of intellectual, but he tried to form a type of person who has morality at the same time. We can understand of its importance. Because, that time –especially in İstanbul- was a transitional period. I can use the term of 'transitional period' with making the period positive.(In fact) It was the period of chaos. On one hand, there were the requirements of the modern world in the fields of science, thinking and technology, at the same time you were in a situation in which you were supposed not to be stranger yourselves. How would you achieve to this? You could manage it neither insisting for some things as an institution nor excluding yourselves from the society. You could achieve it by combining the thought (requirements) of the period with the traditions...<sup>57</sup>

As we see Ken'an Rıfai foresaw tasawwuf education on the basis of academia instead of a dervish lodge after the closure of the dervish lodges by the law abolishing sufi orders and places in 1925. He pointed out the opening of these places again in the future, but not under the dome of a *tekke* (dervish lodge), just in the name of academia, under the dome of a university. His followers tried to implement the desire of Rıfai, and founded the 'Ken'an Rıfai

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<sup>57</sup> "İlmi ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi" 8(2007), no 19, pp. 473-525.

Distinguished Professorship of Islamic Studies' in University of North Carolina's College of Arts and Sciences in the United States.<sup>58</sup>

After the death of Ken'an Rıfai in 1950, Samiha Ayverdi became the head of the Rıfai order.<sup>59</sup> Ken'an Rıfai gave a special importance to Ayverdi who was the most important *mürid* of his. Rıfai stated that "O, Great Samiha, you opened again my *dergah* (dervish lodge) because of your works." On the other hand, it is clear that Ayverdi showed a full respect and obedience to him. She always stated that she was as a pen in the hand of her sheikh, Ken'an Rıfai. Moreover, Ken'an Rıfai wrote a note telling that "Kenan's endeavors' product, precious Samiha"<sup>60</sup> on one of the photographs which belongs to Ayverdi. It reflects that he was the most significant figure in Ayverdi's life in all terms.

It is also important to remember that according to the principles of Rıfai order, a sufi is supposed to live in peace with all tariqas, religions and even non-believers, and so the followers of Rıfai order have always maintained good relations with many tariqas such as *Mevlevi*, *Kadiri*, *Bektaşî*, *Halvetiye*, and *Şazeli* orders. Ken'an Rıfai commented on the first volume of the *Mesnevi* work of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi and stated about Mevlana that "he is an excellent man of the poem, music, knowledge, and God."<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, the followers of Rıfai order have never stopped their contacts with the *Çelebi* family (descended from Mevlana). In addition, as we mentioned before, the traditional *Şeb-i Arus* (Mevlana Memorial Ceremony) celebrating in Konya every year, was for the first time organized by Ayverdi in 1954. Moreover, Ayverdi stated that "Ottoman Empire became a great power because of

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<sup>58</sup> Ken'an Rıfai Distinguished Professorship of Islamic Studies' in University of North Carolina's College of Arts and Sciences was founded on January, 2009 by *Türk Kadınları Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği*.

<sup>59</sup> Cemalnur Sargut., p. 259.

<sup>60</sup> "Ken'an'ın emekleri mahsülü Samiha can". See Appendix for the photograph.

<sup>61</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, *Abide Şahsiyetler* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1976), p. 11. "O, şiir güzelidir, musiki güzelidir, bilgi güzelidir, Allah güzelidir. O güzeller güzelidir."

Mevlana and these types of humans.” In short, Mevlana had a significant place in Rıfai order and the works of Ayverdi.

As we said before, the first *mürşid* of Ken’an Rıfai was a *Kadiri* sheikh (Filibeli Ethem Efendi). Therefore, the *Kadiri* order also had a special importance for the Rıfai order. On the other hand, the *Bektaşî* order is also precious for Ayverdi whose family’s roots go back to Gül Baba (a *Bektaşî* dervish). She stated that “the great Turk, Bektaş-i Veli may be the most important server during the spreading of *iman* (faith) in Anatolia and Turkification of it.”<sup>62</sup> Importantly, she states that “whether a person being either *Rıfai*, *Kadiri*, *Mevlevi* or *Bektaşî*, just so he should not stay in the darkness of his *nefs* (ego) after blowing the light of *sharia*.”<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, the *Halveti* order also takes a special importance for *Rıfais*. The graves of Ken’an Rıfai, his mother Cenân Hanım, Samiha and Ekrem Ayverdi, Samiha Cemal are next to the tomb of a *Halveti* dervish, Merkez Efendi, in Zeytinburnu, İstanbul. In short, making a division among the *tariqas* clashes with the soul of faith for Ayverdi. Thus, it is nearly impossible to see any conflict between the Rıfai order and other orders.

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<sup>62</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, *Rahmet Kapısı* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2008), p. 56. “Bektaşî Veli denen koca Türk, belki de Anadolu’nun imana kavuşup Türkleşmesinde en fazla emeği geçmiş bir ulu kişi idi.” *Rahmet kapısı* p.56.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57. “İster Rıfai, Kadiri, Mevlevi ister Bektaşî olsun, yeter ki şeriat fenerini üfleyip, *nefs* karanlığında kalanlardan olmuş olmasın.”

## **PART B: ANALYSIS: Ayverdi's Approach to Ottoman-Turkish Modernization: Traditionalism or Modernism?**

### **Chapter III: *Tanzimat, Islahat and Meşrutiyet* Period**

The modernization movements in the Ottoman Empire began intensively during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839). Europe was taken as an example in the process of modernization. Yet there was not a consensus among the Ottoman intellectuals and statesmen concerning the content or scope of the modernization policies. The question of 'what should be taken from the West' caused a clash of ideas even among the reformists. It is a fact that the question also continued in the Turkish Republic founded in 1923, too. In this part, we will examine to the ideas of Ayverdi about Turkish modernization process since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Ayverdi witnessed the last two decades of the empire and foundation of the Republican Turkish state, and so as an intellectual her approach to modernization process is important in terms of Turkish intellectual history.

Many works of Ayverdi reflect the ideas of the thinker about the renewal or modernization adventure in the empire. The period, which includes the Ottoman modernization process in the nineteenth and twentieth century, takes a large place in the works of the author. Especially, *Türk Tarihinde Osmanlı Asırları, Türk Rus Münasebetleri ve Muharebeleri, Bir Dünyadan Bir Dünyaya, Dünden Bugüne Ne Kalmıştır, Ne İdik Ne Oluk, Bağ Bozumu, Mesih Paşa İmamı* are some of the most significant examples among her works centered on the modernization of westernization process.

Before analyzing the ideas of Ayverdi about the Ottoman-Turkish modernization process, we will give brief information about this process. If we have a look at the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, we observe that the rising military, economic and political supremacy of the West put the Ottoman state under intense pressure. Fears of geo-political danger forced the Ottomans to modernize the military, bureaucracy, and economy of the

empire along European lines as early as the beginning of the century. In fact, it is also possible to see some reform attempts of the state in the eighteenth century, however, large structural change was not planned in 1700s. Changes would be limited to reforms in the military area. Whereas during the *Tanzimat* (re-organization) period, which is usually dated between 1839-1876 and is accepted as a watershed in the Ottoman reform process, in order to cope effectively with western powers, many reforms and changes came on the Ottoman agenda in that period.

During the nineteenth century, as a result of a sustained effort of reform which replaced the honored and long-preserved institutions of the classical Ottoman state by new fashions inspired by an increasing interest in European thought, society, and government, a new, mainly westernized ruling class emerged and created a highly complex system of government that ruled with an autocracy unmatched in the earlier, traditional times of the state. As we mentioned, westernized reforms, which began intensively during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, were extended and carried out during the reigns of Abdülmecid I (1839-1861) and Abdülaziz (1861-1876) by the reformist bureaucracy of the Men of *Tanzimat* Mustafa Reşid Pasha, Ali Pasha, and Fuad Pasha. Obviously, reform in the Ottoman state was a complex process in which each solution created new problems. That is, the reforms could not totally rescue the empire from failure against the Western political and military powers due to a number of intertwined reasons.

If we have a look at why the reforms were not able to stop the falling into decline of the Ottoman traditional state, we see first that the empire was very large, with an amazingly heterogeneous society. Western powers often intervened in the internal social and political affairs of the empire in order to secure political and economic advantages for themselves by stating they were protecting their fellow-religious or ethnic groups. Additionally, the

nationalist elements among a few subject minorities, largely nourished and promoted by western states or western radical groups, began to demand greater advantages or independence from the empire. This foreign power-Ottoman minority situation caused a certain amount of disorder and chaos within the Ottoman borders and was used to create anti-Muslim propaganda in Europe. Furthermore, a series of economic problems, inherited from the near past, deepened due to the inexperience of most Ottoman reformers and the greed of some imperial powers and individuals of West and Ottomans for profits at the expense of the empire.<sup>64</sup> In addition to the inexperience of the reformers who lacked adequate knowledge about cultures and reforms, they neither knew western civilization properly nor touched deeply into their own society and state's needs and complexities.

Even though the Ottoman reformists had a strong faith and reason for change in the empire, their ideas of modernization often conflicted; that is, there was no consensus about the basic question on which reforms should be taken from the suddenly superior Europe. While some reformists proposed to change the empire completely along western lines as much as possible, others offered to modernize only fields of technology and science without causing damage to the old and true national and religious values.

In the following parts, we will try to examine the ideas of Ayverdi about the aforementioned question in details. We will present her approach to Ottoman-Turkish modernization. First of all, Ayverdi's approach to the *Tanzimat*, *Islahat* and *Meşrutiyet* (constitutional monarchy) will be examined. Then, we will take a look to the Young Turks and the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) from Ayverdi's perspective. Finally, we will try to analyze her approach to modernization policies in the new Republican Turkish State.

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<sup>64</sup> Stanford Shaw, *History of Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Vol II. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. vii.

### **a. *Tanzimat* (Re-organization) and *Islahat* (Improvement)**

Ayverdi states that there were basically two types of reformer. Her first type of reformer purposes that science, technology, mentality, and culture of the West should be completely taken for the salvation of the empire; on the other hand, according to her second type of reformer, only the scientific and technological developments should be taken from the West. *Mesihpaşa İmamı*, written in 1948, is a good example of her presentation of these two opposite types of reformers. According to this novel, the first type of reformers, who demands a sharp policy along westernization lines, believes that the only salvation for the state depends on leaving aside the eastern identity and character. According to these reformists, the Ottomans should completely get rid of its spoiled and fusty eastern identity. An adaptation to the West is unconditionally essential. First of all, these reformists saw and see the Islamic religion as the main obstacle for westernized reforms in the empire, and so religion should be negated and set aside, “passivated” as much as possible. Moreover, they think along liberal lines that science is adequate for overcoming with all of the problems of a state and individual.

In contrast, the second type of reformers, who were absolutely opposed to the *Tanzimat* reforms, think that the reform river has been over-flowing without ceasing since *Tanzimat*, yet some branches turn into swamps and marshes instead of benefit. Even the beneficial sides of the older national culture were also given up and abandoned by the reformers. In short, in *Mesih Paşa İmamı*, Ayverdi criticizes those Ottoman reformists who defended a full change in the empire through westernized principles. In many works of Ayverdi, she presents these reformists as people destroying the Turkish civilization and causing the fall of the empire.

Ayverdi claims that a healthy reform never aims to destroy a civilization; although, it should aim to change it through the principles or the necessities of the era. Nevertheless, *Tanzimat* reforms could not achieve such a goal, and, thus, the Turkish civilization was damaged. She says that “*Tanzimat* meant losing whatever we had in hand when seeking to flirt with a new civilization.”<sup>65</sup> According to Ayverdi, *taassup/bağnazlık* (Islamic fundamentalism) and narrow mindedness of religionists and others should be destroyed while the religion, language, and national feelings of the nation remain same.

Ayverdi states that the fanatics of Islam are as dangerous as the non-believers who support irreligiousness or atheism. Also, she often states that people can not live without religion, yet atheist thought was being spread among the Ottomans while there is always a necessity for faith for everyone. Ayverdi defends the idea of a middle way preventing both Islamic fundamentalism and European-based radical atheism in the society. The Islamic common soul and spiritual values should be protected. In contrast to many Europeans, many Ottoman reformists could not understand the importance of religion in the state. Therefore, any attempt to reduce the influential role of Islam in the state was an unforgivable mistake.

She mentions that “when Europe was carrying out its Renaissance, it had heavily impaired the church which had been sucking the blood of the state. However, it also immediately recognized and assessed the place of religion in the society and cherished the Christian spirit. We were choosing to get rid of our spiritual values and then moving towards a dead end which would end up in failure, as we were trying to place ourselves in the ranks of the Western civilization through *Tanzimat* which we can be called the ‘Turkish Renaissance’”.

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<sup>65</sup> “*Tanzimat*, yeni bir medeniyete kur yapmak isterken elde avuçta olanı da kaybetmek demektir.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Türk Tarihinde Osmanlı Asırları*, (İstanbul, Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 1999), p. 563.

<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, Ayverdi pointed out that Europe managed to attach itself to its own ancient civilization instead of ignoring it. She says that “in addition, Europe, when yielding before the Greek-Roman civilization, knew how to appraise the revolution by finding its earliest roots and breathing past into present. However in our case, we were attempting to keep our tree alive by ripping off its roots.”<sup>67</sup>

Besides such ideas from Ayverdi, similar ideas came from some of her contemporaries such as Ercüment Kuran<sup>68</sup> who criticized the reforms on the basis of morality and ethical values. He stated that “the idea behind *Tanzimat* is rationalism. Şinasi has brought rational philosophy. West is indeed rational. However, the materialistic philosophy which was wide spread in Europe then, has adversely affected Turkish intellectuals. However, the West raised some philosophers such as Bergson, Toynbee, Jaspers who pay attention to ethical values. Unfortunately, Turkish intellectuals do not care about these ideas sufficiently.”<sup>69</sup>

On the other hand, Ayverdi argues that Mahmud II was not the first sultan who attempted to make some reforms or leave the Eastern character of the empire. In fact, the reform endeavors especially in the military area began during the reign of Osman II, and continued during the reigns of Ahmed III, Mahmud I, Mustafa III and Selim III. According to Ayverdi, it was clear that the reform attempts would be unsuccessful due to its some inherent faults. The author points out the faults of the *Tanzimat* reforms as “the only necessity for

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p.561. “Avrupa Rönesans’ını yaparken, devlet otoritesinin kanını emen kliseye ağır bir darbe vurmuştu. Haksız da değildi. Fakat, derhal dinin, cemiyetteki yerini taktir ve tayin ederek, bütün kuvvetiyle Hristiyanlık ruhunu yaşattı. Biz ise bir Türk Rönesansı diyebileceğimiz Tanzimatla, kendimizi garp medeniyeti safına yerleştirmeye uğraşırken, manevi bağlarımızı bir yük gibi sırtımızdan atmak yolunu seçiyor, sonu iflasa varacak bir çıkmaza doğru gidiyorduk.”

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p.561. “Şu da var ki Avrupa, Greko-Romen medeniyetine baş eğerken, bu itaat ve boyun eğişin yanı sıra, en eski köklerini bulup, geçmişi hale aşılıyarak inkılabı değerlendirmesini bilmişti. Bize gelince, köklerini sökmek suretiyle, diktiğimiz ağacı yaşatmaya teşebbüs ediyorduk.”

<sup>68</sup> Ercüment Kuran (1920-2009); was a professor of history. He founded department of history in Hacettepe University. Some of his works are *Türk Çağdaşlaşması*; *Türk-İslam Kültürüne Dair*;

<sup>69</sup> Mehmet Demirci, “Mesihpaşa İmamı,” in *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 34, no. 2 (April 2005), p. 30 “Tanzimatçı fikir akılcılıktır. Şinasi akılcı felsefeyi getirdi. Batı gerçekten akılcıdır. Ancak o sırada Avrupa’da yaygın olan maddeci felsefe Türk aydını üzerinde menfi tesir yaptı. Halbuki çoğulcu vasfı sayesinde Batı dünyası maddeciğe karşı Bergson, Toynbee, Jaspers gibi maneviyatçı filozoflar yetiştirecektir. Ne yazık ki Türk aydınları bu fikir hareketiyle yeteri kadar ilgilenmeyeceklerdir.”

continuity and permanence was a renovation, a reform in the general structure of the nation. However, how felicitous attitude was it, in the path for survival, if you did it by forgetting that you are an Easterner? Was it because they embarked with the password of ‘Westernization’ that the moves of revolution and reforms were not accepted and rejected by the ignorant? Was it the fault of the Eastern spirit? Or else, was it the fault of the ignorance which surrounded the East? As there was no left or right for the sun and the darkness, there could be no direction, west or east for ignorance.”<sup>70</sup> In short, Ayverdi was always proud of having an Eastern identity. In fact, it was not only a source of pride and honor but also a sign of superiority against the West. Ayverdi places attention on the ‘dark ages of Europe’, and the supremacy of Eastern civilization when compared with the West in the same centuries. She also defined the reform method of the West as follow; “...When the Crusader West returned with full store of knowledge from the East to the West, they did not call this awakening ‘Easternization’ but they have called it a ‘Renaissance’ because, they have gained in their civilization a personal identity by throwing this new material in their hands into the Greco-Roman melting-pot. In such a way, this civilization has lived the adventure of the ear of grain which enters within the millstone as wheat and comes out as flour.

However, when the foundation of *Tanzimat*, which we can call the ‘Turkish Renaissance’, was being established, this failure would be called ‘Westernization’. It was obvious that this adverse mentality demolished the national character and created inferiority complexes and raised admiration for the West, but would cost a lot for the Turkish community. As a matter of fact, what we needed was not Westernization but to restore the

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<sup>70</sup> TTOA., p. 544. “Memleketin umumi yapısında bir yenilenme, bir düzenlenme, beka ve devamın tek şartı idi. Ama bunu, şarklı olduğunu unutmak isteyerek yapmak, kurtuluş yolunda ne dereceye kadar isabetli bir tutum idi? Acaba, ‘Garplılaştırma’paralosisıyla işe girildiği için mi ıslahat ve inkılap hamleleri tutmamış ve daima cehalet tarafından al aşağı edilmişti? Kabahat, şark ruhunun kendisinde miydi? Yoksa şarkı sarmış olan cehalette miydi? Güneşin ve karanlığın sağı solu olmadığı gibi, bilginin ve cehlinde ciheti, doğusu batısı olamazdı.”

purity and sincerity of the mind and the spirit of our times of existence and raising and awaking the love for *kelimatullah* (the Word of Allah).”<sup>71</sup>

On the other hand, Ayverdi did think that *Tanzimat* was necessary for the Ottoman state. She believed that there was a need for reforms and changes. Nevertheless, her main hesitations are about the Turkish national, cultural and moral values. According to her, *Tanzimat* reforms lacked both Turkish national values and westernized scientific method. It had neither a national ideology nor a national thinker. This was the most significant handicap. It was designed by the Ottoman statesmen who felt inferiority towards the West. These reformists neglected the sociological facts in the empire, and they did not pay attention whether the reforms were suitable for the character of the state and its society. These reformists lacked national consciousness, and so they damaged the Turkish culture and long-preserved traditions.

Moreover, they claimed that all reforms were made for the public. But, the Ottoman society was not interested in these reforms coming from the top. More importantly, the reformists focused on the materialist and positivist ideas of the West. According to Ayverdi, “*Tanzimat* meant to transfer the Ottoman civilization, which has created wonders by the collective powers of material and spiritual, to the positivist and materialistic view from then onwards.”<sup>72</sup> The Turkish cultural, traditional and religious values were damaged due to the positivist and materialist view coming from the West. Ayverdi thinks that the reforms occurred at the expense of the Turkish national culture and traditions. Subsequently, Ayverdi

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 545. “...Haçlı Garp, Doğu’dan Batı’ya fikir dağarcıkları dolmuş olarak döndükleri zaman, bu uyanışın adına “Şarklılaşma” değil, “Rönesans” dediler. Zira ellerindeki malzemeyi, Greko-Romen potasına atarak, medeniyetlerine şahsi hüviyet kazandırdılar. Öyle ki bu medeniyet, değirmen taşının arasına buğday olarak girip, un olarak çıkan bir başağın macerasını yaşamış bulunuyordu. Halbuki bir Türk rönesansı diyebileceğimiz *Tanzimat*’ın temelleri kurulurken, bu iflasın adına ‘Garplılaşma’ denecekti. Milli karakteri yıkan ve millete de aşağılık duygusu ve bir Garp hayranlığı uyandıracak olan bu ters zihniyet, belli ki Türklük için pek pahalıya mal olacaktı. Aslına bakılırsa, bizim Garplılaşmaya değil, oluş ve yükseliş devirlerimizin zihni ve ruhi saffet ve ihlasını ihya etmeğe, “kelimetullah” aşkını uyandırmaya ihtiyacımız vardı.”

