

32173

TEVFİK FİKRET: A MODEL OF LITERATI IN THE  
OTTOMAN MODERNIZATION

A Master's Thesis

Presented by

Nuran Savaşkan DURAK

to

the Graduate School of Social Sciences  
of Middle East Technical University

in Partial Fulfillment for the Degree of

**T.C. YÜKSEKÖĞRETİM KURULU  
DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ**

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

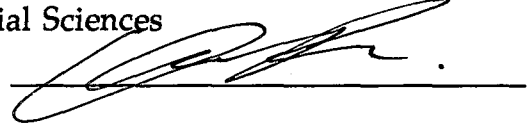
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

ANKARA

February, 1994 .

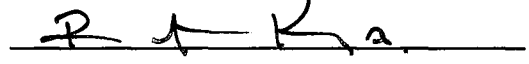
Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Haluk Kasnakoğlu

Director

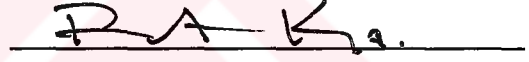
I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Raşit Kaya

Chairman of the Department

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science in Public Administration.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Raşit Kaya

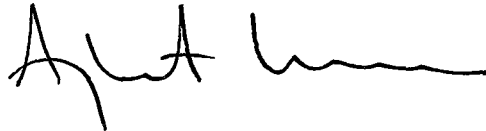
Supervisor

Examining Committee in Charge:

Assist. Prof. Dr. Erdal Yavuz



Assist. Prof. Dr. Aykut Kansu



ABSTRACT  
TEVFİK FİKRET: A MODEL OF LİTERATİ IN THE  
OTTOMAN MODERNIZATION

Nuran Savaşkan DURAK

M.S. in Public Administration

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Raşit KAYA

February, 1994, 182 pages

This study aims to present Tefvik Fikret as one of "literati" who lived in the fast process of change and progress of the Ottoman State between late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. First we will examine Tanzimat period and intellectuals by taking Fikret as a model, then we will present the conflict between the change that Tanzimat period brought and the life that was carried out in the oppressive reign of Abdülhamit's regime, and the social tides which increased with the declaration of the second constitution by giving examples from Fikret's works, ideas and life. Then, we will examine the arguments which were carried to the Republic period.

Fikret has been argued about until our present day as a model of "literati" for the Turkish intellectual who has conveyed his social reaction within his literary works, who has been for westernization and progress, who has led an idealized life and who should be judged within his own period.

Keywords: Tefvik Fikret, Ottoman Modernization, Tanzimat Period, Second Constitutional Monarchy, Republic Period, Westernization.

Science code: 217.01.00

## ÖZ

### OSMANLI MODERNLEŞME SÜRECİNDE BİR “AYDIN-SANATÇI” MODELİ: TEVFİK FİKRET

Nuran Savaşkan DURAK

Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Kamu Yönetimi

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Raşit KAYA

Şubat, 1994, 182 sayfa

Araştırmamızın amacı Tefvik Fikret'i Osmanlı Devleti ondokuzuncu yüzyıl sonu yirminci yüzyıl başı yaşanan hızlı gelişim-değişim sürecinde yaşayan bir aydın-sanatçı olarak sunmaktır. Bu dönem içerisinde Fikret temel alınarak, önce Tanzimat dönemi ve aydınları, daha sonra bu dönemin getirdiği değişim ile II. Abdülhamit rejimi altında sürdürülen baskılı yaşamın çatışması ve II. Meşrutiyet ile hızlanan toplumsal gel-git'ler Fikret'in eserleri, fikirleri, yaşamı ile aktarılacaktır. Daha sonra Cumhuriyet dönemine taşan tartışma boyutu ele alınacaktır.

Günümüze kadar tartışılan ve canlılığını koruyan Fikret, Türk aydınının toplumsal tepkisini edebî eserler ile içiçe vermesi, batılılaşmacı, ilerici ve idealize edilerek yaşanmış bir hayatı ve yaşadığı dönem içerisinde değerlendirilmesi gereken bir “aydın-sanatçı” modelidir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Tefvik Fikret, Osmanlı Modernleşmesi, Tanzimat Dönemi, II. Meşrutiyet, Cumhuriyet Dönemi, Batılılaşma.

Bilim dalı sayısal kodu: 217.01.00



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Raşit kaya, my thesis supervisor, for his guidance and advice in the preparation of the present study.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Neriman Samurçay, Prof. Dr. İsmail Parlatır, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ümit Hassan and Assist. Prof. Dr. Aydan Ersöz Karaduman for their invaluable contributions to my thesis.

I would like to give my special thanks to my family, my husband Kürşat Durak, and my friends, especially Tamer Okyayuz, Sündüs Akyıldız and Melek Karalı for their support in this study.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	iii
ÖZ .....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	vi
ABBREVIATIONS .....	vii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION .....	1
Notes .....	14
CHAPTER II: THE INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT AND THE SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT DEVELOPED WITH IN THE TANZİMAT PERIOD .....	15
2.1. Tanzimat Period 1839-1878 .....	15
2.2. The Neo-Ottomans .....	27
2.2.1. An Account of the Neo-Ottoman Ideology .....	34
Notes .....	47
CHAPTER III: SERVET-I FÛNUN PERIOD 1896-1901 .....	55
3.1. Second Generation Tanzimat Intellectual .....	58
3.2. Intermediary Generation Tanzimat Intellectual .....	61
3.3. Servet-i Fûnun .....	62
Notes .....	72

CHAPTER IV: THE LIFE OF TEVFİK FİKRET .....	76
4.1. THE SECLUSION PERIOD I .....	81
4.2. THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY .....	85
4.3. THE SECLUSION PERIOD II .....	87
Notes .....	92
CHAPTER V: THE IMPORTANCE OF TEVFİK FİKRET IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT DURING THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY .....	95
5.1. WESTERNISTS .....	103
5.2. ISLAMISTS .....	105
5.3. TURKISTS .....	107
5.4. THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY AND TEVFİK FİKRET .....	108
Notes .....	117
CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION .....	121
6.1. SUMMARY .....	121
6.2. AN ACCOUNT OF CRITICISM ON TEVFİK FİKRET .....	135
Notes .....	144
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	147
APPENDIX .....	156

## ABBREVIATIONS

C.D.T.A. : Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi

T.C.T.A. : Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi

T.T.K. : Türk Tarih Kurumu



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

We intend to focus on the importance of Tevfik Fikret in this process by arguing the schools of thought in the recent Turkish history and inquiring the objective conditions of the “intellectual” argument.

Since Fikret was for westernization and we have given him the attribution “literati”, we will first of all examine the modernization process which began with the declaration of *Tanzimat* (Reformation Period) in 1839 and the intellectual movement which this process gave rise to. We will investigate three intellectual groups of *Tanzimat*: Neo Ottomans, the Second generation, and the Intermediary Generation in order to reflect their influence on *Servet-i Fânun* movement and on Tevfik Fikret.<sup>1</sup> With *Servet-i Fânun* period, Fikret would mature in social and literary senses and support the renewal movement in literature.<sup>2</sup> The intellectuals who lived in the oppressive regime of Abdulhamit II would lack the opportunity of adopting a political attitude and reactions to social events in their discussions on aesthetic and in introducing new literary forms. Tevfik Fikret will be taken as a model for understanding this period better.

Upon the declaration of Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908 who expressed the social depressions in his works would experience an optimism. However, when the movement failed to fulfil the expectations, the state of the government retrograded and the regime got deteriorated, he

again took side against the regime with his literary works. The westernization movement was being mal-practised and becoming inefficient to fulfill expectations. According to Fikret, people who were well-educated and who held the belief that the future would be better were needed for the salvation of the State. Therefore, he would be for improving the education system. He would try to put his ideas into practice while working as the headmaster of Galatasaray Lycee.

Fikret has become a subject of debates from his own period henceforth because he was for modernization and against injustice. In these debates, especially when the political life was not allowed to institutionalize and nationalistic movements became stronger, he would be regarded as a symbol of left-wing in the 1940s and 1970s as a result of polemics out in the non-political literary journals. This is a clear evidence that Fikret has been examined as an intellectual. Although he had never joined any political organizations, the members of the following generations who would share the same ideas with him would evaluate him as an opponent within the scope of his ideas.

Atatürk was among the ones who evaluated Fikret within the scope of ideas he represented. He undertook Fikret's ideas of laicism and westernization of Turkish Republic. He grasped the importance that Fikret gave to the youth and future; and, became one of the youngsters that Fikret had brought up. We can understand this from Atatürk's speeches and memoirs.

The Ottoman State suffered a lot within its last period, which corresponds to the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the

twentieth century. The Ottoman State had gone through a lot of changes in this period. The social changes influenced the individual to a great extent. Several suggestions were made to save the State in collapse. The solutions that intellectuals offered brought changes in the superstructure only. They were trying to reconstruct the order and help it regain its authority. The bases of modern Turkish literature was formed in this period. Some concepts like nationalism were developed.

The literati, who lived and tried to offer solutions in this process of change, adopted a variety of political and social opinions. However, each was trying to save the State whose borders were narrowing day-by-day. Although their methods were different, their aim was the same. They were trying to make their ideals come true through literature.

Tevfik Fikret is an “intellectual” who lived between 1867 and 1915. In the life and works of Fikret, we can see the traits of Western influence on our intellectuals with their inner conflicts and contradictions of the period. An individual is a product of the society in which he lives. Social, political and economical events in the process of changes influence individuals’ lives. Fikret has also been the founder and leader of *Servet-i Fûnun* movement. He was one of the literati who expressed himself with his life style, personality, and works.

Within this general framework, Fikret, who was an advocate of westernization, will be examined in terms of his life and beliefs. First, the concept “intellectual” will be defined. Then, in the first part of the study, the declaration of *Tanzimat*, which was a result of the Ottoman State’s tendency to westernization and which affected Fikret’s and other intellectuals’ lives

will be argued. Following this, the first intellectual movement that *Tanzimat* gave rise to Neo Ottomans will be examined.

The concept "intellectual", which is still in dispute at present has been interpreted in various ways. This concept that we have borrowed from the West has failed to find an equivalent in our language. Şerif Mardin claims that the word "intellectual", which emerged from the western social history, used to imply the detailed concepts such as *intellectuals*, *intelligentsia*, *literati* and *les clerics*, but was narrowed down to one word in order to avoid misunderstanding. By explaining these concepts, he compares those with our stereotype of intellectual. He adds that the roles of "intellectual" and "government clerk" had existed together hand-in-hand until the twentieth century (1984: 9-16). Relating the existence of intellectuals to modern society, Murat Belge defines intellectuals with regard to their methods, viewpoints, education, and contribution to society and ideologies (1983: 122-129). The concept of "intellectual", which is identical with the concepts like modern society and the West, is defined by Walter Benjamin as: "An intellectual is a receiver, he labels a particular part of the social life via environment to which he belongs. They learn the ideation phases and become a ware of the variety of the world of the past in order to contribute to the historical consciousness" (cited in Uğur, 1984: 171-182).

Examining the word "intellectual" only as a concept might mean disregarding the processes and periods taken into consideration in this study. Intellectuals are people who help general public to become conscious by using all sorts of means. And they are the people who use their intellects to make people become aware of the things around themselves. Only after



this definition, we can examine the names given to the intellectuals in various periods and processes.

The best way of understanding an intellectual is to undertake the historical, geographical, social, political, and economical conditions and value conflicts of the society he lives as a whole. Tevfik Fikret lived in a period of decline for the Ottoman State in which modernization and westernization efforts were immense. When the collapse of *Tımar* (land) system co-occurred with the crises which resulted from not having caught up with the modern developments, the Ottoman State started to give more importance to education. This would give rise to the Modernization Movement. Tevfik Fikret represented the concept of "literati" with his life style and works, his importance in the *Servet-i Fânun* movement, and his being a part of the modernization movement at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. He was also an important example of Turkish intellectuals who viewed literature as a means of their efforts of saving the State. In his works and his personality, we can easily observe the influence of social tides.

The Westernization process entered a new period with the declaration of *Tanzimat* in 1839. The basis of these reforms was the application of western institutions onto the Ottoman State. The measures taken neither prevented the dissolution of the State nor improved the economy.

The Neo-Ottomans movement that took shape toward 1865 tried to defend the parliamentary system. Constitution and education were the key concepts for the Neo-Ottomans. They were not aware of what

economical and social conditions, the West had reached. Civilization for them was a matter of “reason which was free from history and society” (Berkes, 1975: 210). They became acquainted with the West only through literature and education.

We will examine three different movements whose difference was only in their ways of expression. The representative of the first was Şinasi. He was the first intellectual in the *Tanzimat* period who indirectly had an inclination towards positivism. There was a rationalistic approach in the poems and articles of Şinasi who carried the traits of the French Enlightenment Philosophy. He had a westernization thought based on reason. He suggested reason as a means of grasping reality. This movement continued with Ahmet Rıza and Ahmet Şuayib. On the other hand, Namık Kemal represented the other thought. Kemal defended concepts such as liberty, equality and motherland. At the same time, he believed that the social patterns of the West could be integrated with Islamic ideology in order to find a solution to the regression of the Ottoman State. Kemal and Ali Suavi both suggested to adopt the power of the West. They wanted its parliamentary system. They did not have an aim like demolishing the sultanate. In their opinion, having a sultan who was sensitive to the needs of the public was sufficient.

Şinasi, Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha were the representatives of the literature of the *Tanzimat* period. They made use of two means to reach the public: literature and journalism. Among these means they gave more importance to novels. Their heroes reflected the events that they themselves had experienced. They identified France with Europe. The aim was to set the constitutional system. The characteristics of the period were

reflected in the personality of Bihruz Bey in "Araba Sevdası" (Automobile Passion) 1896 by Recaizâde Mahmud Ekrem, of Şatırzâde Şöhret Bey in "Şık" (Elegant) 1889, and of Meftun Bey in "Şipsevdi" (The Susceptible) 1911 by Hüseyin Rahmi. The ideologies that took a different turn with the aim of modernization. These were basically the same were the same in aim but different in expression and became more significant after the proclamation of Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908.

In the second part of this study, we will first undertake the second and intermediary generations of *Tanzimat* which functioned as a bridge to *Servet-i Fânun* period. Then, we will review *Servet-i Fânun* period and its political milieu and mention Fikret's contributions to the magazine, the period, and himself.

In 1876, when Abdülaziz was dethroned, the first constitution was written. The parliament opened in 1877. However, it was dissolved in 1878 by Abdulhamit. The sharp end of the freedom that had been cherished for some time led the intellectual artists to adopt a passive policy. The Ottoman intellectual who had been deeply attached to his traditions thought that he could become modern without leaving the Islamic thought. Meanwhile, Abdulhamit II had been leading a policy which was totally under the influence of the Islamic thought. The conflict between the traditional Islamic thought and Westernist thought gave rise to the establishment of Constitutional Monarchy. The ideas that were put forward by Young Turks developed even more. A somewhat realistic viewpoint emerged after the elimination of the religious thoughts. The *Servet-i Fânun* group had an important effect on this viewpoint.

*Servet-i Fûnun* period did not follow immediately. The second and intermediary generation intellectuals of *Tanzimat* were the originators of this period; they realized some kind of a preparation stage.

The second generation of *Tanzimat* followed an individualistic literature trend. Abdülhak Hamit and Rezaizâde Ekrem represented this trend. They wrote the first Turkish poems in the European prosody. In this period, the ones who were trained in the Faculty of Medicine were closer to materialism. Beşir Fuat, who was said to be the founder of Ottoman materialism and believed to be the most important representative of this thought, started his literary life in this period, (in 1883). However, none of these literati could be romantic or realist. They replaced the concept of “abstract” man of the *Divan Literature* (The Ottoman Classical School of Literature) with the “real” man. After 1850, the realist and naturalist trends of the French literature were realized. Eventually, the foundation of *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* (Turkish literary school at the end of the 19th century) was laid.

Between the first years of Abdülhamit’s oppressive rule and the *Servet-i Fûnun* movement, there was another literary school. According to Mehmet Kaplan (1946), this group whose characteristics was *mecmuacılık* (journalism) dealt mainly with the sensitivity of the individual. They were quite effective in the formation and production of works of *Servet-i Fûnun*. Compared to the former generation, this group evaluated the western works of art, not according to content but according to writing styles.

The literati who had fought for significant subjects between 1839 and 1876 suddenly found themselves in a period of oppression in Abdülhamit’s reign. The individualized feeling and ideas were expressed

with a kind of modernism which avoided any kind of intrusion. It was not possible for them to be in any organizational political action. Consequently, they could only show their social reactions through literature. This could be achieved only through a new form of literature which was for art's sake. The *Servet-i Fûnun* period was represented by individualistic romanticism, realism, parnacism and symbolism. Having been educated at western type of schools, they realized the drastic gap between the West and their own present conditions. These years, which could be described as a period of self-pity and melancholy, gave rise to the efforts of diagnosis and remedy in the following years, such as the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908. Tevfik Fikret represented both sides of this dilemma. The greatest goal of the *Servet-i Fûnun* intellectuals, under the influence of physiologists, was to reflect their emotions openly and directly. They used the simplest and humblest things of life as their themes in their poetry. They adopted Rousseau's concept of Romantic Nature. In this section, we will examine Fikret who took part in this movement with regard to the society he was raised in, the basic schools of thought and the personalities he was deeply affected by in the formation of his new identity. Fikret's mission with his poetry of political social content gained importance in this movement. His literary works brought many novelties to the *Divan Literature*.

*Servet-i Fûnun* was a literary magazine unconcerned with political affairs. Upon Rezaizâde Ekrem's request, Fikret became its editor. A number of well-known writers who were for modernization gathered in the magazine. They called themselves the *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* (New Literature) group. Fikret, who displayed his personality and point of view in this periodical, "took personal emotions besides his poems with social contents and wrote symbolic and pastoral poems" (Usta, 1986: 24).

The “absurd-quoted” argument (which will be examined in Chapter 3) took place between the ones who were for new poetry and ones who were for *Divan* poetry. Fikret mentioned the necessity of changing poetry of the day and stressed the meaninglessness of imitating the old. Fikret and his group had strong arguments with the advocates of *Divan* poetry. Their life philosophy was based on realistic and deterministic approaches. They viewed the world pessimistically. They wanted to escape from the milieu in which they lived and developed the idea of immigrating to New Zealand. “... wanted to run away to places which had a dreamlike purity. He used such feelings as themes of his poems” (Usta, 1986: 25).

In the poems that he wrote in this period, Fikret made poetry come closer to prose. Spreading out the sentences of daily speech onto lines, he wrote rhymed poems which had measurement. He was criticized for imitating the French and ruining literature by making it artificial.

Eventually, the public began to accept the modern thoughts in the magazine. Then, a self-criticism period began. Fikret, who could not get along with Ahmet İhsan, quit. His poetry with social content, which had developed together with the magazine, reached to its climax after he left the magazine. He expressed his world view with his poem “Sis” (Fog) that he wrote in 1901. From then on, he had a new identity.

The forth part of the thesis will review Fikret’s life that gave him his social-political identity and that he led idealistically. Intellectuals are quoters and products of the society they live in. Learning about Fikret’s life, gains importance in this sense. By presenting Fikret’s life the conditions and sufferings of his contemporaries will also be displayed.

Tevfik Fikret displayed a life style uniting his ideas and actions. He was the first to deal with the concepts, "childhood" and "youth". He believed in reason and scientific thought. He had a firm belief in avoiding the collapse of the State. He was the first to put forward strong criticisms to sultanate and caliphate.

The fifth part of the study will analyze Fikret's stance and importance among the trends of thought in the 1908 Second Constitutional Monarchy. Having gained a social-political identity, Fikret expressed his reactions to the social events and the government.

The *Tanzimat* created a dual pattern in the field of thought. In that period, different ideologies completely opposing to each other survived together. This dual pattern emerging in the Second Constitutional Monarchy found a discussion ground across different ideologies. The schools of thought first emerged in the forms of the Ottoman movement, Islamic movement and Westernization movement; later its structure changed and Turkism movement became popular. By means of freedom of press, the discrepancy between the intellectuals and the general public deepened even more. In 1878, Abdulhamit II dissolved the parliament and brought several restrictions. This situation activated the schools as *Tanzimat* did. The intellectuals saw what the parliament could do as an institution and perceived it as an ideal which had to be kept alive. According to Tunaya, the Young Turks were the defenders of this ideal (1960: 46). The Committee of Union and Progress declared liberty and dethroned Abdulhamit, who was against the idea of a Constitutional Monarchy. While ruling the country, the Committee adopted a nationalistic and Islamic doctrine. *Türk Ocakları* (The Turkish Fraternities) which had



spread all around the country, took the responsibility of educating people about nationalism. According to Tunaya, Ziya Gökalp acted as an intermediary between the Turkish Fraternity and the Party (1960: 49). In this section of the present study, we will examine the Turkism movement and Ziya Gökalp. The aim of the Turkists was to unite the Turks who lacked sense of nationalism under the Ottoman flag.

The supporters of the Islamic movement had been publishing "Siratı Müstakim" since the last years of Abdulhamit's reign. In the Second Constitutional Monarchy period, "Sebilürreşad" took the place of this magazine. Among its outstanding writers were Akif, Aksekili Hamdi, Mahmut Esat and Ahmet Naim. According to Ülken, a great number of these writers with a modern Islamic view left the magazine and joined the advocates of Turkism and Westernism (1992: 202, 3rd ed.). The most prominent representative of Islamic movement was Mehmet Akif. The supporters of this movement who opposed the values put forward by the supporters of the Westernization movement thought that they were the ones to be blamed for the bad conditions the State was in. For them the western and eastern civilizations were different from each other and there was no need to transfer from one civilization to another.

The supporters of the Westernization movement, on the other hand, emphasized education, school training and increase in the number of social institutions. With his practice in Galatasaray Lycee, the themes he used in his poems, the novelties he brought to the literary field, Fikret became a good model for the intellectuals who supported the Westernization movement. These intellectuals saw the success of the West in economical and social fields. They claimed that for the Ottoman State to reach that success level, it was necessary to make scientific and technological progress.



Fikret was over-criticized in the periods when nationalistic movements reached their peak. Generally speaking, such arguments increased in the 1915s, 1940s and 1970s. With his poetic dispute, he was shown as an example of anarchism, Utopian socialist and even of the small bourgeoisie intellectual. Fikret, who was so much argued about, represents the transition period in our social life and in the history of thought. Fikret pledged his life to society, humanism and secularism. In his poetry, he dealt with social issues without being didactic.

It is necessary for us to recognize Tevfik Fikret as a poet with his invaluable contributions to our poetry; and to present Fikret as a model for the new generation with his hopes about future and as a good teacher; and, to understand him as an honest and virtuous person; and to recognize Fikret as one of the literati who was deeply concerned with the political and social issues of his own period and who fought for his ideals in the best way he knew.

## NOTES

- (1) We divided Tanzimat intellectuals into three generations in chronological order as follows: The Neo-Ottomans (Yeni Osmanlılar), The Second Generation (İkinci Nesil) and The Intermediary Generation (Ara Nesil).
- (2) "Servet-i Fûnun" is an important period in which there occurred a modernization movement in literature. It is also the name for a periodical in that period. Servet-i Fûnun Intellectuals themselves named this period "Edebiyat-ı Cedide (New Literature). However, in the studies of this period the previous name is preferred that is, Servet-i Fûnun.

---

## CHAPTER II

### THE INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT AND THE SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT DEVELOPED IN THE TANZİMAT PERIOD

The process that began with *Tanzimat* opened a new path for some movements such as Ottomanism, Islamism, Westernism and Turkism. This period, *Tanzimat* also helped the literati to find new ways of expressing their ideas and emotions, their world views and perceiving life. The efforts of reconstruction and decisions that were taken are still being discussed today. In this chapter, without too much penetrating into *Tanzimat*, we will give an overview of the period and try to evaluate it. Later, we will examine the Neo-Ottomans who criticized the period and their practices. In doing so, our purpose is to reach the basis of the values which formed Fikret's identity. In other words, we aim to provide an insight to pre-Fikret period, the values which prepared him for the society in his own conditions.

#### 2.1. TANZİMAT PERIOD 1839-1878

The aim of *Tanzimat* was to prevent the fall of the Ottoman State and open a new port for the integration with western civilizations. The Ottoman State faced the superiority of the west in military and industrial areas with the defeat of Vienna Siege in the seventeenth century, and

started reformation movements in order to survive. In the eighteenth century, it was no longer able to protect its land unity against Europe. Reforms which had started with Selim III, continued with Mahmut II. *Tanzimat*, and which can be considered as a turning point, was announced by Abdülmecit with the leadership of Resit Pasha. The effects of *Tanzimat* can still be observed today. We have to consider the conditions of the society in order to study the identity of an intellectual who lived in the Ottoman State which had been in a development/change process for the past 200 years. Furthermore, we must consider the influence of the structure set by *Tanzimat* period among the factors that shaped Fikret's identity. Karal stated that both the reformation movement that started in the 18th century as a whole gave rise to a reformation movement in literature, too. He added that encounters with the intellectual aspect of Europe caused a struggle between the values of the East and West (1988: 183). Retaining their ties with the eastern mystic philosophy, the followers of *Tanzimat* accepted the western literary and art traditions by following the materials, and carried on their religious values at the same time. With *Tanzimat*, university, secondary and primary schools were established. The structure of *medresses* were not touched. Those two different mentalities with the same task were to exist together. *Medresses* represented the theocratic side while the new schools represented the modern. This dualist structure also took place in *Tanzimat* literature. *Tanzimat* not only laid a foundation for both the first and Second Constitutional Monarchies but also originated the idea of republic.

*Tanzimat* was announced approximately 154 years ago and the debates on it are still going on. In Ortaylı opinion, the reason behind this debate is the fact that "the modernization of the Ottoman State covers the

change of the institutions and individuals of that society, and the structure of the government which was the essence of the social and political organization" (1987, 2nd ed., 12). The modernization of the Ottoman State was not related only to the changing world. Ottomans, themselves, felt the necessity of changing. The change in life styles also affected the structure of the society. This changing process was evaluated from different aspects by different intellectuals. According to Eryılmaz (1992), these arguments can be divided into three main groups: the first group considers this period as the beginning of modernization in governmental, juridical and political systems, and as the first step towards constitutional regime and secularization.<sup>1</sup> We can include the ones who supported the thesis of republican history in this group. They regard *Tanzimat* period as a successful trial for the republic. The second group views *Tanzimat* as a westernization movement which put the country into a state of colony. However, they accept its positive side and state that the foundation of Turkish nation was laid with *Tanzimat*. We can put the ones who evaluated *Tanzimat* in the milieu of the 1960s into this group. The third group supports the idea that *Tanzimat* has corrupted the Ottoman community in many ways; its inapt policy of westernization was to be blamed for the degeneration of the society; and the west has been imitated blindly.<sup>2</sup>

In the application of *Tanzimat*, a hierarchical order was followed. A new reconstruction was required to direct the society. The answer was found in a strong centralized bureaucracy. The Ottoman State which had wide borders was approaching to its fall as it did not have a strong governmental cadre. In addition to the Greek riots which had caused great

---

trouble for the State for 10 years, Mehmet Ali riots started. With confiscation *Müsadere Usulü* (safety of property) about which we will give further information later, a governmental bureaucracy, in the western sense of the word, was formed in the Ottoman State. The name of the new center of power was the *Bab-ı Ali* (Sublime Porte). This institution had been very influential on the government until Abdülhamit II suspended *Kanun-ı Esasi* (the Constitution) in 1876. The statesman who realized the necessity of a change in traditional institutions and politics in the Ottoman State was Mustafa Resit Pasha.

“Being without the support of the intellectuals and an appropriate social milieu to solve the problems he had encountered, Resit Pasha was deprived of an authority on which he could rely. He tried to solve his problem of being alone by strengthening the bureaucracy of the Sublime Porte.” (Kodaman, Alkan, 1992: 7)

The authority of the government was transferred actually from sultan to the Sublime Porte. In fact, a similar situation had happened before with the *Sened-i İttifak* (Alliance Deed). With this deed in 1808, Mahmut II accepted feudal chieftains as a party. Tunaya calls this period “the Intellectual Despotism Era” (1960).<sup>3</sup> Mardin who states that this policy, which has been parallel to the foundation of national states and the strengthening of the middle class, aims at establishing a national unity. (1992: 2nd ed., 14).<sup>4</sup> In fact, the Sublime Porte was against *Divan-ı Hümayun* (the Imperial Chancery of State) which was an uncontrolled body. According to Ülken, the Sublime Porte being against the Imperial Chancery represented a mentality of state where “law was the absolute authority” (1992, 3rd ed., 41). On the other hand, Berkes claims that rather than setting ties between the ruler and the public, *Tanzimat* limited the sultan’s

authority in front of the government not in front of the public (1978: 210). However, the Sublime Porte being an action supported by the sultan failed to receive any social support. After 1856, all social problems were taken up by intellectuals seriously. *Tanzimat* brought centralization and bureaucracy to the understanding of government. It took the European model and tried to unite the western institutions and systems with traditional Ottoman values and institutions. A dualist structure came into being. The aim was to be a part of the western world. In a way, *Tanzimat* was one of the measures that the State took to protect itself against Europe. While trying to decrease the European pressure, the government entered a way of no return. The European countries were not satisfied with the changes brought up by *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu* (Gülhane Imperial Edict), and, eventually forced the Ottoman State to announce the *Islahat Fermanı* (Reform Edict) in 1856. The need of modernization in the government structure would be answered by the western model. İlber Ortaylı (1987) claims that the West is a model which does not give any freedom of choice.

*Tanzimat* is a product of a process. It is the result of the efforts to find a solution to the fall of the State. The reforms which had been carried out first in the military field were found to be insufficient and changes were made in the structure of bureaucracy and government were made. The Ottoman State which was in great depression used reforms to be in good terms with the West and to maintain its existence. Domestic factors were as effective as exterior factors to accelerate the reforms. Engelhard states that Turkey was compelled hard by Europe, and the government which was in trouble announced *Tanzimat* to please Europe, and adds: "... faced with this urgent need, Turkey remitted rights to its non-Moslem subjects, and had to

accept the concept of equality between Moslem and Christian populations and gradually brought it into application" (Eryılmaz, 1992: 78).<sup>5</sup> If we consider *Tanzimat* from the viewpoint of the European countries, we can understand their points in a general way. Russia and Austria did not have a positive attitude toward the idea of a liberal government. They did not wish the Ottoman State to adopt a regime which was similar to a constitutional government after England and France. It could set an example for the nations which were under the sovereignty of Austria and Russia. Furthermore, *Tanzimat* might save Turkey from its bad condition. Russia tried to interfere with the interior affairs of the State directly. Austria announced its opposition openly. Prince Metternich, the Prime Minister of Austria, sent the government a letter which was said to be written with good intentions about Turkey. In the letter, it was written that the government had to keep its old regime. Britain was for protecting the unity of Ottoman lands as the main roads to India were passing through them. France, too, supported the idea of a stronger Turkey against the Russian danger which was increasing gradually (Karal, 1988: 189-190) (for detailed information about British Policy, see Bailey, 1942: 179-205).

Gülhane Imperial Edict and Reform Edict were announced before two important agreements. The Ottoman State which solved the Egypt question with the help of Britain signed an agreement with the British after Crimean war and just before Paris Conference.

The Ottoman State had not accomplished any success in the war it fought against Mehmet Ali Pasha, the governor of Egypt. Mustafa Resit Pasha had tried to get the support of Europe in order to solve the Egypt question. He thought *Tanzimat* would be the solution. Although the



---

Imperial Chancery was not pleased with the situation, it connived at the reformation actions to find a solution to the Egypt question (Cevdet Pasha, 1953: 1-12). Before the Egypt question, trade agreements had been signed with Britain on 16 August 1838 and with France on 25 November 1838. Britain which had completed its industrial revolution was looking for new markets where it could sell its products and provide raw materials from. In that period, the Ottoman regime had a kind of monopolism. The goal was to break off this monopolism. With these agreements, a step was taken to liberalize domestic and foreign trade. Britain found this opportunity with Mehmet Ali riot. The British gave the impression that it was behind the Ottoman State on one hand; any, they were showing green light to Mehmet Ali on the other hand.

The Ottoman State made an approach to Britain to get support against the increasing Russian danger and Mehmet Ali's riot. This meant making some compromises on their part. They signed the trade agreement with the British in 1838. When monopolies in trade were abolished, Mehmet Ali Pasha could not afford paying his soldiers' salaries since the same conditions were valid for Egypt. This agreement was a sign that the Ottoman State lost the control in foreign trade. The Ottoman State which lost the opportunity of using its sources had to borrow money after Crimean war.

The Greek riot which started in 1820 resulted in the foundation of Greek Republic. The riot which started in Vidin before *Tanzimat* showed that the same danger could rise for Bulgaria. In order to prevent this, equality rights were remitted to non-Moslem subjects with *Gülhane Edict*. There were efforts to introduce the concept of Ottomanism. İnalcık, who evaluates *Tanzimat* as being a westernization movement, claims that the

religious sect question has been of great importance. He explains the policy in application as “an Ottoman union which was based on juridical equality of the subjects of the Empire”, and calls this movement as the “Ottomanism Policy” (İnalçık, 1943: 4).<sup>6</sup> The relations of non-Moslems who were dealing with trade with foreign countries and their being under the protection of these foreign countries, and the reflection of the ideological developments of the 18th century onto the Ottoman State caused serious problems. Another factor of this was the lack of a strong military force. *Tanzimat* which was basically the concept of equality upset the superiority idea of the Ottoman Moslems. We can find the roots of such a development in a remark made by Mahmut II. He said, “From now on, my subjects are discriminated as being Moslems only in mosque, Christians only in church, and Jews only in synagogue” (Kaynar, 1954: 100). This remark can also be evaluated as a step taken forward the freedom of the individual which is necessary for a modern government. This remark meant that all the subjects were equal except for their religious beliefs.

*Tanzimat* is the name of the period between Gülhane Imperial Edict on 3 November 1839 and the first constitutional government in 1876. *Tanzimat* can be divided into two sub-periods. The first sub-period was the announcement and application of Gülhane Edict (1839-1856); the second sub-period was between the Reform Edict in 1856 and the establishment of the first constitutional government in 1876. “*Tanzimat* as a concept express a reconstruction and change in Turkish political, governmental, economical and social life” (Eryılmaz, 1992: 91). The intention was to improve the governmental and juridical systems and to set laws and order. In its dictionary meaning, it can be defined as reorganization (Ortaylı, 1983a: 1545).<sup>7</sup>

---

*Tanzimat* accommodates three main ideas. 1839 and 1856 Edicts which were based on freedom; molding the legal government into councils, courts and provincial organizations; and writing a report on cultivation affairs such as opening schools and hospitals. On one hand, it made decisions in accordance with the superiority of the West; on the other hand, it symbolized the devotion to ancient civilization. This dualist structuring became effective in shaping the institutions until the foundation of the Republic. The Edicts did not offer a warranty of the rights of the individual in front of sultan's prerogatives. Actually, the Edict was a human decree. The Edict focused on equality the most, but it was studied not from a juridical viewpoint but from the viewpoint of Ottomanism. Tunaya claims, "the second and reconciling method of *Tanzimat*, by itself, caused a duality in the goal of the State" (1960: 34). *Tanzimat* which caused serious changes in the social structure influenced the proceeding reforms, too. From the viewpoint of application, it caused serious domestic and foreign reactions. (The announcement of the Edict caused serious reactions in foreign media. For further information, see Kaynar, 1954: 186, 187, 188).

Focusing on safety of property and life in reforms formed the essence of Gülhane Edict. Resit Pasha thought that he could get the support of Europe with *Tanzimat* for the Egypt question which was brought to the agenda again in 1838. He mentioned that upon Sultan's command, the suitability of the Edict to religious principles was examined by a committee formed in the Sublime Porte and then written. The Edict was written by M. Resit Pasha. Rather than being a constitution or set of laws, Gülhane Edict was a document which made promises about making changes in the relations between Sultan's authority and the rights of the common people (Berkes, 1978: 208).

---

The Edict had three main subtitles. The first was related to the safety of property, life and honor of people; the second was related to tax justice; and, the last was related to ways of enlisting and the length of the military service. The item which caused great discontent was the first. This item made Moslems and non-Moslems equal. The Edict was totally based on religious statutes.

The applications brought despotism of bureaucracy, and statesmen took only their own properties, lives and honors under protection. The Edict also aimed to bring tax justice and to ameliorate the methods of concession. It pointed at the necessity of making a national budget. Another important topic was military service. The officers who were responsible for collecting soldiers had been enlisting men all over the country regardless of their marital status. This application was changed. In the application of Gülhane Edict, the witnessing of friendly countries was requested to avoid any probable difficulty. Thus, the Ottoman Empire went under the executorship of Europe with *Tanzimat*. The British and French diplomats formed almost half of the population in Istanbul. Due to some problems which were not covered by Gülhane Edict, the representatives of big countries, especially the British ambassador, acted as supervisors of applications. With their influence, the Reform Edict was announced in 1856. Upon the end of Crimean war, a peace conference was going to be held in Paris. The Ottoman State wanted to prevent Russians in this conference from making wishes for Orthodox subjects with reference to a claim of right that Russia had gained since Agreement. That is why they wanted the Reform Edict to be prepared in 1856 in order to guarantee the rights of minorities. Another edict which repeated the principles of *Tanzimat* after

debates that had been carried out by the Grand Vizier, Sheikhulislam and foreign ambassadors was announced. For this edict, Berkes says, "Like the 1839 Edict, it did not have any constitutional quality, rather it listed solid reforms which would realize the promises made in the previous one: a budget would be made; banks would be established; foreign experts and foreign capital would be invited; mixed courts would be set" (1978: 211).<sup>8</sup> This document which was prepared for Christians were criticized a lot.

