

A GLIMPSE INTO THE FIRST RACIST APPROACH
IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: THE "SCIENTIFIC" RACISIM OF
ABDULLAH CEVDET

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ABSTRACT

“A Glimpse into the First Racist Approach In The Ottoman Empire: The "Scientific"

Racism of Abdullah Cevdet”

by Yalın Alpay

Racism was one of the most significant ideologies of the nineteenth century. Whole Europe was under the influence of racism all during the nineteenth century and this influence was at its peak in the World War II. Biological differences were carried to the social and political life and they directly affected the decision making processes. Contrary to Europe, racism didn't flourish in the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, racist views were proposed at the Ottoman Empire as well. These views, proposed by Abdullah Cevdet didn't find any supporters at the Ottoman Empire. However, these radical views were unexpectedly put up on the agenda in 1930s' Turkey and with Abdullah Cevdet and Ziya Gökalp they became one of the main references of Kemalist history writing. This study proposes that a main feature of Kemalist history writing was based on not only Ziya Gökalp, but also it was nourished from racist views of Abdullah Cevdet. In this context, this thesis investigates Abdullah Cevdet's racism.

KISA ÖZET

“Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki İlk İrkçı Yaklaşımına bir Bakış: Abdullah Cevdet’in
“Bilimsel” İrkçılığı”

Yalın Alpay

İrkçılık on dokuzuncu yüzyılda dünyadaki en önemli ideolojilerden biriydi. Tüm Avrupa, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl boyunca ırkçılık ideolojisinin etkisindeydi ve bu etki II. Dünya Savaşında tepe noktasına çıktı. Biyolojik farklılıklar sosyal ve politik yaşama taşıyor, sosyal ve politik karar alma mekanizmalarını doğrudan etkiliyordu. Avrupa’daki bu gelişmelere karşın, ırkçılık Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda gelişmedi. Bununla birlikte, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda da ırkçı görüşler ileri sürüldü. Abdullah Cevdet tarafından öne sürülen bu görüşler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda yandaş bulmadı. Ancak bu radikal düşünceler, beklenmedik bir biçimde, 1930’ların Türkiye’inde yeniden gündeme getirildi ve Abdullah Cevdet, Ziya Gökalp ile birlikte, Kemalist tarih yazımının ana referanslarından biri oldu. Bu çalışma, Kemalist tarih yazımının ana hatlarının yalnızca Ziya Gökalp’e dayanmadığını, aynı zamanda Abdullah Cevdet’in ırkçı görüşlerinden beslendiğini ileri sürmektedir. Bu bağlamda bu tez, Abdullah Cevdet’in ırkçılığını incelemektedir.

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Chapter I: Introduction

To date Abdullah Cevdet was discussed as a political thinker and a journalist and introduced as an anti-religionist. Notwithstanding, no studies were carried out about his racist views which would possibly make the most significant effects. This thesis investigates the racism of Abdullah Cevdet who was an intellectual proposing racist views in an empire unfamiliar with racism ideology.

Nineteenth century was the period when Ottoman Empire's perception of "The West" had the most radical transformations. Perception of "The West" was defined differently by different communities at the Ottoman Empire, and while this civilization was called as devil to some views, to others it was thought as the home of highest concepts. Between these two views was a kind of a hybrid Westernism, that is, to take the technological superiorities of the west but to carry on the cultural roots. In brief, the West, whether positive or negative, was at the focus point of the intellectuals of the empire.

Abdullah Cevdet headed the list of personalities taking the Westernism to its extreme. According to Abdullah Cevdet, who viewed Europe as the most advanced and the most creative civilization, the only thing the Ottoman Empire should have done was "To become a faithful student of Europe". To him, Europe was the continent producing the best and the most mature ideas because it harboured racially the most competent people. Having the superior race and as a result the best and the most mature ideas, the Ottoman Empire should have taken them from Europe without questioning and should

have applied them to itself. The most striking point here is Abdullah Cevdet's attributing of Europe's superiority to their racial superiority. No such an idea had ever been proposed at the Ottoman Empire and even after Abdullah Cevdet.

The thesis is organized in three sections. In the first section, historical development of thought of race and its transformation to racism ideology is discussed. In the second section, the pioneer intellectual preparing the suitable environment to propose an intellectual racist thought is discussed. In the third section, the radical racist thoughts of Abdullah Cevdet, the sole representative of racist thought at the Ottoman Empire, is discussed. In the Epilogue, racist thoughts of Abdullah Cevdet are compared with the thoughts of Ziya Gökalp and how these racists thoughts of Abdullah Cevdet affected the ideological thought in 1930s' Turkey are discussed.

CHAPTER II: The Rise of the Concept of Racism in Europe

Introduction

There are several opinions about the date of emergence of the race question in a modern way. For Cox¹, and Somersan² modern race relations began in the fifteenth century. Puzzo claimed there was nothing in the life and thought of Europe that could be described as racist until the sixteenth century.³ According to Barton⁴ and Bernasconi⁵, the term “race” started to be used in the modern sense in the seventeenth century. And in Hirschman’s view, the proto-forms of racism can be seen in the seventeenth century but its modern shape only appeared in the nineteenth century.⁶ It’s possible to find many other propositions for the date of the emergence of racist thought. Although it is not possible to propose an exact date for the emergence of racist thought in Europe, one can, nonetheless, try to retrace its emergence in time in order to reach a clear understanding of the emerge of modern racist theory.

¹ Cox, O.C. (1999) “Race Relations, Its Meaning, Beginning, and Progress”, *Theories of Race and Racism: Reader*, (Ed. John Solomos), Routledge, Florence, KY, USA. p.72

² Somersan, S. (2004) *Sosyal Bilimlerde Etnisite ve Irk*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, p.46

³ Puzzo, D.A. (1964) “Racism and the Western Tradition”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.25, No.4, p.579

⁴ Banton, M. (1969) “Social Aspects of the Race Question” UNESCO, *Four Statements on the Race Question*, p.17

⁵ Bernasconi, R. (2000) *Irak Kavramını Kim İcat Etti?* Robert Bernasconi, (Translated by Direk, Z.), Metis, İstanbul, p.35

⁶ Hirschman, C. (2004) “The Origins and Demise of the Concept of Race”, Charles Hirschman, *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 30, No.3, p.393

One cannot find a definition of race in an eighteenth century dictionary in the modern sense of race as a subdivision of the human species, identified by a shared appearance and other inherited traits. Samuel Johnson's definitions of race in the 1755 first edition of *A Dictionary of the English Language* conformed to previous English dictionaries in confining the application of this term to family lines or breeds of animals as "a family ascendancy", "a generation; a collective family" and "a particular breed".⁷ The same is true of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, where race is defined in the first edition of 1694 as "lignage, extraction" in relation to either families or beasts. This definition was repeated in the famous *Encyclopédie* of d'Alembert and Diderot in 1765 and the term was closely linked with family. The first recognizably modern definition of race does not appear until the sixth edition of the *Dictionnaire*: "A multitude of men who originate from the same country, and resemble each other by facial features and by exterior conformity."⁸ Definitions of race in this sense came later in English dictionaries.

Before the eighteenth century, physical differences among peoples were rarely referred to as a matter of great importance. But the tendency to seize upon physical differences as the badge of innate mental and temperamental differences is not limited to modern times. Many of the ancient authors reflect a keen appreciation of both physical and cultural differences, which separate and group mankind. These can be considered as pre-racist thoughts.

⁷ Hudson, N. (1996) "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol.29, No.3, p.247

⁸ *Ibid.*

Pre-racist Thoughts

Antiquity and the Roman Empire

Expressions of race prejudice go back as far as five thousand years ago. In the *Rigveda*⁹, there is a description of an invasion of the valley of the Indus, where a dark-colored people lived, by the Aryas. The god of the Aryas, Indra, is described as “blowing away with supernatural might from earth and from the heavens the black skin which Indra hates.”¹⁰ The dark people are called “Anasahs” –noseless people– and the account proceeds to tell how Indra “slew the flat-nosed barbarians.” Having conquered the land for the Aryas, Indra decreed that the enemy was to be “flayed of his black skin”.¹¹

In Ancient Egypt, there is an indication of the early recognition of race differences in the portraits on the walls of tombs from as early as 1350 B.C. Four colors were used for the complexions of the peoples represented: red for the Egyptians themselves, yellow for their enemies to the east, white for people from the north, and black for black people. Color prejudices depended on which ethnic group held sway. When the lighter skinned Egyptians were dominant they referred to the darker group as “the evil race of Ish”. On the other hand, when the darker skinned Egyptians were in

⁹ The oldest literature of the Indians

¹⁰ Gosset, T.F. (1997) *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, Oxford University Press, New York, p.3,4

¹¹ Ibid, p.4

power, they retorted by calling the lighter skinned peoples “the pale, degraded race of Arvad”.¹²

Among the Jews, the prophet Ezra preached the abomination of mixing the seed of Israel with that of the Ammonite and the Moabite. All alien wives and children were deported and all future mixed marriage, were brought under a strong ban.¹³ But the most famous example of racism among the Jews is Ham, the son of Noah. The account in *Genesis* tells of Ham’s expressing contempt for his father because Noah had become drunk and was lying naked in a stupor. Noah’s other sons had covered their father’s nakedness, averting their eyes so as not to witness his shame, but Ham had not averted his eyes. Noah blessed the descendants of Shem and Japheth, his other sons, but cursed the descendants of Ham.¹⁴ In *Talmud*, the descendants of Ham are said to be cursed by being black.

There were also several examples of racial prejudice in Ancient Greece. In the sixth century B. C., Xenophanes, in a passage concerning the Gods, declared that if animals, like men, had hands and could paint and produce works of art they would represent their Gods as animals, oxen as oxen, horses as horses, etc., adding that the

¹² Webster, H. (1931) *Ancient Civilization*, D.C. Health and Company, New York, p.16

¹³ Benedict, Ruth (1940) *Race: Science and Politics*, New York, p.163

¹⁴ Genesis, 9

Ethiopians made their Gods black and snub-nosed, the Thracians gave theirs red hair and blue eyes.¹⁵

In the fifth century B.C., Hippocrates attempted to account for race differences on the basis of climate and geography. The Greeks were superior to Asiatics, he said, because the bareness and infertility of the soil made them hardy and self-reliant. The climate in Greece was “more likely to steel the temper and impart to it a fierce passion than in a monotonous sameness.”¹⁶ Luscious vegetation and plenteous crops, on the other hand, led to softness and a lack of war spirit. Thus the Asiatics were “feeble”, “less warlike”, and “more gentle”.

Similar to Hippocrates, in the fourth century B.C., Aristotle thought that both physical and temperamental race differences were caused by climate. He depicted the Asiatics as intelligent, inventive but of weak spirit; and the people who live in northern Europe as of strong spirit but unintelligent and unable to form a political organization. But Hellenes which is situated between them were high-spirited and also intelligent. According to Aristotle they were able to rule the world.¹⁷

As seen above, the ancient world was aware of physical differences and used discriminating discourses along these lines, but it was free of racist dogma. Racism sets

¹⁵ Jaeger, Werner (1945) “Xenophanes and the Beginning of Natural Theology” *The Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book*, (ed. Roback, A.A.) Cambridge, Mass, p.411

¹⁶ Gosset, T.F. (1997), p.6

¹⁷ Aristotle, *Politics*, vii. 7. 1–3. See also Aristotle, *Ethics*, iii. 7

on the assumption that a correlation exists between physical characteristics and moral qualities which separates mankind into superior and inferior stocks.¹⁸ But the allusions to color and other physical characteristics were usually made within an ethnocentric frame of reference which does not make a connection between physical characteristics and moral/spiritual qualities. Only Hippocrates and Aristotle made connections with moral qualities by comparing them with climate but they did not compare them with physical characteristics.

It is one thing to describe a people as long-headed and brave or as round-headed and philosophical; it is quite another to assert that because a people is long-headed it is brave or because it is round-headed it is given to philosophy. So we can not talk about racism in the Ancient Ages.

The Middle Ages

During the Middle Ages, race both as a concept and as a program of action, lay outside the range of Western societies. Christianity had emphasized the unity of mankind and spread a creed open to all men and women regardless of origin or station in life. Thus Roman Catholicism gave a place of allegiance to Western European peoples. The relative isolation and backwardness of Western Europe ensured the continuance of established attitudes.

¹⁸ Puzzo, D.A. (1964), p.579

Jews on the other hand, were the real others for Christians. In fact in the early history of the Catholic Church, the Jews were not perceived as an enemy, but toward the end of the eleventh century the attitude of Christians toward the Jews changed radically.¹⁹ Instead of being the Chosen People, the Jews became in Christian perception, the deicide (God murderers) because Christians blamed Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus.²⁰

As most of the religious sources narrate Ham as the ancestor of Ethiopians or Africans, these people were more likely to be seen in a different way. This situation was used as a rationalization of the slave trade from Africa to Europe and of the main source of coerced labor.²¹ And Europe imported slaves from Africa until the Ottomans cut off this source with their move into North Africa.²²

Religious differences are manifested as a reason of conflict during the Crusades.²³ Thanks to the Crusades, Europe encountered a new world in the East, which resulted in the revival of trade, the growth of urban life, and the end of the Scholastic hegemony, as finally the Renaissance terminated the isolated situation of Western Europe. The expansion of Europe allowed “white men” to explore the world and

¹⁹ Gosset, T.F. (1997), p.10

²⁰ *De Fontette, F. (1991) Irkçılık* (Translated by Karyol, H.) İletişim, İstanbul, p.33

²¹ Wolf, E.R. (1994) “Perilous Ideas: Race, Culture, People” *Current Anthropology*, Vol.35, No.1, p.3

²² By the mid-15th century, however, the Portuguese had expanded their trade for slaves down the West African coast as far as Ghana, and from then on Africa south of the Sahara became a main area of supply both for Iberia and for the New World.

²³ Samson, J. (2005) *Race and Empire*, Pearson Longman, Edinburgh, p.11

encounter strange breeds of men, red, yellow, brown, and black. Races and nations which until then had been completely unknown or had been exotic names, the stuff of legends, the stock-in-trade of travelers and storytellers such as Marco Polo (his journeys between 1271-1291) and John Mandeville (-who wrote a travelogue about a journey from England to East Mediterranean, India and China in 13th century but it did not get published until 1480), soon became quite familiar not only to European sailors and traders but to the broader masses in Europe.

In the presence of variety and contrast, as it were, there developed a greater self-awareness. It can be said that race-consciousness – in the modern sense of the term – was carried back to Europe along with gold and silver, silks and spices, dyestuffs and furs.

Economical and Political Transformations in the Sixteenth Century

In the sixteenth century the rise of Protestantism opened a way to national piety and served to diminish the universal hegemony of the Church. One difference between the Catholic and the Protestant Church was the independence of the German Church from the Papacy.²⁴ Most of the wealthy cities in Europe chose Protestantism in order to set themselves free from the tradition's burden.²⁵ The separation of Christianity

²⁴ Arıboğan, D.Ü. (1997) *Kabileden Küreselleşmeye*, Sarmal, İstanbul, p. 111

²⁵ Weber, M. (1997) *Protestan Ahlakı ve Kapitalizmin Ruhu* (Translated by Gürata, Z.) Ayraç, Ankara, p.32, 33

gave birth to autonomy in Europe and the local states gained power against the Catholic Church. This development, confluent with the impact of Europe's expansion on Europe's self-awareness, strengthened a growing sense of difference and separateness among the Europeans themselves.

Another factor, which gave rise to the sense of difference and separateness on the part of Europeans, was economical and political transformation. The technological developments that took place in Europe during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, changed the mode of production. The growth of commerce destroyed subsistence farming and caused agriculture to rely increasingly on the market. The enclosure movement, perhaps the most important of the economic phenomena of the later Middle Ages and the early modern era, was thereby greatly accelerated. Sometimes it was designed to give greater scope to improved methods of arable farming; sometimes it converted arable land into pasture. In either case, it made farming subservient to the needs of the great markets and the merchant capital which dominated them. The accumulation of commercial capital was accelerated by the growth of foreign commerce. For reasons of profit, political power or merely prestige, this capital was often invested in land while an opposite movement took place from the landed aristocracy. And intermarriage completed the union between finance, merchant capital and the landed interest.²⁶ So the feudal society's economic infrastructure started to evolve into a form that was later on called capitalism.²⁷

²⁶ Roll, E. (1962) *A History of Economic Thought*, Faber, London, p.55

²⁷ Mooers, C. (1991) *The Making of Bourgeois Europe*, Verso, London, p.3

The spread of market relations in the early sixteenth century gave rise to an increasingly complex Europe-wide division of labor as various regions began to specialize in the production of specific agricultural commodities they sold on the international market. Specialization led to differentiation, as some areas tended to gain a monopoly over the production of certain goods and thereby a greater share in the overall distribution of world-economic wealth. Capitalist progress in Europe during the sixteenth century supported the development of absolute monarchies. Because, for the emerging capitalist class the, strong state in the form of an absolute monarchy was a prime customer, a guardian against local and international brigandage, a model of social legitimation, a preemptive protection against the creation of strong state barriers elsewhere.²⁸

This period was called the era of mercantilism in Europe. Mercantilism is regarded as a phase in the history of economic policy, which contains a number of economic measures designed to secure political unification and national power.²⁹ The basic purpose of mercantilism was to bring as much as possible wealth (gold and other precious metals) into the home country. According to this opinion, gold and other precious metal reserves are constant and in order to get rich one must hold in the home country as much precious metal reserves as possible. For this reason, mercantilism attaches importance to exports and tries to constrain imports. That is, it promotes precious metals to get in the country through the selling of goods and tries to hinder the

²⁸ Wallerstein, I. (1974) *The Modern System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in Sixteenth Century*, Vol. I, New York, Academic Press, p.335

²⁹ Roll, E. (1962) p.61, 62

transfer of precious mines through the buying of goods from abroad. The mercantilist thought of enriching the regions within the political borders has helped setting up common goals within the political borders and has nurtured emotional bonds within societies. Consequently, the people outside the borders have been alienated.

In this context, “mercantilism was nothing but state solidification – not state solidification in a narrow sense, but state solidification and national-economic solidification at the same time, which creates out of the political community an economic community, and so gives it a heightened meaning. The essence of the system lies not in some doctrine of money, or the balance of trade; but in something far greater: in the total transformation of society and its organization, as well as of the state and its institutions, in replacing of a local town and territorial economic policy by that of the national state”.³⁰

Supporting the influx of precious metals into the country, mercantilists have given special importance to develop mercantile fleets in order to transport wealth from far continents to their home countries. For transporting precious metals from Latin America and Africa to Europe strong commercial fleets were needed as well as a strong army and navy in order to protect the trade routes. These big investments could not be handled by the local overlords of feudalism. So it is not surprising that mercantilists clothed their views in the garb of a policy designed to strengthen the nation or that they looked up to the state to carry out their theories. The expansion of commerce brought

³⁰ Bücher, K. (1968) *Industrial Evolution*, A.M. Kelley, New York, p.136

with it a divergence of individual trading interests. Nearly all these interests looked to a strong central authority to protect them against the claims of their rivals. The vacillations of state was caused by commercial interests in strife, the only common aim of the merchants was to have a strong state, provided that they could manipulate it to their exclusive advantage. For this reason most pieces of mercantilist policy that were put forward identified the merchant's profit with the national good, i.e. the strengthening the power of the realm.

According to Wallerstein, this mercantilist increase in trade and the rise of an international division of labor also assigned each region of world economy to a specific zone: core, periphery or semi-periphery.³¹ Similarly, each zone was assigned a specific form of economic activity the particular region had come to specialize in. Thus there is a particular pattern that emerged: in the periphery which included regions of eastern Europe and Hispanic America, "coerced cash-crop labor" in the form of serfdom and slavery respectively developed, corresponding to the form of productive activity which predominated: grain for sale on the world market in the case of the former, and "labor-intensive" crops such as cotton and sugar in the case of the latter.³²

³¹ Wallerstein, I. (1976) "From Feudalism to Capitalism: Transition or Transitions?" *Social Forces*, Vol.55, No.2, p.276; Wallerstein, I. (1974) *The Modern System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in Sixteenth Century*, Vol. I, New York, Academic Press, p.86

³² Wallerstein, I. (1974), p.101

According to Wallerstein, also the concept of “race” is related to the axial division of labor in the world economy, the core-periphery antinomy.³³ As the capitalist world-economy expanded from its initial location primarily in Europe, as concentrations of core and peripheral production processes became geographically more and more disparate, “racial” categories began to crystallize around certain labels.³⁴ In Cox’s words; “racial exploitation and race prejudice developed among Europeans with the rise of capitalism and nationalism, and that because of the world-wide ramifications of capitalism”.³⁵

The racist view of Europe (core) towards New World (peripheria) during the age of exploration confirms Wallerstein in a way. In Spain a debate continued throughout the sixteenth century on the question of whether the Indians in the New World were really men, or whether they were beasts or perhaps beings intermediate between beasts and men.³⁶ As for the American Indians a Papal Bull of 1537 formally declared that the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas were true men, descendants of Adam and Eve, and capable of understanding the Catholic faith. But this didn’t help them much: in Protestant eyes support by the Pope was equivalent to patronage by the Devil. Three years later, in 1540, the novel argument was put forth that they were the modern descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, condemned to wander forever. The

³³ Wallerstein, I. (1987) “The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity” *Sociological Forum*, Vol.2, No.2, p.381

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.382

³⁵ Cox, O.C. (2000) *Race A Study in Social Dynamics*, Monthly Review Press, New York, p.6

³⁶ Hannaford, I. (1996) *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Washington D.C., p.150

official historian of the Spanish conquest, Fernandez de Oviedo described the Indians as naturally lazy and vicious, melancholic, cowardly, and in general a lying, shiftless people. Their marriages are not a sacrament but a sacrilege. They are idolatrous and commit sodomy. Their chief desire is to eat, drink, worship heathen idols, and commit bestial obscenities. What could one expect from a people whose skulls are so thick and hard?³⁷ Towards the end of the seventeenth century Cotton Mather, the evangelical leader in Massachusetts declared that “though we know not what or how these Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the devil decoyed those miserable savages hither in the hope that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them.”³⁸

With this point of view, Europeans killed and enslaved many of the indigenous peoples of the New World until the Bishop of Chiapas, Bartolomé de Las Casas defended them in the same century. According the thesis of Las Casas which has taken both the Church’s and the states, indigenous people also had spirits that is they were also human beings. So, it should not be allowed them to be killed or exiled randomly from their lands. Instead it should be tried to be saved and turned to Christianity’s universal values. Then, they would be alive and in the way of changing

³⁷ Handke, L. (2002) *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America*, Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, p.11

³⁸ Leach, E. (1998) “Noah’s Second Son”, *Anthropology Today*, Vol.4, No.4, p.2

their religions, they could be united with the labor force – sure according to their abilities. This level was the lowest in the occupation and reward hierarchy.³⁹

This situation is the beginning of modern race relations.⁴⁰ Racial exploitation is merely one aspect of the proletarianization of labor, regardless of the color of the laborer. Hence racial antagonism is essentially a political-class conflict. The capitalist exploiter, being opportunistic and practical, will utilize any convenience to keep his labor and other resources freely exploitable. He will devise and employ race prejudice when that becomes convenient.⁴¹

Consequently a new political system which was triggered by the economical changes was outspread to a larger area when compared to feudalism. Because, the classes of the manufacturers and traders had much to say in the economical system with the landlords, they succeeded in directing the political system according to their interests. As a new religious interpretation according to the new economical and political system Protestantism evolved and spread in Europe.

The creative power that gave rise to a production system for change alongside the old feudal system that produces for use was the “long distance trade”, as

³⁹ Wallerstein (2000) “Kapitalizmin İdeolojik Gerilimleri: Irkçılık ve Cinsiyetçilik Karşısında Evrenselcilik” *İrk, Ulus Sınıf* (Balibar, E. & Wallerstein, I.) Metis, p.45

⁴⁰ Cox, O.C. (2000) p.17

⁴¹ Ibid, p.18

suggested by some of the researchers who studied the era.⁴² In order for this long distance trade to be done, construction of the roads, keeping security forces in place and securing the trade was required. For the overseas intercontinental journeys, larger investments were required. In order for such great amounts to be spent, central governments reigning over larger scale lands compared to the feudalism were required. The new central governments that could be described as the state of the merchants pursued on trade-oriented politics and tried to attract precious metals to the country and not to give out the precious metals in accordance with the mercantilism policy. With this new policy, a serious competition between those inside the country and those outside the country came into being. As a result of this competition, those outside the country came to be perceived as the peoples who are open to any kind of exploitation and the legitimacy of this exploitation was based on their physical difference. By claiming that the negro and the native Americans were not human beings, slavery and confiscating their precious metals at the cost of their lives became legitimate. The difference of the skin color became the reference point in such segregation. Thus, birth of the central government and changing economical conditions prepared a conducive ambience to the birth of the racism in modern sense. Besides, despite various thoughts and actions about race difference, this way of thinking had not turned into a drastic theory up until the modern ages.

⁴² Sweezy, P. (1978) "A Critique" (ed. Hilton, R.) *The Transition From Feudalism to Capitalism*, Verso, London, p.42 (16)

The Eighteenth Century

Mercantilist system was an important economy politics on the path leading to the national state formation. According to this system, the total wealth in the world was constant. What mattered was to gain the biggest share from such fixed wealth. Such way of thinking brought the country into a fundamental conflict of interests with other countries. Thus, those inside the country were perceived as members of the family while those outside the country were seen as the others. Each and every new discourse that would strengthen the difference between those inside the country and the others was extremely valuable. Since the difference is visible at the first glance increased the degree of the difference, the differences as to the physical appearance were underlined.

In late seventeenth century, year 1684, a French physician, François Bernier, wrote an article named *Nouvelle division de la terre par les différents espèces ou races qui l'habitent* (*New Division of Earth by the Different Species or Races which Inhabit It*) on the subject of human differences. “The geographers up until this point” said Bernier, “have divided the world only according to the different countries or regions.” Instead of geographic division, he suggested a different method of classification that based upon the facial lineaments and bodily conformations of the people. For Bernier, there are four general classifications of what would now be called races: The Europeans, the Far Easterners, the Blacks and the Lapps.⁴³ In such classification, two

⁴³ Gosset (1997), p.32

additional types were thought to take part. The first group covering the Europeans included the Moroccons, Egyptians and Indians.

He described the races with their appearances. According to him the blacks of Africa have thick lips and flat noses. Their skin has a polished look and their hair is like a species of wool or like the hair of some spaniels. Their teeth are as white as the finest ivory. The Far Easterners have a peculiar turn to their faces and oddly shaped eyes. The Lapps are short with large feet and large shoulders. These people have faces similar to those of bears, he tells us, and are “quite frightful.”

When we turn back and ask that what makes Bernier’s distinction so important, the answer is not the list’s itself but the usage of word of race intentionally for the first time.⁴⁴ Bernier’s classification of humans into distinct races seems to be the first scientific attempt to categorize races.⁴⁵

In the eighteenth century, the economic sharing competition between the countries as suggested by the mercantilism had spread inside the countries as well. Domestic sharing of the wealth brought into the country caused saw some problems and the theories that tried to legitimize such difference with the race criterion were put forward. Thus, the racial difference drawn by Bernier among the people living in different continents was carried to the nation itself by the authors such Boulainvilliers.

⁴⁴ Bernasconi, R. (2000) *Irk Kavramını Kim İcat Etti*, (Translated by Direk, Z.) Metis, p.35,36

⁴⁵ Snyder, L.L. (1962) *The Idea of Racialism*, Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, New York, p.9

Although eighteenth century gained its most classical form in France, it was a time when all layers of the society came together against the aristocratic differences existing in the society. However, the authors who study the European History in ethnical terms came to conclusion that Aristocracy– *Tiérs Etat* fight was a war waged between conqueror tribes (Germen) and the old peoples (Gallic Romans, Celts etc..). Thus, a fight that was thought to be forgotten in the middle age started to be debated with brand new concepts and dimensions.⁴⁶ At the beginning of the eighteenth century Cont Henri Boulainvilliers brought forward an “aristocratic racism” doctrine by systematizing the writings before him (like noble writers François Hatman and Christopher Shevrl’s articles which idealized the Franc tribes’ era) via his book *Eassai sur la noblesse* (1732) [Essay on Nobility]. Boulainvilliers, in such book of his, was trying to defend the nobles against the absolute monarchy that had started to take away the privileges of the French nobles with a race doctrine. According to Boulainvilliers, nobles were not taking their privileges from the king, but from their Germen and Franc ancestors who took indigenou Welshmen and Roman Celts under their rule. So the privileges of nobles were not a grace of the king but the conquest right of them. Consequently the king had no right to take back something which he did not give.⁴⁷

For Boulainvilliers, people of France were not a homogenous nation but a community which consists of two different races who were unequal. The ethnic origin of these people was not the same and they could not have the same rights, because the nobles who were the conquerors of the Franc and Germen invasions had taken the

⁴⁶ Timur, T. (1984) “Batı İdeolojisi, Irkçılık ve Ulusal Kimlik Sorunumuz”, *Yapıt*, No.5, p.11

⁴⁷ Şenel, A. (1993) *Irak ve Irkçılık*, Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, Ankara, p.57, 58

indigenous people under their rule, and these people had lost their rights of independence and become serf. The real French of the time was the nobles who took them under their rule. The people comprising the third layer was the ancestors of that serf. As for the kings who presided over the central absolute monarchy, since they were the offspring of the indigenous spoiled race, the kings had decided to obliterate the Franc race, that is to say, the nobles. In order to realize such target, they had freed the Welshmen. Under those circumstances, the Franc who was the branch of the noble German race had to defend their privileges and lands.⁴⁸

The European nobles influenced by these ideas of Boulainvilliers tried to create an internationalism of European nobles by stating that they were all from the German race. For instance, Brézaard, who was a noble religion man one year before the Bastille raid (1788), in his book entitled *Observations sur préhistoire de France* [Observations on the Pre-historical Era of France], wrote that the freedom was in the German forests, the third layer is an inferior race and German conquerors did the right thing by taking away their freedom. Montosiere, however, wrote that the third layer is composed of a mixture of the slave races, but starting from the twelfth century, they started expressing themselves as a gang, thus, number and crows became somewhat dominant over the quality and value. The target of these insults was the bourgeoisie which they considered an inferior race. It would be the German nobles and philosophers that would embrace the German nobility most.

⁴⁸ Cassirer, E. (1961) *The Myth of the State*, Yale University Press, Michigan, p.229

Thus, Europe history was written on a racial basis and the fight between the aristocracy and people was considered a fight between conqueror tribes (Germen) and old people (Gallic Romans, Celts etc.). According to this perspective, the great fight that broke out during the French Revolution was nothing but the repetition of the fights that took place during the conquests and the Revolution was a revenge attempt by old people, that is, Gallic Romans, against the conqueror aristocrat Franks. In this way, social and economic justifications were reduced to none and any kind of fight was perceived as a struggle seeming endless between the races. This struggle indicated that efforts were made to realize the economic sharing and the political sovereignty not only in the international arena, but also within the national boundaries by means of the racial ideological legitimacy.

Such kind of racial conflicts took place in the UK apart from the continental Europe. In England, Anglo-Saxons were described as a race who comprised the majority of the British population for centuries yet lost their political superiority with Norman invasion in 1066. Thus, the events that took place in the British civil war was interpreted as the fight of the Anglo-Saxons against the Norman monarchy for the purpose of re-building their freedom and democracy traditions.⁴⁹ In 1787 John Pinkerton published his *Dissertation on the Origin of the Scythians or Goths*, one of the first histories in England to rely heavily upon race theory. Another writer in this respect

⁴⁹ Miles, R. (2000) *Irkcılık*, (Translated by Yaman, S.) Sarmal, İstanbul, p.47

was Sharon Turner, whose *History of the Anglo-Saxsons* was published in several volumes between 1799 and 1805.⁵⁰

Three years after Boulainvilliers, in 1735, the Swedish pioneer botanist Carolus Linnaeus in his *Systema Naturae* (Natural System), described the species of Homo-Sapiens as a fixed and unchangeable entity, and divided in into four varieties. Implicit in this conception of classification as the goal of science was the belief that nature had been constructed on a pattern discoverable, at least in part, by human reason.⁵¹ Different from Bernier, he added temperamental features to each race. According to his list, White Europeans were submissive, intelligent and muscular. Yellow Asiatics were harsh, melancholic, and ambiguities. Black Africans were phlegmatic, lazy and negligent and finally reddish Americans were stubborn, choleric, and avaricious.⁵² The chief distinction made by Linnaeus was color of skin, but to this he added temperament, customs, and habits. For many years this principal trait of skin color in classifying humans retained popularity.

A contemporary of Linnaeus, the French naturalist George Louis Leclerc Buffon was one of the most influential authorities in natural history in the 18th century. Most of his attention was given to the lower biological orders, but he does have something to say concerning the variety of human races.

⁵⁰ Gosset (1997), p.86

⁵¹ Banton, M. (1999) "The Idiom of Race, A Critique of Presentism", *Theories of Race and Racism: Reader*, (ed. Solomos, J.) Routledge, Florence, K.Y. p.54

⁵² Broberg, G. (1994) "Homo Sapiens. Linnaeus's Classification of Man", *Linnaeus: The Man and His Work*, (ed. Frangmyr, T.) Science History Publications, Canton, pp.156–194

Buffon distinguished six races in 1749: 1) Laplander, or Polar race; 2) Tatar or Mongolian race; 3) Southern Asiatic race; 4) European race; 5) Ethiopian race; 6) American race. He used skin color, stature, and bodily figure, as well as certain “psychic traits” in differentiating the races. The most perfect race according to him was the white European race because the nature created the white race with her most perfect endeavors.⁵³ So the white race is the norm and the real and natural color of man.⁵⁴ For him all other races are exotic variations, but it would be wrong to think of them as different species. Buffon believed that the climate was the main determinant of race. “Classes and genera are only the arbitrary operations of our own fancy,” he declared. Excessive heat has made the Negroes black. As they darkened under a tropical sun, their descendants eventually acquired blackness as a hereditary characteristic. If the Negroes should be imported to Europe, over a period of generations their descendants would gradually lighten in color, eventually to a shade “perhaps as white as the natives of that climate”. The fact that excessive cold tends to darken the skin explains the relatively dark complexions of the Laplanders and Greenlanders. Differences which cannot be explained by temperature he attributes to the altitude of the land, the nearness to the sea, the diet and social customs of the people. Race, therefore, is not a constant. For Buffon, instead of race, time and locality was responsible for the development of human difference. There was no essential, biological difference between human beings.⁵⁵

⁵³ Stamm, R. & Shohat, E. (1994) “Contested Histories: Eurocentrism, Multiculturalism and the Media”, *Multiculturalism, A Critical Reader*, (ed. David Theo Goldberg), Blackwell, Oxford, p.313

⁵⁴ Gosset, (1997), p.36

⁵⁵ Samson, J. (2005), p.28

The observations on the races that started with Linnaeus and Buffon, soon, gave rise to a search for sounder physical criteria about the human beings within the scientific circles. In this direction, it did not take so long for the scientists to focus on the face and head of the human and two new disciplines emerged. One of these disciplines was the science of physiognomy that was described in the book by the Swiss doctor J.C. Lavater in 1775. According to this branch of science, it was possible to understand the characteristics of the human being merely looking at his facial lines and there was a close link between the races and physiognomy.