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 561. “*Tanzimat* demek madde ve mananın müşterek kuvvetleriyle harikalar yaratmış olan Osmanlı medeniyetini, bundan sonra yalnız pozitivist ve materyalist bir görüşe havale etmek demektir.”

states that “when turning towards the West, the Tanzimat has come up on the stage with an idealist pose. In addition to having declared a war against national culture and tradition, it has set to work with the identity of a clumsy lover and an imitator of Europe.”<sup>73</sup>

As many thinkers, Ayverdi also mentioned, that the *Tanzimat* period began with the declaration of the *Gülhane Hattı Hümayunu* (Rose-garden Imperial Edict) in 1839. In fact, an intense series of reforms were implemented by Mahmud II during the two decades before the edict; centralizing the government, restructuring the military and administration, establishing new educational institutions, and introducing western-style dress. Yet, a new period would start with the proclamation of this edict which declared it would guarantee the rule of law as well as safety of life, property, and honor for all of the Ottoman subjects, regardless of religious affiliation. Ayverdi thinks that the main handicap in the edict was its lack of the national sensibility. She states “properties and lives within the borders of the Ottoman empire were indeed under threat. However, insecurity of chastity did not exist in the history of Turks. It was a shameful attitude to show that such a concern for personal dignity which was under the guarantee of Turkish traditions for thousands of years did not exist. The actual unsound part of this mandate was that, it did not bring a national understanding of culture, it did not include a financial and economical program, and great privileges were given to Christian citizens against Muslim citizens.”<sup>74</sup>

According to Ayverdi, “*Tanzimat* could not manage to found a national economy and education system. *Tanzimat* can be accepted as the era where political and economic power of Europe rather than the culture and the civilization of the West spread in the Turkish lands.

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p.735. “Garba doğru teveccüh ederken, idealist pozunda sahneye çıkan Tanzimat, milli kültür ve an’aneyle harp ilan etmiş olmakla beraber, beceriksiz bir Avrupa aşığı ve taklitçisi hüviyeti ile, iş başına gelmişti.

<sup>74</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, *Türk-Rus Münasebetleri ve Muharebeleri*, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2004), p.270. “Osmanlı hudutları içinde gerçekten can ve mal tehlikesi mevcuttu. Fakat, ırz ve namus emniyetsizliği diye bir şey, Türklük tarihinde mevcut değildi. Binlerce yıllık Türk an’ane ve adetlerinin kefaleti altında bulunan böyle bir şeref müessesesi yokmuş gibi göstermek utanç verici bir davranıştı. Bu fermanın asıl sakat tarafı, bir milli kültür anlayışı getirmemiş, mali ve iktisadi programı olmamış ve hristiyan teb’aya, Müslüman teb’a aleyhine büyük imtiyazlar tanınmış olması noktalarında toplanabilir.

Although the ones who have prepared this revolution were first class statesman with good intentions, they have seen their ugly, poor and helpless faces in the mirror which was put up by Europe and could not escape the control of the hidden order of the west saying; ‘Run away from yourself and resemble me!’ And could not get rid of the inferiority complex and could not show a national indignation to get rid of it.”<sup>75</sup> Another edict, *Islahat* Reform, which was declared in 1856, emphasized the equality of all religious groups and pledged to prevent religious and racial discrimination in the Empire. For Ayverdi, it was also the product of the same mentality preparing the previous edict. Thus, it was possible to see the same handicaps in it.

Taking a close look at some developments of the nineteenth century, we see new military, medical, and administrative schools established in the empire along European lines. Thus, the new style of education system of *Tanzimat* produced new social elites that adopted the European style of thought, literature, cultural and social life. These new ruling elites were significantly different from the classical Ottoman elites. As a result of the new style of education and increasing relations with the West, they re-set their minds through the imitation of the West, and it surely paved a way to a significant social change in the country.

As the rising importance of materialism in Ottoman thought since the second half of the century, many statesmen thought that the rise of the West was derived from the developments in the scientific area. In addition, a strong belief among them occurred not only about the superiority of the West in scientific and technological fields but also in cultural fields. For instance, Mustafa Sami Efendi presented Europe and its culture as an absolute super in his famous work *Avrupa Risalesi*. For many Ottoman statesmen, westernization

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<sup>75</sup> TTOA, p. 560. “Tanzimata Garp kültür ve medeniyetinin değil, Avrupa siyasi ve iktisadi nüfuzunun Türk topraklarında derinlemesine kök saldıği bir devir denebilir. Bu inkılabı hazırlayanların birinci sınıf devlet adamı, iyi niyet sahibi kimseler olmasına rağmen, Avrupa’nın yüzlerine tuttuğu aynada kendi çehrelerini utanılacak ölçüde çirkin, zavallı ve biçare görerek, Garb’ın ‘Kendinden kaç, bana benze!’ emrinin gizli kumandasından silkinip, aşağılık duygusundan kurtulamamış ve kurtulmak içinde milli bir asabiyet gösterememişlerdir.”

should have come in almost each field from art to literature, clothing, and architecture. Ahmed Mithad Efendi says that “*alafranga* became the most popular word in the empire”. In fact, the only issue about this westernization was about its limits.

In that period, the numbers of the intellectuals who showed resistance against westernization enormously decreased. For example, an important review publication called *Mecmua-i Fünun* (Review of Sciences), which was published by Münif Mehmed Pasha<sup>76</sup> and his friends in 1864, donated 126 books to a library. These books reveal the interests towards the West of the Ottoman intellectuals, because there were very few works which belong to Eastern thinkers. On the other hand, many of the works belong to western thinkers such as Bacon Shakespeare, Montesquieu, Helvetius, Adam Smith and La Fontaine. Shortly, it is an important proof about the rising interest among the Ottoman intellectuals towards the West<sup>77</sup>

Hanioglu argues that after the establishment of western types of education institutions, the number of the Ottoman reformists who dreamed of a strong cultural change through western principles increased when compared with the previous generation. Thus, these reformists tried to decrease the role of the religion in the society under the influence of biological materialism. Yet the reformists did not want to take only the science and the technology of the West, they wanted to establish a new system of values, which was completely strange for the Ottomans and impossible to be implemented in the Ottoman society. For instance, Ahmed Rıza Bey<sup>78</sup> desired to see an Ottoman society like in Brazil

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<sup>76</sup> Münif Mehmed Pasha (1830-1910); was born in Antep. After studying in Egypt and Damascus, he studied law, philosophy, and physics in Germany. He founded *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* and a magazine titled as *Mecmuayı Fünun*, but both was closed by sultan Abdülaziz in 1862. He worked as *Zaptiye Müsteşarı* in 1867; *Divan-ı Temyiz Reisi* in 1868; *Maarif Meclisi Reisi* in 1869; ambassador in Tahrán in 1972; the Minister of Education in 1977. Later, he appointed as *Meclis-i Sıhhiye-i Fevkalade Reisi* while becoming *Vizier* in 1879. He appointed as the Minister of Education one more time, but left it in 1888. His works are *Muhaverat-ı Hikemiyye*, *Telhis-i Hikmet-i Hukuk*, *Dasitani Ali Osman*, *İlmi Servet*.

<sup>77</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, ‘Batılılaşma’ in the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol V., pp. 148- 150.

<sup>78</sup> Ahmed Rıza Bey (1858-1930); graduated from the Galatasaray Lycee and then studied agriculture in France. He served as the director of education in Bursa. At the age of thirty, he returned to France, where he became an

whose society was shaped with the principles of positivism. Many intellectuals like Abdullah Cevdet,<sup>79</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı<sup>80</sup> and Celal Nuri Bey<sup>81</sup> also known as the westernizers who were extremely under the influence of materialism, positivism, Darwinism, Freudism, did not offer any solution apart from westernization for the structural problems in the Ottoman society and the inherent political problems.<sup>82</sup>

In retrospect, in Ayverdi's writings, she points out that the intellectuals of the empire were under the deep influence of the West and she often blamed the Ottoman elites for the falling of the empire due to their ignorance.

## **b. The Idea of Constitutional Monarchy**

Following the *Tanzimat* period, a constitutional monarchy was declared in 1876. This period is known as *I. Meşrutiyet*, the first constitutional period. As a result of the insistence of the new ruling elite, the period of parliamentary rule would be established in the state. Yet, it would have a short life because of the Ottoman-Russian war (1877-1878). Abdulhamid II dissolved the parliament in 1878.

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early leader of the Young Turks. In 1894, he published a series of tracts demanding a constitutional regime in the empire. In 1895, he began publishing a bimonthly newspaper, *Meşveret*, which soon became a locus of the exile Young Turk movements. He returned to İstanbul after the 1908 revolution and headed the CUP. He remained loyal to CUP during his years in government. Yet, he founded a new party, the *National Unity Party* in 1919. He spent the years of the Independence War in Paris, then returned to İstanbul, where he was an instructor at the Dar-ül Fünun school until his death.

<sup>79</sup> Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932); was born in Malatya as a member of a Kurdish family. He went to İstanbul when he was fifteen to study at the military medical school. He was one of the founder members of the CUP. Along with other members of the CUP, he was arrested in 1892. In 1896, he was sent to exile in Tripoli. Continuing his political activities, he was forced to flee to Tunisia and from there to Europe. In 1900, he agreed to become the medical officier of the Ottoman Embassy in Geneva, in exchange for the release of political prisoners in Tripoli. For this compromise to Abdulhamid II, he did not attain high office once the CUP came to power. While he was in Geneva, he founded a journal called as *Osmanlı*, but it was closed. He founded a monthly newspaper called as *İçtihad* in 1904. It continued until his death in 1932. In *İçtihad*, he published articles attacking theocracy, tradition, and religion but advocating secular modernism.

<sup>80</sup> Kılıçzade Hakkı was born in 1872. He is known as Westernizer. He became representative in Turkish National Assembly, and played role at acceptance of the Latin Alphabet in Turkey. He had many articles such as *Dinsizler*, *Yunus Hoca Hikayeleri*, *Pek Uyanık Bir Uyku*, and *İ'tikadat-ı Batılaya İlan-ı Harb*.

<sup>81</sup> Celal Nuri Bey (1882-1938); He graduated from Galatasaray Lycee, then attended the Law School when he was nineteen. He wrote more than two thousand articles in French and Turkish for some journals and magazines such as *Le Courier D'Orient*, *Le Jeune Turc*, *Tanin*, *İkdam*, *Vakit*, *Yeni Adam*, *İçtihad*. He became representative in the Ottoman parliament in 1919. After Malta exile, he became representative in Turkish National Assembly during the first- four periods.

<sup>82</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, 'Batılılaşma' in the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol V., pp. 151- 152.

In the works of Ayverdi, the reign of the sultan Abdulhamid II was praised while the opposite groups to the order were often condemned. She presents the reign of Abdulhamid II as an excellent model of the Ottoman ruling. Therefore, the end of this period is a terrible failure for the empire. In many works, Ayverdi reveals the Young Turks as a group who were preparing the decline of the empire. She states that “the Young Turks had appeared as an illegitimate child of the wasted Tanzimat”.<sup>83</sup> According to Ayverdi, the Young Turks did not have a systematic reform program. And, their dream was to change only the political order through the declaration of the constitutional monarchy, and to join among the European countries. They were far from serious, logical, and systematic way of thinking. They thought that salvation for the empire was only possible by getting rid of the Eastern character, and a full adaptation into the western world. Ayverdi states that “the literate section of the country was in freedom malaria. This was a nervous crisis lived by masses from time to time. They asked for freedom. But, what was this freedom which they ran after insistently? There was nobody who knew that. Because there was also no one who informed anybody about it. They would not be able to inform about it because the contemplation part of the reform they were planning was missing.”<sup>84</sup>

Ayverdi also mentions about the Young Turks that “It was obvious that reforms made by the masses which had no intellectuals and scholars would be shallow. Feelings and dreams rather than consciousness and rationality were dominating the excitement which agitated the young graduates of the military school who were shouting constitutional monarchy on the mountains of Macedonia. These youngsters who have rebelled and went up the mountains lacked political and academic formation. Just like rebelling *yeniçeri* (Ottoman Janissary

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<sup>83</sup> TTOA, pp. 783-784.

<sup>84</sup>“Memleketin okur yazar sınıfını artık bir hürriyet sıtması tutmuştu. Bu kütlelerin zaman zaman yakalandıkları bir asabi buhrandı. Hürriyet istiyorlardı. Amma bu, ter ter tepinerek peşine düştükleri hürriyet neydi? Bunu pek bilen yoktu. Çünkü bildiren de yoktu. Bildiremezlerdi, zira yapmak istedikleri inkılabın tefekkür tarafı eksikti”. See Samiha Ayverdi, *Türk-Rus Münasebetleri ve Muharebeleri*, p.326.

soldiers), they were also far away from knowing the intellectual and philosophical aspect of their dissatisfaction.”<sup>85</sup>

According to Ayverdi, the monarchical governance was not an obstacle for the progress of the Ottoman state. She claims that lack of a constitution or parliament was not the problem. That is, the underdevelopment of the state was not derived from the type of regime. Ayverdi states that “in essence, autocracy or constitutional monarchy were not either good or bad. Whichever was demanded by the social and political structure of the country was the good one, as long as the one who holds the steering wheel had the license to answer the demands and needs of the masses. As wanted by the Young Turks, stripping the country all of a sudden from its robe of tradition of century old guidance and leaving it to the doubtful and dangerous hands of a constitutional monarchy which was supported by foreign interests and which carried along Jewish firms meant bringing it knee to knee with the misery which would end the pressure within the structured governance of autocracy.”<sup>86</sup>

In fact, according to Ayverdi, the problem in the Ottoman state was based on the loss of the Turkish values during the early periods of the empire. Ottomans had lost their moral and traditional values. At the same time, they stayed far away from the scientific and technologic developments in Europe because of their lack of assiduity, seriousness, and energy at its early periods. Whereas, according to Ayverdi, the empire should have preserved its moral, cultural and traditional values while the material developments in the West was

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 326. “Mütefekkeri ve ilim otoriteleri olmayan bir kütlenin yapacağı inkılabın da, pek tabii ki yalnız kat ve üstünkörü olacağı aşıkardı. Makedonya dağlarında meşrutiyet diye bar bar bağırın genç harbiyelileri tahrik eden heyecanda da mantık ve şuur değil, his ve hayal hakimdi. Kazan kaldırıp dağa çıkan bu gençler, siyasi ve ilmi formasyondan mahrum bulunuyorlardı. Tıpkı isyan eden yeniçeri ocaklısı gibi, hoşnutsuzluklarının fikri ve felsefi tarafını bilmekten çok uzak idiler.”

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp. 295-296. “Mutlakiyet rejimi olsun, meşrutiyet rejimi olsun, esas itibarıyla ne iyi idi, ne de kötü. Bir memleketin siyasi ve içtimai bünyesi bunlardan hangisini talep etmekte ise, iyi olan oydu. Yeter ki dümeni tutan ve çarkı döndürenler, kütlenin talep ve ihtiyacına cevap verecek ehliyetle olsunlardı. Jön Türklerin istedikleri gibi, memleketi, asırlık idare an’anesi kaftanından birdenbire soyup, yabancı menfaatler tarafından desteklenen ve Yahudi firması taşıyan böyle bir meşrutiyet rejiminin şüpheli ve tehlikeli ellerine terketmek demek, onun mutlakiyetin kalıplı idaresi içindeki tazyike rahmet okutacak bir perişanlıkla diz dize getirmek demektir.”

brought to the empire. Furthermore, she pointed out that having an eastern identity was felt to be a shame by many Young Turks who felt a growing inferiority in relation to the West.

#### **Chapter IV: The Young Turks and the Committee of Union and Progress from Ayverdi's Perspective**

Ayverdi states that during the *Tanzimat* period the Turkish civilization was in throes of death, but it was still alive. Nevertheless, the old civilization was completely rejected by the Young Turks during the constitutional monarchy period. Moreover, they were far from any nobility and quality themselves. And, they were also inadequate in terms of intellectual capacity due to their growth in a low level of social and economic life.<sup>87</sup> It was clear to her that the Young Turks, coming together under the roof of the Committee of Union and Progress, would not be successful because of their obedience to ideas which were against the Turkish national interests and were dictated by the side opposed to Turk- Muslim interests. Yet, she stated that the educated group of the empire had become like a drunk and was not aware of such a fact.

Ayverdi mentions that “turning its back to personal and national character found more precise and sharp expression in the times of Young Turks and reforms were dependent on the system of demolishing the structure and rebuilding it.”<sup>88</sup> “The great suffering of the country was not seeking constitutional monarchy, but seeking it by acting at this unprepared and incompetent level, seeking but not knowing what they were seeking for. If the representative government had not come from this un-intellectual, unconscious move which lacked philosophy but rather had come from the direction the national realities forced and from national resources, the dress put on the nation would not be a snake’s skin but rather a caftan

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<sup>87</sup> TTOA, p. 736

<sup>88</sup> “Şahsi ve milli karaktere gerçekten sırt çeviriş, ittihatçılar devrinde daha kat’i ve keskin ifadesini bularak, inkılap, bünyeyi yıkıp yeniden kurmak sistemine dayandı.” See, *Türk-Rus Münasebetleri ve Muharebeleri*, p.324.

with fitting measurements.”<sup>89</sup> As we see the author is not against the parliamentary system of governance, but, she stated it must be nourished from Turkish national resources on the basis of intellectual and conscious philosophy. In short, Ayverdi founded her main criticism against the Young Turks in this manner in which the revolution of 1908 lacked both national and intellectual character.

It can be noted that in order to influence the young population in the empire, the first step would be using secret publications to criticize Sultan Abdulhamid II. From then on, the inexperienced students of the medicine, law, military and engineering faculties would be incited against Abdulhamid II. Their main goal was to dethrone the sultan. Ayverdi states that “many ignorant men who were wearing the mask of Young Turks were working shoulder to shoulder with Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks after an untrue freedom and constitutional monarchy. Unaware of the fact that they were cutting the branch they sit on, they were struggling without seeing the stones they were hitting their heads against as if they were having an epileptic seizure.”<sup>90</sup> As we have examined the readings, the author often says that the most apparent character of the Young Turks was this non-national characteristic. Thus, she does not only show them as an ignorant group but also as a group lacking national and religious values.

During the Second Constitutional period (1908-1918) the state was under the control of the CUP government. The CUP, which developed through the activities of the Young Turks and students of the Military Academy and the Medical Schools in İstanbul and

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 326. “Memleketin büyük ıztırabı, meşrutiyet rejimini istemek değil, bu hazırlıksız ve kifayetsiz seviyeden hareket ederek istemek, ne istediğini bilmeden istemektir. Eğer parlamenter rejim, böyle fikirsiz, felsefesiz ve şuursuz bir hamleden değil de, memleket realitelerinin zorladığı yönden ve milli kaynaklardan gelmiş olsaydı, memleketin üstüne geçirilen bir yılan derisi değil, ölçüsü ölçüsünü tutan bir kaftan olurdu.”

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp. 323-324. “Jön Türk maskesi takmış nice gafil adamlar, mevhum bir hürriyet ve meşrutiyet peşinde, Sırp, Bulgarlar ve Yunanlılarla omuz omuza çalışıyor ve oturdukları dalı kestiklerinden habersiz, bir sar’a nöbetine tutulmuşcasına, başlarını vurdukları taşları görmeden çırpınıp duruyorlardı.”

Rumelia, gathered around Ahmed Rıza<sup>91</sup> and also Prince Sebahaddin<sup>92</sup> during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II. Thus, there was no real ideological unity among the members of the Union in which ideas varied from Ottomanism to Islamism and Liberalism, from Westernism to Turkism.