In the application of *Tanzimat*, the role of the government on society was increased. The failures in application caused many criticisms. Gülhane Edict did not remain as a document. The fact that some changes that were made in tax system and removal of drudgery resulted in very serious problems. In addition to Nice and Vidin riots, and failure in economy, the domination of notables continued in lower degrees. Theologist supported conservative notables in meetings. İnalçık mentions how different the effect of Gülhane Edict was on non-Moslem subjects and Anatolians with the following remark:

"... the restlessness in Rumelia caused by Gülhane Edict showed an inclination of national-political riot and of a subject which was of international political interest. The non-Moslem subjects in Rumelia were getting ready to rebel under the leadership of Christian notables for real social reforms; meanwhile, in Anatolia, traditional institutions of the old Ottoman Empire were resisting against reforms and were leading the people accordingly." (1983, 1544).

The common people were not convinced about how the equality between Moslems and non-Moslems would work. Furthermore, since contractors of public revenue could not obtain wealth easily any more, they tried to provoke people claiming that Gülhane Edict was against the

principles of Islam. Non-Moslem subjects were not content about the situation, either. They tried to take shelter in the protection of foreign countries. The Orthodox population got the support of Russia, Catholics got the support of France, and Protestants got the support of Britain. The reforms of France, and Protestants got the support of Britain. The reforms worsened the situation rather than ameliorating it. There was no expert cadre to carry out reforms. Economical measures put the State in a greater difficulty let alone increasing the income of the State. The State incurred a great debt. The applications caused restlessness between Moslem and non-Moslem nations. There appeared two different reactions on the level of thought: Islamic Law movement vs. Nationalism and Constitutionalism vs. Individualism. There were no sharp differences to cause polarization.

*Tanzimat* period created literary group. This group who was trying to specify the milieu and time in which they lived was interested in European and world history, and made translations. The intellectuals who formed the cadres in government offices did not have a tradition of policy and organization behind them. The first generation was reformist. The second generation dealt with ideology, and showed systematic opposition to individual and party conflicts. Ortaylı states, "The period which began with Mustafa Resit Pasha's intellectual autocracy came to an end with Mithat Pasha's constitutionalism" (1987, 2nd ed., 205). In the 1860s, Neo-Ottomans appeared on the stage. We will study this group who influenced their own period and the following periods in another section.

## 2.2. THE NEO-OTTOMANS

As mentioned earlier, after the declaration and application of *Tanzimat*, the modernization movements led to a number of reactions. Among these, the Neo-Ottoman movement is of great importance. Neo-Ottomans formed the basis of *Tanzimat* literature and *Servet-i Fûnun* movement. The reformation movements which were started by Neo-Ottomans contributed significantly to *Servet-i Fûnun* movement, specifically, the literature of which Tevfik Fikret acted as the founder. The Neo-Ottoman movement has been subject debates and comments in numerous ways.<sup>9</sup> According to Ortaylı (1983b), these comments can be gathered in three groups. The first are the comments serving to a particular goal with a diachronic study. The second is the sublimation of struggles in the establishment of a constitutional monarchy and human rights. The last is that, with a conspirative historian style, they were under the influence of Europe and had free-masonry connections. After the 1950s, the quality and development of the movement and its place in the social texture were studied. There are few sources for those who have been involved in studying this subject.<sup>10</sup>

The Neo-Ottoman movement, which started in 1865, began as a reaction to Ali and Fuad Pashas, the followers of *Tanzimat* principles after Resit pasha. In other words, they were an opposition group formed by famous writers of that period gathered around constitutionalism. In addition to this, the movement was taken as a success of the journalist group. According to Tunaya, the Neo-Ottomans were Turkish Carbonaries. They associated the reformation actions in the Ottoman Empire with the revolution of the West<sup>11</sup> (1960: 64). The Neo-Ottoman movement is often



mistaken for actions carried out by certain organizations which have worked against the government.<sup>12</sup>

After Hafız Müşfik had become the general editor of the newspaper called "Ceride-i Havadis" (Registration of News), the young writers of the period gathered around him. The leaders of literature and thought came together. Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi, Ziya Pasha, Mehmet Bey and Agâh Efendi set the opposition against monarchy despite their ideological differences.

The name "Neo-Ottomans" were given by the Turkish journalists who came together in Paris in 1867 to themselves. "The Association, when started printing in Europe, chose its official title as Neo-Ottoman Association which was accepted as the translation of Jeunes-Turcs" (Sungu, 1940: 1). The Neo-Ottoman group did not accept these two terms or their meanings neither on their way to Europe nor when they were there. In that period being "jeune" in Europe meant nationalism, constitutionals and republicanism (Berkes, 1978: 278). On the other hand, according to Sungu, the association, itself, picked up the name "Neo-Ottomans" as the translation of Jeunes-Turcs.<sup>13</sup>

Ali and Fuad Pashas followed M. Resit Pasha's direction in *Tanzimat*. *Tanzimat* had been supported by Abdülmecit, that was why no one opposed the reformists. However, eventually, this support got lost. After having hindered the interference of the sultan who was the absolute authority Resit Pasha, Ali and Fuad Pashas "... collected the governmental activities in a center called the Sublime Porte and established an oligarchical sovereignty" (Koray, 1992: 548). This event revealed the power of the press,



and the reaction which was caused by this event appeared as the reaction of the general public via press. With the 1856 Reform Edict, the Christian subjects adopted the desire of becoming nations. As has been presented in the previous chapter, meanwhile the minorities were setting ties with western countries. As a result, the Ottomans had the fright of losing the status of the "dominating nation". The intellectuals who had supported the reform movement from the very beginning began to complain about the independent attitude of the Sublime Porte. Mardin states that Neo-Ottomans viewed the Reform Edicts as "a document which reinforced economical imperialism". And, for them, "Ali and Fuad Pashas not only proffered the Ottoman Moslems to the powerful countries of Europe from a political viewpoint but also became the slaves of Europe because of their economical policies" (1992: 2nd ed., 87-88). As we will study in the following sections of this chapter, the Neo-Ottomans were against their imitation of the European culture. For them, *Tanzimat* was nothing more than an imitation of culture. It was sterile on cultural level, and shook the Moslem community from the base. Because of this, Neo-Ottomans wanted to establish their understanding of democracy onto "the principles which would be taken from the Islamic law" (1992: 89). They took strict measures. To make their voices heard, Neo-Ottomans chose the newspapers and literature.<sup>14</sup>

The followers of *Tanzimat* aimed to rise the education level of the country and to train people who could work at the cadres of government officers. The graduates of high school became the opposition group that the government, itself, trained.<sup>15</sup> The ones who were trained at newly opened schools welded with the idea of the West very quickly. For Mardin, the

Neo-Ottoman movement was “an unforeseen result of the reforms that put both the public and the government in trouble (1983a: 1698). In addition, putting the conditions of the statesmen and the ideas that the new generations defended on opposite sides was another result of the conflict that *Tanzimat* caused. Another consequence was the Kuleli event.<sup>16</sup> The Kuleli Event which came into being in 1856 covered a small group who aimed to dethrone Abdülmecit or kill him, if necessary. Another organization was the *İttifak-ı Hamiyyet* (Association of Patriots).<sup>17</sup> This organization which was established in 1865 failed to reach its goal as its action plans were revealed.

The ideas of Neo-Ottomans were inspired by the vulgarisation and hall talks of the Western Enlightenment Philosophy. Neo-Ottomans wanted a more radical change in the pathway opened by *Tanzimat*. They thought that their wish could come true by adopting the parliamentary system and imitating the Western civilization. Of course, while doing these, they did not want to make any compromises from the moral values that held the country together. Birand claims, “These philosophers who wanted to reconcile the western civilization with the Eastern culture, and especially, Namık Kemal, were optimistic” (1955: 22). The policy of the Neo-Ottomans were based on two principles. Their aims were to change the Ottoman foreign policy in order to adopt a more independent policy, and to save the country from monarchy in order to establish a constitutional government (Tunaya, 1960: 64). According to Ortaylı, the structure of thoughts of the Neo-Ottomans “formed a rich range which contains a variety of opinions from a constitutional liberalism to a modern Islamism, even to a premature Turkism and socialism” (1983b: 1702).

---

There were several factors that underlined the reactions of the intellectuals. The political and social opinions of the West were adopted by young intellectuals. Especially what they had read and translated from French writers affected the intellectuals to regard the reforms as being insufficient. After the press which had newly developed had close relations with the Western culture, it became influential in spreading out some concepts and ideas to the public and in forming debates about the reforms. The meetings that had been held in mansions later formed the basis of the political aspects of the Neo-Ottomans. Masonic lodges were said to have an important place. In the development of new opinions, some refugees who had taken part in the riots in Poland and Hungary, and escaped from their countries played an important role. In addition, we can count the newspaper named *Courier D'Orient* which was being published in French in Istanbul.<sup>18</sup> The depressions that were experienced in the last years of *Tanzimat* and the reign of Abdülaziz drove this group out of the limits of being an opposition group into being a political criticism and grouping which had a particular content and program.

"*Tasvir-i Efkâr*" (Description of Ideas) which Şinasi founded in 1861 was playing an important role in informing the public. When Şinasi left for Paris in 1856, Kemal began publishing the newspaper alone by focusing on social issues. In 1861, Abdülaziz ascended the throne. In 1866, the Crete riot began. Faced with the danger of fall of the State, the idea of opening a parliament became important again. Ali Suavi wrote for "*Muhbir*" (Informant) and Namık Kemal for "*Tasvir*". Ali Pasha who was alarmed by the writings issued a regulation (Ali's Regulations) about the press. Following this, Ali Suavi was arrested and exiled to Kastamonu, Ziya

---

Pasha was appointed as the governor of Cyprus and Namık Kemal was appointed as the vice-governor of Erzurum. Upon this development, Giampetri invited Kemal and Ziya Pasha to "Courier d'Orient" to inform them that Mustafa Fazıl Pasha<sup>19</sup> expected them to go to Paris. Some foreign sources mention that the group had a meeting which was held under the leadership of Fazıl Pasha to prepare a regulation in August 1867 in Baden-Baden. They claim that the written documents were burnt in Warsaw Library because of the German bombardment during the Second World War (Davison, 1973: 215).

After Neo-Ottomans had come to Paris, it was heard that Abdülaziz would come for an exhibition. Cemil Pasha, the ambassador of Paris, tried hard to throw the Neo-Ottomans out of Paris in order to do Ali Pasha a favor. On 30 June 1867, Ziya and Kemal went to London together with Agâh and Suavi. As he had made a deal with Abdülaziz, M. Fazıl returned to Istanbul. Before he left, he found money for the Neo-Ottomans and left its management to Ziya Pasha. They published "Muhbir" on 31 August 1876. Suavi began printing articles which were not related to the ideas of the Neo-Ottomans.<sup>20</sup> Upon the fact that "Muhbir" was printing articles which were against their principles, they decided to remove the stamp of the "Neo-Ottoman Society" and to begin publishing a newspaper called "Hürriyet" (Liberty). Kemal and Ziya Pasha were writing for "Hürriyet".

They had lost their trust in M. Fazıl as he had left the Neo-Ottomans and returned to Istanbul. In fact, they were not getting along well with each other anyway. Nuri Bey mentions that he grasped the situation better after he came to Paris and adds, "... I realized that it was not possible to change a country easily just upon the desire of three or five

people, and I found myself in a great doubt whether our efforts were reasonable or not. Having realized that it was not possible to reach the reality without education, I used the opportunity that I obtained to consider myself as a student who came to Paris. He further mentions the opinion differences among the members of the society. He claims that Mehmet Bey thought a liberalism in the country was connected only with a national (Ottoman) movement, and that Ziya Pasha tried to get closer to Abdülaziz to realize his idea of gaining the possession of power. Agâh Efendi proposed that important positions should be obtained and, if necessary, good relations should be established with the statesmen. He states that Namık Kemal was satisfied with following the pathway of the Ottoman Dynasty, and that nothing serious could be realized without the Sultan's will, and that because of these, for realizing reforms, no solution could be found other than waiting for a sultan who had good intentions to ascend the throne. He mentions that Rifat Bey gave importance to any action being legal, and that Resat Bey realized that we were in blind alley, and he had no opinions and tried to enlarge his personal knowledge. He also talks about Suavi and says that the members of the society tried to keep him under control in order to prevent Suavi from behaving in a certain way which could lead to negative interpretations (Kaplan, 1948: 67-68).

When "Hürriyet" printed articles against the governor of Egypt, Ismail Pasha realized the disagreements they had among themselves and sent them money. Kemal refused this. However, Ziya Pasha accepted the offer and began to publish "Hürriyet" in Switzerland. He wrote articles which were in favor of Ismail Pasha and against Fazıl Pasha and the Sublime Porte.<sup>21</sup> Upon the death of Ali Pasha on 6 September 1871,

---

Mahmud Nedim took his place. He declared an amnesty and all the Neo-Ottomans, except Suavi, returned to Istanbul.

Upon their arrival in Istanbul, Kemal and his friends rented the newspaper "İbret" (Admonition) and started printing their own writings. Ali and Fuad Pashas were not alive any more, and the French-German war and the governing of M. Nedim Pasha became their major concern. The Neo-Ottoman group was dissolved, and Kemal set his hopes upon the young.

The Neo-Ottomans who stayed in Europe for three and a half years succeeded neither in establishing a political party nor in forming an agreement among themselves. However, their writings and ideas set up for political, social and literary developments; they were the inspiration for the 1876 Constitution and 1908 Young Turks revolution.

### 2.2.1. AN ACCOUNT OF THE NEO-OTTOMAN IDEOLOGY

As we have mentioned before, there was no agreement among the Neo-Ottoman group. The Neo-Ottomans about which we have given a general historical information were important in this study as they set a kind of model for the *Servet-i Fünun* movement, which was a turning point in Fikret's life. Generally, the Neo-Ottoman movement is examined around different axes. From the viewpoint of Şinasi who was for "westernization based on reason" and of Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha who were for "a parliamentary system to a certain extent"<sup>22</sup> (Mardin, 1992: 2nd ed., 89).

---

The first generation of *Tanzimat*, such as N. Kemal, Şinasi, Theodore Kasap, was influenced by French revolution. Their lives in Paris helped their ideological and political opinions to be shaped. Their wishes about the constitutional system gained a specific basis. They became familiar with the works of progressive French literature and the works of Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Hugo, Moliere, Lamartine and Condorcet.<sup>23</sup> In their works, they were against reactionarism, oppression and injustice, and they made use of concepts such as country, nation, liberty, equality, constitutionalism, law and justice. Having come from government offices, Şinasi started the tradition of social and political criticism. Şinasi played "the role an effective bridge in all of the three trends 'scientism, populism and constitutionalism' " (Berkes, 1978: 256).

In the 19th century, the Ottoman intellectual was a kind of itinerant. He experienced the process of gaining knowledge via travelling and observing. He moved from the "intuitive" method of the east to the "perceptive" method. He formed a concrete civilization out of his goal that he wanted to attain (Isin, 1983a: 352). The Ottoman intellectual, who found himself in the middle of two opposite trends, one being the French positivism and the other being the German idealism in the 19th century western philosophy, chose positivism. Within this general framework, Şinasi was the first intellectual who gave importance to science and reason in the Ottoman modernization Şinasi lived between 1826-1871. He took his place beside the reformists who actualized *Tanzimat*, especially Resit Pasha, and became the trainer of the Neo-Ottomans. Mardin states, "Even though a number of trends had influenced the Neo-Ottoman movement, the foundation of the ideological traditions of the movement was laid by only



---

one person: the poet Şinasi who introduced the social and political opinions of the 19th century Europe to Turkish intellectuals with his works (1962: 252). Like the other intellectuals and bureaucrats of that period, Şinasi educated himself in the government post he had.<sup>24</sup>

After he had come back from Paris, he showed interest in journalism. He released "Tasvir-i Efkâr" by himself. "Tasvir-i Efkâr" later became a newspaper around which he young gathered. Ertaylan claims, "This newspaper became a school of innovations. A number of invaluable youngsters like Namık Kemal and Recaizade Ekrem were examples by the expertise of Şinasi" (No date: 8). In this newspaper, there were examples from western literature, and translations from Lamartin and Victor Hugo. They released a collection of the Ottoman proverbs in Paris.<sup>25</sup>

Şinasi used concepts such as reason, law, civilization and the like in his works. According to him, what represented the universality was reason. In order to ameliorate the system, the traditional culture had to be saved from belief dogmas and opened to reason. The reason had a productive structure. The essence of civilization could be grasped by the help of reason. He expressed this as "The human reason controls the actions of the tongue/Which is a means of language that suddenly utters the wrong." As seen in the other *Tanzimat* intellectuals, Şinasi expressed his ideas in the form of poetry and prose.

Şinasi believed that justice could survive only with the power of law. He was influenced by Montesquieu. The power of law came from human beings and its suitability to reason. He thought that the social and governmental life could be organized by the laws prepared by statesmen. He



unified the law maker with one person, and that was Mustafa Resid Pasha. For him, he wrote the couplet, "For the public, your law is a certificate of manumission/For the Sultan, your law is a lesson." If Resit Pasha's law was to be carried out, it would be possible to reach "humanity" which was a common goal of all communities. The following line is a good example for this, "My nation is a member of humankind, my country is the world of dreams".

From the cultural viewpoint, he regarded modernization as being a language problem. Later, the same topic was used by Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem. He talked about the huge gap between the traditional structure of the language and the new life style together with the modern methods. In his play "Şair Evlenmesi" (Marriage of a Poet), he displayed a comedy of errors which expressed this. Şinasi brought two innovations. The first was his claim that daily language had a literary value, and the second was that the traditional rules of writing could be broken. As an example for the second, he wrote his play which was said to be inspired by Moliere.<sup>26</sup> For him, a cultural change could only be actualized with social support. He thought that this could be attained by newspapers and a simplified language. In "Tasvir-i Efkâr", he claimed that the public had the right of expressing their opinions about national problems. "The public can only mention its opinions about subjects which is of its concern via newspapers. That is why newspapers are a necessity for any nation" (Petrosyan, 1974: 51).

After Şinasi had left for Paris, he cut his ties with the Neo-Ottomans. Berkes says that the first victim of the meaning question of the new concepts was Şinasi himself. He adds, "The government and religion authorities would not give peace to a person who was using such

---

concepts and who was saying things like 'My nation is a member of humankind, my country is the world of dreams' " (1978: 258). "While Şinasi was a progressive intellectual, even a jeune, the Neo-Ottomans remained actually as Ottomanists" (Akün, 1968: 559).

Şinasi who established "Tasvir-i Efkâr" and became the ideological leader of the literary and social environment was also treated as the leader of the Neo-Ottomans in a way and trained Namık Kemal. Namık Kemal who was thought to be the best representative of the Neo-Ottomans was very influential on the next generation within the ideological framework of the Neo-Ottomans. In addition, Kemal who became famous as a young and talented poet was one of the pioneers of the innovative movement in literature. He trained Abdülhak Hamit and Recaizade Ekrem. He was the only thinker who tried to reconcile the contradictories in the ideological structure when faced with events and problems.

Kemal seriously dealt with the law of nations and constitution in Paris. After he had come back to Istanbul, he started to release the "İbret" newspaper on 1 June 1872.<sup>27</sup> He was sent to Galipoli as the governor because of the things he had written. Kemal who came back to Istanbul in 1872 staged his play "Vatan Yahut Silistre" (Motherland or Silistre) in March 1873. As the play caused an enthusiastic reaction on the part of the public, the government closed down "İbret" at the end of March and exiled Kemal to Famagusta. Hence the Neo-Ottoman actions came to an end in the spring of 1873. He had a hard life there. But, at the same time, his life in Famagusta was the most productive period of his life.<sup>28</sup>

In 1875-1876, works for the First Constitutional Monarchy began under the leadership of Mithat Pasha. In 1876, Abdülaziz was dethroned and

Murat V ascended the throne. Kemal had important contributions to the works of the constitution.<sup>29</sup> After Kemal had returned from Europe, he took great interest in Prince Murat.

Murat V was found to be physically and mentally retarded and dethroned. They got the promise from Abdülhamit to be faithful to the constitution. Abdülhamit ascended the throne on 31 August 1876. Kemal and Ziya were accepted to the committee which was working on the constitution and became members of the Council of State. Later, however, Abdülhamit did not allow the parliament to open with the pretext of the War of 93. Mithat Pasha was exiled to Taif and killed there. Kemal was put into the prison for six months, and after that, he was forced to settle in Mytilene. He became the governor of Mytilene two and a half years later. Kemal realized good studies there, too. He wrote an Ottoman history.<sup>30</sup> Then, he moved to Rhodes since he could not get along well with the Greeks in Mytilene. When his pneumonia became more serious in Rhodes, he went to Chios, and died there.

According to Kemal, art was not for the sake of art; art was an expression of ideas. These ideas are closely related to the period in which the artist was living. All of his ideas were connected with the aim of protection and continuation of the Empire. The expression style in his works was full of addressing, intensity and excitement. He was influenced by the European contemporary literary trend, romanticism.<sup>31</sup> He believed that classical literature needed to change. For him, what needed to change was not the form of literature but its meaning. The written works needed to carry a meaning (Özön, 1941: 35). Art should be for the sake of community. However, the classical literature did not carry such an aim. He found the

themes of the classical literature unreal. In his opinion "Meaning in our literature is being sacrificed for the sake of art" (Işın, 1983c: 433). Literature should serve to a didactic purpose.

Kemal who was looking for solutions for the condition of the State which was about to fall began with the question "What should a just and equitable government be like?" According to the philosophy of history of İbn-i Haldun, states are born, they grow up, get older and then die.<sup>32</sup> Namık Kemal rejected the idea that a state went under these stages, and claimed that "laws of nature" could be integrated into the flow of modern life. The state should be built upon the natural right of the public. For reformist thinkers, the source of the natural law is reason; for Kemal, it was God. The man was free and he was born with the right of freedom. The responsibility of the government was to execute justice. A nation could choose the type of government it wanted even by force. While the government was influenced by Montesquieu's idea of the division of powers. for him, the best example for this was set by the French monarchy. Because of this, he took the French political institutions as a model for the kind of government that he wanted to be established. Sovereignty could not be set without the will of the public. The public would transfer its sovereignty right to administrators in various ways. The power should be taken from the sultan and grand vizier and given to the councils that represented the public. He explained the government system in details in his articles in "Hürriyet".<sup>33</sup>

Kemal also had some opinions about the constitution. He covered these in his writings "Usul-i Meşveret Hakkında Mektuplar" (Letters about the Council System) that he wrote in London. Kemal believed that an

everlasting life in the Ottoman State would be maintained when the principles that would be taken from the West were united with the Islamic and Ottoman customs. Kemal who reconciled the Islamic law with the ideas of natural rights got help from Rousseau. The man was consisted of goodness and ugliness and evil in the nature that God created. In order for a regime to be legal, it should not only be based on the sovereignty of people but also be suitable to the justice. The source which was out of the people's sovereignty was good and evil. The government should limit the individual's freedom within these boundaries and criteria. For Kemal what could maintain this and judge whether it was suitable was the Islamic law. To sum up, it can be claimed that Kemal stated that in order for the state to continue its existence, first a constitutional monarchy had to be established; the government had to come into power as a result of the decision of the majority and the procedures to be followed had to be in accordance with the Islamic law which was the constitution of the government (Birand, 1955: 26-42).

He thought that it was necessary to be free from aid coming from the European countries and to adopt a stable domestic policy. He was against all kinds of interference from foreign countries. In his opinion, in order for the state to be economically strong, it was necessary to take back the privileges, banks and commercial life that had been remitted to foreigners. According to him, Ottomanism would save the State from its fall. Ottomanism would be possible by training all children without race or sect discrimination in the same school. For him, "it is more difficult to separate two trees which had been wrapped around each other when they were saplings than pulling them up from their roots" (Birand, 1955: 47). He

believed that the spiritual union of Islam would set unity in the country. This policy was the equilibrium policy of the East against the West. He was always for Islamism. In fact, as a response to the article of Ernest Renan in which he claimed that Islam sets a barrier to progress and education, Kemal wrote a dispatch. Kemal's ideas of union, Islamic union and Ottomanism took place in a period when trends of unitedness/unity was popular.

In his "Terakki" (Progress) article in "İbret", he talked about London which he thought of as the highest stage of civilization. Ülken claims that Kemal, in his article "Taking an Admonition Lesson from European Civilizations", expressed his belief that a conscious view of civilization would bring solidarity, that solidarity would lead the school, that the school would make workshops operate, that workshops would develop into factories and banks, and that this way the country could reach wealth and comfort (1992: 100). He gave serious attention to education. It was the engine that could make the country advance and develop. The key to everything was to know, and liberty would actualize as a result of knowing. He said, "The reason of the progress in the European countries is science and curiosity, and the reason of our regression is ignorance and indifference" (Kaplan, 1948: 123). The government was needed to protect the liberty. Otherwise this liberty would take a savage dimension.<sup>34</sup>

Aside from these topics, Kemal wrote about a wide range of topics from family to the individual, from economy to budget, and from civilization to traditions. He became an example for the next generation, and left valuable works to the next intellectual generation. Together with Ziya Pasha, he spread out new concepts like liberty, equality and justice to wide masses of people; he became quite influential on the new generations



with his ideas of the sovereignty of the people and the natural rights and freedom of the individual.

Another important member of the Neo-Ottomans was Ziya Pasha. We can count Ziya Pasha among those who were in the midst of the conflict of the East and the West in literature and social life that took place after *Tanzimat*.

Ziya who had an Eastern viewpoint until he was 30 years old tried to develop his ideas by learning French. As a poet, he went back and forth between devotion to the old and partiality to the new.<sup>35</sup> He gave importance to ideas in his works, especially in his poetry. His "Zafername" (Document of Victory) was a successful example of satire.<sup>36</sup> The anthology (from Turkish Arabic and Iranian poets) which caused a dispute with Namık Kemal was called "Harabat" (House of Contemplation). In response to this work, Namık Kemal wrote his criticisms called "Tahrib-i Harabat" (Destruction of the House of Contemplation) and "Takip" (Pursue). Kemal criticized Ziya with whom he fought for liberty and wanted to tear down the old literature together for still serving the classical literature. Because Ziya had harshly criticized the classical Ottoman poetry in one of his articles titled "Şiir ve İnşa" (Poetry and Style) published in "Hürriyet" in 1868 (Işın, 1983c: 434). In the period before 1873, Ziya had been approving the criticism perspective of the Neo-Ottomans. However, the restless structure of the period pushed him away from the principles that he used to defend. With *Harabat*, he defended the understanding of classical literature that he had wanted to get rid of in "Şiir and İnşa". Sevük claims that Ziya was a classical poet as to the form and structure, and also he was a didactic and ideological poet (1968: 37). Kutlu finds Ziya Pasha more useful than N. Kemal or Şinasi

from the viewpoint of serving to the formation of Turkish literary prose. Ziya Pasha “was one of the first who displayed the necessity of turning to our inner self in literature and language with very strong views and perceptions” (1981: 84). He was for the teaching/learning of western languages but against imitating their literary works. He did not approve of the equal status submitted to non-Moslems. He could be said to be conservative from cultural and religious angles. However, despite this, he made use of some French ideas. He was for a constitutional monarchy. He told about this in his work “Rüya” (Dream). He also wanted a council to be established. This council would be open to inspection of opposition groups, and it would criticize the behaviors of statesmen. Lewis claims that, in order to show this desire right, he used the saying which was attributed to the Prophet as a support and which reads as “Having different ideas is a God’s gift to Moslem people” (1988: 3rd ed., 140).

He was aware of the superiority of the West as Kemal. He thought the development of the country was tied to progress. We can find this idea of him in the preface of “Harabat”. There, he explained that a *Tanzimat* intellectual should follow. For this route, he wrote, “If you want to understand the world, you should learn a European language. There, science is developed; don’t be afraid of learning... Make a lot of translations so that your nation can benefit from them. Take their art and science, leave their wickedness and customs. Don’t forget your real self as a result of making imitations; never look down upon your own nationality” (Kudret, 1983: 389).

For the State to continue its existence and get rid of its present conditions, it was necessary to follow the new life style and become



civilized. However, he thought, while doing this, the native customs and traditions should also be taken into consideration. He claimed that the reforms that had been realized and the Western life style distorted the Islamic life style. He expressed this thought in his couplet, "Visiting non-Moslem lands, I saw places full of rich mansions/ visiting native lands, I saw Moslems in ruins". For him, diminishing religious values were the reason of all evil. He said, "The national morals were lost" (Birand, 1955: 53). He was devoted to both Islamic morals and Islamic law. He was cross with the supporters of *Tanzimat* who made a law other than the Islamic law.

Ziya Pasha was moderate against Resit Pasha. For him, *Tanzimat* was auspicious, however, it failed to be carried out properly. The reason for this was the impropriety of the Sublime Porte and the embassies. This way, they interfered with the government affairs and caused grand viziers to be dismissed from their posts (Sungu, 1940: 15). Ziya was a moderate supporter of the constitutional government. He viewed parliament as an organ of consultation which protected the Sultan from the ambitions of high bureaucrats, and even from their bad influences. Petrosyan says that Ziya was "a representative of the Turkish intellectual class" (1974: 126). At the same time, Ziya Pasha was the most important critic of the *Tanzimat* period.

The Neo-Ottomans were quite influential on the forecoming generations with their ideas and philosophies of life. They became a source for the forecoming social-political affairs and development of philosophical ideas. The first generation intellectuals who assigned a social and political mission to themselves brought forward great novelties in literature. Tanpınar says, "Modern Turkish literature has begun with a civilization

crisis" (1969: 102). Literature is a discipline which informs us about ourselves the best. In the letter he wrote to Abdülhak Hamit from Mytilene, Namık Kemal said, "The country has not had the contribution that literature has provided from anything other than the army. Şinasi passed away. If you see me in front of you, try your best. I don't want you to shed blood, because I know you can do it very easily. I just want few drops of ink. In a period when I lost my zeal, do not disgrace our literature in the eyes of İrfan Pashas and the like. October, 1297" (Kaplan, 1948: 101). In our history, literature and social-political events were always embedded. The lines above that belong to Kemal is a good example for this. According to Ortaylı, the importance of this group who lived with a yearning of parliamentarism was that, "Future ideas, organizations and political functions such as Union and Progress, Liberty, and Harmony were based on their inheritance" (1983b: 1703). Before dealing with *Servet-i Fânun* period, we found it necessary to dwell on the ideas of the first generation *Tanzimat* intellectuals, their literary works and their struggles. This period functioned as a source for the movements of *Servet-i Fânun*, Young Turks, and Republican actions.

## NOTES

- (1) Tunaya who views Tanzimat period being a chain of reformation says for Gülhane Edict, "This document which was based on a partial revolutionary renaissance, was more western than any other former documents, and was defined by some historians as the first human rights declaration and a social agreement for Turks" (1960: 32). Inalcik, too, evaluates Tanzimat positively. " ... It is possible to see Tanzimat as a solid phase of an attempt of amelioration and attack made by the Otoman Empire whose basic institutions had been deteriorated" (1943: 2).
- (2) Sirma I says, "Tanzimat is one of the most important events in the Ottoman history; it can even be considered as the most important since it laid the foundations for the fall of the Ottomans" (1988: 19). He adds, "... the only aim of the announcement of Tanzimat Edict under the pressure of Europe was to grant rights to Christians and Jews" (1988: 49).
- (3) Tunaya states that the reforms that Mahmut II realized were from above downwards. He says, "As these actions were realized by a sultan who was not afraid of fighting against traditions and who added a reasonable dosage of rationalism to his absolute authority, the system can be said to have a quality of distinguished "intellectual despotism" (1960: 29).
- (4) Mardin claims that a new quality of the West was discovered by the help of diplomacy which developed towards the end of the reign of Mahmut II. Some European rulers in the 18th century formed a government policy and took measures to increase the productivity of their subjects. They had foreseen the advantages of guaranteeing the safety of property and educating their subjects. This governmental system was later named as "Intellectual Despotism" (1992: 2nd ed., 4).
- (5) Ortaylı states that westernization was a result of a domestic decision rather than exterior pressure. He blames the memoirs of diplomats to which contemporary historians refer as an evidence of exterior pressure for having megalomania. He adds, "The such are important but inefficient and sometimes misleading historical documents as references while evaluating important events and historical formations" (1987: 2nd ed., 20)
- (6) While evaluating Tanzimat, İnalcık mentions the main problem as giving equal rights to non-Moslem subjects. He adds, "In its attempt of organizing the State, the main aim

and duty of Tanzimat period which started with the 1839 Edict was to bind the non-Moslem subjects to the State with the equality principle, and to protect and strengthen the uniqueness of the Empire" (1943: 3).

- (7) Ortaylı who claims that Tanzimat was a period which prevented the fall of the Empire evaluates Tanzimat as "... a product of the people who thought that the Empire would be saved by centralization and a new patriotism, i.e. Ottomanism" (1983a: 1545).
- (8) In the 1856 Reform Edict, it was proposed to abolish the capitation tax in the equality of Moslems-Christians, and to enlist Christians to the army. Furthermore, the item which stated that changing religion would not be punished was modified and rewritten as no one could be forced to change religion. (Berkes, 1978: 211).
- (9) The excessive number of studies and comment made on Tanzimat and Neo-Ottomans is because that period is still in dark. Mardin who claims that the reign of Abdülhamit was one of the darkest periods states that there was espionage in the society to a great degree in that period. That is why it is quite hard to recognize the facts and actually evaluate the studies of the intellectuals. The best example for this is Namık Kemal's calling the Young Ottomans as "the destructors of Turkistan(1983, 2nd ed., 30).
- (10) One of these is, the history of Young Ottomans by Ebuziyya Tefvik. Some others are Abdurrahman Seref's "Tarih Müsahabeleri" (History Lectures), Ibnül'emin Mahmut Kemal's telling of what the elder daughter of Mehmet Bey who was in the Neo-Ottoman movement, Şefika hanım had told, and the information given in Lutfi history, Kaplan who has evaluated the studies on the Neo-Ottomans says that it was Mehmet Bey who was the nephew of Mahmut Nedim Pasha who established the association of Neo-Ottomans. The aim of the association was to put an end to the oppressive policy of Ali Pasha. He adds that they gathered in Hagia Sophia to set the new cabinet, but failed to come to an agreement. Actually, Seref mixed Neo-Ottomans with the Meslek (Profession) Foundation. For further information, see Seref, (1985) simplified by Koray, Tarih Müsahabeleri. The leader of the Neo-Ottomans was Mehmet bey according to the documents dictated by Abdülhamit which had been found among the document of Yıldız and published in "Türk Tarihi Encümeni Mecmuası" (the Journal of Turkish History Council) besides the information provided by Ibnül'emin Mahmut Kemal and Sefika Hanım." ... As he heard from Abdurrahman Hasan Bey, Namık Kemal joined the association later, and the person who reported the association to the government was Ayetullah Bey" (55). Here, he states that the association was founded by M. Fazil Pasha, that some decisions were

taken in Velim Efendi meadow, and that they were planning to assassinate the ministers and establish the sovereignty of Mahmut Nedim (55). For the history of Neo-Ottomans written by Ebuzyiyya Tevfik, he says, "... it was written in such a romantic style that it caused distrust and distortion in history, furthermore it had been criticised from several aspects"(54).

- (11) Tunaya says that the Neo-Ottomans were heroes who fought in any deprivation, if necessary, went abroad, in order to save the country from despotic people, or in Carbonary sense, with the aim of "clearing the forest off from wolves" (1960: 64). About the same subject, Berkes states that Ebuzyiyya's Yurtseverler Birliđi (Union of Patriots) was arranged in the form of cells as in the Carbonary model. The members of the Union learned this model from the exiles who came from France and settled in Istanbul. Giampetri who was the owner of Courier d'Orient was of those exiles (1978: 269-277).
- (12) There were actions against the government and individuals in Tanzimat period. One of those was thought to be the organization named as "Meslek" or "Meslekname". However, until recently, it has been thought that all those actions were realized by the Neo-Ottomans. This misunderstanding was caused by Ebuzyiyya's article titled "Yeni Osmanlıların Sebeb-i Zuhuru" (The Reason of the Establishment of the Neo-Ottomans) which was published in Yeni Tasvir-i Efkâr which was a newspaper that was being released after the establishment of the Second Constitutional Government. It is believed that the reality was later found out from the investigations on them that were carried out by the government, and the verdicts which were given for them were clarified by the help of the archive documents (Koray, 1992: 551).
- (13) Sungu states that the term 'Jeunes Turcs' was first used in "Le Nord" dated 1 February 1867 which was a newspaper being released in Belgium. He adds that the term "...was used in the letter of proclaim false which was sent to the newspaper as a response to the article which claimed that M. Fazil Pasha, the head of the Neo-Ottoman association, had established a company as a money exchanger. When Courier d'Orient which was being released in Beyođlu Printed it, its Turkish version was printed in the newspaper Muhbir dated 21 February 1867 (1940: 1).
- (14) Moran states that for the reason of his choice, Namık Kemal said, "Since our nation is far from a condition of education which offers a university in each district of the country and a scholar in each street, it cannot be so easily claimed that there are a number of people who do not need to benefit from newspapers and short stories (1991: 4th ed., 14).

