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J.S. Mill

HILMI ZIYA'S LIFE AND THOUGHT FROM  
1928 TO 1960, IN RELATION TO THE  
POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS  
IN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

by

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	I
ABSTRACT	III
ÖZET	IV
FOREWORD	V
INTRODUCTION	1
<u>PART ONE:</u>	
HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN'S LIFE AND WORKS	5
I. HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN'S CHILDHOOD AND HIGHSCHOOL YEARS	5
II. FROM THE UNIVERSITY YEARS TO THE MENEMEN EVENT	14
III. THE "MORAL OF LOVE"	37
IV. DEPRESSION OF THE YOUNG REPUBLIC: TOWARD'S ATATÜRK'S ETATIST ECONOMY	42
V. THE REFORM OF THE TURKISH UNIVERSITY	49
VI. FROM THE LAST MONTHS OF ATATÜRK'S LIFE ON THE LAST YEARS OF ONE-PARTY REGIME	52
VII. FROM THE TWO LAST YEARS OF ONE-PARTY REGIME TO THE DEMOCRAT PARTY PERIOD	68
VIII. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PERIOD	74

	<u>Page</u>
IX. FROM THE COUP OF 1960 TO HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN'S DEATH	90
 <u>PART TWO:</u>	
HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF ACTION	100
CONCLUSION	151
<u>NOTES</u>	155
APPENDIX: A "ANATOLU'NUN HAYALI" (THE DREAM OF ANATOLIA)	227
APPENDIX: B HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN'S BIOGRAPHY	238
APPENDIX: C HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN'S PUBLICATIONS	245
APPENDIX: D HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN'S ARTICLES	251
APPENDIX: E THESIS ON HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN	308
BIBLIOGRAPHY	309

PAGES OF THE NOTES

PART ONE : Nos 1-210 : pp. 155-205

I : Nos 1-23 : pp. 155-158

II : Nos 24-77 : pp. 158-171

III : Nos 78-88 : pp. 171-174

IV : Nos 89-100: pp. 174-177

V : Nos 101-104: pp. 178-179

VI : Nos 105-141: pp. 179-189

VII : Nos 142-156: pp. 189-194

VIII : Nos 157-198: pp. 194-206

IX : Nos 199-210: pp. 206-207

PART TWO : Nos 211-313: pp. 208-225

CONCLUSION: Nos 314-318: pp. 225-226

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## ABSTRACT

This is the study of Hilmi Ziya Ülken's (1901-1974) thought in relation to the political and religious development in the Republic of Turkey.

Hilmi Ziya Ülken is a representative example of the very first intellectuals of the young Turkish Nation.

Much weight was given to his ideas about religion as religion is the core of the paradigm of his sociological views.

On the other hand emphasis was also given to men of ideas who have been influential on Hilmi Ziya Ülken's thought or intellectual development. Finally the study exposes the continuity of his ideas which changed in appearance only.



## ÖZET

Bu çalışma Hilmi Ziya Ülken'in (1901-1974) düşüncesini Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ndeki siyasal ve dinsel gelişmelere bağlı olarak incelemektedir.

Hilmi Ziya Ülken Cumhuriyet dönemi aydınlarının ilk ve önemli örneklerinden biridir. Yoğun çalışması ile arkasından incelenecek pek çok malzeme bırakmıştır.

Din, Hilmi Ziya Ülken'in toplumbilimsel görüşlerinin ana eksenini oluşturduğundan din konusundaki görüşlerine ağırlık verildi.

Ayrıca bu çalışmada Hilmi Ziya Ülken'in düşünce ya da düşünsel gelişimi üzerinde etkili olmuş olan kişilere de yer verildi. Son olarak, bu inceleme Hilmi Ziya Ülken'in görünürde değişiklik gösteren düşüncesinin sürekliliğini ortaya koymaktadır.

## FOREWORD

I would like to say a few words about the defectuous methodology of this study.

The first draft of this study was written as a whole having no chapter, no subtitle at all. Mr. Şerif MARDİN quite rightly remarked "You are not Proust, even Proust sometimes uses subtitles" and suggested that I should separate "his life", "his works and political developments" and "his sociology of action". I had no problem in separating his "sociology of action", or in other words the attention Hilmi Ziya Ülken payed for Sufism, as this was the main theme that lead me to undertake this study. But I had difficulties in separating "his life" and "his works and political developments". Although I was realizing that to do so would be much more reasonable I, once more, put them stubbornly together because I was afraid of disrupting a feeling of wholeness that I could not clearly formulate then.

At the very beginning of the second draft I was not able to give any more definition than this feeling of whole-

legitimize my obstination in writing the above mentioned parts in one chapter. But as I engaged in writing the second draft I figured out that what I was then defining as a feeling of wholeness was the implicit continuity of Hilmi Ziya Ülken's thought. I have been able to come to this formulation only when I started to expound his ideas during the 1950's.

Therefore I believe that this study should be written a third time to release the text from its tedious reading and tiresome structure. The stiffness of this work is due to this methodological defect which I tried to counterpoise, for the moment, by giving Hilmi Ziya Ülken's separate biography in Appendix B. However I must add that I am indebted the formulation of this implicit continuity in his thought to this methodological defect. I hope that this formulation would be sufficient to tolerate the defectuous methodology. Consequently I submit this study as the second draft of the definitive work which is to be written.

In addition to the information given at the end of this study I added in Appendix A an integral text which Hilmi Ziya Ülken had written when he was 18. The importance of this text comes from the fact that it witnessed how much romantic Hilmi Ziya Ülken could be, and that the text indicates his feelings and thought, before any nation and republic were established, about the estate of the country and

of the political leaders and intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire.

Lastly I would like to say a few words about the genesis of my intellectual life. I do so not that much of self-conceit, but because of my constant worry to explain the personal motives that compelled me to choose Hilmi Ziya Ülken as a subject for study. It was not a purely intellectual curiosity that motivated me to undertake this study.

So I would like to talk a little bit about my intellectual development. In the highschool years I was interested in philosophy, which, in those years I defined as a discipline setting problems about the human condition and trying to give answers to these questions. But I came to the conclusion that one should first know about man before doing any philosophy and as a good follow of the XXth century I considered psychology, in other words the science of the human psyché (that was my definition of psychology) or political science (which I was then defining as being the science of the mass or social psyché) to be the first step to take in this endeavour.

Within this perspective I applied to the Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi (Faculty of Political Sciences) at the University of Ankara and to the Department of Psychology of

the Hacettepe University. As the political sciences required a higher GPA I was admitted to the Department of Psychology in 1977.

The second half of the 1970's were the years when the crippling "anarchy" (political murders) was fed by the polarization to which the political scene was subject to. Like the other universities of the time, the Beytepe campus where I was studying was "safeguarded" by 1000 gendarms, while the universities which were located in the city center were "safeguarded" by the police. This was the "measure" that the governments of the time took in order to prevent the politically opponent students to fight or to kill one and another. The political polarization at the university was such that we were able to have course in the lecture-rooms only with the assistance of the gendarms who would make the students sit according to their political affiliation. The leftist used to sit at the left of the "silent majority" (those having no political affiliation), the "MSP'ciler" (the sympathizers of the Milli Selamet Partisi: National Salvation Party) sat at the right of the "silent majority" and finally the "Bozkurts" (the militants of the Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi: Nationalist Movement Party, representing the extreme right) at the extreme right of the lecture-room. The last group used to enter the classroom under the guard of the gendarms as the campus was by and large controlled by

the leftists. Before the Ecevit government the "Bozkurt"s used to organize raids to the classes, as there were only one "Bozkurt" in our class, the professor used to lock the door of the classroom to prevent the class of being subject to any of these raids to which the gendarms gave support by ignoring these deliberate raids. Thus they were bringing the wrath of the "silent majority" too on themselves.

In impending periods, that is periods of clashes, the "silent majority" was giving support to the leftists not only because they sympathized with them but also they were not equipped with enough aggression to be able to protect themselves, whereas the "MSP'ciler" were leaning to the the "Boskurts". Boycotts, clashes, demonstrations and unfortunately bombings and political murders were the usual scenes of the daily life. The animosity of the political aggressions reached such a tonicity that the upsetting picture in 1979 was the following one: an average of 20 to 25 political murders per day.

Within this context, in the midst of these events knowledge started to appear to me as being meaningless and outlandish. On the other hand I was disappointed at the department of psychology where the dominant school of thought was behaviorism. As I was interested in the "how?" and not in the "why?" of the events it seemed to me to be queer to base my knowledge about man on the knowledge of

rats and pigeons. Thus I came to ask myself "What knowledge is ?". This question preoccupied my mind for two years during which I had been in close contact with the department of philosophy. Interestingly much attention was payed at that time by the scholar cénacle to the problem of the philosophy of knowledge.

I came to the conclusion that knowledge was a means of giving a meaning to one's surrounding universe. I was incapable to give any satisfactory explanation and meaning to the events happening around me. After the military take-over in September 1980 the scene had completely changed and it was as if all the previous events were a mirage. As soon as the military take-over took place, the scene of the daily life was as if no clashes have had broken. Extreme leftist and rightist militants were prosecuted, the political parties suspended and the parliament dissolved. One of the first endeavours of the military was to suspend the Constitution of 1960 which was considered as being responsible of the political polarization and to start to prepare a new constitution.

The "silent majority" welcomed the military take-over, as this group had no conflicting feelings towards the westernization program of the State. I was not able to make any interpretation about the "MSP'ciler" as they were those who I could understand the least because they had a religious

connotation.

Although religion, especially Islam was irrelevant for me, I never saw religion as a threatening matter till I got acquainted with a vague knowledge of Turkish history. I would say that the first example of a muslim believer was my grand-mother. Her style of belief was discrete. Islam to which I was introduced by my grand-mother and the picture of Islam as described in the public scene were holding different traits. My grand-mother's Islam was comforting whereas Islam in the public scene was threatening as it was always mentioned in relation with reactionary movements. However among the "MSP'ciler" at the university they were young girls ("Sıkma Baş") studying medicine. Those years I believed that they got interested in science beside their "religious fanaticism". At the library of the medicine school of the university I managed to ask one of the "Sıkma Baş"s who was studying urology, how she was managing in handling to study medicine and save her Islamic principles? She answered that these were two different areas and to my astonishment she insinuated the narrow-mindedness of my approach. This event compelled me to ask myself how much this girl was reactionary and how much she was secular.

This entailed me to ask what private life was in Turkey and if it could be considered without taking into



account the religious components. With these concerns I realized how much the educational program left us ignorant about the sociological aspect of religion. Therefore I decided to do sociology and applied to the Department of Sociology at the Bosphorus University.

One of the first courses I took was "Modern Trends in Islam" lectured by Mr. Şerif MARDİN. During this course he suggested us to read a novel which had made its 18th edition in 1981 :Minyeli Abdullah (Abdullah from Minye) written by Hekimoğlu İsmail. This was a publication that most of the western type literats would snub. The novel was telling the story of a martyriized muslim living under the Egyptian State.

As my mind was still preoccupied with the question "how the country came to that degree political polarization?", I first choose as a thesis to study the "Village Institutes", but as this study would let the question of religion outside my study, I planned to do the content analysis of the books of religion courses which are taught at the primary schools. As a fully computerized system was not available for the spelling of the frequency of the concepts I forewent that study. My next option was to study one of the social scientists in Turkey. For that purpose I started to read Hilmi Ziya Ülken's Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi

(History of Modern Thought in Turkey).

Hilmi Ziya's style was bare of the vapidness of the positivists and so pledging and full of commitment that instead of choosing one portrait among those which Hilmi Ziya was describing, I decided to choose Hilmi Ziya himself, who I believed would make a good witness for the intellectual life of the Republic. He intrigued me. Because its title was puzzling and promising, the second work I took in hand have been his Aşk Ahlakı (Moral of Love). I was not disappointed, he was pleading for the privatization of the public life (or modernization) by making private life public through popular religious feelings: this was almost the portrait of the girl whom I had discussed with at the library. "New Turks" as Lerner names them. This type of Turks was leaving room for some personal conflict which is to some extent an inner regulation preventing mass conflict, as conflict is internalized. Therefore these Turks should be differentiated from the muslims entailing to reactionary movements.

I never labelled the "MSP'ciler" at the university as militants. Their attitudes in period of clashes were much similar to that of the "silent majority", they would resort to violence only in case of real danger. Instuitively it always seemed to me that their understanding of humanism held some similarity with that of the "Aydınlikçı" (partisans

of the "Aydınlık" meaning clarté in French) which were a leftist group supporting macism.

Hilmi Ziya was sentient and persipient that progressive trends do not harbour necesseraly progressive social effects, but they foster sometimes reactionary movements and that conservatism might be more progressive then progressist policy. (cf. Hilmi Ziya Ülken:

-Tanzimattan Sonra Türkiye'de Fikir Hareketleri

(Trends of Idea in Turkey After the Tanzimat) Commemoration Book of the Centenary of the Tanzimat, 1937.

• -"Tanzimata Karşı" (Against the Tanzimat), İnsan (Human), Vol.I, No. 1, 1938).

Sarıyer/

/Rumelihisarı

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## INTRODUCTION

In the occasion of the commemoration of the death of a Turkish poet it was stated that "The duty of the next generation should not be to study the history of literature and thought only through works but to study it according the tight relation existing between the works and their authors' life." (a)

Explicitly this statement argues that history of thought can be studied only in relation to the authors' life, in other words to the implicit content of their work. The last idea was expressed in the same article in following words: "Since the Ottomans, to talk about one - self must have been considered to be an insolence against the magnitude of the Sultanate so that the tradition of writing autobiographies had been abandoned.. Even the lives of the persons of the close past is sinking in obscurity. We do not know how they lived, what they did suffer, why they did think so. Man is not able to talk with all his existence in his writings.....".

The following work is an introductory work for any further investigation of one of the man of ideas of the

Turkish Republic: this is a work on Hilmi Ziya Hülken's life and thought. In accordance to the words we quoted from him, much place was given to his life and surrounding, to the social and politico-religious context in which he wrote. The study covers the years 1928-1960. We had to limit his thought between these years for two practical reasons: first his writing or articles dating before 1928 are printed in Ottoman script, second like the other works of the following kind we had to delineate the scope of the work. However we believe that the study of that period will be enough representative in a work of introductory purpose.

Hilmi Ziya was a very prolific man of pen and his interests had a very wide scope: sociology, philosophy, literature, arts. Therefore besides the limitation to a period, we brought another limitation to the study of his thought, that is we analysed it in relation to the social and politico-religious development of the country. What urged us to do is that although Hilmi Ziya Ülken argues that "the intellectuals should not consider themselves as missionaries throwing light on an obscure world", he himself had been unable to do so and had been much preoccupied with the problem of how the country was to progress and what was for the sake of the country. (b)

Following this trait of his thought we gave much place to his ideas about religion which he handled as a

potentiality which would realize the objectives of the new ideology, namely of the modern Turkey. As it was underlined by an other author"... Turkish nationalism and Western civilization, the two main pillars of Atatürk's cultural orientation, have proven to be incapable of filling, even for educated Turks, the spiritual vacuum created by the elimination of Islam. The remains of the pre-Islamic Turkish civilization are scanty or.... too remote to serve as a major source of national pride, cultural inspiration and feeling of historical continuity." (c)

Such was Hilmi Ziya's feeling about the question: he believed that the spritual vacuum created by the politics of the Republican would lop any cultural inspiration and that this would endanger the instauration of the Republic in the real sens of the word "republic". Hilmi Ziya who was in agreement with the aims of the Republic was in oppositon to the politics of the Republicans. As the solution he was offering for the instauration of a republic were the subjects lopped by the official politics, because of the suppressions he have not been able to state his ideas straightfordwardly and had to wait the available political opportunites.

It is why we approached Hilmi Ziya's thought in such a way to show the implicit continuity it had throughout its explicit changes.

- a) Hilmi Ziya Ülken : "İsmail Safa" Yeni Sabah 19 April 1954
- b) Hilmi Ziya Ülken : "Halk ve Aydınlar", Ülkü Dergisi,  
No 23, 1492
- c) Üriyel Heyd Revival of Islam in Modern Turkey, The Magness  
Press, The Hebrew University, 1968, p. 24-25



## PART ONE

## I. HILMI ZIYA'S CHILDHOOD AND HIGHSCHOOL YEARS

"Those who get to the moral of love are those who possess freedom in their souls". So are the words engraved on the family vault of Hilmi Ziya Ülken who died on the 5th of June 1974. He was buried at the Aşiyân Cemetary on the 7th of the same month.

Those words carved by his next of kin, are Hilmi Ziya's own words.

He was born in Istanbul at Mercan in the Bakırcılar Çarşısı (Copper Bazaar) in a big house, a manar where most of the Ottoman families used to live, on the 18th Teşrinievvel 1317 (3 October 1901). He is the oldest of the three children (two boys and a girl), given birth by Müşfika Hanım.

Hilmi Ziya's mother was the grand-daughter of Kerim Hazret, one of (1) the known ulema (man of learning) of Kazan. Kerim Hazret moved to Istanbul during the Crimean War (1856), which took place under the reign of Abdülmecit. (2) Thus, he had been able to save his sons from fighting against the Ottomans, in the ranks of the Tzar's Army. (3) Kerim Hazret's second son Abdurrahman (later Paşa) joined the Ottoman Army, while Salih Efendi, Müşfika Hanım's father, as the eldest, launched out into the fur business with his father, just like most of the immigrant Turks coming from Russia used

to do.

Müşfika Hanım was first married to Yusuf Akçura (1879-1935), who had left his native country Kazan with his mother in 1883, when their family's cloth factory was confiscated by the Russian Government. But, while he was a student in the class of "General Staff" (.) at the Military School, he and the early founders of "Order and Progress" (...). Association Party, were suspected of plotting against Abdülhamit II and arrested to be exiled to Fizan (Tripoli) in 1887. (4) During his exile at Fizan, due to his close relations with the "YOUNG TURKS", (...) he was under the protection of Abdurrahman Paşa, the chief of the army corps. (5)

As Yusuf Akçura was unable to return to Istanbul before the declaration of the II. Constitutional Period (.) in 1908, she married (Alanyanlı) Dr. Mehmed Ziya.

Though Dr. Mehmed Ziya had been a classmate of Abdullah Cevdet and the early founders of the Order and Progress Association, he had no commitments to it. He had been sent to London in 1896 for his studies. (6) Dr. Mehmed Ziya held his chair as a professor in the School of Pharmacology and

- 
- (.) ERKAN-I HARB
  - (...) İTTIHAT VE TERAKKI
  - (...) İTTIHATÇILAR
  - (.) II. MEŞRUTİYET (1909-1918)

Dentistry, where he taught Organic Chemistry until the year 1933.

Mehmed Ziya's father, Abdurrahman Hilmi Efendi had been exiled together with Şair (Poet) Kâzım Paşa to Yanya, because of having satirized the Grand Vîzier Ali Paşa. Abdurrahman Hilmi Efendi was then the director of the Customs Administration (...) (7).

Dr. Mehmed Ziya and Müşfika Hanım moved from Mercan to Dizdariye (Ist.) a few years after Hilmi Ziya's birth. It was in this four-story wooden house that Hilmi Ziya spent his childhood. He attended the primary school called Özel Tefeyyüz Mektebi. But as he recalls, his mother had somehow been influential in his early educational years in matters of religion. Though having made only the primary school, Müşfika Hanım was a self-educated lady, who was able to recite verses of Yunus Emre and Ömer Hayyam by heart. (8)

Hilmi Ziya, about his childhood, would say that "he never remembered having played with a Top-whipping or a kite. While his peers would hurt their knees running in games of hopscotch, he would sit cross-legged at his grandmother's feet listening enthusiastically, plunged in thoughts, to her sweet tales. Then came the period of novels. Alexandre Dumas

starting with Zevaco... to Gökbayrak (9) he would read volumes and volumes. He could not understand the irritability that his grandfather would show against those books. To save the books from his ill-temper, Hilmi Ziya would lock himself in a cupboard or would spend hours late into the night, hiding himself in the attic to read.

Then he adds that "he was brought up with care in the mansion of a rich merchant (Salih Efendi) at Fatih. When he had a headache, all the household would pay great attention to him, but before any time was left to be spoiled by his grandfather or purses, he was confined inside the walls of a boarding school. Life for him was first to devour books and to plunge himself into daydreams. It was thus that he passed off the crisis of puberty. (10)

Hilmi Ziya attended the Istanbul Sultanisi (new Istanbul Erkek Lisesi) for his secondary school education. Then, the Balkan War broke out (1912). A year earlier, the Ottomans had already lost Tripoli through a peace treaty signed with Italy. This was one of a series of disasters afflicting a crumbling empire. Earlier, the question of Crete, the problem of Yemen and Albania had already broken out, Bulgaria had declared her independence, and Bosnia-Herzegovina was annexed by Austria. In fact Hilmi Ziya belonged to the generation on whose "childish shoulders" the Empire collapsed. This was a noticeable fact as far as the genera-

tion grew perhaps in a disasterous atmosphere, but it was this generation which also undertook the realization of a new formulation to save the country and no more the Empire. In fact, "as the hope to create the "Ottoman Nations" (.) was step by step disappearing, formulations such as the ideal of an "Union of Islam" (..) or the ideal of Pan-Turanism came on the scene. source The pro-Turkish movement appeared as an opposed ideal to the "Union Of Islam". When the pre-Turkish movement had not yet taken a practically active form, this formulation was used to designate the union of a race within a motherland with no precise frontiers, and this Utopia was named Turan. This idea was first expressed by Hüseyinzade Ali (1864-1942). But later, Turan meant the Union of all Turkish tribes and took a political connotation. (11)

The coming of the First World War, the atmosphere created by these confronting ideas, and the intellectual surrounding had surely a lot of influence on the young Hilmi Ziya. He relates that in the first year of his lycee class, that is in 1915, he was a Turanian and that they had founded with a few friends a Turanian association in their Istanbul Sultanisi. The association was also publishing a review. (15) Hilmi Ziya tells his memories about these lycee years and this association as follows. "In 1915, the begin-

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(.) MILLET-I OSMANİYE

(..) İTTİHAD-I İSLAM

ning of the First World War, with some friends we tried to form a society called "the Turkists"(.). Probably he (Hakkı Tarık Us) had been unwillingly influential in having us behave that way. We were publishing a review with a machine which we had procured. We drew a map showing the Turks living all around the world. I was writing a draft entitled "Towards the West" telling about the Migration and the flow of the Turks, an Anatolian friend was getting offended because we loved Cengiz who was not a Muslim. I now understand better in what way this friend was right. But when he saw that we did not have anything against the spirit of Islam, he got closer to us. We would wear red resettes on our collars. We had a photograph taken with Tarık bey, the only teacher we trusted... One day another group of friends who laughed at our pro-Turkish movement by wearing green resettes on their collars went too far, because the mockery had become serious, the direction seized on the matter. We failed to go to the discipline court. Our director was very devoted to the rules, to the extent of intolerance to the nice and innocent invention of children's imagination. But Tarık bey and some of our progressist teachers protected us, so the matter was over. But not for us. The "Turkists" carried on their work. Tarık bey had never withheld his protecting affection from his old students. (13)

What made Hilmi Ziya's progressist teachers cautious and the direction of his lycée so severe about the little joke of "green resettes" ? In the first year of the First World War, Enver Paşa had formed a society called Societies for "Islamic Revolution" (...). It could be roughly said that the "Order and Progress" Party's ideology shifted from Abdülhamit II's Pan-Islamism to a Pan-Turanistic ideology. But this Pan-Turanism trend was not cleared of its religious shade. After Enver Paşa's drastically ending attack in Sarıkamış, where 75.000 soldiers died, for some years attacks of the kind did not take place. But in the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, Enver Paşa's step-brother Nuri Paşa formed an army with the Caucasus and Azeri volunteers and territorial forces. This army that gathered under a "green flag" was a Muslim force which fought by the side of the bolcheviks against the Whites' Army of the Tzar and thus was taken as a symbol for muslim communities being in the ranks of Bolcheviks. (14)

Hilmi Ziya concludes the little anecdote about their Turkist association by noting that Hakkı Tarık Us had been the first teacher to have had acquainted the students with the idea of nationalism, and that the word "nationalism" was not so often and easily used in those years, where extremist

---

(...) İSLAM İHTİLAL CEMİYETLERİ

*Yusuf M.*



Islam, pro-ottoman or illiberal pro-western thoughts were popular. (15)

Two other teachers have been influential on Hilmi Ziya during his lycée studies: his mathematics teacher Bedii Bey and his history teacher Emin Ali (Çavlı) (1889-1968). (16)

Emin Ali would teach them the subject by insisting on the method of history and giving it a philosophical flavour. Hilmi Ziya says that Emin Ali was definitely positivistic in his scientific principles. (17) Emin Ali had been influential on his students mostly with the ideas he defended in his unpublished articles. He criticized the views of authors such as Ahmet Refik and Celâl Nuri (İleri), who would find a large audience in those years. (18) Hilmi Ziya notes that Emin Ali's views about adopting the positivistic principle in science (.) and the endeavour of becoming "towns" for any salvation of the country had been influential on him. He notes that he wrote in 1931 the set of articles entitled "Şehir Sosyolojisi" (urban sociology) in the Belediye Dergisi (Municipal Review) from that point of view. (19)

Hilmi Ziya's passion for reading lost nothing of

its impulse since his childhood, on the contrary he would flee from school to go to the Ali Emiri Library and read for hours." (20) It is in this library in 1916 that he met Mükrimin Halil Yinanç (1898-1961). (21) They were never to lose contact and would see each other almost at least once every week. (22) At the very beginning, their friendship strengthened during their university years. They both graduated from the Civil Servants School (.) which was located in Istanbul after three years of education. (23)

## II. FROM THE UNIVERSITY YEARS TO THE MENEMEN EVENT

After receiving his high-school diploma, Hilmi Ziya registered at the "Medical School" (...) in 1918, following his father's wish. But a few months later, the chronic bronchitis and asthma from which he suffered since he was thirteen, prevented his attendance. His illness enabled him to make a reconsideration about his professional choice. With the encouragement of his teacher Hamid Ongunsu, he registered at the civil servant school. (24)

Hilmi Ziya's university years are animated and perturbed in many respects. These are first the years of the War of Independence. Montreux was signed in 1918. Hilmi Ziya's first university years are those of despair, of an agonizing world: "The world is collapsing... Sovereignty is dying... Don't try to stand and resist in the midst of this precipice. Delirium. What about the other world, the world with flowers, where man will find happiness again". (25)

Though the Armistice lasts for almost four years, there is somehow a little bit of hope. The "Defense of Rights" (...) Which started to dispute the rights of the Turks to live as a nation by finding an independent state is one year later in 1919, organized as the "Society of the

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(...) TIBBİYE MEKTEBİ

(...) MÜDAFAA-I HUKUK

Defense of Rights of Anatolia an Roumeli".(.....) The defense of the country will be no more disputed through the Sevres Treaty, as the conservatives tried to do. It is armed resistance, this is the beginning of the War of Independence, the "National Force" (.....) is being born. But there is still confusion, the occupation forces enter Istanbul, in the spring of 1920. Hilmi Ziya describes the city and the state of its inhabitants a few months prior to the occupation in these words:

Autumn of 1919.Armistace. The period when the occupation army tyrannized Istanbul. National Force is little by little coming alive on the other shore. The guerillas (çeteler) are gradually growing, getting in contact with the army by withdrawing to the villages. The days where the "National Forces" was considered as the "Rebellious Forces" (.) had not passed yet. The universal Sultanate is gone for good.(...) Minds over which passed the tremendous roller of the universe, dissolved families, Paşazadeler (Aristocrats) whose mansions were destroyed, a great confusion... In Fatih, in Şehzadebaşı, the streets which have not seen other light than the lights of the "mahya" and "kandils" are now dazzling with women of night clubs" sparkling clours and jazz sounds. Istanbul is

(.....) ANADOLU VE RUMELİ MÜDAFA-İ HUKUK CEMİYETİ

(.....) KUVVA-İ MİLLİYE

(.) KUVVA-İ BACİYE

enduring a terrifying stupification. In the center of the Caliphate, Anti-Christ is illuminating the city in token of festivity." (26)

From the Second constitutional period on to the year of 1920, the question had been that of "How could the state be saved? "Political thought was in search of a remedy. As Tarık Zafer Tunaya notes the problem, "was one of ethics." The currents which tried to give an answer to the question, "what is beneficial for the state" and their publications can be classified under five titles:

a) The pro-Westerns, (İçtihad - Conviction), b) the pro- islamics, "Suret-i Müstakim (Straight Road, i.e. 'Islam) which takes later the name Sebilürreşad Right Road d) the members of the Meslek-i İçtimai (sociologues) having a publication with the same title, and finally, e) a socialist movement which made its voice heard through İştirak (Participation). (27) But all these trends were either reconciliary or contradictory and "it was impossible to make a real synthesis... Thus because the explanations were incomplete, hesitating and reconciliary; they had been conservative... that prevented them from being realistic." (28)

But within the Türk Ocağı, (...) the association of

the pro-Turkists, a much more realistic trend started to flourish in 1917. (29) This was defending the cause of a "little Turkey" (what Hilmi Ziya calls "Memleketçilik") instead of the Turkish lands which was dreamt of by Turanians. What was to be the cultural base of the "little Turkey" This was to be the Anatolian culture. Thus, in the light of the new happenings Hilmi Ziya's pro-Turkist views, which were much closer to a Turanism, are now crystalized and formulated as a pro-Anatolianism. Hilmi Ziya says that "soon in 1919, at the Civil Servant School, a trend seeing Anatolia as an authentic source for the Turkish culture was born." and "a group of youth which was sympathizing with this trend... was meeting at my father's house." (30) It is with the purpose of driving attention to the Anatolian culture that Hilmi Ziya and his friend Reşat Kayı issued the "Anadolu" (Anatolia) review which appeared between 1335-1336 (1918-1919) and got through only twelve issues. The leader of this new movement, which switched the attention and the curiosity of the young generation from the history of Islam to that of Anatolia, was Hilmi Ziya's close friend Mükrimin Halil Yinanç. Hilmi Ziya recalling those years says: "Between the years 1919-1922 a young generation plunged with enthusiasm and started to search minutely the popular poems. Halit (Mehmet Halit Bayrı) was one of them. Some of them have continued to work separately." (31)

His interest about the Anatolian culture was first

directed to the epical kind of literature. Hilmi Ziya says that it was first a Turanian in 1915 that he wrote an epic entitled "Hazar Atlısı" (The Horseman of Caspia). Its hero was Cengiz, and took as example Gökbayrak and Altın Armağan. But Hilmi Ziya remarks that he first realized the importance and the value of the epic when he felt an ardent reaction against "Ziya Gökalp's awkward understanding of the epic... in 1917 I had seen the examples of epic that Ziya Gökalp wrote, arousing from "Dede Korkut". I soon realized how pale and artificial they were, compared to the living examples which Rıza Tevfik was gathering from the popular poems. The Turkish epic was not in books which were lost, but it had to be drawn from life and living memories," and he adds that to find such an epic, I understood that there was no other solution than to turn my eyes towards the inmost Anatolia. (32) For Hilmi Ziya, Turkish epic meant substantial and experienced nationalism, and the witnesses of that world were Köroğlu, Battal Gazi, Kerem and Aslı, and so on. Hilmi Ziya confesses that he had considered the examples which existed in the west and that he was influenced strongly, basing his views on Henri Lichtenberg's work, Richard Wagner: Poete et Penseur. (33) Hilmi Ziya relates that he adapted the Anatolian tale Tahir ile Zühre to a play in verse, that he was writing one of the stories of Dede Korkut, Tepegöz in verse and that he was planning to write Kerem and that he took an example from the musical dramas of Richard Wagner and epical works like Kalevala of which the first

two passages he translated into Turkish. (34) Hilmi Ziya was complaining about not having an elder person who could guide him in his endeavours of developing that kind of literature. But his complaint would be remedied when he found the opportunity of frequently meeting and having discussion on the subject with Hüseyinzâde Ali at Türk Ocağı. Hilmi Ziya narrates, "Albeit the big difference of generation between us, the fact that he was my father's friend from Medical School enabled me to get close to this great idealist. His visits to see my father in our home were few... it was always possible to meet Ali bey at the Türk Ocağı" and he adds that it was very difficult to get in contact with Ziya Gökalp, who was plunged into political life. "In 1920" says Hilmi Ziya, "Hüseyinzâde Ali, who was one of the leaders of the pro-Turkists, was the only one who would listen to them and guide them. Hilmi Ziya says that they would have long discussions at his home in Süleymaniye, relating that he read to Hüseyinzâde Ali the drama about "Siyavuş" (from the Şehname) he had written. Hilmi Ziya recalls that another time Hüseyinzâde introduced him to Resulzâde Emin by saying, "look, you are working on the same subject." (35) Almost forty years later, Hilmi Ziya writes; "Resulzâde Emin was writing the Siyavuş of our time, a political work which was considering the hero of the Shahname as the symbol of the martyrism of an Azerbeydžani between the two worlds (democratic and communist), I have on my part the drama of Siyavuş as the tragedy of that struggle of an utopian martyr



between patriotism and humanism." (36)

The questions of patriotism and humanism layed as a duality, will be an existential problem for Hilmi Ziya. It could be asserted that the core of his thought took its origin from an existential paradigm. It is difficult to say whether Hilmi Ziya had been able to find an answer. But we can affirm this during his years at civil servant school and the two years following; his answer was "Anadoluculuk"(.). It is a "geographical culture nationalism" which can be described as a view trying to fuse the inhabitants of Anatolia and other Turkish people who had immigrated to Anatolia, because of recent wars. (37) The review published by Hilmi Ziya and his friend in 1918-1919 was short lived. But the sympathizers and the supporters of the school of thought joined a circle which was created after the War around the Anadolu review, issued by the "Anatolian Lim. Ass. Com."(...) in 1923, under the leadership of the Erzurum deputy Hüseyin Avni (Ulaş). (38) Many young man gathered around the leader Hüseyin Avni who was the representative of the "second group" within the National Forces. (39) The Second Group was opposed to Mustafa Kemal's leadership. (40)

Hilmi Ziya recalling the developments of the pro-

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(.) Meaning PRO-ANATOLIANISM

(..) ANADOLU KOMANDİT ŞİRKETİ

Anatolian movement, notes that Mükrimin Halil's everflowing temperament soon gave a political colour to this movement, which was a cultural one, at its very beginning. "In spite of the discrepancy between the political and the cultural connotations of the movement, all of us once more gathered in the Anadolu review where the important signatures from the older generation could be seen", and adds, "then, unfortunately, like a fruit picked too early, the cultural movement took the form of a new ideology." (41) but this ideology did not live long because, during a period when power was dominating legacy, it was natural that politics would dominate any thought and claim." (42) When some of the pro-Anatolian supporters got into contact with the Second Group of the Turkish National Assembly (T.B.M.M.) and were committed in politics, Hilmi Ziya gave up his ideas on "Anadoluculuk". (43)

It could be asked whether in its early periods the movement had any socialistic shade, at least in relation to Hilmi Ziya's thought. The first reason that leads us to make such a supposition is that Mükrimin Halil was the leader of the movement. He is known for his affinity to socialism during these years, and later during the republic. The next reason for such a supposition is the remark Hilmi Ziya makes on the controversy between the reviews Aydınlık (Light) and Anadolu; there was a secret dispute between the circles of the Aydınlık and the Anadolu reviews." (44) Hilmi Ziya gives no information about the source of this dispute. A

commentary saying that the former based its materialism on the "labour" while the latter on "land" (toprak) stands to reason. A materialism (or socialism) based on the concept of "land" leads us inevitably to ask whether it contains any Islamic motivation. The idea of an Islamic stance can be reinforced to some extent, if we remember that Hilmi Ziya participated or published actively the review Mihrab (Pulpit). Between the years 1922-23. (45) The review was financed by Ağâh Mazlum (Alaybek) who used the pseudonym of Abdullah Hadi, as the owner of the review.

Hilmi Ziya tells that they were publishing the review with his friend Yusuf Ziya (Yörükân) (1887-1954) with whom he had met for the first time in 1921, when he was appointed as assistant to the Geography Chair of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Istanbul. He says, "we were both students at the philosophy department, then." (46) Hilmi Ziya notes that the review was completely different from those religious reviews such as Cerid-e İlmiyye (New Science), Mahfil or Sebilürreşad, which were published during the same years, and he adds, "its mentality was much alike the İslam Dergisi (Islamic Review) which was published with Ziya Gökalp's encouragement. That is, it was a Turkish-Islam synthesis. But because Ziya Gökalp was exiled to Malta, then to Diyarbakır, Mehmet Emin (Erişirgil), Mehmet İzzet, Mustafa Şekip (Tunç), who were among the young teachers of the Darül-

fünun, (.) were supporting Mihrab . (47) We should add to the names of the young teachers that he mentions, those of the old professors who also had publications in the review. We soon notice that they were teaching at the Faculty of Theology (48).

As to the financier and the owner of the review, Ağâh Mazlum (Alaybek) is the man, who with Hilmi Ziya's own words, "payed great attention during my childhood, he has spent a lot of time to correct the defects that he noticed, as no one did in my own family. Thus, I remember a lot about the ideas he had in the early years of the Second Constitutional Period". (49) He had been one of the founders of the Milli Ahrar Fırkası (National Independence Party) which was defending the views of the "Mesleki İctimai" (Professional Social) trend. Its program was that of decentralization (.); it was claiming nationalism and supporting the pro-Anatolian movement. (50)

Ağâh Mazlum participated in the review with his writing on a matter about "Şark ve Garb" (East and West) and tried to show that what the Solidarity or Cooperatist movements tried to realize was already achieved by Islamic institutions such as "zekat", "vakıf" or religious orders. (51) Many men of

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(.) The name of the University before the Reformation of University in 1933.

(..)ADEM-İ MERKEZİYETÇİLİK

letters payed attention to these similarities between Islam and Socialism, and many were primarily attracted to it, because it satisfied their muslim understanding of social justice and equity, rather than they were really committed to it. This reflexion might be helpful to understand how Hilmi Ziya, after having been engaged to Marxist Socialism between the years 1936-1943, not only gave it up, but wrote the Tarihi Maddeciliğe Reddive (Refutation to Historical Materialism) (1951). (52)

To some extent, this is why we insist on his social environment and the people who have influenced his thought. We unfortunately have no access to his writings, as far as they have been written in Ottoman scripture; though it is difficult to say if that would have been of great help. This might not be so, for until 1920 he was too young and after that, the nation was realized, opposition was started to be suppressed, especially the leftist movements which were encouraged until then because of political reasons. Good relations had to be kept up with Soviet Union, which supported the Independence War. But this half-hearted indulgence was terminated as it endangered the new regime. There are five main reasons for this, according to Mustafa Kemal: The results of the Soviet Revolution were disappointing after its first three years; Enver Paşa was a threat; Türkiye Komünist Partisi (The Turkish Communist Party) under the leadership of Mustafa Suphi was too much under the control

of the Soviet regime, which could threaten the independence; the first İnönü Battle which led to the participation of the National Government to the London Conference, meaning a relaxation with the western countries; and finally Mustafa Kemal was unable to control the Islamic-Socialist movements such as "Yeşil Ordu" (Green Army) by analogy to the Soviet Red Army and did not want any kind of communistic or socialistic regime to get out of hand. As Sabahattin Selek states, "Had the leftist movement been able to succeed, the socialism that the new Turkish nation would have adopted was going to be an "Islamic Socialism". We observe that the socialist thoughts and organizations, even those which were in controversy with each other, have developed in this direction". (53)

Mustafa Kemal was hostile to the Second Group which had a traditionalist and decentralist program. Counter-measures against religious affairs were taken much more gradually. The article of the Constitution saying that "The religion of the Turkish State is Islam", had been changed only in 1937 to "the Turkish State is a secular one". (54) This was a period of a successful and vigilant structural reformation about religious matters. With the Kurdish rebellion of 1925, of which the religious aspect was stressed more than its separatist trait by official spokesmen, starts a long period of rebellions which were either reactionary or separatist movements. (55) Those become a pretext for Mus-

tafa Kemal; with Takrîr-i Sükûn (.) Law (1925) all opposition is suppressed. (56) Thus, not much room was left to traditionalists, since any religious affinity was seen as reactionary. The socialists were also suppressed. To be a nationalist meant to sing the same song of patriotism parallel to the governmental line.

Under this atmosphere, Hilmi Ziya carefully chose an academic identity directed to a teaching career. His early readings were concerned with giving a meaning to and understand the country. Thus, an autodidactical interest became a professional curiosity. Especially, two professors have been influential on his intellectual formation: İzmirli İsmail Hakkı and Mehmet İzzet.

İzmirli İsmail Hakkı (1869-1946) is the one who will implement Hilmi Ziya's enthusiasm about the Anatolian and popular culture with that of the Islamic civilization. In the foreword he wrote in 1962 for the publication of a thesis, written under his supervision at the Faculty of Divinity in the Ankara University, Hilmi Ziya would say: "Though for sixty-seventy years History of Turkish Literature has been taught in our secondary schools and universities, not much has been said by its side about the History

of Turkish Science and Thought. It was our professor Ismail Hakkı İzmirli, who during the years 1921-23 at the Istanbul University, said for the first time that there were great Turkish philosophers with the name of Farabi and Ibn-i Sina.