In 1908 with the start of the constitutional period, an explosion of public debate emerged on all kinds of political and social issues. The number of the new publications increased thirty-fold in the year after the revolution. The political and social debate was mainly among three competing ideologies: Ottomanism, the old Young Ottoman ideal proposing the union of the different communities in the empire around the Ottoman throne; (Pan-)Islamism, which aimed to regenerate the empire on the basis of Islamic practices and of solidarity in the Islamic *Ummah*; (Pan-)Turkism, which sought the union of the Turkic people over the world under the Ottoman flag.

Although the divisions among these three main currents were not always clear, Ottomanists, Islamists and Turkists differed on two main questions within the debates about the measure of Westernization and the question of what was the basis for identification with loyalty to the future Ottoman state. A majority of the intellectuals were in favor of what was seen as the useful elements of the West. Most of their debates centered on the problem of 'how to bring about a synthesis of the Western civilization with Muslim Ottoman elements.'<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Prince Sebahaddin (1878-1948); was the son of Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha, and his mother was the sister of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Prince was liberalist. He was influenced largely by the structure of the Anglo-Saxon society and was a supporter of Le Play School. He defended individualism and decentralization for the Ottoman progress. He expressed his views in his works titled as *Open Letters to the CUP* and *How to be saved?*. He entered into competition of leadership with Ahmet Rıza in the CUP structure, and he left it in 1902 at the CUP congress in Paris. Then, he founded the Ottoman Liberal Society as an opposition side against the CUP.

<sup>93</sup> Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1993), pp. 131-132.

### **a. CUP and The Idea of Ottomanism, Turkism, Westernism**

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was perhaps the most cosmopolitan state in the world. The major division among the Ottoman society was between the ruling class, which was composed of the *ulema* (religious scholar), the bureaucracy, the army, and the *reaya* (subjects). And, the whole society in the Empire was formed along religious lines; that is, the basic division existed through being non-Muslim and Muslim.

The Muslim community, which was a vast majority over non-Muslims, was far from monolithic. Sunni groups who belonged to various legal schools and sufi orders were the dominant population in Ottoman Muslims. The rest of the Muslim population was composed of Shi'ites, Alevis and less significant sects such as the Druzes and the Nusayris. Among the Christians of the Empire, the Greek Orthodox population and Armenians belonging to the Armenian Apostolic Church existed in significant numbers. Also, Roman Catholics, Assyrians, and other Christian groups had important numbers of populations. The Jewish population was small but had an outstanding position. Religion was the primary organizing principle of the traditional Ottoman society despite the ethnic diversity which included Turks, Albanians, Araps, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Kurds, Serbs, and Vlachs.<sup>94</sup>

According to Ayverdi, the CUP was not aware of the danger rising from the nationalist movements in the empire. Therefore, in her view, the ideology of Ottomanism was not seen as a realist policy. The desire of the CUP through the unification of Muslim and non-Muslim subjects around the Ottoman throne was very ridiculous for the author, because, for a long time, non-Muslims had spent a great effort in order to found their own states in the territories of the empire.<sup>95</sup> As a matter of fact, after the euphoria of the revolution of 1908, it was soon clear that Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks continued to further their particular goals.

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<sup>94</sup>Hanioğlu, Şükrü. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* ( Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008 ), pp. 24 -25.

<sup>95</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, *Dünden Bugüne Ne Kalmıştır* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2006), p. 63.

Indeed, even Muslim Albanians preferred Albanian rather than Ottoman identity from 1910 onwards.<sup>96</sup>

In addition to this, the approach of Ayverdi to the idea of Turkism is very interesting. Even though she was a defender of a powerful Turkish nationalism, she was opposed to the Turkism idea of the CUP and many nationalists in Turkey. In that respect, Ayverdi supports the government of Abdulhamid II in staying distant to policies causing any ethnic division in the empire. According to Ayverdi, the basic principle of Abdulhamid II was to stay distant from the policies causing any ethnic separation in the multi-national structure of the empire. Nevertheless, the CUP began to make policies in the direction of a Turkish nationalism as soon as it came to power. A Durkheim-Ziya Gökalp philosophy,<sup>97</sup> which affected the Young Turks' thought, is often criticized by the author who mentions that the CUP, which was under the influence of the thought of this Durkheim-Ziya Gökalp ideal, was supporting the theory of community against individualism. In addition, the ideological gap would be filled with the idea of the Turkism of Gökalp when it was later understood that a revolution could not survive without an ideology. And, laicism was added like a solution in this ideology.<sup>98</sup>

Ayverdi also argues that “the national current raised by Ziya Gökalp with great patience and effort was supporting only the high officials of the Union and Progress who were in power and this bone dry nationalism which lacked faith was more of a power supporting destructiveness than being constructive. This is why water which is drunk and the food eaten

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<sup>96</sup> Erik J. Zürcher., p. 133.

<sup>97</sup> Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924); was born in Diyarbakır. He was a Zaza descendant activist. He was influential in evolving of Turkish nationalism. He was influenced by European thought, he rejected Ottomanism and Islamism in favor of Turkish Nationalism. 1908 Revolution enabled Gökalp to openly advocate his views and to act as a cultural and educational adviser to the government. In 1915, he became the first professor of sociology in İstanbul University. In 1919, his identification with the party which led Turkey into World War resulted in his being exiled to Malta for two years.

<sup>98</sup> TTOA., p. 785

at Gökalp's table could not bring power and strength to the people."<sup>99</sup> The CUP, which espoused the idea of Turkism, a mythic glorification of Turkish ethnic identity, was devoted to restoring the empire's national pride. In this sense, Ayverdi asks how the chauvinism of Gökalp would affect the independence movements of the minorities in the empire and questions whether he was right about his fanciful advices to the young generation.<sup>100</sup> She also mentions that Gökalp believed in only nationalist ideology regardless of the adherence to Islam. So, in her views, he made the soul of the Turkish nation arid.

Ayverdi mentions that "Ziya Gökalp brought both brightness and darkness to the Turkish social life. Thus, he assumed that relying on national sentiments as the sole goal would be sufficient for the Turks and neglected the help of faith and commitment. Apprehending that this would bring continuation and permanence to it, he had decertified the spirit of the Turks."<sup>101</sup> According to Ayverdi, instead of utopian thoughts like the ideas of Gökalp, the realist ideas such as the protection of the rest of the territories and developments in the technological and scientific fields should have been inculcated to the nation. In that respect, Ayverdi makes a reference to the comment of Münevver Ayaşlı (1906-1999)<sup>102</sup> who states that "the Turkism was brought to our homeland by its leader Ziya Gökalp and the Unionists, and it is a part of the English and Zionist tactics. Because, their plan, which aims to

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<sup>99</sup> "Ziya Gökalp'in büyük bir sabır ve gayretle uyandırdığı milliyetçilik cereyanı ancak iktidar koltuğuna oturmuş İttihad ve Terakki erkanına destek olurken, imandan mahrum bu kupkuru milliyetçilik yapıcı olmaktan ziyade yıkıcılığa destek bir güç olmuştur. Onun için de Gökalp'in sofrasında içilen su ve yenilen ekmek kütleye kudret ve kuvvet getirememiştir." See, Samiha Ayverdi, *Dünden Bugüne Ne Kalmıştır*, p. 105.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p.103. "Ziya Gökalp, Türk içtimai hayatına hem aydınlık hem de karanlık getirmiş, böylece iman ve ıkanın yardımı olmaksızın milli hassasiyete tek gaye olarak sarılmanın Türk'e yeteceği zannı içinde kalmış ve bunun ona beka ve devam getireceğini vehmetmekle Türk'ün ruhunu çölleştirmiştir."

<sup>102</sup> Münevver Ayaşlı (1906-1999); was born in Selanica as a member of a prestigious family. She knew French, German, Arabic, and Persian. She was interested in tasawwuf. She wrote some novels such as *Pertev Bey'in Üç Kızı*, *Pertev Bey'in İki Kızı*, and *Pertev Bey'in Torunları*. She also wrote memories such as *Dersaadet*, *Ondokuzuncu Asır*, and *İşittiklerim Gördüklerim*.

replace the religion by an alleged nationality, and replace the Islamic community, *ummah*, by a united Turkish tribe, was undoubtedly prepared outside.”<sup>103</sup>

Ayverdi claims that the nationalism of Gökalp was beneficial for only the Unionists. Such a nationalistic approach became destructive rather than being helpful due to its lack of any Islamic side. Ayverdi also supports her idea by pointing out Gökalp’s own poem which confesses as below;

“We have acquired a legend in the name of ‘city of Turan’.  
A legend, but have we tried a lot with this aim.” Ziya Gökalp. <sup>104</sup>

On the other hand, the Pan-Turkish policy of Enver Pasha<sup>105</sup> was also criticized by Ayverdi who argues that if the realities of the time were taken into consideration, like the Russian hegemony over the Asian Turks, Pan-Turkism sounds like a kind of fairy tale or adventure, and so it turns into an utopia ideology.

Generally speaking, Ayverdi is criticized about her nationalist ideas. She is often defined as either an extremely nationalist thinker or sometimes as *Sabetayist*.<sup>106</sup> In fact, it is true that she is sensitive about the national topics, but racism or ethnocentrism are not suitable labels for the author when we examine her works. Her idea of nationalism covers all Muslim groups in the homeland; that is, it was based upon the idea of the *ummah*, the community of

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<sup>103</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, *Dünden Bugüne Ne Kalmıştır*, p.104. “Ziya Gökalp’in önderliğini yaptığı aşırı Turancılık, memleketimize İttihatçılarla beraber sokulmuştur ve bu bir İngiliz ve Siyonizm taktiğidir. Zira dini bırakıp sözde milliyete, ümmeti bırakıp, kavmiyete dönmek, bu istikamet ve sakat rota dışarıda çizilmiştir ve bize benimsetilmiştir.”

<sup>104</sup> “Turan ili namiyle bir efsane edindik. Efsane fakat gaye deyip az mı didindik.” Samiha Ayverdi, *Abide Şahsiyetler* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1976), p.106

<sup>105</sup> Enver Pasha (1881-1922); took a prominent part in the Young Turk revolution of 1908. By a coup in 1913, Enver Pasha became the virtual dictator. He fought in the Turko-Italian War during 1911-12 in Libya and in the Balkan Wars during 1912-13. He helped bring Ottomans into World War I as a German ally. When the Ottoman state signed an armistice, he fled to Berlin. He was killed while leading an anti-Soviet expedition in Bukhara; his remains were returned from Tajikistan to his homeland in 1996.

<sup>106</sup> See Soner Yalçın, *Beyaz Müslümanların Sırrı: Efendi II*.

those who believe in the Islamic religion. Thus, she found the nationalist perception of the members of the CUP as racist and dangerous for the empire.

Her feelings about Turkish nationalism can be expressed within the idea of *tevhid* (oneness). Cemalnur Sargut<sup>107</sup>, Ayverdi's student, summarizes Ayverdi's approach to Turkish nationalism, "her understanding of Turkism included Circassians and Kurds; that is all people living in the borders of the country, and she united all of them."<sup>108</sup>

If we have a look at Ayverdi's approach to the idea of westernization and the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), we see a considerable opposition of her against westernization. According to Ayverdi, the most significant fault of the CUP is in their line of westernization perception and application. For her, they brought the Christian form of culture to the country while destroying the Turkish national culture. Yet, they could not see the handicaps of western civilization, and they also failed to import the beneficial sides of the West such as working method or the scientific and technological improvements. Japan, for example, which started the reform experience after the Ottomans did, became a competitor against the West in the scientific and technological areas. In contrast to the Ottomans, Japanese did not give up its national culture, traditions and beliefs,<sup>109</sup> whereas, the Ottoman Unionists were lovers and imitators of Europe. As soon as they came to power, they turned sharply their back to national values.

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<sup>107</sup> Cemalnur Sargut was born in 1952 in İstanbul. She studied Chemical Engineering at the National Academy of Architecture and Engineering in İstanbul. She worked as Chemistry teacher for twenty years. His father worked as a doctor, and was representative in Turkish National Assembly during Democrat Party period in 1950s. Her all family members including her grandmother and grandfather were affiliated with Rıfai order. She was one of the best *murids* of Samiha Ayverdi. After the death of Ayverdi, she became the head of Rıfai order in Turkey, and the head of *Türk Kadınları Kültür Derneği* in İstanbul location. She has many works on tasawwuf fields such as *Journay to Love with Ken'an Rıfai*, *Ey İnsan, Bakara, Kabe'nin Hakikati* and *Dinle*.

<sup>108</sup> "Onun Türklük anlayışı içerisinde Çerkezler, Kürtler, yani ülkenin sınırları içerisinde yaşayan ırkları farklı gibi gözüken bütün insanlar vardır ve hepsini birlemiştir." Cemalnur Sargut., p. 67.

<sup>109</sup> TTOA., p. 736

In addition, it is important to note Kılıçzade Hakkı Bey's reform draft, which was dated in 1912. Hanioglu argues that it is an important example of a 'jacobin' style of reform. In this reform draft, the first change foresaw the education of the members of the dynasty. Second change pointed out how modern western values should take the place of the traditional ones. Third was about the abolition of the fez, the Ottoman cap, which was described as a Byzantine cap and instead of being a national cap which should have been designed. The fourth and fifth items advised the granting of some rights to women. The following item was about the abolition of dervish lodges. Then a following item proposed the abolishment of traditional *medrese* schools. The items eight, nine, and eleven were about renouncing the traditional habits. Item ten aimed to orient the attentions or interests of the society towards the government issues. The following item offered to make a reform in the Office of *Şeyhülislam* (Head of Islamic Religious Affairs). The fifteenth item offered to unite all the schools of Islam under a united roof. The following items were repeating the abandonment of traditional values. Even if these reform projects in 1912 seemed radical or a dream, much more radical reforms would be implemented after the foundation of the republican regime in the following years. Moreover, we see that the aforementioned ideas showed continuity in the new regime and the status of the fathers of these ideas -Kılıçzade Hakkı Bey and Celal Nuri Bey who became the representatives of the new parliament in the Turkish Republic - can be seen as the continuity of ideas in a response to the West.<sup>110</sup>

In this sense, Niyazi Berkes<sup>111</sup> also agrees that even though Turks began to make western style of reforms before many non-European states like Japan, they could not be

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<sup>110</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, 'Batılılaşma' in the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol V, pp. 148- 152.

<sup>111</sup> Niyazi Berkes (1908-1988); was born in Nicosia soon after the Young Turk revolution. After graduating from İstanbul Lycee for Boys, he entered the Faculty of İstanbul University. Later, he passed to the department of philosophy. He took a fellowship from University of Chicago in 1935 for four years. Then, he passed to University of Ankara, but he was accused of making propaganda of communism, and he was sentenced to three months in jail. Later, Berkes did not return to his university, and he went to McGill University, Canada. Some of his works are the Development of Secularism in the Turkish Revolution; Turkey's Coming of Age; Westernization, Nationalism and Social Revolutions; Islamism, Nationalism and Socialism in the Arap World.

successful.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, he states that reform movements should be supported by the masses; otherwise, such changes may cause negative results for a state instead of an improvement. Turkish history became an example of this after the birth of the ideas of reform in the country. The reform movements in Turkey came from the top regardless of support of the masses.<sup>113</sup>

Ayverdi also complained that the reforms in Turkish history always came from the top without preparing the society for these changes. For the structural changes, both the society and statesmen were not ready. She supports to the idea of Abdulhamid II who says ‘Let’s open the schools in stead of the parliament.’ The sultan attempted to fill the gap in the educational area in the empire. Briefly, he believed that the society was not ready for the form of parliamentary governance because of its low level of education structure<sup>114</sup> and obviously Ayverdi agreed with this view of the sultan about a severe lack of education and thus she felt the society had not been prepared for any real reform.

## **Chapter V: Modernization Policies in the New Republican Turkish State**

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, a series of reform were made by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The immediate reforms can be summarized as follows: the abolition of the Sultanate and Caliphate; replacement of traditional clothing by Western styles; abolition of the fez; introduction of Latin alphabet, adoption of the solar calendar and changing of the Moslem holy day of the week, Friday, into a workweek with Sunday becoming the official day of rest. Furthermore, reforms in the legal field began in 1924 with the reorganization of the ministry of justice. First, the *sharia* courts were closed down in 1924 by the decision of the new parliament, the Turkish National Assembly. In addition to this,

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<sup>112</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu* (İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1975), p. 24.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>114</sup> TTOA., p. 737

Naibs' College was closed down in the same year.<sup>115</sup> A School of Law was established in Ankara in 1925. In 1926, the parliament issued the civil code, a verbatim translation of the Swiss code.

In the field of education, the new State pursued a similar pattern in terms of abolishment. *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu* (law on the unity of education) was passed by the parliament in 1924. Approximately five hundred religious schools, which had been under the control of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations, *Şer'iyeye ve Evkaf Vekaleti*, were closed down in the same year. Furthermore, all other schools managed by foreigners, private foundations and local administrations were put under the control of the Ministry of Education.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, under the control of the Ministry of Education, approximately sixteen thousand *medrese* students were transferred to the state schools. Additionally, some abolishment concerning the fez, religious clothing and on usage of religious honorifics on personal names eliminated such differentiations among the state officials.<sup>117</sup>

The *Şer'iyeye ve Evkaf Vekaleti* was abolished and the Directorate of Religious Affairs, *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*, was founded under the Office of Prime Minister. After this regulation, the administrations of all religious places such as mosques and appointment of the officials were tied to the Directorate. Senior religious offices, *Müftülük*, and its officials were linked to the new Directorate. In addition to this, some organized groups such as *Tedkik-i Mesahif*, *Heyet-i Müşavere*, *Heyet-i Itfaiyye*, *Tedkikat* and *Te'lifat-i Islamiye* under the Office of *Şeyhülislam* were tied to the Directorate.<sup>118</sup> In addition, thirty *İmam-Hatip* schools were opened to educate students as prayer leaders and preachers for the mosques. It also reflects the attempt of the state to control the religion. Binnaz Toprak states that the religious organization

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<sup>115</sup> Jun Akiba, "A New School for Qadis: Education of the Sharia Judges in the Late Ottoman Empire" *Turcica Revue D'études* XXX V(2003), p.155.

<sup>116</sup> Binnaz Toprak, *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*, (Leiden: Brill, 1981), pp.46-49.

<sup>117</sup> Faruk Alpkaya, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Kuruluşu (1923 -1924)*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 1998), p.241.

<sup>118</sup> Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi, article about Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı.

in the Turkish Republic has been tied to the state bureaucracy with the creation of the Presidency of Religious Affairs, attached to the Office of the Prime Minister in 1924. Thus, the religious functionaries were put under some state control.<sup>119</sup>

In short, a few number of laws made all these changes in one stroke. In fact, the reform process of the new Turkish state was similar to the policies in many autocratic regimes. All the reforms were coming from the top and lacked any compromise. Even though, the Republican People's Party (RPP) claimed to have a democratic government, it was far away from that. In this respect, there was some discontent or displeasure against these reforms. For instance, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, who is the writer of the Turkish national anthem, stated, "O, God, what a frightening revolution happened... neither religion nor faith remained... religion devastated, faith ruined."<sup>120</sup>

As a witness of the reform process, Samiha Ayverdi also had significant comments about the reforms made by the People's Party. Ayverdi stated, "Republican People's Party, which ran through and consumed its dignity before the nation by breaking off the historical and spiritual values through discretionary and non-national and even inhuman understanding of tyranny for 27 years, was also unsuccessful in the measures taken to groom its shattered power. In spite of its name implied by the title of the party, it had detached itself from the people, had not been on their side and never had a political, governmental, conscious and social destination drawn by the national vitality, conscious necessity and historical path of the people."<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Binnaz Toprak, p.46.

<sup>120</sup> "Ne tyler rperir ya Rab, ne korkun inkılab olmu. Ne din kalmı ne iman, din harap, iman trab olmu."

<sup>121</sup> "27 Senelik keyfi ve gayr-i milli hatta gayr-i insani bir zorbalık anlayıı ile tarihi ve manevi deęerleri kıra kopara, millet nezdindeki itibarını eritmi ve tktm olan Halk Partisi, zelzeleye uęrayan iktidarına eki dzen vermek yolundaki tedbirlerinde de isabetli hareket edememitir. Parti adının delalet ettięi ismine raęmen halktan kopmu, halktan yana olamamı, hibir zaman halkın nabzını ele almak, onun milli zaruret, vicdani ihtiya ve tarihi istikametince izilmi bir siyasi, idari, vicdani ve itimai istikameti olamamıtı." Samiha Ayverdi, *Ne İdik Ne Olduk* (İstanbul: Kubbealti Neriyatı, 2007), p. 108.