- (15) Özel claims that the government itself formed the thought life and supported the intellectual. The intellectual assured his existence by serving to the State. He states that it was not Tanzimat that caused the State to go under the process of changing its skin, it was Resit, Ali and Fuat Pashas. He adds, "these were the intellectuals who gave birth to Tanzimat and at the same time who was born by Tanzimat". The intellectual opposition which was identical with the State was created for the State. Young Turks were functional intellectuals created by the State- they were both identical with the State and against it at the same time (1983: 61-66).
- (16) Kuleli Event took place in 1859. There are no absolute decisions about the event. We should take this event into consideration from the viewpoint of the plurality of reactions against Tanzimat. According to Berkes, the reaction existed in two dimensions. The progressive reaction whose claim was that "the westernization of Tanzimat failed to modernize Ottomans", and the regressive reaction whose claim was that "Moslems suffered because of Tanzimat" (1965: 47) The secret service behind the action was "Seriati Tutma Cemiyeti" (Canonical Law Supporters Society) for some people, and for some others it was "Fedailer Cemiyeti" (Self-Sacrifiers Society). It was claimed that there were two reasons behind this action. The first was to kill the Sultan and demolish Tanzimat regime, the second was to bring back the canonical law system with a fundamentalist view. Lewis claims that many European writers defined this attempt of assassination as the first for the sake of constitutional and parliamentary government, however, the planners were against the rights submitted to Christians. On the other hand, according to Petrosyan, this event was the first planned attempt in Turkish history. It was probable that some of the clerks and officers who took place in the plot believed in constitutional government. Petrosyan who claims that there existed unrelated thoughts states, "All these conditions make Kuleli Event one of the most significant political event before the establishment of the constitutional government" (1974: 48). For further information, see İğdemir, Uluğ, 1937. Kuleli Vak'ası Hakkında bir Araştırma (A Research on Kuleli Event), Istanbul. İğdemir says that this plot lacked a political base; it was an assassination attempt which was against the modernization movement and the negligence of the canonical law. Davidson, too, supports this claim of İğdemir.
- (17) This action was realized by the young against the oppression of pashas, especially Ali Pasha, which began with Tanzimat. According to Berkes(1978), the analysis of this attempt can be done as "... this event displayed that the revolution idea, different from the revolutions in the West, was not together with nationalism and



constitutionalism; and that it could not go beyond being a terrorist action; and that if the rumors were correct, there were members who planned to kill Ali Pasha and assign Mahmut Nedim Pasha in his place”(269). Some writers claim that the members of the Neo-Ottoman association were also in this group. However, we cannot make a clear statement about this since there are no documents other than what Ebuziyya wrote.

- (18) It is claimed that *Courrier d'Orient* had close relations with Sinasi and Neo-Ottomans. For this newspaper, Namık Kemal stated, “It was *Courrier d'Orient* which primarily mentioned the National Assembly, and its publication served a lot to the expansion of liberty. Hence, all Ottoman patriots are really grateful to *Courrier d'Orient*” (Kaplan, 1948: 25).
- (19) The Egyptian Khedivè Ismail had guaranteed his son's ascending the throne after him because of the change in the heritage law that the Sultan had made upon his request. His brother, Mustafa Fazıl Pasha, had lost his chance of becoming a Khedive. In order to take this chance back, he realized certain actions. He proposed active help to the actions of the supporters of liberty. A number of people stated that behind this behavior lied the desire of his taking back the post of Egyptian Khedive. He sent a letter which informed the Sultan about the bitter realities of the condition of the State from Paris. This letter was greatly favored by the young. Berkes claims that there are some doubts as to whether the letter was written by Fazıl Pasha. See *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*(Modernization in Turkey), pp. 275-276.
- (20) For further information about Ali Suavi, see Kuntay, M. C., 1946. *Sarıklı İhtilalci Ali Suavi* (Ali Suavi: A Revolutionist with a Turban), Güven Printing House, İstanbul.; Danişmend, İ., H., 1940. *Ali Suavi*, İstanbul.; Atay, F., R., 1945. *Baş Veren Bir İnkılapçı* (A Blossoming Revolutionist), Doğus Printing, Ankara.
- (21) Ziya Pasha, after having accepted the money offer of the Egyptian Khedive Ismail Pasha, began to release *Hürriyet* by himself with the penname “Arif”. The Sublime Porte did not want *Hürriyet* to get involved in the Egyptian problem. Fazıl Pasha was asked to close the newspaper. It is claimed that they also made some promises. Kemal left *Hürriyet*, and said “...I cannot take a man's money, and continue printing with his money if we are on opposite sides” (Kaplan, 1948: 70). Later, Kemal wanted a letter which showed that he had no connections with *Hürriyet* any longer to be printed in the newspaper.
- (22) While explaining the Neo-Ottomans, Ortaylı calls Kemal conservative, liberal, modernist Islamist; he calls Suavi the pioneer of Turkism; he calls A. Mithat an

anti-socialist and anti-pluralist. He defines this group which dealt with literature, journalism and education as being the leading figures of the cultural and thought life (1983b: 1702-1703)

- (23) Ziya translated Rousseau's "Emile", and Moliere's "La Tartuffe"; Kemal translated Montesquie's "Les Essence des Lois". In addition to these, they made translations from Hugo, Condorcet, Lamartin and Rousseau's other works. For Ziya's translation of Emile, see Sungu, I., Tercüme (Translation), 19 May 1940, Vo1. I, Nr. I, pp. 62-79.
- (24) After finishing the local school, Sinasi entered Tophane Clerical Office. He developed himself there. With Resat Bey's help, he was included in Resit Pasha's student exchange program. Tophane Councillor Ziver Bey took him under his protection. When his letters that he had sent from Paris were shown to Resit Pasha by Fethi Pasha, Reşit Pasha took him under his protection. Upon the Pasha's suggestion, he started studying economy. When he came back to Istanbul, he was assigned to the membership of the Council of Education (Sevük, İ., H., 1968: 19-22)
- (25) Other than his work Osmanlı atasözleri (Ottoman Proverbs), he wrote "Müntehabat-ı Es'ar (Selected Poems) on 12 August 1862 and translated Yusuf Kamil Pasha's "Telemaque". He also had a dictionary work called "Kamus-i Osmani" (Ottoman Lexicon).
- (26) With the idea that he put forward in this work, he started the first grammatical anarchy. As a result, the simplification of language began (Berkes, 1978: 256).
- (27) In the newspaper İbret, Kemal mentioned the inefficiency of Mahmut Nedim's administration, the Eastern question, and "freedom of thought, changing the printing regulations, abolishment of regie and interior customs' tax, unification of laws and courts, organization of economy, city organizations, setting the public order, new schools that should open" (Kaplan, 1948: 85). As the post of grand vizier was taken back from Mahmut Nedim and given to Mithat Pasha, the magazine started to be printed forty days ealier than its normal opening day. The magazine was being published by Ebuziyya who had come from the exile early, and Kemal was sending articles from Galipoli.
- (28) He wrote Gülnihal (Rosebud), Zavalli Çocuk (Poor Child), Celaleddin Harzemshah, Son Pişmanlık (İntibah) (The Last Regret), Askerlik Tarihi (Military History), Tahrib and Takib-i Harabat (Destruction and Pursue of the House of Contemplation), İrfan Pasha'ya Mektup (Letter to İrfan Pasha), Meprizon Muahezenamesi (Meprizon Criticism), and translated Bahar-i Daniş (The Spring of Knowledge).



- (29) It is claimed that some opinion differences occurred between Mithat Pasha and Kemal during the constitution studies. Berkes says that Kemal wanted a centralizationist government under the Sultan whereas Mithat Pasha was for a centralization of people (1965: 70).
- (30) For further information on Ottoman history, see Tansel, A., F., "N. Kemal'in Osmanlı Tarihine Dair" (About N. Kemal's Ottoman History), *Belleten*.
- (31) Kaplan (1948), says that in the classification of European literature, Kemal takes place in romanticism, however, due to the meaning and radical criticism that he brought to literature, he could be grouped as a realist. "Namık Kemal was not against French classicism but against our classical literature, and French classicism and Ottoman classical literature are completely different. Ottoman classical literature was concerned with a fantastic world whereas Kemal was concerned with the real world. That is why he was a realist"(132). See Dino, G., 1954, *Tanzimattan Sonra Edebiyatta Gerçekliğe Doğru* (Toward Realism in Literature After Tanzimat), T.T.K. pp. 1-15; Perin, C., 1946, *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Fransız Tesiri* (The French Influence On Tanzimat Literature), pp. 116-133. I.U.E.F. publications.
- (32) For the government theory of İbni Haldun, see Hassan, Ü. (1982), *İbni Haldun*.
- (33) Upon a question raised about the article in which he defended the sovereignty of people in the newspaper *Hürriyet*, he also expressed his ideas about republic. He said, "What does it mean to say 'Won't it be necessary to admit that a republic has to be founded when the sovereignty of people is approved?' Who can deny this right in this world? Wasn't Islam originally a kind of republic?" (Sungu, 1940: 77). However, he added that it was not yet suitable for the condition that State was in. He thought that a republic would be necessary taking into account the countries which were within the Ottoman boundaries.
- (34) For further information about Namık Kemal's social and political thoughts, see Önberk, "N. Kemal'de Özgürlük Fikri" (The Idea of Freedom In Namık Kemal), pp. 93-116. Namık Kemal, 1993.; Kaplan, Namık Kemal, pp. 104-131; Ülken, pp. 56-64; Berkes, *Çağdaşlaşma* (Modernization), pp. 277-303; Sungu I., *Tanzimat ve Yeni Osmanlılar* (Tanzimat and the Neo-Ottomans).
- (35) Mutluay states that Ziya Pasha was at ease from the angle of making himself heard, and that "after moving toward innovations with steps, with a sharp turn, he would look back to the past". From the revolutionary theses in "*Şiir ve İnşa*" that he published in *Hürriyet*, he stepped backwards with his anthology "*Harabat*" (1973: 17).

(36) As literary works, Ziya Pasha left behind poems such as lyric poems, Terziibend (long poem with a recurrent couplet at the end of each stanza), Zafername (Document of Victory) and Harabat (House of Contemplation), and proses such as Rüya (Dream), Veraset Mektupları (Inheritance Letters), articles and translations such as Endülüs Tarihi (History of Andalusia), Engizisyon Tarihi (History of Inquisition), Emile, and Tartuffe.



## CHAPTER III

### SERVET-İ FÛNUN PERIOD (1896-1901)

Tevfik Fikret was one of the founders of *Servet-i Fûnun* literature. He reinforced his literary development and his own style in this magazine which functioned as a kind of literary school. They concentrated on the ground of new literature against the *Divan* literature in their so called magazine. *Servet-i Fûnun* was the most significant magazine which had been in print from 1890 until 1908. In the process between *Tanzimat* and the Republic, it represented a literary trend.<sup>1</sup> The intellectuals who believed that they could save the society with western ideas, especially the followers of *Tanzimat*, were suppressed by numerous missions. "Not only were they artists but also philosophers, sociologists, philologists, politicians; in short, they had to be everything" (Özkırımlı, 1990: 9) As opposed to the *Tanzimat* generation, who believed that art was for the sake of society, another generation called *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* which dealt with daily problems emerged.

The political and social affairs, especially Abdülhamid's reign, impeded intellectuals. Turning into their inner selves, they began performing art for the sake of art. At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, Abdülhamit opened up a pathway which would boost national and religious hostility. He made use of the ideo-political doctrine of Panislamism (United Islamism) to a great extent.

---

He was for uniting and governing all Moslems in the world. This period was extremely despotic. As a result of the increase in social and national problems, a feudal-religious fundamentalism gained power in every field of political and social life in the country (Petrosyan, 1974: 168). Abdülhamid's regime was shaped under the reasons which necessitated itself. On one hand, he was playing a reconciling role between Britain and Russia, on the other hand he was giving the Turkish-Moslem population the impression that he was a Sultan who was independent from Europe. The public was thinking that "they found a regime which was independent from the western world not because of foreign help and support or European methods but because of their own native forces, custom and the law of Islam. The public, having attained change caused by modernization was happy in the comfort of stagnation". (Berkes, 1978: 332-333). In this period, the matters of parliament and constitution were shelved. Some articles in the constitution lost their validity and authority. Meanwhile, Abdülhamid formed an army of secret agents and people who were responsible for espionage. This army wearied the people who could be dangerous for the regime so much that they were afraid of even their own shadows. The strategy of Abdülhamid was to prevent the corporation of theologian, bureaucrat and military forces, and to form a group who was loyal. Interestingly enough, the usage of some words was banned in this period, too.<sup>2</sup>

As we have mentioned in the previous chapters, the ideas which were against *Tanzimat* were grouped as traditionalism and/or Islamism. At the same time, these made it easier for Abdülhamid to ascend the throne, and they became the official ideology of the state. The hostility against the

west was manipulated, and the past and the future were placed in an opposite angle.

The change that had begun with modernization movements had brought a social change, and matters like traditional habits and pleasure had been solved. Groups like government officials, officers, literates and intellectuals began to develop. The intellectuals in the reign of Abdülhamid were left behind when compared to the Neo-Ottomans from the viewpoint of revolutionism; and, reading N. Kemal was the only pleasure for them. In this period, two types of intellectuals appeared. The first was the teacher-intellectual, the other was the officer-intellectual. Fikret was a good example for the teacher-intellectual class.

Between 1889 and 1908, a secret struggle took place between the intellectuals and the state. Despite the censorship system of the regime, the press developed a lot in the reign of Abdülhamid. There was an increase in the number of newspapers and readers. As opposed to the Neo-Ottomans, the intellectuals of this period did not deal with political issues; but they formed a materialistic generation that rebelled against religion, morality and traditionalist beliefs. This generation saw the separation of government and religion in a sharper way. Being far from political ideas helped three movements of thought to be distinguished. The strongest among them was westernization. However, this group whose political tendency was not definite created a unique intellectual type under the oppression of Abdülhamit. As we will see later, Ahmet Mithat called this group "decadents" (people who were rootless and prohibited) (Berkes, 1978: 370).

*Servet-i Fûnun* movement was the product of the process that began with *Tanzimat*. People like Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem and Abdülhak

Hamid who were trained by the Neo-Ottomans took over the same mission and directed *Servet-i Fânun* movement. Abdülhamid's regime forced the intellectual to keep far from social issues. Due to the censorship, everyone was afraid of everything. The only good aspect of this negative period was the increase in literary works. So far we have given some information about that period in order to display the conditions that the intellectuals had. Now, we shall examine the literary events and personalities that contributed to the formation of *Servet-i Fânun*. For this reason, we will first study the second generation intellectuals of *Tanzimat* and the intermediary generation.

The period in which they lived caused them to reflect their reactions through literary works. We believe that the intellectuals displayed their devotion to modernization and westernization by the novelties that they brought to literary subjects and forms. In their reactions, they mentioned everything old and regressive. They stepped down toward the public and left classical literature which was only for a certain group. Even in lyric poems, Ziya Pasha dealt with social issues (Sevük, 1968: 177). Prose, drama, history, literature, comedy, journalism and similar issues which had entered the literary life with *Tanzimat* were examined by the second and intermediary generations and found their actual place in *Servet-i Fânun* period.

### 3.1. SECOND GENERATION TANZİMAT INTELLECTUAL

As is seen in the previous chapters, the Neo-Ottomans dealt with political and social issues in their works, and with their works and lives,

they thought for subjects like freedom, liberty and parliament. The second generation, on the other hand, dwelled on personal events and frustrations. They preferred poetry to prose, and tried to reflect emotions. The ones who represented this period were Abdülhak Hamid and Recaizade Ekrem.

Abdülhak Hamid modernized Turkish poetry both contentwise and formwise with a western understanding. He was one of the outstanding representatives of the modern literature.<sup>4</sup> As opposed to the Neo-Ottomans, he used personal subjects and dealt with the inner-struggle of the individual and the individual himself. Although he also dealt with motherland, nation and liberty themes, his main concern was making art.

He was influenced by French classical works, Shakespeare and Hugo. At the same time, he was under the influence of romanticism as N. Kemal. He employed pastoral, lyric, didactic and dramatic themes in literature. According to Perin, "He blasted the stroke to classical literature similar to Hugo's stroke to French literature" (1946: 158). He used the theme of death in his works, He was not interested in facts. Because the material did not appeal to him. He tried to put forward a personal world view which had philosophical scepticism as opposed to the religion-world which was accepted without discussion. From this viewpoint, the followers of *Servet-i Fânun* were different from Hamid. They were more interested in the real world, and they reflected the daily life. They were influenced by realism and parnasism.<sup>5</sup> Hamid used deep thoughts in his poems. Through thoughts, he tried to see the unseen. Whereas, the followers of *Servet-i Fânun* used nature alive in their works and did not deal with philosophy. They were influenced by Hamid only from the aspect of the reflection of emotions and ideas of romantic movement and his individualism.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, with



the style and sensitivity of his works, Hamid was influential on almost all followers of *Servet-i Fânun*. The changes that he made in the style of poetry were adopted by Fikret and others. The modernization that Şinasi initiated was to be studied by the forecoming generations (Mutluay, 1973: 18-19).

The other personality who was influential on *Servet-i Fânun* was Recaizade Ekrem. Upon N. Kemal's suggestion, he learned French, and he was first known by the public with his poems and translations in "Tasvir-i Efkar". Starting from *Tanzimat*, Ekrem formed the aesthetics of Turkish literature. He defended modern literature as the Neo-Ottomans against Muallim Naci and his followers who wanted to enliven classical literature. The first great literature dispute "Ekrem-Naci" in our literary history was practiced in his period. He formed the basis for *Servet-i Fânun* movement with his works. He compiled his course notes that he used in school for civil servants in 1879 and published his book "A Literature Course". He was more influenced by the modernism of Kemal and Şinasi.

The aspect which related Ekrem to the first generation was the importance that he gave to reason. The criterion of literary works was reason. Tevfik Fikret gave importance to this matter, too. The content of the work was more important than its form.<sup>7</sup> This view affected *Servet-i Fânun*. This rule gave them the permission to change the style of poetry. It gave birth to prose poem type. The literary works of Ekrem were more influential on *Servet-i Fânun* poetry than his critical works. He gave primary importance to the idea of "art was for the sake of art". He did not openly deal with the questions of "nation, liberty, motherland" as a definite thesis. He used bare feelings in his poetry. His main contribution was to Turkish novel. He had an important role in the evolution of the novel. He



had criticisms and arguments, too. "His most significant aspect was his spreading out the values and opinions of *Tanzimat* and Europe in literature, his determined struggle against the old taste, his try to create a new and national perception of art by the help his works such as "A Literature Course" (Kutlu, 1981: 195).

The literary works which were didactic in the Neo-Ottomans became internalized in Hamit and emotional with Ekrem. As to the content of his poems, Fikret was greatly influenced by Ekrem, especially by his view of simple melancholic nature. Ekrem and Hamid prepared the snap from the realistic perception of the former generation. "The power of imagination replaced the reality; personal inner world appeared" (Işın, 1983a: 360). This generation functioned as a bridge between *Tanzimat* literature and *Edebiyat-ı Cedide*.

### 3.2. INTERMEDIARY GENERATION TANZİMAT INTELLECTUAL

Recaizade Ekrem and Abdülhak Hamid wrote their most important works between 1876-1877. *Servet-i Fûnun* movement began in 1895. In this time period, there was a group whose members were about 25-30 in number; this group was called the intermediary generation. Kaplan claims that the main characteristic of this group was *mecmuacılık* (journalism) (1948: 10).

Abdülhamit's reign was quite influential on the intermediary generation; they further developed the individualistic sensitivity that they adopted from Ekrem and Hamid. Among them were Nabizade Nazım,

Mehmet Ziver, Fazıl Necip, and Recep Vahyi with whom Fikret exchanged letters.

Sentimentalism which was used in this period formed a model for *Servet-i Fûnun*. The lexicon for the followers of *Servet-i Fûnun* was prepared by translations that were made in the journalism period. The style of putting inscriptions under pictures that Fikret used came into being in this period before *Servet-i Fûnun*.

The importance of this period was that a trend in the new style was formed. Reformation which the Neo-Ottomans wanted to establish and which developed with the second generation became more evident with the intermediary generation and was transferred to *Servet-i Fûnun* movement.

### 3.3. SERVET-İ FÛNUN

The group which displayed a common conscientiousness and characteristic of style was examined as a "literary school". Another name for this literary school was "Fikret-Halit Ziya" school. (Özön, 1941: 66). The Neo-Ottomans used this term in order to distinguish themselves from classical writers. The *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* group took the name of the magazine *Servet-i Fûnun* that they were releasing; and, the name of the magazine became the distinctive term for the literary group.<sup>8</sup>

The ideas about the rise of *Servet-i Fûnun* literature are a bit confused. Some claim that the literary group was formed only as a result of a coincidence. For this magazine whose founder was Fikret, some state that he contributed to a great extent whereas some others say that this event could

not be dedicated only to him.<sup>9</sup> This matter is debatable. We believe that the studies which had begun with Şinasi formed the basis of this period which cannot be attributed to only one person. The Neo-Ottoman movement formed *Tanzimat* literature with its thoughts. The Young Turks in Paris, too, were able to see “the aesthetic projection of positivism which they adopted as a social philosophy” in *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* (Işın, 1983b: 360).

The birth and death of *Servet-i Fânun* took place in Abdülhamit’s reign. One of the common attitudes they held was their enmity to Abdülhamit.<sup>10</sup> As we have seen in the previous chapters, there had been continuous attempts to find a solution for the fall of the State since the beginning of *Tanzimat*. (See chapter I). With the centralizationist policy that the era brought, all attempts and suggestions of solution were cut completely. The administration was given to one single authority -Abdülhamit. The Yıldız Palace became the center of power. The *Servet-i Fânun* generation was brought up under such conditions. They were in the position of not being able to say what they experienced and how they felt, but of only dealing with literature.<sup>11</sup>

They were dealing with issues with a modernism that was not intrusive; hence, they were getting far from the social facts. They used themes like travel, adventure and nature. As we have seen before, the journalism view, which had been first set by Şinasi and then developed, by N. Kemal was deserted. Works such as translations, novels, poems and stories were created. Tabloid magazines gained more importance than magazines which had a social content. Accordingly, *Servet-i Fânun* was based on the art philosophy of positivism. In short, we can evaluate this period as being a social process where the reflection of individual feelings and ideas was intensive and where art was for art’s sake. Under the life

conditions that Abdülhamit made hard, they hid their political opinions under a philosophy of art.

As we have examined earlier, this generation dealt with individual romanticism, realism which was not interested in social matters, parnacism, and later with symbolism and travel literature while *Tanzimat* generation had been interested in the 18th century French writers, especially romantics.

Recaizade Ekrem acted as the leader to gather the followers of *Servet-i Fânun*. Tevfik Fikret and Ahmet İhsan (Tokgöz) were his students. Criticisms, reviews, famous scientists and literary men were being introduced in the magazine. The magazine was founded on 27 March 1891.<sup>12</sup> A. İhsan asked help from Ekrem. Ekrem suggested that Fikret should be assigned to the management. Under the leadership of Fikret, innovative writers and poets began to gather in the magazine. A. Nadir (Ali Ekrem) and H. Nazım (Ahmet Reşit) worked with Fikret. Later, Halit Ziya, Cenap Şahabettin and Mehmet Rauf joined to the magazine. Hence, *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* was born.

Lewis found the magazine which was under Fikret's editorship "conservative, even more, regressive"<sup>13</sup> (1988: 3rd ed., 190). However, even these attitudes had the tendency of westernization in Turkish literature. "They were rejecting the simplification as they were looking down upon the words which" were a abraded by the vulgar".<sup>14</sup> They were not denying western literature; on the contrary, under the dominant influence of French symbolists, they were able to find an aesthetic justification for their withdrawal into an ivory tower due to the censorship in Abdülhamit's

---

reign”(1988: 190). Fikret and his group whose conservatism was only for language went even further than the others as a result of imitating and adapting the French samples. As they were addressing to the intellectual clique, they subdued all the boundaries in language. The extreme formalism of Parnacism and the individual and musical style of symbolism made the language even heavier. “They almost competed with each other in the field of using unheard words and phrases” (Tuncer, 1992: 8). As mentioned before, political criticism was not allowed. They would only make their criticism through criticizing the social life of the period in their novels. Ekrem’s “Araba Sevdası” is a good example. They tried to teach the Turkish readers things from the revolutionist content even in parnacist and symbolist literary forms.

As mentioned before, there had been a progressive-regressive dispute since the beginning of *Tanzimat*. This dispute was reflected in *Servet-i Fûnun* period, too. When Fikret took over the management of *Servet-i Fûnun* period in 1896, a dispute known as “absurd-quoted”<sup>15</sup> gained pace between the new and the old. The magazine “Mektep” (school) supported *Servet-i Fûnun*. The government was watching the new with suspicion and taking the side of the old. They did not want the events which had been experienced in *Tanzimat* period to happen again. When *Servet-i Fûnun* was founded, the old and strict opposition occurred against it. Andelip (Faik Esad), Müstecabizade Ismet, Ali Kemal, Ahmet Rasim and Ahmet Mithat formed the front against Cenap and the members of *Servet-i Fûnun*. The most important contribution of this period was the fact that the young developed themselves and produced a number of works (Uraz, 1945: 11-12). Fikret found some connections between the western intellectuals of this period and the people of his own community. Since the day Fikret took

over the management of *Servet-i Fânun*, he was both defending the group and trying to explain what kind of a poetry they were attempting to create with his "Muhasebe-i Edebiyye" (Inquiries of Literature).<sup>16</sup>

The group that formed *Servet-i Fânun* was said to be formed by "people who had grown up in different environments under different conditions and who were living far from each other's social life and living conditions" (Uşaklıgil, 1987: 422). In this group Cenap had an important role in poetry, and H. Ziya in prose. Cenap who had come back from France with new ideas and style was influenced by symbolists and neo-classics. His works that were printed in *Malumat* gathered a lot of reactions. By modifying the extreme aspects of Cenap's style, Fikret made it suitable for the taste of the period. The followers of *Servet-i Fânun* became successful in creating a separate era and style from the literary aspects of the movement which had begun with *Tanzimat*. Fikret's poem "Hasta Çocuk" (Sick Child) that was published in *Servet-i Fânun* was different in form. In the lines, "He was a bit more comfortable today, thank God.../ of course;/ He will recover, it is not something to be afraid", Fikret used spoken language sentences in poetry. He cleared away language difficulties that came from Ekrem and Hamid. Fikret "turned the skipping style in the French poetry into a poetic sentence which started in the midst of a line and ended few lines later and which would become prose if we undid the typographic order without suffering from any syntactic problems most of the time." (Tanpınar, 1944: 7) While topics like flowers, clouds, dawn, dusk, sea were being used, Fikret widened these and made descriptions of nature. Due to Fikret's efforts, Turkish poetry got rid of the old form. With conscious changes that Fikret realized, he analyzed the elements of emotions, ideas and dreams in his works. He gave more importance to thought. Kıvılcımlı states that the

followers of *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* failed to establish “a wide social ideal which goes beyond the individual contention” in the aspects of their lives and horizons. He adds that they faltered “with a continuous pessimistic anxiety of the end in front of the mirage of the cruel lust that they idolized.”<sup>17</sup>

The oppression and censorship that they were faced with were quite heavy. The first victim of the secret agents was Fikret’s father. He was exiled to Hama (1898). Later, Fikret was put under surveillance because of a meeting held in İsmail Safa’s house. The letters coming from his father were seized. He was arrested once more. It is necessary to look for the reasons of Fikret’s pessimism in his poems that he wrote in this period within his life and social conditions. Tanpınar explained Fikret’s situation:

“The idleness and offence of Fikret that were caused by seeing that all doors of politics and free art which led to life were closed one by one and siletly to him and feeling that there was nothing left but writing on his chair where he was nailed and waiting for the pardon of the sultan were reflected in his writings” (1969: 285-286).

Fikret explained the depression that he was having in a letter that he wrote to Süleyman Nazif (1898). “Despair... Despair... Despair!... I am desperate, brother; I am in a resentful depression, I am coming to an end. If this continues for a little while more, Nazif! Among my dearest friends, I tremble like a man naked in the street; the conscience of the others are closed and covered; only I am naked” (Özkırımlı, 1990: 43-44). The followers of *Servet-i Fûnun* were interested in emotions; they described and analyzed emotion. They expressed this new style with a new expression. Their major subject matters were dreams and reality, suicide, nature and running away. They hated reality and loved dreams. They were so much exhausted of the



administration that they started setting projects of living out of İstanbul. They would go to New Zealand and settle down there. As they could not find enough money to realize this project, they wanted to settle down in Sariçam village of Manisa which was Hüseyin Kazım's village. They would establish a farm there. However, as they were not allowed to leave İstanbul, they could not realize any of these dreams. Fikret "...wanted to go to places which have an imaginary purity. He used these feelings in "Hayal-i Muayyel" (The Dream of Imagination) and "Yeşil Yurt" (Green Country) and the result of the event in "Bir Mersiye" (An Elegy). Halit Ziya wrote "Mai ve Siyah" (Blue and Black). He described the place where he wanted to live and the peace that dreams and feeling of escape gave to him in the following lines of his poem "Bir An-ı Huzur" (A Peaceful Moment) "Now, I live in this village with dreams /The life of villagers/Into a smoke coming from the stove changes/All the darkness of the life's night is in my eyes". He expressed the pain of unrealized dreams with his work "Bir Mersiye" (An Elegy). "Thus, you too disappeared as the last/ You are, too, gone; behind you too/ I cried and cried; but/ One abstains from crying too... Abject!." In another quatrain of the same poem, he said, "What a free, pure life it was/ It would, bitter it was/ The last hope of my sad heart" (Bezirci II. 1984: 241-249).

Tevfik Fikret first printed his poem "Hayran" (Admirer) in the magazine. Having mentioned the uselessness of imitating the old, he changed his understanding of poetry. He wrote poems like "Nesrin", "Verin Zavallılar"a (Give to the Poor), "Balıkçılar" (Fishermen).<sup>18</sup> With these poems, he introduced the daily life and ordinary man to literature. In the depression that he suffered during the period of *Servet-i Fânun*, there was a

belief conflict. The supporters of old poetry was against Fikret, claiming that he was destroying literature by using sentences from daily language in his lines and making poetry come closer to prose, Fikret wrote measured and rhyming poems. Magazines such as "Musavver Malumat" (Illustrated Information), "Hazine-i Fûnun" (The Fortune of Science), "Resimli Gazete" (Tabloid Newspaper), "Musavver Fen ve Edep" (Illustrated Science and Literature) and "İrtika" (Advancement) put forward harsh criticism. The followers of *Servet-i Fûnun* defended them selves. The most important rebuke in this matter came from A. Mithat. He wrote "Dekadanlar" (Decadents) in the newspaper "Sabah" on 1 March 1897.<sup>19</sup> Fikret and his friend defended their own understanding of art. As a response to this article, Fikret wrote "Timsal-i Cehalet" (A Sample of Ignorance). Arguments began to become ugly. Upon this development, Ekrem asked Hüseyin Nazım, the superintendent of gendarme to put an end to this dispute. With his article "Teslim-i Hakikat" (Accepting the Fact) in the newspaper "Tarik" (Path), A. Mithat accepted the innovative ideas of *Servet-i Fûnun* (Ertaylan, 1963: 61-62).

From then on, *Servet-i Fûnun* magazine was accepted, and self-criticisms began. Ahmet Şuayib disapproved using personal feelings in new literature (7 June 1900). They began "to deal with a realistic design whose aim was to evoke an aesthetic pleasure above a didactic concern within art (Işın, 1983c: 436). Fikret made some changes in an article of Ali Ekrem before publishing it. A. Ekrem got cross and published the original text in Baba Tahir's "Musavver Malumat". Hence first cracks started to appear. Fikret who could not get along well with A. İhsan resigned from the magazine. While he was resigning, he suggested Hüseyin Cahit for his post.

H. Cahit did not make any changes in the magazine. After a while, the magazine was closed because of his article "Edebiyat ve Hukuk" (Literature and Law). The magazine was allowed to re-open on the condition that A. İhsan would publish articles "which were loyal to the palace". Fikret closed this period with his poem "Son Nağme" (The Last Song) (Özkırımlı, 58). Fikret compiled the poems that he had written in this period in *Rubab-ı Şikeste* (Broken Violin) in 1990. In that had been published in the magazine in a book called "Edebiyat-ı Cedide Kütüphanesi" (The Library of Edebiyat-ı Cedide) (Usta, 1986: 17).

Until Fikret, Turkish poetry failed to adopt an exact poetic discipline. As is seen before, Şinasi tried to develop the language of journalism, Kemal tried to develop drama; Hamid poetic tragedies and Ekrem the technique with "A Literature Course". They were interested in the art of the West, but were not able to adopt an exact systematicity. Fikret made the most important contribution in this aspect (Sevin, February 1968: 14-15). The followers of *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* tried to change the literature which was totally bound to native sources and traditions. The old literature was for mysticism and the absolute beauty perception whereas *Tanzimat*, by introducing concepts like country, nation, freedom to literature, utilized literature as a means of addressing to the public. Fikret "influenced the literature the most in finding its principles, shaping up, gaining its identity" (Ertop, 1975: 11-12) Fikret became the father of "our innovative literature" and brought spoken language patterns to literature. He influenced literature from poets using syllabic meter to Rıfat Ilgaz. (Kurdakul, 1975: 8-9). Later, Fikret left the romanticism of *Servet-i Fânun* behind and approached to realism. Fikret put our classical literature which

began with Şinasi in an excellent form. Therefore, Fikret "is an innovator who has reinforced our Renaissance and displayed the view of life an displayed the view of life that European civilization would give us in a smooth, naive and pleasant way" (Gökalp, 1330: 9). Fikret's works which previously had a concern of nature started to gain a social quality toward the end of this period. As we shall see in the following chapter, he created important works which were totally different in identity, which had social contents, which viewed his period with critical eyes and which passed from one hand to the other throughout the proceeding periods.

In the next part of the study, we aim to display Fikret's life which gave him his social and political identity. We can understand the depressions that the intellectuals of that period had gone through and conditions they were in by presenting Fikret's life.

## NOTES

- (1) Ahmet İhsan (Tokgöz) who had been releasing a magazine called *Ümran* (prosperity) made an agreement with the *Servet* (Fortune) where he had been working as a translator to release a weekly subsript with the name *Servet-i Fünun* when his magazine had been closed down. Toward 1895, Recaizade Ekrem, Halit Ziya and Tevfik Fikret regularly gave articles to the magazine. It covered a variety of topics from fashion to health problems. In 1896, the directorate of the magazine was given to Fikret. The magazine became the spokesman of *Edebiyat-ı Cedide*. Due to disputes and different opinions, the group was separated toward the end of 1900. The magazine was closed down because of an article published in it. With the announcement of the Second Constitutional Government, the magazine was forgotten for a while. When the magazine was chosen as the speech organ of the literary trend by the followers of *Fecr-i Ati*, it became alive again. This group was separated in 1912, and the magazine was closed down after İstanbul was invaded. In 1924, it started to be released again. In 1928, its name was changed into *Uyanış* (Awakening). In 1944, it was closed down for the last time (Varlık, 1983: 116)
- (2) "Millet (nation), hürriyet (liberty), murat (desire), Reşat, vatan (country), dolap (closet), hücre (cell), anarşi (anarchy), ihtilal (revolution), zulüm (oppression), rüya (dream), kaval (pipe) (might have been related with the shape of the Sultan's nose) and so on..." Writers who used these words and people who uttered them were kept under police supervision. (For further information, see Berkes, 1978: 340-341).
- (3) Petrosyan, however, claims that journalism was terminated in that period. "Under the most oppressive domination of the censory, Turkish press could deal with neither the foreign nor the domestic policies of the State; they were only flattering the Sultan with disgusting compliments" (Şükrü, 1931: 35-36)
- (4) It is necessary to evaluate Hamid's being a modernist only in his own period. He was influenced by classical period French poets and writers rather than dealing with contemporary trends. Like Racine, Corneille and Shakespeare... In his plays, he dealt with "Ancient (Dead) Eras". He said, "My plays are not to be performed but to be read", and he adds that "he would not put down the quality of high ideas to the level of actors". (Kutlu, 1981: 141).

- (5) Parnacism was the poetry branch of realism. It was born as a result of applying positivism to literature. It was a reaction to romanticism. Sully Prudhomme, Dierx, Coppee were some of the representatives of this trend. Fikret was greatly influenced by Coppee. Their compassions were the same (Uyguner, 1968: 488-497).
- (6) Hamid wrote "drafts of poems based on the questions that were shaped in his mind (some were childish) about the nature" and "could not create a poetic language which had aesthetics." The followers of Servet-i Fünun dealt with questions about symbolism, naturalism, idealism, positivism and similar artistic and philosophical trends; and, they reflected the opinions of thinkers and poets such as Descartes, Renan, Taine, Zola, Coppee, Baudelaire, Verlaine and Rimbaud. Fikret dealt with nature and man together. By examining people's lives, he created new sensitivities in poetry (Kurdakul, 1983: 423).
- (7) For Ekrem, literature could be defined in two different ways: narrow and broad. In its broad sense, literature covered everything which was the product of emotions, thoughts and dreams. And, he said, "In literature, reason is not favored: because the aim of literature is to discover the virtues and novelties that are in ideas, emotions and dreams" (Önertoy, 1981: 15).
- (8) Ülken states that Servet-i Fünun magazine which was previously giving scientific-technical information later changed its scope and became a literary trend, and adds, "actually, it should have been called a movement of thought. However, this new magazine and the era that it opened was presented as a literary movement by literary figures due to the fact that the tradition of writing the history of thoughts had not been established then." (1992: 140).
- (9) Fikret was believed to be the real representative and poet of Edebiyat-ı Cedide. Ertop, 1964, Varlık; Kıvılcımlı, Edebiyat-ı Cedide'nin Otopsi (The Autopsy of Edebiyat-ı Cedide); Mutluay, 1988, Tanzimat ve Servet-i Fünun Literature; Tülbentçi, 19 August 1955, Ulus (Nation) support this idea. In a questionnaire which was applied in the 1940's about Tevfik Fikret, Sertel said he "separated Turkish Literature from medrese literature", Derviş stated that he "was the first pen who brought western style of thought", Belge defined him as being "an outstanding personality who wanted to desert classical Ottoman literature and adopt western literature", and İzzet said he "brought innovations toward the west" (Yeni Adam, 1940: 4-7).
- (10) Fikret's wife Nazima Hanım mentioned his hostility toward Abdülhamit. "Fikret did not forgive the Red Sultan for years. I remember, at nights when Abdülhamit's



accession to the throne was being celebrated, when everywhere was ornamented, he would turn off all the lights and sit in the dark. He would become so mad at such nights that he died on 19. August which was the date of such a celebration night" (Es.1984: 30) Abdülhamit's reign was the period which urged Fikret to rebel the most. He wrote symbolic poems. Some of them were Kılıç (Sword), Karlar (Snow), Promete, Kahkai Yeis (The Laughter of Despair), Fırsat Yolunda (On the way to Opportunity). (Naci, 1942: 7).