(57) Ismail Hakkı İzmirli is one of the main thinkers who tried to instaure a bridge between the East and the West... he lived at a period when the administration was most intensified and the medrese had little weight. But the medrese did not have the capacity to understand the West about which he wanted to teach; the Darülfünun was not interested (that is the University) in the thought of Islam that he was teaching. Gazali and particularly Fahreddin Razi were the thinkers he admired most in the Islamic thought. Mukayese (Comparison) was the last work he wrote. This work was comparing the Islamic and the Western thinkers. Ismail Hakkı unfortunately did not live through to see its publication. He had charged me with it. (58) The "National Office of Instruction and Education(.)" took this work small in quantity but great in quality, though during the years that passed did not publish it (59). In this work, there is an attempt to point out similarities between Descartes and Kinalızâde, Saint-Thomas and Farabi and Ibni Sina, and of Ihvan-üs-safâ and Erzurumlu Ismail Hakkı's to Darwinism. As Hilmi Ziya notes, his teacher was interested in Tasavvuf (Islamic Mysticism and Suffism) not so much because of its system but rather out of admiration for philisophers or learned men with



knowledge of the Coran (Kelâmcı). (60) Finally Hilmi Ziya underlines that "Izmirli, who was an Islam modernist, looks at the questions of Islam such as Kelam (Science of Words), Fıkıh (Science of the Sheria') and philosophy rationally, be it from the point of either Islamic or contemporary thought. That is why he comprehended the "sufiye" in that light and took position against their method "vecd" (extasy). (61)

Izmirli's influence on Hilmi Ziya could be seen from two different levels. First, from the point that it has animated and directed Hilmi Ziya's thirst for research of Islamic culture or civilization; Türk Tefekkür Tarihi (History of Turkish Thought) (1933) and his other works on Islam published after 1940 could be regarded as the products of that kind of motivation beside the impetus taken from the enthusiasm of a new nation's creation. (62) These works were much more directed to implements and to shed light on the national culture. At the other level, Izmirli's influence could be seen in the works such as Aşk Ahlakı (Moral of Love) (1931) and Türk Mistisizmini Tetkike Giriş (Introduction to the Study of Turkish Mysticism) (1935), where Hilmi Ziya tries to express the mobilizational aspect of Sufism and its structural characteristics.

What brought Hilmi Ziya to lay out the mobilizational aspects of mysticism was that in the 1930's, it became clear that Mustafa Kemal's program "missed the revolutionary-mobilizational aspect that, in certain contemporary schemes of

modernization, mobilized masses for a restructuring of society." (63)

A severe political and cultural regulation plus lack in mobilization meant depression. The remedy proposed by Hilmi Ziya was to operate according to the existing social network. The idea to use religious components in the building of the nation is not a new one. Hilmi Ziya's proposition is based on popular Islamic feelings as there is no more place for official Islami in the young republic. The source of this aversion was the fact that the government of Istanbul has attempted during the War of Independence to oppose the revolution by taking support from Islam. It is probably why the reform program in religion prepared by the members of the Divinity Faculty in Istanbul in 1928 was shelved. (64)

"This period of transition", considers Hilmi Ziya, "was inevitably conducting the intellectuals to a mystical or quasi-mystical explanation about social phenomena" when reviewing his other influential professor, Mehmet Izzet. (1891-1930) (65)

Mehmet Izzet was among the people that Gökâlp introduced. He was teaching sociology in Medrese, and French in civil servant school. After Necmettin Sadık (Sadak) had gone to Ankara, he undertook to give the courses of sociology at the Darülfünun. At civil servant school, I have studied from

him French, and at Faculty of Letters (.) ethics and sociology. He started the courses on ethics with Frederic Rauh and translated Hesse and Gleuse in the courses of sociology. (66)

Before the year 1919, Mehmet Emin (Erişirgil) was giving the course of Ethics at the Darülfünun. In 1919 this fervent defender of Pragmatism started to give the courses of History of Philosophy, which was to leave the lectures of Ethics to Mehmet Izzet.

Mehmet Izzet was certificated from the Philosophy Department at the University of Sorbonne. He was suspicious about the philosophical trends such as pragmatism and Bergsonism - popular on those years-and telling us that they would be out of fashion and advised us to familiarize ourselves with the works which had a link with the tradition of the philosophical thought. (67)

Mainly two trends have influenced his thought: The modernist scholastic of the Medrese as far as the religion did not lose its importance and its publications (like Bahailik-Bahaism) which were in search of a new ideal, being able to replace that of the religion. (58) Mehmet Izzet was trying to reconcile sociology with philosophical knowledge.

(.) EDEBIYAT FAKÜLTESİ

He based his ideas on sociological data and tried to accord it with the idealistic philosophy. (69)

He defended his idea of "National Humanism" (Milliyet İnsanîperverliği) in his work İçtimaiyat (Sociology) (1926) and in the review 'Hayat' (Life), where he also maintained the idea of "decentralization of thought" which was earlier developed by Celâl Nuri (İleri).

Mehmet Izzet was the first person to have given to the concept "nationalism" a philosophical sense independent of its political and daily connotations. (70) The subject was handled according to the "Reality-Ideal" (Vakıa ve Mefkûre) duality. Hilmi Ziya says that he handled this duality too in his İnsanî Vatanperverlik (Humanistic Patriotism) (1932), basing his arguments on phenomenology. Hilmi Ziya says that Mehmet Izzet started his intellectual career with History and Philosophy, and then became interested in Ethics. He also notes that the direction of this thought developed from sociology to idealist philosophy. (71)

Mehmet Izzet developing his mystical interpretation of nationalism would say, "The feelings of a newly born nation are molded in the religious representations, existing since the old times," and would conclude, "if nationalism is considered as an ultimate end, then we have to assign to

religion the value of an ultimate end, then nationalism be considered only as mean". (72)

Concluding about Mehmet Izzet's thought, Hilmi Ziya wonders, "If he had lived longer, how would his thought matured?". And adds, "He always used to say that he wanted to write a work on Ethics." (73)

Mehmet Izzet's influence on his student is especially noticed in Methodology. In his sociological works such as Bilgi ve Değer (Knowledge and Value) (1965) and Ahlak (Ethics) (1946) he bases his writings on a philosophical stratum. Hilmi Ziya principally owes to his teacher his conception of a sociology based on philosophical knowledge. This was, on the other hand, probably due to the fact that sociology become in Ziya Gökalp's time, what Hilmi Ziya calls "Sociologism", that is assigning to sociology a therapeutic role in social matters. Finally, thinking according to a philosophical tradition was, to some extent, to think like a Western thinker, that is according to a tradition of thought and not for an ideological purpose. This methodological option could have been for Hilmi Ziya a hope for evasion from politically bound thought. As he himself tells, "I devoted myself to the History of Philosophy, after having consumed the last efforts of the sociologism trend between the years 1923-25, in the reviews Anadolu and Mihrab." (74)

Hilmi Ziya seems to have assumed an intellectual career, completely independent of politics. But as he adds, "I wanted to make it through Boutroux's pluralistic spiritualist and realist philosophy, which was taking its roots from Leibniz and Aristotle, a ground to all social and psychological sciences", his choice is not so apolitical. From his other writings, we could state that Boutroux's pluralism refers to his decentralist views, Aristotle to his antipositivistic view and Leibniz to the "Sufi" components in his thought.

During his assistantship at the chair of geography, Hilmi Ziya completes his studies with a certificate on History of Philosophy and on Ethics. The year the "Unification of education (.) law was passed, Hilmi Ziya is appointed on his own demand as a geography teacher in a high school in Bursa. Ziya Somar, one of his first student in Bursa, recalls, "I would learn later that his in training out of Istanbul was proceeding with a "Kerem and Aslı" kind of love story. This young teacher was coming from Istanbul, for two days who would accompany him till the end of his life." (75) Hatice hanım was then teaching natural sciences at the Nişantaşı Kız Lisesi. In autumn, he was transferred to Ankara as a teacher of philosophy and sociology. During his stay at

Ankara (1924-26), he fulfilled the duties of the Director of Statistics in the Department of the Ministry of Public Instruction (.), Representative of the Director of the Registration Department of the Ministry of Public Instruction, and was appointed as the Member of the Translation Desk of the Education Office (...), which was recently founded.

It is during those years that Ziya Somar, his student, will have closer contacts with him. Ziya Somar tells, "I went to see him in his office, to ask him to guide me in his readings. He gave me a book in French. This was the book of a philosophy teacher who was a catholic priest and the book was written for catholic churches", adding that when he was preparing his doctorate dissertation at Istanbul, his work was deeply influenced by Hilmi Ziya. (76)

During his stay at Ankara, two important events occurred; the Kurdish Rebellion and the Izmir Plot. Ağah Alaybek, suspected of being involved in the plot, had been exiled. The rebellion was severely suppressed and the only party of opposition was closed. Hilmi Ziya's commentary on the closing of the party draws attention to the defects of the opposition. "Liberal in its program, the party was accused by the official sources as using religion as a political instrument. According to Hilmi Ziya, "The Party was not tolerated because it did not have an elite cadre to defend its program and organization, and because the political

(.) MARIF VEKALETI İHSAİYET SUBESİ  
 (...) TALİM TERBİYE TERCÜME BÜROSU

education (formation) was too weak. The Party was left in the hands of people with, little authority, with the defense of its cultureless representatives, which soon caused the diminution of the party's quality, then finally its collapse". This state of affairs is seen also in the case of the Serbest Firka (Independent Party) (1930), Demokrat Parti (Democratic Party) (1946-60), and Adalet Partisi (Justice Party) which appears on the scene after 1962. (77)



### III. THE "MORAL OF LOVE"

Hilmi Ziya's industriousness, that is making translations, teaching, and writing, may make us think that he had been in line with the positivistic and pragmatic educational policy of the government. But this is not so, whenever he talks of education this to mean a teaching connected with daily life and not with instruction. It could be said that Hilmi Ziya is almost at the antipod of this positivist education system which was a mean to diffuse the official ideology. (78) It became soon clear that an education only through school instruction could not be pervasive to daily life. To compensate this gap institutions named Halk Evleri (People's Houses) had to be founded.

But once more Hilmi Ziya gave a different answer to the problem of regulation national life. One step was to translate the Coran into Turkish, this would help to make religion a personal matter. In the West "the individuals had been able to experience religion according to their usages and customs. Religion was suiting to their feelings. Thus while having their religious education they got at the same time their national education." (79)

On the other hand the formation of the elite was to be realised with the "moral of love". The elite would accomp-

lish the higher level of this moral of love which is supposed to create the point of intersection between officials and the ruled.

It is during his military service that Hilmi Ziya starts to formulate his views on the "moral of love",. In autumn 1926 he moves to Istanbul to accomplish his first military service. During that period he teaches history and psychology. In spring 1928 he undertakes his second military service as a reserve conscript officer at Edremit (Balıkesir) where he says "During my military service I have developed my ideas about the ideal values and humanity. I have layed these thoughts on the occasion of the lectures delivered by Mehmed Izzet. My solitary life in Edremit allowed me to study this question thoroughly. I have tried to explain them in a work entitled "New Essays on the Psychological development of Man". But I have never been able to complete this voluminous work. Instead of this, with the atmosphere that this province was giving to my feelings I wrote the Aşk Ahlâkı (Moral of Love)". (80)

Mehmet Izzet's lectures which were based on his İktisaiyat Dersleri (Lectures on Sociology) (1926) were delivered at the meeting of the first philosophy association having the same name, that is "Felsefe Cemiyeti", found in 1927. (81) The two founders of the association were Hilmi

Ziya and Servet Berkin. The publication of the association was Felsefe ve İctimaiyat (Philosophy and Sociology) (1927) the first review of philosophy in the history of the Turkish Republic. (82)

Only four conferences were delivered at the association which soon dissolved. Hilmi Ziya says "There was a need to put philosophical questions above the educational and political stratum." (83) Besides the conferences discussions on religion were held between the teachers of the Darülfünun; in one of the discussions Ismail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu defended the cause for a reform of Islam.

Hilmi Ziya's articles "Heyecan Hakkında (on Emotivity) and "Teheyhüciyat Hakkında" (On Education), his early works on psychology and social psychology, are published in the review of the association. He says "I started to study the relationship between the social pressure and psychological life. I have set these works in a more detailed thesis under the name of "Cemiyet ve Marazi Şuur" (society and Psychoneurosis) in 1931 in the Felsefe Yıllığı (Annual of Philosophy)" and he adds that he has "transferred to the social sphere the views developed in these articles." His viewpoint was that one side there were "representations" which were not virtualized in action and, on the other side there were reactions which did not unify with these "representations". (84) He concludes by remarking that this is a state

of psychoneurosis, however, that this is also the starting point of the path to reach a "higher synthesis in psychological existence". (85)

The transfer of the psychological explanations to the sociological sphere were realised in his Umumi Ruhiyat (General Psychology, Ottoman Script) (1928).

What could have been the equivalent for this psychoneurosis in the social sphere? The correspondent to "actions which do not unify with these representations" is probably the shallow reformation policy of the Republican Party, and the "representations which are not virtualized into action" might have their equivalent in the area of popular Islam.

The activities of the society of philosophy ceased in 1929. But on his return from the military service, Hilmi Ziya reorganised analogous meetings which took place at Teachers' Union of Istanbul . (.) As he recalls on his return when he was appointed to the Galatasaray Lisesi, he gathered an intellectual cenacle around the Galatasaray review. (86) Most of the collaborators to the review were students from the same highschool and this circle was not satisfactory to him. Thus he decided to rally once more the

(.) ISTANBUL MUALLIMLER BİRLİĞİ

academical circle. However this did not last for a long time as the union of teachers was dissolved by the government in 1930. (87)

Hilmi Ziya says that the discussions were held mainly on the subjects such as the Menemen Event (December 1930), reactionary movements and revolutionary ideas. (88)

#### IV. DEPRESSSSION OF THE YOUNG REPUBLIC: TOWARDS ATATÜRK'S ETATIST ECONOMY

The Menemen Event was another testimony telling that "the civil aims of the revolutionaries, i.e. the political and social modernization of Turkey..., were not paralleled with popular demands". (89) But on the other hand this was also a reason to close the Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Free Republican Party) in 1930 which had less than four months of existence as the only official voice of the opposition.

Hale remarks that the year 1930 marked an important watershed in the history of the Republic. This was a political crisis coupled with an economical one., this was due to the Great Crash of 1929 plus a bad harvest at home. (90) Mustafa Kemal would say early in the year 1930 "you can see it with your eyes, everywhere we go, we listen continuously to complaints and grumbles. Everywhere there is destitution, moral and material collapse." (91) To find a remedy to the political crisis which was an outcome of the single party regime, he suggested to Fethi Okyar to found the party of the opposition.

Thus as Hilmi Ziya formulated it "representations without action found an outcome and soon the party attracted support from those who opposed the basic principles of the

secular Republic. Consequently "representations without action" became activated through the legitimized opposition. As to the economical crisis the redress was hoped to be realized through the etatist policy. This was a direct state participation, ownership and planning economy. Loan and technical assistance were supplied from the Soviets to launch the first fiveyear planning (1934-1939). There were three economic policy trends. Two of them were different interpretations of Etatism and the third represented by Celâl Bayar's viewpoint was defending private enterprise. The first interpretation of Etatism was that of the Radical Reform Nationalism (Tekin Alp) the other one had a marxist background and was represented by Şevket Süreyya. (92).

Hilmi Ziya expresses his estimate about the Etatist policy in his Telifçiliğin Tenakusları (Contradictions of Compromism) (1933) where he says "the most important problem which the planned economy faces when put into practice is the problem of ethics". Because Hilmi Ziya explains: "It is not sufficient to think on enterprise only, but one should also insist on the psychological and moral potential of the people who join the enterprise... It is impossible to conceive of man as a means to express just a function, by abstracting man from his personal capabilities and from his morals. The problem of morals which the planned economy leaves outside its plans and to which it does not give importance to is the foremost of all the problems. It is impossible to preach

any scientific, technical or political matter without basing oneself on ethics". (93) Hilmi Ziya goes on noting that normalization is felt in all the spheres of daily life and that "inner life" is seen as something old fashioned that is to be abandoned and belonging to past times. He concludes that at the theoretical level, what would satisfy that approach is, without doubt, historical materialism. (94)

From these sentences we can understand that Hilmi Ziya's position towards the new "revolutionary-mobilization" of the government is rather of the kind "if any normalization is to take place" he would opt for historical materialism as a method to be followed in practical applications. Taken as a theory, historical materialism is represented in political life by the group led by Şevket Süreyya. They gave a socialist interpretation to the policy of Etatism. However according to Hilmi Ziya, normalization means passage from quality to quantity, from the moral to the material ground. He is not very keen about normalization as far as he argues that there is a necessity to make a social plan according to a classification which separates and differentiates individuals in an hierarchical strata defined in relation to their psychological and structural abilities. (95)

After the government had dissolved the union of teachers, the meetings of philosophy had taken an end; but Hilmi Ziya wanted to perpetuate these encounters and organized



another society of philosophy in 1931. Felsefe Yıllığı (Annual of Philosophy) (1931-1932) which was published by him became the publication of that society. (96) The purpose of the annual was to analyse and criticize the publications printed on that subject in Europe and Turkey, to give translations or summaries of these publications, plus finally to lay a coherent and a systematic study on the question of "personnalism", which is nothing more than an islamic individualism. This individualism was as Hilmi Ziya explains an outcome of conflict and had nothing to do with the individualism Ziya Gökalp was defending. Hilmi Ziya's personnalism takes its roots from the psychological education that he acquired from the tasavvuf. As Hilmi Ziya was sent by the government to Germany in 1932 to make further studies in the history of turkish thought, the society of philosophy stopped its publications and activities "It is during his stay in Germany (Berlin) that Hilmi Ziya's insomnia due to his excessive studies begins. But his illness had in no way hindered his hard work relates Hilmi Ziya's daughter Mrs. Gülseren Artunkal. He himself relates that his bouts with insomnia came with asthma attacks in his semi-autobiographical novel Yarım Adam (Unachieved Man), where he says:

"Since he came back from study his health was not going well. Quite often he would wake up in the night with an asthma attack and stay awake for several hours, while he was trying to overcome the crisis by taking medicine. These intermittent crisis which broke out unexpectedly were

sufficient to deject him suddenly. Sometimes those states would become frequent, severe and violent, they would aggravate and last till morning, then the patient would become like a victim grabbed by a boa, his chest which was struggling to breath would let snarling, hoarse and gruff voices; this scene which put people in a state of helplessness and confusion, because they were unable to give him any assistance, would gradually grow dim and draw aside with the dawn. However, he would fall exhausted as if he had struggled, in the dark at night, with an invisible djin, the crisis would be followed with a period of depression which would sometimes last for days and days.

After the night of the attack he would feel depressed and his strength to decide even small matters would be exhausted. Suddenly he would become another man, as if he had undergone an incredible transformation. His attention would become lax, he would retire completely to himself, events of little importance, which he would, at other times, let pass with disdain, would take great significance. A word not said at the right time or right place, a salutation missed by absent mindedness, an innocent guilt belonging to old times, even though forgotten, would be exaggerated in importance, deepen and like Democles upon him would tumble him down every minute in fear and torment.

Luckily, the depression would finally go away, and

he would slowly return to his old state. He had tried all the remedies to get freed from that suffering.

The doctors were unable to do more than to heal the symptoms of the attacks due to a constitutional affliction. The sophistication of medicine was powerless in the face of this unconquerable wall of nature. The last word was once more left to nature. It was said that this was a disease of climate and travel". (97)

His work published in 1935, Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü (The Role of Translation in Revival Periods) seems to be the product of his hard work in Berlin. The content of the book aims to show how the Renaissance appeared after the contact of the Western thought with the Islamic thought. This point was especially underlined to show that there was no 'Greek Miracle' as it was argued by many Western thinkers. Hilmi Ziya notes that the first one to have shown in Turkey that the Greek Thought passed to the West by the mediation of Islam had been Musa Akyigitzade. (98) He had handled the subject in his Avrupa Medeniyetinin Esasına bir Nazar (A Look at the Foundation of the Civilization of Europe) (1907), Hilmi Ziya tells us that he recovered the same subject in a more extensive study, in his above mentioned work.

The matter was, in fact, to show how through the contact of different civilizations a Renaissance (nahda)

came out. Western Civilization had made its Renaissance, now it was the turn of the Islamic civilization. Therefore, Turkey had to open its doors to the West, experience a period of apprenticeship without imitation, and finally make her own synthesis, her own Renaissance. (99)

For that purpose a percipient campaign of translation had to be held. (100) Parallel to this argument, it was stated that the path for a Renaissance was not to imitate blindly the Western civilization. This was to some extent a criticism to the radical revolutionary of the Republic who had adopted westernization policy completely denying the islamic patrimony of Turkey.

## V. THE REFORM OF THE TURKISH UNIVERSITY

One endeavour to open Turkish thought to the West was realized by the Reformation Of the University (Darülfünun Tasviyesi) in 1933 under the sponsorship of Prof. Malche.

Hilmi Ziya's return from Berlin was due to this Reform. With the reform the Darülfünun (as the university was called) becomes an 'Université' (University). Hilmi Ziya was appointed as a lecturer to the Department of History of Turkish Thought as were many other valuable highschool teachers of the time such as Ömer Lütfi Barkan (ottoman history) or Kerim Erim (mathematics). In the question of the nominations to the new university the problem was not so much to seek people of academical formation, but to choose teachers who would be able to lecture on a subject. The main reason for that nomination policy was that there were not enough people having a real academical formation in those days. The gap in that field had been implemented by engaging foreign professors coming from Germany who had been persecuted by the Hitlerian regime in those years.

Hilmi Ziya says that the reform which had been done in a hurry had kept valuable professors out of the university, however, he adds that the reform had a positive impact on the development of the university. (101)

Was the reform really necessary?

There have been two approaches to the problem. Either the reform was seen as a result of the interpersonal disputes among the university professors for rivalry, consequently the fate of some professors had been considered as being unfair. Or it had been welcome, as did Prof. Hirsch and Hilmi Ziya. (102)

What was the state at the Darülfünun?

Although a severe pressure was applied in those years to the press (dailies such as Vatan (Homeland), Son Telegram (Last Telegram), Sebilüreşad (Right Path), Aydınlık (Light), etc. were closed), the university had remained untouched. It was left to the university itself to make its own restructuring that was needed. But as no move came from the university and as many unqualified teachers were still holding office, the social and political development brought about a quick change. Prof. Malche's suggestion to wait the retirement of the old professors before making any changes in the staff could not be applied. The reform became definite when the reforms done in the field of language and the official historical studies brought old professors in opposition with the state policy. (103) As Mustafa Kemal explained in a speech he delivered four years later the reform

was "to provide the Republic with a really modern University".

Hilmi says "the foundation of the University in 1933 could be seen as the beginning of the new movements in philosophy in Turkey" and he adds that "this turning point" made possible for the new generation to hold office in the university. It gave them the opportunity to get acquainted with the newer ideas "which we did not till that date" thanks to the arrival of eminent lecturers who were exiled because of nazism." Hilmi Ziya notes that the fact that the German professors had been more influent than the ones who came during the First World War was mainly due to the decrease of the Turkish teachers and to the change of the structure of the university. (104)

## VI. FROM THE LAST MONTHS OF ATATURK'S LIFE TO THE LAST YEARS OF ONE-PARTY REGIME

The period of circulation of the Hilmi Ziya's Insan (1938-1943) corresponds with the period when Turkey gets under the administration of the Republican party representatives whom the opponents referred to as "the Prohibitors" (yasakçılar). (105) After the death of Atatürk on 10 November 1938, Turkey gets under their hegemony, "there is no more a force similar to Atatürk's to stop them. The country entered a period of six years of domination between the years 1938-1945." (106)

The seat of charismatic power which was left vacant after Atatürk's death was inherited by the sole party of the Republic. Atatürk's personal authority was thus transferred to an impersonal power. Although it is referred to that period as that of the "Milli Şef" (National Chief), this had been a period of party domination rather than the rule of the charismatic authority of the "Milli Şef", i.e. İsmet İnönü.

One year before the end of the publication of the Insan, Hilmi Ziya begins to sponsor the Sosvoloji Dergisi (Review of Sociology) which is the publication of the Faculty of Letters of the University in Istanbul. Hilmi Ziya is



responsible of its publication till the year 1960. (107) In 1945 he publishes the Felsefe Tercümeleri Dergisi (Review of Translations from Philosophy). (108) Finally the last review in which he shares the responsibility of its administration is the Sosyoloji Dünyası (The World of Sociology) published as a circulation of the Society of Sociology founded in 1949. (109)

One of his first students would say about Hilmi Ziya: "This was one of his traits: all his life he either published reviews or made propositions about the publication of a new review. Insan appeared three times. But it was always talked about as his fourth publication". This student concludes by saying "I have met him two months before his death at Bulvar Palas in Ankara, where he talked once again of a publication of a new review". (110)

Hilmi Ziya's academical career begins where his father's, Mehmet Ziya's, ends. (111) Dr. Mehmet Ziya retires for the rest of his life after he had been ousted from the Darülfünun. Dr. Mehmet Ziya who takes Ülken as a family name in accordance with the law of patronym dies in 1951 at the age of 71. (112)

Soon the arrival of the western professors becomes effective. (113) One can see this influence in the second annual of philosophy, Felsefe Yıllığı (1934-1935) which is

published by Hilmi Ziya with much help from Mehmet Şerefettin (Yaltkaya). In its foreword dated 18 February 1935 Hilmi Ziya says:

"I have published the first annual in 1932, and I am able to publish the second one only after an interval of one and a half years. The main reason for that was the foundation of the university and to prepare the annual according to the new conditions". (114)

Compared with the first annual, the second one devotes a lot of place to translations and to subjects such as "Trends of psychology in Germany" as well as to behaviourism (by Hatemi Senih Sarp). The first annual gave place to original articles. But what is common to both is that they both insist on psychological subjects. However, the second annual also deals with natural sciences.

Three years later, in 1938, after the publication of the second annual Hilmi Ziya starts the publication of his Insan (Human) review. It is around those years that Hilmi Ziya is designated as an assistant professor to the chair of History of Turkish thought at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Istanbul. Two years later he is appointed to the chair of philosophy in the same university on the advice of Prof. Von Aster who held office in that chair

in 1938, where he carried on his professorship till the end of his life (1948).

The first issue of Insan appeared in 15 April 1938. The review was financed by Celalettin Ezine who had returned from Germany as the Second World War broke out. He was studying their philosophy and doing research in the arts. On his return to Turkey, he contacts progressist circles. He finances Insan which enables him to contact young assistants such as Hasan Tanrıkat who a few years later becomes Hilmi Ziya's assistant. This circle soon becomes the starting point of the progressist youth movement. (115)

It is during these years that it soon became clear that etatism was "far from being an experiment in populist egalitarianism, evolved as a model of State capitalism managed primarily for the benefit of a privileged elite controlling the state apparatus". (116) On the other hand it is with the amnesty of 1938 that those who were arrested because of his leftist views are freed. Among them there was the brother of Hilmi Ziya's wife, Celal Benneci who was arrested in 1933 and sentenced for seven years of prison. He was among the active founders of the underground Turkish Communist Party.

It is within this atmosphere that Hilmi Ziya's

thought orients itself to historical materialism. But as he remarks, this had been for him a period of six years (1937-1943) of searching, and says about the evolution of his thought that his early views about the contingency of the law of nature had been shaken by Hans Reichenbach's lectures defending the theory of probability. Hilmi Ziya says "the view of contingency seemed to be more scientifically explained by the logic of probability and the principle of induction". (117)

Accordingly Hilmi Ziya refers to his work *Telifciliğin Tenakusları* (The Contradictions of Compromism, first published as a series of articles in the Mülkiye review between the years of (1933-1934) as an autocritical work where he says that the followers of Aristotles who tried to reconcile Plato and Democrite, which "were condemned to lose all their ideological roles in the maturation of the society, because for Hilmi Ziya, Aristotles" system was "a metaphysique of 'saving the situation', and was taking its roots from a collapsing civilization." (118)

Hilmi Ziya notes that such an autocriticism had as an impact on his thought to either opt for spiritualism or for materialism, and adds that "after 1937, his choice developed in the direction of materialism. But this was yet neither the old mecanistical materialism nor the historical materialism. This was a materialism which was understood as

scientific methodology which was searching through essays to find out how much materialism would be in the help of the foundation of sociology". (119)

Following the explanation Hilmi Ziya gives about the development of his thought, the statement that was made for the materialistic view of Yusuf Akçura could be applied to Hilmi Ziya's thought, too. It was argued that "the materialism of Akçura is an approach to the reality". (120) By this statement, it was meant that their inclination to materialism was less a problem of adopting it as a system than to use it as means to cope with reality. This interpretation of materialism can be a response to Cemal Süreyya who criticized Hilmi Ziya for stating that Yusuf Akçura was a historical materialist, and applauding at the same time the views of Prince Sabahattin. (121) Historical materialism or materialism in short is for them an approach to independently grasp the social reality in what is political and institutional. The main purpose of Insan is to draw attention to discrepancies, between the social reality and the political reality. The review makes a call to lay the foundations on social reality and not on political discourse as did the official view. This call was made in the review, in its very first article entitled "Tanzimata Karşı" (Against the Reformation Period). The title of the article is significant in that it considers the inconsistency of the political practices or decisions with that of the social realities as dating from the begin-

ning of Tanzimat. Thus the official discourse of the Republic is estimated as having inherited the discrepancy created by the policy of the Tanzimat.

But basing oneself on social reality in Turkey meant to take into account the moral sphere which is not freed of religious characteristics. According to Hilmi Ziya, our social reality is what we have inherited from the Islamic civilization. But in 1938 he was not yet able to overtly say Islamic civilization. He therefore speaks of an "Arabo-Persian Humanism", and says that "old civilizations should be seen from the contemporary point of view and we should take them as elements preparing our (national) formation. In my opinion the Latino-Greek culture will be effective in this formation only by the side of the Arabo-Persian culture" and he concludes that we should not, as it was done during the Tanzimat, try to keep these civilizations alive side by side. (122)

Hilmi Ziya has apparently borrowed the formulation of "Arabo-Persian Humanism" from Hüseyinzade Ali. This formulation was designating Islam as a humanism, independently of its religious shade and separated from its 'Ümmet' ideal. (123) As Gökalp always talked about an Islamic Ümmet (Islamic Community), Hüseyinzade Ali would speak of an Arabo-Persian, or in other words of Islamic Humanism. This was,

says Hilmi Ziya the basic discrepancy between their programs. (124)

Hilmi Ziya says that Hüseyinzade Ali's argument was that Islamic civilization had been unable to produce its genuine modernization and had to pass from one civilization to another. "As we are moving from the Islamic to the Western civilization, to be able to get modernized, states Hüseyinzade Ali, we have to go deep down into the roots of both humanities or civilizations. Hilmi Ziya says that Hüseyinzade Ali never told how the synthesis had to be done. (125)

Hilmi Ziya confesses that Hüseyinzade Ali's idea of double humanism does not seem very convincing to him but that this problem had always preoccupied him. (126) Consequently Hilmi Ziya's intellectual urge will be after the synthesis of these two different civilizations. This synthesis would be possible only if we looked at our own civilization through the spectacles of the West.

On the other hand in the practical scene Hilmi Ziya's formulation of that synthesis was to reverse the formulation of the revolutionaries which was "to become a nation we have to get westernized" to "to get westernized is to become a nation". As it was underlined in the article "Tanzimata

Karşı" it was the Islamic culture which was to implement the roots of the nation. It is probably because of this outlook that the review Yurt ve Dünya (Native Country and World) started a polemic by criticizing İnsan in 1941. (127) Hilmi Ziya's commentary about the dispute is: "while İnsan was humanist, Yurt ve Dünya was marxist and militant". (128)

Hilmi Ziya's reflection about the first years of Atatürk's death, in reference to Turkish thought is an interesting one. He considers this period as being similar to that of the first years of the Second Constitutional Period and the years of Armistice from the standpoint that they all led to the publications of many reviews of different opinions. As a matter of fact, all these periods can be seen as interim periods where dominant currents of thoughts or views are not all powerful enough to keep other 'deviating' opinions under control. Consequently, these interim periods enable the expressions of personal ideas...

Hilmi Ziya clearly notes that as the country had entered period of continual reformations "private thought had stopped", and he remarks that it is only after the publications of reviews such as Kadro and Hayat, a retrospective reflection was adopted on the revolutions. (129) Hilmi Ziya was commenting about the situation in the first years of Atatürk's death. But time had shown that the situation under the 'Milli Şef' was that Turkey entered a period



where the exigences of wartime neutrality forced the State to intervene in almost every aspect of Turkish life. Gradually with the early trauma inherited from the years of occupation, İnönü's policy became harsh to any opposition. In the years of war priority was given to the defense of the unity of the country and any political opposition was considered as being a desintegrating element for the well-being of the country. The repression became harsher especially in 1942 when the official forces organized the bombing of the newspaper Tan (Dawn) which was the voice of the leftist opposition; a year later many leftists were arrested, Celal Benneci was among them.

Before these events took place, Hilmi Ziya had been involved in the project of the publication of a new daily called Bugün (Today). Alaaddin Hakgüder who had financed the Turkish Socialist Party, had accepted to finance for six months the daily Bugün. Abidin Nesimi tells that Hakgüder "had a meeting for that purpose with Prof. Hilmi Ziya and to write essays on certain days of the week at the expense of one third of the profit of the daily... Our teacher did not like the publishing program I had prepared. He said "in the present condition of Turkey if we organize a program according to things we are against and not according to what we defend, we could give some flexibility to the publication".... I proposed the name of Cami Baykurt for the writings of the foreign policy. Hilmi Ziya said

that they once worked together at the Mihrap and that Cami Baykurt was an authority on the subject (but if place was given to him in the newspaper) this would attract Ismet İnönü's hostility... We decided to give the redaction of the articles on military subjects to Hilmi Ziya's retired relative Hüsametdin Paşa.

In these years, "continues Abidin Nesimi", it was quite difficult to get a license for a daily. Hilmi Ziya made his father, a chemistry professor, Mehmet Ziya via Ahmet Cevat buy a license for the daily Bugün. A contract for the ownership of the newspaper was signed in front of the notary Hüsametdin Avni Ulaş". Abidin Nesimi concludes the history of Bugün by telling that the daily was not issued because of financial reasons. (130)

Although the newspaper was not issued, Alaaddin Hakgüder financed the publication of Hilmi Ziya's novel Posta Yolu (The Mail Road) (1941) in the foreword of which Hilmi Ziya says: "This is a part of the mail road called 'Human Tide'... I wrote this in 1935-1936.... I dedicate this work to my dear friend Avni Insel who encouraged me for its publication." (131)

This was a book of the 'Human Tide'. The second one published two years later was his Yarım Adam (Unachieved

Man). The 'Human Tide' was planned to come out in eight volumes, but only two of them were published. (132)

While he was writing novels, Hilmi Ziya was also active in another branch of art: he had two painting exhibitions in 1940 and 1941. (133) Hilmi Ziya is not optimistic, about the state of the novel in Turkey as one of his early students relates. Hilmi did not believe that a novel of value could be written in our country. His student says "once at the Nisuz patisserie Hilmi Ziya said that great novels cannot be written in Turkey since there are no big social fluctuations in the country." (134)

However, to give a great social fluctuation or movement to appear and to expand itself was not that easy during the young Republic. The republican Party had a very clear-cut position against the opposition: trends leading to separatism. The leftist movements were not only suppressed by the governmental forces but they were also aversively welcome by the muslim community.

Hilmi Ziya says that he adhered to the materialist movement between 1937-1943, whereas Hüseyin Darıman prolongs this period in his thought till the year 1947.

The year 1943 corresponds to the year when Stalin was at the peak of his power and to the year when the left-

tists were severely suppressed by the Turkish government. It was noted that "by the beginning of the Stalinist period, Islam occupied roughly the same position in the USSR as in Turkey after the completion of the Kemalist reforms. Atatürk had only desired the secularization and not the complete de-Islamisation of Turkey. The goals of the Soviet leadership extended much further. (At the beginning of the period of Planned Economy), the anti islamic drive was greatly intensified". (135)

In fifteen years the fate of the Islamic people under the Soviets was designed and a socialist view might have seen it dangerous for the future of the country. (136) On the other hand Turkey was threatened by the expansionist policy of the Soviets, especially during the cold war between the two powers (USA-USSR), and when the Soviets coveted the North-East provinces of Turkey in 1947. The international development led the Islamic nationalism to take an impetus by the end of the Second World War. Islam was now considered as a powerful weapon that could thwart the communist expansion.

Internal as well as international developments have surely been effective on Hilmi Ziya's intellectual position. Two men close to him, Celal Benneci and his assistant Hasan Tanrıkut were arrested. There was an obvious revival of Is-

lam in the world. (137)

Hilmi Ziya's publisher Burhan Anıl notes: "Because he had asthma, his constitution did not have the strength to bear coercions and suppressions. If one day his freedom was removed, he would loose his strength on the spot. To that extent, freedom was sustenance for him. He was always against repressive regimes." (138) This explanation based on Hilmi Ziya's constitution could have influenced our judgement of his attitude towards life. But to make his health the foundation of his itellectual choices would be a very simplistic interpretation.

Our point is that Hilmi Ziya had always been a traditionalist and has never changed his intellectual position. What changed in Hilmi Ziya's intellectual life was the way he expressed himself while opposing the official view. His main argument was that one should rely on his own culture in the formation of the nation. In the early years of the foundation of the Republic he defended a cultural Anatolianism (Anadoluculuk) against the radical westernization; he tried to set participation through 'the moral of love' to solve the opposition of the masses against the reforms imposed by the government; he suggested a humanism during the normalization period of the etatist policy.

All the propositions he makes take into consideration what the official view denies categorically, i.e. Islam. Hilmi Ziya insists that the foundation of the country should be laid on Islamic culture because the moral structure of the country is basically Islam.

Even in his period which he defines as being materialistic, Hilmi Ziya bases his views on Islam. We would argue that the Arabo-Persian Humanist which he was leaning to is at the political level much more an Islamic kind of populism than a western type socialism. F. Rahman notes that in his response to Renan, Cemaleddin Afgani defending Islam was "exposing a sort of Modern Humanism: one should get interested in man because he is a man." F. Rahman adds that this thought "appears at the religious level as a humanism; becomes at the political level an expression of Afgani's populism." (139) The same argument can be applied to Hilmi Ziya's thought as his main criticism against the sociology of Comte was that it "explained man with humanity, and not humanity with man." (140)

Furthermore we could argue that Hilmi Ziya's thought had changed from personalism to populism because etatism was considered at its beginning as being "an experiment in populist egalitarianism". At the psychological level the "moral of love" was ground for an activism. Saying so, with the internal and international developments Hilmi

Ziya finds the opportunity to express himself more overtly and gives up materialism to base his sociology on ethics.

After 1943 Hilmi Ziya founds his thought on moral and orients himself on the problem of values, as it was argued that Islam was a less intellectual religion than a sociological one. (141)

## VII. FROM THE LOST TWO YEARS OF ONE-PARTY REGIME TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PERIOD

His work Ahlak (Ethics) published in 1946 is the first fruit of Hilmi Ziya's studies on values. Hilmi Ziya virtualizes what his professor Mehmet Izzet had been unable to realize because of his premature death. Ahlak is written with a western philosophical jargon; there is almost no reference to Islam compared to its volume. Hilmi Ziya being aware of the spiritual crisis which was undergoing the modernizing Muslim society had oriented himself on the subject of values. Telling about this state of affair Heyd says: "The ensuing westernization and modernization of Muslim society gradually undermined and eroded its traditional institutions and civilization was causing serious social tensions and spiritual crises." (142)

There was an emotional and spiritual gap in the daily social life. This had to be remedied, that is why Hilmi Ziya bases his sociology on ethics. At this point it could be said that Hilmi Ziya handles social sciences as did the positivists, to the extent that he believes to find out a remedy to social problems through social knowledge. His attitude differs from that of the positivists in that he bases his ideas on what is social and not on the official



political view. This enables us to understand how his thought changes expression as the problems or realities change in the social sphere.

It is probably with these concerns that he teaches, on his own accord the subject of 'Theory for Knowledge and Theory of Values' at the philosophy department where he is appointed as a lecturer on the suggestion of Prof. Vor Aster in 1940. A year later he is nominated professor.

The lectures he delivers between the years 1945-1948 on the theories of knowledge and values are published under the same title in 1965. In line with Mehmet Izzet's methodology, taking ethics as the foundation of his sociology, Hilmi Ziya uses a philosophical knowledge basing it on social data.

Hilmi Ziya's earlier work dating from 1935, the Türk Filozofları Antolojisi (Anthology of Turkish Philosophers) should be examined within this perspective. In this work, he calls Islamic or Turkish-Islamic theorists of ethics philosophers who underlined the parallelism between the function that the philosophers fulfill in western society and the one that the theorists of ethics have in the muslim society. Therefore, Hilmi Ziya deals with ethics in a philosophical jargon of the western culture. (143) One would agree with the statement talking that Hilmi Ziya's approach,

basing itself on analogies or looking for the equivalents of thought between the western and the Islamic cultures, is typical of the Renaissance episteme. (144)

It should be remembered that the atmosphere changed in religious matters not only because of internal and international developments, but also because Atatürk's successor, İnönü, was much more moderate on the matter. One sign of İnönü's moderation on the subject is that within the year he got to power, he had approved of the translation of the Encyclopedia of Islam. (145) This was not a straw in the wind, Reed was right in paying attention to this evolution, because this was perhaps the first sign that İnönü would be capable of giving concessions the early rigid reforms. (146)

In 1946, when Turkey was entering its first multi-party political life, Hilmi Ziya would say that the problem of democracy should deal according to the special conditions of the country; that is, by taking into account the traditional ways in which social problems used to be wielded and conducted. (147) Hilmi Ziya underlines once more that the starting point in democracy is man, consequently there is, above all, a problem of ethics and not a question of ideology as far as one ideology can easily refute another. (148)

Hilmi Ziya adds that political movements such as

parliamentarism or democracy can only appear in nations which have already reached their maturity, he continues: "the political parties which came out of democratic interpretation are the right of only those societies which have attained their national unity." (149)

Hilmi Ziya does not believe that the country is ready for a western type of democracy, because national unity is not accomplished yet and, also, because the individuals in Turkish society are not mature enough to become "persons" in the sense of having acquired self-consciousness. He notes that in a society where its individuals lack self-consciousness "one cannot talk about offered rights or acquired liberty". (150) In the case of Turkey, this was to offer rights to individuals who had not enough maturity to deal with those kind of rights. Hilmi Ziya remarks that in democratic societies there is much greater need for individual qualities than in an autocratic society. Hilmi Ziya argues that adopting a democratic regime before any education is given to develop these qualities would lead to a political crisis. (151) He was not that wrong in his fortelling, as we shall later see how Turkey experienced a 'democratical crisis'.