Ayverdi argued that the People's Party was non-national, and damaging to the historical and religious values of the Turkish nation. Moreover, she criticized the anti-democratic structure of the one party government which lasted until 1950. She also stated, "the power of the Republican Peoples' Party which lasted for 27 years had caused great distress for the Turkish nation through fusillading at all the values to be proud of, at history and faith with an understanding of principality with its bull headed command."<sup>122</sup>

According to Ayverdi, the reforms destroyed the Turkish national and historical values. She stated, "for years we were in a state of infertility of gnosis which lost its branches and roots by the axe of revolutions. Like the barren soil subject to erosion, our national and historical values could not be retained, it was not possible to prevent them from drifting and slipping or prevent the surface of our intellect from shrinking."<sup>123</sup> In addition to this, Ayverdi blamed the intellectuals in Turkey for the disappearing Turkish values. "Time could erode the whole chain of civilization. However, we have destroyed it with our own hands and intentionally broken it. I wonder where we ever found the right to slam our national heritage and pride as if we were playing tip cat? This was an inflation of the spirit and the opinion. In fact, adopting blindfolded each secondhand thought of the West, became the worship of an intellectual."<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, she touches upon the Turkish intellectuals as lacking the

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<sup>122</sup> "27 Sene sürmüş olan Halk Partisi iktidarı adeta bir Sovyet Rusya prensliği anlayışı içinde, dediği dedik buyruğu ile, tarih, iman ve mefahire yayılım ateşi açarak, Türk milletine kan kusturmuştu." Samiha Ayverdi, *Ne İdik Ne Olduk*, p. 110.

<sup>123</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, *Abide Şahsiyetler* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1976), p. 246. "Yıllar yıldır, inkılap baltasının, dalından budağından ve kökünden ettiği bir irfan çoraklığı içinde bulunuyorduk. Kıraç ve çıplak kalmış toprakların tabi olduğu erozyon gibi, milli ve tarihi kıymetlerimiz elde tutulmuyor, sürüklenip kaymalarına ve fikir sathımızın daralıp küçülmesine mani olunamıyordu."

<sup>124</sup> "Bir bütün olan medeniyet zincirini zaman aşındırabilirdi ama, biz onu kendi elimizle tahrip etmiş, kasden ve kahren kırmıştık. Milli miras ve gururumuzu çelik çomak oynar gibi yerden yere vurmak hakkını, acaba nereden buluyorduk? Bu, bir ruh ve fikir enflasyonu idi. Garbın elden düşme her teklifini gözü kapalı benimsemek, adeta münevverin ibadeti olmuştu." See Samiha Ayverdi, *Bir Dünyadan Bir Dünyaya*, p. 152.

national conscious and faith. She states that “the sign of being an intellectual in Turkey was the heresy manifested by opposing the history, language and religion.”<sup>125</sup>

It is also important Ayverdi’s comment on the Turkish reform process. The author states that “every step taken on behalf of the nation were taken by the intellectuals as “Revolutions are being lost”. However, for those who blindly depended on the dogmas of revolution, thinking even that continuous reforms lead nation’s falling apart and disrupting meant blasphemy and betrayal.”<sup>126</sup> Moreover she also criticized the Turkish intellectuals who supported the westernization idea by saying, “Turks no more need intellectuals hybridized by western vaccine. Experience for almost two decades reflects this reality and shows that the Turkish intellectuals are so unaware as to not know that they are cutting their own throats. So much so that, on the one hand, the deliberate and systematic attacks of the Crusaders have diluted our national substance, and on the other hand, the doubt and disgust resulting from the loss of confidence for centuries has spotted the Turkish intellectual with the blurred color of achromaticity.”<sup>127</sup>

On the other hand, Ayverdi also touches upon to the faults of the Action Army, and warns people by saying, “you still live under the blindness and irresponsibility of the Action Army coming from Macedonian mountains. Please, get rid of the pillow of darkness and

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<sup>125</sup> “Türkiye’de münevverlik alameti, tarihe, dile, dine karşı cephe almak suretiyle tecelli etmek delaletine demir atıp kalmıştır.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Türk-Rus Münasebetleri ve Muharebeleri*, p. 374

<sup>126</sup> “Münevverler memleket yararına atılan her adımı İnkılaplar elden gidiyor! Avazesıyla karşıliyordu. Halbuki devamlı inkılapların sonunun bir memleketi dağılıp parçalanmaya götürmek demek olduğunu düşünmek bile körü körüne inkılap doğmalarına bağlanmış kimseler için, bir küfür ve ihanet demektir.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Abide Şahsiyetler*, p. 247.

<sup>127</sup> “Artık Türk’e ve Türklüğe Batı aşısı ile melezleşmiş münevver gerekmiyor. İki asıra yakın bir tecrübe, bu gerçeğe ayna tutmakta ve Türk aydınının oturduğu dalı kesecek bir gafletin içine düşmüş bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Öyle ki, bir taraftan haçlı dünyadan çarpan kasıtlı ve sistemli hücumlar milli cevherimizi sulandırırken bir taraftan da asırlardır kendine güvenini kaybetmiş olmaktan gelen tereddüt ve ikrah, Türk münevverini renksizliğin bulanık rengiyle alacalmış bulunuyor.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Hatıralarla Başbaşa*, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2008), p. 17.

blindness! Wake up!”<sup>128</sup> We see that Ayverdi often argued with the reform process, which began with *Tanzimat*, and never became completely successful. She stated, “I wonder how long we should wait before we realize that the pain, which like a contagious disease, repeated every fifty years in Turkish history, has brought Turkish people deafness which did not let them hear their own voice or blindness which did not show them their own realities?”<sup>129</sup> In brief, this thinker often tried to show the Young Turks, whose mentality or way of thinking lasted during the one-party government, as people in charge for the bad going of both Ottoman and new republican state.

### **a. Abolition of the Sultanate**

In the Ottoman state, the sultan was the head of both the sultanate and caliphate institutions. Nevertheless, the deputies of Ankara government proposed a law abolishing the sultanate and separating the caliphate from the institution of sultanate on 30 October 1922. The law draft aimed to separate the sultanate and caliphate from each other, and abolish the institution of sultanate. A group of deputies in the Assembly showed resistance to this abolishment such as Rauf Orbay, Refet Bele, Selahattin Köseoğlu.

During the discussions on the abolishment of the sultanate in the commission of the Assembly, the speech of Mustafa Kemal to the deputies who were showing resistance is interesting. In fact, it seems like a threat. The historical explanation of Kemal as below:

“Gentlemen! Sovereignty and sultanate can not be given to any one by another by discussion or debate. Sovereignty and the sultanate should only be taken by force and by power. The Ottomans seized the sovereignty and sultanate of the Turkish Nation by force. They preserved this authority for six centuries. Now the Turkish Nation took the sovereignty in their hands and by warning these aggressors and by

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<sup>128</sup> “Hala Makedon dağlarından kopup gelen Hareket Ordusu’nun gafleti ve mesuliyetsizliği içindediniz. Ne olur başınızı şu cehalet ve körlük yastığından kurtarın, uyanın artık!”. See Ayşe Göktürk Tunceroğlu, “Hırsız Var, Hırsız Var, Hırsız Var,” *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 34, no.2 (April 2005), p.21

<sup>129</sup> “Bulaşıcı hastalıklar gibi Türk tarihinde hemen her elli senede bir, isyandı, ihtilaldı, ıslahattı, inkılaptı...diye tekrarlanan illetin, zavallı Türk milletine kendi sesini duyurmayan bir sağırlık, kendi gerçeklerini göstermeyen ne denli bir körlük getirdiğini fark etmek için acep daha nice bir zaman bekleyeceğiz?..” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Ne İdik Ne Olduk*, p. 36.

objecting to their sultanate. This is an accomplished fact. The issue is not that if we are going to give the sovereignty of the nation or not. The issue includes the accomplished fact. This is going to be conducted without fail. If the Assembly and everyone could see the fact, it will be done naturally. Otherwise it might be accepted as reality. But it is a probability that some heads are going to be cut.”<sup>130</sup>

The law was of course was accepted by the Grand Assembly on 1 November, 1922. The institutions of sultanate and caliphate were separated from each other, and the sultanate was abolished. Abdülmecid Efendi was chosen as the caliph. The last sultan Mehmed VI left Turkey on 17 November 1922, in a battleship on his way to Malta.

It is a fact that the law abolishing the sultanate was not a product of any compromise or negotiation. Such an important decision was made without getting the support of the Turkish society or even of all deputies of the parliament in Ankara.

Ayverdi states her feelings about the abolishment of the sultanate in Turkey as “I personally don’t have an actionable negligence in the decision which deemed it worthy to exile from the country in three days the women, men and children of a dynasty which had more pages of glory and honor in their management and power of 600 years in the Ottoman throne. However, when we look at the matter from the point of view of Sadi of Shiraz who said, ‘Mankind is a limb of one another’ we all have a responsibility and a share of embarrassment in this treatment.”<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> “Efendiler! İçinde bulunduğumuz şartlara rağmen safsatayla, münakaşayla, nazariyatla vakit geçirdiğimizi görüyorum. Hakimiyet ve saltanat hiç kimseye ilim icabıdır diye münakaşa ile mügalata ile verilmez. Hakimiyet ve saltanat kuvvetle, kudretle, zorla alınır. Türk milleti de hakimiyet ve saltanatu bil fiil isyan ederek kendi eline almıştır. Bu olmuş bitmiş bir durumdur. Mesele, 'hakimiyet ve saltanatu bırakacak mıyız, bırakmayacak mıyız' Meselesi değildir. Mesele bu zaten olmuş bitmiş durumu ifade etmektir. Bu herhalde ve mutlaka olacaktır. Burada toplananlar meclis ve herkes, meseleyi bu şekilde görürlerse fikrimce uygun olur. Aksi takdirde yine hakikat ifade olunacaktır. Fakat ihtimal bazı kafalar kesilecektir.” See Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Tek Adam: Mustafa Kemal 1922-1938, Vol III* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2006), pp. 63-65.

Ayverdi criticized the abolishment of the sultanate in respect to the daughter and the granddaughter of Abdulhamid II. The writer felt great distress for the members of the dynasty who were hastily sent outside the country. She expresses her feelings with the following words: “at every visit I made to this mother and daughter who have seen the badness and the goodness of the world and who were noble by origin, there was the impact of the feelings of apologizing in the name of the people, there was a shyness and a covering of a deficiency. Though in this matter, neither I was saying anything nor were they saying a word about the indecent and unfair treatment that they received.”<sup>132</sup>

In fact, Ayverdi claims that the institution of sultanate had stayed under the attacks of the government of the Committee of Union and Progress. According to the author, such an old institution’s members were forced to act as puppet in the hands of the CUP. Furthermore, it is important to note her claim about the CUP when she was talking about the economic trouble of the Sultan Mehmed V. She states that “the Unionists who had robbed the Yıldız Palace and its treasuries with Serbians, Bulgarian and Greek guerillas had not shown anything but an empty government treasury to this meek and patriotic sultan.”<sup>133</sup> When talking about the last period of the Ottomans, she says that the person sitting on the throne was not the sultan but rather, “the parasites and unsatisfied appetites of the Union and Progress.”<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> “600 sene Osmanlı tahtında oturmuş idare ve iktidarlarının yekunu içindeki şan ve şeref sahifeleri ağır basan bir hanedan azasını kadını erkeği, çoluğu çocuğu ile üç gün içinde memleketten sürüp çıkarmayı reva görmüş kararda şahsen bir guna taksirim yoksada, hadiseye, ‘Beni adem yek diğerinin azasıdır’ diyen Şirazlı Sadi’nin anlayışı merkezinden bakınca, elbette benim, bizim, hepimizin ve herkesin bu muamelede bir mesuliyet ve utanç payı olmalı idi.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Ne İdik Ne Olduk*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 47. “Dünyanın germ-ü serdini görmüş bu kökten asil ana kızı her ziyaretimde, adeta kütle adına bir özür dilemiş, bir mahçubiyet ve bir açığı kapamak duygularının tesiri vardı. Gerçi bu bapta ne ben bir şey söylüyordum ne de onlar maruz kaldıkları çirkin ve haksız muamelelerden tek kelime söz ediyorlardı.”

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 47. “Yıldız Sarayı’ni ve hazinelerini, Sırp, Bulgar ve Yunan çetecileri ile birlikte soyan İttihatçılar, bu halim selim, vatanperver Padişah’a, boş bir devlet hazinesinden başka şey göstermemiş, vermemişlerdi.”

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 52. “İttihad ve Terakki iktidarının parazit ve gözü doymayan yağmacıları”

## **b. Abolition of the Caliphate**

The Caliphate was abolished by the Turkish National Assembly on 3 March 1924. Ottoman sultans had held this religious office for four centuries. Such an ancient institution, whose history goes back to the sixteenth century, was destroyed instantly. The Turkish nation lost its spiritual leadership in the Islamic world. In fact, due to the resistance of the members of the Islamic circle, its abolishment was much more difficult with the abolition of the Sultanate. Yet, it was also not difficult for the one-party government.

According to Ayverdi, one of the most important faults of the Republican People's Party was the abolition of the caliphate in the new Turkish State. She claims that this institution only needed to be renewed through the conditions of the time. It had never functioned as a harmful institution or an obstacle in front of the state in its history. Ayverdi points out that "The French Revolution makers tripped up the randy fanaticism of the church. But, they did not get it down or kill it. And, they still benefited from such an old institution."<sup>135</sup> That is, while the West noticed the value of its religious institutions in terms of political and social life, the new Turkish republican government could not notice the importance of its own ancient institution. The new regime neither protected the caliphate nor managed to benefit from it.

According to Ayverdi, in contrast to the Papacy in Europe, the institution of caliphate did not have an inquisition or a negative influence on the rulers of the state. Besides, it would have effected the role of Turkey in a positive way in the Muslim world. For hundreds of years Ottomans had been accepted as the spiritual leaders of the Muslim societies. Turkish state should have protected such a spiritual institution. Nevertheless, the policy of the new regime

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<sup>135</sup>"Fransız İhtilal-i Kebiri, klisenin azgın taassubuna bir çelme taktı. Fakat yere düşürüp, öldürmedi. Hala da bu kadim müesseseden faydalanmakta bulunuyor." See, Samiha Ayverdi, "Medeniyet," *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 36, no. 142 (April 2007), p.9.

was aiming to destroy the old Ottoman institutions rather than reorganizing them.<sup>136</sup> According to the author, the West noticed the advantages or functions of the religion over its society; that is it revealed a pragmatic approach to religion, and so Christianity never lost its value in western civilization. At that point, she states that “although the West had turned its face towards materialism through the sharp turn of the Renaissance, it did not neglect to unite the masses in front of the cross.”<sup>137</sup> Nevertheless, reforms, which were made on behalf of westernization and laicism, submitted Islam into the hands of fundamentalists. Ayverdi states that “laicism, which entered into our political life, has taken a role of disuniting the Islamic nations. In the meantime, the laicism of the West, or even atheism of it, is similar to people who talk one way at home and another way at a neighbor’s house.”<sup>138</sup> In short, she is opposed to the mentality which was trying to destroy the role of Islam on behalf of laicism or reduce its effectiveness over Turkish society.

### c. Closure of the Dervish Lodges

All Sufi orders, which had their own mosques, special places for praying and their own understanding of the religion, were first put under the control of the Directorate of Religious Affairs. Later, the law, called *Tekke ve Zaviyelerin İlhakı*, on the Closure of the dervish lodges was introduced in 1925 and closed down all the dervish lodges in Turkey. After the introduction of this law, the republican state became the sole legal provider of religious services.

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<sup>136</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, “Hatalarımız”, *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 19, no. 2 (April 1990), pp.8-9.

<sup>137</sup> “Garp, Rönesans’ın sert dönemeci ile yüzünü maddeciliğe çevirmiş olmasına rağmen, kütleleri haçın önünde birleştirmeyi de ihmal etmemiştir.” Samiha Ayverdi, *Arkamızdan Dönen Dolaplar* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2007), 46.

<sup>138</sup> “...politika hayatımıza giren laisizm, İslam milletleri topluluğunu dağıtmak yolunda kullanılan bir ara bozucu rolüyle siyaset sahnemizde rol oynarken, garp laisizmi, hatta ateizmi, evinde bir türlü, komşusunda başka türlü konuşan kimseler misali...” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Türk-Rus Münasebetleri ve Muharebeleri*, p. 375

It is noteworthy to state that Ottoman sultans did not pursue a direct attack on religious groups or Islam religion. The *medrese* schools, mosques and tombs for instance, were repaired and restored by Ottoman Sultans, and financial aid were granted to *ulema*, Sufi *Şeyhs*, and *medrese* students.<sup>139</sup> And, *Şeyhülislam* continued to justify the reforms on religious grounds and never lost his significant role during the life-span of the empire. The reforms were not necessarily against the interest of religious groups in spite of touching upon the prerogatives of them. Reforms, which were associated with this class, were made in a negotiation manner rather than conflict or coercion during the Ottoman period.

The new republican regime; on the other hand, shifted the gears of reform in a much more radical direction than its Ottoman predecessors by eradicating most of the ancient legal and learned institutions of the empire. The established historiography argues that the new Turkish Republic completely excluded religious groups from providing legal education and judicial services. With the total abrogation of Islamic law, and the reception of Roman Law, the members of the ancient legal culture were eliminated. While the Turkish Republic shook the order for these groups from its roots, this caused to a fall in their political, economic, social positions. While the religious groups were eliminated, a new generation of law schools came to replace them, which resulted into one of the most radical institutional revolutions of the modern world.<sup>140</sup>

In addition to that, Mete Tuncay claims that Kemalist thought saw the religion as an obstacle to the progress of the state and a series of change offering an Islamic reformation was designed during the first years of the state. Accordingly, a change in the worship was offered such as putting desks in the mosques as in the church form and giving musical service in

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<sup>139</sup> Esra Yakut, *Şeyhülislamlık; Yenileşme Döneminde Devlet ve Din* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005), pp. 170 - 172.

<sup>140</sup> Birol Başkan, "Religious institutions and the diverging processes of state building in Turkey and İnan," (Ph. D. Diss., Northwestern University, 2006).

them. These reformists even wanted to make the Blue Mosque in the Sultanahmet square an art gallery like in the example of the Moscow church where was reorganized as a museum after the communist revolution. But, these radical changes could not be applied. Moreover, it is noteworthy that in the speech of Mustafa Kemal in Konya before the proclamation of the republican regime, he argued that Islam was a rational and natural religion, but members of the clergy, except ‘some reformist *ulema*’, should have been excluded- *tepelemeli*- because of their behaviors against the interests of the nation. The new regime’s Jacobin understanding of secularism disregarded negotiating with the society, whereas, negotiation is the most significant characteristic of secular liberal democracy.<sup>141</sup> Ahmet İnel also shares a similar thought about it. He argues that the Kemalist regime had some doubts about the religion and religious environments, thus, the new regime tried to put the religion under its full control and it did not tolerate any religious emergence which was autonomous from the state.<sup>142</sup> Shortly, radical secularizing reforms of the new Turkish State pushed the religious groups under ground.

As to the ideas of Ayverdi about the dervish lodges, she states that “at a time when all the institutions of a country going downfall are affected from this breakdown, it certainly is not possible to say that the *tekkes* (dervish lodges) are not affected or will not be affected from this downfall. Especially in the last years the *tekkes* were deliberately, unjustly and imprudently made up and stigmatized as the house of the slothful or the house of the lazy. However, in spite of all the slanders, the *tekkes* served as a kind of safety valve for the society until the last minute. Thus, these institutions bestowed eminent and pure human beings to the society as long as they served as a place where free faith blossomed and fundamentalism is repulsed... So then the result of *tekkes* being shut down is: fundamentalism taking religion

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<sup>141</sup> Mete Tuncay, ‘İkna (İnandırma) Yerine Tecebbür (Zorlama)’ in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce* II, ed. by Ahmet İnel, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2001). pp. 93 -96.