- (11) For Servet-i Fünun movement, Petrosyan says "Pessimism and silence are the characteristics of this literary group that was far from the public, the most important problems of the social and political life of the country.
- (12) In 1897, Rezaizade Ekrem came with a young man and said to Ahmet İhsan, "...I brought Tevfik Fikret to you. He is a talented man whom I like a lot; some of his works have been printed in several magazines like "Mektep" (School). But I want him to work for Servet-i Fünun" (Special Foundation Issue of Servet-i Fünun, 1940).
- (13) Regression that Lewis mentioned was referring to "their refusal of the tendencies for the simplification of language which had been put forward earlier and their writing style which was florid and not understandable and which was full of Arabic and Persian words and expressions and which only aimed at a certain elite group who had high education degrees." (1988:3rd.ed.:190)
- (14) According to Fikret, it was very difficult to isolate Turkish from Arabic and Persian words. For him, the effort of making the language understandable could result in the loss of its literary value. He explained this view as "one degree below simplification is vulgarity; a little carelessness might pull the simple down to the degree of vulgarity" (Ertop, 1983:338).
- (15) The "absurd-quoted" dispute started with a youngster named Hasan Asaf who used the rhyme for ear in poetry. According to old literature traditions, rhyme was for eye. Ekrem claimed that rhyme was for the ear. Thus, between the supporters of the new and the old in literature, the dispute whether rhyme was for the eye or for the ear became an argument of old or new literature.(Özkırımlı, 1990:36). Those arguments were not new. People like Elhac İbrahim Efendi, Cevdet and İrfan Pashas confronted Şinasi and Namık Kemal in the same way. There were people like Muallim Naci, Feyzi and Sheik Vasfi against Hamid and Ekrem. The criticisms against Servet-i Fünun were printed in newspapers and magazines like Musavver Malumat (Illustrated Information), Hazine-i Fünun (The Fortune of science), Resimli Gazete (Tabloid



Newspaper), Musavver Fen and Edep (Illustrated Science and Literature and İrtika (Advancement). The modernists and the language that they used were criticized (1990: 38).

- (16) İsmail Parlatır compiled Fikret's prose writings and "Musahabe-i Edebiyye" (Inquiry of Literature) in a book. For further information, see Parlatır, I., (1987). *Tevfik Fikret Dil ve Edebiyat Yazıları*, TDK., Ankara.
- (17) Hikmet Kıvılcımlı claimed that Edebiyat-ı Cedide was "public enemy, against national literature". He added that their real philosophy was individual love ideal, frustration, producing symbolic and philosophical expressions, and pessimism. The only follower of Edebiyat-i Cedide who dealt with the humankind was Fikret.(Der. Karaca, 1989: 56). Neither was Ataç positive toward Edebiyat-i Cedide. His main criticism was on the language they used. For further information, see *Ulus*, 23. February. 1952. He criticized the language aspect again in the newspaper *Ulus* (Nation) on 7.January. 1946. But, he also stated that like Yahya Kemal, Fikret guided the poets. On the other hand, Nabi stated that the followers of Servet-i Fünun took shelter in an ivory tower and turned to their inner selves, thus, the view of "art is only for the ones who can comprehend it" was more suitable for them (1972: 14).
- (18) Fikret used the poetry technique of Coppee which carried the features of a prose in these poems. The poem "Balıkçılar" (Fishermen) is a good example. Yetkin claimed that with these poems. Fikret, like Coppee, approached to the view of art for the community's sake and deserted the view of art is for art's sake (15 December 1967: 3).
- (19) Toward Edebiyat-ı Cedide writers, two important accusations were made: their being difficult to understand and their imitating the west. Ahmet Mithat Efendi wrote his article "Dekadanlar" (Decadents) to express these two aspects in the newspaper *Sabah* (Morning) on 1.March. 1897. As a response to this article, Hüseyin Cahit claimed that there could exist writers who grasped the real value of art in addition to popular writers in a society. He stated that Edebiyat-ı Cedide was not for popular literature, thus, it was not for the common people. About the imitation matter, he said, "This imitation is not a direct imitation of Europe; only general rules which can be applied to all human beings will be taken from Europe, then national results will be reached which are suitable to our time, location and attitude" [Işın, 1983c: *Eleştirinin Gelişimi* (The Development of Criticism), 437].

---

## CHAPTER IV

### THE LIFE OF TEVFIK FİKRET

Tevfik Fikret was born on 24 December 1867 in Istanbul. His real name was Mehmet Tevfik. His father was Hüseyin Efendi who was the son of Ahmet Ağa from Çankırı. Hüseyin Efendi had first worked at the office of the registry of landed property, and then became a member of the city trust council. His mother was the daughter of Hüsrev Efendi, a Greek from Chios, and Saliha Hanım who had been left homeless in 1822 Greek Riot and who took refuge with the Ottomans and converted into Islam.

Throughout his life Fikret witnessed a number of political events, and his private life and art life were framed by these events. His childhood and teens passed between the First and the Second Constitutional Monarchy. Fikret, had first attended Mahmudiye High School. Then the 93 Russian war broke out. İstanbul was full of the wounded and immigrants. These people were replaced in mosques and schools. Then, his father registered Fikret to Galatasaray Lycee which was the most prominent school of his time.

“... he was learning the Eastern thought and literature from famous people like Abdurrahman Şeref, Rezaizâde Ekrem, Hacı Zihni Efendi, Muallim Feyzi and Muallim Naci, and getting the basic principles and influences of the western thought and French literature from educators like D’Hollys, Charve, Lacomblez and Sarret who were teaching the courses which were in French.” (Usta, 1986: 14).

---

Fikret experienced his first great suffer when he was twelve. He lost his mother, Hatice Refia Hanım.<sup>1</sup> After his mother's death, his father did not get married again.<sup>2</sup> He expressed his great pain due to his mother's death in a poem later. This poem was "Uzletgâh-ı Mâderi Ziyaret" (The Final Resting Place of Mother). His aunt Naima Hanım tried to be a mother to him.

Fikret started writing his first poems when he was about 13-14 in the first and second grades of the high school (Kaplan, 1946: 52). "...his first poem was published in the newspaper "Tercüman-ı Hakikat" on 31 December 1883 with the penname "Nazmi" with the help of Muallim Feyzi Efendi (Usta, 1986: 14). His schoolmate Cemil Bey introduced him to Recep Vahyi. Recep Bey was attending the Military School. He was also interested in poetry and literature. They were in a literary correspondence with each other.

Some people take the gazelle published in "Tercüman-ı Hakikat's" 533rd page with the penname Nazmi as being Fikret's first poem that he wrote when he was a student at the fourth grade in the high school. "By strengthening the discipline of the soul if humanism/Is it possible not to fall into the trap of the falsehood of materialism..." Ertaylan states "The gazelle which was claimed to be the first poem of Tevfik Fikret with the explanation above it "It belongs to Tevfik, one of the fourth year students of the high school" on the 533rd page of "Müntehabat-ı Tercüman-ı Hakikat" proves that Fikret used to write poems with the penname Nazmi at that time" (1963: 14). On the other hand, Süleyman Nazif claimed that Fikret's first poem was the gazelle published in "Tercüman-ı Hakikat" in 99 (Moslem calendar). "The inner thought is bewildered by the imaginary lovelock,

curly/Separation from my darling, my poor heart weeps bitterly" (Şükrü, 1931: 17). He adds that the years in *Servet-i Fûnun* on 25 January 1896 as "being years when writing gazelles were accepted as a talent under the influence of literature courses and teachers in the school years..." (Usta, 1986: 14).

His Turkish teacher was Muallim Feyzi Efendi. He did the proof reading of Fikret's first writings. Muallim Naci was the director of literature pages in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*. Fikret, being interested in literature, was imitating Sheik Vasfi, Feyzi, Naci and Ekrem (Şükrü, 1931: 17). He came close to Muallim Naci's group because he regarded Muallim Feyzi as his mother. We understand this from the letter that he sent to Recep Vahyi on 12 February 1885.<sup>3</sup> Cenap Şahabettin had stayed in France for a while. He transferred what he had learned there to Fikret. In addition to this, his getting familiar with the high school resulted in his writing allegoric and symbolic poems. Before he finished his school, he had made himself known to the printing world. While doing these, he was analyzing Arabic and Persian without leaving aside his fine and detailed works and dealing with literature.

His openness to innovations pushed him to the side of Ekrem and Hamit. He slipped off the influence of the classical literature in 1885-86 (Fuat, 1979: 7). As mentioned before, this period was divided into two: Naci and his group and Ekrem and his group. Fikret joined Ekrem's group. He started attacking to Naci's group. Fikret did not include his first poems even in the "Old Things" section of *Rûbab-ı Şikeste*.<sup>4</sup>

Fikret finished the high school in the first place in 1888. He was assigned to the secretary post of the Foreign Affairs at the Sublime Porte.

---

Before he completed his first year in this post, he resigned. Salaries were being paid once or twice a year. When the payday came after his resignation, his salary was sent to him. However, he refused the money claiming that he had not done anything. Since the money could not be returned, it was donated to the Immigrants Commission.

When Cevat Pasha was the grand vizier, the bureau for the management of pressing affairs of importance in the secretary of grand vizier. Bülbül Tevfik Pasha assigned him to this bureau. The salaries were not being paid regularly. He suggested that he worked in his former post and did the works at home in the evenings, and found another job for the mornings. This offer was not accepted. So he resigned claiming that "the efforts were not appreciated". A year later, he, again, started working as a secretary in the office of Foreign Affairs. In the same year, 1890, he worked at the Sublime Porte and at the same time gave French, Turkish and writing lessons in the School of Commerce in Gedik Paşa.

Fikret got married to the daughter of his uncle who would later become the governor of Trabzon. His mother had already died. His father, on the other hand, was assigned to the governor of Hama as a result of Sultan Hamit's causeless decision.<sup>5</sup> Fikret concentrated all his ardor of family on his own home. After a while, his father was sent to first Nablus, and then to Akkâ, and to Urfa. In the end, he settled down in Aleppo owing to Köse Rauf Pasha who became the governor of Aleppo and died there. In 1895, Halûk who was the only child of Fikret and whom Fikret loved deeply was born.

Fikret who was a graduate of high school, a government employee, a teacher and an honest man began to gain fame as a poet in 1891.

Safa who was the editor of the magazine (Outlook) which started to be released in 1891 was fond of Fikret and supporting him. His first poem was published on 25 April 1307 (Uraz, 1945: 9-10). He began to write in the first three issues of the magazine which was directed by Muallim Naci.<sup>6</sup> In the same year, he won both of the contests that "Mirsad" held. The first contest was on unification; the subject of the second contest was praising of the Sultan.

He took an exam for a position in the high school in 1892 and he was appointed to the third year elementary school as a Turkish teacher. Later he was transferred to the second year and kept this position until 1895.

Fikret wished to take Halûk to a place which had fresh air and sun. They moved to the waterside residence in Rumelihisarı. While moving there, he resigned from his government post and kept his teaching position.

In the beginning of 1894, "Mirsad" was closed down because of a news. Hüseyin Kazım, Ali Ekrem (A. Nadir) and Fikret decided to publish a magazine together. "Malûmat" (Information) was first released on 22 February 1894 with the cooperation of Artin Efendi who was the owner of a publishing house. Malûmat was closed down after 48 issues. On 23 May 1895, Baba Tahir began to release the magazine again. He was fond of old literature and loyal to the palace. "Musavver Malûmat" (Illustrated Information) became the magazine of the ones who supported the old.

Modernists changed the magazine "Mektep" (School) which had been released by Karabet, the book seller, since 1891 into a weekly literature magazine (Fuat, 1979: 11). "Mektep" began to be published on 26 September

1895. There had been significant arguments until 7 February 1896 when Fikret took over the direction of *Servet-i Fûnun*. The old and the new realized the “absurd vs. quoted” argument (see the chapter on *Servet-i Fûnun*).

His poems were published in *Malûmat* between 1893 and 1896 (Tanyu, 1972: 15). His poem “Hayal” (Dream) in 1894 was outstanding. There was an escape from reality in this poem. In 1895, “İktirab” (Grief) was published in the magazine “Maarif” (Public Instruction). This poem was the first sign of a pessimism which would last very long. Later, he wrote “Şî'r-î Perişan” (Poem of Misery), “Sahaif-i Hayatımdan” (Pages from My Life), “Aşinâ-i Dil” (The Familiar Language) and “Sûha and Pervin”.

In 1895, he resigned from the high school. The reason for his resignation was that there was a cutback in the salaries in the budget that was made that year. He started teaching at Robert College. Until the declaration of the constitution, his salary was 12 liras. When he was working at Robert College, he had his residence in *Aşiyân* built.

Since there is a whole chapter on *Servet-i Fûnun*, we will not go into details again here. We will only mention that Tefvik Fikret took over the direction of *Servet-i Fûnun* on 7 February 1896 (256th issue). Meanwhile, Fikret “was publishing his poems in various magazines like “Mekteb”, “Maarif”, “Mutalaa” (Observation), and “İrtika” (Advancement) in addition to *Servet-i Fûnun*” (Usta, 1986: 17).

#### 4.1. THE SECLUSION PERIOD I

Upon his resignation from *Servet-i Fûnun*, Fikret began living in *Aşiyân* (Fikret’s residence as called by himself) and continued working at



Robert College. In 1899, they held a demonstration to gain the British support against Abdülhamit.<sup>7</sup>

Fikret left *Servet-i Fânun* in 1900 and retired into seclusion until 1908 when the constitutional monarchy was established. In this period which was seemingly a seclusion period, Fikret turned toward the society in his poems. His criticisms were quite harsh. His view of art did not change suddenly. The process of changing revealed itself in his poem "Sis".

"In these years, like the pendulum of a clock, the poet went back and forth between two contrastive emotions and ideas. (...) He both wanted to run away from the world in which he lived and take shelter in an imaginary world, and perceived the real world via his son at the same time" (Özkırmlı, 1990: 54).

The year 1900 was an important year for Fikret. Arguments broke out among the followers of *Servet-i Fânun*, and he had his first political actions, and published his first book in this year. Like 1895-1896, the year 1900 became a turning point in Fikret's life. About Fikret's finding his own style, Akyüz says, "Having a conscious shape for this thinking which could not break the hoop of religion and gain an exact freedom began only after the poet left *Servet-i Fânun* and retired into seclusion, that is to say after 1900" (1947: 277).

"After 1315, (...) He was redeemed from the fresh water intellectuality, and became a man of action. In fact the Committee of Union and Progress gave Fikret the duty of investigating the ones who wanted to join the committee. He was doing this duty with pleasure" (Erişçi, 1939: 10).

He wrote a poem in which he described İstanbul in 1901. He was quite negative in this poem. He was able to publish this poem only after the

Second Constitutional Monarchy. The fact that he would direct his attention to social issues was obvious from the *Servet-i Fûnun* period. In the self-criticism section of *Servet-i Fûnun* in 1900, he said:

“Art cannot be individualistic; although there are people who produce works of art for their own selves, artists are not the ones who perform art only for themselves” (Parlatır, 1987).

The poems that he wrote under the influence of François Coppee, the poems that he for Halûk and similar works explain his transition to social issues. After “Sis”, he wrote his poems “Hürriyet Yolunda” (On the way to Liberty), “İzler” (Marks) and “Kocaman Saate” (To the Huge Clock). He wrote “Tarih-i Kadim” which have caused argumentation since 1905 when it was first written. Later, he wrote “Sabah Olursa” (If Morning Comes), “Bir Lahzâ-i Teahhur” (A Moment of Delay) and “Mazi... Atı” (The Past... The Future). These poems were copied by hand, and changed hands this way.

“Tarih-i Kadim” is one of the important poems of Fikret.<sup>8</sup> “Tarih-i Kadim”, which makes a whole with “Sis”, is also an addressing. It reduces materialistic conditions to abstract and criticizes them. After the Second Constitutional Monarchy, he did not take this poem in the third edition of *Rûbâb-ı Şikeste*. With “Sis”, Fikret exposed the problem, and with “Tarih-i Kadim”, he explained the historical development of the problem.

Bolay divides Fikret’s literary life into two. According to him, first Fikret wrote only religious works, and he continued this period until 1321. For the other period, he says, “By writing a poem called “Tarih-i Kadim” in 1321, Fikret declared his atheism... At the same time, Fikret became an extreme enemy of religion like Feurebach”<sup>9</sup> (1963: 11).

"Tarih-i Kadim" brought up quite important issues for discussion. From the viewpoint of the poetic form, he finely embellished this poem with all the innovations. According to Ural, "Tarih-i Kadim, further, symbolizes the result that arguments on the goal of art reached with Fikret. It was an important and the first sample of the view of 'art for the sake of society'." (1984: 18). In this addressing poem, issues like God, religion, society, and man were dealt with in a systematic way. With this poem which caused argumentation, Fikret's atheism and anti-nationalism were severely criticized or supported. However, the question "Why was it like this?" was never asked. The first person who sought an answer to this question was "the Islam reformist Mehmet Akif" (Ural, 1984: 18). Fikret responded only to him with his poem "Tarih-i Kadime Zeyl" (The Postscript of the Ancient History). This subject will be covered in detail in the following chapter.

With "Sis", he placed man in society, religion and nature. But, he could systematize his ideas in "Tarih-i Kadim". "... It can be claimed that the fact that the old existed in the novelties still very strongly led Fikret to a faster and more radical settlement with the old. "Tarih-i Kadim" was the result of this settlement." (Ural, 1984: 28).

In "Sabah Olursa", there were signs of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. Perhaps, some things would change. He said that he had the belief that the pessimistic picture that he had drawn before could change. A year and three months later, he wrote "Mazi... Ati". He fairly systematized his thought.

He lamented the fact that Abdülhamit survived from the assassination attempt in 1906 and wrote his poem "Bir Lahza-i Teahhür". He was able to publish his poem only after the Second Constitutional

---

Monarchy. With this poem, he summarized the thoughts of the intellectuals of that period. The country was like this because of the sultan. When the constitution was established, people would be free and there would be no problems left

#### 4.2. THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

The members of the Union and Progress which was a group for freedom had the belief that the problems of country would have been solved if Abdülhamit had been dethroned. The Party which was founded in 1889 moved abroad because of the oppression. They were first organized in Paris, then in Cairo, and re-organized in Salonika in 1906. The members were well-educated, revolutionary officers.

There were problems in Macedonia. Abdülhamit who had sent Şemsi Pasha there to solve the problems had to accept the wishes of the Union and Progress in order to take them under his control upon the murder of Şemsi Pasha. In 1876, the constitution was accepted again.

Tevfik Fikret was invited to the first meeting of the Union and Progress. In this meeting, he was not active.<sup>10</sup> With that enthusiasm, he wrote "Rûcu" (Reverting). After the declaration of the constitutional monarchy, he wanted to publish a newspaper named "Tanin" with the idea that "...it is necessary to have a daily newspaper which would defend and write about the provisions of the constitution" (Tevfik, 1945: 29). He sent Hüseyin Kâzım to Hüseyin Cahit with whom he was cross. They make up with each other and began to release the newspaper in a week's time. The head writer was H. Cahit.

H. Kâzım and he were strongly for "unionism". Fikret did not get involved in the writing part; he was dealing with technical things. In time, "Tanin" became the publishing organ of the Union and Progress.<sup>11</sup> Three four months later, Fikret went back to teaching and to *Aşiyân*.

This seclusion did not last long. He gave a positive answer to Nigar's letter which asked him to accept the headmaster of Galatasaray Lycee. He started his work on 6 January 1909. The school building had been burned a while ago. The education was being given in the barracks in Beylerbeyi. Fikret gave the priority to the reconstruction of the school building. He had a conference hall and meeting rooms added to the main building. Since he thought it would not be appropriate for him to be away from the school, he had a section built himself. Because of this, he was criticized a lot and he resigned. However, upon heavy requests, he returned to Galatasaray Lycee (1909).

On 13 April 1909, the exert of March 31 came into being. Some changes were made in the cabinet in accordance with the wishes of the rebels; thus, Fikret resigned saying that he would not work under the order of such a government. A temporary headmaster was assigned. When the students acted as the mediators, Fikret returned to his post. The army came to İstanbul to subdue the anti-constitutional rebellion. Abdulhamit was dethroned. Mehmet Reşat ascended the throne. Some changes were made in the cabinet. The Minister of Education Abdurrahman Şeref Bey was dismissed. Nail Bey was appointed to this position. Eight months later, Emrullah Efendi was appointed to this position, and problems aroused. He changed the budget that Fikret had prepared and divided into two as being people on wage and people on salary. The differentiation among the people

who did the same job led him to his last registration. He wrote his resignation letter in a sharp tone: "The nature of my culture changed...". There were many events in this period. "... The Union and Progress have lost the trust and favor of the majority, the supporters of the old regime have increased their wrath and boldness against the administration of the Union and Progress pretending that they were for Fikret" (Tevfik, 1945, 31).

After this letter, he did not take any other civil service post. He returned to Robert College.

In September 1909, he sent his son Halûk to Scotland for his education. He wrote "Halûk'un Vedai" (The Farewell of Halûk).

After he had left the high school, he gave literature courses in teachers' training college. When his friend Sâti Bey resigned from his post, he resigned, too. He was completely retired into *Aşiyân*. He continued working at Robert College. In his second seclusion period, he criticized the government again and wrote poems which had a social aspect.

#### 4.3. THE SECLUSION PERIOD: II

Fikret who thought that everything would be solved with the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy was disappointed to a great extent. Even before the parliament opened, Bulgaria declared its independence, Austria invaded Bosnia-Herzegovina, Crete was given to Greece, there were riots in Albania, Italians sent troops to Tripolitania.

On 21 November 1911, the committee of Liberty and Entente was founded. When they won the semi-elections with one extra vote, they

became a danger for the Union and Progress. The parliament was closed on 8 January 1912. Fikret likened this event to the one in 1878 (1295) and wrote his poem "Doksanbeşe Doğru" (Toward Ninety-Five).

In fact, the poem which showed that Fikret got far from the revolutionists was *Halûk'un Defteri* (Halûk's Diary). He published the third edition of *Rûbab-ı Şikeste* after the Second Constitutional Monarchy. In this edition, he included "Sis", "Rucu", "Bir Lahza-i Teahhur" and "Millet Şarkısı". He did the fourth edition a year later.

On 4 February 1911, he wrote, "Gökten Yere" (From Heaven to the Earth). He brought God to the earth. In "Halûk'un Amentüsü" (Halûk's Credo), he determined the principles of this new religion. This poem caused a lot of reactions, too. Bolay who compared this poem with the belief principles of Islam presented it as the proof of Fikret's atheism. His poem "Promete" had much importance, too. He presented a pattern which could foresee the future. Enver Naci stated, "Fikret could always foresee the future. "Promete" was not only a mythological yearning. The name "Promete" was a model. Its essence was correcting the present condition of the country and seeing its future" (1942: 14).

After he had left Galatasaray, he got far from the daily political events. He had his hopes in the youth only. He published "Haluk'un Defteri" in 1911. The Union and Progress offered the directorate of a new school which was about to open. Meanwhile, the parliament was dissolved and Tripolitania was invaded. With "Doksanbeşe Doğru", Fikret harshly criticized the Union and Progress. When the poem was published in Nüzhet Sabit's magazine "Vazife" (Duty) on 22 January 1912, a great tumult took place.<sup>12</sup>



Two days after "Doksanbeşe Doğru", Fikret wrote "Rûbâbın Cevabı" (The Answer of the Violin) (21 January 1912). With this poem, he explained why he took sides against the Union and Progress. On the other hand, Özkırımlı claims that this poem is not an explanation, it is a self-settlement. The social sensitivity replaced the individualistic sensitivity. Meanwhile, Rıza Tevfik was beaten. This event reminded Fikret his poem "Hakikatin Yıldızı" (The Star of the Reality) which took place in "Halûk'un Defteri". On 24 March 1912, he published "Hakikatin Yıldızı" and "Yegâne Feylesofumuz" (Our Only Philosopher) which he wrote upon this event in "Vazife".

In 1912, elections under compulsion took place and ended with the victory of the Union and Progress. They were trying to set dominance in the parliament. They brought the draft law which aimed to take the authority that they had in 1909 back from the Sultan onto the agenda of the parliament. It was accepted. The next day, Fikret wrote "Hân-ı Yağma". Fikret took his place in the political struggle with his poem "Doksanbeşe Doğru", he explained his attitude in his poem "Rubâbın Cevabı", and he started to fight with his poem "Hân-ı Yagma". He sent this poem to the grand vizier, the ministers of war and marine and the sheikhulislam in his handwriting<sup>13</sup> (Ertaylan, 1963: 100).

The savior officers group was founded. Their aim was to save the country from the Union and Progress. They started actions. The cabinet was overthrown. Ghazi Ahmet Muhtar who was a person that could calm down the environment was appointed in its place. The Balkan wars broke out. Great defeats were experienced. The Union and Progress did not accept this defeat. They failed to put their relations with the opposition groups in an

order. Mahmut Şevket Pasha was killed. The parliament was opened once more on 14 May 1914. Edirne was saved. With the confidence that they gained from this event, they made an agreement with the Germans who joined the war on 1 August 1914 and gave them support on October 29 Sarıkamış disaster was experienced.

The debate which started with "Doksanbeşe Doğru" was turned into a polemic between Akif and Fikret (see, Sertel). In one of his poems, Akif accused Fikret of being the verger of the Christians. Fikret taking the argument as the starting point wrote "Tarih-i Kadime Zeyl". Bolay claims that with this poem, Fikret formed a model for atheists and materialists. Taking two lines from "Tarih-i Kadime Zeyl", he said, "There is no difference between the couplet" Humans have corruptions as such; They make their own idols to worship" and Feuerbach's following idea "Man exaggerated his qualifications and formed Gods which look like himself. And, he is worshipping them" (1963: 12).

Fikret remained silent from the second half of 1912 until the end of 1914. He didnot have any political rebukes. A month after "Hân-ı Yağma", he wrote "Bir İçim Su" (Pleasing). After these poems which had a political attitude which lasted for seven months, he did not write any political poems for two years; he began writing children's poems. What he was opposed to was the Union and Progress. The reason for this could be the Union and Progress which lost the power because of the policy they followed.

In 1914, doctors diagnosed that he had diabetes. He had operation on his right arm. On 14 November 1914, he wrote "Tarih-i Kadime Zeyl" as a response to M. Akif. Upon the declaration of the First World War, he

wrote "Fetâvâ-yı Şerife" (The Fatwas of The Sacred), and then he wrote "Sancak-ı Şerif Huzurunda" (In Front of the Sacred Flag) on 28 November 1914. Except these, he devoted all his time and poems to children. He spent efforts for the issue of education. On 19 July 1912, he wrote "Bir İçim Su". He wrote it as a sample for Seyfettin's studies of a new language. He prepared his book *Şermin* with the aim of helping Sati Bey.<sup>14</sup> While writing *Şermin*, he used the new language in a very simple way. He published it in 1914. Further, he had a new school project. However, he could not realize it because he failed to provide the necessary support. He tried to establish a new school with the name "Teceddüt ve Terakki" (Renovation and Progress) which would use the Ottoman Turkish and English as the language of instruction with a British man called Allen Ramsey in 1909.

He died on 15 August 1915 at night. He bequeathed that he would not want anyone to make a speech at his grave. He told Rıza Tevfik wanted to come to his funeral. He wanted to be buried in *Aşiyân*. However, upon his family's wish, he was buried in the family cemetery in Eyüp. His body was transferred to *Aşiyân* on 24 December 1961. After his death, the following was found among his papers.

"This much indignation is enough for existence, I am in such a misery, I want to repose; It is time I left my body, tongue and fantasies, Now, I am, too, an extra burden in cosmos [(5-6 August 1331; 18-19 August 1915) Tanyu, 1972)].

"Fikret gradually committed a suicide. If we consider several factors and sorrowful motives which affected his death, we can understand how Fikret collapsed in a terrible way. However, he was not complacent, on the contrary, he was happy, because he had a clear conscious" (Ertaylan, 1963: 105).

## NOTES

- (1) Hatice Refia Hanım went to the Hejaz with her elder brother Hasan Nuri Bey. Both of them died because of a cholera epidemic. They were buried in a place which was in one-day distance to Medina. Fikret's sister was brought back by the Sûme Emir Feyzi Bey a year later (Tevfik, 1945).
- (2) Fikret described his father whom he did not have the chance of being together a lot as "My father was very neat and tidy, and he was an honest man. He would shout and yell easily, he was so quick-tempered, but at the same time, he was a nice and kind man" (Nigâr, 1943: 13).
- (3) We see in the letter that he accepted Muallim Feyzi as his master and imitated Naci's group. (For further information on the letter, see, Parlatur, 1987: 265).
- (4) For further information on the first poems of Fikret, see, Bilgegil, M. K. (1970) "Tevfik Fikret'in İlk Şiirleri" (The First Poems of Tevfik Fikret). Atatürk University Publications, Erzurum.
- (5) His father who was the deputy of Pertevniyal Vali Sultan Foundation paid a visit to sheikulislam in order to get his opinion so that there would not be any unjust practices in the administration. Abdülhamit was informed about this, and since he was afraid of the sheikulislam very much, he sent Fikret's father to exile (Tevfik, 1945: 10).
- (6) Each of Fikret's poems was being published with the note "It belongs to Mehmet Tevfik Bey, an outstanding poet, who is a graduate of the high school" (Fuat, 1979: 9).
- (7) They took a letter which contained about 70 signatures to wish success to the British who were fighting against Boers in Africa to the Embassy. The Palace showed a reaction to this event. There were some arrests. Fikret had signed the letter, too but he was not arrested. This action was realized to protest Abdülhamit's policy which was in favor of Germany. This action reflects the exact viewpoint of the intellectuals of that period to the problem. For them, the salvation was Abdulhamit's dethronement.
- (8) It has been claimed that Tarih-i Kadim was published without his permission. There are two comments about the cause that led him to write this poem. The first one is that he wrote it after he had seen the sheep for sacrifice in İstinye where he had gone

with his family for excursion. The second is that it had nothing to do with this event and that he wrote it on purpose. Akyüz takes the explanation of this event only from Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın. He states that Ünaydın said that he wrote the poem in rainy evening of Sacrifice Feast, that Fikret was having an outing in a rowing boat with his wife and his son Haluk who was rowing, and that when Fikret saw two sheep for sacrifice in another rowing boat, he, suddenly, without thinking, said "The religion wants martyrs, the victims are celestial;/Blood, blood, blood! Always and everywhere!". However, he adds, "we do not have solid proofs for this. Hence, the claims cannot go beyond being guesses". (1947: 277).

- (9) In the proceeding part of his article, he commented on Tarih-i Kadim and claimed that this poem did not have any philosophical basis. Even more, he defined the poem as being a "perversion of thought". (Bolay, 1963: 12).
- (10) When he returned to Aşiyân, he ornamented his house for three days and three nights in the honor of being freed from the oppressive administration. (Şükrü, 1931: 51). "He ornamented Aşiyân in the first, second and third days and nights of the establishment of the Constitutional Government. Fikret who had been restless for year even rented Aşiyân and moved to the mansion... He was going to Tanin" (Ertaylan, 1963: 87).
- (11) "... When Tanin became a tool of the Committee of the Union and Progress as opposed to Fikret's will who wanted the newspaper to be the press organ of the regime and to fight for justice and freedom, Fikret became hopeless and desperate, and broke up with his friends" (Tevfik, 1945: 29).
- (12) Sahiba Sertel claims that the Akif-Fikret argument was provoked by the Union and Progress via Turkish Fraternities. Fikret was a distinguished man of his era. His taking a negative attitude to the Party would not be agreeable. That is why the Union and Progress group took sides against Fikret (Sertel, 1946). Faik Ali changed the line "May the hands of the ones who applaud you for being just be destroyed" into "May the hands of the ones who applaud you for being Fikret be destroyed!". Servet-i Fûnun published a protest against these attacks on 1 February 1912 (Fuat, 1979: 60). [This poem was published in the issue dated February 8 with the following note: "Servet-i Fûnun being a literary magazine protests the attacks which have no limits to the literary personality of our great poet Tevfik Fikret Bey because of his latest poem Doksanbeşe Doğru". The poem was published again on the next day with the following telegram that Fikret sent to the magazine: "I would like to thank you for your noble-hearted and sincere reaction. I wish my worthless identity was not the subject, then I could scream with you with the same emotions, and ecstasy to defend the reality"] (Özkırımlı, 1990: 95-96).

(14) For further information, see Kavcar 57-81. Fikret's friend Satı Bey opened a school and a kindergarten for children. He asked Fikret to write poems for children. For Fikret, he said, "No other poet thought children and teenagers as much as Fikret did; no other poet tried to find ways of addressing to the souls of children and teenagers as much as Fikret did." (Altınkaynak, 1975: 47).



CHAPTER V  
THE IMPORTANCE OF TEVFİK FİKRET  
IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT DURING  
THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

So far we have examined the westernization attempts in the Ottoman State, *Tanzimat*, the Neo-Ottoman movement and the *Servet-i Fûnûn* movement in Abdülhamit's reign which we think were important in Fikret's life. Now, we will examine Fikret who gained a new identity after *Servet-i Fûnûn* as the supporter of the westernization idea with his social works, and as a progressive, laic and idealist(\*). However, before moving to this subject, we want to examine the period between the end of *Servet-i Fûnûn* and the beginning of the Second Constitutional Monarchy since it led us to define Fikret as socialist.

Fikret's conception of art and ideas did not change at once. He completed this change as a result of aggregation. He experienced an outburst with "Sis" (Fog). It is sufficient for us to overview the poems that he wrote for his son Halûk in this period.<sup>1</sup> Fikret mentioned how important Halûk was in his life, the happiness and joy that he brought to his life. The only thing that tied him to life in his pessimistic days was his son. For him, he wrote "Halûk için" (For Halûk), "Tecdid-i İzdivaç" (The Renewal of Marriage), "Halûk'un Sesi" (The Voice of Halûk). In his poem "Yarın"

---

(\*) We present the complete versions of the samples that we have taken from Fikret's poems. In order to compensate the possible emaning loss due to translation, the poems are given in Turkish in the appendices.



(Tomorrow) that he wrote in 1897, he said, "Let it all be sacrificed, all my peace and joy/For a minute of your childish delight and coy./The reality of tomorrow grows in my eyes with you;/I am to work today for your happiness tomorrow" (Bezirci, 1984, II: 269). With these lines, he claimed that he had given up all his personal needs and was working for his son's future. In these lines, he used a theme "tomorrow" (future) which he would make use of very much in his later works.

In this depressive period that Fikret experienced, Halûk gave him the desire to live. In his poem "Yine Halûk" (Halûk Again), the life is a dark night. He wants to reach the shore in a broken rowing boat. He asks himself: "Why, why?.. I have thought of several reasons:/No, it is not my indolence, weakness or despair,/You are the reason of all my problems./You, alas, o blond frail boy, you always!," (Özkırımlı, 1990, 55). At the same time Fikret was worried for the future of his son. Because the life that he had was suffocating him. He expressed his loneliness in his poem "İnanmak İhtiyacı" (The Need to Believe) with the following lines: "A complete vanity: the ground is vain, so is the sky, the heart is vain, so is the consciousness/I want to hold on to something, not even a branch, I have around me". He was living in a dark world; the only cure was to believe in something. In this poem that he wrote in 1897, he had not decided what to believe in yet. He had to wait until the 1900s.

The year 1900 was an important year as 1896. When he entered *Servet-i Fûnun*. He published his first book *Rubab-ı Şikeste* (The Broken Violin). There were disagreements among the modernists. The first political action took place in this year (see, the life of Fikret). After *Servet-i Fûnun*, we see a Fikret who devoted himself to the society. In 1901, he was cross

with all his friends. He was only teaching at Robert College. He had *Aşiyân* built and retired into seclusion there. But this seclusion period did not mean his being passive. Publishing poems was banned. His poems were exchanged from hand to hand. He came up with a new slogan; he was explaining the conditions that the country had openly and clearly. The form and base of his poetry had changed. He was totally against the old.