According to Hilmi Ziya, these individual qualities are either produced by already existing special historical

conditions; or man's consciousness or the will of man should intervene. In the case of the societies where the formation of the individual qualities does not exist or is weak man should intervene, Hilmi Ziya says that we have to try the second way. (152) We have to benefit, notes Hilmi Ziya, of the intervening and protecting power of the State in political and economical activities till the formation of these types are achieved. (153) "Otherwise starting this democracy would be to let a child play with fire".

This is how we could summarize Hilmi Ziya's view about democracy. He collected his articles discussing the subject, published in reviews and in newspapers in the volume entitled Millet ve Tarih Şuuru (Nation and the Conscience of History) published in 1948. The articles he wrote later between 1949-1957 in the daily Yeni Sabah (New Morning) do not differ from the views he defended in this work.

At the election held in 1946, the Republican Party again formed the government. But the party had to consider the popular demands urging more attention for the problem of Islam. With the coming of the new election period the party starts to make concessions to secular principles, in order to get more votes. Consequently a period begins where the politicians start to exploit religion because of political rivalry.

It is now the era of deviation from some of Atatürk's secular principles begins: "Inönü's monistic commitment to democracy forced him to accept the unintended consequences of his decisions even in an area where he was so extremely sensitive, namely in the matter of religion." (154)

The Islamic demands were strengthened as some politicians argued that it would balance the internal marxist trends and become a strong barrier against the Soviets. (155)

In 1947, for the first time in the history of the Republic, pilgrimage to Mecca was allowed. From 1947 on, relaxations followed quickly one another: numerous religious publications reappeared in circulation, religious programs took place on the state radio, to visiting to tombs of the saints was permitted. In the Imam-Hatip (Preachers and Prayers Leaders) Schools were opened and a year later religious education was permitted in the primary schools, dependent on the parents' request. In 1949 the government of the time decided to set up a Faculty of Theology. Hilmi Ziya took an active set up in the commission founding this faculty. (156) The Faculty started its first educational year in October 1949, few months before the general elections were held which would bring the opposition party, namely the Democratic Party, to power. The arrival of the democrats to power enables Hilmi Ziya to express more freely his ideas on religion and the educational system related to it.

# VIII. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PERIOD AND THE INTERVENTION OF THE MILITARY

After the elections took place in 14 May 1950, Hilmi Ziya was able to express his opinion about the Faculty with less care. The main aim of the earlier government in setting up a faculty of divinity was to equilibrate the gap which occurred, because the training of men of religion had ceased after 1933. The danger that this gap would be filled by illiterate obscurantist had appeared, the government decided to fill these vacancies with secular men of religion. Hilmi says on that occasion, "the aim of the Faculty of Divinity in our country is to train men of religion who are able to communicate religious belief in harmony with national feelings and a modern understanding", whereas, he says, the purpose of the Islamic Studies Institute was "as it was defined in the first article of its regulation, to try to do research on Islamic Sciences and on the values and institutions of Islamic civilization." (157)

Hilmi Ziya does not seem to be satisfied with the educational program which was oriented only to the formation of secular religion teachers. According to Hilmi Ziya, this pragmatic approach does not enable us to get in contact with the 'Arabo-Persian Humanism' which is an inner dynamic for the national unity and the creation of values. He argues

that what all the Islamic Nations and we need is "to get acquainted with ourselves, namely with the Islamic world through western methods". (158) Hilmi Ziya complains that "no one among the sympathizers of the dervish orders had yet examined Islamic and Turkish mystics with a broad philosophical outlook-as Maurice Blondel and William James had done". (159) He adds that it is not sufficient to do paper research on the History of Turkish Religious Sects, but field studies should be done. (160)

Noting that the historians acknowledged the essential role that the sufi orders had played in the past of the Turkish culture, W.C. Smith notes: "the lucid modernists acknowledged the similitude which exists between their objectives are to create a local Islam. In Hilmi Ziya's case one could speak of Turkish Islam. When the review Türk Düşüncesi (Turkish Thought) made a survey in 1958 asking "Is there a need for a Reform in Islam?" Hilmi Ziya had explained his position with the following words: "In my opinion it would be more accurate to talk about modernism rather than a reform in religion. Because as it can be seen in the history of Islam, reform entails severe reactionarism... Modernism is grounded on the principles of progress in matters which do not belong to the matters of faith." (162)

It is clear that Hilmi Ziya does not approve for

intervening in religious matters even if this is for the sake of progress. His understanding of secularism does not suit much that of the Republicans. He has a classical interpretation of secularism which is inherited from the French definition of laicism. On the other hand, he is quite right to point out that the idea of reform in religion led to reactions among the muslims. As a matter of fact, when the reform program prepared by the commission of the old Institute of Islamic Studies was published in 20 June 1928 in the daily Vakit (Time), "the commission's idea had caused an uproar in the public." (163)

Four days after Ömer Rıza Doğrul's death Hilmi Ziya was writing: "Omer Rıza was arguing that Islamizm was wrongly understood or not understood at all; those who wished to reconcile Islam and Modernism had to follow him absolutely with some changes." (164) Hilmi Ziya does not specify these changes.

When the Democratic Party got into power, it kept its promises, and the leader of the Kurdish Rebellion (or Şeyh Sait's Rebellion) of 1925, Bediüzzam Saidi Nursi was freed after 25 years of detention. (not a continuous one). (165) The other promise of the party had to do was to permit the call to prayer, (Ezan): it was allowed to be done in Arabic (17 June 1950).



On spite of controversies on many subjects, what the Republicans and the Democrats agreed upon was that the left had to be crushed. Thus the Democratic government carried on the task that the Republicans had endeavoured to realize since Turkey started to take place actively in the Cold War, after the Truman doctrine of 1942. (166) Consequently, a period of a tyrannical hunt of leftists was opened around the beginning of the 1950's. (167)

In 1951 Hilmi Ziya publishes his Tarihi Maddeciliğe Reddiye (Refutation of Historical Materialism) where he assessed that "Marx's main mistake was to confuse plants and animals, which are beings with no history, with man who is a historical being", and added that "this difference between man and, plants and animals, is not a difference of composition or of degree but it is a difference of essence." (168) Hilmi Ziya carries on his argumentation by affirming "if Marx had seen man's difference from other beings as a historical being, he would have noticed, instead of these continual denial series of revolutions, the continuity in memory and culture." Hilmi Ziya reinforces his argument as follows: "If there was nothing which was permanent above the changes which bind the past to the future, society would disappear". Finally, he notes that as revolution means a radical change, this means also that nothing is continuous. Moving from that point, he says "the claim of materialism to being a 'Philosophy of History' is contradictory". (169)

Hilmi Ziya charges the defenders of historical materialism for the way they put their thoughts into practice: "their view takes the form of an invading imperialism and the way it expands is not benevolent" and "their aim is to propel the nations to civil wars." (170) Hilmi alludes probably to the covetousness of the Soviets in 1947 and to the Korean War which broke in 26 June 1950.

Korea became the scene of the dispute of the two powers. (171) The participation of Turkey in the Korean War in the ranks of the USA led to protests from the left. (172)

On the other hand, Hilmi Ziya criticizes historical materialism for its attitude towards religion. Hilmi remarks that while religions have esteem for morality, fraternity, charity, solidarity, etc., "historical materialism wants to eliminate the 'social misery' through hatred and violence. It substitutes the Moral of Love with the Moral of Violence! And Hilmi Ziya explains that what he calls the moral of violence is especially G. Sorel's theory which Hilmi Ziya notes that it is a contemporary version of Machiavelism. (173) Hilmi Ziya asks: "How can persons who have been impelled by the obsession of hatred, and whose hearts are stirred up by this obsession can have the powerful and healthy attitude needed to raise the living standart of the people." (174)

According to Hilmi Ziya what is needed in the

restitution of a country is free people securing themselves on the 'moral of love', and the moral of love is the basis of the creation of values. He explains that he is not considering the creation of values as a mystical ecstasy. He says that he is looking for the "reciprocity of the free people" and that "any human being is a being of value, to the extent that he is at the same time one of the manifestations and one of the creators of the Nous, and consequently the human being takes the name of person". (175)

The view of a society formed by independent persons has been disdained by Niyazi Berkes, Hilmi Ziya's former student. As a defender of marxism Berkes says that such an outlook on society is an "alafranga Islamism" and that the society which is considered an 'Ummet' (Islamic community) is not an organic society but the sums of the believing persons". (176) But Hilmi Ziya had already underlined easily in the lectures he delivered on the theories of knowledge and values that "Communion and communication should not be confused" and that he was defending through 'the moral of love' reciprocity, namely communication and not a communal ecstasy. (177)

Berkes carries on his criticism about that type of personnalism by arguing that "this personnalistic interpretation of modernity is completely lacking of any outlook of a social organization and especially of the idea of

social change." (178) But Hilmi Ziya would defend that the sphere of knowledge is an experimental and rational one, whereas the sphere of belief transcends the domain of control, this the field of construction, of destruction, it is a field where one goes till the revolution".

It is clear that Hilmi Ziya is interested in values in terms of their activistic traits which would make possible the mobilization that the Republicans had been unable to realize.

Hilmi Ziya's above explanation can be seen as a criticism of the Republican policy which tried to control religious matters in an intellectual manner, namely through positivist knowledge. As "belief transcends the domain of control", reforms had not been penetrative. Change can take place only if based on the sphere of belief or the field where the values are created.

As a matter of fact, with the arrival of the Democratic Party in power, as soon as the coercive control of the Republicans, was over, religious movement reappeared on the political scene and the social life of the country. The first reactionary movement came from the Ticanis who would break Atatürk's statues as a way to protest the revolutionary ideal of the Republic. Movements of the kind have not been rare especially in the first years of the 1950's.

As early as the year 1951 a law had to be issued against the transgressions committed towards Atatürk. (179) The law seemingly was passed to save face: one had to be or at least seem to be devoted to the Kemalist principle of secularism in political life.

Besides these transgressions, the Nakşibendi movements appeared on the scene, there also were the Bahai's and the Bektaşî's although they had less strength and were other type of movements. As G.H. Jahsen had remarked "the Kemalist Lilliputians tried and failed to tie the Islamic Giant", or in Hilmi Ziya's words, belief had transcended the domain of control. (180) But then the government had to show the police harshness that it had applied to the left. As time passed the Democrats became autocratical to the responses coming either from the press or from the elites. The fragmentation of the previously united political elite was the net effect of İnönü's effort to bring democracy to Turkey; this fragmentation had led to a polarization to which the mono-party system had been pregnant. (181) As this polarization became crystalized and elaborated between the Kemalists and the traditionalists, the government became suspicious about any criticism.

It is within this atmosphere that Hilmi Ziya's article in the daily Yeni Sabah should be examined. It has been said that the daily where he was writting each week

on Tuesdays "was at the service of capitalism through the channel of the Democratic Party", (182) Though the daily was said to be the organ of the party in power, the participants of the daily were not exempt of the coercive policy of the Democrat Party. (183)

Towards the end of his career in Yeni Sabah, Hilmi Ziya wrote with much circumspection under the title 'With the Eye of a Sociologue' (Sosyolog Gözüyle) (184). It is understandable that Hilmi Ziya wrote an article about Prince Sabahattin under the heading "The Great Leader" in that daily which was the defender of the Democrats. (185) Prince Sabahattin had been influential in the foundation of the Democratic Party in its early days.

Hilmi Ziya participated with his articles in another publication which was representative of the traditionalist view and which started to be published in 1953. This was the Türk Düşüncesi (Turkish Thought) review. (186) The polarization in political life reflected to the press, and the antipode of this review was the view established Forum which clearly defend westernization. In the first years of the 1950-1955 period Hilmi Ziya taught Ethics and General Philosophy which was the last philosophy course he would give at the University of Istanbul. In 1954 he started lecturing only sociology. Cavit Orhan Tütengil who had been a student of the two eminent professors of the Departement of Sociology, Hilmi

Ziya Ülken and Z.F. Fındıkoğlu and later the assistant of the latter, says "I always asked myself from my student days till their death: were they friends or enemies? "and he continues" They used to show interest in each other's health and work, but would never talk against one another. As far as I can understand they were in such a working organization that it would lead them to have minimum contact. They almost had delineated in and out of the university two areas with defined frontiers". Cavit Orhan Tütengil explains their characters, thus: "They had distinctly different characters. Their human relationships presented contrast as much as their temperament: While Fındıkoğlu symbolized the Anatolian man firmly bound to his traditions, Ülken was noted for his "urban" behaviour. My two professors whom I believe were in secret rivalry, were complementing each other in many respects, despite their different tendencies. Each of them must have been fit for themselves to be the 'Sultan of the Empire of Sociology'. They have been the main representatives of Turkey in conferences abroad as well as in their publications". C.O. Tütengil concludes "Maybe one was after the 'national' truth, the other after an 'universal' truth. That is why while one was trying to reach universal synthesis the other one was looking for national solutions. In fact they were emphasizing the two facades of the same structure". (187)

Universal truths are realized through civilizations, in other words, through humanities. Universal truth is the

world civilization. Humanity is not a whole with one form but it is a union within plurality and differences. It is how Hilmi Ziya conceives universalities. In the global civilization there is a variety of social circles. Civilization is formed from the passage of the ethnic classes to nations, from nations to cultural surroundings (such as Islamic or Western ones), and finally these cultural surroundings reach the level of civilization at the individual level.

Then we can say that the last stage is reached, namely the "humanistic patriotism" (insani vatanperverlik). (188)

In the nations which are still in the second stage of civilization Hilmi Ziya notes that there are four levels of men: the ones belonging to the masses, those who are citizens, those who are patriots and those who are humanistic patriots. To be able to enter the world of civilization, the first endeavour should be to take as the starting point the roots of the motherland. (189)

With an analogy he makes, Hilmi Ziya says that culture is the work process which is held at the laboratory to make medicines and that civilization is the medicine; in other words civilization which is static, is the product of the dynamics of culture. Experience has shown that civilization could stay alive only in the hands of the culture which was its creator. Finally, Hilmi Ziya notes that one can not be eclectic in the matter of creative culture, instead one



has to rely on the creativity of his own culture if he wishes to participate in the world civilization. Civilization cannot be taken separately from culture. (190)

In Hilmi Ziya's opinion one should look at the problem of reactionary movements. In complete contrast with the West, the westernization movement which is said to be a progressist or revolutionary has been realized in Turkey from top to down, either through the palace, or through the State or through the army, and has always been imposed on the people. Hilmi Ziya says that, therefore, the reactionary opposition comes from the masses and not from upper classes as happens in the west. As reactionary movements are the only ways by which people can express their discontent, and as this is done with ignorance and mass grumbling mixed with scholastic thinking and fanaticism, the reactionary movements remain undefined, vague, unsystematic and as a result, the term "reactionary" is applied to them in a vulgar sense. (191)

From Hilmi Ziya's description of reactionary movements in Turkey, we can deduce that if these movements had formulated themselves and could have been clearly expressed in a systematic way, they would not have been taken as vulgarisms. This must be why Hilmi Ziya, after the formulation of a humanism surpassing the Greco-Latin one and which "would be the ground of the formation of Modern Turkey",

endeavoured to give to what is called reactionary a systematical frame of thought that would enable that idea to get rid of its vulgar sense. Hilmi Ziya notes: "I have tried to develop my ideas about these subjects in my works of *Aşk Ahlakı* (Moral of Love) (1931) and *Humanistic Patriotism* (1933)". (192)

It could be argued that Hilmi Ziya's position was between the polarization of Islam and the defenders of the West. As G.H. Jansen noted "a form of Islamic patriotism could become a median position between strict nationalism and supranational all-umma utopianism", this kind of nationalism called love of country or patriotism would remove the opposition between Islam and nationalism. (193)

It was difficult to hold this median position as far as the polarization was step by step on the way to its paroxysm. It could be said that the first sign came when two newspapers were closed by martial law in 1955: Zafer (Victory), the organ of the party in power and Ulus (Nation), the voice of the Republicans, were accused of implicating the army in politics. (194)

While the polarization was tried to be kept under control by the martial law, the government had developed a deeper paranoia towards all kinds of opposition. Just to illustrate this state of mind, it is sufficient to say that

officials were able to imagine Stalin's and Lenin's pictures in the representation of a meteor in an astrology text book for highschoools. (195)

Unable to solve the internal affairs, the government channelled the anger of the masses to the Greek minorities; this led to the 6-7 September events. This had been the result of the gradual worsening of the Cyprus problem which was seen as the manipulation of the Eastern Church by the Soviets. These developments had forstered the discussions on religion in a negative way, as the Orthodox Church was influencial on the Greek politics . On the other hand, Turkey had entered the Bağdat Pact that brought it closer to its eastern neighbours. All these hapennings generated further religious discussion. (196)

Paralleled with those developments, the modernization of the army entailed the modernization of the most substantial and significant sectors of the population. Almost 700.000 young men came from the rural regions of the country "bringing with them the physical and social mobility made available to them through the military training program they also acquired habits of psychic mobility, that they had acquired". (197)

The passage from private life to public roles was what Hilmi Ziya was trying to implement in the social domain.

through the moral of love which was supposed to give psychic mobility. Participation in social life was realized by the modernization of the army. But that took a political shade as a high values was placed upon personal well-being and not upon morals, as Lerner notes "values placed upon personal well-being stemmed from a type of modern materialism that when not satisfied led to revolution of rising frustrations". This was activating more expectations than the motive of being productive. The moral of love is not motivated by "rising frustration", because it is not as Hilmi Ziya defines it, based on materialistic expectation but on having a moral of love, i.e. to devote oneself with frenzy to work, to be sincere and open, to see men not as members of a caste or a class, but as persons belonging to hierarchies and ready to move upwards from one grade to another. The moral of love turns out to be at the same time realistic and optimistic. (198)

Defined so, the moral of love is surely directed to productivity and to industry; and as there are no expectations which would entail consummation, the moral of love does not lead to problems that come from the frustration crisis. There are no expectations, no anticipation of the necessary production which would satisfy them. The way to stop the "revolution of rising frustrations" and the anti-secular uproars coming from the masses which were becoming chronic threats to the stability of the parliamen-

tary system, was to impose stability by coercion: On 27 May 1960 a military take-over was executed.

The political strife between the defenders of traditionalism and those of the radical westernization had ended by the victory of the latter.

# IX. FROM THE COUP OF 1960 TO HILMI ZIYA ULKEN'S DEATH

Soon after the "Revolution of May 27th " a purge was made at the university and 147 professors were dismissed from their offices. Hilmi Ziya was among the 147 names listed. But with the adjustment of a special article in the law, he was allowed to carry on the lectures he was giving at the Faculty of Theology in Ankara since 1955. When the law was rectified in 1962 Hilmi Ziya refused to come to his office at the Faculty of Letters at the University of Istanbul.

Hilmi Ziya's teacher of history at highschool, Emin Ali Çavlı would say about the dismissal of the 147 professors "Did the incompetence of these professors lead to that decision? I do not think at all that this has been so. Because...., a professor who had written nearly fifty volumes was hit by the same calamity".

Emin Ali concludes that if universities are unable to renew themselves they would have to bear such results. (199) It is clear that Hilmi Ziya was extremely offended over his dismissal and he would not come back to his post at the university in Istanbul although this law was annuled in 1962. He puts his offense into words eleven years later in an article criticizing the Ottoman Empire about its autocratic policy which led to obscurantism. He says: "Be-

fore the Ottoman period there had been some endeavours for the unity of thought and action. The Ottoman period is a period when Islam withdraws into itself. However, it is only after this period that the separation of thought and action occurred to the advantage of the active thinking. Since this was working to the detriment of thought, thought had lost its independency.

The dismissal of men of thought, the imposition of silence to thought, the unawareness of Western thinking and exact sciences are the major signs of the decadence of that period", and Hilmi Ziya adds that the happenings at the university in the year 1960 belonged to the same type of dismissals which were done by the Ottomans. He says that what Hitler had done in 1933 had some excuses as it was done according to the implementation of an ideology. (200)

From these lines we can see that Hilmi Ziya makes a basic differentiation between the Reformation of the University of 1933 and the purge of 1960. Atatürk's motives leading to his decisions were ideological, whereas in 1960 the purges were realized as results of arbitrary political decisions. With which criteria the list of the names was prepared is not clear yet.

Independently of the purge at the university how did Hilmi Ziya welcome the coup of 1960?

According to his publisher Burhan Anil "in the morning of the 27 May 1960 at his home... Hilmi Ziya was designating the speeches delivered at the state radio as being 'perspicient'. "But of course the 'perspiciency' of the military did not mean that Hilmi Ziya approved the military take over.

One should remember that Hilmi Ziya was in line with Prince Sabahattin's political view and also a defender of a humanistic patriotism. It is understandable why Niyazi Berkes would define such a position as an "alafranga Islamism" (western type of Islamism). As a defender of an individualist society Prince Sabahattin was against a communitarian society and was arguing that:

"The position of the officers, lawyear, . civil servants and the educators are similar in our country. To say that they are not involved in politics means that they do not hold the political administration of the country in their hand. Whereas in a holistic (or communitarian formation) which bases itself on the priority of the political life and not that of the private one, this administration falls necessarily in the hands of the officials. On the other hand, turmoils, the misuse of political power and suppressions which are the results of the ominous coercion of the political life lead inevitably to social reactions, and to a continuous political struggle which are not conductive to pro-



duce any change in social life.

Then, naturally, the army also becomes involved in political quarrels, because in the officials classes the sector which is especially trained for war is the army.

That is why the army takes a status regulating the inner policy (nizam-ı siyaset). As it was given as an example, sometime ago, the army was the watchman of the constitutional, period, this meant that the government relied on the army. This is the proof of the fact that our society is bound to a weak social structure.....

A government which structurally depends on the army and which tries to prevent in an unstable society, the military and other officials from getting involved in politics and political action, by the treat of punishment... is nothing more than an ineffective measure taken by the holders of power to try to help the weakness of their position". (201)

This had been the case during the ten years 'rule of The Democratic Party. Although the above quotation dates from 1913, (Prince Sabahattin wrote these lines under the heading 'Politics and the Army') the picture of political life seems not to have changed much within a half century considering the points made by Prince Sabahattin. Actually, the Democrats had to take severe measures against the offi-

cials class to prevent them from participating actively in political life. But as Prince Sabahattin had earlier made the point, such measures were condemned to be inefficient. This was due to the structural disease from which the country was suffering: the society was of the communitarian formation type. The only remedy was to change the structure into an individualistic type of society. The means to realize this purpose was, in Hilmi Ziya's formula, the "moral of love". To inculcate this moral meant to give breath to private life in the public sphere, as a result this was to let the religious formulations open. But since the religious matters were defined by the westernizing elite as matters of the personal consciousness, namely matters of personal piety, Islam was excluded from society. However, as G.H. Jansen remarks "then Islam becomes a permanent irritant, and undigestible substance that blocks the normal functioning of the body politics". (202) That is why Hilmi Ziya argued that religious life should be allowed in public life, he saw in religion the potential of generating the necessary values that would set up the needs of the individualistic society. Defined as such, his individualism is a personalism which is labelled by Berkes as being an 'alafranga Islamism'.

Though Hilmi Ziya had interpreted the military takeover as a 'perspicacious', one, we would argue that he did not welcome it as one of the main objectives of the westernizing army was to exclude from society the creeping

trend of Islam. This assesment can be inferred from the interpretation of laicism he makes in the foreword of Atatürk ve Din (Atatürk and Religion) prepared by Sadi Borak and published by Burhan Anıl: "the object of laicism was to prevent any injury that could be done to the moral and sublime power of religion, and to prohibit any religious interference to State affairs as well as that of the State to religion." (203) Hilmi Ziya adds to his definition of secularism that laicism means in no way atheism. That laicism was not an atheism, was the main argument that the traditionalists used against the westernizing elite which they charged of being "the fanatics of the Revolution" (devrim yobazları). The traditionalists were accusing the westernizing religious affairs through the state apparatus, this was not accepted as being real laicism. The traditionalists were basing their interpretation of laicism on the classical definition of laicism inherited from the french definition, that is the complete separations of State and religious affairs. In fact, quite paradoxically, to realize the foundation of a secular State, the State had to supervise religion. With the definition that the traditionalists adopted they found the oportunity to free religion from this supervision of the State. Hilmi Ziya had been critical about this application early in 1951 remarking that the real secular mentality.... is to see religion just as values". (204)

To take religion just as values is to keep it out of

the sphere of knowledge, which was designated by Hilmi Ziya to be the domain of control. As we mentioned earlier the sphere of values are the field of construction of the society.

Thus after 1960 the terms 'traditional' and 'modern' lost their original meanings because their frame of reference had changed as "the reformist intelligentsia (started to look) at the problems from the formal viewpoint of authority". (205) Hilmi Ziya's traditionalism was at the service of modernization to the extent that it was pursuing the creation of the individual enterprise namely the preparing of Prince Sabahattin's individualistic society, through the 'moral of love'. But this process was disrupted once more, this time with the coup of 1960.

In this Siyasi Partiler ve Sosyalizm (Political Parties and Socialism) which is published two years after the military take-over in Burhan Anıl's printing-house Hilmi Ziya gives a reply to the last political development in the country. He says: "either freedom overcomes equality, or equality destroys freedom. In this case, what can we do?.... the problem is to find the equilibrium" and adds that "democracy had been interpreted in many ways. I told the way I understand this balance in Aşk Ahlakı and İnsani Vatanperverlik. I shall explain my view in a more detailed way in Hakimiyet (Sovereignty)". (206) It was argued by people such as Mümtaz Turhan that in Turkey when one wished to be democratic one could

not be secular, and that when one wished to be secular, one could not be democratic. It was the balance between these two states that Hilmi Ziya wanted to set up. He would designate the latter case by 'domination', all his endeavours were to establish a sovereignty which would not lead to the obscurantism of the reactionary movements.

But as democracy was suspended in 1960 Hilmi Ziya's new suggestion was a moderate socialism which "in its principles is very well reconciled with the principles of "nation in Islam". (207) As a world view, religion is with all its moral participation the product of social cooperation and Hilmi Ziya continues "Islam has given importance to social moral and to worldly decisions. Islam had taken position against the factors generating tensions between classes." (208) His beloved parent Agah Mazlum Alaybek had already drawn attention to the similarity between Islam and socialism as early as the publication years of the Mihrap. It could be inferred from what was said above that Hilmi Ziya's understanding of equality takes its source from the moral definition of Islamic rights. His interpretation is not of the western type, but on the contrary has a religious solidarity component, It has an understanding of social structure defined as being a "seamless" society. (cf. Victor Turner).

After the year 1960 Hilmi Ziya teaches only at the faculty of Divinity at Ankara. "He was pleased about his

trips to Ankara because the capital was not annoying his asthma, he was fond of teaching philosophy. He was happy to be away from the uneasiness of the Department at the University of Istanbul". (209)

As Hilmi Ziya's daughter recalls "each time he was leaving for Ankara he would call my mother from the railway station and say "Hatice don't forget, the first thing to be saved in case of emergency, is the black bag" and this warning has lasted says Mrs. Gülseren Artunkal in each of his trips to Ankara, till he had retired from the Faculty of Theology in Ankara in 1973. The 'black bag' was holding the unpublished manuscripts of this prolific professor.

One year after his retirement twenty minutes before his death, at the hospital Hilmi Ziya would say to his wife "Hatice put on my shoes, take me home. Let me finish my Hakimiyet". (210)

Hilmi Ziya must have been working at least twenty five years on his work Hakimiyet. Despite his hard work he had been unable to achieve it.

Four years after Hilmi Ziya's death, his mother Müşfika Hanım died at the age of 98. "Though she had never been to Kazan, says Mrs. Artunkal, she has kept the Tatar traditions of feasts till the last two years of her life".

Hilmi Ziya was buried at the cemetery of Aşiyan (Istanbul at the side of his brother-in law Celal <sup>ZÜHTÜ</sup> ~~ŞİNTİ~~ Benneci, (1907-1955), who died and near by M. Zühtü Benneci (1869-22.8.1938) from a heart attack while waiting for his arrestation in 1955. Hilmi Ziya's wife Hatice Ülken died in 1985

## PART TWO



## HILMI ZIYA AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF ACTION

Hilmi Ziya makes a classification about the types of intellectuals in reference to their attitude towards their relations with masses. According to this analysis there emerged two groups of intellectuals which were symbolically represented by those of Athens and Jerusalem; the two groups are:

- Intellectuals with no contacts with their people; this is the case in Athens, where after the decay of the antic age, there was nothing left from the community of Athens only the works of its intellectuals stood alive.

- In the case of Jerusalem, the rulers had been penetrative to their people and the intellectuals did not alienate themselves from the other classes of the community. Thus neither immigrations nor the destruction of Jerusalem had been able to disintegrate the Jewish community.

Hilmi Ziya concludes his classification by saying that of all the societies (or communities) of the antiquity the Jewish had been the unique one to have survived with its religion through the ages. (211)

Hilmi Ziya sets up two sets of intellectuals: the ones establishing a tradition of thought but unable to keep

their community alive, the others leaving no works after them but supplying the continuity of their community.

In the second group, the intellectuals are in the service of the continuity of the community. This means that thought is action-bounded, and preoccupied with the regulation ( nizam ) and integrity of society. When the empire started to collapse, this regulative and integrative attitude of the intellectuals changed into a redeeming attitude. The problem of continuity of the society became a problem of existence, the new formulation was, as Prince Sabahattin put it into words when concluding his "Türkiye Nasıl Kurtulabilir?" (How Turkey Can Be Saved ?) (1913): "the problem of the continuity of our existence".

Thus Turkish thought was clustered in an existential paradigm. As a consequence, any scientific or philosophical approach was to ignore the structural problems and to deal with the existential problem to cure the disease of the society. This was the commitment of thought to salvation. Because of this attitude of the intellectuals, who were after a remedy and the formulation of a recipe of the overlooking social structure, a "conceptualism" was formed in their thoughts. Quite rightly it was said that, "our mind is still unable to pass from object to thought. On the contrary, reasoning chooses to get to the object from thoughts" and "we are still choosing thoughts which take their roots from

pseudo-scientific generalisations. This does nothing more than to conduct minds to some principles binding them to abstract thought". (212)

Here abstract thought should be understood as a thought which was not grounded. Therefore, what was going to shape Turkish thought were the political solutions and not a system of thought. "traditionalist" and "modernist" views taking place on the political scene would become reflected as "the clash between spiritualists and materialists" in the domain of thought. (213)

Spiritualism and materialism have been two trends of thoughts towards which the intellectuals have leaned and used then as weapons to defend their political affiliations. Spiritualism and materialism served only to ground and to justify political choices about the salvation of the country.

Within this frame, one can understand that sociology was not seen as a science but as an intellectual frame of reference which had to answer an existential problem. This led to what Hilmi Ziya calls, "sociologism". As Hilmi Ziya says: "Türk Ocağı", was the only place where principles of sociology were discussed and where people were trying to apply these principles to the national problems". (214)

Hilmi Ziya explains the position of the intellectual

in the following term: "Turkey being surrounded by oceans is not a country in peace and safety. We had to get over so many cataclysms. Our scholars by leaving aside science for science, had to make science for politics., and for social reforms". (215)

In the early period of the Turkish sociology, the preference of a school of sociology was tightly affiliated with one's political choices. Thus two different schools of French sociology led to the development of two politically affiliated sociological schools in Turkey: Gökalp and Prince Sabahattin were the representatives of these schools.

Gökalp was a follower of the Durkheim school and Prince Sabahattin the representer of the Le Play's school. Durkheim taking its roots from August Comte's view had been adopted by those defending a centralist view, and Le Play who was in line with Edmond Desmolin's thought was representing the group which was decentralist. Hilmi Ziya's position was a clear opposition to the positivism of the centralists. He never kowtowed with a party ideology; he either based his views on philosophy, or on ethics or on materialism but he always criticized the holistic outlook of the positivists.

In his last work published in Ottoman script Felsefe Dersleri ve Vücut Nazariyeleri (courses of Philosophy, Theories of Knowledge and Being) (1928) where he makes a clas-

sification about philosophies, Hilmi Ziya charges positivism as being unable to penetrate the essence of things and adopts the Aristotelian philosophical system which according to him is "a realistic, an open system" recognizing that the essence of things can be known and accepting that there are independent existences in essence. (216) Mehmet Servet Berkin who was a fervent defender of Comtian sociology says that Hilmi Ziya "harbours a particularly negative opinion towards positivism". While analyzing Hilmi Ziya's above mentioned work to which he refers with the heading Metafizik (Metaphysics). (217) Twenty two years later in his reply to Mehmet Servet Hilmi Ziya would affirm that his views about positivism had not changed much since 1928. (218)

Hilmi Ziya's main opposition was that to refute the differences of modality and essence between the realities meant to mutilate a large part of the truth; positivism leaves no place for ontological knowledge and metaphysics. When Hilmi Ziya charges positivism with mutilating the truth, he criticizes underhand the Kemalist ideology which argues that "religious groups are... excrescences on Turkish society, 'abnormalities' which do not count for modern social science". (219)

Hilmi Ziya was in search of a sociology based on the dynamics of these religious groups that would enable him to give a psychohistorical explanation of society based on

values.

Hilmi Ziya notes that according to Islamic philosophy, or Islamic belief, the problem of spirit is not the domain of "halk" (the people) but that it belongs to the domain of "emr" (command) and "sir" (the inmost consciousness of God). It is why, he explains, that the Islamic scholars have not been interested in the true nature of spirit which would have met to a knowledge of psychology. On the contrary as the Sufis were interested in the domains of "emr" (.) and "sir" they had the opportunity to think about the spirit. (220) Consequently "tasavvuf" can be seen as the first source for psychological investigation within the tradition of thought of the Islamic civilization. In the aim to establish a science of psychology rooted in the Islamic civilization, Hilmi Ziya tries to show the parallelism of tasavvuf and western psychology in his article Tasavvuf Psikolojisi (The Psychology of Tasavvuf).

On the other hand the field of values is investigated in two manners. The first way is the one seen in the works of the Islamic philosophes who base themselves principally on Aristotle's ethics. The second way of investigation is through Tasavvuf. Tasavvuf is divided as 'ethics' and 'tevhid' (Divine unity). In other words tasavvuf is divided in two branches: "muamele" (conduct) and "mukasefe" (occurrence of revelation). From that point ethics means active tasavvuf  
 (.) DIVINE COMMANDMENT, PRECEPT

and has nothing to do with the complementative life of the mystics. In short the first way of studying ethics is completely intellectualist, while the second way is totally activist. (221) Hilmi Ziya remarks in the same article that when the struggle between the West and the East started, the eastern outlook had to especially lean on the ethics of tasavvuf to be able to protect its identity.

Hilmi Ziya's aim was to base his sociology on this potential which was providing the continuity of society. But this had to be systematized in philosophical terms. He, therefore, used western thought as a means of expressing the foundation of his social ethics which was set up as a new paradigm of society. His use of western philosophical or sociological thoughts or works as a means for his system can be clearly discerned in the foreward of Ahlak (Ethics): "Where I saw a proof affirming my thoughts, I borrowed it, whenever I saw an example giving light to my opinions, I used it in my behalf". (222)

He sets the paradigm of society in these ethics, because as it was stated by many other intellectuals, criticizing the Kemalist ideology which denied legitimacy to religious groups, the defenders of "the positivist sciences" had to try to implement in all the spheres of private life a vulgar rationalism, and science had been no more a problem

of knowledge but a problem of a world view; this was done with the support of the political power. Consequently because "positive science" or "rational thought" made no contribution for us to live as a community, it has almost been forgotten that ethics was a social system. (223)

The problem was whether hopes and ends based on the data of science would be able to create a real ideal, without basing itself on any historical patrimony. (224) It was clear that science had been unable to supply the emotional need of the muslims.

Referring to the East-West struggle in the formation of the nation, Tunaya's interpretation had been "What was essential was not to take the West partially, but to give partially from oneself". (225) This mission had been accomplished in the early days of the Republic: The existential problem was to become westernized for the sake of surviving. For this reason, the Turkish-muslim community had to become a nation... But now the Turkish State had to defend its civilization to be able to survive as a nation.

Consequently the ideals of the nation had to be created from its own civilization. The ethics of tasavvuf was the medium to create these ideals and values reinforcing the national unity. The adherence of young people to tasavvuf, has at its origin, a reformist motive (reformist not in the



sense of Islamic reform, but in the sense of 'islah', revival or progress in the civilization). Those young people do not see in tasavvuf the salvation of their souls, they interpret tasavvuf as being a guide to the realization of their social ideals. (226) This approach is similar to the cause Hilmi Ziya had been defending for years.

According to Hilmi Ziya the act of belief can take place in three ways the first two are; a) When the object (mevzu) is absorbed by the subject (nefs), this is the base of the mystical value system, b) when the object is cast in the subject, this is the base of the Romantic value system which created the concept of Eros. But Hilmi Ziya concludes that there is no need to search the validity of the order of values either on object or in subject, the order of values depends on the acceptance of the dialectic of the object-subject duality. This is the third way in "other words neither subject should be reduced to object, nor object to to subject. They are opposite and complementary terms belonging to the same being". (227)

If Hilmi Ziya's views explained above are to be expressed in sociological terms and to be connected with the interpretation of tasavvuf taken as a guide to the realization of the social ideals; we should first have a look at Hilmi Ziya's views on the duality of individual and society. According to him there is not such a duality, and

One should think of man as a Person carrying and creating the values. (228) Person is formed out of dialectic, through the "moral of love".

If one refers to the individual as the subject and the society as the object, it can be asserted that it is the "moral of love" that dissolves the mentioned duality into a unity.

As a result the unity is realized through tasavvuf which combines the transcending values (Mystical values) and subjective values (Romantic values). This is the unification of the Ideal (or holy) and Eros (or the will). The social correspondents of the Ideal and Eros are consecutively the ideals of the Republic and the religious feelings. In the case of the Ideal, the transcendent objects (or here values) dictates their laws to man, while in the case of the Eros it is man who reflects his wishes to the universe. (229)

The radical-revolutionaries had been able to reflect their wishes to the universe but as their reform had not been penetrative to society, they had virtualized their Eros just politically. As a consequence, the system of values they have tried to dictate or impose through law remained as a reality transcending social reality. What had been suppressed was the Eros coming from the religious feelings.

Hilmi Ziya notes that according to the cynics, law is a convention that legitimates domination by force and that true justice exists only in nature. (230) This was, and still is how the muslim sector considers the laws of the State which are regulated according to western policy. A noteworthy example for that outlook can be given from the novel Minyeli Abdullah which is the best-seller of the muslim readers in these last years. (231)

The novel tells the story of a "good muslim" who was persecuted by the secular State because he was carrying on the religious traditions and practices which were forbidden by the secular laws. In short this is the story of the martyred "good muslim" by the westernizing policy of the State. By the way, martyrdom could be seen as a kind of Romanticism.

How should Minyeli Abdullah's martyrdom or heroism be interpreted? Was that the story of "a regressive fixation on behaviour as a means of coping with anxiety of cultural change?". (232) In other words did the muslim sector cling to its apologetic consciousness not as a lover of tradition but more in a manner of regressive behaviour.

Or should that be seen as the second step in the formation of personalism about which Hilmi Ziya talks in his Humanism des Cultures (1967), that is, the egocentric

state that follows the mystical state or the collective consciousness?

If we adopt the second version as the answer to our question we have to consider the story as telling about a local, namely as an Islamic romanticism.

What inspires this kind of romanticism? Is it a response to the disenchantment of the world, following a yearning for a mytho-poetic world? Or should that be seen as an existential matter, that is a problem of identity? Or should the problem be handled within the close connections of these two questions?

The revolutionaries had created the nation with their romanticism, politically the Eros of the country became a westernized nation. Now it was the turn of the people to virtualise their social ideals. This state was expressed in his Aşk Ahlakı in following terms: "to reconcile Jesus and Nietzsche" or the Ideal and the Eros. This reconciliation means to "bring down to earth the Mavera (Sublime Universe)" in accordance with the Ideal of the Revolution.

As it was remarked about many Turkish modernists, Hilmi Ziya also makes himself an authority on the Revolution.

Addressing to people Hilmi Ziya says: "I am proposing to you only to love, to save your souls!...But I am also suggesting that you participate with all the will-power of your spirit, to accomplish unity with your innermost faith (said in terms of tasavvuf, with the nefs-i emmare: Libido)."

Hilmi Ziya explains that otherwise "step by step your will-power will be exhausted, your wishes will be dissolved in Allah (fena-fillah)". (235)

This is not only a call for participation but rather a warning coming from Hilmi Ziya. He defends that people should take part in the formation of the nation, because if they do not, they will not subsist but will be 'fena-fillah'. Hilmi Ziya adds that he uses the expression symbolically to mean the disappearance of humanity. In other words he argues that you cannot keep and make your identity survive if you do not take your place in this world.

Hilmi Ziya was conscious that the Kemalist reforms which had been directed at installing their principles by making revolutions through the symbolic universe, would be inoperative in social life. Andrew Greeley makes the same point saying that "the symbols do not and cannot lay out a political or interpersonal strategy. They cannot tell for example, a man and a woman how to restructure an intimacy

which is about to collapse" and that religious symbols operate in a different level of reality, that of ultimate meaning, rather than programs. (236)

To handle the problem in this manner is to bring to it an existential perspective against the perspective of the State which is based on practical and policy planning.

Hilmi Ziya's position was to fill the gap existing between these two perspectives by trying to realize the practical and policy planning of the republic by basing his ideas on the existential perspective which provides man "with a vision of what ought to be possible in human relationships and a basis for powerful outward thrust of his personhood toward building a new order". (237)

What was going to give an end to the alienation coming out of this gap was once more the "moral of love". The education of tasavvuf would make possible the shift from this alienation state to conversion. This would be realized according to the process that the sufi experienced during his journey which Nicholson describes as follows: "the sufi in the first stage of his journey is aware of himself as an individual distinct from God; in the second stage every distinction between Creator and creature has vanished; and in the third stage he is aware as being one

with the creator, from whom he, as a creator is distinct".