The second discipline was the craniology, started by Blumenbach and developed by Pierre Camper at around the same dates. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, a professor of medicine at the University of Göttingen, had a lifelong interest in the study of race differences. His doctoral thesis, *On the Natural Variety of Mankind* (1775), was the first of his long series of ethnological studies of the meaning of race. He collected specimens of human skeletons, particularly crania, from all over the world and tried to show how skeletal forms, especially skulls, differed between the races. He became famous as a cofounder with Buffon of the science of anthropology and in his own right as the “father of craniology”.⁵⁶ Blumenbach proposed the division of mankind into five races attached to five sections of the globe: Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, Ethiopian, and American.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Gosset (1997), p.37

⁵⁷ Banton, M. (1969) *Race Relations*, Tavistock Publications, London, p.18

Most often, the races are named by colors: white, yellow, black, red and brown. It was Blumenbach who coined the word “Caucasian” to describe the white race. According to him, Caucasians were considered to have the largest and most attractive skulls.⁵⁸ It is curious that this word – which is still widely used – is based upon a single skull in Blumenbach’s collection which came from the Caucasian mountain region of Russia. Blumenbach found strong resemblances between this skull and the crania of the Germans. Therefore, he conjectured that possibility the Caucasus regions may have been the original home of the Europeans.

Nevertheless, he was opposed to those who thought races were superior or inferior. Those who chose to rank the races in order of their beauty especially irritated him. He protested against those who compared the races by putting an “ugly Negro” opposite a Greek god. He considered “Negroes”, Indians and Mongolians as potentially valuable members of society and is convinced that they bear no hereditary taint.⁵⁹

Also Camper, like Blumenbach, focused on the physical features and but paid most attention to the form of the skull in determination of one’s race and was deciding on some criteria in this regard. Around ten years after Blumenbach, in 1786, Camper measured the degree of protrusion of the face and called it face angle. According to such studies, the Negroes with a face angle of 70 degrees were closer to the apes with a face angle of 58 degrees than the Europeans (Whites) with a face angle of 80 degrees. He argued that perfection of the human beauty corresponded to maximum level, 100

⁵⁸ Samson (2005), p.28

⁵⁹ Gosset (1997), p.39

degrees, which he believed was present in the ancient Greeks. Besides, as will be described in more detail in the section entitled Skull Based Theories, in the 19th century, after Camper, the skull came to be directly linked with the superiority and inferiority between the human races.

As can be seen, the race was described in three different levels in the 18th century. The first level was based on the mercantilist economy politics and the process of nationalization linked to that. According to this doctrine, everyone outside the country was the other and this difference was further marked with the racial differences. In this way, accumulating the world wealth which was constant according to the mercantilist theory inside the country and exploitation and employment of those outside the country as cheap labor became legitimate. These theories were generated by the kings, long distance merchants and trotters.

In the second level, with the absolute monarchy system getting powerful in Europe, monarchy and the new bourgeoisie class that was on the rise entering into a conflict of interests with the nobles and their efforts to take away the rights of the nobles created a fight. In such fight, the nobles demonstrated the nobility of their rights and argued that such rights were given to them by their conqueror ancestors and tried to defend their rights on the basis of race. Therefore, the issue of race was carried to the agenda of the national fights as a legitimizing factor. This theory was put forward by the nobles such as Hatman, Shevrl and Boulainvilliers.

Finally, with the Enlightenment idea becoming widespread across Europe, the science became independent of the daily life, thereby, giving rise to different perspective in race definitions. That was composed of, using the method of the science describing and classifying the all goods, classifying the physical differences of the humans in a scientific way and creating a scientific system of the races. The two other levels described the race to make itself superior against the groups it fights with, that is, for the purpose of serving certain interests consciously, while the scientific race definition was made by the botanists, physiologists and naturalists who did not serve a certain interest and did not feel they belonged to any group. Therefore, in the scientific racism of this century, the races were not differentiated as superior and inferior, and the racism was not used as an instrument for insulting or exalting. However, the scientific data was going to be used for different politics.

The Nineteenth Century Context

The ideology of national states carrying precious metals to their homeland as much as possible put forward by the mercantilism was taken one step forward with the imperialism thought of the nineteenth century. The relations between the center and periphery which used to be supplying precious metals from the periphery to the center shifted towards establishment of an exploitation system by the center on the periphery. The theory that there is a hierarchy between races, as suggested by the mercantilism for the sharing of the international wealth and power, became somewhat more rigid in the hands of the Imperialism and the hierarchy seemed to be stronger. Like in the

mercantilism theory, the imperialism used the classifications made by the scientists instead of the classifications made by the merchants and trotters in creating this hierarchy and such act made the Imperialism even stronger in the 19th century of science.

The European identity found its most sound expression with its confrontation with the East during the imperialist era. The European identity found its shape through the confrontation with other civilizations. The Europe came up with its identity based on a formula composed of the contradictions in the world, not from inside itself. Self and other, Europe and Eastern climates became the opposing poles of a civilization values system defined by Europe.⁶⁰ Europe looked down on the remaining regions of the world throughout the entire 19th century.⁶¹

The Enlightenment was a very important moment in the discovery of European identity. Actually, it was based on the questions who we are and what our position in the world is. The replies given by Europe to such questions included that civilization, economics and thinking were invented by Europe and had created a West which was unique and advanced infinitely as of the moment of the emergence of its roots.⁶² This discourse had created a type of racist regime, in imaginative terms, which separates the West from the East with an imaginary line, roots of which dated back to the ancient

⁶⁰ Delanty, G. (1995) *Inventing Europe*, MacMillan, London, p.84

⁶¹ Hentch, T. (1996) *Hayali Doğu*, (Trasnlated by Bora, A.), Metis, İstanbul, p.173

⁶² Amin, S. (1989) *Eurocentrism*, Zed Books, London, p.89

Greeks.⁶³ The arguments as to the fact that the East has been in communication with the West for a very long time and the East pioneered the economic development were in people's minds before the 18th century, yet after 19th century this way of thinking disappeared.

Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, as clearly expressed by Warburton in Europe of 1738, the fact that the ancient Greeks learnt several things, including the philosophy, from the Egyptians was assumed as the soundest known phenomenon as to Ancient times.⁶⁴ The Greeks, according to the prevailing belief in Europe before nineteenth century, were seen in the periphery of the Egyptian and Semitic culture areas and, based on such model, the Greek culture had come into being with the colonization and civilization of the indigenous people by the Egyptians and the Phoenicians.⁶⁵ The Greeks had continued to gain great amounts of knowledge from the Near East cultures at subsequent eras. For instance, Ancient Iran was a very important source for the Ancient Greek.⁶⁶ That is to say, the Ancient Greek culture was not an original culture and was based on the sources outside the continental Europe.

⁶³ Hobson, J.M. (2007) *Batı Medeniyetinin Doğulu Kökenleri*, YKY, İstanbul, p.224

⁶⁴ Bernasconi, R. (1997) "Philosophy's Paradoxical Parochialism: The Reinvention of Philosophy as Greek", *Cultural Readings of Imperialism: Edward Said and the Gravity of History*, (ed. Ansell-Pearson, K.; Parry, B.; Squires, J), Lawrence&Wishart, p.212

⁶⁵ Bernal, M. (2003) *Kara Athena, Eski Yunanistan Uydurmacası Nasıl İmal Edildi? (1785–1985)*, (çev.) Buze, Ö. , Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, s.49

⁶⁶ Hentch, T. (1996) p.22

However, interestingly in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a commonly held belief in Europe was that it was impossible for the Greeks to learn anything from other peoples. This belief first started with the philosophy and the philosophy book that was entitled *Geist der Spekulativen Philosophie von Tales bis Socrates*, which defended the autonomy of the Greek philosophy was published in 1791 by Dietrich Tiedemann. Up until that date, there was no book which argued that the Ancient Greek philosophy had an original basis. This book was supported by another German writer. The other writer named Wilhem Tennemann, in his work with eleven volumes entitled *Geschichte der Philosophie*, spread the project of Tiedemann to the entire Western history.⁶⁷ This moment when the history of the philosophy was re-written was the moment when Europe built its own culture and other cultures. In the tradition that started from that moment on and continued until modern day, the philosophy– and, thus, all ways of thinking peculiar to the West– takes its basis from the continental Europe and assumes a position in which it has no references for outside the continent. After the history of the philosophy was re-written in this way, the West, all of a sudden, became the founder of the entire civilization and all societies outside the West had turned into peoples who failed to reach such civilization and underdeveloped. The West was allegedly inventing and the other regions were following these inventions and progress of the West several years behind.

The thesis related to race in the nineteenth century was not limited to an academic debate among the European scientists and researchers. The theory of race,

⁶⁷ Direk, Z. (2005) “Felsefenin Başlangıcı Sorusu”, *Başkalık Deneyimi: Kıta Avrupası Felsefesi Üzerine Denemeler*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, p.23

modern degeneration, advancement of the civilization, white (pure) races' faith, necessity of the colonies: all these issues were the elements of a special science-culture-politics combination. The target of this combination was almost always aimed at ensuring that Europe or the European race become superior over the non-European portions of the humanity.⁶⁸

The discourse of imperialism had progressed steadily during the creation of the European identity and racism invention of the world. Therefore, emergence of the mission of rendering civilized had become a moral duty. According to the new Europe fiction that became dominant by the end of the 18th century, the West was the one that was normal and developed while the East was deviated, under developed, barbaric or brutal.⁶⁹ Having thought that the moral duty of the Europe was to gift a civilization to the East, the Europeans saw the imperialism as a mission of rendering civilized. Describing the imperialism as rendering civilized was based on several justifications: Firstly, by destroying the Eastern identity and culture and placing the superior Western features, the idea was to render the East civilized and free the East. Secondly, this term was useful, because even if the imperialism was not a good thing for the world, the British imperialists believed that they really rendered the East civilized and freed/saved the East.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Said, E. (1999) *Şarkiyatçılık*, (translated by Ülner, B.) Metis, İstanbul, p.244

⁶⁹ Hobson, J. M. (2007) p.238, 239

⁷⁰ Hyam, R. (1993) *Britain's Imperial Century, 1815–1914*, Barnes & Noble Books, p.105

The civilization mission of the West is also legitimized through the use of Holy Bible. According to Genesis story in Holy Book, after the big flood, Noah's three sons received different divinely ordained fates. Ham accidentally saw his father's nakedness while Noah was drunk, and his descendants were condemned to serve those of the other two sons, Shem and Japheth.

*“And the sons of Noah that went forth from the ark, were Shem, Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan. These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread. And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard. And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered in his tent. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. **And he said, Cursed be Canaan; and a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.**”⁷¹*

The story was interpreted to refer to the division of the known world between the descendants of these three sons: Europe to Japheth, Asia to Shem (hence the word ‘Semitic’), and Africa to Ham. Although this interpretation was ancient, the use to which it could be put in an age of European expansionism was modern.⁷² The “Curse of Ham” was re-examined in a new light following Europe's discovery of new peoples in America and sub-Saharan Africa and more attention was given to Genesis 9 [the story of Noah] in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than had been the case, arguably, in

⁷¹ Genesis 9: 18–27

⁷² Samson, J. (2005) *Race and Empire*, p.20

the entire history of Christian exegesis.⁷³ But it gained more importance in the Imperial Age and In support of West's imperial claims, arguing that since they could make better use of the land than others, it belonged to them. This religious version of the utilitarian argument cited from the Bible.⁷⁴

The term race in modern meaning signifies the various subspecies of Homo sapiens characterized by certain physical and genetic traits.⁷⁵ In short, it is supposed to be a genetic category, which has a visible physical form.⁷⁶ Besides, modern racism was based on the idea that the members of a race had superiorities over the members of another race and could be described as placing the human races in order and grouping them in a hierarchy. The common belief was the reason of these differences was genetic. In other words, the criterion of classification is the genetic features that stem from the blood and they cannot be changed. Therefore, all racist approaches argue that there is link between the acts and behaviors of the groups through genetic transfer.⁷⁷

To sum up, the fact that the imperialism displays the east as a dull and inactive phenomenon linked the racism theory and this fact with the race differences and since the East was coming from an inferior race, the East was described as a poor society that

⁷³ Braude, B. (1997) "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods", *William and Mary Quaterly*, Vol.54, No.1, p.141

⁷⁴ Blackburn, R. (1998) *The Making of New World Slavery*, Verso, London, New York, p.88

⁷⁵ Van den Berghe, P.L. (1967) *Race and Racism A Comperative Perspective*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, p.9

⁷⁶ Wallerstein, I. (1987), p.380

⁷⁷ Harris, M. (1968) *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture*, Crowell, New York, p.81

was in need of the aid from the West. The fact that the underdeveloped nature of the East was linked with its genetic features enabled the Europe to defend the difference between East and West as a scientific suggestion, with the support of the anthropology that flourished in the West during the nineteenth century. The Europeans made their acts legitimate by proving that the human groups in the colonies which were kept as slaves were always the least developed race of the humanity with a restricted intelligence, thus, they should be considered less human than the Europeans.⁷⁸

Nineteenth century science used two major methods in classifying the races. The first method was based on such characteristics as skin color, stature, hair and form of eyes, nose, and face. The second method was based on the study of the skull. And it is also possible to see some researchers who combined both of these methods.

Non-Skull Based Theories

The leading country of imperialism was, without any doubt, Great Britain. There have been so many race theoreticians in 19th century Great Britain where usually there had been not much before. Almost all of these theoreticians differentiated the races as superiors and inferiors which had not been the case before. The researchers of the other imperialist countries have supported them.

⁷⁸ Weiss, M.L. & Mann, A.E. (1975) *Human Biology and Behavior: An Anthropological Perspective*, Little Brown, Boston, p.7

The changing attitude toward race is evident in a series of lectures which were delivered from 1816 to 1818 by Sir William Lawrence, a physician at the Royal Collage of Surgeons in London. According to him, it was foolish to argue that superiority and inferiority of races was not a fact of nature which must be taken into account. He admitted that there were individual members of lower races who were intellectually the equal of any white man, but the law of averages was against them. For him the Negroes belonged at the bottom of the scale. “That the Negro is more like a monkey than the European” said Lawrence, “cannot be denied as a general observation”.⁷⁹

Lawrence is one of the first of the anthropological theorists to carry the idea of superior and inferior races into Europe itself. According to him, it will appear that most of the virtues and talents which adorn and ennoble men, have existed from early times in a higher degree among the Celtic German than among the Slavonic and oriental people; while the latter have usually displayed a more sensual character than the former. He also noted differences in the crania of different nations.

Certainly, by the mid 19th century, race had become one of the most used and abused terms of ethnographic literature. On the peak of reaction to the French Revolution, educated opinion moved steadily to an opposite extreme: by the middle of the 19th century no “truth” had become more “self-evident” than that all men were created unequal.⁸⁰ By the second half of the 19th century, physical anthropology in

⁷⁹ Gosset (1997), p.57

⁸⁰ Harris, M. (1968), p.80

Europe had crystallized sufficiently to deserve recognition as a specific area of investigation. It had achieved the status of holding congresses, publishing its own journals, and even providing occupants for academic chairs – in effect, chairs of physical anthropology, though not always labeled as such. It had matured its techniques through a line of investigations.⁸¹ As the Scottish anatomist Robert Knox declared in 1850, “Race or hereditary descent is everything; it stamps the man.”⁸²

The racist opinion of educated classes spread to the base via the books of Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau.⁸³ Gobineau was a novelist and a story writer but he also wrote a racist treatise and due to the fact he was a literary man his treatise easily has diffused among the crowds. As well as he did in his racist essay named *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, he also placed his racist outlook enough in his fictional works.⁸⁴ But of course the clearest presentation of Gobineau’s racial theories is not found in his fictional works. Between 1853 and 1855 Gobineau published a four volume work *Essai*, which became the bible of racialist literature. The *Essai*, far from being the serious anthropological study which it purports to be, is an imaginative reconstruction of all history.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Shapiro, H.L. (1959) “The History and Development of Physical Anthropology” *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol.61, No.3, p.374

⁸² Hudson, N. (1996), p.247, 248

⁸³ Lukacs, G. (2006) *Aklın Yıkımı* (Translated by Kapkın, A.T.), Vol. II, Payel, İstanbul, p.269

⁸⁴ Forter, P.A. (1967) “Gobineau and German Racism”, *Comperative Literature*, Vol.19, No.4, p.341

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.342

Gobineau's start point and his basic tendency was the struggle against democracy, and the concept of equality.⁸⁶ According to him, the idea of race was the fact that shapes human nature. As ancestries differed from one race to another, he argued, so did abilities and cultural levels. In short, his thesis was simple: all human races were anatomically, physically, and psychologically unequal.⁸⁷

Gobineau divided humanity into three races: the brutal, sensual, and cowardly black race (Hamitic): they had the lowest mental abilities, and stay at the bottom of the race hierarchy; the weak, materialistic, and mediocre yellow race (Altaic, Mongol, Finnish, and Tatar): they are ordinary and stabilized; and the intelligent, energetic and courageous white race (Caucasian, Semitic or Japhetic): the race of beauty in all attributes. The white race said Gobineau, was the superior race. It had the monopoly of beauty, and alone knew the concept of honor. Besides their physical attractiveness which can be compared to the statues of Apollo, Jupiter and Venus, they were also the peak of the whole mental abilities.⁸⁸ It was destined, through its intelligence and forcefulness, to conquer the other two races and to be the sole founder of civilizations. According to Gobineau, all civilizations derive from the white race, and none can exist without its help. In his opinion only the white race had a history. The other races were always in barbarian situation which white race had never experienced.

⁸⁶ Lukacs, G. (2006), p.269

⁸⁷ Snyder, L.L. (1962), p.46

⁸⁸ Fonette, F. (1991), p.53, 54

Gobineau's race theory clearly represents a transitional stage in the history of race theories. On the one hand, he gave new "acceptable", half-bourgeoisie shape to the feudal-unprogressive expression related to the "natural" inequality of the human beings.⁸⁹

Skull Based Theories

The pioneer face and skull studies have began in the end of the 18th century as mentioned above. In Germany, a Dutch painter who wanted to develop a system to help other painters accurately portray the faces of different races, especially Africans,⁹⁰ Peter Camper advanced the theory that races could be classified in a hierarchy according to the "facial angle" – that is, by the angle that an imaginary line from bottom of the chin to the top of the forehead forms with a horizontal line at the bottom of the chin. Camper measured the profiles of Greek statues and found some different face angles. The statues of Greek gods and heroes all have a facial angle around 100 degrees. That angle according to Camper constitutes the most beautiful countenance, and hence he supposes the Greeks adopted it. The statues of Greek men with a "noble character" had a facial angle of 90 degrees. Most Europeans have a facial angle of 80 degrees, and most Negroes have a facial angle of 70 degrees.⁹¹ According to Camper, by successively moving the vertical line backwards to narrow the angle, one can draw the faces of humans and animals as they step down the evolutionary ladder. Camper, by slightly decreasing the degree of angle of the faces, claimed to demonstrate the similarity of

⁸⁹ Lukacs, G. (2006), p.270

⁹⁰ Weese, A. (2007) "Physiognomy and Racism", <http://www.aubreyrhea.com/bookbag/hist387/index.htm>

⁹¹ Barzun, J. (1965) *Race: A Study in Superstition*, Harper & Row, New York, p.117

facial structure between African and beast: "If I make the facial line lean forward, I have an antique head; if backward, the head of a Negro. If I still more incline it, I have the head of an ape; and if more still, that of a dog, and then that of an idiot".⁹² Camper apparently claimed that black skinned people were more like the apes and they were inferior to the white race.

A German physician, Franz Joseph Gall traced Camper's studies about the face and founded the field of phrenology. About the year 1800, Gall developed his theory of the mind which assumed that there were thirty-seven faculties and that an experienced "reader" could determine character by examining the size and the shape of various areas of the human skull. According to him, there was a relationship between physiognomy, particularly the shape of the head, and human character. He believed that man's moral faculties are innate and that its manifestation depends on the organization of the brain.⁹³ He also claimed that brain was the centre of thinking and the mental act had a physical base. Every different part of the brain had special mental functions and the growth of skull and mental abilities were closely linked.⁹⁴

With the foundation of phrenology, scientists started to study on skulls in order to make racial classifications and to determine the national characteristics.⁹⁵ The first

⁹² Foutz, D.S. (1999) "Ignorant Science: The Eighteenth Century's Development of a Scientific Racism", *Quodlibet Journal*, Vol.1, No.8, <http://www.Quodlibet.net>

⁹³ Sabbatini, R.M.E. (1997) "Phrenology: the History of Brain Localization", *Brain & Mind*, http://thebrain.mcgill.ca/flash/capsules/pdf_articles/phrenology.pdf

⁹⁴ Barzun, J. (1965), p.38

⁹⁵ De Waal Malefijit, A. (1974) *Images of Man: A History of Anthropological Thought*, Knopf, New York p.260

important step as the introduction of quantitative methods of distinguishing of ethnic groups was the cephalic index by the Swedish comparative anatomist Retzius in 1842. The cephalic index expresses the percentage ratio of the length to the breadth of the skull. The longer diameter of a skull, the antero-posterior diameter, is taken as 100. Assuming the length as 100, the proportion of the breadth rarely falls below 70 or over 90. Thus followed the description of the indices: 1) *Dolichocephalic*: long - or narrow – headed, with a cephalic index below 75; 2) *Mesocephalic* or *Mesaticephalic*: the medium headed group, with a cephalic index ranging between 80 and 75; 3) *Brachycephalic*: short headed or broad skulled group, with a cephalic index of 80 or above.⁹⁶

A physician and a researcher in natural history, Samuel George Morton from USA made the most widespread and careful comparisons of human skulls. With his collection of eight hundred crania from areas over many parts of the world, known as the “American Golgotha”, he was able to compare and contrast human races better than any of his contemporaries. Confronted by the complexity of problems of comparison, Morton decided to measure cranial capacity alone. The system which he adopted was that of filling his skulls with some material which would pack closely, such as shot pellets or white pepper seed. In this way he attempted to determine the comparative sizes of the crania in his collection and to compare the sizes of skulls, of different races and nationalities. He arrived at the conclusion that the larger size of the cranium, the greater the average of intelligence.

⁹⁶ Snyder, L.L. (1962) *The Idea of Racialism, Its Meaning and History*, Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, New York, p.14

In 1849, he published these results: the English skulls in his collection proved the largest, with an average cranial capacity of 96 cubic inches. The Americans and Germans were rather poor seconds, both with cranial capacities of 90 cubic inches. At the bottom of the list were the Negroes with 83 cubic inches, the Chinese with 82, and the Indians with 79.⁹⁷

After these skull studies, it was widely accepted that the form and the growth of the skulls was the best indicator of the superiority of mental capacity between different races. The superiority of the big skulls was the motto of phrenology. For Broca who is the founder of the Anthropology Society⁹⁸ in Paris, brachycephalics had absolutely bigger and superior brains compared to dolichocephalics.⁹⁹ In a similar perspective, Mortillet claimed that the Neolithic revolution was the work of brachycephalics.¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, there were opponents of this view. German journalist Otto Ammon compared the townsmen's and peasants' cephalic indexes by using the army register book of Baden Principality dated 1886, and found more dolichocephalics in towns, and more brachycephalics in villages. The skulls' degrees were around 80 in Mannheim, Heidelberg and Karlsruhe while they were around 85 in their countryside. The soldiers from towns had more narrow and long skulls compared to soldiers from

⁹⁷ Gosset (1997) p.74

⁹⁸ Founded in 1859.

⁹⁹ Barzun, J. (1965), p.125

¹⁰⁰ Timur, T. (1984) "Batı İdeolojisi, Irkçılık ve Ulusal Kimlik Sorunumuz", *Yapıt*, No.5, p.11

villages. By assuming that the townsmen are much smarter than peasants, Ammon deduced that dolichocephalics were more intelligent.¹⁰¹ This called Ammon Law. Ammon's measurements of army recruits convinced him that the dolichocephalics represented the superior intellectuality of old Aryan stock, whereas the brachycephalics were descendants of inferior Asiatics.¹⁰² Ammon had no faith in education to increase talent. The class system was a very accurate reflection of innate natural abilities.

A French lecturer from Montpellier University called de Lapouge deduced some laws from Ammon laws. According to Lapouge, the result of the scientific researches showed that number of dolichocephalics was lesser than brachycephalics, but they were valuable forms. The total value and the skills of a race were determined by the number of dolichocephalics; if they were the majority, the race was superior, if they were the minority, the race was inferior. In the light of this view, Lapouge asserted that there were three main races in Europe: *Homo Europaeus*; blonde, dolichocephal Protestant Northerners were brave, proud and creative as the best race; *Homo Alpinus*; dark, brachycephal Catholic Alpines who were conservative, debauchee, serf, mediocre and obedient followed them. *Homo Mediterraneus*; the worst race was dark, mesocephalic restless and traitor Mediterraneans.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Fonette, F. (1991), p.76

¹⁰² Kelly, A. (1981) *The Descent of Darwin, The Popularization of Darwinism in Germany 1860–1914*, The University of North Carolina Press, p.106

¹⁰³ De Waal Malefijit, A. (1974), pp.277–278; Fonette, F. (1991), pp.74–75

Nevertheless in spite of taking side with dolichocephalics he added that, intellectuals were generally brachycephalic. According to Lapouge, “Intellectuals have a tendency to have a broader skull than their category. Intellectuals are artificial brachycephals which called eurycephales.”¹⁰⁴ This dilemma decreased the impact of the thesis of Ammon and Lapouge which claimed dolichocephalics were superior.

In the decade following 1860, the French surgeon and cerebrologist Pierre Paul Broca studied the physical characteristics of the French people. He arranged his collection of two thousand skulls in Paris into sixty series. He found that two anthropologists rarely got the same figure in measuring the diameter of the same skull. Even worse, one anthropologist frequently got a different figure in a second measurement of the same skull. The human head is too irregular, he concluded, to allow accurate comparison on a statistical basis. The confusion was compounded when the dolichocephalics and the brachycephalics were further split into several subdivisions. When this happened, a minute difference in measurement resulted in the placing of the same skull in different categories, according to whose figures were used.¹⁰⁵

By the 1880's, it was clear that measurement of crania did not provide a method for distinguishing races from one another. Professor Keane, an English anthropologist, pointed out that craniology could not be depended upon to supply “sufficient, or even altogether trustworthy, materials for distinguishing the main divisions of mankind”. Dolichocephaly and brachycephaly were not, he declared, constant in any group and in

¹⁰⁴ Fonette, F. (1991), p.78

¹⁰⁵ Gosset (1997), p.76

many cases where some degree of uniformity might reasonably be expected the most astonishing diversity prevailed. Eskimos were commonly grouped with the brachycephalic Mongol division, but were themselves inclined to extreme dolichocephaly. No norms could be established for any of the races. The Caucasian race especially contained every variety of head shape. A German craniologist Johannes Ranke declared in 1894 that there was no basis for the belief that the cranial index is a race characteristic. Rudolph Virchow, also an eminent German anthropologist, said it was impossible to decide from the examination of a skull to which race its owner had belonged. In short, at the end of the century, as a method of classifying races, craniometry was a complete failure.¹⁰⁶

Radical Racism: Eugenics

The racism was depicting the inequality between races at the level where it reached with Gobineau and was creating a hierarchy between the superior and inferior races. This hierarchy was defining the manager group and the groups that were managed. However, over the years, the scientific racism that became radical went out of the idea that the race differences are the criterion defining the manager groups and the groups that are managed. In the new radical interpretation, it was suggested that the inferior races did not have a right to live and these inferior races had to be obliterated to support the Darwin's natural selection and in order to keep the superior race intact. This radical form of the racism was called Eugenics.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p.77

The term of eugenics was born in the hands of Francis Galton, the cousin of Darwin. Eugenics' etymological roots were from Greek means "innate good" or "noble due to heredity". The most important side of eugenics is the thought that heredity not only determines the physical attributes, but also temperament, intelligence and attitudes.

Galton defended this argument in his book which is published as *Hereditary Genius* in 1869 and claimed that genius was not a product of education and environment, but creation and hereditary. From this view, he suggested to record the data of the elite families' members in order to supply superior offspring.

Nietzsche was the philosophical leg of this opinion. According to him whole life was just "will to power" and only "super humans" can achieve this. In order to breed "super human", it is necessary to eliminate the ordinary people who blocks "super human". In his view, it is completely dangerous to protect the weak and let them live. The French Revolution was the worst thing ever the mankind has seen, because it changed the places of masters and slaves. There was no equality in nature, neither in society.¹⁰⁷

Tille and Ploetz were the other defenders of eugenics. Ploetz published a book named *Die Tüchtigkeit unserer Rasse und der Schutz der Schwachen* (*The Health of Our Race and the Protection of the Weak*) in 1895 and he argued that the white race was

¹⁰⁷ Nietzsche, F. (1989) *On the Genealogy of Morals*, (Translated by Kaufmann, W.), Vintage

confronted with a profound dilemma: within the foreseeable future it would be possible for society to shield all its members. Due to it is a block for the natural election, it will cause white race to be corrupted. Ploetz solution for this problem was a perfect racially hygienic state model. In his model, all children would be examined at birth by a team of doctors, and those found unfit would receive a fatal morphine dose. Another examination at puberty would determine the intellectual and moral qualities of the young person. This time, those found imperfect would not be permitted to marry.¹⁰⁸

Another eugenicist Tille claimed thoughts and beliefs like humanism, equality, Christian ethics, democracy, and socialism are just the delusions of the unfit. To rescue the society from these freaks active intervene to “help” nature by killing the cripples and lunatics by giving more food to the gifted members of society.¹⁰⁹

In short, following the brotherhood, equality and democracy movement that broke out in France after revolution, a romantic inequality disguised as scientific approach had spread all over the continent, the scientific discourse protected by the Enlightenment, categorized the humans according to their races and created a hierarchy among the peoples. Such situation gave the peoples at the top of the hierarchy the right of becoming managers and brought down the other peoples to the level of slavery. This hierarchical romantic thought dating back to golden era of the past brought great

¹⁰⁸ Kelly, A. (1981) *The Descent of Darwin, The Popularization of Darwinism in Germany 1860- 1914*, The University of North Caroline Press, p.107

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

disasters to the continent and slowed down only after the death of 50 million people in the Second World War.

It can be easily seen that by the nineteenth century that there was a powerful racist environment in Europe. But speaking broadly, there have always been two kinds of concerns in the researches about races: the more scientific concerns and the more ideological ones. Scientists, by monitoring the laws of nature, asked these questions: Can human beings be categorized into races according to their biological characteristics? If yes, which races are there? Are races equal? Can any relationship be established between civilizations and races, in history? For these questions, the researchers could not provide definite answers, rather, they brought hypotheses composed of assumptions. However, the ideologists have tried to make people accept a specific belief as a scientific reality and they tried to disseminate these ideas. The belief was as follows: the superiority of the Western civilization is not result of any geographical conditions and historical coincidences, but specifically of their biological characteristics. That is to say, since the Western people are superior based on their race, so they are superior in civilization. This thesis found a wide sphere of application in literature, poetry and music and it also settled in the minds of the non-Western people – albeit unconsciously. In this context, the term “race” can be depicted as a term of science, but “racism” is definitely an ideological term. Mankind has been aware of races since the ancient ages; but it is certainly new to make a hierarchy which takes its roots only from racial features. The term “racism” includes an underestimating, hostility, a deep conflict, and a negative discrimination; whereas “race” is only a scientific

classification. Race is merely the objective body of the differences in physical appearance while racism is the ideological interpretation of that difference. In this sense, racism is an invention which presupposes inequality, unlike physical racial differences. This invention was used to draw the line between the managing groups and groups managed in Europe, those who have title on the world resources and who do not, in short, between the lords and slaves and to make such a line legitimate.

CHAPTER III: The Intellectual Attempt for Racism in Ottoman Empire

Racism appeared for the first time in Western Europe in the nineteenth century. The reasons for that was the scientific distinction of races by the intellectuals as a result of Enlightenment and the ability of the noble class of the cities that came into being at this point to derive profit by ordering these distinctions in a hierarchic position. After the takeover of the state by the nobles living in the city, the state turned into a, first, mercantilist and then imperialist instrument, and since the state benefited from racism, it invented and endorsed such a fiction and presented and internalized it as a natural phenomenon.

However, none of such conditions came into being in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, during the efforts of the Ottoman Empire for becoming Westernized, the racist ideas it received from the European intellectuals were not appropriated by a certain social class, as a matter of fact, a noble class living in the city had not come into being in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a mercantilist or imperialist state pattern was not available either. Thus, the racist phenomena inside the Ottoman Empire remained at the intellectual stage alone and could have the chance have political or popular repercussions.

Western Ideas and Ottoman Intellectuals

In 1792, one personal secretary of the sultan interpreted the French revolution as the “upheaval in France” in a completely negative way and prayed that “God cause the upheaval in France to spread like syphilis to the enemies of the Ottoman Empire, hurl them into prolonged conflict with one another and thus accomplish results beneficial to the empire”.¹¹⁰ This negative image of the revolution intensified with Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt. According to Ottoman administration, this “wildness” ensuing from the French revolution “lowers the human species to the level of wild animals through abolishing all religions, demolishing all cities and countries, seizing the wealth of the populace, and destroying the ties among human beings, and by using the lie of a false freedom to deceive the fools from among the populace”.¹¹¹

But in only a few decades, with the first generation of Ottoman graduates of the new Western-style schools of the empire, the French revolution became the main mobilizing principle to “burn the Bastilles of the world, annihilate despotisms, violently tear away the heads of tyrants and to offer the social contract as the new organizing principle of society”.¹¹² The view point completely changed in an impressive way and reversed the whole perception.

¹¹⁰ Lewis, B. (1953) “The Impact of the French Revolution on Turkey”, *Journal of World History*, Vol. I, No:I, p.119

¹¹¹ Rasim, A. (1987) *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Batış Evreleri*, Çağdaş, İstanbul, p.87

¹¹² Hanioglu, Ş.M. (1981) *Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi*, Üçdal, İstanbul, p.162, 163

Ottoman interaction with the West through goods and institutions thus combined with a third, powerful component: Western ideas. The concept of Western “civilization” entered Ottoman discourse and led to a reassessment of the Ottoman social structure. As some Ottomans observed, interpreted and eventually compared the West with their own society, distinct visions and aspirations formed. The principles and priorities of them changed accordingly and transformed their visions of what Ottoman society ought to constitute. The other significant development was the increased number of Ottoman social groups with access to material and social resources that escaped the sultan’s control. As opposition to the sultan mounted, one group literally escaped the sultan’s control and fled to Europe to live as political exiles. In addition, as officials acquired cultural capital and as minority merchants accumulated material capital, they created the social environment for the emergence of a new social group: Ottoman intellectuals.¹¹³ These intellectuals worked for the new journals and newspapers, wrote novels, taught at the Western-style schools, and, in general, used their newly acquired skills to make their livelihood. Unlike the former Ottoman thinkers, who usually had their sustenance from the sultan and/or the households, this new group, although not always entirely independent of the sultan, did nevertheless, have the option for the first time, of an alternative source of sustenance lodged in the public sphere. They could therefore envision a society that was not centered and legitimated around the office of the sultan. The Western-style schools, newly emerging professionals and social organizations, secret societies, and Western and Ottoman books and periodicals, along with the reading rooms and public libraries where they were circulated, created the new cultural

¹¹³ Göcek, F.M. (1996) *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, Oxford University Press, New York, p.117

environment, the Ottoman “civil society” within which this alternative Ottoman vision acquired meaning.¹¹⁴

The diffusion of Western images into Ottoman society first became visible through a range of social action, from the adoption of modes of Western behavior, such as clothing made in European fashion, top hats, fancy canes, pet dogs, piano lessons, French language lessons, operas, dances, and balls, to the eventual employment of Western literary forms such as the novel, short story, and newspaper and the print culture it introduced, which had profound effects in creating new visions of Ottoman society and the individuals living within it. These literary forms constructed a new image of the Ottoman individual as a refined man “introverted, very sensitive, knowledgeable in Western music and literature, conversant in a Western language, positivist, attributing value to human beings, and subscribing to a Western style of life”.¹¹⁵

As the Ottoman intellectuals took a political stance against the existing Ottoman social structure and redefined the Ottoman social vision through education, theaters, newspapers, and other media, they elaborated on an alternative vision. This vision based its values and beliefs on the Enlightenment principles of Europe rather than the moral standards of Islamic law. Before the late eighteenth century, such intellectuals had mostly existed within the official household structure and had an independent standing only within the context of religious foundations. By the end of the eighteenth century, a

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p.117, 118

¹¹⁵ Kavcar, C. (1985) *Batılılaşma Açısından Servet-i Fünun Romanı*, Sevinç, Ankara, p.85

sufficient number of new institutional forms had emerged to sustain their social position independent of the sultan. Employment as faculty members in the new Western-style schools, as journalists and columnists in the newly emerging newspapers and periodicals both in the empire and abroad, as novelists, essayists, poets, and actors provided them with enough resources to be independent of the sultan and the households. The first group of Ottoman military and medical students and faculty trained in the Western-style state schools were taught that the epistemological origins of knowledge were not located in Islamic moral principles but instead in the “secular, rational” maxims of the Enlightenment. Some tried to merge Islamic ethics and Western morality; others became militantly secular and materialist. All constantly debated Western science, philosophy, and its implications for Ottoman society.