He wrote "Sis" in 1901 which he included in the third edition *Rubab-ı Şikeste*. For this poem, Tanpınar said, "Sis is not a metaphorical expression of a moment of rage. Maybe it is the novel, gathered in a wide vision, of a dreadful İstanbul which looked like a hospital ward in Abdülhamit's reign. (...) This is not a poem, it is a broad, terrifying and tyrannical curse..." (1944: 14). He realized a transition to social poetry with Sis in which he expressed his pessimism.<sup>2</sup> Under this pessimism, all souls got lost and remained under dust. The more Fikret looked at this surrounding which was under oppression, the more furious he got, and blamed the people in the city who did not raise their voice. The following couplet taken from "Sis" displays his pessimism and ideas openly: "Cover yourself, yes, o tragedy... Cover yourself, yes, o city;/Cover yourself and sleep forever, o worldly bitch!.." A quatrain taken from the same poem explains the reign of Abdülhamit and constitution: "O, the myth of law that gives the individual the right to breathe/Which is almost the right of being free and immune/ O, the promise never kept, o, the lie as certain as the eternity/O, the justice always banished from the courts!" Freedom was attained but it became only a means of breathing. Describing a degenerated society, Fikret expressed the crisis of a State which was about to fall.

A few years after "Sis", in a poem that he wrote in 1905, Fikret questioned his period and his beliefs. With this poem, he displayed his

conception of history. With "Tarih-i Kadim" (Ancient History), Fikret replaced man in the frame of man, nature and society. The historical development could not be corrected with metaphysical explications; history was nothing more than a chain of wars which destroyed civilizations and caused hunger and poverty with the heroes that it created. They realized two faces of the west since *Tanzimat*: the west as the symbol of civilization and the west as the colonist. They tried to resist the colonist west with their identities and history. The birth and development of Turkism was not a coincidence. Fikret got out of the ideas of Turkism and Islamism with his ideas that he displayed in "Sis", and evaluated westernism. According to him, the symbol of the greatest enemy of happiness of man was history. It was a dream. Fikret was influenced by the materialistic philosophers of the 18th century.<sup>3</sup> In history, the powerful one was always right, and the one that did not suppress was suppressed. When he looked back to the past, he saw only blood. "Any honor is false, any happiness is bustard;/The beginning and end of everything is devoid./Religion wants martyrs, the victim is divine,/Blood, blood, blood!.. always and everywhere." The sovereignty of religion which wanted martyrs or conception which regarded war as holy should come to an end. It should be buried under the darkness of the past. When war, oppression and suppression were eliminated, real freedom would be attained. "I am me, you are thee, neither god nor worshippers". From then on, he approached the idea of belief not in the name of God but in the name of society. He, also, examined religion. He put the reason in front of the reality by saying "I wanted to see the existents as the non-existent, the non-existent as the existent./Suspicion... Here is my fault! What harm?/Suspicion is running toward a light,/Illuminating the reality is the right of the reason". He claimed that future could not be

---

expected from God, and he descended God to the earth. The one who was hopeless was not man, but God. He systematized the thought of laicism. For a new future, he snapped the religious and sultanate ties, and set the foundation of laic and democratic thoughts. These ideas which were quite revolutionary received many reactions.<sup>4</sup> The motives of writing poetry should be sought in the political-social events. They wanted to terminate the absolute sovereignty of the sultan. After the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, conflicts of ideas would find their places. At the same time, Fikret formed the systematicity of a philosophical conception, although not definite, with this poem. He left his individualism within the boundaries of philosophy, and claimed that war was a social disaster with a poetic style. He introduced the free individual. He opposed worshipping God and captivity of the individual, and brought a materialistic interpretation to the common thinking pattern (Kutlay, 1948: 42).

He had two poems more which reflected his world view: "Sabah Olursa" (If Morning Comes) and "Mazi... Ati" (The Past... The Future). With "Sabah Olursa", he verbalized his belief that the historical and social outlook that he had drawn in Kadim would change. From then on, he was interested in the future. Individual dreams and longings left their places to social salvation. "Sabah Olursa" was written as an address to his son Halûk, "If, upon this country, morning comes/If its foggy destiny shakes/Itself by a strong hand that touches/To give life, if its face which is/cold and rusty, a bit, smiles...". Here, he mentioned the concept of "man" who would save the country. He had the belief that morning would come. Because every dusk had a dawn. "This is our hope: even after we die, the country shall live/With you, free from the darkness of a dungeon!".

---

In "Mazi... Ati", he analyzed the concept of progress and change. Thinking people would develop humanity. The thing that would bring an order upon existence was human thought. "Dying is renewing life: if we don't die/Ideas will, human life is the accumulation of maturity/Of a thinking human... Each common thought/Is a multiplication, The sleeping bits, the endless bits/Of this community are moved by that/Hence, what organizes the universe is human thought." For him, the future was bright. With these poems that Fikret wrote before the Second Constitutional Monarchy, he broke out in open revolt. Sertel claimed that with his works "Fikret was more influential than the Young Turks" in the beginning of the 1908 constitution movement (1946: 28).

Now, we want to mention the social conditions which led Fikret to write these lines and the causes that prepared the Second Constitutional Monarchy. As has been mentioned before, Abdulhamit's regime was based on stability of foreign policy. Britain, France, Russia were important markets for the Ottoman State. Later, Germany which had recently developed or, in other words, which was being industrialized rapidly took its place. Against Britain and France, Abdulhamid formed a policy of balance by taking Germany on his side.

During the 1877-1878 Russian war, officers were asked from Germany to train the army. The construction of Anatolian-Baghdad railway was given to the Germans. The Young Turks were given to the Germans. The Young Turks were living in Paris, Geneva, London or Cairo. The ones who were doing their military service on the frontiers or the students were against the regime of Abdulhamit. Ramsaur claims that the Young Turks in Salonika had connections with Masonic Lodges. (See, Ramsaur, 1965: 108).

Five students who were studying at the Military Medical School, İshak Sükûfî, Mehmet Reşit, Abdullah Cevdet, İbrahim Temo and Hüseyinzâde Ali founded a secret organization called *İttihad-ı Osmanî* (The Ottoman Union) in 1889. The group which remained as an idea club until 1895 gained its actual quality in 1889. The group which remained as an idea club until 1895 gained its actual quality in 1889. They adopted the name *İttihad ve Terakki* (The Union and Progress). For them, the dethronement of Abdulhamid was the only way for salvation Paris Congress which was held in 1902 made decisions in this direction. The attempt of coup d'état which Prince Sabahattin realized with the support of Britain failed to be successful. With the organization of the committee in 1906 in Macedonia, the movement gained a political dimension.<sup>5</sup> Young Turks took their place in the political life as the Unionists. The Unionists dethroned Abdulhamid on 14 April 1908 and took over the power after the army had come to Istanbul from Salonika on March 31 to subdue the rebellion. There were three opinion differences among the Young Turks. Ahmet Rıza, Mehmet Murat, and Prince Sabahattin represented these different opinions. Prince Sabahattin's group was separated from them as they wanted to follow the Science Social movement, and Mizancı Murad was excluded as he had accepted Abdulhamit's invitation.

Abdülhamit took some measures to protect himself. There were armed actions against the committee. In order to regain the power, Abdulhamit declared the constitution on 24 July 1908. *Kanun-i Esasi* (The Constitution) was put in application once more.

Movements such as Islamists, Ottomanists and Turkists which cooperated in the declaration of the constitution began to have quarrels



---

when the action failed to be successful. The ideas of making social reforms began to appear. In this period, artists made use of a kind of literary ideology. They expressed social disorders in their poems. The ones who saw the actual reason of this disorder in the fact that westernization movement was not radical and sincere blamed the hypocritical policy. Fikret was one of these. In addition to this, there were people like Mehmet Akif who thought that the reason of the social disorder was the loss of beliefs and forgetting the traditions. They claimed that westernization was destructive. For now, we will be satisfied by mentioning that these two poets verbalized the reason of the disorder on two opposite poles because we will discuss this subject in the conclusion part in detail. These ideas formed the ideological foundation which fed the political power after the constitution. Westernization movement which started in this period after a dark era led the mentalities to turn totally to the west. As we have mentioned before, *Tanzimat* displayed a new social form. A passage from the eastern civilization to the western civilization was being experienced. This movement was sympathized, although not without reactions, and adopting only good sides of the west was desired. "What is to be adopted from the west would be universal, common to all people; they will be principles which will function as leaders in realizing our national accomplishments in accordance with our time, place and possibilities. The ideal type for the westernists who adopted this view was "Tevfik Fikret" (Berkes, 1978: 379). After a period of oppression which had lasted for 30 years, Abdülhamit could not prevent a second "Young" movement. They believed that the re-opening of the parliament would help modernization be realized. However, the situation kept its seriousness. Before the Second Constitutional Monarchy, a political reformation was tried out. The content of the 1876 The Constitution which



was contradictory was changed in 1909 and 1911. The Union and Progress which was the political party in power took government organization and political life under its authority. It left the Ottomanism principle aside and included a doctrine which was "Nationalist-Islamist" into its program. Westernization, too, was included into the party program.

"Nationalism-Westernism" which was applied to the field of culture brought several changes in the social life. Turkish Fraternities were established. Ziya Gökalp became a uniting factor between the party and the fraternity. Meanwhile, the Young Turks' attempt of Second Constitutional Monarchy brought up western ideas along with it; several proposals for solution were asserted in order to prevent the fall of the State. Tunaya groups these trends of thought into five: Westernism, Islamism, Turkism, Science Sociale, and Socialism<sup>6</sup> (1960: 76). However, we will examine only the first three for the sake of the unity of the topic. Now, we are going to review these trends in a general way.

### 5.1. WESTERNISTS

The Westernists expressed their ideas generally in the magazine "İctihad" (Doctrine). They specified the causes of regression in the Ottoman society clearly, and tried to investigate the responsible ones for this situation realistically. There were several cliques among themselves. One group expressed the balanced thoughts of the followers of *Tanzimat* by adopting them to their own time. Their basic aim was to protect the Ottoman unity. Emrullah Bey and Sati Bey believed that this aim could be attained through education and training. Actually, Fikret was for this idea, too. They became the leaders of the idea that training should shape up individualist people for

---

the modernization of the civilization. Fikret and Sati Bey adopted Prince Sabahattin's slogan of decentralization in politics as private enterprise in education. In their opinion, "Without getting rid of the negative effects of parasite intellectuals and servant bureaucrats, individualism which is the essence of the western civilization cannot be realized" (Berkes, 1978: 447). Fikret wanted to establish an educational institution which would function as a leading education system for economical and social progress. People would realize this with their own investments. As we will display later, "individualist humanist westernists".<sup>7</sup> like Fikret and Sati Bey were attacked by Islamists because of their opinions upon the relationship of education and morals, religion.

Another westernization group mentioned the inefficiency of the social institutions. For them, "All westernization movements failed due to the fact that Turkey did not bring up any productive and enterprising people" (Ülken, 1992: 206). It was Prince Sabahattin who adopted this opinion. Another group was formed by the positivists that were gathered in *Servet-i Fânun and Ulûm-u İctimaiye* (Social Sciences) magazines. Some of them came closer to socialism, even to materialism. The facts were in the west. It was of no use to look at the east or the past. The last group appeared with the slogan "Everything which is strong and superior is in the west" which was common among the Young Turks (Ülken, 207). This group which viewed the east as being undeveloped and the west as being developed accused the ones who did not want to desert their traditions of being reactionary. Abdullah Cevdet and his followers represented this group.

The causes of regression could be identified and cured by the help of the scientific method. Salvation was "becoming a State and Nation which

are in accordance with the ideas and needs of this century, in other words, “westernization” via science”. The west was superior, it had economical and social developments. Westernization was not an unconscious imitation. They wanted to borrow the economical and social life of the west, and at the same time they wanted to embellish the Ottoman State with technical developments. Their contradictions with the other trends of thought started at this point. The question of the necessity of borrowing the moral side of the west came into being. If they borrowed it, they would reject the Islamic morals. Westernists were divided among themselves with regard to this subject.<sup>8</sup> The administrative milieu and the Nationalist-Islamist group showed reaction to this. Like Abdullah Cevdet, the Young Turks became an opposition group against the administration.<sup>9</sup>

## 5.2. ISLAMISTS

Islamism was the most powerful trend of thought of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. The Islamists expressed their ideas through magazines like “Sırat-ı Müstakim” (The Straight Road), “Sebilürreşat” (The Right Road) and “Beyanülhak” (Language of God). They connected the quest for westernization to the comparison of the East and the West. They investigated the causes of the State’s deterioration. They were divided into two sub-groups with regard to the constitution: the ones who were for constitution and the ones who were against it. The ones who supported the constitution in the beginning were disappointed when they saw that their expectations were not met. The ones who had the opposite opinion, especially Said Halim Pasha, “explained the failure of the constitution in relation to the fact that it did not follow the real Islamic pathway, and that the political revolution was not accompanied by a social and religious revolution” (Tunaya, 1962: 54).

For them, the East and the West were two separate civilizations. It was pointless to pass from one civilization field to the Western civilization. Because "Islam which turned 'a Bedouin tribe' into the most developed country in the world already had the social and political conditions that the west gained in the 20th century, and it did not need the western civilization in this field" (Tunaya, 1960: 82-83). The west was undeveloped in the moral sense. The reason of this being undeveloped was their adaptation of the laicist regime. The west was cruel, and selfish in international relations. Islam was respectful to morality, that is why the west was indigent to the east. It was necessary to borrow only the technical developments of the west and not their morality or social ideas. They wanted a westernization without deserting traditionalism. They suggested that imitation should be avoided. Mehmet Akif said, "Imitating the religion, imitating the customs (...) imitating everything will result in a nation which is itself an imitation, and such a nation cannot form a social group, hence they cannot survive". (Tunaya, 1960: 84). The borrowing from the west should be done in parallel with the country's religious laws and needs. And, this could allow only borrowing the technical needs. Reformation could be realized by the foundation of an Islamic Union. This was a question of time. They were after an Islamic renaissance. Like Mehmet Akif, they expressed their ideology in their poems and other works. Akif claimed that "unless a reformation having a liberal and progressive base comes into being, a breakdown in Islam cannot be avoided" (Kudret, 1983: 426). He had two basic ideas: saving the individual who found himself in the midst of poverty and unbelief because of the deterioration of the religious institutions which could not fulfil their functions, and, saving the eastern countries under the leadership of the Ottomans that was a powerful Islam state.

### 5.3. TURKISTS

The Turkists represented the needs and the spirit of their period. They wrote in magazines such as "Türk Yurdu" (Turkish Motherland), and had a cultural institution called as *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Fraternity). Furthermore, the unification of Islamism and Turkism by the Union and Progress, which was in power, placed a special importance onto this trend. For them, it was necessary for the salvation of this nation that Turks, who didn't have a sense of nationalism under the Ottoman flag, be united. Hence, Turks would attain a national awareness and obtain their national being. By this way, Turks would be recognized in the Islamic world as a strong nation, and they would strengthen the Ottoman Empire. When this first step was taken, the next phase, which was finding a way to unite with the Turks abroad, would follow. "A Turkish Union which was as strong as the Islamic Union would be established" (Tunaya, 1960: 87). The country of this huge nation would be *Turan*.

Turkism, a nationalistic doctrine, would be an ideological support for the Turkish Republic which was to be founded. Ziya Gökalp was the representative of this trend.<sup>10</sup> Some other representatives were Yusuf Akçura, and Mehmed Emin and A. Hikmet Müftüoğlu in literature. However, he was not a Pan-Turanist. He desired the foundation of a national and independent State. He was deeply interested in a New Life, and he wanted a national unity.

Turkists claimed that nationalism was westernization, or reaching the level of other nations. Nationalism was not a barrier to westernization. It was necessary to change the old life style. A new life could be realized by some revolutionary reforms. As a result of reforms made in religion,

science and law would help them gain their independence. Thus, the *medresse* scholasticism would disappear. Firstly, government and religion should be separated from one another to remove the duality of *Tanzimat*. Adopting the western civilization, borrowing its life style would not bring any harm the the national character. They wanted to form a synthesis of Turk-Islam. However, while doing this, they could not dispense with traditionalism and syncretism. They worked on three-sided synthesis which consisted of traditionalism, Turkism and Islamism. They did not forsook Ottomanism.

#### 5.4. THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCY AND TEVFİK FİKRET

The Event of March 31 resulted in the Union and Progress' taking over the political power.<sup>11</sup> They dethroned Abdülhamit and began following a policy which was in favor of Germany. During these events, they found Fikret as a person "who reflected the sufferings and hopes of the society" (Özkırımlı, 1990: 77). In this period, Fikret wrote poems like a revolutionist. He expressed his feelings with his poem "Bir Lahza-i Teahhur" (A Moment of Delay) when the attempt to the assassination of Abdülhamid failed, and a couplet taken from this poem is "O, glorious hunter, you did not lay your trap in rain!/You shot... but you missed, what a shame!" Hikmet who claimed that Fikret was a perfect "small bourgeois who is a radical intellectual" stated that with this poem Fikret "praises anarchism among the revolutionary social actions". For him anarchism was an individualistic, revolutionary, small bourgeois action (1930). According to Fikret, if the bomb had reached its target, all problems would have been



solved. For a democratic regime, the death of the sultan was sufficient. According to Köprülü, after the death of N. Kemal, the poet who cried out the riot laments was Fikret. With this poem, he caused a lot of uproar (1918: 18-19). He greeted the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy with his poem "Millet Şarkısı" (A Song of the Nation) which he had been asked to write before. With "Millet Şarkısı", he made a call for a revolution. Fikret who said in his poem "If the brutality has its castle, cannon and shell/Rightness has an undefeatable arm and a straight face/Don't shut your eyes to the sun, no matter how dark it gets/It won't remain dim, every dusk has a dawn" stated that those sorrows had to be terminated. The revolution was realized in order to find a solution to the problems of the country. He wanted the rights of the nation to be defended. "The route that we follow is the route of the nation and justice;/O, justice, law; o, dear nation, may you live long!" The regime that he wanted to expel did not recognize the nation and the justice. Evicting the injustice was the right of the nation.

Upon the success of the Young Turk movement, he wrote "Doğan Güneş" (Rising Sun). Now, the old days were left behind. In the first issue of "Tanin", he published "Rûcû" together with Sis. Now, the fog rose, a bright morning arrived. The happiness of the future days were tied the foundations that would be laid in the present. He made an address to the revolutionaries; "Think well, hear well, never err and be deceived;/What counts is being just; justice won't be deviated./Run to uniting, working, promotion and happiness;/But remember, only with the order of marching, the road/Gets closer, shorter... Take right steps;/Think, what prepare tomorrow are today's steps!" With this poem, Fikret addressed to the revolutionists with his own virtues. His life principle was to do what he



---

believed to be right. He was doing what he believed to be right. He was no longer interested in the past. He wrote "Ferda" (The Morrow). He explained the youth what steps they should take in the pathway of development. It was, in a way, his last will. He claimed that the revolution was a trust to the youth. As we are going to see in the rest of this chapter, when the constitution went a stray, he would show reaction to the Union and Progress, and criticize them harshly.

As we have examined in the chapter related to Fikret's life, after the declaration of the constitution he got out of his shell. He started releasing the newspaper "Tanin" with great enthusiasm.<sup>12</sup> When the newspaper became the publishing organ of the Union and Progress, he left the newspaper, and accepted the headmaster of Galatasaray Lycee.<sup>13</sup> He was anxious about the condition of the country. He no longer had any hopes. In this period, he released his second book of poems: *Halûk'un Defteri*. The book had three sections: "Halûk'un Defteri" (Halûk's Diary), "Hayata Karşı Beşer" (Mankind Against Life), "Hitâbeler" (Addresses). With this book, he addressed to the youth, and expressed his expectations from future and his ideals through his son's personality. "Halûk'un Veda" (Farewell of Halûk) which he wrote on 16 September 1909 was the most important poem in the book. His son was about to leave for Scotland to have an education on engineering. He was sending his son to a country which was developed in the technical fields. He expressed his expectation from him with the couplet "For us, embrace and bring a lot of light;/Falling down is due to the lack of a clear sight". His son had a lot of difficulties waiting for him. The way that led to the goal was full of "stones and thorns". However, "the one who runs will arrive, who falls will rise up;/Water comes from the rocks drop by

drop,/But it collects and forms a silver pond;/The one who seeks justice will find it in the end..." What was right was "in justice; justice is the greatest power". Fikret only believed in the youth and the future from then on. People would have to fight for justice. Because the constitution did not bring what had been expected. In his proceeding works, he drew a figure of man who fought without dread. "Promete" (Prometheus) was a good example for this. Prometheus was "an example of a world of humans not of a community" (Kansu, 1968: 478). Fikret removed the image of a weak human, and he replaced it by a strong human who fought and tried to save his future.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, Naci stated that, with this poem, Fikret displayed the mentality of the country, "bettered its present condition and showed tomorrow" (1942: 14). In his following poems, we will see the qualities of this strong man.

In "Gökten Yere" (From Heaven to the Earth), which he wrote on 3 January 1910, he introduced the image of a new man. "O, the soul of the universe,/Bless the man: He/Deserved to be blessed; he is the God of the good,/And the bad, The God of opportunities!" With these lines, he descended the creative power from the sky to the Earth. The man who had a certain power tried quite hard to put the life into an order. It was pointless to be afraid of the future when he had this much ambition of ascent and self-confidence. With "Tarih-i Kadim" (Ancient History), he displayed the drawbacks of humanity; with "Halûk'un Amentüsü" (Haluk's Credo), he specified the principles of a new religion. Through this religion, he informed his son about the basic beliefs. According to him, humans should live decently and desert nationalistic thoughts. He explained the values that the humans should adopt as, "The world is my country, the human race is

---

my ancestor... I reckon/Man can become a human only if he understands this". He consoled himself by saying "Neither devil nor angel exists; They are us... I reckon/The world will become a heaven by the help of humans". Fikret rejected the God's creation of man by relating creation to evolution although a bit in a determinist way.<sup>15</sup> We understand this from the couplet he wrote, "There is no head of the evolution in creation; to this realization/I came by the Old Testament, by the New Testament; by the Quran". He mentioned the importance that he gave to the reason by saying "That futile belief will decline and disappear, I reckon/By the merit of that great power of the reason". On the other hand, what would illuminate the darkness and bring light was science. The future would be brighter. Because the route which was being followed would bring that light sooner or later. Fikret believed in the western civilization, or more specifically, in some values of the western civilizations and the power of science. He expressed his ideas by saying, "One day, technical developments will change this soil into gold, I reckon/Everything will be realized with the power of science". Fikret who could not go beyond the boundaries of idealism mentioned the East's being undeveloped and West's superiority about the distinction between the East and the West like the other intellectuals of the period. For him, the intellectual would find the solutions. Thus, he gave importance to education and humanism.

After the Event of March 31 affair, the Union and Progress took over the administration. The fall of the State was approaching with a great speed. Riots began first in the east, then in Adana and in Albania. Arabs, too, wanted autonomy. Taking advantage of this chaos, Italians sent troops to Tripoli.<sup>16</sup> When the war ended with defeat, the opposition group wanted to

give the cabinet of Hakkı Pasha to High Court of Justice. The Party closed down the parliament on 18 January 1912 in order to save the ones who were accused and to avoid a possible victory of the opposition party *Hürriyet ve İtilaf* (Liberty and Alliance) in the coming elections. Upon this development, Fikret wrote "Doksanbeşe Doğru" (Toward Ninety-five) on 19 January 1912. The name of the poem was taken from Abdülhamit's closing down the parliament in 1295 (Moslem calendar), (1978). All actions which were taken with the aim of freedom were trampled upon. "An ill-omened period; promises were trampled again;/What a shame, the hope of the nation was trampled!/The heads touched the ground for law;/For law, the law was destroyed.../The cries and moans are in vain again!". History was stubborn. The same event was experienced in the past. Thirty-three years later, nothing changed much. The last sentence which was uttered was always "May our beloved nation live long!". This was not what to be understood from the concept of nation. "A nation cannot live if it is thirsty for justice,/If its consciousness is beaten to keep it in silence;/A nation cannot live if its parliament is degraded,/If it is cheated, scared and humiliated;/A nation cannot live if its individuals are drowned!". The ones who wanted to change the administration had been for the Main Constitution and liberty. But later the parliament was dissolved. They were trying to avoid the post-war investigation. "We say LAW; where is this imaginative being?/We say enemy; where is it? Abroad or our very being?/We say liberty, glorious and high;/Is law our enemy or liberty?/We have attacked and destroyed those firstly". The constitution lost its validity, and a step backwards was taken. With this poem, Fikret placed a current event into a historical framework. When the poem was published, it received ample reactions. Eventually, these reactions took the form of an attack to Fikret's personality (see the chapter on Fikret's life).

---

Later, Fikret wrote "Rubabın Cevabı" (The Violin's Response) and "Hân-ı Yağma". With "Rubabın Cevabı", he made a self-criticism. He chose being isolated from the society, but he would continue being active, conveying the injustice that he witnessed, and criticizing it. Fikret would criticize this period as he did the reign of Abdülhamid. Because Fikret, like a utopian humanist, had been convinced after the 1908 revolution that the past would not repeat itself, the new order would be based on a solid foundation and would bring equality and freedom to the people (Sertel, 1946: 38). He submitted this poem that he wrote two days after "Doksan Beşe Doğru" to *Servet-i Fûnun* group which protected him when he became a target for the unfair attacks.<sup>17</sup> He had fought with his free voice, then he became silent. This silence had to come to an end. Because "Look, the country is crying again, look, mother it is crying". After describing the sorrowful days which were being lived, he mentioned that he was not referring to individual feelings but actual events. He was verbalizing his social sensitivity. He mentioned his conception of art with the lines "Not moaning while crying, from now on/Not moaning in my bravest and loudest voice would be a sin." He described the country as being a woman whose beauty was exploited. He tried to console it. It had sons and daughters. They would lead to the bright days of the future. He finished his poem with his desire and cry for hope.

With "Han-ı Yağma", he made a real attack. He was using his poem as a weapon from then on. Closing down the parliament in this way meant that the reign of Abdülhamid would begin once more for Fikret. This poem which was one of the most significant examples of satire gained even more importance after Rıza Tevfik had been beaten. "This table, gentlemen,

is waiting to be swallowed. It shivers in front of you, this is the life of nation;/This nation is full of sorrow, in the of death!/But don't hesitate, eat it, swallow it./Eat gentlemen eat; this appetizing table is yours/Eat till you are full, your mouth is full, till you burst!". In that period, the Union and Progress had just come out by elections known as the elections under cudgel. Meanwhile, a secret group known as *Halaskar Zabitan* (Savior Officers) released a notice which explained that the Union and Progress should be discharged from administration. In 1912, Sait Pasha resigned, and a new government was established under the Grand Vizier, Ghazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha. Kamil Pasha government which was established later was removed from power with the Sublime Porte raid.

After this poem, Fikret remained silent. He wrote poems for children. The removal of the Union and Progress from the power was satisfactory for him. This was the greatest conflict in which both he and other intellectuals fell. He was not aware of the social and economical aspects that lied in the foundation of development. He was devoted to freedom, but he did not know under which conditions it would be attained. The charge of administration was regarded to be the sole solution. The ideal was to reach the level of the west. They thought that problems would be solved if the superstructure institutions of the west was borrowed.

Fikret was a representative of a humanist ideology under the native and foreign influences. His thoughts included equality, freedom and justice for his own society. However, he failed to suggest how such a society should be formed. He expected the answer from the individual and education. According to Sertel, in his humanism there were traces of "the humanism and imaginative socialism of Saint Simon, Faurier and Owen"

(1946: 68). That was why he could harshly criticize the impediments of the superstructure and society. This humanist idea led him to pessimism.

Fikret who was the supporter of the western thought in the midst of a society which was suspicious of reforms, confronted the society "in the name of the society" with his life and works. Fikret whom Kansu called "Revolutionary Poet" was a product of social build-up.





## NOTES

- (1) Halûk had a significant place in Fikret's life. Hikmet Tanyu dedicated a section to Fikret's life until Halûk's death with the title "Halûk'un Akibeti" (The Death of Halûk) in his book *Tevfik Fikret ve Din* (Tevfik Fikret and Religion). He discussed Halûk's being a priest and being married to an American woman (see, 1972: 318-332). One of the major attacks made toward Fikret was his son's being a priest and his own atheism. Kudret who sees the roots of these arguments in our being a patriarchal society states that Akif and Fikret addressed to the whole youth via their sons. The ones who supported Germany in the 1940s during the Second World War slandered Fikret and made Arif a hero; they, also, claimed that Halûk's state of being was Fikret's sin (1982: 81-84).
- (2) When Cihad Baban claims that Fikret was a poet who rebelled against oppression, he compares Nedim's poem "Istanbul" with Fikret's "Sis". (Vatan, 26 January 1958). Tevfik Nevzat Çağdaş said that "Sis" was exchanged from hands to hands and added; "the sound of the sledge hammer which was struck to the Bastille of oppression started to clink in the ears of our consciousness" (Millet, 22 December 1949).
- (3) Diderot explains this idea with the sentence: "We have never heard the voice of God; your laments to him are useless, Lord, lord, bless me... Have mercy on me, I pray: Your prayers are so full of ecstasy and ardor. No matter how heart-breaking and touching your prayers are, you cannot get a bit of response from Him..." Cemil, A., 1968, Diderot: *Felsefe Kavramları*, pp. 131, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul.
- (4) We would like to mention some ideas on this subject. In an article in *Militan* (Militant), Bezirci stated that *Tarih-i Kadim* was an example of Fikret's social poetry, that it did not state how "this social order which looks somewhat like socialism" would be attained, that because there was no scientific method which would lead to it, that it did not take into consideration class relations or proprietorship relations (1975: 17). On the other hand, Kaplan evaluated *Tarih-i Kadim* as "it is nothing but how a man generalizes his pessimism of his own situation to the past and views the history of man as being dark as a result of this pessimism" (1946: 108). Kansu who mentioned that Fikret had a conception of a "humanistic God" said that, in this poem, "the traits

and effects of the Islamic mysticism which has come from our history and traditions" (1968: 482). Ural compared the importance that Tarih-i Kadim gave to the human reason with Comtean positivism. He displayed that Fikret reached to this conclusion step by step and that he believed in science, democracy and laicism (1984: 32-35).

- (5) For further information on the Union and Progress and the declaration of the second constitutional government, see. Tunaya, 1959, *Hürriyetin İlanı* (Declaration of Liberty); Bayur, H. 1959, "İkinci Meşrutiyet Devri Üzerinde Bazı Düşünceler" (Some Thoughts on the Second Constitution Period), *Belleten*, Vol. XXIII. No. 89, pp. 267-285; Tunaya, 1988, 2nd ed., *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler* (Political Parties in Turkey), Vol. I, II, III; Aksin, C. 1993, *Türkiye'nin Batılılaştırılması* (Westernization of Turkey); Ahmet Rıza Bey'in Anıları (Memoirs of Ahmet Rıza Bey), 1988 (Compiled by B Demirbaş).
- (6) Tunaya states that the writers and intellectuals of that period were included in these trends of thought which appeared during the second constitution. However, "Some thinkers such as Tevfik Fikret, Nüzhet Sabit, and Ali Kemal did not claim to belong to any of these mentioned trends; they just expressed their opinions in the arguments that came into being among such trends. At least, it was possible to understand their attitudes toward the administration" (1960: 76-77). For the socialism trend which is not included in the scope of this study as is not relevant to the subject, see. Tunçay, M. 1991, 4th ed. *Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar-I* (1908-1925) (Leftist Trends in Turkey-I), Vol. I and II. For Science Sociale Trend, see. Hanioglu, M. S., 1983, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Meslek-i İctima Akımı* (The Science Sociale Trend in the Ottoman State) T.C.T.A.
- (7) About this subject, Adnan Cemil does not agree with Berkes. He claims that "... By looking at the lines 'I am a poet whose thought is free and so is his consciousness', it will be wrong to classify Fikret in the individualism ideology of the capitalist society of the west and to claim that he is individualistic". Because the individual was protected against the society. He was selfish. What was important was the happiness of the individual. This was not valid for Fikret. Especially, with his poem "Tarih-i Kadim", he displayed his socialism. (*Cumhuriyet*, 16 August 1975).
- (8) Celal Nuri claimed that what should be taken from the west was "technical civilization"; Kılıçzade Hakkı stated, "the government cannot be developed by a religious renaissance movement"; Abdullah Cevdet asserted that everything should be taken from the west, "the rose and the thorn together" (Tunaya, 1960: 80-81).
- (9) The westernization question has been brought up to today. It has been a question of about 200 years. "To reach the level of modern civilization" has always been the basic

- problem. For further information, see. Berkes, 1975. "Türk Düşününde Batı Sorununu" (The Question of West in Turkish Opinion); Turhan, M., 1980. "Garplılışmanın Neresindeyiz?" (Where are we in Westernization?); Adıvar, H. E., "Türkiye'de Şark, Garp ve Amerikan Tesirleri" (The Eastern, Western and American Influence in Turkey).
- (10) For further information about the life of Ziya Gökalp, see, Erişirgil, 1984. *Bir Fikir Adamının Romanı: Ziya Gökalp* (The Novel of a Thinker: Ziya Gökalp); for information about Gökalp's place and importance in modernization in Turkey, see. Kaygı, 1992. *Türk Düşüncesinde Çağdaşlaşma* (Modernization in Turkish Thought), pp. 167-187; Ülken, 1992. *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (The History of Modern Thinking in Turkey) pp. 304-375. Yusuf Akçura's *Uç Tarzı Siyaset* (Politics in the Frontier Style) in which he explained the Turkism thesis was printed for the third time in 1991 by T.T.K. (Institute of Turkish History).
- (11) For March 31 Affair, see. Yetkin, T. 1984. *Türk Halk Hareketleri ve Devrimler* (Turkish Public Movements and Revolutions) pp. 353-365.
- (12) For information about the second constitution affairs and general condition of the press, see. Korkud, R., 1960. *Tanzimat, Birinci Meşrutiyet, İkinci Meşrutiyet ve Matbuat* (Tanzimat, the First Constitution, the Second Constitution and the Press). For journals of thought in the Second Constitution, see. Toprak, 1983: 126-132. For the state of the Ottoman Press, its content and regime, see, Koloğlu, 1983: 68-93.
- (13) Akçura views Fikret as being idealist, and relates his leaving the school and sulking quite often to his being an idealist (1333: 438-442). Dervish Eşref who evaluates his directorate at Galatasaray High School as being a very personal period states that the left Galatasaray unwillingly, and he expressed this as, "they put an egg in my palm and told me not break it. Then they squeezed my fist. First I found the strength to resist. But later the strength of the hands which were squeezing mine increased so much that the egg broken. If I had insisted, it would have dripped from my fingers..." He expresses these by referring to a letter of Fikret (1333: 433-467). In the magazine *Muallim* (Teacher), there was a part in which he included the memories of Fikret's students and of people who worked at the high school. See, Arif Hikmet, (1333: 479-495).
- (14) In this poem, Fikret took the Greek mythology as an example. Prometheus is the enemy of Zeus and friend of humans. He steals the fire from Zeus and gives it to humans. Zeus punishes him by tying him at a rock in Caucasia with a chain. An egale

eats his liver at nights, in the morning his liver grows in size. In the end Herakles saves him by killing the eagle. This word which symbolizes the importance given to free thought, also, means "a person who foresees" (Bezirci III, 1984: 40).

- (15) Köprülü states that Fikret informed people about the future of humanity with "Haluk"s Credo". He tried to inculcate fatih to the new generations. He did not approve some of his ideas but he believed that this disagreement could not harm the respect that he had for Fikret (1918: 32-37).
- (16) A. Adnan Adıvar refers to a memory which took place between Fikret and A. Cevdet because of the Tripoli War in the 22 July 1953 issue of the newspaper Cumhuriyet. Fikret stopped by the Red Crescent and said that the responsibility of the war belonged to the administration of Hakkı Pasha. He, also, criticized the Union and Progress. Adıvar claimed that this event displayed Fikret's ability of making good predictions, and that time proved that he was right.
- (17) For the interpretation of poems that Fikret wrote for the country and the youth, see, Uzun, F., 1961. İnkılâp Gençlerine Fikret Ne demişti? (What did Fikret Say to the Revolution Youth?) Tan Gazetesi Matbaası, İstanbul.

---

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

Our aim in this study is to examine Tevfik Fikret as the prototype of "literati" in the modernization movements in the Ottoman State. In the process of westernization movements which developed systematically with *Tanzimat*, Fikret who did not participate in any political organizations in his life, occupied an important place. Despite the oppressive ambiance of his period, he expressed his political attitude through his literary works. In our study we have examined Fikret as an intellectual who advocated westernization, and, thus, we have attributed him the mission of a "mirror". First, we have reviewed the events which affected him and helped him complete his development of ideas. Then, we have presented the ideas that he expressed. Fikret represents an intellectual with his life style and political attitude, who lived in the transitional period of the Ottoman State between late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

#### 6.1. SUMMARY

We have started with *Tanzimat* in order to better explain the characteristics of "literati", which we have attributed to Tevfik Fikret, and display the conditions that the intellectuals of that period had. *Tanzimat* period, which began with the declaration of *Gülhane Edict* on 3 November 1839, accelerated the modernization movement in the Ottoman State. A

---

rapid change was experienced in the society. *Tanzimat* aimed to renew the administrative and legal structure and to bring new law and order. *Tanzimat* aimed to reorganize civil and constitutional law after the western model. By doing so, every aspect of social and political life was regulated. These superstructural reforms were entirely conceived and carried out by the administrative cadres. The strong bureaucratic structure which formed as the output of these reforms changed the traditional political style. The administrative class which was formed by soldiers, civilians and men of religion began to change and was replaced by an intellectual group brought up in civil services. The power which had been in the hands of sultan in the palace shifted to the bureaucratic structure that made and applied the reforms (the Sublime Porte). New values which were put side by side with the old ones brought dualism in the structure and started a conflict between the old and the new; this fact caused a dualism in the life style and thinking system. We can see this conflict very clearly in the propositions of solution which were made by the Neo-Ottomans for preventing Ottoman State from collapsing.