(238)

Transferred to the social sphere this can be interpreted as follows: in the first stage people or the muslim have no point of contact with the reforms and the new nation as it was defined by the revolutionaries; in the second stage the muslim suits himself to the new reality of the nation by internalizing the needs of the modern civilization; and finally in the last stage he creates his own values .

In the second stage the muslim yields completely to the will of the Republic, from that point he is passive, but he acquires active quality or psychic mobility while passing from the first stage to the second. It was remarked "by passing away from self the (sufi) does not cease to exist... rather his individuality, ..., is perfected, transmitted and internalized through God and in God". (239)

That means that the muslim has to first perfect his individuality through modernization and in the Republic. Hilmi Ziya's message to the muslim was that he would not cease to exist in participating in the public body, and that on the contrary his individuality would be perfected so that he would be able to create his own values. It is how

Hilmi Ziya wanted to fill "this empty place between the private and the public arenas, this zero or near zero contact between oneself and the larger world." (240)

The passage from the first stage to the second is called 'fana' which means dying to self and is term reminiscent of the Coranic phrase "everything is perishing except his Face". The second passage, that is from the second to the third stage, is called 'Baka'. The 'Baka' means life-in-him, continuance and is described as follow: "At the same time the return to the continued existence is a source of trial (bala) and affliction, for man is still apart and veiled from God?... having enjoyed mystically anew the experience of life-in-God, in being restored to material life... there after "the souls of those who know God, seek after the verdant pastures, the beautiful vistas, the fresh green gardens" and every lovely thing in this physical world, to console them as examples of God's handiwork." (241) This was the world which Hilmi Ziya was dreaming of while he was eighteen; he was wondering: " What about the other world? That beautiful world. Will it be ever built again? The beautiful world, the world with flowers, where man will find happiness again." (242)

Thus the consolation was to "bring down to earth the Mavera" as Hilmi Ziya expressed it. Those who would experience the "Baka" process were the groups of Transitionals



which lie between the two polar groups, i.e. the Moderns and the Traditionals.

The Transitionals were pictured by Daniel Lerner as being "those future-containing Turks whose story is a poignancy for the restless souls now appearing in underdeveloped lands of the Middle East". (243)

Hilmi Ziya was pointing to these restless people when he was saying that the personalism they were prone to in the annual of philosophy had nothing to do with the one that Ziya Gökalp was defending; the personalism described in that annual, was a personalism coming out of conflict?

Taking as a base for his work called *Cemiyet ve Marazi Şuur* (Society and Psychoneurosis) Maurice Blondel's *La Conscience Morale* (1931-1932) Hilmi Ziya was drawing the foundation of the genesis of the personality. Hilmi Ziya tells that the basis of the personality is dynamic and that it should be understood in terms of conflict; he notes that every conflict coming out of the struggle of opposite forces is a new creation.

As the activism of the "moral of love" enabled the participation of a new group, that of the Transitionals, in the public body, thereafter there was a need to set a

systemized social ethic for "these restless souls". Hilmi Ziya was saying in the foreword of the first edition of his Aşk Ahlakı that one of the main aims of the work was to find a common emotionality between the intellectuals and the people. The other goal of the work was to pay attention to the gap which exists between the surviving mystical views of the people and the "rationalist thought which is the only source of the intellectual class" views, and to look for clues which would enable the passage from the mystical to the rational world view.

Hilmi Ziya suggested to break through the "moral of love" the disphoria, that is the heavy, gloomy and dull sense of life of the traditionalists, to transform passivity into a sense of participation. The attitude of the official ideology was not so tolerant, what is more, it could be said that it was suspicious about the traditionalists' disphoria which it was said to be "difficult to reconstruct for those who live in a participant society fashioned in the century of optimism with the ideology of progress". (244)

Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir) who was one of the authors of Kadro, published an article covering the subject of this disphoria, under the title: "İnkilabın Psikolojisi: Pessimist" (The Psychology of the Revolution: the Pessimist) where he was charging the traditionalists with using this state of gloom as a tactic to erode the welfare of the Revolution. (245)

According to him pessimism was the psychology of those who had lost in front of the reality of the revolution and the pessimist is one who wants to destroy this reality, thereafter to construct the reality according to his views. Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir) says: "The strong (or the mighty) man is not powerful because he has will, but he has will because he is powerful". And concludes that pessimism is the expression of weakness (acz) in front of the victory of the revolution. (246)

Hence the problem was one of adjustment to the new conditions of the Republic. Hilmi Ziya was arguing that the evolution of conflict in its high manifestation in the conscious of man ensured the normal adjustment or adaptation to society. (247)

Hilmi Ziya considers the problem in two different levels, individual and social levels. At the individual level, inner adaptation leads to faith (itil) or in other words to heart-felt belief, and the external one is realized through expression (ifade). At the social level, inner adaptation is realized by the internalization of the new values through the conflict process, and the external one is seen in the participation of the individuals in public life. If summarized, the problem of adjustment is defined as being faith and expression at the individual level and at the social level as internalization and participation. Unlike the rational

methods of the radical-revolutionaries, tasavvuf defends the method basing itself on the will which leads belief by performing and practising. Hilmi Ziya defines will as being the union of theory and praxis in the personality. (248)

This will is "uncaused and absolutely free, not as Ibnu'l-Arabi holds, as determined by the obligation of the Knower to act as His nature demands". (249) This means that all action is not the necessary result of God's infinite nature, therefore man is free. It is man possessing this will that had the "moral of love" and it is why Hilmi Ziya would say "one who possesses the "moral of love", is free".

While annotating his friend's quatrains Hilmi Ziya was remarking that according Hallac Mansur's "moral of love" there were two conflicting existences in man: acz (weakness) and enaniyet (I-ness). Through this conflict or struggle one always tried to win the other. Hilmi Ziya adds that "the exercise of tasavvuf is nothing more than to allow man to lay out from this struggle his real essence, to allow him to be victorious. This struggle which is expressed especially in Nakşism (Nakşilik) as the struggle of the "nefs-i emmare" and "nefs-i levvame" ends with the victory of the "nefs-i mütemaine". (250) It was to the proceeding of this struggle between the two souls of man that Hilmi Ziya was appealing, by analogy to psychoneurosis, to activate the gloomy man.

Hilmi Ziya had already drawn attention to the struggle or the dialogue of these two souls in his article "Türk Ahlakçıları" (Turkish Moralists) by telling: "It should have been very useful to get to the roots and to speak a little more about the psychology of tasavvuf, to understand more deeply Eşref Rumi's classification of "nefs-i emmare" and "nefs-i levamme". (251)

In 1946 Hilmi Ziya publishes his Tasavvuf Psikolojisi (Psychology of Sufism) where he makes the parallelism with the western psychology; the "nefs-i emmare" (evil prompting) corresponds to the "libido", and to the "nefs-i levamme" (respoachfull) the censorship, to the struggle of the two souls, corresponds the Oedipus complex, and to the state of calm the "nefs-i mütemaine" corresponds sublimation that is the estate where the Oedipus complex is solved". (252)

Hilmi Ziya notes that the sufis discover first in the path of his psychological education the tragedy of the inner world, that is the dramatic aspect of his personality, from there they rise to the world of values and finally having completed his education they return to social life. He says "the method used by the sufis is like that used by Freud in psychoanalysis".

Hilmi Ziya says: "what interests us in the psychology

of sufism is the effort it shows to rise and to deepen the psyche (ruh) and the endeavour it shows to create the inner world and its moral values". (253)

Hilmi Ziya notes that what is important in the effort that the nefs (self) makes to sublimate himself is that "this effort is, first of all, not intellectualist and is motivated in an activist way. It tries to educate the spirit not through the ideas, advices or instructions, but by acts (or deeds - hareketler) and behaviours (davranışlar)". (254)

This education is an experienced one, therefore it enables one to embrace all the spheres of the daily life, whereas endeavours such as school education or Halkevleri cannot surpass the field of instruction and consequently are unable to be penetrative. The acts or deeds of Love are expressing the unity of subjectivity and objectivity, or that of the individual and the society". (255) Hilmi Ziya notes that our education system should be organized in such a way that it should be based on tradition, and that one should pass from this education to instruction instead of trying to establish an education through instruction.

In short it is through this struggle that the traditional was to protect and realize its identity. (256) This idea was further developed in his Cemiyet ve Marazi Suur (Society and Psychoneurosis) by showing the analogy of the

psychological education of the sufis with that of Freud's psychoanalysis. (257) Hilmi Ziya had been criticized by K.E. Kürkçüoğlu to have applied the education of tasavvuf to "the perverted and shaky theories of Freud". (258) He also criticized Hilmi Ziya's idea of "bringing the paradise down to earth" which was expressed in another occasion as "the suffering (çile) of tasavvuf takes in reality power from the society and comes back again to society. The veritable role of the sufi begins after that point". (259) Kürkçüoğlu's criticism was that Hilmi Ziya held the subject of spirit as a substance, this was to remove the subject of spirit which belonged to the domain of the 'emr' and 'sır', to the domain of 'halk'. Kürkçüoğlu's main opposition to Hilmi Ziya was the shift he was trying to make from the domains of 'emr' and 'sır' to that of 'halk'(.). This would enable Hilmi Ziya to look at his own culture through the glasses of the western science. It is why he was suggesting: "See the spirit as a substance, look at him as a reality". (260)

As Şevket Süreyya had a categorical disdain for the 'pessimist', he criticized the viewpoint of the Aşk Ahlakı: "It could be said that the book comes out of two parts: the foreword and the text.... actually there is no relation between the the foreword and the text. The text is the free fantasy of the soul and has no connection with the awkward eclecticism to which it is referred in its foreword (where the writer of the book says) "you can call me vita-

(.) Meaning: CREATION

list, pannaturist, new-realist, affectivist, intellectualist ...". This strange eclecticism is the manifestation of the fact that" there is a great pleasure to consume at any purpose philosophical concepts for someone who reads history of philosophy without any system". (261)

Şevket Süreyya is much more severe about the content of the text, he says: "there is a caricatural longing for the idle slavery of the soul" and adds "any philosophical thought that should be able to explain and to defend the legitimacy and the future of the Revolution cannot, in any way, be a pessimist and a mystical individualism! "He charges Hilmi Ziya, arguing that his views are incompatible with the principles of the revolution, Şevket Süreyya claims" the relation of the cynical mysticism of the Aşk Ahlakı with the fate of the revolution is as honest as the relation of the criminal with the police, and we are perceiving and drawing attention to... the spritual reaction of some kind of intellectualism that was left aside by the revolution". (262)

What Şevket Süreyya was designating as being cynical was that Hilmi Ziya was considering the new laws as being imposed from top down and therefore he was looking for an issue that would enable the removal of the coercive trait of these laws. It was through the mediation of the "moral of love" (or mystical love) that Hilmi Ziya was hoping to solve



the problem. (But the official view not only despised any views having connection with mysticism, it also had defined them as being out of law.

The cynics were known to make a clear difference between laws or conventions and nature to which they claimed to return. They claimed that they regulated their practical behaviour according to the principles of nature. In ethical terms this meant to despise social conventions, the public opinions, and even the moral commonly adopted either in the acts or in the expression of the opinions. (263) To suggest participation and expression through the mediation of the "moral of love" meant for Şevket Süreyya to adopt a path which was out of the conventions of the Revolution.

Hilmi Ziya replies: "The aggressive and mindless writer accuses me of having fallen into a degenerated mysticism. First of all I must say that mysticism is not a degenerated tendency. It is an understanding which has left many lasting works (works of value) and that the evolution of humanity had to pass by mysticism.

I am absolutely not a mystic. It could even be said that I am an anti-mystic. But I just never accuse, as some fanatics of the new period do, of being infidel to the thoughts which are beyond my opinion" and adds that there

were many western thinkers who have written works of the kind, among these Nietzsche, Plato, Max Stirner, Carlyle, Andre Gide, Duhamel, etc. (264)

Hilmi Ziya's point was that the pressure of the social body felt by the individual is defined as responsibilities (mesuliyet) and obligation (mükellefiyet). He states: as long as there is a lot of interaction the social pressure can be penetrative; and social pressure is considered as being responsibilities and obligations. On the contrary when social interaction is weak there is no internalization, and social pressure is taken as an external coercion". (265)

The psychological education of the sufis would realize this internalization, and law would no more be seen as the legitimization of despotism.

Making reflexions about his Aşk Ahlakı Hilmi Ziya says that he has written this work probably to free himself of the feelings he already had experienced before he had read Georges Duhamel's Confessions. Hilmi Ziya relates that this work which he read after 1930 was telling about the feelings he had earlier experienced. He narrates: "To have read Duhamel, brought to light the puzzle which was hidden behind the absolute faith for the nefs (self). Afterwards I unavoidably wrote the Yarım Adam (Unachieved Man). The scene was reversed, The part that the Confessions played in causing me to lay down my effort to achieve myself is very impor-

tant. Anyhow one of the sides of the coin will be shown to our fortune sooner or later". (266)

The absolute faith to the nefs, (self), i.e. will-power, is one of the sides of the coin, while the other side is impotence, i.e. one's inability to trace his own fate. Will the country be able to defend its identity or will it get under the domination of western civilization? It was this dilemma which was to be solved by the time. What had led Hilmi Ziya to give up his effort to achieve himself?

To understand this confessional declaration one should look at how he defines the "achieved man". This is the man who wants, who must and who can. In other words this is the man who has will, responsibilities and obligations, and power. According to Hilmi Ziya the man who is unable to realize in the same act the ideal of his will, the musts of his ideal and to suggest his ideal is an "unachieved man", Hilmi Ziya says: "The man who has a moral is the one who wants an ideal order. Then he is someone that obliges himself to live according to that order. Finally a man who has a moral is the man who influences others, or tries to achieve the realization of this ideal order". (267)

It seems that what entailed Hilmi Ziya to write his Yarım Adam was that he had to accept that he was unable to suggest or diffuse his thoughts on Islamic civilization and

that he had to give up basing his sociology on action. His early formulation which was a kind of call: "It is not hatred, it is not nonviolence, but it is the "hatredless violence"; the "violence of love" that we want " had to be changed as the government was pervasive in its measures against that kind of activism. (268)

Hilmi Ziya wrote his novel in the years 1935-1936, those years correspond to the beginning of the period when he adopted materialism, or marxism as the methodological ground for his sociology. This is an interrim in his thought which could be explained by the fact that the lack of any local tradition of analysis in sociology in countries such as Morocco, Arabia or Turkey led those intellectuals to direct themselves to Marxism for criticizing the dominant Durkheimian sociological tradition in their country. (269)

As we saw earlier Hilmi Ziya's materialism, which he defenes as being humanist, was criticized by the defenders of marxism in the Yurt ve Dünya (Country and World). Hilmi Ziya's materialism limiting itself to a methodology level, was basicly different from those of the marxists to the extent that his approach was not an "externalist theory". Turner defines the Marxist approach as being an "externalist theory" in the way that it handles the problem of change. The second way to hold the problem of change is the "inter-

nal theory". (270) Hilmi Ziya's position is in line with the second one as far as his "humanism" is nothing more than the Islamic civilization.

To some extent it could be said that this interrim in Hilmi Ziya's thought is due to the fact that he concedes that he is not influential on society. Hence he confesses to himself: "Instead of keeping oneself aside from the others, because of the impetus of laying a genuine approach, the necessity to join a current and to think within a discipline becomes imperative". (271)

To be able to be influential Hilmi Ziya felt the need to join a trend of thought which had some strength in the intellectual life of the country. Hilmi Ziya's epistemological base resembles the orientalist which Turner defined as being essentialist, empirical and historical. (272)

Because his materialism was critic for the hypothesizing, generalizing and conceptualist approach of the Durkheimian sociology, which led to the omission of the study of the small units. The marxist sociology "was adopted by local intellectuals in Hilmi Ziya's time either as an opposite trend to the Durkheimian sociology or as an alternative to the dominant thought within the state". (273)

But as soon as Hilmi Ziya is able to express his thoughts more openly he gives up his 'materialism' and concentrates his intellectual energy on 'humanism'. This leads him to construct his sociology on a philosophy of values. As he himself had asserted "I consider the social interactions as being the primal cause of the structure that entails to the complexity of the spirit (psyche)" while the historical materialist tries to explain that complexity only with an economic determinism. (274)

Social interactions are the sphere of values and as "man is a conscious and willing (iradeli) being, though there external factors which are effective on his actions, there are internal forces that enable him to choose and to decide". (275)

Hence, the priority that Hilmi Ziya had given to action in his Aşk Ahlakı shifts to a sociology which "complements the determinism of sciences with the idea of liberty in philosophy". Because, as he explains in the foreword of the second edition of this work, in those years the problem was "to decide whether one should get to society through the mediation of science, namely through reforms based on positivist science, or an ethic based on a philosophy of action". This duality between determinism and liberty, or ineffectiveness-power (in the sense of Fate-Will duality) is solved by Hilmi Ziya with a sociology based on a philo-

about the development of his thought in the article he wrote on the occasion of Georges Duhamel's visit to Turkey, it is understandable why he has no more absolute faith on the nefs (self). There are developments which are above the control of the self, be it called fate or determinism. Thus concluding his article on Georges Duhamel Hilmi Ziya relates, maybe with a bit of remorse, that: "Power (or will/'kudret') or ineffectiveness (or weakness/'acz'), those who love Duhamel can find both of them in him. Though I have always preferred Wisdom (Hikmet) and Order (Nizam), it is the love of Duhamel's Confessions that I would keep in the background".

Hilmi Ziya notes that Nietzsche who was the defender of the moral of power instead of piety was considering saying 'yes' as a sign of weakness. Accordingly the merit of the übermensch was in the fact that he would say 'no', "this is, says Hilmi Ziya, at first sight, quite an appealing description since the main trait of the hero is to strive and to resist, and not to adapt oneself. But in this struggle before the hero says 'no' he is going to say 'yes', because if he wants to have a creativity, a meaning in his values, he has to first adjust himself to a positive order, appropriate its values and finally say no to those who refuses this order". (278) It is now clear that Hilmi Ziya is the defender of an absolute integrity and regulation of the society. The matter is no more to form an opposition

but to become a person, namely to be conscious about equality and solidarity. A real person is the one who represents and responds perfectly to the exigencies of his class or of the group he belongs to. (279)

Consequently society should be organized in such a way that it should suit the hierarchy of the subjects' moral graduation. This graduation is determined by the subjects' aptitudes, and it is very much like the 'takva' principle in Islam. 'Takva' meaning "appealing to someone according to his ability".

A hierarchy designed according to these degrees of morality is structured by four groups of men in the society; these are:

- the level of the people: based on the moral of threat
- the level of the citizens: they obey not because of threat but because they are hoping for a better future, this is the degree, where the moral of hope works
- the level of the patriots: this is found on the moral of heroism. In this group the dominant trait is that they act according to their own



will. The patriot thinks he is free but he is not. He is the one who depends mostly on the masses or people.

-the level of humanistic patriotism is where man look at things as they are, and grasps the truth (hakikat) within this hierarchical structure of the society. The humanistic patriot addresses himself to everyone, but he does this by using the language that each level understands. ("he never asks from the stone something more than a stone" from the saying (hadis): "Kellim-ür-nase âlâ kadri ukulihim".)

After this description of a hierarchical society, which is similar to that described in the Coran, Hilmi Ziya tells how one should converse with man in accordance to the place he takes in one of these grades. (280) One should address to, says Hilmi Ziya, the people by sermonizing, the citizens through education and exercises (talim), the patriots by suggestions, and speak to the humanistic patriots with a friendly tone. (281)

From such a description of society and understanding of communication one can easily notice that Hilmi Ziya has a rather elitist view of politics. He says that as far as

the people are nothing more than an unconscious mass: we want to awake people. Our claim is to be populist, against the people". (282)

Consequently he assigns to the intellectuals the role of enlighteners though he defends that "in fact it is the peasants that should love the intellectuals" and that "the intellectuals should not see themselves as pioneers trying to enlighten an obscure world. (283) To be able to give any significance to this contradictory position that Hilmi Ziya takes one should take into account the double meaning that the above quotation has in Turkish. The original sentence is formulated as follows:

"Cumhura ragmen, ve daima cumhur için olacaksın!"  
(284)

"Cumhur" means republic and community in the sense of 'mass of the people', the second meaning is a figurative meaning.

Accordingly four versions can be taken out of this sentence:

-a) "Despite the people (or community), you have to be for the people".

-b) "Despite the republic, you have to be for the people (or community)

-c) "Despite the republic, you have to be for the Republic".

-d) "Despite the community (or people), you have to be for the Republic"

a) and b) are the way Hilmi Ziya would address himself to the intellectuals as expressing consecutively his ideas about Islamic modernism led by intellectuals and Islamic populism.

We have referred to the word "republic" with a miniscule 'r' when it had a pejorative meaning noting the coercive policy, and with majuscule 'R' when it was designating the national regime. He would address the people with the formulations in c) and d) The former sentence would be expressing the idea of participation that would lead to modernization and the latter the idea of solidarity which would strengthen nationalism. It is in this way that Hilmi Ziya ensures to bring the intellectatuals and the people into contact. From the consecutive roles that Hilmi Ziya assigns to the intellectuals and to the people one is reminded of the democratic understanding of the Islamic commu-

nity that Sait Halim Paşa was describing in 1918; he was noting: "... in Islamic society the democratic qualities (values) are under the safeguard of the upper classes, and the aristocratic qualities (values) under that of the people", the Islamic-society can become democratical only with the improvement of the populist feeling, thoughts and traditions which already exist in the elite; and what enables the Islamic society to become aristocratic, is not to offend the rights of its weak subjects, but to encourage and to develop the hidden feeling that the people have towards the feelings, thoughts and traditions particular to the elite". (285)

In summary, it is the sovereignty of the people and democratic regime based on the leadership of the consciousness of the intellectuals (or the elite) that will set up the roots of the nation. For this purpose Hilmi Ziya reminds that Nietzsche gave priority to the "moral of power" and that he disdained the "moral of piety" adding that, he once, like Nietzsche, defended this view in his Aşk Ahlakı. Accordingly Hilmi Ziya notes "I have completely given up this view in the work that I am redacting since long ago. I have tried to find the real relation between Power and Love, and endeavoured to explain the roles that they would take in the future of the society". (286)

This unpublished work is his Hakimiyet (Sovereignty)

which he was unable to accomplish. According to his saying, he must have worked on it more than 25 years. The work is once more concentrated on the problem of society and man's consciousness. Another work of the kind, also unpublished and unachieved is his Kendime Dönüş (Return upon Myself) which deals with the problem of democracy too. But from what he wrote on the occasion of Dr. Duhamel's visit to Turkey we may infer that he tries to set up a philosophy of a weltanschauung, namely a philosophy basing on the data of the Turkish mysticism or wisdom. Hilmi Ziya defines Wisdom (Hikmet) as "being the higher product of the collective thought, because in Wisdom the intelligence of a nation had become completely rational by being divested from all his veiled and imagined elements. The fact that collective thought becomes a Wisdom, shows that it has its own philosophy, that it can create a weltanschauung and that it has acquired a rational value". (287)

It is on the base of this Wisdom that Hilmi Ziya will ground his system of ethics. He states that the man of the Republic expresses his range of expression according to his existential experience in terms of religious symbols and that this should be systematized in a rational way.

One question of course is left: To what extent was Hilmi Ziya's concern about religion an intellectual one? or What are the personal components of this interest?

Although further investigation is necessary to make any final statement on the matter, it seems that, though the concern about religion is handled as an intellectual interest, this concern has its origin in Hilmi Ziya's affective structure. The attention he paid to Georges Duhamel's *Confessions de minuit* might give clues to the personal components of this interest. It seems that Hilmi Ziya empathized very much with the confessions made by the protagonist of the novel.

Duhamel writes: "My father is dead.....I and all my life is to be redone". (p.65)

These are words to which Hilmi Ziya might have empathized. Indeed, as it was called the "Mother State", namely the Ottoman State collapsed and all was to be redone. The individuals of the old state had to make a new definition of themselves. Again Duhamel writes: "I, do not know now to choose myself. Any thought that finds a refuge in my spirit, any seed that falls on my being can spring up there. Where am I in all this? Who am I in this crowd? Can there be happiness for me between these enemy demons? Can there be happiness for me between these enemy demons? How to recognize myself, to call myself among all these faces?" (p.120) Two conflicting demons: affectively religious weltanschauung having its counterpart within the Western thought in socialism and the obligations of the modern state. Hilmi Ziya seems to have suffered a deep identity crisis: the cleavage between his affectivity and the musts of the Republic induces Hilmi Ziya to look for new identity definitions. Thus thought acquires the function of

implementing the needs which would enable him to solve this identity crisis. It could be argued that during the Armistice Hilmi Ziya might have encroached to a socialist current of thought, to fill the gap which came out of the identity crisis he had suffered once it seems that he had either a relation or a sympathy to the "Sosyal Demokrat Fırkası" (S.D.F.) (Social Demokrat Party) or to its founder Dr. Hasan Rıza. (288)

There are two reasons which lead us to see connection between Hilmi Ziya and the party or its leader Dr. Hasan Rıza. The first reason is the place Hilmi Ziya gives in his novel Yaram Adam (Unachieved Man) to the story of the meeting of a young man with "Rıza Bey". We believe that this anecdote is not the product of his imagination. Hilmi Ziya relates about this meeting in those words:"

"In the drawing room of an old manory exposed to Halic, an old man was walking to and fro. This man was so thin that he could get overthrown by the wind. He had a wrinkled face and a white cotton beard.. One was remarking a great formate of Marx's picture on the wall, between the Pasteur's and the Lavoisier's one ..... This man was Rıza Bey, the head of the social democrat party..... he went to Europe. His journey must have made a strong impression on him; on his return he attempted to found a socialist party..... He said to me "I am really very pleased to have

realized that there exists among our youth who are interested in these matters..... (289)

Another reason that makes us think that Hilmi Ziya was sympathizing with that socialist current is the importance that Dr. Hasan Rıza attributes in his little work Socialisme to the concept "humanisme" ("insaniyetperverlik"). (290) As Mete Tunçay notes, "it could be thought that the S.D.F. was leaning on the international and humanist understanding".

We might even anticipate by saying that Hilmi Ziya had solved the problem of being a "good patriot " and being an "humanist" at the sametime, by creating his own concept of "humanistic patriotism" (insanivatanperverlik). This is a notion that opens the way for compromise. For being international and humanist means to give right to minorities and to religious beliefs. As we showed earlier Hilmi Ziya claimed that his review İnsan (Human) was "humanist". (291) This humanism might hold something from the one described by Dr. Hasan Rıza . But with the specification of patriotism Hilmi Ziya seems to underline two aspects of the problem: on the one hand he emphasizes the notion of patriotism which implies the unity of the nation, that is the establishment of the Republic, on the other hand with the notion of humanism he stresses rights and liberty in the universal sense of the word. From that point of view it could be said that Hilmi Ziya had some sense of guilt about the matter. Again in



Duhamel's work one meets the following confession: "Deep down my heart I do respect nothing; and yet! And yet, I once have dreamt of a life that would be the most beautiful, the most stately of all lives. It is not my fault: I am not the master. Do not accuse me before indulging in serious reflexions on your conducts: I am an "ilote"(.). Who will give me liberty?" (292)

As it was stated in a conference held just after the Şeyh Sait Rebellion (13 February-31 May 1925) the intellectuals of the newly flourishing Republic are not free to the extent that they are in bondage to their obligations towards the State: "If our intellectuals want really the foundation and the establishment of the modern state in Turkey, key, which is their ideal, all of them should join the general staff which is working for the sake of this aim. If all the intellectuals do not unify against the reactionary movements they will be betraying to the common aim". (293) This sense of guilt remind very much the sense of guilt that Gibb pictured about the ulema (men of the pen) "the guilt of disruption of the Muslim community". (294)

With the declaration of the Republic it is no more the guilt of disruption of the Muslim community but the

11) ILOTE OR HILOTE in french designates man in bondage with the State in Spartacus, the equivalent in Turkish could be "Devletin Emir Kulu".

guilt of disruption of the Republic. What counts, for the sake of the establishment of the Republic, is the "perpetuation of the state authority in preferences to the individual liberty". (295) This means that although Hilmi Ziya believes that it is the potential of popular islam that would enable an assertive establishment of the Republic, he is compelled to deprecate it, as far as these movements have a disrupting character. As Gibb notes therefore the intellectuals "inclined toward compromise... in order to not incur the greater guilt of disruption of the Muslim community". (296) As we already have noted in Hilmi Ziya's case, the problem is to not incur the greater guilt of disrupting the "common aim". That might be the reason why Hilmi Ziya requested people accusing him to indulge on serious reflexions about their conducts: did they seek the unity of the nation?

Finally before getting to any conclusion we would like to make our last quotation from the Confessions de minuit: "Thoughts are in you but they are not you" and "Actually what do my acts matter, if all my thoughts are their denial and derision". (297)

This quotation leads us to ask whether Hilmi Ziya was concerned with popular Islam because he saw in it a resemblance with socialism or because his aim was to use the potentiality of popular Islam at the service of

socialism. If he saw any similarity, what were the similarities between popular Islam and socialism?

Hilmi Ziya notes that "the different branches of socialism were born out of the solutions which people searched for the revendications of justice or the lessening of inequalities, which both have a somewhat similar meaning. From that point of view socialism took impetus from all the ideas of universal brotherhood and from all the trends diffusing these ideas: religions, ethics and philosophies have served this aim in different ways. Therefore it is necessary to use in socialism all the ideas of justice. From the standpoint of socialism, liberty, equality, brotherhood and principles of justice are equally worthy. Socialism should use religions for the sake of those ideas". (298)

The above quotation makes us believe that Hilmi Ziya's concern about Islam was aiming to put popular Islam at the service of socialism. At the beginning of the year 1945 a debate started about "Islamic Socialism" in Turkey. (299) This was due probably to Stalin's faulty policy towards the Muslims in the Soviets. Those years correspond to the years when Hilmi Ziya gave more place to the subjects of religion, ethics. All these writings underlined the idea of universalism and humanism.

Are socialism and Islam compatible? While giving

place to Ağâh Mazlum Alaybek's article entitled "Şark ve Garp" (East and West) which was published in the review Mihrap in 1919 Hilmi Ziya relates that Ağâh Mazlum refuted both capitalism and communism. And that he had argued that there was a close resemblance between socialism and Islam. (300)

Hilmi Ziya notes that the affinity between socialism and Islam is much more close from the one the western thinkers wished to establish between socialism and christianity.

How should we interpret this later remark? Although Hilmi Ziya is quite aware that socialism is born out of christianity, does he believe that Islam holds a better potential for what the occidental socialism had aspired? or does he think that, as far as religious ideals such as equality, fraternity, brotherhood, and justice are inherent to socialism too, so that modernization can be realized through these entities? In this way modernization would be much healthier, to the extent to by giving place to the popular demands of the ideals of the popular Islam, it would avoid the dichotomy which comes out in the society when socialism denies the religious components. In some aspect it is what happened with the Village Institutes. (301)

During the one-party period the government had es-

established these institutes for the purpose of hastening the westernization program of the Republican Party. For that purpose, all the educational programs were conceived in such a way that it gave intensive courses on western culture: music, literature, arts, etc. The program was completely ignoring the Islamic cultural heritage. People who were educated at the Village Institutes soon leaned toward socialism. Consequently a dichotomy was generated in the society at the level of the people: animosity rose between those who were educated according to the representations of the Islamic heritage and those gorged with the western program. Both parties were coming from the same social strata. This later eradicated the seeds of serious animosity. (302)

Did Hilmi Ziya foresee that this dichotomy would lead to the disruption of the social integrity? and did Hilmi Ziya have the presentiment that the people educated at the Village Institutes had opted for socialism because of the popular religious representations they were holding? With regards to the second question, if that is so, Hilmi Ziya must have considered that socialism was the best way in which Turkey would engage. On the other hand with regards to the first question the following interpretation can be given: the establishment of socialism should leave room for the popular religious representations in order to make

the development of socialism possible in the country without entailing to social dichotomy within the people, as it had happened in the example of the Village Institutes. In this case the fact that the Village Institutes became the kernel of the leftist movements can be explained as follows: Turkish people who were put radically in contact with western culture realized how to virtualize or found a mode of virtualization of their own representations.

The representations were virtualized in the form of leftist movements. Followingly we might say that Hilmi Ziya considers these representations as being a form of unvirtualized socialism.

Therefore we would claim that it would be an erroneous statement to affiliate Hilmi Ziya with the current Islamic Socialism. Because first of all, he does not base socialism directly on Islam, but on popular Islam. Secondly because he does not seek the preservation of Islam as such, but he is after a gradual secularisation which he believes will be realized through the moral of love which leaves room for personal religion.

On the other hand we should be reminded that it was argued that one should recognize that "the Moslem's conception of personality is different" from that of the westerners.(303)

Hilmi Ziya was very aware of this conception of personality, that must be why socialism must have seemed for him as being more suitable for the Moslem's conception of personality. Consequently it could be said that Hilmi Ziya does not conceive mobilization as the members of the Republican Party have conceived it, that is "as a mobilization of the masses by the elite". (304) Thus Hilmi Ziya's understanding of mobilization is conceived as the mobilization of the individual by the elite. The attention he pays for Prince Sabahattin is understandable. (305)

Moral of love was the way that opened the path for gradual, but firm, secularisation and the formation of the individuals. Secularisation and the formation of the individuals are considered as being the two main pillars of a modernization that would not suffer the reactions that the official westernization policy had generated and suffered from. Hilmi Ziya says that man considered as constituted by the moral of love "is a person and, conceived as such, he is the only base for the proceeding reality". (305)

Within this perspective, after the coup of 1961 Hilmi Ziya pays much attention to the Australian political system. He notes that there are two parties: the People's Party and the Socialist Party, for the former he speaks of a "program" for the latter of its "wishes". (307)

He seems to insinuate the formation of a socialist party in Turkey and underlines that much of the political struggles were due to the fact that the differentiation between socialism and communism was not made.

The schema that Hilmi Ziya sketches reminds us of a modernized schema of the ulema/halk relation, where halk is no more conceived as the mass but as being constituted by the individuals.

A new type of "ulema" emerges from the new type of "ulema-halk" (men of the pen/people) relation that Hilmi Ziya designs. This new type of "ulema" is now responsible for implementing Humanism within the State instead of being compelled to take care of the State within the framework of Islam, as it used to be in the Ottoman Empire. Hilmi Ziya was aware of the insufficiency of Islam with regards to the problem of Humanism, consequently with regards to the individual which is described by Nicholson as follows: "In Islam, God, not man, is the measure of all things. In Islam there has hitherto been no place for what we call Humanism, implying the value and the sufficiency of the individual". (308) The ultimate end of Hilmi Ziya, is to secure this Humanism which lacks in Islam from the domain where Islam gives some space for personal religion, that is Sufism. Hilmi Ziya pursues this aim for the sake of the republic, republic un-



derstood in the way that Ali Suavi describes it....

While giving place to Ali Suavi's ideas about sovereignty and republic Hilmi Ziya gives place to the following explanations: "Sovereignty means to do what one wishes in an absolute way.... In that sense sovereignty is particular to God.... In that case the power to make law comes from a supra-human power, from God....

If one man represents this power this is monarchy, if a group of man represents this power this is oligarchy, but if all men represent the divine power this is republic". and "the true government is the government of the people" and "the only legitime government of people is the one that suits to the needs, the ethics and the civilization of the country". (309)

If Hilmi Ziya defined himself as being a socialist he is indebted this definition to the islamic frame of reference as it is described by Ali Suavi, and Hilmi Ziya was percipient that it was impossible to establish socialism in Turkey without taking into account the religious components. If he was an Islam modernist, in that case he was percipient he would safeguard his modernist ideas via socialism in a State having an intransigent westernization policy.

But one thing there is no doubt that he considered the individual as the ultimate end as far as he saw the individual as being the remedy to the calamities the country was suffering of. That might be why he had interpreted the coup of 1960 as being percipient, as far as this was the reaffirmation of the westernization program, but Hilmi Ziya must not have been that much enthusiastic about the coup to the extent that this was another hit to the formation of the individual he was pursuing, that is a hit to the recovery of the society at the expense of a crippled integrity.

If Hilmi Ziya does not define himself as a socialist he could be considered as an Islamic modernist much like Suavi. Hilmi Ziya says about Suavi: "He was a defender of laicism against the principles of religion, of republic against the absolutist State, of Turkism against Ottomanism" and Hilmi Ziya adds that Ali Suavi's views about westernization "was always grounded on a religious base, he searches the roots of the novelties he desires in Islam". (310)

The Republic inherited a theocratical State, now it is the turn of Islam to inherit a secular State in the way to lay the establishment of the republic (cumhuriyet) "according the needs, the ethics and the civilization of the country". Which is according to Ali Suavi the only legitimate government that is the people's government. (311)

Hilmi Ziya says about Ali Suavi "His eclectic thought, his encyclopedic mind, the endeavour he undertook to give answers to many problems were not tolerated by the more narrow program of the political ideas of that time". (312)

If any tradition of Turkish thought is to be established it could be said that one should consider Hilmi Ziya's thought in taking into account Ali Suavi's ~~one~~. (313)

The words "Those who get to the moral of love, are those who possess freedom in their souls" which are engraved at on the family vault goes on as follows:

"Those are, those who, without being in need of leaning to any external power to themselves, to any being, to any mass, are persons as such. Because they have open their hearts to the universe and have put the destiny of the spirit and the destiny of the universe in a wholeness".

(From Aşk Ahlakı, 4th ed. p. 91)

## CONCLUSION

At this point it is difficult to say a definitively conclusive word about Hilmi Ziya's thought. There are three main reasons that lead us to hold such a position.

First of all we have not embraced all his writings while sketching the trains of his thought. Furthermore he has left after his death many unpublished works among which Hakimiyet, Anadolu Kültürü (The Anatolian Culture), (four volumes), Anadolu'nun Bugünkü Görevi (Today's Responsibility of Anatolia) and Aristo Felsefesi ve Modern Düşünce (Aristotle's Philosophy and Modern Thought) (1926) can be mentioned. (314)

Secondly as his early works were written in Ottoman scripture we have been unable to examine the early period of his thought. Finally this study was not conceived in a way to systematize his thought and was not in the claim of being an analytical study.

In conclusion we would say that Hilmi Ziya represents the type of intellectual who is between the radical traditionalists and the revolutionaries. He always kept himself

outside the official discourse of the revolutionaries, but he had been unable to express himself openly, as the official view imposed restrictions, if not suppressed any other view. This led to the deformation of the opponents' thoughts, as they had to hint at their ideas.

As a consequence instead of the building up of a tradition of Turkish thought, two types of discourse were formed in the intellectual history of the Republic. Either thought was a defender of the official ideology or thought had to adopt other trends of thought to express ideas about traditionalism. The political concerns and the dissimulation of ideas led to the sterility of the intellectual life, and this sterility could be outdone by ideas which were the products of the new social developments.

The remark Hilmi Ziya makes about the intellectuals such as the Young Turks and those of the Second Meşrutiyet is valid for the intellectuals of the Republic; He says: "What is missing in Turkey is not thought bound to life, but it is a philosophical thought which transcends to the daily problems; what is missing is abstract thought". (315)

According to the description that Hilmi Ziya gives about Turkish thought, the action bounded trait is understandable. He says that Turkish thought makes a tight connec-

tion between action and theory, and that it is intuitive, in other words that it is able to draw from its contacts with the facts, a series of results for his actions. (316)

Also Hilmi Ziya's thought was action bounded, but his position led him to draw attention to the fields such as religion or traditional values which were carefully silenced by the subjective mystics of the revolutionaries. Hence his work such as the Türk Mistisizmini Tetkike Giriş (Introduction to the Study of Turkish Mysticism) (1935) are works that refute the Kemalist ideology which defends that "religious groups are exceptions to the rule, excrescences on Turkish society, 'abnormalities' which "do not count" for modern social sciences and that "soon they will disappear or recede into the outer fringe of "civilized" society, and Turkish scientist will be able to deal with the 'real' or 'progressive' forces". (317)

On the contrary Hilmi Ziya had defended through different formulations that the progressive forces should be drawn out of the religious forces and had asserted for that reason: "to be able to become westernized in the real sense of the word we have to look at our own values in the light of the western culture". (318)

This is probably why neither the traditionalists nor the revolutionaries are very sympathetic about Hilmi

Ziya's thought. The former are not very enthusiastic about having their culture studied with western methods, the latter are annoyed because he draws attention to what they keep in silence. From that point Hilmi Ziya has an important place in the intellectual life of the Republic.

For further study one has to analyse and to systematize Hilmi Ziya's thought keeping in mind the stream of development that his intellectual work followed.

We believe the black bag carrying his unpublished and unachieved manuscripts which he used to redact in Ottoman script, holds a lot of clues for such an investigation.

### NOTES

1. Gülseren Artunkal "Hayatı ve Eserleriyle Babam Ülken" (My Father Ülken with his life and Works) Sosvoloji Konferansları Kitap, XVII., İstanbul, 1979, p.2.
2. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi. (History of Modern Thought in Turkey), 2nd. ed., Ülken Yay. İstanbul, 1979, p.74. Hilmi Ziya notes that Kerim Hazret and Şeraffeddin Mercani were representing the scholastic Medrese administration in Kazan. It was impossible that the traditionalists living in İstanbul, where there was the Caliphate mastered this scholastic group.... It is Ali Suavi who for the first time argued that modernized Islam and pro-Westernism and pro-Turkism were three views complementing each other.
3. Abdurrahman Paşa, is the grand-father of Prof. Kerim Erim an eminent professor of mathematics in Mücellidoğlu Ali Çankaya, Son Asır Türk Tarihinin Önemli Olayları ile Birlikte Yeni Mülkiyeliler ve Mülkiye Tarihi, EV, (Last Century of Important Events in Turkish History together with New Civil Servants and Civil servants School History), Ankara, 1971, p. 1678.
4. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, Türk İnkılabı Tarihi (History of Turkish Revolution), Vol I., Part 1, 3rd. ed., Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., 1983, p. 247.