Newspapers

The complex impact of Western ideas on Ottoman society crystallized through the establishment of newspapers along two dimensions, one epistemological and the other political. The Ottoman newspapers went beyond being a means of creating a relationship between the reader and the world by running simple news stories and giving useful information. The newspaper became the primary platform of voicing ideas.¹¹⁶ Ottoman newspapers were crucial in translating Western ideas into Ottoman discourse as they reported on international news items from European newspapers. They usually retained many of these concepts in the original, since they often

¹¹⁶ Tanpınar, A.H. (2001) *19. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Çağlayan, İstanbul, p.249

experienced a shortage of journalists to write such international news items, as well as due to lack of funds with which they could theoretically have hired them. Direct translation was thus easy and cost effective but occurred at the cost of marring the Ottoman discourse on arts, science, and ideas. Western ideas often overshadowed Ottoman critical analyses as a consequence of the considerable scale of such translations. Visions of change these newspapers portrayed were often based on Western ideas, which in turn were founded on the European experiences of change.

The first newspaper in Ottoman Empire was printed by the French Embassy with the name of the *Bulletin des Nouvelles* in 1795 in Istanbul.¹¹⁷ The first Ottoman newspaper, *Vakâyi-i Misriy*, was a bilingual newspaper published in Turkish and Arabic in Cairo that came out for the first time in 1828.¹¹⁸ Three years later, in 1831, Mahmud II founded his official newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekayi*.¹¹⁹ In a manifesto published in the first issue of *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the reason behind this new enterprise was elucidated to be informing the public in every matter.¹²⁰ Along with official announcements, pieces on European states and articles on scientific and technical matters filled the pages of *Takvim-i Vekayi*. The official medium of the empire was published in French, Arabic, Persian, Armenian and Greek in addition to Ottoman Turkish.¹²¹ All the writers of the

¹¹⁷ Kolođlu, O. (1992) *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın, İletişim*, İstanbul, p.11

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p.13

¹¹⁹ Ertuğ, H.R. (1970) *Basın ve Yayın Hareketleri Tarihi*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, p.144–157

¹²⁰ Orhonlu, C. (1968) “Türkçe Yayınlanan İlk Gazete: Takvim-i Vekayi”, *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, No:6, p.35–39

¹²¹ Topuz, H. (1996) *Başlangıçtan Bugüne Türk Basın Tarihi*, Gerçek, İstanbul, p.8

paper were state officials who got their paycheck from the state. For this reason, the first major newspaper in the Empire did not accommodate any views that were in opposition to the government. Instead of a mechanism that supported the individual vis-à-vis the state and voiced his/her demands, *Takvim-i Vekayi* served to fortify the state.¹²² On the other hand, the writers of the newspaper claimed that it was necessary to keep rapport with the changing world and they wrote about ideas such as the equality of citizens. The pejorative manner of referring to European states by words such as enemy, *kafir* (infidel), etc was given up for a new mannerism of friendship where the European states came to be qualified as friendly states (*düvel-i mütehabba*).¹²³ Clearly, the press in the Ottoman Empire, even in the initial stages of its existence as a conveyor of official ideology came to represent a Western-oriented outlook.

With the founding of *Tasvir-i Efkâr* (which literally means “Illustration of Ideas”) newspaper, a new era of the Ottoman press began. The founder of the paper, İbrahim Şinasi, gave voice to his populist, constitutionalist and pro-scientific leanings and laying the foundation for the ideology of the Young Ottoman movement.¹²⁴ Şinasi dwelled on informing the public, teaching the public how to think of their own interest and to think about their problems in his manifesto, which explained the *raison d’être* of *Tasvir-i Efkâr* in its first issue published on June 27, 1862. Şinasi argued that a

¹²² Koloğlu, O. (1992), p.15, 16

¹²³ Arıkan, Z. (1992) “Tanzimat ve Kamuoyu”, *Tanzimatın 150. Yıldönümü Sempozyum Bildirileri (İzmir 6–7 Kasım 1989)*, Ege Üniversitesi Basımevi, İzmir, p.35

¹²⁴ Berkes, N. (2003), p.261

government could only become stronger by working for the public good.¹²⁵ He was for a dynamic public opinion, and a society that had a say about their present and future along with the ruler (sultan) and the government. He argued for a parliamentary system and translated articles from the European press about the parliamentary regime. Nonetheless, his unpublished articles were more than the published, as they could not make it beyond the censure commission.¹²⁶ Şinasi had to flee from Istanbul for Paris in 1865 and Namık Kemal succeeded his position at the newspaper. Namık Kemal had to leave for Paris only two years after Şinasi in 1867, running off to Paris due to the pressure from the government about the articles published in *Tasvir-i Efkar*. The newspaper was closed down and the government furnished itself with absolute authority over the control of the press by issuing a code of regulations called *Âli Kararnamesi* the same year.

Only four newspapers and magazines in Turkish could be published between 1828 and 1860 in the Ottoman Empire. During the period of 1860–1866, seventeen new publications appeared in Istanbul. The rise is steeper between the years 1867 and 1878 with 113 new periodicals. This increase, which took place in spite of the hindrance and limitations of the *Âli Kararnamesi*, points to the existence of a great dynamism on the part of the literate members of the society. It also saw the replacement of state official/journalists with those who emerged out of career journalism.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Topuz, H. (1996), p.12

¹²⁶ Koloğlu, O. (1992), p.33

¹²⁷ Ibid, p.37

The exile of Ali Suavi to Kastamonu and the abolishment of his newspaper *Muhbir* because of an article he published; and the closing down of *Tasvir-i Efkâr* and the order of the exile of Ziya Bey and Namık Kemal with their appointments as state officials out of Istanbul are self-evident developments of the tightening grip of the government on the press.¹²⁸ Oppositional journalists who wanted to break free from the pressure of the government started to publish their newspapers abroad. Consequently, *Muhbir* became the first expatriot newspaper in Ottoman Turkish, published by Ali Suavi in Great Britain as of 1867.¹²⁹ Exile journalism flourished as many opponents of the sultan, mostly the students of recent graduates of the Western-style state schools, fled to Europe, primarily France and started publications there. In 1868, a year after *Muhbir*, *Hürriyet* was published abroad, and was followed by other journals. By the end of the nineteenth century, fifty seven Ottoman newspapers were in circulation in Europe, and of these, forty were published in Ottoman, two in Arabic, and fifteen in French.¹³⁰ These newspapers were especially significant because of the large number of copies smuggled into the empire. Not only were banned Ottoman and European newspapers clandestinely sent to secret addresses in the empire, but they and the few that were published legitimately or underground within the empire were swiftly circulated through clandestine networks. Ottoman Muslim students of the Western-style state schools, often the most devout audience of these publications, often invented many secret methods of circulation.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Tütengil, C.O. (1968) *İngiltere’de Türk Gazeteciliği*, Belge, İstanbul, p.22, 23

¹²⁹ Ibid, p.5

¹³⁰ Gerçek, S.N. (1931) *Türk Gazeteciliği*, İstanbul Devlet Matbaası, İstanbul, p.79, 80

¹³¹ Nur, R. (1992) *Hayat ve Hatıratım*, İşaret, İstanbul, p.111, 112

The Ottoman press continued its existence during the Hamidian era, with certain breaks and continuities from the post-Tanzimat period. In the twelfth article of the constitution chartered after Abdülhamid II's accession to the throne in December 1876, it was pronounced that "the freedom of press exists within legal boundaries". But, the requirements of being at war, and the desire of the Sultan to have more control over the press put the government in a difficult position. Although the press code was voted through the parliament, Abdülhamid II never approved the bill.¹³² With the disintegration of the parliament in February 1878, the rest of Abdülhamid II's long reign saw the control of the press by former codes of regulations.

The covering of subjects such as local agriculture, natural resources and cultural topics in a way that would benefit the commonwealth, the adoption of a lucid style of writing and the distribution of the periodicals in the villages were asked for. But it was assumed in this construction of the press that the press was to be centrally governed, under the direct control of the Yıldız Imperial Palace and voiced the same things.¹³³

The periodicals now became professionally edited and available to a bigger audience in comparison to the pioneering efforts of the 1860s. Yet, especially after 1888, political issues and above all discussions of liberalism, nationalism and constitutionalism in the press were much restricted by the pursuit of a severe policy of censure. The newspapers and periodicals that were forbidden from discussing the

¹³² Topuz, H. (1996), p.36

¹³³ Koloğlu, O. (1992), p.47

contemporary political and social events filled their pages with encyclopedic articles on science, geography, history and technology along with literary pieces.¹³⁴ The main tendency of the period was to take up issues of foreign policy without mentioning assassinations and revolutions, and to publish literary debates without touching upon historical questions and problems. The most controversial debates were those between the advocates of Divan literature and the supporters of Edebiyat-ı cedide (The New Literature). The publication of translations from European languages in newspapers was another trend of the period. Translations of popular science articles, novels and short stories with little literary value started to fill the newspaper columns. Under the pressure of these limitations, the member of the press found freedom by immigrating. It would not be an overstatement to say that the Ottoman press continued its existence mainly outside the Ottoman Empire between 1888 and 1908.¹³⁵ Newspapers such as *İstikbal*, *Meşveret*, *Şura-yı Ümmet*, *Osmanlı*, *Terakki* and *Türk* are the main exemplars of Ottoman press in exile.

In spite of the censure policies of the regime, the growth of the press during the Hamidian era was great in comparison to the Tanzimat period. In a letter written in 1882, Namık Kemal argues that the development of the press is a proof of the flourishing of the idea of progress while talking about the inevitability of Westernization. He wrote that not only the number of the papers increased, but also the readership expanded incredibly in comparison to the Tanzimat period. The increase in the number of female newspaper readers is “hundred times” the number of the women

¹³⁴ Zürcher, E.J. (1996) *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, İletişim, İstanbul, p.119

¹³⁵ Koloğlu, O. (1992), p.50

readers ten years ago. He wrote: “Today, even servants and shopkeepers are reading newspapers or hearing the news from those who can read: they are learning about civilized virtues, military victories and wars.”¹³⁶ But according to Berkes, Namık Kemal was mistaken about what the readers were reading and what they were learning. The newspaper readers were reading things that were unrelated to what Namık Kemal considered to have significant promise in terms bringing about long term change. What was available to the readers of Ottoman newspapers, magazines and books was much more limited and humble. The press turned to apolitical subjects, as it could not deal with issues of high culture (notably literature) and thought.¹³⁷ Translations of adventure novels written for the public were popular, instead of translations of high literature and philosophy. Following the genres of popular adventure, travel and science, murder and detective novels became popular.¹³⁸ In short, printed matters became available to a larger public over the time; but the fundamental change of thought and life style could only be possible for the members of the higher classes.¹³⁹

According to Arıkan, the biggest role in the emergence of a new intellectual movement in nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire fell to the newspapers. Printed books and other institutions created after the Tanzimat contributed to these developments.¹⁴⁰ Tanpınar argued that the newspaper played a significant role in the Ottoman Empire that

¹³⁶ Berkes, N. (2003) *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, YKY, İstanbul, p.368

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid, p.369

¹³⁹ Mardin, Ş. (2005) “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma”, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, İletişim, İstanbul, p.27

¹⁴⁰ Arıkan, Z. (1992), p.36

did not find a counterpart elsewhere.¹⁴¹ According to Tanpınar, newspapers in other cultures presented ideas that stemmed from all social institutions of the society. But in the Ottoman Empire, all the ideas originated in newspapers. All the vision comes from the newspapers: “The crowds are formed around it. It writes the reading. It fuels the fire kindled by the schools for a distant future.”¹⁴² Yet, the ideas that emerged in newspapers could not spread to the public at large and did not form a social support group except the intellectuals. Racism was one of the ideas that were discussed among Ottoman intellectuals with references to Western thought, but it could not spread to other levels of the society as it was devoid of a class to provide social support. This idea found itself a place on the pages of newspapers, became the subject of books, and found its main pseudo-scientific advocate in Abdullah Cevdet. But like the rest of ideas imported from Europe through Ottoman newspapers, racism had neither penetration to the public sphere nor implications for the daily life.

It was during the nineteenth century that many ethnic groups gained their independence from the Ottoman Empire in accordance with the currents of nationalism that swept the entire Europe. Nationalism gained such an impetus that all the economic and social institutions and systems were reconstituted according to this novel concept. The entire nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire saw the spread of nationalism from the intellectual sphere to the entire way of life. As the thin line between nationalism and racism proved to be permeable during the course of history, the contrast between nationalism and racism -in terms of the nonexistence of a class to lend racism

¹⁴¹ Tanpınar, A.H. (2001), p.250

¹⁴² Ibid.

social support, and the deep-rootedness of the social base of nationalism- may seem problematic. For avoiding an ambiguity about this, we shall deal with the differences between nationalism, the ultimate idea that shaped nineteenth century Europe, and racism, which could not find itself a niche in Ottoman society.

The Differences Between Nationalism and Racism

Two revolutions that took place in the second half of the eighteenth century fundamentally reshaped the structure of states, the societies and economy and their impact are still part of our everyday reality. The American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789 offered new models to the world by positioning themselves as the opposite of ancien regimes. According to the new model created after the American and the French revolutions, the basis for the legitimacy of sovereignty lies with the citizens, and every citizen without an exception is given the right to be a part of the process of legislation. The end of the idea of obedience of the subjects to a monarch led to a new structure where all citizens have equal rights. France no longer belonged to the king, but it belonged to the people who live in it. These people were called “citizens” and all the citizens were touched by a spirituality that depended on territorialism, namely nationalism. In that period, the meaning of nationalism as understood by the French was to support the idea of an ensemble of people who are citizens on the basis of territoriality, who are ruled within the same legal framework, and who share a collective

culture.¹⁴³ Nationalism followed an inclusive and integrative course, (as opposed to the structure of pre-industrial societies) where different cultures coexisted without permitting the rise of any one of these cultures to dominate the others. Nationalism marked its territory by defining the boundaries within which the nation would exist and combined the different cultures that coexisted on this territory in the melting pot of nationalism. Many different communities which did not share a common culture, thus, began to form immaterial/spiritual connections. Nationalism loomed large as an inclusive and integrative ideology.

The change of regime in France posed a threat to all the monarchies in Europe for which reason, many European states waged war to France. Yet, nationalism spread throughout Europe and then to the rest of the world in a very short period of time. But, when nationalism spread outside France, it lost its integrative quality in many contexts and became an exclusive and divisive force.¹⁴⁴ And during this process, instead of state structure or political system, language and ethnic origin became the main frame of reference for nationalism.¹⁴⁵

The replacement of monarchic sovereignty with national sovereignty in France, inherited the philosophical/intellectual legacy of the Enlightenment, especially its universal component. After the eighteenth century, in the works of the Enlightenment

¹⁴³ Smith, A.D. (1993) *National Identity*, University of Nevada Press s.13

¹⁴⁴ Plamenatz, J. (1976) "Two Types of Nationalism", (der.) Kamenka, Nationalism, *The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, Edward Arnold, Londra, s.29

¹⁴⁵ Hobsbawm, E. (1997) *Nations and Nationalism*, Cambridge University Press, s.132

thinkers, the concepts of “nation” and “patria” acquired a synonymous meaning with “liberty”. Although nation only refers to the French nation in 1789, the French nation was considered to be universal as it accepts liberty as a universal value. But the reconstruction of the modern concept of the nation in Eastern Europe posed a direct contrast to the legacy of Enlightenment, thanks to the impact of the German Romanticism. With the onset of the late eighteenth century, thanks to German intellectuals, entire Europe came under the influence of a romantic idealization of the pristine, pure and simple village which supposedly carried the essence of the German nation. In the reinvention of the nation in a folkloric sphere, cultural references to an imaginary “golden age” situated in the past of the nation gained great significance. The concepts of nation and nationalism came to be proper names that are conceptualized in the contexts of a common myth of origin, shared historical memories and the special and sacred territory that belonged to a specific “autochthonous” group.¹⁴⁶

The process of becoming a nation lost its universal and inclusive quality and became the integrative force of divisive movements. Nationalism was no longer a mass movement, thus it became an intellectual artwork imposed from above. According to Hroch, there were three phases in the process of becoming a nation. Firstly, a group of intellectuals began to study the language, culture and the history of the ethnic group to which they believed to belong. At this stage, the intellectuals have no relationship with the society at large. Secondly, the purely academic and intellectual studies began to be

¹⁴⁶ Kohn, H. (1956) *The Idea of Nationalism, A Study in Its Origins and Background*, MacMillan, New York, s.330; Mill, J.S. (1910) *Utilitarianism, Liberty and Representative Government*, Everyman, London, s.359–366

transmitted to the masses through different means and the feelings of patriotism and nationalism begin to be accepted by different segments of the society. Finally, the national consciousness is internalized by the masses.¹⁴⁷ Hayes offered a similar model for the advent of nationalism in a society; where in the first phase intellectuals develop an ideology of nationalism; in the second phase the segments of society who embraced this ideology uses tools of massive propaganda to spread it; and in the third phase, this ideology becomes the ideology of the establishment that is spread to the society at large by the public education system.¹⁴⁸

The intellectuals who tried to define their nation had to reinterpret the past while struggling with the realities of contemporary politics. Reinterpreting the past was actually determining the fate of these societies especially in terms of determining how much of the limited resources of the world they had a right to use. The reason for this was that once the notion of nationalism was invented, this invention proved to be applicable as a model to different societies; the only viable and legitimate model for creating a state was internationally accepted to be the building of a nation-state. It was not possible to build a nation-state without reference to texts that determined the international criteria to form a nation such as the Mazzini principles, the Wilson principles etc. Thus there emerged international standarts to form a nation and to build a nation-state. In order to build a state that was recognized by the entire world in the nineteenth century, the state's right to existence had to rest on some main principles,

¹⁴⁷ Hroch, M. (1985) *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, Cambridge University Press, s.22–25

¹⁴⁸ Hayes, C.J. (1926) *Essays on Nationalism*, MacMillan, New York, p.60–65

such as 1) a population figure above a certain threshold, 2) historical continuity of the nation with the nation-state, 3) a talent of conquest proven by the existence of an elite as a result of long term settlement on that territory that had a written national literature and a shared language.¹⁴⁹ With the abandonment of the “population threshold” principle in early twentieth century, the claim that any group which considered itself a nation had the right to refer to Wilson’s “determination of its destiny” principle and thus form a legitimate sovereign state on their own territory became prevalent, and ethnic origins and linguistic integrity became the sole criteria of being a potential nation.¹⁵⁰ For this reason the construction of a nation imposed the rewriting of the entire history from its beginning to the contemporary political conjunctures. All the reconstructions of the past was effected and determined by the contemporary political conjuncture. The requirement of contemporary politics began to be considered as the “truths” of the past. And this was where the intellectuals played their function.

Since the most ideal nation, according to international criteria for being a nation, was one that continued its existence since time immemorial, and one that was to continue its existence infinitely in the future; every nation tried to recreate a past for themselves that closely resembled this ideal. In this sense, the reconstructions of the pasts of nations was marked with creativity and artfulness. What integrated a nation and made it strong against enemies was the shared historical destiny of a nation. Nationalist historiographies needed shared myths and symbols; and made references to every conceivable icon in the reconstruction of the shared past of nations. The main

¹⁴⁹ Hobsbawmn, E.J. (1997) pp.55,56

¹⁵⁰ Carr, E. (1999) *Milliyetçilik ve Sonrası*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, (Çev. Akinhay, O.) p.61

reason behind this is the conception of the nation as a community and no matter what the relationships of inequality and exploitation that are effective in a given nation; the nation is always constructed as a horizontal and deep comradeship.¹⁵¹ Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating. And two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation.¹⁵²

Pastness is a mode by which persons are persuaded to act ways they might not otherwise act in the present. It is a central element in the socialization of individuals, in the maintenance of group solidarity, in the establishment of or challenge to social legitimation. Pastness therefore is preeminently a moral phenomenon, therefore a political phenomenon, and thus always a contemporary phenomenon. Çağdaşlık sürekli değişimi gerektirir but “due to pastness is by definition an assertion of the constant past, no one can ever admit that any particular past has ever changed or could possibly change. The past is normally considered to be inscribed in stone and irreversible. The real past, to be sure, is indeed inscribed in stone. The social past, how we understand this real past, on the other hand, is inscribed at best in soft clay.”¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London p.22

¹⁵² Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, p.6,7

¹⁵³ Wallerstein, I. (1987), p.381

This being the case, it makes little difference whether we define pastness in three modalities, namely in terms of genetics (races), historical socio-political groups (nations), or cultural groups (ethnic groups). They are all human constructs, all inventions of pastness, all contemporary political phenomena. If this is so, why should three different modal terms have developed when one term might have served? According to Wallerstein, each of the three modal terms hinges around the capitalist world economy. For him, “the concept of ‘race’ is related to the axial division of labor in the world economy, the core-periphery antinomy. The concept of ‘nation’ is related to the political superstructure of this historical system, the sovereign states that form and derive from the interstate system. The concept of ‘ethnic group’ is related to the creation of household structures that permit the maintenance of large components of non-waged labor in the accumulation of capital.”¹⁵⁴

In brief, the nation was invented on the social and political plane; within the de facto or potential territories of a state. While in the concept of the nation cultural bonds were considered as important as blood ties; race emerged as a concept that relied on the hierarchical ordering of groups of people according to concrete physiognomic or genetic data. Whereas nationalism is a cultural conception, race is rooted in genetics. For this reason, the former is imagined by references to the culture of the past and shared past experiences; the latter was invented as a concept that is defined through contemporary physiognomic and physical attributes instead of shared past experiences.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

The Appearance of Racist Thought in the Ottoman Empire Through Newspapers and Books

“Political Racist Approach” Or “Nation Building”?

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire struggled against disintegration since it was made up of various ethnic and cultural groups. The Tanzimat era consisted of efforts to undermine separatist tendencies and movements by spreading the ideology of Ottomanism. For this reason, all ideas and ideologies that could result in separatist movements were rejected by the Ottoman Empire. In this atmosphere, supporting a racist ideology which could serve nationalism was not an option since it could accelerate separatist movements. Just like the politicians, different social classes of the Ottoman public were far from producing racist thinking. The economic policies that had been carried out by the Ottoman Empire over the long duration resulted in the lack of a strong bourgeoisie which could be identified as an interest group. As a result, there was not an economic class that could profit from racism within the Ottoman Empire. Because the Ottomans adopted import instead of export policies, they did not need to attribute meaning to racism as a social fact in their collective memory, since they did not see themselves as a party in the center-periphery struggle within the world economic system. Yet, during the course of the nineteenth century, studies about the history of Turkishness began to be carried out. From time to time, bits and pieces of information regarding the Turkish race were published, although the aim of these efforts was to defend the Ottoman Empire from Europe's cultural scorn. As the famous Turkologist

Vambéry put it in 1898: “I haven’t seen anybody among the Turks undertaking genuine studies on Turkish nationalism and Turkic languages.”¹⁵⁵ This statement is a clear indication of the lack of an interest in exploiting the history of Turkish people at the time, which became the main project of the official historiography of the Turkish Republic in 1920s and 30s.

Up until the twentieth century, European historiography reduced world history to the history of Western civilizations and attributed all the achievements of Western Civilization to white men. It dehistoricized all the other regions, peoples and countries and depicted them as if they were in the state of absolute stagnation. According to this perspective, the East could only have a history, which started with their initial contact with the West, and that was repeating the evolution of the west after a time gap.¹⁵⁶ The fact that the West was the party who defined the international criteria in becoming a nation with references only to its own cultural and political particularities rendered all forms of political entities except for the nation-state unable to survive. Thus in all the non-Western parts of the world different groups were forced to produce historiographies that were consistent with Western historiography.¹⁵⁷ Especially for Turks, the Western-type dehistoricization was structured in a manner that attributed the Turks great “unfavorable traits”. According to this scheme, Turks were deprived of all kinds of civilized organization and they were considered to be simple soldiers unable to get rid

¹⁵⁵ Georgeon, F. (1999) *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935)*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p.10

¹⁵⁶ Berktaş, H. (1983) *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, Kaynak, İstanbul, p.14

¹⁵⁷ Alpay, Y. (2004) “Türk’üm, Doğruyum, ‘Beyaz’ım”, *Bilgi ve Bellek*, No.2, p.30

of their nomadic traditions. Moreover, it was claimed that even the political and administrative organization of the Turks were taken from others, and thanks to peoples they defeated, the Turks could construct their political organization.¹⁵⁸

There are many instances of such depictions by European writers, a striking one of which was purported by Martin Hartmann, a professor of Islam at the Eastern Languages Seminar in Berlin, who describes the Turks as an inferior nation which did absolutely nothing in terms of production of a cultural heritage, all the while destroying the cultural heritage of other nations that came before them.¹⁵⁹ In November 1914, the English prime minister Lloyd George defines the Turks as “a cancer of humanity, a deep wound that penetrated the flesh of the territories they were poorly administering.” According to him the Turks were “a torch of murder and oppression that moved from Asia to Europe.”¹⁶⁰ In another speech, the English prime minister purported that “the Turks remained in Europe for centuries and always caused trouble. They never became Europeans or were able to adopt European civilization.”¹⁶¹ Apart from these, according to the text that was accepted in the Council of Allied and Entente Powers in 1919, “Neither among the European Christians, not among the Syrian, Arabian and African Muslims, the Turks have not done anything except for plunder and destruction in the

¹⁵⁸ Köprülü, F. (1938) “Orta Zaman Türk Hukuki Müesseseleri”, *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi Zabıtları*, p.385

¹⁵⁹ Tunçay, M. (1991) *Cihat ve Tehcir*, Afa, İstanbul, p.47

¹⁶⁰ Avcıoğlu, D. (1974) *Milli Kurtuluş Tarihi*, Vol. I, İstanbul Matbaası, İstanbul, p.35

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.36

territories they conquered. They never showed the capability of developing the areas they conquered in times of peace, this is not an attribute of the Turks.”¹⁶²

Thus, within the Ottoman Empire, the interest and curiosity in the history and origin of Turks, emerged as a result of the negative attitude of Europeans, this interest was pursued especially by Turks who came from Russia. As shown below, none of the studies on Turkish history, which was carried out by Ottoman writers, included a racist discourse as perceived in Europe as such during the nineteenth century. These studies were meant to defend Turks and the Ottoman Empire from the assaults of Europe within the intellectual realm. Nonetheless, these studies were quite insufficient.

Although the studies on Turkology in the Ottoman Empire emerged in order to oppose European vilifications, they nonetheless originated in Europe. A starting point for these studies was *Historie générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols* by J. Deguignes, published in 1757 'de. Akçura and Gökalp's common opinion on this study of Mongols, Turks and Huns is that “the book created a huge impact in the souls of [Ottoman] intellectuals.”¹⁶³ In 1832 Sir Arthur Lumley Davids penned *Grammar of the Turkish Language* where he retraced the language and the history of Turks between the period of Antiquity to the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. In this book, Sir Arthur Lumley Davids claimed that the Turks came from a great race group that originated in Circassia

¹⁶² Okay, O. (1981) *Serves Antlaşmasına Doğru (Çeşitli Konferans ve Toplantıların Tutanakları ve Bunlara İlişkin Belgeler)*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgier Fakültesi, Ankara, p.72

¹⁶³ Gökalp, Z. (1999) *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, M.E.B. Yayınları, İstanbul, p.6; Akçura, Y. (1998) *Türkçülüğün Tarihi*, Kaynak, İstanbul, p.38

and that had nothing to do with Mongols and that they have done great things during the course of history under different names.¹⁶⁴ In 1839, Hungarian scientists used the word “Turan” (which is an old Persian name) to define Turkic groups in Central and Southeastern Asia; and in addition to Turks and Mongols; the Finnish, the Hungarian and other nations came to be categorized under “Turan”.¹⁶⁵ In 1896, Léon Cahun drew a semi-scientific, semi-romantic scheme that moved the attention to the role of the nomadic Turks in Central Asia in his book, titled *Introduction a l’Histoire de l’Asie*.¹⁶⁶ Cahun described the Turks as world-conquerers, he claimed that Chinghis Khan was Turkish and argued that a Turanic race that he called “Finnish-Japanese” brought civilization to Europe before the Celts, the Germans and the Latins.¹⁶⁷ In his presentation at the First Orientalists Congress held in Paris in 1873, Cahun put forth the assumption of a supposed Central Asian sea, along the shores of which a prehistorical Turkish nation lived. When the sea dried up, Turks immigrated along the routes he showed on a map of Asia and Europe. According to Cahun, the first Turanic people who came to Europe were the Turks.¹⁶⁸

All this period Ottoman Turks also began to write works on their own history. The initial studies came from the Hungarian and Polish renegades who converted to

¹⁶⁴ Hilav, S. (1997) “Düşünce Tarihi”, *Çağdaş Türkiye 1908–1980*, Cem, İstanbul, p.361

¹⁶⁵ Lewis, B. (1984) *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, (Translated by Kıratlı, M.) Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, p.344

¹⁶⁶ Lewis, B. (1953) “History-writing and National Revival in Turkey” *Middle Eastern Affairs*, No.4, p.221, 222

¹⁶⁷ Hilav, S. (1997), p.361

¹⁶⁸ Coppeaux, E. (2000) *Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, p.18

Islam and settled in the Ottoman Empire after the failing 1848 revolution in Europe. Polonyalı Hayreddin (Polish Hayreddin), who played a significant role in the foundation of Galatasaray school and who published numerous essays in *Terakki* and *Basiret* newspapers is an example of such renegades. Another contributor to the field of Turkology in the Ottoman Empire was Mustafa Celaleddin Paşa, whose original name was Constantine Borzecki. In 1869, his book in French, titled *Les Turcs Anciennes et modernes* was published in Istanbul. Mustafa Celaleddin Paşa claimed that Turks were ethnically related to European peoples and that the Turks belonged to a race he called “Touro-Aryan”, which was the Turkish branch of the Arian race. The aim of these theories was to show that the Turks were European and to undermine the importance of their differences from European and recruit the sympathy of Europeans for Turks who are “from the white race”.¹⁶⁹ The historical part of the book was based on the works of European Turkologists where the ancient history of Turks and the important role of the Turkish peoples in the history of mankind are included.¹⁷⁰ In this section, Turkishness is taken in a holistic manner, by bridging the past and the present in the context of Turkishness. German, French, Russian and Polish historiography was used for proving that the Turks played an important role in the civilizational progress of humanity. The author who constructed the theory of “Touro-Arianism” considers the entrance of the Turks into Western civilization as a rationalization of his theory, which amounts to the idea that the makers of the Western Civilization are the Touro-Arians. Thus, Western

¹⁶⁹ Kuran, E. (1968) “The Impact on Nationalism on the Turkish Elite in the Nineteenth Century”, *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, (ed. Polk, W.P. & Chambers, R.L.), The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, p.112

¹⁷⁰ Lewis, B. (1984), p.343

civilization was deemed to be as much an accomplishment of the Turanians, meaning Turks, as it was of the Arians. When a part of the Turanians accepted Islam, they converged with the Semitic civilization. Thus, according to Mustafa Celaleddin Paşa their entry into the territory of the European civilization does not signify anything beyond the return of the Turks to their former racial civilization.¹⁷¹

Another pioneering Turkologist of the period is Ahmet Vefik Paşa. Like Mustafa Celaleddin Paşa, he, too concentrated on the pre-Ottoman languages and history of the Turks. In his textbook of 1869, called *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmanî*, he focused on the pre-Ottoman Turks.¹⁷² In his famous *Lehçe-i Osmanî*, he tried to explain that the Ottomans are only a branch of a greater Turkish nation and that the language the Ottomans use is only a dialect of a language that is spoken in an expansive territory outside Turkey.¹⁷³ In this way, Ahmed Vefik Paşa addressed a much larger mass who used the same language and whose common past went back to far-removed times, thus constituting an alternative to the policy of Ottomanism. The bonds were tied with a primordial past and racial and linguistic unity was emphasized.

In 1876, Süleyman Paşa wrote a lengthy section on pre-Islamic Turks based on the studies of Davids, Deguignes and some other European scholars, within his work

¹⁷¹ Akçura, Y. (1998), p.34

¹⁷² Tekeli, İ. & İlkin, S. (1993) *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, p.178

¹⁷³ Ahmed Vefik (1306) *Lehçe-i Osmanî*, Mahmutbey Matbaası, İstanbul

titled *Tarih-i Âlem* (The History of the World).¹⁷⁴ In the introduction of his book, the reason for the writing of the book was given as “all the history books written in Europe are full of denigrations of our religion and nation. None of these can be translated in order to be used in our schools as textbooks. For this reason, I have taken upon myself the task of writing a history book that could be read in our schools.”¹⁷⁵ His book describes the existence of a Turkish nation that expanded its rule to entire Europe and depicts the heroisms in which one can take pride.

Two other authors who could be considered in this context are Şemseddin Sami and Necip Asım. Şemseddin Sami developed Ahmet Vefik Paşa’s *Lehçe-i Osmanî* and authored the *Kamus-i Türkî*. He translated *Kutadgu Bilig* and *Orhun Abideleri*, which are the earliest Turkish records that are known, into Ottoman Turkish dialect.¹⁷⁶ Necip Asım Bey studied *Orhun Abideleri* on which he penned a book.¹⁷⁷ He also authored other linguistic studies such as *Ural ve Altay Lisanları*, *Pek Eski Türk Yazısı* and he also published the *Türk Tarihi*, which was an expanded translation of Cahun’s *Introduction a l’Histoire de l’Asie* into Turkish, with the translator’s contributions to Cahun’s original book from Oriental historical sources.¹⁷⁸ Another interesting point about Necip Asım is that he claimed he was the first person who spelled the word “Turk” with the letter v (waw) (waw stands for u in Arabic) instead of “Trk” with no letters that signify vowels, the word can also be read as terk which means abandoning. He explains his

¹⁷⁴ Süleyman Hüsnü (1327) *Tarih-i Âlem*, Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, İstanbul

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, p.5

¹⁷⁶ Kushner, D. (1977) *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, Frank Cass Company, London, p.17

¹⁷⁷ Necip Asım (1341) *Orhun Abideleri*, Matbaa-yı Amire, İstanbul

¹⁷⁸ Necip Asım (1316) *Türk Tarihi*, Matbaa-yı Amire, İstanbul

unconventional spelling as such: “Because I have seen in our history books the phrase “etrak-ı bi-idrak” (Turks with no comprehension) and because I have seen many Ottomans who defamed Turks, I wrote Turk with a v. When they asked me why I was spelling the word in such a manner, I responded that ‘I spell it like this in order for them not to write ‘etrak-ı bi-idrak’ again.’”¹⁷⁹

Nineteenth century “Turcologists” from the Ottoman Empire focused mainly on pre-Islamic Turks in order affirm to the concept of the “Turk” which has been largely negated through the course of history. They argued that it denoted an inclusive and heroic nation name. Consequently, they glorified the Turkish language and played with the signifiers of “Turk” and other words that are used in the daily lives of the Ottomans. While they attributed new “essential” meanings, they also changed the forms of these signifiers and thus tried to erase the negative connotations attached to these words. But reminiscences of the racist attitudes that are seen in nineteenth century Europe, and the creation of a hierarchy among races is something these texts did not include. Thus, in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, Turkish nationalisms did not seek to construct their nationalism through racism, and they did not develop an aggressive nationalism in order to refrain from undermining the ideology of Ottomanism. Their priority was creating arguments to counteract the infamousness of Turkishness. Namely, political racism did not exist in the Ottoman Empire even in the context of intellectual efforts of the newspapers and books. Thus, even if there emerged in the Ottoman Empire a racist discourse, there was only one sphere in which it could exist: that of Scientific racism.