Mustafa Reşit, Ali and Fuat Pashas who applied *Tanzimat* reforms formed the first intellectual movement in the Ottoman State. The intellectual of this period who was brought up at various positions in the government directed his attention to reformation movements in order to be able to save the State. Following this period, the Neo-Ottomans, who were brought up at various bureaucratic strata of the government and at translation offices, showed differences from the structure of the government and expressed themselves by writing in journals. They brought a critical viewpoint to the applications of reforms. The Second and Intermediary

---

generations which came after the Neo-Ottomans isolated themselves from social and political affairs due to the oppression of Abdülhamit's reign and concentrated on conveying their personal inner feelings. The intellectuals of *Servet-i Fânun*, on the other hand, could only display their reaction through novelties that they brought to the literary writing style. A short period of working in civil services and then teaching at Galatasaray Lycee put apart, Tevfik Fikret stayed away from the governmental structure. This gave him a relative freedom, and he could express his reactions to social and political affairs between 1900 and 1914.

Neo-Ottomans criticized the period in question in various aspects. The intellectual movement could hardly identify its immediate place and time. They managed to develop their ideas only within the frame of conditions that the government provided them with. In the State which opened its doors to the west so much for the first time, they were comparing Ottoman life style to European life style making translations, reading about history of the world and Europe in order to get familiar with the western world.

Neo-Ottomans who were the writers of the period showed reaction to the attitudes of Ali and Fuat Pashas who carried out the reform after Mustafa Reşit Pasha. They were convinced that they were more after their own benefits than the State's benefits. They did not realize radical criticisms or analyses. This group was the ideological and literary leaders of the period and displayed their reactions through literature with a didactic concern in their works. They believed that, the state could be saved by adopting the governmental model of the west—especially France. They were for the parliamentary system and against monarchy. They aimed to establish



---

a constitutional system without making concessions to the Eastern culture and to define a foreign policy in accordance. By expressing their ideas through press, they created an intellectual group who opposed the government, criticized its actions for the first time, and produced new ideas. Furthermore, they introduced such concepts as nation, freedom, liberty which had not been heard of before, and created discussion platforms for them both in their own period and the following periods.

Neo-Ottomans were a product of ideological reflection of *Tanzimat*. Şinasi, Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha were the important personalities of the group. Şinasi put emphasis on science and reason, and started purification studies in the language. His efforts were re-considered in the Milli Edebiyat (National Literature) period. He claimed that the language was important in education, and that if progress was aimed then language should be used easily by ordinary people so that they could express themselves and understand cultural products, particularly journals. On the other hand, Namık Kemal devoted his life to ideals, and led a life embedded in politics. He displayed his reaction by means of literature. He was influenced by romanticism. He fought for liberty together with Ziya Pasha; they wrote articles on law, constitution and economy and worked for the preparation of "Kanun-i Esasi" (The Constitution).

By adopting the French positivism, they brought scientific method and replaced the intuitive method with perceptive method. Later, in the reign of Abdülhamit, this attitude led the physiological and materialistic thoughts to be adopted by some intellectuals.

Newspapers functioned as schools: Translation, selections from the western literature were prepared by taking western life style and

---

government system into consideration. They were didactic in their literary works and they produced them for the society. For them, literature was not an end in itself but a means to an end. They tried out new styles in poetry and prose as well in letters as in other literary forms. They expressed their ideals, desires and thoughts by using the medium they knew the best—literature. Hence, they became a source for the formation of *Servet-i Fûnun* movement under the leadership of Fikret and for the Young Turks, which would have a systematic organization form of opposition and politics after the Second Constitutional Monarchy.

They believed in the power of law. They believed that man and his reason formed the foundation of justice. Justice should be done by the state and individuals should be free within the limits of law. For Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha who identified France with the West, French monarchy formed the best example. They viewed Rousseau and Montesquieu as the basis of their thoughts. The public should have the sovereignty. The public would transfer its sovereignty right to politicians in various ways. They claimed that the rights and freedoms should be guaranteed in the constitution. A regime is legitimate to the extent it bases itself on public sovereignty and justice.

The only way of being free from the domination of foreign countries was to be economically strong. With the Pan-Islamism, the State would be saved from decline, and with the idea of united Islam, the country would remain as a whole. Factories would be established, schools would be opened, workshops would become active, and banks would be opened. All these would contribute to the salvation of the State. However, the most important thing was education. Because, education necessary to realize all these and to understand liberty thoroughly.

Modern Turkish Literature, which began with the modernization crisis, appeared owing to Neo-Ottomans and, Abdülhak Hamid and Rezaizâde Ekrem developed the literary style that they took over from them. They developed these ideas and transferred them to forecoming generations owing to Fikret. The nineteenth century and twentieth century intellectuals had to act like a politician, artist and philologist while they were striving to save the country.

Abdülhamit II, who took over the power entirely after Neo-Ottomans, put a sharp end to all freedoms. The parliament was closed, and the Constitution was put aside. Abdülhamit who adopted a centralizationist policy put an end to modernization activities and deactivated the intellectuals who were leading the movement of liberty. The power of bureaucracy was decreased, the press was taken under control, and political power was monopolized. Abdülhamit started ruling the country with absolute monarchy. The followers of *Servet-i Fânun* lived their childhoods in this period. All channels through which they could express their thoughts, experiences and the social deformities were hindered.

The intellectuals of the second and intermediary generations of *Tanzimat* had to accept the situation as it was. The political events which had been experienced since 1878 left the intellectuals with their literary identity only, and urged them to accept the events and stay away from social issues. Under the influence of the romanticism trend, they expressed their reactions through their literary works; they were directed toward subjects related to the individual and the inner world of the individual, and broke their ties with the outer world. In this period, the "intellectual" action was

limited to only following the literature, and it excluded the social dimension. In this direction, the conception of "art for art's sake" became dominant, and works which avoided political and social issues were produced. Besides this, they could deal with fields of science which would not be conspicuous to the government. The second generation *Tanzimat* intellectuals closely witnessed the lives and ideas of Neo-Ottomans. They watched how the ideas that they defended and tried to realize were destroyed in the reign of Abdülhamit. The social setting where free ideas could be expressed was removed because of the ultimate power given to Abdülhamit by the Constitution. The political oppression and the collapse of the state were in progress. From then on, a theocratic absolute monarchy became established in the political and social life.

The followers of *Servet-i Fânun* were more interested in the outer world, and were inspired by the daily life. They were influenced by realism and parnacism which was the reflection of realism in poetry. They used the theme of nature in their poems. As opposed to Neo-Ottomans who used themes like nation, liberty in their works, the second and intermediary generations brought innovations only to the classical literary writing style.

*Servet-i Fânun* was a group which displayed a common writing style and characteristic. Fikret had important contributions to the formation and development of this group. The failures in the practices of *Tanzimat* reform gave rise to Neo-Ottoman movement. Neo-Ottomans who set the foundation of *Tanzimat* period became the forerunners of Modern Turkish literature. And, the followers of *Servet-i Fânun* expressed the aesthetic projection of positivism which the Young Turks in Paris adopted. *Servet-i Fânun* group studied at school foreign languages and the basis of the ideas

---

that Neo-Ottomans defended. They realized the distinction between the government and religion better, and they went further and became materialist. The ideas of Neo-Ottomans were accepted at the ideological level, and they were defended with limited words through literary works and press. For the intellectuals of this period who viewed modernization at the superstructure, being a supporter of novelties in literature was satisfactory. At least, *Tanzimat* intellectuals could express their ideas, and produce solutions for the country to be saved from its current conditions. But, the supporters of *Servet-i Fânun* had no opportunity to get organized. They had to hide their political attitudes. We can see this very clearly in their works. With the dream of freedom which they could not attain, they wanted to go away from the milieu in which they lived. They brought their conception of social reforms onto the literary works; they completed their innovative ideas by making changes in the content and form of the literary works. They moved from the abstract themes of *Divan* literature—like love, wine—to concepts like travel, adventure and nature. In this period, they made translations. In the oppressive atmosphere of the reign of Abdülhamit, they had to hide their political views and ideas under an art philosophy. At the head of *Servet-i Fânun*, Tevfik Fikret displayed his attitude as a supporter of modernization. In this period which was quite important for him, he developed his literary identity, at the end of the period, he improved his conception of art and produced works of art for the society. Fikret took his place in our history firstly as the leader of *Servet-i Fânun* movement, and then producing works with social content with his real identity. Besides being the representative of innovations in literature, Fikret was a close and real follower of the idea of westernization. Fikret, who symbolized an ideal life with his own life and works, lived without

---

making any concessions from his ideals, and that is why he has been so widely argued about.

In *Servet-i Fânun* period, the traditional and modern literature were discussed. The intellectuals who could not express their ideas in any other form defended their opinions in the literary field. That was the way in which they expressed their social reactions. Polemic of the period, Ahmet Mithat who was for traditionalism blamed the modernists for becoming extremely westernized and for neglecting the structure of the society, and called them "decadents". The modernist group, who expressed their reactions only through literary works, were defending the westernization idea that had become a passion. After the reforms brought with *Tanzimat* and the model of Neo-Ottomans, they could display their reactions only through the novelties that they brought to literary styles and through denying the old. They reacted against everything and everybody which would regress the State.

In *Servet-i Fânun* movement, Tevfik Fikret wrote in "free verse" form, and produced works with social themes under the influence of François Coppee. Fikret who bore the effects of his period and intellectuals of that period expressed his ideas through his poems. *Servet-i Fânun* period was a step for him. The new verse style that he used caused quite many reactions. The oppositional groups, especially the supporters of the old literature, were able to display their reactions to the ideological structure that *Tanzimat* brought about. As we will see later, the conflict between *Divan* and new literature has been going on until today with the same logic behind it and with the same reactions though with different symbols. The conservative group who had not found the suitable conditions to question



---

the reforms in the recently founded Turkish Republic made Fikret and Arif symbols and discussed them in the 1940s. Furthermore, Atatürk made an assesment of Fikret's political and literary personality. Atatürk stated that Fikret functioned as the source of the reforms of the Republic. Fikret defended the new literature in *Servet-i Fânun*. The literary reformation movement which had begun with Namık Kemal became systemized with Fikret. Fikret and his friends at the magazine were arrested although they made only changes relative to literary form. In order to escape from the oppressive conditions, they wanted to immigrate to New Zealand. Fikret felt the oppressive ambiance more intensely. He reflected this feeling in his works. (*Bir Ân-ı Huzur*, *Yeşil Yurt Poems*). He could not understand the reaction of the intellectual milieu and every now and then, he became sullen into his circle of friends and retired to seclusion. Whenever he could not find the opportunity for political activity and during his seclusion periods, he expressed his personal reaction through poetry.

In the period of Second Constitutional Monarchy, Fikret began to skillfully use his new identity and poems, which were his greatest weapons. Like Neo-Ottomans, Fikret became one of the literary and ideological indicators of the 1908 reform. He greeted the Second Constitutional Monarchy with great ardor. However, he did not join the Union and Progress, and preferred watching the developments as an outsider. When the constitution was declared, all movements, Islamists, Westernists and Turkists, whose goal was the same but the means were different, seemed to have come to an agreement. When the Second Constitutional Monarchy failed to fulfill the expectations, projects of social reform were put on the political agenda once more. All these movements demonstrated the causes of the decay in the political order, the degeneration in the social life and the



---

State's unpreventable fall. Islamists and Mehmet Akif reckoned the basis of this decadence as deserting the traditions and the loss of beliefs. Westernists were divided into cliques. The first group believed that the Ottoman unity and order could be achieved by education, the second group, by social institutions which trained people to be productive and initiative, and the third group, by adopting western civilization as a whole. Turkists, on the other hand, aimed to unite Turks who were living within separate political units, so that they would attain a national identity, enter the Islamic world with greater political power, save the Ottoman Empire and found a Turkish Union which was as strong as the Islamic Union.

As parallel with the characteristic of the period, literature was used as a platform for expressing the political thoughts. Fikret expressed the dislocation in the political order and social degeneration by means of literature and saw the reason as insincere quality of politics and unvarnished policies of westernization.

Furthermore, Fikret held the thought that education was necessary to protect the Ottoman unity. He wanted to establish an education board which would guide the education system. When he became the headmaster of Galatasaray Lycee, he realized the reforms which he found necessary and reasonable. After the declaration of the Second Constitution Monarchy, Fikret got out of the seclusion period and left his pessimism behind. Poems which were full of hope and ardor replaced the ones which criticized the oppression on the society and political structure. During the preceding period, he wrote such poem as "Sis" and "Tarih-i Kadim", and he criticized history, sultanate, and conservative ideas. He differentiated sultanate and religion from one other. Religion and sultanate had always

caused pain, and led to war. With his refusal of war, he appears as a humanist. After his seclusion period, Fikret displayed his progressive, laic and idealistic attitude clearly. He believed that after the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, all the problems would be solved. The people had right to liberty. It was obtained at last. His poems were full of enthusiasm. He was full of hope. He gave advice to the followers of the revolution, "Take right steps;/Remember, Tomorrow is what your step prepares!". The revolution was entrusted to the youth. However, the events he witnessed in time, the broken promises, the fall of the constitution, the rebels and oppression which still continued led Fikret into pessimism again. From then on, he created the model of man who was strong, who would create his own future, and who gave importance to reason in his works (Promete). What would bring the bright days was reason, and its basis was man. He believed in the power of science. Which could be founded by means of education. He believed in equality and liberty. He was a Utopian humanist. He presumed that, like the other intellectuals of that period, problems would be solved by reorganizing superstructural institutions. He wanted equality, justice and liberty for his society. However, he did not explain how and by which means those would be attained. He expected the solution from man and education. In brief Tanpınar puts "first he was an ordinary small bourgeois poet, then he became an apostle of morality and civilization for the society" (Tanpınar, 1944: 4).

Westernization was the salvation. The west was developed in science and technology. It was laic and had constitutional government. Technology should be borrowed from the west, and the quality of education should be improved. A good education was necessary for qualified people.

When he was the headmaster of Galatasaray Lycee, he tried to put his ideas into practice, and trained students who gave importance to reason and science. The future was in the hands of the youth. He believed that the future was bright. The warranty of the future was the youth. Fikret was one of esteemed literati who led an idealistic life, and who believed in westernization and fought for it. The things that should be borrowed from the west had to be the universal sides and elements that would realize national prosperity. This thought culminated in Fikret's work. He adopted a certain conception of morality, and he led a life style which was parallel with his world outlook. He lived with his principles, never made compromises on his principles and never foregave the ones who did. As we have seen in the chapter on his life, he refused the salary given to him stating that he had not worked; he waited at the gate of Galatasaray Lycee to defend the school against the reactionary rebels in March 31 Affair. He did not hesitate to acclaim the attempt of assassination to Abdülhamit.

He thought that the reason for the crisis of the country was the failure of applying the reforms precisely and realizing westernization accurately. He expressed the idea that came up with *Tanzimat* in his poems again. Educated people were necessary to realize national prosperity. The ones who would bring economical and social order were educated people. He focused on individual rights. In his opinion, those are necessary also for the well-being of society. He was a supporter of westernism and was deeply influenced by the political and social ambiance in his period. He defended his ideas through his poems. He joined the struggle with his poems.

Fikret has been argued about both in his own period and in the Republic period. He has gathered reactions as he supported westernism and

criticized the policies that the government adopted. In the process of Republican reforms the opponent opinions remained silent. Since they could not openly react to modernization movements, they transformed into a symbol Fikret, who functioned as a source for Atatürk's revolutions, target and discussed him. Atatürk was one of the reformist youngsters who were influenced by Fikret. He founded the young republic on laicist basis, and he was inspired by Fikret. He said, "I got the revolution spirit from Fikret" (Ural, 1984: 18). Furthermore, for his poem "Tarih-i Kadim", he stated, "That poem of Fikret's, "Tarih-i Kadim"; that poem is the source of all revolutions to be realized worldwide" (Baydar, 1984: 92). Fikret was a patriot and was against every kind of unjust action. He expressed those without any compromises, especially in the oppressive reign of Abdülhamit and when the Union and Progress were in power. Atatürk estimated Fikret as an individual and was interested in his life and works.<sup>1</sup> With verses that he quoted from Fikret's poems, he sent messages to Turkish public and youth.<sup>2</sup> His revolutionary ideas and laicism deepened this interest. Fikret lived in a period when the State was collapsing; he reflected the depression in his poems and life itself; and he showed the greatest reaction that he could show when he began to use social themes. With his poems, he harshly criticized the policies and beliefs that he believed to be wrong. Because of these characteristics, he was engaged in polemics with Mehmet Akif. In this framework, Fikret and Akif became symbols of polar (left and right) ideas and each were supported fully by their followers. In the periods when nationalist movements rose and ideas could not be expressed freely, those opposing ideas come to the foreground. Now, by examining the positive and negative sides of those ideas, we will present our argument.

## 6.2. AN ACCOUNT OF CRITICISM ON TEVFİK FİKRET

In periods of oppression when political organizations and discussions were not possible, sometimes people and sometimes events were turned into symbols and argued about. The argument on the Eastern and western civilizations which had existed since *Tanzimat* appeared intensively in certain periods. Tevfik Fikret has been widely criticized both in his own period and in the following periods with regard to his life and family and his works. These criticisms increased especially when nationalistic movements gained power. Fikret and Akif were symbolized and argued about by two opposite poles—the group that wanted to adopt eastern civilization and the one that was for westernization. Fikret was for progress and revolutions whereas Akif was for Islâm. Fikret was evaluated especially from the viewpoint of his being progressive. Arguments became immense in the last periods of Fikret and came to an end with his death; but, later, around the 1915s, arguments burst up again. In the period when the Second World War broke out, they became intense again. They became popular once more in the 1970s.

The ones who were against Fikret claimed that he was an “atheist”, disavowed “nation”, and “fatherland”. The ones who were for Fikret defended him by putting him in certain forms from their own viewpoints. However, what was being argued about was Fikret’s idea of westernization. As they were not able to express this openly, they evaluated him by looking at his “divergent” life style and his working as a teacher at Robert College (first overseas American School). They evaluated him with his personality.

---

The Second Constitutional Monarchy, was an achievement of the Young Turks' movement. The ideology of their party, by the time, existed together with Turkism, Islamism, and Ottomanism. When the event of March 31 took place, the Union and Progress Party abandoned Ottomanism and followed a policy which was Islamist-Turkist. Akif became popular as an Islamic reformist and worked at the Union and Progress. As seen before, Fikret opposed the practices of the Union and Progress and displayed his reactions openly.<sup>3</sup> After his poem "Doksanbeşe Doğru", he wrote "Hân-ı Yağma" and got the reactions of the members of the Union and Progress. Fikret was quite an important figure in his period. The attitude he had against the administration could not be without reactions. The group which adopted Turkism and nationalism as their basic policy started an attack against Fikret. They canalized Turkish fraternities for a mission to destroy the concepts that Fikret valued and make him fall into disfavor. The arguments did not remain within his own period; they were brought to the following years, too.<sup>4</sup> His poem "Tarih-i Kadim" was shown as the cause of the arguments. However, the poem was written long ago, in 1905. The poem arouse the reaction of the fundamentalists.<sup>5</sup> They attacked the philosophical opinions of Fikret. Without being in dread of the reactions, Fikret continued writing satirical poems with social contents. He was refused by "Turkish Fraternities", which were the cultural support institutions of the Union and Progress, and he was accused of being an atheist and anti-nationalist. The aim was to abrade Fikret's pure identity and idealistic life, and, thus, to invalidate his criticisms against the government. Akif's criticism began similarly.

The attacks against Fikret came from Sebilürreşat and Mehmet Akif. With his poem "Süleymaniye Kürsüsünde" (At the Pedestal of



Süleymaniye), Akif said, "Our literary men are quite vulgar creatures,/ (...) /Philosophers they are, but most of them do not have a school./They curse God now, but give them quite a lot money, later/Without feeling ashamed, for Protestants, they will become a verger' (Özkırımlı, 1990:, 107). With being a verger, he meant Fikret. Here, Fikret who was against war was accused of being a traitor. Fikret responded to these accusations two years later. With his poem "Tarih-i Kadim'e Zeyl" (Postscript to Ancient History), he mentioned the change in his religious beliefs. He believed that the truth would be reached in another way. He said, "Such corruptions humans have:/They make their own idols and worship them". He added, "Honesty, love, loyalty, modesty,/Being fair, kind, patriot and having pity,/And, not calling a poet a verger.../These are the orbit of my conscious./My religious ceremony is thinking and working,/My religion is the religion of living./ (...) /For me, the real religion today is the religion of life,/What do you think about this, Mullah Sirat?". He displayed his opinion of universality clearly. The ideology which was about to fall was melting the reality of man. Fikret, who approached man as an individual, expressed his ideas precisely. In order to evaluate this poem properly, it should be kept in mind that he was a poet and a thinker, and that it is necessary to consider the period in which he lived. Later, Ahmed Naim criticized Fikret's philosophy in the magazine *Sebilürreşad*.<sup>6</sup> Among all the accusations made against him in his period, Fikret responded only to Akif. He explained his own ideas. When the Union and Progress lost the power, he deserted his political attitude. He concentrated on children's poems, and wrote "Şermin". However, the arguments did not come to an end. They continued and became even more intensified after his death. These were not literary arguments but simply attacks having a political goal. In Sertel's words, it was an "ideological case" (1946: 3).



Because of those attacks, the ones who advocated westernization ideas made evaluations by either being at Fikret's side or trying to be objective. However, the defense that they made intensified on Fikret's personality and life style. After Fikret's death, Rıza Tevfik tried to prove that Fikret was religious at a conference that he gave in *Aşiyân* (*Muallim* magazine, 1333: 431-434; Later, he wrote a book. See, Tevfik, 1945). Mehmet Fuat Köprülü published a book entitled "Tevfik Fikret ve Ahlakı" in 1918 (*Tevfik Fikret and his Morality*), and stated that his poem "Tarih-i Kadim" was a product of an angry moment. "Muallim" magazine (1333) released an article on Fikret's virtues and philosophy, and stated that he was pessimistic because of the period he lived in. He claimed that what he wrote should be evaluated within this framework (1340: 309-311). When the criticisms became mean, works were written, conferences were given in favor of him even at Turkish Fraternities.<sup>7</sup> A house open to visits was built in *Aşiyân*, Bebek. Later, in the republican period, *Aşiyân* was transformed into a museum.<sup>8</sup>

Arguments did not end up, they flared up again in the 1940s. Among these arguments, Atatürk remained as one of the youngsters who were influenced and inspired by Fikret. He often expressed that Fikret inspired the idea of Turkish Republic. He stated that Fikret was a sort of symbol of the revolution. The ones who opposed the republic and Atatürk's revolutions carried out their arguments by symbolizing Akif and Fikret when the nationalistic movements accelerated. Starting from 1937, a racist policy began in Turkey. Once more, rather than expressing the ideas openly, the attitude of arguing about a person who had become the symbol of that idea was preferred in such a way that it would conceal the base of the

argumentation. The arguments began with the newspaper "Yeni Sabah". Kamuran Demir came up with the idea that "Fikret's works should be burned", and Eşref Edip, the owner of "Sebilürreşad", followed this.<sup>9</sup> They claimed that Fikret was an atheist Marxist who disavowed nation. As proofs, they showed Fikret's being a teacher at Robert college and his son's being a priest. If we make a generalization for these arguments, we can say that they gained speed in the periods the First and Second World Wars took place and when nationalistic movements increased (for further information, see Sertel, 1946). Carrying out the arguments by finding a victim for the ideas which were being defended seemed an easier way to the Islamist and nationalist intellectuals of the period. As a result, this argument turned into an argument between westernists and Islamists. Mehmet Ali Aynî analyzed Fikret from a philosophical viewpoint in his book "Reybîlik, Bedbinlik, Lâilâhilik" (Skepticism, Pessimism and Piety); "Yeni Sabah" prepared a questionnaire against Fikret. Sabiha Sertel found herself in the court just because she defended Fikret.<sup>10</sup> Bozok stated that Fikret was attacked from two sides—"chauvinistic nationalists" and "the ones who objected to Fikret's atheist ideas in a laic country (1939: 17). The ones who were for Fikret prepared a questionnaire in "Yeni Adam" magazine in 1939.<sup>11</sup> Cahit, who evaluated the events, stated that Fikret, who was both a humanist and a nationalist tried to form a synthesis of these two ideals, and that was why he could be considered as an intellectual<sup>12</sup> (1939). Other than the arguments which took Akif and Fikret as symbols and which took their essence from the conflict between Islamist-westernist ideologies, there were studies which originated from academic and literary milieus in different periods, and those scrutinized Fikret with his "literati" identity. Although some of those studies got closer to the polemic face of Islamism-Westernism, the target

was again Fikret, himself. As an example to this, we can give the studies of Sertel and Kaplan.<sup>13</sup>

In those arguments, even Fikret's supporters attributed several concepts to him. In the 1940s, Sertel claimed that he could not go beyond being a "bourgeois democrat". But for his own period, even this was a very progressive idea (Behramoğlu, 1975: 30). Mehmet Kaplan claimed that Fikret had psychological defects due to his diabetes. Hikmet stated that Fikret whom he called "a humanist poet" became as good and progressive as possible for his period as a small bourgeois intellectual (1930: 34-35). In different periods, some people defined him as traditionalist first and then as "revolutionary" later.<sup>14</sup> The 1970's economical, political and social pressure, accelerated the nationalistic movement again.<sup>15</sup> In this period, the supporters of Fikret considered him "revolutionary" as an intellectual but weak as a man of letters Ozansoy stated that Fikret reached faith not denial by saying "Doubt is running towards a holy light,/Shedding light on God is the reason's right" (1968: 4). We believe that symbols like Fikret and Akif will always exist in the years when the political milieu is oppressive, the ideas cannot be expressed freely, and nationalistic ideas become intense. However, these arguments cannot obscure the fact that both Mehmet Akif and Tevfik Fikret were important literati in their own periods. Akbal stated "Tevfik Fikret has been the subject of several arguments and disputes for 70 years. Doesn't this prove that his life force and works have not worn out and are still influential?" (18 August 1984).

Tevfik Fikret lived between 1867-1915. He led quite an active and significant life especially after 1895. He witnessed the fall of the State; he produced ideals to prevent this and kept his ideals and poems alive up

today. Fikret was moderate toward the administration before *Servet-i Fânun*. As we have mentioned previously, the oppressive regime of Abdülhamit, the denouncing network established by a strong intelligence service, forbidden words, the fact that not more than three people could gather together, restrictions of freedom, all helped us to display the conditions under which the intellectuals of the period lived by presenting Fikret as a model. Fikret expressed his reactions by his life style besides his feelings and thoughts. He could express his reactions through his poetry like the other intellectuals of the period. In his poem "Sis", he criticized Abdülhamit's regime and underlined the importance of constitutional rights and freedom in the lines: "O, the myth of law, which gives the individual the right/Of having an almost exemption and freedom/(...)/O, justice, which is always banished from courts!" He dealt with the malignancy of war, and suggested laicism. We can see this in the following lines taken from "Tarih-i Kadim". "I am me, you are thee, neither a God nor a worshipper." They did not have an opportunity to have any political organizations. After the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, he displayed his political attitude more clearly, writing "Our way is the nation's way, the way of justice;/May you live long, o, the nation, o, the justice" in his poem "Millet Şarkısı", he supported the Young Turk movement. He believed that the Union and Progress would open the parliament and put the Main Constitution into practice. Then it would be possible to become a nation. While judging Fikret, it is necessary to consider the period and conditions which he lived in. Gökalp who regarded Fikret as being a reformist said that he was a humanist. While evaluating him, he stated, "Like the renaissance in Europe, he had only a desire to end the reign of the religious community. They could not start the reign of the nation,

---

neither could he" (1330: 421-424). The two-folded structuring that *Tanzimat* brought affected Fikret's life, too. First, he led a life which carried the influences of the eastern culture. He wrote religious poems in praise of the Sultan. Later, he learned the western values, and believed that westernization was inevitable and the country could only be saved by the method which would be borrowed from the west. He formed a Utopia with his poems and life. He saw the youth as the salvation of the country, and wrote "Rücû" in which he said, "Remember, what prepares tomorrow is the steps taken today".

With the poems that he wrote after 1908, Fikret opposed the traditions, fundamentalism and the bad practices the administration carried out, saying "A nation cannot exist when its grand parliament is abused". He was interested in human morals. However, he never had a didactic concern. He did so by abandoning the traditions and giving importance to reason and freedom. Fikret is a type of intellectual who should be examined respectively because of the period in which he lived. He expressed his feelings, thoughts and reactions by a sort of literary ideology. He gave importance to education as he believed that educational was the foundation of the westernization idea. We can see how he regarded education institutions in the lines from his poem "Sultanî'ye" (To Galatasaray Lycee): "The west is a horizon which is open to the yearning of thinking,/You are the first gate of the east to this horizon opening!" In the basis of his thoughts, there was always man. As we can see in the fourth chapter of the study, the poems that he wrote for his son Halûk and some others like "Ferda" and "Promete" display his belief that the future would rise on the shoulders of people who were well-educated and who had a sense of personality.

Tevfik Fikret is one of our literati who lived in the transition period of the Ottoman State between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; he was a westernist who originated ideals. He has been argued about a lot because of his ideas. He will always be remembered with his passion for progress, trust in youth, humanism, laicism and the importance he gave to reason. He believed in revolutions, and who would realize this was man. Man was the center of his ideals. He wanted the best for the mankind because of his universal and modern viewpoint. We finish this study with two couplets taken from Fikret's poem "Halûk'un Amentüsü" in which he expressed these ideas:

"The world is my country, mankind is my nation.. Man  
Can only become man upon understanding this; I reckon.

The devil is us, so is the demon, neither devil nor angel exists;  
Man will change the world into the heaven, I reckon."

## NOTES

- (1) Mustafa Baydar compiled Atatürk's memoirs about Fikret. He tried to prove this by stating, "Atatürk was an admirer of Fikret. He was kneaded with Fikret's revolutionary, humanistic and freedom ideas." (1984: 87).
- (2) Atatürk quoted Fikret in his speeches. He used Fikret's line "I am a poet whose mind, conscious and knowledge are free" in his speech that he gave in 1925 for teachers and said, "The Republic wants generations whose mind, conscious and knowledge are free from you". Sevin stated that Fikret believed that for the happiness of the individual, the family's happiness was necessary; for the happiness of the family, the country's happiness was necessary; and, for the happiness of the country, the world's happiness was necessary. Sevin also added that Atatürk adopted this principle and based his idea "Peace at home; Peace in the world" onto it (1965: 9).
- (3) Vâ-Nû mentioned a memory of Fikret who showed his reaction at any time and in any condition (See, 23 September 1958).
- (4) Sertel who stated that the best time for attacking an ideology by an opposite ideology was war times claimed that the victims who were chosen were taken out of their graves if necessary and their ideas were strained. Sertel added that Fikret was revived 24 years later by a group who wanted to defend "a political reaction and Fascist ideology" and to perish a revolution of republic; the youngsters were divided into two groups as supporters of Akif and as supporters of Fikret (1946: 5).
- (5) Bolay claimed that Fikret declared his being an atheist by writing "Tarih-i Kadim". Even more, he stated that the religious poems that he wrote-like Tevhid and Sabah Ezanı—were only descriptive. Fikret was an enemy of religion like Feurebach. According to him, man was deified in Fikret. He did not see any conscious materialism in Fikret and mentioned that Fikret was not interested in philosophy by saying, "It is not possible to claim that the ideological perversion in Fikret comes from any philosophical trend" (1963: 12).
- (6) Ertaylan quoted the letter that A. Naim wrote to Rıza Tevfik. He stated that Fikret was an atheist, and criticized Tevfik for trying to show him as religious (1963: 128-129). Fikret was first criticized by the followers of Sebilürreşad and then by



Turanians. "Fikret was also attacked by Genç Kalemler. Later, in *Türk Yurdu*, Canip separated Fikret's poetic identity from its magnitude and tried to show that he did not have any Turkist emotions. Ömer Seyfettin saw the maintenance of scholastic language in Fikret. On the other hand, Hamdullah Suphi viewed the affair in a political scheme (Erişçi, 1939: 11-12). Besides these, he also added the attacks made by Ahmet Haşim and his followers in artistic field. And, he defined Fikret as being "a thinker who went far beyond scholastic-intellectual camps, (...), the first great Turkish poet who dealt with the problems of the country for the new and forecoming eras" (12).

- (7) Akçura stated that Fikret was an idealist, and believed in "idealist perfection" and wanted to change the life in parallel with his ideals. He added that the importance Fikret gave to humanity was very rare in the period that he lived, and that he was sorry for not having known him (1333: 438-442).
- (8) Neriman Hikmet made an evaluation of the things said about him on the day when A-şyan was opened as a museum. Baltacıoğlu, Fethi Giray, Ertuğrul Şevket, Celâl Silay, Avni İnel and Recal Eriş made positive evaluations whereas Nizameddin Nazif and Nurullah Ataç were quite negative. Hikmet finished her evaluation with the wish that the Fikret affair would be solved by future generations (19 August 1945: 5).
- (9) Edip wrote a book in 1943 called "Tevfik Fikret'i Beş Cepheden Kırk Muharririn Tenkitleri" (The Criticisms of Forty Writers from Five Fronts About Tevfik Fikret). He compiled the criticisms of forty writers about Fikret's identity as a literary figure, his personal morality, his idea of country and nation, his ideas, and his religious beliefs. In the preface of the book, he wrote that the supporters of Fikret should "save Fikret from these accusations" if they really love him.
- (10) She compiled her defense at the court in a book and released it [See, Sertel, 1940. *Tevfik Fikret-Mehmet Akif Kavfası* (The Tevfik Fikret-Mehmet Akif Quarrel), İstanbul, Tan Printing Office].
- (11) In the questionnaire, there were questions about Fikret's literary side, his seclusion periods, his being a teacher at Robert College, his humanism and nationalism, his being accused of being atheist, and whether he could be shown as responsible for his son's personal choice. Sabiha Sertel, Suat Derviş, Burhan Belge, Muhittin Birgen, Etem İzzet and İlhami Bekir replied the questionnaire in the 260th issue; Yaşar Nabi, Sadri Ertem, A. Hamdi Tanpınar, Sabahattin Ali, Necip Fazıl, Hakkı Süha and Suphi Nuri replied it in the 261st issue (*Yeni Adam*, 1939, Vol. 260-261).
- (12) The ones who judged Fikret with his humanistic side are quite many in number. Kaplan examined Fikret and Kemal together, and said, "He was humanistic beyond being social" (19 August 1941). Oksal evaluated him as "humane Fikret" and "idealist

Fikret" (19 August 1945: 5). Yahya Kemal stated that he was not writing against Fikret, and that he was trying to understand him (1968: 6).

- (13) Kenan Akyüz, Fahri Uzun, Ahmet Muhip Dranas and A. Hamdi Tanpınar tried to evaluate Fikret neutrally. However, there are people who claimed that Fikret was actually religious and people who believed that Fikret was a good poet despite his reputation. Rıza Tevfik claimed that Fikret was actually a religious man. Aykaç said, "The most valuable component in Fikret was heart which believed in God rather than reason which denied" (1941: 176). He believed that the important thing while reading the evaluations about him was to investigate both the good and bad points. He called Fikret "a satirist with a polite style" (180). Çağlar called Fikret "a great satirist", too. In his article, he said "Tevfik Fikret is the sharpest satirist who became the interpreter of the hatred of the society and the struggle of the nation" (1968: 474). Some people separated his poetic personality from his thoughts and claimed that he was not a good poet. Fethi Naci verbalized this claim (1983). On the other hand, Nadir Nadi stated that Fikret became old in the evolution that Turkish language has gone through (19 March 1967).
- (14) Bayrak claimed that Fikret was a revolutionary. The cause of his success should be sought in "the Ottoman administration mechanism and social structure" (1975: 6). Besides his being revolutionary, his other characteristics have also been investigated by many people. Yücel claimed that he was the greatest representative of "social individualism" (18 August 1957: 5); Sülker stated that Nazım and Fikret were inspired by the social and political reality of their own periods in their works (Yazko E., 80). Tokgöz said that he was a monument of humanism (1941: 182); Köni stated that religion was not a determinative criterion for poets and it was necessary to examine Ziya Gökalp and Fikret together from the viewpoint of nationalism (1939, 16); Kansu mentioned that Fikret became a revolutionary because of his inner world in addition to the change and formation in his own society (1968: 479); and, Naci stated that Fikret who could not fulfill his expectations and often became pessimistic was an idealist (1942: 14).
- (15) In 1975, a discussion session was held at the magazine *Militan* for Fikret. Ataoğlu Behramoğlu, Taner Kutlay, Şükran Kurdakul and Konur Ertop joined this session. Behramoğlu said that Fikret was a "revolutionary-romantic"; Kurdakul stated that "Fikret who was an individual that rebelled was not a bourgeois anarchist" and had influence on literature from poets using syllabic meter to Rıfaz Ilgaz (*Militan*, 1975: 54-70).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adıvar, H., E., 1956. Türkiye’de Şark, Garb ve Amerikan Tesirleri, İstanbul.
- Adıvar, A., A., 22.07.1953. “Düşünceler: Acı Bir Günde İki Mütefekkir Arasında.” Cumhuriyet Gazetesi.
- Ahmet Rıza Bey’in Anıları 1988. (Der. Demirbaş, B., Arba) yayınları İstanbul.
- Akbal, O., 18.08.1984, “Evet/Hayır Fikret’in Değeri ve Önemi”, Cumhuriyet Gazetesi.
- Akçura, Y., 1333 (1917). “Fikret Hakkında Bir Konferans” Muallim, Vol. 14 pp. 438-442.
- , 1991. 3rd ed. Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset, T.T.K., Ankara.
- Akşin, S., 1987. Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki, Remzi Kitabevi İstanbul.
- Aktar, C., 1993. Türkiye’nin Batılılaştırılması, Ayrıntı Yayınları İstanbul.
- Akün, Ö., F., 1968. “Şinasi” İslam Ansiklopedisi Vol. XI pp. 545-560.
- Akyüz, K., 1947. Tevfik Fikret Sakarya Yay. Ankara.
- Altınkaynak, H., Ağustos-Eylül 1975. “Salih Keramet Nigar’la Bir Konuşma” Militan, Vol. 8-9 pp. 51-53.
- Anket: Yeni Adam 21.12.1939/28.12.1939 Vol. 260-261.
- Arif Hikmet, 1333. “Fikret” Muallim Vol. 14 pp. 479-495.
- Ataç, N., 23.02.1952. “Söyleşi: Karalama” Ulus, Vol. 2.
- , 7.01.1946. “Söyleşi: Sözdən Söze” Ulus.
- Atay, F., R., 1954. Baş Veren Bir İnkılapçı Doğu Matbaası Ankara.
- Ay, B., 19 August 1982. “İstibdad’a Karşı Ayaklanan Şair Tevfik Fikret” Cumhuriyet.
- Aykaç, F., A., 28 August 1941. “Fikret’i Anarak” Servet-i Fûnun Uyanış. Vol. 2349.