- Abdülhamid II (1842-1918) reigned between on the years (1876-1909), In 1909 Sultan Reşat was set to the known under the name of Mehmet V.th(1844-1918). He reigned between the years 1909-1918. He was the 35th Sultan of the Ottoman Empire when Sultan Reşat died in 1918, Sultan Vahideddin (1861-1929) passed on the thrown , he was the last Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. He reigned till 17 December 1922.
5. TÇDT., p. 381.
  6. TÇDT., p. 244, note 294.
  7. Mücellidoğlu Ali Çankaya, op. cit.,
  8. Günümüzde Kitaplar (Books Today) "Hilmi Ziya Ülken" (1901-1974) No. 11, (November). 1984, p.20.
  9. The first translation of Leon Cahun's work was done by Necip Asım Gök Bayrak, the Second translation is done by Galip Bahtiyar under the title of Gök Sancak.
  10. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Yarım Adam (Unachieved Man) Şirketi Mürettebiye Bas., İstanbul, 1941, p.11
  11. TÇDT., p. 212

12. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Destan ve İnsan" (Epic and Man), İnsan (Human), Vol III., No. 22, (April), 1943, p.3.
13. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Hakkı Tarık Us" Yeni Sabah (New Morning) 29 October 1956.
14. Mete Tuncay Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar (1908-1925) (Left Currents in Turkey: 1908-1925). 2nd. end., Bilgi yay. Ankara, 1967, p.75.
15. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, op. Cit.
16. Gülseren Arturkal, op. cit., p. 1.
17. TÇDT., p. 410.
18. TCTD., p. 408.
19. Celâl Nuri İleri (1870-1939)  
The elder brother of the socialist and marxist Suphi Nuri İleri. Celâl Nuri was a leftist but a democrat. He worked with Abdullah Cevdet in the review İhtidâ (Opinion), the voice of the defenders of radical westernization. He studied at Galatasaray highschool and graduated from the Faculty of Law.  
in TÇDT., p. 392-401.
19. TÇDT, p.441.  
Şükrü Şayakcı "Ord. Prof. Dr. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, in Şehir Sosyolojisi ile İlgili 1931-1932 Yılları Arasında İstanbul Belediye Mecmuası'nda Yazdığı Seri Makaleler: Sayı ,

86-94. (The serial of Articles that Ord. Prof. Dr. Hilmi Ziya Ülken have written in the Istanbul Belediye Mecmuası between the years 1931-1932 on the Subject of Urban Sociology: No. 86-94).

Thesis submitted at the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Letters in the University of Istanbul. The thesis was sponsored by Cahit Tanyol. Code number of the thesis U 236 in the library of the department.

20. Gülseren Arturkal, op. cit. p. 2.

21. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Ord. Prof. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç" Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi (Review of the Faculty of Divinity of the University of Ankara) Vol. IX., 1961.

22. Hatice Ülken "Eşim Hilmi Ziya'nın Özel Hayatı" (The Private life of my Husband Hilmi Ziya) Sosyoloji Konferansları Kitap XVII., İstanbul, 1979, p. XVII.

23. Dernek (Society), Vol I, No. 5, (1962), İstanbul. Hilmi Ziya's other article on Mükrimin Halil Yinanç in Ali (Mücellidoğlu) Çankaya, Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Müehiyeliler, IVth. Volume, Mars. Mat., Ankara, 1968 - 1969.

24. Gülseren Artunkal, op. cit., p. 2.

25. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Yarım Adam (Unachieved Man), op. cit., p. 195.

26. *Ibid.*, p.6.

27. Tarık Zafer Tunaya Türkiye'nin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma Hareketleri (Westermization Movements in the Political Life of Turkey), Yedigün Mat., Istanbul, 1960., p. 167.

(Continued in Note B)

Members joining the movements are,

- a) Abdullah Cevdet, Celâl Nuri, Kılıçzade Hakkı.
- b) Sait Halim Paşa, Mehmet Akif, Babanzade Ahmet Naim, Mehmet Şemseddin, İzmirli İsmail Hakkı.
- c) Yusuf Akçura, Ziya Gökalp, Köprülüzade M. Fuad, Ahmed Ağaoğlu, Tekin Alp (M. Kohen), Ömer Seyfeddin, Hamdullah Suphi, Kazım Nâim.
- d) Prens Sabahattin, Satvet Lufti, Hamid, Namık Zeki, Ahmet Beđevi, Ahmet Fazlı, Mehmet Ali Şevki, Dr. Nihat Reşat.

28. *Ibid.* p. 68.

29. Türk Ocağı was before 1917, in 1908 Türk Derneği (Turkish Association), then in 1911 Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti (Turkish Heart Association). Among the Türk Derneği participants or founders were Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, Musa Akyiğitzade, Necip Asım, Ahmed Midhat Efendi...

While in the year 1911 among the participants or the founders of Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti were the poet Mehmet Emin, Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, Ağaoğlu Ahmet, Hüseyinzade Ali, Dr. Ali Muhtar... in Tarık Zafer Tunaya Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler (Political Parties in Turkey), Istanbul, 1956, p. 376.

30. TÇDT, p. 471.

31. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Tantanasız Yaşayan ve Ölen Değer: Mehmet Halil Bayrı (1896-1958)" (An Estimable Man who lived and died without pomps: Mehmet Halil Bayrı (1896-1958)), Türk Folklor Araştırmaları (Turkish Folklor Researchs) Vol. V, No. 114, (January) 1959, pp 18-20. Hilmi Ziya says that "those young men gathered later in 1927. They founded the Halk Bilgisi Derneği (Folk Association) and organized a congress where they decided to collect the tales of Anatolia and to record the folk songs on records. Among them there were valuable ethnologists like Hamit Zubeyr and Prof. Mezaros. The first production of these decisions have been the Halk Bilgisi Dergisi (Folk reviews) which appeared in a thick volume. Halit was among them. But these collective enterprises have not lived long".

Haluk Pepeyi Nihat published later a work on Anatolian tales. Ahmet Kutsi Tecer wrote poems inspired from the folk culture.

32. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Destan ve İnsan" (Epic and Man), op. cit.

33. TQDT, p. 470.

34. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Ali Turan", Yeni İnsan (New Man) Vol, VII, No. 84 (December) 1969.

Hilmi Ziya notes that a part of this translation was published by the Upsala University in 1962.

Elias Löntrot has written the Finnish eposle Kalevala, which could be considered as being the Iliade of the century, in Hilmi Ziya Ülken Yeni Sabah, 12 November 1951.

35. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Ali Turan, op. cit.  
The Şehname is a Persian epopee that Fırdevsi wrote in verse. Siyavuş was the hero of the epopee. Fırdevsi lived between the years 934-1020.  
(cf. Hilmi Ziya Ülken's articles "Şehname" and "Fırdevsi ve Şark Rönesansı" (Fırdevsi and the Eastern Renaissance) in Şadırvan (Foundation) Vol I, No. 24 and 26, 1949).
36. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Humanism et Litterature Epique an Turquie", Orientalia Suecana Vol III, 1958, UPSALA, p.133,
37. Hüseyin Dıraman "Toplum Felsefecisi Hilmi Ziya Ülken"  
(A social Philosophy Disceplinarian : Hilmi Ziya Ülken)  
Doğa ve Bilgi (Nature and Knowledge) No. 17, (October), 1984, p. 57.
38. Nurettin Topçu "Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu", Hareket Dergisi (Movement Review), No. 108, December, 1974, p.2.
39. Mehmet Kaplan "Hilmi Ziya Ülken", Hisar (Castle), No. 128, (August), 1974, p. 5-6.
- Among these young men were: the sociologist Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Halit Bayrı, the historians Necip Asım (Yazıkısız), Mükrimin Halil Yinanç and İsmail Hami Danişmend and the archeolog Remzi Oğuz Arık.
40. Sabahattin Selek notes that although this group was called "the second group" only after the end of the 1921, they started to gather first after the acceptance of the Constitution (20 January 1921). Among them were the ones defending the caliphate or Sultanate, the ones who wis-

hed to inforce the old Order and Progress Society, the ones who were resentful of not taking place in the "first group" and those who were fearing the strengthening authority of Mustafa Kemal. Anadolu İhtilali (The Revolution of Anatolia), 5th. ed. Örgün Yay. İstanbul, 1981, p. 597 and p. 600.

The Second group's voice the daily Tan (Dawn)

41. TÇDT, p. 471, those signatures are: Ahmet Refik, Rauf Yekta, Hamdi Sadi, Necip Asım and Mehmet Emin. Cavit Orhan Tütengil quotes from Z.F. Fındıkoğlu that the Anadolu review came out with its first issue in 1 April 1340 (1924) under the direction of Mehmet Halid (Bayrı) and Haydar Necip, and that a group of teachers and students from the İstanbul University were participating in it. Tütengil notes that the information given about the dates and the names of the publishers of the Anadolu and Mihirab (Pulpit) reviews in Son Asır Türk Tarihinin Önemli Olayları ile Birlikte yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyetliler (2 nd. ed. Ankara, 1968-69, vol IV, Mücellidoğlu Ali Çankaya) are not correct. The publication of the Anadolu review continued with interruption for almost two years. But Hilmi Ziya dates the first issues of the Anadolu and the Mihirab reviews to the year 1922. C.O. Tütengil "Hilmi Ziya'nın çıkardığı dergiler ve bu dergilerde yaptığı yayınlar" (The reviews Hilmi Ziya published and the publications he made in them), İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası (Review of the Faculty of Economy of the İstanbul University), Vol XXXIV, No. 1-4, 1974-1975, p. 163.

42. Nurettin Topçu, *ibid.*, p. 3.

43. Hüseyin Dıraman, op. cit., p. 59.

44. TCDT., p. 376.

Aydınlık (light): Vedat Nedim (Tör), Burhan Asaf (Belge), İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin) were among its writers. The review was the spokesman of the underground Communist Party of Turkey in the years 1921-1926. Aydınlık and its adherents were very close to the ten years late Kadro ideology. As Mete Tuncay notes this is an interesting point to the extent that during this ten years period (1923-1933) the ideology of those who were in Aydınlık had not that much changed, but the politics of the Ankara government had changed. İsmail Hüsrev, Burhan Asaf, Vedat Nedim later took place among the pens of Kadro.

Aydınlık was the voice of the radical marxists. Their chief was Dr. Şefik Hüsnü. Sadrettin Celâl (Antel) participated to the review. In May 1926 the review was banned and some of his 20 adherents were arrested as the government suppressed any opposition coming from the left under the pretext of the rebellion of 1925 in Mete Tunçay Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar (1908-1925), op. cit., p.169.

On their return from the Soviet Union in 1924 Nazım Hikmet and Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir) joined the review. Mete Tuncay notes that it seems that the name "Aydınlık" (Light) was translated from the name of a French movement called "Clarte" which was led by H. Barbusse.

in Mete Tunçay, Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar (1908-1925), op. cit., pp. 161-169 and p.52 note 20.

The first issue of Aydınlık is 1 June 1921.

45. The first issue of Mihrap is dated 15 November 1339 (1922), its owner is Abdullah Hacı, printed at the Evkâfı İslamiye Matbaası., TÇDT. p.370, note 61.



46. "He was implementing the dogmatic education that the medrese (religious college) gave about sciences with the knowledge of western philosophy". He had worked during his studies at the Medrese on Seyid Şerif Curocanti's Mevkaf and had translated the first half of the work.
  
47. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Yusuf Ziya Yörükkan" (1887-1954)" Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi (Review of the Faculty of Theology, Ankara University), Vol III-V, No. 1-11, 1954, p. 89.
  
48. İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, Şerafeddin Yaltkaya, Mehmed Ali Ayni were those that we were able to detect. After 1933 the Faculty of Theology was reorganised as İslam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü (Islamic Research Institute) which was dependent on the Faculty of Letters. The first two are İslam Modernists, they were in the council which presented a reformation program in religion in 1928.
  
49. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Ağâh Alaybek: Münzevi bir Fikir Adamımız" (Ağâh Alaybek: One of Our Solitary Thinker) Yeni Sabah (New Morning) 20 February 1956.
  
- 50 Tarık Zafer Tunaya Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler (Political Parties in Turkey), İstanbul, 1956, p. 431.
  
51. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, op. cit.
  
52. This title reminds us the title of Afşar's work Refutation of Materialism.

53. Sabahattin Selek, op. cit., p. 588 and 589-600.

54. The reforms are as follows

- 1) 1922 abolition of the sultanate
- 2) 1923 adoption of the republic
- 3) 1924 -abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate
  - closing of the medrese (religions college)
  - the law of Tevhid-i Tedrisat (Union in Education) (a unified, secular, state system education)
- 4) 1925 -prohibition of Tarikats and tekkes
  - closing of the türbes
  - adoption of European headgear and dress
- 5) 1926 -adoption of the Western legal codes
  - adoption of Western calender and systems of weight and measure
- 6) 1928 -adoption of latin characters
  - end of Islam as the state religion
- 7) 1929 -and of education in Ottoman language in the primary and secondary schools
- 8) 1930/35-granting right of vote and holding of office to women
- 9) 1933 -closure of the Imam Hatip (Prayers and Preachers school) and the İlahiyat Fakültesi (Faculty of Theology) at the Istanbul University.
- 10) 1937 -laicism and revolutionism become the two basic principles of the constitution.

55. The last two ones are Menemen (December 1930) and Dersim (1937-38). According to a military historic research Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Ayaklanmalar (1924-1928) (Rebellions in Turkish Republic: 1924-1928) Published in 1972 by the Presidency of War History of the general staff, 18 revolts took place during this period in Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ndeki Tek Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması (1923-1931) (The Foundation of one-Party Rule in the Turkish Republic) Yurt yay., Ankara, 1981, p. 127 note 1., Mete Tunçay. On the other hand the list of the reactionary movements or rebellions during Atatürk's life according to the enumeration Çetin Özek does in his Türkiye'de Gerici Alanlar ve Nurculuğun İç Yüzü (Reactionary Movements in Turkey and the Inside History of Nurculuk (meaning Illuminism) Varlık yay. 1964, p. 173 and followings are as follows:
- Şeyh Said February 1925, (Nakşibendi Order)
  - İzmir Plot, 15 June 1926
  - Bursa, 1929, (Hacı Salih and his Gang)
  - Menemen, December 1930, (Nakşibendi order under the leadership of Derviş Mehmet)
  - Bursa, 1933, (Kozanlı İbrahim and his friends)
  - Siirt, 1935, (the Nakşibendi Order, Şeyh Salih and his Abdülkudus)
  - İskilip, 1936, (the Nakşibendi Order under the leadership of Ahmet Kalaycı)
56. The only real opposition party of the Republic during 1923-1946. The Terakkiperver Fırka (Progress Party) which was founded in 17 October 1924 by the ten deputies, partisans of Rauf (Orbay) Bey, Kazım Karabekir among them; in the 12 November 1924 issue of the daily Son Telegraf, Lutfi Fikri referred to the party as a "child born out of office affliction and lack of freedom".

57. Süleyman Bayri Bolay, Türkiye'de Ruhçu ve Maddeci Görüşün Mücadelesi (the Dispute of the Spiritualist and Materialist Views in Turkey) Yağmur Yay., İstanbul, 1967, p.5: Hilmi Ziya's foreword.
58. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "İsmail Hakkı İzmirli Yeni Sabah (New Morning 29, January 1951)
59. The Milli Talim ve Terbiye (National Instruction and Education Office), was first founded as a society in 1916 by İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Hüseyinzade Ali and others. Its aim was to reconcile nationalism and populism in the area of education, this society was an organisation of the Ottoman type.  
Another society under the name Muallimler ve Muallimeler Cemiyeti was founded in Ankara in 1920. The next year this society adopted the name Türkiye Müallimeler ve Muallimler Dernekleri Birliği (Union of the Educators Societies of Turkey) Except its general secretary Kazım Nâmi (Duru) the members of the society were socialists; Nafi Atıf Kansı, a spartacist and Sadrettin Celâl Antel from the Aydınlik were among its members.
60. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, op. cit.
61. TÇDT., p. 276.  
Hilmi Ziya notes that İzmirli had written a series of articles in the Mihrap entitled "Mustasvefa sözleri mi tasavvufun zaferi mi?" against Şeyh Saffet (Yetkin's articles "Tasavvufun Zaferleri" which appeared in Mafîl (1922)

62. His work published after 1940 are:

Farabi (1940) İslam Düşüncesi (Islamic Thought) (1946), İslam Medeniyetinde Tercüme ve Tesirleri (Translation and Their Influence in the Islamic Civilization) (1947), İslam Sanatı (Islamic Art) (1948), Farabi Tetkikleri (Investigations on Farabi) collective work (1951). Le Livre de la difference entre l'ame et l'Esprit (ed. annotater) (1953), Les Opuscules d'Avicennes (1954), İslam Düşüncesine Giriş (Introduction to Islamic Thought) (1954), İslam Felsefe Tarihi (History of Islamic Philosophy) (1957), İslam Felsefesi Kaynakları ve Tesirleri (Sources and Influences of the Islamic Philosophy) (1967) and in the İslam Ansiklopedisi (Vol. XIVIII, pp: 451-469) "İbn Rüşd" and "İbn Sina" and "Garâli" (1961). Hilmi Ziya relates in the foreword of his Türk Tefekkürü Tarihi (History of Turkish Thought) (1933) "I undertake the duty of writing the history of Turkish Philosophy (hikmet) and Turkish mysticism in the Türk Tarih Cemiyeti (Turkish History Society). Besides the difficulty of working in an untouched subject he says that the work done by Prof. M. Şekip. the deputy of Sivas Prof. Şemsettin, the teachers of philosophy Nevzat Ayas, Prof. İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, Prof. Ferit, Assis. Saâeddin working in the society on the same subject had been of great help.

63. Şerif Mardin "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?" Readings in Turkish Politics ed. Metin Heper, Bosphorus University Pub., Vol I. p. 306

64. The original text of the program in Gotthard Jaeschke, Yeni Türkiye'de İslamcılık (Islam in New Turkey) Bilgi Yay., Ankara, 1972, p. 40-42.

The names of the council which presented the programs are as follows: Mustafa Şekip (Tunç), İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, Halil Halit, Halil Nimetullah, Mehmet Ali Aynı,

Şerafettin(Yalıtıkaya), Şevket Arapkirli, Hüseyin Avni (Ulaş), Hilmi Ömer and Yusuf Ziya (Yörükkan), in Mete Tunçay, op. cit., p. 220 note 18.

65. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Mehmet İzzet et Quelques Reflexions Critiques", İş (Action) No. 23-24, 1940.  
His other writings on Mehmet İzzet are:  
-TÇDT., p. 427-432  
-"Türkiye'de İdealizm Temayülü" (Idealism Trends in Turkey)  
İnsan (Human) Vol. I, No. 12, 1939  
-Bilgi (Knowledge), Vol. III, No. , 1949.  
-İş (Work), Vol. , No. 170, 1955.  
-"Mehmet İzzet et Prince Sabahaddine", XIV Congr  International de Sociologie, Rome, 1950.  
-Yeni Sabah (New Morning) 10 January 1955
66. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Filozof İzzet" (İzzet the Philosopher) Yeni Sabah 10 January 1955.
67. TÇDT., p. 427.
68. Ibid., p. 428.
69. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Yeni Felsefe Cemiyeti" (the New Society of Philosophy) Sosyolojisi Dergisi (Review of Sociology), İÜEFY., Vol. No 2, 1943, p. 359.
70. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Filozof İzzet" op. cit.

71. TÇDT, p. 428.
72. Mehmet İzzet "Netice: Millet ve Din" (Conclusion: Nation and Religion) Milliyet Nazariyeleri ve Milli Hayat (Theories of Nationality and National Life), 2nd ed. , Ötüken Yay., İstanbul, 1967 pp. 153-168
73. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Filozof İzzet" op. cit.
74. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Yeni Felsefe Cemiyeti" op. Cit., p.361  
For the writting in Mihirab that must be the year 1924 because the publication of the review ceases when Hilmi Ziya leaves for Bursa.
75. Ziya Somar, "Türk Düşüncesi ve Hilmi Ziya Ülken" (Turkish Thought and Hilmi Ziya Ülken), Hareket (Movement), No. 104-105. (August-September), 1974, p.15
76. Ibid. p. 17.  
Ziya Somar's thesis was on Mehmet İzzet, he later published a work under the title Aristo and Gazali.
77. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Siyasi Partiler ve Sosyalizm, Anıl Yay. İstanbul, 1963, p. 170.
78. From the very beginning of the Republic there were foreign educational advisers; the first one being the American philosopher John Dewey (in 1924), the other mainly important ones are the German Prof. Kühne (in 1925), the Belgian Homer Buyse (in 1927) and the

Swiss Prof. Malche (in 1932) for the Reformation of University (Darülfünûn tasviyesi).

79. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Milliyetçilik ve Şark" (Nationalism and the East) Yeni Sabah 23 August 1953.
80. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Yeni Felsefe Cemiyeti" op. cit . 364.
81. Hilmi Ziya tells about the work İçtimaiyat that although Mehmet İzzet had not been as much influential as Gökalp and Sabahattin had been, he had layed his views about sociology in this work which he wrote for high-school courses. Mehmet İzzet's sociological views which were diffused through this work in the high school programs lost their influence when Necmeddin (Sadak)'s work was adopted for education. And Hilmi Ziya concludes about the matter in his article "Fikirçeleneği" (Tradition of Thought) (Yeni Sabah) 19 May 1952, that he hopes that Mehmet İzzet's unpublished lecture shall not appear one day being metamorphosed .
82. The first review of philosophy in the history of Turkey was published by Baha Tevfik and Ahmed Nebil in 1912 under the name Felsefe (Philosophy).
83. Felsefe ve İçtimaiyat was owned by Ağâh Sırrı Levend director of the İstiklâl (In dependence) Lyceé, and the review was directed by Servet Berkin.  
The most important of the associates of the Society were, besides himself and Servet Berkin: Hatemi Semih (Sarp), Ragıp Hulusi (Öktem), Orkan Sadettin.



The conferences delivered are as follows:

- first Mehmed Ali Ayni "Bursalı İsmail Hakkı" (conference delivered in the USA as representer of Turkey)
- second Mustafa Şekip (Tunç) "Sami Dinler'in Aslı Birliği"
- Third Mehmed İzzet "gaye kıymet" (Purpose - value) held in his İçtimaiyat Dersleri.
- Fourth Mehmet Servet's theory about social finalism.

84. a.e.e. "E. Durkheim (1897): the representations express the way in which the group conceives itself in its relation with the objects effect it" in Steven Lukes Emile Durkheim, Penguin Books, 1978, p. 6
85. TÇDT. p.433-34.
86. Those association of teachers was first organised in 1920 as "Muallimeler ve Müallimler Dernekleri Birliği" (Union of Teacher's Associations)-  
Those participating in the panels are : Mehmet Ali Şevki. Köprülüüzade Fuat, Mustafa Şekip Tunç, Abdülkadir, Sıddık Sami, Hamid Ongunsun, Mükrimin Halil, Sadrettin Celâl, Hifzerrahman Bey, Hami Sadi, Etem Menemencioğlu.
87. A review which first takes the name of Akâdemi (Académie) till its ninth issue and which continues its publication under the name Galatasaray. After its twelveth issue Hilmi Ziya appears as its owner. The review Galatasaray was published between the years 1930-33 with the collaboration of teachers and students and as Cavit Orhan Tütengil remarks Akâdemi and Galatasaray, which is its continuation, are interesting from another point. There

were in the collection of the review the writings and poems of the students in Galatasaray between the years 1930-33, and those of the old students, writings of the well-known writers at the time and their letters and statements of documentative value, a special issue which was dedicated to "Tevfik Fikret's Great Name and Dear Memory", and in short, not to divert from the subject, many other surprising signatures to which we cannot give place here. The writings and translations which foretell the direction of the development of today's many popular persons through their works in school, lay another interesting aspect of this collection".

in Cavit Orhan Tütengil "Hilmi Ziya Ülken'in Çıkardığı Dergiler ve Bu Dergilerde Yaptığı Yayınlar" op. cit., p. 162-163.

88. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Yeni Felsefe Cemiyeti" op. cit., p.385.
89. Şerif A. Mardin "İdeology and Revolution in the Turkish Revolution" International Journal of Middle East Studies, No, 2, 1971, pp. 197-211.
90. William Hale, "İdeology and Economic Development in Turkey" British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Vol. III, No. 2, 1980. pp 101 and 103.
91. Quoted Korkut Boratav Türkiye'de Devletçilik , (Etatism in Turkey). Gerçek Yay. 1974, p. 146 in William Hale ibid., p. 103.
92. Defender of the Etatist policy Kadro (Cadre) was founded

in 1932. The licence of the review was owned by Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu) earlier writing in the review Dergâh (Court). Kadrc was published during 1932-1934 (36 issues).

93. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Telifçiliğin Tenakuzları (Contradictions Of Compromism), Mülkiye Mecmuası Yay., İstanbul., 1933 pp. 75-76.

94. Ibid. p. 66.

95. Ibid. p. 76

96. The founders of the Society are Mustafa Şekip (Tunç) (Chairman), Şevket Aziz (Kansu) and Kerim Erim, Şevket Aziz later becomes the director of the review Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi (Faculty of Language and History - Geography of the University of Ankara) which is the publication of the University founded in 1941.

Kerim Erim, a valuable professor of mathematics is one of Hilmi Ziya's maternal grand -father's (Salih Efendi) younger brother, Abdurrahman Paşa, who was a mathematician.

Those who cooperated with their articles for the annual are: İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Mustafa Şekip (Tunç), Hatemi Semih (Sarp), Ahmet Faik, Selmin Tevfik, Niyazi Hüsnü.

Names such as Mehmet Emin Erişirgil ( a defender of programatism), Mehmet Ali Şevki (fervent defender of the cause of Meslek-i İhtimai) and Ahmed Ağaoğlu (expressing at a theoretical level Celâl Bayar's views on

private enterprise).

97. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Yarım Adam (Unachieved Man) Şirket-i Mürettebiye Mat., İstanbul, 1943, p. 22.

98. TÇDT.; p. 442 also cf. p. 389 where he notes once more that it was Musa Akyiğitzade that brought for the first time attention to the subject, while discussing Mehmet Şemsettin (Yaltkaya)'s claim in the Zulmetten Nura (1922) about the same question. Information on Musa Akyiğitzade (1865-1923) born in Kazan there are two periods in his life according to the information Hilmi Ziya gives in his TÇDT pp. 215-221. The first period referring to his life in Kazan (1865-1887) information about that period in Yama Milli Yol (Yama National Path) a review in Tatar.

The second period of his life (1887-1923) which he spends in İstanbul, Hilmi Ziya tells about that period:

Musa Akyiğitzade was lecturing economics and Russian in the Yüksek Harp Okulu (Military School) after he was diplomed from Mülkiye in 1894. Published two the dailies Metin and Uç Kardeş which were closed in 1910 by the government of the Second Meşrutiyet ; he was exiled because he was defending a protectionist economy against Mehmet Cavit's liberalist economy representing the official view.

in TÇDT, p. 272 Musa Carullah Biği (1875-1949), finishing his studies at the Medrese in Kazan comes to İstanbul where he lives at Mustafa Akyiğitzades who suggested him to go to Egypt where Musa Carullah gets acquainted with Muhammed Abdul.

According to the information given by Mrs. Gülseren Artunkal Musa Akyiğitzade is Hilmi Ziya's maternal uncle.

Abdullah Battal Taymas says: "as soon as Musa Akyiğitzade had finished his studies in the Russian school he moved to İstanbul where he started to serve the Turkish cause and Islam" in Kazan Türkleri (The Turks of Kazan) Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yay. No. 15, Ankara, 1966, p. 118.

99. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü (The Role of Translation in the Revival Periods) Vakıf, İstanbul, 1935, p. 22.

100. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Hangi Garb" (which West), İnsan (Human), Vol. I, No. 3, (June), 1938, pp. 185-186.
- Within this framework he cites the translations he has done himself from Boutroux's Contingency of the Law of Nature (Tabiat Kanunlarında İmkan) which was published in 1947 though translated in 1934; Schlick's Science and Philosophy (İlim ve Felsefe, pub. 1934, and Gaston Bachelard's Le Nouvel Esprit Scientifique (Yeni İlimi Zihniyet, pub. 1934). To those translations in the field of philosophy we shall add Spinoza's Ethics (pub. 1944) and Aristotles' Metaphysics first book (pub. 1935) with annotations. Hilmi Ziya's translations on sociological subjects are from Gaston Richard's Preliminary Knowledge in Sociology (İçtimaiyat Hakkında İptidai Malumat, 1924) Baudouin's Suggestion and Self Suggestion (Telkin ve Kendini Telkin), and Hesse's and Gleyse's sociology with Mehmet İzzet. Besides these works Hilmi Ziya had done some translations in the field of literatur like Dostoievsky's Le Mari Eternel which has not been published or works from Malraux or Erasme's Eloge de la Folie (Deliliğe Övgü) which have been published in the İnsan (Human): or in the Felsefe Yıllığı the translation he

made from de Brooglie's Determinism and Causality in Contemporary Physics (Muasır Fizikte Determinizm ve İlliyet), and "Waves and Particles" (Mevceler ve Cisimcikler).

101. In TCDT, pp 457-458.

Like Ismail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and Ömer Ferit Kam from the Faculty of Letters Kemal Cenap and Hamdi Hoca from the Faculty of Medicine.

Ismail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1886-1878) was the first president of the Darülfünûn in the history of the Republic.

He held this office between 1923-1924. Since 1919 he was lecturing pedagogy, sociology and psychology. He has been Hilmi Ziya's professor. After his dismissal in 1933 he published his own review Yeni Adam (New Man) till the year 1942. In 1942 he is appointed to the Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi.

The same year he becomes a deputy and gets into political life. In 1930 he was the president of Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası in the province of Istanbul.

Baltacıoğlu has been dismissed from the Faculty of Letters in 1933, Ömer Ferit Kam was then giving the courses of annotations of texts and Persian Literature, and close friend of Tahir-ül Mevlevi (Olgun) who was arrested in 1925 with Ömer Rıza Doğrul and other 28 people for having provoked a reactionary movement in Istanbul.

102. Mete Tunçay "1933 Üniversite Reformu" (The University Reform of 1933) Saçkaç (Fringe) No. 11 (December), 1984 p. 36.

103. Ibid. pp 35-36

104. TCDT. p. 457.

105. The review İnsan (Human) appears between the years 1938 and 1943 with two breaks in its publication. The first break is between 8 May 1938 - 1 April 1941, the second one between October 1941 - February 1943, The most brilliant period of the review is its first period. There were twelve issues and the founders of the review were : Nurullah Ataç, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Muzaffer Şerif. Hilmi Ziya had been the owner and the director of the review till its last issue in 1943. Names such as Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, Pertev N. Boratav, Mustafa Şekip Tunç, Rifki Melül Meriç were appearing continuously in the first period of the review. In the fifth issue places are given to the poems of poets such as Yahya Kemal, Orhan Veli, Rifki Melül Meriç, Selahattin Kudret Aksal, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar or Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu. In its second period, that is April-October 1941, Hilmi Ziya appears as the owner and the responsible director, while the editor is A. Hakgüder. Three of the early founders of the review no longer appear in the review. Finally in the last period of the İnsan (Human), February-August 1943 which starts with the twentieth issue, Hilmi Ziya is the owner and the general director of publication. In its last period the number of signatures appearing in the review increases. Now the circle is much more academic Hasan Tanrıkut later Hilmi Ziya's Assistant, Peyami Sefawas saying that the review İnsan was resembling to "a Front Populaire", in the daily Cumhuriyet (1938)

106. Tekin Erer Yasakçılar (the Prohibitors). Toker Mat., İstanbul, 1965., p. 65

107. Fifteen issues of the review are published under the direction of Hilmi Ziya. After 1960 the review is directed by the "publication commission formed by N.Ş. Kösemihal, C. Tanyol and H. Inandık.

Cavit Orhan Tütengil, one of his students which becomes later Z.F. Fındıkoğlu's assistant at the Sociology Department of the Faculty of Letters in the University of İstanbul, and later professor, tells that Hilmi Ziya had published in the first issue of the review, the modest field research they had done about a textile industry "probably to encourage us to do field work" and adds that his license thesis on Prince Sabahattin, which was proorsored by Hilmi Ziya, had been published in the 4-5 issues of the review. This thesis was published as a book in 1954 under the title Prince Sabahattin in Sosyoloji Konferansları XVII Kitap, op. cit., p. 32

108. The review had only one issue. Only translations were published the original text was given on the side of the translation.

Macit S. Gökberk is its other publisher.

109. The Society of Sociology was founded in December 1949 the first meeting of the society is held at the Beyoğlu Halkevi. Its board of directions: Hilmi Ziya Ülken (president), Z.F. Fındıkoğlu (vice-president) Selmin Evrim (secretary), Ali Rıza Korap (accountant) Among the associates there were N.H. Kösemihal M.R. Öymen. The society organised the XV.th Sociology of International Congress in 11-17 September 1952, among the participants were P. Sorokin from USA, G. Bouthoul from France, E. Hayashi (Japan) and Corrado Gini from Italy.

The first publication of the society is Sosyoloji Dünya-



si issued in 1951. Its editors: Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Ali Rıza Korap, and Nahid Tendar. In the first issue the purpose of the review was defined under three items:

- not to give place to any interference between politics and science
- to spare the studies from any prejudice, especially from that of religion
- to give place to studies either in theoretical or in applied fields.

Among those participants in the review were Kazım Nami Duru, Peyami Safa, Z.F. Fındıkoğlu, Reşat Kaynar, Eflatun Cem Güney, Dr. Bedi Şehsüvaroğlu, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Selahattin Demirkan.

Sosyoloji Dünyası had only three issues the last one being dated July 1953.

110. Salâh Birsal "Bir Hilmi Ziya Vardı" (There was a Hilmi Ziya) Sosyoloji Konferansları Kitap XVII, 1979, p.30
111. Dr. Mehmet Ziya's name is omitted in the list of the dismissed professors from the schools of Dentistry and Pharmacology that Mete Tunçay gives in the review Bilim ve Sanat (Science and Art), (October), 1984.
112. Suggested to Dr. Mehmed Ziya by Yusuf Akçura, very close friend of the family. He had been their neighbors at the manor at Dizdâriye, during the Armistice, after his return from Russia. Yusuf Akçura's daughter was called Ülken.
113. Von Mises was appointed to the chair of mathematics at the Faculty of Science, G. Kessler to the chair of sociology and Rustow to the chair of economical geography

and history of philosophy and Peters to the chair of applied psychology at the Faculty of Economy.

Hans Reichenbach from the University of Berlin was lecturing systematic philosophy, the chair of this subject was newly founded, at the Faculty of Letters. He founded with some of the professors of the Faculties of Science and Letters, the Natural Sciences Association. He has been influential on today's Turkish lecturers of philosophy such as Nusret Hızır (died in 1980) Vehbi Eraip and Nermin Uygur. Reichenbach left for America in 1936, in TCDT, pp. 457-458.

114. The first annual Felsefe Yıllığı (1931-1932) two articles: İsmail Hakkı (Baltacıoğlu) "Pedagoji ve Şahsiyet" (Pedagogy and Personality)

Hilmi Ziya (Ülken) "Cemiyet ve Marazi Şuur" (Society and Psychoneurosis).

the other names were Mustafa Şekip (Tunç), Hatemi Semih (Sarp), Fahrettin Kerim (Gökay), Selmin Tefvik, and Ahmet Faik.

Ahmet Faik's article "Türk-İslam feylozoflarında Mizaç Nazariyeleri" (Character Theories of Turkish - İslam Philosophes)

-the second annual Felsefe Yıllığı (1934-1935) Mehmet Şerefettin (Yaltkaya) contributes, with his translation of "Correspondance philosophique d'Ibn Sab avec l'Empereur Frederic II", from A.I. Mehren, the other participants are Mustafa Şekip Tunç, Hatemi Semih (Sarp), Selmin Tefvik (Devrim), Macit Şükrü (Gökberk), Nusret Şükrü (Nusret Hızır) and Mümtaz Turhan.

Nusret Hızır's contribution is with the translation of the "the Logical Principles of the Probability Calculation" from Hans Reichenbach.

Mehmet Şerafettin Yaltkaya (1879-1949), to whom Hilmi

Ziya refers as a "turbaned Turk", is an Islam modernist whose ideas are "very close to those of (Şemseddin) Günaltay. But in matters of religion he is in between the medrese and tasavvuf, and he seperates between tasavvuf and the roted organisation of the tarikat (orders)'s in TCDT, p. 392.

Ibn'i Sâbî's correspondance seen as one of the first seeds of the Renaissance, an intellectual contact which leads the west to discover the Antic greek through Islam.

115. Abidin Nesimi Yılların İçinden (Through the Years) Gözlem Yay. İstanbul, 1977. p. 180.
116. Özay Mehmet "Türkey in Crisis" International Journal of Middle East Studies (15) (1983), p. 53
117. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Foreword" Sosyoloji'nin Problemleri (The Problems of Sociology), Hüsnütabiat Mat., İstanbul, 1955. p. VII.
118. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Telifciliğin Tenakuzları, op. cit., p. 5.
119. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Foreword", op.cit, p. VII.
120. Francois Georgeon Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), Editions ADPF, Paris, 1980, p. 49.

121. Cemal Süreya "Eski Dergiler (7): İnsan " (The Old Reviews (7) İnsan", Milliyet Sanat Dergisi (Art Magazine of Milliyet) 1977.
122. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Tanzimat ve Hümanizma" (The Reformation and Humanism) İnsan Vol I, No. 9 (February) 1938, p. 691.
123. TÇDT, p. 320 note 518.
124. Ibid,  
While in Tiflis in 1905, Hüseyinzade Ali wrote in the newspaper Hayat (Life), with Ali Ahmet Aşaoğlu, Ali Merdan Topçubaşioğlu and Zeynelabiddin Taşayef, articles like "who are the Turks and of whom they consist" or "which science do we need". The three principles of "Türkleşme-Islamlaşmak-Avrupalılaşmak" (to become a Turk, Muslim and Europeanized) were advanced in this second article. Seven years later Ziya Gökalp, without mentioning Hüseyinzade's name, published his article "Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muassarlaşmak" (in TÇDT, pp. 262-263)
125. TÇDT, p. 320 and note 519.  
Hüseyinzade was working for that purpose on the one hand on the translation of Şehname (the Book of the Kings) by Fırdevsi and on the other hand on the translation of the western epic literature, (in TÇDT, pp. 269 note 357)

126. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Ali Turan" Yeni İnsan (New Man), Vol VII, No. 84, 1969, p.7
127. The review were published by a group of progressist teachers at the Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi in Ankara.
128. TÇDT., p. 380.
129. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Yeni ve Eski Mecmualar" (The New and the Old Reviews) İnsan Vol I, No. 3, (15 April) 1938 pp. 273-274.
130. Abidin Nesimi Yılların İçinden (Through the Years) Gözlem Yay. İstanbul, 1977, pp. 180-200.  
Cami Baykurt, worked with Atatürk during all the Independence War years. He was an opponent of the one-party and one-chief system. He withdrew from politics after İnönü got to power.  
He was socialist. But he believed that socialism should use the principles of religion, because the Turkish people was above all muslim. He was arguing that one should not run counter the religions beliefs of the people, in the contrary he was defending that one should guide people to socialism through the path of religion. He knew Islam very well. He saw a great resemblance between socialism and Islam. Therefore he believed that socialism could be realized in Turkey only through the path of religion. He used to write in the daily Tan (Dawn). in Zekeriya Retel Hatırladıklarım (What I remember), 3rd. ed. Gözlem Yayınları, İstanbul, 1977. pp. 246-247.

131. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Posta Yolu (Road of Transfer), Şirketi Mürettibiye Basımevi, İstanbul, 1941.

132. Rauf Mutluay "Hilmi Ziya'nın Roman Dünyası, "İnsan Meddû-  
Cezri" (Hilmi Ziya's Universe of Novel: Human Tide)  
Sosyoloji Konferansları Kitap XIII, İstanbul, 1979, p.60-62:

Rauf Mutluay notes Hilmi Ziya he wrote his war  
saga novel according to a development and an evolution,  
that one can infer from their titles this:

-Bağ Bozumu the collapse and the defeat years of the  
years before the Armistice

-Yarım Adam the first six months of the Armistice  
where the Kuvai-Milli (National Milices)  
was still called Kuvai-Bagiye (Rebellious  
Forces)

-Posta Yolu the relation between İstanbul and Anatolia  
Starts

-Kurtlar ve Kuzu might be telling about the strive  
of the Eşraf and the Anatolian bourgeoisie  
who was supporting the war of Independence,  
and the mass which was to be sacrificed

-Deli Dumrul must be the history of a hopeless salvati-  
on

-Yeni Komedya must be the post-war years which had not  
been as it was dreamt, but is a deception.

NOTE: two other Novels should take place after Posta Yolu:  
Halil Pertev and Göç (from Yarım Adam)

Mutluay relates that Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel said to him: "We have lived sometimes in the same thouse. We went to bed. Got up and found him always at the table working. Believe me, he must have at least 20 novels in his coffer". (p. 56)

His novels show more antobiographical value than literary. There is a thesis entitled "Hilmi Ziya Ülken's and Kemal Tahir's novels in relation to the social aspect of the War of Independence" written by Mahir Konu as a thesis for B.A. degree for the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Letters in the University of Istanbul. The thesis was sponsored by Cahit Tanyol. The thesis is registered in the library of the department with the code U 266.

It is the comparision of Hilmi Ziya Ülken's Yarım Adam with Kemal Tahir's Esir Şehirin İnsanları, Esir Şehirin Mahpusu, and Yorgun Savaşçı.

The date of the submission of the thesis: February 1978.

133. The collective exhebition is called "Liman (Port) to which participates Abidin Dino, Avni Arbaş, Nuri İyem, Mümtaz Yener, Ferruh Başağa, Agop Arad (who was designing the cover of İnsan in its third period). Turgut Atabay, Nejat Devrim.

Arslan Kaynardağ "Sanatçı Estetikçi Olarak Hilmi Ziya" Sosyoloji Konferansları, Kitap XVII, Istanbul, 1977, p. 52. Kaynardağ notes that he was the first one to have done a sociological work about painting in his Resim ve Cemiyet (Painting and Society), a book of little volume published in 1942. Hilmi Ziya's paintings are: 23 potraits, 3 of them being his own portrait, 6 of his wife, 4 of his daughter, and 11 of his friends. He pointed 13 paysages and 6 nature mortes.

134. Salah Birsell "Bir Hilmi Ziya Vardı", op. cit., p. 28.
135. Allen Hetmanek, Islam Under the Soviets, Georgetown University, Ph. D., 1965, University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
136. Religion was considered as a barrier for the new socialist socialization policy because religion was the best way for the transmission of traditional social structure. This seems to be confirmed with the happenings which occurred in Bulgaria: muslim Turks were severely persecuted and still are in the 1980's.  
The Bulgarian government tries to solve the problem of the integration of the Muslim Turks by obliging them to leave their religious and ethnic identity. But as one can follow from the information given by the press, the suppression seems to reinforce this identity.
137. Aziz Nesin Benim Delilerim (My Lunatics), Adam Yay. 1984.
138. Burhan Anıl "Hocam Ülkenle İlgili Anılar ve Düşünceler" (My Memories and Thoughts about my Teacher Ülken) Sosyoloji Konferansları Kitap XVII, İstanbul, 1979, p.22
139. Fazlur Rahman İslam, Selçuk Yay., İstanbul, 1981, p.272 (Trans. Mehmet Dağ- Mehmet Aydın)
140. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Tarihi Matdeciliğe Reddiye (Refutation of Historical Materialism), 4th ed. İstanbul Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1981. p. 187.



141. W.C. Smith, L'Islam dans le Monde Moderne (trans. A. Guimbretiere), Payot, Paris, 1962, p. 220
  
142. Uriel Heyt Revival of Islam in Modern Turkey  
The Magness Press, The Hebrew University, 1968, p. 8
  
143. Hilmi Ziya "says in the foreword of this work which was planned in two volumes (but only the first appeared)  
"In the first volume the writings are chosen from the main Turkish Sufis which belong to the schools of peripatetism and the sufisistaiyyun and their political theories. The second volume is consacretated to Muhid-din Arabi and the sufis who follow him".  
The analogy Hilmi Ziya makes are for examples:  
Between Erzurumlu İsmail Hakkı (1115-1186) and Darwinism or between Bedrettin Simavi's (1363-1420) views and that of Spinoza's "natura naturante" and Leibniz's monadology.
  
144. Hilmi Yavuz "Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Ulusal Tefekkür ve Doğu-Batı Sorunları" (The National Thought and the East-West Problematic) Günümüzde Kitaplar (Books Today) Vol I., No. 11, (November), 1984, p. 25.
  
145. The translation and the revision of the European Encyclopedia of Islam was realised under the editorship of Adnan Adıvar with a group of scholars at Faculty of Letters.
  
146. H.A. Reed, "Revival of Islam in Secular Turkey"  
Middle East Journal , Vol. VIII, No.3, 1954 pp.267-282.

147. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Demokratik Cemiyetlerd İleri ve Geri" (Progress and Reaction in Democratic Societies) İstanbul Dergisi (Review of İstanbul) No. 64, 1946, in Millet ve Tarih Şuuru (Nation and Conscience of History) Pulhan Matbaası, İstanbul, 1948, p. 97.
148. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Hürriyete giden Yollar" (The Roads Leading to Liberty), İnsani Vatanperverlik, 1933, in idem. p. 90.
149. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Türk Milletinin Teşekkülü" (The Formation of the Turkish Nation) in ibid., p. 373.  
Sait Halim Paşa would say too "Parlamentarism...can be applied only in a country where the national unity has been established strongly. Unfortunately the problem of nationalism has a much different character in our country. On the other hand this system can be applied only in a very harmonious (stable) society. We do not have this quality" in "Öykümmeciliğimiz" (Our Mimetic Character) Toplumsal Çözülme Buhranlarımız (Our Crisis of Social Desintegration) Burhan Yay., İstanbul. 1983, p. 40. The article was first published in 1910 - transcription by M.E. Düzdağ.
150. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Hürlük ve Mesullük" (Liberty and Responsibility), İstanbul Dergisi, No. 69, (1 October), 1946 in ibid., p. 80-81
151. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Devrim Kitlede mi Ferde midir " (Is Revolution based on Mass or on the Individual) Yeni Sabah 27 March 1950.

152. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Hürlük ve Mesullük", op. cit., p. 82.
153. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Türk Milletinin Teşekkülü", op. cit., p. 374.
154. Osman Faruk Loğoğlu "İsmet İnönü and the Political Modernization of Turkey, 1945-1965", Princeton University, Ph. D. 1970., p. 141.
155. Investigation about the progressist professors of the University in Ankara were done in 1947. Among them were Behice Boran, Niyazi Berkes (Hilmi Ziya's student), and Pertev Naili Boratav. They were judged in 1949 and were condemned to three months of jail and divest of their official rights. Boratav was acquitted. Hilmi Ziya had been among the professors that made the investigations, he, at each time would write in the report of conjuror that there was no ground for accusations. (this information was given to us by Mrs. Gülseren Artunkal)
156. Hilmi Ziya Ülken tells in detail the formation of the commission who had chosen the first professors to that faculty in his article, "Prof. Dr. Hikmet Birand (1904-1972) "Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi" (Review of the Faculty of Divinity at the University in Ankara) Vol XIX-XX, 1973, pp. 219-221 Prof. Hikmet Birand who was then the president of the University of Ankara was asked by the Minister of the Education of the time, Tahsin Banguoğlu, to gather a commission who would choose the professors to be appointed to the Faculty of Divinity which was to be set up

on the decision of the government.

This was the time where İsmet İnönü was the President of the Republic and Ord. Prof. Şemsettin Günaltay the Prime Minister. Prof. Birand came to the Faculty of Letters at University in Istanbul to tell Mükrimin Halil Yinanç and me about the government's project, to open a Faculty of Divinity. His coming must have been on Şemsettin Günaltay's suggestion because neither of us knew much about him and Mükrimin Halil Yinanç had been Şemsettin Günaltay's student earlier. He knew me from the days when he became the dean of the Faculty at the Istanbul University in 1933. The other names Prof. Hikmet Birand had chosen for the formation of the commission: Prof. Şinasi Altındağ (from Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi) Prof. Esat Arsebük (from Faculty of Law in Ankara).

We met almost a week to fix the names of the professors that could be candidates for the professorship at the new Faculty. We had chosen from the old Faculty of Divinity (1924) Yusuf Ziya İbrukan and Ömer Hilmi Euda (they had prepared the reform program shelved in 1928). Remzi Oğuz Arık for the subject of Arts of Turkish Islam and Esat Arsebük was suggested by Hikmet Birand for the course of Islamic Law. Thus the first commission of professors of the Faculty was formed by four professors. We fixed the chairs under two groups first, one being the fundamental knowledge about Islam (Tefsir, Hadis, Islamic Law), the second group was concerned about the sciences on Islamic civilization.

For the sociology courses we thought about İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, but he was not disposed to do it, whereas Burhan Toprak accepted to lecture the course about Sufi literature. Hilmi Ziya concludes "The later development of the Faculty has not always been in accordance with that of the commission. But in its main trait its development followed the line we

traced. How the Faculty developed after we had finished our work is not our subject here".

When Yeni Sabah (21 October 1949) announces the opening of the Faculty of Divinity, it is said that more than 70 students were registered and the name of the teachers and the courses were listed as follows:

Esat Arsebük : Islamic Law  
(From the Faculty of Law)

Hilmi Ömer Buda : History of Religions  
(specialist in the Dil Kurumu:  
Association of Language)

Yusuf Ziya Yörükan : History of Islamic Schools of  
Thought (from the council board  
of the Religious Affairs)

(NOTE: Hilmi Ziya says to have met him during his studies of philosophy and sociology and that they became close friends because of their common interest in literature).

Remzi Oğuz Arık : History of Islamic Art  
(Director of the Ethnography Museum of  
Ankara)

(NOTE: in Yeni Sabah (12 April 1954)

Hilmi Ziya says to have met him for the first time at his father's house in the beginning of 1924. and adds "he should have been an artist", the aridity of science was a chain winding his feet".

Necati Lügal : Arabic and Persian  
(Faculty of Language and History-  
Geography)

Prof. Hikmet Birand was the older brother of Hilmi Ziya's student Kamiran Birand, who passed a thesis spoussored by Hilmi Ziya. The subject was "Traces of Englisgtenment Philosophy in the Period of Tanzimat".

Later Kamiran Birand became a professor at the Faculty of Divinity in Ankara.

157. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Islam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü" (Institute of Investigations in Islam) Yeni Sabah 13 November 1950  
With the law of Unification of Education (Tevhid-i-Tedrisat promulgated in 1925 the old Medrese of Süleymaniye was joined to the Darülfünun as the Faculty of Theology of that institution.  
Şerafettin Yaltkaya was then professor at that faculty. The Darülfünun remained one of the rare institution which was untouched till the year 1933. As this institution never really attempted to reformate itself the Reformation was realized with the Reformation of Turkish University in 1933. In 1933 the statute of the Faculty of Theology was changed in an institute called "Islamic Studies Institute" (Islam Araştırmaları Enstitüsü). With this change the old Faculty of Theology got a limited effectiveness as far as the number of its students was automatically reduced. Yaltkaya was appointed at the head of the institute.  
He held this office till the year 1947 when he was named the president of the Department of Religions Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Reisliği)

158. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "İslam Dünyasını Tanımak" (To get Acquainted with the Islamic World) Yeni Sabah 8 February 1954.
  
159. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Yirminci Asır Filozofları (Philosophers of the Twentieth Century), Ahmed Said Mat., Istanbul 1937., p. 77.
  
160. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Millet ve Emperialism" (Nation and Imperialism) Yeni Sabah 5 September 1949.
  
161. W.C. Smith , opt. cit., p. 254.
  
162. "Müslümanlıkta Reform Lazım mıdır?" (Is there a need for Reform in Islam?"!) Türk Düşüncesi (Turkish Thought) Vol X, S 52 (1), (15 December), 1958, p. 53-55  
 Among the participants to this survey were:  
 İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, the lawyer Bekir Berk., İsmail Hami Danişmend, Nurettin Topçu, Sadı Irmak, Ali Fuat Başgil, Mehmet Kaplan, Mümtaz Türhan, Ahmet Ateş.  
 The review was found by Peyami Safa. The participants: İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, İsmail Hami Danişmend, Abdülkadir Karahan; Behçet Kemal Çağlar, Asaf Halet Çelebi and Ali Püsküllüoğlu with their poems; Sadı Samura and Züheyra Münif with their short story; Füzûzan Hüsrev Tökin with her translations and studies on religious orders. Bekir Berk was the advocate at the Nakşibendi trials.  
 Some of the articles which were published in the review are as follow:

- 1) İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu  
 "Aydınlar Din Gerçeğini ne Zaman Göreceksiniz?"  
 (Intellectuals when are you going to see the reality  
 of religion?" (Vol IV, No. 23, 1955)
- 2) İbnü'l-Küyyar Semahaddin Cem  
 "İslamda İrade ve Kader"  
 (Will and Fate in Islam)  
 (Vol X, No. 52/1, 1958)
- 3) Av. Bekir Berk  
 "Nurculuk Bir İrtica Hareketi midir ? "  
 (Is Nurculuk (Illuminism)  
 a Reactionary Movement) (Vol X, No. 56/5, 1959)  
 "Milletle Mal Olmayan İnkılap"  
 (A Revolution Which was not Assumed by the Nation)  
 (Vol X, No. 58-57, 1959)

163. Uriel Heyd, Op. cit., p. 20.

164. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Ömer Rıza Doğrul" Yeni Sabah  
 17 March 1952.

Ömer Rıza Doğrul was among the 28 persons arrested in 1925 for being involved in a reactionary movement in Istanbul against the Reform of western headgear and dress, symbols of westernization.

Ömer Rıza Doğrul was then the English translator of the Egyptian newspaper.

Ömer Rıza Doğrul was Mehmet Akif (Ersoy)'s bridegroom.



165. Known as Bediüzzam, or Said-i Nursi, as he was called, was born at Bitlis in the village Nurs. He devoted himself to the path of Tasavvuf (Sufism). He commented in a very fluent style the subjects about science and providence in the Koran. By saying words about the Islamic Kelam (words of the script) from the point of view of Tasavvuf (Sufism)., He succeeded to gather around him a great mass. According to his words he was not interested in politics but against this claim he was suspected to have been involved in the 31 Mart (March) Event, in 1908. He was interrogated, then exiled. Free in 1908, he came back to Istanbul. Sentenced and taken in custody after 1925 Rebellion, he was forgiven by the Democratic party government in 1950 and freed. In 1960, while on a journey, he died in Urfa.

His works have been collected under the title Nur Risaleleri (Illumination Epistles), but they have been forbidden with the law no. 243.

Neda Arsaner, Nurculuk (Illuminism) in Vasan Küçük, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Tarikatler" (Religious Orders under the Republic), Tarikatların Türk Toplumundaki Sosyal Fonksiyonu (The Social Function of Religious Orders in the Turkish Society), University of Istanbul, Faculty of Letters, Department of Sociology. Ph. D. Delivered in 1971.

166. In 12 July 1942 with the Truman Doctrine Turkey gets in the military sphere under the control of the USA. In 4 July 1948 with the Marshall Plan an economical cooperation is signed. American Military aid to implement the Truman doctrine in 20 April 1949 Communism is declared illegal, and the articles concerned with the leftist movement in the constitution, articles

141 and 142, the punishment are doubled.

167. The government had been unable to arrest Mr. C. Benneci in the hunt of 1955, he died from a heart attack while he was waiting for his arrest at home (the information was given by Mr. Gülseren Artunkal). Some of the headlines in daily Yeni Sabah were:

-14 January 1951 : A Secret Communist Association  
17 Communists were arrested in  
Ankara

-16 January 1951 : An Underground Communist Party  
is discovered, 19 adherents  
are arrested

-18 January 1951 : New Arrests, 200 houses were  
searched in Istanbul.

In total 186 persons are arrested. Their adjudication starts in 15 October 1953, in 1954 120 of them are sentenced to 6 months to 10 years of jail. Finally in 1957 34 of them are sentenced to 1 to 15 years of jail.

168. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Tarihi Maddeciliğe Reddiye (Refutation of of Historical Materialism) 4th. ed., Istanbul Kitabevi, Istanbul, 1981, pp 281 and 107.

169. Ibid., pp 226 and 109.

170. *Ibid.*, p. 297 and p. 229.

171. Korea had gained its independence in 1945 only as a country divided in North-South, the former was under the control of the Soviet Army, the latter under the USA.

172. An association called "Barış Severler Cemiyeti" (Defenders of Peace) was founded, but soon an investigation about the association was organized and it declared that the association was in contact with an external organization and that they were following the directives of the communist French atom scientist Curie. Among the associates were Behice Boran and the printer, Cemal Anıl (Yeni Sabah 1 August 1950 and 21 October 1950)

173. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *op. cit.* p. 187.

174. Hilmi Ziya Ülken: Humanisme des Cultures, Imprimerie de l'Université, Ankara, 1967., p. 119.

175. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Relations et Differences entre la Connaissance et la Valeur" Akten der XIV Internationalen Kongresses für Philosophie Wien, 2-7 September 1968, Heider Wien, p. 544.

176. Niyazi Berkes Batıcılık, Ulusçuluk ve Toplumsal Devrimler (Westernism, Nationalism and Social Revolution) in

II. part of Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu ( The Problem of West in the Turkish Thought), Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 1975. p. 217.

177. Hilmi Ziya, op. cit. 544, p. 544

178. Niyazi Berkes, op. cit., p. 218.

179. Some of the happenings which occurred are:

- 30 June 1951 : Statute of Atatürk is broken
- 5 July 1951 : The number of the arrested Ticanis reaches 2000
- 27 August 1951 : Five Ticanis are sentenced to three months
- 28 August 1951 : Seven more Ticanis are arrested and so on. Their leader was Kemal Plavoğlu whose work Müslüman Kadın Din Kitabı (The Religion Book of the Muslim Girl) made its tenth edition in 1983. Some of the happenings about the Nakşibendî movements are:
  - 3 July 1951 : 22 Nakşibendîs and their leader Dursun Kolcu are arrested
  - 6 October 1952 : 22 Bektâşîs and their leader, the leader of the Bektâşîs in the world Sırrî Baba were arrested in the course of an forbidden service.

- 3 February 1954 : 17 Nakşibendi leaders from different parts of Turkey were arrested in the course of a foribâden service.
- 15 November 1954 : the Şeyh of the Bahai Order Kazım Gülyuva is arrested.
- 27 March 1955 : the Nakşi Şerafettin Bayçora was arrested with 22 women in the course of a foribâden Service.

180. G.H. Jansen Militant Islam , Pan Book, London, 1981 (3<sup>rd</sup> printing), p. 119.

181. Osman Faruk Loloğlu, op. cit., p. 148.

182. İş ve Düşünce (Action and Thought) "Gazetecilik" (Journalism) Vol XXXI, No. 251 (September) 1965  
Yeni Sabah had been on circulation between 1938-1964. Hilmi Ziya wrote there from 1949 on to 1957. The daily had changed ownership in 1947.  
 The director of Yeni Sabah had announced in one of the Istanbul newspapers through an advertisement published in 1 July 1964, their closure. It was said in the advertisement that "We are no longer able to cope with today's conditions, we are closing Yeni Sabah. Our circulation is 60.000 daily". It was added to the announcement that they did not want to get in such a position where they would be unable to pay their staff. The review iş ve Düşünce organized a research competition under the title "Yeni Sabah (1938-1964) in the History of Turkish Journalism".

It was said in the review that Yeni Sabah was a subject of interesting research with no peer. Attention was given to investigation of its reason of closing. The deadline of the competition was 30 December 1965. It was remarked in the review that it was astonishing that the other newspapers did not pay any attention to the closing of Yeni Sabah, at least from an ethically professional standpoint. It was argued that the other newspapers could have got interested in the matter at least by fear of becoming subject to the same fate.

The daily Yeni Sabah was founded in 1938 by Cemaleddin Saracoğlu (1893-?). A well-known Turkish journalist. In 1918 he published in french the review Cin ; in Istanbul, Parmak İzi.

183. For example the cartoonist of Yeni Sabah, Ratip Tahir had been sentenced for sixteen months of custody for one of his cartoons satirizing the new draft law about the censorship of the press.

184. The other weekly writing names are:

- On economics : Ord. Prof. Şükrü Baban
- On arts : Cemal Tollu
- On psychology : Prof. Sabri Esat Siyavuşçılı
- On ethics : Dr. Cahit Tanyol (Hilmi Ziya's Assistant)
- On education : Prof. Bedii Ziya Egenen

-on law : Prof. Sulhi Dönmezer who was appointed many times to prepare reports about the accusations of the professors seen as leftists)

185. The article dates 1 July 1950. It is known that Prince Sabahattin had some influence on the party during the course of its foundation. According to the information Mrs. Gülseren Artunkal gave to me Hilmi Ziya was corresponding with Prince Sabahattin who was living in France.

186. Türk Düşüncesi was published by Peyami Safa and made its first issue in 1 December 1953, where in its foreword it was said "the West or the Europe which many of our thinkers who believe that they are revolutionarient or the reviews that partisans of "westernism" defend, does not exist anymore. Their West-Europe is that of the past century. The aim of the review was to bring fertility to the barren life of arts and thought in parallel to the engines which brought productivity to the most infertill piece of lands in Anatolia. The root of this fruitfulness was to be the sources of the Turkish Thought. On Peyami Safa (1899-1961): from TCDD., pp. 440-442 He was a fervent adherent of the Republican Party. But became one of the leading spokesmen of the Democratic Party after 1951. He became silent in 27 May 1960. and died a year later.

He leaned to religion and joined mystical thoughts after 1951. Peyami Safa is indebted for many of his ideas to Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Şemsettin Günaltay and İzmirli İsmail Hakkı. He used to participate in the cenacle

which used to gather around Ahmed Ağaoğlu in the 1930's

187. Cavit Orhan Tütengil "Ülken Üzerine Notlar" (Notes on Ülken) Sosyoloji Konferansları Kitap XVII, Istanbul, 1979, p. 33-34.
188. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "İnsani Vatanperverlik" (Humanism Patriotique), Yeni Sabah, 5 October 1953
189. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Humanisme des Cultures, Imprimerie de l'Universite'de Ankara, 1967., p. 74.
190. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Kültür ve Medeniyet" (Culture and Civilization) Türk Düşüncesi (Turkish Thought), Vol III, No. 13, (1 December), pp. 10-11
191. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Batıda ve Bizde İrtica" (Reactionary Movements in the West and in our Country) Türk Düşüncesi (Turkish Thought), Vol. X, No. 56, 1959, p. 8.
192. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Humanisme et Literature: Epique en Turquie", Orientalia Suecana, Vol VII, (1958), Uppsala p. 126, note 2.
193. G.H. Jansen, op. cit., p. 199.



194. Yeni Sabah 28 October 1955

The commanding office of Martial Law announces that the newspapers were closed with no delay because of:

-the article "Turkish Army is Only at the Service of the Country" published in Ulus (25 October 1955) and the article which was published in Zafer (26 October 1955) "They Are Now Provoking The Army" which was a response to Ulus

The announcement was signed: Commander of Martial Law Nurettin Aknoz.

195. Yeni Sabah 9 March 1955.

The astrology book was written by a teacher at the Kabataş Lisesi and had passed from the approval of the commission of the Ministry of education. Examples of the kind were not unique : in Yeni Sabah "A new communist band has been brought into light on the suspect of the governor of Istanbul Dr. F.K. Gökay who saw a hammer and sickle located with mastery in a picture he was studying in an exhibition. As soon as the governor remarked the hammer and the sickle, he took a picture and ordered investigation" (5 March 1955) the painter Haşmet Akal was arrested and his home searched (11 March 1955) .

Examples could be multiplied somewhere there was always Stalin's profile, Lenine's portrait, or a hammer and sickle placed either masterfully or cunningly.

196. J. A.T. Kingsbury "Observations on Turkish Islam Today" Muslim World , Vol. XI, no. 2, (April), 1957, p. 125 and 131.

197. Daniel Lerner and Richard D. Robinson "Swords and Ploughshares: The Turkish Army as a Modernizing Force" World Politics, Vol XIII, No. 1, 1960, p. 32.
  
198. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Yeni Felsefe Cemiyeti", op. cit. p. 366.
  
199. Emin Ali Çavlı "Üniversitemizin Tekamül Tarihçesi" (A Short History of the Evolution of our University) İş ve Düşünce (Action and Thought), Vol. XXXI, No. 252, (December), 1965, p. 14.
  
200. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Aşk Ahlakı ('Morale of Love) 4th. ed., Ülken Yay., İstanbul, 1981, p. 198.
  
201. Prens Sabahattin Türkiye Nasıl Kurtulabilir? (How can Turkey be Saved?), (Transcription by Muzaffer Sencer), Elif Yay., İstanbul, 1965., pp. 57-58.
  
202. G.H. Jansen, op. cit., p. 166.
  
203. Sadi Borak, "Foreword" written by Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Atatürk ve Din, (Atatürk and Religion), Anıl Yay., İstanbul, 1962.
  
204. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Tarihi Maddeciliğe Reddiye (Refutation of Historical Materialism) 4th. ed., İstanbul Kitabevi, İstanbul 1981, p. 69.

It is noteworthy to remark that the publication of this work was done first when Turkey entered a period where governmental power was at the hand of the popular will, and that its other edition corresponds to the postmilitary take-over periods: 2nd. edition in 1962, 3rd edition, 1973, and finally 4th. edition 1981.

205. Kemal Karpaz "Ideology in Turkey after the Revolution 1960: Nationalism and Socialism", Readings in Politics, ed. Metin Heper, Vol I, Bosphorus University, p. 314.
206. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Siyasi Partiler ve Sosyalizm, (Political Parties and Socialism), Anıl Yay., İstanbul, 1963, p. 94.
207. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Tarihi Maddeciliğe Reddiye (Refutation of Historical Materialism) İstanbul Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1981. p. 68.
208. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Siyasi Partiler ve Sosyalizm, (Political Parties and Socialism), Anıl Yay., İstanbul, 1963, pp. 152-153.
209. Burhan Anıl. Op. cit., pp. 24-25.
210. Hatice Ülken "Eşim Hilmi Ziya'nın Özel Hayatı" (The Private life of my Husband Hilmi Ziya) Sosyoloji Konferansları Kitap XVII, İstanbul, 1979, p. 11.

211. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Les Tensions Sociales et les Relations Interculturelles" (4 September, Zürich, 1950, Congress) in Sosyoloji Bergisi (Review of Sociology), Vol. VII, No. 7, 1952, p. 121-123.
212. Sait Halim Paşa "Öykünmeciliğimiz" (Our Mimetic Character) (1910), in Toplumsal Çözülme Buhranlarımız (Our Crisis of Social Desintegration), Burhan Yay., İstanbul, 1983, p. 36, transcribed by M.E. Düzdağ.
213. Süleyman Hayri Bolay "Foreword" (by Hilmi Ziya Ülken), Türkiye'de Ruhçu ve Maddecî Görüşün Mücadelesi (The struggle of the Spiritualist and Materialist views in Turkey) Yağmur Yay., İstanbul, 1967. p. 6.
214. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Yeni Felsefe Cemiyeti", op. cit. p. 360.
215. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "İçtimai Araştırma Neden Yapılamıyor?", (Why Social Studies cannot be done) Yeni Sabah, 13 July, 1953.
216. The classification made by Hilmi Ziya was:
- 1) Plato, Campanella, Berkeley, Karl Marx, Durkheim  
Saint Anselmus, Schopenhauer, Bergson.
  - 2) Aristotles
  - 3) Descartes, Malebransch Spinoza, Leibniz, Wolf,  
Herbart and many philosophers, mounits defending  
scientism

## 4) Kant.

The first category is defined as being "a closed system" because philosophers are bound to social convictions. In the third category the thinkers are basing themselves on the assumption of "Universal Mecanism" and are trying to apply mathematical methods to all the degrees of existence. Kant and his followers are arguing that we cannot penetrate the essence of things.

Closed systems lead us to dogmatism because they are as a system in between philosophy and religion. On the other hand in Kant, knowledge of things is not identical with events.

in Mehmet Servet Berkin "Metafiziğe Dair" (On Philosophy) Felsefe ve İctimaiyat, 1929, p. 116-117.

217. Mehmet Servet Berkin, op. cit., p. 107.

218. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Yirmi İki Yıl Geciken Cevap"  
(The Twenty-two Years be lated Reply) Yeni Sabah,  
23 July 1951.

218. Şerif Mardin, Some Aspects of the Middle Eastern Sociology, from the the conference held in Alexandra  
"The State of the Social Sciences in the Middle East"  
July 1-10, 1974, Paper, No. 5.

220. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Tanzimattan Sonra Fikir Hareketleri"  
(Movements of Thought After the Reformation), Marif Mas.,  
İstanbul, 1940, p. 15-16.

221. *Ibid*, p. 17.
222. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Ahlak (Ethics) M. Sadık, Kağıtçı Mat., İstanbul, 1942, p. VI.
223. Erol Güngör İslam Tasavvufunun Meseleleri (The Problems of Islamic Sufism), Ötüken Yay., İstanbul, 1982, pp.213 and 215.
224. Said Halim Paşa "İslam Dünyasının Çöküşü Üzerine bir Deneme" (An Essay on the Collapse of the Islamic World) 1st ed. in 1917. op. cit.p. 133.
225. Tarık Zafer Tunaya "Türkiye'nin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma Hareketleri (Westernization Movements in the Political life of Turkey) Yedigün Mat., İstanbul, 1960. p. 226.
226. Erol Güngör, op. cit., 221.
227. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Bilgi ve Değer (Knowledge and Value) Aytemiz Kitabevi, Ankara, 1965, p. 424.
228. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Devletçilik" (Etatism) Yeni Sabah 27 March 1950.
229. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Bilgi ve Değer op. cit., 424.

230. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Tarihi Maddeciliğe Reddiye, op. cit., p. 233.
231. Hekimoğlu İsmail Minveli Abdullah, (Abdullah from Minye) 18th ed. Yeni Asya Yay., Istanbul, 1980.  
The novel have made its 21 rst ed. in 1984.
232. Andrew Greeley Unsecular Man (New York, 1972)  
in Proguostication of the Future of Religion in America  
J. Saure  
(Florida State. Ph. D. Religion general, 1976)  
University microfilms International Ann Arbor,  
Michigan USA, p. 107.
233. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Aşk Ahlakı (Moral of Love), 4th ed.  
Ülken Yay., Istanbul, 1981, p. 34.
234. W.C. Smith, op.cit., p. 244.
235. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, op. cit., pp. 25 and 123.
236. Andrew Greeley, New Agenda (New York, 1973)  
in ibid, p. 121-122.
237. ibid.
238. R.A. Nicholson The Idea of Personality in Sufism,  
Cambridge University Press, 1923, p. 19.

239. A.J. Arberry, Sufism, Mandala Books, 1979, p. 58.
240. Daniel Lerner "The New Turks" in The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernization in the Middle East, the Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1958, p. 150.
241. A.J. Arberry, op. cit., pp. 58-59.
242. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Yarım Adam (Unachieved Man), op. cit., p. 195.
243. Daniel Lerner, op. cit., p. 129.
244. *ibid*, p. 145.
245. Şevket Süreyya "İnkilabın Psikolojisi: Pessimist" (The Psychology of the Revolution: The Pessimist) Kadro (Cadre) (II. Kanun), 1932, No. 1.
246. *ibid*. p. 5.
247. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Cemiyet ve Marazi Şuur" (Society and Psychoneurosis) Felsefe Yıllığı (Annual of Philosophy) 1931-1932, Istanbul, pp. 54-55 and 72.
248. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Aşk Ahlakı" (Moral of Love) Türk



Düşüncesi (Turkish Thought) Vol. VI, No. 2/35, (January), 1957, p. 11.

249. R.A. Nicholson Studies in Islamic Mysticism  
2nd. ed. Cambridge University Press, 1967.  
p. 120.

250. Rifkî Melûl Meriç "Rubaiyat-ı Melûl" (Quatrains from Melûl) annotated by Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Milli Mecmua Bas., Istanbul, 1951. p.

251. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Türk Ahlakçıları " (Turkish Moralists), İnsan (Human) Vol II, No. 12, (8 May), 1939. p. 1009

252. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Tasavvuf Psikolojisi (Psychology of Tasavvuf), Istanbul Üniversitesi Yay. No. 307, Istanbul 1946, p. 198.

253. Ibid., p. 204.

254. Ibid.

255. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Humanisme des Cultures, of. cit., p. 44.

256. Ibid., p. 127.

257. The epithet reproachful "lawwama" is applied to the soul whilst it is still engaged in the struggle with the passions; after these have been vanquished, it is called "calm" (mutma'aw). During the former condition the soul is disobedient (sinful). If its desires are complied with, and obedient (virtuous) if they are thwarted. And the commanding (evie prompting) soul is the nefis-i emmare, i.e. the spirit regarded as a subject to the passions.  
in R.A. Nicholson Studies in Islamic Mysticism, 2 nd. ed., Cambridge University Press, 1921, reprinted 1967, p. 216, note 197, and p. 121.
258. Kemal Edip Kürkçüoğlu "Tasavvuf'a Dair" (On Tasavvuf) Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi (Journal of the Faculty of Divinity of the University of Ankara) Vol II, No. IV, 1953, p. 26-27.
259. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Tarihi Materializme Reddiye, op. cit., p. 382.
260. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Aşk Ahlakı, op. cit., p. 49
261. Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir) "Bir Ruh Fantazisi Yahut Yerli Peygamber" (A Fantasy of the Soul or a Local Prophet) Kadro (Cadre), Vol I, No. 1 (II Kanun), 1932, pp. 32-34.
262. Ibid. 35.

263. André Lalande Vocabulaire Technique et Critique de la Philosophie , 11 th. ed.,  
Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1972
264. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Tekzip" (Refusal), Galatasaray Dergisi,  
Vol I, No. 13, 1932, pp. 36 and 35.
265. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Telifçiliğin Tenaküzlari ,  
op. cit., p. 8.
266. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Georges Duhamel" Yeni Sabah,  
29 March 1954.
267. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Ahlak (Ethics) op. cit. p. 170.
268. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Aşk Ahlakı , op. cit., p.123.
269. Bryan S. Turner, Marx ve Orientalizmin Sonu ,  
(Marx and the End of Orientalism) Trans. Çağatay  
Keskinok, Kaynak Yay., Istanbul, 1984, p. 11.
270. Ibid. p., 23.
271. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Yirminci Asır Filozofları ,  
(The Philosophers of the Twentieth Century), Ahmed Said  
Mat., Istanbul, 1937, p.77

272. Bryan S. Turner, op. cit. pp. 18-19.
273. Erol Güngör, "Cumhuriyet Devrinde Türkiye'de Sosyal İlimler" (Social Sciences in the Period of Republic in Turkey) *Kültür ve Sanat* (Culture and Art), (October), 1973, p. 220.
274. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Telifçiliğin Tenakuzları, op. cit., p. 35.
275. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "İlmi Zihniyet" (Scientific Mentality) Yeni Sabah , (18 August 1952)
276. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Gökalp'in Kültür ve Medeniyet Arayışı" (Gökalp's Search of Culture and Civilisation) Yeni Sabah 12 December 1949.
277. Hilmi Ziya Ülken Ahlak, op. cit., pp. 294-296.
278. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Müsbet Zihniyet" (Positiv Mentality) Yeni Sabah , 22 January 1951.
279. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Humanisme des Cultures, op. cit., p. 104.
280. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, İslam Düşüncesine Giriş, (Introduction to Islamic Thought), İbrahim Horoz Bas., İstanbul,

1954, p. 70.

281. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Yeni Felsefe Cemiyeti", op. cit. p. 383.
282. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Aşk Ahlakı, 1st. ed. p. 105.
283. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Halk ve Aydınlar" (People and the Intellectuals), Ülkü Dergisi (The Ideal Review) No. 23, 1942.
284. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Aşk Ahlakı , 4 th. ed., op. cit., p. 73.
285. Sait Halim Paşa "İslam Dünyasının Çöküşü Üzerine bir Deneme" (An Essay on the Collapse of the Islamic World) (1334/1918), in Toplumsal Çözülme (Social Desintegration), Burhan Yay. , İstanbul, 1983, p. 139.
286. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Kudret" (Power) Yeni Sabah 12 July 1954.
287. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Türk Tefekkür Tarihi (History of Turkish Thought), Vol. II, Ebüzziya Mat., İstanbul, 1932, p. 68.

288. The party was founded in 1918 by Dr. Hasan Rıza, an early member of the İttihat ve Terakki (Order and Progress). Among the party members were Turks, Arabs, Armenians, Rums and Tatars. Before the elections of 1919, there were rumors about the unification of the S.D.F. with the Milli Ahrar Fikrasi (National Independent Party).

As Mete Tunçay remarks: "It is very probable that the S.D.F. appeared in the Mütarake (Armistice) years, it must be the extension of a party having the same name (which we could not find its traces) in the first years of the Meşrutiyet (Constitutional Period)". in Mete Tunçay, Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar (Left Currents in Turkey) (1908-1925), 2nd. ed.,

Bilgi yay., Ankara, 1967, p. 57. note 118.

Tunçay's assumption about the fact that the S.D.F. is the extension of a party having the same name might not be that much out of place as for as Hilmi Ziya too makes the same remarks about the matter. "In fact, Dr. Rıza was a doctor. When he was at the medicine school, he was jailed because of his interest in party affairs. After having been released by the private efforts of his relatives, he swore to never talk about such subjects till he would finish school" and "He told me that although the Social Democrat Society had to stop its activities after the Meşrutiyet II (Constitutional Period) it had now to start again to work in this feverishly state of the country". in Yarım Adam (Unachieved Man) pp. 288-290.

289. Yarım Adam, op. cit, pp. 288-290

290. Mete Tunçay, op. cit., p. 60.

291. TÇDT. p. 380-

292. Georges Duhamel, Confessions de Minéâtre,  
Arthème Fayard, Cie. éd. Paris, p. 120

293. Yusuf Akçura "Asrî Türk Devleti ve Türk Münevverlerine  
Düşen Vazife" (The Modern Turkish State and the Duty  
of the Turkish Intellectuals) Türk Yurdu (Turkish  
Home), Vol. III, No. 13, (October), 1925, pp. 1-17,  
the article has been transcribed from the Ottoman  
script to Turkish by M.O. Dostel.  
The same article has been published integrally in the  
review Saçak (Fringe), No. 34/5 (June) 1984,  
transcript. Zeki Sarıhan.

294. H.A.R. Gibb says: "Since Political revolt almost always  
has linked with religious sectarianism and heresy  
in the Islamic world, (the ulema) were compelled to  
deprecate armed resistance to even the most "secular"  
and "tyrannical" governments for fear of "anarchy".  
They therefore inclined toward compromise,.....in  
order to not incur the greater guilt of disruption of  
the Muslim Community".

in "The Heritage of Islam in the Modern World" (I),  
International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. I,  
No. 1, (January), 1970, p. 8.

And Gibb gives the following explanation about the  
question of obligations: "The term most commonly emp-  
loyed in Islamic writings for the fully qualified free  
citizen betrays at once the legal and the religious  
point of view from which it is envisaged: Mukallaf ,  
one of whom is laid full responsibility for performance

of his religious duties... In contrary, then, to Western theories which base their doctrines of the freedom of the citizen on the dogma of natural rights (...), Muslim doctrine bases it entirely upon obligation (...) The status and "rights" of Muslim free citizen therefore are derived from his acceptance of the responsibility of fulfilling the demands of god by so doing he acquires a dignity which gives him a superior status over non-muslims". in "The Heritage of Islam in the Modern World" (II), International journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. I, 1970, p. 223.

In the same article gibb notes that this conception carries the corollary to what ever extent their freedoms have been lost, this is due to their failure to live up to their responsibility in one way or another"., op. cit., p. 223.

295. Yusuf Akçura, op. cit., p. 5.

296. H.A.R. Gibb, op. cit., p. 8.

297. Georges Duhamel, op. cit., p. 120 and p. 123.

298. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Siyasi Partiler ve Sosyalizm, op. cit., p. 91.

299. The debate was started in 1945 by Faik Bercevi. Nurettin Topçuoğlu reanimated the debate 1960 and found the review Hareket Dergisi (Action Review) in Ali Bulaç Hareket Dergisi, Vol. IX, No. 111, (March), 1975, p. 17.



300. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, op. cit., p. 152-159.

301. The Village Institutes (Köy Enstitüleri) which were founded at the beginning of the 1940's by the Republican Party generated an unexpected opposition. These institutes were supposed to hasten the westernization program of the government. But soon they became the kernel of the leftist movements in Turkey. Although the case of the Village Institute is not similar with what happened in the case of Abdülhamid II and the importance he attributed to western education, these two cases present to some extent an analogy. Abdulhamid II was overknown in 1909 by those who were trained in this schools. For example the Military and the Medecine Schools became the center of the Young Turks plotting against him. The Young Turks had shown already their threatening figure in 1898. Abdülhamid did not close the schools he just exiled the ones who were suspected of having participated to that plot attempt. In the case of the Village Institutes leftists were jailed and the institutes closed by the government. The law of "Köy Enstitüsü" was emitted in 19 March 1940.

The number of Village Institutes are as follows:

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>INCREASE</u>
1937-1938	2	-
1938-1939	3	1
1939-1940	4	1
1940-1941	14	10
1941-1942	17	3
1942-1943	18	1
1943-1944	18	-
1944-1945	20	2

1945-1946	20	-
1946-1947	20	-
1947-1948	20	-
1948-1949	21	1

25000 teachers were diplomed from the Village Institutes. This endeavour stopped after the Second World War. in Cemil Koçak Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi (Period of the "National Chief") (1938-1945), Yurt Yayınları. Ankara, 1986, pp. 238-243.

Works on the Village Institutes:

-Cavit Orhan Tütengil, Köy Enstitüleri Üzerine Düşünceler, (Thoughts about the Village Institute), Berksoy Bas., Ist., 1948.

-Fay Kirby, Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri (Village Institutes in Turkey), İmece Yay., Ankara, 1962, (Doctoral Dissertation Submitted to Columbia University).

-Kemal Tahir Bozkırda Çekirdek , Bilgi yay. (Novel about the Village Institute), Ankara, 1967.

302. This animosity reached its paroxysm in the 1970's to which it is referred as the "anarchy period" which lasted till the military take-over of 1980. Hilmi Ziya's former student Cavit Orhan Tütengil (1921-1979), who was lecturer at the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Letters in the University of Istanbul, was murdered by an extremist militant of the right on 7th. December. Tütengil was one of the some 6000 victims of these political murders.

Tütengil was the editor of the Ülken publishing house which was found five years after Hilmi Ziya Ülken's death in the aim to publish his collected work. The first book published is the second edition of the Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi (1979) prepared to publication by Tütengil. Tütengil was saying in its foreword that the book was the product of 33 years of work and that he believed that "to see the publications of other books of our professor Hilmi Ziya Ülken would probably make the young generations happy as much as it will make us happy".

As Tütengil was murdered, this endeavour was undertaken by Hilmi Ziya's family. Aşk Ahlakı (1981, 4th ed.) was the second work published by the Ülken publishing-house. And Ethics (Trans. from spinoza) was the third work published in 1984 by the Ülken publishing-house. Had C.O. Tütengil lived longer Hilmi Ziya's most significant work, XX, Asır Filozofları would be the second book to be published.

303. R.E. Nicholson The Idea of Personality in Sufism, op. cit., p. 73.
304. Şerif A. Mardin "Ideology and Revolution in the Turkish Revolution" International Journal of Middle East Studies, No. 2, 1971, p. 199.
305. Hilmi Ziya notes that Ali Suavi (1839-1878) was mentioning Le Play, and that he believed, that he would be able to find the explanation of his own East-West differentiation in Le Play's classification of "Société communautaire" and "Société particulariste".

Hilmi Ziya concludes that Ali Suavi's eventful life seems to have not allowed him to brood over the matter. It is used to accept that Prince Sabahattin was the first one to have mentioned Le Play in the time of the "Young Turks". It seems that, somewhat superficially, this priority belongs to Ali Suavi, in TÇDT, p. 77.

Nevzat Akurgal submitted an unpublished study to the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Letters in the University of Istanbul in 1946. The work was sponsored by Hilmi Ziya.

I was unable to reach the study while the University Library was moving to his new building and had packed its old collections.

306. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Fert ve Cemiyet" (The Individual and the Society), İnsan (Human), Vol. I, No. 1, (April) 1938, pp. 55-56.
307. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Siyasi Partiler ve Sosyalizm, op. cit., p. 64.
308. R.A. Nicholson, The Idea of Personality in Sufism, op. cit., p. 73.
309. TÇDT, p. 88 and p. 89.
310. TÇDT, p. 77
311. TÇDT, p. 89.

312. Ibid.

313. Studies on Ali Suavi:

-İsmail Hami Danişmend Ali Suavi, İstanbul 1940.

-İsmail Hami Danişmend, Ali Suavi'nin Türkçülüğü.  
Vakit Mat. İstanbul, 1942.

-Neşet Halil Atay, "Kendi İfadesine Göre Ali Suavi"  
(Ali Suavi According to His Own Saying) "İstanbul Dergisi (Review of İstanbul) Vol III-IV,  
No. 25-33 (December-April), 1944-1945.

-Mithat Cemal Kuntay Sarıklı İhtilâlcî Ali Suavi,  
(Ali Suavi the Turbanned Revolutionist) İstanbul, 1946

-Palik Rıfkı Atay Baş Veren Bir İnkılapçı (A Decapitated Revolutionary), Ankara, 1954.

-Nevzat Akurgal's Classwork prepared in 1946.

314. From our readings.

315. TÇDT, p. 425-426.

316. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Türk Tefekkür Tarihi, op. cit. p. 24

317. Şerif Mardin Some Aspects of the Middle Eastern Sociology  
op. cit., p. 30.

318. Hilmi Ziya Ülken "Kendimize Dönüş" (Return to Ourselves)  
Yeni Sabah ,20 February 1950.

APPENDIX : A**"ANADOLU'NUN HAYALI" (THE DREAM OF ANATOLIA)**

Hayalini gördüm. Durgun bir yaz gecesi rüyasında, omuzlarımı istirap yüklerinin altında ezilerek, gönlümü parçalayan sözlerin karşısında tıkanarak, onun hayalini, karanlıklar arasında çıkan ve bir gölge gibi sessiz, gürültüsüz yaklaşan sevgili ANADOLU'nun hayalini gördüm.

Sıcaktan bunalıp kalkmış, odamın penceresini açtım. Dışarısı mehtapsız ve karanlık. Yıldızlar birbirlerine göz kırpmıyorlar. Gecenin insanlardan, hayvanlardan, hatta cansızlar sınıfından bile gelen hiçbir gürültüsü yok, büsbütün durgun. Fakat neden ben, bu sessizliğin içerisinde birçok mırıltılar, fısıltılar duyuyorum. Ve bu gizli gizli kulaklarım kadar gelen sesler gittikçe büyüyor, çoğalıyor. Hemen adeta ne söylediklerini anlayacağım. İşte o arada söyledikleri birkaç kelime hatırımda kalmış.

"Sebep sensin". Niçin? Kime hiddetlenmişlerdi? Kimdi onlar? Etrafımda hiçbir kimse yokken sesler daha açığa çıktı. Şikayetler daha sertleşti. Korkuyor gibiydim.

Bir adım geri çekildim. Pencereyi kapamak, perdeyi örtmek istedim. Elim kımıldamadı. Uzaklarda karanlıklar dumandanarak açılıyor, bir gölge ağır ağır yaklaşıyordu. Ses-

ler donuklaştı. Gölge yaklaştıkça daha azaldı. Şimdi görmüş gibi hatırlıyorum. Acı ve yürek yakan bakışları hâlâ gözlerimin önünden silinmiyor.

Bembeyaz sakallı bir ihtiyardı. Üzerinde parça parça eski bir aba, yamalı bir şalvar vardı. Uzun uzun baktı da, "vazifeni yapmıyorsun oğul" diye darıldıydı.

Kimdi bu ihtiyar? Sesim titriyor ve dudaklarımdan çıkarken sönüyordu. Usulca,

- Sen kimsin, dedim.
- Beni tanımadım mı? diye acı acı baktı.
- Ne kadar hissiz adamlarsınız, kıyafetimden de mi anlamadın?
- Köylüye benziyorsun, dedim.
- Evet köylüye benziyorum, diye cevap verdi. Elbette İstanbulluya benzemem. Ben ANADOLU'yum. Şimdi beni tanıdın mı? Altı senedir sizin için çirpınan, didinen ANADOLU'yum. Şu son günlerin bütün felaketinin benim üzerime yüklendiğini duymadın mı?
- ANADOLU MU?
- Evet ANADOLU. Ocak başında rahat rahat oturasın diye, gecelerini korkusuz bir uykuyla geçiresin diye damarlarındaki son damla kanı da bugün akıtmakta olan ANADOLU, anlıyor musun?
- Pekala, beni gece yarısı niçin rahatsız ediyorsun?



Sana ben mi fenalık yaptım? Biliyorum ki hudut boylarında bizim için ölen sendin. Bizi doyurmak için kızlarına kadınlarına değirmeninde buğday öğüttüren sendin. Sıcak bir oda da geniş bir nefes almamız için, oğullarını çulsuz ve mezarsız bırak kan sendin. Sonra, yine biliyordum ki bütün bunlara karşılık, hiçbir iyilik görmeyen, bataklıkta topraklarda sıtmadan inleyerek, açlıktan, sefillikten sürünen sendin. Ben senin için gecelerimi uykusuz geçirmiş, çok derin ıstıraplar duymuştum. Niçin dedelerimizin yahut kardeşlerimin kabahatini yüzüme vuruyorsun? dedim.

- Çünkü, dedi, vazifeni yapmıyorsun. ANADOLU'nun çektiği sefaleti duyuyor ve söylemiyorsun. Çünkü faziletli değilsin. Ölüme sürüklediğin aç ve çıplak bir kafilenin ortasında, göğsünü parçalamıyor ve günahını bağırmiyorsun. "Sizi bu hale koyan benim, taşılayın beni, vurun beni" demiyorsun.
- Sevgili ANADOLU, dedim. İstanbul'un çocuklarında sana karşı yıkılmaz bir muhabbet var. Zaten, ayrıca ANADOLU İstanbulsuz yaşar mı? Onlar birbirlerinin gövdesi, birbirinin başı. Biliyorum ki tembellik ettik. Kendi dilimizi bırakarak tuhaf ve yabancı kelimeler kullandık. Ve saklamıyorum ki yazdığımız şeyleri ne biz anlayabildik, ne de sen anladın. ANADOLU, bizi affet, kusurlarımızı bağışla, dedim. Çünkü emin ol hepimiz hislerimizde sa-

- mimiyiz. Artık kabahatlerimizi anladık. Bu güzel vatanın en büyük hakkı senindir. Edebiyatı da, şiiri de senin olacaktır. Artık sen de onu anlayacaksın. Ver elini ANADOLU, diye yalvardım. Ver elini de İstanbul ile barışasın, aramızdaki dargınlık kaybolsun, biz zaten kardeş değil miyiz?

Ağır ağır elini uzattı. Fakat daha şimdiden büsbütün eski günlerin acısını unutmak istemiyordu galiba. Bir türlü benim elime kadar erişemedi. Sonra, ilk geldiği zamankinden daha sakın,

- Yok, daha şimdiden büsbütün barışmayalım, dedi. Sen söyle kardeşlerine bakalım, bu sözlerini nasıl karşılayacaklar? Sonra, kepsinden evvel kendi tembelliğinden vazgeçecek misin? Yoksa, eskisi gibi bu kadar acılara karşı yine mi tasasız kalacaksın, anlamalıyım.

Yalvarmak, ayağına düşüp ona kendimi affettirmek için tekrar söze başlayacaktım. Fakat, birdenbire hayal uzaklaştı ve bir gölge gibi dumanlara karışarak gecenin derinliklerinde kayboldu.

1334 (1918) MÜLKİYE MERTEBİ YILDIZ

FROM HIS "MÜLKİYE HATIRATI" (MEMOIR OF MÜLKİYE)

In Sosyology Konferansları Kitap XVII, 1979, pp. 186-187

APPENDIX : B

HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN'S  
(1901-1974)

BIOGRAPHY

- 1901 (3rd. October) : 17 Teşrinevvel Born in Istanbul Primary School at the Özel Tefeyyüz Mektebi Secondary and Highschool at the Istanbul Sultanisi (today's Istanbul Erkek Lisesi).
- 1921 : Graduated from the Civil Servant School (Mülkiye Mektebi)
- 1921 (September) : Appointed as Assistant to the Department Human Geography of the University of Istanbul He undertakes this Office till 1924
- 1922-1924 : He attends to the lectures of the Philosophy Department of the Faculty of Letters of the University in Istanbul from where he gets certificated of History of Philosophy and Sociology of Ethics.
- 1924 (February) : He is appointed as a teacher at the highschool of Bursa Li-

- 1924 (September) : He is appointed at the high-school of Ankara Lisesi where he lectures Philosophy and Sociology .
- 1925 : Additional office at the Ankara Erkek Muallim Mektebi as teacher of History and Geography. Additional job at Maarif Vekâleti İhsaiyat Şubesi Müdürlüğü (Head of the Section of Statistics Department of the Education Ministry).
- 1926 : Additional job the representative of the Vekâlet Sicil Şubesi Müdürlüğü (General Direction Section of the Register Office of the Ministry). and designed member to the newly established Talim ve Terbiye Dairesi Tercüme Bürosu (Translation Office of the Department of the Education and Instruction Ministry).
- 1926 (September) : He returns to Istanbul for his military service. He teaches in Istanbul at the highschool of Istanbul Lisesi and the Çapa Kız Muallim Mektebi Psychology and History.
- 1928 (May) : He is enrolled as a student of servant officer.

- 1929 (May) : He is diplomed as reserve lieutenant.
- 1929 (September) : He becomes teacher of Philosophy at the highschool of Istanbul Erkek Lisesi and teacher of psychology at the highschool of Çapa Kız Lisesi.
- 1929 : He begins his teacher carrier at the highschool Özel Fevziye Lisesi and the Özel Işık Lisesi. Besides his offices at those highschools he teaches at the Highschool of Şişli Terakki Lisesi.
- 1930-1933 : He teaches Philosophy and Sociology at the highschools of Galatasaray and Kabataş Lisesi.
- 1933-1934 : He teaches at the highschool of Özel Hayriye Lisesi.
- 1933 : He is sent by the Ministry of Education to Germany where he spent almost one year.
- 1934 : On his return to Istanbul he passes the examination of "habilitation" and becomes assistant lecturer (Doçent) of History of Turkish Thought at the Faculty of Letters of the University in Istanbul. In addition to this office he assumes

the lecturer assistanship of  
the History of Social Doctrines.

- 1940 : On the suggestion of Prof. von Aster he is appointed to professorship at the Department of Philosophy in the Faculty of Letters at the University in Istanbul.
- In addition to that office he carries on the lecturing of the Chair of Sociology in 1941. His professorship is approved in 1941.
- 1944-1948 : In addition to the office he assumes in 1942, he assumes the professorship of the Yüksek Mühendislik Mektebi (High Civil Engineering School) of the Department of History of Arts.
- 1945-1949 : He was responsible of the lectures on Theories of Values and Knowledge. Besides this work he teaches History of Logic in connection with on Aster's chair.
- 1949 : Member and chief Turkish Sociology Society.
- 1950 : As the University becomes autonomous he lectures General Ethics and Philosophy.

1951-1955

: He teaches only Sociology. In addition to the courses of the Faculty of Letters of the University in Istanbul he assumes in 1954 the professorship of Philosophy at the Faculty of Theology at the University in Ankara.

1953-1961

: He assumes the directorship of Göçmenler Meselesi Tetkik Bürosu (Office of immigrants' Question)

1956-1969

: Member of the Senate of the University in Ankara.

1957

: Becomes Ord. Prof. at the Faculty of letters of the University in Istanbul.

1959 (September)

: He becomes for six months the deanery of the Faculty of Theology of the University in Ankara, his second nomination to deaner-ship at the same faculty, again for the second time is in 1962. He leaves this office by resigning.

1960 (27 November)

: According to the Law of 114 he is dismissed from office by the Nationalist Union Comitee.

1962

: The law 114 is removed but he does not accept his office at the Faculty of Letters at the University in Istanbul. With a special article Hilmi Ziya Ülken was dismissed from his office at the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Letters of the University in Istanbul but his lecturing at the Faculty of Theology of the University in Ankara was spared. The law dates 27/X/1960.

He carries on his Professorship on Systematic Philosophy at the Faculty of Theology and in addition to this office he assumes between the years 1964-1965 the professorship of Philosophy at the Istanbul Yüksek İslam Enstitüsü (High Institute of Islam in Istanbul).

1968-1971

: Chief of the Urbanists of Istanbul.

1969

: He becomes Ord. Prof. at the Faculty of Theology at the University in Ankara



- 1971 : He teaches Philosophy of Science  
at the Faculty of Education.
- 1973 (July) : He retires.
- 1975 (5 June) : He died.

APPENDIX : B

HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN  
(1901-1974)

BİOGRAFİSİ

- 1901 (3 Ekim) : Doğumu (17 Teşrini evvel 1317)  
İlkokul Özel Tefeyyüz Mektebi  
Orta ve Lise İstanbul Sultanisi
- 1921 ( 7 Haziran) : Mülkiye'yi bitirdi
- 1921 (Eylül) : İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat  
Fakültesi Beşeri Coğrafya Asistan-  
lığına sınavla alındığı 1924 yı-  
lına kadar sürdürdüğü bu görevine  
ek olarak aynı fakültenin Kütüpha-  
ne memuru Vekilliği yaptı.
- 1922-1924 : İÜ Edebiyat Fakültesi Felsefe Şube-  
si derslerine devam etti ve sınav  
vererek buradan Felsefe Tarihi ve  
Ahlâk Sosyolojisi Sertifikası aldı.
- 1924 (Şubat) : Bursa Lisesi Coğrafya Öğretmenli-  
ğine atandı.
- 1924 (Eylül) : Ankara Lisesi Felsefe ve İhtimaiyat  
Öğr. Ek Görev.  
Ankara Erkek Muallim Mektebi Tarih  
ve Coğrafya Öğretmenliğine geti-  
rildi.

- 1925 : Hatice Hanım ile evlendi (Nişantaşı Kız Lisesi Tabiiye Öğretmeni). Kızları Gülseren 1928 yılında dünyaya geldi.
- 1925 : Ankara Lisesi Felsefe ve Sosyoloji Öğretmeni, Ek Görev.
- Maarif Vekâleti İhsaiyat (İstatistik) Şubesi Müdürlüğü'ne
- 1926 : Ankara Lisesindeki görevini sürdürdü, Ek Görev
- Maarif Vekaleti Sicil (Özlük İşleri) Şubesi Müdür Vekilliğine yeni kurulan Talim Terbiye Dairesi Tercüme Bürosu Azalığına.
- 1926 (Eylül) : Askerlik görevini yapmak için İstanbul'a döndü. Burada İstanbul Lisesi Felsefe ile Çapa Kız Muallim Mektebi Psikoloji ve Tarih derslerini verdi.
- 1928 (Mayıs) : Yedek Subay Öğrencisi olarak askere alındı, fiili askerliğini Edremit'te yaptı.
- 1929 (Mayıs) : Yedek Teğmen rütbesi ile terfi etti.
- 1929 (Eylül) : İstanbul Lisesinde Felsefe ile Çapa Kız Öğretmen Okulunda Psikoloji Öğretmeni oldu.

1930-1933

: Galatasaray ve Kabataş Liseleri  
Felsefe ve Sosyoloji Öğretmen-  
liği yaptı.

1929

: yılında başladığı Özel Fevziye  
(Işık Lisesi ile 192) yılında  
Başladığı Özel İstiklal Lise-  
sindeki görevine devam etti bu-  
nun yanı sıra Şişli Terakki  
Lisesinde de ders verdi.

1932-1934

: yılları arasında birinci defa,  
1940-1943 yılları arasında ikin-  
ci defa olmak üzere Özel Hayri-  
ye Lisesi Öğretmenliği yaptı.

1933

: Maarif Vekaleti Hesabına Alman-  
ya'ya gönderildi ve burada bir  
yıla yakın bir zaman kaldı.

1934

: İstanbul'da dönüşünde Habilita-  
tion sınavından geçerek İstanbul  
Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi  
Türk Tefekkür Tarihi Doçentliği-  
ne hak kazandı. 1936 yılında bu  
görevine ek olarak İçtimai  
Doktrinler Tarihi Doçentliği yap-  
tı.

1940

: Prof. Ernst Von Aster'in teklifi  
üzerine Felsefe Profesörlüğüne  
seçildi, profesörlüğü 1941 yı-  
linda tasdik oldu.

1942

: Eski derslere ek olarak Sosyolo-  
ji Kürsüsü profesörlüğünü yürüttü.

## Ek Görev,

1944-1948 Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi (şimdiki Teknik Üniversite) Mimarlık Bölümü Sanat Tarihi profesörlüğünü üstlendi.

1945-1949

: Değerler Nazariyesi ve giriş dersi olarak Bilgi Nazariyesi derslerini üzerine aldı. Ayrıca Von Aster'in Kürsüsüne bağlı olarak Mantık Tarihi okuttu.

1949

: Türkiye Sosyoloji Cemiyeti üyesi ve Başkanı.

1955

: Üniversite Özerkliği ile kendisine verilen Ahlâk-Umumi Felsefe dersini okuttu.

1951-1955

: yılları arası yalnızca sosyoloji okuttu ve 1954 İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi derslerine Ek olarak, Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesinde Felsefe Profesörlüğü yapmaya başladı.

1953-1960

: yılları arasında Göçmenler Meselesi Tetkik Bürosu Başkanlığı yaptı.

1956-1969

: Ankara Üniversitesi Senato üyesi.

1957

: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Ordinaryüs Profesörlüğüne yükseltildi.

- 1959 : yılında birinci ve 1962 yılında ikinci defa olmak üzere Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesinde altışar ay Dekanlık yaptı, bu görevden istifaen ayrıldı.
- 1960 (27 Ekim) : tarihli ve 114 sayılı Kanuna Milli Birlik Komitesince dâhil edildi.
- 1962 : 27. X. 1960 tarihli ve 114 sayılı Kanun kalktı fakat o İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesindeki görevini kabul etmedi. Özel bir madde ile İstanbul Üniversitesindeki Sosyoloji dersi üzerinden alınmış; yalnız Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesindeki Felsefe dersleri üzerinde bırakılmıştı. O Sistematik Felsefe Profesörlüğüne burada devam etti ve bu göreve ek olarak 1964-1965 İstanbul Yüksek İslam Enstitüsünde Felsefe okuttu.
- 1968-1971 : İstanbul Şehirciler Derneği Başkanı
- 1969 : Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fak. Örd. Prof.na .
- 1971 : Eğitim Fakültesinde İlim Felsefesi okuttu.
- 1973 (Temmuz) : Emekli oldu.
- 1974 ( 5 Haziran) : Hayata gözlerini yumdu.

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3. Felsefe Dersleri; Bilgi ve Vücut Nazariyeleri; İstanbul,  
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4. Aşk Ahlakı; İstanbul, Ekspres Mat.; 1931.
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16. Metafizik (Aristo'dan Terceme; 1. Kitap); İstanbul, Vakit Mat.; 1935.
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APPENDIX : D

HILMI ZIYA ULKEN'S ARTICLES pp.

I. HIS ARTICLES IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES pp.

II. HIS ARTICLES IN TURKISH pp.

A- IN THE REVIEWS HE HAD PUBLISHED, OWNED OR  
DIRECTED pp.

B- IN THE DIFFERENT REVIEWS pp.

III. HIS ARTICLES IN NEWSPAPERS pp.

A- IN SON TELEGRAF pp.

B- IN YENI SABAH pp.

C- IN DIFFERENT NEWSPAPERS p.

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## II. HIS ARTICLES IN TURKISH

A- IN THE REVIEWS HE HAD PUBLISHED, OWNED OR DIRECTOR

\*

MİHRAP (1339-1340)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>TARİH</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1339/1922	15 KASIM	1	Gazel (manzumu)
1339	1 Kanunuevvel	2	Geldim (manzume)
1339	15 Kanunuevvel	3	Yıldızlar Kaçar
1340	1 Kanunusani	4	Kırgızlar
1340		5	Yıldızlar Kaçar
1340		6	Gece ve Güneş
1340	1 NİSAN	8	Orta Asya'da Türkmen I
1340	1 MART	9	Orta Asya'da Türkmen II
1340	1 NİSAN	10	Orta Asya'da (Türkmenlerin Dini)
1340	15 NİSAN	11	Orta Asya'da (Türkmenlerin Dini)
1340	1 MAYIS	12	Orta Asya'da (Türkmenlerin Dini)
1340		12	Son Sefer (şiiir)
1340		13	Orta Asya'da Türkmenlerin Dini Ruhiyat Müşhedeleri
1340	1 HAZİRAN	13-14	Anadolu Tarihinde Dini Ruhiyat
1340	1 TEMMUZ	15-16	Orta Asya'da Türkmen
1340	1 AĞUSTOS	17-18	Selçukilerin İnkizası Zamanında Konya

\* Printed in the Evkaf İslamiye Matbaası. Owner Abdullah Hacı pseudonym of Ağâh Mazlum Alaybek.

The first 5 issues in ottoman script. "Hilmi Ziya did not publish the Mihrap (pulpit) review, he just contributed to its publication. Ziyaeeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu who has published some articles in this review gives the following explanation" "this review was founded in İstanbul by Ağâh Mazlum who was a very valuable and humble man" and the review did not live long". . (cf. Fındıkoğlu Bibliyografyası, 1918-1958, İstanbul, 1958, p.5 and 7) in Cahit Orkan Tütengil "Hilmi Ziya Ülken'in Çıkardığı Dergilerde yaptığı yayınlar" (cf. Bibliography) p. 162

ANADOLU DERGİSİ (1340-1341)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLD</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1340/1924	I	1	: İznik Şiiri (1 Nisan 1340/1924)
		1	: Anadolu Örfü ve Destanları
		2	: Anadolu Örfleri ve Destanları II
		3	: Kafdağı (Şiir)
		5	: Türkler ve Moğollar
		9	: Kırgız, Türkmen ve Uygurlar
		10	: " " "
		12	: ?

The Anadolu review that appeared after 1 April 1924 is the review that appeared with the foundation of Anadolu Komandit Yayın Şirketi. Ahmet Refik, Hamit Sadı, Necip Asım, Mehmet Emin were taking among the participants.

Cahit Orhan Tütengil notes that the review Anadolu was not published in the year 1922 as Hilmi Ziya Ülken claims and that Hilmi Ziya Ülken was not the publisher of the review. According to the information given by Ziyaeeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu (in Fındıkoğlu Bibliografyası 1918-1958, İstanbul 1958) C.O. Tütengil says that the review Anadolu was constituted by some professors and students coming from the University of İstanbul. The review was diffused under the direction of the eminent folklor specialist Mehmet Halil Bayrı and Necip Asım, in Cahit Orhan Tütengil "Hilmi Ziya Ülken'in Çıkardığı Dergiler ve bu Dergilerde Yaptığı Yayınlar" (cf. Bibliography).

Besides this Anadolu review there is another one published under the same name by Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Reşat Kayı in the years 1335-1336, and which had 12 publications.

GALATASARAYAKADEMİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>TARİH</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1930	Mayıs	2	Tetkik: Meş'aleci Şairler
1931	15 Nisan	7	Şiirimizin bir zirvesi Nacip Fazıl
1932	20 Mart	14	Tenkit: Ben ve Ötesi

GALATASARAY ( 4.th issue missing)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>TARİH</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1930	15 Kanunnuevvel	3	Tembellik
1931	15 Mart	6	Hürriyete giden yollar
1931	15 Teşrinisani	10	Tarihte Büyük İnsanlar: Kemal Tahir
1932	20 Kanunnusani	12	Tarihte Büyük İnsanlar: Sokra- tes
1932	20 Şubat	13	Kurunu Vusta
		13	Sanat ve Ahlâk
		13	Tereddüt (şiir)
		13	Tekzip
1932	20 Mart	14	Musahabe: Medeniyet
		14	Tarihte Büyük İnsanlar: Goethe
		14	Seyahat (şiir)
1932	30 Nisan	15	Musahabe: Şark ve Garp
		15	Gemi (şiir)
1932	6 Ağustos	(Galata-	Musahabe: Şahsiyet
		saray	
		sergi nüs-	
		hası)	

<u>YIL</u>	<u>TARİH</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1932	20 Teşrinievvel	17	Musahabe: Şahsiyetin Tekamülü
1932	20 Teşrinisani	18	Musahabe: Fikre Hürmet
1932	24 Kanunuevvel	19	Hayat ve Kitaplar
1933	25 Şubat	21	Musahabe: Bedbinlik
		21	Yeni Eserler: XX. Asır
1933	25 Mart	22	Türk Ahlakçıları

The review Akademi (Academy) takes the name of GALATASARAY after its 9th issue. Hilmi Ziya Ülken appears as the owner of the Galatasaray from on the 12 th issue. The review appeared between if Akademi is considered as its beginning ~~between~~ the years 1930-1933, this list was prepared by Cavit Orhan Tütengil.

DERGİLERİNSAN MECMUASI

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1938	I	1	: Tanzimata Karşı
		1	Ferd ve Cemiyet
		1	Mekteplerde Disiplin ve Ceza
		1	Yeni Felsefe Tercümeleri
		1	Yeni Edebiyat Tercümeleri
1938	I	2	İçtimai Determinizm
1938	I	3	Yunan Mucizesi
		3	İmparatorluğun Tekamülü
		3	Japonya - Çin (İçtimai Teşekkül Problemi)
		3	Tarih Kurultayı
		3	Türk Mimarisi ve Yeni Teşebbüsler
		3	Hayat ve Kitaplar
		3	Yeni ve Eski Mecmualar
1938	I	4	İmparatorluk Alt Bünyesi
1938	I	5	Memleketi Tanımak
		5	İmparatorluk Üst Bünyesi
1938	I	6	İlim Bitaraf mıdır?
		6	Anket Monografik ve Memleket
1938	I	7	İçtimai Hadise Nedir?
1939	II	9	Tanzimat ve Hümanizm
		9	Osmanlı Saltanatında Toprak Sistemi
1939	II	10	Meşrutiyetin Tereddütleri
		10	İş Hakkında
		10	Le Corbusier'ye Göre İstanbul
1939	II	11	Türkiye'de Pozitivizm Temayülleri
		11	Totemizm Etrafında Münakaşalar
		11	Türk Ziraat Tarihine Bir Bakış
1939	II	12	Türkiye'de İdealizm Temayülü
		12	Zaman ve İnsan
		12	İşe Dava



		12	Bergson'a Dair Yeni Bir Kitap
1939	II	12	Türk Ahlakçıları
1939	II	13	Sanat ve Cemiyet
1941	III	1-13	Yeni Klasik (1 Nisan)
		1-13	Sanat ve Cemiyet
		14	Düşünmenin zorluğu
		14	Orijinallik ve garp
		15-17	İnsan Sevgisi
		15-17	Üç Dünya Görüşü
		15-17	Deliliğin Öğünmesi (trans. from <u>Eloge a la Folie Erasme</u> )
		15-17	Yeni Neşriyat : Reaya ve Köylü
1941	III	18-19	Deliliğin Öğünmesi
		18-19	Fahim Bey ve Biz (Bibliografya)
1943	III	20	İnsan İdeali (Şubat)
1943	III	21	İlim ve "İlmi Hal'e" Dair
1943	III	22	Destan ve İnsan I
1943	III	23	Destan ve İnsan II
		23	F. Gladkov
1943	III	24-25	Destan ve İnsan III
		24-25	Garpta ve Şarkta Tasvir (Trans. from Malraux)
		24-25	Sanatın Psikolojisi (trans. from Malraux)

The owner of the review: Hilmi Ziya Ülken.

SOSYOLOJİ DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLD</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1942	I	1	Sosyolojinin Mevzu ve Usulü
		1	İslam Feodalizmi (trans. from A.N. Poliak by H.Z. Ülken)
		1	İçtimai Araştırmalar
		1	Kitap Tahlilleri
1943	II	2	İçtimai Üst Yapı Olarak Hukuk Tetkiklerine Giriş
		2	Hukuk Sosyolojisinin Unsurları
		2	(trans from G. Gurvitch by H.Z. Ülken)
		2	Yeni Felsefe Cemiyeti ve Türkiye'de Felsefe Cemiyetinin Tarihçesi
		2	Dergiler ve Kitaplar
1945-1946	III	3	İktisadi Sosyoloji üzerine notlar
1947-1949	IV	4-5	İnsani İlimler Mümkün müdür?
		4-5	Sosyolojinin Dalları
		4-5	Amsterdam'da Onuncu Milletler - Arası Felsefe Kongresi
		4-5	Kitap Tahlilleri
		4-5	Les Sciences Humaines Sont-Elles Possibles?
		4-5	Les Branches de la Sociologie
		4-5	Chroniques
		4-5	Comptes Rendues

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLD</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1950	V	6	Sociologie et Philosophie
		6	Karataş Köyü Monografisi (N.Ş. Köse- mihal ve Cahit Tanyol ile)
		6	La Sociologie Rurale en Turquie
		6	Kongreler
		6	Yabancı Dillerde Yayınlar
1952	VI	7	L'Orient et l'Occident
		7	Les Tensions Culturelles at les Relations Interculturelles
		7	Kitap ve Dergi Tahlilleri
1953	VII	8	La Circulation des Valeurs
		8	Kitap ve Dergi Tahlilleri
1954	VIII	9	De l'hétérogénéité Ethnique et Vers l'Homogénéité Culturelle
		9	Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yüksek Makamı- na
		9	Kitap ve Dergiler
1955-1956	IX	10-11	Un Aperçu Bibliographique du Prob- leme des Réfugiés en Turquie
		10-11	Gönen Bölge Monografisi (A. Tanyeli ile)
		10-11	La Féodalité Est-Elle une Catégorie Historique ou Bien une Forme Soci- ale?
		10-11	UNESCO Tarafından Davet Edilip Şam- da Toplanan Orta Doğu Memleketlerin- de İktimai İlimler Hakkında Rapor
		10-11	İkinci Dünya Sosyoloji Kongresi

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLD</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1957	X	12	Le Role des Classes Moyennes en Turquie et en Proche-Orient
1958-1959	XI	13-14	Sanat, Düşünce, İktimai Bünye ve Din
		13-14	İptidailerde İktimai Bünye ve Din
		13-14	A. Cuvillier Sociologie et Problemes Actuels
1960		15	Durkheim et l'Enseignement des Scien- ces Sociales en Turquie
		15	Sosyolojide Yeni Adımlar
		15	Evolution de la Condition Féminine en Turquie
		15	Chroniques

As Ord. Prof. Hilmi Ziya Ülken took place in the list of the "147 s" and transferred to the Faculty of Divinity in the University of Ankara the review of Sosyoloji Dergisi (Review of Sociology) was carried on by Nurettin Şazi Köse-mihal and Cahit Tanyol, the review made publications between the years 1961-1968.

## B- IN THE DIFFERENT REVIEWS

IN TURKISH

## ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ İLAHİYAT FAKÜLTESİ DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1954	III	1-2	Yusuf Ziya Yörükân (1887-1954)
		1-2	Remzi Oğuz Arık (1889-1954)
		1-2	HZÜ, Egemen, Bedi Ziya
			İslam Düşüncesine Giriş
1955	IV	1-2	İslam Sanatı
	IV	1-2	İbni Sina'nın Din Felsefesi
	IV	3-4	Gazzali ve Felsefe
1956	V	1-4	İdealizmin Çıkmazları
1957	VI	1-4	Farabi ve İbni Sina'nın Garb Orta Çağı Düşüncesi Üzerinde Tesirine dair Bazı Yeni Münakaşalar
1958-59	VII	-	Değerler ve İnanma Problemleri Hakkın- da Bazı Notlar
1960	VIII	-	Türkiye'de Batılılaşma Hareketi
1961	IX	-	HZÜ, Lucien Goldmann Recherches Dialectiques
	IX	-	Gazzali'nin Bazı Eserlerinin Türkçe Tercümesi
	IX	-	HZÜ, Robert King Merton Element de Methodes Sociologiques
	IX	-	Ord. Prof. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç
1962	X	-	İslam Felsefesi ve İtikadının Garba Tesiri
1962	X	-	Irak'ta Bağdat ve El Kendi'nin 1000 yıl

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
		-	Dönümünü Anma Töreni
		-	La Philosophie d'al-Kindi
1963	XI	-	Türkiye'nin Modernleşmesi ve Bu Hareketin Öncüleri Olan Türkler
1964	XII	-	Prof. Kamuran Birand (1917-1954)
	XII	-	L'Islam en Face du Problème Orient et Occident
	XII	-	Dr. İsmail Tunalı, Felsefesinin Işığında Modern Resim (1 Empresyonizm)
	XII	-	Rıfkı Melül Meriç (1901-1964)
1966	XIV	-	L'Amour Divin et La Danse Mystique
1969	XVII	-	Anadolu Örf ve Adetlerinde Eski Kültürlerin İzleri
1973	XIX	-	Prof. Hikmet Birand
1962	X	-	La Philosophie d'al-Kindi
1962	IX	-	HZÜ, Raymond Aron
			La Société Industrielle et la Guerre

#### ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ İLAHİYAT FAKÜLTESİ YAYINLARI

1953	Qosta b. Luga, (El-Ba'labakki, 820-912):
	Kitab al-Park Bayn ar-Ruh va'-Nafs
	(Le Livre de la Difference entre l'Esprit et l'Ame)
	édité, annoté et étudié par HZÜ
1968	Varlık ve Oluş
1972	Genel Felsefe Dersleri
19	Bedi'i Değerin İçtimai Rolü
1973	Lâiklik; 50. Yıl Kitabı
	Cumhuriyet devri 50 Yıllık Türk Eğitimi; 50. Yıl Kitabı

\*  
BELEDİYE MECMUASI

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1931		86	Şehir İktisaiyatına Methal
1931		87	Şehir İktisaiyatı
		88	Şehir İktisaiyatı (Şehrin Bünyevi Tetkiki)
		89	Şehir İktisaiyatı (Şehrin Bünyevi Tetkiki)
		90	Şehir İktisaiyatı
		91	Şehir İktisaiyatı
		92	?
		93	Şehrin İktimai Fonksiyonu I
		94	Şehrin İktimai Fonksiyonu II

\* This list was prepared by Şükrü Şayakçı which gives as volume No: number VIII for the year 1932. I was not able to find the review, therefore do not know if Hilmi Ziya Ülken has other writings in the Belediye Mecmuası

BİLGİ DERGİSİ (1947-1963)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1948	II	21	Burhan Toprak
1949	III	29	İçtimai Sistemimiz ve Öğretim Sistemi
1949	III	31	Ziya Gökalp
1950	IV	40	Büyük Bir Yol Gösterici
1954	VIII	90-91	Ziya Gökalp (Ekim-Kasım)
1955	IX	105	Filozof İzzet
1956	IX	107	Sosyoloji Problemleri
1960	XIII	149	Ziya Gökalp ( 7 Ocak)



## FELSEFE VE İÇTİMAİYAT (1927-1930)\*

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1927	I	1	Lise Muallim Mekteplerinde İçtimaiyat Programları
		1	İntihar
		1	Heyecan Hakkında
1927	I	2	İntihar
1927	I	3	Teheyhücihat Hakkında
		3	Potlaç
		3	İntihar
		3	İnsani Edebiyatın İçtimai Kökleri
1927	I	4	Dini İçtimaiyat (1. Ders)
		4	Bizde Fikir Cereyanları
1927	I	5	Beşeri Edebiyatın Maşeri Esasları
		5	Dini İçtimaiyat (2. Ders)
		5	İtihatların Menşei Meselesi
1928	II	7	İstatistik ve Tecrübe
		7	Dini Sosyoloji

\* The review Felsefe ve İçtimaiyat (Philosophy and Sociology) that the Türk Felsefe Cemiyeti (Turkish Society of Philosophy) started to publish in May 1927 is the first review of philosophy of the Republic of Turkey.

The owner of the review was Ağâh Sırrı (Levend) and its director Mehmet Servet (Berkin). The society was founded at the İstiklal Lisesi by the owner of the highschool Ağâh Sırrı Levend, Mehmet Servet (Berkin), Hatemi Seni (Sarp), Rağıp Hulusi (Öktem), Hilmi Ziya (Ülken), Orhan Sadettin, and others.

in Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi (2nd ed.) p. 432

The first 7 publications of the review are in Ottoman script.

FELSEFE YILLIĞI (1931-1935)

- 1931-32 : Maksat  
 : Cemiyet ve Marazi Şuur  
 : Tahliller (Année de Sociologie'den)  
 : Hülasalar  
 : Türkiye'de Felsefe Neşriyatı
- 1934-35 : Muassır Fizikte Determinizm ve Milliyet  
 : .... ve cisimcikler  
 Fransa'da Yeni ve Bazı Felsefe Neşriyatı  
 : Bay Suat Kemalettin'in "Sanat Felsefesi"

"The Turkish Society of Philosophy (Türk Felsefe Cemiyeti) did not have a publication. By publishing the Felsefe Yıllığı (Annual of Philosophy) at my own expense I declared that the review was the publication of the society. But, although the news and the large bibliographies published in the annual were witnessing this declaration the society was not able to support the annual.... But the works of the society stopped in 1933.

Although the society was found for the third time at the Hayriye highschool, because the documents of the society burned in the fire which broke at the highschool, the society stopped its activity", in Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi (2nd ed., p. 434).

Editorial in chief for the first Annual İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu.

Editorial in chief for the second Annual Şerafettin Yalçınkaya

## DERGİLER

İSTANBUL MECMUASI

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1946	V	53	Bizde Türkçülük. Geciktiren Sebepler-Doğuşu-Büyüyüşü ( 1 Şubat)
1946	V	54	Tanzimat Devrinde Türkçülük (15 Şubat)
1946	V	55	Türkiye Dışında Türkçülük, Realist ve İlmî Türkçülük (1 Mart)
1946	V	56	Türkçülük Anlayışımız (15 Mart)
		56	Hayali, Siyasi ve Hakikî Türkçalak (15 Mart)
1946		58	Divinia Comedia'nın İslam Kaynakları (15 Nisan)
1946		59	Descartes ve Skolastik (1 Mayıs)
1946	VI	60	Biz Cemiyete ne Borçluyuz? Bir Ömür mü? Bir Jest mi? (15 Mayıs)
1946	VI	61	Vicdan İçin Ölçü Nedir? (1 Haziran)
1946	VI	62	Hristiyanlık ve Puta Tapan Dinler (15 Haziran)
1946	VI	63	İslamiyette Eski Dinlerin İzleri (1 Temmuz)
1946	VI	64	Demokratik Cemiyetlerde İleri Geri (15 Temmuz)
1946	VI	65	Fransız İhtilali ve Eski Rejim (1 Ağustos)
1946	VII	66	Existentialisme'in Kökleri (15 Ağustos)
1946	VII	67	Existentialisme'in Kökleri (15 Eylül)
1946	VII	68	Sartre ve Existentialisme (15 Eylül)
1946	VII	69	Hürlük ve Mesullük (1 Ekim)
1946	VII	70-71	Şark ve Garp (1-15 Kasım)
1946	VII	72-73	Yeni Türk Resmi ve Resim Sergileri (Aralık)
1946	VII	74-75	Medeniyette İlerleme ve Gerileme (31 Aralık)

## DERGİLER

İSTANBUL MECMUASI (Yeni Seri)YIL      CİLT      SAYI

1947	1	Milli Sağlık Planı ve Planlaştırma (Ocak)
1947	2	Millet Nedir
1947	3	Bizim Terbiyemiz (Mart)
1947	4	Yeni Sosyoloji Temayülleri (Nisan)
1947	5	Millet ve Şuur (Mayıs)
1947	6	Tarih Şuuru ve Vatan (Haziran)
1947	7	Sürréalizme (Temmuz)
1947	8	İznik: Bir Göl Başında Görülen Tarih
1947	9	Bir Tarih Felsefesi Mümkün müdür? (Eylül)
1947	10	Bir Tarih Felsefesi Mümkün müdür? (Eylül)
1947	11	Faşist olmayan bir İtalyan Felsefesi: Croce
1947	12	Bergson'ın Ahlâk ve Din Felsefesi

İSTANBUL DERGİSİ 1947 4. Yıl, Yeni Seri, CİLT I-II, 1-12.  
Sayı:1-12.

## DERGİLER

İŞ / İŞ VE DÜŞÜNCE

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1938	IV	13	Ahlak Tecrübesi, Fr. Rauh
1938	IV	15-16	Tecrübi İctimaiyat
		18	Dr. Ch. Blondel'in Ölümü
1939	V	19	Hepimiz İçin Hareket Noktası
1940	VI	23-24	Mehmet İzzet et Quelques Reflexions
			Critiques
1942	VIII	29	La Formation des Villes dans
			l'Empire Ottoman (1939 Bükreş)
1942	VIII	30-31	Hukuk ve Cemiyet
1942	VIII	30-31	
1943	IX	33	Prof. Mustafa Şekip Tunç ve Türk
			Tefekkür Tarihi
1943	IX	34	Çocuk Ruhunun Teşekkülü
1953	XIX	138	Hukuk ve Cemiyet (1 Şubat)
1955		170	Filozof Mehmet İzzet (1 Ekim)
		181	Ziya Gökalp
1957	XXIII	187-188	Demir Perde Gerisinde Sosyoloji
			(Mart-Nisan 9)
1957	XXV	195	Milletlerarası Sosyoloji Kongresi
			(1 Kasım)
1959	XXV	209	Ortadoğu Sosyoloji (1 Ocak)
		255	Prof. Corrado Gini ve Doktrini
		263	Burhan Toprak ve Birinci Ölüm Yıldö-
			nümü
1965		252	Emin Ali Çavlı

2) F. Fındıkoğlu was the editor of this review being issued by the Faculty of Economy of the University of Istanbul.

MÜLKİYE MECMUASI:

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1931		7	İnsani Vatancılık I
1931		8	İnsani Vatancılık II
1931		9	İnsani Vatancılık ve Muhiti III
		9	Mülkiye Mecmuası için
1931		10	Üç Millet
		10	İnsani Vatancılık IV, Şahsiyetçilik
		11	İnsani Vatancılık V, Zıd Kuvvetlerin Yaradılışı
1932		12	İnsani Vatancılık VI, Zıt Kuvvet
1932		14	Kıymetlerin Tekamülü
1932		15	İnsani Ruhun Terakkisi I
1932		16	İnsani Ruhun Terakkisi II
1932		17	Şahsiyetin İçtimai Şartları
1932		18	Din ve Akıl
1932		19-20	Telifçiliğin Tenakuzları I
1932		21	Telifçiliğin Tenakuzları II
1932		22	Telifçiliğin Tenakuzları II
1932		23	Telifçiliğin Tenakuzları IV
1932		25	Telifçiliğin Tenakuzları, Planlı İktisat
1932		27	Ahmet Haşim'in Şahsiyeti

ŞADIRVAN (İSTANBUL) \*

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1949	I	1	Millet ve Destan (1 Nisan)
1949	I	2	Bir Fetih Destanına Başlangıç
1949	I	3	Wagner ve Alman Destanı
1949	I	5	Büyük Sanatkarın Elinde Milli Efsane
1949	I	8	Halk Deyişini Yakalıyabilmek
1949	I	10	İşte Gerçek Testan
1949	I	12	Sanatta Moderne Giden Üç Merhale
1949	I	18	Özenti Sanat
1949	I	24	Şehname
1949	I	26	Firdevsi ve Şark Rönesansı
1949	II	34	Her Yaradış Bir Aşının Çiçeğidir.

The review was published by Behçet Kemal Çağlar (1908-?) a well-know Turkish poet.

The review was examined till 1949, 25th November. As I was not able to see I do not know if the review have continued its publications after 1949.

X

TÜRK DÜŞÜNCE

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1953	I	1	Medeniyetimizin Değerler Sistemi (1 Aralık)
1954	I	2	Türk Düşüncesi ve Değerlerimiz
		2	Keyserling'e Göre Türkler
1954	I	3	Tarih Boyunca İnsan İdeali
1954	I	4	Bugünün İnsanı I
1954	I	4	Anadolu Köylerinde Tetkikler II
1954	I	5	Bugünün İnsanı II
1954	I	6	Bugünün İnsanı III
1954	II	7	Determinizm Problemi
1954	II	8	Determinizm Problemi
1954	II	9	Anadolu Köyüne Dair Ciddi Araştırmalar
1954	II	9	Guardini'nin Kudret Hakkında Düşünce- leri
1954	II	10	Bir Tarih Kitabı ve Türkler
	II	10	Spengler'e Göre İslamiyet
	II	11	Anadolu Köylerine Dair Ciddi Araştır- malar
1954	III	13	Kültür ve Medeniyet
1955	III	14	Mevlana ve Muhiti
	III	15	Bir Münzeviye Cevap (Bergson Hakkında)
1955	III	16	İrade ve Telkin I
1955	III	17	İrade ve Telkin II
1957	VI	35	Aşk Ahlakı
1958	X	52	Müslümanlıkta Reform Lazım mı?
1959	X	56/5	Batıda ve Bizde İrtica
1959	X	57-58	İçtimai Değişme ve İnkılap

\* The review was founded and owned by Peyami Safa.

The last issue of the review must be vol XI, 1960 (April),

No. 63/12



\*

ÜLKÜ MECMUASI

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1934	III	17	Felsefe ve İlim
1934	III	18	Ulus Hakkında Dialog
1935	IV	23	Felsefe ve Ulusal Tefekkür
1935	IV	24	Çekoslovak Tefekkürüne Bakış
1936	V	25	Çek Tefekkürüne Bakış
1936	VII	41	Muasıır Alman İçtimayatı (Temmuz)
1942	II	20	İktisadî Devletçilik
1942	II	22	Eski Maarif, Yeni Maarif
1942	II	23	Halk ve Aydınlar
1942	II	29	Kültür ve İş
1942	III	30	Yüklü Program Davası
1943	III	31	Şair ve Kahraman
1943	III	33	Feylozof ve Filozof
1943	III	35	Aşk Terbiyesi

\* Ülkü Dergisi (İdeal Review) Appeared between the years 1933-1940 and 1942-1950. It is referred to the first period of the review as "old serial (number)".

Necip Ali Bey was the director of publication and Nusret Kemal the owner of licence of the reviews during its 1st-40th publication. After the 41st. publication Fuad Köprülü becomes the director of the review and Hasan Ali Yücel its owner of licences. It was printed at the Serben Matbaası in Ankara.

The second period is called "the new serial (number)". Bedrettin Tuncel is the director of publication and Atif Akgüç the owner of licensee between the years 1941-1946. Mehmet Tuğrul is head of the editorial and Tahsin Banguoğlu the owner of the licence between the years 1947-1950.

The new serial was published at the Ankara Matbaası. The review was examined by Canan Necioğlu till the year 1938. From Canan Necioğlu "1942-1950 Yılları arasında çıkan Ülkü Dergisi'ndeki Köy Sorunları ile ilgili Makalelerin incelenmesi" B.A. thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Letters of the University of İstanbul in 1977. Registration code to the library of the

X

ADIMLAR MECMUASI (1943-1944)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1943	I	2	Yeni Bilgi Teorisinde Kanun Fikri (Haziran)
1943	I	5	İlim Karşısında Tarih (Eylül)
1943	I	6	İlim Karşısında Tarih (Ekim)
1943	I	7	Felsefi Mektup I
1943	I	7	Felsefi Mektup II

X "Those who were publishing the Yurt ve Dünya (Country and World) attacked İnsan. Because as İnsan was humanist, Yurt ve Dünya was marxist and militant. Although the review Adımlar (Steps) had the same inclination as Yurt ve Dünya, was thinking without attacking because it was using thought instead of arms."

Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi, 2 nd ed. p. 380.

I, unfortunately, have been unable to see Yurt ve Dünya and Adımlar reviews. Yurt ve Dünya was published by the progressist teachers of the University of Ankara from the Faculty of Language and History-Geography (Dil ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi).

The owner and the publisher of the review Adımlar (1943-1944) and Yurt ve Dünya (1941-1942) was Behice Boran

## ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ EĞİTİM FAKÜLTESİ DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1970			Eğitim Krizinin Kökleri ve Üniversiteler
1970			Batı Üniversitelerinin Gelişmesi, Laiklik ve Fikir Hürriyeti İçin Savaş

ÇİĞİR

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1939	VII	81	Ziya Gökalp'in Tenkidi

DERGAH

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1338	II (1.yıl)	20	Türkler ve Moğollar (5 Şubat)
1338	II	21	Türkler ve Moğollar (20 Şubat)
1338	II	22	Türkler ve Moğollar (5 Mart)

DERNEK\*

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1962	I (1.yıl)	5	Mükrimin Halil Yinanç

\* Licencee; in the name of general Center of Turkish Culture Societies (Türk Kültür Dernekleri Genel Merkezi) Behçet Kemal Çağlar. Editorial-in-chief: Şevket Evliyagil  
Director of publication : Ceyhun Atuf Kansu

EĞİTİM HAREKETLERİ DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
	VII	78	İslamda Akademiler ve Medreseler
	VII	82	İslam Medeniyetinde Ansiklopedi
1964	VII	83-84	Ruh Sağlığı ve Cemiyet
	XIII	146-47	Eski'den ve Bugün Sendikalizm
	XXIX	356	Devlet Türkçesinin Eksikliği

FELSEFE ARKİVİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1949	II	3	Ernst von Aster ve Bilgi Teorisi
		3	Ebu'l - Berecât Bağdadî

FELSEFE SEMİNERİ DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1939	I	1	İslam Felsefesinde Akıl ve İman Meselesi
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FELSEFE TERCÜMELERİ DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1945	I	1	Önsöz
		1	Maine de Birand, Takdire Uğramış Mühtıraları (Çev. HZÜ)
		1	Türk Felsefe Dilinin Gelişmesi

FİKİR VE SANATTA HAREKET DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1968		11	Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi
1968		33	Ziya Gökalp'e dair (Eylül)

GAYRET MECMUASI

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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	I	7	Köyden Şehire Göç
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GAZETECİLİK ENSTİTÜSÜ DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1961	I	2	Bir Mecmuacı Ağah Bey
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GÖRÜŞ (ANKARA)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1930	I	2	Nirvana

HAYAT TARİH MECMUASI

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1965	I	1	Macar İhtilali (Şubat)

HİSAR\*

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1967 (Ilyıl)	VII	46 (121)	Köycülük
1968	VIII	55 (130)	Fikret için Ne Dediler
1968	VIII	56	Estetik Değer
1968	VIII	57	İktisadi Gelişme Önünde İslam Aleml
1968	VIII	60	Estetik Değer

\* Owner: Mehmet Çınarlı

Director : Nevzat Yalçın

Editonial board : Mehmet Çınarlı, Nevzat Yalçın  
Mustafa Necati Kander.

KEMALİZM DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>	
1958		7	Kültür Değişmeleri: Reform, Dinimizde Reform (Haziran)

KÜLTÜR DÜNYASI

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1954		3	Unesco ve Milletler Anlaşması Fikri I
		4	Unesco ve Milletler Anlaşması Fikri II
1956		26-27	Dünya Sosyoloji Kongresi (Temmuz-Ağustos)

MEDİKO SOSYAL SAĞLIK DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1961	I	1	Sağlık Hizmetlerinin Sosyalleştirilmesi
1961	I	2	Ruh Sağlığı ve Cemiyet Meselesi (Kasım)
1961	I	3	Sağlık Savaşında Sosyal İlimlerin Rolü

MUALLİMLER BİRLİĞİ MECMUASI

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1341/1926	I	1	Vilyam James'in Ruhîyatına Dair
1341	I	3	İçtimaiyatçılar
1341	I	5	Milli Terbiye I
1341	I	6	Milli Terbiye II
1341	I	7	Milli Terbiye III
1341	I	8	Milli Terbiye IV

PEDAGOJİ DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1973			Milli Eğitim Üzerine Düşünceler (Mar)
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SUDI KÜTÜPHANESİ DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1919		Stuart Mill ve Felsefesi
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TÜRK DİLİ MECMUASI (1933-1970)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1954	IV	39	Tanzimat ve Büyük Reşit Paşa
1958	VI	80	Ataç İçin Yazılanlardan
	VIII	85	Terk Edilmiş Bir Şehirin Hayatı
	VIII	86	Türk Destanı İçin Kaynak
1960	X	111	UNESCO: Büyük Tasarı
1963	XIII	143	Onuncu Türk Dil Kurultayı
1963	XIII	147	Soruşturmamız

TÜRK EKONOMİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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	XII	138	Kapalıçarşı ve Orta Çağ İktisadı
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TÜRK FOLKLOR ARAŞTIRMALARI DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1952		31	Türk Folklor Araştırmaları
1952		33	Milli Destan ve Folklor
1956		80	Folklor Elkitabı
1956		82	Ahlak Meselesi Etnografya ile Hallolur mu?
1959		114	Tantanasız Yaşayan Değer; Bayrı

TÜRKİYE TURING VE OTOMOBİL KURUMU BELLETENİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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	156	Kapalıçarşı ve Orta Çağ İktisadı
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\*

TÜRK YURDU:

1340 (Teşrinevvel)den (CI, sayı 1)

1927 (Haziran)'a (CV, s.3) kadar

Hilmi Ziya'nın tek yazısı var.

\* Publication of the Türk Ocağı (Türkish Hearth)

ÜLKÜCÜ ÖĞRETMEN

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1966	VIII	86 Satı El Hursi Bey
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VAKIFLAR DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1971	IX	Vakıf Sistemi ve Türk Şehirciliği
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1973	X	Türkiye Tarihinde Sosyal Kuruluş ve Toprak Rejiminin Gelişmesi (Osmanlılara kadar)
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THE VOICE OF TURKİSTAN (1955-1962)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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	2	Twin Parts of Turkish World
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YENİ ADAM (1933-1942)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1939		225 Durkheim (15 Ocak)
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<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1956		751	Kültürümüzün Temelleri (20 Nisan)
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\* İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, the first president of the University in the history of the Turkish Republic, earned his life by publishing the Review Yeni Adam (New Main) between the years 1933-1942 as he was dismissed from University with the Reformation of the Turkish University in 1933, in Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi, p.444.

YENİ DERGİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1970			Ali Turan, Hüseyin Zade Ali
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YENİ İNSAN

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1963	I	6-7	Türk Dünyası ve İnsanlık
1963	I	8	Batılı Bilginlere Göre Türk Edebiyatı
1963	I	11	Dil, Tarih, Kültür Bakımından Türk Dünyası
1963	I	12	Dil, Tarih, Kültür Bakımından Türk Dünyası
1968	VI		Delevskiy'ye Göre İlmin Gelişmesi ve Diyalektik

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1968	VI	66	Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı
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\* The owner of the review Yeni İnsan (New Man) is Celâl Silay and the director of editorial Ziya Tiryakioğlu: The date of the first publication of the review is January 1963.

### YENİ ÖĞRETMEN

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1955			Unesco ve Tarih Öğretimi
1955			Mektep Kitapları

### YILLIK ARAŞTIRMALAR DERGİSİ (1956-1967)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1956	I		Bedii Değerin İktisadi Rolü La Réalisation Sociale de la Valeur Esthétique.
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### YÖN DERGİSİ

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1962	I	9	Türkiye'nin Toprak Davası (14 Şubat)
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### YÜCEL (1936-1950)

<u>YIL</u>	<u>CİLT</u>	<u>SAYI</u>
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1936	III	13	Mukayeseli Felsefe
1936	III	14	Sinai İnkılap ve Felsefe
1937	V	28	İlim Terakkisi ve Türkler (Haziran)

## III. HIS ARTICLES IN NEWSPAPERS

AT. SON TELEGRAF 1943-1944

- 6 Haziran 1944 : Resimde Romantizm II
- 30 Mayıs 1944 : Milliyetin Doğuşunda fikir ve sanat cereyanları (Resimde Romantizm I)
- 22 Mayıs 1944 : Milliyetçilik, Turancılık, Irkçılık.
- 15 Mayıs 1944 : Milliyetçiliğin Doğuşunda Fikir ve San'at hareketleri (Romantizm'in Amerika'ya Atlayışı).
- 8 Mayıs 1944 : Milliyetçiliğin doğuşunda Fikir ve Sanat Hareketleri (Romantizmin Sonu).
- 1 Mayıs 1944 : Milliyetçiliğin inkişafında Fikir ve Sanat ceryanları (Milletler arasında edebi Mübadeleler) .
- 24 Nisan 1944 : 23 Nisan Çocuk Bayramı
- 17 Nisan 1944 : Milliyetçiliğin inkişafında Fikir ve Sanat cereyanları "Romantizm".
- 10 Nisan 1944 : Milliyetçiliğin inkişafında Fikir ve Sanat cereyanları
- 3 Nisan 1944 : Çöken Fransa'da Demokrat Fark Partisi

- 27 Mart 1944 : Demokraside Siyasi Partiler .  
Yıkılan Fransa'da partiler.
- 20 Mart 1944 : Demokraside Siyasi Partiler içti-  
mai sınıflar meselesi.
- 13 Mart 1944 : Demokraside siyasi partiler.
- 6 Mart 1944 : Demokraside siyasi partiler  
İktisat Meselesi.
- 28 Şubat 1944 : Demokraside Siyasi Partiler  
Temsil Meselesi.
- 21 Şubat 1944 : Demokraside,.....  
İdare Tarzı Meselesi.
- 14 Şubat 1944 : Demokraside ..... ve  
Anane Meselesi.
- 7 Şubat 1944 : Siyasi partilerin Din ve Anane  
Meselesi.
- 31 II. Kasım 1943 : Demokraside partilerin Mahiyeti.
- II. Kasım 1943 : Vatandaş tipini hazırlıyan hare-  
ketler: Hürriyet.
- II. Kasım 1943 : Bu cemiyette yıllardır tedavi  
edilemiyen hastalık: İHMAL.

B. YENİ SABAH 1949-1957: "SOSYOLOG GÖZÜ İLE"

YENİ SABAH \*

(1949)

Aralık (DECEMBER)

- 28 Kurultay Konuşmalarından edindiklerim
- 26 Dil Kurultayı dolayısıyla düşündüklerim
- 19 Altıncı Dil Kurultayına girerken

Kasım (NOVEMBER)

- 28 Kılavuz İhtiyacı
- 21 Tonybee'nin Yeni Kitabı
- 14 Resim ve Heykel Müzesi

Ekim (OCTOBER)

- 31 İlahiyat Fakültesi
- 24 Gecekondu ve Kooperatif Evleri
- 17 Galip Dede Derneği
- 10 Harabeler İçinde Bir Abide
- 3 Türk Sosyoloji Cemiyeti

Eylül (SEPTEMBER)

- 29 Milletlerarası Sosyoloji Cemiyeti
- 19 Akademiler
- 5 Millet ve Emperyalizm

Ağustos (AUGUST)

- 29 Kültürümüzün Temelleri
- 8 Kültür Birliği
- 1 Dil ve Temsil

(1949)

Temmuz (JULY)

- 25 Dil
- 18 Milli Şuur
- 11
- 4 Gelecek

Haziran (JUNE)

- 27 Aile
- 20 Vatan
- 13 İlim Bizi ne Kadar Aydınlatır
- 6 Çocuk Kanunu ve Çocuk Koruma Meselesi

Mayıs (MAY)

- 30 İçtimai Hafıza ve Basiret
- 23 Üniversite Bütünlüğü ve filozof Kant
- 9 Hindistan'da Türk Sanatı

Nisan (APRIL)

- 25 Osmanlılarda Küçük Endüstri
- 12 Garp Şehirleri
- 11 Mimar Sinan

Mart (MARCH)

- 28 Türk Şehirleri
- 21 Medrese ve Skolastik
- 14 Kervanlar ve Kervansaraylar
- 7 Abidelerimiz

Şubat FEBRUARY)

- 21 Ayır Alemler
- 11 Dünyada ve bizde sosyoloji tedrisi
- 7 İsmail Hakkı İzmirli dolayısıyla

(1949) .

Ocak (JANUARY)

31 Üniversitelerimizde felsefe tedrisi

24 Sanat Dili

17 Sanatın Dereceleri

9 Ocak Rıza Tevfik (Bölükbaşı)

\* The daily was found by Cemaleddin Saraçoğlu in 1938.

The daily stopped its publication in 1964.

APPENDIX : D

(1950)

- |            |                                      |
|------------|--------------------------------------|
| 26 Haziran | : Terbiyenin İki Yolu                |
| 19 Haziran | : Yeni Bir Sergi ve Sergimiz         |
| 12 Haziran | : İnzibat                            |
| 5 Haziran  | : John Dewey                         |
|            |                                      |
| 29 Mayıs   | : Programsız Maarif                  |
| 22 Mayıs   | : Doktor Bâki                        |
| 15 Mayıs   | : Milli Terbiye                      |
| 8 Mayıs    | : Görüş Farkları ve Vatan            |
| 1 Mayıs    | : Farabi'nin Bininci Yıldönümü       |
|            |                                      |
| 24 Nisan   | : Köy Sosyolojisi ve Köy Edebiyatı   |
| 17 Nisan   | : Milletlerarası Sosyoloji Enstitüsü |
| 10 Nisan   | : Cemiyetin İki Temeli               |
| 3 Nisan    | : Üniversite Sitesi                  |
|            |                                      |
| 27 Mart    | : Devletçilik                        |
| 20 Mart    | : Kökleşme ve İlerleme               |
| 13 Mart    | : Köy ve Şehir                       |
| 6 Mart     | : Yunan Mucizesi Doğru mu?           |
|            |                                      |
| 27 Şubat   | : Muallimler Birliği ve Dünya        |
| 20 Şubat   | : Kendimize Dönüş                    |
| 13 Şubat   | : Kültürümüzde Hayranlık Yolu        |
| 6 Şubat    | : İlim ve Cemiyet                    |
|            |                                      |
| 30 Ocak    | : Üniversite ve Cemiyet              |
| 22 Ocak    | : Belediye ve Tarih                  |
| 16 Ocak    | : 1949 ve Fikir Hayatımız            |



(1950)

- 9 Ocak : Filozof Rıza Tevfik (Bölükbaşı)
- 2 Ocak : Elli Yılın Fikir Hayatı
- 25 Aralık : Farabi ve Descartes
- 18 Aralık : İhtisas ve Cemiyet
- 11 Aralık : İnsanlık Şerefi
- 4 Aralık : Şehir Gürültüsü
- 27 Kasım : Üniversitelerimiz
- 20 Kasım : Yerli ve Yabancı Tahsil
- 13 Kasım : İslam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü
- 6 Kasım : Yüksek Öğretmen Okulu
- 30 Ekim : Nüfus Sayımı
- 23 Ekim : Birleşmiş Milletler Bayramı
- 16 Ekim : Fransızca Yeni Sosyoloji Yayınları
- 9 Ekim : Tarihimizin Direkleri
- Milletlerarası İlim Kongreleri
- 2 Ekim : Şahsi Teşebbüs
- 25 Eylül : Tarihin Resmi Geçidi
- 11 Eylül : Avrupa ve Dünya
- 28 Ağustos : Terbiye ve Demokrasi
- 21 Ağustos : Terbiye ve Demokrasi
- 14 Ağustos : Milli Birlik ve Cereyanları
- 7 Ağustos : İzmir Kasabaları
- 31 Temmuz : Meslek Ahlakı
- 24 Temmuz : Kongreler
- 17 Temmuz : Tarihimizin Dört Çağı
- 10 Temmuz : Demokrasi ve Meratip
- 3 Temmuz : Büyük Bir Yol Gösterici İçin

(1951)

- 25 Haziran : Dil Meselesi III  
 18 Haziran : Dil Meselesi II  
 11 Haziran : Dil Meselesi  
 4 Haziran : Göçmen Davamız II
- 28 Mayıs : Göçmen Davamız I  
 21 Mayıs : Dünyada Göçmenlik Mes'elesi  
 14 Mayıs : Dünyada Göçmenlik Meselesi  
 7 Mayıs : Maddi ve Manevi Kültür Ahenksizliği
- 30 Nisan : Irk Peşin Hükmü ve Biz  
 23 Nisan : Georges Davy ve Fransız Sosyolojisi  
 16 Nisan : Evlenme
- 26 Mart : Aile ve Cemiyet  
 19 Mart : Amerika'da İktisadi İlimlerin Yeri  
 12 Mart : İptidailere dair Sosyolojik Tetkikler  
 5 Mart : Müteşebbis İnsan Mektebi
- 26 Şubat : Ferdi ve Kollektif Araştırmalar  
 19 Şubat : Fikir ve İman Savaşı  
 12 Şubat : 1952 Milletlerarası Sosyoloji Konferansı  
 ve Corrado Gini  
 5 Şubat : İsmail Hakkı İzmirli
- 29 Ocak : Kat Mülkiyeti  
 22 Ocak : Müsbet Zihniyet  
 15 Ocak : Mektep ve Cemiyet  
 8 Ocak : İstedişimiz Mektep  
 1 Ocak : Tahsil ve Cemiyet

(1951)

- 31 Aralık : Şark ve Garp Konferansı
- 24 Aralık : Danimarka'da Sosyoloji
- 17 Aralık : Milli Vatan
- 10 Aralık : İsviçre'de Cemiyet ve Sosyoloji
- 3 Aralık : Garbın Faziletleri
- 
- 26 Kasım : Hollanda'da İlim Hareketi
- 19 Kasım : Norveç'te Sosyoloji
- 12 Kasım : Destan ve Efsaneler
- 5 Kasım : Kanada'da Sosyoloji
- 2 Kasım : Ken'an Rifai
- 
- 29 Ekim : Milli Destan ve Folklor
- 22 Ekim : Türk Folklor Araştırmaları
- 8 Ekim : Almanya'da Sosyoloji
- 1 Ekim : Türk Medeniyetine dair Yanlış Görüşler
- 
- 24 Eylül : Türk Medeniyeti Hakkında Yanlış Tefsirler
- 17 Eylül : İngiltere'de Sosyoloji
- 10 Eylül : Hindistan'da Sosyoloji
- 3 Eylül : İtalya'da Sosyoloji
- 
- 27 Ağustos : Bugün Belçika'da Sosyoloji
- 20 Ağustos : Sanat'ta Tesir
- 13 Ağustos : Bugün Fransa'da Sosyoloji
- 6 Ağustos : Felsefe Terimleri
- 
- 30 Temmuz : Vitrin
- 23 Temmuz : Yirmi İki Yıl Geciken Cevap
- 16 Temmuz : Bitmemiş Eserler
- 9 Temmuz : İhmal
- 2 Temmuz : Büyük Ölümlerin Bizden Beklediği

(1952)

- 30 Haziran : İslam Medeniyeti Ne Getirdi?
- 23 Haziran : İslam Medeniyeti ve Dünya
- 16 Haziran : Yine Dil
- 9 Haziran : Fikir Güreşi
- 2 Haziran : İki Menfi Zihniyet
- 
- 26 Mayıs : Dil, Kültür Hazinesi
- 19 Mayıs : Fikir Geleneği
- 12 Mayıs : Milli Anlaşmalar ve Tarih Kitapları
- 5 Mayıs : Teknik ve İnsan
- 
- 21 Nisan : Sevgi mi? Şiddet mi?
- 14 Nisan : Nezaket Meselesi
- 7 Nisan : Folklor Elkitabı
- 
- 31 Mart : Milletlerin Gelişme Yolu
- 24 Mart : Sanat ve İhtimai Alâkâ
- 17 Mart : Ömer Rıza Doğrul
- 10 Mart : Suçlar ve Cemiyet
- 3 Mart : Cenubi Amerika'da Sosyoloji
- 
- 25 Şubat : Tarihimizin Sosyolojik Tetkiki
- 18 Şubat : Kültür ve Dil
- 11 Şubat : Orta-Amerika Kıt'asında Sosyoloji
- 4 Şubat : Doğu ve Batı
- 
- 28 Ocak : İslam Milletlerinde Fikir Hareketleri
- 21 Ocak : Milliyetçilik ve Şark Milletleri
- 14 Ocak : Anlaşmak
- 7 Ocak : Hindistan Konferansı

- 29 Aralık : İnanma Buhranı  
 22 Aralık : İki Tehlike Önünde Türk Düşüncesi  
 15 Aralık : Şark'ın Uyanması  
 8 Aralık : İhtida Mevzuu  
 1 Aralık : Benedetto Croce
- 24 Kasım : Garplılaşmak Nedir  
 17 Kasım : Meslek Ahlakı  
 10 Kasım : Cemiyet ve Ahlak  
 3 Kasım : Fikir Kulüpleri
- 27 Ekim : Ziya Gökalp  
 20 Ekim : İlim Kongreleri  
 13 Ekim : Köylerimize dair Yerli Araştırmalar  
 6 Ekim : Garpta Bize dair Araştırmalar
- 29 Eylül : İsmail Gaspirali (1851-1914)  
 22 Eylül : Alakasızlık  
 15 Eylül : Kongre ve Türk Sosyolojisi  
 8 Eylül : Kongreye girerken
- 25 Ağustos : UNESCO Yayınları  
 18 Ağustos : İlim Zihniyeti ve İman  
 11 Ağustos : İçtimai Kalkınma  
 4 Ağustos : Kültürü Yayma Vazifesi
- 28 Temmuz : XV. Milletlerarası Sosyoloji Kongresi  
 28 Temmuz : Okumak  
 21 Temmuz : XV. Milletlerarası Sosyoloji Kongresi  
 14 Temmuz : Kültür Eserlerimizin Neşri  
 7 Temmuz : İnsan ve Toprak

(1953)

- 29 Haziran : Tecrübi Sosyoloji Araştırmaları  
 22 Haziran : Edirne ve Salimiye  
 15 Haziran : Köklüler ve Köksüzler  
 8 Haziran : Sevgi ve Cemiyet  
 1 Haziran : Yeni Çağın Eşiğinde
- 24 Mayıs : Sevgi ve Kurban  
 15 Mayıs : İptidai Zihniyet  
 11 Mayıs : Cemiyette Tecrübi Araştırma  
 4 Mayıs : İstanbul'un İctimai Tarihi
- 27 Nisan : Sığınanlar Meselesi  
 20 Nisan : Uzak Doğu'da Göç  
 13 Nisan : Orta Doğu'da Köy  
 6 Nisan : Şehir Adları
- 30 Mart : Avrupa'da Göçmen Tetkikleri Birliği  
 23 Mart : Köyden Şehire Göç  
 16 Mart : Türkiye'de İş Göçleri  
 9 Mart : Türkiye'de İş Göçleri  
 2 Mart : Eksik Tarafımız II
- 23 Şubat : Eksik Tarafımız  
 16 Şubat : Luvr'da Türk Sanatı ve Kültürümüz  
 9 Şubat : Endüstrileşmenin Sırrı II  
 2 Şubat : Endüstrileşmenin Sırrı
- 26 Ocak : İşbirliği ve Kooperatificilik  
 19 Ocak : İtham Psikolojisi  
 12 Ocak : Fikir Hayatımızda Kerim Erim  
 5 Ocak : İctimai Seviye

(1953)

- 28 Aralık : Fransa'da Sosyoloji Öğretimi  
 21 Aralık : Müzik ve Cemiyet  
 14 Aralık : Devrim Kitlede mi, Şahısta mıdır?  
 7 Aralık : Yeni İhtimai Nizam
- 30 Kasım : Teknik İlerlemenin Neticeleri  
 23 Kasım : Teknik ve İlerleme  
 16 Kasım : Dünya Kùltürlerine Dair Yeni Yayınlar  
 9 Kasım : Şehir Problemi  
 2 Kasım : Şehir Meselesi
- 26 Ekim : Orta Sınıflar ve Garp  
 19 Ekim : Yeni Türkiye  
 12 Ekim : ReşatŞemseddin  
 5 Ekim : İnsani Vatanperverlik
- 24 Ağustos : Milliyetçilik ve Şark  
 17 Ağustos : Suad Baydur  
 10 Ağustos : Cemiyet ve Cinsiyet  
 2 Ağustos : Cemiyet ve İkbâl Hırsı
- 27 Temmuz : Şehir Gürültüsü  
 20 Temmuz : Cemiyet Ruhu  
 13 Temmuz : İhtimai Araştırmalar Neden Yapılamıyor  
 6 Temmuz : Anadolu İçinde

- 28 Haziran : Din Sosyolojisi
- 21 Haziran : İçtimai İlimler
- 14 Haziran : Yusuf Ziya Yörük (1887-1954)
- 7 Haziran : Dünyada Okuma Savaşı
- 1 Haziran : Fikir Geleneği
- 
- 24 Mayıs : İçtimai Meselelerin Bugünkü Durumu
- 17 Mayıs : Büyük Felsefe Lügati; Mustafa Namık Çankı
- 10 Mayıs : Seçim Sosyolojisi II
- 3 Mayıs : Seçim Sosyolojisi
- 
- 26 Nisan : İbni Sina
- 19 Nisan : Peyami Safa
- 5 Nisan : Sağlık Savaşında Sosyal İlimlerin Rolü
- 
- 29 Şubat : Georges Duhamel
- 22 Şubat : Musul
- 15 Mart : Alimler Şehiri Bağdat
- 8 Mart : Bağdat
- 1 Mart : Bağdat Müzesi
- 
- 15 Şubat : Çukurova
- 8 Şubat : İslam Dünyasını Tanımak
- 6 Şubat : İlk Çağı Hakimi
- 
- 25 Ocak : İlk Çağı Hikmeti
- 18 Ocak : UNESCO ve Temel Eğitim
- 11 Ocak : Şarkla Garp arasında Köprü
- 4 Ocak : Medeniyet ve Tarih



(1954)

- 27 Aralık : Mevlana Töreni
- 20 Aralık : Zenginler ve İhtimai Yardım
- 13 Aralık : Yakın Doğu ve Temel Eğitim
- 6 Aralık : Kapalıçarşı ve Ortaçağ İktisadı
- 29 Kasım : Şark Dünyası
- 22 Kasım : Cemiyet ve Tesevüd
- 15 Kasım : Yakın Doğu İhtimai Araştırma Merkezi
- 8 Kasım : Afrika'da Temel Eğitim
- 1 Kasım : UNESCO ve İhtimai Problemler
- 25 Ekim : Yardımcı Dil
- 11 Ekim : Viet-Nam Kültürü
- 4 Ekim : Tanzimat İçin Bir Eser  
(Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat,  
Reşat Kaynar)
- 20 Eylül : İstanbul'da Avrupa Göçmenler Kongresi
- 6 Eylül : Endüstrileşmenin İhtimai Neticeleri
- 3 Eylül : Şam'da İhtimai İlimler Kongresi
- 23 Ağustos : Köy Tetkikleri
- 16 Ağustos : Gönen
- 9 Ağustos : Pakistan
- 2 Ağustos : Akademi
- 26 Temmuz : Felsefe Terimleri
- 19 Temmuz : Kudret II
- 12 Temmuz : Kudret
- 5 Temmuz : Kitle Devri ve Medeniyet Zevall

- 27 Haziran : Krizantemsiz ve Kılıcsız Gençlik
- 20 Haziran : Mektep Dışı Terbiye ve İctimai Mesuliyetler
- 13 Haziran : UNESCO ve Tarih Eğitimi
- 6 Haziran : UNESCO
- 30 Mayıs : Vahşet ve Medeniyet
- 23 Mayıs : Etnografya ile Halolur mu?
- 17 Mayıs : Ahlakî Cesaret
- 9 Mayıs : İnsan Olmanın Güçlüğü
- 2 Mayıs : Prof. René Könic ve Alman Sosyolojisi
- 25 Nisan : Einstein
- 18 Nisan : İktbal'in Yıldönümü
- 4 Nisan : İctimai Alakasızlık
- 28 Mart : Kötümserlik
- 14 Mart : Orta-Doğu ve Bölge Tetkiki
- 7 Mart : İş arızalarının Ruhi ve İctimai Sebepleri
- 1 Mart : Üniversitelerin Çoğalması Dolayısıyla İlim ve Cemiyet
- 21 Şubat : Hayvan Hikayeleri
- 14 Şubat : Mevlana Tetkikleri
- 7 Şubat : Eski Dünya-Yeni Dünya
- 31 Ocak : Kültür Değişmeleri
- 24 Ocak : Marifamızın Ana Davaları;ve Bazı Hal Çareleri, Mümtaz Turhan
- 20 Ocak : Alkolizm ve Cemiyet
- 10 Ocak : Filozof İzzet
- 3 Ocak : Vakıf ve İctimai Yardım

- 26 Aralık : Değişen Cemiyetin Buhranı  
 19 Aralık : Orta Öğretim  
 12 Aralık : Yetişkinlerin Terbiyesi  
 5 Aralık : Marifte "Tübâ Ağacı"  
  
 28 Kasım : Köy Hocası Yetiştirmek II  
 21 Kasım : Felsefe Gözüyle Atatürk: Naşit Kızılay  
 14 Kasım : Köy Hocası Yetiştirmek  
 7 Kasım : Edebiyat ve Fen Fakülteleri II  
  
 31 Ekim : Nüfus Sayımının Düşündürdüğü Meseleler  
 24 Ekim : Edebiyat ve Fen Fakülteleri  
 17 Ekim : Üniversite ve Demokrasi II  
 10 Ekim : Üniversite ve Demokrasi I  
 5 Ekim : Üniversiteler Konferansı  
  
 26 Eylül : Kadınların Siyasi Hayata İştiraki  
 19 Eylül : Medeni Kanun ve Örf  
 5 Eylül : Ahlak ve Siyaset  
  
 29 Ağustos : Garba Karşı Mukavemet  
 22 Ağustos : Değişmeye Karşı Mukavemet  
 15 Ağustos : Mektep Kitabı  
 8 Ağustos : Yaşayan Çinicilik  
  
 25 Temmuz : Köy ve Mektep  
 21 Temmuz : Bergson'a Göre Cemiyet  
 18 Temmuz : Değişen Japonya  
 11 Temmuz : Dr. Adnan Adıvar  
 4 Temmuz : Eski Japonya ve Bugün

(1956)

304

- 28 Mayıs : İnsan Müzesi  
21 Mayıs : Yeni Milli Kütüphane  
7 Mayıs : Akdeniz'de Orta Sınıflar Toplantısı  
  
23 Nisan : Medreseden Üniversiteye  
16 Nisan : Medreseden Üniversiteye  
9 Nisan : Alman Üniversiteleri  
2 Nisan : Birleşik Amerika'da Üniversiteler  
  
26 Mart : Ziya Gökalp  
19 Mart : Üniversite ve Milli Cemiyet  
12 Mart : Fransız Üniversiteleri  
5 Mart : Meslek Birlikleri  
  
27 Şubat : Meslek Birlikleri  
20 Şubat : Ağah Alaybek "münzevi bir fikir adamımız"  
13 Şubat : Eğitim Sosyolojisi  
6 Şubat : Milli Kütüphane  
  
30 Ocak : Meslek Tescanüdü  
23 Ocak : Hürriyet'in Teminatı  
16 Ocak : Köylerin Derdi  
9 Ocak : Şehirlerin Büyümesine Karşı  
2 Ocak : Dünyada Temel Eğitim

(1956)

- 7 Aralık : Kur'anın Türkçesi
- 26 Kasım : Sosyal İlimler Öğretiminin Bugünkü Durumu
- 19 Kasım : UNESCO'nun Onuncu Yılı
- 29 Ekim : Hakkı Tarık Us
- 25 Ekim : Mektep Kooperatifleri
- 15 Ekim : Yakın Doğuda Cemiyet İlimleri II
- 8 Ekim : Peyk Devletlerde Cemiyet İlmî II
- 1 Ekim : Yakın Doğu'da Sosyoloji
- 24 Eylül : Peyk Devletlerde Cemiyet İlmî I
- 17 Eylül : Demirperde Gerisinde Sosyoloji
- 10 Eylül : Sosyoloji Kongresinden İntibalar
- 3 Eylül : Üçüncü Dünya Sosyoloji Kongresi
- 27 Ağustos : Doğu Türkü
- 20 Ağustos : İki Türk Dünyası
- 13 Ağustos : İctimai Adalet ve İslam
- 6 Ağustos : İctimai Adalet
- 30 Temmuz : Tarih Kitapları ve Tarihçilerin Mesuliyeti
- 23 Temmuz : Dünyada Maarif Teftişi
- 16 Temmuz : Göçmenlerin Terbiyesine Dair Tecrübeler
- 9 Temmuz : Hadiseler Karşısında Alim
- 2 Temmuz : Milliyetçiliğin Hakiki Müdafası
- 26 Haziran : UNESCO Tarih Konferansında İki Hadise
- 18 Haziran : Bir Misyonerin Hayali
- 11 Haziran : Cemiyet Nerede Toplanır
- 4 Haziran : UNESCO'nun Büyük Eseri

(1957)

- 31 Ekim : İhtisas Asrı
- 26 Ekim : Seçim Sosyolojisi III, "Kadınların Seçimde Rolü"
- 25 Ekim : Belçika'da Seçim Tetkikleri
- 15 Ekim : Seçim Sosyolojisi I, "Fransa'da Seçim Tetkikleri"
- 4 Ağustos : İhtimai Araştırmalar Semineri
- 18 Temmuz : Temel Şahsiyet Araştırmaları
- 5 Temmuz : Temel Şahsiyet
- 19 Haziran : Yunus Emre'nin Mezarı
- 7 Haziran : Hayat Formumuz ve Bursa
- 5 Haziran : Hayat Formu
- 22 Mayıs : Nurullah Ataç
- 18 Mayıs : Milletlerarası İlk Pedagoji Konferansı
- 6 Mayıs : Milletlerarası İlk Pedagoji Konferansı
- 29 Nisan : Edebiyat Tarihimize Yeni Bir Bakış
- 23 Nisan : Sendikacılığın Bugünkü Hali
- 1 Nisan : Sendika Fikrinin Tekamülü
- 4 Mart : Milletlerarası Anlayış
- 23 Şubat : Federal Almanya'da Sosyolojik Anket
- 15 Şubat : İhtimai Tetkiklere Dayanan Eğitim
- 28 Ocak : Temel Eğitimde Sosyal İlimlerin Rolü
- 21 Ocak : Mekteplerde Spor II
- 15 Ocak : Eğitimde Sporun Yeri
- 7 Ocak : Mektep Müzeleri
- 4 Ocak : Türkiye'de Köy

C- IN DIFFERENT NEWSPAPERS p.

Vatan (1941), (1958)

Vakit (1936-....)

Tan (1936-....)

Tasvir (1936-....)

Ulus (1945-47)

APPENDIX : ETHESIS ON HILMI ZIYA ÜLKEN

- CEVDA AKSOY : HİLMİ ZİYA BİBLİOGRAFİSİ, (1977)
- MAHIR KONUK : HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN VE KEMAL TAHER'İN  
ROMANLARINDA TOPLUMSAL AÇIDAN  
KURTULUŞ SAVAŞI (1978) (U266)
- ŞUKRU ŞAYAKCI : ORD, PROF, DR, HİLMİ ZİYA ÜLKEN'İN  
ŞEHİR SOSYOLOJİSİ İLE İLGİLİ  
1931-1932 YILLARI ARASINDA YAZDIĞI  
MAKALELER, Sayı 86-94 (U236)

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