¹⁷⁹ Akçura, Y. (1998), p.84, 85

“Scientific” Racism in the Ottoman Empire

Race is a body oriented category. As is well known, the body-mind dilemma has been an important issue of discussion since the very beginning of human thought. Broadly speaking, the thought that believes in the soul is named idealism. Idealism maintains that the human mind has a metaphysically privileged status and that the existence of the world is a product, consequence, or result of its activity.¹⁸⁰ It argues that the only things knowable are consciousness or the contents of consciousness - not anything in the outside world, if such a place actually exists. According to Idealism the only real things are mental entities, not physical things.

Materialism, on the contrary, via negating spiritual concepts, acknowledges materials as the only reality.¹⁸¹ According to this theory there is nothing in the world over and above these entities which are postulated by physics.¹⁸² Thus, for a materialist, there is no soul but only body. If there is only body and there is no place for the soul to exist, all differences between peoples arise from the differences of distinct physical bodies. Therefore materialism is an essential pre-condition of scientific racism.

¹⁸⁰ Kullmann, M. (1960) “Is Idealism Really Nonsense?” *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol.20, No.4, p.535

¹⁸¹ Hook, S. (1934) “What is Materialism?” *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol.31, No.9, p.236

¹⁸² Smart, J.J.C. (1963) “Materialism”, *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 60, No. 22, American Philosophical Association, Eastern Division, Sixtieth Annual Meeting , p.651

Scientific racism (or pseudo-scientific racism) is linked with physical anthropology, anthropometry, craniometry, phrenology, physiognomy and other disciplines, in order to provide a typology of different "human races", based on a biological conception of the race. Briefly, it includes all doctrines that demand particular and concrete social and political privileges for certain human groups or individuals. These groups/persons are distinguished more or less by characteristic sets of somatic features which are regarded as strictly connected to exceptionally valuable mental characters.¹⁸³ The body therefore is the main element for the field of "scientific racism".

Materialism and Body Oriented Thought in Ottoman Empire

The salient characteristic of late Ottoman materialism is the belief in science as the exclusive foundation of a new Ottoman society. Mid nineteenth century materialism, a world view placing science at the core of a new and rational civilization, usually entailed rejection of all competing truths, both philosophical and religious. In the Ottoman context, the conception of a new society strictly regulated by scientific truth logically led to the rejection of the old basis of society – the revealed truth of Islam. To the many Ottoman intellectuals who passionately shared this world view, religion was the most dangerous type of philosophy, and a major obstacle to social progress. So

¹⁸³ Comas, J. (1962) "More on 'Scientific' Racism", *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 3, No. 3, p.284

powerful was the attraction of the doctrine of materialism to Ottoman thinkers that it became the mainstream approach to philosophy in the late Ottoman Empire.¹⁸⁴

For the Ottoman Empire, the nineteenth century was an age of Westernization. After the Tanzimat Edict, the Western effect concerning the scientific view among some of the Ottoman intellectuals led them to positivism, and materialism. The most Westernized areas at the beginning, like the Military and Medicine schools were the places most affected from these thoughts.¹⁸⁵ So, these were the places where we first contexts encounter.

The Westernization of the first Medicine school which was founded in the era of Mahmud II seems to be started with Dr. Bernard who was brought from Vienna in 1838. The first graduates of Dr. Bernard were in 1843. The graduates of the Military School of Medicine were given ranks that varied from captain to colonel according to their degree of achievement.¹⁸⁶ The account of Charles Mac Farlane about the school in a book called *Turkey and Its Destiny* after his visit in 1847 is revealing in this vein. For instance, when he asked one of the students making autopsies without supervision (and in a manner suggesting that the experience was no novelty to him) if this was not

¹⁸⁴ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (2005) “Blueprints For A Future Society, Late Ottoman Materialists on Science, Religion And Art”, (ed. Özdalga, E.) *Late Ottoman Society, The Intellectual Legacy*, Routledge, London and New York, p.28

¹⁸⁵ Çetinkaya, B.A. (2007) “Modern Türkiye'nin Felsefi Kökenleri”, <http://www.cumhuriyet.edu.tr/edergi/makale/361.pdf>, p.67

¹⁸⁶ Akgün, M. (2005) *Materyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, Elis Yayınları, Ankara, p.82

contrary to his religion, he was taken aback by the response. The student's answer was that: "Galatasaray is not the place that you can find religion Monsieur!"¹⁸⁷

Another incident that surprised Mac Farlane was this: According to the story, the School of Medicine owned all the latest medical instruments that are available in Paris, London and Vienna. Also he saw that most of the books were in French, and what surprised him most was the presence of books by famous materialist philosophers, which contributed to the French Revolution that disgusted Mac Farlane. He was saying that he did not see such a book collection that was clearly a collection of materialists: "You see a young Turkish man, sitting there reading *Système de la Nature*, the user's manuel of atheism; and an another student reading excerpts from Diderot's *Jacques le Fataliste*, *Le Compère Mathieu*. Cabanis' *Rapports du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme* stroke one from the bookshelf."¹⁸⁸

Other surprises were awaiting Mac Farlane in Istanbul: "At the military hospital in Üsküdar, there was a book laying on a sofa. I took it and looked. This was the latest Paris edition of Baron d'Holbach's book of atheism called *Système de la Nature*. One could clearly see that the book was often read by looking at the marking of different passages throughout the book. These passages were on the absurdity of believing in the existence of God, and the mathematical proofs of the impossibility of soul's infinite

¹⁸⁷ In those days, School of Medicine was in Galatasaray, It shouldn't be confused with Galatasaray High School.

¹⁸⁸ Demir, R. (1999) *Türk Aydınlanması ve Voltaire*, Doruk Yayınları, Ankara, p.30, 31

existence. As I was putting down the book on the sofa, one of the Turkish doctors came and he told me this in French: A great work! A great philosopher! He's always right!"¹⁸⁹

Thus, the weakness of the belief on God and the perception of world from a materialistic view penetrated via Military's Medical School. This view denied the things which can not be explained by science, and refused the spiritualist concepts. Since the formation given at the School of Medicine focused on the human body, the materialism that flourished in that school was developing on the basis of the human body. And this situation constructed a new intellectual group who were materialists, positivists and were body oriented in the nineteenth century. So in order to find the path which takes Ottoman intellectuals to scientific racism, it is important to remember the first Ottoman intellectuals who emphasized the importance of materialism and body.

Beşir Fuat

It is generally accepted that Beşir Fuat (1852-1887) was the first radical example of these intellectuals in Ottoman Empire. He is the one who first mentioned materialist thinkers like Diderot, De La Mettrie, d'Holbach and d'Alembert. This Ottoman intellectual was effected by Büchner a lot.¹⁹⁰ Many Ottoman materialists in the footsteps

¹⁸⁹ Berkes, N. (1973), p.205, 206

¹⁹⁰ Although Hüseyin Cahit notes in his diaries that Beşir Fuat translated Büchner's *Matter and Force* (Madde ve Kuvvet), this translation hasn't reached us. Possibly, it can be thought that in order to avoid probable reactions at that time, he didn't publish the translation and it was passed from hand to hand.

of Büchner attached importance to physiology and pointed the body as the base of human existence or reality. In his work named *Beşer*, Beşir Fuat wrote that it was in vain to search some mystic and metaphysics reasons in body and life. The laws belonging to matter are totally the same in the case of the human body.¹⁹¹ According to him the human being is nothing except his body.

For Beşir Fuat, in spite of literature's claim that heart is the centre of the whole emotions, as the science of physiology exposes that this organ is nothing except a pump which circulates blood.¹⁹² In another article, Beşir Fuat mentions the brain physiology by citing Büchner. He writes that, the authority of metaphysics on the human soul is over. According to him, there is no soul except the mind and the nervous system's activity and psychology is only a part of physiology.¹⁹³

Therefore, for the first time in Ottoman territory body came to the fore in body-soul dilemma. This new trend, which made the body its main criteria of analysis laid the foundation of racist theory in the Ottoman Empire. Race theory was based on the differentiation between bodies and the hierarchy among different races constructed via the diversity of bodies. So, by bringing forward the body instead of the soul, the "scientific" race theory based on the dimension of the body was initiated.

¹⁹¹ Okay, M.O. (1969) *İlk Türk Pozitivist ve Natüralisti Beşir Fuad*, Hareket Yayınları, İstanbul, p.106

¹⁹² Beşir Fuat (1883) "Kalb", *Envar-ı Zekâ*, Kanunevvel, No.15, p.401

¹⁹³ Beşir Fuat (1886) "Mebhas-i Kihf ve Netayici", *Saadet*, p.531

Baha Tevfik

Baha Tevfik (1881-1914) was another important Ottoman materialist and a follower of Beşir Fuat. He relied on materialism when he wrote “The superiority of West is parallel with the superiority of its philosophy” in his magazine *Felsefe Mecmuası*. Then, in order to spread this view in the Ottoman Empire, he founded a publishing house named *Teceddüd-i İlmi ve Edebi Kütüphanesi* (Library of Innovation in Science and Philosophy) and published the most important pieces on materialist theory like Büchner’s *Madde ve Kuvvet*¹⁹⁴ (Matter and Force), Haeckel’s *Vahdet-i Mevcut*¹⁹⁵ (Monism), *İnsanın Menşei (Nesli Beşer)*¹⁹⁶ (The Origin of Human Beings), and *Kâinatın Sırları*¹⁹⁷ (The Secrets of the Universe) in Turkish.

According to Baha Tevfik, just like Beşir Fuat, the soul is not a supernatural substance but the forces and attributes of the body which is made of matter. Impressed by Büchner, Baha Tevfik argued that will and reasoning are the products of the brain.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Büchner, L. (?) *Madde ve Kuvvet*, Çev. Baha Tevfik, Ahmet Nebil, İstanbul

¹⁹⁵ Ernst Haeckel, (1911) *Vahdet-i Mevcut (Bir Tabiatın Âliminin Dini)*, Çev. Baha Tevfik, Ahmet Nebil, Matbaa-i Kader.

¹⁹⁶ Ernst Haeckel, *İnsanın Menşei (Nesli Beşer)*, Çev. Ahmet Nebil, Matbaa-i Nefaset, Dersaadet.

¹⁹⁷ Among twenty sections of *Felsefe Mecmuası Volume 1 (Philosophy Magazine)*, only the first two sections whose titles were “Kâinatın Muammaları Nedir?” (“What Are The Secrets Of The Universe?” p.9–13, 24–28, 39–44, 56–61) and “Vücudumuz Nasıl Teşkil Eder?” (“How Is The Human Body Constituted?” p.91–93, 110–114, 169–175) were translated as article series. *Felsefe Mecmuası*, Nefaset Matbaası, Araks Matbaası, Zerafet Matbaası, İstanbul, 1329.

¹⁹⁸ Büchner, L. (?), pp.445–458

With Ahmet Nebil Baha Tevfik completely translated Büchner's three volumes book named *Matter and Force* in 1910s.¹⁹⁹ It was also partly translated by Beşir Fuat and Abdullah Cevdet in different times. The original book was published in 1855 and defined as the bedside book of materialism, and the heralding work of Darwinism. *Matter and Force* especially made a profound effect on Ottoman medical students and Western oriented Ottoman intellectuals. In the preface of the translation, the translators Baha Tevfik and Ahmet Nebil indicated that this book aroused a huge interest and caught a pleasurable sale exceeding that of novels and journals.²⁰⁰

Büchner first claimed that matter is primary in the whole life. He also asserted that due to the equivalence of body is the matter, materiality is the primary aspect of humanity. According to him, consciousness and ideas are the products, the basic functions of the "matter" which constituted the brain and the nervous system. For Büchner, the human soul was nothing but the sumtotal of cerebral activities.²⁰¹ Thus morality was nothing but the higher development of man's animal instincts.²⁰²

Büchner's treatment which gives a priority to matter opens a way for "scientific" racism by focusing on body and corporal indicators. According to him, all the living

¹⁹⁹ Hanoğlu, M.Ş. (2006) "Osmanlı Popüler Materyalizmi, Bilim ve Felsefesizlik", Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Zihniyet, Siyaset ve Tarih, Bağlam Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 38

²⁰⁰ Büchner, L. (?) p.5

²⁰¹ Hanoğlu, M.Ş. (2006) "Din, Bilim, Bilimcilik", Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Zihniyet, Siyaset ve Tarih, Bağlam Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 15

²⁰² Doğan, A. (2006) *Osmanlı Aydınları ve Sosyal Darwinizm*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, p.99

things' and especially humans' skull growth is directly related to their sophistication. He always defended that, townsmen's and well educated people's skulls are bigger, more compact and more solid than peasants' and primitive tribes' skulls. For him, the soul is only a function of the brain. And the Büchner oriented Ottoman materialists naturally derived their main theme on racism directly from Büchner.²⁰³

Ahmet Şuayıp

Ahmet Şuayıp (1876-1910) wrote his very first articles at *Servet-i Fünun*. In these articles he introduced French literature's leading naturalist and realist writers, mentioning major historians like the Prussian Ranke, scrutinizing philosophers like Taine and Bergson, and pionner sociologists like Durkheim. His intentions were to examine positivism as a philosophy, arguing against Bergson to rescue philosophy from the yoke of methaphysics. He argued that by observing natural laws which determined humankind's historical evulation, the social and the political system's scientific basis could be exposed.²⁰⁴

In order to the Ottoman Empire during the Second Constitutional Period, he published the *Ulum-u İçtimaiye ve İktisadiye* journal with Cavit Bey and Rıza Tevfik to especially introduce positivism in Ottoman Empire.

²⁰³ Büchner, L. (?) pp.389–444; Büchner's direct association of the skull size with the development affected Abdullah Cevdet significantly. As a matter of fact, Abdullah Cevdet translated the section about the relationship between the skull and the brain of this book of Büchner before Baha Tevfik. This will be discussed in more detail in "The racism of Abdullah Cevdet" section.

²⁰⁴ Ülken, H.Z. (1966) *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, Vol.1, Selçuk Yayınları, Konya, pp.236–239

Ahmet Şuayıp used Comte's positivism as an instrument to develop his sociological views. Due to his positivist view, he preferred to formulate his position within the framework of biological sociology.²⁰⁵ According to him, the determinants of everything related to social life were related to the characteristics of races, including the organization of state the institutions and political systems developed by a race can not be adapted to another race.²⁰⁶ For Ahmet Şuayıp, the most important effect which limits the acts of human beings is the special structure which is a heritage from ancestors. It leaves very little to free will.²⁰⁷

In addition to these, Ahmet Şuayıp has an elitist view point just like Abdullah Cevdet. According to him, humans evolved from animals and thus have a bestial nature along with emotions like ambition and greed. It is a mistake to think of the human being as an easygoing, self-sacrificing and benevolent creature. For Ahmet Şuayıp, humans –due to their nature - are insane as they are sick. The health of our organs and ideas is a great success and a bright coincidence. A logical judgement and high ideas are proper to intellectuals.²⁰⁸ As easily seen Ahmet Şuayıp exposes his elitist view very clearly via these opinions.

²⁰⁵ Ahmet Şuayıp (1324) "Cemiyet ve Devlet", *Ulum-u İktisadiye ve İctimaiye Mecmuası*, No.1, Teşrin-i Sani, p.54

²⁰⁶ A.g.e.

²⁰⁷ Ülken, H.Z.(1966), pp.225,226

²⁰⁸ Ahmet Şuayıp (1324) p.58

Bedi Nuri

Bedi Nuri (1875–1913) and his brother Satı followed the path of Ahmet Şuayip, who were both among the writers of *Ulum-u İçtimaiye ve İktisadiye* published by Ahmet Şuayip.²⁰⁹

In an article titled “On Dokuzuncu Asır (The Nineteenth Century)” Bedi Nuri wrote on the process of how religion’s status as the primary frame of reference came to be replaced by science.²¹⁰ Bedi Nuri wrote in this article that people were unaware of the social law called “determinism” until the fifteenth century. According to him, people’s thoughts were shaped by tradition and religion during the Middle Ages. During the course of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, the foundations of mathematics and mechanics were laid out, and during the nineteenth century the emergence of the universe was scientifically purported. Finally, in 1859, Darwin scientifically explained that all the living creatures evolved from a unicellular being. These scientific developments did not limit humanity to be the sole explorer of the laws of nature; they resulted in the supremacy of humanity over nature. With the development of industry the self-confidence of mankind increased and individuals became free. The individual whose self-confidence increased began to question the moral value judgments that were presented by the Church and the Bible as God’s command. German philosophers Kant and Fichte announced “the freedom of desire and

²⁰⁹ Ülken, H.Z. (1966), p.247

²¹⁰ Bedi Nuri (1325) “On Dokuzuncu Asır”, Musavver Muhit, Cilt 2, Sayı 16–38, 23 Temmuz pp.444–451

free will” at the beginning of the nineteenth century and stated that mankind was not obliged to comply with the moral laws that were dictated by divine will. According to Bedi Nuri mankind was emancipated in the West and thus they began to rule the world instead of being obedient to it.

In the middle of the nineteenth century evolutionary materialist German philosophy purported that the only reality was the world and the evolution through struggle with the energies in the world. As a result of these developments, mankind began to recognize no power besides itself and no law beyond those he considered to be true. Thus, he became aware of the fact that the only purpose of mankind was to carry out an ongoing struggle against the powers and energies it confronted.²¹¹

Bedi Nuri argues that transfer of the moral values of the parents through hereditary is not exactly the same as the transfer of the physical properties and such values are transferred to the child in the form of a seed and then such seed grows up gradually. Besides, he underlines the importance of the heredity, thus, the race.²¹²

²¹¹ Bedi Nuri (1325) “On Dokuzuncu Asır”, *Musavver Muhit*, Vol.2, No. 16–38, 23 Temmuz p.445–450

²¹² Bedi Nuri, (1325) “Hikmet-i İçtimaiye” *Ulum-u İktisadiye ve İçtimaiye Mecmuası*, Vol.2, No.5, 1 Mayıs p.348

Suphi Edhem

Suphi Edhem published journals called *Tabiat* and *Beşer ve Tabiat*. He authored philosophical works such as *Darwinizm* (1911), *Lamarckizm* (1914), *Hayat ve Mevt* (1913) and *Bergson*. In numerous essays he talks about materialist, evolutionist writers such as Cuvier, Linnaeus, Lamarck, Darwin, Comte, Büchner and Haeckel. In his book on Darwin, he wrote that the idea of God as creator was belied after the introduction of the concept of matter and force.²¹³

In an article where he mentions Linnaeus, Blumenbach and Buffon, who were very important for the birth of the concept of race, Suphi Edhem wrote that these three were the founders of the science of anthropology.²¹⁴ According to Suphi Edhem, nature prevents the continuity of the progeny of certain species. For this reason, all the species constantly struggle for survival and it is the fittest (the strongest) who wins the struggle. Those who cannot win are sentenced to death.²¹⁵ Thus, the fittest races survive, whereas weak races are destined to perish.

According to Suphi Edhem, although the supremacy of a race depends on hereditary qualities in “evolutionary philosophy”; hybridity or cross-breeding among the races is a major contributor to racial supremacy. Different races and families can only

²¹³ Suphi Edhem (1327) *Darwinizm*, Beynelmilel Ticaret Matbaası, Manastır, p.180

²¹⁴ Suphi Edhem (1327) “Antropoloji Dersleri”, *Genç Kalemler*, No.14, Osmaniye Matbaası, Selanik, pp.31–35

²¹⁵ Suphi Edhem (1329) “Lamarck ve Lamarckizm”, *Felsefe Mecmuası*, Vol.1, No.8, Nefaset Matbaası, İstanbul, pp.113–118

access superior dispositions of another race or family through the cross-breeding (tesâlüb). Cross-breeding is able to change the physical and moral characters. A good example for the fact that cross-breeding enhances the intelligence is that the most intelligent individuals and geniuses were raised in the societies with a high level of cross-breeding. The cross-breeding is a fundamental factor in generating new races and it is also a factor that gives rise to disappearance of the old races. However, in order for the cross-breeding to be effective, it should be kept in mind that the races should be equal to one another in terms of quantity, their characters should be different and they should be subject to the same environmental effects for a long time.²¹⁶

Edhem Necdet

Dr. Edhem Necdet penned *Kolera Tabibi* (1910) and *Tekâmül ve Kanunlar* (1913). According to him, the soul does not exist, and a person consists solely of his body. Ideas, emotions and beliefs are attributed to the soul, but they are in fact byproducts of the matter of the brain, which is like a material factory.²¹⁷

For Edhem Necdet, entire nature is a battlefield for all creatures. To be part of life is to be part of this struggle. Just like Suphi Edhem, he argued that while the weak lose, the fittest survive this battle. This Ottoman intellectual who was clearly influenced

²¹⁶ Suphi Edhem (1327) *Darwinizm*, pp.170–176

²¹⁷ Edhem Necdet (1329) “Nesec-i Dimağın Tekâmülü”, *İçtihad*, No. 84, Matbaa-ı Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, İstanbul 12 Kanun-u Evvel, pp.1863–1866

by Darwin, emphasized the importance of the hereditary line in the metamorphosis and the evolution of societies, and supported a line of thought that reinforced racism.²¹⁸

Conclusion

All these Ottoman intellectuals came under the influence of positivism and materialism that were imported into the Ottoman Empire together with the efforts of Westernization. They accepted the supremacy of the matter over the spirit and considered human beings only as bodies, not as the combination of body and spirit. With the acceptance of the body alone, the bodily features have become effective on the entire social life, thus, the scientific theory fed by the distinctive qualities of the bodies has become an acceptable way of thinking for such intellectuals.

Besides, the scientific racist discourse touched upon by some Ottoman intellectuals was not advocated more enthusiastically by any Ottoman intellectual than Abdullah Cevdet.

²¹⁸ Akgün, M. (2005), p.271,272

CHAPTER VI: A “Scientific” Racist Intellectual: Abdullah Cevdet

Childhood

Abdullah Cevdet was born into a Kurdish family called Ömeroğulları of Arapkir²¹⁹ in 1284 (1867).²²⁰ His father Ömer Vasfi Efendi was an officer in the Diyarbakır First Battalion.²²¹ He received his primary education in Hozat and Arapkir, and then moved to Elazığ (Harput) with his family and completed his studies at the Mameratü'l-aziz Military School. Finally he came to Istanbul to attend the Army Medical School. The Military Medical School was the centre of biological materialist and the liberal political thought in the Ottoman Empire at the time, and the Western-oriented atmosphere of this institution profoundly influenced Abdullah Cevdet.

Medical School Years

During his Medical School years (1889-1894), Abdullah Cevdet underwent some major intellectual changes. The atmosphere of French and German scientific materialism, social Darwinism and positivism that prevailed in this school at that time soon influenced Abdullah Cevdet, who had come to Istanbul as a deeply religious

²¹⁹ Lewis, G.L. (1965) “Djewdet, Abd Allah”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. II, Leiden, p.533

²²⁰ Anonymous (1932) “Abdullah Cevdet Merhumun Hayatına Ait Birkaç Not”, *İçtihad*, Vol.358, p.5808

²²¹ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1988) “Abdullah Cevdet”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. I, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İstanbul, p.90

student.²²² İbrahim Temo, his class mate from the Medical school, and one of the founders of “İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti”, the precursor of CUP contributed much to this change. He gave Abdullah Cevdet several works on chemistry, biology and physiology by European materialists such as Isnard and Büchner. Abdullah Cevdet read Felix Isnard’s *Spiritualisme et matérialisme* and developed a skeptic view point towards religion.²²³ He also discovered Büchner’s *Matière et Force (Matter and Force)* which made huge changes in his mind and helped him refashion himself as a biological materialist.²²⁴

In 1890, he translated a part of Büchner’s *Matter and Force* into Turkish with the name of *Fizyolociya-i Tefekkür*.²²⁵ In the same year he published a book named *Dimağ (The Mind)* which was about the brain’s functions. A year later, he prepared the first draft of *Fünûn ve Felsefe* which tried to harmonize the thoughts of Islamic scholars and biological materialist scientists and philosophers. During his last year in the Medical School, he wrote the *Fizyolociya ve Hıfz-ı Sihat-i Dimağ ve Melekât-i Akliyye* concerning biological materialism and the brain’s functions in a materialistic view. He also translated Büchner’s *Natur und Geist* with the title *Goril*.²²⁶

²²² Temo, İ. (1939) *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyetinin Teşekkülü ve Hidemât-ı Vataniye İnkılâb-ı Milliyeye Dair Hatıratım*, Romanya-Mecidiye, p.17

²²³ “Dr. İbrahim Themo Bey’in Mektubu” (1933) *Yolların Sesi*, No.6, February 28, p.131

²²⁴ Ülken, H.Z. (1966) *Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, Vol. I, Selçuk Yayınları, Konya, pp.387,388

²²⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) *Fizyolociya-i Tefekkür: Mehazımın Esası Craft und Stoff Ünvanlı Kitabın Tefekkür Bahsidir*, İstapan Matbaası, İstanbul

²²⁶ Büchner, L. (1311) *Goril*, (Translated by Abdullah Cevdet), Matbaa-i Vilayet (Mamuret-el Aziz),

The changes in the religious beliefs of Abdullah Cevdet during his Medical School years also triggered a transformation of his political thoughts. Abdullah Cevdet and his friends; İbrahim Temo, İshak Sükuti, Hüseyinzade Ali and Mehmet Reşit founded an association against the autocratic government of Abdulhamid II called “İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti” in 1889, which became İttihat ve Terakki (CUP) a few years later.²²⁷ Initially there was no political programme and the aim of the Cemiyet was to educate Muslims with Western liberal ideas and culture.²²⁸ The meetings of the committee convened in Abdullah Cevdet’s room, and other medical students enthusiastically participated in these meetings.²²⁹ It was Abdullah Cevdet who penned the founding manifesto of the committee.²³⁰ It is clear that Abdullah Cevdet initially held an important position within the committee. Because of his political activities, he was arrested a couple of times by the school administration and got several prison penalties during his medical education. He graduated from the school in 1894 and afterwards became a leading defender of freedom in the empire.²³¹

Abdullah Cevdet, was also a literary man and a poet. After meeting Abdülhak Hamit, he gained the courage to publish his poems. In 1890 *Hiç*, a compilation of his

²²⁷ Akşin, S. (1998) *Jön Türkler İttihat ve Terakki*, İmge, Ankara, p.27

²²⁸ Alkan, N. (2005) “‘The Eternal Enemy of Islam’: Abdullah Cevdet and the Baha’i Religion”, *School of Oriental and African Studies*, No.68, p.2

²²⁹ Rıfat Osman (1921) *Hayatım ve Hatıratım*, Tıp Tarihi ve Deontoloji Enstitüsü, İstanbul, p.47

²³⁰ Kuran, A.B. (1956) *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, İstanbul, p.63

²³¹ Cenab Şehabettin (1326) “Muhterem Simalar – Dr. Abdullah Cevdet”, *Piyano*, Sayı 7, İstanbul, 27 Kanun-u Evvel, p.7

poems was published.²³² This book was followed by others: *Tuluat*²³³ (1891), *Ramazan Bahçeleri*²³⁴ (1891), *Türbe-i Masumiyet*²³⁵ (1893) and *Masumiyet*²³⁶ (1894).

Years Abroad

After his graduation from the Military Medical School Abdullah Cevdet was appointed to Haydarpaşa Hospital as an assistant ophthalmologist. He was sent to Diyarbakır temporarily after the outbreak of a cholera epidemic. While he was helping the sick people there, he also worked for the enlargement of the İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti. He succeeded to draw new members to the association, including Ziya Gökalp who later became the ideologue of the movement.²³⁷ Following his return to Istanbul, he wrote a declaration on behalf of the İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti about the Armenian events in Istanbul.²³⁸ Because of the declaration he wrote, he was defined as “erbab-ı fesaddan” and was arrested along with his thirty three friends. By the decision of Meclis-i Vükelâ, he was exiled to Tripoli in 1896.²³⁹

²³² Abdullah Cevdet (1307) *Hiç*, Mahmud Bey Matbaası, İstanbul

²³³ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) *Tuluat*, Âlem Matbaası, İstanbul

²³⁴ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) *Ramazan Bahçesi*, Dersaadet, İstanbul

²³⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) *Türbe-i Masumiyet*, İstapan Matbaası, İstanbul

²³⁶ Abdullah Cevdet (1311) *Masumiyet*, İstapan Matbaası, İstanbul

²³⁷ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1988) p.90

²³⁸ It is unknown what his exact position was in the *Cemiyet*.

²³⁹ Abdullah Cevdet (1908) “Hüseyin Tosun Bey”, *İçtihad*, No.8, p.307

His imprisonment at the Tripoli castle's dungeon came to an end with an imperial order and he was allowed to wander in the city walls. In this era, he became an active member of the branch of İttihat ve Terakki in Tripoli. He stayed in contact with the Comitee's key figures Ahmed Rıza and Mizancı Murad, and sent articles to journals like *Mizan*, *Meşveret* and *Mechveret Supplément Français* with the pen name of "Bir Kürd" ("A Kurd) on behalf of the branch.²⁴⁰

Soon Abdullah Cevdet's secret activities were reported to the Porte and his exile location was changed to Fizan in the Arabian Peninsula. Consequently, Abdullah Cevdet escaped to Tunisia with the money he earned through his occupation in Tripoli.²⁴¹ Later he went to Europe from Tunisia, first to Paris, and then to Geneva in 1897.

The "Osmanlı" Newspaper: Abdullah Cevdet as a Political Figure During His Populist Period

Abdullah Cevdet entered the central committee of the İttihat ve Terakki in Geneva and became one of the administrators and the editor of the *Osmanlı* newspaper, which began to be published in 1897. The staff of the newspaper consisted of Abdullah Cevdet, İshâk Sükûti, Tunalı Hilmi, Nuri Ahmet, Reşid, Halil Muvaffak, Refik Bey'

²⁴⁰ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1988), p.90

²⁴¹ Abdullah Cevdet (1912) *Hadd-ı Te'dip: Ahmet Rıza Bey'e Açık Mektup*, İstanbul, p.36

and some other writers.²⁴² When consider the staff, we see that many of the writers of *Osmanlı* were among the founders of the İttihat ve Terakki or young army officers. The *Osmanlı* became the official publication of the Young Turks.²⁴³ Now, the founders of İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti found a means to express their ideas.²⁴⁴ Abdullah Cevdet was the editor-in-chief of *Osmanlı*, along with İshak Sükûti and Tunalı Hilmi, but it was Abdullah Cevdet who held absolute authority over the publication.²⁴⁵

The impression the reader gets after reading the articles published in the *Osmanlı* is that the same themes were taken up on different occasions without proposing new ideas or analyses.²⁴⁶ *Osmanlı* is a prime manifestation of anti-Hamidian opposition and propoganda against the Sultan fills every issue. The writers of *Osmanlı* admitted that it was mainly a propoganda instrument. One article that is published in *Osmanlı* reads as follows:“ In order to illuminate [the people], one needs to change the environment, and in order to change the environment one needs to enlighten the people. What was it that we needed to do? Of course we resorted to the methods used by committees like ours in all countries and started by engaging propoganda.”²⁴⁷

²⁴² Abdullah Cevdet (1904) “Zamir-i Hak”, *Osmanlı*, No.136, 15 Temmuz, p.3

²⁴³ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1981) *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi*, Üçdal, İstanbul, p.35

²⁴⁴ Mardin, Ş. (2002) *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895–1908*, İletişim, İstanbul, p.141

²⁴⁵ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1981), p.35

²⁴⁶ Mardin, Ş. (2002), p.143

²⁴⁷ *Osmanlı* (1897) In French, 5 December, p.1; cited by Mardin, Ş. (2002), p.144

The audience *Osmanlı* aimed was very different from the followers of Young Ottomans in the 1860s. At that period, the Young Ottomans tried to appeal to an elite group made up of their colleagues. The “public opinion” they aimed to form was confined to the Sublime Porte bureaucracy and a small group of people influenced by Western thought who remained a minority in the society. In the first issues of *Osmanlı*, it was promised that, in order to be effective vis-a-vis the public, the language used in the newspaper was to be simple. While the Young Ottomans tried to convince the Ottoman elite, the staff of the *Osmanlı*, who succeeded them, tried to spread their ideology to a larger populace and they aimed to mobilize the masses instead of the elites.

The main theorician of this policy of the newspaper was Abdullah Cevdet, who was largely influenced by Le Bon. In an anonymously published article, he expressed this ideology pursued in the paper. Because the article mentions Le Bon and is written in the signature style of Abdullah Cevdet, it is hard to mistake the anonymous author. In this article where there are explicit references to Le Bon, it is stated that the actions of the masses derive from their emotions rather than their rationality. Thus, the messages that are addressed to the masses should be in the form of repetitions that are carried out patiently, rather than being logical or making sense. Otherwise, there was no chance of convincing the masses about these ideas. For this reason, repetitive formulas had infinite conviction ability over the masses. Abdullah Cevdet claimed that the main reason of the loyalty of the Ottoman society to Sultan Abdülhamid II was the fact that the sultan understood and used this mass psychology very well.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ [Abdullah Cevdet] (1899) “Abdülhamid ve İlm-i Ruh”, *Osmanlı*, 15 Nisan

The idea put forward in the *Osmanlı* was that the society never really grasped the “treachery” of Abdulhamid II in its entirety.²⁴⁹ The writers of *Osmanlı* expressed on the one hand, their love and respect towards an abstract image of the “nation”, while on the other hand expressing their contempt towards the nation that failed to support the revolutionary cause. According to them, the nation was unable to understand what these intellectuals were doing for them, or proposing them. The inability of Young Ottomans to convince the Ottoman society with the ideas they defended in the *Osmanlı* created a deep resentment among the staff of the newspaper. This situation resulted in the move of Abdullah Cevdet and his colleagues towards a more elitist approach.