- Aynî, M. Ali, 1927. Reybîlik, Bedbinlik, Lâilâhilik, Nedir?
- Baban, C., 26.01.1958. "İstibdad'a Karşı Ayaklanan Şair Tefik Fikret" Vatan Gazetesi.
- Bailey, F., E., 1942. British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement Cambridge Mass.
- Baydar, M., 1984. "Anılarla Fikret ve Atatürk" Yazko Edebiyat Vol. 45-46.
- Bayrak, M., 1975. "Tefik Fikret'te Devrimciliğin Kaynakları", Militan Vol. 8-9, pp. 43-45.
- Bayur, H., January 1959. "İkinci Meşrutiyet Devri Üzerinde Bazı Düşünceler" Belleten. Vol. XXIII. no: 89 pp. 43-45.
- Behramoğlu, A., August-September 1985. "Sabiha Sertel'in Kitabı Dolayısıyla" pp. 19-39 Militan Vol. 8-9.
- Belge, M., 1983. Tarihi Gelişim Süreci İçinde Aydınlar, C.D.T.A., Vol. I, pp. 122-129.
- Berkes, N., 1965. Batıcılık, Ulusculuk ve Toplumsal Devrimler, Yön Yay.
- , 1975. Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu, Bilgi Yayınevi.
- , 1978. Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma, Doğu-Batı Yay., İstanbul.
- Bezirci, A., 1975. "Tefik Fikret'in Toplumcu Şiirimizdeki Yeri", Militan.
- Bilgegil, M., K., 1970. Tefik Fikret'in İlk Şiirleri, Atatürk Üniversitesi.
- "Bir Oturum: Ş. Kurdakul, A. Behramoğlu, K. Ertop, K. Özer, T. Kutlay" August-September 1975. Militan. Vol. 8-9 pp. 54-70.
- Birand, K., 1955. Aydınlanma Devri Devlet Felsefesinin Tanzimata Tesirleri Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayıncılık, Son Havadis Matbaası, Ankara.
- Bolay, S., H., 1963. "Dinsizlik-Dindarlık Yönünden Akif-Fikret Münakaşası", Türk Yurdu. No: 300, Vol. 3, pp. 11-14.
- Bozok, H., 1939. "Fikret'in Aziz Hatırası" Yeni Adam Vol. 260, pp. 17.
- Cemil, A., 16 August 1975. "Fikret'in Tarih Anlayışı" Cumhuriyet Gazetesi.
- Çağdaş T., N., 22 December 1949. "İstibdat Bastil'ine İlk Kazmayı O Vurdu" Millet Gazetesi.

- Çağlar, B., K., 1 August 1968. "Fikret İçin Konuştuklarımdan Parçalar" No: XVIII, Vol. 203, pp. 471-477.
- Danişment, I., H., 1940. Ali Suavi İstanbul.
- Davison, R., H., 1973. Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876 Gordion Press, New York.
- Derviş Eşref, 1333. "Tevfik Fikret Müdür" Muallim Vol. 14 pp. 463-467.
- Diderot, 1968. Felsefe Kavramları, (Der. Cemil, A.), Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul.
- Dino, G., 1954. Tanzimattan Sonra Gerçekliğe Doğru T.T.K.
- Edib, E., 1943. Tevfik Fikret'i Beş Cepheden Kırk Muharririn Tenkitleri Asar-ı İlmiye Kütüp. Yay.
- Erişçi, L., 1939. "Tevfik Fikret ve Şahsiyeti" Yeni Adam, No 260, pp. 10-13.
- Erişirgil, M., E., 1984 2nd ed. Bir Fikir Adamının Romanı: Ziya Gökalp, Remzi Kitabevi İstanbul.
- Eryılmaz, B., 1992. Tanzimat ve Yönetimde Modernleşme, İşaret Yay., İstanbul.
- Ertaylan, I., H., 1963. Tevfik Fikret: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti ve Eserleri, T. Emekli Öğretmenler Cemiyeti, İstanbul.
- , (?). Şinasi, Kanaat Kütüphanesi.
- Ertop, K., 1 September 1964. "Ataç'ın Fikret İçin Söyledikleri" Varlık Vol. 629 pp. 8-9.
- , August-September 1975. "Tevfik Fikret, Yenilik Şairi" Militan Vol. 8-9 pp. 11-14.
- , 1983. "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Dil Sadeleşmesi" T.C.T.A. pp. 333-340.
- Es, H., F., 1934. Tevfik Fikret'in Aşyan'ında Bir Saat Sanat Olayı Vol. 30.
- Esemenli, B., 1987. Tanzimat'tan Bugüne Batılılaşma Hareketleri ve Fikir Akımları, Ayyıldız Matbaası, Ankara.
- Fuat, M., 1979. Tevfik Fikret: Yaşamı, Sanatçı Kişiliği, Yapıtları, De Yayınevi.
- , 1979. Şinasi: Yaşamı, Sanatçı Kişiliği Yapıtları, De Yayınevi.

- Gökalp, Z., 1330. "Tevfik Fikret ve Rönesans" Muallim Mecmuası Vol. 14.
- Hanioğlu, M., Ş., 1983. "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Meslek-i İçtima Akımı", T.C.T.A. Vol. 2, pp. 382-389.
- Hasan Ali, 1 September 1340 (1924). "Fikret'in Ruhu ve Felsefesi" Milli Mecmua Vol. 20.
- Hassan, Ü., 1982 (2nd ed.) Ibn Haldun'un Metodu ve Siyaset Teorisi Sevinç Matbaası Ankara.
- Hikmet, N., (Süleyman) March 1930. "Tevfik Fikret" Resimli Ay Vol. 1. pp. 34-35.
- Hikmet, N., 19.08.1945. "Fikret İçin Ne Diyorlar?" Tanin.
- İğdemir, U., 1937. Kuleli Vak'ası Hakkında Bir Araştırma, İstanbul.
- İnalçık, H., 1983. "Tanzimat'ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkiler", Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, Vol. VI, pp. 1536-1544.
- , 1943. Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi. T.T.K., Ankara.
- Işın, E., 1983a. "Osmanlı Modernleşmesi ve Pozitivizm", T.C.T.A. Vol. 1, pp. 352- 363.
- , 1983b. "Osmanlı Materyalizmi", Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi Vol. 1, pp. 363-370.
- , 1983c. "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Eleştirinin Gelişimi", T.C.T.A. Vol. 6, pp. 431-440.
- Kansu, C., A., 1 August 1968. "Tevfik Fikret ve Devrim" Türk Dili No: XVIII. Vol. 203, pp. 477-487.
- Kaplan, M., 19.08.1941. "Tevfik Fikret: 26 Yıl Evvel Bugün Ölen Büyük Türk Şairinin Edebi ve İçtimai Hüviyeti Hakkında Bazı Mütalealar". Vatan.
- , 1946. Tevfik Fikret ve Şiiri, Türkiye Yayınevi, İstanbul.
- , 1948. Namık Kemal Hayatı ve Eşerleri, İbrahim Horoz Basımevi.
- Karal, E., Z., 1988 (5th ed.) Osmanlı Tarihi, Vol. 5, T.T.K. Ankara.
- Kavcar, C., (?). II. Meşrutiyet Devrinde Edebiyat ve Eğitim, 1908-1923.

- Kaygı, A., 1992. Türk Düşüncesinde Çağdaşlaşma Gündoğan Yay. Ankara.
- Kaynar, A., 1954. Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat, T.T.K., Ankara.
- Kemal, Y., 1968. Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler Yayha Kemal Enstitüsü ve İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti.
- Kıvılcımlı, H., 1989. Edebiyat-ı Cedide'nin Felsefesi (Der. Karaca E.,) Gerçek Sanat Yay.
- Kodaman, B., Alkan, A., T., 1992. "Tanzimat'ın Öncüsü Mustafa Reşit Paşa", 150. Yılında Tanzimat, pp. 1-10, T.T.K., Ankara.
- Koloğlu, O., 1983. "Osmanlı Basını: İçeriği ve Rejimi" T.C.T.A. No: 1, pp. 68-93.
- Koray, E., 1992. "Yeni Osmanlılar" 150. Yılında Tanzimat (Derleyen Yıldız, H., D.,) T.T.K. Yayını, Ankara.
- Korkud, R., 1960. Tanzimat, Birinci Meşrutiyet, İkinci Meşrutiyet ve Matbuat.
- Köni, Y., K., 1939. "Fikret'in Dünya Görüşü" Yeni Adam pp. 14-16 Vol. 260.
- Köprülü, M., F., 1918. Tevfik Fikret ve Ahlakı Kanaat Matbaası İstanbul.
- Kudret, C., 1983. "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türk Edebiyatı" T.C.T.A., Vol 6, pp. 81-84.
- , May 1982. "Babalar ve Oğullar" Yazko Edebiyat No: 3 Vol. 19, pp. 81-84.
- Kuntay, M., C., 1946. Sarıklı İhtilalci, İstanbul.
- Kurdakul, S., August-September 1975. "XX. yy. Şairi Tevfik Fikret" Militan, No: 8-9, pp. 5-10.
- , 1983. "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Şiir" T.C.T.A. Vol. 6, pp. 421-430.
- Kutlay, T., 1975. "Tarih-i Kadim'in Çağrıştırdıkları" Militan.
- Kutlu, Ş. 1981. Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi, Remzi Kitabevi. İstanbul.
- Lewis, B., 1988, 3rd ed. Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu T.T.K. Basımevi Ankara.



- Mardin, Ş., 1962. The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought Princeton.
- , 1983a. "Yeni Osmanlılar ve Siyasi Fikirleri" T.C.T.A. İletişim Yay. İstanbul.
- , 1983 2nd ed. Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908 İletişim Yay. İstanbul.
- , 1984. "Aydınlar Konusunda Ulgener ve Bir İzah Denemesi" Toplum ve Bilim, No 24, pp. 9-16.
- , 1992 2nd. "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Batılılaşma" Türk Modernleşmesi Makaleler IV İletişim Yay. İstanbul.
- Moran, B., 1991 (4th ed.) Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış/I İletişim Yayınları İstanbul.
- Mutluay R. 1973. Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Kadar Türk Şiiri Milliyet Yayınları.
- Nabi, Y., 1972 (7th ed.) Tevfik Fikret Hayatı Sanatı Şiirleri Varlık Yayıncılık İstanbul.
- Naci, E., 1942. "Tevfik Fikret İsyanları" Yarım Ay, No 160.
- Naci, F., November 1983. "Eleştiri Günlüğü: İnsan Fikret, Şair Fikret, Fikret'in Şiiri" Hürriyet Gösteri Sanat-Edebiyat Vol. 36 pp. 29-30.
- Nadi, N., 19.3.1967. "Tevfik Fikret" Cumhuriyet.
- Nigâr, S., K., 1943. Inkilâp Şairi Tevfik Fikret'in İzleri, Kenan Matbaası, İstanbul.
- Oksal, S., 19.08.1945. "Ölümünün Yıldönümünde Tevfik Fikret: Fikret'in Büyük Tarafı" Tanin.
- Ortaylı, İ., 1983a. "Tanzimat", Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, Vol. V pp. 1545-1547.
- , 1983b. "Bir Aydın Grubu: Yeni Osmanlılar", Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi C. 6 pp. 1702-1703.
- , 1987 (2nd ed.). İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı, Hil Yay., İstanbul.

- Ozansoy, M. F., February 1968. "Düşündüğüm Gibi: Fikret-Akif İkiliği" Hisar Aylık Fikir ve Sanat Dergisi. Vol. 50 pp. 3-5, 27.
- Önberk, N., 1993. "Namık Kemal'de Özgürlük Fikri", Doğumunun Yüzellinci Yılında Namık Kemal pp. 93-117.
- Önertoy, O., 1981. Tanzimat Döneminde Edebiyat Anlayışı Selçuk Üniversitesi Basımevi konya.
- Özel, İ., 1983. "Tanzimat'ın Getirdiği Aydın" T.C.T.A. Vol. I, pp. 61-66.
- Özön, M., N., 1941. Son Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi Maarif Matbaası İstanbul.
- Özkırımlı, A., 1990. Tevfik Fikret, Cem Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Parlatır, I., 1987. Tevfik Fikret Dil ve Edebiyat Yazıları, T.T.K. Basımevi, Ankara.
- Perin, C., 1946. Tanzimat Edebiyatında Fransız Tesiri pp. 116-133 I.U.E.F. Yay.
- Petrosyan, Y., A., 1974. Sovyet Gözüyle Jöntürkler (Çev. Mazlum Beyhan, Ayşe Hacıhazanoğlu) Bilgi Yayıncılık Ankara.
- Ramsaur, E., E., 1965. The Young Turks Prelude to Revolution of 1908 Beirut, Khayats.
- Sertel, S., 1940. Tevfik Fikret-Mehmet Akif Kavgası Tan Matbaası İstanbul.
- , 1946. Tevfik Fikret İdeolojisi ve Felsefesi, Yurt ve Dünya Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Sevin, N., September 1965. "Tevfik Fikret ve Gençlik" Hisar Fikir ve Sanat Dergisi Vol. 2,1 pp. 9-13.
- , February 1968. "Fikret'in Türk Nazmına Getirdiği Yenilikler" Hisar Aylık Fikir ve Sanat Dergisi Vol. 50 pp. 14-15.
- Sevük, İ., H., 1968. Tanzimat Devri Edebiyatı İnkılap Kitapevi, İstanbul.
- Sırma, İ., S., 1988. Tanzimat'ın Götürdükleri, Beyan Yay. İstanbul.
- Sungu, I., 1940. Tanzimat ve Yeni Osmanlılar Maarif Matbaası, İstanbul.
- , 19 May 1940 Tercüme Vol. 1 No: 1 pp. 62-79.
- Sülker, K., 1984. "Akif-Fikret tartışması" Yazko Edebiyat pp. 70-81.

- Şeref, A., December 1985. Tarih Musahabeleri (Sadeleştiren Koray, E.) Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, Başbakanlık Basımevi, Ankara.
- Şükrü, K., 1931. Tevfik Fikret Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Şiir ve Eserlerinden Parçalar Kenan Matbaası İstanbul.
- Tanpınar, A., H., 1944. Tevfik Fikret Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Şiir ve Eserlerinden Parçalar Kenan Matbaası, İstanbul.
- , 1969. Edebiyat'a Dair Dergâh Yayınları.
- Tanyu, H., 1972. Tevfik Fikret ve Din, İrfan Yayınevi, İstanbul.
- Tevfik Fikret, 1984. II Rubab-i Şikeste (Der. Bezirci, A.,) İstanbul Can Yay.
- , 1984. III Halûk'un Defteri (Der. Bezirci, A.,) İstanbul Can Yay.
- Tevfik, R., 1945. Tevfik Fikret Hayatı-Sanatı-Şahsiyeti, İnkılâp Kitabevi, Kenan Matbaası, İstanbul.
- Tokgöz, A., İ., 28 March 1940. Servet-i Fûnun Uyanış (Kuruluş Özel Sayısı) No:87, Vol. 2275.
- , 4 September 1941. "Hatırladıklarım: Tevfik Fikret" Servet-i Funun Uyanış No: 90 2350 pp. 182-183.
- , Toprak, Z., 1983. "İkinci Meşrutiyet'te Fikir dergileri" T.C.T.A. pp. 126-132.
- Tunaya, T., Z., 1959. Hürriyet'in İlanı, İkinci Meşrutiyetin Siyasi Hayatına Bakışlar Baha Matbaası, İstanbul.
- , 1960. Türkiye'nin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma Hareketleri, Yedigün Matbaası, İstanbul.
- , 1962. İslamcılık Cereyanı Baha Matbaası, İstanbul.
- , 1983. "Osmanlı-Batı Diyalogu", T.C.T.A. Vol. 1 pp. 142-143.
- , 1988. Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler 1-3 Hürriyet Yay.
- Tuncer, H., 1992. Arayışlar Devri Türk Edebiyatı 2 Servet-i Fûnun Edebiyatı Akademi Kitabevi, İzmir.
- Tunçay, M., 1991. Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar 1-2 BDS Yayınları İstanbul.
- Turhan, M., 1980. Garplılışmanın Neresindeyiz? Yağmur Yay., İstanbul.

- Tülbentci, F., F., 19 August 1955. "Geçmişte Bugün: Tevfik Fikret'in Ölümü." Vatan.
- Uğur, A., 1984. "Dünün Aydınları", Toplum ve Bilim, No 24, pp. 171-182.
- Usta, R., 1986. Tevfik Fikret Hayatı Sanatı ve Eserleri, Kastaş Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Ural, S., February 1984. "Tarih-i Kadim" ve Fikret'te İnkılapçılığın Temelleri" Saçak, No 30/1.
- Uraz, M., 1945. Tevfik Fikret Hayatı, Edebi Şahsiyeti ve Şiirleri. Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, İstanbul.
- Uşaklıgil, H., Z., 1987. Kırk Yıl Anılar, Der. Kutlu, Ş., İnkılâp Kitabevi, İstanbul.
- Ülken, H., Z., 1992 (3rd ed.). Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi, Ülken Yay., İstanbul.
- Uyguner, M., 15 December 1967. "Tevfik Fikret" pp. 7 Varlık, Vol. 708.
- , 1 August 1968. "Tevfik Fikret ve Fransız Şiiri" pp. 488-497 Türk Dili, No: XVIII. Vol. 203.
- Uzun, F., 1961. "Fikret Ne Demişti?" Tan Matbaası İstanbul.
- Vâ-Nû, 23.09.1958. "Ham Mahsuller" Havadis Gazetesi.
- Varlık, B., 1986. "Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet Dergileri" T.C.T.A. pp. 112-125.
- Yalçın, H., C., 24 Birinci Teşrin 1939. "Tevfik Fikret Meselesi" Yedigün No: 346, Vol. 14.
- Yetkin, C., 1984 (3rd ed.) Türk Halk Hareketleri ve Devrimleri Say Yayınevi İstanbul.
- Yetkin, S., K., 15 December 1967. "Doğumunun 100. Yıldönümünde Tevfik Fikret" Varlık.
- Yücel, H., A., 18 August 1957. "Tevfik Fikret Meselesi" Cumhuriyet.



APPENDIX

## YARIN

—Bugünün gençlerine—

Yarınlara senin; senin bu devrim, bu yenilik...  
Her şey senin değil mi zaten?.. Sen, ey gençlik,  
Ey umudun güzel yüzü, işte karşında aynan:  
Temiz ve bulutsuz, ağaran bir gök,  
Titreyen kucağını açmış, bekliyor... Koş, çabuk!  
Ey hayatın gülerek doğan sabahı, işte herkesin  
Gözleri sende; sen ki hayatın umudusun,  
Alnında yeni bir yıldız, hayır, bir güneş.  
Doğ ufuklara, önünde şu sıkıntılı geçmiş  
Sönsün sonsuza değin.

Bir daha yaşanmasın o cehennem; senin bugün  
Cennet kadar güzel yurdun var; şu gördüğün  
Zümrüt bakışlı, inci gülüşlü kızcağız  
Kimdir, bilir misin? Yurdun... Şimdi saygısız  
Bir göz bu nazlı yüze,—Tanrı esirgesin,—  
Kötü bir gözle baksa, katlanabilir misin?  
İster misin, şu ak sakalın temiz, görkemli,  
Onurlu alnına, bir kirlî el şöyle dursun,  
Hatta yabancı bir el uzansın? Şu mezarı  
Bırakır mısın, taşta tutsun bir serseri?  
Elbette hayır; o mezar, o onurlu alın  
Kutsal birer örneğidir yurdun... Yurt çalışan  
İnsanların omuzları üstünde yükselir.  
Gençler, yurdun bütün umudu şimdi sizdedir.  
Her şey sizin, yurt da sizin, şeref de sizin;  
Ama unutmayın ki zaman ağır, güvenli,  
Sessiz adımlarla arkamızdan gelir.  
Önden koşan, ama dikkatle her izi  
İncelemeye yol bulan bu şaşmaz izleyici  
Patlayıp utandırırsa bizi, yazık! Demin  
“Yarınlara senin” dedim, beni alkışladın; hayır,  
Bir şey senin değil, sana yarın emanettir.  
Her şey emanettir sana, sana ey genç, unutma:  
Senden de hesap sorar, yakını gelecek,  
Geçmişe şimdi sen ibretle bakıyorsun,  
Gelecek de senden böyle kuşkulananacak.  
Her organı ihtiyaç kasırgasıyla sarsılan

Bir kuşağın oğlusun, bunu arasira anımsa.  
Unutma; çağın şimşeklerin bolladığı çağdır:  
Her yıldırımında bir gece, bir gölge yıkılır,  
Bir yükseliş ufku açılır, yükselir yaşamak;  
Yükselmeyen düşer: ya ilerlemek, ya yıkılmak!

Yükselmeli, dokunmalı alnın göklere;  
Doymaz insan denilen kuş yükselmelere..  
Uğraş, didin, düşün, ara, bul, koş, atıl, bağır;  
Durmak zamanı geçti, çalışmak zamanıdır!

## YİNE HALÛK

Kara bir gece.. Kırık bir tekne altımda.  
Başımda çileli, lânetli bir yaşama.  
Verip küreklere hâlâ olanca gücümü  
Yetişmek istiyorum güvenli bir kıyıya.

Niçin, niçin?.. Buna birçok sebep düşündüm ben;  
Hayır, ne güçsüz, ne umutsuzum, ne de miskin;  
Bütün dertlerimin kaynakları sende toplanıyor,  
Sen, âh ey sarışın, zayıf yavrucak, hep sen.

## İNANMAK İHTİYACI

Bütün boşluk: Yer boş, gök boş, yürek ve vicdan boş;  
Tutunmak isterim, bir dal bile yok, tutunacak önümde,  
Bütün boşluk: Döner bir vahşi hiçlik yöremde;  
Döner beynimle birlikte; iradem sanki sarhoş,  
Ayağı sürçüp düşer her umut yolunda bir kere..  
Bu yalnızlık, bir gurbet ki benzer mezar yalnızlığına;  
İnanmak... İşte ruhsal bir kucak o gurbette.

Karanlık: Her yan, her şey karanlık, bir uzun gece!  
Karanlık: anlayışla biliş, usla anlam hep karanlık;  
Bütün ruhumda sıkı bir donmuşluk uyur,  
Yoğun, kalın bir görünüş sunar eşya,  
Gerçek görünmez algının gözünde bir parça.  
Kuruntulu bir karanlık ki mezarı andırır;  
İnanmak... İşte bir ışıklı ana yol o karanlıkta.



## SİS

Sarmış yine ufuklarını bir inatçı duman,  
Bir ak karanlıktır gittikçe artan.  
Baskısı altında silinmiş gibi cisimler,  
Biz tozlu yoğunluktan oluşmuş tüm resimler;  
Bir tozlu ve ürkünç yoğunluk ki bakışlar  
Dikkatle giremez derinliğine, korkar!  
Ama sana lââyık bu derin, karanlık örtü,  
Lâyık bu örtünme sana, ey zulümler mülkü!  
Ey zulümler alanı... Evet, ey parlak sahne,  
Ey faciayı bezeyen şatafatlı sahne!  
Ey şatafatın, gösterişin beşiği, mezarı;  
Doğunun eski, çekici kraliçesi;  
Ey kanlı sevgileri tiksiniş titremeden  
Zevke düşkün göğsünde besleyip büyüten;  
Marmara'nın mavi kucağı içinde  
Ölmüş gibi dalgın uyuyan canlı kitle;  
Ey köhne Bizans, ey koca bunak büyücü,  
Ey bin kocadan arta kalan el değmemiş dul,  
Güzelliğinde henüz tazeliğin büyüğü var,  
Hâlâ titrer üstüne gözleyen bakışlar.  
Dışardan, uzaktan açılan gözlere süzğün,  
Mavi gözlerinle ne şirin görünürsün!  
Şirin, ama en kirli kadınlar gibi:  
Dökülen gözyaşlarının duygusuz hepsine.  
Kurulurken daha, bir hainlik eli  
Yapına lânetin ağulu suyunu katmış sanki!  
Hep ikiyüzlülüğün kiri dalgalanır zerrelere,  
Bir parçacık temizlik bulamazsın içlerinde.  
Hep ikiyüzlülük, kıskançlık kiri, çıkarıcılık kiri;  
Yalnız bu... ve yalnız bunun yükselme umudu.  
Milyonla barındığırdığın cesetler arasından  
Kaç alın vardır çıkacak temiz ve parlak?  
Örtün, evet, ey facia... örtün, evet, ey kent;  
Örtün ve sonsuzca uyu, ey dünya orospusu!..  
Ey debdebeler, tantanalar, şanlar, alaylar;  
Katil kuleler, kaleli, zindanlı saraylar;  
Ey anıların sağlam mezarı, ulu tapınak;  
Ey kibirli sütunlar, bağlanmış birer dev gibi,

Geçmişleri geleceklere iletmekle görevli;  
Ey dişleri düşmüş, sırttan sur kafilesi;  
Ey kubbeler, ey şanlı dua, dilek yapıları;  
Ey doğruluğun sözlerini taşıyan minareler;  
Ey çatısı çökük medreseler, mahkemecikler;  
Ey servilerin kara gölgesinde birer yer  
Sağlayabilmiş binlerce sabırlı dilenci;  
“Geçmişlere rahmet!” yazılı mezar taşları;  
Ey türbeler, ey her biri gürültülü bir anıyı  
Uyandırarak sessiz soluksuz yatan atalar;  
Ey çamurlu tozun savaştığı eski sokaklar;  
Ey her açılan gediği bir olayı sayıklayan  
Yıkıntılar, ey it kopuğun pusuya yattığı yerler,  
Ey kapkara damlarıyla ayakta duran  
Birer yas simgesi gibi sessiz, yıkık evler;  
Ey her biri bir leyleğe, bir çaylağa yuva  
Olan kaygılı ocaklar ki acılarla somurtmuş,  
Yıllardan beri tütmek nedir... unutmuş,  
Ey aç midelerin insanı sıkıştıran ağusuyla  
Her alçaklığı yutan kurumuş ağızlar;  
Ey doğanın bağışıyla en hazır ve nimetli  
Bir yaradılışa kavuşmuşken aç, tembel ve kısır,  
Her nimet, her bağış, tüm kurtuluş yollarını  
Gökten dilenen, katlanıp alçalan... İkiyüzlü!  
Ey köpeklerin sesi, ey konuşma onuruna kavuşmuş  
İnsandaki şu nankörlüğü lânetleyen bağırsı;  
Ey yarasız gözyaşı, ey ağulu gülüş,  
Ey güçsüzlük ve acınma sözü, hınçlı bakış;  
Ey efsanelerin çukuruna düşen anı: namus;  
Ey yükselme kapısına çıkan yol: ayak öpme.  
Ey silahlanmış korku, kötülüğün yüzünden  
Öksüz, dul ağızların yakınması talihten;  
Ey kişiye dokunmayan ve özgürlüğe yakın  
Bir soluk alma hakkı veren yasa efsanesi;  
Ey boş vaat, ey sonu gelmeyen kuyruklu yalan,  
Ey mahkemelerden durmadan sürülen hak;  
Ey kurun ve kuşkuyla duygusunu yitiren,  
Vicdanlara kadar uzanan meraklı kulak;  
Ey dilenme korkusuyla kilitlenmiş ağızlar,  
Ey tiksiniyen, aşağılanan ulusal çabalar;

Ey kılıç ve kalem, ey iki siyasal mahkûm;  
Ey erdem ve utancın payı, ey unutulmuş yüz;  
Ey korku yüküyle iki büklüm gezmeye alışmış  
Kodamanlarla kuyrukları, koca, ünlü toplum;  
Ey önüne eğilmiş baş, alnı pak, ama iğrenç;  
Ey taze kadın, ey onun ardından koşan genç;  
Ey ayrılık acısı çeken ana, ey küskün eşler,  
Ey kimsesiz, Başboş çocuklar... Hele sizler,  
Hele sizler...  
Örtün, evet, ey facia... Örtün, evet ey kent;  
Örtün ve sonsuzca uyu, ey dünya orospusu!..

### ESKİ ÇAĞ TARİHİ

İnsanın eski serüveninden  
Bize efsaneler söyleyen;  
Ölmüş atalarımızın, geçmişin  
Boşluğunda bir kara ve uzun  
Gece oluşturan hayatından  
ninniler uydurup bizi uyutan;  
Bize en doğru, en güzel örnek  
Diye geçmiş zamanı göstererek  
Gelecek günlerin geçen geceden  
Ayrımı yok, önemi yok sanısı veren;  
Ve alnında altı bin yıllık  
Buruşukluklarla kuşuklar karışık;  
Başı geçmişe, yani düşe,  
Ayağı gelecek denen belirsizliğe  
Uzanan kurumuş iskelet... Onu bazan  
Durdurup karşımda, tiksinden,  
Sorarım eski anlarımdan;  
O biraz filozof, biraz sırtlan  
Ve bütün kabalığıyla bir hortlak,  
Mezarın unutulmuş gecesini yoklayarak  
Boğuk, paslı bir söyleyişle  
Başlar bana birer birer iletmeye  
Çağların süregelen olaylarını:  
Hep yıkım, hep acı yığınları!  
Şanlı bir ordu geçtiği zaman,  
Yürüdüğü yolu hep kan saçan

Bir bulutun gölgesi örter. Mutlak  
Başta, en başta kanlı bir bayrak,  
Onu kanlı bir taç izler,  
Sonra yakıp yıkan kanlı araçlar:  
Mızrak, yay, kılıç, topuz, balta,  
Mancınık, top sapan, tüfek... Arada  
Kanlı komutanlarıyla savaşçılar;  
Kanlı artık alay alay tutsaklar...  
Kesenkes bir yenen, on yenilen;  
Çiğneyen haklıdır, ayıplanır çiğnenen;  
Ezmeye alkış, gurura tapış; cömertlikle  
Güçsüzlük ve alçaklık; hep eş değerde.  
Doğruluk gönülde yok, dudaklarda.  
İyilik ayaklarda, kötülük kucaklarda.  
Bir gerçek: zincir gerçeği;  
Bir açık söz: kılıcın söylediği;  
Hak gücünün, söz kötünün;  
En açık özdeyiş: ezmeyen ezilir;  
Her şeref yapma, her mutluluk piç;  
Her şeyin başlangıcı, sonu hiç;  
Din şehit ister, gökyüzü kurban,  
Her zaman, her yerde kan, kan, kan!..  
Söyler, inler, sayıklar; kısaca,  
Anlatır insanın nasıl, ne yolda,  
Bu yanlış hayatı sürdüğünü;  
Görürüm kanların köpürdüğünü  
O iskeletin o dişlek ağzında.  
Sesinin titreyen derinliğinde  
Öyle korkunç bir iniltinin yankısını  
İşitir, öyle bir titrerim ki  
Sanırım, yer de lânetle titrer...  
İndir, ey savaş mahşeri, indir  
Artık dram sahnesine perdelerini,  
Söndür bu ateşli geçimsizliği;  
Hele sen, ey gelenekçi iskelet,  
Yetişir çizdiğin kara çizgiler.  
Biz sabah isteriz, sabah; o uzun  
Geceler uyuyana hayırlı olsun.  
Kimsin sen, ey gölge, yıkım sarhoşu,  
Koşuyorsun karanlığa doğru?

Kanlı bir şeyle oynamış gibisin;  
Belli, soydaşlarını yok edensin.  
Kahramanlık... Temeli kan, vahşet;  
Ülkeleri çiğne, orduları yok et;  
Kes, kopar, kır, sürükle, ez, yak, yık;  
Ne "Aman!" bile, ne "Ah!" işit, ne "Yazık!";  
Geçtiğin yer ölüm, acı dolsun;  
Ne ekinden eser, ne ot, ne yosun;  
Sönsün evler, sürünsün aileler;  
Kalmasın hırpalanmadık bir yer;  
Her ocak benzesin mezar taşına;  
Damlar insin yetimlerin başına  
Bu ne vicdansız kötülük, ne utanç;  
Ey başbuğ saldırınla yere geç!  
Her zafer bir yıkıntı, mezar her yan,  
Ey cihangir şu mezarlıktan utan!  
Devril, ey köhne bağımsızlık tahtı!  
Zulmünle inletirsin kuşakları;  
Parçalan, ey ışığı sönen taç,  
Şu bir yığın aşağılık ihtiyaç  
Hep senin, işte hep senin eserin;  
Gözyaşından yapılma incilerin  
Görsen artık, nasıl yosunlanmış...  
Size geçmiş ne duyguyla aldanmış  
Bilsem? Ey kanla beslenen kargalar,  
Sizinle doludur bütün karanlıklar;  
Yeter artık düşünceyi ezdiğiniz,  
Pek güzel yaşanır zorbalıksız.  
Sizi tarih korur, haydi gidin,  
– Gece sırdaşdır eşkiyanın,–  
Ve o çürüyüp yok oluş mahzeninde  
Boğulun... İşte en güzel müjde  
Gelecek çağlar için bu tasarıdır,  
İşte gerçek özgürlük budur:  
Ne savaşçı, ne savaş, ne istilâ,  
Ne sataşma, ne sultanlık, ne eşkiya,  
Ne zulüm, ne baskı, ne yakınma,  
ben benim, sen de sen: ne kul, ne ağa!  
O zaman, ey takırdayan iskelet, senin  
Şimdi "devrim, sefer, savaş, andlaşma"

Diye sayıp döktüklerini kimse bilmeyecek,  
Hepsi birer tuhaflık ya da cin hikâyesi olacak.  
Yırtılacak, ey köhne kitap, yarın  
Düşünceye mezar olan sayfaların.  
Fakat bunu kimden bekleyelim?  
Bu büyük yaratma devrimini kim,  
Hangi güç gönülden üstlenecek?  
Evrenin sahibi mi?.. Evet, gerçek,  
Evrenin sahibi olan o acımasız,  
O yanına yaklaşılmaz suskun yüz;  
Ama kaynağı da o, hep bu kavgaların...  
Ey gök, yüzyıllardır akan sellerin  
-Şimdi sarhoşça bir istek şarkısı,  
Şimdi zindana tıklan bir kuru ses,  
Şimdi yanık ya da oynak bir nakarat,  
Bir geniş "Oooh!", bir derin "Heyhat!",  
Bir dua, bir kaside, şimdi uysal,  
Şimdi dikkafalı titrek bir yel,  
Şimdi zavalıca bir yakınma,  
Şimdi sabırsızca bir paylama,  
Şimdi bir titreme, bir çan sesi,  
Şimdi savaş davullarının gürültüsü,  
Şimdi güçsüzlüğün sessiz ağlayışı,  
Şimdi zorbalığın teşekkür kişnemesi,  
Şimdi özlü ve düzgün bir konuşma,  
Şimdi utangaç, hasta bir yalvarma,  
Şimdi bir kahkaha, bir hafakan,  
Şimdi korkunç bir çığlık olan-  
Çarpışmaların gürültüleriyle  
İnleyen boş kubbe! Söyle,  
Söyle, sen ki her sesi yansıtırsın,  
Şu hayhuy içinde hangi sesin  
-Üstünde yükselme buyruğu bulunan-  
Yankısı, Tanrı katına ulaşmayı  
Başarmış- Ve söyle, kimin duası  
Kabul olunmuş?.. Ey göğün Tanrısı!  
Seni dinin ulularından  
Dinledim: "Eşsiz ve eksiksizdir,  
Ölümsüz yaşar, güçlü ve yücedir,  
Azığı dağıtır, dilekleri gerçekleştirir,

Yok eder, öç alır, her şeyi bilir, öğrenir,  
Gizli açık her şeyi görüp duyar,  
Düşkünlere el uzatır, yardıma koşar,  
Kendisi her yerde bulunur ve görür..."  
Diye anlatıyorlar seni. En parlak  
Sıfatın "ortaksız" iken, bak,  
Şu bataklıkta kaç ortağın var:  
Hepsi ortada, güçlü, yakıp yıkar,  
Hepsinin "ortaksızlık" sıfatı,  
Hepsinin buyruğu, yasağı, saltanatı,  
Hepsinin esin kaynağı gökleri,  
Hepsinin ayı, yıldığı, güneşi,  
Hepsinin tapılan bir gizliliği,  
Hepsinin söz verilen bir cenneti,  
Hepsinin bir var, bir yok edişi,  
Hepsinin bir saygıdeğer peygamberi,  
Hepsinin cennetinde güzel kızlar,  
Hepsinin cehennem lokması: insanlar;  
Hepsi halkından istiyor ezilmeyi,  
İki büklüm sabırla boyun eymeyi...  
Ben ki hepsinden kuşku duyarım,  
Kime sorsam, diyor ki: "Bilmiyorum."  
Kimbilir, belki kuruntu hepsi,  
Belki aldanmak yaşamanın gereği;  
Kim bilir, belki hepsi doğru da, ben  
Habersiz duygumun yanılmasından,  
Varı yok bilmek istedim, yoku var.  
Kuşku... İşte kabahatım! Ne çıkar?  
Kuşku bir ışığı doğru koşturur,  
Hakkı aydınlatmak akıl için haktır.  
Kim bilir, belki vardır bir yokluk,  
Belki ötedünyada da var; ama bu varlık  
Ürünü olmakla o ölümsüz yaratıcının,  
Niye tutsağı olsun bin bir sıkıntının?  
Hem niçin yoktan var eyleyerek  
Sonra yok oluşa yok vermek?  
Kim bilir, belki aslımız toprak;  
Onu acı çeken bir çamur yapmak  
-Dokuları hep kanla, yaşla dolu-  
Hangi hain rastlantının işi bu?