<sup>142</sup> Ahmet İnel, “Giriş” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*, Vol. II, ed. by Ahmet İnel, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2001), pp. 17 -23.

under its control, on the one hand and on the other hand, depriving the Turkish nation from its historical subsistence of faith by showing atheism as being progressive.”<sup>143</sup>

According to Ayverdi, the most important function of the tasawwuf and sufi orders in the society is its ability impeding any Islamic fundamentalism. Moreover, an important number of intellectuals grew up in the sufi orders in Turkey. Furthermore, Ayverdi also criticized the one-party government’s policies lacking of national and religious conscious by saying, “Turks have always been religious. However they were not fundamentalists. But now, half ignorant groups wanted to take back the treasure of national and historical faith of the Turks and they had thought, this was an obligation of their faith. However, they had started to look for it, in rigid and unfruitful forms which were reconstituted by fundamentalism, unfamiliar with the spirit of Islam and away from the moral values of the Quran.”<sup>144</sup>

Furthermore, Ayverdi defines the policies of the Republican People’s Party as a matter of violence and terror. The author states that “Sema” and “ayin”, a ceremony of spiritual education and discipline which we have discarded and banished from our lives of art and wisdom, was forbidden for us. A ruler-ship, which would take its place in history in terms of its violence and terror, had placed it among legal crimes...”<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> “Baş aşağı giden bir memleketin bütün müesseseleri bu çöküntüden hisselenirken, dergahların da aynı inkırazdan pay almayacağı ve almadığı, elbette söylenemez. Amma, bilhassa son devirlerde acı, yersiz, kasıtlı ve kötü körüne uydurularak tenbelhane, miskinane diye damgalanmak istenen dergahlar, bütün iftiralara rağmen, son anlarına kadar, cemiyetin bir çeşit emniyet süpabı vazifesini görmekte idi. Onun içinde bu müesseseler, hür imanın filizlendiği ve taassubun geri püskürtüldüğü bir ocak olarak faaliyette bulunduğu müddetçe cemiyete seçkin ve arınmış insanlar hediye etmiştir... Şu halde dergahların kapatılmasından, doğan netice: Bir tarafta taassubun, dini pençesine alması, bir tarafta dinsizliği bir ilerencilik haline getirerek Türk milletini, iman gibi tarihi nafakasından mahrum bırakmış olmasıdır.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Ne İdik Ne Olduk*, p. 105.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 148. “Oldu olası Türk dindardı. Fakat mutaasıp değildi. Amma şimdi “ilerici” geçinen iktidarların ayak altına aldıkları Türk’ün tarihi ve milli iman hazinesini geri almayı bir iman borcu bilmiş yarı cahil kütleler, onu, İslam’ın ruhuna yabancı, Kur’an ahlakından uzak ve taassupla sulandırılmış katı ve kısır şekillerde arar olmaya başlamışlardır.”

<sup>145</sup>“İrfan ve sanat hayatımızdan sürüp, çürüğe çıkardığımız manevi terbiye ve disiplinin bir seremonisi olan sema ve ayin, artık bizim için yasaktı. Şiddet ve terör politikasıyla tarihte yer alacak bir iktidar onu adli suçlar arasına koymuştu...” Samiha Ayverdi, *Abide Şahsiyetler*, p. 240.

#### **d. Language Reform: Transition to Latin Alphabet**

The new Turkish alphabet was established by the “Law on the Adoption and Implementation of the Turkish Alphabet in Turkey” on 1 November 1928, as a fundamental change in the reform progress of the Kemalist regime. Replacing the earlier Ottoman Turkish (Arabic) script, the script was created as a version of the Latin alphabet at the initiative of Mustafa Kemal, who had announced the alphabet change in July 1928.

A reform project for the alphabet was not a new topic for the reformists. It, in fact, had been discussing since the last years of the Ottoman state. Actually, the first reform proposal on the Ottoman alphabet belonged to Azerbaijani Feth Ali Ahundzade in 1860s.<sup>146</sup> Later, important discussions emerged among the Ottoman intellectuals about the adoption of a new Albanian alphabet of Latin origin between 1908 and 1911. The branch of the CUP in Albania adopted the Latin alphabet in 1911. Also, five articles, which were issued in the journal of *Hürriyet-i Fikriye* published by Kılıçzade Hakkı, proposed an adoption of the Latin script in 1914. Such a reform was not inevitable according to these articles from then onwards.<sup>147</sup>

After the foundation of the new republic, the alphabet reform would of course come on the agenda of the reformist regime. Even though the reform proposal was discussed during the İzmir Economic Congress in 1923, it was rejected by the head of the Congress, Kazım Karabekir, who pointed out as the reason, ‘it will damage the unity of Islamic religion’.<sup>148</sup> Nevertheless, just five years later, the reform proposal was passed by the parliament of the one-party government.

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<sup>146</sup> Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1972), p. 156.

<sup>147</sup> Bernard Lewis, “Türk Cumhuriyeti’nde Bir Uygarlık Ögesi Olarak Atatürk’ün Dil Devrimi,” in *Atatürk ve Türkiye’nin Modernleşmesi*, ed. Jacob M. Landau (İstanbul: Sarmal, 1999), p. 254.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

Like many intellectuals, Ayverdi also evaluated such vital decisions in her writings. In this regard, it is important to bear in mind her thoughts of an adoption of a new alphabet. Ayverdi makes comment on the language reform as below;

Our society, feeling inferior to the Western civilization whose realist character is based on materialism, expected to be saved due to a change in its identity and personality by only becoming melted into the civilization in which it wanted to enter. Thus, it made our first serious westernization reform with *Tanzimat*. But, this reform, which not coming from the society and bureaucratic class, was as a product of the act of coercion. So, it became unsuccessful.

Subsequently, the *Meşrutiyet* period came. It was also not based on the realities of the state. It lacked an ideological and philosophical ground. It also failed, too. Moreover, the Turkish nation, who lost its empire in ten years, lost four-fifth of its territories.

Later, the republican regime came, and appropriated Turkishness for Greco-Latin civilization. First, it took up its duty recklessly by adopting the Latin script with a dangerous courage and recklessness that ignored its liability for its own history while giving up its own millennial script which had been as a linkage of Eastern civilization.

History accepts alphabets as a key of any civilization. The civilization would be changed in a parallel manner when the key is changed. But, the supportive languages were necessary to make the new civilization walk. English, French and German words should have taken place of the words originated with Arabic and Persian, because, it was possible to enter into the scientific and technical world of the West from only these gates. While Turkish youth as big masses was moving towards Europe, it was unaware of its own history, language, religion and national culture, so it was not able to get opportunity for operating to the new civilization by bringing it on a national platform with its own values. Moreover, this youth who lacked severity, method and the national emotion, could not be beneficial for the new civilization in which it already adopted by being nourished, in fact being poisoned with the foods presented by the West in the lap of its.

Today, in order to carry the Turkish culture and system of thought on a constructive and conscious understanding by directing it to the reasons of the birth and

growth of our civilization, peacemaking and getting in touch with its own history might be a healthy and the shortest way.

Yet it is necessary to comprehend the importance of the following point. Even as history accepts an alphabet as a key of any civilization it also sees language and its words as a cultural product which nourishing any civilization and keeping it alive.

We who have finally jumped into the West's lap as a consequence of our flirting with it for ages, have already made our most dangerous fault for the last quarter of the century due to our unnecessary and clumsily operation on Turkish language.

The action of the 'invented language' which we have hugged, as a result of the seducing West whose effort was to make an end of our culture, and our national, historical, and moral wealth, has already made the Turkish system of education paralyzed, bedridden and crippled.

Unless the Turkish nation rescues the moribund Turkish language from the bloody hands of domestic and foreign enemies, it should not think of finding any place in neither Eastern nor Western civilizations.<sup>149</sup>

#### **e. Disappearing Turkish Values?**

As we observed, Ayverdi argued that the Turkish nation had been losing its national, traditional, religious, and moral values since the Tanzimat period. The reforms made on behalf of westernization during the Ottoman empire and the Turkish Republic period, had caused a fall in Turkish cultural, traditional and moral values. She mentions that "when the spirit of recurrent revolution and turmoil i.e. the sickness of our stagnation and fall eras, went through the first sharp turn with *Tanzimat*, we dimmed our national constitution which originated and flourished in the Eastern tradition by shaping it into a Western robe in sizes contradicting with each other and killed the spirit of history. Thus the pace of our cultural progress was slowed down, even stopped. The function of living and reproducing was halted.

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<sup>149</sup> See Appendix E for the full text. Samiha Ayverdi, *Milli Kültür Meseleleri ve Maarif Davamız* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2006), pp. 223-227.

In conclusion, the constitutional and judicial manners haphazardly copied from the West could not yield the expected results in our social and educational life.”<sup>150</sup>

In addition to that, Ayverdi states that “...here is a puzzled, indecisive draft of a needy government with no goal or capital, who did not know what it said or what it would say. That was us. We were previously not this government. Since it was harder to acknowledge oneself than denying oneself, how sad and heedless it was to see the remedy as throwing away all the essential values. This was not a struggle of a government system or freedom. It was a battle of faith and faithlessness. Our enemies were the writers of the script and we were the players.”<sup>151</sup>

For Ayverdi, the reform progress was a part of non-national policies in both the imperial and republican period. So, the reforms were like the products of imitation. She says that “we had called *Tanzimat* the Turkish renaissance whereas we could have called it a bad imitation of the French revolution.”<sup>152</sup>

It was not different in the republican period; much more radical reforms through western principles were accepted. Those reforms were also the products of the mentality inherited from the imperial period. Ayverdi states that “unfortunately, the Turkish-Muslim is unaware how ridiculous he is in the eyes of the people when he moves around in a borrowed western caftan which he had slipped on the eastern civilization that he left as a bare skeleton

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<sup>150</sup> “Duruş ve düşüş asırlarımızın hastalığı olan o periyodik inkılap ve ihtilal ruhu Tanzimatla ilk keskin dönemeci atladığı vakit, artık Şark tradisyonu içinde doğup gelişmiş olan memleket bünyesini, ölçüsü ölçüsünü tutmayan Batı kaftanına sokarak, tarihi ruhunu boğup söndürdük. Böylece de kültür tempomuz aksadı, hatta durdu. Yaşama ve üreme faaliyeti dumura uğradı. Neticede de Garptan, gelişi güzel kopya ettiğimiz meşrutî ve hukukî usuller, irfan ve cemiyet hayatımızda beklenen neticeyi hasıl edemedi.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Abide Şahsiyetler*, p. 211.

<sup>151</sup> “..Şimdi ortada, bir fikir koması içinde sayıklayan, söylediğini söyleyeceğini bilmeyen şaşkın, kararsız, gayesini sermayesini kaptırmış, el ağzına bakan bir devlet taslağı vardı. O da bizdik işte. Evvelce biz, bu değildik. Kendini ikrar, kendini inkardan güç olduğuna göre, çareyi topyekun öz değerlerini silkip atmakta görmek ne hazin gafletti. Bu, bir rejim ve hürriyet mücadelesi değildi. Kökü Tanzimat’a dayanan bir iman ve imansızlık savaşı idi. Senaryoyu hazırlayan düşmanlarımız, oynayan ise bizdik.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Bir Dünyadan Bir Dünyaya*, pp. 153-154.

<sup>152</sup> TTOA., p. 580. “Kötü bir Fransız ihtilali taklidi diyebileceğimiz Tanzimata, bir Türk rönesansı demiştik.”

with no flesh.”<sup>153</sup> According to Ayverdi, the Turkish nation has to remember that about being an Eastern, and should not feel cheap against the West.

She also states that “there is a need to look for a way out, for a remedy. Now that there lies the corpse of a primordial civilization with every piece of it scattered around, let us not embalm it but rescue the offspring it has left. Yes, it is us who wounded, bruised and finally killed this civilization which amazed the world. We called them reforms; we called them revolution and beheaded our thousand years for the sake of these adverse steps.”<sup>154</sup> Accordingly, she states “most of the people who throw away their past through disclaimer of inheritance are galley slaves of the foreign interests. The only way for salvation for those who are stuck in the middle is to have their marriage with their past renewed, and bring them to a synthesis which would include the past and the present and maybe the future.”<sup>155</sup>

In addition, Ayverdi gives many examples of the disappearing Turkish values such as Turkish traditions, classical music, literature. For instance, her ideas about the Ottoman foundations are important. She states, “*Tanzimat* and what follows have seen or wanted to see trust funds only as religious institutions and waved behind or even neglected the public service role of these charity, art and culture institutions and caused their liquidation and destruction.”<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> “Ne yazık ki Müslüman-Türk etini döküp kuru iskelet bıraktığı şark medeniyetinin üstüne geçirdiği bir iğreti garb kaftanı ile dolaşıp gezerken, ele güne karşı, ne kadar gülünç olduğunun farkına varamayacak bir dalgınlık içindedir.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Ne İdik Ne Olduk*, p. 161.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., p. 10. ‘Şu halde bir çıkar yol, bir çare aramak gerek. Madem ki ortada her parçası bir tarafa dağılmış bir kadim medeniyet cesedi yatıyor. Onu mumyalayacak yerde, bıraktığı dölü kurtaralım. Evet bu dünyaya parmak ısırtan medeniyeti biz yaralayıp, bereledik ve nihayet öldürdük. İslahat dedik, inkılap dedik ve bu hesapsız ters adımlar adına, bin yılımızın kafasını kopardık’

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 13. “Redd-i miras yolu ile mazilerini silkip, atanların birçoğu da, yabancı menfaatlerin kürek mahkumu. İşte bütün bu ortada kalmışlara, geçmişleri ile nikah tazeletip, dün ile bugünü ve belki de yarını içine alacak bir terkibe götürmek, belki tek kurtuluş çaresi.”

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. 57. “*Tanzimat* ve ötesi, vakıfları sadece dini müesseseler olarak görmüş veya görmek istemiş olduğundan, bu hayır, sanat ve kültür yuvalarının amme hizmeti rollerini arkaya iterek, hatta dikkate dahi almayarak, tasfiye ve tahripleri yoluna gitmiştir. Böylece de, maarif, bayındırlık, sağlık, içtimai yardım ve güzel sanatlar sahasında olan geniş hizmetleri çürütmeyi bir nevi ‘yeniliğin zaferi’ olarak kabul etmek hatasına düşmüştür.”

Also, the thinker criticizes the New Year celebrations in stead of Islamic celebrations in Turkey. She states that “the place of ‘Bayram (holiday)’ as a mutual asset of Turkish Islamic synthesis has been occupied by the New Year. The mentality which has ripped ‘Bayram’ from its throne for centuries and struck it down like a withered plane tree, thinks that it is an accomplishment to turn its back and run away when the day comes and pounds at the door.”<sup>157</sup> In addition, it is also interesting to note her impression on Mother’s Day which was also imported from the western culture. She points out that “the city of Istanbul was being a witness to a new trend which not only was nonsense but also insulting to the spirit of the Turkish family with an imitation like a monkey. The name of this trend is ‘Mothers’ Day’ ”<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid., p. 62. “..bir Türk-İslam sentezinin müşterek malı olan bayramın yeri, ithal malı yılbaşı tarafından işgal edilmiştir.” “Bayramı, asırlık tahtından söküp kurumuş çınarlar gibi, yere yıkan zihniyet, günü gelip kapısına dayandığında, yüzüne dahi bakmadan yanından kaçmayı marifet saymakta. Büyüğünün elini öpmez, küçüğüne elini öptürmez olan bu hasta sosyete, çocuklarını, değil bayram yerine götürmek, gezdirip hoşlamak, onlara bayramlık almak dahi lüzumsuz geliyor. Noel baloları dururken, Noel ağaçlarının dibine hediyeler dizerken, bayram hediyesine de lüzum mu olur?”

<sup>158</sup> “..İstanbul şehri, abes olduğu kadar, bir maymun taklitçiliği ile Türk ailesinin ruhuna hakaret eden yeni bir cereyanın şahidi olmuş bulunuyordu. Bu cereyanın adı ‘Anneler Günü!’ idi.” See Samiha Ayverdi, *Arkamızdan Dönen Dolaplar*, p. 200.

## CONCLUSION

After meeting with Kenan Rifai who was the head of Rifai order between 1908 -1950, Ayverdi's life changed drastically when she was a young woman in 1920s. Even though she came from a conservative family, she had not seen Islam as the 'meaning of life' until she entered into the Rifai order. Thus, her way of thinking was shaped along the side of Islamic principles. Yet her understanding of Islam differed from many Islamists in Turkey. While she strictly adhered to *Sharia*, she was opposed to the Wahhabi understanding of *Sharia* and Wahhabi interpretation of Islam. For Ayverdi, '*Sharia* is similar to a door opening to sufism. It is like the Quran, in need of unveiling.' According to Ayverdi, *Sharia* is not the product of Islamic fundamentalism in essence; it is the basic requirement of the religion of Islam, but it needs the help of sufism for a better understanding and application. In this respect, she always examined Islam from the sufist perspective. It is a fact that sufism has been often cited as an example of the 'moderate Islam', and so she is generally counted among the 'moderate Islamists' of Turkey.

As we have examined in this study, it is obvious that Ayverdi, who was a witness of the last years of the Ottoman state and the foundation of the new republic while still a member of an elite and conservative circle, is significant in terms of the researches on the Turkish intellectual life. So, we have attempted to highlight the modernization process in Ottoman and Turkish history from the point of view of a Turkish thinker who had important discourses on the process. Almost all works of Ayverdi reflect the ideas of the thinker about the renewal or modernization adventure in Turkey since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

As a result of a sustained effort of reform, which replaced the long-preserved institutions of the classical Ottoman state by new ones inspired by an increasing interest in Western thought, society, and government, a new, westernized ruling class emerged in that

period and created a highly complex system of government that ruled with an autocracy unmatched in traditional times of the state. Nevertheless, according to Ayverdi, the reforms failed to save the empire because of the inexperience of the reformers who lacked knowledge. They neither knew western civilization properly nor considered their own society and state's needs.

Ayverdi argues that there were two types of Ottoman reformers who desired to regenerate the empire through western principles. She condemned the reformists who defended a full change in the empire through the westernized principles. According to her, these reformists saw Islam religion as the main obstacle for the reforms in the empire, and so religion should be passivated as much as possible. In many works of Ayverdi, she shows these reformists as people destroying the Turkish civilization and causing the fall of the empire.

Ayverdi claims that *Tanzimat* was necessary for the Ottoman state. She believed that there was a need for the reforms and changes. Nevertheless, her main hesitations are about the Turkish national, cultural and moral values. According to her, *Tanzimat* reforms lacked both Turkish national values and westernized scientific method. It had neither a national ideology nor a national thinker. It was the most significant handicap. It was designed by the Ottoman statesmen feeling inferiority across the West. These reformists neglected the sociological facts in the empire, and they did not pay attention whether the reforms were suitable for the character of the state and its society. These reformists lacked national conscious, and so they damaged the Turkish nation, its culture and its long-preserved traditions. Furthermore, the reforms came from the top rather than the needs or desires of the society. More importantly, the reformists focused on the materialist and positivist ideas of the West. She examined *Tanzimat* as a period which transferred Ottoman civilization, which had created wonders by the collective material and spiritual powers to the positivist and materialistic view. Therefore,

the Turkish cultural and religious values were damaged due to the positive and materialist view coming from the West. She thinks that the reforms occurred at the expense of the Turkish national culture and traditions.

Ayverdi opposed the *Meşrutiyet*, parliamentary regime in the Ottoman state. She is, in fact, not against to the parliamentary system of governance, but she claims that the constitutional government was not nourished from Turkish national resources. In this context, the reign of the sultan Abdulhamid II was praised while the opposite groups to the order were often condemned by her. She presents the reign of Abdulhamid II as an excellent model of the Ottoman ruling. Therefore, the end of this period is a terrible failure for the empire. In many works, Ayverdi reveals the Young Turks as a group who destroyed the empire. She states that “the Young Turks had appeared as an illegitimate child of the wasted Tanzimat”. According to Ayverdi, the Young Turks did not have a systematic reform program. And, their dream was to change only the political order through the declaration of the constitutional monarchy, and to join among the European countries. They were far from serious, logical, and systematic way of thinking. They thought that only salvation for the empire was possible by getting rid of the Eastern character, and a full adaptation into the western world. She claims that the problem in the Ottoman state was based on the loss of the Turkish values during the early periods of the empire. Ottomans had lost its moral and traditional values. At the same time, they stayed so far from the scientific and technologic developments in the West because of the lack of assiduity, seriousness, and energy as its early periods. Whereas the empire should have preserved its moral, cultural and traditional values while the material developments in the West was brought to the empire. Nevertheless, having an eastern identity was a shame for many Young Turks who feeling inferiority in relation to the West. In short, Ayverdi founded her main criticism against Young Turks in this direction in which revolution of 1908 lacked of both national character and intellectual knowledge.

On the other hand, Ayverdi's Turkish nationalism does not match the Turkism of neither Ziya Gökalp nor pan-Turkist Enver Pasha even if she is often defined as an extremely nationalist thinker. It is true that she is very sensitive about the national values, but the ethnocentrism is not a suitable definition for the author. Her nationalism covers all the muslim groups in the homeland; that is, it was based upon the idea of the *ummah* those who believe to the religion of Islam. Her nationalism understanding can be expressed within the idea of *tevhid*. That's why, all muslim nations living in Turkey, from Kurds to Circassians, is accepted as members of Turkish nation. In this regard, she found the nationalist perception of the members of the CUP so racist, and dangerous for the empire.

For Ayverdi, the most significant fault of the CUP and the subsequent regime is, in fact, in the line of westernization perception and application. They brought the Christian form of culture to the country while destroying the Turkish national culture. Yet, they could not see the handicaps of western civilization, and they also did fail to import the beneficial sides of the West such as working method, the scientific and technological improvements This picture was not different during the period of the republican regime in Turkey. Ayverdi also criticized to the radical reforms of the republican regime.

During the foundation of Turkish republic, a few number of reforms caused a fundamental change in one stroke. In fact, the reform process of Turkish state was similar to the policies in many autocratic regimes. All the reforms were coming from top, and lacked any compromise. Even though, Republican People's Part claimed to have a democratic government, it was far away from that. In this respect, there was a discontent or displeasure against these reforms.

Samiha Ayverdi has also significant comments about the reforms made by People's Party. She defines one-party government of the party as 'breaking off the historical and spiritual values through discretionary and non-national and even inhumane understanding of tyranny'. In brief, she criticizes the anti- democratic political behavior of the one party government which lasted until 1950.

Although, she did not show any active resistance to a series of abolishment of the new regime, she criticized these decisions in a very harsh manner. Because, the secularizing reforms of Kemalist regime were made without taking the support of the Turkish society, even many deputies of the parliament. More importantly, according to Ayverdi, these reforms were far from the national and spiritual values. In short, the decisions on the abolishment of both sultanate and caliphate, the closure of the dervish lodges and the language reform is sharply criticized by Ayverdi as by many conservatives in Turkey.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: The Full Text of Kenan Gürsoy's Interview

*Bu durumda sorumuzu bir başka açıdan yeniden tekrar edelim. Zira baba tarafınızdan Cemaleddin Aksarayî'ye dayanan bir soyunuz olmakla birlikte biz biliyoruz ki, anne tarafınızdan Ken'an Rifâî'nin torunusunuz. Değil mi?*

Evet, beni asıl tanımlayan ve sanırım buraya davet edilmiş olmamı da temellendirecek olan keyfiyet budur. Yani tasavvufî muhitlerle alakam, anne tarafım dolayısıyladır. Annem, Osmanlı son dönem maarifçi ve mutasavvıflarından Ken'an Rifâî'nin (soyadı: Büyükaksoy) kızıdır. Üç çocuğundan sonuncusudur. Ben de annemin küçük oğluyum. Kendilerinin de yedi torunundan en küçüğüyüm ve 7 Temmuzunda vefat ettiği 1950 yılının 29 Aralığında dünyaya gelmişim. Kendileri (o yıl doğacak olan); „İki torunum olacak. Kız olana Nazlı adını verin, oğlan olana da Ken'an adını verirsiniz? demişler. Dolayısıyla bana bu ad kendilerinin emriyle verilmiş.

*Ken'an Rifâî'nin hayatından bahsedebilir misiniz?*

Ken'an Rifâî Hazretlerinin hayatıyla alakalı çok kısa bir bilgi vereyim. Kendileri, Hacı Hasan Bey'in torunu ve İstanbul'dan Filibe'ye göçmüş olan bir ailenin çocuğu olarak, babasının memuriyeti nedeniyle Selanik'te olduğu senelerde, orada dünyaya geliyor. Özellikle bunun altını çizmek istiyorum. Efendi kitabında kendilerinin Selanikli ve Sebataist olduğu ifade ediliyordu. Hiç bir alakası olmadığını söylemeliyim. Ayrıca

benim bilmediğim bir şeyi bu efendi nasıl biliyor, onu da bilmiyorum. Çok küçük yaştan itibaren Galatasaray Sultanîsi'ne gidiyor ve buradan 1885 yılında mezun oluyor. Bir müddet mülkiye ve hukuk gibi tahsillerde bulunduktan hemen sonra Balıkesir İdadîsi Müdürü olarak tayin ediliyor. Ardından, Adana Maarif Müdürlüğü'ne ve daha sonra da Rumeli'ye, şimdi Makedonya toprakları dâhilinde olan Manastır Maarif Müdürlüğüne, oradan da Trabzon Maarif Müdürlüğü'ne tayin ediliyor.

Kendilerinin Osmanlı dönemindeki ismi nedir? Yer yer, Mehmet Ken'an olarak tanınan Ken'an Bey'in ismi Maarif Müdür-lüğü'nde Abdülhalim Ken'an olarak geçiyor. Trabzon'dan sonra, 1900'lerin başında Numune-i Terakki müdürü olarak İstanbul'a geliyor. Bu dönemde içinde duyduğu derin Peygamber aşkı sebebiyle Medine'ye gitmek istiyor. Duaları kabul oluyor ve Abdülhamit'in maarif reformları çerçevesinde Medine'de açılan İdadî-i Hamidî müdürlüğü kendilerine teklif ediliyor. Uzun müddet kaldığı Medine'de Hamza Rifâî Hazretlerinden icazet alıyor. Ama daha evvel, Fili-be'de, hem annesinin, hem de kendisinin intisab ettiği, Kâdirî şeyhi olarak da bilinen Ethem Efendiden dolayı Kâdirî tarafı var.

*Yanılmıyorsam Mehmet Zihni Efendi ile de bir akrabalığınız bulunmakta.*

Mehmet Zihni Efendi, nenemizin yani anneannemin annesinin (ki ben o ninenin elinde doğmuşum)babasıdır.

### ***Ken'an Rifai Hazretlerinin dergahından bahsedebilir misiniz?***

Evet, Őu anda büyük babamın restore edilmiŐ bulunan KonaĒında oturmaya devam ediyoruz. OturduĒumuz bu KonaĒın yanında bulunan, 1925 yılında kapatılarak ve kendine mahsus bir konak haline getirilen mekân ise, Altay Dergâhıdır. Altay Dergâhı, Ümmü Ken'an Dergâhı olarak da biliniyor. Planı deĒiŐtirmeden, bu binayı Cenan Vakfı olarak yeniden inŐa ediyoruz. Demek ki dergâh-ı Őerif, restore ediliyor. Eski dekoruyla onu yeniden kazandıracāız inŐallah. Elimizde kalan malzeme, eŐya, levha her ne varsa onları da koymak suretiyle bir müze olarak açmayı ve kurmuŐ olduĒumuz Cenan Vakfı'nın merkezi haline getirmeyi düşünüyöruz.

### ***Cenan Vakfı hakkında biraz detaya girebilir miyiz?***

Efendim bizim camiamız için fevkalade ehemmiyetli olan bir kadın Őahsi-yet var ki, o da büyük babacıĒımın annesi. Onun ismi Cenan ve evimizin de ilk sahibesi. Dergâh-ı Őerif de konaĒın bahçesinde kurulduĒunda Ümmü Ken'an Dergâhı ifadesiyle onun adına oluşturulmuŐ. Bütün bu tedailer sebebiyle vakfımıza Cenan ismini verdik. Vakfın mahiyetine gelince; acaba bugün için kendi çerçevemizde, dünyaya, insana, topluma hizmet edebilir miyiz diye düşünük ve bu bizi böyle bir vakfı kurmaya yöneltti. Aynı zamanda tasavvuf ve etik kültürümüzün evrensel boyutlarıyla tetkik edilip tanıtılmasına yardımcı olmak da yine vakfın amaçlarındandır. Onu tasavvufi sahada, tabi ki

sizlerin de, tüm bu sahada çalışan insanların da katkısıyla, ama mahiyeti itibariyle dıŐarıya da yönelik olarak, farklı dünyalardan gelen insanların da istifade edebileceĒi bir yer olarak düşünük. Mesela, Hz. Muhammed'in doĒum yıldönümü vesilesiyle bu yıl üçüncüsü gerçekleştirilen uluslararası toplantılar tertib ettik. Bu çerçevede her yıl, ‚Dost ödölü? adı altında, yurt içinde ve yurt dıŐında Hz.Muhammed'in doĒru bir Őekilde tanıtılmasına hizmet eden eser sahiplerine ödülleri veriyoruz. Bu ödöl, 2005'de North Carolina Üniversitesi öĒretim üyelerinden Prof. Dr. Carl W. Ernst'e ‚Following Muhammed? isimli eseriyle ta-savvuf ve öĒitime yapmıŐ olduĒu katkılardan dolayı verildi. 2006'da ‚Hz. Muhammed'in Hayatı? isimli kitabı vesilesiyle Martin Lings'e (Ebubekir Siracüddin) ve ‚Peygamberimizin Őemali? isimli kitabı vesilesiyle Prof. Dr. Ali Yardım'a verildi. Bu sene ise ‚Hz. Muhammed? isimli kitabı vesilesiyle Muhammed Hamidullah'a ve ‚Peygamber ilahileri? isimli kitabı vesilesiyle de Yusuf Ömürlü'ye verildi. Bu alanda Türk Kadınları kültür DerneĒi ile birlikte ça-ıŐtıĒ.Vakıflar burada insanı tanımlamıyor, vakıflar hizmeti tanımlıyor. Kubbealtı Akademisi de, Türk Kadınları Kültür DerneĒi de hep bunu yapıyor. Vakıflar bir hizmet sahasını kendilerine iŐtgal alanı olarak seçerler. Cenan Vakfı da böyle bir hizmet sahasındadır.

### ***Ken'an Rifai Hazretlerinin Hayatına geri dönecek olursak Medine'de icazet aldıktan sonra hayatında neler deĒiŐiyor? İstanbul'a döndüĒünde neler yapıyor?***

Çok uzun süre kaldıkları Medine'den icazetle

geliyorlar ve ortada mevcut bir dergâh yok. Yavaş yavaş, ilgi duyanlar, şu veya bu şekilde birkaç kişi intisab ediyor. Fakat bir dergâh kurmak ve bunu devam ettirmek gibi bir çabası olmamış. Şu anda oturmakta olduğumuz konağın alt katında, selamlıkta, arkadaşlarıyla toplanıyorlar. Orada tasavvufî mahiyette sohbetlerin yanı sıra entellektüel mahiyette farklı konuşmalar da yapılıyor. Devir meşrutiyet devri ve hepimizin de bildiği gibi meşrutiyet dönemi fikrî bakımından çok zengin bir dönemdir. Ken'an Rifaî Hazretleri de, devrin entellektüel hayatının içinde. Arapçası ve Farsçası olduğu gibi fevkalade güzel Fransızcası var. Latince ve Yunanca biliyor ya da en azından bu diller hakkında iyi bir nosyon sahibi. Lisana kabiliyeti olduğu biliniyor. Hatta galiba Çerkezce de biliyor. Daha sonra da, Rumca da öğrenmiş. Emekliliğinden sonra Rum mektebinde hocalık yapmış. O halde geniş de bir okuması var diyebiliriz. Bu dönemde arkadaşlarıyla sohbet için toplandıklarını ifade etmişim. Bu, ikinci meşrutiyet öncesi dönemdedir ve bilindiği gibi Sultan Abdülhamid'in sıkı bir takip politikası vardır. Buradaki toplantılar ittihatçı oldukları iddiasıyla Saraya bildiriliyor, eve bir baskın yapılıyor. Kendilerinin yazdığı ve henüz bitirilmemiş iki kitabı alıyorlar. Bunlardan bir tanesi tercüme edilmiş bir eser, diğeri de pedagoji makaleleridir. O zaman için akademik seviyesi çok yüksek olan makaleler olduğunu biliyoruz. Elimizde notlar var fakat kitaplar yok. Bu hadiseden sonra, yanlış bir takım anlamlara neden olmamak için resmî olarak, aldığı icazet çerçevesinde, evinin bahçesine bir dergâh inşa ettiriyor. Gereken izinler alınıyor

ve dergâh,1908 yılında Ümmü Ken'an Dergâhı olarak, konağın bahçesinde açılıyor. Hatta tarih olarak belirlemek gerekirse; ikinci meşrutiyeti ilan eden topraklar, ilk âyini icra edenlerin seslerinin birbirine karıştığı söyleniyor. Demek ki son açılan dergâhlardan bir tanesi. 1925 yılına kadar bildiğimiz tarzda geleneksel dergâhlarda nasıl bir işleyiş tarzı varsa burada da bu şekilde bir faaliyet oluyor. O dönemin yine entellektüel hayatı, ilmî hayatı, hatta dinî hayatı içinde yer alan pek çok insan, dergâhın misafiri oluyor. Hatta intisab ettikleri oluyor. Bunlar içinde yabancılar da var. Mesela misafirler içinde Süryani Patriği var. Daha sonra da intisab ettiği ve Müslüman olduğu söyleniyor. Yine devrin ulemasından büyük şahsiyetler de bunların arasında yer alıyor. 1925'te dergâhlar kapatıldığında, büyük babam bu karara hiç itiraz etmeden dergâhın kapısını kapatıyor. Aynı mekânı evin devamı olarak açıyor. Biz çocukluğumuzda, dekorda, yapıda, bu mekânın 1925'lere kadar bir dergâh olduğuna ilişkin hiç bir emare görmedik. O kadar ulu'lemre itaat etmiş. Kapanırken de diyor ki: ‚Evet, İstanbul'da 300'ün üstünde dergâh var ama bunlardan pek azı müstesna, liyakat söz konusu değil?. Arkasından da şunu ilave ediyor: Bir gün açılacaktır, ama akademi şeklinde açılacaktır.? Bu son söz, benim neslimi, yani kendisinden sonraki ikinci nesli, akademi sözcüğü dolayısıyla çok etkilemiştir. Yani bunun manasını anlayıp ne yapmamız gerektiği hususunda kendimizi çok sorgulamışızdır. Ama dergâhların kapatılmasıyla ilişkili tavrı itibariyle ne yaptığna bakarsak bunu buradan çıkarabiliriz diye düşünüyorum. 1925'ten sonra ise; zaten

görevli olduğu maarif alanındaki vazifesine devam ediyor. Medine'den döndükten sonra Daru'ş-şafaka Lisesi Müdürlüğü'ne tayin edilmiştir ki, burası, oldukça önemli bir yerdir. 1925'e kadar hem bir dergâh şeyhi, hem de, Daru'ş-şafaka Lisesi Müdürü olarak çalışıyor. Demek ki bu iki fonksiyonu birbirine hiç karıştırmamış. Tam bir sivil ve devlet memuru olarak lisedeki görevini sürdürüyor; manevi vazifesi itibariyle de dergâhtaki görevini gerçekleştiriyor. O yıllarda Daru'ş-şafaka Lisesinden öğrencisi olanlar daha sonra; bizim kendilerine ilişkin malumatımızın içinde asla böyle bir bilgi yoktu, diyorlar. Bu iki vazifenin asla birbirine karıştırılmaması gerektiğinde ısrar edermiş. Cumhuriyetten sonraki dönemde, yani emekli olduktan sonra ise, özel bir mektep olan Rum mektebinde Edebiyat ve Fransızca dersleri vermiş ve hâlâ Fener Rum mektebinde hatıraları muhafaza ediliyor. O okula bir vesileyle gittiğimde en mümtaz şahsiyetlerin fotoğraflarının bulunduğu bir yerde O'nun da bir fotoğrafının bulunduğunu gördüm ve çok mütehassis oldum. Şu anda altmış yaşlarında olan ve kendisini görmüş olması mümkün olmayan okul müdürü, 'siz o zatın torunu musunuz, biz ondan çok istifade etmişizdir?', dedi. Büyük ihtimalle çocukluğunda babası dolayısıyla tanışmış olacak. Ona intikal eden, kendisine has böyle bir hürmet var. Beni en fazla memnun eden de, orada resmî anlamda bir öğretmen olmasına rağmen fotoğrafının altında Ken'an Rifaî yazıyor olmasıdır. Ken'an Büyükaksoy olarak görebilirdiniz ama Ken'an Rifaî şeklinde yazılması o hürmeti, manevi anlamda da sakladıklarını ifade ediyor. Evet, hayatının

demek ki neredeyse son zamanlarına kadar bu maarif görevini sürdürmüş. Dergâhların kapatılmasından, yani 1925'ten, 1950 yılında vefatına kadar da evindeki sohbetler devam etmiş. Pek çok yazar, şair, edip, felsefeci üzerinde etkisi olmuştur. Bunların içinde tabi, çocuk yaşlarından itibaren çok yakın tale-besi olan Samiha Ayverdi var. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi'yi de, mesela Enis Behiç Koryürek'i de bunlar arasında sayılabiliriz. Nezihe Araz'ı da sayabiliriz. O da, kendi içindeki olumlu yöndeki farklılaşmasına ailemizin şahit olduğu bir şahsiyettir.

***Talebeleri arasında Sofi Huri'nin de olduğunu biliyoruz. Kısaca ondan da bahsedebilir misiniz?***

Sofi Huri'nin Süryani bir din adamının kızı olduğunu biliyoruz. Ancak biz hiçbir zaman hangi dinden olduğunu sorgulamadık. Bu entelektüel bir muhit ve biz hâlâ büyük babamın öğrencileriyle görüş-meye devam ediyoruz. Onun hakkında hep; ,elit bir zümreye hitap etmiştir, etrafında İstanbul'un kalburüstü şahsiyetleri bulunmaktadır, bir İstanbul Beyefendisi'dir? gibi ifadeler vardır. Lisan öğrenilmesini, felsefe yapılmasını, edebiyatla meşgul olunmasını ısrarla savunur ve bu tarafıyla bilinir. Fakat ailesinden biri olmak dolayısıyla bildiğim bir konu var ki o, her zümreden insanla hemhal olmuş olduğudur. Bu çok önemlidir ve biz hâlâ o insanlarla görüşüyoruz. Onların çocukları, torunları ile hâlâ ilişki içindeyiz. Bunlar çok farklı ekonomik sınıflara mensuplar, çok farklı mahallerden geliyorlar, çok farklı zihniyetlerin insanları gibi düşünülebilirler; ama bunların bir şekilde büyükbabamla münasebetleri olmuş.

Mesela bir kere mutlaka mahalleye iletişimi var. Fakiriyle, zenginiyle, gözü yaşlısıyla meşgul olmuş, eve gelip gidiyorlar. Yaşadığı farklı muhitlerde karşılaştığı, mesela hiç okuması yazması olmayan insanlarla ahbab olmuş. Yani, çok farklı seviyeden, çok farklı mahallerden, sosyal sınıflardan ahbabı, ihvanı, öğrencisi, muhibbi var. Böyle bir tarzı var. Biz üzerine düşündüğümüzde onun yapmak istediği asıl şeyin, böyle bir ahlakı, böyle bir bilgiyi yaygınlaştırmak olduğunu, yani manevi anlamda entelektüel hayatı mayalamak olduğunu düşünüyoruz. Mesela, kendisine en yakın olarak bildiğimiz öğrencilerinden biri, Semiha Cemal Hanımdır. Çok genç yaşında vefat etmiş olan Semiha Cemal, bizim bildiğimiz kadarıyla Türkiye'nin ilk felsefeci hanımefendisidir. Özellikle büyükbabamın desteği ve teşvikiyle, felsefe tahsili yapmıştır. 'Felsefeyle tasavvuf bağdaşmaz' diyenlere, burada, önemli bir ders vardır. Semiha Cemal'e özellikle, Platon, Mark Orel tercümeleri yaptırmıştır. İlk Platon tercümeleri, Semiha Cemal Hanım'ın tercümeleridir. Ve Mark Orel 'den (Markus Orel'yan) tercüme edilen İlk eser, yine onun tercümesidir. Semiha Cemal Hanım, Mustafa Şekip Tunç Bey'in asistanı olmuştur; fakat daha sonra tekrar maarifteki vazifesine dönmüş ve felsefe öğretmeni olarak çalışmıştır. Bütün bu eserlerin, tercümelerinin yanı sıra; Aşk Peygamberi ve Aşk adında iki romanı ve harikulade güzel mensur şiirlerden oluşan Gül Demeti adında bir eseri mevcuttur ve bu eserler üzerinde tasavvufi bir gözle değerlendirme yapılması son derece uygun olur. Şimdi, neden Platon tercümesi yaptırdı;

neden Markus Orel'yan tercümesi yaptırdı, diye sorulabilir. Çünkü derin tefekkürü mümkün olduğu kadar doğuş noktasına yakın bir yerden ele aldırma istiyordu. Yani orada ne olduğunu ve manevi anlamda bunu nasıl kendimize göre değerlendirebileceğimizi göster-mek istiyordu. Bu, bana çok dikkat edilmesi gereken bir husus gibi geliyor. Yine terbiyesinde çok etkili olduğu Samiha Hanımefendi (Samiha Ayverdi) de aynı şekilde entelektüel anlamda çok iyi yetiştirilmiş bir insandır. Yine mesela dayım, iki üniversite bitirmiştir. Yani düşünün, 1920'lerdesiniz. Dayıma (Kâzım Büyükkaksoy) bir taraftan ilahiyat tahsili yaptırmış, diğer taraftan eczacılık okutmuştur. Ayrıca onu musikide ve dînî sahada yetiştirmesi de bunların arasında ilave olarak sayılabilir. Yani tam böyle kâmil bir entelektüel insan tipi, fakat aynı zamanda maneviyat sahibi insan tipi oluşturmaya çalışmıştır. Bunun önemini bir şekilde anlayabiliyorsunuz, çünkü dönem, özellikle İstanbul'da, bir geçiş dönemidir. Geçiş dönemi ifadesini, hadiseyi çok müsbetleştirerek söyleyebiliyorum. Dönem, bir bozgun dönemidir. Bir taraftan modern dünya adına gelmesi gerekenler ki bunlar ilimde, tefekkürde, teknolojidedir; ama diğer bir taraftan da, siz kendinize yabancılaşmamak durumunda kalacaksınız. Bunu nasıl yapacaksınız? Kurum olarak bir şeylerde ısrar ederek değil. Bir köşeye kapanıp, içine kapalı bir cemiyet oluşturmakla da değil. Bunu, dönemin tefekkürü ile bütünleşerek, klasik anlamda gelenlerle, geleneksel mirasla, bunları bir şekilde uzlaştırarak ya da buluşturarak, bir başka mânâda; insanını ve tarihinin ruhunu

kavratarak bunu yapacaksınız ki bana kalırsa  
bu çok isabetli olmuştur.

***Herhalde “günün irfanı” meselesi de böyle  
anlaşılmalı, değil mi?***

Elbette. Hem gelenekle, hem de dönemle  
mutlaka kucaklaşmak mecburiyetindediniz.  
Ken'an Rifaî, etrafında çok az insan dahi olsa,  
onların bu formasyonuna dikkat etmiştir.  
Öğrencilerini ise sohbet ortamında, her zaman  
onlarla ilişki halinde yetiştiriyor. Etrafında  
yetiştirmekle kendisini mükellef hissettiği  
insanların çok kalabalık olduğunu  
sanmıyorum, hatta saymanız 50-60'ı  
geçmeyecektir. Ama onların kalitesine çok  
dikkat etmiş. Çok iyi yetiştirmiş ve bu noktada  
da çok iyi meyveler almıştır.

\*Taken from Tasavvuf I “İlmi ve Akademik  
Araştırma Dergisi” 8(2007), No 19, pp. 473-  
525.

## Appendix B: A Conversation between Ayverdi and Sedat Zeki Örs (12 June 1945)

\* *Sedat Zeki Örs was born in İstanbul in 1888. He was the son of Tophane müşiri Zeki Pasha. He graduated from Galatasaray high school and knew French, German, Italian, English and Russian. He was a Turkish diplomat, and the representative for IX. period of TGNA.*

**Sedat Zeki Örs:** Ne güzel enteriyörünüz var hanımefendi... Hakiki bir Türk evi. Beni buraya getiren eserinize gelince, bir kelime ile hayranım. Af buyurun ben Türkçe eser okuyamıyorum. Üç bin kitabım var; bunun ancak yüz ellisi Türkçe. Siz Türkçe'yi en mükemmel tarzda kullanmışınız. Lisana tasarrufunuz o kadar şayan-ı hayret ki hayran oldum. Sonra personeller fevkalade canlı ve kuvvetli. Sizin irtifanızda bir müellif az bulunur. Buraya gelirken sizinle bir cihetten daha alakadar oldum. Pederiniz Tophane mensuplarındanmış.

**Samiha Ayverdi:** Evet muhterem pederinizin seryaveri idi. Kendisinin çok teveccüh ve lütfunu görmüştür.

**S. Z. Örs:** Babam Hakkı Bey'i cidden çok sever ve itimad ederdi. Haklı imiş de. Zira meşrutiyetten sonar kendisine sadık kalan bir o oldu.

**S. Ayverdi:** Hatta vefat ettiği zaman cenazesinde de eskilerden ve maiyetinden yalnız babam varmış. Babam şathiyata meyyal, hayatı zevk ve neşe cephesinden görmek isteyen bir adam olduğu için, keder ve teessürleri, prensip olarak, hislerinden dışarı bırakmaya çalışırdı. Böyle iken, pederinizin

cenazesinden ağlıyarak döndüğünü hatırlıyorum.

**S. Z. Örs:** Ne tuaf... Ben o zaman burada değildim de bilemiyorum. Babam, Meşrutiyet darbesinden sonra hayatı olduğu gibi karşılayamadı, filozof olamadı. Küstü. Gerçi İttihatçılar onu haksız olarak çok hırpaladılar, elinki bir kaç emlake kadar müsadere ettiler. Halbuki daha ne kötü vaziyete düşenler vardı ki hiç de babam gibi yapmadılar. Mesela Dahiliye Nazırı Memduh Paşa. Babam realist bir adamdı. Bizi de öyle yetiştirdi. Hanımefendi, yaverlerden Nusret Bey'i tanır mısınız?

**S. Ayverdi:** Evet, Ali Nusret Bey, şair ve hassas bir adamdı. Cenab Şehabeddin'in kardeşi.

**S. Z. Örs:** Şiirlerini bilir misiniz?

**S. Ayverdi:** Ezbere hatırlamıyorum. Ölümünü müteakip zannederim bir risale halinde neşredilmişti. O zaman çocuktum, fazla birşey hatırlamıyorum.

**S. Z. Örs:** Benim Arabi ve Farisi hocamdı. Babam ilme ve tahsile son derece ehemmiyet veren bir adamdı; ama son derece. Adeta hastalık halinde. Ali Nusret Bey'den evvel beş sene Haşim Hoca isminde birisinden Arapça

dersi almıştım. Fakat bu beş sene zarfında nasara, yensurudan ileri geçemedim.

**S. Ayverdi:** Hocanız da aynı şeyleri o kadar bir zamanda öğrenmiştir. Sistemlerinin icabı.

**S. Z. Örs:** Çok doğru. Sistemlerinin icabı.

**S. Ayverdi:** Mamafih medrese, vaktiyle çok büyük insanlar yetiştirmiştir. Hiçbir bünyenin yakasını bırakmayan tereddi, nihayet ona da gelip çatmıştır.

**S. Z. Örs:** Evet, kendi çevresinde büyük adamlar yetiştirmiş olduğuna şüphe yok.

**S. Ayverdi:** Farabi'leri, İbn-i Sina'ları da yetiştiren medrese değil midir?

**S. Z. Örs:** Fakat eserlerini Arapça yazmışlar.

**S. Ayverdi:** Yalnız onlar mı? Mevlana da gerek Mesnevi'sini gerekse Rubailer'ini hep Acem dilinde yazmıştır. Eğer böyle yapmamış olsalardı, eserlerinden bugün istifade edilemeyecekti. Halbuki cihan ilim alemleri onları istediği gibi okuyup anlayabiliyor. Türkçe'nin başından esen rüzgar, ne Arapça'nın ne Acemce'nin başından geçmiş değil.

**S. Z. Örs:** Türkçe'nin başından rüzgar esmedi, felaket havası esti. Lisan, türedi zihniyetlerin eline nasıl bırakılabilir, havsala almıyor ki...

Hanımfendi Fransızca anlar mısınız?

**S. Ayverdi:** Evet.

**S. Z. Örs:** İster misiniz Fransızca konuşalım?

**S. Ayverdi:** Niçin? İki Türk'ün bir başka lisanı tercih etmeleri acı birşey.

**S. Z. Örs:** Demek hissiyat bakımından istemiyorsunuz.

**S. Ayverdi:** Şüphesiz.

**S. Z. Örs:** Şu halde benim ara sıra Fransızca söylememe müsade ediniz.

Evet lisan ve dolayısıyla bağlı olduğu davayı ele alırsak, meselenin başının ta Tanzimattan gediği görürüz. Yanlış işler ta o zamandan gelmektedir. Tanzimat dine ve şer'i kuvvetlere ilk darbeyi o devirde vurmuştur. Evvelce Adliye yoktu. Memleketin tekmil hukuki ve adli umuru şeriatin selahiyeti çemberine dahildi. Bu kuvvet de manevi nüfuzundan istifade ederek çok işler başarıyor, çok müşkülleri bertaraf ediyor, sözünü dinletiyor, zararları önlüyordu. Meşihat, hakiki bir otorite idi.

**S. Ayverdi:** Öyle olmamış olsa 'Şeyhülislam', Yavuz Sultan Selim gibi celadet ve şiddet sahibi bir hükümdarın yanına girerken *İnnallahe la yuhibbü'z-zalimine* (Allah zalimleri sevmez) diyebilir miydi?

**S. Z. Örs:** Evet, Allah zalimleri sevmez; güzel söz.

**S. Ayverdi:** Sonra Ulu Camii ikmal olup, Yıldırım Beyazıd Bursa'nın sinesine kondurduğu abide hakkında yakınlarının mütealasını sorduğu zaman gene o devrin Şeyhülislam mevkiinde bulunan zat ' Herşey güzel ve mükemmel, fakat caminin

yanibaşında bir meyhane eksik' demek cesaretini nasıl buluyor?

**S. Z. Örs:** Padişahın ayyaşlığından kinaye değil mi?

Bilmem teorimi nasıl bulacaksınız? Osmanlı Devleti, idare mekanizmasına iştirak ettiği kimselerin çoğunu 'Kapıkulları'ndan seçmiştir. Bunlarda devşirme yolu ile reayadan seçilirdi. Fakat hristiyan olan bu aileler, evladları hiç bir suikasda maruz kalmadıkları, hatta ilerde zeka ve kabiliyetlerine göre devlet ricalinden olacaklarını bildikleri halde onları vermek istemezlerdi. Çünkü mazileri ve aileleri ile tamamen alakalarını kesen bu çocuklar, dinlerini de değiştirdiklerinden, anaları ve babaları onları dünyada olduğu kadar ahirette de kaybettiklerine inanırlardı.

Şimdi bu aileleri ve mazileri ile ilişkisi kalmamış, himayesiz, kimsesiz devşirmelerin vaziyetlerini düşünelim. Onlara zulümden, haksızlıktan neler yapılamazdı. Fakat bu mesnedsiz, kimsesiz sınıfa hiçbir fenalık yapılamazdı, zira şer'i kuvvet, din otoritesi haksızlıklara karşı bir perde idi; zulme cevaz vermiyordu. Halbuki Tanzimat'la beraber dinin elinden bu selahiyetlerin bir kısmı alındı. O büyük otoriteye ilk gedik açıldı. Meşrutiyet ise işi biraz daha ileriye götürdü ve dava, ta Cumhuriyet devrinin inkılablarına kadar gelip dayandı. Bence Mustafa Kemal, dine Tanzimattan daha büyük bir darbe vurmamıştır. Onun hatası, dinin münevver ve canlı kısmı olan tekkeleri kapamasından

ibarettir. Kimbilir belki bunlarda da kendisine karşıbir tehlike görmüş olabilir.

**S. Ayverdi:** Olmaz demiyorum, fakat tasavvuf mesleğinin hakiki salikleri kendi iç alemlerinin ıslahı ile uğraşmaktan başka şeyle mukayyed değillerdir. Bahusus din, 'ülü'l-emre' itaatı emreder.

**S. Z. Örs:** Ama 'ülü'l-emre' her zaman itaat edilecek bir şuur değildir.

**S. Ayverdi:** Her ne olursa olsun buna karşı gelmek mistik adamın karı değildir. Mamafih tekkeler esasi mahiyetlerini kaybetmiş olduklarından , kapatılmaları bir emr-i zaruri idi.

**S. Z. Örs:** Öyle demeyin, fikrinize iştirak edemiyorum. Her ne kadar bozulmuş olsalarda gene bugünkü cami hayatından çok yüksek , çok ileri ve hayattardı. Cami kuru ve kifayetsizdir. Halk, o caminin büyüğü için 'ölü gözünden yaş, imam evinden aş' diyecek kadar ona bigane ve soğuktur. Caminin bu kasvetli ve kuru tarafına mukabil tekke, dinin kendini bilen şuurlu, müdrik, canlı cephesi idi.Bilmem tekkeler ve tarikatler hakkında fikriniz var mıdır?

**S. Ayverdi:** Bence muhtelif tarikatlerin manası tektir. İrfan ve edeb. Edep denince hatıra baş eğmek, el bağlamak veya elfaz-ı tekrimiye kullanmak gelmesin. Edeb, bir karıncadan , uçan kuşa, yerde sürünen alil bir dilenciye kadar her mahlukta Allah'ın bir zerre-i tecellisini görerek hürmet etmektir. Tasavvuf budur; fakat bu olduğunu bilen hemen

kalmamış, işi şekilden ibadet zannetmek hatası onları hakiki manalarından soymuştur.

**S. Z. Örs:** Bence onlar, dinin en lüzumlu tarafı, yıkılmaması lazım gelen en faydalı müesseselerdir. Zira İslamiyet'te ilah suretten münezzehtir. Halbuki insan bir suret tasavvur etmedikçe o ilah heyula olur. İşte şeyh, ilahı bir dereceye kadar idolize ederek ona bir suret bağışlar ve insane dab u suretle görebildiği, anlayabildiği o surete taabbüd eder. Yahut taabbüdünü o kanaldan Allah'a isal eder. Hristiyanlık, Yahova ile, dişli tırnaklı, korkunç ürkütücü bir ilah gösterir (...) ile yumuşak, mülayim ve okşayıcıdır. Katolikler birde Meryem katarak işi tamamlamışlardır. Lojikman muhakkak ki teslis, doğru birşey değildir; fakat lojik her zaman beklenemez.

Mademki İslamiyet'te suret yoktur, şu halde dergahlar, Allah'la kul arasında bir köprü olmak noktasından hakikaten faydalı ve lüzumludur. Onlar dini canlandıran, ayakta tutan varlıklardı, hatta o yıkılmış, bozulmuş halleriyle bile.

Ben 'abstrait' bir muhitte yetişmedim. Babam gayet 'rationelle' bir adamdı. Bu sebepten de ne bir tekkeye gidebildim ne de bu alemi müşehade üzere tanıyabildim. Yalnız 1926'da Samsun'da bulunuyordum. Dergahlara son verildiği sene, hatta hafta imiş. Tesadüfen bulunduğum binanın yanında 'Kadiri' tekkesi varmış ve o gece de bir ayin gecesiymiş. Tam yatacağım zaman ayin başladı ve yemin ederim ki yatmadım fırladım kalktım. O ne ritm, o ne emsalsiz bir ahenkti. Ben ki alaturka musikisi ile ülfeti olamayan bir

adamdım ve üstelik de bu sesleri bir duvar arkasından dinliyordum. O derece gaşyoldum, kendimden geçtim ki, yerden yere atılmak ihtiyacı ile kıvrandım durdum. Ben hariçten böyle olursam, içerdekiler ne olmaz düşünün bir kere...Uzun zamandır Tanzimat hakkında bir eser yazıyor ve vesika topluyorum. Biz de hatıra yazan muharrirler hep dedikodu yaparlar, hiçbiri ortaya doktrinini koymaz. Yedi defa sadrazam olan Said Paşa'nın hatıratı hep talihsizliklerinden bahisle doludur. Bence tanzimat, muvaffak olmamış bir inkılapdır.

**S. Ayverdi:** Yanlış yapılmış bir ameliyat.

**S. Z. Örs:** Tanzimat inkılapçısı din otoritesini baltalamış, yerine hiç bir şey koyamamıştır.

**S. Ayverdi:** Yerine birşey koymaya ihtiyacı yoktu; onun saf ve halis çehresini lüzumsuz ve manasız fazlalıklardan hususiyle taassubdan temizleyerek olduğu gibi bırakmak lazımdı. Din, cemiyetin sırtını yasladığı bir fon, her halükarda müşavere ettiğibir dosttur ki ona ihtiyaçtan müstağni olunamaz. Ancak bizde din, ihtirasların elinde oyuncak olup kaldığı için zaafa ve geriliğe sürülmüştür. Yoksa bir zamanlar Şark, bütün dünyanın ilim ve irfan ocağı idi. Eğer haçlı seferleri olmasaydı, belki de Avrupa, içinde yüzdüğü kara cehalet içinden daha asırlarca kurtulamayacaktı.

**S. Z. Örs:** Mamafih Rönesans'da ehl-i salib seferlerinin tesirini görmek pek mümkün değildir. Fakat muhakkak ki Avrupa'ya Şark kültürünü getirmekte bu seferlerin büyük tesiri olmuştur. Hanımefendi diğer eserlerinizde de aynı fikir temposu üstünde mi yürütüyorsunuz?

**S. Ayverdi:** Bu hususta müsadenizle fazla birşey söylemeyeyim. Ancak herkesin bir başka zaviyeden seyrettiği hayata, benim de kendi görüşüm noktasından baktığım şüphesizdir. Bu görüşün kökü de birliğe uzanan bir felsefedir...

\* Aforementioned interview which was dated in 1945 is important in order to get a general idea about the approach of Ayverdi to Turkish modernization, Tanzimat, East and Western civilizations, Turkish language issues, the literature, tasawwuf, tariqas, dervish lodges.

\*The interview was taken from the book, *Mülakatlar* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2005), pp. 99-104.

## Appendix C: A Conversation between Ayverdi and Necip Fazıl Kısakürek

N. F. Kısakürek: Ben hiçbir muharriri ziyarete gidip tebrik etmiş değilim; size adete sürüklenerek geldim. Ben dindar bir adamım. Fakat bunu bir fantezi telakki ederek inanmayanlar pek çoktur. Paradoks yaptığımı sanırlar, alay, mizah mevzuu yaparlar. Ziyarı yok. Ben başkalarını beni itham eder görmekten zevk alır, tekzibe lüzum görmem. İslam'daki şiir ve felsefe hiçbir yerde yoktur. Hazreti Muhammed en büyük insan; o, her asrın büyüğüdür. Fakat bilmek lazım... Kitaplarınızı okudum. Hayran oldum. Buna emin olun. O kadar ki benim için pek kıymetli olan Paskal'ın eserleri ile ve daima elimin altında, gözümün önünde duruyorlar. Fakat belki canınızı sıkacağım, lakin söylemeden, hatta üstünde ısrarla durmadan geçmek istemediğim nokta şu ki, bu inzivanız çok zararlı bir şey... Ortaya çıkın, inin artık saklandığınız kuleden...

S. Ayverdi: Ben münzevi değilim ki... Hem prensip olarak inzivadan pek hoşlanmam da... Eğer bir tecerrüd lazımsa, bunu kesret dalgalarının çalkantısı ortasında yapmakta mümkündür.

N. F. Kısakürek: Oh, hem de öyle münzevisiniz ki, darılmayın bayağı kızıyorum size.

S. Ayverdi: Eğer bu dediğiniz vaziyet için bende bir meyil olsaydı, muhakkak ki tekaza eder ve çoktan cemiyetin bir koluna sürüklerdi.

Fakat madem ki buna bir lüzum hissetmiyorum; şu halde bu zorla kendi kendimi sevketmem gayri tabii bir hareket olur. Ben hayat vazifemi kendi alemimin hususi havası içinde kurmuşum, kafi işte.

N. F. Kısakürek: Yanlış düşünüyorsunuz. Cemiyet size muhtaç. Kendi zevkiniz, kendi sükun ve inziva ihtiyacımız namına bu hareketinizi tasvip etmeniz asla doğru değil. Bu birazda hodbinlik. Hakkınız yok buna. Ben gece yarılara kadar çalışan ve uykularımı üstüne düşüğüm kitapların, yazıların arasında geçiren, pek ziyade meşgul bir adamım. Böyle iken işte size gelmeye bir vakit ayırdım. Şimdi size, faraza beş dakika matbaaya uğramanızı rica etsem yapar mısınız? Bakın susuyorsunuz, olmadı işte.

S. Ayverdi: Bence bu dünyada her işi ehline bırakmak ve her kar sahibini, üstüne almış olduğu vazifesi içinde seyretmek lazımdır. Binaenaleyh ben de size hak vereyim, siz de bana.

\*Taken from Samiha Ayverdi, Mülakatlar, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2005), pp. 80-81.

## Appendix D: Essay of Samiha Ayverdi about Clothing of Woman in Islam

"Yine Islam, da kadın konusunda en çok sözü edilen noktalardan biri de, kadının giyim kuşam, cemiyet içi davranışları, örtünmesi süsü vs.'dir.

Kılık kıyafet, giyim kuşam, saç, sakal, bıyık vs. ile ilgili hususlar menşe' itibariyle dini değil millidir. Dini değil, milli kıyafet vardır. Bu sebeple Müslüman milletler arasında kıyafet birliği yoktu ve olmamıştır. Hatta bir milletin bütünü içinde bile bu birlik göze çarpmaz. Vilayetler arasında olduğu kadar, kazalar ve birbirine çok yakın köyler arasında dahi kıyafet bakımından büyük ayrılıklar göze çarpar.

Sadece dini kisve (üniforma) vardır. Bugün asker, polis, zabıta ve benzeri sınıfların kendilerine has üniformaları olduğu gibi, din adamı, ilmiye sınıfı, devlet adamı ve benzerlerinin de kendilerine mahsus özel kıyafetleri, yani kisveleri vardır.

Kıyafetler örf ve adete bağlı olduğu için şekil ve biçim bakımından devamlı değişikliğe uğrayagelmistir.

İslam, kıyafet üzerinde değil, kıyafetin "ahlakılığı" üzerinde durmuştur. İslam girdiği ülkelerdeki yerli kıyafeti değiştirmemiştir. Sadece -eğer varsa- ahlaka ve dinin esaslarına aykırı yönlerinde bir rötuş yapmıştır. İslam'da giyim-kuşam, kılık-kıyafetle ilgili hususlar, hadisler tasnif edilirken ahlak ve adab-ı muşeret bablarında mütalaa edilmiştir. Hukuki ve itikadi konularda değil.

Her şeyde olduğu gibi bu hususta da İslam, hep prensiplerden hareket etmiş ve günü birlik teferruata dalarak kendisini yıpratmamış, böylece tazeliğini ve hayatiyetini devam ettiregelmistir. Hz.Muhammed kılık-kıyafette temizliği, intizamı, üslublu giyinmeyi, zarafeti, titizlikle tavsiye eder. Dağınık ve pasaklı giyinenleri hafif yollu kınar. Herkesin içtimai seviyesine göre giyinmesi tavsiye edilirken varlıklı insanların dilenci kıyafetine bürünmesi ayıplanır. 'Allah, kuluna verdiği nimetin eserini onun üzerinde görmekten hoşlanır' buyuruluyor. İslam kadın için bilhassa evinde, süslü ve giyimli olmayı tavsiye ederken, öbür taraftan da, bazı aşırılıkları ağır bir dille kınar. Güzelleşmek düşüncesiyle vücuda yapılan müdahaleleri, estetik ameliyatını, erkeklerin zaafalarını tahrik edecek davranışlarda bulunmayı tehlikeli hareketlerden sayar.

Bu konu ile ilgili Kur'an-i Kerim ayetlerini tahlil edelim.

'Ey Peygamber! Hanımlarına, kızlarına ve mü'minlerin kadınlarına (bir ihtiyaç için dışarı çıktıkları zaman) harici elbiselerini üstlerine giymelerini söyle. Onların tanınması ve incitilmemesi için en elverişli olan budur, Allah bağışlayandır, esirgeyendir (Ahzab,59)

Bu ayetin açıklamasına göre, Allah'ın böyle bir tedbir almayı emretmesi mü'min kadınların kıyafetleri ile teşhis edilmesi suretiyle, ahlaksızların sarkıntılıklarından kurtulmalarını temin etmek içindir. Bu duruma göre burada, tesettürden ziyade, bir kıyafet hususiyeti mevzu bahis olmuyor demektir. Köşe başı, kaldırım kenarı mesaisi yapan dişi ile, işinden vazifesinden evine dönen aile kadınının aynı kıyafette olmaması, hürmet telkin eden bir kıyafetle diğerlerinden ayrılması tavsiye ediliyor. İffetli bir kadının iffetini nasıl koruyacağını bilmesi gerekir.

Nur suresinin 31.ayetinde '(...) başörtüleri yakalarının üzerini kapatacak surette koysunlar (...)' buyuruluyor. Bu ayette baş örtülerinin arkaya değil, ön tarafa, göğüs ve gerdanı kapsayacak şekilde sarkıtılması' emrediliyor. 'Başörtülerini üzerine alsınlar ' veya 'başlarını örtsünler' denmiyor. Çünkü eski zamanlardan beri, Şark milletlerinin kadınları başlarını örtüyorlardı. Asr-ı saadette de kadınların başörtüleri vardı. Başörtüsü giyilen kıyafetlerin bir parçasını teşkil ediyordu.

Bu ayetin tefsirini yapan birçok müfessirler, cahiliye devri kadınlarının başörtüleri hakkında da bilgileri verirler. Verilen bilgiye göre onlar da başlarını örtüyorlardı. Fakat yalnız enselerine bağlıyorlar ve arkalarına sarkıtıyorlardı. Ön tarafta yakaları çok geniş olduğu gibi göğüsleri gerdanları iyice açıkta kalıyordu. Hicretin beşinci yılında Müslüman kadınların kıyafetleri üzerinde bir değişiklik yapılarak, örtülerinin arkaya değil açık yerleri örtecek şekilde öne sarkıtılması emredildi. Yeri gelmişken hemen kaydedelim ki, tesettür, başörtüsü birçoklarının iddia ettiği gibi, Müslüman kadınlarını diğerlerinden ayırt eden bir alamet-i farika değildir. Çünkü Şark memleketlerinde tesettüre riayet edenler, sadece Müslüman kadınları olmayıp, diğer dinlere mensub kadınlar da örtülüdürler. Örtünmek onların mahalli ve an'anevi kıyafetlerinin üslubudur. Müslümanların giyimli olması başka şey, örtülü ve giyimli olmanın sırf Müslümanlara ait bir özellik olması ise tamamen başka bir şeydir. Allah'a imanı, peygambere muhabbeti, namusa düşkünlüğü ve prensiplere titizliği olan bir kadın, kimseye darılmadan ve her şeyden önce kendisini düşünerek giyiminin tarzını kendisi ayarlıyacaktır.”

\*Taken from Cemalnur Sargut, *Samiha Ayverdi ile Sirra Yolculuk* (İstanbul, Nefes Yayınları, 2009) pp. 133-135.

## Appendix E: Ayverdi's Thoughts about the Reform on Turkish Language

### *Medeniyet Anlayışımız ve Kültür Davamız*

Kırk seneye yaklaşan harf inkılabının sebep ve neticelerini ararken, geçmiş ve geleceğin ortasındaki bugünkü fikir hayatımızın çehresi kendiliğinden ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Şarktan garba bir kuyruklu yıldız gibi akan biz, bugün hangi durakta bulunuyor ve şarklı olmaktan ne ölçüde çıkıyor, garplılık menziline ne nispette vasıl olmuş bulunuyoruz? İşte bu suallerin cevabı, her iki medeniyet muvacehesindeki şimdilik yerimizi tayin edecektir.

Evvvela, mevzumuzun ufkundan karanlık bulutları sıyrabilmek için, medeniyet anlayışının üstünde bir an duraklayalım. Sonra da, bir gerilik sembolü kabul edegeldiğimiz şark medeniyetine bir-iki cümle dokunup geçelim.

Bilindiği gibi, medeniyetleri bütünüyle şu veya bu kavme maletmeye imkan tasavvur edilemez. Zira fikri unsurlar ve içtimai gerçekler, çok defa filan veya falan muhitin mahsulü olmaktan ziyade, müşterek medeniyetlerin meyvesi demektir.

Komşu kültür ve medeniyetlerin daima birbirleriyle alış verişte ve münasebette bulunduğu ve birbirlerine bağlı tabiat hadiseleri gibi, cemiyetlerin de hars ve medeniyet mübadelesinde tabiat kanunlarıyla atbaşı hareket ettikleri meydana çıkar. Mesela, eski çağlarda Yunan-Roma medeniyetiyle İran medeniyeti arasında bazen yatışan fakat her zaman çatışan şiddetli bir mücadele vardı ki, birbiri üzerine yürüyen kuvvetlerin birbirlerinden iktibas ve mübadeleler yapmış olmasını tabii kılmıştır.

Asırlarca devam eden bu mücadele, Roma'nın kudretini kaybettiği devirlerde Sasani medeniyetinin hakimiyetini bünyesi içinde her zamandan daha kuvvetle hissettirmişdir.

Şu halde bir kere daha söyleyelim ki, fasit daire halinde mütemadiyen devrini ve seyrini yapan medeniyetleri ve kültür mübadelelerini hendesi ve riyazi kat'iyetle şu veya bu millete maletmek mümkün değildir. Çekirdeğin ağaç olması gibi, bazen bir elden öteki ele geçen tohum, nekledildiği yeni toprakta dal budak salıvererek meyvesi, o çekirdeğin eski sahibi tarafından devşirilir.

İşte şark medeniyeti havzasında ve İslam medeniyeti camiasında iki büyük imparatorluk kurmuş olan Türkler de, bu kollektif şark medeniyetinin iki büyük indifa merkezi olarak, asırlar boyu tarih sahnesinin hakim ve efendi milleti olmuşlardır.

Hakikat şu ki, çeşitli istikametlerde inkişaf etmiş, böylece de çeşitli medeniyetler görmüş ve görececek olan dünyada, bütün cepheleriyle birbirine üstünlük iddia edecek bir medeniyet yoktur. Çünkü beşeri faaliyetler, her istikamette ve aynı zamanda ve aynı ölçüde inkişaf ve tahakkuk edemez. Böyle olunca da, bir cephesiyle iptidai görünen bir medeniyeti diğer cephesiyle inkar götürmez bir üstünlük arzeder.

Roma-Yunan ve Sasani alış verişinden sonra, garbın şarkla temasını yenileyen Haçlı Seferleri de, bir kültür ve medeniyet mübadelesiyle meyve ve mahsul vermiş ve garp, rönesansını ancak Bağdat, Suriye ve Mısır gibi şarkın kültür merkezleriyle temasından sonra yapabilmıştır.

Fakat batı dünyası, gözünü açıp şark medeniyetini kendi coğrafyasında bir yeni çehre ile uyandırmayı aklına koyduğu zaman, bu hamlenin adına şarklılaşma dememiştir. Öyle ki, müstakil bir medeniyet yaratıcısı olmak kararında sonuna kadar direnmiş ve felsefesini Greko-Romen, köklerine bağlamıştır. Bu suretle de ilmi, fikri, san'atı, tekniği ve bilhassa kapitalizm çekirdeği etrafında toplanan iktisadi gücü ile, yepyeni bir kisveye bürünerek dünyaya boy göstermiştir.

Halbuki Türkler, siyasi, iktisadi ve askeri zorlamalar dolayısıyla garp medeniyeti çerçevesine geçer, hor ve geri bulunduğu eski medeniyetinden uzaklaşırken aynı anlayışı göstermemiş, kayıtsız şartsız garba adapte olmayı, kurtuluş zannederek bu hamlenin adına da garplılaşma demiştir.

İşte garbın maddeye dayanan realist karakterli medeniyeti karşısında sinen ve küçüklük anlayışına tutulan cemiyetimiz, kurtuluşu ancak yeni gireceği medeniyette fani olmak ve erimek suretiyle hüviyet ve şahsiyet değiştirmekte sandı. Böylece de Tanzimat'la ilk ciddi garplılaşma inkilabımızı yaptı. Fakat bu halka bürokrat sınıfın müşterek talebi neticesi olmayan hakani ve zorlama bir inkılapı. Onun için de tutmadı.

Arkadan Meşrutiyet inkılabı geldi. Bu da memleket realistlerinin icrabı ile yapılmamıştı. Dayandığı ilmi ve felsefi bir temeli yoktu. Gene iflasla sona erdi. Üstelik on yıl içinde bir imparatorluk kaybeden Türk milleti, topraklarının beştedördünü kaybetti.

Arkadan Cumhuriyet yetişti. Ve yer yer, ada ada, irtibatını devam ettiren Türklüğü, bütünüyle Greko-Latin medeniyeti camiasına maletmenin seferberliğini açtı.

İlk iş, şark medeniyetinin devam zinciri olan bin yıllık harfini bırakıp Latin harflerini kabul etmekle ve tarihe karşı mesuliyetini hiçe sayan tehlikeli bir cesaret ve pervasızlıkla işe başladı.

Tarih, alfabeyi bir medeniyetin anahtarı olarak kabul eder. Anahtar değişince medeniyetin değişeceği de tabii idi. Fakat bu yeni medeniyeti yürütmek için yardımcı diller lazımdı. Asırlar boyu Türk dili içinde Türkleşmiş ve karakter değiştirmiş olan Arapça ve Farsça'dan gelme kelimeler yerine, İngilizce, Fransızca, Almanca kaim olmalıydı. Zira garbın ilim ve teknik dünyalarına bu kapılardan girilebilirdi. Onun için de Türk gençliği büyük kütleler halinde Avrupa'ya akın ederken, tarihinden, dilinden, dininden topyekün milli kültüründen habersiz olarak içine girdiği yeni medeniyeti, milli bir platform üstüne getirip kendi malzemesiyle işlemesine imkan bulamadı. Üstelik bu sermayesiz gençlik ciddiyet, metot ve milli heyecandan mahrum olduğu için, garbın kucağında, onun sunduğu gıdalarla beslenerek, daha çok, zehirlenerek, benimsediği yeni medeniyete faydalı olmaktan uzak kaldı.

Bugün Türk kültür ve fikriyatını, yapıcı ve şuurulu bir anlayış üstüne getirmek için, bin şu kadar yıllık medeniyet ve tarihimizin doğuş ve yükseliş sebepleri üstüne çevirerek mazi ile barışmak ve yeniden rabita kurmak, belki en salim ve kestirme yol sayılabilir.

Ancak şu noktayı da kısaca, fakat ehemmiyetle idrak etmek lazım gelir. Nasıl ki tarih, alfabeyi bir medeniyetin anahtarı olarak kabul etmekte ise, dili ve dilin kelimelerini de o medeniyeti besleyen ve yaşatan kültür nafakası olarak görür.

İşte, asırlardır garp medeniyetine kur yapa yapa nihayet kucağına atılan biz, en tehlikeli hatayı da, şu son çeyrek asırdır Türk dili üstünde giriştiğimiz acemice ve tehlikeli olduğu kadar yersiz de olan bir operasyonla yapmış bulunuyoruz.

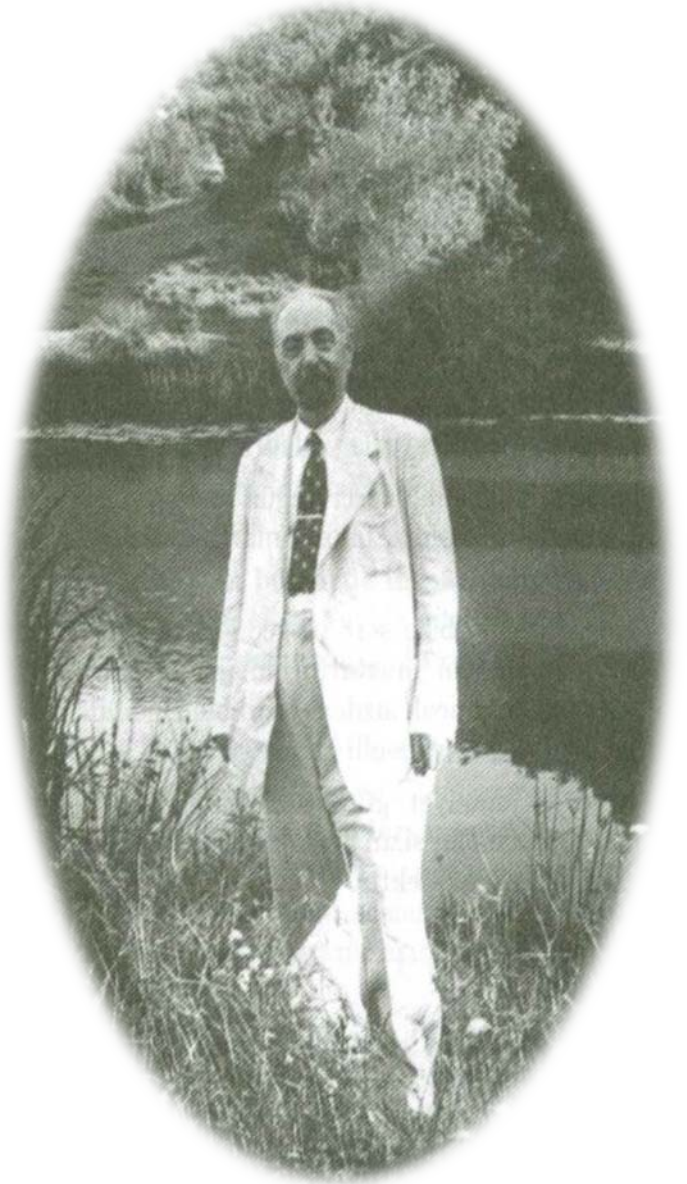
Öyle ki, irfan hayatımızı, harsımızı, milli, tarihi ve manevi sermayemizi topyekün sıfıra indirmek gayreti içinde bulunan dış düşmanlarımızın iğvasına uyarak, dört elle sarıldığımız “uydurma dil” hareketi, Türk maarifini felçli, yatalak ve kötürüm hale getirmiş bulunuyor.

İşte, Türk milleti can çekişen Türkçe’ye, bu ana davaya sahip çıkıp onu iç ve dış düşmanların kanlı ellerinden kurtarmadıkça, kendisine, ne şark ne de garp medeniyetleri içinde yer bulabileceğini düşünmelidir.

**Appendix F: Ken'an Rifai (Büyükaksoy)**



*\*Before the abolishment of the dervish lodges in Turkey. The photograph is dated in 1921.*



*\*In the Republican Turkey's first years. The photograph might be dated in 1930s.*

## Appendix G: Samiha Ayverdi



\*Samiha Ayverdi in 1942s.

“*Ken'an'in emekleri mahsülü Samiha Can!* (Ken'an's endeavors' product, precious Samiha)” written under the photograph. “*Yazı Efendimindir* (the note belongs to my spiritual guide)” is written back of it.

**Appendix H: Samiha Ayverdi and Her Close Friends from Rifai Order**



\*Nihat Sami Banarlı, Nezihe Araz  
Sofi Huri, Samiha Ayverdi, Safiye Erol

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