The newspaper *Osmanlı* did not have any racist attitudes. On the contrary, it often repeated the need for the bonding of Ottomans regardless of their race and religion.²⁵⁰ When the newspaper argued for this claim, the personal examples cited to support the case were the very founders of İttihat ve Terakki. In an article placed on the frontpage of the paper, the ethnic backgrounds of the founders of the İttihat ve Terakki were listed: İbrahim Temo was Albanian, Mehmet Reşit was Circassian, Abdullah Cevdet was Kurdish, İshak Sükûti was Turkish and Mağmumi was an Arabic.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ “Ölüm Korkusuyla İntihar” (1898) *Osmanlı*, 1 April, p.2

²⁵⁰ “Osmanlı” (1898) *Osmanlı*, 1 Kanun-i sani, p.8; “Bir Arnavut Mektubuna Cevap” (1901) *Osmanlı*, 15 January, p.8

²⁵¹ “Dördüncü Sene-i Devriye: Birkaç Söz” (1900) *Osmanlı* 1 December, p.1

According to *Osmanlı*, the Ottoman Empire had to governed in a way that transcended the concerns of “religion and ethnicity.”²⁵²

In 1898, the centr committee and the representatives of the Sultan made an agreement to stop the publication of *Osmanlı* journal. If writers like Abdullah Cevdet, İshak Sükuti and Tunalı Hilmi would stop writing in the journal, they would each earn 1500 Francs and 12 golds every month for the rest of their lives. The writers accepted this pact and Abdullah Cevdet moved to Paris but he continued to write to the journal secretly. The Paris ambassador Münir Paşa discovered this secret activity and stopped the money transfer. In 1899, the Palace and Abdullah Cevdet made a new agreement and he was appointed to the Ottoman Embassy at Vienna as the Embassy Doctor and signed a document that he would never write against the sultan again.²⁵³ Nevertheless, he secretly kept on sending money and articles to *Osmanlı* journal.²⁵⁴

During his *Osmanlı* journal years, Abdullah Cevdet also wrote articles with the penname of “Bir Kürd” (“A Kurd”) to *Kânun-ı Esasi* which was issued in Egypt as the journal of İttihat ve Terakki and *Sadâ-yı Millet* which was issued in Constanza in Romania by İbrahim Temo.²⁵⁵ He also wrote to the *Kürdistan* journal which was published at Geneva and London. He translated *Guillaume Tell* into Turkish in 1896 and wrote an impressive introduction to it. The introduction was a cruel attack on

²⁵² “İlan” (1899) *Osmanlı*, 15 July, p.1

²⁵³ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1981), p.40

²⁵⁴ [Abdullah Cevdet] (1931) “İshak Sükûti'nin Ölümünün Yıldönümü”, *İçtihad*, No.315, 15 Şubat, p.5579

²⁵⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1912) *Hadd-ı Te'dip: Ahmet Rıza Bey'e Açık Mektup*, İstanbul, p.53

autocracy and the rule of Abdülhamid II.²⁵⁶ In 1898, he enlarged this introduction into a book and published it again with the name of *İki Emel*.²⁵⁷ He also made some translations from Shakespeare and Alfieri²⁵⁸ in the same years.

The administrators of the *Osmanlı* newspaper were forced out of Switzerland because of the pressure of the Ottoman government. As of 1900, they moved the headquarters of the newspaper to England. Nevertheless, the editorial powers rested with Abdullah Cevdet ve İshak Sükûti.²⁵⁹ By looking at the reports sent to Yıldız Palace from the Ottoman diplomatic missions abroad, it seems impossible for the Ottoman government not to find out that Abdullah Cevdet and his friends were continuing the opposition. After staying at Vienna nearly three years, Abdullah Cevdet was squealed to Istanbul because of his secret politic activities by the Ottoman Ambassador at Vienna Mahmut Nedim Paşa. Thereupon, Abdullah Cevdet made a call for a duel to the Ambassador.²⁶⁰ The Ambassador informed the Austrian Government about the duel call and Abdullah Cevdet was deported in 1903. He first went to Bratislava and then to Paris, but could not get any help from Ahmed Rıza and his friends due to his acceptance of the duty in Vienna Embassy was seen as a betrayal to the association. So he turned back to Geneva and started to publish *Osmanlı* journal again with Edhem Ruhi.

²⁵⁶ Mardin, Ş. (2002), p.221

²⁵⁷ Abdullah Cevdet (1316) *İki Emel*, Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Matbaası, Kahire

²⁵⁸ Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803) was an Italian dramatist and poet, who was one of the leading literary and patriotic figures of modern Italian history.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid. p.226

Abdullah Cevdet as the “Scientific” Materialist

Abdullah Cevdet was above all a materialist, and his entire thought was embedded in materialism. For Abdullah Cevdet, materialism was the philosophy of the “learned”.²⁶¹ He was most influenced by materialist thinkers such as Isnard, Vogt²⁶², Moleschott²⁶³ and Büchner²⁶⁴. Abdullah Cevdet moved from being religious to materialist when he came across Isnard’s *Spiritualisme et matérialisme* when he was a student of medicine at the Military Medical School. Later he published *Fizyolociya-ı*

²⁶¹ Abdullah Cevdet (1914) “Şime-i Muhabbet” *İctihad*, No.89, p.1980

²⁶² Karl Vogt (1817–1895) was a Dutch scientist. He studied at Giessen until forced to flee in Switzerland in 1835 because of his radical student activities. He received his medical degree from the newly founded University at Bern in 1839 and spent the next five years at Neuchâtel. Following a three-year stay in Paris from 1844 to 1847, he returned to Hesse where he was soon elected a delegate to the Frankfurt National Assembly. After the collapse of the revolution, Vogt was once again expelled from his fatherland. Eventually he accepted a position as professor of geology and paleontology at the University of Geneva and remained there for the rest of his days. He held that thought is “secreted” by the brain, as gall by the liver and urine by the kidneys.

²⁶³ Jacob Moleschott (1822–1893) was a Dutch physiologist. Completing his medical degree at Heidelberg in January of 1845, he practiced medicine for a brief period in Holland before he returned to Heidelberg as a Privatdozent. His controversial publications led to his departure from the university in 1845. As professor of anatomy and physiology Moleschott remained at Zürich from 1856 to 1861. Moleschott was a man without a fatherland. When he accepted a post at Turin in 1861 he finally found a homeland he was willing to call his own. He became an Italian citizen in 1866 and made his final move to Rome in 1876. His characteristic formul was “No thought without phosphorus”.

²⁶⁴ Ludwig Büchner (1824 –1899) was a German philosopher, physiologist and physician. After completing his medical degree at Giessen in 1848, Büchner returned to his native Darmstadt, where he set up a medical practice. In 1852 he accepted a post at Tübingen in the medical clinic, where the provisions of his position specified that he be allowed to give lectures if he so desired. When in 1855 he published his views on science in a book, he caused such uproar that he was fired from his post. Büchner returned to his medical practice in Darmstadt, where he remained for the duration of his life. He was one of the exponents of 19th century scientific materialism.

Tefekkür for which he used Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott as sources, with scant references to Daubés, Létoueneau and Le Moynac. He expressed the basic dynamics of his materialist thought in this book. A part of this book consisted of a translation of Büchner's (*Kraft und Stoff*) in the name of *Madde ve Kuvvet*.²⁶⁵ Vogt, Moleschott and Büchner to whom he referred in several occasions were among the leading figures of German materialism. These researchers were generating new thoughts about physiology and, particularly, the physiology of brain and the nerve system. Influenced by these thinkers, Abdullah Cevdet argued that all rational sciences were based on materialism and that experimental science proved this. For him, since matter was not created and existed since the beginning (of the universe), it would not cease to be and will continue to exist infinitely.²⁶⁶ This argument was, in fact, the main agenda the book entitled *Material and Power* by Büchner. The name of the book stems from this very argument. According to Büchner, material stems from infinity. It cannot be generated from nonexistence, and cannot be destroyed.²⁶⁷ In this context Abdullah Cevdet summarized materialist thought as such: "We cannot think of anything that is not matter or the result of matter", thus explicitly stating that nothing exists except for matter.²⁶⁸

Due to his education as a physician, Abdullah Cevdet studied the impact of materialism on human beings and in this context he explicitly expressed his choice of the body over the soul. Considering that the physical indicators are the primary

²⁶⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) *Fizyolociya-ı Tefekkür*

²⁶⁶ Akgün, M. (2005) *Materyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, Elis Yayınları, Ankara, p.331

²⁶⁷ Büchner, L. (Tarihsiz) *Madde ve Kuvvet*, (Translated by Baha Tevfik, Ahmet Nebil), İstanbul, p.62

²⁶⁸ Abdullah Cevdet (1309) "Muktebasat-ı Fenniye: Herkes İçin Kimya", *Musavver Cihan*, No.4, p.30

determinants of racism, Abdullah Cevdet's materialist thinking seems to have laid the foundation for his racist attitude. Abdullah Cevdet accepted Büchner's idea that thoughts are the products of the body and not of the soul. According to Büchner, there is no soul independent of the body and the soul is a function of the brain.²⁶⁹ For the German researcher, the function of the brain is thinking similar to the stomach and intestines taking up the duty of digestion.²⁷⁰ Similarly, according to Abdullah Cevdet who embraced Büchner's view, thought does not stem from the soul but rather, from the brain. Informed by Büchner's examples, Abdullah Cevdet argued that, the relationship between thought and the brain is the same as the relationships between bile and the liver; urine and the kidneys.²⁷¹ This is also Vogt's argument who claimed that "thinking is a movement of the matter".²⁷² In this vein, the thought itself is not matter but is inseparable from matter, and hence cannot be considered independent of the attributes of the matter. Thus, although thoughts are not matter, they are material-based and in this sense are an attribute of the matter.²⁷³

Therefore, according to Abdullah Cevdet, a change in the physical part of the brain shall have an impact on thinking.²⁷⁴ In such interpretations, Abdullah Cevdet, was influenced by Moleschott as well as Büchner. According to Moleschott, the physical

²⁶⁹ Büchner, L. (Tarihsiz) *Madde ve Kuvvet*, (Translated by Baha Tevfik, Ahmet Nebil), İstanbul, p.444

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.445

²⁷¹ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) *Fizyolociya-ı Tefekkür*, p.12

²⁷² *Ibid*, p.10

²⁷³ Büchner, L. (1327) "Tefekkür" (Translated by Abdullah Cevdet) *İçtihad*, No.29, p.814; Abdullah Cevdet'in verdiği dipnot

²⁷⁴ İbn-i Ömer Cevdet (1308) *Dimâğ: Dimâğ ve Ruh Arasındaki Münasebet-i Fenniyyeyi Tedkik*, İstapan Matbaası, İstanbul, p.7

structure of the brain was mostly composed of phosphorous, and taking this as a starting point, He defined thought as the activity of phosphorus.²⁷⁵ That is to say, thinking was reductively dealt with from a materialist point of view by every German researcher who influenced Abdullah Cevdet – Hence his claims on thought as a material phenomenon.

According to Abdullah Cevdet, - who was informed by these ideas, intelligence solely depends on the brain, since it is and the body (not the soul) that produces thoughts. For him, one needs to look at chemical relations in order to measure intelligence. At the same time, the size of the brain was considered to be the other determinant of one's intelligence. Consequently, for Abdullah Cevdet, intelligence increases in proportion to the physical increase in the size of the brain.

Having been influenced by Büchner, Abdullah Cevdet became one of the leading advocates of almost all arguments by Büchner within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire.²⁷⁶ In the book entitled *Material and Power*, the main issue that Büchner offered was the idea that there are no beings like the soul and God, apart from the material basis of the universe. Therefore, in such a system, there was no room for the belief in God and, thus, everything in the universe was nothing but an infinite functioning of causal laws. There was no room for the willpower of God and for religion in Materialism where everything was conceived as a machine.

²⁷⁵ Kelly, A. (1981), p.17

²⁷⁶ Teber, S. (...) "Ludwig Büchner ve Osmanlı Düşünürleri Üstündeki Etkileri", p.9,10

Abdullah Cevdet, as an Ottoman intellectual who was highly influenced by the leading materialist German philosophers, accepted materialism in its aspects. However, within the Ottoman Empire, it was not so easy to say that God and the soul did not exist, or to argue that what people called “the willpower of God” was a fabricated concept, and that the entire universe functioned according to the nature of the material, rather than the will of the God. Therefore, Abdullah Cevdet's approach to religion was a significant step for him in terms of finding a respectable position within the philosophy world of Ottoman Empire.

Abdullah Cevdet as “a Religious Irreligious or an Irreligious Religious”²⁷⁷

Abdullah Cevdet grew up in a religiously observant household and received a religious education from family members whom he later described as “imams, hodjas, and extremely pious and very conformist” individuals.²⁷⁸ Abdullah Cevdet was still a very pious person when he entered the Military Medical School.²⁷⁹ One of his early poetry books includes a glowing “Na’t-i Şerif”, a eulogy for the Prophet Muhammad, of whom he wrote:

²⁷⁷ Hüseyinzade Ali (1932) “Aptullah Cevdet”, *İçtihad*, No.358, p.5896

²⁷⁸ İnan, M.K. (1969) *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, M.E.B. Devlet Kitapları, p.244

²⁷⁹ Temo, İ. (1939) *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyetinin Teşekkülü ve Hizmet-i Vataniye İnkılab-ı Milliyeye Dair Hatıratım*, Romanya-Mecidiye, p.17

“You are the bright star that radiates in the ninth heaven of Islam,
(...)You are the ultimate cause of creation.”²⁸⁰

Yet under the impact of his experience at the Medical School, Abdullah Cevdet’s views underwent a drastic transformation. Like many other devout students who entered this spawning ground of materialist and anti-religious ideas, it did not take Abdullah Cevdet to end this “innocent phase” of his life and “perceive the difference between nature and religion”.²⁸¹ Reflecting later on this early period, he confessed that his “innocent past”²⁸², in which he used to frequent the mosques of İstanbul with a Quran in hand and with ardent piety in his heart, “would make him sad forever”.²⁸³ He became painfully aware of the fact that some of his early ideas and writings stood very much in contradiction to the “scientific truth” that he subsequently acquired at the Medical School.²⁸⁴ As he saw it, it was his conversion to scientism that made it impossible for him to experience again the emotions of his early days.²⁸⁵

Only six months after the publication of his praise of the Prophet Muhammad, Abdullah Cevdet completed a translation of a chapter from Büchner’s *Kraft und Stoff*.²⁸⁶ Abdullah Cevdet’s aim in undertaking this translation was to underscore one of

²⁸⁰ İbn Ömer [Abdullah] Cevdet (1308) *Türbe-i Masumiyet*, Vatan Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, p.3

²⁸¹ “Dr. İbrahim Themo’nun Mektubu” (1933) *Yolların Sesi*, No.6, February 28, p.131

²⁸² İbn Ömer [Abdullah] Cevdet (1308), p.4

²⁸³ Ibid, p.14

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p.3

²⁸⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1311) *Masumiyet*, İstapan Matbaası, İstanbul, p.4

²⁸⁶ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) *Fizyolociya-i Tefekkür: Mehazımın Esası Kraft und Stoff Ünvanlı Kitab-ı Eşherin Tefekkür Bahsidir*, İstapan Matbaası, İstanbul

Büchner's major bio-materialist theses: that consciousness is solely a function of neural matter. A few months later he published another essay on the "scientific relationship between the brain and soul".²⁸⁷ In this short essay Abdullah Cevdet maintained that as *l'homme machine*, man, like other animal types, had a "soul" created by matter.²⁸⁸ He was transformed from a pious to a materialist through the instruments of Islamic thought man. Nevertheless, he did not completely abandon religion and tried to legitimize materialism through the instruments of Islamic thought.

In the Preface to his translation of *Der Gedanke (The Idea)*, aimed at proving the material basis of consciousness, Abdullah Cevdet explained that the act of "submitting the treasure of scientific truth" was an "extremely exalted and sacred duty for him".²⁸⁹ In a translation of another piece from Büchner's *Aus Natur und Wissenschaft (From Nature and Science)* under the rubric of *Goril*,²⁹⁰ he further elucidated what he had meant by the term "sacred". He explained that the motivation for this translation was his desire to follow the Prophetic hadith requiring all Muslims to attain "wisdom and truth".²⁹¹ Thus, despite his utter disregard for Islam as a religion, Abdullah Cevdet maintained that it should be used both as a tool to modernize Islamic society and as a spring board to create a new materialistic ethic.²⁹²

²⁸⁷ İbn Ömer [Abdullah] Cevdet (1308) *Dimağ ve Dimağ ve Ruh Arasındaki Münasebet-i Fenniyyeyi Tedkik*, Vatan Kütüphanesi, İstanbul

²⁸⁸ Ibid, p.46

²⁸⁹ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) *Fizyolociya-i Tefekkür*, p.19

²⁹⁰ Abdullah Cevdet (1311) *Goril*, Vilayet Matbaası, Mamuret'ül-Aziz

²⁹¹ Ibid, p.52

²⁹² Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1981), p.20

In order to construct a “scientific” Islam, and create a materialistic belief system upheld by Islamic principles, Abdullah Cevdet adopted two courses of action, which to him seemed inseparable. On the one hand, he strove to prove the superiority of the “natural sciences” over all alternative truths. On the other hand, he waged a resolute war against Islam as religion. He assumed that once people comprehended the superior truth of science and the nonsensical nature of the assertions of religious philosophers,²⁹³ a new scientific religion would rise spontaneously from the ashes of Islam. At the same time, once Islam had been discarded as a religion, a liberal reinterpretation of the Islamic sources (relying on the work of medieval Muslim free-thinkers) would enable the vanguard of scientism to present this new belief-system to the Muslim masses as the new Islamic religion. This point cannot be overstressed; despite his strong materialist convictions, Abdullah Cevdet firmly and consistently believed that “human society cannot live without religion”.²⁹⁴ So for Abdullah Cevdet, as Christianity had its Reformation, Islam, too, needed to be reformed. Stagnant Islamic institutions did not respond to contemporary social needs, and thus religion had to revert to its original form which rested on rational power. Imitation must be abandoned and the “gate of İctihad” (individual judgement / opinion) needed to be reopened. To achieve this; the modern intellectual must show the way. He tried to harmonize reason and Islam by maintaining,

²⁹³ İbn Ömer [Abdullah] Cevdet (1308) *Dimağ*, p.36,37

²⁹⁴ Abdullah Cevdet (1922) “Tarihten Bir Sahife-i Hûnîn: Saint-Barthélemy”, *İctihad*, No.147, April 15, p.3072

that if the human mind could not explain something, this was due to its lack of capacity and not because Islam was mistaken.²⁹⁵

In the first issue of *İctihad* Abdullah Cevdet that the declared *İctihad* was the “Muslim world’s first publishing house in Europe”.²⁹⁶ In Abdullah Cevdet’s view, the problems of Ottoman society could only be resolved by curing the illnesses of the larger Muslim world. This goal, in turn, could only be accomplished by means of a marriage between Islam on the one hand and modern science and the materialist doctrine on the other. In order to facilitate this merger and forge a new creed for the Ottoman future, Abdullah Cevdet boldly assumed the role of a mujtahid. Clearly, only a radical and highly original reinterpretation of the Islamic tradition would enable Abdullah Cevdet to incorporate materialism into Islam.²⁹⁷ Since according to him “Muslims can only accept the development of civilization from a Muslim source”,²⁹⁸ he sought to benefit from Islam in order to convey his ideas on civilization to the whole Ottoman community. In his writings, he used a collection of statements on science attributed to Muslim leaders and intellectuals. By reinterpreting these quotations and inflating their importance, he was able to claim that Islam was in full accord with modern science (for him; materialism). For instance, a statement made by the fourth Caliph Ali: “He who doesn’t eat for forty days loses his mind” should be understood as a sound materialistic

²⁹⁵ Alkan, N. (2005), p.3

²⁹⁶ Abdullah Cevdet (1904) “İctihad”, *İctihad*, No.1, September 1, p.1

²⁹⁷ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (2005), p.44

²⁹⁸ Abdullah Cevdet (1906) “Mısır’da Necm-i Terakki ül İslami Medresesi”, *İctihad*, July

observation on the relationship between brain activity and protein consumption.²⁹⁹ Similarly, the Prophetic hadith: “Cure yourselves, O servants of God; no disease has been created without a cure for it,” according to Abdullah Cevdet, was a deft summary of the philosophy of modern materialist medical sciences.³⁰⁰ Another hadith “Religion is reason itself; who has no reason has no religion,” according to Abdullah Cevdet, shows that the believers who merely went through the acts of performing their religious duties without having any reason for doing so could not be considered truly pious.³⁰¹ By these legitimizations Abdullah Cevdet tried to prove that rational sciences and materialism were not contrary to Islam, but that they reflected the same principles.

According to Abdullah Cevdet “The good and the bad are from Allah”, however one should not take this statement wrongly. Abdullah Cevdet explains this statement as such: “We cultivate the land, we do the cultivating. But the intellect which reminds us to cultivate the land is within our own disposition.”³⁰²

For Abdullah Cevdet, the path the Ottoman Empire should follow is crystal clear: “To be a hardworking and benevolent student of the Europe. This is our role.”³⁰³ And he enforces his proposition by stating that: “There is no second civilization: The

²⁹⁹ Abdullah Cevdet (1312) *Fizyolociya ve Hıfz-ı Sıhhat-i Dimağ ve Melekat-ı Akliye*, Mahmut Bey Matbaası, İstanbul, p.209, 210

³⁰⁰ Abdullah Cevdet (1906) *Fünun ve Felsefe ve Felsefe Sanihaları*, Matbaa-i İctihad, Egypt, p.64

³⁰¹ Abdullah Cevdet (1912) *Hadd-ı Tedib*, Matbaa-i İctihad, İstanbul, p.66

³⁰² Abdullah Cevdet (1906) *İkaz-ı Müslim*, Matbaa-i İctihad, Mısır, p.12

³⁰³ Abdullah Cevdet (1329) “Şime-i Muhabbet”, *İctihad*, No.89, 16 Kanun-i Sani, p.1981

only civilization is that of Europe. We should take that for granted”³⁰⁴. Abdullah Cevdet’s understanding of European civilization is, first of all, science. For him, science simply means biological materialism. Hence the thought which Abdullah Cevdet tried to disseminate in the Ottoman Empire was biological materialism. In this sense, in order for biological materialism to take the role of Islam and in order to convince Ottoman intellectuals and citizens, Abdullah Cevdet argued that classical Muslim thinkers shared the same thoughts with materialist thinkers’. For example Jurcani’s definition of philosophy, he claims: “... this definition of philosophy is the complete and truest one and it explains and enlightens the way of thinking of the Sufi.”³⁰⁵ For writings of Ebu’l Ula el Maarri he argues that “These books are the basics of Darwinism”³⁰⁶ and presents Maari’s thoughts as foreshadowing those of Schopenhauer.³⁰⁷ These statements of Abdullah Cevdet demonstrate his attempt to establish strong links with the Islamic intellectual tradition.

However as the reign of Abdulhamid II came to an end, according to Abdullah Cevdet, the necessity to use Islam as a legitimizing force also ended. He started to criticize Islam directly. According to Abdullah Cevdet, since Islam could not keep up with modern scientific developments, it cannot be used anymore as a legitimizing tool. Especially after the Second Constitutional Period, the book of Reinhart Dozy which criticizes Islam and Muhammed so roughly and harshly “*Essai sur l’histoire de*

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p.1984

³⁰⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1906) *Fünun ve Felsefe*, p.23

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p.23

³⁰⁷ Abdullah Djevdet, “Un Précurseur Anarchiste: Ebou-Ala-el-Muarri”, *Les Temps Nouveaux, Supplément Littéraire*, t.2, no.5–1898; Aktaran, Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1981) p.130

l'Islamism” was translated by Abdullah Cevdet in the name of *Tarih-i İslamiyet*³⁰⁸, and published in Egypt in 1908. The book was met with adamant reactions from the Muslim community and was deemed to desecrate religious beliefs. The translation of Dozy’s book was the first critique of Islam and its prophet that had been published in Turkish and distributed in Ottoman Empire. For this translation Abdullah Cevdet was accused of atheism and this stigma remained with him until his death.³⁰⁹ For this very reason the prayer leaders were reluctant to perform the funerary prayer before his burial in 1932.³¹⁰

The translation of Abdullah Cevdet was received with a big public tumult and this was something he did not expect. Both the translation of Dozy’s book and Abdullah Cevdet’s approving preface were viewed by the members of the religious establishment as a profound and farreaching attack against Islam and its prophet. It was certainly not possible to fit such views into any Islamic “jacket” because they involved direct blasphemy against the prophet. Abdullah Cevdet’s preface to the translation was also extremely provocative. Here the book was presented “a product of an absolutely impartial *bon sens* (reason)”.³¹¹ He agreed with Dozy’s claim that the emergence of Islam was an outcome of the Prophet’s alleged “muscular hysteria”.³¹² He wrote: “The learned, erudite Doctor Dozy, who had spent his entire life with research and study, and who strived to enlighten the minds of believers/slaves of God (ibadullah) and tried to be beneficial to people, is one hundred times more Muslim than the vagabond Hamids

³⁰⁸ Dozy, R. (1908) *Tarih-i İslamiyet*, II Volumes, Matbaa-i İctihad, Egypt

³⁰⁹ İsmail Hakkı (1932) “Aptullah Cevdet Şahsiyeti”, *İctihad*, No.358, p.5889

³¹⁰ Kaygusuz, B.N. (1955) *Bir Roman Gibi*, İhsan Gümüşayak Matbaası, İzmir, p.68

³¹¹ Abdullah Cevdet (1908) “İfade-i Mütercim”, (Dozy) *Tarih-i İslamiyet*, Vol.I, p.5

³¹² Ibid.

whose creation and desires are nefarious.(...) Every learned and virtuous person is a Muslim. Any ignorant or immoral person is not a Muslim even if he comes from the lineage of the prophet.”³¹³ But as a result of the wide public reaction, Abdullah Cevdet had the foreword of the book ripped out and redistributed the book. Later, he claimed that his sole intention was to mobilize the ulema. After receiving many petitions from Muslims and from the office of the Şeyhülislam, the government finally banned the book and confiscated all existing copies which were thrown into the sea from the Galata Bridge.³¹⁴ Abdullah Cevdet began to argue that biological materialism should take the place of religion within society, and that Islam cannot even be instrumentally exploited in a limited sense. According to him: “Religion is the learning of the common people, and science is the religion of the elite. While the religion of the elite, science, is progressing continuously; the learning of the common people, religion, is not expanding or progressing in parallel to science; and this is the main illness of the Islamic world and Ottoman domain. In my opinion, the cure for this illness is to animate religion with the value of science, and by enriching science with the force of religion.”³¹⁵

In addition to providing advice in terms of the practice of religion, such as criticizing the community’s behaviour towards people who did not fast during Ramadan,³¹⁶ or claiming the unnecessary of women covering their head³¹⁷, Abdullah

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1997) “Garbcılar: Their Attitudes toward Religion and Their Impact on the Official Ideology of the Turkish Republic”, *Studia Islamica*, No.86, p.139

³¹⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1911) “Şahzade Mecid Efendi Hazretleriyle Mülakat”, *İctihad*, No.57, March 7, p.1257

³¹⁶ Abdullah Cevdet (1911) “Kahraman Elemler”, *Mehtap*, No.9, p.106, 107

Cevdet voiced harsh criticisms against religion as an obstacle in the process of modernization of the society using the words of d’Holbach: “The religion is a futile dream. Theology is a network knitted with suppositions, illusions, conflicts, warps and wefts. It is ignorance about the natural causes. It is the system of this ignorance. The religious God beliefs which are the heroes of this system, ignorance decorated with impossible things and slavery are the real enemies of the humanity. The humans feel unhappy just because these. However, the one and only thing that will give the humanity peace and comfort is intelligence, science and freedom. The only way for the humans to get rid of its moral whips and sorrows is freeing itself from superstitious thoughts [religion]”.³¹⁸

To sum up Abdullah Cevdet started out thinking that Islam could be instrumental in the process of modernization, but while he tried to harmonize Islam with materialism, he encountered a fierce public reaction. As a result of this he decided that Islam was not a viable instrument for the materialist cause. Since his understanding of Islam does not go beyond considering it as a means to establish materialism, we can

³¹⁷ Abdullah Cevdet (1909) “Tesettür Meselesi”, *İçtihad*, No.29, p.809–811

³¹⁸ Abdullah Cevdet (1330) “Rahip Jan Meslier”, *İçtihad*, No.127, p.471; “Din bir hayal-i ham tesmiye olunuyor. Teolociya, ilahiyat bir zanlar, vehmler, tenakuzlar, tarupudlar dokunmuş bir mensucdur. Yahut esbab-ı tabiiye hakkındaki cehalettir. Bu cehalet system halinde tesis etmiştir. Diğer tarafta bu sistemin kahramanları mevzu din olan Allah itikatları muhal sıfatlarda müzeyyen cahillik ve esirlik insanıyetin gerçek düşmanlarıdır. İnsaniyeti bedbaht eden bunlardır. Halbuki insanıyete salah ve saadet vermeye yegane salih olan akıl, ilim ve hürriyettir. Ancak batıl fikirlerden [dinden] tahlis edilmek sayesinde ki insanlık siyat-ı ahlakiyelerinden ve dertlerinden kurtarılabılır”.

now turn to Abdullah Cevdet's "scientific" materialism and its by product "scientific" racism.

İçtihad: Abdullah Cevdet as an Elitist Scientific Figure

Abdullah Cevdet founded the "Osmanlı İttihad ve İnkılâb Cemiyeti" ("Ottoman Union and Revolution Community") with Edhem Ruhi in 1904. In the same year, with the help of Ahmed Celâleddin Paşa, Abdullah Cevdet founded the famous *İçtihad* (*Opinion*) journal and the İçtihad Press in Geneva.³¹⁹ The journal was issued as sixteen pages in Turkish, and sixteen pages in French. It was the first journal linked with the Young Turk movement that emphasized cultural matters instead of politics. This journal was published until the death of Abdullah Cevdet. Because a book which was published by the İçtihad Press included some insults to Abdülhamid II, Abdullah Cevdet was deported from Switzerland and went to Egypt.³²⁰ The first issue of *İçtihad* published in Egypt came out in December 1905.³²¹ He was sentenced in absentia 1905 in to life-imprisonment, suspension of civil rights and confiscation of his property by the Ottoman Government, but he kept on issuing the *İçtihad* at Cairo.³²²

³¹⁹ Akgün, M. (2005) *Materyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, Elis, Ankara, p.103

³²⁰ Kuran, A.B. (1956) *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılâp Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, İstanbul, Baha Matbaası, p.342

³²¹ [Abdullah Cevdet] (1905) "Ka'rilerimize", *İçtihad*, No.9 Teşrin-i evvel, p.129

³²² Lewis, G.L. (1965) p.533

In some ways Egypt was more Europeanized than the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Mehmed Ali Paşa, who became the ruler of Egypt in 1805, founded French style medical, engineering and language schools. More than 400 students were sent to Europe for education, and more than 200 books were translated into Arabic or Turkish from European and Eastern languages.³²³ Because of the effective autonomy of Egypt, the imperial administration in Istanbul could not censure the press and the publishing sector which made Egypt an important base for many Young Turk activists, including Abdullah Cevdet. For this reason, it can be said that Abdullah Cevdet experienced his most comfortable period of oppositionary activity in Cairo.³²⁴ Yet, it is clear that Abdullah Cevdet did not play an important role in terms of the oppositionary action of the Young Turk movement in Egypt. Revolutionary themes were almost never taken up in *İçtihad*. It is clear that at that moment Abdullah Cevdet considered his homework to consist of translations from European thinkers such as Gustave Le Bon, publishing literary pieces, and increasing the cultural knowledge of the public through these efforts.³²⁵ During his years in Egypt, he translated Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Julius Caesar*. More importantly, he made his first translation from Gustave Le Bon as *Rûhü'l Akvam (Les lois psychologiques de l'Evolution des Peuples)*.

The fact that Abdullah Cevdet was not invited to the 1907 Congress, while he was in Egypt, the most important Young Turk event to that date, shows that he became

³²³ Ziadat, A.A. (1986) *Western Science in the Arab World: The Impact of Darwinism, 1860–1930*, St. Martin's Press, New York, p.3,4

³²⁴ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1981), p.55

³²⁵ Mardin, Ş. (2002), p.226

quite insignificant within the organization in terms of taking action.³²⁶ Most of the Young Turks considered Abdullah Cevdet as someone who was outside the movement. As a matter of fact, in a play staged after the declaration of the Second Constitution, that depicted the life of Young Turks in Egypt, Abdullah Cevdet is portrayed as a figure who usurps the printing press of the committee and harms the movement; an account that was inconsistent with reality. Nevertheless this instance shows the anger towards him within the movement.³²⁷

Abdullah Cevdet had chosen to make propaganda to the masses in the *Osmanlı* paper that he had published with Young Turks, where he supported the ideology of political Ottomanism. But in the *İctihad* journal, he took a different path. He wrote a lot about race, which was a topic he did not take up when he was making a call for political solidarity during the *Osmanlı* years. And as a result of the failure of his attempts of mobilizing the public for the Ottomanist cause at the *Osmanlı* newspaper, he began to focus on the elite groups, created by race and physiognomy, and his interest shifted towards the development of the elites, instead of the masses. The education of the public was only a measure for the control of the elite groups. Thus, the transition from the semi-populist Abdullah Cevdet of *Osmanlı* to the elitist materialist took place through the *İctihad* experience.

The new agenda of Abdullah Cevdet in the *İctihad* was to increase the level of understanding and knowledge of the masses and thus rendering them effective. He

³²⁶ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1981), p.58

³²⁷ Ibid, p.59

declared his major aim in the International Social Education Congress organized in 1900 in Paris. In a declaration he presented here, he said that to increase the cultural level of the Turks is the major element in the development strategy of the country.³²⁸ For this reason, he dedicated his life to educate the people and to present the scientific inventions of the modern world to the Ottomans. In the last issue of *İctihad* magazine published right after his death, his passion to teach was mostly underlined.³²⁹ According to Abdullah Cevdet the people have to be educated because in contemporary communities people's will influenced the system strongly. Abdullah Cevdet describes this point in one of his books as follows: "The people are not in a position to conduct scientific studies and examinations. However, there is another exalted will which could be pursued by the people and could be attractive for them, which is the collective desire for the improvement of society, at large and to correct the problems caused by corruption in human society."³³⁰ The attention he paid to education led Abdullah Cevdet to open a school located in Ma'muret-el-Aziz under the name of *Mezra'atü'l-Muarefet* together with İshak Sükûti and Eğinli Abdullah Efendi and to apply different methods of education. Apart from expressing his own ideas, Abdullah Cevdet used methods that would eliminate pressure on the students and give rise to the formation of collective thinking. This was an educational system that was brand new for the Ottoman Empire.³³¹ Besides, no detailed information about such school is available and the

³²⁸ Abdullah Cevdet (1900) *Mémoire Présenté au Congrès International d'Éducation Sociale*, Paris; cited by Mardin, Ş. (2002) p.226

³²⁹ Mazhar Osman Bey (1932) "Abdullah Cevdet'in Tabutu Önünde", *İctihad*, No.358, p.5875; Lütü Fikri (1932) "Abdullah Cevdet", *İctihad*, No.358, p.5885

³³⁰ Abdullah Cevdet (1906) *İki Emel*, Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Matbaası, Cenevre, p.16

³³¹ Hanioglu, Ş. (1981), p.19

information we have about the institution is merely a protocol written by Abdullah Cevdet in French in a conference on education.³³²

Another educational instrument for Abdullah Cevdet considered important was the translation of the works by great authors.³³³ According to Abdullah Cevdet, such works “had to be translated, printed, re-printed, read by everyone, sold with discounted prices, that would merely meet the printing costs. They had to be introduced to all judges, poets, researchers, who were famous for their generosity in sharing their ideas, and kept available, in every household and every library.”³³⁴ In this sense, he translated several works in the field of science and literature by authors such as Schiller, Shakespeare, Le Bon and Büchner, and made efforts to create the accumulation of knowledge in the society.

However, Abdullah Cevdet thought that the public should not interfere with the decision making process concerning political matters. For Abdullah Cevdet the population is composed of conservative and non progressive people who refuse all innovations, declaring “İstemezük!” (We don’t want). For this reason according to Abdullah Cevdet not the population but some elite people should govern the society. “

³³² Abdullah Djevdet (1900) *Mémoire Présenté au Congrès International d'Education Sociale*, Paris, du 26 au 30 Septembre; cited by Hanioglu, Ş. (1981), p.19

³³³ Abdullah Cevdet (1329) “Güneşten Gümruk Almak Yok!” *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, No.358, p.3

³³⁴ Abdullah Cevdet (1906) İki *Emel*, Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Matbaası, Cenevre, p.10,11 “tercüme edilmeli tab edilmeli, tekrar tab edilmeli, neşr olunmalı, herkese okutturulmalı, ucuz satılmalı, sermayesine, masrafına verilmelidir. Ulüvv-i cenap, azimet-i ruh isar etmek şanlarından biri olan bütün hakimler, şairler, müdekkikler herkese takdim olunmalı, her evde, her kütüphanede bulundurulmalıdır”.

What we want is a management of national affairs by privileged deputies with political virtues who are the beloved ones of the people. They should be protected by the freedom of speech, conscience and publication, and by regulated fair laws, not by the people who do not know anything to say other than ‘we do not want’”.³³⁵ In his mind, the requirement for the population to be educated should be in order to control the ruling elite.³³⁶ To summarize, elites will govern the country and the population at least is to have enough knowledge and ability to check the ruling elite, though they cannot be brought to the level of government without receiving enough education.³³⁷ Having said that “when the heredity and education confront one another, it would be the education that would be defeated”³³⁸ Abdullah Cevdet evidently expresses that he considers education to be an instrument that could improve the elite with already superior qualities and would increase the people to a level where they would be capable to inspect the management.

Before the declaration of the Second Constitution, when he used religion to legitimize his own opinions, Abdullah Cevdet tried to support his thought about the ruling elite through the hadith and Koranic verses. “God Almighty (Hazret-i Allah) says

³³⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1905) “Teselsül-i Saltanat Meselesi”, *İçtihad* Mayıs, p.89; “‘İstemezük’ demekten gayrı bir şey söylemek bilmeyen avâmın değil, fazilet-i siyâsiyeleriyle mümtaz ve mahbubü’l-kulüb vükelâ-yı millet, hürriyet-i kavî, hürriyet-i vicdân, hürriyet-i matbûât ile pîrâste kavanîn-i âdilenin mahmûleri olacak vükelâ-yı millet tarafından umûr-ı milletin temşiyesini görmek isteriz”

³³⁶ Abdullah Cevdet (1906) *İki Emel*, Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Matbaası, Cenevre, p.16

³³⁷ Abdullah Cevdet (1329) “Köylülerimiz İçin” *İçtihad*, No.63, April 25

³³⁸ Abdullah Cevdet (1932) “Muhasebe: Terbiye”, *Yolların Sesi*, p.79; “ırsiyet ile terbiyenin tesiri karşı karşıya geldikleri vakit muhakkak terbiye zayıf ve mağlup olur”

in the Holy Koran: Are those equal, those who know and those who do not know?”³³⁹ He therefore finds support from the Koran for his arguments. For Abdullah Cevdet no movement achieves the success without the efforts of the elite.³⁴⁰ Therefore, the population should be ruled by the elite.³⁴¹

Abdullah Cevdet argued that, apart from the people, the elite also had to be educated. He stated that: “the brain curves of the scholars, intelligent individuals and professors, in short, the intellectuals are more developed than that of the labor class and industrialists engaging with manual production”³⁴². Thus in order to accelerate the brain development of such persons that would be raised to the ruling cadres they had to undergo a good education. These elite individuals would be given emancipatory ideas apart from religious dogmas during primary school. According to Abdullah Cevdet, “every human being is formed according to the environmental conditions he lives in, that is to say, according to his surroundings. Some geniuses grew up among the former generations such as Franklin and Gutenberg. However, until Franklin became the person known as Franklin, several potential geniuses who had the intelligence to become the

³³⁹ Abdullah Cevdet (1321) “Beyanname”, *Rumeli*, No.12, 18 Şubat, pp.2–3, Fort he Verse; Holy Koran, The Companies 39/9

³⁴⁰ Abdullah Cevdet (1896) “Açık Mektub”, *Meşveret*, No.23, Teşrin-isani, p.3

³⁴¹ Abdullah Cevdet (1326) “Köpekler”, *Tenkid*, No.4, 25 Mayıs pp.49-53; Abdullah Cevdet (1327) “Mehtab’a” *Mehtab*, No.2, 17 Temmuz, p.9, 10; Abdullah Cevdet (1329) “Schiller’in Eşarından Birkaç Numune. Hayatın Rehberleri” *İçtihad*, No.83, 5 Kanunievvel p.1831; Abdullah Cevdet (1327) “İçtihad” *İçtihad*, No.41, 15 Şubat, p.1007

³⁴² Abdullah Cevdet (1312) *Fizyolociya ve Hıfz-ı Sıhhat-i Dimağ ve Melekât-ı Akliye*, Mahmut Bey Matbaası, Dersaadet, p.53; “âlimlerin, zekilerin, profesörlerin velhasıl alelumum ilmi (intellectual)lerin telâfif-i dimağiyeleri, amele güruhuna ve yalnız el ile icra olunan sanayi erbabının telâfif-i dimağiyelerinden daha müteaddid olduğundan (...)”

inventor of the lightning conductor must have perished for they had not an appropriate environment of studying. The main idea of what I said above is confirmed and explained with the following example: Suppose we take two different types of wheat and plant one of them in a fertile soil exposed to sunlight and the other one in a soil with no sun or light at all. The latter will not have the chance of growing up and decaying since it is deprived of the sunlight and fertile soil. It will disappear leaving two yellowish leaves on the ground. The first one, however, grows and flourishes since it has the conditions it needs”.³⁴³ Therefore, if those important elite had not been discovered and given the chance of proper education, they would have disappeared without having a single chance for using their special brains. This would mean that these critical human resources would have been wasted. However, the Ottoman Empire was in an extremely difficult situation and, according to Abdullah Cevdet, unless the elite came into power, the situation would get even worse. Therefore, the elite had to be discovered as soon as possible and be educated for coming into power of the country. This was the only way in which the empire would be saved.

³⁴³ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) *Fizyolociya-ı Tefekkür: Mehazımızın Esası Kraft und Stoff Ünvanlı Kitabın Tefekkür Bahsidir*, İstapan Matbaası, İstanbul, pp.4,5; “her insan muhat olduğu avamil ve şerait-i muhitiye veya hariciyeye göre insandır. Evvelki zümreden Franklin, Gutenberg gibi dahiler yetişmiştir. Ancak Franklin, Franklin oluncaya kadar kimbilir paratonerin ünvan-ı kâşifiyeti ile zürâtına bahş-ı ihtizâz ettirecek istidadı haiz ne kadar dimağlar bir muhit-i müsaide adem-i mazhariyetle hiçbir eser-i kabiliyet izhar edemeyerek târûmar olmuştur. Bu mesrudatımdan neticelenen fikir şu missal ile teyid ve tarsih olunur: Bir cins buğdaydan iki tane alıp birini mahrum-i âb-u-ziyâ olan bir toprağa, diğerini ziyâdar ve nemâdar bir mahalle ekelim. Evvelkisi şerait-i neşv-ü-nemâsını teşkil eden harareti, ziyâyı, rutubeti bulamadığından istidâd-ı intimâsı mütecellî olmaksızın çürür. Yahud sath-ı zeminde iki sarımtırak yaprak bırakarak fenâpezir olur. Diğerisi ise bilakis şerait-i lâzımaya Karın bulunduğundan bir hâl-i feyz-a-feyz ile büyür”.

Yet, in fact, Abdullah Cevdet's promotion of an elitist administration as necessity and his vision of the populace as controlling body represents two contradicting thoughts which emerged as he applied the theory developed in Western thought to the Ottoman context.³⁴⁴

The thoughts of Abdullah Cevdet on the elite were deeply influenced by Gustave Le Bon. Le Bon claims that the human life is composed of seemingly endless fights and inequalities. According to him, humanity eradicates its weak elements, just like the case in the animal kingdom.³⁴⁵ For Le Bon, the state should keep away from the natural selection process of humanity, because if the weak had been protected in the past, it would have been impossible to reach the level of today's modern civilization.³⁴⁶ In this context Le Bon believed that the population was not capable of taking the right collective decisions anyhow, and that this process should be done by elites or a group of elites, this line of reasoning directly informed Abdullah Cevdet's thought. However for this aim, Le Bon claimed that the elite or group of elites should be responsive to the requests of the population and acting accordingly because, from now on, the principles of equality were aimed to be established by education, discipline and organizations.³⁴⁷ So, in order for the elites to rule the state and the population, it was necessary to discover the elites. The "scientific" racism of Abdullah Cevdet just steps in at this point, and emerges a method of revealing the elites in the Ottoman context.

³⁴⁴ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1981), p.165; Mardin, Ş. (2002), p.246

³⁴⁵ Clark, L.L. (1984) *Social Darwinism in France*, The University of Alabama Press, p.133

³⁴⁶ Clark, L.L. (1981) "Social Darwinism in France" *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol.53, No.1, p.1037

³⁴⁷ Le Bon, G. (1907) *Ruh-ül-Akvam*, (Translated by Abdullah Cevdet) Matbaa-i İctihad, Egypt, p.15

The Essence of the Elites in the Thought of Abdullah Cevdet

The book that introduced Darwin to the world of science and philosophy giving rise to debates and enabling him to leave his mark on the nineteenth century is entitled *The Origin of the Species*. This book by Darwin was considered a milestone in the new history of materialism.³⁴⁸ In this book unlike the former researchers, Darwin linked biological evolution with natural selection. Similar to Malthus and Spencer, according to Darwin, the living beings always reproduced faster than the production rate of foodstuffs. Therefore, the quantity of the food per capita would inevitably decrease more and more, and the sharing of the foodstuffs would give rise to severe conflicts. The individuals who won the fight would survive, and those who lost would be deprived of their rights to live. The individuals who survived would hence be the strongest members of this group and would develop new and superior properties to deal with their competitors in the course of the conflict. The said properties are transferred to the offspring via heredity. The main concepts of this thinking were, therefore: “fight”, “survival”, “evolution” and “heredity”.³⁴⁹

Darwin who has generated the theory that the strong ones would win and survive was concerned with the idea that such a theory would be confronted by some new developments threatening the natural life in his era. In his book entitled *Descent of Man* (1871) Darwin expressed his concerns about his era and the deterioration of the human race with the following sentences: “With savages, the weak in body or mind are soon

³⁴⁸ Weindling, P.J. (1991) *Darwinism and Social Darwinism in Imperial Germany*, Fischer Gustav Verlag GmbH & Co., Stuttgart, New York, p.15

³⁴⁹ Hofstadter, R. (1952) *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, The Beacon Press, Boston, p.50, 51

eliminated; and those that survive commonly exhibit a vigorous state of health. We civilised men, on the other hand, do our utmost to check the process of elimination; we build asylums for the imbecile, the maimed, and the sick; we institute poor-laws; and our medical men exert their utmost skill to save the life of everyone to the last moment. There is reason to believe that vaccination has preserved thousands, who from a weak constitution would formerly have succumbed to small-pox. Thus the weak members of civilised societies propagate their kind. If men had not been subject to natural selection in former times, they would not have attained their present eminence in the world”.³⁵⁰ Therefore, according to Darwin, it was required that hardships to be caused by the natural selection as a result of the increase in the population be avoided, because, as a consequence, this would give rise to the advancement of the humanity.³⁵¹

Abdullah Cevdet included Darwinist theories in his footnotes added to the translation of Büchner’s book entitled *Goril*. According to Abdullah Cevdet, all beings, including the plants, are likely to and are obliged to evolve as a result of heredity and “natural reasons” (“tabii sebepler”). These reasons are referred to as the law of evolution as a whole. The major laws of evolution are as follows: 1) The Struggle to

³⁵⁰ Rogers, J.A. (1972) “Darwinism and Social Darwinism”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.33, No.2, pp.273, 274

³⁵¹ Besides, according to Darwin, the Turks were the members of an inferior stock and were certainly not a member of the Caucasian race. A year before Darwin’s death, he wrote that natural selection did more for the progress of civilization: “Remember what risk the nations of Europe ran not so many centuries ago of being overwhelmed by the Turks, and how ridiculous such an idea now is! The more civilized so called Caucasian races have beaten the Turkish hollow in the struggle for existence. Looking to the world at no very distant date, what an endless number of the lower races will have been eliminated by the higher civilized races throughout the world”. Cited by Rogers, J.A. (1972) “Darwinism and Social Darwinism”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.33, No.2, p. 274

Survive (“Mübareze-i Hayat”), that is to say, the ever lasting fight between the living beings about the protection of the nature; 2) Generation of all other species from one species and the ability of all species for evolution; 3) Natural Selection (“İstifa-i Tabii”), search for perfection by males and females among their own species for mating and for the selection of the perfect mate”.³⁵² However, Abdullah Cevdet made an important mistake, and he used the definition corresponding to the “selection of species” (“İstifa-i cinsi”) for “natural selection” (“İstifa-i tabii”), although the kind of natural selection which he considers to be among the major reasons for evolution is the natural selection that takes place as a result of the fight for survival. That is an important clue as to the fact that he never learned about Darwin directly from the primary sources, but rather, he used the secondary sources written in French. Besides, in this short footnote by Abdullah Cevdet, he did not avoid criticizing Darwin. According to Abdullah Cevdet, Darwin ignored climate, which was one of the reasons for evolution and, failed to mention the effects of the soil, light, heat, water, nutrition, in short the environmental conditions. This, according to Abdullah Cevdet was a major deficiency on the side of Darwin.³⁵³ Also, despite the attribution of the discovery of the law of evolution to Darwin, and despite the fact that such laws are known as Darwinism, Abdullah Cevdet argued that this law was not discovered by Darwin, and that what he did was merely to systematize evolution within the framework of special experiments and observations.³⁵⁴ Abdullah Cevdet states that Büchner, one of his major sources of

³⁵² Abdullah Cevdet, dipnot; Büchner, L. (1311) *Goril*, (Translated by Abdullah Cevdet), Matbaa-i Vilayet, Mamuret-el Aziz, pp.36,37

³⁵³ Ibid, p.38

³⁵⁴ Ibid, p.39

aspiration, discussed the theory of evolution five years earlier than Darwin, and that he explained some foundational principles of evolution. Again, according to Abdullah Cevdet, natural selection was not a new concept but was even depicted in the following poem of poet Lucretius who died in B.C. 51 entitled “Reality of the Object”: “Those species of animals who survived until today did so due to their cleverness, power and speed; and the others were defeated and destroyed”.³⁵⁵ Abdullah Cevdet, however, concluded his thoughts about evolution as follows: “In the future, it will be understood that all living and non-living, political, literary, tangible and intangible things and changes are dependent on a law of nature and that this law is the great law of evolution”.³⁵⁶

Abdullah Cevdet, through indirect reference to Lamarck argues the fact that Darwin’s theory of evolution the evolution has been affected by the natural and social environment has not been mentioned is a defect of Darwin’s theory of evolution.³⁵⁷ According to Abdullah Cevdet, the acquired characteristics were passed on to the new generations within the context of evolution theory. Based on the idea that the acquired

³⁵⁵ Ibid, p.41; “Envâ-i hayvanattan elyevm mevcut olanlar ancak desiseleri, kuvvetleri, suratları sayesinde bekâ yapmışlardır; diğerleri mağlup ve helak olmuşlardır”.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.; “İleride uzvi ve gayr-i uzvi, siyasi, edebi, maddi ve manevi bütün efâl ve inkilabâtın bir kanun-u tabiiye merbutiyeti ümumen teslim olunacaktır ki, o kanun “tekâmül” kanun-u âzimidir”

³⁵⁷ Abdullah Cevdet is largely under the influence of Lamarck’s heredity theory in this article of his. He did not directly study the works of Lamarck, but learnt about the ideas of Lamarck via the book by Guyau entitled *Education et Hérité* [*Education and Heredity*]. Actually, in 1927, Abdullah Cevdet translated this book into Turkish. According to Guyau, absolute, yet non-religious social moral principles may be instilled on a certain race through education and this accumulation may be passed to the next generations through heredity.

characteristics and the properties of the parents are transferred to the new generations through heredity, Abdullah Cevdet tried to explain the failure of the Ottoman Sultans and particularly Abdülhamid, II on scientific grounds. In this context, Abdullah Cevdet suggests that the main reason of the decline of the Ottoman Empire was the fact that the sultans had offspring from ugly concubines and slaves, instead of noble women. According to Abdullah Cevdet, among the sultan's sons of the current Ottoman dynasty, "regardless of the ages, ranks, and relation with the government currently in power, there is not a single person with proper education and manners that would enable him to manage the affairs of his people when required and to protect the interests of the nation and the homeland. All of them are children born from the Circassian concubines and slaves, and breastfed by slaves, and raised by some desperate agha whose state need not be explained. Therefore, these persons we call the princes, in general, – fearlessly and desperately expressing on my own thoughts - are the children of the concubines".³⁵⁸ Abdullah Cevdet evidently points out that a sultan's son borne by a mother who is a slave or a concubine should not be considered a legitimate prince. Abdullah adds the following: "I do not discriminate against the concubines and slaves. What work against them is the tyranny of man and the ruthless rules of nature. What diminishes them is psychology, and the observation of the impartial laws of history. Those men and women

³⁵⁸ Abdullah Cevdet (1905) "Teselsül-i Saltanat Meselesi", *İctihad*, No.6, p.86, 87; "Sinleri, rütbeleri, sâhib-i hükm ü hükûmete karâbet-i nesliyeleri ne olursa olsun bu hânedân-ı Osmânî'nin -bugünkü- şehzadeleri içinde hiçbir fert yoktur ki ihtiyaç ve iktizâ-yı zamâna göre umûr-ı ibâdullahaya riyaset ederek, menâfi-i vatan ve milleti temin ve muhafaza edecek bir terbiye ve talim görmüş olsun. Bunların cümlesi Çerkes cariyelerden, esirelerden doğmuş, esire sütüyle beslenmiş, hâlleri müstağnî-i îzâh olan bedbaht harem ağalarının ellerinde büyümüşdür. Binâberîn şehzade dediğimiz bu zevat umumiyet itibarıyla -bilâ-havf u recâ ve sırf içtihadımıza istinaden söylüyoruz- evet umumiyet itibarıyla, onlar kenîzek-zâdedirler".

accustomed to slavery, lose the honor, and spiritual independence, as well as the combination of exalted habits stemming from the freedom and independence of the soul and the body. The scientific experiments conducted on animals prove this scientific fact. Regardless of the nobility and power of the father, the babies borne by the female animals used for the worst chores come into being without the hereditary advantage of their fathers' nobility and power. A sultan's son is born from a poor Circassian or a Georgian girl who sleeps with the sultan as a commodity. In contrast to a queen, these people carry no positive properties apart from physical beauty. Thus their offspring should not be considered a real prince. Do not look for honor, bravery or character in the soul of a baby born under such circumstances. They lack such qualities. If these words hurt the sultan's sons in Istanbul, they can be sure that these words have nothing to do with hatred or passion. The well-known and well-celebrated book by "Th. Ribot", one of the contemporary scholars, entitled (*Hérédité Psychologique*) [Psychology of Heredity] is full of examples about what I said above. The book by Guyau entitled (*Education et Hérédité*) [Education and Heredity] states that as suggested by the Natural Selection of Darwin, the child inherits the soul of the mother, rather than the intelligence and character of the father. Monsieur Lezur wrote two volumes of four-five hundred pages long books with plenty of pictures entitled (*Les grandes Epouses*) (*Great Spouses*), and (*Les Mères illustres*) (Famous Mothers).³⁵⁹ Thus, Abdullah Cevdet

³⁵⁹ Ibid, p.87; "Biz cariyeleri, köleleri tahkir etmiyoruz. Onları tahkir ve tezlil etmiş olan insanların zulmü, tabiatın zalim kavânînidir. Onları tahkir eden psikolocyadır. Tarihin müşâhedât-ı bî-arafânesidir. Me'lûf-ı esâret olan zükûr ve inâs tedricen izzet-i nefsinî, istiklal-i rûhîsini, hâsılı hürriyet ve istiklal-i rûh ve bedenden gelen kâffe-i hasâil-i mübeccelesini zayı eder. Hayvanat üzerinde yapılan tecrübelerde bu hakikat-i fenniyeyi müeyyedir. Hıdemât-ı süfliyyede kullanılan dişî hayvanattan doğan yavruların babaları ne kadar cins ve tüvana olursa olsun yine pederlerinin kuvvet ve safvet-i cinsiyesine vâris

linked the decline of the Ottoman Empire to racial corruption at the top of the dynasty and held the degenerated princes responsible for the breakup of the entire empire. Here, it is evident that, under the influence of the theory of evolution, Abdullah Cevdet approaches the social facts a framework of with biological reductionism. Therefore, Abdullah Cevdet approached the recipes he prepared for saving the empire under the light of such biological reductionism and looked for a solution using the biological properties of race. In his point of view, if the biologically superior “elite class” came into power in the empire, it would be possible to stop the downward trend and the problems would be overcome. What matters for Abdullah Cevdet for this point onwards is the question of how to discover and define the biological elite.

The evolutionary theory of Darwin is one step ahead in the eighteenth century idea that reduces man to a machine.³⁶⁰ Along with Darwin, the machine called the human being had been turned into a machine through successive development by his ancestors, and he shall further develop himself. The human being was brought down

olamayıarak doğuyorlar. Padişahın koynuna bir kraliçe, bir melike olarak değil hüsn-i cismânîsinden gayrı bir fazlı olmayan bir ticaret eşyası, bir zînet-i müteneffis gibi giren hâif ve lertzân bir bedbaht Çerkes veya Gürcü kızından doğan bir şehzade şehzade olamaz. Öyle bir mevlûdun rûhunda izzet-i nefis, raculiyet, mertlik, tab’-ı bülend aramayın. Bulunmaz. Eğer bu sözlerimiz İstanbul’daki şehzadeleri incitiyorsa onlar bilsinler ki bu hükümlerin ihtirâsât ve nefsâniyet ile hiçbir alakası yoktur. Zamanımızın berhayat hükemâsından “Th. Ribot”nun (*Hérédité Psychologique*) [Veraset Psikolojisi] unvanlı kitab-ı meşhûr ve mergûbu beyanatımızı müeyyed misaller ile mâlâmâldir. Güyo’nun [Guyau] (*Education et Hérédité*) [Eğitim ve Veraset] unvanlı kitabı, Darven (Darwin)’in (“İstifâ-yı Tabîi”)si hep ayânen gösterir ki evlat babanın tab’ ve istidadından ziyade ananın ahvâl-i rûhiyesine vâris olur. Mösyö “Lezur” her biri dört, beş yüz sahifelik musavver iki büyük cilt yazmıştır ki bunlardan birinin ismi (*Les grandes Epouses*) yani (*Büyük Zevceler*), diğêrinin ismi (*Les Mères illustres*) yani (*Meşhur Valideler*)dir.”.

³⁶⁰ De La Mettrie, J.O. (1980) *İnsan, Bir Makine*, Havass, İstanbul

from his holy position and was reduced to the status of an ordinary animal, as suggested by Darwin. Therefore, he had no more sacred duties to fulfill.³⁶¹ Such case caused a major re-interpretation of all moral values. The existing moral values were turned upside down by Nietzsche along with the idea of the struggle to survive. Nietzsche's thoughts in this regard were translated by the Ottoman materialists and were published in the Ottoman Empire. In the book published by Baha Tevfik and Ahmet Nebil under the name of *Nietzsche: His Life and Philosophy*, the authors argued that the existing European moral is the moral of slaves, according to the reinterpretation of values provided by social Darwinism.³⁶² According to the advocates of this view, traditional morality asserts that: "the goods ones are merely those individuals who are desperate, weak, poor and powerless. Only those individuals with a deep sorrow, misery, disease and those who are ugly are the beloved servants of God. In contrast, the nobles, the well-off, are ruthless and will always live a desperate and deprived life".³⁶³ According to Baha Tevfik and Ahmet Nebil "one of the greatest damages caused by religion (through pity) is the deterring of the natural law of selection. This enabled the number of those individuals with an ugly body and weak mentality to increase within the overall population. However, if these individuals were subject to natural circumstances and were not pitied, natural selection law would initiate struggle to survive and would eradicate these inferior individuals. Thus, humanity would be able to raise a beautiful and strong generation. This is the main reason for the victory of natural selection. The

³⁶¹ Claeys, G. (2000) "'The Survival of the Fittest' and the Origins of Social Darwinism", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.61, No.2, p.225

³⁶² Tevfik, B. & Nebil, A. (?) *Nietzsche: Hayati ve Felsefesi*, Gayret Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, p.100

³⁶³ Ibid, p.94, 95

weak, the ill are being protected; while a healthy and good person who is successful in every way remains an exception. Most of the individuals of the superior animal species are born with defects and weaknesses. It is so natural that humanity is no exception to such rule. By opposing the law of selection, the religion of pity gives rise to increase in the pains of man, and, as a consequence, further increases deprivation and renders life unbearable for individuals deteriorate the beauty of nature and gives rise to formation of nihilism.”³⁶⁴

According to what was written by Baha Tevfik and Ahmet Nebil, “One of the most dramatic signs of the collapse of humanity is the victory of democracy in Europe. There is no difference between democracy and the religion of pity. In Christianity, like the humane religion of suffering, the fundamental characteristics of the weak are their tendency toward a life freed from hatred for the well-off and suffering in terms of principle of equality.”³⁶⁵ In sort, according to Nietzsche, Europe gets worse and worse, the people start to live average lives based on the principle of equality and a hopeless, dark and aimless life is pursued on the face of the earth.³⁶⁶ According to Nietzsche, the only cure for such calamity of the humans is the rise of the superhuman. The superhuman is described as the person “who rejects the existing values, and adopts the values suggested by the nobles and dominant members of the society.”³⁶⁷ In short, “Europe is managed with the idea of the equality among the humans, while Nietzsche promotes the idea of natural inequality and desires formation of a noble class with

³⁶⁴ Ibid, p.103

³⁶⁵ Ibid, p.105

³⁶⁶ Ibid, p.107

³⁶⁷ Ibid, p.110

certain privileges and with the task of taking over the government”³⁶⁸. Thus, according to Baha Tevfik and Ahmet Nebil’s interpretation of Nietzsche, a government/rule formed by the elite class is the one and only way to save the world from the potential disasters it was likely to face.

Being one of the sources feeding the Ottoman materialist tradition, Nietzsche’s ideas were similar to what was suggested by Abdullah Cevdet. Although he did not cite Nietzsche among his references, it is evident that Abdullah Cevdet was deeply influenced by the thinker whose works were translated into Turkish during his time. Abdullah Cevdet, especially by citing the social Darwinist thinker Gustave Le Bon, argued that people were not equal for biological reasons determined through their birth. For him, the “idea of equality” developed in Western countries led to many clashes and wars. This was the wrong solution put forward by philosophers who had no knowledge about the rules of evolution.³⁶⁹ Abdullah Cevdet argues that the new science of psychology requires a different system of education for each and every society and class and finds the idea of democracy wrong.³⁷⁰ For him the inequalities created by nature cannot be eliminated by different forms of collective rulings. People must live the bitter results of inequality, should accept this situation and should develop a system based upon this fact.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ Ibid, p.111, 112

³⁶⁹ Abdullah Cevdet (1905) “Tekamül-ü Akvamın Kavanin-i Piskolociyaiyesi” *İçtihad*, No.2, 2 Kanun-i Sani, p.4

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Abdullah Cevdet (1905) “Doktor Gustave Le Bon”, *İçtihad*, No. 8, Temmuz, pp.118–120

For Abdullah Cevdet the major biological characteristics which led to inequality among people were racial differences. Abdullah Cevdet divides races into four; the top level, which is the fourth level, is composed of Indians and Europeans; in the second level there are the Chinese and Japanese, and the third level includes the Mongolian and Arab peoples. Abdullah Cevdet called these second and third levels: “uruk-u mutavassıta” (“middle races”). According to Abdullah Cevdet the only ones who can progress in arts and sciences were the fourth level races argues that civilization was developed solely by them.³⁷² Although he makes such a hierarchical classification among the races, Abdullah Cevdet does not express any ideas about the race category of the Turks or the Kurds although he signed some of the articles he wrote in the newspapers with the penname: “a Kurd” (“bir Kürt”).

According to Abdullah Cevdet, “superior races are distinguished from the inferior races in terms of their intelligence and character. However, the superior races are distinguished from one another only in terms of their character. The character for him, comprises a combination of elements that the psychologists call sentiment today. The most important ones among such feelings include patience, energy of self control determination, and some attributes derived from will power”.³⁷³ For Abdullah Cevdet, “since morality is the offspring of character, and not the intelligence, it is not passed on to the next generations through heredity and does not become continuous unless

³⁷² Abdullah Cevdet (1907) “Ruh-ul Akvam”, *İçtihad*, Sayı 4, Eylül, pp.269–271

³⁷³ Ibid, p.272; “üstün ırklar, geri ırklardan hem zekâları, hem seciyeleriyle (karakter) ayrılırlar. Fakat üstün ırklar birbirlerinden seciyeleri ile ayrılırlar. Seciye, bugün psikologların hissiyat (sentiment) adını verdikleri unsurların farklı oranlarda biraraya gelmesiyle oluşur. Bu hislerin en önemlileri sebat, azim, enerji, nefsi control etme gücü ve iradeden türemiş olan bazı melekelerdir”.

included in the subconscious”.³⁷⁴ Therefore, the moral values vary across societies. However, the moral is fixed in a given time and given society. In general, the enthusiasm and greatness of the tribes are subject to their moral levels. However intelligence may change to a limited extent with the input of morality. The nature of character can not be changed with education and manners. What the intelligence discovers may be transferred from one nation to another. The quality of the character may not be inherited. What distinguishes the superior nations from one another is the quality of character. That is to say, the products of the mind are the property of entire humanity. “What determines the evolution of a tribe and regulates its scale throughout history is its character, not its intelligence. Owing to their character, the British reign the largest and most daring colonies ever seen in history. Communities and sects are not built on intelligence but on character”.³⁷⁵

For Abdullah Cevdet although the “uruk-u sefile” (lower races) were composed of black people, and occupied a lower level in the evolutionarily ladder, they had the same sense of rationality and the equality put forward by the sociologists was valid for these people. But the rational capacity among the people and characteristics of superior races are totally different from each other and this difference increases as the civilization level develops.³⁷⁶ For example no education can give a Japanese or a Black

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; “ahlak zekanın değil, seciyenin evladı olduğundan verasetle bir sonraki nesle aktarılmaktadır ve şuur altına yerleşmedikçe süreklilik gösterememektedir”

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.273; “Bir kavmin tarihte tekâmülünü tayin ve miktarını tanzim eden zekası değil seciyesidir. Seciyeleri sayesinde ki, İngilizler, tarihin kayıt edebildiği en fesih ve cesur müstemlekatın res-i hakimiyetinde bulunuyorlar. Cemiyetler, mezhepler zeka üzerine değil seciye üzerine bina olunur”.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.275,276

person the way of thinking, especially the rational character of Westerners due to the fact that these features can be only transferred by heritage. Therefore Black people and Japanese can not acquire the characteristics of an ordinary Western person.³⁷⁷ For this reason it is required to give up the dream of equality.

Abdullah Cevdet bases inequality, which he believes exists between the humans and the races, upon a biological basis. According to him, the foremost biological property that causes this inequality is the difference between the skulls.

The Biological Elitism of Abdullah Cevdet: Cranial Racism

For Abdullah Cevdet the reason to definition of the people as superior or secondary was due to their racial characteristics brought through their ascendants. He argued that these attributes were very hard to change.³⁷⁸ According to Abdullah Cevdet the biological characteristic which makes a race superior to another was the size of the cranium.³⁷⁹ By stating that “the big skulls contain big brains, thus, it can be said that the big skulls belong to those persons with intelligence above the average”³⁸⁰ Abdullah

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.274

³⁷⁸ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Vezn-i Dimağ: Muktebesat-ı Fenniyemden”, *Maarif*, No.49, 4 Haziran, p.358

³⁷⁹ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Hıfzıssıhat ve Fizyolocıya-i Dimağ, Seçme Kıhflar”, *Musavver Cihan*, No.37, 9 Mayıs, p.290

³⁸⁰ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Hıfz-ı Sıhhat ve Fizyolocıya-yı Dimâğ yahut Fennî Terbiye-i Etfâle Mukaddime'den Seçme Kıhflar” *Musavver Cihan*, No.37, 9 May, p.290; “büyük kıhflar büyük dimağı havi bulunurlar; yani büyük kıhflar, hemen daima fevka'l-vasat zeki olanlarıdır denilebilir”.

Cevdet builds a correlation between the size of the skull (and the size of the brain) and the level of intelligence. According to him, such correlation exists in all types of living beings. The hierarchy between the animal species confirms such formula. Since the human beings carry the largest brain in proportion to the body, the humans stand at the highest level among the animals. Abdullah Cevdet expresses such ideas in another work with the following sentences: “Today, it is generally accepted that the brain is an organ related to intelligence, memory and will in all thinking animals, including the humans. In this context, constant observations show that the size of the brain is in line with the degree of perfection in a certain race or animal”.³⁸¹ Abdullah Cevdet explains the correlation he built between the size of the skull and the intelligence level in the following observations: “Examining the skull and size of the brain in various animal species indicates the correlation between the size of the skull and the level of intelligence. Given the overall point of view, the skull volume (*Capacité cranienne*) of the animals such as fish, reptiles such as snakes, lizards, and crocodiles is lower relative to the weight of their body; and their intelligence is relatively low. Among the mammals, the rodents such as rabbits have small brains, thus, lower intelligence levels. By contrast, mice have large brains compared to the weight of their bodies. The volume of the skull in the birds, particularly among certain species, is big. The *ruminant* animals have small brains. The sheep, ox and camel (*Dromadaire*) are good examples of group. Carnivorous animals such as fox, wolf and dog have large brains. The apes,

³⁸¹ Abdullah Cevdet (1307) “Hafıza, Sıhhat-ı Fیزیolojiya-i Dimağ yahut Fenn-i Terbiye-i Etfale Mukaddemededen Dimağ-ı Kıhf” *Musavver Cihan*, No.33, 8 Nisan, p.258; “Bugün dimağın, bütün hayvanât-ı fikriyyede mamafih insanda zekâyaya, hafızaya, iradeye mahsus bir uzuv olduğu umumen kabul olunmuştur. Bundan maada müşâhedât-ı dâime ile taayyün etmiştir ki –gerek bir ırkta, gerek bir ferd-i hayvânîde, dimağın derece-i neşv ü nema ve mükemmeliyeti paraleldir”.

and particularly the species called *Anthropoïde* which look like human beings have extremely large cranial capacity. Among the brains reviewed in an ascending order, the human brain is at the top in terms of its relative size”.³⁸²

After Abdullah Cevdet places the human beings at the top of the animal kingdom in terms of the size of the skull, he turns to the difference of skull size among men. According to Abdullah Cevdet, the intelligence of the man develops in line with the development of the brain. Based on a study by Peacock, Abdullah Cevdet argues that the human brain continually grows from the age of one up to the age of twenty five, and between the ages of twenty five and fifty, the brain remains constant and starts diminishing after fifty years of age.³⁸³ If you pay attention, he claims you will see that the heads of the elderly do not look like the heads of the young.³⁸⁴ Therefore, the elderly and the children are categorized as mentally inferior groups in comparison to grown-

³⁸² Ibid, p.259; “Kıhf ve dimağın muhtelif nev-i hayvânîde, derece-i neşv ü nemâsını muayene edivermek, neşv ü nemâ-yı kıhf ile neşv ü nemâ-yı zekâ arasında mevcut olan münasebetin tahakkukuna kifayet eder. Bir sûret-i umûmiyede balıklar, hayvânât-ı zâhife [yılan gibi] ve hayvânât-ı zabâbiye [kertenkele, timsah gibi]nin (mikdâr-ı istîâb-ı kıhfı *Capacité cranienne* sıklet-i bedeniyelerine nispetle pek azdır; zekâları da o nispettedir. Zâtü’s-sedâyâ yani memeli hayvanlar miyanında, tavşan ve ada tavşanı gibi kâzım, yani kemirici hayvanların dimağları küçük, zekâları azdır. Bilakis fareler, fındık fareleri, sıklet-i bedeniyelerine nispeten büyük dimağa maliktirler. Kuşların, alelhusus bazı nevilerinin mikdâr-ı istîâb-ı kıhfileri ziyadecedir. Mücterre *Ruminant* yani geviş getirici hayvanların hemen cümlesinin dimağları az hacimlidir. Koyun, öküz, hecin *Dromadaire* bunlara misaldir. Tilki, kurt, köpek gibi et yiyici (âkilü’l-luhûm *Carnassier*) bazı hayvanların dimağları pek ziyade büyüktür. Maymunların ve bâhusus şebihü’l-beşer *Anthropoïde* denilen nevilerinin dimağları derece-i âliyededir. Aşağıdan yukarı müteakiben gözden geçirilen dimağlar miyanında azametçe en bâlâda bulunan insanın dimağıdır”.

³⁸³ İbn Ömer [Abdullah] Cevdet (1308) *Dimağ: Dimağ ve Ruh Arasındaki Münasebat-ı Fenniyyeyi Tedkik*, İstepan Matbaası, İstanbul, pp.13,14

³⁸⁴ Abdullah Cevdet (1312) *Fizyolociya ve Hıfz-ı Sıhhat-i Dimağ ve Melekât-ı Akliye*, Mahmut Bey Matbaası, Dersaadet, p.56,57

ups.³⁸⁵ Until the frontal lobe section of the children’s brains start developing, intelligence does not appear. After the expansion of the forehead, the skull starts steadily expanding on both sides. From that moment onwards, the child enters an era of intelligence and this era continues in direct correlation with the change in the skull size over the years.³⁸⁶ When brain functions start to deteriorate in the elderly, the physical movements are observed to slow down while the hands start shaking, and hardships in walking are observed.³⁸⁷

Moreover, the difference in brain size is not only observed in the elderly, the children and the adults. The adults also differ in terms of skull size. Based on his studies, Abdullah Cevdet concluded that, in order not to classify an adult person as an idiot, his cranium should not be lower than pus 16; “the humans with a cranium size lower than 16 pus are considered idiots. The unnatural small size of the brain is a sign of idiotism.”³⁸⁸ According to this fact, a race in which the 75 percent of the population have bigger crania is certainly superior to a race in which 10 percent of people have superior crania.³⁸⁹ Again, in another article Abdullah Cevdet, repeats the same thoughts

³⁸⁵ İbn Ömer [Abdullah] Cevdet (1308) *Dimağ: Dimağ ve Ruh Arasındaki Münasebat-ı Fenniyyeyi Tedkik*, İstapan Matbaası, İstanbul, p.14

³⁸⁶ Abdullah Cevdet (1333) *Dimağ ve Melâkât-i Akliyenin Fizyolocya ve Hıfzıs Sıhhası*, Matbaa-i Amire, İstanbul, p.53

³⁸⁷ Abdullah Cevdet (1312) *Fizyolociya ve Hıfz-ı Sıhhat-i Dimağ ve Melekât-ı Akliye*, Mahmut Bey Matbaası, Dersaadet, p.64,65

³⁸⁸ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Başın Büyüklüğü: Muktebesat-ı Fenniymden” *Maarif*, No.47, 21 Mayıs pp.323–325; İbn Ömer [Abdullah] Cevdet (1308) *Dimağ: Dimağ ve Ruh Arasındaki Münasebat-ı Fenniyyeyi Tedkik*, İstapan Matbaası, İstanbul, pp.17–18; “kafatası muhiti 16 pus olmayan adamlar ahmak olurlar, dimağın gayr-i tabii bir derecede küçüklüğü nişâne-i eblehiyettir”.

³⁸⁹ Abdullah Cevdet (1312) *Fizyolociya ve Hıfz-ı Sıhhat-i Dimağ ve Melekât-ı Akliye*, Mahmut Bey Matbaası, Dersaadet, p.20

by giving different proportions. Accordingly, “a race composed of individuals with large skulls by ten percent, despite the low overall level of the large skulls, is likely to be superior to a race composed of individuals with large skull by two-four percent with overall high level of skull size”.³⁹⁰ Abdullah Cevdet takes the proof for this argument from the theory of evolution that swept the nineteenth century. In the evolution process of all species, including the human he underlines that all the size of the cranium develops with the increase in rational and intellectual capacity. Therefore, the craniums of the civilized nations are bigger than primitive nations and they keep growing. According to Abdullah Cevdet, “it was concluded that the fossil skulls found in ancient graves were smaller than our skulls in terms of size. Based on such finding, the volume of the skulls that belong to the race called *Canstadt*, belonging to the Arab race was extremely low. The skull size of the said race is smaller that that of the Hotantu, and the Australians considered to be the most miserable races from the modern perspective. It is confirmed that the skull size of the civilized nations increase more and more over the years.”³⁹¹ Arguing that in the course of evolution the skull of the human beings get

³⁹⁰ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Hıfz-ı Sıhhat ve Fizyolocya-yı Dimâğ yahut Fennî Terbiye-i Etfâle Mukaddime'den Seçme Kihflar” *Musavver Cihan*, No.37, 9 May, p.290; “Yüzde on büyük kihfa malik efradı olan bir ırkın, umumi istîâb-ı kihfleri az olsa bile mikdâr-ı istîâb-ı kihfi-i umûmîleri ziyade ve fakat içlerinde ancak yüzde iki, dört büyük kihfli efradı mevcut olan ırka tefevvuk edeceği kaviiyen meczumdur”.

³⁹¹ Abdullah Cevdet (1307) “Hafıza, Sıhhat-ı Fizyolociya-i Dimağ yahut Fenn-i Terbiye-i Etfale Mukaddemeden Dimağ-ı Kihf” *Musavver Cihan*, No.33, 8 Nisan, p.259; “Gayet kadîm mezarlarda, müstehâse yani tahaccür etmiş olarak bulunan kihfların, derece-i kîdemine göre bizim kihflarımızdan, küçük olduğu mertebe-i sübuta varmıştır. Bu vechile bulunmuştur ki: Arap urûk-ı beşeriyesinden olup Kanstad *Canstadt* denilen ve ihtimalen en kadîm olan ırkın mikdar-ı istîâb-ı kihfları pek azdır. Hatta ırk-ı mebhûsun mikdâr-ı istîâbı kihfları bugün urûk-ı beşeriye-i hâzırının bu nokta-i nazardan bir mertebe-i

larger, Abdullah Cevdet provides proof by indicating a study conducted by Broca who collected skulls from the graveyards in Paris. In this study, Broca classifies “the millions of skulls” he collected in terms of their age.³⁹² Abdullah Cevdet notes down the conclusion of the study as follows: “according to the measurements made by on such skulls Monsieur *Broca* and at all., the skulls of the inhabitants of Paris grew larger and larger over the centuries. The volume of the skulls extracted from the graves of the humans buried in the thirteenth century and in the era of Philip August was 1.406 cubic centimeters, while the volume of those collected from the beginning of the fourteenth century from the cemetery of Oest was 1.461 cubic centimeters”.³⁹³ According to Abdullah Cevdet, “this result is not peculiar to the dwellers of Paris, and may apply for all civilized nations”.³⁹⁴ Abdullah Cevdet enriches his claim by using a chart he says he took from Le Bon. On this chart, the caption as follows: “some scientific observations solidify and prove the relation which is believed to exist between the efforts of the brain of a nation and the size of the skull: “A human race accelerates in the evolution any

esfelini işgal eden Hotantu ve Avustralyalılarınkinden aşağı görülmektedir. Akvâm-ı mütemeddinede mikdâr-ı istîâb ve hacm-i kîhfinin asırdan asıra tezâyüd ettiği katiyen anlaşılmaktadır”.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid.; “Mösyö Broca *Broca* vesair ilm-i beşer mütebahhirlerinin bu kîhflar üzerinde icra ettikleri mesahalara nazaran Parislilerin kîhfları asırdan asıra hiss olunur derecede büyümüştür. On üçüncü asırda ve Filip Ogüst zamanında defnedilmiş adamların mezarlarından çıkarılan kîhfların mikdâr-ı istîâbı 1.406 santimetre mik’abı bulunduğu hâlde on dördüncü asır bidayetinde Oest mezarlığında toplanılan kîhfların mikdâr-ı istîâbı 1.461 santimetre mik’abı bulunmuştur”.

³⁹⁴ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Hıfz-ı Sıhhat ve Fizyolociya-i Dimağ, Kîhf”, *Musavver Cihan*, Sayı 35, 22 Nisan, pp.274; “Bu netâyic-i müstahsalanın, yalnız Parislilere muhtass olmayıp, bilcümle ümem-i mütemeddineye de tatbik olunabileceği tabiidir”.

process to the extent that it becomes civilized this race breeds many individuals with large skulls and probably with intelligence levels above the average”.³⁹⁵

In this chart he presents by saying “This table which clearly solves the issue was prepared by comparing the skulls of several nations with similar volumes in terms of number and level”. Here Abdullah Cevdet tabulates the percentage of the skull measurements of the various nations.³⁹⁶ According to this list, Ancient Egyptians and Ancient Parisians seem to have larger skulls compared to other nations. However, it is not evident to which century the Parisian classification belongs. Besides, since we encounter larger skulls in comparison to that of the Parisians of the twelfth century, and if we recall that Abdullah Cevdet believes that the skulls of the newer generations got larger through evolution, we can assume that these Parisians must have lived after the twelfth century.

³⁹⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Hıfz-ı Sıhhat ve Fizyolocya-yı Dimâğ yahut Fennî Terbiye-i Etfâle Mukaddime’den Seçme Kihflar” *Musavver Cihan*, No.37, 9 May, p.290; “bazı müşahedât-ı fenniye bir kavmin gûşîş-i dimâğîsinin şiddetiyle, kihfının büyüklüğü arasında mevcudiyeti iddia olunan münasebeti tahkîm ve ispat etmektedir: Bir ırk-ı beşer, temeddün ve taallüm ettiği nispette tekâmül (evolosyon)ce ileri gitmiş bulunduğu gibi, miyanelerinde ziyade neşvünema bulmuş kihfa, ve her hâlde fevka’l-vasat zekâya mâlik efrâd çok bulunur”

³⁹⁶ Ibid.; “Meseleyi pek vazîh surette halleden bu cetvel, urûk-ı muhtelifenin aynı mîkdâr-ı istîâba malik kihflarının adet ve mertebeleri birbirine kıyas olunarak tanzim olunmuştur”

<i>Avustralians</i>	<i>Negros</i>	<i>Ancient Egyptians</i>	<i>12th Century Parisians</i>	<i>Old Parisians</i>	<i>Skull Volume</i>
45,0	7,4	0,0	0,0	0,0	1200:1300 cm
25,0	35,2	12,1	7,5	10,4	1300:1400 cm
20,0	33,4	32,5	37,3	14,3	1400:1500 cm
10,0	14,7	36,4	29,8	46,7	1500:1600 cm
0,0	9,3	9,0	20,9	16,9	1600:1700 cm
0,0	0,0	0,0	4,5	6,5	1700:1800 cm
0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	5,2	1800:1900 cm
100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100	

Thus, by classifying the mental skills of the entire kingdom of animals according to their skulls and placing the humans at the top of such list, Abdullah Cevdet argues that the difference between the humans and the remainder of the animal kingdom pertains to the size of skull, thus, the size of the brain. The second observation made by

Abdullah Cevdet is the fact that the skull of the human beings got larger and larger over several centuries and, in this regard, that the skull moved toward perfection through an evolution any process. Abdullah Cevdet is third point was that he classifies superior and inferior races living in the same period by using the size of the skull. Particularly this last point epitomizes his racist train of thought and following such determination, Abdullah Cevdet can be considered a total racist. We have seen that Abdullah Cevdet classified the human beings under four different race groups. But although he makes a classification based on an extremely racist perspective, he defines the races according to characteristics acquired by heredity, not through the size of skulls as seen in the example above. However, as we will touch upon below, with a more distinct racist separation this time, Abdullah Cevdet will classify the human beings under different race categories in terms of size of the skull with a tangible, physical separation that can be seen from the outlook and shall indicate an evident difference of superiority-inferiority.

Before making such separation, Abdullah Cevdet lists his assumptions which he repeated in several previous occasions. According to him, “it is evident that the increase in a nation’s skull in terms of size and volume emerges with the level of education, training, moral escalation and maturity of intelligence. The skulls of the superior ones among the current races are larger than that of the inferior races in general”.³⁹⁷ Then, he

³⁹⁷ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Hıfz-ı Sıhhat ve Fizyolociya-i Dimağ, Kıhf”, *Musavver Cihan*, Sayı 35, 22 Nisan, pp.274; “katiyen tahakkuk etmektedir ki, her millette, gerek hacmen, gerek mikdâr-ı istîabca kafatasının derece-i tezayüdü talimin, terbiyenin, taâlî-i ahlâk ve zekânın derece-i kemâliyle mütenasiptir.

reiterates the third point he made about the skull size. Accordingly, “The skull of a European from a common social class is larger than that of an Australian or an African. The skull volume of the races classified as white or Caucasian reaches 1,450 cubic centimeters or higher. The volume of the skull in the Africans is 1,371 cubic centimeters. The volume of the skulls of the Australians is only 1,347 cubic centimeters. The skull volume of the people called *Pariah* in India is 1,332 cubic centimeters on average. According to these figures, it is seen that there’s a difference of 130-150 cubic centimeters in skull volume the brain volume and there a difference of 210 cubic centimeters between the superior and inferior race. This difference in the volume of the skull indicates that the functions or activities of the brain effect the increase in its size”.³⁹⁸ Having reminded that the size of the skull is a sign of the level of intelligence and making a numerical classification among human races based on the skull size, Abdullah Cevdet places the Europeans at the top of the racial hierarchy. The Europeans are followed by the Africans, Australians and Indians. So, the Europeans who carry all mental skills are inevitably superior to the other nations. Therefore, we can draw the

Ümem-i hâzıra miyanında urûk-ı âliyenin kafatasları, urûk-ı sâfileninkinden -umumiyet itibarıyla- daha ziyade neşvünema bulmuştur”.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.; “Âdi yani mutavassıt bir sınıf halktan bir Avrupalının kafatası bir Avusturalyalının ve Afrika zenci vahşîsininkinden daha ziyade hacimlidir. Beyaz yahut Kafkas sıfatına tefrikan yâd olunan ırklarda derece-i istîâb-ı kıhfî 1,450 santimetre mik’abına ve daha ziyade bir miktara dahi balığ oluyor. Mikdâr-ı istîâb-ı kıhfî Afrika zencilerinde vasatıyen 1,371 santimetre mik’abıdır. Avustralyalıların mikdâr-ı istîâb-ı kıhfîleri ancak 1,347 santimetre mik’abına balığ olur. Hint’te (Parya *Paria*) denilen ve orada pek ziyade ednâ ve mahkûr add ü telakki olunan bir cins halkın mikdâr-ı istîâb-ı kıhfîleri vasatî olarak 1,332 santimetre mik’abını geçmez. Bu mesâhâta göre istîâb-ı kıhfîlerin makadîri beyninde 130,150 santimetre mik’abı ve urûk-ı âliye ile urûk-ı sâfileninkiler arasında 210 santimetre mik’abı kadar bir fark olduğu istidrâk olunuyor. Makadîr-i istîâb-ı kıhfî arasındaki bu tahallûf irâe eder ki dimağın faaliyet veya hâdimiyeti kendi hacmini mazhar-ı neşv ü nemâ ediyor”.

following conclusion: having pointed out that the elite should be the administrators; Abdullah Cevdet thinks that the White Caucasian race should be the leader of the world due to its superior mental skills and due to the size of its skull. In this regard, Abdullah Cevdet places the Europeans from the Whites Caucasian races at the top of the civilization scale. According to him, the only way to save the Ottoman Empire was to take Europe as a role model. For Abdullah Cevdet, “Europe is an escalation”.³⁹⁹ According to him, “Europe is our teacher. Communication with Europe serves science, and induces material and mental advancement. Our role is to become a hard-working student of Europe”.⁴⁰⁰ For Abdullah Cevdet, “there is no other civilization but that of Europe. We are obliged to emulate this model, with all the pleasures and hardships this process involves.”⁴⁰¹

For Abdullah Cevdet, the prescription of saving the Ottoman Empire was imitating the Europeans, the most superior race. Given that the Europeans had the most superior physiological skills of thinking and inventing, then, the Ottoman Empire had to follow this superior race which had reached this highest level of intelligence. Thus, unlike many Ottoman intellectuals, Abdullah Cevdet did not consider the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire merely as the application of the European

³⁹⁹ Abdullah Cevdet (1329) “Şime-i Muhabbet”, *İctihad*, No.89, 16 Kanun-i Sani, p.1980; “Avrupa bir tefevvuktur”.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, p.1981; “Avrupa bizim hocamızdır. Avrupa’ya muhabbet etmek ilm-ü terakkiye, maddi ve manevi kuvvete muhabbet etmektir. Avrupa’nın çalışkan ve şükürgüzâr bir şakirdi olmak. İşte bizim rolümüz”.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, p.1984; “İkinci bir medeniyet yoktur. Medeniyet Avrupa medeniyetidir. Bunu gülüyle dikeniyile isticnas etmeye mecburuz”.

techniques. He argued that such an adaptation had to be implemented in cultural terms as well. In line with such way of thinking, Abdullah Cevdet published a “Guide of Social Conduct” in order to present the ideas about European social conduct in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁰² According to him, “what expelled the Ottomans from Europe was not the Bulgarians who were once the province of the empire! What expelled us from Europe is our Asian mentality, our degenerate traditions and organization”.⁴⁰³ In short, the traditional features of the Ottoman society did not carry the capacity of evolution, according to Abdullah Cevdet. Therefore, since the Ottomans did not even have the chance of using these traditional elements as an instrument, they should be replaced wholesale by the European traditions which complied to the requirements of the modern era.⁴⁰⁴

After Abdullah Cevdet made a racial hierarchical separation between the human groups who lived at the same time but came from different races in terms of skull size , he made a fourth point based on the same criterion and, this time, argued that the same race contains different skull sizes according to the social classes. Such a claim indicates that Abdullah Cevdet believed that classification within the same race should be done, again according to skull size.⁴⁰⁵ Abdullah Cevdet derived his ideas on this issue from

⁴⁰² Abdullah Cevdet (1927) *Mükemmel ve Resimli Âdâb-ı Muaşeret Rehberi*, Yeni Matbaa, İstanbul

⁴⁰³ Abdullah Cevdet (1330) “İnkılâp Şehrâyini”, *İşhad*, No.114, 10 Temmuz, p.258; “[Osmanlıları] Avrupa’dan çıkararak bizim dünkü iki vilâyet ahalimiz Bulgarlar mı idi? Heyhat! Bizi Avrupa’dan çıkararak bizim Asyâi kafamızdı. Bizim mütereddid anelerimiz, bizim mütereddi tesisatımızdı, teşkilâtımızdı”.

⁴⁰⁴ Hanioglu, M.Ş. (1981), p.361

⁴⁰⁵ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Hıfz-ı Sıhhat ve Fizyolocıya-i Dimağ, Kıhf”, *Musavver Cihan*, No.35, 22 Nisan, pp.274,275

different European writers and French researchers. Abdullah Cevdet writes for example in France, according to a study done by Le Bon on villagers, writes Abdullah Cevdet, the cranium of the villagers was bigger than those of the servants in Paris.⁴⁰⁶ Again, according to Abdullah Cevdet a study conducted by Broca revealed that the skull sizes of the humans from different classes seemed to be different. “According to the skull measurements made by Paul Broca, the well-known anthropologist, who collected skulls from the graves of the well-off and the poor of the twelfth century, the skull volume of those who had a life of prosperity was 1,425 cubic meters while the skull size of the others was 1,409 cubic centimeters. In the fourteenth century, the skull volume of the persons who were buried in proper, well-kept-for and special graves was 1,494 cubic meters, while the skull volume of the poor individuals was 1,403. Thus, it was revealed that the skull volume of the educated individuals was 80 cubic centimeters bigger than that of those individuals who did not get a proper education. Paul Broca had also proved that those engaging in scientific activities who keep their brains fit have larger skulls compared to the skulls of those individuals who are engaged in ordinary jobs”.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Başın Büyüklüğü”, *Maarif*, Vol.2, No.47, 21 Mayıs, pp.323–325

⁴⁰⁷ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Hıfz-ı Sıhhat ve Fizyolojiya-i Dimağ, Kıhf”, *Musavver Cihan*, Sayı 35, 22 Nisan, pp.274; “Antropolocya-şinâs-ı meşhûr Pol Broka’nın, 12. asırda hâli vakti iyi olanların mezarlarıyla sınıf-ı sâfil efradına mahsus mağaralar (katakomp)dan toplayarak icra ettiği mesâhât-ı kıhfiyede, refahla ömrgüzâr olanların mikdâr-ı istîâb-ı kıhfisini 1,425 santimetre mik’abı, diğerlerinin ise 1,409 santimetre mik’abı bulmuştur. On dördüncü asırda hususi, muntazam, müzeyyen mezarlara defnedilmiş olanlarda mikdâr-ı istîâb-ı kıhfî 1,494 ve efrâd-ı sâfilede ise 1,403 santimetre mik’abı bulunmuştur. Bu hâlde terbiye görmüş efradın mikdâr-ı istîâb-ı kıhfisinin, mahrum-ı ilm ü terbiye olanlarınkinden 80 santimetre mik’abı ziyade olduğu tahakkuk ediyor. Şimdi dahi bir meslek-i ilmîye intisap ile dimağını idmandan bulunduranların kıhflarının, meşguliyet-i âdiye ile imrâr-ı hayât edenlerinkinden -mikdâr-ı istîâbca- daha büyük olduğunu yine Pol Broka ispat etmiştir”.

Abdullah Cevdet attributes great value to the phenomenon of racist inheritance. However according to him, with the help of education, it is possible to increase the size of the cranium though on limited scale. The most important sample for him was an observation by Darwin. According to the mentioned observation, a person who started his education late but studied very hard was able to enlarge his cranium for a few centimeters in a few years.⁴⁰⁸ Abdullah Cevdet states that this was also the case between men and women. Based on the thoughts of Peacock, he tells that the brain of women is lighter than that of men and that the male brain was fifty ounces while the female brain was 44 ounces.⁴⁰⁹ Besides, according to Abdullah Cevdet, although the women were underdeveloped in terms of intelligence and perception due to their small skull size, such inferiority could be overcome by growing the skulls of the women through education; thus the women reach the level of men.⁴¹⁰ Abdullah Cevdet illustrates this case by saying that the skulls of the girls studying at a school of medicine in Petersburg had grown larger than that girls who did not study at the university.⁴¹¹

These views led Abdullah Cevdet to conclude that it was necessary for the elite to control the government in order to maintain the progress and development of the community. According to Abdullah Cevdet, in order for a community to improve and to be civilized, it was enough that a group existed whose cranium size was bigger than the

⁴⁰⁸ Abdullah Cevdet (1312) *Fizyolociya ve Hıfz-ı Sıhha-i Dimağ ve Melekat-ı Akliye*, Mahmut Bey Matbaası, İstanbul, p.43

⁴⁰⁹ İbn Ömer [Abdullah] Cevdet (1308) *Dimağ: Dimağ ve Ruh Arasındaki Münasebat-ı Fenniyyeyi Tedkik*, İstepan Matbaası, İstanbul, p.16

⁴¹⁰ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Başın Büyüklüğü”, *Maarif*, Vol. 2, No. 47, 21 Mayıs, p.324

⁴¹¹ Abdullah Cevdet (1308) “Vezn-i Dimaği”, *Maarif*, Vol. 2, No. 49, 3 Haziran, pp.358

average. For him, the human individual may be improved by expanding the skull capacity through education. However, if a given society focuses on the elite who are born with superior hereditary features, and educates such biologically superior individuals, the skulls of these elites will grow even further and their skills will increase in line with the capacity of the skull. Also the superiority of the communities is determined by the size of the craniums. Abdullah Cevdet claims that: “the existence of several persons with a skull size above average in a community is the most natural and correct way for such community to become advanced and civilized.”⁴¹² Therefore communal development can be achieved not by the people who are superior in terms of their assets and wealth, but by the efforts of the people who are superior in terms of their intellect and intelligence. The development of the nation can be achieved not by the development of entire population but through the effort of a few geniuses.⁴¹³

⁴¹² Abdullah Cevdet (1312) *Fizyolociya ve Hıfz-ı Sıhha-i Dimağ ve Melekat-ı Akliye*, Mahmut Bey Matbaası, İstanbul, pp.22, 23; “bir ahali içinde savati miktarın fevkinde bir miktar-ı istiab-ı kâhfiyeye malik birçok efradın bulunması, o ahalinin terakkیات ve temeddünce itlâsını temin eden hususât-ı tabiiye ve şeriat-i müsâidedendir”.

⁴¹³ Abdullah Cevdet (1312) *Fizyolociya ve Hıfz-ı Sıhha-i Dimağ ve Melekat-ı Akliye*, Mahmut Bey Matbaası, İstanbul, pp.19–23

Chapter V: Epilogue

Although Abdullah Cevdet is the thinker who put forward the most racist discourse in the Ottoman Empire, today, the critiques of racism or the racist groups that search for their intellectual origins refer to Ziya Gökalp. This selection made between these two philosophers with Kurdish origin may be because, despite his racist thoughts, Abdullah Cevdet did not come up with a suggestion about the Turkish race, and did not suggest whether the Turkish race is a member of a superior or an inferior race. As a matter of fact, the racism of Abdullah Cevdet remained solely at the biological level and such thoughts did never turn into a statement about the general properties of the Turkish race or into a nationalist attitude. Besides, while Abdullah Cevdet suggested that the Ottoman Empire take Europe and its culture as a role model, he covertly states that the nations comprising the Ottoman Empire were inferior to the European race. Although Abdullah Cevdet was among the founding members of İttihat ve Terakki (Union and Progress Society), he was gradually excluded from the society. None of his arguments about race were embraced in the newly founded Republic of Turkey. Ziya Gökalp who rejected racism in his articles was the greatest theoretician of Turkism despite his Kurdish origin. He was the official ideologue of members of İttihat and the unofficial ideologist of the Kemalists⁴¹⁴ although he never had close personal relations with Mustafa Kemal.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁴ Parla, T. (2005) *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye’de Korporatizm*, İletişim, İstanbul, p.40

⁴¹⁵ Heyd, U. (2002) *Türk Ulusçuluğunun Temelleri*, (Translated by Günay, K.) T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara, p.27

These two philosophers met in 1890 upon the arrival of Abdullah Cevdet in Diyarbakır. Gökâlþ had started learning French at the secondary school and had the chance to meet the intellectuals sent to exile in Diyarbakır by Abdülhamit, II, with İttihat ve Terakki society became even closer with the arrival of Abdullah Cevdet. Although his uncle forbade Gökâlþ from seeing Abdullah Cevdet, he kept on seeing this philosopher and learned significant degree from him about the French sociologists.⁴¹⁶ Gökâlþ learned about Spencer, Le Bon, Haeckel and Büchner via Abdullah Cevdet.⁴¹⁷ The incompatibility of the traditional teachings presented to him in his surrounding with the materialist information taught to him by Abdullah Cevdet caused severe tramvas in the psychology of Gökâlþ. The psychological depression he underwent led him to attempt suicide and Gökâlþ shot himself in the head in 1894.⁴¹⁸ It was Dr. Abdullah Cevdet who brought him back to life with an operation he conducted together with a Russian doctor. Gökâlþ explained the main reason of his suicide attempt as a lack of ideal back in those years. However, according to the materialist and biological racist Abdullah Cevdet, the primary reason for this attempted suicide was the anxiety disease Gökâlþ inherited from her mother.⁴¹⁹ The differences of thinking between these two philosophers surfaces with the difference in the way they interpreted this suicide attempt. One connected the said suicide to lack of ideal, the other to a simple genetic and physiological ailment. Ziya Gökâlþ was an idealist whereas Abdullah Cevdet was a

⁴¹⁶ Heyd, U. (2002), p.9

⁴¹⁷ Parla, T. (2005), 34

⁴¹⁸ Göksel, A.N. (1931) *Ziya Gökâlþ'in Hayatı ve Malta Mektupları*, İkbâl, İstanbul, p.21

⁴¹⁹ Heyd, U. (2002), p.12

materialist. For the first one, everything was nothing but intellectual and cultural form, for the second one the whole world was nothing but the material.

Ziya Gökalp and Abdullah Cevdet conceived all concepts differently in line with their way of thinking. The theses they proposed about saving the Ottoman Empire differed in this sense. Both philosophers thought the elite was important for saving the empire, but Ziya Gökalp believed that the intellectuals had to go down to the level of the public while Abdullah Cevdet argued that the intellectuals had to increase the level of the public. Gökalp found the source of culture and ideals in the public.⁴²⁰ According to him, an intellectual group that kept itself away from its people would destroy the national culture and replace it with a foreign civilization. Therefore, the intellectuals had to, first, go down to the level of the people and reveal the ideas and thoughts that had remained in the intellectuals' in their subconscious. Besides, another duty of the intellectuals in the underdeveloped countries such as Turkey was to ensure that the modern civilization reached the people. The intellectuals would be able to become the elite of the people and form an honorary government only if they fulfilled both of these duties. The political leaders, however, would be the executive body of this honorary government.⁴²¹ According to Gökalp, artists and geniuses like political leaders were merely a representative of the people whose character and emotions they reflected. For

⁴²⁰ Gökalp, Z. (1999) "Halka Doğru", *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, M.E.B. Yayınları, İstanbul, p.46, 47

⁴²¹ Gökalp, Z. (1943) "Halk ve Güzideler", in Şapolyo, E.B. (1943) *Ziya Gökalp, İttihat ve Terakki Meşrutiyet Tarihi*, İstanbul, pp.119–123

him, it was impossible to create new values.⁴²² Therefore, the objective was to search for the national culture, that is to say, revealing the things kept hidden in the deep soul of the nation. The duty of the Turkish intellectual was to reveal this ideal from the complex and dispersed traditions of the people, and re-discovers the soul of the people that was obscured due to the influence of foreign cultures. What needed to be taken from the other countries were the concepts, methods and the techniques, and these were to be selected by the people, not by the elite.⁴²³ According to Gökcalp, the one and only criterion that separated the elite from the people was the higher education they had acquired.⁴²⁴ On the other hand, for Abdullah Cevdet, the one and only criterion that separate the elite from the people was the size of their skull. For Gökcalp unlike the classical elite theoreticians, the category of the elite was not deemed important in analytic and ideological terms. It does not have a central, descriptive position in his political-social theory. Instead, Gökcalp chooses to explain and criticize the historical duality between the people and the administration and tries to search for a way that would create the social-cultural revival through which this duality would be transcended. This approach was in compliance with Ziya Gökcalp's idealist activism, and with his ideas on the relation between theory and practice.⁴²⁵

Gökcalp who gave such high rank to the people before the elite assumes a close position to the democracy with his thoughts on people related to the political regimen.

⁴²² Gökcalp, Z. (1918) "Türk Milleti ve Turan", *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*, Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, İstanbul, p.48

⁴²³ Gökcalp, Z. (1916) "Milli Terbiye", *Muallim*, No.1, p.6

⁴²⁴ Gökcalp, Z. (1999) "Halka Doğru", *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, M.E.B. Yayınları, İstanbul, p.46

⁴²⁵ Parla, T. (2005), p.133, 134

The political system Gökalp wants to see in Turkey is democracy.⁴²⁶ For him, populism in politics means democracy and equality.⁴²⁷ Having stated that democracy requires equality, he opposes the writers who reduce the social facts to biological heredity to advocate the superiority of some races over the others.⁴²⁸ He argues that the use of the biology against democracy and equality in this way is unacceptable. According to Gökalp, the first principle of democracy is the equality of all races.⁴²⁹ Abdullah Cevdet on the other hand is opposed to equality and democracy. According to Gökalp, regardless of class and occupation, everyone has the same political status provided that legal equality is accepted among all members of the nation. The one and only way for Gökalp to shift to democracy is to apply the policy of the democracy for rendering all people aristocrat, not ending the governing of the superior classes.⁴³⁰

Unlike Abdullah Cevdet, Ziya Gökalp chose idealist philosophy instead of materialism and interprets the development of civilization in compliance with the tenets of idealist philosophy. In this regard, the elements that establish civilization are culture and tradition. In contrast, Abdullah Cevdet points to material factors as the basis of civilization. According to Abdullah Cevdet, civilization is a human property and the human being gains this feature from the curves in his brain and through its size. That is to say, entire civilization was derived from a material by means of the brain. The thoughts generated by the brain, according to Abdullah Cevdet, were material and

⁴²⁶ Heyd, U. (2002), p.135

⁴²⁷ Parla, T. (2005), p.134

⁴²⁸ Gökalp, Z. (1974) “Yeni Türkiye”, *Yeni Türkiye'nin Hedefleri*, Baha Matbaası, İstanbul, p.34

⁴²⁹ Ibid, p.37

⁴³⁰ Heyd, U. (2002),p.136

therefore, entire civilization was the product of material factors. Therefore, Abdullah Cevdet in looking for a material foundation, considers the body as the founding element of civilization, while the idealist Ziya Gökalp accepts spiritual thinking, tradition and culture as the essential foundation. According to Gökalp, the collective conscience is a social reality independent of biological events.⁴³¹ Here, he points out that the collective conscience is independent of the race with his definition of “biological events”. When the body is considered to be the primary mover of civilization, biological racism is triggered while the emphasis on culture and tradition triggers a concern for the cultural environment which is dependent on education. Thus, due to the materialist tradition he believes, Abdullah Cevdet advocates biological racism, and Ziya Gökalp focuses on effects of the cultural factors due to the idealist tradition he believes. While the leading role in human destiny is attributed to race in one of them, it is connected to culture in the other. According to Gökalp, “our human character is in our soul, not in our body. Our material skills stem from our race while our mental skills stem from the society whose manners we acquire. Alexander the Great once said: ‘My real father is not Philip, Aristotle, because, the first gave rise to my material being, while the second formed my spiritual being’. For human beings, the spiritual dimension comes before the material one. In this regard, no character should be required for a nationality. But, the moral and the ideal needs to be embraced as national”.⁴³² That is to say, for Ziya Gökalp what creates the nation is culture, not race. By referring to Durkheim, Gökalp argues that the humans gain their social properties from society through the means of education. Unlike

⁴³¹ Gökalp, Z. (1972) “Terbiye Münakaşaları”, *Milli Terbiye ve Maarif Meselesi*, İş Matbaacılık, Ankara, pp.36,37

⁴³² Gökalp, Z. (1999) “Türkçülük Nedir?”, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, M.E.B. Yayınları, İstanbul, p.22

Abdullah Cevdet, who argues that material and spiritual being is directly transferred from biological parents and that heredity is the primary determinant of life, there is no genetic and pre-defined obstacle according to Ziya Gökalp. Thus, all races may advance in the path of civilization.⁴³³

Indeed, unlike the commonly held belief in the Turkish history of philosophy. Ziya Gökalp rejects the idea that race creates civilization. According to him, “the races are some sort of visual samples and embody themselves in flat or long skulls, black or dark moustaches or beards. When it comes to civilization, it does not appear with these visual properties. It appears with common social institutions”.⁴³⁴ According to Ziya Gökalp, “it is required to seek ancestry in horses, because since all of the skills are based on instincts and are hereditary, race in animals is of paramount importance. For the humans, since race has no effect on social qualities, it is not right to seek a favorable ancestry”.⁴³⁵ Gökalp argues that: “the science of [physical] anthropology divides the European people into three races according to the form of their skulls, their hair and eye color”. He explains the types as “long head brown skinned, long head dark skinned and flat head”.⁴³⁶ According to Gökalp, “once, some anthropologists claimed that there was a relation between these anatomic types and social behavior. However, he states that several scientific experiments carried out by leading anthropologists proved that anatomic features do not have any effect on the social character. Hence this old claim

⁴³³ Gökalp, Z. (1974) “Yeni Türkiye”, *Yeni Türkiye'nin Hedefleri*, Baha Matbaası, İstanbul, p.36

⁴³⁴ Gökalp, Z. (1976) “Medeniyet ve Irk”, *Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi*, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, İstanbul, p.34

⁴³⁵ Gökalp, Z. (1999) “Türkçülük Nedir?”, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, M.E.B. Yayınları, İstanbul, p.23

⁴³⁶ Ibid, p.17

was disproved. If race has no relation with social properties, it should not be wrong to say that social characters have nothing to do with the nationality”.⁴³⁷

To sum up, unlike the materialist Abdullah Cevdet, idealist Ziya Gökalp pursues a romantic attitude in his own definition of civilization which is founded on culture and soul. According to him, the Turks have an exalted culture and soul and “Turkish history is an expression of the moral virtues”.⁴³⁸ Therefore, from the point of view of Gökalp, before entering the Western civilization, the Turks should search for and revive their national culture which was about to disappear due to the effects of foreign cultures.”⁴³⁹ Ziya Gökalp searches for the roots of national culture because he mainly believes in culture, not in race. He attributes the decline of the Ottoman Empire to the fact that Turkish national culture had been forgotten and the elites inside the empire had imported the civilization of other cultures. What Abdullah Cevdet advocated was one hundred percent opposite to the ideas of Ziya Gökalp. He proposed that the civilizations are formed by the races, and not by cultures. In this sense, Abdullah Cevdet supports the importation of a civilization linked to the elite, rather than a national culture pertaining to the people. According to Abdullah Cevdet, the Ottoman Empire can be saved if all components of European culture are to be imported. It is not to be achieved by returning to the roots of national culture. The reason for such thinking is that, since the Europeans comprise the best race, Abdullah Cevdet believes that they had achieved the best in

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Gökalp, Z. (1999) “Ahlaki Türkçülük”, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, M.E.B. Yayınları, İstanbul, p.151

⁴³⁹ Gökalp, Z. (1999) “Milli Kültür ve Medeniyet”, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, M.E.B. Yayınları, İstanbul, p.45

terms of life standards. For him, another important agenda for the Ottoman Empire was to search for individuals with large skulls, and educating these born-to-be elite individuals to manage the country. These biological elites would not go down to the level of the people (as suggested by Ziya Gökalp). Rather, they would manage the people and carry them to better levels. Despite the populist attitude of Gökalp that complies with national values, and merges toward democracy, what Abdullah Cevdet proposes is the establishment of an oligarchy managed by a few biologically superior elites.

In Republican Turkish history it is assumed that the group that came into power embraced the ideas of Ziya Gökalp and, not that of Abdullah Cevdet. Abdullah Cevdet and Ziya Gökalp were never compared to one another in this regard. However, I would argue that the direct correlation between civilization and race built by Abdullah Cevdet (who was left alone by, first, the members of İttihat society and the printed media) was to be revived once again during the campaigns of the party in power during the 1930s. What I mean is not that the racist thought of Abdullah Cevdet was accepted with all its aspects and carried to power in Republican Turkey. Turkey did not delineate its elite based on skull measurements and did not assign these people to the management. Yet it also did not totally exclude the question of race as prescribed by Ziya Gökalp who is considered to be the unofficial ideologue of Republic. The new power in Turkey paid attention to the relation between race and the capacity for building civilization in the 1930s, as suggested earlier by Abdullah Cevdet. The new government used this argument by Abdullah Cevdet as the foundation of the concept of Turkishness. Yet

while Abdullah Cevdet thought the European race was superior, the 1930's Kemalist government based its arguments on the superiority of the Turkish race. While, for Abdullah Cevdet, entire civilization spread from Europe and the entire civilization is the European civilization, for the Turkish government, civilization spread from central Asia and was equivalent to Turkish civilization.

In short, it is not correct to state that the racist attitude of Abdullah Cevdet did not have any political reflections. However, his racist thoughts were not embraced totally. Besides, unlike the common belief, Abdullah Cevdet made a greater contribution than Ziya Gökalp to theories and debates on race in Turkey. However, in the context of political racism since the ideas of Abdullah Cevdet assume the European race as superior and thus overtly point to the inferiority of Turkish race, he could not find a place for himself in Turkish patriotism. Instead, an imaginary theme of racism was added to the ideas of Ziya Gökalp who exalted Turkish culture, and some contributions of Abdullah Cevdet were attributed to Ziya Gökalp. The racist philosopher of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey is, however Abdullah Cevdet, and not Ziya Gökalp.

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APPENDICES

وقد انك الكثرى لك شدت جذبته اوج الاله حتى انك انكاد،
مقابلين الكثرى لك شدت جذبته اوج الاله حتى انك انكاد،
البونى لوجى اصلاح ابدك سرسلاسه رسمك عيني
بيخنده استخصال ابدش اولوره كنف جديك اساسا
بوندن عبارت اولديني او تويز كيو تو وسافده اجرا اولان
تخر به حسن تبيحه ورتيكنى اورويا جيرا اتم علميه يلايور.

موسيو اكن مننده بر عام اديتوخ جيت علميه سه
موالك سيني زلفاي حاوى اولديني مو قطرلرني تعداد
ايچون راسول بولديني يلايور مننده. وطورتي بر جلا ايه
اوز نيه كورك قائل عد اوليور سده هواه كلې مقدار
صو قطرلرني بولديني حله ايديك نيايس قالديني ده سافده
اولنجهدر.

سپس بخارناك هواه بولان غيار اطر اقدمه نكناقتدن
حاصل اولوره. قطر بوكتاف بر حله واسل اولدقن سكره
سربديني حسن اولنوره.
صو قطرلرني كو سونك ات سره يه تقسيم اولمش جابدن
بر حله خردن بين اولور بر ايه سره يه اوز اوز نيه عكس
ايدنيز و قوتلى بر عدمه باخوردن ده بين اله معانيه اولنوره.
تقرىبا يوز مئتمه مسافده بولان اينا قورق اولنجه جوق در جده
بريس زمان عيلاططخل اوز نيه در طهرت قورق اولنجه يوردى.
قطر بولانله بر دقتده بر ساقيدنيز مره اى اوز نيه سقو
المن قطرلرني مقدارى ۳۰۰۰ ن ۳۰۰۰ قدر مخالف ايدنيز
كورنا منده. بقعه بر سيلي هواه دقتده بر ساقيدنيز مره يردن.
۳۰۰۰ دانه دوشديكي ظاهر اولنجهدر.

قياس خردن بين اله تمامه بولان طيفه هواه قطره
لرل تجر يه بر خطا بولان ايجون بولان ايك عتقى خردن بين
اوز نيه ايك طرفي متحرك قائل بر يوردن كيو يردن بولان
جاده بولش و بر وسايه هواه بولان ايك كوچك غياري
وصو قطر سقو متعديله و نيماده موقف اولنجهدر.

ارج متاول فرانس انجمن فونته موسيو بوكت اسنده
بر ذات قاربه اطار نمن (تاريخ) الهم سنده سوزلرني ردى
ايدن جوانلرني اوزاق بر سافه ايدن اصلقه عاوزه، موقف
اولدقن بر يلايور سيني حتى بو جوانلر اولقدر بر سافه
اصلاق جالنده ايدن اصلق جالانلر دن برت بك قين
ايدن.

سوزلرني كورل دستكاهلر نيمه بو ايك اسره ۲۵۰۰
۳۰۰۰ طرنا يلاوناق اولور انشاء باشلايدن. مثال ايا
لويده اولور قوبانيه يه جبر عيلاططخل الامسى ده سوزلرني

ايك ايچون باسورده ۷۰۰۰ طرنا يلاوناق بر اولور انشاء،
تدبير انجمنده.
حاصل بو ايك اصول سفناك سوزلرني كورل اوز نيه
مشهور اولان محاسنات و ادارت مدينه ييتمه بيوك دكر نورهده
استفاده جنى عتقى كورلر نيز.

شيخ غالب

عشايي شاعرلرني ايجمه بك بيوك بر موقف شرف
احراز ايدن شيخ غالب بدايح اديني تديق ايدنلر بو
شاعر عالم نظر ك ششمه خيال، تراخت تصور، علويت
انكار، اهك افاده كي هر برى بر ادب ايجون سره يه
باهات اولان مزيات جلد يه حائر و تقى، نديم، فضولى
مطلو قطرلرني ادرا ييتمه يردن اناظم آرا سنده نام فضيات
المنك ياد اولنجه جوق اولديني تسليم ايدنلر. ديوان
بلاغ عنواني شعراي قديماك بما حو اتمده طو تولديني كي،
فصوليك و ليلا و دعوتى ده، ناييك و خير آيه ي بولنده
ياديني و حسن و عتقى ده بوكون غريك خزان صرافاني،
شرفك بدايح اديني سه مريج ايدن آثار اديني سرك بك
چوقه غيلاططخل اولاييلير.

بوكتله برابر، حسن و عتقى يك حاوى اولديني ايات،
بعض تصورات غريه يه دن بك ده خالي دكلدر. بو تصوراتك
بولديني زمان تروقات اديني سه عطف اولنجه موقف
اصاف اولوره.

حسن و عتقى، الواح شاعرانه ك لطيفلرني، ايك
تلكه يه، ايك رقيقلرني ايله ايدن بر كسب طاليدن، بو
عشايي مومنت، بوعلى اثرى كورلني ايشنه ياديدن.
تصورلرني به قدر يادلاق، به قدر عاشقانه در!

كورلني ايشنه يه يادلاق ادب:

لمر ملق قلم ايتيم
براشق نفث قلم ايتيم
قلم ايتيم سوزلرني بر سوز
كلس ده سوزلرني بر سوز
ارباب سخن تمام معلوم
ايشنه قلم ايتيم سوزلرني موم

ايك ايچون باسورده ۷۰۰۰ طرنا يلاوناق بر اولور انشاء،
تدبير انجمنده.
حاصل بو ايك اصول سفناك سوزلرني كورل اوز نيه
مشهور اولان محاسنات و ادارت مدينه ييتمه بيوك دكر نورهده
استفاده جنى عتقى كورلر نيز.

شيخ غالب

عشايي شاعرلرني ايجمه بك بيوك بر موقف شرف
احراز ايدن شيخ غالب بدايح اديني تديق ايدنلر بو
شاعر عالم نظر ك ششمه خيال، تراخت تصور، علويت
انكار، اهك افاده كي هر برى بر ادب ايجون سره يه
باهات اولان مزيات جلد يه حائر و تقى، نديم، فضولى
مطلو قطرلرني ادرا ييتمه يردن اناظم آرا سنده نام فضيات
المنك ياد اولنجه جوق اولديني تسليم ايدنلر. ديوان
بلاغ عنواني شعراي قديماك بما حو اتمده طو تولديني كي،
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ياديني و حسن و عتقى ده بوكون غريك خزان صرافاني،
شرفك بدايح اديني سه مريج ايدن آثار اديني سرك بك
چوقه غيلاططخل اولاييلير.

بوكتله برابر، حسن و عتقى يك حاوى اولديني ايات،
بعض تصورات غريه يه دن بك ده خالي دكلدر. بو تصوراتك
بولديني زمان تروقات اديني سه عطف اولنجه موقف
اصاف اولوره.

حسن و عتقى، الواح شاعرانه ك لطيفلرني، ايك
تلكه يه، ايك رقيقلرني ايله ايدن بر كسب طاليدن، بو
عشايي مومنت، بوعلى اثرى كورلني ايشنه ياديدن.
تصورلرني به قدر يادلاق، به قدر عاشقانه در!

كورلني ايشنه يه يادلاق ادب:

لمر ملق قلم ايتيم
براشق نفث قلم ايتيم
قلم ايتيم سوزلرني بر سوز
كلس ده سوزلرني بر سوز
ارباب سخن تمام معلوم
ايشنه قلم ايتيم سوزلرني موم

ايك ايچون باسورده ۷۰۰۰ طرنا يلاوناق بر اولور انشاء،
تدبير انجمنده.
حاصل بو ايك اصول سفناك سوزلرني كورل اوز نيه
مشهور اولان محاسنات و ادارت مدينه ييتمه بيوك دكر نورهده
استفاده جنى عتقى كورلر نيز.

شيخ غالب

عشايي شاعرلرني ايجمه بك بيوك بر موقف شرف
احراز ايدن شيخ غالب بدايح اديني تديق ايدنلر بو
شاعر عالم نظر ك ششمه خيال، تراخت تصور، علويت
انكار، اهك افاده كي هر برى بر ادب ايجون سره يه
باهات اولان مزيات جلد يه حائر و تقى، نديم، فضولى
مطلو قطرلرني ادرا ييتمه يردن اناظم آرا سنده نام فضيات
المنك ياد اولنجه جوق اولديني تسليم ايدنلر. ديوان
بلاغ عنواني شعراي قديماك بما حو اتمده طو تولديني كي،
فصوليك و ليلا و دعوتى ده، ناييك و خير آيه ي بولنده
ياديني و حسن و عتقى ده بوكون غريك خزان صرافاني،
شرفك بدايح اديني سه مريج ايدن آثار اديني سرك بك
چوقه غيلاططخل اولاييلير.

بوكتله برابر، حسن و عتقى يك حاوى اولديني ايات،
بعض تصورات غريه يه دن بك ده خالي دكلدر. بو تصوراتك
بولديني زمان تروقات اديني سه عطف اولنجه موقف
اصاف اولوره.

حسن و عتقى، الواح شاعرانه ك لطيفلرني، ايك
تلكه يه، ايك رقيقلرني ايله ايدن بر كسب طاليدن، بو
عشايي مومنت، بوعلى اثرى كورلني ايشنه ياديدن.
تصورلرني به قدر يادلاق، به قدر عاشقانه در!

كورلني ايشنه يه يادلاق ادب:

لمر ملق قلم ايتيم
براشق نفث قلم ايتيم
قلم ايتيم سوزلرني بر سوز
كلس ده سوزلرني بر سوز
ارباب سخن تمام معلوم
ايشنه قلم ايتيم سوزلرني موم

بودنک با یکی طبعی اوزرینه رسم ابدی که خطوط
مقتطیس اکثری ک شد جذب تابع اولی اکتادرد.
بالوی لوجانی اصلاح ابدک سرساده رسمک عینی
ببخنده اشخصال املش اولور. کتف جدیدک اساسا
پودن عبارت اولی یعنی واژورن کلومتر وسافده اجرا اولان
تخریبه حسن نتیجه وریختی اورودا جردله علمیه بلایور.
موسیو آنک بنده بر علم ادیبوخ جمعیت علمیه سه
هوانک سیلی زمانی حاوی اولی یعنی سو قطر لاری تعداد
ایچون براسول بولایینی بیلدیریشدر. رطوبی برعلا آیه
اوزرته کورمک قابل عد اولیور سهده هوانه کلی مقدار
سو قطر لاری بولایینی حاله آینه ک بنیابیس قالدینی مشاهده
اولیشدر.

حاصل بخار مالک هوانه بولان بخار اطرافده تکثافتدن
سینس اولور. فقط بو تکثافت بر حانده واسل اولدقدن مکره
سربندیسی حسن اولور.
سو قطر لاری ک سو تنز الت مرهله تقسیم اولمش جامدن
برخاش خردده. این اولی بر آینه سو بر امان اوزر بنیابیس عکس
ایندیر و قوتلی بر عدده ایچود خردده. این اله معایب اولور.
تقریباً بوز متوز سافده بولان اشیا فرق اولدجی یعنی در جده
برخاش زمانی عیاضططر اوزر بندر. رطوبت فرق اولدجی سوردی.
فقط بولاینه بر دقتده بر سائیکه متوز مرهلی اوزرینه سقور.
ایمن قطر لاری ک قدری ۳۰۰۰ ن. قدر تکثافت ایشتی ک
کوزاشدر. بنده بر سیلی هوانه دقتده بر سائیکه متوز مرهلی
۱۳۰۰۰ دایله دو خطی ظاهر اولشدر.
مقیاس خردده. این اله فاسده بولان طبعیه هوانه قطر.
لرک تجزیله بر خطا اولایق ایچون بو آنک غیری خردده. این
اوزرته بیک طرفی متحرک قیاقلی بر بودو کچره لرک بکاده
چاره بولش بو وسافده هوانه بولان ال ک کوچک غیاری
وصو قطر سنی مشاهده و زنده هوانه موقی اولشدر.

ایچ سوال فرانه ایچون فونیه موسیو بوک اسنده
بر ذات قاره اطرا لیمین (سارلف) ایسنده سوری لاری یعنی
ایمن جویانلرک اوزاق بر مسافه دن ایصلقه عیارده. موقی
اولدق لاری بنایدیریشدر حتی بو جویانلر اقدن بر سائیکه
ایصلق جانیله ایصلق جالاندردن برت بل کین
۳۰۰۰ طولی لاتی و پاور انشاسه باشلامشدر. شمال االیای
لویله پاوره قویابیس ده بحر محیط اطراسی ده سبیلین
سویور بو کولی دستکهار بند بو یک اصوانه ۲۵۰۰
سیور عیاضططر کلی اداریه بر دور جیمده احدانسه سبیل اولدق
ایچین.

ایچون ایچون واسوله ۷۰۰۰ طولی لاتی و پاور انشاسه
تعبیت ایچشدر.
حاصل بو یک اصل سفاشک سویور بود کولی اوزرته
مشهور اولان عسکانه اداره سندن قییدده بود ک ذکر کردده
اشفاده یعنی حقیق کوزر بودور.
شیخ غالب
عشاقی شاعر لری ایچمهده بک بیوک بر موقی شرف
احراز این شیخ غالب بدایع ادیبینی تدقیق ایدنلر بو
شاعر علی نظر لک ششعه خیال. زاهت تصور. علویت
اقلار. اهنگ افاده کی هر بری بر ادیب ایچون سرمایه
بهاات اولان مرهات جلیلی حائر و غنی. ندیم. فتولی
مئلو قطر لک نادرآ ششدر دیک اعظم آراشده نام قضیات
الامانک یاد اولیشک جائز اولدینی تسلیم ایدرلر. دیوان
بلایق عنوانی شعری قدماک بداحزاشده طولی لاری کی
فتولیک ویلا و عیون کی. مایمک و غیر آیده ی بولسده
یازدینی حسن و عشق کی بو کون غریک خزان مرهاتی
شرفک بدایع ادیبینه سلیه مزج ایمن آثار ادیب مرهاتک بک
چونقه عیاضططر اولایینلر.
بوکنکه بزار. حسن و عشق کی حاوی اولدینی بیات.
بعضی تصورات غریبه دن بک ده خالی ککادر. بو تصور لک
بولدینی زمان تر قیات ادیبینه عطف اولمش موقی
اصفاق اولور.
حسن و عشق. الواح شاعر انماک ال لطیفاری. ال
لاک کی. ال رقیق لری آراه ایمن بر کسایب عالیله. بو
عذلیب معترف. بو غلوی لاری کبری اتی باشنده یازدیشدر.
تصور لری نه قدر بارلاق. نه قدر عاشقانه در!
کبری اتی باشندکی بو نادره ادب:

لمزه سلفه قهرم ایچرم
بر باشق نفث عظم ایچرم
لمن ایچر شیر بر بر بر سرور
کلیسی دمی سیر بر بر بر سرور
ارباب سخن تمام معلوم
ایتمه قلم ایتمه کتوره دوم
کجیل ایچون هوا و تنفس
حفظ صحیح شباب
۴
عبدجلال
هوا نعلک آکبدر. بو آنک بنده ک بر نفس ایدوره
فرق پودن عیارند.
قدماک هوا تنفسک آکبدر بولنده واقع اولان

ایچشدر.
شماره استانبول بود. پندری مطبوعی رشید اندلی نامه
بر ذالده.
اشما سلسلک کتات هوس ایچشدر. سو کرمی دوروش
نهادلک درجه علویق پودان عالیقدری طریقت مولویه
سوی ایدی. غلظه مولغانمی ددرمان ایدی. بالآخره
بومولوخانه ک شیخی اولشدر.
بیک ایچ روز این ایچ یازشده فرق ایچک باشنده وان
ایچشدر.
عبدجلال

دوقنور (گوستاو لوبون) ايله ملاقات
 ۱۸۰۰ سنس تونز آيتك نلفنا اولدو. (لاريس) ده
 كوستا لوبون ايله Itue Vignon دهكي آيتك تاننده
 ملاق اولدو. ايتاه كنديبندن استومبكم راندهون
 لفظكاته قول ايتندي. قنين ايتديكي ساعته قابلي
 چاهم. ايتاه داها اوزمان خالي باشل كوردوردو.
 قونك تحريات و ترفقاته حرارته دوام ايتديكي
 Evolution des و l'union de la matiere
 ك موشوع ملويزي حاسرلاهي زمان بو
 زيامدي. قونقوري ايجه بر آز چكلمش اولان كوزري
 ايكي مشل كي يابوردو و بو كوزلك آره سنده. بونك
 بزجهان علاوه لك انكشاف حس اولوبوردو. ز اوبون
 روس علاوه سلك اولو زيامنده ايديك. روس رجعت
 و عرشي نوي ايتديور. ز اوبون قونقور قونقور
 و بونك ماز مديت كوسته سيورلدي. ايتاهده و سر
 (روح الاقوام) ده ز اوبون مديتلك يوروندي. بزجهان
 عسارت اولديهي بلانسورديكوز. بونك حرب ايلكر
 حيوان رفون و واقفته اجرا اولوناميدو. علم ايله
 متابع ايله حساب ايله يورويور. غزير يازديورا. ميدان
 حرد اولو روس مابليريك جيلر نده بولور قونقور ساعته
 ياره وديكر ندي قيت ايتايك ز اوبونز. حايطك نوسروسيه
 يار روسيا حكومته كندسيورلور و يورلوي بو بدعت
 حرب قونقورليك اولاد و قانلار نه توديع اولوناسي
 سلب احمر واسلسيله رجا ايتديور. بونان داها
 بونك مديت و فضيلت اري نه اولاييلر. هرمت
 علاوه غيب ايتديكي اولونك اوزونده بولديهي مال
 قانم عدا ايدر حلال ماله. ساوار. حالو كده قونقور
 اوله سدا بر اولونك سوكره علم اولونان قانر
 روسي وارب اولونك. زوجه سلك اولور. بونان ايله
 غير علاوه و حال حرب اولوي هيج بر حق مشر و علرين
 عروه ايدير. ز اوبون بون مديتلك اول قونقور ايتديور.
 روس مابليريك جيلر نديك بونك ايتديك اول كندو
 جيلر ت قونقورلور. بونك ز اوبونك اول بونك
 دوجده مديت اولدو قونقور كوسته به كمال دهكي. ديدم.
 مابدي وار.
 ج. ۰ ۰ ۰

زمان مفهومي عقده برحسب حال
 آرمقال بيايمن فراقلان و زمان اوبه بر نالديك
 بزون خست قنقوره شادو و ديور.
 لونق قنلو و زمان. حياك رجحيدر. مماله سني
 سرد ايتديور.
 (دريمين) زمان ايجون هم كسي مزاره سورور كوزون
 قوندر. ديور.
 پرتلس و زمان توصيف ايدركي و زمان لك عاقل
 مشاورده و ديور.
 بونان قديم فلسفيون من آريستوتال درجه سنده
 فلسفه سيله مشير (پيتون) و زمان و ي شويلاجه
 نسوسور ايتديور. و زمان و انقلابه يگاه عقلت
 مؤثره و.
 قياطقه بلاتك جاككوزده مشهور ديكر اولديهي
 اوزره و زمان ده بيشياري طرور قانن هوايه
 صوبله بولور آره سنده طرورله طرور ايدركي
 عين زيامنه به بيشياري ذكر آلتنده تحت البحرايه
 بوز كنده رلر. بونان عاقل شوعصر ك انقلاب يردوسك
 آونياسلسيله ياره اهدا ايتديكي نيه خار قنر وقته ينان
 السانك خاطر لري نيه كندمك زمان حاسره ده روني
 بزرا ايجون بياطيهي بر حال حكيمه كرمش و هج شهبسز
 هوز عاقل مركز نوز ايديمديكي بله مابليرجه ايتايك
 انقلاب مراه كندكيري نيا قنله حيله كنجكي استقال
 حساب موعود ركيت بولنديور.
 اديب عقده (كسپي) زمان عقده و زن ماني اسراف
 ايتدم. عقده زمانده نياسراف ايتديور. فكر ندهركه
 (كسپي) بياطيهي كنجك ديواره تعلق ويوم بر
 ده حق لسون ار جلاله ايتاه نظر آتاري ايجاب
 ايدر.
 زنون و بئريك عروميتي هر شيكمان زاده زمان
 تشكيل ايدر. ديوركه بوجده عقده باشايور.
 ج. ۰ ۰ ۰

شدي اي عقده قار. و زمان و ي عجم ايتاه
 ايجون ايتديك سربنده صرف ذله اخلاق و علمي
 واقفني عاقله كوشن. بزون بوا كركنده و زمان و ك
 صورت استمال سكا مالدور.
 قنط پيدين عظم ايتكه و زمان و دن ايدمك
 استعاده و زيجهده مشطر اولديك متابع داها اولك و
 طرز استماله ناميدو.
 دوقنور جونسون و بوالالار. بيلاري مابلورق
 امرار زمان ايدورا. قانله قنلله و مديتله ايتديك
 مسود رلر. و ديوركه عمن حقيقتور.
 كره اولسك اطرافي اعظم ايدن بر بيق مابلر
 راه سنده كي كليه لير آره سنده عياق كشي شوكلن
 جزئي مدت طرفنده ايجون ايتون كورديكي ايتايك
 ايدميدور.
 و زمان و ي تعريف سنده. بله بونك طرورده
 ايتاه قن ايدميدور. بونقوريات فكر و عسا كوزرك
 و حيله قنمرك جزايت و ايتديور.
 و زمان بعصير ايجون آتون باجموريتك نوزي
 ديك اولو به بعصير ايجونده سايلورده ايتايك
 قصور و ديخلك انك ايدر.
 (بولور لايون) و زمان عقده. شو فراده
 بولنيور. و وقت و آره سنده. قنقدور.
 زمانك اذ عني و متصفاه نعلني هر فونك اوني
 صورت استماله و عطف ايتديكي اهمه ناميدو.
 زمان نهد. زمان حد فائده موجودي اويان
 ريشيدو. به زمان جزايتك كوزيدو.
 ز اسانلر حد فاني قنلر عمن ايتديك
 قنقدور. بوجا نوزي نيا يديور و بولور تاريخ ايتورده
 بر ساعت عفرتك صورت سري و بولور ك خلو نوزي
 عني زمان اراه ايدميدور. به ملا كوريتك طرورليه
 عهرون كجهان كوزور آره سنده كي دوردي زمان دنيه
 لسبه ايدميدور.
 ج. ۰ ۰ ۰

زمان كندو باشه هج بر عيشيدو. اكي طاقلي بر
 اولقوره طلوب بده ملا برديقه وار بيلديون سدمكر
 اولاييش اولسكي ز اوبونده اولان ايجون و ماساكي
 مدت مسابيدر. چونكه سلك نومده اكن مراكزي زمان
 آره سنده كي قون حيايدين عهرون موعه باقو بزور دين
 اولقور ايتاشنده زمان صورت كذارنه يگاه. قانلور
 رعا اولوناي ايتاه جهولور بوزر و بوشياق كوزور
 مابلر بزه بياس قنلر سركنده غلت كوسته سيور
 بر آز بوقارنده زمان و موجودي اويان بر شينيدو
 ديشيدك و بولور عهرون بونك بر ابر اولور و دنان بلطه
 برشي بوقنور. بيا و زمان بر جزايتور. كلاب كنجي
 بر شينيدو. ديورده. حالو كه زمان بونده قونيه و بيايه
 مسافوره كلان و داها كوج ايديجي بزور.
 زمان كوزونك و عني بر تراورده طسارتي بزوجه
 مكن اولديهي علمه زمان نوزي واواك فونقه قيتلي
 بر شيه صاحب اولديهي ادا ايتديك عيا بونقنده
 اكليري بر و عيا...
 تنم اوزري كليه آن دورايه قانلور جودوزرك
 ايجده ساقلي و روح و ديكتور ايه كچين و كوزه
 كوروندين و عجم و قنلر. بزور غير معلوم بر قون واواك
 بايتديك اسانكي. عني تشكيل ايدميدور. به بونقور
 سايمندور كه عمن آقندور. عمن حيله كچكر مركز
 باوروزرك و ايتونك روسه لسيله قنلري صفر دورده سنده
 دكلار.
 زمان قانلر و بعصير ناويلدو. بونقور مشطور كوز
 لوسده زمان عفرتي كندو جهولر حيله صرف
 ساعي ايدن ايكي عاقل قون كوزيدو. بونده عاقل
 طرف حقل.
 زه قانلر و ديكتور ك مراكزي طرورده بونده
 بعثت المهار ايتديورلور.
 رسام سول قسندو و كنجك. بزون قونقور
 عفره مابليريك و وقت بر آن اول حيلوي ايتون كندو
 طرورده كچكوزور.
 ج. ۰ ۰ ۰

اوستنی برسیکیم، بی طرف برمشاعند، ملتانک روسجاری
تعلیق ایبرکی آرق او برور اسره برلاریسی کی حکمدر .
سادهجه برعل آمانی، سادهجه برمشرح در... .



M. Le Dr. Gustave Le Bon
۱۹۱۲

(اوروپا حریتمن آلیان ایستولوجیاتی درسل) ی
ترجمه بی سوزی ایدن حقیق انسانق سوگیسدر،
نه قدره نه مینر ایچون حصری عمت ویا خصوصیت
نیم انسان یوز کزه قبول اولغانز .
L'Amour d'un seul est un crime de Dieu.
L'Amour de Dieu l'honneur de Dieu.
فوجات بردهامه انسان قانک دور کیمسه دکتر قنط
فکری فوجات باشقادور... . نئون دنیاچه عینم آرتدیغ
ولشمی داما زاده سودم، نئون انسانوی سویتلرکیچه
کندی ملتسی داما زاده سوو بیلوریم .
نئون دردریمز حقیقی کوریممک یوزلنکدر . ی
کتاب ، حقیقت کورلر کوریمسی یاخوت کورلرک
حقیقی کوریمیمسی بر آق داما قوللاشدرمولامی امید
ولملمده حیات یولسدر

کوستا لویون
آمانی
روح الحامیه (ه مترجمک دیباچه مستند) :
یو کتاب شیمیدی ۹۹ نیمی طبعینددر . (کوستا
لویون) ک ان اصل واک مهم آریدر . شیمیدی یه قنار
نئون اوروپا ملتاری دیلارینه ترجمه ایچلادر . قاطبقه
جمهوری سالدله ایچتاج ایدن انسانلرک یسقولوجیاسینه
دائر یوقنار جمعی بر اثر هیچ برلساده موجود دکادر .
موجود اولاندر دخی شیمیدر ، مغیر قنر . زمانیزک انک
بیوک یسقولوجیا شلملرکدن و (ویانه) دارالقنوی طب
قارگولشمی مغیرسلرکدن دورقورول Psychology
collektivno عنوانه نوسینه فرانسیزچه ترجمه انیمان مهم
برکتاشک ان نیمی ترجمه سینه (کوستا لویون) ان (روح
الجهوی) یلک یوقنار وانشاری کمال اخلاص ایله تسایم
ایبیلور

(اوروپا حریتمن آلیان ایستولوجیاتی درسل) عنوانه ترجمه ایستیکم کتاب دیباچه مترجمدن :
یو کتاب ۱۹۱۱ شمسی اوخرده انتشار ایستیک
وقت اوروپاکن آمریکانک آوستالیانک فکر اقلدرده
شدنی وسوزکل طبعیلر وکل صدالر بر اقدی، تلذاف
آزادلسری کتابک انتشاری بیوک بر حادته ایچتایه
ولکریه اولراق ماله یسیدریدی . فرانسیزچه اسماک
انتشاری آمانیه انکترجه، اسپانیول ترجماری قنطب
ایسیدی . اوسرهده کتابی بیوک برده واستفاده ایله
اوقوم و ترجمه سینه ایسلام... .
عندک وطنی یوقنر . عندک وطنی اولیان بریوقر
عندک وطنی عندلر . حکمت عدلمان اوستوندر . حکیم
ماملن داما یوزلوردها یو کتدر . یوکت نظری شمام
وجیمیلر . یوکتدن باق نئون انسانلاری عینی نظریه
کوردر . عنوان قانق نایسینه کوردر... . مؤلف آمان
مللی ویا دیگر برسات ایچون حسن خصوصیت یسولوجیک
ویولیه برمشایک نایری آنتدشمالق ایچتالیدن مؤرمدر .

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ملاری . آرتین ملر کی یزی یزیه یوزان آیم یوزملری .
مواده بریجی فوشلر کی کوریم سیه وقلل قسیدلاری .
آقاملری نیمان . کتاری ویا سام روزگاری سویدر .
ای اته ! سگ فوشلی اطهار ایدن دورقورول کجهملری
سارواقل خیرلی سویدر .

۵۵

ای حرارتمز روسلر ! دهکته : (یو) (مولانا) نیک
(عالم دود) ، سیران ایش اولان آتسین روسلک ، عینته
دایره عطایدر :
ایچولمه پنهانه اولدمه آو ایچ . (۱۰۱) یاقین آکی .
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ای عشق اولاملری عداکتر سول دوش آتسین شیندرور ،
مراه لاسکوز ک سیرلری کوریمک شاطریدر . کورلرکدر .
یقین ، ملوتوشه سول مشطوردر ، کلکتار چلک کییدر ،
سوزکتر حرارتمز کی دوردر .

اقبال

مدنی زیاده کاغذ صرفاتی

دیورک قوللاشیلان مایون و مو مقناری بر آتمک
توق کتاریک درجه سنی کورسدر .
شمی دیورلرک برملکتمده صرف اولان کاغذک
مقناری ، او عتک مدینتیلر خالقدن کزیه مومریمان
درجه سنی کورسدر . سوک ایستایشلر آورولده ال
زیاده انکدرلر کاغذ قوللاشیلری کورسدر یوزر . اکسیتی
درجهده استقلیلر اوچنی آلمانیا کور . کاغذ
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احراز ایچیشدر . اولان سوکرا نیشل آرمق جمهورلی
(۱) کتاریک آمان کور .
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قال دود - حسن و عشق .
۱۰۱ جنوم آتلمده حال موشیانه .
عمر ایلان جنوم کورلر یوزلر .
۰ . ۰ . ۰ .
۰ . ۰ . ۰ .