Bunu bir Yaratıcı yapmaz,  
Yaratan yok eder, ama yıkmaz.  
İşte en zorlu düşmanın, ey Yaradan,  
Seni yüce gök katında boğan;  
Bize eskiden ağulu hıncından  
Verdiğin yudumdur, odur bu yılan.  
Bu düşmanı elbet tanıyacaksın:  
Kuşku... En zalim, en güçlü düşman;  
Bizi ayartarak başımıza sardığın,  
Yahut bilmeden yanılttığın.  
Bugün o -hile, şeytanlık, aldatma-  
Seni ülkenden atıyor dışarıya;  
Üflüyor tapınağında meşaleni,  
Kırıyor elleriyle heykelini;  
Ve, bütün gücünle sen, inmeli gibi,  
Düşüyorsun... Ne burçların yok oluyor,  
Ne yıldırımlar, ne rüzgâr kükrüyor,  
Ne cehennemlerinde bir kaynama,  
Ne gözlerin yasının farkında,  
Ne kulaklarda acı bir çınlama...  
Kopsa bir parçacık bir gövdeden  
Bir sızlanma duyulur; oysa sen  
Göçüyorsun da yerinle ve göğünle  
Yok doğada bir inilti bile.  
Tersine, her yanda kahkahalar;  
Yalana yalnız ikiyüzlülükle ahmaklık ağlar..  
-28 Nisan 1905-

### SABAH OLURSA...

Bu ülkede de bir gün sabah olursa, Halûk,  
Eğer bu ülkenin sislenen şu alinyazısı  
Güçlü bir elin, güçlü ve canlandırıcı  
Bir dokunuşun titreyişiyle silkinip şu donuk,  
Şu paslı yüzü ulusun biraz gülerse... -Ogün  
Ben ölmemiş bile olsam, hayatla pek ölgün  
Bir bağlantım olur kuşkusuz;- o gün benden  
Umudu kes, beni kötürüm ve boş çevremde  
Acılarımla unut; çünkü aksak ve solgun  
Bakışlarım seni çekmek ister geçmişe;

Sen tüm kişiliğin ve vücudunla gelecek'sin:  
Şarkı söylüyor hâlâ kulaklarımda sesin!

Evet sabah olacaktır, sabah olur, geceler  
Kıyamete kadar sürmez, sonunda bu gök,  
Bu mavi gök size bir gün acır; üzülme.  
Sevinç güneşidir hayatın; insan sıkıntı içinde  
Çürür bizim gibi... Siz, ey yarınki uzayın  
Küçük güneşleri, artık birer birer uyanın!  
Ufukların sonsuza dek özlemi var ışığa.  
Aydınlanma... Yüzyılımızın işte umutlarının özü;  
Silin bulutları, silkin korkuların gölgelerini,  
Işık içinde koşun kutlanası bir kurtuluşa.  
Umudumuz bu: ölürsek biz, yaşar mutlak  
Yurt sizinle şu zindan karanlığından uzak!  
-21 Eylül 1905-

## GEÇMİŞ... GELECEK

Geçmiş... O şimdi bir gölge iken şimdi yaşayan  
Bir varlık... O şimdi ölen, şimdi canlanan  
Varlık. Evet, o dalga, o anılar burgacı  
İnsan için nedir?.. Evet, insan ki doğmadan  
Ölmekle uğraşır ve bu yazığı katlanır,  
Ama geçmişte belirip kalabilir mi? Hayır.

Ölmek hayatı yenilemektir: biz ölmek  
Düşünceler ölür; hayat düşünen kişinin  
Gelişiminin tümüdür... Her düşünce ortak  
Bir sarsıntıdır; onunla kımıldar bu varlığın  
Sonsuz parçacıkları, uyuyan parçacıkları.  
Sözün kıyası, düşüncedir düzenleyen dünyayı.  
Geçmişte doğmak, hep orda kalmak elde olsa,  
Gelecek nasıl tasarlanır?.. Zekâyı körelten  
Bir durgunluğun usancıyla boğuk, sessiz.  
Ancak ot gibi biten, ancak pinekleyen,  
Silik ve sönük, bunamış, hırıldayan  
Bir varlık... İşte geçmişten arda kalan yüz.

Geçmiş, o bir öğretmen, o bir baba, bir pir,  
Şimdinin tutup büyülü elinden, ağır, sabırlı,

Geleceğe doğru gütmeli... Gelecek, o şafak dolu  
Bir örtülü ufuktur, bolluğun ışık beşiğidir.  
Düşüncelerin yükselip uçtuğu gök bilinmeli;  
Gelecek çıkınca ortaya geçmiş silinmeli!  
-31 Aralık 1906-

### BİR ANLIK GECİKME

Bir vuruş... Bir duman... Ve bütün şenlik alayıyla  
Aşağılık bir seyirci topluluğu, kudurmuş, kaba  
Tırnaklarıyla bir zorlu elin didik didik edildi,  
Gök boşluğuna bacak, kelle, kan, kemik yükseldi!..

Ey kutlanan vuruş, ey oç alan duman,  
Kimsin? Nesin?.. Bu saldırıya sebep ne, kim?..  
Arkanda binlerce meraklı göz var ve sen yoksun,  
Görünmeyen bir kurtarıcı eli andırıyorsun.  
Kinin gürleyen, o öfkesi var sesinde,  
Uyaran hak ve kurtuluş duygusunu her yerde.

### ULUS ŞARKISI

Çiğnendi, yeter, varlığımız bilmezlik ve zorbalıkla;  
Doğrandı kutsal yurdumuzun bağıri sebepsiz.  
Birlikte bugün bulmalıyız bir çözüm hastalığına  
Can kardeşi, kan kardeşi, şan kardeşiyiz biz.

Ulus yoludur, hak yoludur tuttuğumuz yol;  
Ey hak yaşa, ey sevgili ulus yaşa... Var ol!

Gel kardeşim, annen seni ister: ona koşmak...  
Koşmak ona, kurtarmak görevin o bahtsız.  
Karşında göğüs bağıri açık, ölgün, yatıyor bak;  
Onsuz yaşamaktansa, birlikte ölmeli daha iyi!

O güzel göğsü hançerliyor eller her gün;  
Yardıma koşmazsak eğer, yıkımı kesin.

Zulmün topu var, güllesi var, kalesi varsa,  
Hakkın da bükülmez kolu, dönmez yüzü vardır;  
Göz yumma güneşten, ne kadar ışığı kararsa  
Sönmez sonsuza dek, her gecenin gündüzü vardır.

Ulus yoludur, hak yoludur tuttuğumuz yol;  
Ey hak yaşa, ey sevgili ulus yaşa... Var ol!

Eskiden baban kimseye minnet mi ederdi?  
Yok, kalmadı asla alçaklık sana babandan.  
Dünyada onurdur yaşatan ulusu, kişiyi;  
Silkin, şu alçalışın tozu uçsun üstünden.

İnsanlığı çiğneyen alçaklığı yık, ez;  
Doğrusu, yaşamak yerde sürüklenmeye değmez.

Haksızlığın türlüünü gördük... Bu mu yasa?  
En acı yoksulluklara düştük... Bu mu devlet?  
Yeter olsun artık bu devlete de, yasalara da;  
Artık yeter olsun bu alçak zulüm ve cehalet...

Ulus yoludur, hak yoludur tuttuğumuz yol;  
Ey hak yaşa, ey sevgili ulus yaşa... Var ol!  
-Kayalar, 8 Temmuz 1908-

## GERİ ALIŞ

Hayır, hayır, sana dönük değil bu lânetler,  
bütün bu kınama ve sızlanmalar, bu üzülmeler,  
Ulusun hayatını acıya boğan, aşağılayan,  
Çamurlayan ne kadar pislik varsa hep birden  
Kucaklamış ve taşımış bir çevrenindi;  
O kötülük gecesinden uzaktayız şimdi.  
Karıştı o belâ gecesini unutmuş gecelere,  
Açıldı gözlerimiz pırl pırl bir sabaha.  
Sen, ey yenilik çevresi, o uğursuz gecenin  
İlgisi yok seninle; şerefisin sen, yücesin.  
Yüzünde ne sis, ne alçalma; tersine, kivanç ve onur,  
Doğan güneş gibi temiz bir saçılma var.  
Ufukların bütün bakışları sende, şaşkın;  
Uygarlık, barış, doğruluk bugün senin,  
Adalet isteyen, haklıyı gösteren sesinle,  
Bugün senin davranışın ya da durgunluğunla  
Geleceğin esenliği belirlenecektir;  
Düşüncen sağlıklı olursa durum düzeldir!

Güzel düşün, iyi duy, sakın yanılma, aldanma;  
Ne varsa doğrudadır, doğruluk şaşar sanma.  
Koş birleşmeye, çalışmaya, mutluluğa, yükselmeye;  
Ama unutma: yol ancak yürüyüşteki düzenle  
Yakınlaşır, kısalır... Doğru at adımlarını;  
Düşün; bugünkü adımlar hazırlıyor yarını!  
Ve siz, ey ordumuzun anlı şanlı erleri,  
Siz ey güzel yurdun seçme oğulları,  
Siz ey açık alınlı, temiz vicdanlı,  
Siz ey yiğit, arslan yürekli insanlar!  
İçimde ne duygular, ne dilekler şimdi,  
Ne sevinçler coşuyor, bilseniz; ne etkili  
Ezgiler coşuyor.. bunların aşağı ve üstü  
Anlamı, şiiri, esinleri, özü, sözü, sizin;  
Sizin, ne varsa sizin; hepsi, hepsi, hepsi sizin!  
-24 Temmuz 1908-

Prens Faruk'a  
**HALÛKUN GİDİŞİ**  
-Sirkeci, 16 Eylül 1909-

Sen trende, ben vapurda ağırbaşlı  
Atılırken- sen İskoç ellerinin  
Sisli, yağmurlu, buzlu, karlı  
Ama iş ve uğraş, onur ve özgürlük  
Dolu uyarlaşmış köşelerine;  
bense nazlı Boğaziçi'nin köhne,  
Eski, uçarı, ilgisiz, bezgin,  
Belki cennet kadar taze,  
Fakat yorgun ve usanmış,  
Bir kıyısında sapmış, aldanmış  
Bir hayatın ıssız döşegine,-  
Ne düşündüm, bilir misin? Şu ana,  
Şu cömert toprak, en sonunda... yazık,  
Bunu benden mi duymalıydın!.. Sıska  
Ve bakımsız yıkılıp gidecek.

Acı şeyler, Halûk, ama gerçek!

Hani bir gün seninle Topkapı'dan  
Geliyorduk; yol üstünde bir alan,

Bir çınar gördük: enli boylu, ağırbaşlı  
Bir ağaç; hiç eğilmesi, dikbaşlı  
Koca bir gövde; belki altı yüzyıldır,  
Belki daha da çok, dalgın, ağır,  
Kaygısızca yaşayıp gelmiş;  
Öyle serpilmiş, öyle yükselmiş  
Ki çevresinde kubbeler, damlar  
-Sanki yakarmak için secdeye yatmışlar-  
Onu korkuyla gözler gibidir.  
Duyulan hep onun hikâyesidir,  
Görülen hep odur uzaklardan;  
Fakat göklere başını uzatan  
Bu görkemli gövde çırılçıplak,  
Ne yeşil bir filiz, ne bir yaprak...  
Kuruyor; âh, pek yazık! Şu derin  
Yara böğründe belki bir hain  
Baltanın, öfkeli bir yıldırımın  
Ağusudur... Söyle, ey çınar, bağrın  
Hangi ateşle yandı? Hangi kara  
Kurt içinden kemirdi? Bitkin, hasta,  
Seni kim şimdi bağlayıp saracak?  
Kim iyileştirip de kurtaracak?  
Şu başında dönen kargalar mı,  
Söyle, seni zehirleyen bunlar mı?

Söyle, ey acı çeken yurt, bildir:  
Çektiğin hangi kanlı çiledir?..  
Bu geçiş işte böyle dar, eğri;  
Ey sevinçli yolcu, sen geç, yürü.  
Sen bu konakta kalma, sıçra, atıl,  
Bir ışık kervanı bul ve katıl.  
Gez, dolaş, gör düşüncelerin evrenini,  
-Her zaman yukarı, her zaman ileri!-  
Can atarak, güçten ve yaşamaktan  
Ne bulursan al, bırakma: bilim, sanat.  
Güven, özen, yüreklilik, umut,  
Hepsi gerekli bu yurda, hepsi yararlı...

Bize bol bol ışık kucakla, getir:  
Düşmek çevreyi görmemektendir.

Hoşça kal, ey sevimli yolcu! Gecen,  
Gündüzün her zaman yüzün gibi şen,  
Temiz ruhun kadar güleç olsun;  
Geçtiğin yer çiçek, çimen dolsun...  
Hoşça kal, ey onurlu yolcu! Hayat  
Bir karış yol; ama olaylar, yokuşlar,  
Onu her gün biraz büker, uzatır...  
Ey sevinçli yolcu, gün kısadır,  
Gece arasıra korkunç olur; fakat  
Sen yürekli, çalışkan ol. En sessiz  
Yolculuk uykudur. Büyük kuşlar  
Yenecek dalga değil kasırga arar.  
İşte bir yol ki hep çakıl ve diken;  
Geçeceksin yarın bu yoldan sen...  
Geçeceksin, ayakların yorgun,  
Ellerin yaralı, bağrında kan,  
Fakat alnın açık, güleç yüzün,  
Gözlerin ufka bilim ve ışık akıtan  
Bir görüntüye bağlı, büyüdü...  
Sen koşarsın, o parlak görüntü  
Yaklaşırken uzaklaşır; çılgın  
Bir atılışla sen kucaklaşırsın;  
O kaçar; susamış, kolların açık,  
Atılırsın; o tâ uzakta, ürkek,  
Bir dikenlikte gizlenip güler;  
Sen koşarsın, kırık, ezik, dargın.  
Ellerin yaralı, bağrında kan;  
Büsbütün susamış, büsbütün yorgun.  
Sen yoruldukça yol uzar, artar;  
Çalı dişler, taş ağrıtır, yırtar;  
Çırpınır her dikende bir parçan...  
Yine sen, istekle dolu, önünde uçan  
O havadan hayali kapmak için  
Atılır, yırtılır ve inlersin  
Varsın uçsun, bugün değilse yarın  
O senindir, üzgün olma sakın.

Koşan varır elbet; düşen kalkar;  
Kara taştan su damla damla akar,  
Birikir, sonra bir gümüş göl olur;  
Arayan hakkı en sonunda bulur...



Bunu saygıyla dinle: Geçmişin  
Bu derin seslerinde, bil ki, senin  
Tüm o sessiz geleceğin yaşıyor.  
Oku hep evrenin yazgısını, sor  
Bütün gizlerini en seçkininden.  
Sana, bak, cinsinin sürmesinden  
Söz ederken insan ne anlatacak:  
Yaşamak hak, yaşatmak... o da hak.

İnsanoğlu bıkmamış gerçekten  
Ne ezilmekten, ne hakkı ezmekten.  
Duymamış hiç bu işte yorgunluk;  
Bir yakınma, hemen tokat, yumruk.  
Yumruk elvermemiş, topuz vurmuş;  
"Hak!" diyen ağzı taşla susturmuş.  
O da yetmemiş, bugün karalar  
Ve denizler ağulu kumbaralar,  
bombalar, güllelerle dopdolu.  
Biraz güçsüz müsün, düşkün müsün,  
Al bir tokat, bir topuz ya da gülle;  
İşte hakkın... Fakat iyi belle:  
Sen de bir gün, olur ya, dünya bu,  
İstersen kendinden güçsüz biriyle  
Aynı dilden konuşabilirsin;  
Sen de en gür söyleşinle sesin  
Çıktığı, yettiği kadar gürler  
Ve yakarsın... Gök de şimşekler,  
Yıldırımlarla aynı dersi verir:  
Bütün evren kuvvetin esiridir.

Akıllar buna yatmaz, elbet  
Haktadır, haktır en büyük kuvvet.  
Dün sönük titreyen bir kuşku yarın  
Gösterişli bir gerçek... Ey yarının  
Devrim ordusunda çarpışacak  
Kahraman, öğren işte: Kuvvet=hak!  
Ve bu ilke elinde, hiç korkmadan  
Yürü, dünyayı ele geçirir bu sancak.  
Düne bir kez bak düşen, kalkan,  
Kanıtında hep haklı; hakkı yakan

Bir alev, haktan alınma yine;  
Hakka baş kestiren kılıçta bile  
Parlayan hak... Fakat senin kılıcın  
Ya hakka sıyrılmasın ya da çarpılsın!

Beklerim bir zafer aslında ben  
Kılıcından çok yüreğinden.

Ey Bizans'ın çürük ve düşük  
Kollarından -yükselmeyi özleyerek-  
Sıyrılan yolcu, hiç arkana bakma,  
Bir an bile heyecan vermesin sana  
Onun ahlâkı solduran bakışı.  
-Her zaman önde, her zaman yukarı!-  
İşte buyruğu gidiş ve uçuşun.  
Uç git, göklerinde yapıp şaşırtmanın  
bütün parlak katlarında dolaş;  
Yeri geç, göğü atla, Sidre'yi aş,  
Gör ne var ötelerde ibret olan,  
Yücelten, yüreklendiren, kurtaran...

Topla, fırlat ne varsa, taş, iğne,  
Şu çevrenin uyusuk tepesine.  
O belki biraz canlanır ve senin  
Sıkıntın, çalışman ve erdem için  
Koyar elbet yurt, bu hasta ana,  
Bir sıcak öpücük terli alınına!...

## PROMETE

Yüreğinde her dakika şu yüce özlemin  
Ateşten gagasını duy, durmadan düşün:  
Onlar niçin gökte, ben niçin çukurdayım?  
Gülsün niçin herkes bana, ben yalnız ağlayım?  
Yükselmek göklere ve gülmek ne tatlı şey!  
Bir gün şu hastalıklı yurt canlanırsa... Ey  
Işıkla ilerleyişi özleyen ulusun geleceğinin  
bilinmeyen elektrikçisi, dünyasından düşüncenin  
Yüklen getir-ne varsa-biraz miskinliği gideren,  
Bir parça ruhu, benliği, anlayışı besleyen,

Vücutu canlandıran yemişleri; boş durmasın elin.  
Gör her zaman önünde ilkçağ efsanelerinin  
Gökten ateşin dehasını çalan kahramanını...

Varsın bulunmasın bilecek adını sanını.

## GÖKTEN YERE

Birden dünyanın bütün gürültüsü kesildi,  
Büyük bir ses yükseldi; yeri bilinmeyen  
Bu tantanalı sesin yankısıyla en gizli  
Duygu tellerine kadar üzgün ve şen,  
Görünen ve görünmeyen  
Her şey derin derin  
Sarsıldı bir dakika... Gök temiz, mücevher  
Lambalarıyla sonsuz ve uçsuz bucaksız  
Bir tapınak görkemine bürünmüş, sayısız  
Gözlerle küçük yeryuvarlağına bakıyor, yer  
-Titrek adımları, çolak kollarıyla bazı  
Kuruntuya, bazı umuda koşan, kırılan  
İsteklerinin sıcak yıkıntılarında geri kalanı  
Yeni açılmış bir umut gibi sevinçle kucaklayan  
Bu şaşkın ve inleyen konukların tehlikeli  
Bir kargaşa karşısındaki düşkün halini  
Yansıtan bir alçalışla yalvarırcasına,  
Afallamış-bekliyordu...  
Bir kükreymişti sanki, taşkın ve öd koparan  
Bir öfkenin titreyen yansımasıydı; sürekli  
Artarak kızgınlığı, serpildi ansızın.  
Başlar eğildi, fırtına dindi; yüreği toprağın  
Durmuş gibiydi; boşlukta kırık bir kanat sesi  
Son kartalın düşmesi, bir insan iniltisi,  
Birkaç boğuk fısıltı, büyük bir sessizlik...

Yalnız o söylüyordu, gökten gelen haberlerin  
Her zamanki bildirimine özgü, yüceliğe yakın,  
Sössüz bir deyişle:

"Ey ölümsüz Yaratan,  
Ölümlü insan yolunda çok önceden kurmuş

Bir kurtuluş tepesi. Őu göklere fırlamıő  
Gururlu ve görkemli kuleler sence pek yüce,  
Pek Őanlı, pek kutlu eserlerdir. Eskiden  
Yaratılıőın beőiőinde henüz yerde sürünen  
Pek zayıfken de sen kurumla yine böyle  
Göklere tırmanırdın: Ok attın, kanat, balon,  
Her araçla uçmaya uğraőtın; iőte son  
İőlerin de gösteriyor: Amacın yükselme,  
Her an yükselme ve yenileőme. Zaman zaman  
Düőtün; ne baő, ne kol, ne kanat kaldı; birden  
Bir kanat çırpıőıyla bir atılıő, bir daha,  
Yükseldi alnım yine yüce bulutlara.  
Ölümlü ve çok güçsüz oluőunla kapkaranlık  
Kuőku gecesinin içinden sakat, sönük  
Birkaç ıőını kılavuz tutup varlıőın gizini  
Anlamaya yol bulan bakıőın her gerçeėi  
Bir gün açıkça görecektir. Artık  
Kılavuzsuz yolunda gidebilirsin. Yeter, madem  
Gökler dehanı yüzyıllardır sınıadı.  
Her gün baőında yıldırım, altında deprem,  
Kınandın, yakınarak yaőadın; hep tasa, acı;  
Kandır hayat tarihinin bütün sayfaları!  
Deneyim ve zekânla artık egemensin belâlara.  
Ezdin baőınla taőları, yendin denizleri;  
Tuttun elinle Őimőeėi, o gürleyen canavarı,  
Tuttun ve baėladın; o Őimdi senin en uslu,  
En canlı aletin; odur hep can veren  
Senin gücünle bütün varlıklara;  
Kuőkusuz, kendi baőına güzel bir evrensin,  
Olaylar ve güzellikler evrenisin... ey hayat,  
Ey ruhu evrenin  
Kutsayın: İnsan  
Kutsanmayı hak etmiőtir; odur tanrısı iyiliőin,  
Kötülüėün,  
Tanrısı olanakların!"

Aőıyan 3 Ocak 1910

## HALÛK'UN İNANCI

Bir yaratıcı güç var, yüce ve temiz,  
Kutsal ve yüksek, ona vicdanla inandım,

Yeryüzü yurdum, insan soyu ulusum... İnsan  
Ancak insan olur bunu anlamakla; inandım.

Şeytanda biziz, cin de, ne şeytan, ne melek var;  
Dünya dönecek cennette insanla, inandım.

Yaradılıştta evrimin başı yok; bu olgunlaşmaya  
Ben tevrat ile, İncil ile, Kur'an ile inandım.

İnsan oğulları birbirinin kardeşi... Hayal bu!  
Olsun, ben o hayale de bin canla inandım.

İnsan eti yenmez; bu avuntuya içimden  
Bir an için atalarımı unutmakla inandım.

Kan şiddeti, şiddet kanı besler; bu düşmanlık  
Kan ateşidir, hiç sönmeyecek kanla, inandım.

Elbet şu mezar hayatını aydınlık bir kıyamet  
İzleyecektir, buna tam inançla inandım.

Boş inanç yerin dibine geçecek, yok olacak,  
Aklın, o ulu büyücünün hüneriyle, inandım.

Karanlık sönecek, parlayacak hakkın ışığı  
Birden, bir yanardağ patlayışıyla, inandım.  
Kollar ve boyunlar çözülp bağlanacak hep  
Yumruklar, o şangırdayan zincirle, inandım.

Bir gün yapacak teknik şu kara toprağı altın,  
Her şey olacak bilim gücüyle... inandım.

## DOKSAN BEŞE DOĞRU

Bir uğursuz dönem; yine çiğnendi andlar;  
Çiğnendi, yazık, ulusun yüksek umudu!  
Yasa diye topraklara sürüldü alınlar;  
Yasa diye, yasa diye, yasa tepelendi...  
Boşuna çığlıklar yine, boşuna bu inilti!

Yazık! Otuz üç yıl o ağulu ağlayışlarla,  
Kayıpları, bunalımları, korkuları, usançları,  
Dilekleri, yıkımları, barışı ve zaferiyle  
Bir sel gibi akmış, boyun eğip boşu boşuna...  
Yazsın bunu tarih ibretli altın kalemiyle!

Ey bir düş gibi geçmiş kapkara günler,  
O cehennem akışınızı bir an yineleyin de,  
Dönsün bize geçmiş, o derin, küskün gözler...  
Yazık! Otuz üç yıl, otuz üç yıl tüm üzüntüler,  
Yazık! ne bir ders öğretmiş, ne bir düşünce!

Oysa hiç silmez tarih bir kez yazdıklarını;  
Doksan beşi aç: gölgesi açgözlü bir tacın  
Saklar telâşlı, çekingen, inatçı, saklar  
Karanlık tavırlarını bir uğursuz baykuşun;  
Hâlâ o kuruntular, o düzenler, o fesatlıklar!

Hâlâ o gecenin süregelen karanlığı,  
Hâlâ o bilgisizlik, herkesi bilgisiz görme,  
Hâlâ o bir yığın üzüntü yurdun payı,  
Hâlâ düşünen başları hep tokatla tepeleme,  
Hâlâ sırttan dişlere bir nimet lokması!

Hâlâ yan tutma, kayırma, soy sop sayma,  
Hâlâ "Bu senindir, bu benim!" üleşimi geçerli,  
Hâlâ gerçekle yurtseverlik öfke altında...  
Hep dünkü bayat şarkı, saygısızca, sürekli,  
Ama son sözü: Sevgili ulus çok yaşa!

Ulus yaşamaz, hakka özlemle solurken,  
Sussun diye vicdanına yumruklar inerse;

Ulus yaşamaz, yüce meclisi aşağılanırken,  
Aldatıp korkutmayla titrer ve sinerse;  
Ulus yaşamaz, onun topluluğu boğulurken!

Yasa diyoruz; nerde o tapılası düşsel varlık?  
Düşman diyoruz; nerde bu? Dışta mı, biz mi?  
Özgürlüğümüz var diyoruz, şanlı, yüksek;  
Yasa mı bize düşman, yoksa özgürlük mü?  
Saldırıp önce bunları biz yok ettik.

Zorbalığın ateşli bir atışıyla değiştik  
Özgürlüğü kişiliğe ve yasayı gurura  
Yazık! Otuz üç yıl geri düştük; bu tehlikeli  
Yoldan geçmeye böyle pişmanca, dalgınca,  
Kuşku yok, o delilik nöbeti kışkırttı bizi.

Ey ulusa bir şamar gibi inen çirkin vuruş!  
Ey yasaya saygıyı çiğneyen zalimin tekmesi!  
Ulusunu seven, yasayı kutsal sayan her  
Vicdan hor görerek, lânetle anar seni...  
Düşün, sana -zorbalığa- kapılıp eğilen baş,  
Kopsun, seni bir hak diye alkışlayan elleri!

-Kayalar: 19.1.1912-

## YAĞMA SOFRASI

Bu sofracık, efendiler, yutulmayı bekliyor,  
Önünüzde titriyor, bu ulusun hayatıdır;  
Bu ulus ki acılıdır, can çekişmektedir!  
Ama sakın çekinmeyin, yiyin, yutun hapır hapır...

Yiyin, efendiler yiyin; bu içaçıcı sofraya sizin;  
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayınca kadar yiyin!

Efendiler pek açsınız, bu yüzünüzden bellidir;  
Yiyin, yemezseniz bugün, yarın kalır mı, kim bilir?  
Şu nimetler yığını, bakın, gelişinizle böbürlenir!  
Bu hakkıdır savaşınızın, evet, o hak da elde bir...



Yiyin, efendiler yiyin; bu şenlikli sofranız;  
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayınca kadar yiyin!

Bütün bu nazlı beylerin ne varsa ortalıkta say:  
Soy sop, şeref, gösteriş, oyun, düğün, konak, saray  
Hepsi sizin, efendiler, konak, saray, gelin, alay;  
Hepsi sizin, hepsi sizin, hazır hazır, kolay kolay...

Yiyin, efendiler yiyin; bu içaçıcı sofranız;  
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayınca kadar yiyin!

Büyük lokmanın sindirimi güç de olsa, yok zarar,  
Gösterişin gururu var, öç almanın sevinci var.  
Bu sofranız ilginizden sizin parlaklık umar,  
Sizin bu baş, beyin, ciğer, tüm şu kanlı lokmalar...

Yiyin, efendiler yiyin; bu can veren sofranız;  
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayınca kadar yiyin!

Verir zavallı ülke, verir nesi varsa; malını,  
Vücudunu, hayatını, umudunu, hayalini,  
Bütün esenliğini, gönlünün bütün sevincini.  
Hemen yutun, düşünmeyin haramını, helâlini...

Yiyin, efendiler yiyin; bu içaçıcı sofranız;  
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayınca kadar yiyin!

Bu harmanın gelir sonu, kapıştırın giderayak!  
Yarın bakarsınız söner bugün çıtırdayan ocak!  
Bugün mideler güçlü, bugün çorbalar sımsıcak,  
Atıştırın, tıkıştırın, kapış kapış, çanak çanak...

Yiyin, efendiler yiyin; bu çığırtkan sofranız;  
Doyunca, tıksırınca, çatlayınca kadar yiyin!

## SULTANİ'YE

Tan yerinin bütün göğünü birden kucaklayan  
Bir pencerede, karşımda gündeğusu,  
Yıllarca öncesiyle ilgili, bugün yavan

Bir yaşantı, o günler için serüven dolu  
Bir hayatı düşünmeye daldım... Bugünkü ben  
Kim der ki o yirmi beş yıl önceki gölgeyim?  
Bir çeyrek yüzyıla öyle uzaktan bakıp gülen  
Yüze şimdi ben bile yabancıyım... O kim?

Kimdir gerçekten şu bir ak gelin gibi  
Duygulu ve şen, akasyaların gölgesinde bazan  
Bağırın, gülen, koşan, tepinen; ağırbaşlı,  
Anlayışlı bir davranışla, bir yanda karakaplı  
Bir kitabın dilsiz satırlarının gölgesinde yiten  
Atılğan, çekingen çocuk?.. Ey gençliğin sığınağı,  
Ey gençlikle zekânun barınağı, bir zaman  
ben de gizlendim altında geniş kanatlarının.

Sen sakladın ruhumu çevrenin ışığı karartan  
Boğucu soluğundan; evet, sen kucakladın  
Tuttun, önüm bütün uçurum, ben düşmekteyken.  
Bilmezliğin, softalığın dudağından kaçan adın,  
Gel dinle, ruhumuzda ne sevinçli ezgiler  
Canlandırır, ne anılar titretir, ne akpak  
Efsaneler, ne güldürüler söyletir, neler  
Uyandırır, neler yaşatır!.. Düşünceye korunak,  
Umuda sığınak olan sevecen kucağın,  
Ey görkemli pir, ikiyüzlü olmayan bir ocak  
Uygarlık perisine; ona en sırdaş, en yakın  
Sensin; biraz düşünme ve kurtulma duygusu  
Taşıyan yurt çocukları hep sende beslenen,  
Senden hayat alanlardır. En ateşli hak sesi  
Senden kopar koparsa, bu boşlukta ansızın;  
Düşünce dünyasının en canlı aynası sensin...  
Düşünce özlemine açık bir ufuktur Batı,  
Sen ise doğunun bu ufka ilk açılan kapısı!

ESKİ ÇAĞ TARİHİ'NE EK  
-BİR KARŞILIK-

*Buyurulmuş ki:*

*"Şimdi tanrıya söver... Sonra biraz bol para ver,  
Hiç utanmaz, Protestanlara zangoçluk eder."*

— Mehmet Akif

Ben iki üç bey kuruşe yeğ gören,  
Protestanlara zangoçluk eden  
Şairmişim, Bilgi kürsüsünün bezeği,  
Açık dinin yorumlayıcı şairi  
Molla Sırat hazretlerine edebî  
Saygılarımı sunarak şimdi  
Duraksamadan diyorum: Zangoçluk  
Sıfatının sunulmasına layık olduk;  
Ama sakın aldanma, ustacığım,  
Ben de biraz müslüman çocuğuyum.  
Bana anlatma o güzelim dini,  
Bilirim ben de senin bildiğini.  
Okudum ben de O'nun seslenişini;  
Ben de senin gibi cami cami gezdim,  
Yaradanın önünde iki kat eğildim;  
-Hayalim cennet dileğiyle dolu,  
Üzgün yüreğimde cehennem korkusu-  
Yüksek Tuba ağacına ben de tırmandım,  
Büyük meleklerin katına ben de çıktım;  
Ben de âşıktım ezan ezgisine,  
Ben de koşardım o Tanrı sesine;  
Ben de tespîh, dua, oruç, namaz,  
Hepsini, hepsini yaptım, yazık ki!  
Söylenenlere kapılmıştım çünkü,  
Kandığın şeylere hep kanmıştım;  
Bilmeden, görmeden inandım,  
Özümü dinime kurban ettim;  
Sevdim Tanrıyı da, peygamberi de,  
O alay kaldı bugün hep geride.  
Anladım çünkü gerçek başka,  
Başka yoldan varılırmış Tanrıya.  
Saydığın harikalar, mucizeler  
Zekânın afsunudur; teker teker,  
İnsan durmadan çözüyor sırlarını;  
Mucize gösterenler unutmuş yarını.

Hem aldatmış, hem de aldanmış İsa, Musa,  
Eski bir büyüğü yalan o sopa.  
İnsanın böyle yanılgıları var,  
Putunu kendi yapar, kendi tapar.  
Git ara kilisesini, gez Kâbe'sini,  
Tekbirini dinle, duy çan sesini,  
Göreceksin ki bütün boşluktur,  
Umduğun, beklediğin şey yoktur;  
Düzme Tanrısı gibi Şeytanı,  
Buda'sı, Ehrimen'i, Yezdan'ı;  
Bir korkulu kuruntudur hepsini yaratan,  
Gölgeler, gölgeler... Onlarda derin  
Bir karanlık sezerek çevrildim,  
Acı bir vuruşla devrildim.  
Şimdi cennete, cehenneme aldırmadan  
Süzerim evreni hayran hayran!  
Ben ne tapılan, ne taptıran bilirim,  
Kendimi ancak yaratışa tapan bilirim.  
Göklerde binlerce meşit görürüm,  
Orada vicdanımı secde eder görürüm.  
Benim tapınmam işte bu secdedir,  
Saatlerim hep bu tapınmayla geçer.  
Bu tapınmayla övünür ve sevinirim,  
Kendimi bir kayadan ayırt etmem.  
Bir minik kuşla biriz tapmakta:  
Ben de "Tanrıdan başka tapacak yok" derim, o da.  
Doğruluk, alçakgönüllülük, sevgi, bağlılık,  
Acıma, iyilik, yurtseverlik, insafılık,  
Sonra "zangoç" dememek bir şaire...  
Vicdanımın güttüğü yol budur işte.  
Ayinim düşünerek yapmaktır.  
Benim dinim yaşamak dinidir.  
İnançlıyım: varlığa inancım var,  
Her kanat bana bir meleği bildirir.  
Gerek duymadan yaşamım peygambere,  
Beni Tanrıya götürür bir örümcek bile;  
Doğa sahnesinin kitabıdır kitabım,  
İyilikle kötülüğün kaynağı benim.  
Varırım böylece mezarın kapısına dek,  
Dirilişle ötedünyaya gerek görmem pek,  
Dirilişle ötedünyaya gerek görmem pek.  
Taşırım coşup taşan yüreğimde  
İnsanın sevgisini de, üzüntülerini de.  
Hak dini bence yaşama dinidir bugün!  
Ey Molla Sırat, sen buna ne dersin?...  
-Kayalar: 14 Kasım 1914-

**T.C. YÜKSEKÖĞRETİM KURULU  
DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ**