IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

MASTER THESIS

AN OUTSIDE LOOK AT THE TURKISH REFORM: THE MEDENİYET NEWSPAPER

AYŞENUR ÖGCEM

THESIS SUPERVISOR: ASST. PROF. MEHMET ÖZAY

İSTANBUL, 2020

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by

AYŞENUR ÖGCEM

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology

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APPROVAL PAGE

This is to 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 Arts in Sociology.

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This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standarts set by the School of Graduate Studies of Ibn Haldun University.

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ACADEMIC HONESTY ATTESTATION PAGE

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ÖZ

TÜRK İNKILÂBINA DIŞARIDAN BİR BAKIŞ: MEDENİYET GAZETESİ

Yazar Ögcem, Ayşenur
Sosyoloji Tezli Yüksek Lisans Programı
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Türkiye'de 1923 yılında Cumhuriyet'in ilânıyla başlayan modernleşme süreci ve reform hareketi Türkiye Türklerinin yanı sıra, Bulgaristan Türklerini de etkilemiştir. Bulgaristan Türklerinin bu yıllarda yayınladıkları gazeteler Türkiye'deki gelişmelere yer vermiştir. Medeniyet Gazetesi bu gazetelerden birisidir. Gazete, Türk inkılâbına ve Türkiye'de yaşanan değişimlere dair birçok haberi, analizi ve eleştiriyi içermektedir. Bu tez, Medeniyet Gazetesi'ndeki ilgili bu yazıları söylem tahliline tabi tutarak Medeniyet Gazetesi'nin Türk inkılâbına ve reformlarına yönelttiği eleştirilerin gerekçelerini anlamayı hedeflemiştir. Buna göre, Medeniyet Gazetesi'nin sahip olduğu medeniyet tahayyülü ve gazetenin medeniyetin oluşumunda ve korunmasında dine atfettiği değer ve rolün gazetedeki eleştirilerin temel nedeni olduğu görülmüştür. Bu anlayışa göre, modernleşme süreciyle siyasetin ve sosyal hayatın laiklik ilkesine göre yeniden düzenlenmesine karşı çıkılmış ve eleştirilerin temel merkezinde laiklik prensibi yer almıştır. Benzer eleştirileri Türkiye'de dönemin gazetelerinde görmek mümkün değildir çünkü uygulanan kanunlar ve düzenlemeler basını kontrol altında tutmaktadır. Bu nedenle Medeniyet Gazetesi bu konuda önemli bir kaynaktır ve sahip olduğu kültürel, siyasi, tarihi, sosyal ve dini yazılar sosyolojik bir analizi mümkün kılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bulgaristan Türkleri, Laiklik, Medeniyet Gazetesi, Türk İnkılâbı, Türk Modernleşmesi.

ABSTRACT

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The modernization process and the reform movement started in 1923 with the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey did not only affect the Turks of Turkey but the Turks of Bulgaria. The newspapers published by the Turks of Bulgaria during these years featured the developments in Turkey. The Medeniyet Newspaper is one of these newspapers. The newspaper contains many news, analyses, and criticisms about the Turkish reform and the changes in Turkey. This thesis aimed to understand the rationale of the criticisms directed towards the Turkish reform through discourse analysis of the related articles in the Medeniyet Newspaper. Accordingly, it was understood that the main reason for the newspaper's criticism is the imagination of civilization and the value and role attributed to religion in the formation and preservation of civilization. According to this understanding, during the modernization process, the reorganization of political and social life according to the principle of laicism was criticized. Thus, the principle of laicism was at the core of criticism. It is not possible to see similar criticisms in newspapers of the period in Turkey because the press was kept under control by the laws and regulations. For this reason, the Medeniyet Newspaper is an important source in this regard and its cultural, political, historical, social, and religious writings enable a sociological analysis.

Keywords: Laicism, The Medeniyet Newspaper, The Turkish Modernization, The Turkish Reform, The Turks of Bulgaria.

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AYŞENUR ÖGCEM
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the process that began in 1923 with the proclamation of the Republic, a political and social transformation was taking place in Turkey. The newly established government started the modernization process by implementing reforms in both political and social structures. These reforms were not only limited to the Turkish border but also affected the Turks of Bulgaria. Bulgaria had been under the administration of the Ottoman State for many years and has built its own nation state as a country with a significant number of people who belong to the Turkish population. The Turks of Bulgaria have maintained their ties with Turkey and have followed developments in Turkey.

In 1928, with the decision of a group of teachers to move to education in the Latin letters, the Turks of Bulgaria began to discuss the reforms in Turkey (Şimşir 1988, 95-96) and they were divided into two groups: as supporter or opponent of the reforms. Both groups formed associations such as *Turan Cemiyeti*, *Türk Muallimler Birliği*, and *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* to reflect their ideas with the aims to make the Turkish minority adopt these ideas. This discussion was also carried out with press activities. Newspapers were one of the most effective tools for this purpose. With the independence of Bulgaria, the Turks became a minority and they could continue their press activities as a result of the rights granted by the international agreements. More than 80 newspapers were published during this period until 1944 (Okday 1980, 4-6). In the 1920s and 30s, the reform debates were reflected in the press. The Turks of Bulgaria published newspapers according to their own ideological perspectives. Through newspapers, every development in Turkey was transmitted to the Turks of Bulgaria and was interpreted according to their ideologies. The newspapers were even separated in the alphabet they used, and some newspapers were printed in the Ottoman Turkish language while some in the Latin

letters. In this sense, it is possible to talk about the great amount of freedom of the press in Bulgaria.

However, there were different political and social conditions in Turkey during those years. The Ankara government aimed to create a new republic and its new society which would not be connected with the Ottoman past through the implementation of the reforms (Mardin 1995, 181). The press had an important role in providing information, in creating public opinion and influencing it so helping new ideas to be adopted by the community. Thus, the Ankara government highlighted the importance of the press. For example, on 5 February 1924, Mustafa Kemal organized a meeting in İzmir between the editors of the newspapers. At this meeting, he said that "The Turkish press will create a fortress of ideas around the Republic. It is the right of the Republic to demand it from the press" and also he warned journalists to gain their support for the reforms or at least to ensure that journalists would not oppose the reforms (Sezer 2006, 162). In short, the press was seen as a tool of support for the reforms rather than the opposition. Many newspapers were also published in this way. Thus, it is thought that Mustafa Kemal greatly benefited from the press to have the public adopt the reforms (Can 1982, 19).

In 1925, a rebellion called *Şeyh Sait Ayaklanması* took place, and it was seen as a reactionary against the Turkish reform. For this reason, the government wanted the hardest measures to be taken (Sarıay 2015, 389-390). *Takriri Sükun* (Law on the Maintenance of Order) was prepared to maintain order. According to the first article of *Takriri Sükun*, the government has the authority to prohibit organizations, incitements, and publications that encourage reaction and rebellion and disrupt public order. And it is stated that the government may appoint *İstiklal Mahkemeleri*[1] (The Courts of Independence) to carry out this duty (Resmi Gazete, No.87, 04.03.1925). One day after the law came into force, many newspapers and magazines were closed based on the first article of *Takriri Sükun*. Some of these newspapers and magazines were *Tevhid-i Efkar*, *İstiklal*, *Son Telgraf*, *Aydınlık*, *Orak*

[1] *İstiklal Mahkemeleri* were established in 1920 to prosecute deserters during the War of Independence. Later their powers were expanded and every crime against the Turkish reform was the duty of these courts (Aybars 1988, 1). Their purpose became to punish those who oppose the will of the Republic to carry out the Turkish reform (Türker 2000, 150-151). Thus, it is stated that *İstiklal Mahkemeleri* were used to repress the opposition by the government.

Çekiç, and *Sebilürreşat* (BCA 30-18-1-1, 13-12-12). In addition to the closure of newspapers, many journalists were arrested, judged, and sentenced in *İstiklal Mahkemeleri* (Tunçay 1986, 48).

The freedom of the press became controversial due to the closure of opposition newspapers and the trial of journalists. After *Takriri Sükun*, the opposition press disappeared completely (Kılıç 2008, 173). However, the government thought that the opposition press had an effect on *Şeyh Sait Ayaklanması*, and thought that press freedom could have negative consequences. On 1 November 1925, Mustafa Kemal summarized this situation as follows:

> It would naturally be necessary for using the instructive and destructive power of the Grand National Assembly to remove the harmful aspects of freedom of the press… Only the Republic itself raises the press which is decorated with the thoughts and morals of the Republican era… This press with these new ideas will facilitate and encourage the efforts for new life and becoming civilized of our great nation (Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi D.2, C.19: 7).

As can be understood from this speech, there was an idea that the press would adopt the reforms and principles of the Republic and work for it. Otherwise, it is stated that the intervention of the assembly to the press is normal. Mustafa Kemal said that these steps were not oppressive as follow:

> We made the reforms for progress and change so the reforms targeted the old superstitions and institutions. *Takriri Sükun Kanunu* and *İstiklal Mahkemeleri* had been used to prevent fanatics and reactionists. We made these measures not as a means of restraint but as a means of civil and social development of the nation. Thus, it was abolished as it is seen that measures do not need to be applied (Atatürk 2017, 635-638).

İnönü also stated that "One of the great benefits we took from the period of *Takriri Sükun* is that the reform which had been tried for centuries, could be implemented and instituted" (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 02.03.1927, D.2, C.30, İ.5: 7). In brief, *Takriri Sükun* provided for the implementation of reforms (Göldaş 1997, 423) such as the hat act, the law on the unity of education, the closure of lodges, adopting the Turkish civil code, and adopting the Latin alphabet.

Since 1925, the opposition in the press was largely over with *Takriri Sükun* (Can 1982, 33-35). The decision was made in 1927 to remove *Takriri Sükun* and *İstiklal Mahkemeleri* (BCA 30-10, 10-57-18). However, the arrangements for the press continued. With *Matbuat Kanunu* (the Press Law of 1931), the same conditions for the press were preserved. Article 50 states that newspapers and magazines may be temporarily closed with the decision of *İcra Vekilleri Heyeti* (The Cabinet Council) because of the publications that will include the general politics of the country (Resmi Gazete, No.1867, 08.08.1931). After the state control over the press with *Matbuat Kanunu*, an institution was needed in order to manage and direct the press in the desired direction. For this reason, *Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü* (the General Directorate of Press) which was established in 1920 was reorganized (Koç 2006, 33). *Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü* would control if the publication touched public politics and would report to the government. Vedat Nedim Tör, who served as the general manager between 1933 and 1937, described how the directorate works:

> All daily newspapers, magazines, and books were scanned and examined. Their contradictions to *Matbuat Kanunu* and the principles of reform were determined… There was no censorship in Turkey, but there was very rigorous state supervision. The contradiction to the Kemalist principles, especially the principle of laicism, immediately attracted attention (Can 1982, 37-38).

He also said that "The newspapers in Turkey is the most powerful propaganda organ for the spread of the principles and ideals of the reform, a self-defense tool against reactionism, and most sincere stimulus in the works carried out by the reformist government" (Birinci Basın Kongresi 1936, 21-22). In brief, *Matbuat Kanunu* and *Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü* made the press of the period appropriate to the essence of the reforms and the policies of the government.

In 1935, the government encouraged the establishment of a compulsory professional organization for journalists. It was established by law and called *Türk Basın Birliği* (The Turkish Press Association). It was the first and last press professional organization established by law in the history of the Turkish press (Demir 1994, 231). In 1938, it was decided that journalists who were not members of this association could not perform the profession of journalism (Öztürk 1994, 141). It is interpreted that *Türk Basın Birliği* made it possible for the government to control the

press more easily because it gathered all the journalists under a single roof and it was subordinate to *Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü.* Between 1938 and 1946, governed by İsmet İnönü, the pressures of the political authority on the press increased further. There was a press entirely under the government's control and no political news were reported in the press except for official statements. Only between the years of 1940 and 1942, 25 newspapers were closed and many journalists were arrested. This control on the press continued until the end of World War II (Öztürk 1994, 142). To sum up, during the single-party period between 1923 and 1946, the press was completely under the control of the political authority. Both *Takriri Sükun* and *Matbuat Kanunu* gave the government authority to close publications. Also, *Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü* and *Türk Basın Birliği* made control of the press easy. These policies of the government show that the press was dependent on the government in every respect because, during this period, everything was deemed to be obliged to reinforce official ideology (Koloğlu 2006, 118) and the press was also seen as a part of this change. Thus, the government wished to create a press committed to the principles of reform (Koç 2006, 37). Therefore, the press had generally taken a positive attitude towards social, political, cultural changes, and reforms (Şimşir 1992b, 173).

The reforms in Turkey were not accepted by all. However, because of the controlled journalism, when the newspapers or other written works of the period are examined, it can be perceived that the reforms were accepted by everyone and that opponent groups did not exist. Due to the control and censorship of the single-party regime over the press, it is not possible to see the criticisms and the opposition in the early years of the Republic but it is possible to see these critical points from the newspapers published by the Turks of Bulgaria. The Turkish press in Bulgaria can help to see the criticisms and to understand the main reasons for the criticisms. The Turkish press in Bulgaria can provide detailed data on how the developments in Turkey were interpreted from a critical or opposite perspective.

The *Medeniyet* Newspaper is one of the most prominent among these newspapers. *Medeniyet* started to be published on August 19, 1933 in the Ottoman Turkish

language. Then, *Medeniyet* became the media organ of *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* that was established to struggle against the reform movement in Bulgaria.[2] The first years of the publication of *Medeniyet* coincide with the period when reforms were made in Turkey and the reforms were intended to be adopted. For this reason, *Medeniyet* includes political and intellectual writings with commentaries on the political and social changes in Turkey. The reforms and changes were cautiously welcomed and a serious struggle was given against those who wanted to move these reforms to Bulgaria. The newspaper states its purpose of publication to warn the Muslims of Bulgaria.[3] Thus, it is stated that an intense struggle against the spreading of reforms in Bulgaria was carried out through *Medeniyet*.

Medeniyet was the longest-lived Turkish newspaper (Cambazov 2011, 54) and the last Turkish newspaper to be published in Bulgaria (Memişoğlu 2007, 226). Thus, *Medeniyet* is described as one of the most important activities in the history of Turks of Bulgaria (Hatiboğlu 2003, 301-303). It was also subject to severe criticism from Turkey (Acaroğlu 1990, 32). Even, the Turkish government did not allow *Medeniyet* to be introduced into Turkey (BCA 30-18-1-2, 39-64-5). Therefore, the complete collection of the newspaper is not available at libraries in Turkey. However, some issues can be reached at the Ottoman archives and the İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi.

There is no study directly covering *Medeniyet* in the literature of Turkey. However, in some studies, evaluations about *Medeniyet* were made by including the content or some certain articles of the newspaper. For example, the information and details about *Medeniyet* can be found in the books titled *Bulgaristan'da Başmüftülük Tarihi (1878-1944)*, *Bulgaristan'da İslam (1878-2018)*, *Bulgaristan'da Türkçe Basın*, *Bulgaristan Müslümanlarında Dini Islahat Düşüncesi*, etc. Due to its critical position, *Medeniyet* is described as reactionary (Cambazov 2013, 364) and as a collaborator with the Bulgarian authorities (Şimşir 1988, 112; Cambazov 2013, 365). However, *Medeniyet* was published for 11 years and had many important people on

[2] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Meclis İdaresi Tarafından Bulgaristan Müslümanlarına Beyanname", *Medeniyet*, No: 15, 22 Şubat 1934/ 7 Zilkade 1352, p. 1.
[3] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 6", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p. 2.

the editorial staff. For this reason, it has many news and intellectual articles that will shed light on the political, social, and scholarly developments of the period.

The political and social articles of *Medeniyet* make sociological analysis possible. The main reason for the critical perspective on reforms can be understood by analyzing the content of the articles in *Medeniyet*. Thus, by going beyond the description of traditionalist, anti-modern, reactionary, or religionist, the answers to questions such as why reforms were not adopted and which points were found objectionable could be found. As noted earlier, it is not possible to find the answers to these questions from the Turkish press of the period due to the existing press regulations. However, *Medeniyet* is a source on this subject. For this reason, *Medeniyet* is the primary source of this study.

This thesis aims to examine the content of the news and articles about the Turkish reform in the first three years of *Medeniyet* and to reveal its views about the reforms in order to understand the main reason of the newspaper's opponent perception. Thus, the objectives of the thesis are as follows: to make visible the criticisms of *Medeniyet* against the Turkish modernization process and reforms, to understand the reasons for their criticisms and to understand the basic views of these opponent Turks of Bulgaria through *Medeniyet*. Such a study could be eye-opening in terms of the political history of the Republic of Turkey, in terms of understanding the reform movement and the laicism policies of the single-party era, and in terms of seeing the social repercussions of these policies. Therefore, this thesis will put forward a peculiar analysis and interpretation of the critics of the social change and reform movement of Turkey from the perspective of *Medeniyet*.

Within the framework of these goals and basic questions, this research is an archive study and the method of the research is discourse analysis. The issues of the first three years of *Medeniyet* as the primary source of the thesis were examined to answers the main questions of the research. To evaluate the newspaper's understanding of the developments in Turkey by analyzing the content of the news and articles. For this purpose, the related articles in the newspaper were read and their contents, key concepts, and general approaches were examined to analyze the

newspaper's understanding of the modernization process and reforms in Turkey, the main reason for its criticism and its efforts among the Turks of Bulgaria. The scope of the study covers the first three years of the newspaper. The first three years cover 107 issues so the study is limited with the first 107 issues. The main rationale for this limitation is that the articles on the Turkish modernization, the reforms, and the Ankara government decreased after this year. After this early period in the newspaper's publication, international politics and the process leading up to World War II and its effects on Bulgaria became the focus, and the developments in Turkey were given almost no place. For this reason, the first three years in which the Turks of Bulgaria experienced the reform debate more deeply and reflected it in the newspaper were chosen as the scope of the study. In addition to the first 107 issues, the 242nd issue was read to obtain information about the life of *başmüftü* Hüseyin Hüsnü who was a key figure in the debate of the Turks of Bulgaria on the reforms.

In addition to the primary source, during the literature review, the studies and the books including the history of the Turks of Bulgaria, the Turkish modernization, the reform movement of Republican Turkey, the impact of the reforms on the Turks of Bulgaria, the activities they carried out as a polarized minority, especially the press activities were focused on. The correspondence, documents, and treaties of the Turkish and Bulgarian authorities of this period were obtained from the Ottoman archives and the Republic archive. The Turkish libraries do not have the complete collection of *Medeniyet* so the issues of *Medeniyet* were obtained online from the National Library of Bulgaria. However, there were difficulties encountered in the research process. The reports and documents of the Bulgarian government, belonging to the period, were meant to be accessed from the Bulgarian archives, but the planned visit to Bulgaria could not be accomplished so the data on these documents or reports were obtained from secondary sources. For example, *Belgelerle Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ve Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri:(1913-1938)* was very helpful in this regard. This book, prepared by the General Directorate of State Archives, contains the agreements, reports and letters between 1913 and 1938. It also includes the documents belonging to Bulgarians as it was prepared in cooperation with the Bulgarian authorities. Similarly, the documents regarding *Başmüftülük* were obtained from secondary sources such as *Bulgaristan'da Başmüftülük Tarihi (1878-*

1944), The Turks of Bulgaria 1878-1985, and *Osmanlı Sonrası Bulgaristan Türklerinin Dini Yönetimi ve Özel Yargı Teşkilatı (1878-1945)*.

This thesis is composed of five chapters. Following the introduction, the second chapter is entitled The Turks of Bulgaria. Situating the findings from *Medeniyet* required a review of the literature on the history of the Turks of Bulgaria so this chapter aims to historically introduce the Turks of Bulgaria. This section covers the history of Turks of Bulgaria, the debate experienced by the Turkish minority in 1923, how they became a polarized community as supporters and opponents of the reform movement. The educational institutions, associations, and press activities that were prominent and influential in this process and discussion were introduced. *Başmüftülük,* the most influential institution of the period, was introduced and information was given about Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi, who was *başmüftü* of that period. It was also shown how both the Bulgarian and Turkish governments contributed to the deepening of this conflict by including their position in this debate and their support or hindrance.

The third chapter is allocated for the introduction of *Medeniyet*. In this section, the publication life of the newspaper, its authors, and the connected institutions were introduced in detail. The articles on the identity discussion, the concept of civilization, and the principle of laicism that explain the publication policy of *Medeniyet* were included and analyzed. Thus, the source of the newspaper's critical stance on the Turkish reform was revealed and the newspaper's attitude towards the reforms in Turkey was interpreted. The reasons for this attitude and understanding of the newspaper were put forward with evaluations about this attitude. Accordingly, the newspaper's definition of civilization, its criticisms centered on the concept of civilization while addressing the Turkish modernization, and its presentation of Islamic civilization as an alternative to Turkish modernization are similar to Islamism. For this reason, this section includes discussions on modernization and laicism as well as the thought of Islamism. Thus, theories of modernization and laicism and the Islamic thought form the theoretical framework of the study.

The fourth chapter deals with how *Medeniyet* handles Turkish reform. The prominent articles on this subject such as Kemalism and the Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria were included. As *Medeniyet* sees the alphabet reform as an explanatory of the Turkish reform. Also, the alphabet reform was the most controversial among the Turks of Bulgaria and was the first to be implemented so it was the most widely discussed in *Medeniyet* with three different article series and many different articles including the alphabet reform. The history of the alphabet reform, the reasons behind the reform, and the articles about the alphabet reform in *Medeniyet* were compiled and the opinion of the newspaper was evaluated. The newspaper's political, social, historical, and cultural evaluations while dealing with the alphabet reform helped to obtain more detailed information about the newspaper.

In conclusion, I derived conclusions from these chapters. The main reasons for the criticism of the newspaper to the Turkish modernization and reforms were stated by summarizing the newspaper's main views. The importance of avoiding ideologically categorizing and defining the parties formed in the discussion of Turks of Bulgaria on the reforms was emphasized. Accordingly, by keeping away from an ideological approach, the newspaper's own evaluations were included within the framework of its own opinion. As a result of all these evaluations, the information about the originality of the study, and the contribution of this study to academia were mentioned.

CHAPTER II

THE TURKS OF BULGARIA

2.1.The Presence of Turks in Bulgaria

For Turkish history, the geography of Bulgaria had been important during the pre-Islamic period, the Ottoman period and also in the period after the Ottoman State. Bulgaria had long been the territory for settlement area of the Turkish tribes from the north of the Black Sea and their migration started as early as III-IV centuries (Yıldırım 2018, 25). The most significant stage of Turkish migration from Anatolia into Bulgaria took place during the 14th century because in 1389 all Bulgaria entered Ottoman rule and the Ottoman State became the only political power in the region (İnalcık 1992, VII). The Ottoman State used the settlement policy for newly acquired territories. This policy constituted the basis of the mass migration movements from Anatolia and it was used for Turkification of newly acquired regions and for protecting the permanence of the state authority in these regions. The settlement policy was also applied in Bulgaria and large numbers of Turks from Anatolia were populated here. Because of its proximity to İstanbul and its highly strategic position, being on the main road to the West, the territory of Bulgaria was important for the Ottoman State (Şimşir 1988, 3). As a result of the settlement policy and 500 years of Ottoman rule, the Turkish presence in Bulgaria was established and affirmed. In this way, the Turkish population in Bulgaria increased gradually and the Ottoman State managed to turn the demographic balances in its favor (Şimşir 1992a, 47). During the Ottoman administration, the Turkish population was always more than the Bulgarian population (Danailov 1937, 26). In the period towards the end of the 19th century, Bulgaria was the country with the highest Turkish population in the Balkans (Şimşir 1992a, 47). However, this demographic situation continued until 1877.

The weakening of the Ottoman military and administrative aspects, the disobedience of local rulers in the region, the economic development of Bulgarians and the development of national education system for the Bulgarian youth caused an emergence of Bulgarian nationalism in the second half of the 18th century (Aydın 1996, 17-25). Russia was another reason for these new political formations in the Balkans. Russia wanted to destroy the Ottoman presence in the region and to take the Balkans under its tutelage and to create a satellite state, Bulgaria, which it could use to develop its own interests in the region (Karpat 2004, 292). During these years, there were many uprisings of Bulgarians against the Ottoman rule. The Ottoman State was left alone in diplomacy because of the Bulgarian uprisings which turned into big campaigns against the Turks with the support of Russia to Bulgarians (Aydın 1996, 116). To solve these problems, a conference was held in İstanbul in 1876, however, the Ottomans did not accept suggestions including autonomy for Bulgaria and Russia started a war (Ibid., 118 -120). This war, which took place in 1877 and 1878, was called the Russo-Turkish war. After the war, the Ayastafanos Treaty was signed and according to the sixth article of this treaty, Bulgaria became an autonomous principality under the Ottoman State (Erim 1953, 390). At the Berlin Congress, the treaty of Ayastefanos was reconsidered and some territorial changes were made and the Treaty of Berlin was signed. This treaty confirmed that Bulgaria is an autonomous principality.[4]

Bulgaria was not a nation in the modern cultural, ethnic, or political sense at the same time Russia made the newly created autonomous principality in 1878 so the idea of ethnic-national homogeneity was adopted (Karpat 1990, 2) to create a territorially, culturally, and linguistically unified nation state by eliminating cultural diversity through assimilation and migration of ethnic minorities (Eminov 1997, 4). As part of this policy, both during and after the Russo-Turkish war, there were attacks and atrocities against the Turks, and this caused mass migrations from Bulgaria to Anatolia (Yıldırım 2018, 53-54). As a result of these policies and migrations, the Turkish-Muslim population in the country dramatically reduced and

[4] Article I: Bulgaria has constituted an autonomous and tributary principality under the suzerainty of his imperial majesty the Sultan, it will have a Christian government and a national militia (Treaty between Great Britain, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey for the Settlement of Affairs in the East 1908, 403).

the Turkish population in Bulgaria became a minority for the first time (Şimşir 1988, 4-5). The minority status of the Turks in Bulgaria became legal with the 1878 Treaty of Berlin (Karpat 2004, 283). Similar changes took place in many Balkan countries and the status of Muslims in Balkan countries changed to a minority from a community connected with the governing authority. This change in the legal and political positions of the Balkan Muslims was a result of the defeats of the Ottomans, the military, and political changes in Europe and the emergence of the Balkan national states (Ibid., 291).

In 1908, in the Ottoman State, the Young Turks Revolution began and the state focused on their internal problems. In the same year, Bulgaria declared its independence (Ahmad 1969, 48). The newly established Bulgarian kingdom was officially recognized in 1909 by establishing a protocol in İstanbul. The İstanbul Protocol also included matters relating to the situation of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. Turks began to live as a minority in independent Bulgaria without the patronage of the Ottoman State (Eroğlu 1987, 29; Şimşir 1988, 293).

2.2. Polarized Turkish Minority

By 1923, there were radical transformations in the social and political spheres in Turkey by the establishment of a laic republican regime in the place of the Ottoman State. And then a reform movement was launched. The establishment of the republic and the reform movement did not only influence the lives of the Turkish people living in national territories, but it also had a direct impact on the daily lives of Turks living outside the national borders. The Turks living in the former Ottoman territories namely, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, Dodecanese, Cyprus, and the Middle East continued to be in the cultural influence of Turkey (Şimşir 1992b, 301-302). Thus, the reforms started after the establishment of the Republic in Turkey were closely followed by the Turks who lived in these geographies. For instance, the Turks of Bulgaria had established close relations with Turkey and closely followed the reforms due to their geographical proximity, their high population density, and the presence of intellectuals to lead the Turkish society in Bulgaria (Tümenoğlu 2011). Thus, outside Turkey, Bulgaria was the first place

where the reforms were discussed and became influential (Sarıkoyuncu and Sarıkoyuncu 2005, 486).

While their co-religionists in Turkey had to adopt reforms of the new regime such as reforms about the alphabet and clothes (Crampton 1990, 66)[5], the Muslims of Bulgaria were free to follow traditional Islam. For example, Muslim women in Bulgaria were free to continue wearing the veil and the Muslims of Bulgaria could write Turkish in Arabic script (Crampton 2007, 431). They could also open *Medresetün Nüvvab* as an institution of higher education at the same time when *madrasa*s in Turkey were being closed down[6] and education was being unified and secularized (Şimşir 1988, 41-43). After the caliphate was abolished in 1924 and the law system was entirely secularized in Turkey, the *Sharia* courts (Islamic canonical) in Bulgaria continued to function until World War II (Ibid., 58). Due to the continuation of *madrasas* and *Sharia* courts, freedom to use the Arabic letters, and the Islamic style of dress for Muslim women, this meant that the Turks of Bulgaria were a minority having the traditional Islamic institutions and lifestyle. Islam was the basis for their identity. Thus, the determinant of belonging to the Muslim Turkish community was the preservation of a specific social structure, behavioral patterns, and cultural heritage (Szyszlak 2018, 178). However, this atmosphere was challenged by the supporters of the reforms in Turkey because the reforms aimed to be a part of Western civilization so the reform movement was seen as an effort to change civilization (Azak 2010, 10-11).

Turkey conducted the reform movement to create a modern state and society and laicism was the main principle of reforms (Mert 2002, 203-204). All of this process of modernization and laicism had a direct impact on the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. It presented two paths for the Turkish minority that led to the formation of two parties – supporters of the reforms and opponents of the reforms. The supporters of the reforms among the Turks of Bulgaria were struggling to implement them on the Bulgarian territory because they saw Mustafa Kemal and Turkey as the guarantee for the continuation of their existence (Akgül 2005, 489). However, the opponents of reforms among the Turks of Bulgaria were extremely opposed to the reform

[5] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 8, 24 Teşrinisani 1933/ 6 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 2.
[6] "Hayırlı Bir Müessese", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 4.

movement because of the laic character of the reforms (Muyhtar 2003, 30). They perceived the Turkish modernization as declared against religion.[7] Thus, the response of the Turks of Bulgaria towards the Turkish modernization was twofold. In brief, the Turkish minority was not unanimous in its reactions to the reform movement in Turkey. Both parties tried to spread their ideas within their community through various channels. Thus, they established different social organizations and published newspapers.

2.3. The Intellectual Activities of Turks of Bulgaria

In addition to the above-mentioned ideological conflict, the Turks faced great assimilation in Bulgaria in the first half of the 1930s. Thus, between 1930 and 1940, the Turks of Bulgaria strove to preserve their cultural and ethnic values. In this period, it is possible to evaluate the cultural and social status of the Turks in Bulgaria under three main headings. These are the Turkish educational institutions, the Turkish associations, and the Turkish periodical publications (Özsarı 2015, 6). Briefly, the Turks of Bulgaria had various intellectual activities to both protect their identity as a minority and to conduct ideological discussions after the establishment of a modern state in Turkey. These institutions, associations, and publications will be introduced by giving examples from the most important ones.

2.3.1. The Turkish Educational Institutions in Bulgaria: *Medresetün Nüvvab*

The region of Bulgaria was one of the most educationally developed in the Ottoman State. The Tanzimat reforms were first tested in *Tuna vilayeti*[8] and modern secondary schools called *rüşdiye* and many other schools were opened in the region

[7] Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılap ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 13", *Medeniyet*, No: 50, 12 Nisan 1935/ 8 Muharremü'l Haram 1354, p. 4.
"Ahlakın Kuvve-i Müeyyidesi", *Medeniyet*, No: 22, 14 Mayıs 1934/ *19* Muharremü'l Haram 1353 p. 1.
"Hayatı İçtimaiye ve İslamiyet", *Medeniyet*, No: 18, 24 Mart 1934/ 8 Zilhicce 1352, p. 2.

[8] *Tuna vilayeti* (Danube Province) was founded in 1864 by *Vilayet Nizamnamesi* (The Provincial Reform Law) to arrange administration with smaller administrative units. *Tuna vilayeti* consisted of the subprovinces of Ruse, Varna, Tulcea, Tarnovo, Vidin, Sofia, and Nish. Midhat Paşa was appointed to the governorship of this province. see further Şentürk, M.Hüdai. 1992. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bulgar Meselesi (1850-1875)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

during the 19th century (Şimşir 1990, 163). After Bulgaria gained its independence, the legal status of Turkish schools was protected and the Turks of Bulgaria were meeting their educational needs with these traditional educational institutions inherited from the Ottoman State (Özsarı 2015, 11-12). Thus the Turkish education in Bulgaria continued to be based on the Ottoman era with the educational foundations such as masjids, mosques, *madrasas*, *rüşdiyes*, and local schools (*mahalle mektepleri*) (Çakmakçı 2011, 92). The Turks of Bulgaria made efforts to protect these institutions. For example, those who formed a delegation in the first year of independence demanded the improvement of schools from the Bulgarian Minister of Education. Besides, they demanded the opening of *Dârülmuallimîn* (Teacher Training School) for the training of teachers who will serve in these schools (Sofya'da İslam Kongresi 2014, 196). This school was opened in 1918 and *Medresetün Nüvvab* was opened in 1922 and the Turks of Bulgaria had two schools at the higher education level besides traditional ones. However, in 1928 *Dârülmuallimîn* was closed and *Medresetün Nüvvab* was the only institution that provided higher education in those years (Özsarı 2015, 11-12).

When Bulgaria was part of the Ottoman State, İstanbul was the center for getting religious education for the Muslim students. However, when Bulgaria declared its independence in 1908, it was no longer easy to send students to İstanbul (Şimşir 1988, 42). Since this date, the Muslims of Bulgaria tried to meet their religious and social needs without being bound to the Ottoman State and they needed many scholars to meet these needs. Thus, there was a requirement for scientific and religious foundations to educate the necessary staff. One of these needed foundations was a special school for training deputy *müftü*s.[9] The duty of the *müftü* is thought to be limited to *fatwa*[10] whereas the *müftüs* of Bulgaria had very broad authority. Besides *fatwa*, the *müftüs* of Bulgaria were judges and *qadis* who fulfill their duties in marriage, divorce, testament, inheritance, and tutorship (Sani 2015a, 129-130). This judge duty, which was given to the *müftüs* of Bulgaria in the *Sharia* courts, was added in 1880 with the abolition of *qadis* (Günay 2006, 368). Because of this broad

[9] The word *müftü* means judge in Arabic. *Müftü* is a professional jurist who interprets the *Sharia* law and who is a legal expert empowered to give rulings on religious matters.
[10] In Islamic culture, *fatwa* is a legal opinion or decree handed down by a recognized authority.

authority of *müftü*s, a good Islamic education was required for the *müftü*s of Bulgaria.

By agreement in 1909, the institution of *müftülük* (the office of *müftü*) was organized in Bulgaria. However, due to this agreement, the question of where and how *muftis* would be educated was exposed. When the first *başmüftü*[11] was elected in 1910, the first step expected from him was to find ways to train the *müftüs* in Bulgaria because the level of education of the current *müftüs* was seen as very low and it was claimed that most of the *müftüs* are not even qualified in Islamic matters and they are from the village *imams* (Sani 2015b, 263-264). In 1913, it was decided to open a school to train *müftüs* with *İstanbul Muahedenamesi*.[12] The Ottoman State gave importance to the protection of the educational and religious rights of the Muslims who remained in the lost Balkan lands after their rule so the rights of Turks were included in treaties. Thus, opening a school to train *müftüs* was added as an article to this treaty in 1913 (Kılıç and Yılmaz 2016, 511). However, with the start of World War I, the opening of the school was postponed.

In 1919, the opening of a school to train *müftüs* was included among the duties of *başmüftülük*. Thereupon, the *başmüftü* of the time, Süleyman Faik, established a commission to form the program of the school to train *müftüs* and began preparations (Keskioğlu 1985, 84). And in 1922, the school was opened in Şumnu[13] with name *Medresetün Nüvvab*. The name *Nüvvab* is derived from the word *naip* which means deputy *müftü* hence *Medresetün Nüvvab* means a school for training deputy *müftüs* (Şimşir 1988, 41). In addition to religious courses in the curriculum, courses such as

[11] *Başmüftü (*Chief or Grand Mufti) is the head of regional *müftü*s and also head of the Muslim community. *Başmüftülük* means the office of *başmüftü*. In this thesis, the words of *başmüftü* and *başmüftülük* will be used.

[12] This treaty was signed between the Ottoman State and the Kingdom of Bulgaria at the end of the Balkan War. With this treaty, while determining the borders between Bulgaria and the Ottoman, the political, religious, and social rights of Turks in Bulgaria were protected according to Article 8 (Erim 1953, 463).

[13] *Şumnu* (Shumen) is a plateau in eastern Bulgaria surrounded by hills in the south of the Deliorman region. It has been a center of settlement since ancient times due to its natural protection and defense advantage and transportation opportunities (Köksal 2006, 15-17). With the conquest of the region by the Ottomans, it became the military center of the state along the Danube. It hosted both Muslims and other religions with its buildings such as mosque, church, inn, public bath, bastion and arsenal, telegraph office, hospital, barracks, government office, court, school, *madrasa*, hospital, etc. (Meçik 1977, 2-3).

science, language, and literature were included (Memişoğlu 2002, 155). At the diploma ceremony of the graduates of 1935, *başmüftü* Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi talked about it in his speech:

> This institution is not only an institution in the education of religious courses. Here, general sciences and techniques that need to be known in life are collected. This institution is worthy of the faculties of education, it is a rare house of sciences which is a rare coincidence even in the Islamic world, not just in the Balkans.[14]

Medresetün Nüvvab was in operation for 25 years. The *Nüvvab* alumni served in many different fields. Hundreds of people who graduated from *Nüvvab* served in religious services and did Islamic researches. In 27 years, a total of 677 scholars were trained in *Nüvvab* during 22 graduation periods (Bayram and Ersal 1988, 418). In addition to religious education and services, the *Nüvvab* graduates were given the authority to be teacher after *Dârülmuallimîn* was shut down (Ahmed 2005, 283-284). The *Nüvvab* graduates also worked on the Ottoman documents (Mehmedov 2018, 84). *Nüvvab* provided training in the Ottoman Turkish language until its closure so those who were trained in this school became indispensable cadres in reading Ottoman documents. They worked in the Ottoman archives in both Bulgaria and Turkey and they contributed to discovering the history of Turks of Bulgaria (Ahmed 2005, 287). Dozens of *Nüvvab* graduates also served in the field of press such as publishing and editorial affairs of newspapers and magazines (Mehmedov 2018, 84). For example, Hafız Yusuf Şinasi, Necip Asım, Mehmed Fikri, Ahmet Şevki, and Osman Seyfullah are some of these graduates. The *Nüvvab* alumni also pioneered social and scientific activities by establishing associations. *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* and *Ahlak-ı İslamiyye Cemiyeti* were one of these associations. As can be seen, the cadres who grew up in *Nüvvab* had an important place in terms of Turkish history and culture in Bulgaria (Ahmed 2005, 287-289). Considering the areas in which *Nüvvab* alumni served, it is clear that *Nüvvab* was not a classical religious school. Thus, *Nüvvab* met the cultural and educational needs of the Turks of Bulgaria as well as the religious needs (Bayram and Ersal 1988, 415). However, as a result of changing political conditions, the number of *müftülük*s was reduced and

[14] "Medresetün Nüvvab Tevzi Mükafat Merasimi", *Medeniyet*, No: 59, 31 Temmuz 1935/ 30 Rebîülâhir 1354, p. 3.

Nüvvab graduates could not take the post of *müftü* so there were no students to attend the higher education part of *Nüvvab* and it was closed down in 1945 (Ertürk and Eminoğlu 1993, 44-45).

2.3.2. The Turkish Associations in Bulgaria: *Türk Muallimler Birliği* and *Turan Cemiyeti*

During the first years when Bulgaria gained its independence, the Turks of Bulgaria as a minority had many problems. The magazine of *Sırâtımüstakim* focused on the activities against the Turks of Bulgaria and suggested to fight these activities by establishing associations (Akayef 2015, 371-372). İsmail Gaspıralı, who was a thinker advocating the unity of all the Turks in thoughts and the language also suggested that the Turks of Bulgaria should work in a more organized way during his visit to Bulgaria in 1906. After this visit, it is seen that the Turks of Bulgaria started to work in this way and *Türk Muallimler Birliği* and *Turan* were established in the same year (Değerli 2009, 240-241). *Türk Muallimler Birliği* and *Turan* were one of the effective Turkish associations in Bulgaria in the 1930s.

After the Bulgarian Principality was established in 1878 and the Turks became a minority, the Turkish education in Bulgaria confronted difficulties and many problems arose. The absence of a standard and unified curriculum, the preparation and printing of necessary books, and the restoration of school buildings were the main problems. To talk about these problems, 26 teachers from 14 different cities and villages organized a congress in Şumnu in 1906. They decided to found an association and invited all the Muslim teachers of Bulgaria to become members. They chose the name of the association as *Muallimin-i İslamiye Cemiyeti* (The Association of Muslim Teachers) (Turan 1998, 240-241).

During the 1920s and 1930s, the association had branches in different parts of Bulgaria and became an influential foundation among the Turkish minority. The number of members was also increasing. For example, the congress that started with 23 members was held with 128 members in 1911 (Muallimin-i İslamiyye Kongresi 2016, 296-297). The main purpose of the association was to take control of the Turkish schools and enable the younger generation of Turks to receive a good

education. Since 1923, the changes and reforms carried out in Turkey updated the question of developing national identity and consciousness among the Turks of Bulgaria. With this influence, in 1928, the name of the association was changed to *Türk Muallimler Birliği* (The Association of Turkish Teachers) (Yalımov 2001, 512-514). This change did not represent the simplification of the language. On the contrary, it was a move to reject the Islamic background while adopting the modern and laic identity which was created with the reforms in Turkey. Thus, they followed the reforms in Turkey, especially the ones on education, and applying them to the Turkish schools in Bulgaria became their main purpose. For example, in this direction, the association decided to start teaching in the Latin letters in all the Turkish minority schools in 1928 (Şimşir 1988, 70-71). These activities of the association drew the attention of the Bulgarian government and the commission report on the prevention of foreign propaganda in Bulgaria dated 23 April 1934 stated that measures should be taken to prevent the activities of *Türk Muallimler Birliği* (Sarınay 2002, 333-334). After this report, the Bulgarian government declared the association illegal and banned their work in 1934 (Yalımov 2001, 520). Many teachers were removed from their posts and the curriculum of Turkish schools was changed (Özsarı 2015, 5).

Another important association was *Turan Cemiyeti*. Since the 1920s, various organizations were established in Europe to train and raise awareness of young people. In parallel with these youth organizations, the Turks of Bulgaria established a youth and sports organization called *Turan* (the Turkish Sports Association). They aimed to keep the Turkish youth in Bulgaria together and instill sports awareness in them (Özsarı 2015, 6). *Turan* was founded as a sports organization but in time it gained a different character. They thought sports activities alone were not enough and wanted to improve the intellectual level of the Turkish youth as well. *Turan* was organizing annual congresses, sports activities, and festivities. The youths coming together in *Turan* were adherents of the reforms in Turkey. They fervently defended the principles of newly established Turkish governments (Şimşir 1988, 75-76). The Bulgarian government defined *Turan* as an organization applying the Turkish government's policy regarding the reforms (Sarınay 2002, 476). *Turan* was regarded as the barracks of reforms in Turkey (Şimşir 1988, 76). The Bulgarian government perceived *Turan* as a threat because of this connection with the Turkish government

and its effort for spreading reforms of Turkey among the Turks of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian government wanted to reduce the influence of the reformist ideologies of Ankara on the Turks of Bulgaria. For this purpose, *Turan* was dissolved and its activities strictly prohibited in 1934 (Shivarov 2008, 136).

2.3.3. The Turkish Press in Bulgaria

Turkish journalism in Bulgaria has a long history dating from the Ottoman era. *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* which was the first Turkish newspaper in Ottoman history was published in 1831 to provide information about the recent laws. The press movement which started in the Ottoman State spread over other provinces and reached *Tuna vilayeti*. Midhat Paşa who was governor of this province published a newspaper called *Tuna* in 1865 (Turan 1998, 265-266). It was decided to open a printing house in every province in *Nizamname of 1864*, but since there was no statement about the newspaper publication, it is thought that the *Tuna* Newspaper came into publication with the initiative of Midhat Paşa (Koç 2015, 123-125). Within the framework of official publishing, *Tuna* is considered as the pioneer of the Ottoman provincial press and as an outcome of the process of using the printing press effectively in the development efforts modeled on the West (Ibid., 155). In brief, *Tuna* was the first Turkish newspaper to come out in the Balkans. Thus, Bulgaria was the starting place for Turkish journalism in the Balkan region, and later Bulgaria became the center for Turkish journalism in the Balkan region.

In 1908, Bulgaria became an independent state and the Turks started to live as a minority in Bulgaria. With the Neuilly Treaty,[15] there were no restrictions on publications and the free use of minority language in the press. Thus, the Turkish press developed most after the independence of Bulgaria and the Turkish press activities in Bulgaria lasted until 1944. According to a study, 97 Turkish newspapers and magazines were identified between the years 1879 and 1945 (Karagöz 1945, 7-12). With the new findings, the number of Turkish newspapers and magazines published between 1865 and 1985 is declared as 173 (Acaroğlu 1990, VII-VIII). This is a clear indicator that Bulgaria was the prolific place for the Turkish minority press.

[15] Neuilly Treaty was signed as a peace treaty between Bulgaria and the allied powers after World War I. With Neuilly, Bulgaria's new borders were set, the war compensation was decided, and political and social rights of minorities were assured (The Treaty of Peace Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Bulgaria and Protocol signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine 1920, 9-109).

Besides the long-term and abundant publishing life, another importance of Turkish journalism in Bulgaria that almost all of the existing media organs advocated a particular idea because Bulgaria was center for opponents in different periods. Firstly, it was the center for the supporters of *İttihat Terakki* and *Young Turks*[16] because of their disputes with Abdülhamid II. During the reign of Abdülhamid II, the increasing pressure of the government on the press led the *Young Turks* to flee abroad and to organize and continue their press activities there (Doğaner 2012, 115-116). The Bulgarian Principality became a place where the Ottoman State could not interfere in domestic affairs so to publish newspapers in Bulgaria was easy for the *Young Turks*. Since Bulgaria was the adjacent region to the state, these *Young Turks* formed several publications and opposition associations in Bulgaria to easily communicate and transport to İstanbul. The *Young Turk* newspapers published here were delivered to İstanbul quite easily and quickly. Another advantage was the presence of the Turkish minority who would read these newspapers (Turan 1998, 285-286). Thus 25 of the 44 newspapers published in Bulgaria during the principality period belonged to the *Young Turks* (Cambazov 2013, 36). In fact, during this period, the education life of the Turks of Bulgaria was not very developed so it was difficult to find people who would publish newspapers and would continue publication for a long time. However, there were many Turkish newspapers in Bulgaria thanks to the newspapers published by the *Young Turks* (Deliorman 2010, 25). These newspapers were always followed by the Ottoman State. The attitude of the state towards the Turkish press in Bulgaria was not good because of the oppositional position of the *Young Turks*. Thus, Abdülhamid II did not allow these opposition newspapers to enter the Ottoman State and also put pressure on the Bulgarian government to close these newspapers. However, the *Young Turks* were still allowed to publish in their opposition newspapers in Bulgaria (Turan 1998, 290-293).

[16] The concept of *Young Turks* refers to all the dissident groups seeking an end to the absolutist regime of Abdulhamid II (Somel 2002, 107). This group was usually composed of young people who were educated in Europe. This opposition group was shaped by the concern of preserving the territorial integrity of the state and saving it from backwardness towards the West. The ideals of those gathered under this movement were summed up by their choice of the name *İttihat ve Terakki* (The Committee of Union and Progress) (Söğütlü 2010, 10). *İttihat ve Terakki* operated between 1889 and 1918. It was constitutionalist. It suggested introducing constitutional government thereby curbing the power of the Sultan and at the same time satisfying the aspirations of the minorities by giving them equal rights within the law to save the Ottoman State (Ahmad 1969, 13-16).

Later Bulgaria became a center for the opponents of the Republican regime. When the Republican regime was established, the *Young Turks* and the supporters of *İttihat Terakki* in Bulgaria returned to Turkey and replaced them with those who were opponents of the new regime. The opponents to the Republican regime fled to Bulgaria and published Turkish opposition newspapers there. For them, the Republican regime and its ideology were main points to criticize (Cambazov 2013, 39). Among the Turks of Bulgaria, those who opposed the reforms and did not want a similar process to take place in Bulgaria acted similarly with these intellectuals fled to Bulgaria and published critical newspapers. Some of these intellectuals published their newspapers, while others joined the editorial staff of these existing opponent newspapers published by the Turks of Bulgaria. These newspapers included writings that discredit the reforms in Turkey. *Dostluk*, *İntibah*, *Rumeli*, *Yarın*, *Açık Söz*, and *Medeniyet* were one of these newspapers (Şimşir 1988, 243; Memişoğlu 2007, 223; Kerim 1999, 175-176). These newspapers criticized the modernization process and the principle of laicism which aimed at political and social transformations in Turkey. In the same way of Abdülhamid II, the opponent newspapers in Bulgaria during the Republican period were closely followed. During this period, these newspapers were not allowed to enter into Turkey, and attempts were made to close such newspapers by making requests to the Bulgarian government (Bulgaristan'da Türk Basını, I-II).

The establishment of the Republic in Turkey and the subsequent reforms were welcomed by some newspapers in Bulgaria (Memişoğlu 2007, 223). These newspapers were working to introduce and promote these reforms to make the Turks of Bulgaria adopt them (Bulgaristan'da Türk Basını, 62). These newspapers supporting the reforms of Turkey were called Kemalist[17] newspapers (Şimşir 1988,

[17] Kemalism is a view that aims to change the basic structural elements of the Ottoman State and to replace them with Western ones to establish modern society (Mardin 1995, 181). Kemalism is a frame and the sum of pragmatic forms of behavior and rules of life that affect and it transforms all areas of social life from dress to alphabet (Turam 2011, 50). Thus, Kemalism points to the Turkish reform. Mustafa Kemal called the Turkish reform instead of the term Kemalism. Kemalism was ideologized around the basic principles of republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, laicism, and reformism in the 1930s (İnan 2004, 109-112). In brief, Kemalism is a framework and view later an ideology that is the main reason for the changes taking place with the Republic in Turkey. Kemalist is the name given to those who adopt these principles and reforms. The *Medeniyet* Newspaper and the Bulgarian government also used the terms of Kemalism and Kemalist ("Kemalistlik Faaliyette", *Medeniyet*, No: 55, 7 Haziran 1935/ 6 Rebîülevvel 1354, p. 1; "Kemalizm ve Dini Terbiye", *Medeniyet*, No: 41, 20

76). *Deliorman*, *Rehber*, *Rodop*, *Yeniyol*, *Halk Sesi*, and *Turan* were the most famous Kemalist newspapers (Selvelli 2018, 372). Through the Kemalist newspapers, systematic propaganda was started to promote republican ideas in Bulgaria (Sarınay 2002, 301-304). These newspapers not only made propaganda for the reforms but also became their first enforcers. For example, as soon as the alphabet reform was made in Turkey, they started publishing with the Latin letters (Memişoğlu 2007, 224). While Turkey forbade the Arabic letters, the Turks of Bulgaria were free to use the Arabic letters in their newspapers (Crampton 1990, 66). Thus, in Bulgaria newspapers published in both the Latin and the Arabic letters were available together in this period. The existence of Turkish publication with both the Arabic and Latin letters after the alphabet reform made the Turkish press in Bulgaria important (Eren 1997, 149).

As a result of the struggle and efforts of supporters of reforms to make the Turks of Bulgaria adopt, the reforms were spreading rapidly among the Turks of Bulgaria (Cambazov 2013, 40). The Bulgarian government thought that these reforms would bring the Turks of Bulgaria closer to Turkey and keep them under the influence of Turkey. Therefore, the Bulgarian government prepared reports about the Kemalist press. These newspapers cited in the reports accused of disseminating and promoting the reformist ideas and the Turkish nationalist propaganda. Thus, they were seen as a threat to the integrity of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian government started to close these newspapers. All Turkish newspapers written in the Latin alphabet were forbidden in 1934 (Şimşir 1988, 104). The Turkish newspapers published in the Ottoman Turkish continued to be published. With the change in the government of Bulgaria, the publication of all Turkish newspapers and magazines with the Arabic and Latin letters were forbidden in 1944 by closing *Medeniyet* (Ibid., 244).

To sum up, the Turkish press in Bulgaria has been rooted and important. The first provincial newspaper of the Ottoman State was published in Bulgaria in 1865. From this date till 1944, the Turkish press activities continued for 79 years, and many

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Kânunuevvel 1934/ 13 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 1; "Kemalist Mahafilinde Heyecan", *Medeniyet*, No: 28, 26 Temmuz 1934/ 13 Rebîülâhir 1353, p. 4.).

newspapers were published and Bulgaria became an important place for Turkish press activities. The Turkish press was born with partisanship in Bulgaria by the activities carried out by opponents of Abdulhamid II. Later the opponents of the Republican regime went to Bulgaria and published their newspapers. Supporters and opponents of the reforms among the Turks of Bulgaria also carried out their discussions on the reforms through the press. Thus, during these years, the Turkish press in Bulgaria was ideologically divided into two. And also the Turkish newspapers were divided into two in terms of the alphabet used. When the publication in Arabic was forbidden in Turkey, the Turkish newspapers in Bulgaria could be published in both the Latin letters and the Arabic letters. Thus, the Turkish press in Bulgaria is important because of its political content and its scripts used.

2.4. The Involvement of Bulgarian and Turkish Governments in the Reform Debates

Through educational institutions, associations, and press activities, the Turks of Bulgaria tried to protect their identities and values as a minority. However, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and the ongoing reform activities affected the Turks of Bulgaria. Some Turkish institutions, associations, and some of the newspapers were also affected by this ideological change. They started to strive for the Turks of Bulgaria to experience similar social change and supported the reform movement and even worked for it. And these efforts for the movement led to the formation of the opposite group that tried to prevent the implementation of these reforms in Bulgaria. This debate on reforms was not only between the two groups of the Turkish minority but involved both the Bulgarian and Turkish governments. They were involved in this conflict according to their political interest. Their involvement made the fragmentation more complex so to reveal the outcome of this fragmentation, the motivation of the Turkish and Bulgarian governments should be understood (Akıncı 2017, 88). The Turkish-Bulgarian relations between 1923 and 1934 were based on both sides' efforts to maintain diplomatic relations. In 1925, the Turkish-Bulgarian Friendship Treaty was signed and this treaty included respect for borders and the rights of minorities both in Turkey and Bulgaria. With this treaty, they aimed to improve relations (Barlas and Köksal 2014, 178-189).

Bulgaria was the country where the Muslim Turkish population was the most crowded outside the borders of Turkey, therefore it had distinct importance for the Republic of Turkey. The Turks living in Bulgaria were considered an extension of Anatolian Turkishness (Yıldırım 2017, 864). In the first years of the Republic, the Ankara government similarly perceived the Turks of Bulgaria as part of the Turkish nation so if the Turks of Bulgaria also followed the reform movement of Turkey, there would be no cultural disconnect between the Anatolian Turks and the Turks of Bulgaria. Another motivation of Turkey for involvement in the conflict of the Turkish minority was to prevent the formation of an opposition political movement under the influence of the foreign country. Turkey believed that the group opposed to reforms was supported by the Bulgarian government and *başmüftülük* so Turkey did not want the formation of an organized opposition that received powerful financial support and religious legitimacy (Boyar and Fleet 2008, 780). To prevent opponents and to support the reformist, Turkey was closely following all developments and discussions in Bulgaria and was supporting the reformists through diplomatic means. In 1926, Hüsrev Gerede[18] was appointed as ambassador of Sofia (BCA 30-18-1 20-53-1). As the Turkish envoy, Gerede provided firm support to the Kemalist Turks in Bulgaria (Şimşir 1988, 96; Şimşir 2006, 119).

Besides this diplomatic support, Turkey also morally and financially supported the reformists in Bulgaria. For example, the document dated 01 April 1930 stated that the letters requested by the newspapers *Rodop* and *Deliorman* in Bulgaria could not be sent for now due to insufficient allocation but would be taken into account later (BCA 30-10 83 - 548 - 9). According to this document, it is seen that the Turkish newspapers in Bulgaria that wanted to be published in the Latin letters asked for help from Turkey and that Turkey was not indifferent to this situation. Financial help to these newspapers also was reflected in the documents. For example, the document sent to the Sofia embassy by the Foreign Ministry dated 10 June 1930 stated that money was provided to the newspapers *Rodop*, *Halk Sesi*, and *Deliorman* published in Bulgaria (BCA 30-10 240 - 618 - 10). Two years later, similarly, in the document of 24 August 1932, it was said that aid was sent to the same newspapers (BCA 30-10

[18] Hüsrev Gerede was a friend of Mustafa Kemal. He landed in Samsun in 1919 together with Mustafa Kemal and was a supporter of the reform movement in Turkey (Şimşir 1988, 96; Şimşir 2006, 119).

240 - 624 - 8). The embassy also supported these newspapers by subscribing. The document dated 26 November 1932 stated that the embassy got 14,400 Francs as a 3-month subscription fee of the Turkish newspapers published in Bulgaria (BCA 30-10 240 - 625 - 14).

This assistance and support of Turkey were the subjects of reports prepared by Bulgarians. Many reports prepared by the Bulgarian authorities mentioned this support of the Turkish government. For example, the report on the prevention of Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria stated that newspapers *Deliorman*, *Karadeniz*, *Radop*, *Halk Sesi*, etc. were affiliated to Ankara and supported by the Turkish embassy (Sarınay 2002, 346-47). Other reports prepared by the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry's Press Directorate about the Turkish minority in Bulgaria stated that all the Turkish newspapers received financial aid from the Turkish embassy in Sofia except *Dostluk*, *Medeniyet*, *Çiftçi Bilgisi*, *Yarın*, and *Çiftçi Kurtuluşu* (Ibid., 299). Another report mentioned about the help from Turkey for not only the Turkish press but also propaganda as a whole. It stated that the Kemalist propaganda received encouragement and financial support from Turkey (Ibid., 307-308). In brief, Ankara gave attention to the reform movement in Bulgaria and financially and diplomatically supported the associations and newspapers working for the reform movement.

By 1934, the relations between Turkey and Bulgaria started to change. One reason for this was the coup and the governmental change in Bulgaria in 1934 (Barlas and Köksal 2014, 189). Another reason was the developments in international politics. The atmosphere before World War II formed the axis powers having expansionist interests such as Italy and Germany. Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Romania signed the Balkan Pact in 1934 against their expansionist policies in the Balkans. However, Bulgaria refused to participate in this pact and stood alongside Italy because Bulgaria wished to take back the lands lost in World War I and the Second Balkan War (Kaştan 2008, 680). Two countries were not directly involved in any disputes but their relationship became confrontational (Barlas and Köksal 2014, 189). Bulgaria's attitude towards the Turkish minority varied according to its

relations with Turkey (Kaştan 2008, 686). After this year, the Bulgarian government involved in the reform debate among the Turkish minority in a way that opposes those who are reformists.

The support of Ankara and the reform movement was closely followed by the Bulgarian government because the Bulgarian government saw this propaganda as a threat to their national security. The Bulgarian authorities called this reform movement in Bulgaria the Kemalist propaganda and they perceived the impact of Kemalism as a kind of Pan-Türkizm aimed at transforming the Turks of Bulgaria into an ethnically conscious Turkish minority (Tahir 2015, 579), they defined the goal of Kemalist propaganda as breaking the existing spiritual ties between the Bulgarian state and the Turks and an attempt to make them adopt the new ideas of Turkey so Turks would turn into a mass minority under the orders of Turkey (Sarınay 2002, 307-308). Pan-Türkizm is one of the expansionist ideologies emphasizing Turkish unity. However, it is claimed that the Republican regime did not pursue political expansionism based on racial and cultural affinity. The regime accused these thoughts with utopianism (Ertekin 2002, 353-373).

In brief, in the first years of the Republic, movements such as Pan-Türkizm were not allowed (Özdal et al. 2010 114). The main reason for this foreign policy was the principle of peace at home, peace at the world. And this principle was criticized by the Turkist thinkers. For example, Atsız described this principle as a miserable political principle and he criticized Turkey's foreign policy towards the Turks in Bulgaria and the Aegean islands during World War II. He stated that no steps were taken to complete the Turkish union (Atsız 1950, 5). In short, in the early years of the Republic, Pan-Türkizm was not effective in the Turkish foreign policy. However, as mentioned earlier, the Turkish government aimed to preserve cultural ties with Turks living outside Turkey. And the Bulgarian government saw this attempt of the Turkish government as the Pan-Türkist effort. Thus, the Kemalist propaganda was seen as having the intention of breaking the delicate bonds of the minority with Turkey itself (Şimşir 1988, 96). During these years, the newly independent Bulgarian state was trying to create citizenship consciousness. There was the goal of the

Bulgarian government to create a single nation based on the imagination of homeland so the desire of Kemalists to establish tight ties with Turkey triggered this ideal of Bulgarian government (Hatiboğlu 2006, 120-121).

The Bulgarian government thought that the Turks of Bulgaria would be connected to the Turkish state if the reforms carried out in Turkey would spread among them (Sarınay 2002, 462). Thus, the Bulgarian government officially supported the opposite faction to prevent the Kemalist propaganda (Selvelli 2018, 376-378). In brief, the Bulgarian government became involved in the conflict of the Turkish minority and the motivation of this involvement was shaped by the idea to protect national security and to control the minority because they defined Kemalism as a threat to make Turkish minority connected to Turkey by triggering national sentiments of the Turks of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian government also realized the support of the Turkish government to the Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria. Therefore, many commissions were formed and reports were prepared to examine the Kemalist propaganda and to prevent the spreading of this propaganda among the Turks of Bulgaria.

First of all, the Bulgarian government examined the spheres of influence of Kemalist propaganda. The report by the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry dated 17 November 1934 stated that the Kemalist propaganda found supporters among the Turkish minority. As a sociopolitical movement, it took over religious, spiritual, and educational institutions of the Turks of Bulgaria to spread this ideology. Thus, many teachers, school administrations, journalists, *müftüs*, and *imams* were at the service of Kemalist propaganda (Sarınay 2002, 360- 364). Then reports stated that Kemalism must be immediately taken under control. For example, the commission report on the prevention of foreign propaganda in Bulgaria dated 23 April 1934 makes clear this strategy of the Bulgarian government. In this report, the precautions to be taken about the Kemalist propaganda were listed as follows: First, political refugees from Turkey should be allowed to carry out their activities against the Kemalist propaganda. Second, the activities of *Türk Muallimler Birliği* should be prevented. Third, measures should be taken against the Kemalist press which was supported by

the Turkish embassy and financial aid should be provided to the Turkish newspapers fighting against Kemalism (Ibid., 328-337). The newspapers against Turkey were supported by the Bulgarian government because Bulgaria wanted to separate Turks from developments in Turkey and to weaken the ties between them and Turkey (Şimşir 1988, 243). In brief, this report suggested preventing Kemalist associations and newspapers. For this, the Bulgarian government focused on the characteristic of Kemalism to carry out effective preventive propaganda.

The main aim of Kemalism seen as establishing a national identity and laicism is the basic principle of Kemalism. Laicism was defined as a powerful tool for the Turkish government to embrace new nationalist ideas more than the theological principles. Thus, laicism in Turkey had been applied in the fields of education, law, and so on. As mentioned, the Bulgarian authorities stressed that these demands were not only limited to the borders of the Turkish state. There were attempts to awaken the national consciousness of the Turks in neighboring states. Therefore, the Bulgarian authorities started to think that there is no interest for Bulgaria when laicism would be facilitated among the Turks of Bulgaria (Sarınay 2002, 451-455). Thus, the laicization of the schools and courts of the Turkish minority should not be allowed, as laicism would lead to a political awakening among the Turkish minority and the development of national consciousness. On the contrary, the Turkish traditions and religious beliefs that separated the Turks of Bulgaria from the current Turkish state should be supported to deepen separation among the Turkish minority based on ideas and religion (Ibid., 459- 460). In brief, the Bulgarian administration focused on the laic character of Kemalism and the laicization process in Turkey. And they stated that the Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria aims to experience the same transformation in the Turkish minority institutions such as schools and courts. However, the Bulgarian government perceived laicization of these institutions would increase national consciousness and eliminate the separateness of Turks of Bulgaria from Turkey. Therefore, the Bulgarian government chose its strategy in this conflict as preventing the laicization of minority institutions and as protecting these religious and traditional institutions.

This idea was reflected in different reports. For example, the commission of a report by the secretaries-general of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults, the Minister of Interior, and the Minister of National Education was submitted on 23 April 1934. In this report, it was suggested that the appointment of *başmüftü* should be done by the tsar or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults, not by election. Then the authority of the *başmüftü* should be increased. For example, the activities of *Türk Muallimler Birliği* should be prevented and the Turkish minority schools should be controlled by *başmüftülük* (Sarınay 2012, 328-338). Similarly, Hindalov[19] advised that the privileges of *başmüftü* should be increased. Because Hindalov believed that the well-organized Muslims of Bulgaria could manage against the propaganda of the Turkish government by their own efforts, so there would not be any effect on friendly relations with Turkey. Hindalov stated that there were *müftüs* and teachers in Bulgaria who had not given up on the well-established socio-religious values against the Kemalist propaganda because of the pressure of the laic government on the *Quran*, *Sharia*, *Sharia court*s, *mosques*, *madrasas* in Turkey. Thus, they were opposed to laic Turkey and Kemalist propaganda. They defined Bulgaria as their homeland and believed that they had religious freedom in Bulgaria. Therefore, according to Hindalov, all possible religious concessions should be given and *başmüftülük* should be supported against Kemalism (Ibid., 348-356). According to these suggestions and strategies, the Bulgarian authorities tried to give the Muslim identity prominence and they tried to create Islamic feelings among the Turks to make this community feel just like a Muslim against nationalist sentiments (Tahir 2015, 579).

In brief, the supporters of Turkish modernization were trying to spread the reforms instituted in Turkey among the Turks of Bulgaria and to make them adopt these reforms. However, some of the Turks of Bulgaria were against this reform movement because of the laic characteristic of the reforms. They prioritized their religious identity and they were unwilling to have the same social and political changes in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian government tried to prevent any foreign

[19] Vlad Todorov Hindalov was an expert tasked by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults to investigate Kemalism. He wrote down a report on the prevention of Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria on 6 May 1934 (Sarınay 2012, 348).

propaganda and their domestic activities inside Bulgaria. The Bulgarian government defined the reform movement in Bulgaria as Kemalist propaganda and they saw Kemalist propaganda as one of these foreign propaganda. The Bulgarian state saw this propaganda as dangerous in its ability to form nationalist bonds towards Turkey, and they started to prevent Kemalist propaganda. The Bulgarian government also realized the polarized situation of the Turks and they made a strategy to support the opponents of the Kemalist propaganda by underlining the laic character of the reforms because the Bulgarian authority wanted to keep the Turks as a loyal minority of the Bulgarian state. For this aim, many experts and institutions prepared reports. In these reports, it was suggested to end the activities of Kemalist associations and press and to support opponent groups in terms of administrative, press, educational, and religious aspects. The Bulgarian government tried to neutralize the Kemalist ideas and took concrete steps in this direction. The supporters of Kemalism were removed from their posts, the newspapers and institutions working for Kemalist propaganda were closed. In addition to the preventive steps against the Kemalist propaganda, the Bulgarian government also supported opponents. According to reports, it is seen that the Bulgarian government defined *başmüftülük* as the main opponent institution and tried to make *başmüftülük* an effective institution for the Turks of Bulgaria in the struggle against the Kemalist propaganda. And *başmüftülük* became an important and visible institution in this discussion among the Turks of Bulgaria in terms of reforms.

2.4.1. Başmüftülük

Although *başmüftülük* was established after the independence of Bulgaria, *müftülük* is a well-established institution that the Muslims of Bulgaria have had for a long time. In Bulgaria, the Islamic institutions were organized just like the Ottoman State. In the Ottoman State, religious services were carried out by *ilmiye* which is an organization formed by *müftüs* and *qadis*. And *şeyhülislam* was the head of this organization (Cambazov 2013, 115). For this reason, *müftülük* is among the former organizations of the Turks of Bulgaria. *Müftülük* continued to survive by the substances of the Treaty of Berlin which included the right to establish religious

organizations and the immunity of religious organizations. According to the treaty, Muslims also could maintain their relations with *şeyhülislam.*[20] The *sancak* (banner-region) *müftüs* chosen by the Muslims of Bulgaria would be certified by *şeyhülislam*. This situation is the same as the organizational system in the Ottoman period (Cambazov 2013, 124).

In 1895, *Müslümanların Dini İdarelerine dair Muvakkat Talimatname* (The Provisional Instruction on the Religious Administrations of Muslims) established *başmüftülük* (Cambazov 2013, 163). *Başmüftü* would be the religious leader of the Muslims of Bulgaria and the representative of all Muslims of Bulgaria. This instruction restricted the Muslim minority's relations with *şeyhülislam* by making it more dependent on the Bulgarian government because the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults became the final approval authority of all processes about *başmüftülük* and *başmüftü* would be appointed with the approval of the Bulgarian prince (Zılyabıd 2003, 23). There was also the influence of the Bulgarian government on the other *müftüs*. After elections, they were appointed by the Bulgarian authorities and paid a salary as a civil servant (Ertürk and Eminoğlu 1993, 6). Then the Bulgarian independence was approved with the İstanbul Protocol. *Müftülükler Sözleşmesi* (The Convention on Müftüs) appended to the protocol regulated to the office of *müftü*. The first article of the convention says there will be a *başmüftü* (Şimşir 1988, 294). Thus, *başmüftülük* which was legally established in 1895 became active (Keskioğlu 1985, 37-39). However, the convention was not immediately implemented. During this period, some Muslims of Bulgaria, who were dissatisfied with the attitude of the Bulgarian government towards Muslims, sent letters stating that the Bulgarian government did not comply with the convention, despite the promise that there would be a *başmüftü* and no interference in the religious affairs of Muslims. Thus, they expected help from the Ottoman newspapers and the Ottoman government in their letters (Bulgar Müslümanlarının Şikayetleri 2015, 80-81).

[20] Article V states that freedom of all forms of worship is assured, no hindrance shall be offered either to the hierarchical organization of the different communions or to their relations with their spiritual chiefs (Treaty between Great Britain, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey for the Settlement of Affairs in the East 1908, 406).

The first election of *başmüftü* was held in 1910 and the first *başmüftü* came to work by election (Zılyabıd 2003, 32-33). However, this changed with later arrangements. According to *Müslüman Müessesa't-ı Diniye İdare ve Teşkilatı Nizamnamesi* (The Regulation on the Administration of the Muslim Organization) in 1919, *müftüs* would be appointed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults then *başmüftü* would be chosen by the *müftüs* (Keskioğlu 1985, 28). Thus, *başmüftülük* was tightly attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults (Turan 2006, 430). After 1927, although it was decided in the agreements that all *müftüs* would be brought to power by election but these agreements were violated and any *başmüftü* was elected and they were appointed by the ministry[21] (Çalışkan 2019, 61). Muslims could not exercise their rights given by the treaties. It was claimed that the Bulgarian government appointed its people to *başmüftülük* (Yakut and Bayrak 2005, 343). This situation was criticized. For instance, Mehmet Behçet Perim, who lived at that time, described the state of the Bulgarian *müftüs* as deplorable when he wrote his memories. He described the appointments of *müftüs* as putty in the hands of Bulgarian deputies that's why he considered *başmüftülük* as an insignificant institution (Perim 2013, 13).

In brief, *başmüftülük* was formed to cut the direct relationship of Muslims of Bulgaria with the Ottoman State and after with Turkey. The Bulgarian government wanted to create a loyal Muslim minority to the Bulgarian state so they gave importance to *başmüftülük*. They intervened and controlled *başmüftülük* and even the election of *başmüftü* was under the influence of Bulgarian government. At the first, *başmüftü* was required to act as an intermediary between the *müftüs* in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults. Thus, the religious institutions and foundations were placed under the supervision of *başmüftülük*. However, in time, *başmüftülük* became not only an institution of religious affairs instead its authority was further expanded, especially after the Bulgarian government decided a strategy against the reform movement by cooperation with *başmüftülük* and by giving wider authority to *başmüftülük*. *Başmüftülük* was already against these reforms so the report suggested cooperation between the Bulgarian government and *başmüftülük.* There is a claim that this cooperation was already formed. *Başmüftülük*

[21] On the list of *başmüftü* see the appendix 16.

and its branches in the provinces cooperated with the Bulgarian government on the pursuit and the prosecution of Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria. This cooperation is mentioned in the article dated 17 November 1934 sent from the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults to the Ministry of Interior regarding the Kemalist propaganda among the Turks in Bulgaria. The article stated that in order to prevent the Kemalist propaganda, the ministry gets the assistance of *başmüftülük*. For instance, Kemalists working in different institutions would be replaced by ones who were suggested by *başmüftülük* (Sarınay 2002, 360-364). In line with the commission's proposals and reports, the Bulgarian government increased the powers of religious organizations and so strengthened the influence of religious organizations on the Muslims of Bulgaria. For instance, mosques and school councils were merged and the names close to *başmüftülük* were assigned to these places (Günay 2006, 46-47).

Başmüftülük also became an effective institution in the field of education. One of the arrangements that brought *başmüftülük* to this position was the decision in 1935 by the Bulgarian government to give the authority to supervise books to be taught in minority schools to the most competent religious institution of each nation in order to regulate the national education. In this way, the books to be taught in the Turkish schools would firstly be approved by *başmüftülük* and sent to the Ministry of Education for approval.[22] In brief, *başmüftülük* got the authority to approve the books. *Başmüftülük* also were able to inspect the Turkish schools and to propose the opening of new schools and *madrasa* if they thought necessary (Şimşir 1988, 46). Thus, *başmüftülük* came to an important point in the management of Turkish schools by getting the authority to supervise the Turkish educational institutions. It can be said that the existence of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria was dependent upon the Turkish schools, religious institutions, vakfs, and charity institutions (Ibid., 79) and during these years, those institutions were managed by *başmüftülük*. In brief, *başmüftülük* was given the authority to control all Muslim Turkish institutions and organizations (Memişoğlu 2007, 116). As mentioned earlier, all these powers given to *başmüftülük* were seen as the result of the strategy that the Bulgarian government

[22] "Mektep Kitapları Hakkındaki Talimatname", *Medeniyet*, No: 62, 9 Eylül 1935/ 10 Cemâziyelâhir 1354, p. 4.

chose in response to the reform movement. For this reason, *başmüftü* came to the fore in the debate about the reforms and *başmüftü* of the period, Hüseyin Hüsnü, was one of the most important people in this debate.

2.4.2. Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi

Hüseyin Hüsnü was born in 1882 in Şumnu. He studied at the village school (*köy mektebi*) until the age of 13-14 and then continued his education at *Eski Camii madrasa* in Şumnu. Here he trained with Arabic philology and *Sharia*. In 1906, he went to İstanbul to complete his religious education. He was living in the *Kabahalil Madrasa* in Zincirlikuyu and attending classes in Fatih. He stayed in İstanbul for ten years and in 1916 he came back to Bulgaria during World War I. Later, he became a soldier shortly after the return. He did his military service as an *imam* of a battalion. At the end of the war, he was appointed as *müftü* of Şumnu in 1919. In 1927, he participated in the election for *başmüftü* done by the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults and he became second against Süleyman Faik. However, in 1928, Süleyman Faik resigned due to illness, Hüseyin Hüsnü was appointed as *deputy başmüftü* (*başmüftü kaymakamı*) in 1928.[23] However, another claim was that although Süleyman Faik won the election, the election was not approved by the government. Süleyman Faik thought that he cannot do his duty in such an environment so he resigned (Ahmed 2018, 17).

As mentioned, it is claimed that the Bulgarian government had a strategy to prevent the reform movement by the cooperation of *başmüftülük*. They did not directly intervene in the struggle of Turks of Bulgaria so they supported *başmüftülük* to prevent breaking friendly relations with Turkey (Cambazov 2013, 331). Therefore, they aimed to conduct an anti-reformist struggle through *başmüftülük*. On this time, they would say that the Turks of Bulgaria does not want to apply the reforms in their social life by underlining the activities and efforts of *başmüftülük*. For this purpose, it was stated that Hüseyin Hüsnü would be the most suitable person for the post of *başmüftü* and can help more than anyone else (Sarınay 2002, 356). While living in

[23] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Reisi Merhum Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendinin Kısaca Tercüme-i Halini Takdim Ediyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 242, 16 Teşrinievvel 1940/ 14 Ramazan 1359, p. 1.

İstanbul between 1906 and 1916, he witnessed the struggle between the parties of *Hürriyet ve İtilaf* and *İttihat Terakki*.[24] He was influenced by the views of *Hürriyet ve İtilaf* and supported them in this struggle. This selection based on his belief and he returned with this conviction and lived according to this conviction. All stages of his life show this.[25] Even if it is assumed that his anti-Kemalist view of the later years based on his this political standpoint and support for *Hürriyet ve İtilaf* because he was against everything related to *İttihat Terakki* and he saw Kemalism as a kind of *İttihatçılık* (supporter of *İttihat Terakkki*) (Cambazov 2013, 332).

He had this critical standpoint towards changes in Turkey and he vehemently opposed the reforms in Turkey such as the adoption of the hat, the replacing of the Arabic script with the Latin, and the introduction of a civil code in place of the *Sharia.* Because he thought that these political decisions would cause drastic changes in the daily life of the Turkish society and would influence their religious practices. Thus, he aimed to keep the Turks of Bulgaria away from any Kemalist influence during his tenure as *başmüftü* (Boyar and Fleet 2008, 775-776). For this purpose, *başmüftülük* tried to minimize the influence of these reforms on the Turkish minority in Bulgaria (Cambazov 2013, 323). Thus, he wanted all the *müftüs* and *imams* to work to prevent Kemalism from spreading among the people by sending orders from *başmüftülük* (Cambazov 2014, 265). Thus, many activities of Hüseyin Hüsnü were interpreted as against the Kemalist propaganda. First, it was claimed that he patronized opponents of the regime who left the country after the declaration of the Republic in Turkey (Deliorman 2010, 112-113). These Turkish intellectuals who did not adopt the Kemalist views settled in Bulgaria and they continued their political and cultural studies there (Özsarı 2015, 1). These intellectuals expelled from Turkey

[24] Like *İttihat ve Terakki*, *Hürriyet ve İtilaf* was constitutionalist. According to the first article of the party program, the main goal was to provide genuine constitutionalism that was promised by *İttihat Terakki* but had not been established until then. When *Hürriyet ve İtilaf* was founded in 1911, Rumelia and Islands were lost. Therefore, the main purpose of the party was to protect the political unity of the Ottoman State. To achieve this, it was aimed to establish a real political unity among the various elements of the state. With this policy, which was called *İttihadı Anasır*, was aimed at making minority loyal to the state with an uncompromising understanding of freedom and protecting their rights (Birinci 1990, 56-64). Thus, Ottomanism was in their party program. The ideology of Ottomanism denies nationalism (Aydoğan 2013, 845-967). The tendency of *İttihat ve Terakki* to achieve political unity under the leadership of the dominant Turkish element by using force was the main difference between the two parties.

[25] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Reisi Merhum Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendinin Kısaca Tercüme-i Halini Takdim Ediyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 242, 16 Teşrinievvel 1940/ 14 Ramazan 1359, p. 1.

are also thought to play a role in the polarization of the Turks of Bulgaria (Sarıkoyuncu and Sarıkoyuncu 2005, 483). They were called as *150likler*.[26] It is claimed that Hüseyin Hüsnü patronized them. For example, it is claimed that the *İntibah* Newspaper was published with the help of *başmüftülük*. *150likler* and other Turkish deserters were the authors of this newspaper (Karagöz 1945, 45). The newspaper was considered as the spokesman of *başmüftülük* (Deliorman 2010, 112-113). It is even claimed that it was distributed to the villagers for free by the *müftüs* (Acaroğlu 1990, 25-26).

Second, Hüseyin Hüsnü took the Turkish schools and foundations under the administration of *başmüftülük*. While he was controlling the management of the Turkish institutions, he became influential in not allowing the intervention of the reformist ideas in these Turkish institutions in Bulgaria. For example, in 1928, the decision of *Türk Muallimler Birliği* about education in the Latin letters. This decision was approved by the Bulgarian government in 1930 and education in the Arabic letters was banned in the Turkish schools (Şimşir 1992b, 315). However, during the period of Hüseyin Hüsnü's tenure, the Arabic letters were reused in the Turkish schools (Deliorman 2010, 112-113). Third, he saw the press as an important tool in this struggle. He established the basis of the Islamic printing press to facilitate the necessary publication for the Muslims of Bulgaria to protect their religion.[27] He ran an effective media campaign against Ankara. It was claimed that the opponent newspapers against the Ankara government were mostly funded by *başmüftülük*. *Medeniyet*, *Sada-i İslam*, *Açık Söz* (Akıncı 2017, 60-61), *İntibah* (Karagöz 1945, 45), and *Dostluk* (Boyar and Fleet 2008, 778) were these supported newspapers. Lastly, he founded *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* (The Association of the Defenders of Islam) against the Kemalist propaganda (Hatiboğlu 2007a, 72-73; Memişoğlu 2007, 226). In *Medeniyet*, it is stated that *başmüftü* Hüseyin Hüsnü helped Muslims who were trying to form an Islamic association and provided them with this association.[28]

[26] The term *150likler* is used for the list of 150 people who were considered as betrayers after the establishment of the Republic. There were 13 journalists on the list (Soysal 1985, 62). In 1927, they were denationalized and sent into exile by the decision of the Turkish National Assembly. However, in 1938, they were forgiven by the enacted law (Ibid., 5-6).

[27] "Halk Sesi İsminde Bir Gazete Varmış", *Medeniyet*, No: 16, 10 Mart 1934/ 24 Zilkade 1352, p. 3.

[28] "Halk Sesi İsminde Bir Gazete Varmış", *Medeniyet*, No: 16, 10 Mart 1934/ 24 Zilkade 1352, p. 3.

After serving as *başmüftü*, he became president of the association in 1937 and continued in this position until his death.[29]

Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti was founded in 1934. The association published a declaration in the 15th issue of *Medeniyet*. In this declaration, the disunion and disintegration among the Muslims of Bulgaria are mentioned and also the rise of irreligion and immorality in recent times is emphasized. Thus, it is explained that the association was established to protect the Muslims against the danger of irreligion and to strengthen their religious feelings.[30] It is stated that the association opposes irreligion and harmful propaganda[31] and it is a force that will end the tampering with the destiny of Muslims of Bulgaria.[32] The units to be formed in each city and village are also mentioned and the Muslims are asked to become members.[33]

As mentioned, during the 1930s, the reforms in Turkey were discussed by the Turks of Bulgaria and they were divided into two opposing groups as the supporter of reforms and opponents to reforms. The reform movement was defined as the tendency for irreligiousness and immorality by the opposing groups. This association had a clear opposite standpoint against the reforms in Turkey and the propaganda to apply them in Bulgaria. They defined this struggle as protecting the religion of Islam by gathering genuine Muslims.[34] The association stated that the main purpose of the enemies of religion is to eliminate religious provisions by taking the administration and obligations of Muslims into their hands. This happened in Anatolia and that it was being done with the Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria.[35] Therefore, the association stated that Muslims should not be separated and should have religious

[29] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Reisi Merhum Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendinin Kısaca Tercüme-i Halini Takdim Ediyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 242, 16 Teşrinievvel 1940/ 14 Ramazan 1359, p. 2.
[30] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Meclis İdaresi Tarafından Bulgaristan Müslümanlarına Beyanname", *Medeniyet*, No: 15, 22 Şubat 1934/ 7 Zilkade 1352, pp. 1-2.
[31] "Bir Tevzih", *Medeniyet*, No: 22, 14 Mayıs 1934/ 19 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 4.
[32] "Celilov'a", *Medeniyet*, No: 17, 20 Mart 1934/ 4 Zilhicce 1352, p. 2.
[33] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Meclis İdaresi Tarafından Bulgaristan Müslümanlarına Beyanname", *Medeniyet*, No: 15, 22 Şubat 1934/ 7 Zilkade 1352, p. 2.
[34] Ahmed Hikmet, "Açıksöz", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p. 3.
[35] Celalledin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp Dinsiz Edebiyat 13", *Medeniyet*, No: 50, 12 Nisan 1935/ 8 Muharremü'l Haram 1354, p. 4.

leaders. It is said that an association was needed to resolve this issue.[36] According to the declaration and these ideas, the association saw the reform movement as being against religion so they chose the name of the association as defenders of Islam. They invited the Muslims of Bulgaria to be united and to fight against the Kemalist movement. The main aim of the association was to protect the traditional way of religious life and to prevent the spread of reforms being carried out in Turkey among the Muslims of Bulgaria.

There is a discussion about who funded and supported to *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti*. It is claimed that the Bulgarian government supported this association to keep the Turks of Bulgaria away from Turkey. As mentioned before, this policy of the Bulgarian government was reflected in the reports. Some reports also included *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti.* For example, in the commission report dated 23 April 1934 on the prevention of foreign propaganda in Bulgaria, recommended to financially and morally support *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* in order to prevent the Kemalist propaganda (Sarınay 2002, 335-337). Another example is the article dated 17 November 1934 sent to the Ministry of Interior from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults of Bulgaria on the Kemalist propaganda among the Turkish population in Bulgaria. In this article, it was stated that the ministry supported and assisted *başmüftülük* in organizing the branches of the *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* (Ibid., 361-362). Cambazov also claims that the idea of establishing such kind of association to prevent the Kemalist and Pan-Türkist ideas was created by the Bulgarians themselves not by the Turks of Bulgaria. Cambazov uses the report prepared by Hindalov as a basis for this claim (Cambazov 2013, 389). As mentioned earlier, in his report, Hindalov says that the Kemalist attacks can be repelled with the well-organized Bulgarian Islam (Sarınay 2002, 354-356). Cambazov believes that Bulgarians organized Muslims around this association and benefited from their attempt to prevent the reform movement. Thus, the association was criticized because of its relations with the Bulgarian government and *başmüftülük*. Whereas in the declaration published by the association, it was stated

[36] "Hayatı İçtimaiyye ve İslamiyet", *Medeniyet*, No: 19, 14 Nisan 1934/ 29 Zilhicce 1352, p. 2.

that the association is not under anyone's influence and that it has no relation to politics.[37]

All of these activities and discussions made Hüseyin Hüsnü the main actor in this struggle between the Turks of Bulgaria in the 1930s (Akgül 2005, 503). His actions were criticized by the Turkish government and the supporters of reforms in Bulgaria. They thought that the Bulgarian government benefited from Hüseyin Hüsnü in this division among the Turks of Bulgaria (Değerli 2009, 288-289). Due to these comments, the attitude of the Bulgarian government, the commission's proposals and the suggestions in the Hindalov's report, *başmüftülük* and Hüseyin Hüsnü were criticized and he was disliked by some groups and individuals and was called the Bulgarian servant and black *müftü* (Cambazov 2013, 331-332). Because he did everything to prevent this movement, such as defining those who adopted the reforms as irreligious (Keskioğlu 1985, 22), denouncing them to the Bulgarian authorities (Şimşir 1988, 52), and allowing himself to be backed by the Bulgarian government (Boyar and Fleet 2008, 775). During this period, Yaşar Nabi Nayır was on a trip to the Balkan countries. He claimed that Hüseyin Hüsnü gained the hatred of Turkey and Turks of Bulgaria because of his effort to use the Arabic alphabet despite the wishes of Turks in Bulgaria so he criticized keeping Hüseyin Hüsnü as *başmüftü* (Nayır 1999, 9-10). He described Hüseyin Hüsnü as the enemy of the Turkish identity, as the enemy of the reform, and as ignorant (Ibid., 45-46). Also for Şimşir, Bulgarians used Hüseyin Hüsnü as a tool against Turkey and against the Turks of Bulgaria who sympathized with the reforms (Şimşir 1988, 52).

Since Hüseyin Hüsnü was considered the opponent of the reforms in Turkey, he became under fierce attacks and criticisms of the media both in Turkey and Bulgaria (Keskioğlu 1985, 166). Even it is stated that İsmet İnönü and the Turkish delegation did not visit *başmüftü*, during their visit to Bulgaria in 1933.[38] However, the Bulgarian government did not renew the election of *başmüftü* for 8 years. This allowed Hüseyin Hüsnü to continue his duty during the years of 1928-1936. The

[37] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Meclis İdaresi Tarafından Bulgaristan Müslümanlarına Beyanname", *Medeniyet*, No: 15, 22 Şubat 1934/ 7 Zilkade 1352, p. 2.
[38] "Şayanı Dikkat Bir İstihbara Cevap", *Medeniyet*, No: 5, 6 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 4.

Turkish government started to harshly criticize him and put pressure on the Bulgarian government to end up his duty (Cambazov 2013, 331). Though Hüseyin Hüsnü became a concern for the bilateral relationship between the Bulgarian and Turkish governments, the former acted accordingly for the favor of Turkish government and dismissed Hüseyin Hüsnü from his post as *başmüftü* in 1936 (Deliorman 2010, 112-13). However, Hüseyin Hüsnü was appointed as inspector of the newly established *Tedrisatı Diniyye Müfettişliği* (The Religious Education Inspectorate).[39] The purpose of this unit was to ensure that the alphabet in teaching activities at the Turkish schools should be in Arabic. In this regard, it is claimed that the Bulgarian government wanted to take advantage of Hüseyin Hüsnü. As soon as he came into office, he supervised the Turkish schools and informed against the schools teaching in the Latin letters to the Bulgarian authority (Değerli 2009, 286). After all of his duties, activities, and critics about him, on 6 October 1940, he passed away in Sofia.[40] He was buried in the cemetery in Orlandovtsi, where the Turks were buried in Sofia. However, the traces of the grave was destroyed by the communist regime so its location is unknown today (Zor Zamanların Başmüftüsü: Şumnulu Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi 2019, 17).

Besides all of these criticisms and allegations, there was a totally different and positive consideration about him. Thus, it can be said that there are two extreme descriptions of Hüseyin Hüsnü. In addition to these negative criticisms, the other assessment about Hüseyin Hüsnü is that he lived a total *mujahideen* life, challenged the people who threaten religious life, and tried to protect of Muslim's rights (Çalışkan 2019, 72). *Başmüftülük* which means the religious leadership of the Muslims of Bulgaria actually has much wider social influence. Thus, *başmüftülük* is described as a hard responsibility and it becomes more difficult to perform this task, especially in difficult times. The years of Hüseyin Hüsnü's tenure can be seen as one of the difficult times as the debate on Islam and laicism deepened among the Turks of Bulgaria, the *madrasas* were closed, and the letters of the Quran were removed. Despite this, Hüseyin Hüsnü found *Din-i İslâm Müdafileri Cemiyeti* and started a tough fight against Kemalism which he accepted as irreligious (Zor Zamanların

[39] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Reisi Merhum Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendinin Kısaca Tercüme-i Halini Takdim Ediyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 242, 16 Teşrinievvel 1940/ 14 Ramazan 1359, p. 2.
[40] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Reisi Merhum Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendinin Kısaca Tercüme-i Halini Takdim Ediyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 242, 16 Teşrinievvel 1940/ 14 Ramazan 1359, p. 2.

Başmüftüsü: Şumnulu Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi 2019, 17). Thus, it is stated that he challenged religious life-threatening mischief, saving foundations and schools from their influence. He brought religious people in positions everywhere.[41] Hüseyin Hüsnü said that the Bulgarian authorities met the needs of the Muslims, such as *Medresetün Nüvvab* and *Sharia* courts, so there was no problem between the Bulgarian government and the Muslims of Bulgaria.[42] Hüseyin Hüsnü thought that Turkishness and the rights of Turks could be protected through Islam. He said that however, Kemalists did not realize this, they tried to serve Turkishness by the means of Kemalism and this caused a division among the Turks (Cambazov 2013, 332). According to his way, Hüseyin Hüsnü tried to serve the Turks of Bulgaria and he helped the Muslims trying to form an association with *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* and he assigned *Medeniyet* to spread the ideas of the association. He did this to preserve Islam, and all his steps are described as a duty to be done.[43]

However, there are different interpretations of his activities. For example, it is claimed that Hüseyin Hüsnü published *Medeniyet* and established *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* to start persecuting the Turkish intellectuals supporting reforms. This is interpreted as Hüseyin Hüsnü waged a terrible war against the Turks of Bulgaria with the support of the Bulgarian government (Şimşir 1988, 52). As mentioned earlier, the reason for the wide powers given to him was seen as a part of the policy of the Bulgarian government against the reform movement because the Bulgarian government saw the reforms as a danger to their regime (Değerli 2009, 257). Thus, Kemalists claimed that the steps of the Bulgarian authorities, such as providing the Turks with wide religious freedoms, increasing the authority of *başmüftü*, and promoting the education in Arabic, aimed at preventing the cultural identities of the Turks in this way (Yenisoy 1999, 129-130). In fact, two different interpretations made about Hüseyin Hüsnü and the association he founded are indications of how the Turks of Bulgaria were polarized in the debate about the reform movement. In this conflict, *başmüftülük*, Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi, and *Din-i*

[41] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Reisi Merhum Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendinin Kısaca Tercüme-i Halini Takdim Ediyoruz", *Medeniyet,* No: 242, 16 Teşrinievvel 1940/ 14 Ramazan 1359, p. 2.
[42] "Medresetün Nüvvab Tevzi Mükafat Merasimi", *Medeniyet,* No: 59, 31 Temmuz 1935/ 30 Rebîülâhir 1354, p. 2.
[43] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Reisi Merhum Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendinin Kısaca Tercüme-i Halini Takdim Ediyoruz", *Medeniyet,* No: 242, 16 Teşrinievvel 1940/ 14 Ramazan 1359, p. 1.

İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti were main actors so analyzing *Medeniyet*, which is the media organ of *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti*, can help to understand what the main views and claims of the critical and opposing group. This analysis will also help in seeking out what the main reasons for being critical and opposed to the changes in Turkey were.

CHAPTER III

THE MEDENİYET NEWSPAPER

3.1. The Medeniyet Newspaper

Medeniyet started its publishing life in Filibe[44] on August 19, 1933. In the 1930s, most Turkish publications in Bulgaria were published in Filibe so Filibe can be defined as the capital of culture and civilization for the Turks of Bulgaria (Özsarı 2015, 11). Filibe was also seen as the capital of the Kemalist propaganda and it was said that the Turkish consulate in Filibe supported these activities (Sarınay 2002, 480). For this reason, the place of printing may be selected as Filibe. However, after the first 6 issues in Filibe, the newspaper was moved from Filibe to Sofia so it was not published that week and there was a two-week delay. The newspaper gave this situation under the title of *İ'tizar* (The Apology) in the 7th issue. They explained the purpose of the move by saying that "It is to carry out our duty for the Muslims of Bulgaria in a more serious way".[45] As mentioned, *Medeniyet* was seen as related with *başmüftülük* and *başmüftülük* was located in Sofia so maybe this move aimed to keep relations close and to carry out its mission. At the same issue, it is declared that the *Nüvvab* printing house was established in Sofia.[46] There is no clear explanation regarding why the newspaper would no longer be published at the former printing house, but the newspaper maybe moved from Filibe to be printed in this new printing house. *Medeniyet* was printed in Sofia from the 7th issue until the 375th issue. It was the last issue and *Medeniyet* was closed on August 12, 1944.

[44] Filibe (Plovdiv), located in the southern part of Bulgaria, is the second-largest city center after Sofia (Kayıcı 2016, 5). Filibe, which had been under Ottoman rule since the 14th century, was the place where the first Muslim Turkish settlers arrived in Bulgaria in 1398 (Karpat 2004, 288). It was one of the religious and cultural centers with architectural works such as mosque, *madrasa*, school, lodge, almshouse, inn, and bath (Ayverdi 1982, 26-32). It preserved its multicultural and congregational structure in the post-Ottoman period and was a center for many religions and cultures (Kayıcı 2016, 14).

[45] "İ'tizar", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 4.

[46] "Hayırlı Bir Müessese", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 4.

On the logo of the newspaper, there is an image of a mosque resembling the dome of *Al-Masjid an-Nabawi*[47] and the name of the newspaper is written behind this image. The newspaper identified itself as the independent Muslim newspaper with the phrase *'Müstakilül Efkar Müslüman Gazetesidir'* on its logo. Another information in the logo is that the newspaper will be published once a week. The newspaper subscription requirements in the logo are stated as 100 leva for Bulgaria and 40 French francs for foreign countries.[48]According to this subscription information, it is understood that the newspaper was also sent out of Bulgaria. Indeed, according to an article in *Medeniyet*, there were readers of the newspaper among the scholars in Egypt, Hejaz, Iraq, Syria, the Islamic Turki countries, and among the Muslims of Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Japan.[49]

The logo contains details about the newspaper's responsible people, both in the Bulgarian and in the Ottoman Turkish. According to this, the lead author of the newspaper is Ahmed Hikmet. Ahmed Hikmet was exiled and deprived of Turkish citizenship by a decision taken in 1924 for allegedly helping the Greeks during the occupation of Edirne. After that, he came to Bulgaria and received Bulgarian citizenship (Bulgaristan'da Türk Basını, 117-119). He was a Turkish journalist who was seen as in opposition to Kemalist Turkey (Özsarı 2015, 9). Cambazov says it is not surprising that Ahmed Hikmet was an anti-Kemalist because he was expelled by Kemalists (Cambazov 2013, 365). In 1931, he published the *Açıksöz* Newspaper (Bulgaristan'da Türk Basını, 117-119). *Açıksöz* was full of articles against the reforms in Turkey because of his ideological standpoint (Keskioğlu 1985, 159). After the closure of *Açıksöz*, Ahmed Hikmet was exiled to a village around Şumen. In 1932, he returned to Filibe and started to work as a translator and lawyer for the office of *müftü* in Filibe. Then, in 1933, he began to publish *Medeniyet* (Bulgaristan'da Türk Basını, 117-119). He was called as the lead author and also the owner of *Medeniyet* (Sarınay 2002, 532; Deliorman 2010, 140-141).

[47] It is a mosque situated in the city of Medina, Saudi Arabia. The green dome of the mosque is the most notable feature because the tomb of Prophet Muhammad is located under this dome. Thus, it is an important symbol and place for Muslims. The *Medeniyet* Newspaper also chose this dome as a figure on its logo.

[48] See the appendix 1 for the first issue of *Medeniyet*.

[49] "Cumhuriyet Gazetesi'nin Şikayetini Haklı Görmüyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 57, 25 Haziran 1935/ 23 Rebîülevvel 1354, p. 1.

By the 15th issue, the newspaper became the official media organ of *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti*. By reflecting this change on its logo, "It is the media organ *(naşır-ı efkar)* of *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* and it is published once in 10 days for now. It is a religious, scientific, and social newspaper".[50] According to this, the newspaper would be published every 10 days, not weekly, and would publish the opinions of the association. The names of the lead author or responsible manager in the previous issues were no longer included in the logo, and it was stated that the newspaper was organized by *Heyeti Tahririye* (The Editorial Office).

Until the 31st issue, the newspaper was organized by *Heyeti Tahririye*, then Hâfız Yusuf (Yakubof) became the editor-in-chief. Hâfız Yusuf was a famous scholar, journalist, writer, and teacher who contributed greatly to the religion and lifestyle of the Muslims of Bulgaria. He was born in 1898 in *Işıkköy* (Osenovets), Şumen province (Işık 2018, 17). In 1922, he started education at *Medresetün Nüvvab* and he graduated in 1926 (Mehmedov 2018, 95). He was among the first graduates (1925-26) of *Nüvvab* (Bayram and Ersal 1988, 420). When he graduated in 1926, he immediately started his career as a teacher and journalist. He was appointed as principal to the high school of *Osmanpazarı* (Omurtag). Also, he started publishing the *İntibah* Newspaper in *Osmanpazarı*. As mentioned earlier, *İntibah* rejected Kemalism and opened a hostile front against Kemalists. It strongly criticized the reforms in Turkey. It had a dissident attitude against those who adopted the reforms and wrote violent articles against the reforms and the supporters of the reforms (Deliorman 2010, 111-112). Due to its opposition to the newly established Republic of Turkey, *İntibah* was closed down by the Bulgarian government in 1931 after an attempt by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the supervision of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults (Okday 1980, 94).

In 1930, the higher part *(âli kısım)* of *Nüvvab* was opened, Hâfız Yusuf continued his education there and graduated in 1933. He was also among the first graduates of the higher part (Işık 2018, 17). In 1933, he started work at *başmüftülük* and became

[50] See the appendix 2 for the logo in the 15th issue of *Medeniyet*.

the general secretary of *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* in 1934.[51] Later he was elected as the chief editor of *Medeniyet*.[52] He signed his writings under the name Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi and his name was written in logo as Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi. However, his name on the logo was written as Hafız Yusuf Yakubof from the 59th issue. In 1936, he was appointed as a member of the high judicial committee of *başmüftülük* (*Başmüftülük Divanı Ali Şerii Azası*) by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults.[53] But after that, he continued as chief editor of the newspaper. It is understood that during this time he took the two missions together (Cambazov 2013, 372). He also worked as a Quran and geography teacher until the closing of *Nüvvab*. Hâfız Yusuf was forced to emigrate with his other colleagues to Turkey in 1950 in the face of the ideological pressures of the communist government against *Nüvvab* and his teachers. He settled in Eskişehir with his family. He took the surname Işıkovalı in reference to his village. He continued to write in Turkey. He wrote and published educational children's stories and religious tracts such as *Bulgaristan Türkleri ve Kültür Seviyeleri* published in 1951, *Dini ve Medeni Hayatta Nezafet* published in 1954 under the name of Yusuf Işıkovalı. He died in Adapazarı on 13 August 1956 (Işık 2018, 17).

Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi was against the newspapers and journalists supporting the reform movement of Turkey so he was seen as an opponent to the Republic of Turkey, the Turkish statesmen, and the reform movement in Turkey (Deliorman 2010, 112; Karagöz 1945, 45; Bulgaristan'da Türk Basını, 117-119). According to Cambazov, Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi was the most powerful anti-Kemalist writer in Bulgaria. He devoted his life to refuting Kemalism, and he had many writings against Kemalism in both *Medeniyet* and other newspapers. Cambazov claims that Şinasi's anti-Kemalist ideology was not based on his political opinion but his religiosity. Many people perceived the laicism of Kemalism as irreligiosity because the outcomes of the reform movement influenced the daily lives of Muslims. Şinasi believed it too (Cambazov 2013, 368-370). Şinasi considered the reforms in Turkey as anti-religion

[51] *Medeniyet*, No: 15, 22 Şubat 1934/ 7 Zilkade 1352, p. 1.
[52] *Medeniyet*, No: 31, 1 Eylül 1934/ 15 Cemâziyelevvel 1353, p. 1.
[53] "Başmüftülük Dini Şerii Ali Azalığına Tayin", *Medeniyet*, No: 77, 28 Kânunusâni 1936/ 4 Zilkade 1354, p. 4.

and took protecting the Muslims of Bulgaria from this irreligiosity as a duty (Ibid., 373). He explained his ideas in his article by stating that

> Our newspaper is the Muslim newspaper and it defends the religion of Islam. It protects the principles of religion from the harmful effects of modernity. This is a right and duty for Muslims. We began to publish *İntibah*, regardless of any personal or political interests, for the defense of our holy religion because the currents of modernity and reform were exploited by uninsured and incompetent people in Bulgaria (Ahatlı 2014, 53-54).

In the first issues of *Medeniyet*, the signed articles belong to Ahmed Hikmet and Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi. As for the other writers of the newspaper, although many articles were written anonymously, the writers of some articles were mentioned. According to this, the editorial staff of *Medeniyet* was *Nüvvab* graduates such as Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi, Mehmed Fikri, and Salih Ahmed Pehlivanof (Hatiboğlu 2007a, 72-73). During the time the newspaper was published by the editorial office, the editorials were generally anonymous, while the writers of some article series were clear. For example, Ali Vasfi is the author of the article series of *Bir Mukayese-i Tarihiyye* (A Historical Comparison). He was the lecturer of the *Mecelle* course (The Civil Code of Islam) between 1933 and 1936 at *Medresetün Nüvvab* (Ahmed 2001, 42). Some of the anonymous articles are signed by three-star (Üç Yıldız) or three-dot are placed. According to Cambazov, three points (stars) belong to Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi so pseudonym of Üç Yıldız belonged to Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi (Cambazov 2013, 367-372). The article series about the alphabet reform titled *Harf Meselesi Etrafında* was signed by Üç Yıldız. Thus, this article series is thought to be written by Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi. He was a *Nüvvab* graduate so he could make scientific discussions and he wrote so many articles about the alphabet reform from the first issues of *Medeniyet* so Cambazov's claim can be correct.

Another of the article series having the author's name is titled *'Mürted İnkılap ve Dinsiz Edebiyat'* (The Apostate Reform and Irreligious Literature). The author of this long serial is Celaleddin Sabri. Cambazov thinks that this is a nickname because there is no literary critic of this name in the encyclopedias for the history of Turkish literature. Cambazov thinks that many articles of *Medeniyet* were written by Hâfız

Yusuf Şinasi. Thus, he analyzes whether pseudonyms belong to Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi. Cambazov claims that the nickname of Celaleddin Sabri did not belong to Hâfız Yusuf Şinasi. This series of articles criticize the new Turkish literature based on the axis of reforms. Cambazov thinks that Yusuf Şinasi did not have such deep information about the contemporary Turkish literature and that this serial may be written by one of those who fled from Turkey (Cambazov 2013, 372). In brief, both the founder, chief editors, and other authors of *Medeniyet* were known as anti-Kemalist and against the reform movement in Bulgaria. And many articles of *Medeniyet* mention the reform movement of Turkey and the Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria.

Medeniyet was banned from Turkey on 14 September 1933 by the decision of *İcra Vekilleri Heyeti* (The Cabinet Council). The decree, which has signs of Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü, says that "*Medeniyet* was banned to entry into Turkey because of the harmful writings against our government" (BCA 30-18-1-2, 39-64-5). In this section addressing the Cumhuriyet Newspaper in *Medeniyet*, it is stated that *Medeniyet* was forbidden to enter into Turkey: "If they trust themselves, they should open their borders for 24 hours to *Medeniyet*".[54] This decision was taken immediately after the first two issues of *Medeniyet*, whereas criticisms against the Ankara government start with future issues. Perhaps the fact that Ahmed Hikmet was deported and that the *Açıksöz* Newspaper, which was owned by Ahmed Hikmet, contained criticism of the Ankara government maybe influential in this quick decision.

Medeniyet starts its publishing life with the motto that "We are establishing a dais-lectern under this name to provide a field for valuable religious and enlightened writings and to prevent our young generation from hypocrites".[55] In many different articles, they explain the purpose of the newspaper to be published as follows: "It is our main purpose to prevent Muslims from falling into the hands of unfaithful people

[54] "Cumhuriyet Gazetesi'nin Şikayetini Haklı Görmüyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 57, 25 Haziran 1935/ 23 Rebîülevvel 1354, p. 1.
[55] Ahmed Hikmet, "Mesleğimiz", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 1.

and to warn Muslims. This task is a religious duty for every Muslim".[56] In every new year of its publishing life, *Medeniyet* repeats this task and purpose. For example, in the second publication year, they say that

> The *Medeniyet* Islam Newspaper *(Medeniyet Ceridei İslamiyesi)* started its second struggle period with this issue. *Medeniyet* was born on the need to break up perversion that collapsed on the Muslims of Bulgaria, to show them the proper way and salvation, to explain to the Muslims about the material and moral mischiefs and harms that may arise from depravement and to show the ways of continuation for religious life in this beautiful homeland and it has continued its efforts for a year.[57]

This effort was seen as a religious duty and when the newspaper entered the third year, they say that "On August 19, 1935, *Medeniyet* has entered the third year of its struggle… When Muslims do not perform their duties and when they are silent against those who deny the commandments of Allah, there will be a punishment for them".[58] As stated in the first issue and also second and third publication years of the newspaper, they see the purpose of publication as a religious duty and stated that they are responsible for the performance of this religious duty.

3.2. The Content of Medeniyet Newspaper

Medeniyet consists of 4 pages. While the editorials are usually on the first page, the series of articles usually start on the third page. Apart from these articles, the newspaper also gives place to international and domestic news. Domestic news (*Dahili Haberler*) is often on the first or third page, while international news is usually on the third or fourth page. Domestic news cover different news in Bulgaria such as political or social events, innovations, new decisions of government and, activities and visits of the Tsar. Some of these topics of domestic news are *Başvekil Burgaz'da* (The Primeminister in Burgaz) (No: 28), *Rusya-Bulgaristan Münasebatı* (The Russian-Bulgarian Relations) (No: 28), *Bulgaristan'ın Nüfusu Umumiyesi 6*

[56] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 6", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p. 2.
[57] "Medeniyet İkinci Merhale-i Cihadına Basarken", *Medeniyet*, No: 31, 1 Eylül 1934/ 15 Cemâziyelevvel 1353, p. 1.
[58] "Medeniyet Avn Hakla Üçüncü Seneye Girdi", *Medeniyet*, No: 61, 27 Ağustos 1935/ 27 Cemâziyelevvel 1354, p. 1.

Milyonu Geçti (The Population of Bulgaria Has Exceeded 6 Million) (No: 46), *Çar Hazretlerinin Atiyyeleri* (The Donation of Tsar) (No: 74), *Yeni Bütçede Müftülükler* (The Offices of Müftü in the New Budget) (No: 77), *Çar Hazretleri Londra'ya Gittiler* (The Tsar Went to London) (No: 77), *Çar Hazretlerinin Doğum Günü Münasebetiyle Yapılan Merasim* (The Ceremony on the Birthday of the Tsar) (No: 78), *Çar Hazretlerinin İhsanları* (The Gifts of Tsar) (No: 86), *İngiliz Kralının Bulgaristan'ı Ziyareti* (The Visit of the British King to Bulgaria) (No: 103).

The newspaper also covers the news in the world with the heading International News (*Harici Haberler*). Some example titles are that *Japonya'da Korkunç Bir Tayfun* (A Terrible Typhoon in Japan) (No: 34), *Amerika'da Açlık* (Starvation in America) (No: 37), *Londra'daki İngiliz-Fransız Müzakeratı Başladı* (The English-French Negotiation in London Has Begun) (No: 45), *İtalyanlar Habeşistan'a Asker Gönderiyor* (Italians Sending Troops to Abyssinia) (No: 47), *Almanlar Alsas Loren'i mi İstiyor?* (Germans want Alsace-Lorraine?) (No: 58), *Cebeli Tarık Boğazı Kapalı* (The Strait of Gibraltar is Closed) (No: 63), *Süveyş Kanalı Kapanıyor mu?* (Is the Suez Canal Closing?) (No: 64), *İtalyan Habeşistan Harbi* (The Italian-Abyssinia Battles) (No: 68), *Uzak Şarkta Muharebe mi Oluyor?* (Is There a Battle in the Far East?) (No: 80), *İngilizler ile İtalyanlar Harp Arefesinde* (British and Italians on the eve of War) (No: 87), *Türklerin Boğazları Tahkim Talebi Kabul Ediliyor Mu?* (Is the Turkish request for arbitration of the Straits accepted?) (No: 88), *İtalya Habeşistan Muharebeleri Bitti* (The Italian-Abyssinia Battles Are Over) (No: 89), *Mussolini İtalya'yı İmparatorluk, Habeşistanı da İtalya'ya İlhakını İlan Etti* (Mussolini Declared the Empire of Italy and the annexation Abyssinia) (No: 90), *Amerika Habeşistanın İlhakını Tanımıyor* (America does not recognize the Annexation of Abyssinia) (No: 92), *Japonlar Harbe Hazırlanıyor* (Japanese Preparing for War) (No: 93), *Cenevre Konferansında Müzakereler* (The Negotiations at the Geneva Conference) (No: 97), *Montrö Konferansı Neticelendi* (The Montreux Conference Ended) (No: 100), *Alman-Rus Gerginliği* (German-Russian Tension) (No: 104).

In addition to these political events, the section entitled The News From the World of Islam (*Alemi İslamdan Haberler*) includes the developments in different Muslim

countries or reports about the Islamic activities in non-Muslim countries. *Rusya'dan Hindistan'a Muhaceret* (Immigration from Russia to India) (No: 39), *Litvanya'da Müslüman Hayatı* (The Muslim Life in Lithuania) (No: 75), *Japonya'da İslamiyet* (Islam in Japan) (No: 79), *Mısır Kralının Vefatı* (The Death of the Egyptian King) (No: 89), *Almanyada Ulumu İslamiye Tahsili* (The Islamic Education in Germany) (No: 92), *Mançuryada Müslümanlık Günden Güne Kuvvet Buluyor* (In Manchuria Islam Gains Strength Day by Day) (No: 93), *Mısırlıların Filistinli Müslüman Kardeşlerine Karşı Alakaları* (The Relevance of Egyptians towards Palestinian Muslim Brothers) (No: 96), *Hindistan'da İntişarı İslam* (The Evolvement of Islam in India) (No: 100), *Makedonya Müslümanlarında Tedrisatı Diniye* (The Religious Education of Muslims in Macedonia) (No: 105), *Çinde Muazzam bir İslam Cemiyeti* (A Great Islamic Society in China) (No: 106), *Lehistan'da İslamiyet* (Islam In Poland) (No: 107) are some titles of The News From the World of Islam section.

According to the article in the 31st issue, to increase the level of religious knowledge of the readers of *Medeniyet*, the articles from Islamic sciences such as *tafsir, hadith, fiqh* would be published. Questions to be asked by Muslims would also be answered.[59] From this issue, new titles such as *Tefsiri Şerif, Hadisi Şerif, Sual, İslam Tarihinden Sahifeler* were included. They interpret the exegesis of verses pointing to current issues and the current situations in the *Tefsir* section. For example, Ali Imran 104.verse (No: 32), Surah Asr (No: 33), Ali Imran 176.verse (No: 42), Kalem Surah (No: 50) were given. In the *Sual* section, the *fiqh* questions from readers were answered. *İslam Tarihinden Sahifeler* (The Pages from Islamic History) is a section in which important people and events in the history of Islam were explained.

The newspaper also included the news of *başmüftülük* and *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti*. For example, the change of duty of *başmüftü* Hüseyin Hüsnü in 1936 was as follows: "Like a Muslim Turk who is deeply connected to our homeland, we would like to congratulate *başmüftü* on his achievements and thank him for his

[59] "Medeniyet İkinci Merhale-i Cihadına Basarken", *Medeniyet*, No: 31, 1 Eylül 1934/ 15 Cemâziyelevvel 1353, p. 1.

services".[60] Other issues such as appointments, deaths, and salaries in *başmüftülük* are also included. In particular, *Medeniyet* responds to the criticisms made against these two institutions and defends them. They claim that the newspapers that were written against the religious institutions and their hodjas, especially *başmüftü*, were published by the Turkish embassy. The Kemalist organizations making attacks against *başmüftü* and *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti*. Kemalists claimed *başmüftü* formed this association to raise money and the association was not welcomed. *Medeniyet* replies as follows "However *başmüftü* knows his duty and he is doing it based on law and *Sharia*. He is the representative of Muslims in Bulgaria".[61] These articles of criticism sometimes came from the Turkish press and were answered by *Medeniyet*. For example, the Cumhuriyet Newspaper complained about that *başmüftü* was not elected. *Medeniyet* answers this criticism as:

> By saying this, the Cumhuriyet Newspaper wants to criticize the Bulgarian government. If we asked, the head of religious affairs in Ankara was appointed or elected, most probably Cumhuriyet would reply that this is our internal affairs so anyone does not have the right to interfere. Here we are responding to you so. The issue of the appointment of *başmüftü* is an internal issue of Bulgaria.[62]

Medeniyet is regarded as the spokesman of *başmüftülük* since the newspaper includes the answers to such news and the comments about *başmüftülük*. Even, *Medeniyet* is thought to be financially supported by *başmüftülük* (Sarınay 2002, 532). Besides the financial support, *Medeniyet* is regarded as fully associated with *başmüftülük* and as the media organ of *başmüftülük* (Nayır 1999, 46; Bulgaristan'da Türk Basını, 117-119; Değerli 2009, 252). It is also said that *Medeniyet* was the newspaper of *başmüftü* (Sarınay 2002, 296-297) so the owner of the newspaper is referred as Hüseyin Hüsnü (Hatiboğlu 2006, 113; Boyar and Fleet 2008, 778) although his name does not exist in the logo of the newspaper. However, in the article published in 1940 on the death of *başmüftü* Hüseyin Hüsnü, it is said that the newspaper was issued upon the order of *başmüftü* with this part:

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[60] "Bulgaristan Müslüman Türk Çocuklarının Vatanı Bulgaryadır", *Medeniyet*, No: 77, 28 Kânunusâni 1936/ 4 Zilkade 1354, p. 1.
[61] "Halk Sesi İsminde Bir Gazete Varmış", *Medeniyet*, No: 16, 10 Mart 1934/ 24 Zilkade 1352, p. 3.
[62] "Cumhuriyet Gazetesi'nin Şikayetini Haklı Görmüyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 57, 25 Haziran 1935/ 23 Rebîülevvel 1354, p. 2.

> All corrupted writers gathered around 8 Turkish newspapers which serve the purposes of irreligion. Hüseyin Hüsnü began to publish the *Medeniyet* Newspaper in 1933 to defend Islam against them. Later, *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* was established. And the newspaper became the media organ of association.[63]

While the first issues of the newspaper did not make a direct statement about *başmüftülük* or Hüseyin Hüsnü, but there is a symbiotic relationship between *başmüftülük* and *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti*. And *Medeniyet* was the official media organ of *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti*. Both *başmüftülük* and the association had similar positions in this debate about the reform movement so it is normal that *Medeniyet* was issued upon the order of başmüftü, organized around *başmüftülük*, gave place to news about *başmüftülük*, and supported *başmüftülük* against criticisms.

Likewise, the criticisms directed by the Turks of Bulgaria were also included and answered in *Medeniyet*. *Medeniyet* describes Celilov who was a journalist in the *Rehber* Newspaper as the *sheikh* of Kemalists of Bulgaria[64] and as an agent of a foreign government.[65] *Medeniyet* responds to the comments and criticisms made by Celilov about *başmüftü* and the association. For example, they gave a place to an article of Celilov, in the 305th issue of the *Rehber* Newspaper, with the title 'A New Disaster For Muslims of Bulgaria'. In this article, Celilov said that "Hüseyin Hüsnü will work to make association branch out, the *Medeniyet* Newspaper will advertise the thoughts of this association… We pray for the Muslims of Bulgaria to be protected from this disaster". *Medeniyet* replies this article as follows:

> Celilov described the association as a disaster on Muslims. However, he used the term our national societies for *Turan* and *Muallimin Cemiyeti*, that imitate the Turkish reform and who want to be practiced among the Muslims of Bulgaria, and he congratulated their congress... Defining an association working for defending Islam as a disaster is enough to show his faith and loyalty to religion.[66]
>
> Celilov argued that members of this association could not go to Turkey. However, the migration of Muslims of Bulgaria to Turkey

[63] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Reisi Merhum Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendinin Kısaca Tercüme-i Halini Takdim Ediyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 242, 16 Teşrinievvel 1940/ 14 Ramazan 1359, pp. 1-2.
[64] "Celilov Tepindikçe Batıyor", *Medeniyet*, No: 18, 24 Mart 1934/ 8 Zilhicce 1352, p. 4.
[65] "Celilov'a", *Medeniyet*, No: 17, 20 Mart 1934/ 4 Zilhicce 1352, p. 2.
[66] Ahmed Hikmet, "Açıksöz", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p. 3.

> brings neither material nor moral benefits[67] …But where did he learn that those who were members of the association would go to Turkey? If they can not go, why? It is not a political community, it is a religious association. The purpose of the association is to protect Islam.[68]

By asking such kinds of questions, they say that "Do not believe the propaganda against the association".[69] In short, *Medeniyet* contains news about the political developments both from Bulgaria and the world, the articles on the events in the Islamic world, the articles containing Islamic scholarly information such as *tafsir*, *hadith* and the news about *başmüftülük* and *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti*.

3.3. The Publication Policy of Medeniyet Newspaper

Besides the mentioned content, *Medeniyet* contains many news items and articles about Turkish modernization, the reforms, the Ankara government, Kemalism, and the Kemalist activities in Bulgaria. These news and articles are generally created from a critical and opposite point of view. The main points in determining this publication policy are the newspaper's definitions of identity, the concept of civilization, and the principle of laicism. Therefore, in the next sections, the articles and opinions on these subjects will be covered to gain in-depth information about the newspaper's publication policy. Then it will be easier to understand the newspaper's articles about the Turkish reform and its critical position in the debate among the Turks of Bulgaria.

3.3.1. Which Identity? The Ummah or Turkish Identity?

The Muslim community in Bulgaria included ethnically distinct groups, it was not homogeneous (Popovic 1995, 70). These ethnic groups were Gitans, Pomaks, Tatars, Circassians, Albanians, and Turks (Popovic and Rashid 1997, 177). Yet, the Turks represented the largest group of Muslims in Bulgaria (Turan 1998, 82). The Turks of

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[67] "Celilov Şaşaladı", *Medeniyet*, No: 16, 10 Mart 1934/ 24 Zilkade 1352, p. 3.
[68] "Celilovdan Cevap İstiyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 21, 4 Mayıs 1934/ 19 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 4.
[69] "Müslüman Kardeşlerimizin Nazarı Dikkatine", *Medeniyet*, No: 22, 14 Mayıs 1934/ 19 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 2.

Bulgaria adhere to Islam so separateness of the Turks is not only in nationality but also in religion (Szyszlak 2018, 167). Islam also was the fundamental determinant of collective identity. The Turks of Bulgaria primarily described themselves as Muslim (Yalımov 2016, 244). Therefore, the terms Muslim and Turkish were used instead of each other as synonyms. These terms became synonymous in the 16th century because, during the Ottoman State, the Muslims of Bulgaria saw themselves as part of the state so religion and nationality became the same for them (Karpat 2004, 290-291). The international treaties clarified that the Turks in Bulgaria became a minority and the concept of Turks of Bulgaria entered the political literature with the Treaty of Berlin. However, some treaties used the concept of Muslims of Bulgaria to define the Turks living in Bulgaria (Szyszlak 2018, 167). Actually, both expressions meant the same because the concept of nation was still used synonymously with religion so the expressions of Turks of Bulgaria and Muslims of Bulgaria had the same meaning at the beginning of the 20th century (Ulutürk 2009, 491).

With the migrations in the mid-19th century, the number of Muslims decreased and became a minority and they acted in unity like other religious minorities to survive (Popovic 1995, 72-73). This integrity of Muslims was reflected in the international treaties and the term of Muslim minority was used. For example, in İstanbul Treaty of 1913, the term Muslim was used instead of the term Turkish (Özlem 2008, 349) so the term Muslim was used as an equivalent of Turk or vice-versa and the Turks of Bulgaria were defined as Muslim minority and their religious identities were at the forefront. However, the identity of Muslims in Bulgaria began to gain an ethnical character during the period between World War I and II as an outcome of changing conditions in Turkey. In Turkey, a nation state was established and the laic reforms were conducted. As part of this reform movement, to laicize identity, people started to identify themselves as Turk but not Muslim.

As mentioned earlier, the reforms in Turkey spread among the Turkish minority of Bulgaria because they identified themselves as part of the newly established Turkish nation. When they adapted to sociopolitical and cultural conditions, religious and ethnic identities began to clash so the nature of collective identity changed. The Turkish Muslims of Bulgaria debated the question of whether one accepted or rejected the transformation of Ottoman Muslims into Turks in the early Republican

era of Turkey (Mirkova 2017, 250). This debate formed a new perception of national identity and changed the way that the Turkish people identify themselves. Thus, they defined the Muslims of Bulgaria as a Turkish minority. In brief, the intellectuals who adopted the reform movement played a role in this identity change. They supported the cultural reforms to develop national consciousness through newspaper articles and educational works (Yalımov 2016, 244-313). For example, in the 1930s, the Kemalist press described Kemalism as Turkism and therefore argued that Turks of Bulgaria should also adopt the reforms that emerged from the Turkish reform (Kerim 1999, 177).

However, this change was not accepted by all the Turks of Bulgaria. Those who did not identify themselves as a part of the Republic or as Turkish because they prioritized the Muslim identity and being *ummah* which means the collective community of Muslims. They believed that defining the minority as Turkish would overshadow the consciousness of *ummah* so they insisted on defining the minority as a Muslim minority. They believed that all Muslims should stick to their religious identity so they rejected national consciousness and identity. They firstly emphasized the Muslim identity to aim for unity (Çalışkan 2019, 11). They wanted to protect the Muslim identity and the consciousness of *ummah* by protecting the religious institutions, religious education, and religious values on social life so they were against applying the reforms of Turkey among the Muslims of Bulgaria. However, this line of thinking was criticized in such comments such as putting the Muslim identity to the fore and ignoring the Turkish identity.

The problem in identity definition among the Turkish minority in Bulgaria formed the first phase of polarization because they responded to the changes and reforms in Turkey based on how they identified themselves. According to ways of self-identification, there were two different responses to the reforms and the proponents of both these perspectives criticized each other. Thus, understanding the position of *Medeniyet* in this discussion will also help understand the publication policy of the newspaper. *Medeniyet* frequently uses the expression of Muslims of Bulgaria but

also uses the expression of Turks of Bulgaria. *Medeniyet* also responds to the Kemalist arguments with Turkishness as follows:

> The Turkishness and nationalism of the Turkish government are not like the nationalism of other nations. They are not Turkish nationalists, but perhaps internationalists (*beynelmilelciler*). According to their description, a person does not need to come from the Turkish race to be a Turk. No matter who belongs to any nation, that is, Armenian, Jew, Russian, Greek, Bulgarian, Italian, etc., any person who does not accept Allah, the prophet, the religion, and the *Sharia* is a Turk… This has no relation to Turkishness, which is built on race. [70]

As it is understood, the newspaper thinks that Turkishness in Turkey was formed and used as a manifestation of attitude towards religion rather than ethnic unity. *Medeniyet* also believes that the Turks of Bulgaria who have adopted this identity, have a similar view about religion. As noted, the union of teachers was established with the name of Muslim teachers but later they changed the name as *Türk Muallimler Birliği* (The Association of Turkish Teachers). *Medeniyet* interprets this change as "Their community was *Muallimini İslamiye*, they changed it to *Türk Muallimler Birliği*. They are offended when they are called by an Islamic adjective. They publicly reject and deny the principles and orders of Islam".[71] As can be understood from here, according to *Medeniyet*, bringing the Turkish identity to the fore instead of the Muslim identity was a reflection of hostility to religion. Due to the Turkish government describes Turkishness not by ethnic identity but by the connection with religion. However, *Medeniyet* puts the Muslim identity at the forefront and rejects the need to identify itself as Turkish and therefore refuses the necessity to adopt reforms in Turkey. The reason for this value attributed to religion and religious identity is related to how *Medeniyet* defines the concept of civilization.

3.3.2. The Concept of Civilization

Civilization refers to the intellectual, physical, political, and economic order that emerged as a result of human, legal, and moral attitudes and behaviors. The word of civilization was firstly used in French in 1757 and soon spread to other Western

[70] "İnkılâp Karşısında Bulgaristan Müslümanları", *Medeniyet*, No: 5, 6 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 1.
[71] Ahmed Hikmet, "Maarif Nazarı Doktor Boyacov Hazretlerine Açık Arzuhal", *Medeniyet*, No: 6, 16 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 1.

languages. Before this date, the word of civilization had no equivalent in the Western languages. Natural sciences had made great progress, and the contributions of sciences and technical inventions to social life led to the advancement of Western societies. Thus, the concept of civilization was used as a sign of the material and spiritual level of Western societies that reached in the 18th century. The linear relationship established between civilization and modernity and technology has led to new meanings for both concepts, and civilization has become synonymous with being civilized and modern. Accordingly, the way to reach civilization as a desired state of development passes through modernization (Kalın 2010, 2-12).

According to Gencer, modernization and secularization indicate a transformation in ways of living and thinking, civilization remarks the process of their intersection. Thus, civilization refers to the process of social transformation and the analysis of civilization means the analysis of the entire process of Western modernization and secularization (Gencer 2014, 25-26). Similarly, in non-Western societies, the concept of civilization is helpful in analyzing the processes of modernization and westernization. For example, in the Ottoman - Turkish modernization, the concept of civilization has been used in the Eurocentric context since the 19th century, and the criterion of civilization has often been defined as Westernization. Thus, the Ottoman intellectuals who saw Westernization as the only way to civilize proposed a modernization- civilizing program based on this acceptance (Kalın 2010, 13-14). Ottoman intellectuals aimed to make their state included in the civilization world. Thus, modernization became synonymous as the general names of the civilizing process. Another concept that identifies with civilization is progress. Progress refers to the accumulation of all human achievements, such as science, technique, art, and state (Gencer 2014, 32-37). Thus, civilization was seen as equivalent to the concepts of modernization and progress. To have civilization which is an order, modernization and progress must be had.

In short, the concept of civilization refers to an order reached as a result of the advancement of both science, technique, and society (Gencer 2008, 733). Therefore, the concept of civilization became a concept that all Ottoman bureaucrats and intellectuals of the period in analyzing the West and for them, science and education

made Europe progressed so they agreed that civilization is the result of science and progress. Civilization was used to indicate all progresses of the West so according to Tanpınar, the first ideology of the Tanzimat era was civilizationism (*medeniyetçilik*) (Tanpınar 1976, 152). In this period, Ottoman thinkers thought that science equals civilization. They defined civilization as material and spiritual progress and saw science as the first and most important condition of progress (Gencer 2014, 41). In the 19th century, the definitions of civilization made in the context of science, technique, and technology were seen as a universal accumulation that emerged as a result of the long historical experience of the human mind. In this sense, civilization was regarded as a value independent of cultural and religious differences (Kalın 2010, 16-17). In short, civilization was used as singular until the end of the 19th century and was thought to be intended only for the West, because civilization was defined as the last stage of the progressive history line and this stage reached by the West was called civilization (Sunar 2020, 84-86). According to this discourse, Islam is the most important reason why Muslim societies cannot progress.

These claims about Islam and progress in the West resonated among the Ottomans. For example, Namık Kemal opposed views that attribute the backwardness of Islamic societies to the religion of Islam and he explained what values the West has progressed through. Accordingly, he thought that the science, technology, and industry of the West should be adopted, but this should be happen along a national and Islamic line. Briefly, Namık Kemal showed a way of modernization that puts Western civilization on the basis of Islamic culture (Aydın 2013, 474). According to Gencer, this intellectual reaction by Namık Kemal and the New Ottomans gave rise to pre-Islamism (Gencer 2013, 69-71). Islamism (*İslamcılık*) can be defined as the modernist and eclectic movement in the 19th and 20th centuries, in order to re-dominate Islam as a whole (belief, worship, morality, philosophy, politics, law, education…) to liberate Muslims from the Western exploitation and from imitation, to civilize, unite, and develop them (Kara 1986, xv; 1997, 14). Islamism is a reaction to the secularization process that is gradually narrowing the domain of Sharia and Islamism means the defense of religion (Sharia) as a life order (Gencer 2013, 69-71).

The emergence of Islamism in this period is due to the changing characteristics of reforms. In the 18th century, the intellectuals and statesmen aimed to find the answer to the question of why the state declined and this question was firstly answered with the technical superiority of the West (Mardin 1991, 12). For them, science and technology were the most basic elements that provide this superiority to the West. And to end the series of defeats against the West, the Ottomans must have these resources of power as soon as possible (Hanioğlu 1989, 9-27). They thought that the superiority of the West was limited to the material field so the aim was to revise the traditional order by taking some military and administrative techniques from the West. Thus, the history of the reforms in the 18th century was based on the transfer of some techniques and knowledge in the face of certain needs without aiming for any fundamental change in social life (Tanpınar 1976, 64). However during the end of the 19th century, in the ongoing search for the supremacy of the West, the reason for this superiority was seen as the superstructure of the Western civilization and the European life-style (Mardin 1991, 240). Thus, in the late 19th century, reforms got a wide meaning in every aspect of life. It was no longer a matter of improving the army as it was before but it was about changing all values that make up social life (Tanpınar 1976, 64).

This process is called modernization so modernization can be defined as a process of radical social change and building a new lifestyle (Gencer 2008, 257-258). This is the outcome of the progressive philosophy and unitarian understanding of modernity. According to this understanding, to develop their societies, non-Western societies should follow the same path the West had already passed. Thus, the experience of modernity was defined by Western geography, history, and culture began to spread in other geographies (Göle 2016, 57-62). Therefore, westernization is conceptualized as modernization. Westernization is the project of modernization and the process of taking the order and the model of the West as a whole (Gencer 2008, 458-459). Modernization and westernization were identical throughout the 19th century for the Turkish experience (Göle 2016, 59). In brief, the characteristic of reforms was changed during this century and the main aim of reforms became to adopt the Western model. This process is conceptualized as modernization and it contains sweeping changes in the different aspects of life such as economy, science, technology, politics, society and so on. And the West was taken as a criterion for all

changes and reforms. Tanpınar describes all these reforms, in which the West was centered, as moving from one circle of civilization to another, leaving the world of values that were believed for centuries (Tanpınar 1976, 64). Thus, the aim of modernization and westernization began to be understood as a problem of changing civilization.

Islamism emerged as part of these modernization movements and the fundamental question is how to adapt to modernization processes by staying Muslim (Kara 2013, 38). Briefly, Islamism was one of the schools that produced ideas about how the nature of modernization should be and it was born from the antithesis to the view that Islam is against progress (Gencer 2008, 60). Thus, Islamism is both a challenge and a search for being an alternative by giving answers to the loss of the Islamic field that came with modernization (Yıldırım 2013, 103-109). For example, the West defined the concept of civilization as its own and as an outcome of the mind and history of the West so non-Western societies were seen as deprived of civilization and in the 18th and 19th centuries, the West acted with a mission to civilize (Kalın 2010, 2- 12). Against this attitude of the West, the concept of civilization was defined through science and technology, so it does not belong to a certain religion or geography and it is an universal and common property of humanity. Therefore, it can be adopted and used by everyone so it is shown that civilization is not a particular concept specific to the West (Kara 2013, 40). As summarized by Islamism, Mehmet Akif also thought that the Western civilization is superior only in the technical field so he suggested to take the knowledge and art of West to progress (*Alınız ilmini Garb'ın, alınız san'atını; Çünkü milliyeti yok san'atın, ilmin; yalnız, Bütün edvâr-ı terakkîyi yarıp geçmek için*) (Ersoy 2007, 194).

This alternative modernization framework was conceptualized with the Islamic civilization. The concept of Islamic civilization was used to reject the claim that Islam is an obstacle to progress and to produce its own modernity. Thus, the concept of civilization that the West produced to emphasize its own superiority was internalized to produce an alternative to the Western modernity (Duran 2013, 289-291). Thus, the term of Islamic civilization was conceptualized in order to break down the idea of singular civilization (Kara 2013, 40). The concept of Islamic civilization was created against the Western civilization with the logic of producing

an alternative to whatever the weapon that empowers the enemy (Gencer 2013, 77). In other words, Islamists want to produce their own modernity and they think this around the concept of Islamic civilization (Duran 2013, 289-291). The Islamist approach is an search for authentic modernization that foresees the returning of to Islamic civilization as the basic solution. For them, Islam is a civilization with its own institutions, laws, and values (Berkes 2002, 62-63). Even, Islamists claimed that the essence that gives this impetus to the West was passed on to them by Islam, and that civilization and reason were the lost property of Islam (Kara 1997, 26). In short, Islamists thought that Islam has its own civilization and attribute the backwardness of Muslims to technological and scientific reasons so Islamism proposes a modernization that aims to take these points from the Western civilization and preserve existing values and culture of Islamic civilization. Islamists made distinction between technical and cultural-social aspects of civilization and they offered to just adopt the technical part of civilization.

Islamists regarded civilization as a form method and technique. However, the Turkish reform accepted Western civilization not only with its technique but also with its whole way of thinking and lifestyle so the strategy to get just technical dimensions was not adopted by the newly established Turkish government (Safa 1988, 114). Thus, modernization was understood not as the adaptation of certain institutions and technologies, as in the Ottoman State. Kemalists did not enter into the dilemma of the Ottoman reformers, they did not adopt a contradictory logic such as restoring the traditional order by modernizing. On the contrary, they rejected the traditional order with all its elements and turned to establish a new state and social order (Sarıbay 1994, 59). One of the six principles that the Republic defines itself is reformism. The most obvious difference of Republican reforms from the Ottoman ones is that it did not only settle for establishing the new one and it aimed to eliminate those considered as old and useless. Old and new were no longer side by side as in the Ottoman State (Belge 2017, 98). In brief, Kemalism excluded the synthesis of technical dimensions of West and traditional social life so it also aimed to transform traditional society by radical break and change. During the Republican period, westernization became an approach that sees the Western social and

intellectual composition as a goal to be reached (Mardin 1991, 11) so traditional ones in all aspects of life were replaced by the Western values to be modern.

Therefore, in other words, the modernization process undertaken during the Republican period is an effort to change civilization. The Kemalist ideology was seen as the peak of the progress of westernization and represented a real civilizational change. The cultural reforms were intended to make the Turkish nation a part of the civilized Western world. Western civilization was accepted as telos, a stage that the Turkish nation still had to reach (Azak 2010, 10-11). Western civilization was seen as an indivisible whole with all its technique, tradition, and social intercourse (Safa 1988, 60). In 1925, Mustafa Kemal stressed similar ideas as follows:

> The civilized world is far ahead of us... We have no choice but to catch up and we have to get involved in this civilized world... Words like whether we wear hats or not are meaningless. We will wear hats, we will take all kinds of Western civilization… The Turkish reform decides to adopt Western civilization unconditionally. This decision is based on a certain and strong determination so those who oppose it will be punished (Unan 1952, 224).

Briefly, the ideas of civilization and modernization, which the Ottoman State discussed during its modernization efforts were implemented with the establishment of the Republic. The idea of westernization and modernization which fully embraced Western civilization as in the late 19th century had prevailed. Thus, the transformations which took place in Turkish society are to be defined not merely in terms of economy or society or government but of civilization. The Turkish reform was a sustained effort to adopt and apply the Western ways of life in the government, society, and culture so there were transformation and replacement of old and Islamic identity and values (Lewis 1961, 479). This is an understanding of modernization and westernization, which includes the adoption of the Western civilization considered the real civilization, by abandoning the Islamic civilization that shaped the Ottoman state and society. The attempt to have the progress and development of the West since the Ottoman State eventually evolved into the idea that it would be achieved only when the Western civilization is adopted. The reason for this idea is

that the current Islamic civilization was seen as an obstacle to progress. For this reason, criticism of Islamists continued during the Republican period. During this period, Islamists criticized the views of Islam as anti-progress and the abolition of the caliphate. One of the prominent figures was Mustafa Sabri Efendi.

Mustafa Sabri Efendi was a religious and political figure. Firstly, he was deputy of *İttihat ve Terakki*. Later, he became deputy of *Hürriyet ve İtilaf* and served as *Şeyhülislam* in the cabinet (Altınsu 1972, 254-258). He opposed the National Struggle. He defended the Sultanate as a part of *Teali İslam Cemiyeti* and defined the existence of Kuvay-ı Milliye (the National Forces) as betrayal by stating that Western states could use it as the reason for occupation (Güner and Kabataş 1990, 218-223). Due to these ideas, after the National Struggle, Mustafa Sabri took part in the list of *150likler* and was banned from entering Turkey (Soysal 1985, 14). He went to Mecca, then to Cairo. He was professor at al-Azhar. He died in Cairo in 1954 (Altınsu 1972, 254-258). He opposed the newly established Turkish state and the reforms. He considered that the abolition of the caliphate and the adaptation of laicism caused irreligion by government force. He said that the abolition of the caliphate was the biggest crime against Islam. The reason for this is that the government must be subject to the provisions of Sharia. For example, religious penalties which are the provisions of Islam cannot be imposed by anyone other than the government so the government cannot be disconnected from religion. Therefore, he stated that the provisions and principles of Islam will not remain due to governments abstracted from religion, as in Turkey (Mustafa Sabri 1992, 38-118)

He opposed those who claim that the religion of the nation was not harmed due to the state's irreligion and that religion was left to the conscience and he believed that the nation cannot be religious while the state is irreligious. He stated that the provisions of Sharia were left out with the abolition of the caliphate and the authority taken from the parliament. He claimed that this decline of religion and that the government that has ability to intervene nation’s religion cannot be approved by Muslim. He stated that religion and state cannot be separated in Islam. Thus, he said that “I am strongly away from nationalities which contradict religion by stating the

broken link between Islam and Turkishness. He stated that this idea of nationality that cuts its connection with religion is an imitation of the West and he resigned from being Turkish in his article titled "*İstifa Ediyorum*" (I Resign) in the *Yarın* Newspaper dated 29 July 1927 (Mustafa Sabri 1992, 149-187). In short, Mustafa Sabri stated that the religion and the state were separated by imitating the West whereas religion and politics cannot be separated in Islam according to him. For this reason, he claimed that the new government was irreligious and that the people who approved of this government would become unbelievers due to consent to blasphemy.

While all these modernization discussions were taking place in both the Ottoman and the Republican periods, the Muslims of Bulgaria also closely followed what happened. Leading figures of Bulgaria had been educated in the madrasah of Istanbul. After Bulgaria's independence madrasah of Istanbul lost its influence and Cairo became a center for religious education (Hatiboğlu 2007b, 73-74). In different periods, both reformist, westernist, and conservative Ottoman thinkers such as Mustafa Sabri, Abdullah Cevdet, Mehmet Akif were forced to move to Cairo. Their ideas were carried back to Bulgaria from Egypt by those who received their education in Egypt. For example, Medresetün Nüvvab graduates who were sent to al-Azhar for higher studies became exponents of reformist ideas (Hatiboğlu 2007b, 76-78).

Mustafa Sabri is one of the names whose ideas were transferred to Bulgaria. *Medeniyet* and *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* were founded by Hüseyin Hüsnü, are seen as an eminent disciple of Mustafa Sabri (Hatiboğlu 2007b, 79). *Medeniyet* explains the close relationship between Hüseyin Hüsnü and Mustafa Sabri as follows:

> Hüseyin Hüsnü was the unconditional supporter and extremely respectful of Şeyhülislam Mustafa Sabri Efendi who was the most sincere, indomitable, and strongest mujahid of our century. He loved Mustafa Sabri even when he was a student in Istanbul and he assumed Mustafa Sabri as Şeyhülislam before he became

> Şeyhülislam. This was the idea when Hüseyin Hüsnü returned from Istanbul. He always stuck to this idea.[72]

As mentioned earlier, *Medeniyet* was published on the order of Hüseyin Hüsnü and it was the official organ of the association that was founded by Hüseyin Hüsnü so it is normal to see the reflections of Hüseyin Hüsnü's ideas in the newspaper. For this reason, *Medeniyet* is referred to as a newspaper that embraces and spreads the views of Mustafa Sabri Efendi. Mustafa Sabri was opposed to accepting the influence of Western civilization. He gave vent to idea that Islam had little need, if any, for the West. Thus, it is stated that *Medeniyet* was published to spread Mustafa Sabri's ideas opposed to reformist thought (Hatiboğlu 2007b, 76). Indeed, while handling the Turkish reform, *Medeniyet* makes statements like the Islamic thought regarding the concept of civilization, the importance of religion in this concept, the concept of Islamic civilization, criticism of imitation of Western civilization, and so on.

The concept of civilization, chosen as the name of the newspaper, was discussed in detail in the first two issues. The lead author Ahmed Hikmet in his article titled *'Mesleğimiz'* said that:

> The civilization that we chose as the name for the newspaper has lost its real meaning by undergoing interpretations and distortions according to personal desires and ambitions among our nation for over a century… Therefore, it caused deep wounds in our social structure by causing many great divisions and disunions... rebellions and revolutions... occupation and loss of the very precious homeland lands... The great Western states split the Muslim countries on behalf of civilization… The disunions between us came out because of the misunderstanding of the meaning of this word, it produced bloody revolutions, perversions, misery… crazy reforms were always made in the name of civilization.[73]

This point highlighted by *Medeniyet* covers how the concept of civilization emerged in the West and then the historical process involving Western colonialism which encompasses reform movements of Muslim countries as an outcome.

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[72] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Reisi Merhum Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendinin Kısaca Tercüme-i Halini Takdim Ediyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 242, 16 Teşrinievvel 1940/ 14 Ramazan 1359, p. 1.

[73] Ahmed Hikmet, "Mesleğimiz", *Medeniyet,* No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 1.

Medeniyet draws attention to the reform movements in the Muslim countries were an outcome of the wrong meanings attached to the concept of civilization. To explain this point, *Medeniyet* defines the concept of civilization in the first two issues with the article titled '*Medeniyet Nedir?'* (What is Civilization?) and states their views on civilization. They define civilization as:

> The term civilization refers to the fact that human beings live collectively in cities. Because it is clear that whatever efforts have been made, the individuals will not be able to accomplish the satisfaction and facilitation of the various needs of the human. The arrangement of these necessities is definitely subject to the effort and division of labor to be attended by more than one person. The civilization that expresses these concepts in the dictionary sense is a collection of concepts that comply with the principles and conditions of the human society of safety, health, order, elegance, prosperity, and happiness in the real sense.[74]

In brief, they define civilization as a whole by giving reference to all the points shaping human life in a very broad way. They also explain how civilization can be analyzed by indicating the scientific method. According to this method, civilization is divided into two parts, in formal and spirit. The organized cities, railways, industrial establishments, ferries, planes, factories, channels, wealth, and trade are the form of civilization. However, the spiritual part of civilization is *diyanet*-religion.[75]

In explaining the reasons for defining religion as the spirit of civilization, it is stated that everything that people have materially and spiritually is the result of the application of religious suggestions and principles. For example, they claim that people learned the way of thinking about the unity of society from religious books and then expanded it by saying this:

> Living together is in the nature of human beings so people must act according to some mutual duties and law... For this reason, the individual has some duties and rights towards society and individuals. A man must believe in the sanctity of the law and must have a reason to obey them, even against himself. This is religion.[76]

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[74] Ahmed Hikmet, "Medeniyet Nedir", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 1.
[75] Ahmed Hikmet, "Medeniyet Nedir", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 1.
[76] Ahmed Hikmet, "Medeniyet Nedir 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 2, 1 Eylül 1933/ 11 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 1.

In brief, *Medeniyet* firstly mentions the condition of collective life for forming civilization and states that people should behave according to mutual duties and law to protect society and social life. And they say that religion is the reason to make people obey the law and these mutual duties. *Medeniyet* also explains the situation without religion. They believe that if there is no religion, people would focus on their individual needs and wouldn't be able to live together and form civilization because civilization is the result of living together. Thus, religion is reflected as the sole principle that will create the social bond and inculcating element of respect for duty and law. And *Medeniyet* summarizes the situation that occurs as a result of people living together by following the rules as follows "With religion, people obey each other's laws, humanistic feelings increase, and material works that provide prosperity and happiness arise, therefore, these spiritual foundations and principles that enhance the essential material and spirituality of civilization that sustains and develops societies".[77]

Religion is seen as the main source of the duty and law that individuals should obey in social life so religion is defined as the spirit of civilization. *Medeniyet* states in their explanations that the history of religions is evidence. It is stated that the societies following religious books formed a social unity and a healthy civilization throughout history. *Medeniyet* explains this as follow:

> The source of the civilization of every nation is their own religion... The origin of civilization is religion because religion is a virtue for the formation of civilization... Every religion has its own kind of civilization. The European civilization for Christianity, the Islamic civilization for Islam, the Indian civilization for Brahmanism… Humanity owes its progress to civilization and its revelation to religions.[78]

Thereby, religion is depicted as the main source of civilization. It is stated that every religion has its own civilization with this close relationship established between religion and civilization. In short, *Medeniyet* forms a similar role not only for Islam but for all religions by giving examples from the history of religions and establishes

[77] Ahmed Hikmet, "Medeniyet Nedir 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 2, 1 Eylül 1933/ 11 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 1.
[78] Ahmed Hikmet, "Medeniyet Nedir", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, pp. 1-2.

a tight link between civilization and religion by stating that religions command individuals to fulfill their social responsibilities so that people live together and that they create material elements of civilization in this process. Therefore, *Medeniyet* portrays religion as both the source of civilization and an essential element for the continuation of civilization.

The concept of civilization, which is explained as the result of the effects of religion on individual and social life and all kinds of developments as a result of this. It is distinguished by its form and spirit so that it is not limited only to its material aspects, and *Medeniyet* introduces the spirit of civilization as religion, which will provide the source and continuity of civilization. The main reason for these discussions is that the modernization processes have turned into a process of changing civilization and the abandonment of Islamic civilization by the steps taken to fully adopt Western civilization. Thus, *Medeniyet* states that Muslim countries misunderstood civilization and made reforms in the name of civilization. As in Islamic thought, *Medeniyet* criticizes the reforms made to adopt the West by ignoring religion and described it as a misunderstanding of civilization.

Medeniyet rejects the modernization process that refuses the tradition and religion and aims to fully adopt Western civilization because *Medeniyet* states that the Islamic civilization is not an obstacle to progress as thought. *Medeniyet* states that "The misunderstanding of civilization shattered the caliphate, which is the highest authority of Islam... and forcibly turned the Turkish face from the Kaaba, which is the brilliant sun of genuine civilization and happiness, to Akrapol (Acropolis)[79]

[79] The term acropolis means high city in Greek and it is used for any citadel or complex built on a high hill. The Acropolis of Athens built in the 5th century BCE is the best known (Mark 2009). The reason that the *Medeniyet* Newspaper referred to the Acropolis might be the contribution of Greek civilization to the formation of Western civilization. The ancient Greek civilization contributed greatly to the development of modern Western culture with the foundations of language, philosophy, and government. The ancient Greeks first applied human reason to their observations of the natural world and created some of the earliest naturalistic images of human beings and philosophy, science and democracy were born. During the Renaissance period, ancient Greek literature and art were also used as a model (Harris and Zucker 2018). In short, the ancient Greek civilization has an important place in the formation and progression of Western civilization, therefore, the Acropolis, which is the symbol of ancient Greek civilization, is referred by the *Medeniyet* Newspaper. Maybe Medeniyet intended to indicate the orientation towards the Western civilization.

where its shrine of irreligion and shirk".[80] According to *Medeniyet*, Islam is the center of real civilization, so it is wrong to take steps in the name of civilization by abandoning Islam. As can be seen here, *Medeniyet* uses the term Islamic civilization conceptualized by Islamist thought and similarly criticizes the idea that sees civilization as unique to the West by presenting Islamic civilization as an alternative to the Western civilization. *Medeniyet* even defined the true owner of civilization as Islam.

Therefore, *Medeniyet* thinks that in the Muslim countries, the meaning of civilization was misunderstood and crazy reforms were made in the name of civilization to adopt Western civilization. For *Medeniyet*, the most important reason for opposing the adoption of Western civilization is the principle of laicism. Hence, *Medeniyet* emphasizes irreligion by referencing Akrapol. *Medeniyet* thinks that negative thoughts about the Islamic civilization, the aim to change civilization and the misunderstanding of civilization were the result of the principle of laicism because *Medeniyet* sees religion as the spirit of civilization. Thus, *Medeniyet* gives details of these thoughts and discussions historically and describes the laicism process by giving examples from both the Western countries and Turkey, starting with the Ottoman State.

3.3.3. The Principle of Laicism

As it is known, the Ottoman State belonged to the Islamic civilization and therefore religion was determinant in both the state and social life. This point was the most important difference with Western civilization. *Medeniyet* explains that the different attitudes of both civilizations towards religion by emphasizing the difference between the Islamic and Frankish[81] civilization at the point of law. It is said that the divine law is important for the Islamic civilization, while this situation is not

[80] Ahmed Hikmet, "Mesleğimiz", *Medeniyet*, No:1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p.1.

[81] The word Frankish means Western European. The Ottomans firstly described the Italians and the Frenchs as Frankish, then they described other Western European peoples in this way from the 16th century onwards (Şakiroğlu 1996, 197-199).

accepted in the Frankish civilization so they have a completely different attitude towards religion, religious people, religious government, and divine law. The reason for the changing attitude towards religion in the Ottoman State was the ever-increasing defeats against the West. *Medeniyet* explains this as:

> The scientific and industrial discoveries with the development of knowledge and science in Europe coincides with the time after Europe broke the influence and domination of the religion and removed the government and the nation from the domination and influence, if the European nations did not break the influence of their religions and the nation were under the influence of religions, today's witnessed progress and scientific development would not be successful, in brief, the propaganda of a false consideration that this scientific success was obtained by irreligion was given a place in the schools and press under the Ottoman administration. As a result of this propaganda, it was accepted as a principle that if Muslims want to progress, both their governments and themselves must not be under the influence of religion… so the education and science were based on this principle not on the Islamic principles through the schools built by the Ottoman government.[82]

In short, *Medeniyet* states that the two civilizations have two different attitudes towards religion. However, there was a propaganda that the technical developments in the West in this period seen as the result of their relationship with religion and that all societies wishing to develop should take the same steps, especially in education to obtain progress. This propaganda also reached to the Ottoman State.

Medeniyet begins to address the issue by historically explaining how this propaganda became more controversial in the Ottoman State and how the Frankish ideology and civilization first appeared in the Ottoman State. Accordingly, in this period when the Ottoman was weak and defeated by the governor of Egypt, Mehmet Ali Paşa, a promise given to the Western countries in exchange for help from them. This promise included the opening of the schools and it took place in the Convention of London 1840.[83] In fact, *Medeniyet* claims that the European states objected to the

[82] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 10, 16 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 28 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, pp. 2-3.

[83] Mehmet Ali Paşa helped to crush the Greek rebellion and he wanted to take Syria as compensation. However, his request was refused by the Ottoman State. Then he invaded Syria and marched into Anatolia. The Ottoman State could not stop Mehmet Ali Paşa's march. Then, the European powers intervened and the Convention of London was signed between the Ottoman State, the Khedivate of Egypt, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Mehmet Ali Paşa and his descendants got

belief and ideology of Islam, but not to the fact that the Ottomans did not progress materially.[84] Thus, it is claimed that the European states intended to destroy Islam rather than material progress in the reforms that the Ottomans would make. The schools with the Western curricula are examples of this purpose. For *Medeniyet*, opening these schools meant that the Ottoman government accepted the spread of the Frankish ideology among Muslims through schools. Those who graduated from these schools and adopted the Frankish civilization were successful in destroying the Ottoman State.[85] *Medeniyet* claims that the schools that followed the Western program, which was opened to reach the West and to have similar progress in the period during which the Ottoman State lost power, were a promise at the Convention of London and had consequences that led to the destruction of the state. The main reason for this is explained as the sense of progression transferred to the new generation and the introduction of Islam as an obstacle to progress in these schools so these young generations considered the process of Western modernization as ideal.

Medeniyet states that those who graduated from these Western style schools destroyed the Ottoman State and replaced by a reformist laic government.[86] For *Medeniyet*, these mentalities to create new government formed as a result of the education applied. This education is a sixty-seventy years process.[87] For this reason, according to *Medeniyet*, the establishment of the new government in Ankara could be seen as the result of a historical conflict within the Ottoman State. This historical conflict was based on the view that the technical progress of the West is the result of

permanent control over Egypt. When the Ottomans failed to suppress the Greek rebellion, the disorganized Janissary troops and the state bureaucracy were seen as incompetent and Mahmud II decided to implement a radical military reform. The fact that the Ottoman State could not stop the ascent of Mehmet Ali Paşa without foreign intervention also showed the difficulties of the Ottoman modernization in the 19th century and the weakness of the state. Because Mehmet Ali Paşa made successful reforms in the army, finance, agriculture, and industry before Mahmut II (Ortaylı 2013, 57-64). *Medeniyet* chose this event, which is important for the Ottoman modernization, as a starting point.

[84] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtima ve Tedavisi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 10, 16 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 28 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 2.

[85] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 1.

[86] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 1.

[87] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtima ve Tedavisi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 10, 16 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 28 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 3.

the laic civilization they have. With this idea, Islam had been seen as an obstacle to progress. It is said that the generations who passed this training succeeded and built the new government on this idea. *Medeniyet* also claims that the newly formed government was allowed to be established in Lausanne[88] accordingly, at the Lausanne Peace Assembly it was reported by the European states that the Turkish delegates were not allowed to form an Islamic caliphate, but instead to form an irreligious government.[89] There was promise in Lausanne that the caliphate, *Sharia* and religious provisions would be thrown[90] so *Medeniyet* claims that the change experienced with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey was the implementation of this promise.[91]As a basis for this promise given in Lausanne, *Medeniyet* shows the following news in the Milliyet Newspaper on July 26, 1927: "At the Lausanne Conference, the chief official, İsmet Paşa, who says that we will be sincere in the reform movement, keeps his promise today and says that our laws can no longer be given a religious nature".[92] *Medeniyet* accepts these words as a confession and states that Turks did not reform but a bargain.[93]

Medeniyet describes the process that started with the schools established at the end of the 19th century and the propaganda about Islam as a struggle with foreign ideologies. For them, these foreign ideas entered into the Muslim community since the Frankish ideology prevailed at schools instead of the Islamic spirit resulting in an ideological struggle of the Muslim.[94] However, the Frankish ideology spread and became successful with the establishment of the Ankara government. Thus, the

[88] It was a conference held in Lausanne, Switzerland during 1922 and 1923. The main issues addressed in the Lausanne conference were the determination of borders, population exchange, the straits problem, minorities' problem, and the war compensation (Lozan Sulh Muahedenamesi 1931, 13-273). The Turkish delegation had İsmet Paşa, Doktor Rıza Nur Bey, and Hasan Bey (Ibid., 269) After the conference, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed. According to the treaty, World War I ended for Turkey and the borders of Turkey was determined.

[89] "İntizar Edilmekte Olan Bir Huruc", *Medeniyet*, No:53, 20 Mayıs 1935/ 17 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 2.

[90] Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 6", *Medeniyet*, No: 42, 27 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 20 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 3.

[91] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 2.

[92] Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp Dinsiz Edebiyat 17", *Medeniyet*, No: 54, 1 Haziran 1935/ 29 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 3.

[93] "İntizar Edilmekte Olan Bir Huruc", *Medeniyet*, No:53, 20 Mayıs 1935/ 17 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 2.

[94] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 1.

Ankara government is seen as the outcome of the different ideologies and civilizations rather than Islamic ones. For *Medeniyet*, the ideology and reforms of the Ankara government are different than Islamic civilization so *Medeniyet* sees their ideas as an outcome of propaganda of the West in the late 19th century and its establishment as a promise given at the Lausanne Conference. The main reason for these claims is the principle of laicism adopted by the Ankara government.

In the Enlightenment period, an understanding of civilization, which was determined by the scientific, technological, and economic development in the West, took place, and replaced religion (Gencer 2008, 76-77). The requirements of the age were defined as the elimination of the role of religious norms in social life and as life should be based on the scientific knowledge and norms (Berkes 1973, 19) because the main determinants of this change in the Western societies were the phenomenon of progress and development. Since the targeted development is thought to be achieved through rationality and scientific powers, the phenomenon of rationality mainly shaped the Western modernization. Thus, rationalization, which was increased by the influence of scientific and technological developments, affected religion, as did the effect on social structures, and a new process for Christianity began (Özay 2007, 63-68).

In a brief manner, science established its autonomy and legitimacy against traditional religious values and as an outcome, societies have been transformed from a traditional society to modern society. This modernization process had also an impact on religion. Religion lost its authority in the social structure and transferred its functions to different social structures (Weber 1964, 404-405). Thus, in modern society, fields such as politics, economy, science, education, law, family, and art are organized independently from religion and they are subject to their own laws and techniques (Lambert 1999, 16). The process of losing the effect of religion in these various areas of social life is defined as secularization (Giddens 1993, 487). Secularization is a concept that points long term historical shrinkage of the size, power, and functions of ecclesiastical institutions in the European context (Casanova 2006, 115-119) so it means the transfer of persons, things, functions, and meanings from their traditional location in the religious sphere to the secular sphere (Casanova 1994, 13). In brief, the concept of secularization indicates structured

division as religious and secular realms. Secularization is used to describe the social process of Western modernization to indicate the transformation of religion under the conditions of modern structural differentiation.

However, there is no political structure apart from religion as an institutional arrangement in Islam, as in Christianity (Gencer 2008, 70). Thus, the religion and the state were integrated into the Ottoman political tradition. Without independent state and religious institutions, there was no secularization in the form of separation of church and state as in the West (Berkes 1998, 480). Thus, for Muslim societies, the process has not progressed similarly. This difference occurred in parallel with the modernization processes of Western societies and Muslim societies. For example, this difference has been observed in Turkish society since the Ottoman State. As mentioned, in the Ottoman State, modernization was carried out by the state, unlike the West. The modernization steps became more organized with the establishment of the Republic. The Ankara government chose modernization as its goal, wanted to move forward in the rational way shown by science, and to take the Western civilization as its goal to have the progress that the West had. For this reason, just like the West, it was believed that there should be a transition to an understanding that was no longer free from religious measures (Berkes 1984, 98) because the modernization process is based on transformation in all aspects of life to success progress so modernity was against tradition which defined as an obstacle to change and religion is identified with tradition. The reason is that religion requires conservative elements, adherence to texts, symbols, and tradition, and a desire to preserve religious order. Thus, religion was perceived as an obstacle to new values and social change and as a protector of old values (Çapçıoğlu 2011, 28). In the process of modernization, religion was considered as the main constituent outsider and as the biggest obstacle. Therefore, it was deemed appropriate to take steps related to religion in the process of modernization in Turkey (Akşit et al. 2012, 97-98). Thus, the religion was intervened by the state to realize the modernization project so the experience of the Turkish society is different than the Western societies which had the structural distinction by decreasing the influence of religion. This experience of Turkey is called as laicism.

The origin of the word laic is based on Christian history. Accordingly, in Christianity, the *regulier*, a group of spirituals, spend their lives away from material life. The *seculier*, another group, are church officials living in public. Laic is used for Christians who are not included in any of these two groups. This first meaning of the word laic has been extended to mean the non-spiritual and non-religious thing, idea, institution, and system (Başgil 2011, 162). Unlike secularism, laicism is a concept related to religion and state relations (Subaşı 2004, 52). However, Berkes says that in the Turkish context, laicism is not only the separation of political and religious authority, but laicism is understood as the separation of education, family, economic life, law, even etiquette and dress from the religious rules and as arranging according to the requirements of time (Berkes 1984, 91). For the Republican cadre, with these transformations, it would be possible to move on to a new understanding of civilization based on science and modern knowledge by providing the desired social transformation to separate the traditional and modern worldview. Thus, modernization could only be achieved by eliminating the function and influence of religion in the social and public sphere (Kurtoğlu 2018, 207). According to Berkes, laicism is the equivalent of modernization because it would be possible to get rid of sacred traditions and act according to the requirements of the time (Berkes 1973, 15-17). According to this, without laicism, neither the existence of a rational approach nor the modernization that was the main target of the Turkish reform could be possible (Sarıkoyuncu 2002, 44-45).

In brief, the Ankara government adopted laicism as a principle of the regime to conduct a modernization process instead of secularism, which is a cultural process like in the West (Aydın 2015, 116-117). Thus, laicism is more suitable to indicate the Turkish context because there is no natural structural differentiation between the religion and the Turkish political and social structures but there is the intervention to religion and the aim to change society in this direction. Therefore, a series of reforms were carried out aiming to reduce the influence of religion in many fields such as society, law, state, education, and culture. For example, the abolition of Sultanate in 1922, the abolition of Caliphate in 1924, the abolition of *Şeriye ve Evkaf Vekaleti* (The Ministry of Sharia and Foundations) in 1924, the abolition of *Sharia* courts in 1924, the closure of *madrasas* in 1924, the prohibition of activities of *tariqah* in 1925, the hat act in 1925, the adoption of the Gregorian calendar instead of the *Hijri*

calendar in 1925, the adoption of Swiss civil code in 1926, the adoption of Latin alphabet in 1928, the granting political rights to women in 1930, the surname law in 1934, the change weekly holiday from Friday to Sunday in 1935 and so on (Berkes 1998, 461; Demirer 2012, 253-254).

While the reforms were made until 1928, the constitution still contained the article stating that the religion of the state is Islam. This article was removed in 1928 with an amendment (10/4/1928 - Law No.1222 / Art.1). This was the first step to make state laic by separating religious and world affairs. In 1931, *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası* added laicism to its party program. Laicism was defined as follows:

> The principle of laicism has accepted that all laws, legal regulations, and procedures in the state administration should be made and applied according to the principles and forms provided by science to modern civilization and the needs of the world. As religion belongs to conscience, the party sees keeping religious ideas separate from the state and world affairs and politics as the main achievement in the modern progress of our nation (CHF Nizamnamesi ve Programı 1931, 31).

Thus, in the program, the party declared that religion is only a matter of conscience, therefore it will keep religious principles separate from politics and world affairs. By 1937, laicism was included in the constitution and it is stated that the Republic of Turkey is a laic state (05/2/1937- Law No.3115 / Art.1).[95] Religion had become a matter of conscience separated from state affairs.

Medeniyet also uses the concept of laicism to define transformations in Turkey. *Medeniyet* defines laicism as the abstraction of everything that derives from religious laws. Thus, individuals would not recognize the dominance of religious laws and traditions in their family, political, and social lives.[96] *Medeniyet* summarizes this process as follows: "In the twentieth century, a tendency, which claims that religion is outmoded so we should be laic, had emerged against those who said that we should protect the religious values".[97] "According to this tendency, the reason for the collapse of the Ottoman State was that the religion, which made the progress

[95] For the articles and amendments see https://www.anayasa.gov.tr/tr/mevzuat/onceki-anayasalar/1924-anayasasi/

[96] "Laiklik Nedir", *Medeniyet,* No: 58, 3 Temmuz 1935/ 2 Rebîülâhir 1354, p. 3.

[97] Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 6", *Medeniyet,* No: 42, 27 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 20 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 3.

impossible, dominated the state laws".[98] Thus, it is stated that the new government was founded on a laic basis. Indeed, while discussing the parliamentary proposal regarding this amendment in 1937, Şükrü Kaya, the minister of the interior, stated similar thoughts and said the following:

> If the state and administration were not based on mystical and dogmatic principles… if the state was governed by its own laws and procedures, it would be more advanced and would serve civilization more. The causes of disasters and troubles experienced by the Turkish nation in the last centuries are that the state was obliged to operate under the laws made by non-responsible sources and vehicles... Our goal from laicism is to ensure that religion is not an institution and an authority in the affairs of the country (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 05.02.1937, D.5, C.16, İ.2: 60-61).

For *Medeniyet*, laicism is not enough to explain the policies and understanding of the Ankara government. The aim of the Ankara government is seen as more than the separation of religion and state affairs. Thus, *Medeniyet* does not describe the Ankara government as merely laic, and *Medeniyet* states that "The Ottoman was destroyed and replaced by a Kemalist government".[99] *Medeniyet* describes the ideology that targets political and social change so makes reforms in this direction, as Kemalism. *Medeniyet* describes those who support this change in both Turkey and Bulgaria as Kemalist. This Kemalist ideology is the main factor determining the newspaper's critical position in the debate on the Turkish reform and the reform movement in Bulgaria. The newspaper's imagination of civilization and how it describes Islam has been explained. Accordingly, the principle of laicism is thought to be contradictory to Islam because of the value attributed to religion. Therefore, *Medeniyet* stands in an opposing position to the Ankara government, which adopted the Western civilization and its principle of laicism. The newspaper sees Kemalism as the main ideology of Turkish reform and tries to prevent Kemalism from spreading in Bulgaria by giving the details of Kemalism's imagination of civilization and its

[98] "Laiklik Nedir", *Medeniyet*, No: 58, 3 Temmuz 1935/ 2 Rebîülâhir 1354, p. 3.

[99] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtima ve Tedavisi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 10, 16 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 28 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 3.

relationship with religion. This effort forms the basic publication policy of the newspaper.

CHAPTER IV

THE TURKISH REFORM IN THE MEDENİYET NEWSPAPER

As mentioned earlier, *Medeniyet* deals with Kemalism in detail, which is considered as the ideology of the Turkish reform. The main reason for the newspaper's opposition to Kemalism, the Turkish reform, and reforms is the principle of laicism adopted by Kemalism. Thus, the newspaper discusses in detail what Kemalism is, the nature of the adopted principle of laicism, what the goals of Kemalism are, and what the results of these goals are. In the next sections, the newspaper's articles on these points will be covered and evaluated.

4.1. Kemalism

Medeniyet claims that the Turkish reform followed a more intrusive policy on the religious structure by doing more than laic principles. Firstly, they refer to the French context as a foundation of the laic structure and make comparisons with France and Turkey. This is stated as follows:

> Even in the government of France, which was built on laic principles after the French revolution, there were no attacks and interventions against religion, morality, and virtue as clear as in today's Turkish reform, and even in some cases, the French government defended religion. However, religion, morality, and virtue do not have any value in the Turkish laic administration and even the Turkish government tries to get rid of the sources for their construction.[100]

To support this claim, *Medeniyet* includes the reforms and decisions made by the Ankara government towards religion. Clothing reform is frequently mentioned. For

[100] "Milliyet Gazetesinde", *Medeniyet*, No: 17, 20 Mart 1934/ 4 Zilhicce 1352, p. 4.

example, the decision made on clothes in order to leave *jilbab* and make women wearing modern clothes,[101] the decision to remove *yaşmak*- veil,[102] the decision to forbid *çakşır*- leg feather and *şalvar*- baggy trousers and to replace them by trousers,[103] the decision that religious guise such as *sarık*, which only *imams* are allowed to wear, can only be worn during the performance of the religious duty[104] and the decision to force Muslims to wear hats.[105] It is also stated that in Turkey, Kemalists force Muslims to wear hats and those who do not want to wear them would get hanged.[106] The reforms on education are also included such as the prohibition of religious classes even included at home outside of school[107] and the ban of the Arabic letters.[108] Other reforms and decisions mentioned are as follows: the removal of religious holidays, creating national holidays instead of religious ones, making Sunday as the weekly holiday rather than Friday,[109] the closure of 300 mosques so far and the decision to close another 900 mosques,[110] the decision that closes Hagia Sophia as a mosque and turns it into a museum,[111] the prohibition of reciting *azan* and the abolishment of religious holidays-*bayram* from official holidays.[112] In brief, *Medeniyet* sees these steps towards religion in many areas such as education, dress, language, sanctuary as more than laicism so it is claimed that the Turkish government tries to get rid of religion from all spheres of life.

The laicism adopted and implemented by Turkey is often compared with Europe, as does *Medeniyet*. Laicism in the Western countries is seen as the separation of

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101 "Türkiye'de Müslüman Kadınların Ferace ve Çarşaf da Atılıyor", *Medeniyet,* No: 29, 8 Ağustos 1934/ 26 Rebîülâhir 1353, p. 2.
102 "Türkiye'de Yaşmaklar da Atılacak", *Medeniyet,* No: 54, 1 Haziran 1935/ 29 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 4.
103 Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 4", *Medeniyet*, No: 40, 10 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 3 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 4.
104 "Türkiye'de Olanlar", *Medeniyet,* No: 29, 8 Ağustos 1934/ 26 Rebîülâhir 1353, p. 2.
105 "Hayatı İçtimaiye ve İslamiyet", *Medeniyet*, No: 18, 24 Mart 1934/ 8 Zilhicce 1352, p. 2.
106 "Fes Giyenlere Müjde", *Medeniyet,* No: 6, 16 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 3.
107 "Celilov'dan Cevap İstiyoruz", *Medeniyet,* No: 21, 4 Mayıs 1934/ 19 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 4.
108 "Hayatı İçtimaiye ve İslamiyet", *Medeniyet*, No: 18, 24 Mart 1934/ 8 Zilhicce 1352, p. 2.
109 "Türkiye'de Dini Bayramlarda Kaldırılıyor", *Medeniyet,* No: 44, 17 Kânunusâni 1935/ 11 Şevval 1353, p. 2.
110 "Türkiye'de Camiler de Kapanmaya Başladı", *Medeniyet,* No: 57, 25 Haziran 1935/ 23 Rebîülevvel 1354, p. 4.
111 "Ayasofya Camii Müze Oldu", *Medeniyet,* No: 42, 27 *Kânunuevvel* 1934/ 20 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 3.
112 "Mantığın Bu Dereceye Sükut Ettirildiği de Görülmüş Bir şey Değildir", *Medeniyet,* No: 54, 1 Haziran 1935/ 29 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p.2.

religion and state. Religion is not involved in state affairs, the state remains neutral to religion, and religion continues as an order of moral and spiritual life within an autonomy. While laws, rules, and principles are based on material needs and realities, not religious principles, religion belongs to individual consciences. Thus, laicism is a principle related to state and its activities and the life of the individual is out of this principle (Başgil 2011, 171-172). In this order, religion has its own field and dominant in this field so religion is autonomous (Karaman 2005, 200). However, laicism in Turkey went beyond the separation of religion and the state. According to this understanding of laicism, which is defined as strict understanding, religion is not allowed to interfere in the world affairs, politics and the public sphere, but the state and politics can interfere in religion and shape religion according to their own policies (Karaman 2005, 208). This understanding gave the state the right to take measures against Islam, to control it, and if deemed necessary, to violate and invade the Islamic sphere (Turam 2011, 46). The reason for this understanding was a desire to prevent the formation of a religion that will not contradict the modernization project and that prevents any obstacle for the new society (Özipek 2017, 80). An autonomous religion, although separate from the state, was assumed to be a threat to modern thought. Therefore, the field of religion was seen as a field to be controlled, suppressed, and transformed (Kara 2016, 48).

Thus, in Turkey, a process took shape and was followed in line with the idea that religion should be controlled by the state rather than the separation of religion and the state (Köker 1993, 161-165; Belge 2007, 99). Even beyond the control, the laic system in Turkey is defined as a state-affiliated religious system (Başgil 2011, 200) so the laicism practiced by Kemalists was seen as the control of non-religious groups over religion (Davison 2012, 290-291). The most important example of this is the Presidency of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*), which allows religious affairs to be carried out by the state. With the presidency, religious affairs are controlled by the state (Turam 2011, 51; Davison 2003, 337). It is clear that the ideology of the Republican cadre did not foresee a separation of state from religion in the Western sense. With the presidency, politics dominated the religious field and religious life. The presidency reflects the religious control of the state, as well as the inclusion of religion in the laic theoretical environment (Turam 2011, 51) so there is

the secularization of religion and the abandonment of its claims in the political and public sphere (Kara 2018, 191). Thus, religion has been deprived of the right to have autonomy and it has been kept under the state control (Tanör 1985, 31). In short, laicism in Turkey was applied as an effort to go beyond the separation of religion and state and to harmonize religion with modernism and the control of the state over the religion. Thus, the Turkish laicism did not leave space for religion to become autonomous and Islam could not become fully autonomous even in its own religious realm.

For a state to be laic, it should not include religious principles in its decisions and actions, but this is not enough for laicism. The necessary autonomous space should be left to religion. Therefore, according to Başgil, a laic state has not been established in Turkey. Because religion can be maintained through teaching, education, and publication, whereas religious institutions raising scholars were not established in Turkey, the Islamic foundations were not established (Başgil 2011, 207-208) and the right of religious publication was not fully ensured (Ibid., 123-125). Thus, the state became a religious reformer without a license by interfering in the religious realm (Başgil 2017, 146). Davison also says that laicism in Turkey did not end the state's interest in religion (Davison 2003, 337). *Medeniyet* also states that the Ankara government's interest in religion continued and that it aimed to eliminate religion. *Medeniyet* claims that the Ankara government decided to abolish religious laws and institutions because the Ankara government thinks that Turkish society is backward compared to other nations so to remove everything belonging to Islam is for the benefit of society.[113]

Thus, *Medeniyet* states that the main reason for the principle of laicism adopted by the Ankara government is the adoption of the view that Islam is an obstacle to progress. For those who have this idea, progress and civilization could be obtained, if ties of religion are broken, and if the eyes are turned to material life.[114] *Medeniyet*

[113] "Hayatı İçtimaiye ve İslamiyet", *Medeniyet*, No: 18, 24 Mart 1934/ 8 Zilhicce 1352, p. 2.
[114] "Fikri Bir Mücahede", *Medeniyet*, No: 93, 4 Haziran 1936/ 13 Rebîülevvel 1355, p.2.

states that Kemalists destroyed the religion for not being backward[115] and that this is the only thing Kemalists understand from civilization and progress, so they are taking steps to grow the new generation far from religion.[116] *Medeniyet* defines all these reforms done by the Ankara government as muddle on behalf of progress in the civilized field.[117] Briefly, *Medeniyet* makes the connection with the laicism principle and the Kemalist imagination of civilization. And they claim that Kemalists see Islam as an obstacle to be modern and civilized so made some reforms to be part of the civilized world. *Medeniyet*'s claim that the Ankara government accepts only Western civilization as civilization and defines Islam as an obstacle to achieving civilization, so *Medeniyet* claims that civilization is misunderstood. All these criticisms are similar to Islamic thought. Like Islamism, *Medeniyet* brings Islam to the forefront in its imagination of civilization by using the concept of Islamic civilization.

Medeniyet states that the principle of laicism does not belong to the Islamic civilization and *Medeniyet* shows that the laicism principle of the Turkish reform is incompatible with Islam by concluding that religion and state affairs in Islam are inseparable. To support this idea, they cite the 50th verse of *Maide Surah* in which there is an order to rule by the revelation of Allah so they state that it is not possible to separate religion and world affairs.[118] Then, *Medeniyet* states that "Our aim is to try to compare the principle of reform with the religious, moral and legal principles of Islam".[119] As a result of this comparison, they reach the following conclusion: "The Kemalist ideology is the most distant to the Muslim mind and these two minds do not reconcile in any way".[120] For this reason, they see the Ankara government as part of the propaganda aimed at destroying Islam.[121] As mentioned earlier,

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115 "Katkskov'a Cevap", *Medeniyet*, No: 52, 4 Mayıs 1935/ 1 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 2.
116 "Türkiye'de Olanlar", *Medeniyet*, No: 298 Ağustos 1934/ 26 Rebîülâhir 1353, p. 2.
117 "İskenderunda Bir Yobazın Hezeyanları", *Medeniyet*, No: 42 , 27 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 20 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 3.
118 Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 15", *Medeniyet*, No: 52, 4 Mayıs1935/ 1 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 4.
119 "İnkılâp Karşısında Bulgaristan Müslümanları", *Medeniyet*, No: 5, 6 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 4.
120 "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 9, 4 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 16 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 3.
121 "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 13, 16 Kânunusâni 1934/ 29 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1352, p. 1.

Medeniyet historically analyzes the propaganda carried out in the Muslim countries and claims that the purpose of propaganda is to show Islam as an obstacle to progress so this propaganda aims to eliminate Islam. *Medeniyet* believes that these ideas came to the Ottoman society with the Western types of schools and they define the Kemalist ideology as the outcome of this propaganda and education. *Medeniyet* also mentions the historical background of this propaganda in European societies. They start the analysis from the changes and new social situations in Europe that emerged in the 18th century.

Medeniyet starts the analysis by the changes in Europe. It is stated that in the early 18th century, there were conflicts in the European societies caused by inequalities among the classes. After that, the labor parties were formed and that the conflicts became deeper and the parties such as socialist, communist, and anarchist emerged and worked internationally to change the political system. For *Medeniyet*, the most important claims of these parties are thinking that there will be no political reform without social reform, so it is necessary to reform society and to destroy all religious, social, and political institutions.[122] In summarizing this situation, it is stated that these reformist ideologies, which take place in Europe and operate all over the world and want to transform the society primarily in the political transformation. To reach this political target, they think that religion would be destroyed. Thus, *Medeniyet* defines communism, Bolshevism, and freemasonry as 'movements of irreligion' that are opposed to the heavenly religions. And according to *Medeniyet*, this reformist regime in Turkey is the same with these movements and Kemalism is an international draft created to overthrow religion.[123] It is claimed that Kemalism strives to destroy religion like the Bolsheviks and communists, so it is also international movement like these movements and it is a danger that affects the whole world.[124]

[122] "Türkiye İnkılâbı Beynelmilel Mevkii", *Medeniyet*, No: 244 Haziran 1934/ 21 Saferü'l-hayr 1353, p. 1.
[123] "Ahlakın Kuvve-i Müeyyidesi", *Medeniyet*, No: 22, 14 Mayıs 1934/ *19* Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 1.
[124] "Kemalizm ve Dini Terbiye", *Medeniyet*, No: 41, 20 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 13 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 1.

The reason for this analogy is that Kemalism is shown as a social reformist like these movements. Kemalists aim primarily at delimiting the existence of the religion in individual, societal and institutional levels in the Turkish society to reach idealized political and social change. Therefore, *Medeniyet* explains the main goal of the Turkish reform as the severing connection with Islam which is the source of morality and law of Muslim Turks.[125] Kemalism is seen as opposed to religion itself so *Medeniyet* uses the term 'irreligion' for Kemalism.[126] It is stated that the Turkish reform means 'irreligiousness'[127] and that the Turkish reform is an 'atheist movement' against Islam.[128] Thus, *Medeniyet* uses the term 'irreligious' for the Ankara government.[129] Another term used for the Ankara government is *'kızıl'*-red.[130] The reason for this is the link between communism and Turkish reform. In some writings, they define the Ankara government as *'kızıl dinsiz Kemalizm hükümeti'* (communist and irreligious government of Kemalism).[131]

Mustafa Kemal, the leader of the movement, is also commented on his role in this struggle against religion. There is a series of articles addressing Mustafa Kemal, the leader of the reform. Mustafa Kemal and Hülagühan are historically compared in these articles, starting from the 22nd issue and titled *'Bir Mukayese-i Tarihiyye'* (A Historical Comparison). In the subtitle, it is stated that two destructors of the education and civilization of Islam: Hülagühan and Mustafa Kemal Paşa. In comparison, Ali Vasfi, who was the author of series, starts by introducing Hülagühan, one of the descendants of Cengiz Han, as an enemy to the Islamic civilization, attacked and destroyed the Islamic cities, massacred the Caliph, scholars, and people, and burned the Islamic artifacts and libraries. The author states that the main purpose of the damage was to destroy Islamic education and to spread

[125] "Gençler Okusun", *Medeniyet*, No: 2, 1 Eylül 1933/ 11 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 4.
[126] "Milletler İçin Halas Yolu Din Yoludur", *Medeniyet*, No: 45, 1 Şubat 1935/ 26 Şevval 1353, p. 1.
[127] "Celilov'un Hayrete Şayan Hokkabazlığı", *Medeniyet*, No: 20, 24 Nisan 1934/ 9 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 4.
[128] "Mücahid Bir Müftü", *Medeniyet*, No: 4, 23 Eylül 1933/ 3 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 3.
[129] "İskenderun da Bir Yobazın Hezeyanları", *Medeniyet*, No: 42, 27 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 20 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 3.
[130] The color red is so closely associated with communism. Red was chosen as a symbol for communism and socialism and red flag, red star, and red hammer and sickle have been used by so many communist or socialist parties and governments.
[131] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 10, 16 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 28 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 3.

their religion.[132] After this historical explanation, Ali Vasfi moves to the policies of the Turkish government and says of that: "After 267 years from Hülagühan, the Islamic civilization was revived in 923, but the propaganda for irreligion has continued. The Caliphate which is the mainstay of Islam was abolished and the attacks to Islam have started more than the damage of Hülagühan".[133]

By saying this, the author makes comments about Mustafa Kemal. Two basic actions of Mustafa Kemal are discussed. Firstly, the caliph and the dynasty were expelled by Mustafa Kemal whereas Hülagühan preferred the way of the massacre. It is stated that Mustafa Kemal preferred the way of exile because the massacre would not be possible during his historical period. Secondly, *madrasas* were closed and the Islamic and Ottoman written works were eliminated by Mustafa Kemal. While Hülagühan directly forbade training of these works, Mustafa Kemal decided to change the alphabet.[134] In brief, the author claims that the aim of Hülagühan and Mustafa Kemal is similar, to destroy the religion but there are differences in their methods. Thus, Hülagühan and Mustafa Kemal were defined as the destroyers of Islam because they damaged the Islamic education and civilization, and this series of articles is finished by saying that "It is left to the reader to compare two destroyers and to decide which one is more abusive and arrogant".[135]

The reason for all these harsh accusations and criticisms is *Medeniyet*'s imagination of civilization which it has tried to reveal from the very beginning. Firstly, *Medeniyet* claims that the concept of civilization is misunderstood and *Medeniyet*

[132] Hülagühan was the founder and first leader of Ilkhanid State. He was a Buddhist. He invaded Baghdad in 1258 and killed the Abbasid Caliph Müsta'sım-Billâh. The occupation of Baghdad and ending the Abbasid caliphate was a turning point in terms of Islamic history and civilization. It is seen that the Islamic civilization started to decline from this date (Yuvalı 1998 473-475).

[133] Ali Vasfi, "Bir Mukayese-i Tarihiyye", *Medeniyet*, No: 22, 14 Mayıs 1934/ 19 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 3.

The year 923 of Hijri, which the *Medeniyet* Newspaper pointed out by saying 297 years after Hülagühan, coincides with the year 1517. In this year, the Mamluk Sultanate was destroyed by the Battle of Ridâniye, Egypt came under the Ottoman rule, and the Ottoman Sultan, Yavuz Sultan Selim, became the caliph (Emecen 2008, 87-88).

[134] Ali Vasfi, "Bir Mukayese-i Tarihiyye", *Medeniyet*, No: 25, 14 Haziran 1934/ 1 Rebîülevvel 1353, p. 4.

[135] Ali Vasfi, "Bir Mukayese-i Tarihiyye", *Medeniyet*, No: 26, 24 Haziran 1934/ 11 Rebîülevvel 1353, p. 2.

defines civilization in a religion-oriented way. For *Medeniyet*, contrary to popular belief, religions are not obstacles to development and progress, but rather the spirit that forms the source of civilization. However, Kemalism adopted laicism and reformism to change the Islamic civilization and to be part of the civilized world. For Kemalists, the West is developed and this is the outcome of its laic structuring so they accept the religion as an obstacle. However, *Medeniyet* interprets this as a misunderstanding. And *Medeniyet* mentions the role of religion in the development and preservation of civilization and includes what Islam says about the progress. It is stated that Islam is not obstacle progress, even Islam is the real owner of the concept of civilization with the following words:

> The principles of the material and spiritual bliss of humanity belong to the religion of Islam. History is witness that the intellectual movements that lead to today's scientific progress of West began by taking inspiration from the Islamic civilization… The West owes its progress to the Islamic civilization because Islam spread the idea of liberty to the world. The human rights, mentioned by the West was declared twelve centuries ago by Islam… In the dark age of Europe that lasted until the 12th century, Muslims studied all philosophy and general sciences in *madrasas*. Scientific developments, discoveries, and inventions started to revive in Europe in contact with the Islamic civilization.[136]

In short, they stated that the basic idea that constitutes the idea of civilization belongs to Islam, that Muslims made progress in many areas even before the West, and that those who brought this idea to the West were Muslim Arabs. This explanation *Medeniyet* made about the idea of civilization is another point they resemble with the Islamists. Just as Islamists call civilization Islam's lost treasure (Kara 1997, 26), *Medeniyet* claims that the basic idea that forms the idea of civilization belongs to Islam.

Medeniyet relates the achievements of the Ottomans to the Islamic civilization and the principles of Islam and thinks that the Ottoman administration was successful for this reason. Shrines, *madrasas*, hospitals, almshouses, baths, fountains, inns, bridges, covered bazaars, khans built by the Ottomans are seen as useful works for

[136] Ahmed Hikmet, 'Medeniyet Nedir 2', *Medeniyet*, No: 2, 1 Eylül 1933/ 11 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 1.

civilization. Therefore, *Medeniyet* criticizes those who see Islam as the source of the current problems of Muslims by saying that "Those who hold Islam responsible for the current situation are either ignorant or enemy of Islam".[137] By associating the achievements of the Ottomans with the Islamic civilization and the principles of Islam, *Medeniyet* criticizes showing Islam as the source of the current problems of Muslims. The claim that Islam does not prevent progress, on the contrary, has incentives for progress, is similar to the ideas of Islamists.

Islam is seen as the main influence for progress and the leader for intellectual movements and scientific discoveries.[138] *Medeniyet* grounds its idea that Islam is not an obstacle for progress but has incentives to progress as follows:

> Knowledge and wisdom are the property of all human beings in the eyes of Islam, no matter which nation has… Muslims would be most satisfied with the stability and peace of the world because Islam aims at the perfection of civilization, which is the result of all people and their collective efforts.[139]

Medeniyet says that despite all of this, Islam is shown to be guilty about progress.[140] And *Medeniyet* interprets this idea as a misunderstanding of civilization. The Turkish reform is seen as a result of this misunderstanding, and its reforms are described as insanity in the name of civilization. Laicism is seen as the main determinant of these reforms and *Medeniyet* mainly focuses on the laicism principle of the Ankara government. However, according to *Medeniyet*, the Ankara government aims at the destruction of religion, not just laicism. An example is given by making a comparison with France and it is stated that religion is still protected in France whereas the reforms carried out in Turkey attempt to interfere with religion and eliminate it. For this reason, *Medeniyet* describes the principle of laicism in Turkey as 'irreligiousness'.

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[137] Ahmed Hikmet, 'Medeniyet Nedir 2', Medeniyet, No: 2, 1 Eylül 1933/ 11 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 2.
[138] "Nuru İslam Sönmeyecektir", *Medeniyet*, No: 3, 15 Eylül 1933/ 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 1.
[139] Ahmed Hikmet, "Medeniyet Nedir", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 3.
[140] "Nuru İslam Sönmeyecektir", *Medeniyet*, No: 3, 15 Eylül 1933/ 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 1.

Mustafa Kemal, the leader of this movement, is described as the 'destructor of religion'. While criticizing Mustafa Kemal, it is stated that they just address Mustafa Kemal's actions related to the religion, not his political actions as the president of Turkey. Because they think that the right to complain about this is just for those within the borders of Turkey.[141] As can be seen from here, their criticisms against the Turkish modernization and Mustafa Kemal are actually a concern that religion and the Islamic civilization will disappear with this reform movement carried out. The reason for being involved in this debate is that this goal is not limited to Turkey and that it is intended to be implemented among the Muslims of Bulgaria as the Kemalist propaganda. As a matter of fact, the association which *Medeniyet* is its media organ explained its purpose to establish as "*Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* is opposed to irreligiousness. It also opposes the movements that are harmful to the country within the borders of Bulgaria".[142] In this way, it is understood what the association meant by saying 'irreligiousness'.

Another issue that *Medeniyet* points out is the social crisis that arose with the Turkish reform. *Medeniyet* states that

> The irreligious elements who grew up as the product of the Frankish civilization had to hide their aims and ideas from the Muslims to prevent the development of Islam and to make their own ideas prevail so a social crisis (*buhranı içtimai*) emerged in the Muslim communities.[143] With this process that started from Lausanne, a new history was born in the social life of humanity.[144]

In brief, *Medeniyet* claims that with the establishment of the Ankara government and the aim of reforms which was hidden from the public caused to a new social life but also a social crisis. *Medeniyet* states that the most important reason leading to this crisis is the inexperienced transfer of the science of the West.[145]

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[141] Ali Vasfi, 'Bir Mukayese-i Tarihiyye", *Medeniyet*, No: 22, 14 Mayıs 1934/ 19 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 2.
[142] "Bir Tevzih", *Medeniyet*, No: 22, 14 Mayıs 1934/ 19 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 4.
[143] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 2.
[144] "İntizar Edilmekte Olan Bir Huruc", *Medeniyet*, No: 53, 20 Mayıs 1935/ 17 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 2.
[145] "Ferdaların Derman Olamayacağı Bugünkü Dert", *Medeniyet*, No: 27, 13 Temmuz 1934/ 30 Rebîülevvel 1353, p. 3.

Medeniyet states that Islam does not deny knowledge, reason, and science and that Islam does not see any religious problem in their practice.[146] *Medeniyet* considers art and science as the common property of civilization so that the transfer and imitation on these issues will not cause problems[147] but they point out that this imitation in materiality should be in the necessary amount. A series of articles is published on the danger of the imitation of social points. The dangers of imitation are mentioned by establishing an analogy between individuals and societies. It is said that people imitate the actions of those who are higher than themselves. Societies are also personalities and this action of imitation is also seen in societies so societies imitate the materially more developed ones. However, if there is no moderation while imitating, societies would lose their identities and social situations. However, societies are separated from each other by these elements. Thus, *Medeniyet* states that the imitation in social field would eliminate the distinctive characteristics of different societies.[148] However, *Medeniyet* states that the Turkish reform took the laws of the Christian state culture and belief system such as demolishing the *madrasas* belonging to religion, removing the veils of Muslim women, and the headgear.[149] It is emphasized that all these steps in education, social life, clothing, and so on led the loss of the distinct characteristic of Turkish society. *Medeniyet* sums up this situation as:

> Belittle ourselves is the beginning of this process. Kemalists chose the imitation path by considering the Western civilization superior and they thought that with imitation, they would bring the Turk to the high level of civilization. However, they ignored the Islamic civilization, its knowledge, and all that came from it. What was needed was a verification, not imitation.[150]

With the term of Islamic civilization conceptualized by Islamists, *Medeniyet* states that Islam is a civilization created with its own values and knowledge, but this was denied and Western civilization is taken through imitation.In brief, *Medeniyet*

[146] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 10, 16 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 28 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 3.
[147] Ahmed Hikmet, "Mesleğimiz", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 1.
[148] "İçtimaiyatta Taklitçilik", *Medeniyet*, No: 76, 21 Kânunusâni 1936/ 26 Şevval'ül Mükerrem 1354, p. 1.
[149] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 8, 24 Teşrinisani 1933/ 6 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 2.
[150] "Taklit Değil Tahkik Lazımdı", *Medeniyet*, No: 79, 11 Şubat 1936/ 18 Zilkade 1354, p. 1.

criticizes the transfer of cultural and social aspects of the West and the idea that Western ones are better. As noted earlier, *Medeniyet* divides civilization into two spheres and sees the material aspects of civilization as a common asset of humanity. However, the spirit of civilization is defined as religion so it means according to *Medeniyet*, culture, social life, language, traditions, and so on are shaped by religion. When Kemalists imitated and directly transferred Western cultural and social aspects, it meant to leave Islamic civilization and to adopt Western civilization. Thus, the transformations are not merely in terms of economy, society, or government but of civilization. It is stated that the European way of government, society, and culture was applied and the old Islamic ones were left (Lewis 1961, 481). Thus, *Medeniyet* also mentions the closure of *madrasas* and the changes in Muslim style clothing as an example to indicate of imitating of Western education and social life. This brings the issue back to laicism discussions.

Kemalism aimed to adopt Western civilization with modernization and westernization. And laicism was seen as an element that will ensure this. For this reason, according to Safa, all the reforms of laicism emerged from civilizationism (Safa 1988, 58-59). Thus, the modernization process undertaken by Kemalists through laicism is synonymous with changing civilization (Azak 2010, 10). Modernization was aimed by laic-based reforms. All reforms were based on the principle of laicism so that reforms aimed to lay the groundwork for all institutional and social transformations that form the basis of modern society (Mert 2002, 203-204) and it was aimed to secure the reforms and prepare the ground for the reforms to be carried out (Avcı 2000, 85). In short, laicism was seen as the main provider and protector of all the reforms made for the modernization process.

This point can be understood from the party program so laicism does not only mean separation of religion and state affairs. Laicism is defined as a criterion of success in modernization and there is a close relationship between the principles of laicism and reformism. To conduct the modernization process, the principle of reformism was adopted. This principle aimed to make reforms required by the needs of age and rationality. Thus, the principle of reformism aimed at replacing, separating, or

abolishing traditional institutions with the principle of laicism to prevent traditional institutions from obstructing changes (Berkes 1998, 465-467). Since Islam is an effective religion in social and political fields, the power of Islam in the field of social, administrative, legal, and education was weakened with reforms (Gözaydın 2016, 366-367). The reason for this was related to the adoption of positivist philosophy and the importance given to science. Mardin states that Mustafa Kemal adopted positivism (Mardin 2017, 216).

The reflection of positivism on Kemalism was effective in determining the understanding of modernity. According to this, the understanding of Kemalism on the modernity was based on the most genuine master of science in life (Köker 1993, 88). Mustafa Kemal also said that "Science is the most reliable guide in life" (Unan 1952, 194-199). According to this statement, reason and science were seen as the only guiding and information source with the effect of positivist and absolute rationalism. Those other than reason and science were considered false and unfounded (Karaman 2005, 203). Religion was therefore no longer considered a reference and was removed from its current position. This position vacated by religion is filled with scientific and modern knowledge as reference. Mustafa Kemal summed it up by saying that "We do not consider our principles as dogmas contained in books that are said to come from heaven. We derive our inspiration, not from heaven, or an unseen world, but directly from life" (Atatürk Söylev ve Demeçleri 1959, 405). Mustafa Kemal also defined the newly established state as a national and modern state based on the latest principles of science (Atatürk 2017, 640). Safa, on the other hand, defines this transformation as a move from the mystic view to the scientific view for adaptation to the modern age (Safa 1988, 114).

There are also comments on the negative aspects of this positivist thought. It is argued that the identification of positivism with science, the acceptance of religion as unscientific, the view of religion as a phenomenon of the ancient periods of human history, and the realization of laicism in Turkey by intellectuals under the influence of these positivist ideas caused laicism in Turkey to be carried out militantly instead

of relying on the separation of religion and state. The Turkish laicism aimed to eliminate religion from social life and to damp the influence of religion among society with a series of reforms. And these missions are thought not to be undertaken by a laic state (Şan 2012, 1-10). *Medeniyet* also draws attention to this positivist thought and its negative outcomes. *Medeniyet* says the following: "The power and source to supply the means of the scientific needs are principles laid down by religion. Whereas, Muslims took the material principles as the purpose of life and focused on the struggle in the field of science and education".[151] The exclusion of religion by giving value to science with positivist thought and a lifestyle without the influence of religion with materialist thinking are criticized. As mentioned earlier, *Medeniyet* mentions two dimensions of civilization and states that the material field constitutes only one dimension of civilization. Religion is defined as the main source of civilization. Thus, *Medeniyet* states that the value given to material life and science by ignoring religion will only create a social crisis. *Medeniyet* demands a civilization and progress that emphasized religious concerns by defining what civilization, progress, and change meant within the Islamic civilization. Thus, the nature of the targeted progress is explained and they state that they work for this purpose as follows: "*Medeniyet* will continue to work to make the progress and salvation of the Muslims of Bulgaria will continue on the condition that the religious rules are followed".[152]

Thus, *Medeniyet* states that what they oppose is not true civilization and modernization, but the imitation of Europe in the social and cultural area and the application of laic lifestyle and state system by destroying any value arising from Islam. Because all these changes cause a materialist and positivist perception to prevail so that religion is excluded from social and political fields. This is the most important cause of the social crisis (*buhranı içtimai*) in Muslim societies. Because, according to *Medeniyet*, religion is the source of civilization and the power to sustain

[151] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 9, 4 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 16 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 2.

[152] "Medeniyet İkinci Merhalei Cihadına Basarken", *Medeniyet*, No: 31, 1 Eylül 1934/ 15 Cemâziyelevvel 1353, p. 1.

it. For this reason, *Medeniyet* criticizes the deterioration of social life with these reforms and defines the outcome as a social crisis. These interpretations and ideas are not the first. During the Ottoman era, the main reason for the backwardness of the inner structure against the superiority of the Western culture is the tradition and religion according to the supporters of radical westernization (Hanioğlu 1989, 39) and Said Halim Paşa[153] criticized this understanding and he also used the term *buhran* to explain the social problems.

In *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz,* Said Halim Paşa interpreted the cause of problems in the social structure of the Ottoman State. According to Said Halim, seeking progress in materialism was a fundamental mistake of the rulers and intellectuals of the period. They turned to Europe and understood the outcomes of civilization as the reasons for creating civilization. They thought that the application of the Western moral systems and lifestyles in the Ottoman society would be a solution to current problems so they defined religion, tradition, and customs as harmful and outmoded factors that prevent progress. Thus, it was passed on to the next generation that nothing should be respected except science and reason (Said Halim 1970, 116-118). When the intellectuals explained the backwardness with Islam and adopted materialism, the reforms gained an anti-religious character. However, Said Halim Paşa stated that religious and scientific knowledge in Islam are not contradictory. The reason for the emergence of the understanding of materialism in the West is that there is no way to match the beliefs of Christianity with the new scientific beliefs. However, there is no such impossibility for Islamic beliefs. Therefore, Said Halim Paşa claimed that if the intellectuals did not transfer this idea from the West, materialism would not appear in the Ottoman society (Ibid., 127-128).

In brief, it is claimed that the supporters of westernization consider the progress of the West as the outcome of materialism and they believe that the adaptation of all the Western social, political, and cultural aspects would end backwardness. The

[153] He was an Ottoman intellectual who served as Grand Vizier of the Ottoman State from 1913 to 1917.

common point expressed in both the Said Halim Paşa and *Medeniyet* is that they define this attitude of supporters of westernization as a mistake and cause to *buhran.* Both of them define the backwardness of Turkish society as economic and material. Leaving aside cultural, social, and ethical characteristics, they accept the scientific, industrial, and technical superiority of West so technical and scientific methods could be adapted from the West to compensate backwardness. However, the imitation of the social and cultural values of the West is seen as a mistake and misunderstanding of civilization because Islam as a civilization already has superiority against Western civilization. For this reason, *Medeniyet* criticizes the principles of laicism and materialism adopted by Kemalism and warns about both social and religious negativities that these thoughts will cause. These critiques of *Medeniyet* and the method of modernization it proposes are the same as views of the Islamists. Islamists view civilization as the common heritage of humanity by defining it through science and technique (Kara 2013, 40), and plan their own modernization by redefining this technique and science through the Islamic values (Duran 2013, 289-291). Likewise, *Medeniyet* states that there is no problem in taking the technique and science from the West to prevent the decline.

4.2. Kemalism in Bulgaria

Medeniyet states that the Kemalist propaganda in Turkey does not aim to apply only to Turks living in Turkey, but also to the Turks living outside the borders of Turkey[154] to show the presence of the Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria supported by Turkey. For *Medeniyet*, the most basic way to prevent these activities is to explain the main reason and purpose of the Turkish reform. *Medeniyet* says that the Turkish reform became successful because its main purpose was hidden from the people. *Medeniyet* explains this as follows: "The fact that Kemalism in Turkey is so popular that its irreligious character is not understood by the public, but rather by the leaders of Kemalism to hide this inner face from the public. They do not explain that the purpose they follow is irreligion".[155] *Medeniyet* grounds this hidden target on the years of the War of Independence so before the establishment of the Republican regime.

[154] "Laiklik Nedir", *Medeniyet*, No: 58, 3 Temmuz 1935/ 2 Rebîülâhir 1354, p. 3.
[155] "Milletler İçin İhlâs Yol Din Yoludur", *Medeniyet*, No: 45, 1 Şubat 1935/ 26 Şevval 1353, p. 1.

The details of the Anatolian victory are discussed in the article series titled *'Mürted İnkılap ve Dinsiz Edebiyat'* (The Apostate Reform and Irreligious Literature). The question posed is whether the struggle was to save the caliphate and the sultanate or to destroy them.[156] Celalleddin Sabri who is the author of series, replies to this question that the caliphate was the religious center of the Islamic world with a population of 400 million so the Islamic world participated in the Anatolian war[157] and that there were moral and religious factors in the Anatolian victory.[158] *Medeniyet* asks that

> During the war, if Mustafa Kemal Paşa had a hat on his head and a copy of the European laws and Latin letters in his hand, he would address that we must wear this hat, accept these laws and letters, throw out *Sharia* laws, change the dress of woman, have to be formally and spiritually European, have to establish an irreligious government to remove the Europeans from our homeland. If Mustafa Kemal Paşa did this, how many people would be with him? Would he be successful in the national struggle?[159]

By asking these questions, it is emphasized that the feelings that revolted Anatolia in the national struggle were the religion and that the force effective in victory was spiritual. It is also stated that during the war, Mustafa Kemal also said that we would save the caliphate and sultanate in the first parliament.[160] However, after the war, Mustafa Kemal took a different tack. *Medeniyet* states that which was sworn to defend by the first national assembly, were continuously destroyed by the second, third, and fourth assemblies.[161] Kemalists claim that the first assembly was religious. However, for *Medeniyet*, the religiosity of the first assembly was not real and a planned action to deceive Muslims[162] because later the caliphate and Şer'iyye *ve Evkaf Vekâleti* (The ministry of *Sharia* and foundations) were abolished, *Tevhidi*

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156 Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 12", *Medeniyet*, No: 49, 22 Mart 1935/ 17 Zilhicce 1353, p. 3.
157 Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 20", *Medeniyet*, No: 57, 25 Haziran 1935/ 23 Rebîülevvel 1354, p. 3.
158 Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 23", *Medeniyet*, No: 61, 27 Ağustos 1935/ 27 Cemâziyelevvel 1354, p. 3.
159 "Nuru İslam Sönmeyecektir", *Medeniyet*, No: 3, 15.09.1933, p. 3
160 Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 13", *Medeniyet*, No: 50, 12 Nisan 1935/ 8 Muharremü'l Haram 1354, p. 3.
161 Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 14", *Medeniyet*, No: 51, 23 Nisan 1935/ 19 Muharremü'l Haram 1354, p. 3.
162 Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 8", *Medeniyet*, No: 44, 17 Kânunusâni 1935/ 11 Şevval 1353, p. 3.

Tedrisat Kanunu (The law on the unification of education) was applied,[163] and *Sharia* was removed so the religious people were deceived.[164]

The proclamation of the Republic and the abolition of the caliphate and many points were not added to the party program created on April 8, 1923. Mustafa Kemal explained it by this statement:

> I could not accept that the ignorant and reactionist had the opportunity to poison the whole nation by including these issues into the program ahead of time. Because I was absolutely sure that these matters could be dealt with at an appropriate time and that the nation would be happy with the outcome (Atatürk 2017, 520).
>
> While discussing the article about the religion of the state in *Teşkilatı Esasiye Kanunu* (The Constitution), it was asked whether it would be the religion of the new government. I did not expect to be addressed to such a question, because the freedom of opinion and conscience of a government, which has elements of various religions among its subjects and is obliged to deal fairly with every religious member, is compulsory. It is not correct to limit the government to these adjectives… However, I said that yes, Islam is the religion of state to this question to not give the opportunity to those who tend to deduce irreligion from the laic state term (Atatürk 2017, 518-519).

As can be seen from both sentences of Mustafa Kemal, there were points such as the declaration of the Republic, the abolition of the sultanate, and the principle of laicism were not declared. Mustafa Kemal postponed these steps and he gave place to them neither in the party's program, nor in his speeches in the assembly, nor in the first constitution because of considering time as not right.

However, *Medeniyet* describes these steps as underhanded and cunning steps[165] and they describe this situation as the deceit of Anatolian Muslims and say that: "The poor Anatolian peasant, your religion and national traditions should not have fallen victim to the pleasure of one or two people. You are truly oppressed, worthy of pity,

[163] Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 10", *Medeniyet*, No: 46, 15 Şubat 1935/ 11 Zilkade 1353, p. 3.
[164] Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 9", *Medeniyet*, No: 45, 1 Şubat 1935/ 26 Şevval 1353, p. 3.
[165] Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp Dinsiz Edebiyat 16", *Medeniyet*, No: 53, 20 Mayıs 1935/ 17 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 3.

they deceived you!"[166] Briefly, *Medeniyet* claims that the Anatolian Turks did not have any purpose in terms of reign and caliphate during the war, but even they supported the war with spiritual factors to defend them. However, as a result, both the sultanate and the caliphate were abolished. *Medeniyet* also mentions about the words of Mustafa Kemal during the first assembly and his different steps. *Medeniyet* interprets this as hidden targets and deceiving of the Anatolian Muslims. It is summarized how the purpose of Kemalism was hidden from the Anatolian Muslims to apply their plans. As mentioned earlier, according to *Medeniyet*, the main aim of Kemalism is 'irreligiousness' and this aim was hidden from the Muslims and also it caused *buhran*-social crises so *Medeniyet* wants to draw attention to the danger posed by the Kemalist propaganda to the Muslims of Bulgaria.

Medeniyet claims that the Ankara government created a program to spread 'irreligion' under the name of reforms outside Turkey and especially in Bulgaria and started to work for this purpose through the people they obtained from among the Turks of Bulgaria.[167] It is stated that the Kemalists of Bulgaria work to apply the Turkish reform among Muslims[168] and they hide the irreligious character of the Ankara government from Muslims of Bulgaria. Thus, *Medeniyet* defines its purpose to explain the real aim of the Kemalist movement.[169] *Medeniyet* says that this opportunity to play with the destiny of religion would not be given by showing the activities of Kemalist and their purposes.[170] *Medeniyet* explains this as "The Muslims of Bulgaria are in danger of falling into the trap of irreligion as a result of the unawareness, as the Muslims of Anatolia have fallen into. With these articles, our aim is to try to warn the Muslims of Bulgaria not to fall into the trap of the irreligion

[166] Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp Dinsiz Edebiyat 13", *Medeniyet*, No: 50, 12 Nisan 1935/ 8 Muharremü'l Haram 1354, p. 3.
[167] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 6", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p. 1.
[168] "Çok Hayırlı Bir İstifa Münasebetiyle", *Medeniyet*, No: 11, 30 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 12 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1352, p. 1.
[169] "Mantığın Bu Dereceye Sükut Ettirildiği de Görülmüş Bir şey Değildir", *Medeniyet*, No: 54, 1 Haziran 1935/ 29 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p.2.
[170] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 7", *Medeniyet*, No: 17, 20 Mart 1934/ 4 Zilhicce 1352, p. 2.

movements".[171] Thus, as mentioned earlier, *Medeniyet* declares its aim to publish as warning Muslims and preventing the spread of irreligiousness.[172]

Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti which the newspaper is its media organ, reports that they struggle to explain this hidden aim of the Turkish reform through *Medeniyet*. For example, Celilov's claims about the Turkish reform are quoted and it is said that Celilov wrote that the Turkish reform did not harm religion in the Rehber Newspaper. *For Medeniyet*, Celilov wrote this to influence unaware Muslims. Thus, with the association, they believe that the mask on the face of Celilov will fall[173] and that the association will stop them from playing with the destiny of Muslims of Bulgaria.[174] For this reason, *Medeniyet* and *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* aim to raise awareness of Muslims by drawing attention to the historical background and the nature of the Kemalist propaganda and this reform movement is defined as against religion. If these points are mentioned, they think that the Muslims of Bulgaria will become conscious, and thus, they cannot live the fate of Anatolian Muslims. For this reason, they work for this purpose by including detailed articles on the Turkish reform, the Ankara government, the reforms, and the Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria.

Firstly, it is stated that the Kemalists of Bulgaria claim that Kemalism is not irreligious, the reform is not opposed to religion, the religion continues in Turkey and the Turkish government is religious. *Medeniyet* wants to present that these claims are invalid.[175] It is stated that the Turkish embassy tries to destroy Islam by publishing seven or eight newspapers in Bulgaria, and those who follow the Kemalist propaganda intervene in the mosques, *müftülüks*, and schools.[176] *Medeniyet*

[171] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 6", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p.2.
[172] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 6", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p.2.
[173] Ahmed Hikmet, "Açıksöz", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p.3.
[174] "Celilov'a", *Medeniyet*, No: 17, 20 Mart 1934/ 4 Zilhicce 1352, p. 2.
[175] Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp ve Dinsiz Edebiyat 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 39, 30 Teşrinisani 1934/ 22 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1353, p. 3.
[176] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 6", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p. 2.

explains that they aimed to target newspapers defending Kemalism in line with their goal as follows:

> If these newspapers wrote clearly about the true nature of the reform by saying that they left religion and they live without religion, we would not be concerned with the reformists who accepted the reforms of Turkey among the Turks of Bulgaria. What concerns us is the attempt to conceal the nature of the reform and to make Muslims adopt this irreligious idea through various propaganda. It is not a misdemeanor to say that you trick Muslims. This is not called criticism, it is called denial. It is not we who deny the reformists, but the Quran.[177]

For this reason, *Medeniyet* states that the purpose of the publication is not to criticize the reformists but to mention the real nature that was hidden from Muslims. By writing articles about the purpose of the reforms, *Medeniyet* aims to raise the awareness of the Muslim to avoid a similar process in Bulgaria. Thus, *Medeniyet* states that "We will try to reveal the point of view of Islam about the Turkish reform as everyone understands".[178]

Medeniyet reports that Kemalists, encouraged by the situation in Anatolia, are operating in Bulgaria[179] and *Medeniyet* gives details about them. For example, *Turan Cemiyeti*. They describe *Turan* as a Kemalist organization and as a means to spread Kemalist ideas in Bulgaria.[180] It is stated that although *Turan* is a sports association, it has been separated from this purpose. *Turan* has started to apply the reform movement on the social and religious life of the public by declaring that they adopted the reforms in Turkey. For *Medeniyet*, *Turan* is like an agency of *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası* so it has a political nature.[181] According to the claim of *Medeniyet*, Ahmed Hikmet, who is the chief editor of the newspaper, went to Filibe to spend the Ramadan feast in 1934 and he was subjected to an attack by a group of *Turan*'s members in front of the *Turan* agency. They attacked by knives and stones

[177] "İnkılap Karşısında Bulgaristan Müslümanları", *Medeniyet*, No: 5, 6 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 1.
[178] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 1.
[179] Celaleddin Sabri, "Mürted İnkılâp Dinsiz Edebiyat 13", *Medeniyet*, No: 50, 12 Nisan 1935/ 8 Muharremü'l Haram 1354, p. 4.
[180] "Bulgaristan Müslümanlarının Baş Belası Turan Teşkilatı", *Medeniyet*, No: 25, 14 Haziran 1934/ 1 Rebîülevvel 1353, p. 1.
[181] "Son İkaz", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 4.

and shouted that "Why are you writing against Turkey?... We swore to kill you". Ahmed Hikmet was saved by the intervention of others.[182] By this claim, *Medeniyet* shows that *Turan* does not accept any criticism against the Turkish government. It is claimed that various declarations were published in its newspaper *Turan* and these declarations were claimed to invite Muslim youth to unknown darkness.[183] They call it darkness because the Turkish reform and principles adopted by *Turan* are incompatible with the Islamic beliefs and principles, and even are opposed to Islam.[184] For this reason, *Medeniyet* defines asking for the removal of *Turan* from the government as a religious duty.[185]

Another important Kemalist organization, which is included in *Medeniyet*, is the union of teachers. They changed their name as *Türk Muallimler Birliği* but *Medeniyet* uses the name of *Muallimler Birliği*. *Medeniyet* states that *Muallimler Birliği* accepted the Turkish reform[186] and that *Muallimler Birliği* applied the reforms of Turkish education because of blind imitation. For example, they adopted the Latin alphabet in the Turkish schools in Bulgaria[187] and they advocated the removal of religious courses and Quran lessons.[188] However, since these steps were not approved by the Muslims of Bulgaria, *Medeniyet* warns *Muallimler Birliği* to stop imitating laic Turkey.[189] *Medeniyet* also states that Muslims should take precautions against this Kemalist ideology, which have entered schools because they believe that religion and Kemalist ideology cannot exist together so when the Kemalist ideology becomes influential at schools, religion would be removed from schools.[190] *Medeniyet* criticizes steps taken in education by saying that schools and families should be together in the education of children. However, after the steps of

[182] "Ser Muharirimize Suikast", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 14 Haziran 1934/ 1 Rebîülevvel 1353, p. 1.
[183] "Bulgaristan Müslümanlarını Vazife Başına Davet", *Medeniyet*, No: 20, 24 Nisan 1934/ 9 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 1.
[184] "Müslümanların Nazarı Dikkatine", *Medeniyet*, No: 13, 16 Kânunusâni 1934/ 29 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1352, p. 4.
[185] "Bulgaristan Müslümanlarının Baş Belası Turan Teşkilatı", *Medeniyet*, No: 25, 14 Haziran 1934/ 1 Rebîülevvel 1353, p. 1.
[186] "Hayatı İçtimaiyye ve İslamiyet", *Medeniyet*, No: 18, 24 Mart 1934/ 8 Zilhicce 1352, p. 2.
[187] "Son İkaz", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 4.
[188] "Şayanı Memnuniyet Propagandalarından", *Medeniyet*, No: 40, 10 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 3 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 2.
[189] "Son İkaz", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 4.
[190] "Kemalizm ve Dini Terbiye", *Medeniyet*, No: 41, 20 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 13 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 1.

Muallimler Birliği, schools became isolated from religious and national traditions, even families are conservative. *Medeniyet* says that in this complicated situation, the child can not have a stable education. Thus, teachers in these conditions become destructive not chastiser.[191]

In brief, according to *Medeniyet*, *Turan* and *Muallimler Birliği* were formed to spread the Turkish reform and they carry out destructive activities against Islam.[192] *Medeniyet* gives examples of how the steps of both *Turan* and *Muallimler Birliği* will be concluded. The real reasons for the activities carried out by the Kemalist groups in line with the Turkish reform are stated and the Muslims of Bulgaria are warned. The reason for this is to show that the Kemalist Turkish reform succeeded by hiding its original purpose in Turkey and that no similar result would occur in Bulgaria. The alphabet reform is the main topic chosen by *Medeniyet* for a better understanding of the purpose of Turkish reform. By giving a wide range of coverage and discussing the alphabet reform, the newspaper intends to explain what is actually aimed at the Turkish reform in general. To better understand the alphabet debate in *Medeniyet*, firstly information will be given on the history and rationale of the alphabet reform and its reflection on the Turks of Bulgaria.

4.3. The Alphabet Reform

In Turkish history, alphabet change generally took place in the periods following the change in beliefs or civilization. Therefore, the Turks have used many different alphabets throughout history. The Turks used the *Köktürk* and *Uyghur* alphabets before they converted to Islam. By the middle of the 9th century, the Turks began to come under the influence of the Arabic script. In the 10th century starting from the *Karahanids* (932-1212), all Muslim Turkish states used the Arabic script (Gülmez 2006, 4-9). The use of Arabic script lasted for about a thousand years and continued until the 20th century. Especially the Ottoman State resolutely used the Arabic letters

191 "Terbiyevi Sukutumuzun Amilleri", *Medeniyet*, No: 20, 24 Nisan 1934/ 9 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 3.
192 Ahmed Hikmet, "Açıksöz", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p. 3.

until the collapse of the state (Alpay 1983, 32). Throughout this process, the Arabic language had an important place in the *madrasa* as the language of science, in the mosque as the language of religion (Şimşir 1992b, 4-5).

For a long time, the Turks have been Muslim and part of Islamic civilization therefore there are many words from Arabic and Persian (Lewis 1961, 429; Geoffrey 1999, 6). With the use of the Arabic alphabet and the adoption of Arabic and Persian words, the Turks came under the strong influence of the Arabic and Persian cultures. With the Tanzimat era, the alphabet and foreign terminology became frequently discussed among the intellectuals of the period (Alpay 1983, 32-33). The alphabet problem emerged as an education problem because it is thought that the Arabic alphabet is inadequate to the Turkish language and it is difficult to learn (Şimşir 1992b, 18). Some thinkers compared the literacy rate with Europe and suggested that there are no similar difficulties so that the letters can be improved and the literacy can be facilitated (Şerifoğlu, 89-92). However, the discussions in the Tanzimat era based on the improvement of the letters and the ease of writing. It did not include the complete replacement of letters (Şimşir 1992b, 28). While modernization steps were accelerating in the Ottoman State, the discussion gained a different dimension. The issue was no longer one of improving letters and spelling but instead to adopt the Latin letters (Şerifoğlu, 102). There were also Ottoman intellectuals who advocated the acceptance of Latin letters and the creation of a new Turkish alphabet based on this (Kılıç 1991, 551). This was because the Latin alphabet influenced the whole of Europe, becoming a universal quality writing and a tool of civilization as a script for world trade, post, and telegraph, so it was viewed as reaching a superiority against other alphabets (Şimşir 1992b, 30-33).

All these claims and debates about the alphabet in the Ottoman period were inconclusive. In the Republican era, the alphabet discussions blazed out again after the first Turcology Congress in Baku in 1926. After World War I, both the Ottoman State and Russian Czarism were destroyed and a civilization change was made. For example, Azerbaijanis adopted the Latin alphabet in 1922 (Şimşir 1992b, 54-55). In the congress held in Baku in 1926, it was stated that it was extremely important that the Latin alphabet was adopted in Azerbaijan and it was claimed that improvement

of the Arabic letters is not possible so the most appropriate alphabet for the Turks is the Latin alphabet. Thus, by adopting the Latin alphabet, the unity among the Turkish communities, and the relations with the Western civilization would be easier (Sarı and Gedik 2014, 503). All of the ideas and suggestions after congress added impetus to the alphabet discussions in Turkey (Zürcher 2004, 188).

From 1926, this debate on the alphabet had continued. The first concrete step in this issue was the establishment of the Language Council (*Dil Encümenliği*) in May 1928 (Avcı 2000, 111-112). Mustafa Kemal formed this language council to make the alphabet transition taking place in a short time. In this direction, this council started the studies and as a result of these studies, the National Assembly adopted the Law No.1353 that was about acceptance and practice of Turkish letters on November 1, 1928 (Resmi Gazete, No.1030, 03.11.1928). On the same day, Mustafa Kemal said that to save the Turkish nation from ignorance, an easy literacy key should be found and this key is the Turkish alphabet taken from the Latin basis (TBMM Tutanak, 01.11,1928, D.3, C.30: 2). Before this speech, he also said that "If eighty percent of the nation is illiterate, we do not fault this. The fault belongs to those who do not understand the character of the Turkish and limit it" (Çağlar 1968, 183). According to these speeches of Mustafa Kemal, the main motivation behind the transition to the Latin script was to increase the rate of literacy in Turkey because the Arabic letters were not considered to be appropriate for the Turkish language. According to the reformist cadres, there are structural contradictions between the Arabic script and the Turkish language. It was not possible to identify all Turkish letters with the Arabic letters. Because of the lack of *p,ç,j,ğ* letters in the Arabic script, the Arabic script was not suitable for Turkish (Şimşir 1992b, 5-6). The inability of the Arabic script to meet the needs of the Turkish language and the resulting difficulties in learning was seen as the reason for the low literacy rate. Hence, the alphabet reform was seen as a means of spreading literacy. Thus, the alphabet reform was firstly explained by the low literacy rate and incompatibility between the Arabic letters and the Turkish language. With the Latinization of the Turkish writing system, the reformist cadres aimed to teach and write the language more easily to increase literacy.

4.3.1. The Turks of Bulgaria and the Alphabet Reform

When Bulgaria became an autonomous principality in 1878, the Turks of Bulgaria were recognized as a distinct ethnic and religious group and their rights were under the guarantee of international law. The Treaty of Berlin protected the right of Turks while giving autonomy to Bulgaria. Article 5 states that there is no any discrimination towards religious creeds in the matter of enjoyment of civil and political rights (Treaty between Great Britain, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey for the Settlement of Affairs in the East 1908, 406). The same rights came up after Bulgaria gained independence in 1908. These rights were assured either under provisions on minority rights or as human rights at the international level. For example, the Neuilly Peace Treaty includes the rights of minorities. According to Article 53, all Bulgarians shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion. And Article 54 states that all minorities shall have equal rights to establish and manage their own charitable, religious, and social institutions and to use their own language. There is not any restriction on the free use of any language before the courts, in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or publications of any kind or at public meetings (The Treaty of Peace Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Bulgaria and Protocol signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine 1920, 24). According to these international treaties and given rights, the Turks of Bulgaria could continue to use Turkish by using the Arabic letters (Ottoman Turkish) like the Turks in Anatolia.

As mentioned earlier, the Turks of Bulgaria closely followed the reforms in Turkey. Therefore, when Turkey decided to switch the Latin alphabet in 1928, the debate about which alphabet to use in the Turkish schools in Bulgaria started. The fundamental question for the Turks of Bulgaria in this discussion was in which letters the Turkish children would study (Tunçoku 1990, 244-245), so the discussion on the Latin alphabet started as an educational issue in Bulgaria. In 1928, *Türk Muallimler Birliği* decided to move to teach in the Turkish schools in Bulgaria with the Latin letters in the new academic year (Yıldırım 2015, 137). They even decided to teach in the new Turkish alphabet in the Turkish minority schools before the formal adoption of the Latin letters in Turkey (Yenisoy 2007, 12). They just received

the news that an alphabet change would be made in Turkey and decided it immediately because they thought that language and writing communication with Turkey as motherland could not be severed (Hakov 1998, 736). *Türk Muallimler Birliği* indicated that the Turks of Bulgaria are obliged to apply the alphabet reform to not to lose their language and nationality and to preserve ties with Turkey. Since the Turks of Bulgaria is a minority, they should be obliged to be subject to Turkey if they want to protect their language. For this purpose, they thought that the Turks of Bulgaria have to teach in the Latin letters at their schools (Memişoğlu 2007, 180). After this decision of *Türk Muallimler Birliği*, the Turks of Bulgaria were the first Turkish minority among old Ottoman territories to adopt the Latin alphabet (Selvelli 2018, 374).

In Bulgaria, the preparatory courses for teachers were organized and the first textbooks were printed in the Latin letters (Memişoğlu 2002, 172-176). Some books written in the Latin alphabet were brought from Turkey. It was a change that spread quickly, even to villages. For example, the school in the Turkish village called *Söğündal* was switched to the Latin letters in the 1928-29 academic year and reading courses were offered for adults (Merdivenci 1980, 162). However, this decision was not welcomed by every Turks of Bulgaria and led to harsh discussions between those who were supporters of the Latin alphabet and those who were against it. The opponents to the decision considered the Latin alphabet as a threat to the integrity of the Islamic community and the historical continuity of a tradition (Selvelli 2018, 372). Thus, they continued to use the Arabic letters and this was a kind of protest against the supporters of the Latin alphabet. They highlighted the traditional and religious values and opposed all reforms (Shivarov 2008, 135). Thus, they harshly criticized the adoption of the Latin letters in Bulgaria. *Başmüftülük* had the same position in this debate. Hüseyin Hüsnü was *başmüftü* when these discussions about the alphabet were going on. It is claimed that he did whatever was necessary to preserve the Arabic alphabet in Turkish schools (Hakov 2010, 136). He stated that the Muslims of Bulgaria wanted to continue using the Arabic letters, and the books to be used in the new academic year were prepared by printing with the Arabic letters. With the information of *başmüftülük*, the Bulgarian Ministry of Education decided on 10 October 1928 to postpone the transition to the implementation of the

Latin alphabet in the Turkish schools for four years (Memişoğlu 2002, 172-176). With this decision, one week after the enactment of the Turkish letters law in Turkey, the Latin letters were not allowed in Bulgaria (Şimşir 1988, 98).

As mentioned earlier, the Ankara government closely followed the discussion among the Turks of Bulgaria by the Sofia embassy. The Sofia ambassador Hüsrev Gerede also reported this decision of the Bulgarian government to Ankara. Gerede stated the attempts related to the alphabet as follows:

> It is understood that the deserters and some of the religious elites are conducting in propaganda to create negative feelings in the Turkish people against the reforms and that they requested to continue education in the old letters from the Bulgarian government to make the decision of *Türk Muallimler Birliği* failed (Şimşir 2006, 119).

After these reports, the Turkish Minister of National Education of the period asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take initiatives in Sofia to obtain permission for teaching in the Latin letters. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs immediately ordered the Sofia embassy to take the necessary steps (Memişoğlu 2002, 178-180). Then Gerede met with the Bulgarian Foreign Affairs Minister and Prime Minister on the direction of the instructions from Ankara (Şimşir 1992b, 310). In November and December of 1928, the attempts of intellectuals and the Turkish embassy of Sofia changed the situation. The Bulgarian Education Ministry changed its decision to postpone the teaching of Latin letters in the Turkish schools for four years, so the permission to teach with the Latin letters was granted to the Turks of Bulgaria in 1929 (Memişoğlu 2002, 178-180). Gerede reported this decision in his report as allowing the use of Latin letters in Turkish minority schools against the resistance of the conservatives. He said that the decision of the Bulgarian government on the Latin letters was the first impact against the activities of this opposite group led by *başmüftü* and other *müftüs* (Şimşir 1981, 200-201; 2006, 133-134).

There was a difference in Bulgaria regarding the implementation of the alphabet reform. That is, the Arabic letters were not banned by the Bulgarian government. While many Turkish schools in Bulgaria were teaching in the Latin letters, some schools did not move to the Latin letters, and some newspapers continued to publish in the Arabic letters. This situation revealed a duality. In order to eliminate this

duality, *Türk Muallimler Birliği* made attempts under the supervision of the Bulgarian authorities and achieved positive results. In 1930, the Bulgarian government decreed the compulsory implementation of the Latin alphabet in Turkish schools. The Bulgarian Ministry of Education issued a circular on the prohibition of Arabic letters in Turkish schools and informed that schools teaching in the Arabic letters would be closed. Thus, in 1930, the reform supporters gained the first phase of the battle for the implementation of the Latin alphabet in Turkish schools (Şimşir 1992b, 315).

This achievement of the alphabet reform is interpreted as a new impetus to the strengthening of Kemalism in Bulgaria. Thus, in 1933, *başmüftü* Hüseyin Hüsnü sent a special letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults and the Ministry of Education. He stated that the Turkish schools were under the influence of reform supporters, and if they were not taken, they would become the Kemalist organizations. He expressed his discomfort with the activities of *Türk Muallimler Birliği*, and he stated that education should be held in the Arabic letters in the Turkish schools (Memişoğlu 2002, 200-201). During these years, many commissions and reports were formed to prevent the increase of Kemalist propaganda. They suggested to increase the power of *başmüftülük*, to reeducate with the Arabic letters and to prevent the activities of *Türk Muallimler Birliği*, etc. (Sarınay 2002, 328-337). The government change in Bulgaria in 1934 facilitated the implementation of these measures mentioned above. *Türk Muallimler Birliği* was closed and its activities were terminated (Hakov 1996, 10-11). The education in the Arabic alphabet was reintroduced by banning the Latin script (Balım 1996, 104), and all Turkish newspapers written in the Latin alphabet were forbidden, and the Turkish intellectuals who defended the Latin alphabet persecuted or forced to flee (Şimşir 1988, 104).

The close follow-up of the Bulgarian government to the Kemalist organizations and newspapers and its support for the opposition groups changed with the visits of Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü and the Foreign Affairs Minister Tevfik Rüştü Aras to Sofia on April 20, 1937 (Sarınay 2002, X-XI). During these years World

War II was over, and Bulgaria was in search of friendship. For this reason, the Bulgarian administration approved the initiatives of Turkey. Firstly, the Bulgarian government closed the *Sharia* courts, then approved the introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1938 (Sarıkoyuncu and Sarıkoyuncu 2005, 487). Only the Quran courses would be taught in Arabic only twice a week (Şimşir 1992b, 317). In this decision, the ambassador of Sofia Şevki Berber had intense efforts and diplomatic traffic. According to the report dated 1 July 1938 by Şevki Berker, the Bulgarian king said that he would be happy to apply the Latin letters in Bulgaria because it is one of the works of Mustafa Kemal (Sarınay 2002, 502-503). This decision of the Bulgarian government created satisfaction in Ankara so Mustafa Kemal sent a thanks letter to the Bulgarian king (Şimşir 1988, 122; Yıldırım 2015, 141).

To sum up, when Turkey decided to switch from the Arabic letters to the Latin ones, some Turks of Bulgaria followed the same path with Turkey and tried to apply the alphabet reform in the Turkish minority schools. The pioneer of this step was *Türk Muallimler Birliği*. The alphabet issue started as an education question then gradually some Turkish newspapers adopted the Latin letters and started to be published in the Latin alphabet. However, from 1928 onward the policy of the Bulgarian government towards the application of the alphabet reform in Bulgaria was unsteady. Until 1938, using the Latin alphabet in education and newspapers was generally restricted and the government did not allow education and press with the Latin alphabet. As already mentioned, the explanation for such moves of the Bulgarian government can be found in its interest for reducing the influence of Ankara's reformist ideologies on the Turks of Bulgaria and keeping the Turkish minority distant from the news, thoughts, and influences of what was happening in Turkey (Höpken 1997, 62-63). Turkey closely followed all of this process and supported the Turks of Bulgaria through the embassy of Sofia. Both ambassador Hüsrev Gerede and Şevki Berker tried to make the Bulgarian government convinced for applying the alphabet reform and for minimizing the influence of *başmüftülük* and the newspapers that opposed the alphabet reform. When the balance in international politics changed, the Bulgarian government changed its decision. In brief, the Bulgarian government did not have a stable policy towards the Turkish

minority (İsmailov 2009, 434). The alphabet reform debate which began in 1928 ended in 1938 when the Latin letters were allowed to be used in education.

In Bulgaria, the alphabet debate reflected not only on education but also on the press. When *Türk Muallimler Birliği* decided to start teaching with the Latin letters in the Turkish minority schools, after the education problem, the other question was, in which letters would the local Turkish newspapers be published in Bulgaria, and with which letters the local Turkish printing houses would publish books. The Turkish press in Bulgaria generally adopted the Latin letters (Şimşir 1988, 103). They also published news and articles about the Latin alphabet and encouraged the campaign of Latin letters in Bulgaria. For example, *Deliorman* had a column titled *İnkılâp Haberleri* (The News of Reform) and it published continuous news and photographs about the writing courses for the Latin letters. Similarly, *Rehber* published news on grammar and pronunciation (Memişoğlu 2007, 181).

As mentioned earlier, the Ankara government kept journalism under control through *Takriri Sükun Kanunu* in 1925 and *Matbuat Kanunu* in 1931 during the years when the reforms were being created. Thus, there was no critical press under these press laws and policies during the single-party process. In this respect, the press was more important for those who make society adopt the alphabet reform so particularly there was the role of the press in practicing the alphabet reform in Turkey. For the government, the Turkish press needed to move to the Latin letters as soon as possible. Thus, the Turkish Letters Act introduced the obligation to print and write all Turkish newspapers and magazines in the Latin letters starting on 1 December 1928 (Şimşir 1992b, 225). On since this date, all official and private Turkish newspapers and magazines in the country started to be printed with the Latin letters. After 1 January 1929, nothing could be printed with the Arabic letters in Turkey according to the law (Özerdim 1998, 13). After these decisions, it was not possible to find newspapers that are printed in the Arabic letters and also criticize the alphabet reform. Although there were many publications in favor and against before the alphabet reform, this publication suddenly ended after the reform (Karakuzu 1977, 51). However, it is possible to trace the debates, critics, and ideas on the alphabet

within the Turkish minority in Bulgaria through these newspapers published in the Arabic letters.

Unlike the Turkish press, the Turkish press in Bulgaria was not uniform on the alphabet reform. Some newspapers accepted and applied the alphabet reform whereas some of them insisted on using the Arabic script until the 1940s (Selvelli 2018, 377). The Turks of Bulgaria were free to continue using the Arabic script in the writing of Turkish (Crampton 1990, 66), and publishing Turkish newspaper with the Arabic letters was not forbidden by the Bulgarian government and there were newspapers entirely printed in the Arabic letters (Şimşir 1992b, 313-315). Those newspapers continued to use the Arabic alphabet and also criticized the alphabet reform.

The Bulgarian government closely followed all this debate among the Turkish newspapers. Till 1934, the Turks of Bulgaria were free to publish their newspaper in both the Latin and the Arabic alphabet (Şimşir 1992b, 313-315). After 1934, the government banned the Latin alphabet and wanted to reduce the influence of Ankara's reformist ideologies on the Turks of Bulgaria. Thus, the Turkish press supporting the reforms was almost completely suppressed and closed down (Selvelli 2018, 378). All newspapers in the Latin letters were closed. However, the newspapers which were published in the Arabic letters continued to be published until 1944. In a sense, Bulgaria remained a sort of "oasis" for the Arabic alphabet in the Balkans, since the Latin alphabet was adopted by the Turkish community in Greece, Romania, and Yugoslavia (Ibid., 384). In the 1930s, in the Turkish press, there were not any negative or opposition articles about the effects of the adoption of the Latin alphabet on education and culture. However, these newspapers in Bulgaria published in the Arabic letters, both criticized the alphabet reform and struggled with the Turks of Bulgaria who adopted the Latin alphabet. *Medeniyet* was one of them. *Medeniyet* is known as the media organ against the Turkish alphabet reform (Şimşir 1986, 45). To understand the views and analysis of *Medeniyet* about the alphabet reform, other comments on the alphabet reform and different reasons for the reform should be known.

4.3.2. The Reasons Behind Alphabet Reform

As mentioned, the alphabet reform was explained by the literacy rate. However, the reasons behind the Mustafa Kemal's decision was seen as not only linguistic. It was also political (Collin 2011, 51). Thus, there are many different claims about the causes of reform. For Mustafa Kemal, it was a matter of saving the nation from ignorance and an alphabet that did not fit into its own language so it was a national issue (Kocatürk 1999, 147-148). One of the main concerns shaping the language policies of the Republican period was to provide national unity and integrity by creating a national language. It was aimed at creating a new script based on the Latin letters and the substitution of words derived from the Turkish roots instead of Arabic or Persian ones because the Ottoman Turkish was considered as overwhelmed by external cultural-linguistic influences (Başkan 1986, 95-102). Thus, the basic elements of this national language were intended to be pure Turkish (Banarlı 1977, 279-280). With this cultural policy, Mustafa Kemal aimed to reduce the influence of foreign cultures on the Turkish culture and to establish a national identity of the culture.

Mustafa Kemal desired to create a nation whose national culture bases on language and history. For this purpose, he took steps to establish the national identity and to give national foundations to the original Turkish culture that would emerge through linguistic and historical researches. He was therefore personally interested in language and history and carried out studies in these two fields (Kodoman 1999, 81). Thus, the alphabet reform was seen as a cultural reform that had the possibility of creating a new culture (Özerdim 1998, 20). İnönü summarized this situation as follows:

> The alphabet reform cannot be connected to the ease of reading and writing. However, the effect and great benefit of the alphabet reform is that it facilitates the change of culture. Inevitably, we have moved away from Arab culture. Thus, switching to Latin letters was a major factor in saving the Turkish language and national culture (İnönü 1987, 223).

Apart from the steps of nationalization, the alphabet reform was seen as connected with the westernization and modernization process. This process started with the Ottoman State's decline and the struggle with Western civilization. The language is seen as the first tool that a nation would use in the race of civilization, it was thought to have an equal and rich language to understand the sciences, ideas, and arts only in this way (Banarlı 1977, 279-280). Since the 19th century, the Ottoman Turkish language was found insufficient. The intellectuals of the period complained about the infertility of the Turkish language and suggested that they could not keep up with the modern civilization with this language (Doğan 1986, 140-142). They suggested adopting the Latin letters because the Arabic letters were seen as the most important factor that kept the Turkish society separate from Western civilization (Sarı and Gedik 2014, 490). It was thought that the way of development and modernization was interconnected with the alphabet and the Latin alphabet used by the civilized nations would open a way to progress and to westernize the Turks (Eren 1991, 10).

These ideas were also valid in the Republican era. With the establishment of the Republic, it was aimed at creating modern individuals and making the Turkish society part of western civilization (Kısıklı 2010, 118). And the Arabic alphabet was considered an obstacle to the transition to the western thought (Özgen 1995, 118). Thus the alphabet reform was seen as fundamental in the creation of a new identity oriented to the West (Selvelli 2018, 381-382). It is stated that the alphabet reform aimed to culturally integrate with the West (Davison 2012, 264-265). Indeed, Safa states that the alphabet reform emerged from the imagination of civilization (Safa 1988, 58-59). The Turkish reform is holistic so adjusting the thinking tools such as speaking, writing, and reading according to the Western civilization was seen as necessary to be part of this civilization (Alpay 1983, 34-35). These words of Mustafa Kemal also summarized this understanding: “Our nation will show that it is with the whole world of civilization by its letter and by its mind” (Çağlar 1968, 183; Arsan and Unan 1959, 253). From these words, it is understood that he saw the change of the alphabet as an important condition for entering Western civilization. Thus, the issue of the Latin alphabet is the issue of civilization. Taking the Latin alphabet means joining the Western civilization (Şimşir 1992b, 30-33).

To enter the Western civilization, it is necessary to break ties with the old. With the Latinization of the alphabet, there would be a barrier against the Ottoman State, and new generations would be brought up and open only new ideas (Lewis 1961, 427-428). Thus, with the alphabet reform, it was aimed to change the cultural bond with the Arab and Islamic world (Tanör 2009, 253). The alphabet change was seen as marking a clear break with the previous political and religious history (Collin 2011, 51). Similarly, for Lewis, the basic purpose of the changing alphabet was not so much practical to decrease illiteracy, as social and cultural so he says that Mustafa Kemal was slamming a door on the past as well as opening a door to the future. The final break with the past and with the East to the final incorporation of Turkey into the civilization of modern West (Lewis 1961, 273). Therefore, the purpose of the alphabet change is interpreted as severing Turkey's ties with the Islamic East and to facilitate communication with the Western world (Geoffrey 1999, 27).

Another aim of the alphabet reform was the desire to reduce the influence of religion on social life (Tanör 2009, 253). Zürcher says that the alphabet reform is a way to cut off the Turkish society from the Islamic traditions and to reorient it towards the West (Zürcher 2004, 189). Thus, the alphabet reform is connected with the previous reforms. First, the abolition of the sultanate and the caliphate then the laicization of the state created the proper conditions for the alphabet reform (Şerifoğlu, 71-79). Even though Turkey was legally and constitutionally a laic and modern state, after removing the article that the religion of the Turkish state is Islam in 1928, the Arabic script was seen as a symbol that bound Turkey to the east and set Turkey apart from the Western community of nations (Lewis 1961, 271). Thus, Lewis sees the Latinization of the script as secularization. Zürcher also says that the alphabet reform which is not specifically aimed at religion is nevertheless symbolic (Zürcher 2004, 187-188). The alphabet reform served to strengthen the image of the secular nation state due to the emancipation of the Turkish language and culture from the influences of Arabic script and Islamic culture (Kongar 1986, 31-32). To sum up, the motivations behind the alphabet reform are a matter of debate. On the one hand, some argue that the alphabet reform was a matter of modernization, westernization, and laicization as well as an attempt to improve the literacy level of the people, while the others claim it was a mere effort to cut ties of the Republic to its Islamic and

Ottoman past. *Medeniyet* handles the alphabet reform in a way that covered all these views.

4.4. The Alphabet Reform in the Medeniyet Newspaper

Medeniyet includes the alphabet reform since its first issues, and the next issues have a large place in the alphabet reform and shares ideas about what was aimed at with the alphabet reform and its possible consequences. They explain the reason for this as follows: "We presented and preferred our analysis related to the alphabet reform, which constitutes the most important part of the Turkish reform. This becomes an introduction to our investigations related to the other stages of the reform".[193] Thus, with the alphabet reform is intended to explain what was aimed at the other reforms in Turkey and generally the Turkish reform, and it is intended to warn the Turks of Bulgaria by showing more clearly the main objectives of those who tried to spread these reforms among the Turks of Bulgaria.

As mentioned earlier, the debate on the Latin letters in Bulgaria started with the decision of *Türk Muallimler Birliği*, *Medeniyet* points out this situation and states that the teachers took this decision for education with the Latin letters regardless of whether the parents and the public approved.[194] It is stated that these teachers follow and imitate Turkey[195] and that they started to implement the reforms of Turkey in Bulgaria by adopting the alphabet reform.[196] In short, the alphabet reform was considered as the first step in following the reform movement in Bulgaria and it was thought to help to better understand the aims and nature of the Turkish reform so *Medeniyet* gives importance to the discussion about the alphabet reform.

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193 "Ankara Hükümetinin Harf İnkılâbı 1", *Medeniyet*, No: 9, 4 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 16 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 1.
194 H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Yeni Harf Meselesi", *Medeniyet*, No: 2, 1 Eylül 1933/ 11 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 2.
195 "Muallimin Cemiyetine Gelince", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 4.
196 "Çok Hayırlı Bir İstifa Münasebetiyle", *Medeniyet*, No: 11, 30 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 12 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1352, p. 3.

Medeniyet mentions how the Turks adopted the Arabic alphabet when converting to Islam. There are also articles explaining how the letters were taken from Arabs and became part of the Turkish culture. It is stated that the Turks perfected and completed the Arabic letters and even art such as calligraphy was developed a lot by the Turks. It is said that the letters were taken from Arabs but they are Turkish. It is the writing system of the Turkish nation and is called Turkish. There are 28 letters in Arabic and 32 letters in Turkish. Even the number of letters is different. Turks have completed the missing parts of the Arabic script by adding the letters such as *p, ç, j*, and by putting some signs. For this reason, the Arabic letters can express the Turkish language. *Medeniyet* further asks whether throwing the old letters away and calling this reform emancipation from Arabs is acceptable or not?[197] With this question, it is emphasized that although these letters seem to belong to Arabs, Turks adopted these letters and appropriated the Turkish language over time. *Medeniyet* uses similar definitions in many different articles. *Medeniyet* defines these letters used in the Ottoman Turkish language as 'Muslim letters',[198] 'Islamic letters',[199] 'orijinal Turkish letters',[200] and 'Turkish letters'[201] instead of the Arabic letters.

Medeniyet sees these letters as the common part of Islam and as also a part of Turkish culture so they criticize the change of alphabet by saying that you accepted

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[197] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 69, 26 Teşrinisani 1935/ 29 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1354, p. 3.

[198] "Ankara Hükümetinin Harf İnkılâbı 1", *Medeniyet*, No: 9, 4 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 16 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 2.
"Şayani Memnuniyet Propagandalarından", *Medeniyet*, No: 40, 10 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 3 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 2.

[199] "Ankara Hükümetinin Harf İnkılâbı 1", *Medeniyet*, No: 11, 30 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 12 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1352, p. 1.
It is thought that pre-Islamic Arabs did not have a national script, and when Islam was born, there were very few people who knew how to write. With Islam, the importance given to writing increased (Konyalı 1977, 11-13). Thus, it is quite difficult and wrong to call this script, which developed together with Islam, an Arabic script (Şerifoğlu, 11-12). With Islam, the script was changed and spread also. For example, the letters at the beginning of Islam have gained an Islamic character by turning from perpendicular-angled to round font. In some places, they have replaced the existing writings such as Berber, Syriac, other Sami writing, Greek writing, and Coptic. And different languages were written with this script such as Turkish, Persian, Tataric, and Malay. In brief, with Islam, this script got more aesthetic value and reached different geographies so it is necessary to call it Islamic script rather than Arabic (Yazır 1981, 58-59). The Islamic script is seen as belonging to religion and religion is not national so the script beyond Arab. Just like the Latin script. As a matter of fact, the nations that use Latin writing do not give them their own national names (Şerifoğlu, 15). Thus, it is thought that these letters should be called Islamic letters instead of Arabic letters. *Medeniyet* has a similar attitude, so it does not use the term Arabic letters.

[200] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Yeni Harf Meselesi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 4.
"Hak Taaddüt Etmez", *Medeniyet*, No: 43, 5 Kânunusâni 1935/ 29 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 2.

[201] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Harf Meselesi 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 3, 15 Eylül 1933/ 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 2.

ecnebi (foreign) letters.[202] With the concept of *ecnebi*, it is stated that the Latin alphabet is foreign to their culture and religion. In the same way, with the alphabet reform, not only letters but also Arabic and Persian words are removed from the language and the words from the Western languages will be transferred. *Medeniyet* reports this as that the last reform made in the Turkish language is to take words from German, English, and especially French language instead of the words not available in the Turkish language.[203] However, according to *Medeniyet*, it is not correct to discard the Arabic and Persian words from the Turkish language and literature because these words have made the Turkish language rich and have been used in the Turkish language for centuries so became part of the Turkish language.[204] *Medeniyet* states that the alphabet and the words became part of the Turkish language because they are not the property of the Arab but of the Islamic civilization. As a Muslim community, the Turks also had contributed to the development of this script. As can be understood, *Medeniyet* criticizes the change from Arabic letters, which are seen as the common property of religion and civilization, to create a national alphabet. It is emphasized that there is no need for a nationalization step that would require Turks to change the script because Turks have contributed to this script like other Muslim communities. Indeed, this script is the property of Islam. And the religion of Islam is not national.

It is stated that this Islamic-Turkish culture will be damaged by changing the alphabet which is seen as a part of national culture. Since the new generation does not know the Turkish letters, they will not be able to benefit from these works and the new generation will be unrelated to the past, whereas the past is defined as the most useful source of national education. The nation that disconnects from the past cannot have a national character and identity. *Medeniyet* states that the national spirit will be damaged by not being able to read the works of the past so possible changes in the national culture caused by the alphabet change are mentioned. *Medeniyet*

[202] "Ankara Hükümetinin Harf İnkılâbı 1", *Medeniyet*, No: 9, 4 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 16 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 2.
[203] "Zavallı Öz Dilimizin Başına Gelenler", *Medeniyet*, No: 42, 27 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 20 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 2.
[204] "Hak Taaddüt Etmez", *Medeniyet*, No: 43, 5 Kânunusâni 1935/ 29 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 2.

defines the alphabet reform as a betrayal because they think that the alphabet reform cut off the bond with the past as a source of national culture and national identity.[205]

An example is given about the acceptance of Latin letters of Azerbaijani Turks and their ties with the past. In 1924, the Bolshevik government forced Azerbaijanis to accept the Latin letters. It is stated that the aim of this is to cut the relations of the Azerbaijani Turks with the past and to break the cultural link between them and other Turkic and Islamic communities and thereby to Russify the Azerbaijani Turks.[206] Thus the most important reason for the Latinization initiated by the Bolsheviks was seen as the attempt to cut ties with the past, eliminate the national culture, destroy religion, and adopt the principles of communism.[207] *Medeniyet* states that they became successful in these aims. Latinization, which the Bolsheviks started by force, destroyed the national feelings, culture, and so on. *Medeniyet* warns the Turks to realize the main source of Latinization which is a problem for Turks.[208] By these claims and warnings, *Medeniyet* explains the main reason for this alphabet change is to cut ties with the past and to abolish the national identity. For this reason, according to *Medeniyet*, the Latin letters are a sharp and cruel ax that separates Turks from their past and national freedom. Inherited artifacts written works mean the existence of a nation so the alphabet reform means that passing the sponge over these works.[209] In short, they state that the national culture and identity would be damaged as a result of the disconnection with the past and old works that are the main source of the national culture and identity.

Another point that *Medeniyet* draws attention to when considering the alphabet reform is the issue of education. It is reported that *Muallimler Birliği* made important decisions at their congress. Removing the Islamic letters in schools and using the

[205] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Harf Meselesi 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 3, 15 Eylül 1933/ 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 2.
[206] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Harf Meselesi 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 3, 15 Eylül 1933/ 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 2.
[207] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 71, 10 Kânunuevvel 1935/ 13 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1354, p. 3.
[208] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 82, 19 Mart 1936/ 25 Zilhicce 1354, p. 3.
[209] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 81, 25 Şubat 1936/ 2 Zilhicce 1354, p. 3.

Latin letters were decided.[210] With the decision of education in the Latin letters, education in schools took the form of three languages in addition to the Bulgarian language and the Ottoman Turkish language. And *Medeniyet* states that this trilingual education made education difficult.[211] *Medeniyet* also criticizes the impact of alphabet reform on scientific and efficient education. *Medeniyet* states that with the Latin letters, young people will be deprived of all the scientific works of the past so that these children will remain ignorant. Because it is not possible to publish millions of scientific works, that are products of the past and fill libraries, in the Latin letters. Thus, *Medeniyet* says that the acceptance of Latin letters is a crime and hostility against science.[212]

Medeniyet's other claim about education is that the alphabet reform aims to cut off the relationship of the young generation with religion. *Medeniyet* explains their claim about the impossibility of religious education with the Latin letters and irreligious generation would grow as an outcome of this education, as follows: "As it is not possible to write the Quran in the Latin letters with the acceptance of Latin letters, it is aimed to eliminate religious education by eliminating the people who can read the Quran".[213] Reading the Quran is defined as a religious necessity and it is stated that those who do not know the Arabic letters will not be able to read the Quran, that it is not possible to write the Quran in Latin letters, and that other religious books are also in Arabic. There will be no means to teach the religion so the acceptance of Latin letters is defined as hostility to religion.[214]

Medeniyet sent a petition to the Ministry of Education and *Medeniyet* also includes other decisions of *Muallimler Birliği* on curtailing religious lesson hours. The petition says that

[210] Ahmed Hikmet, "Maarif Nazarı Doktor Boyacov Hazretlerine Açık Arzuhal", *Medeniyet*, No: 6, 16 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 1.
[211] "Muallimin Cemiyetine Gelince", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 4.
[212] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Harf Meselesi 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 3, 15 Eylül 1933/ 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 2.
[213] "Hak Taaddüt Etmez", *Medeniyet*, No: 43, 5 Kânunusâni 1935/ 29 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 2.
[214] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Yeni Harf Meselesi", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 4.

> We write this petition, as these decisions of *Muallimler Birliği* will have very important effects on the Muslims… Quran can not be written and read in the Latin letters… Changing the letters that are part of a language would hurt national feelings. The Bulgarian nation had the same experience. For this reason, we demand that Muslims perform their education with our religious and national letters, allow for the increase of religious classes, the appointment of teachers of religious courses by *başmüftülük*, and approval of the religious book by *başmüftülük* to protect our religious freedom.[215]

These requests are often repeated. They state that the school has great importance. There should be the Quran lessons in the Turkish schools and the teachers who do not respect religion should be removed,[216] those religious and determined teachers should be placed in the schools and these teachers should educate the Turkish children about religious, social, and patriotic feelings and teach them to show loyalty and affection towards the country they live in.[217] The religious education is seen as the only remedy for the improvement of schools. Thus, the importance of the neglected religion lessons started to be given again.[218]According to *Medeniyet*, religious education was removed to create this desired basis by isolating young people from the ideas of religion and divinity.[219] They state that this program was already applied in Turkey.

Medeniyet claims that the Turkish government banned religion in schools[220] and their curriculum is the same as that of the Russian and communist ones. It is stated fourteen million Muslim children in Turkey are being raised as irreligious.[221] In

[215] Ahmed Hikmet, "Maarif Nazarı Doktor Boyacov Hazretlerine Açık Arzuhal", *Medeniyet*, No: 6, 16 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 1.
[216] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 96, 23 Haziran 1936/ 2 Rebîülâhir 1355, p. 3.
[217] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 90, 12 Mayıs 1936/ 18 Saferü'l-hayr 1355, p. 3.
[218] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 91, 19 Mayıs 1936/ 25 Saferü'l-hayr 1355, p. 3.
[219] "Türkiye İnkılâbı Beynelmilel Mevki", *Medeniyet*, No: 24, 4 Haziran 1934/ 21 Saferü'l-hayr 1353, p. 1.
[220] Many people who passed their childhood during this period say that they did not have written books for learning the Quran in 1937-38 so the teacher wrote Arabic letters on the piece of wood. However, these written materials were not enough so 4 or 5 students share one wood piece (Argıt and Cebeci 2019, 59). It is claimed that learning the Quran was forbidden. Emin Işık, whose father was the village imam, states that he learned to read the Quran hiddenly from his father. He says that it was suggested to him not to tell anyone that he is learning the Quran and he has a written version of the Quran (Ibid., 107-108).
[221] "Celilov'un Hayrete Şayan Hokkabazlığı", *Medeniyet*, No: 20, 24 Nisan 1934/ 9 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 4.

Turkey, teachers who secretly teach old letters in their homes were severely punished.[222] They stress that the same educational program is being applied to the Muslims of Bulgaria. *Medeniyet* says that those who defend the alphabet reform should know that they would spread irreligion and would deprive Muslim children of religious education.[223] The teachers have a reformist ideology and they try to instill this ideology in the students. It is stated that a spirit contrasting to the religious and national spirit would be instilled with this effort of teachers. Thus, schools became a place damaging the nationality, destructing the religious life and the Islamic traditions, destroying the spirituality of the nation, and changing the moral rules. However, *Medeniyet* thinks that schools should adopt a lifestyle that will comply with the social and religious life of the nation. It is stated that the rise in knowledge is not a matter of letters, but a matter of training and schools are for training not for teaching letters. Letters are just means for education. Thus, they propose different reforms in the field of education. A reform is proposed in schools that would eliminate conflict in educational and religious matters, and that included religious education and sentiment in educational programs.[224]

Another issue that *Medeniyet* focuses on in the discussion of alphabet reform is the issue of the Latin Quran. The Latin Quran debate in Bulgaria became more controversial with *Amme cüzü*[225] in the Latin letters prepared by Mehmet Celil in 1935. As stated in the 67th issue of *Medeniyet*, many readers sent letters to the newspaper and stated that this *Amme cüzü* is in use instead of Quran at schools and asked whether it is permissible according to the religion. After these letters, *Medeniyet* states that they examined a copy of this *Amme cüzü* and they said that the Arabic language is based on its own grammar and literature so even any Arabic sentence cannot be written correctly with the Latin letters.[226]

[222] Ali Vasfi, "Bir Mukayese-i Tarihiyye", *Medeniyet*, No: 24, 4 Haziran 1934/ 21 Saferü'l-hayr 1353, p. 2.
[223] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Yeni Harf Meselesi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 4.
[224] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Yeni Harf Meselesi", *Medeniyet*, No: 2, 1 Eylül 1933/ 11 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 2.
[225] The thirty and last part of the Quran is called *Amme cüzü*, starting from the Surah Nebe and covering the Surah Nas, the last Surah of the Quran.
[226] "Latince Kuran", *Medeniyet*, No: 67, 13 Teşrinisani 1935/ 16 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1354, p. 3

While elaborating on this issue, it is emphasized how the Quran was collected and became a *mushaf*- book. As a result of devoted careful studies, the Quran has taken its present form and preserved its originality.[227] The collection and the inscription of the Quran were reliably made. It is stated that the Quran has been protected as it was revealed by Allah and it will be protected from all kinds of destruction.[228] One of the conditions of reading the Quran is a matter of images and calligraphy, so the text of the Quran should be preserved.[229] Writing is very important at this point because it affects meaning. The sheikhs and the fatwa delegation of the al-Azhar Mosque reported that writing the Quran in the Latin letters is not strictly permissible and is *haram*. *Medeniyet* says that this decision made by the highest fatwa authority of Islam eliminated all doubts in this regard.[230] The words and sentences in the Quran have such a melody so with them, there are harmony and theme in the Quran. Thus, the Latin letters distort the harmony of the Quran and it cannot be read on *tajweed*.[231] As a result, *Medeniyet* says that "It is understood that the Latin letters destroy and distort the Quran. The aim of the adoption of Latin letters is to falsify the Quran and prevent it from being read".[232] The main reason for the creation of the series of articles is that it is thought that those who support the Quran in the Latin letters benefit from the ignorance of the people.[233] *Medeniyet* aims to prevent this by providing scientific and religious information on this subject. It is explained that how the Latin letters falsify the Quran by explaining the collection and writing process of the Quran, the impossibility of writing the Quran in the Latin script, and after these pieces of knowledge, it is asked that Muslims be more sensitive about this issue.

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[227] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 89, 05 Mayıs 1936/ 11 Saferü'l-hayr 1355, p. 3.
[228] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 90, 12 Mayıs 1936/ 18 Saferü'l-hayr 1355, p. 3.
[229] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 91, 19 Mayıs 1936/ 25 Saferü'l-hayr 1355, p. 3.
[230] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 92, 26 Mayıs 1936/ 4 Rebîülevvel 1355, p. 3.
[231] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 97, 30 Haziran 1936/ 9 Rebîülâhir 1355, p. 3.
[232] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 96, 23 Haziran 1936/ 2 Rebîülâhir 1355, p. 3.
[233] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 94, 9 Haziran 1936/ 18 Rebîülevvel 1355, p. 3.

Consequently, the alphabet reform is the most discussed and talked about topic in the first three years of *Medeniyet*. *Medeniyet* says that the main nature of the Turkish reform can be understood by the alphabet reform, and then *Medeniyet* defines the rationale of alphabet reform as disconnecting the new generation from the past and religion. Thus, it is stated that this was the target with the Turkish reform and that it is intended to create a new identity by reducing the influence of the past and religion to be included in the Western civilization. In short, the alphabet reform is seen as the most important step to achieve this goal of the Turkish reform, and it is the first reform implemented among the Turks of Bulgaria.

Language is one of the basic tools for civilizations to express themselves and transfer their values to future generations (Gürkan 2007, 601). For this reason, *Medeniyet*, which gives importance to the Islamic civilization and the Muslim identity, criticizes the changing of the Arabic alphabet seen as the part of Islamic civilization. Similarly, *Medeniyet* criticizes as a possible result of alphabet reform, as a Turkish community diverged from its culture, history, and religion, and states how the alphabet is a common element of civilization, and that the Arabic letters are the common work of Islam with the contribution of the Turks and became national letters for many years. Thus, after the criticisms developed against the alphabet reform were explained with a historical background, possible cultural and social changes were emphasized. There is no explanation only on religion, and the alphabet is not reduced to the Quranic script. Religion is considered as a part of civilization and culture, and it is stated that change in the alphabet will reflect on this point and prevent the continuation of religious education. The important thing that expresses the language is the letters that harmonized with culture, customs, and traditions. Thus, the letters became the essential elements of the Turkish language. *Medeniyet* makes similar comments and states that changes to be made in the alphabet should not be implemented among the Turks of Bulgaria by mentioning the possible consequences on science, culture, tradition, history, and religion.

Medeniyet gives so much importance to the issue of alphabet reform because *Medeniyet* describes the alphabet reform as very important and explanatory.

According to *Medeniyet*, the main purpose of changing the letters is to completely disengage the new generation from religion and the past.[234] As explained, *Medeniyet* states that the alphabet reform cuts off the bond with the past as a source of national culture and national identity. And *Medeniyet* asks that the supporter of alphabet reform would choose which source to national education instead of the past?[235] With this question, *Medeniyet* discusses the existence of a new educational program and a new understanding that is intended to be instilled with the acceptance of Latin letters. Accordingly, *Medeniyet* claims that those who advocate education in the Latin letters in Bulgaria consciously follow propaganda aimed to keep the next generation away from the idea of religion by preventing religious education. Thus, *Medeniyet* claims that they aimed to raise young people with an irreligious international understanding by reducing the influence of religion. It is claimed that this step of the reformists is the same policy followed by the Bolsheviks and that they want to destroy religious education by defending the education in the Latin letters to raise an irreligious generation just like the Bolsheviks.[236]

The most important of the pillar of Kemalism is defined as the change of Islamic writing and letters. With this change, it is also aimed to cut the relevance of religion and to cut the link with literature and history.[237] Thus, *Medeniyet* states that the Turkish reform aims to raise a generation without identity.[238] *Medeniyet* thinks that the generations taking education that was cut off from the past and religion with the alphabet change will grow up without identity. Therefore, *Medeniyet* establishes similarities between the Turkish reform and the Bolshevism. As mentioned before, it is claimed that the Bolsheviks wanted to turn the alphabet of the Azerbaijani Turks into the Latin and to Russify them by cutting their connection with the past, the

[234] "Çok Hayırlı Bir İstifa Münasebetiyle", *Medeniyet*, No: 11, 30 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 12 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1352, p. 3.
[235] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Harf Meselesi 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 3, 15 Eylül 1933/ 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 2.
[236] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Yeni Harf Meselesi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 4.
[237] Ali Vasfi, "Bir Mukayese-i Tarihiyye", *Medeniyet*, No: 23, 24 Mayıs 1934/ 29 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 2.
[238] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 6", *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p. 2.

Turkish culture, and Islam.[239] Because the Bolsheviks wanted to give a different identity to the Azerbaijani Turks with the alphabet change. According to *Medeniyet*, the Turkish reform similarly wants to raise the new generation in this way by changing the alphabet. *Medeniyet* defines the outcome of this step as a loss of identity.

Medeniyet states that all these criticisms were made in Turkey as well. During the period when the alphabet reform was discussed, it was actually subject to many criticisms and was not approved by the scholars. *Medeniyet* states that "This movement did not find a place in the heart of the nation and the scholars even for a second".[240] Examples of the criticisms made since the first day the alphabet change was established are given in this series of articles titled *'Harf Meselesi Etrafında'*. For example, it is stated that after the Azerbaijanis accepted the Latin letters, Kazım Karabekir Paşa wrote a letter to Ankara and explained the aim of Bolsheviks. He stated that with this step, the means of communication between the Islamic world would be destroyed. He defined the change of the alphabet as a harmful movement and he warned to not spread this movement to Turkey by the preparation of scientific treatises.[241] *Medeniyet* also gives some examples from critical newspapers of the period such as *Hayat Mecmuası* and *İkdam* in 1926. And also it is stated that even *Türk Ocakları*[242] stated that there is no need to leave the Islamic community by changing letters. With these examples, *Medeniyet* falsifies the claim that there were no people who wanted to prevent the alphabet reform and the idea that everyone accepted it.[243] *Medeniyet* also gives Avram Galanti's article in 1927 as an example. Galanti was a Jewish origin Turkish scholar and politician. In his article titled *'Arabi Harfler Terakkimize Mani Değildir'*, Galanti said that Japanese script is difficult but

[239] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Harf Meselesi 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 3, 15 Eylül 1933/ 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 2.
[240] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 87, 21 Nisan 1936/ 28 Muharremü'l Haram 1355, p. 3.
[241] H.Yusuf Şinasi, "Harf Meselesi 2", *Medeniyet*, No: 3, 15 Eylül 1933/ 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1352, p. 2.
[242] *Türk Ocakları* was established in 1912 when the nationalist and separatist activities increased during the Tanzimat period. It was created as a non-governmental organization aiming to protect national unity and integrity with the Turkish nationalism (Sefercioğlu 2001). *Medeniyet* aims to show that even the Turkish nationalist organization wanted to protect the Arabic letters because these letters were accepted as the part of Turkish language.
[243] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 77, 28 Kânunusâni 1936/ 4 Zilkade 1354, p. 3.

they are a progressed nation so there is no link between letters and progress level.[244] He also said that the Japanese accept the difficulty in their script, but they know that when they adopt the Latin letters, the link that connects them to their nation will be damaged. Thus Galanti said that changing letters is an impossible matter for the nations which have their own culture, past, and traditions.[245]

According to Avram Galanti, an alphabet is a matter of culture. If the Latin letters were adopted, perhaps children would learn to read quickly, but the culture would collapse. The Turkish language is based on, and in need of, Arabic and Persian. And this exchange between languages is very natural. Galanti said that if the alphabet was changed, these Arabic and Persian words could not be written in the Latin letters and these words would be removed from Turkish. He claimed that with this change, there would be a collapse in all scientific fields and thinkers would not be trained (Galanti 1927, 4-8). For this reason, he argued that adopting the Latin alphabet as an obstacle to progress in contrast to those who saw the Arabic letters as an obstacle to progress (Ibid., 20-23). With all these examples about critical views, *Medeniyet* says that the alphabet reform was actually criticized and opposed due to some possible consequences in the scientific, cultural and religious fields. However, these ideas and warnings were not cared about by the Turkish government and those who made these criticisms were defined as reactionists.[246]

The author of article series titled *Harf Meselesi Etrafında* said that: "I intended to fulfill my duty about this important issue. I know that I am involving in the biggest issue, and maybe I would be defined as *mürteci*- reactionist or traitor but nothing is important than the defense of truth and practice of religious duty".[247] Even though the author discussed the matter of the alphabet in many aspects such as historical, cultural, social, and religious, he thought he would be accused in this way. This is an

[244] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 83, 25 Mart 1936/ 1 Muharremü'l Haram 1355, p. 3.
[245] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 84, 31 Mart 1936/ 7 Muharremü'l Haram 1355, p. 3.
[246] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 86, 14 Nisan 1936/ 21 Muharremü'l Haram 1355, p. 3.
[247] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 68, 19 Teşrinisani 1935/ 22 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1354, p. 3.

example of the reform criticisms being accused of reactionism regardless of the content of criticisms and this is a common attitude in the history of Turkish modernization.

Modernization differs from existing structures and values, and sometimes contrasts with them therefore modernization weakens the religious field in which tradition is at the center by nature and strengthens secularism. Thus, it is thought that possible serious criticisms aimed at modernization attempts would be religious in the widest sense or that pious people would support opposition to modernization. And the name of the opposition to modernization in Turkey has been described as *irtica*-reactionism. *İrtica* is defined in the axis of religion and tradition. The criticisms of modernization and reforms since the Ottoman era have been named in this way. According to Kara, it is an indispensable problem of the historiography of Turkish Contemporary Thought to see members of *madrasa* and *mürteci*- reactionary people responsible for unsufficient application and criticisms of reforms. This attitude was reflected in the Republican era and *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası* which was opposed to *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası* was accused of *irtica* when it was closed. However, it was not possible for names such as Fethi Okyar, Kazım Karabekir, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, and Adnan Adıvar who were the party leaders, to have a real connection with *irtica* (Kara 2005, 29-33). Hence the concern of being identified as *mürteci*, as stated by the author of article series titled *Harf Meselesi Etrafında*, has a historical background.

Medeniyet argues that the criticisms are not taken seriously in Turkey because of this reductionist approach. For this reason, it is claimed that even the most basic goal of the reform did not succeed. With the alphabet reform, it was intended to teach everyone to read and write easily and to save the nation from ignorance.[248] Whereas, *Medeniyet* claims that even one-tenth of those who learn the Latin letters can not read. The reason for this is shown that the difference between learning and reading letters was overlooked. While reading, those who learned the letters would try to read the sentence by finding the letters one by one, and in the end, they would not

[248] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 72, 17 Kânunuevvel 1935/ 21 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1354, p. 3.

understand the meaning of the sentence.[249] Thus, the Latin alphabet was found unsuccessful by not even realizing its basic claim to increase the literacy rate. Zürcher makes a similar comment and says that the change was carried through with amazing speed but its effect on the struggle against illiteracy was disappointing. Illiteracy has remained relatively high in Turkey when compared with other developing countries (Zürcher 2004, 189). Therefore, *Medeniyet* believes that on this alphabet issue, not the governments, but the scholars can express their opinions.[250]

To sum up, *Medeniyet* explains the hidden aim of the Turkish reform as creating a new identity by breaking the link with past and religion. *Medeniyet* chose the alphabet reform as the clearest example of this aim, and claimes that the alphabet reform will bring up generations with no ties to the past and religion. According to the newspaper, the basic idea of Turkish reform is that Islam is an obstacle to progress and that the laic structure of Western civilization is progressive. Thus, it aimed to leave the Islamic civilization and imitate Western civilization. For *Medeniyet*, this is a misunderstanding of civilization. Religions are decisive for civilizations and the Islamic civilization is not backward as thought. Thus, *Medeniyet* states that "O Muslim brother, do not adopt the Kemalist movement which threats Islam and which is hellraiser and destructive for all humanity. Do not forget that the opposition to this movement is the most sacred jihad, the greatest service to the country you live in".[251]As mentioned earlier, Kemalism is defined as an international movement to destroy religion like Bolsheviks and communists so it is seen as a danger that affects the whole world.[252] Thus, *Medeniyet* does not define Kemalism only as a threat to Islam but as destructive for all humanity. They believe that Kemalism is a danger to all religions and religion is defined as a basic element of civilization. Therefore, the struggle against Kemalism is interpreted as a service not only to Islam but also to Christianity, thus to the civilization of the Bulgarian society

[249] Üç Yıldız, "Harf Meselesi Etrafında", *Medeniyet*, No: 86, 14 Nisan 1936/ 21 Muharremü'l Haram 1355, p. 3.
[250] "Ankara Hükümetinin Harf İnkılâbı 1", *Medeniyet*, No: 9, 4 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 16 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 1.
[251] *Medeniyet*, No: 14, 3 Şubat 1934/ 18 Şevval 1352, p. 3.
[252] "Kemalizm ve Dini Terbiye", *Medeniyet*, No: 41, 20 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 13 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 1.

and the Bulgarian government. The main reason for this interpretation of *Medeniyet* is based on the comparison of the Bulgarian and Turkish governments.

4.5. The Comparison of Bulgarian and Turkish Governments

Medeniyet has a positive attitude towards the Bulgarian government. The main reason for *Medeniyet*'s attitude is due to the Bulgarian government's relationship with religion and the rights that the government granted Muslims. *Medeniyet* describes the Bulgarian government as conservative, respectful of religions, and caring for the upbringing of new generations in this way.[253] It is stated that, in Bulgaria, no one is forcibly taken to church or mosque, but no one is allowed to deny and humiliate religions. Everyone is personally free, no one can attack anyone's freedom, but the government does not allow the spread of irreligion by taking advantage of this freedom.[254] For example, *Medeniyet* states that during the ferial days, the government instructed that all taverns and entertainment venues be closed, and that government would issue other orders to increase the value and importance of the church and religion and to ensure the continuation of worship with more serious interest.[255] Because the Bulgarian government considers it harmful for the Bulgarian youth to be caught up in the movement of irreligion so it gave religious freedom to its public to perform their religious duties and take their own measures. *Medeniyet* states that the Muslims of Bulgaria have the same freedom because Bulgaria is a democratic government and the rights of the people are under the auspices of the law without national distinctions. It is emphasized that the Bulgarian government granted Muslims broad concessions.[256]

The rights of Muslims in Bulgaria are given wide coverage in *Medeniyet* by saying that the Muslims of Bulgaria have full freedom and liberty regarding their religious

253 "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Meclis İdaresi Tarafından Bulgaristan Müslümanlarına Beyanname", *Medeniyet*, No: 15, 22 Şubat 1934/ 7 Zilkade 1352, p. 1.
254 "İzahi Hakikat", *Medeniyet*, No: 54, 1 Haziran 1935/ 29 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 3.
255 "Yeni Hükümet ve Din", *Medeniyet*, No: 24, 4 Haziran 1934/ 21 Saferü'l-hayr 1353, p. 4.
256 "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Meclis İdaresi Tarafından Bulgaristan Müslümanlarına Beyanname", *Medeniyet*, No: 15, 22 Şubat 1934/ 7 Zilkade 1352, p. 1.

and educational affairs.[257] For example, *Medeniyet* describes *Medresetün Nüvvab* as the witness of the law and liberty of the Muslims of Bulgaria.[258] Another example about education is that *başmüftü* Hüseyin Hüsnü and the delegation next to him thanked the minister and the government for making the article belonging to the Muslim schools in the new educational law according to the wishes of the Muslims.[259] Another example is the establishment of the printing house. *Medresetün Nüvvab* needed it and it was established with the permission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and this printing house was seen as an answer to the religious needs of Muslims so they express their gratitude to the government.[260] In *Medeniyet*, there is also a lot of news about the *Sharia* courts, which are seen as one of the most important rights of Muslims. For example, it was reported that Kemalists gave importance to this issue and requested for the closure of the *Sharia* courts.[261] However, the government refused this offer and preserved the courts. *Medeniyet* says that they are grateful to the government for this decision.[262] Besides, *Medeniyet* regards the establishment of *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* as a right given to Muslims. *Medeniyet* says that this right deserves to be thankful to the government because the Muslims in neighboring states can not even recite *basmala*.[263]

Medeniyet states that the government will continue to protect these rights of Muslims as follows: "The Minister of the Interior declared to *başmüftü* that all the wishes of Muslims in the name of religion will be accepted, that they will not allow any Muslims to be hurt anywhere by necessary measures".[264] *Medeniyet* reports that the government is closely concerned with the wishes of Muslims by giving news about

[257] "Şayani Memnuniyet Propagandalarından", *Medeniyet*, No: 40, 10 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 3 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 2.
[258] *Medeniyet*, No: 59, 31 Temmuz 1935/ 30 Rebîülâhir 1354, p. 1.
[259] "Başmüftü Efendinin Maarif Nazırıyla Mülakatı", *Medeniyet*, No: 36, 31 Teşrinievvel 1934/ 22 Recebi'l-ferd 1353, p. 4.
[260] "Hayırlı Bir Müessese", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 4.
[261] "Kemalistlik Faaliyette", *Medeniyet*, No: 55, 7 Haziran 1935/ 6 Rebîülevvel 1354, p. 1.
[262] "Hükümetimize Teşekkür", *Medeniyet*, No: 38, 20 Teşrinisani 1934/ 12 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1353, p. 1.
[263] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Meclis İdaresi Tarafından Bulgaristan Müslümanlarına Beyanname", *Medeniyet*, No: 15, 22 Şubat 1934/ 7 Zilkade 1352, p. 2.
Basmala is an Islamic phrase that means in the name of Allah, the merciful and compassionate. Muslims recite it before many actions such as reading the Quran, praying, eating, etc. Therefore it is an integral part of the daily lives of Muslims. Thus, the banning of *basmala* is seen as the clearest proof that there is no freedom of religion for Muslims in other neighboring countries and this situation is mentioned.
[264] "Başmüftü Efendinin Dahiliye Nazırı ile Mülakatı", *Medeniyet*, No: 25, 14 Haziran 1934/ 1 Rebîülevvel 1353, p. 1.

meetings of *başmüftü* with the state officials. For example, in 1935, *başmüftü* met with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and discussed the religious affairs and the organization of the Muslims of Bulgaria.[265] Again, *başmüftü* met with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education and explained the situation of the Muslims of Bulgaria in the field of culture and knowledge.[266] There are also reports stating that the government cares about the demands and opinions of *başmüftülük.* For example, it is stated that during appointments to the councils, the government listened to *başmüftülük* and authorized *başmüftülük* to do so.[267] It is stated that Kemalists were disturbed with all these decisions, as follows: "Since the newly appointed committee members are conservative Muslims, Kemalists are very upset about it, and in some places, they showed it with the rebellious temper. Even though they sent delegations but these attempts were unsuccessful".[268] Later, it is said that Kemalists wrote a mandate to the government to ask for the removal of the duties of *müftüs, başmüftü* and all hodjas, closure of *müftü* offices and reforms in the administrations of Turkish schools and foundations. However, the government did not accept any of them.[269]

Medeniyet mentions all these rights that the Muslims of Bulgaria have by comparing with Turkey. For example, having *madrasas* providing religious education, such as *Nüvvab*, is seen as an example of the religious and national freedom that the Muslims of Bulgaria had at a time when religious institutions were being destroyed in Turkey and other Turkish areas.[270] Another comparison relates to the abolition of religious classes and the making education with the Latin letters in Turkey. Thus, *Medeniyet* says that Bulgaria is not the land of Kemalism and that it is a country where religion and morality are preserved. *Medeniyet* states that the Muslims of Bulgaria have complete freedom on their own religious and educational affairs so the Muslims of Bulgaria can educate and train up their children as Muslims. *Medeniyet*

[265] "Başmüftü Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi Hazretlerinin Mülakatları", *Medeniyet*, No: 56, 15 Haziran 1935/ 12 Rebîülevvel 1354, p. 1.
[266] "Başmüftü Başvekil ve Maarif Nazırları Nezninde", *Medeniyet*, No: 57, 25 Haziran 1935/ 23 Rebîülevvel 1354, p. 4.
[267] "Başmüftülükten Maarif Encümen Azalığına Tayin Edilenler", *Medeniyet*, No: 45, 1 Şubat 1935/ 26 Şevval 1353, p. 4.
[268] "Kemalist Mahafilinde Heyecan", *Medeniyet*, No: 28, 26 Temmuz 1934/ 13 Rebîülâhir 1353, p. 4.
[269] "Fesat Kumpanyaları Faaliyette", *Medeniyet*, No: 46, 15 Şubat 1935/ 11 Zilkade 1353, p. 4.
[270] "Hayırlı Bir Müessese", *Medeniyet*, No: 7, 13 Teşrinisani 1933/ 25 Recebi'l-ferd 1352, p. 4.

asks whether this freedom is in Turkey.[271] In brief, a negative picture is drawn for Turkey. As mentioned, the reforms in Turkey, their harmful outcomes on religion and social life, and the danger of irreligiousness are included in *Medeniyet*. Therefore, *Medeniyet* opposes the idea of emigrating to Turkey by saying that "We strongly oppose the emigration of Turks of Bulgaria to Turkey".[272]

A series of articles entitled *Habeşistan Muhacereti* (The Migration to Abyssinia)[273] explains what the Islamic migration means for Muslims from a religious viewpoint.[274] *Medeniyet* highlights the religious motives and says that migration could take place in two conditions for Muslims. According to this, firstly, if a Muslim can not freely practice his religion in the place he lives, he can emigrate. Secondly, he should be able to practice his religion without any restrictions in the place where he migrates. *Medeniyet* states that while Muslims live their religion freely in Bulgaria.[275] Thus, according to *Sharia*, emigration to Turkey is not an option for the Turks of Bulgaria. It is stated that the Bulgarian government is conservative and cares about the growth of new generations as reverent to religion. Thus, the government gives broad privileges to minorities. The Muslims of Bulgaria also have these privileges, so there is no danger for Muslims in Bulgaria in this regard. Besides this religious aspect, adequacy of material conditions is mentioned. It is stated that in Bulgaria, there are opportunities such as trade, art, and education that prepare the conditions for material development and that the Muslims of Bulgaria also have these means of progress because Bulgaria is a government managed by democracy. Thus, there is no danger to Muslims in material terms.[276]

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271 "Şayanı Memnuniyet Propagandalarından", *Medeniyet*, No: 40, 10 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 3 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p. 2

272 "İzahi Hakikat", *Medeniyet*, No: 54, 1 Haziran 1935/ 29 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 3.

273 It is the first migration of Muslims to Abyssinia (present-day Ethiopia). Muslims in Makkah faced harassment, abuse, and persecution so the decision to migrate to Abyssinia was taken to save the lives and faith of Muslims. Even Abyssinia was not a Muslim society but Muslims believed that their rights would be protected and freedom of faith would be given because of the attitudes of the king (Önkal 1998, 462-466). This long article series is given to explain the reasons for these migrations and to show that when Muslims should migrate and that how the migrated place should be.

274 "Habeşistan Muhacereti", *Medeniyet*, No: 22, 14 Mayıs 1934/ *19* Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 3.

275 "Nazar-ı İslamiyye'de Muhaceret", *Medeniyet*, No: 30, 21 Ağustos 1934/ 10 Cemâziyelevvel 1353, p. 1.

276 "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Meclis İdaresi Tarafından Bulgaristan Müslümanlarına Beyanname", *Medeniyet*, No: 15, 22 Şubat 1934/ 7 Zilkade 1352, p. 1.

According to *Medeniyet*, Bulgaria is a financially and morally suitable country for Muslims to live. Therefore, for *Medeniyet*, it is not right to leave these conditions and migrate to Turkey. *Medeniyet* claims that if those who want to migrate to Turkey knew that they would be banned from saying they are Muslims and if they realized the magnitude of the responsibility of taking their children to that country, they would appreciate the value of being under the administration of a government such as Bulgaria at such a time and even if they were expelled from this country, they would not easily leave their places.[277] Thusly, *Medeniyet* also mentions the troubles faced by some families who migrated to Turkey by claiming that they faced the facts and had returned and these families said that there is no place better than Bulgaria.[278] In brief, *Medeniyet* claims that in Turkey people are banned from saying they are Muslims and that Muslims cannot provide religious education to their children, but that these rights are protected in Bulgaria.

As mentioned earlier, the broad rights granted by the Bulgarian government to Muslims was seen as a strategy. It is claimed that the Bulgarian government adopted a policy to ensure that the Ankara government and the Kemalist propaganda would not be effective among the Turks of Bulgaria. According to this policy, it is aimed to make the Turkish minority loyal to the Bulgarian government by giving Muslims broad rights and bringing the religious identity of the Turkish minority to the fore. It is stated with this policy that the Bulgarian government involved in the debate between the Turks of Bulgaria and that it is a party in this discussion by supporting the opposition group against the Kemalist propaganda. However, *Medeniyet* claims that these rights granted by the Bulgarian government were since the Bulgarian government was religious. Because *Medeniyet* defines the aim of Kemalism as destroying all beliefs considered sacred religious books.[279] Thus, the danger is not only a danger for Islam but also all religions so *Medeniyet* claims that a Christian or a religious person can not accept Kemalism.[280] *Medeniyet* explains this claim as: "Members of other religions also can not live together with Kemalists. Because if

[277] "İzahi Hakikat", *Medeniyet*, No: 54, 1 Haziran 1935/ 29 Saferü'l-hayr 1354, p. 3.
[278] "Hicret Etmiş Türkler Avdet Ediyorlar", *Medeniyet*, No: 31, 1 Eylül 1934/ 15 Cemâziyelevvel 1353, p. 3.
[279] "Milletler İçin Halas Yolu Din Yoludur", *Medeniyet*, No: 45, 1 Şubat 1935/ 26 Şevval 1353, p. 1.
[280] "İnkılâp Karşısında Bulgaristan Müslümanları", *Medeniyet*, No: 5, 6 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 1.

both Kemalists and religious men carry out the duty of their beliefs, they must be enemies of each other".[281] As mentioned earlier, the Bulgarian government is seen as religious and against such a kind of irreligious movement and does not allow young generations to follow these movements.[282] Thus, the Bulgarian government took a clear stance against the Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria.

Medeniyet often states that Muslims should be grateful and loyal to the Bulgarian government and consider Bulgaria as their homeland because of the government's policies towards Muslims and the rights given to Muslims. *Medeniyet* states that: "Though we are racially Turks, we are Muslims… so we do not need any patronage as long as there are free laws of Bulgaria that protect our religion and nation[283] and we must express loyalty to this homeland where we breathe and eat bread".[284] *Başmüftü* Hüseyin Hüsnü expressed similar opinions in his speech at *Nüvvab* as follows:

> The Bulgarian government is tolerant and generous about the Muslims under its administration. So far, the government and our nation have done their duty towards you... Now you should fulfill your duty to Islam and the government. You must faithfully serve by considering the Bulgarian government as your own government, the tsar as your own tsar, and the honour of Bulgaria as your own honour.[285]

Medeniyet also states that "As we carry out our duty to the government, the government would be conscientious towards us".[286] By this, Muslims were asked to fulfill their loyalty and duty to the government.

The attitude of the Bulgarian government during the publication of the newspaper is another point that is appreciated by *Medeniyet*. In the first issue of the newspaper,

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[281] "Müslümanlarda Buhranı İçtimai ve Tedavisi 3", *Medeniyet*, No: 9, 4 Kânunuevvel 1933/ 16 Şabanü'l-muazzam 1352, p. 3.
[282] "Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti Meclis İdaresi Tarafından Bulgaristan Müslümanlarına Beyanname", *Medeniyet*, No: 15, 22 Şubat 1934/ 7 Zilkade 1352, p. 2.
[283] Ahmed Hikmet, "Maarif Nazarı Doktor Boyacov Hazretlerine Açık Arzuhal", *Medeniyet*, No: 6, 16 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 1.
[284] "Bulgaristan Müslüman Türk Çocuklarının Vatanı Bulgaryadır", *Medeniyet*, No: 77, 28 Kânunusâni 1936/ 4 Zilkade 1354, p. 1.
[285] "Medresetün Nüvvab Tevzi Mükafat Merasimi", *Medeniyet*, No: 59, 31 Temmuz 1935/ 30 Rebîülâhir 1354, p. 3.
[286] *Medeniyet*, No:30, 21 Ağustos 1934/ 10 Cemâziyelevvel 1353, p.1.

Medeniyet states that: "We are establishing a platform in the freest country of Balkans'.[287] And in another issue, it is stated that: "After leaving the Ottoman domination and getting independence, the Bulgarian nation established its government which has formed on the principles of humanity and morality".[288] The main reason for this honor to the Bulgarian government is the rights given to the Muslims in Bulgaria, the freedom of Muslims to perform their religious duties, and even that *Medeniyet* was allowed to be published.[289] For this reason, *Medeniyet* repeatedly reminds the Turks of Bulgaria to be loyal and respectful to the government. It is also displayed a similar attitude towards the changes in government. For example, for the change in government in 1934, *Medeniyet* states that "We recommend that the Muslims of Bulgaria welcome this government with gratitude and appreciation and that whatever the government orders them, they should perform with loyalty and sincerity".[290]

Medeniyet includes the decisions taken by the Bulgarian government in the internal news and translated and published the new Bulgarian laws. For example, the Bulgarian government gave Bulgarian names to the Turkish villages and towns, and *Medeniyet* publishes the new names in lists leading to a few issues.[291] *Medeniyet* also responds to criticisms against Bulgaria and the Bulgarian government by the Turkish press or the Kemalist press in Bulgaria. For example, it is stated that "The Turkish newspapers are talking about regional events in Bulgaria and the persecution of Turks in Bulgaria by the government. It is not the Turks of Bulgaria who are subjected to persecution and injustice, but the 14 million Turks who live in Kemalist Turkey".[292] "There is so much lies and detortion in the Turkish press. They do not question forced irreligion of 14 million people in Turkey but they claim that Bulgaria

[287] Ahmed Hikmet, "Mesleğimiz", *Medeniyet*, No: 1, 19 Ağustos 1933, p. 1.
[288] "Hayırlı Bir Yeni Hükümet", *Medeniyet*, No: 23, 24 Mayıs 1934/ 29 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 1.
[289] "Medeniyet Avn Hakla Üçüncü Seneye Girdi", *Medeniyet*, No: 61, 27 Ağustos 1935/ 27 Cemâziyelevvel 1354, p. 2.
[290] "Hayırlı Bir Yeni Hükümet", *Medeniyet*, No: 23, 24 Mayıs 1934/ 29 Muharremü'l Haram 1353, p. 1.
[291] "Yeni Köy ve Kasaba İsimleri", *Medeniyet*, No: 34, 8 Teşrinievvel 1934/ 25 Cemâziyelâhir 1353, p. 4.
[292] "Türkiye Matbuatı", *Medeniyet*, No: 18, 24 Mart 1934/ 8 Zilhicce 1352, p. 4.

forced conversion of Muslims by giving examples of Pomak Turks. However, Muslims have all kinds of rights in Bulgaria".[293]

With these words, the news that the Turks of Bulgaria were persecuted by the government is rejected. When the Bulgarian government was criticized for not allowing reforms to be implemented in Bulgaria, *Medeniyet* replies that no state can interfere in the internal affairs of another state and no state can be allowed to bring about reforms.[294] The Cumhuriyet Newspaper dated 12 June states that although many of the Bulgarian statesmen appreciated the Turkish reform and that there was a friendship between the two states, but the Bulgarian government did not allow Turks to apply the reforms. Cumhuriyet defines it as against friendship. *Medeniyet* answers to Cumhuriyet that the Bulgarian statemen appreciate the reforms of Turkey, but it does not mean that they will apply it. Another claim of Cumhuriyet is that the Bulgarian government allows the publication of *Medeniyet* that is against the Turkish reform, however, does not allow the newspapers that defend Kemalism and this does not match the friendship between Bulgaria and Turkey. *Medeniyet* states that this new of Cumhuriyet is not true, the Bulgarian government provides the freedom to all newspapers including the Kemalist newspapers. However, *Medeniyet* states that these Kemalist newspapers are not given importance and that the Muslims of Bulgaria are not Kemalists, as Cumhuriyet claimed.[295]

While *Medeniyet* explains its positive comments about the Bulgarian government and its responses to the criticisms against the Bulgarian government by the broad rights of Muslims of Bulgaria and by the publication of *Medeniyet* itself. However, there are different comments on the newspaper's relationship with the Bulgarian government. The reason for this claim is a series of decisions taken by the government established in 1934 by the military coup to prevent the spread of reforms in Turkey between the Turks of Bulgaria, with the belief that the reforms would protect the spiritual and cultural integration with Turkey. For example, the steps

[293] "Yeni Hezeyanlar", *Medeniyet*, No: 41, 20 Kânunuevvel 1934/ 13 Ramazanü'l-mübarek 1353, p.1.
[294] "İnkılap Karşısında Bulgaristan Müslümanları", *Medeniyet*, No: 5, 6 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p. 1.
[295] "Cumhuriyet Gazetesinin Şikayetini Haklı Görmüyoruz", *Medeniyet*, No: 57, 25 Haziran 1935/ 23 Rebîülevvel 1354, pp. 1-2.

taken in the press and the closure of many newspapers (Sarıkoyuncu and Sarıkoyuncu 2005, 486). It is thought that the military coup of 1934 brought an end to the Bulgarian free and independent press (Shivarov 2008, 135). This period, which continued until 1941, was regarded by the Bulgarian historians as a fascist era. The Bulgarian government banned nearly all Turkish newspapers and magazines (Şimşir 1986, 4-5).

However, publications that were loyal to the new government or that were not interested in politics continued to exist with the permission of the higher authorities (Shivarov 2008, 135). While many institutions such as *Türk Muallimler Birliği* and *Turan* were closed down, *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* continued their work and its media organ *Medeniyet* continued to be published while many newspapers were closed down (Acaroğlu 1990, 32; Cambazov 2013, 331). *Medeniyet* continued to be published as the only Turkish newspaper in this period and all other Turkish newspapers were not allowed (Deliorman 2010, 140-141). It is claimed that because *Medeniyet* didn't touch the Bulgarian politics (Keskioğlu 1985, 160). The publication duration of the newspapers and magazines in Bulgaria varied in parallel with the political developments and a publication could be maintained as long as a media organ approved by the regime. Ideological changes in Bulgarian domestic politics shortened the life of newspapers. For this reason, most newspapers were published for a short time. Only 7.2 percent were more than 10 years (Deliorman 2010, 22-23). However, *Medeniyet* was published continuously for eleven years, until its 375th issue.

Another claim is about the support of the Bulgarian government to *Medeniyet*. It is claimed that *Medeniyet* continued its publication process with the support of the Bulgarian state (Memişoğlu 2007, 226; Şimşir 1988, 243). In 1934, the Bulgarian government established a commission to prevent Kemalism and the commission's main proposal on the religious issue was to strengthen *başmüftülük*. It is stated that *Medeniyet* started to published and branches of *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* were opened under the responsibility of *başmüftülük* with the support and assistance of the government to realize commission's proposals (Değerli 2009, 281). As mentioned, it is claimed that the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religious Cults worked together with *başmüftülük.* As a result of this cooperation, it is claimed

that religious associations and institutions were established and *Medeniyet* started to be published (Hakov 2016, 311).

According to Cambazov, during the tenure of Hüseyin Hüsnü, the Bulgarian government gave the task of raising the Turks as patriotic Bulgarian citizens by supporting the Bulgarian government and preventing the spread of Kemalism in Bulgaria to *başmüftülük*, to *Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti* and *Medeniyet* (Cambazov 2013, 331). Cambazov claims that *Medeniyet* was published by the Bulgarian government to fight Kemalism, not by Hüseyin Hüsnü or Ahmed Hikmet (Cambazov 2013, 365). This claim is based on the proposal in the report to prevent the Kemalist press which suggested publishing a Turkish newspaper to conduct a systematic struggle against Kemalism (Sarınay 2002, 331-332). According to Cambazov, the capital source of *Medeniyet* was neither Hüseyin Hüsnü nor anyone responsible in the newspaper. Because one issue of *Medeniyet* was sold for one Leva and this would not even cover the cost of the paper (Cambazov 2013, 366). Thus, it is claimed that *Medeniyet* was supported financially by the Bulgarian government.

In brief, because of the long publication life even while the closure of other Turkish newspapers and the commission report for financial support, *Medeniyet* is described as an extremely pro-Bulgarian newspaper (Şimşir 1988, 112). However, in 1944, the political structure changes, and a communist regime is established in Bulgaria. This regime change also marked the beginning of a new era for the Turkish minority. The Turkish schools were closed or Bulgarized, the Turkish associations, and social and cultural organizations were banned and all the Turkish newspapers and periodicals were closed down (Ibid., 132). This year, *Medeniyet* was also closed on 12 August 1944. With the closure of *Medeniyet*, the activity of Turkish language publications in Bulgaria was ended (Memişoğlu 2007, 226). The Turkish minority press was put to an end. After this year, there was not any Turkish newspapers or magazines with the Arabic and Latin letters (Şimşir 1988, 244). *Medeniyet* was published for 11 years and *Medeniyet* was the longest-lived Turkish newspaper in Bulgaria (Cambazov 2011, 54). As a result of this long life of publication and all these controversies and many criticisms were directed at *Medeniyet*.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Bulgaria was a region under Ottoman rule for many years and so has a Muslim Turkish population. As a result of the changing conditions with the Russo-Turkish war in 1878, the Balkan wars and World War I, there was a flow of Turkish and other Muslim emigration from Bulgaria between 1878 and 1944 (Eminov 1997, 48). Thus, the Turks started to live in the region as a minority with the rapid decline of the Turkish population. When Bulgaria declared its independence in 1908, the rights of Turks were also guaranteed under the minority rights. Thus, Turks could protect the institutions and values inherited from the Ottoman period such as *Sharia* courts, *madrasas*, and the Ottoman Turkish language.

By the year 1923 with the reform taking place in Turkey, the political and social life was changing rapidly. These changes also affected the Turks of Bulgaria. In fact, the discussions of the Turks of Bulgaria about the modernization of Turkey overshadowed the scientific and intellectual efforts of the Muslims of the region (Hatiboğlu 2006, 120). The Turks of Bulgaria were closely following the modernization process and the reform movement in Turkey. As a result of the reaction to the Turkish reform, the Turks of Bulgaria were divided into two different parties. The group supporting this process believed that the Turks of Bulgaria should implement these reforms in their social lives, while the other group was negative towards the reforms due to their concern about the impact of this change on social, cultural, and religious life. Many values, institutions, and principles that were banned or changed with the reforms in Turkey continued to shape the social lives of Turks of Bulgaria.

For the Turks of Bulgaria, this debate became more controversial after the announcement of alphabet reform in Turkey in 1928. A group of teachers decided to implement this reform in Turkish schools in Bulgaria. The supporters of this decision and the Turkish reform saw themselves as a part of Turkey and so wanted to take similar steps in Bulgaria. However, there were opposing groups that emphasized the Muslim identity and believed that their social, cultural, and religious values should be protected. Both groups engaged in many intellectual activities to express their ideas to the Turkish minority and to make these ideas adopted. The educational institutions, societies, associations, and press activities were the most important activities. Since the communist regime was established, from 1928 to 1944, the Turks of Bulgaria had the right to establish associations and to publish, and these intellectual activities were carried out intensively in this period. The reforms in Turkey were closely followed and evaluated. Thus, the newspapers of the period were filled with content related to Turkey.

Madrasas, the *Sharia* courts, education in Arabic, and the newspapers printed in the Arabic letters were banned by the reforms in Turkey. Unlike Turkey, when the Turks of Bulgaria were discussing reforms, these points continued to exist. Also, the press was seen as a very effective tool for the adaptation of reforms in Turkey so many regulations were made about the press to prevent publications against the reforms and to introduce the reforms to the public. The most prominent of these are *Takriri Sükun Kanunu, Matbuat Kanunu, Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü*, and *Basın Birliği*. These laws and policies made it not possible to find the opponent press during this period when reforms were being carried out in Turkey. In contrast to Turkey, there was wealth and freedom of the press in Bulgaria, as there was press in Arabic, and criticism of the reforms could be made in newspapers. Both the reformists and opponents published their newspapers and reflected their ideas. It can be understood how the newspapers of the period were effective from the memory of Cambazov about his brother. Cambazov's brother took a stance against the reforms was because he defined this struggle against the reforms as a religious duty. The critical press had an impact on the formation of this view. He followed the newspapers criticizing the reforms and he adopted the ideas of these newspapers. Cambazov reports that his brother collected all collections of the newspapers of *İntibah*, *Havadis*, and

Medeniyet and underlined all articles related to the reforms with a red pencil (Cambazov 2014, 266-268).

The absence of critical newspapers in Turkey makes newspapers published by the Turks of Bulgaria a source of information for reflecting the basic views of the Turkish reform opponents. One of the most prominent of these newspapers is *Medeniyet*. It began to be published in 1933. The relationship with *başmüftü* Hüseyin Hüsnü and with the Bulgarian government, and the content of the news and article topics on the Turkish reform, and its editorial staff make *Medeniyet* important in this debate. *Medeniyet* is described as an extremely important source in the religious, educational, cultural, and literary life of the Turks of Bulgaria (Zor Zamanların Başmüftüsü: Şumnulu Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi 2019, 17). For this reason, *Medeniyet* was chosen as the primary source of this study. *Medeniyet* is an effective source in seeing the criticisms made against the Turkish reform and how this whole process was interpreted by *Medeniyet*.

The main goal of this thesis is to explore the reasons for the criticism of the Turkish reform and how the cultural, social, and political change in Turkey was interpreted through the discourse analysis of *Medeniyet*. Alongside this research, I tried to understand what are the main reasons for the criticism of the Turkish reform in *Medeniyet*. Thus the main questions of the research are how did the reforms in Turkey affect the Turks of Bulgaria, which of these reforms were closely followed and discussed, what were the main criticisms of the Turks of Bulgaria against these reforms and what were the reasons for these criticisms, how were all these points handled in *Medeniyet*.

The scope of the study was limited to the first three years of *Medeniyet* and its articles on Turkey, the Turkish reform, and the reform movement in Bulgaria. In this direction, these articles in the newspaper were read, their contents, key concepts, and general approaches were examined to understand the newspaper's basic attitude about the Turkish reform. There was also an attempt to understand the sources of criticism. According to the discourse analysis of the articles, it was understood that *Medeniyet* addresses this issue through the following main topics: the Muslim identity, the concept of civilization, the establishment of Ankara government, the

principle of laicism, Kemalism, the Kemalist propaganda in Bulgaria, and the comparison of Turkey and Bulgaria.

According to this, in the opinion of the newspaper about identity, the Muslim identity precedes the ethnic Turkish identity. Since they consider themselves part of the *ummah* of Islam rather than a part of Turkey, they state that they are not obliged to follow Turkey in implementing the reforms. Then, they continue with the introduction of the concept of civilization, which was chosen as the name of the newspaper. This is due to modernization attempts since the Ottoman State were made to be part of the civilized world. *Medeniyet* claims that civilization is misunderstood by Muslim societies and therefore there are mistakes in the reform movement. According to them, civilization has two dimensions, material and spiritual. While the reflection of technical and scientific knowledge in the material field is included in everything that makes life easier, it is said that the real spirit of civilization is religion. This is due to the social roles devised in religion. It is stated that social life, which is the fundamental requirement of the formation of civilization, can only be possible with religion, otherwise people's selfish characters will come to the fore. The process in which religion is gradually withdrawn from the social and political sphere in European societies because the developments in the industrial, technical, and scientific fields in Europe changed their view about religion. It is thought that the same steps should be taken for a similar progress process and the progress of Europe was considered as an outcome of European separated and religion-free structures.

Thus, the idea that Islam prevents progress, was put into practice and reflected in the reforms. This process, which is conceptualized as laicism, was claimed to go beyond reducing the influence of religion. It is claimed that this principle was applied as harsher and stricter than in the West so it aims to eliminate religion. *Medeniyet* states that this ideology called Kemalism did not give any place for religion because of their targeted political and social transformation. *Medeniyet* gives examples from the reforms to support its claims. The changes in clothing, the alphabet reform, and the banning of religious education are the most prominent examples.

Medeniyet considers Kemalism as an 'irreligious' ideology. However, Kongar states that Kemalism had nothing against the Islamic religion except to deny religion as a source of political power so the Kemalist ideology abolished the caliphate and sultanate (Kongar 1986, 29-30). Lewis also states that the basis of the Kemalist religious policy was laicism, not irreligion, its purpose was not to destroy religion but to reestablish it to end the power of religion in political, social, and cultural affairs and to limit it in matters of belief and worship (Lewis 1961, 407). However, for *Medeniyet*, the aim of Kemalism is 'irreligion' because according to the newspaper's definition of religion, religion is the determinant of social, cultural, which shapes the values and parts of civilization such as language, culture, social life, and political life. For this reason, the newspaper is against the social and political transformations made by removing religion from these areas of life.

Medeniyet thinks that even the Kemalist ideology did not allow religion to be autonomous as a matter of faith. The most important reason for these interventions in religion is seen that Kemalists regard Islam as an obstacle to progress and adopt the materialist view. According to *Medeniyet*, the reason for the social crisis of Muslim societies is this worldview. Because the newspaper does not consider religion as an only theological matter but a social structure that shapes the values and parts of civilization such as language, culture, social life, and morality so religion is a source of civilization. Thus, religions enrich cultural and social lives. However, the materialist worldview aims to eliminate the influence of Islam by fully adopting the Western civilization. *Medeniyet* criticizes transferring everything of the Western civilization especially the social and cultural values. And *Medeniyet* defines this as an imitation. It is stated that imitations will not lead to progress but will cause the disappearing of unique identities and social wealths. When they consider religion theologically, they see Islam as an encouraging factor, not an obstacle to progress. *Medeniyet* gives space to religion in civilization and progress so *Medeniyet* does not accept the idea that sees religion as an obstacle for progress and aims to transform religion or even to abolish religion. Thus, *Medeniyet* criticizes the laic content of reforms made in the name of progress in Turkey and leads the efforts to not spread the reforms among the Turks of Bulgaria.

The main concept used by *Medeniyet* while criticizing the modernization method followed by the Turkish reform is civilization. *Medeniyet* states that the civilization does not belong only to the West and Islam has its own civilization, therefore it criticizes the abolition of the values of Islamic civilization through laicism. While defining the concept of civilization, it distinguishes materially and spiritually, and there is an understanding of progress that Muslims are backward in material terms and by taking these aspects from the West. These ideas coincide with Islamism. As a matter of fact, Hüseyin Hüsnü, seen as the founder of the newspaper, was influenced by the ideas of Mustafa Sabri Efendi, one of the important Islamist figures of the last period of the Ottoman Empire and the Republican period. In short, *Medeniyet* conceptualizes the term Islamic civilization expressed by the Islamists during their opposition to the Turkish Revolution. Thus, *Medeniyet* not only criticizes the Turkish reform but also offers an alternative. According to this alternative, Islam is a religion that does not prevent progress and has its own civilization. The problems Muslims have can come to an end with technical and scientific methods taken from the West. Because elements such as science, knowledge, and technique are the common heritage of all human beings and can be transmitted by different societies. However, during this transfer, social and cultural aspects that distinguish Muslim societies from other societies must be preserved. Therefore, the principle of laicism is at the center of the criticism.

After all these evaluations, the newspaper concentrates on the Kemalist activities in Bulgaria. *Medeniyet* defines the reform supporters as Kemalists. According to them, Kemalists, just like those in Turkey, try to change society by hiding the nature of reform. For this reason, the newspaper defines the purpose of its publication as a warning to the Muslims of Bulgaria and tried to prevent similar problems amongst the Turks of Bulgaria. *Medeniyet* targets *Türk Muallimler Birliği*, *Turan Cemiyeti*, the Kemalist newspapers, and the Kemalist journalists especially Celilov who was the journalist of Rehber and their activities and words were criticized, answered, and interpreted. *Medeniyet* explains the reason for this struggle as follows: “We do not want to interfere with their freedom of conscience, their children's manners, and their way of life. The fact that we are busy with Kemalists and complain about them because they try to deface our religious convictions and instill their ideas to our

children".[296] Requesting closure of the *Sharia* courts, reducing the hours of religious classes, and the decision for education in the Latin alphabet are main given examples of Kemalists' intervention.

One of the most important problems criticized by *Medeniyet* is the imitation of the West and it is stated that the Turkish reform imitated the West and the Kemalists of Bulgaria imitate Turkey. For example, it is stated that the activities of *Türk Muallimler Birliği* based on the imitation of the laic education system of West. The association applied the alphabet reform and reduced the religious education, yet the families' of students had different worldviews. There would be no stability for these children and social crisis would still emerge because of changing moral values, damaging national culture, and destructing religious life.

The most discussed reform in the newspaper is the alphabet reform. When dealing with the alphabet reform, it is stated that changing the alphabet is unnecessary to nationalize the language because the letters are seen as a common part of the Islamic civilization and as the part of the Turkish language. *Medeniyet* gives broad space to the alphabet reform because they think that the alphabet reform explains the intention of the Turkish reform. They claim that the Turkish reform aims to cut ties with the past and religion and the alphabet reform helps toward this aim. For example, with the alphabet change, the works of the past cannot be read so the ties with the past would be broken and the national identity and culture would be lost. And also, it is stated that religious education will be damaged by the impossibility of writing the Quran with the Latin alphabet and the inability to read the Quran without knowing the Arabic letters so that the next generation will grow up away from the religion. The alphabet reform is also important in the explanation of the social crisis that emerged as a result of Kemalism. The dualities that emerged in the social, cultural, and educational fields, the lost values, the ties that were severed with the past, and the expulsion of religion from these areas would create a social crisis.

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[296] Ahmed Hikmet, "Maarif Nazarı Doktor Boyacov Hazretlerine Açık Arzuhal", *Medeniyet*, No: 6, 16 Teşrinievvel 1933/ 16 Cemâziyelâhir 1352, p.1.

In light of these points in *Medeniyet*, the main reasons for the criticisms directed to the Turkish reform, which is the main question of the research, are different definitions of civilization and different perceptions of religion. The newspaper defines religion as a source and a protector of civilization and alludes that religion does not prevent progress as it is believed, but rather religion organizes social life as the basic elements of culture and identity. For this reason, *Medeniyet* criticizes the efforts to be part of Western civilization by leaving the Islamic civilization with the modernization process. This modernization process seen as imitation can eventually lead to a social crisis because Western civilization has laic structural order and materialist view. The imagination of civilization is the main different point between *Medeniyet* and the Turkish reform. Thus, *Medeniyet* opposes the laicism principle and the materialist view adopted by the Turkish government and criticizes its interventions on religion.

Medeniyet does not only carry out its discussions with religious discourse. The clearest example of this is the way of dealing with the alphabet reform. The Quran and religious education is only one part of the discussion about the alphabet. They discuss the issue in scientific, cultural, historical, and national terms. As a result of this study, it is possible to make the following evaluations. The newspaper is not just a religious newspaper. The newspaper includes social, cultural, political, and historical aspects and interpretations. During this time, the distinction between religion and culture had not yet deepened, so religion covered all social and cultural values. Therefore, the most fundamental point that contradicts the reforms is laicism, but it is not only about protecting the religion itself, but also about the preservation of the civilization, language, culture, the past, and identity. It is stated that imitations at these points will cause a social crisis because they think that these elements are unique to each society and the outcome of their own religion. The newspaper is against the Turkish modernization, but it is not conservative about innovation and change. While social change is made with reform and the adoption of the social and cultural values of different civilizations is criticized, it is stated that the material elements of civilization are the common property of all humanity and are not harmful in the transfer of innovations in these areas. Thus, what is desired by *Medeniyet* is not to reform, but to renew by staying yourself.

During this study, I tried to avoid the ideological point of view and to understand what the newspaper meant its position against the Turkish reform, and the reasons for its criticisms. The studies on the Turks of Bulgaria in the literature generally refer to the struggle of reform supporters among the Turks of Bulgaria as efforts for the rights and for protecting the Turkish identity and these studies define them as supporters of modernization and progress. Thus, the opposite group is seen as the enemy of Turkish identity and modernization and this opponent group is defined as conservative, reactionist, or religionist. However, this categorization is reductionist and ideological. This point can be understood from the analysis of *Medeniyet*.

The news, analysis, and comments of *Medeniyet* about the Turkish reform, Kemalism, the Ankara government, modernization, westernization, and laicism brought many criticisms and accusations. The criticisms are generally in the following direction: *Medeniyet* is called a conservative newspaper because of its stance against Kemalism and the reforms (Memişoğlu 2007, 226). It is stated that the Turkish newspapers in Bulgaria were closed down one by one. And only the conservative and Islamic ones could continue to publish (Shivarov 2008, 136). *Medeniyet* continued to be published so *Medeniyet* is defined as Islamic and conservative. As the reforms implemented in Turkey aim to modernize state and society and to become modern, those who oppose these reforms are perceived as opposed to modernity and change so as conservative. There are also more harsh depictions such as reactionary (*gerici*), fanatic conservative (*tutucu*), religionist (*dinci*), reactionist (*mürteci*) so on (Cambazov 2013, 364). Kerim says that although *Medeniyet* addressed all kinds of religious, political, and cultural problems of the Muslims of Bulgaria, it did not understand the importance of reforms that would make the lives of Muslims better (Kerim 1999, 177). Thus, it is seen as a narrow-minded newspaper (Bulgaristan'da Türk Basını 117-119; Acaroğlu 1990, 32). In short, the criticisms of *Medeniyet* towards the Turkish reform were considered equivalent to be against change and to be reactionary.

It is easy to classify by following all these classic categories, but it does not help see the truth and it is a reductionist approach. The supporters of reforms in Bulgaria are

defined as progressive and modern so their institutions, associations, and newspapers are also defined as modern. This description causes to define the opponents of reforms as reactionary and anti-reformist. *Medeniyet* is defined as reactionist and religionist in the literature but the newspaper deals with the issues about the modernization process and the Turkish reform in terms of social, cultural, historical as well as religious. Thus, this categorization causes many different views and claims to be seen as the same. For example, many researchers see *Medeniyet* as the continuation of *Açıksöz* and *İntibah* and they define all of these newspapers as conservative (Karagöz 1945, 59; Deliorman 2010, 140). Because these newspapers were quite strongly critical to the socio-political changes occurring via the reformist actions of the Ankara government. It is clear that they are defined as conservative because their opposition to the reforms in Turkey is seen as a common point. However, Hatiboğlu defines the *Açıksöz* and *İntibah* Newspapers as reformist and while he defines *Medeniyet* as pro-tradition. Even, he states that *Medeniyet* had intellectual changes with the editorship of Mehmed Fikri[297] and *Medeniyet* returned to the reformist approach (Hatiboğlu 2006, 113- 124). Therefore, the content of newspapers and ideas should be examined in detail rather than categorically.

It is claimed that those who strongly opposed the modernization model of Turkey were not only reactionists. The reformist approach is the best example of this because the reformist approach was not against Western civilization, but it was opposed to the model implemented in Turkey. Therefore, opposition to Turkey's modernization does not require anti-westernization in absolute terms (Hatiboğlu 2006, 117-120). With this viewpoint, although it is clear that the publication policy of *Medeniyet* has an opponent approach against the Turkish reform, the newspaper does not only explain this attitude with religion nor is it completely against changes, so it is wrong to interpret the newspaper as religionist and reactionist. Their definition of civilization based on religion and their allegation of irreligion regarding

[297] Mehmed Fikri graduated from *Nüvvab* and performed many duties such as preacher, *imam*, and teacher. He was one of the leading names of the period. Mehmed Fikri, who was also a journalist and he was the editor-in-chief in the *Medeniyet* Newspaper in 1939 until the 187th issue. He was interested in poetry and had so many poems. He was influenced by Mehmet Akif and he was known as Mehmed Akif of Bulgaria (Keskioğlu 1985, 188-192; Ahmed 2000, 9-11). During he was the editor-in-chief, he featured in the section introducing Mehmed Akif and including Akif's poems in the *Medeniyet* Newspaper. For example, in the 177th issue, the life and works of Akif were introduced and in the 174th issue, Akif's poem titled 'Süleymaniye Kürsüsünde' was published.

the Turkish reform is not only to protect the religious institution itself. In fact, *Medeniyet* wants to protect the culture, the language, the history, the identity, the past in short, the civilization. For this reason, their criticisms and analyses include not only religious points but also cultural, political, historical, and sociological matters. *Medeniyet* includes many social, religious, political, historical, and cultural articles for this purpose. *Medeniyet* proposes a progress that includes religious concerns.

Medeniyet explains the reasons for its criticism and it does not have only religious motives. The most obvious example of this is the way of handling the issue of alphabet reform. The alphabet reform is discussed not only by the religious effects but also from social and cultural aspects. Therefore, it is not very accurate to feature the newspaper's harsh accusations and to define it as reactionary and religionist. Instead, the articles and ideas in the newspaper should be examined in detail to understand the newspaper's editorial policy and critical position. For example, the articles about the alphabet reform in *Medeniyet* can show that *Medeniyet* does not rely only on the religious information and interpretations when it explains its claims.

For this reason, this study bilaterally evaluated *Medeniyet* and many controversial issues in the literature. For example, the inclusion of the Bulgarian government in the debate is seen as an intervention to the rights of the Turks of Bulgaria so the relationship of the opponent group with the Bulgarian government is defined as a betrayal. However, the policy of the Bulgarian government to make loyal minorities so to give rights to Muslims, the reports and assessment including this policy and the relationship of the Bulgarian government with *başmüftülük* were included in this study. At the same time, from the point of view of *Medeniyet*, it is stated why *Medeniyet* is loyal to the Bulgarian government. Thus, this controversial point was reflected within the perspectives of both the Bulgarian government and the views of *Medeniyet*. Hüseyin Hüsnü is one of the people who are ideologically handled in the literature. He is defined as a Bulgarian agent, the enemy of Turks, and a reactionist. In this study, these claims addressed to him were mentioned, but besides this, the issue was handled in two ways by including the positive views about his activities

and what *Medeniyet* says about him. In short, in this thesis, while discussing issues such as *Medeniyet*, Hüseyin Hüsnü, those who were opponents of the Turkish reform in Bulgaria, and the policies of the Bulgarian government, all the positive and negative views were included by avoiding any ideological approach.

This thesis tried to understand criticisms against the Turkish reform through *Medeniyet* because it is not possible to see criticism of the reform due to the regime's control and censorship policies on the press and opposition in the early years of the Republic of Turkey. The Turkish reform was not accepted by everyone in Turkey, but there was no reaction due to the political conditions of the period. The press laws and regulations of the period prevent seeing these criticisms in the newspapers of the period. However, there were many opponent newspapers in Bulgaria. In the archives of Bulgaria, there are Turkish newspapers and most of these newspapers have not been studied (Shivarov 2008, 136). *Medeniyet* is one of them. The issues of *Medeniyet* are preserved in the archive of the National Library of Bulgaria (Shivarov 2008, 138), its whole collection is not available in the libraries of Turkey (Hatiboğlu 2003, 301-303) and there is no study about *Medeniyet*. Thus, this study is unique because of the lack of a study on *Medeniyet* and the lack of a study that interprets the Turkish reform through an Ottoman Turkish and critical newspaper. With this study, the aim is to make a scientific contribution to the literature in the field.

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APPENDIXES

1-The first issue of Medeniyet Newspaper, 19.08.1933.

صايى - ١ — ١٩ آغستوس ١٩٣٣ — يىل - ١

„МЕДЕНИЕТЪ"
ИНФОРМАЦИОНЕНЪ
ИСЛЯМСКИ ВЕСТНИКЪ
Отговоренъ Директоръ:
ХЖ. МЕХМЕТЪ АХМЕДОФЪ
РЕДАКЦИЯ
ул. Свт. Гораздъ №10
MEDENIYET
Philippopole — Bulgaria
Rue st. Goraste

مدير مسئول: حاجى محمد
سر محررى: احمد حكمت
آبونه شرائطى:
بولغارستانايچون: سنه‌لكى ١٠٠ لەوا
ممالك اجنبيه‌ايچين: ٤٠ فرانسز فرانكى
اداره‌خانه
قلبه — اورته‌مزار بوسمه ١٠
(اسوئى غوناس)

مدنيت

اول رسول مجتبى هم رحمة‌للعالمين ● بنده مدفوندر ديو افلاكه فخر ايلر زمين.

مستقل الافكار مسلمان غزته‌سيدر. — هفته‌ده بر نشر اولنور

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

مسلكمز...

غزته‌مزه اسم اولارق انتخاب ايتمش اولديغمز (مدنيت) كلمه‌سى برعصر دنبرى ملتمز آراسنده شخصى آرزو و أمللره كوره تأويللره و تحريفلره اوغرايه‌رق معناى حقيقيسنى غائب ايتمش بك خاطره أمللره آلت ترغيب، جوق ظالمانه آرزولره واسطة ترويج اولمش بو يوزدن بك بويوك نفاق و شقاقلرى عصيان و اختلالرى، طغيان و محرانلرى موجب اولمش بك جوق معصوم قانلرك آقماسنه، بك قيمتدار وطن پارچه‌لرينك اشغال و ضياعنه باعث اولمش اولارق بذة اجتماعيه‌مزده بك دەرين جرحلر آچمشدر.

مدنيتى، باكليش اكلايش و كورو شدر كه؛ اسلامينك الى يوكسك مقامى، ناظم امور و خزينة معنويانى اولان خلافتى او لواى وحدت رابطة اتحادى أزلى دشمنلرمزى سويندره‌جك بر شكلده پارچالاتديرمش، تورك يوزنى مشرق مدنيت شمس حقيقت و سعادت اولان كعبه‌دن مبعد الجاد و تشريك اولان آقرابه‌لره زوراله چويرمش، خزائن معرفتمزى آنشره آتديرمش، مفاخر مليه‌مزى حقارتلره، اهانتلره، عصارة وجدانمزى، عصارة حياتيه‌مزى قوه دوندىرمش، هويت مليه‌مزى غائب، شرف تاريخمزى انكارايتمك درجه‌سنده مجنونانه حركاتى آثار وهاء ناموسلريله، عفت و عصمتلريله مغبوط جهان و دستان عالم اولان نسوانمزك آچيلماسى، مخدراتمزك آغوش اغيارە آتيلمق درجه‌ده چيلغيناق كوسترمسى سبب اعتلا و عد ايتمك، ارباب ارتداد و سفاهتك بوتون دين و ملت خائنلرينك آلدرنده دائما بر راه يت اغفال اولارق افاق مليه‌مزده دالغالانمق صورتيله بوركار باقيجى منظرلر كوسترمش، حر آغيزلرك كليدلنمسه، تميز وجدانلرك داغلاتماسنه، جوانمردان ملتك غدارانه افناسه وسيله‌لر ويرمش، عائله‌ اسلاميه‌يى داغدار تأثر ايتمش، مدنيتك واضح ذيشانى اولان روح احمدى‌يى صيزلاتمشدر...

هيچ اوتوتمق ممكن‌ميدركه؛ غربك بويوك دولتلرى ممالك اسلاميه‌يى مدنيت نامنه پارچالايوب آرالرنده تقسيم ايتديلر، اقوام اسلاميه‌يى بوملم ايله نفاقه دوشوروب رخنة اساسه‌لرينه آلديلر!

هركس خاطرلارك؛ يونانلرجيله كوزمل ازميره، مبارك تراكيايه آياق باصدقلرى وقت ـ كندىلرينه آتى عصر افنديلك ايتديكمزى دوشونيمورك ـ برى تمدين ايتمك ايچون كلمش اولدقلرينى جهانه اعلان ايتمكدن صيقلمامشلردى!...

ايشته بوكبى وقايع و حادثات تاريخيه كوسترييركه آرامنده موجود نفاق و شقاق فكر، هجران و افتراقلر بوكلمك معناسنى باكليش اكلايش يوزدن چيقمش اولاد فاتى اقيتمقدن، قارداش قانى ايچمكدن عبارت اولان قانلى اختلالار، ضلالت، رذالت، سفاهت، سفاقى انتاج ايتمش اولان چيلغين اهلابلر هب بوكلمك نام مبجله‌يله ايلمشدر.

انسان، بو احوال دلسوزى كودرپيوردە بوكلمك بك مبجل معنا و مفهومنى منشأ غائله‌سى دوشونيورم؟... دوشونيوردە فرانسز اختلال كبيرندە رقباى سياسيه‌سى طرفندن اعدام سياسنه چيقارىلان مادام (رولان)ك او معشوقة حريت و نادرة حيثيت حريت نامنه ديكلمش اولان عادة اختلاله توجيه خطاب ايله:

— زوالى حريت! اه.. سنك نامنه نه قادار جنايتلر ارتكاب ايديلمورلر! ديديكى كبى

— زوالى مدنيت! سنك نام مبجلكه نه وحشتلر ارتكاب ايديلمور..

ديمكدن كنديسنى آلامايور.

آه!.. نه افسونكار ايمشسك أى ديدار مدنيت
زبون قهرك اولدق كرچه قورتولدق وحشتدن!

• •

ايشته شو تأثر سائقه‌سيله‌دركه؛ بك آجى خاطرات و حسيات مليه‌مك دوراغى اولان عينى زمانده بك مقدس بر موقعدن طلوع ايتمش جهانى نوره غرق ايتمش اولان شمس سماء دنى افاده ايدەن ارباب اسلالك اولاد طاغونك آلتسن قووتارمق، بونك دلالت ايتديكى معنا

مدنيت نه در؟

بر ملتمزك سعادت و سلامتى علم و حقيقته كوسترەجكمز محبت و مربوطيتده آرايانلردن اولديغمزايچين كنجلريمزى تنوير وبصيرتلرينى جلب ايتمك مقصديله بوستونلرده (مدنيت) موضوعنى لفظاً و روحاً علمى بر صورتده تدقيق و تحقيق ايتمك ايسترز.

مدنيت، آميزى؛ نوع بشرك شهرلرده طوپلو بر حالده ياشامالرى معناسنى افاده ايدەر. چونكه احتياجات متنوعة انسانيه‌نك قطعين و تهوئى امر ندە فردلر نه قادار صرف مساعى ايتمش اولسەلر موفق اولەميه‌جقلرى بديهى بو ضرورتلرك تسويه‌سى مطلقا متعدد كيمسەلرك اشتراك ايدەجكلرى بر سعى و عمله متوقف بولنمسى بك طبيعيدر.

لغوى معناده بو مفهوملرى افاده ايدن «مدنيت» معناى حقيقتده: جمعيت بشريه‌نك امنيت، صحت، انتظام، ظرافت، رفاه وسعادت اساس و شرطلرينى جامع بر مفهوم كلمه‌در.

بو اعتبارله «مدنيت» بر ملتك بر عائله تشكيلندن منتظم بر دولت اداره‌سنه، ديكر ملتلر ايله مناسباتنه قادار، سياسى، عدلى، اجتماعى، صحى و اقتصادى تشكيلات و مؤسساتندن، فكرى، وجدانى، علمى، فنى و بديعى اناقس آثارينه قادار، فعاليت عموميه و حركات فكريه‌سنك وجيز بر افاده‌سى اولمش اولور.

بو تعريفه نظراً بر ملتك سويهٔ مدنيه‌سنى اكلامق ايچون تدقيق و تحليله كيرشمزدن أول، «مدنيت»ى شكلى، روحى اولارق ايكى قسمه آيرمق علمى براصولدر.

منتظم شهرلر، دلربا كاشانەلر، عجيب‌المقول مؤسسات صناعيه، دەير بولارى، بويوك واپورلر، طياره‌لر، قطارلر، فابريقه‌لر، معمدنلر، تأسيسات صحيه، آثار نافعه، معظم ثروت و تجارتلر، مدنيتك شكل ظاهريسندن عباردر.

مدنيتك روحى دياتندر. چونكه انسانلر مادى و معنوى نه‌يه مالك ايسەلر بونلرك كافه‌سى تلقين دينى انرى اولان اساسلرك عنصرلرجه توسعيندن باشقه بر شى دكلدر. نوع بشرك عصرلردنبرى تتبع و استقصا ندجه‌سى اولارق دسترس اولديغى حقائق عنصر مكونه‌سى دين در و كتوب سماويەدر.

انسانلر وحدت اجتماعيه‌نك اساسى، دوشونه‌نك طريقى او كتابلردن أوكرەمك، نشلر صوكره، دوشونه‌لرينى توسيع ايدەرك ايده بو حاله واصل اولمشلردر.

تاريخ اديان بك كوزمل اثبات ايدييور كه؛ اديان منزله و كتوب سماويه‌نك الك بويوك اوصاف ممزه‌سى، كوسترديكلرى يولى تعقيب ايدەن اقوامده علمى و فانونى بر وحدت اجتماعيه، بر رابطة سياسيه، كذلك خصوص بر مدنيت صحيحه توليد ايتمشدر. بو خصوص

ومفهوملرك منشأسى، دائرة شمولى كوسترمك بو صورتله كچن فلاكتلردن مصيتلردن بر درس عبرت چيقارمق شيددى‌ده ملتمزك اقباهته چالمشدمش ارباب ديانت و عرفانك قيمتدار بازيلرينه بر ساحه تأمين ايتمك مدنيت بردەسى آلتنده بوندن صوكرا ماتى ضلالته سوق ايتمك ايسته‌ين منافقلرك اغفالاتنه كنجلريمزك قربان كيتمه‌سنه ميدان براقمامق نيت و عزميله بو نام آلتنده بالقانلرك الك حر بر مملكتنه بر كرسى ركز ايدييوز..

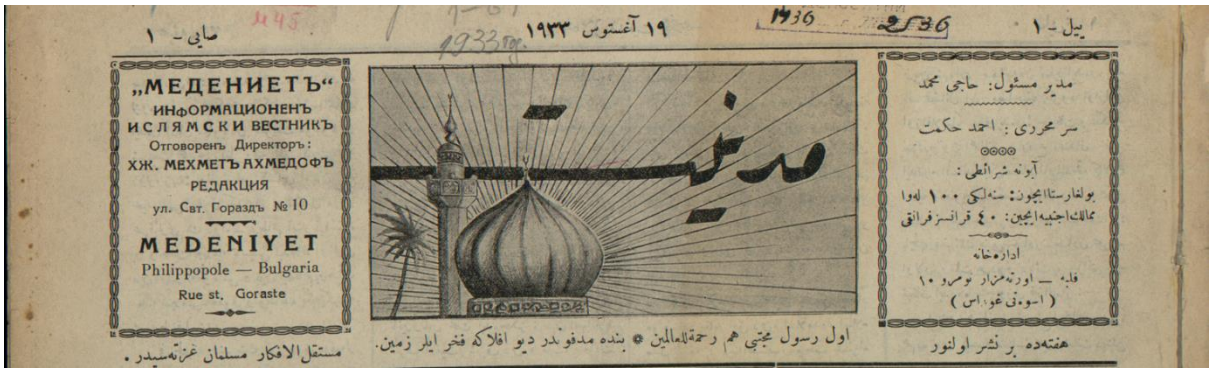
بو كرسى هيچ بر مقامك هيچ بر فرقه‌نك مدافع ى آمانى، هيچ بر فردك هيچ بر زمره‌نك مروج افكارى اولماياجق. بو صرف مدنيتك، مدنيت حقيقيه‌نك والد عاليسى اولان دينك، دين اسلامك ترجمان حسياتى واسطهٔ بيانى و مدافع آمالى اولاجقدر.

بونك ايچون بوتون علماى اسلامه و ساير منور مسلمان كنجلرينه ستونلريمز دائما آچيق بولنه‌جقدر.

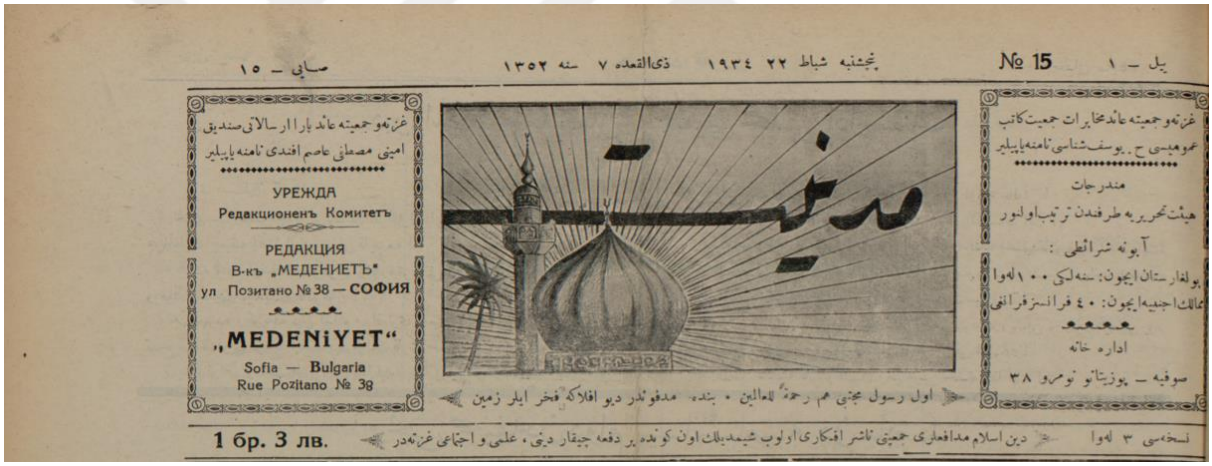
رهكذار عزمكزه ديكيله‌جك موانع و مشكلاتك عظمت و خامتى، قارشومزده صف‌بسته هجوم اولان دوشمنلرك وسائط قوت و قدرتلرى بيليورز. بونلرى اقتحام ايچون قلبمزده‌كى عشق و ايماندن، تاريخمزدن آلمش اولديغمز هيجانكار المهامدن باشقه هيچ بر قوت و واسطه‌مز اولمديغى جهان بيلير ايكن بو عزيمه آتيلمشز مجضا حقك غلبه‌سنه ازلى ايمانمزدن. بونك ايچون مسلكمز: ملجدلرك، مرتدلرك ديديكى كبى خلقه دوغرو دەكل، قرآنك امر ايتديكى كبى حقه دوغرودور. اراقى عزم غيرت يزدن توفيق الهيدندر.

احمد حكمت

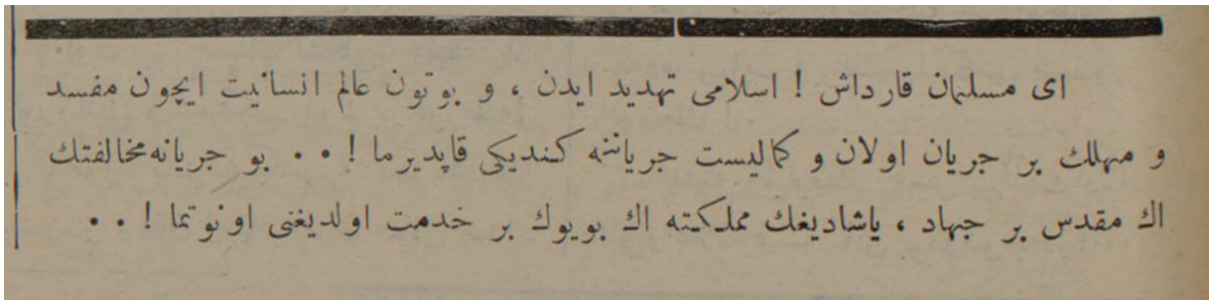
2-The logo of Medeniyet Newspaper until the 15th issue.



3-The logo of Medeniyet after being the media organ of Din-i İslam Müdafileri Cemiyeti



4- The slogan in the 14th issue of Medeniyet Newspaper


ای مسلمان قارداش ! اسلامی تهديد ايدن ، و بوتون عالم انسانيت ايچون مفسد و مهلك بر جريان اولان و كاليست جريانه كنديكى قاپديرما ! . . بو جريانه مخالفتك اك مقدس بر جهاد ، ياشاديغك مملكته اك بويوك بر خدمت اولديغنى اونوتما ! . .

5- The slogan in the 30th issue of Medeniyet Newspaper

6- The picture of Hafız Yusuf Şinasi in the 99th issue of Medeniyet Newspaper

7-The picture of Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi and the article about his biography in the 242nd issue

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خارج ايچون : ٢٠ فرانسز فرانكى‌در .
اخطار : غزته و جمعيته عائد مخابرات‌ايله
بوا ارسالاتى يالكز جميب نامنه يابيلير .
درج ايديلمين يازيلر اعاده اولونماز .
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نسخه‌سى : ١ له‌وا

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تاريخ تأسيسى ١٩ آغستوس سنه ١٩٣٣

Отговоренъ редакторъ:
Селихъ Ахмедовъ Пехливановъ

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Sofia — Bulgaria
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Органъ на Д-вото на Защитницитѣ на Мюсюлманската Религия въ България

فادن بقايه ارتحالى مناسبتيله مدنيت قارئلرينه

دين اسلام مدافعلرى جمعيتى رئيسى

مرحوم حسين حسنى افنديك قيصه‌جه ترجمهٔ حالى تقديم ايديبورز

مرحوم حسين حسنى افندى ، عن آصل بولغارياليدر . ميلادى ١٨٨٢ سنه سنده شومنى قضاسنده قوقالار قريه‌سنده دنيايه كلشدر . عرقاً‌ده تورکدر . بابامى مرحوم ملا احمد افنديدر . ملا اولو شندن ده اكلاشيلديغى وجهله بابامى ، برقاچ سنه مدرسه‌ده درس كورمش ، ديڭى فيض و تربيه آلمش ، علمه عاشق و دينه حرمتكار أيى يرمسلمانمش ، ملا احمد ، كنديسى قانا قانا اوقويامامش ، فقط آزمجى طالبلرى علوم شرعيه‌دن چوق لذت آلمشدى . چوجوقلرندن برينى اوقوتوب خوجا يامق اونك اڭ بويوك امل ايدى .

پك چوق سوديكى اوغلى حسينى دها كوچوك ياشده كوى مكتبنه ويردى . او زمان قوقالار معلمى شهرتى دملى اورمانى قابلايان خوجالردن مرحوم رستم خوجا ايدى . حسين افندى ، ايلك فيضى اوندن آلدى . رستم خوجا ، مستقبلك باش مفتيسنى پك چوق سه‌ويور و اونك متفكر كوزلرنده پك ايركن آله‌ولنيش مستقبلا پر ذكاڭك شعله‌لرينى كورپورمش . ذكى چوجوق ، پك آز بر زمانده آرقاداشلرينه تفوق ايتمش و قدرتلى ذكاسى سايه‌سنده پرتجيلكى قازانمشدى .

حسين افندى ، بابا سنك قلبنى ياقوب قاووران عشق ، علوم شرعيه عشقنى توارث ايتمشدى . بودعوانك برتجى شاهدى دها كوى مكتبنده ايكن كوسترمش اولديغى شايان غبطه موفقيتدى ! . ايكنجى شاهدى ده اوزاقدن و ياقيندن ، علمه و علمايه عاشق اولان بابا سنه مسافر لكه كان خوجا افنديلره قارشى كوسترمش اولديغى حرمت و رعايت ، بالخاصه اونلرك علمى و دينى صحبتلرينه قارشى اظهار ايتديكى بويوك و جانلى علاقه ايدى . اوده بابامى كى علمايى پك چوق سه‌ويور و اونلرك الهى برهوا ايله مشبوع مجلسلرنده بولونمقدن بويوك برذوق آليبوردى . بابامى ، اونك يو حالندن چوق ممنوندى . چوجوغنه علمه وعلمايه قارشى عشق ويردبكندن دولايى هر زمان الله شكر ايدردى . حسينى كوچنك يشديگى قادار اوقوتمغه قرار ويردى .

حسين ، اون اوچ و اون درت ياشرنده ايدى . كوى مكتبنى برتجيلكله بيتيرمشدى . بابامى اونى شومنى يه كوتو روب اوزمان شومنينك معروف و پارلاق مدرسه‌لرندن اولان اسكى جامع مدرسه‌سنه ويردى . بويوك و محترم علمامزدن ــ الله عمرلرن آرتديرسين ــ حالا برحيات بو لونان خواجه زاده محمد محى‌الدين افندى ايله حالا اسكى جامع مدرسه‌سنك فخرى ناظرلغنى يابان مدرس على رضا افنديلر اسكى جامع مدرسه‌سنده مدرس ايديلر . مستقبلك بويوك عالمى بوراده ايكى مدرسدن ايلك مدرسه تحصيلى آلدى . علوم عصريه وشرعيه ايله معارفه پيدا ايتدى و ١٩٠٦ سنه‌سنده تحصيلى اكمال ايچون استانبوله كيتدى .

استانبولده زنجيرلى قويوده كائن قابا خليل مدرسه‌سنده ياشايور وقاتحده درسه دوام ايديبوردى . خوجاسى ، زمانك مقتدر عالملرندن و قيمتلى مدرسلرندن مرحوم حفظ عبدالرحمن افندى ايدى . ١٩١٣ ده مدرسة‌القضاته كيردى . بورا يه اوچ سنه دوام ايتدى . ١٩١٦ ده عمومى حرب اثنا سنده عملكتنه دوندى . عودتندن بك آزسوكرا عسكر اولدى . ايلك زمانلر على‌العاده تفر و بالاخره طابور امامى اولارق وظيفهٔ وطنيه‌سنى ايفا ايتدى .

مرحوم ١٩٠٦ ايله ١٩١٦ سنه لرى آراسنده استانبولده ياشارکن تاريخك بودوره عائد حادثاتى بويوك بردقتله تعقيب ايتمشدى . استبدادى كورمش ، حريتده كولش و اوتوز يرمارت وقعه‌سنده آغلا مشدى . حريت و ائتلاف ايله اتحاد وترق مجادله‌لرى قارشيسنده كوكرهين جوشقون ايمانى اونى پك يامان بر انتلاجى ياپمشدى عصريمزك اڭ سميعى ، اڭ يمانياز و اڭ قدرتلى مجاهدى اولان شيخ‌الاسلام مصطفى صبرى افنديمك بلاقيد و شرط طرفدارى وصوك درجه حرمتكارى ايدى . اونى دها استانبولده طلبه يولوندقجه زمانلر سه‌وه‌رك وشيخ‌الاسلام اولمازدن اول كنديسنه شيخ‌الاسلام اتخاذ ايتمشدى . مرحوم ، استانبولدن عودت ايتديكى ثنائده ايشته بوقناعتده ايدى . او ، ايمانيله مستند اولان بوقناعته هرزمان صادق قالدى . بو قناعتله ياشادى و بوقناعتله‌ده ٹولدى . حياتنك بورادن تا ٹولونجه‌يه قادار سكن صفحاتى يونى كوسترمكده‌در .

عمومى حرب صوكنده ١٩١٩ ده ايلك دفعه اولارق شومنى يه مفتى تعيين ايلدى . بو اثناده اڭ بويوك خدمتلرندن بريسى وقفلر مديرى محمد جليلك قايمق ايستهديگى مدرسة‌العليه‌يى مدافعه‌سيدر . جليلوف ، باشده باش مفتى مرحوم سليمان فائق افندى اولديغى حالده خوجازدن پك چوقلرينى قادير مشدى . فقط ، مرحوم باش مفتيلكك‌ده طوفدارلغنه رغماً قطعياً رضا كوسترمه‌دى ، مدرسة‌النوابه طلبه يتيشديرمك ايچين مدرسة‌العليه‌يه لزوم يو لوندىغى سويله‌دى و دعواسنى موفقيتله تتويج ايتدى .

باش مفتى سليمان فائق افنديمك استعفا سى اوزرينه ١٩٢٨ ده باش مفتى قائممقامى اولدى . ١٩٣٦ سنه‌سنه قادار دوام ايدن باش مفتيلكى اثنا سنده مرحوم تام بر مجاهد حياتى ياشادى . مملكتمزك هرگوشه سنده بيوا قورمش ودينى حياتمزى تهديد ياشلامش اولان ارباب فساد وضلالته ميدان اوقودى . و قفلرى ومكتبلريمزى اونلرك الرندن قورتاردى و هر يرده ويندار عناصرى موقعه‌گتيردى . مملكتمز ده انتشار ايتمكده اولان دملى اورمان ، رودوب ، رهير ، خلق سسى ، استقبال و قارا دكزكى خفى ويا عانى ديڭسزلكى ترويجه جالبشان تورك غزته‌لرينك هپ بردن هجوملريته اوغرادى . ديڭسزلك قلم و نشريات سفربرلكى اعلان ايتمشدى . مملكتمزده ته قادار آلى قلم طوتار ارباب فساد وارسه‌هپسى ديڭسزلك آمالنه خدمت ايدن سكز داته تورك غزته‌سنك اطرافنه طوپلانمشلردى . مرحوم بونلره قارشى اسلامپتى مدافعه مقصديله ١٩٣٣ ده مدنيت غزته‌سنى چيقارمغه باشلادى . آز صوكرا دين اسلام مدافعلرى جمعيتى قورولدى و غزته جمعيتك ناشر افكارى اولدى .

مرحوم ، باش مفتيلك وظيفه‌سندن عفو پنى متعاقب خلقى وحالا باش مفتى بولو نان سباحتلو عبدالله صدقى افندى حضرتلرى طرفندن تدريسات ديڭه مفتشى تعيين ايلدى . يرسنه‌دن فضله ملته و ديڭه مفتش اولارق خدمتده بولوندى ١٩٣٧ سنه‌سنده باش مفتيلكده ديوان عالى شرعى

8-The issue of Medeniyet Newspaper published in the Bulgarian language

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Специаленъ брой на в-къ „Меденийетъ“, издаденъ по случай голѣмото тържество на българскитѣ мюслюмани при годишния актъ на Висшето Духовно Училище „Нювабъ“ въ гр. Шуменъ.

Годишниятъ актъ на Висшето Духовно училище „Нювабъ“ въ гр. Шуменъ.

НА СНИМКАТА ЛИЧАТЪ:

1) Гл. Мюфтия, 2) Началн. на Шуменския гарнизонъ полк. Михайловъ, 3) Шуменския обл. Директоръ г. Казанлиевъ, 4) пратеника на М-то на Нар. Просвѣщение г. Вл. Тодоровъ Хиндаловъ, 5) пратеника на М-то на Външнитѣ работи и на Изповѣданията г. Ив. Стояновъ, 6) пратеника на Гл Мюфтийство юристконсултъ Н. Димитровъ, 7) Обл. Училищенъ инспекторъ г. Каровъ, 8) Следователя на Шуменския обл. сждъ г. Д. Башевъ, 9) Директора на Нювваба г. Емруллахъ Фейзуловъ, всички мюфтии и наиби и Изт. България, както и много гости отъ Разградъ, Русе, Варна и Провадия.

г. Вл. Тодоровъ Хиндаловъ
Пратеникъ на М-то на Нар. Просвѣщение, председатель на изпитнитѣ комисии

г-нъ Хюсеинъ Ахмедовъ
Гл. Мюфтия на България

г. Иванъ Стояновъ
Пратеникъ на М-то на Външнитѣ работи и на Изповѣданията

Положението на мюсюлманитѣ въ България

Мюсюлманитѣ въ България, живущи като малцинство, иматъ всички необходими за единъ народъ права, свободи и организация, за да запазятъ своето сжществуване. Това обстоятелство ще се види ясно отъ изложението, което ще направимъ по-долу.

Българскиятъ законъ за гражданското сждопроизводство, който опредѣля компетенцията на мюсюлманскитѣ сждилища, предвижда следнитѣ дѣла и препирни, като подсждни на сжщитѣ:

1. дѣла по лични и имуществени отношения между родители и деца;
2. дѣла по лични и имуществени отношения между сѫпрузи;
3. дѣла бракоразводни, за недействителни бракове и за законността на раждането и
4. препирни по наследство, както по закона, така и по завещание.

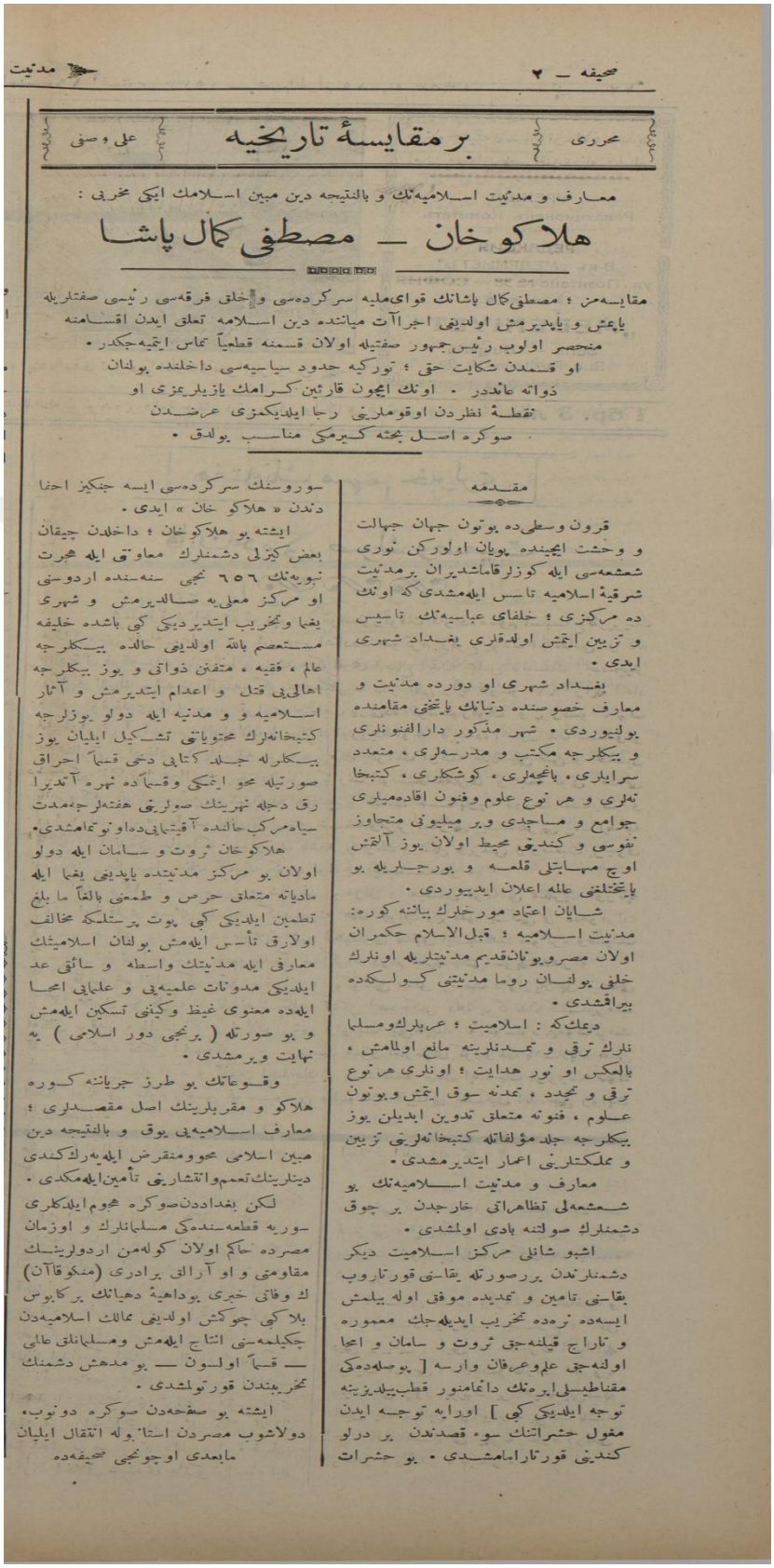
За разглеждане и решаване на горнитѣ препирни и дѣла съгласно постановленията на Шерията, въ всѣки градъ, въ който живѣе покомпактно мюсюлманско население има по едно мюфтийство (шериййски сждъ), персонала на което се състои отъ: шериятски секретарь, секретарь-касиеръ и единъ разсиленъ. Заплатитѣ на горнитѣ длъжностни лица, както и всички канцеларски разноски на мюфтийствата се плащатъ отъ държавата.

Въ Царство България има 22 мюфтийства и едно Главно мюфтийство съ седалище София, което действува като касационна инстанция по отношение на всички разгледани отъ мюфтийствата дѣла и, съгласно § 122 отъ устава за духовното устройство и управление на мюсюлманитѣ, има и следнитѣ длъжности:

1. да бди за правилното и редовно функциониране на мюсюлманската вѣроизповѣдна организация;
2. да се грижи за развитието на благотворителностьта и за религиозното и нравствено повдигане на паството си;
3. да упражнява надзоръ върху мюфтиитѣ и мюфтийскитѣ намѣстници и чрезъ тѣхъ на свещенослужителитѣ;
4. да бди и дава наставления за точното изпълнение на шериятскитѣ закони и
5. да се грижи за подобрението на медресетата, съгласно нуждитѣ на времето, за създаване за тѣхъ

(Следва на 2 стр.)

9-The serie of articles titled ‘Bir Mukayese-i Tarihiyye’, starting from the 22th issue



صحیفه ـ ۲ مدنیت

محرری برمقایسهٔ تاریخیه علی وصفی

معارف و مدنیت اسلامیه‌نك و بالنتیجه دین مبین اسلامك ایکی مخربی :

هلاکو خان ـ مصطفی کمال پاشا

مقایسه‌مز ؛ مصطفی کمال پاشانك قوای‌ملیه سرکرده‌سی و خلق فرقه‌سی رئیسی صفتلریله یاپمش و یاپدیرمش اولدیغی اجراآت میانندہ دین اسلامه تعلق ایدن اقسامنه منحصر اولوب رئیس‌جمهور صفتیله اولان قسمنه قطعیاً تماس ایتمیه‌جکدر .
او قسمدن شکایت حق ؛ تورکیه حدود سیاسیه‌سی داخلنده بولنان ذواته عائددر . اونك ایچون قارئین کرامك یازیلریمزی او نقطهٔ نظردن اوقوملرینی رجا ایلدیکمزی عرض‌ـدن صوکره اصل بحثه کیرمکی مناسب بولدق .

مقدمه

قرون وسطی‌ده یوتون جهان جهالت و وحشت ایچینده بویان اولورکن نوری شعشعه‌سی ایله کوزلرقاماشدیران برمدنیت شرقیهٔ اسلامیه تاسس ایله‌مشدی‌که اونك ده مرکزی ؛ خلفای عباسیه‌نك تاسیس و تزیین ایتمش اولدقلری بغداد شهری ایدی .

بغداد شهری او دورده مدنیت و معارف خصوصنده دنیانك پایتختی مقامنده بولنیوردی . شهر مذکور دارالفنونلری و بیکلرجه مکتب و مدرسه‌لری ، متعدد سرایلری ، باغچه‌لری ، کوشکلری ، کتبخانه‌لری و هر نوع علوم وفنون اقادمیلری جوامع و مساجدی و بر میلیونی متجاوز نفوسی و کندینی محیط اولان یوز آلتش اوج مهابتلی قلعه و بورجلریله بو پایتختلغنی عالمه اعلان ایدییوردی .

شایان اعتماد مورخلرك بیانته کوره: مدنیت اسلامیه ؛ قبل‌الاسلام حکمران اولان مصر و یونان‌قدیم مدنیتلریله اونلرك خلفی بولنان روما مدنیتی کولکه‌ده بیراقمشدی .

دیمك‌که : اسلامیت ؛ عربلرك ومسلمانلرك ترقی و تمدنلرینه مانع اولمامش ، بالعکس او نور هدایت ؛ اونلری هر نوع ترقی و تجدد ، تمدنه سوق ایتمش و یوتون علوم ، فنونه متعلق تدوین ایدیلن یوز بیکلرجه جلد مؤلفاتله کتبخانه‌لرینی تزیین و مملکتلرینی اعمار ایتدیرمشدی .

معارف و مدنیت اسلامیه‌نك بو شعشعه‌لی تظاهراتی خارجدن بر چوق دشمنلرك صولتنه بادی اولمشدی .

اشبو شائلی مرکز اسلامیت دیکر دشمنلردن بررصورتله بقاسنی قورتاروب بقاسنی تامین و تمدیده موفق اوله بیلمش ایسه‌ده نرده‌سه تخریب ایدیله‌جك معموره و تاراج قیلنه‌جق ثروت و سامان و احجا اولنه‌جق علم‌وعرفان وارسه [پوصله‌ده‌کی مقناطیسلی‌ایره‌نك دائمانور قطب‌یلدیزینه توجه ایلدیکی کبی] اورایه توجه ایدن مغول حشراتنك سوء قصدندن بر درلو کندینی قورتارامامشدی . بو حشرات سوروسنك سرکرده‌سی ایسه جنکیز احفادندن « هلاکو خان » ایدی .

ایشته بو هلاکو خان ؛ داخلدن چیقان بعض کیزلی دشمنلرك معاونتی ایله هجرت نبویه‌نك ٦٥٦ نجی سنه‌سنده اردوسی او مرکز معلی‌یه صالدیرمش و شهری یغما وتخریب ایتدیردیکی کبی باشده خلیفه مستعصم بالله اولدیغی حالده بیکلرجه عالم ، فقیه ، متفنن ذواتی و یوز بیکلرجه اهالیی قتل و اعدام ایتدیرمش و آثار اسلامیه و مدنیه ایله دولو یوزلرجه کتبخانه‌لرك محتویاتی تشکیل ایلیان یوز بیکلرله جلد کتابی دجله قسماً احراق صورتیله محو ایتمکی وقسماً ده نهره آتدیرا رق دجله نهریتك صولرینی هفته‌لرجه‌مدت سیاه‌مرکب حالنده آقیتمایی‌ده‌اوتوتمامشدی.

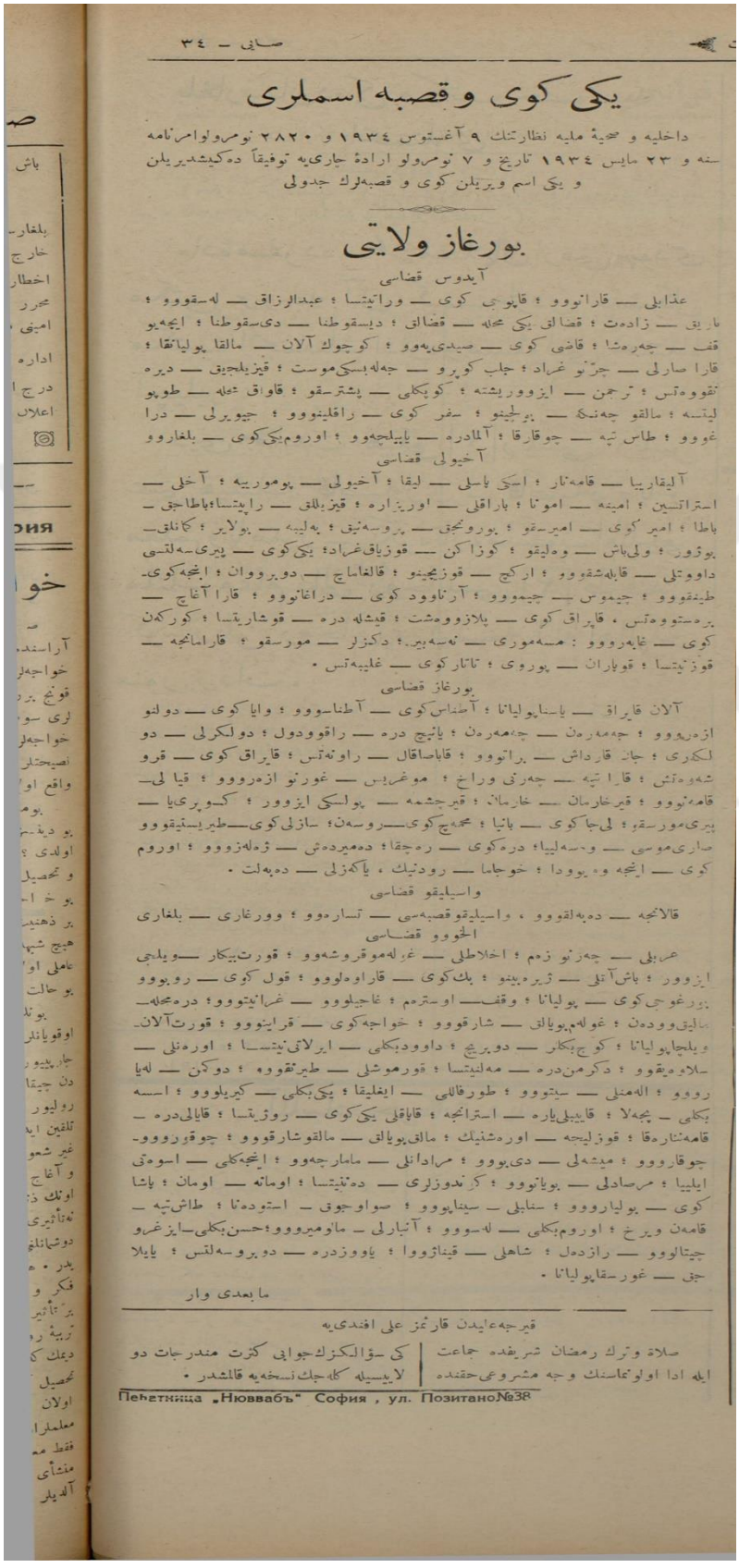
هلاکو خان ثروت و سامان ایله دولو اولان بو مرکز مدنیتده یاپدیغی یغما ایله مادیاته متعلق حرص و طمعنی بالغاً ما بلغ تطمین ایلدیکی کبی پوت پرستلکه مخالف اولارق تأسس ایله‌مش بولنان اسلامیتك معارفی ایله مدنیتك واسطه و سائقی عد ایلدیکی مدوناتعلمیه‌یی و علمایی احجا ایله‌ده معنوی غیظ وکینی تسکین ایله‌مش و بو صورتله (برنجی دور اسلامی) یه نهایت ویرمشدی .

وقوعاتك بو طرز جریانته کوره هلاکو و مقربلرینك اصل مقصدلری ؛ معارف اسلامیه‌یی یوق و بالنتیجه دین مبین اسلامی محو ومنقرض ایله‌یه‌رك کندی دینلرینك تعمم‌واتشارینی تأمین‌ایله‌مکدی .

لکن بغدادن‌صوکره هجوم ایلدکلری سوریه قطعه‌سنده‌کی مسلمانلرك و اوزمان مصرده حاکم اولان کوله‌من اردولرینك مقاومتی و او آرالق برادری (منکوقاآن) ك وفاتی خبری یوداهیهٔ دهیانك برکابوس بلاکی چوکش اولدیغی ممالك اسلامیه‌دن چکیلمه‌سنی انتاج ایله‌مش ومسلمانلق عالمی ـــ قسماً اولسون ـــ بو مدهش دشمنك تخریبندن قورتولمشدی .

ایشته بو صفحه‌دن صوکره دونوب، دولاشوب مصردن استانبوله انتقال ایلیان مابعدی اوچونجی صحیفه‌ده

10- The list of new Bulgarian names for the Turkish villages and towns in the 34th issue



صايى ـ ٣٤

يكى كوى و قصبه اسملرى

داخليه و صحيه ملیه نظارتنك ٩ آغستوس ١٩٣٤ و ٢٨٢٠ نومرولو امرنامه سنه و ٢٣ مايس ١٩٣٤ تاريخ و ٧ نومرولو ارادهٔ جاريه‌يه توفيقاً ده‌كيشديريلن و يكى اسم ويريلن كوى و قصبه‌لرك جدولى

بورغاز ولايتى

آيدوس قضاسى

عذابلى ـــ قارانووو ؛ قاپوجى كوى ـــ وراتيتسا ؛ عبدالرزاق ـــ له‌سقووو ؛ ماريق ـــ زادهت ؛ قصالق يكى محله ـــ قصالق ؛ ديسقوطنا ـــ دى‌سقوطنا ؛ ايجه‌يو قف ـــ چه‌رمشا ؛ قاضى كوى ـــ صيدى‌يه‌وو ؛ كوچوك آلان ـــ مالقا پوليانقا ؛ قارا صارلى ـــ جرّنو غراد ؛ جلب كوپرو ـــ جه‌له‌بسكى‌موست ؛ قيزيلجيق ـــ ديره نقووه‌تس ؛ ترجمن ـــ ايزووريشته ؛ كوپكلى ـــ پشترسقو ؛ قاواق ثمله ـــ طوپو ليتسه ؛ مالقو چه‌نكه ـــ بويلينو ؛ سفر كوى ـــ راقليتووو ؛ حيويرلى ـــ درا غووو ؛ طاس تپه ـــ چوقارقا ؛ آلمادره ـــ ياپيلجه‌وو ؛ اوروم‌بكى‌كوى ـــ بلغاروو

آخيولى قضاسى

آليقاريبا ـــ قامه‌تار ؛ اسكى باسلى ـــ ليقا ؛ آخيولى ـــ پومموريه ؛ آخلى ـــ استراتسين ؛ امينه ـــ امونا ؛ باراقلى ـــ اوريزاره ؛ قيزيللق ـــ راپيتسا ؛ باطاجق ـــ باطا ؛ امير كوى ـــ امير سقو ؛ پوروبجق ـــ پروسه‌نيق ؛ پهليه ـــ بولاير ؛ كانلق ـــ بوژور ؛ ولى‌باش ـــ وه‌ليقو ؛ كوزاكن ـــ قوزياق‌غراد ؛ يكى‌كوى ـــ پيرى‌سه‌لتسى داووتلى ـــ قابله‌شقووو ؛ اركيج ـــ قوزيجينو ؛ قالغاماج ـــ دوبرووان ؛ ايخجه‌كوى ـ طينقووو ؛ جيموس ـــ جيمووو ؛ آرناوود كوى ـــ دراغانووو ؛ قارا آغاج ـــ برده‌ستووه‌تس ، قاپراق كوى ـــ پلازووه‌شت ؛ قيشله دره ـــ قوشاريتسا ؛ كوركمن كوى ـــ غايه‌رووو ؛ همه‌موري ـــ نه‌سه‌پير ؛ دكزلر ـــ مورسقو ؛ قارامانجه ـــ قوزنيتسا ؛ قوپاران ـــ پوروى ؛ تاتاركوى ـــ غليبه‌تس .

بورغاز قضاسى

آلان قاپراق ـــ ياسناپوليانا ؛ آطماس‌كوى ـــ آطناسووو ؛ وايا كوى ـــ دولنو ازه‌رووو ؛ چه‌مه‌رمن ـــ چه‌مه‌رمن ؛ يانيچ دره ـــ راقوودول ؛ دولكرلى ـــ دو لكرى ؛ جان قارداش ـــ براتووو ؛ قاياصاقال ـــ راوته‌تس ؛ قاپراق كوى ـــ قرو شه‌وه‌تش ؛ قارا تپه ـــ چه‌رتى وراخ ؛ موغريس ـــ غورنو ازه‌رووو ؛ قيا لى ـ قامه‌نووو ؛ قيرخارمان ـــ خارمان ؛ قيرچشمه ـــ پولسكى ايزوور ؛ كوپرى‌يا ـــ پيرى‌مورسقو ؛ لى‌جاكوى ـــ بانيا ؛ محمچ‌كوى‌ـــ روسه‌ن ؛ سازلى‌كوى‌ـــ طيريستيقووو صارى‌موسى ـــ وسه‌ليپا ؛ دره‌كوى ـــ ره‌چقا ؛ ده‌ميرده‌ش ـــ ژله‌زووو ؛ اوروم كوى ـــ ايخجه وه‌يوودا ؛ خوجاما ـــ رودنيك ، ياكه‌زلى ـــ ده‌به‌لت .

واسيليقو قضاسى

قالانجه ـــ ده‌به‌لقووو ، واسيليقو قصبه‌سى ـــ تسارده‌وو ؛ وورغارى ـــ بلغارى

الخووو قضاسى

عربلى ـــ چه‌رنو زمم ؛ اخلاطلى ـــ غرله‌موقروشه‌وو ؛ قورت‌بيكار ـــ ويلجى ايزوور ؛ باش‌آتلى ـــ ژيره‌بينو ؛ بك‌كوى ـــ قاراوه‌لووو ؛ قول كوى ـــ روبووو بورغوجى‌كوى ـــ پوليانا ؛ وقف ـــ اوسترمم ؛ غاجيلووو ـــ غرانيتووو ؛ دره‌محله ـ بايق‌ووودن ؛ غوله‌مپويالق ـــ شارقووو ؛ خواجه‌كوى ـــ قرانيتووو ؛ قورت‌آلان ـ ويلجاپوليانا ؛ كوچ‌بكلر ـــ دوبريچ ؛ داوودبكلى ـــ ايرلاتى‌نيتسا ؛ اوره‌نلى ـــ سلاوه‌يقوو ؛ دكرمن‌دره ـــ مه‌لنيتسا ؛ قورموشلى ـــ طيرنقووه ؛ دوكن ـــ له‌يا رووو ؛ الهمنلى ـــ سيتووو ؛ طورفالى ـــ ايغليقا ؛ يكى‌بكلى ـــ كيريلووو ؛ اسسه بكلى ـــ پچه‌لا ؛ قايبيلى‌ياره ـــ استرانجه ؛ قاپاقلى يكى‌كوى ـــ روژيتسا ؛ قايالى‌دره ـــ قامه‌نتاره‌قا ؛ قوزليجه ـــ اوره‌شنيك ؛ مالق‌پويالق ـــ مالقوشارقووو ؛ چوقوروووـ چوقاروووو ؛ ميشه‌لى ـــ دى‌بووو ؛ مرادانلى ـــ مامارچه‌وو ؛ ايخجه‌كلى ـــ اسوه‌تى ايليپيا ؛ مرصادلى ـــ بويانووو ؛ كرندوزلرى ـــ ده‌تنيتسا ؛ اومانه ـــ اومان ؛ پاشا كوى ـــ پولياروووو ؛ سنابلى ـــ سيناپووو ؛ صواوجوق ـــ استوده‌نا ؛ طاش‌تپه ـــ قامه‌ن ويرخ ؛ اوروم‌بكلى ـــ له‌سووو ؛ آنبارلى ـــ ماومپرووو ؛ حسن‌بكلى ـــ ايزغرو چيتالووو ـــ رازده‌ل ؛ شاهلى ـــ قينازووا ؛ ياووزدره ـــ دوبروسه‌لتس ؛ يايلا جى ـــ غورسقاپوليانا .

مابعدى وار

قيرجه‌عايدن قارئمز على افندى‌يه

صلاة وترك رمضان شريفده جماعت ايله ادا اولونماسنك وجه مشروعى حقنده كى سؤالكزك جوابى كثرت مندرجات دو لايسيله كله‌جك نسخه‌يه قالمشدر .

Печатница „Нюввабъ" София , ул. Позитано№38

11- The text of Takriri Sükun Kanunu (The Law on the Maintenance of Order)

تقریر سکونه قانونی

نومرو
٥٧٨

١ — ارتجاعه وعصیانه ومملکتك نظام اجتماعیسنی وحضور و سکونی وامنیت وآسایشنی اخلاله باعث بالعموم تشکیلات وتحریکات و تشویقات و تشبثات ونشریاتی حکومت ، رئیس جمهورك تصدیقیله رأساً وادارةً منعه مأذوندر .

اشبو افعال اربابنی حکومت استقلال محکمه سنه تودیع ایده بیلیر .

٢ — اشبو قانون تاریخ نشرندن اعتباراً ایکی سنه مدتله مرعی الاجرادر .

٣ — اشبو قانونك تطبیقنه اجرا وکیللری هیئتی مأموردر .

٨ شعبان ١٣٤٣ و ٤ مارت ١٣٤١

Takriri sükûn kanunu

(Resmî Ceride ile neşir ve ilânı : 4 . III . 1341 - Sayı : 87)

No.
578

BİRİNCİ MADDE — İrticaa ve isyana ve memleketin nizamı içtimaisini v huzur ve sükûnunu ve emniyet ve asayişini ihlâle bâis bilûmum teşkilât ve tahrika ve teşvikat ve teşebbüsat ve neşriyatı Hükûmet, Reisicümhurun tasdikıyle, re'sen v idareten men'e mezundur.

İşbu efal erbabını Hükûmet İstiklâl mahkemesine tevdi edebilir.

İKİNCİ MADDE — İşbu kanun tarihi neşrinden itibaren iki sene müddetl mer'iyülicradır.

ÜÇÜNCÜ MADDE — İşbu kanunun tatbikına İcra Vekilleri Heyeti memurdu

8 şaban 1343 ve 4 mart 1341

12- The text of law about alphabet change

قانونه

قانون نومروسی : 1353

ماده 1 — شیمدیه قادار تورکچه‌یی یازمق ایچین قوللانیلان عرب حرفلری‌یرینه لاتین اساسندن آلنان و مربوط جدولده شکللرنی کوسترپلن حرفلر (تورك حرفلری) عنوان وحقوق ایله قبول ایدلمشدر .

ماده 2 — بو قانونك نشری تاریخندن اعتباراً دولتك بوتون‌داثره ومؤسسه‌لرنده وباجلمله شرکت،جمعیت و خصوصی مؤسسه‌لرده تورك حرفلریله یازلمش اولان یازیلرك قبولی ومعامله‌یه قونولمسی مجبوریدر .

ماده 3 — دولت داثره‌لرینك هر برنده تورك حرفلرینك دولت معاملاتنه تطبیقی تاریخی 1929 کانون ثانیسنك برنجی کونی کچه‌مز. شوقدرکه اوراق تحقیقیه و فذلکه‌لرینك و اعلاملرك و مطبوع معاملات جدول و دفترلرینك 1929 حزیرانی ابتداسنه قدر اسکی‌اصولده یازلماسی جائزدر . ویربله‌جك طاپو قیدلری و سندلری ونفوس و أوانه جزدانلری‌و قیدلری و عسکری هویت وترخیص جزدانلری 1929 حزیرانی ابتداسندن‌اعتباراً تورك حرفلریله یازیله‌جقدر .

ماده 4 — خلق طرفندن واقع مراجعتلردن اسکی عرب‌حرفلریله‌یازیلی اولانلرینك‌قبولی 1929 حزیرانتك برنجی کونته قدر جائزدر . 1928 سنه‌سی کانون‌اولك ابتداسندن اعتباراً تورکچه خصوصی ویارسمی ، لوحه تابه‌لا ، اعلان ، ره‌قلام وسینه‌ما یازیلری ایله کذلك تورکچه خصوصی ، رسمی باجلمله موقوت ، غیرموقوت غزته ، رساله ومجموعه‌لرك تورك حرفلریله باصیلماسی ویازلماسی مجبوریدر .

ماده 5 — 1929 کانون ثانیسی‌ابتداسندن اعتباراً تورکچه باصیله‌جق کتابلرك تورك حرفلریله باصیلماسی مجبوریدر .

ماده 6 — رسمی وخصوصی بوتون ضبطلرده 1930 حزیرانی ابتداسنه قدر اسکی عرب حرفلرینك ستنوغرافی مقامنده استعمالی جائزدر دولتك‌بوتون داثره‌ومؤسسه‌لرنده قوللانیلان‌کتاب ، قانون ، تعلیماتنامه دفتر ، جدول‌قید وسجل‌کبی‌مطبوعه‌لرك 1930 حزیرانی ابتداسنه‌قدر قوللانیلماسی جائزدر .

ماده 7 — پاره وحصه سندلری وبونولر واسهام

Türk harflerinin kabul ve tatbiki hakkında kanun

(Resmi gazete ile neşir ve ilânı : 3/11/1928 – Sayı : 1030)

N : 1353

BİRİNCİ MADDE — Şimdiye kadar türkçe yazmak için kullanılan arap harfleri yerine Latin esasından alınan ve merbut cetvelde şekilleri gösterilen harfler (türk harfleri) unvanı ve hukuku ile kabul edilmiştir.

İKİNCİ MADDE — Bu kanunun neşri tarihinden itibaren Devletin bütün daire ve müesselerinde ve bilcümle şirket, cem'iyet ve hususî müesseselerde türk harflerile yazılmış olan yazıların kabulü ve muameleye konulması mecburidir.

ÜÇÜNCÜ MADDE — Devlet dairelerinin her birinde türk harflerinin Devlet muamelâtına tatbiki tarihi 1929 kânunusanisinin birinci gününü geçemez. Şu kadarki evrakı tahkikiye ve fezleklerinin ve ilâmların ve matbu muamelât cetvel ve defterlerinin 1929 haziranı iptidasına kadar eski usulde yazılması caizdir. Verilecek tapu kayıtları ve senetleri ve nüfus ve evlenme cüzdanları ve kayıtları ve askerî hüviyyet ve terhis cüzdanları 1929 haziranı iptidasından itibaren türk harfleriile yazılacaktır.

DÖRDÜNCÜ MADDE — Halk tarafından vaki müraceatlardan eski arap harflerile yazılı olanların kabulü 1929 haziranının birinci gününe kadar caizdir. 1928 senesi kânunu evvelinin iptidasından itibaren Türkçe hususî veya resmî levha, tabelâ, ilân, reklâm ve sinema yazıları ile kezalik türkçe hususî, resmî bilcümle mevkut, gayri mevkut gazete, risale ve mecmuaların türk harflerile basılması ve yazılması mecburidir.

BEŞİNCİ MADDE — 1929 Kânunusanisi iptidasından itibaren Türkçe basılacak kitapların türk harflerile basılması mecburidir.

ALTINCI MADDE — Resmî ve hususî bütün zabıtlarda 1930 haziranı iptidasına kadar eski arap harflerinin istenografi makamında istimali caizdir. Devletin bütün daire ve müesseselerinde kullanılan kitap, kanun, talimatname, defter, cetvel, kayıt ve sicil gibi matbuaların 1930 haziranı iptidasına kadar kullanılması caizdir.

13- The article of series titled ‘Harf Meselesi Etrafında’, starting from the 68th issue

صایی – ٦٨

حرف مسئله‌سی اطرافنده

کیم نه دیيور و ناصل دوشونيور ؟

بر تفهیم و تفهم آلتی اولان یازی نه وقت چیقمش ، ناصل انکشاف ایتمش و ناصل یاپیلمشدر ؟

قیریق قلمم ، پك مهم بر موضوع اطرافنده ، جذبه‌یه کلن بر مولوی مریدی کبی دونوب دولاشمق ایسته‌یور ؛ صوك کلن (مدنیت) ك بحث ایتدیکی حرف مسئله‌سی .. ملتك اوقور یازار قسمندن طوت ده حیم قارنده بر نقطه اولانلرینه دك کوجوك بویوك هر کسی علاقه‌دار ایتمه‌سی ایجاب ایدن بو مسئله حقنده ، بن ده بو جیلیز و جلیمسز سطرلری قارالامغه و اونلرك یاردیمیله‌ده بوینومك بورجنی اوده‌مه‌که نیت ایتدم . بیلیورم ، الك بویوك و الك کورولتولی بر مسئله‌یه قاریشییورم . بلکه کیندم مرتجع ، قلمم خائن اولاجق . فقط حقك ازلی بر عاشق شیداسی اولان قلم واسطه‌سیله حقیقتی مدافعه‌ده بر ذوق معنوی دویانلر ، وظیفهٔ دینیه و ملیه‌سنی ایفا ایتمکله مستریح اولانلر ایجون بویله شیلرك نه اهمیتی اوله‌بیلیر ؟ حریت تفکر ، حریت کلام کبی حقوق طبیعیه‌نك ویردیکی صلاحیتله یازوب جیزمك حق صریحمز دکلمی ؟ حقوق طبیعیه‌یی قیصمغه جالیشمق یکیرمنجی عصر مدنیتیله قابل تألیفمیدر ؟ علمی قناعتلرینی صمیمی اوله‌رق سویله‌ینلر تحقیرایدیله‌ملی ، معذور کوروله‌لی ! .. هم بن بو خصوصده علمه ترجمانلق و سویلننلره ناقللك یاپمقدن باشقه بر شی ایشله‌یه‌جك دکلم . حرف مسئله‌سندن قوشقولانان و قوجونانلرك بنی مؤاخذه‌یه پك حقلری اولماسه کرك . جونکه الحی به زوال یوقدر عنایت الهیه ایله مقصده شروع ایدملم . « خذ ما صفا دع ما کدر »

آنجق حرف انقلابنك کوجوك بر پلانجوسی اولاجق اولان یازیلرمزده نه الفبائی ونه‌ده منطق هیج بر ترتیب و تصنیفه رعایت ایتمك مجبوریتنی حس ایتمه‌یورز . قاریشیق و منطقسز ایشلری و کیدیشلری بز منطقه اویدوراجق دکلزیا ؟ نه ایسه ، کلم .

فرصتك علوی تجلیسنك ویردیکی لطف ایله ، بولغارستان مسلمانلری لاتینجه‌لك بلاسندن قورتولمشدر . یالکز یالانجی ویالدیزلی پروپاغاندالره قاپان ، بوش امیدلره قاپیلان بعضی زواللیلر بو دومانلی و خسرانلی اوغورده اوغورسزجه دوام ایتمکده و دوامی ایسته‌مکده‌درلر . بو سطرلر بونجیلرك ایمان و قناعتلرینی تقویه ایده‌جك کبی بلکه ایکینجیلرده‌ده لاتین حرفلرینك ضررلرینی کوستره‌جك و حقیقتی آکلامق فرصتنی ویره‌جکدر .

بز ده اولا حرفلرك تاریخجه‌سندن کیره‌لم : لسانیات ایشلریله آز جوق علاقه‌دار اولانلر بیلیرلر که ، بوکون بوتون لسانلری افاده ایدن حرفلر ، هر ملتك الفباسی ، مصرلیلرك (هیه‌روغلف) یازیسنك مختلف زمانلرده استحاله کچیرمسندن میدانه کلمشدر . اوندن آلنمشدر . میلاد مسیحدن اوچ بیك کور سنه مقدم مصرلیلر ٢٢ جشید سس ایجون بر طاقم اشارتلر قوللانمغه باشلادیلر . لکن اصل یازیلری سسلری کوستره‌جك یرده فکرلری اولدقجه افاده ایجون مستعمل تمثیلی شکللردن عبارت ایدی . مجالری افاده ایجون الفبا حرفلری یوقدی ؛ کلمه‌لر خصوصی بر شکل ایله کوستریلیر ، رسم ایله آکلاتیلیردی . بو مصور فکر یازیسی ، داها اوکجه قوللانیلان تصویری (آکلاتمق ایسته‌نیلن شیئك رسمنی یاپمق) یازیدن چیقمشدر ؛ تصویری یازیدن هم ساده و هم ده نسبةً محذورسزدی . مجردات تمثالی شکللر ایله افاده ایدیله بیلیور ایدی . بو صورتله یازی‌یی قاریشیقلقدن قورتارمق ، اوقومنی قولایلاشدیرمق ایجون مجانی (هیه‌روغلف) یازی میدانه کلدی ، صوکرالری رسم آلابه‌سی شکلنی آلدی .

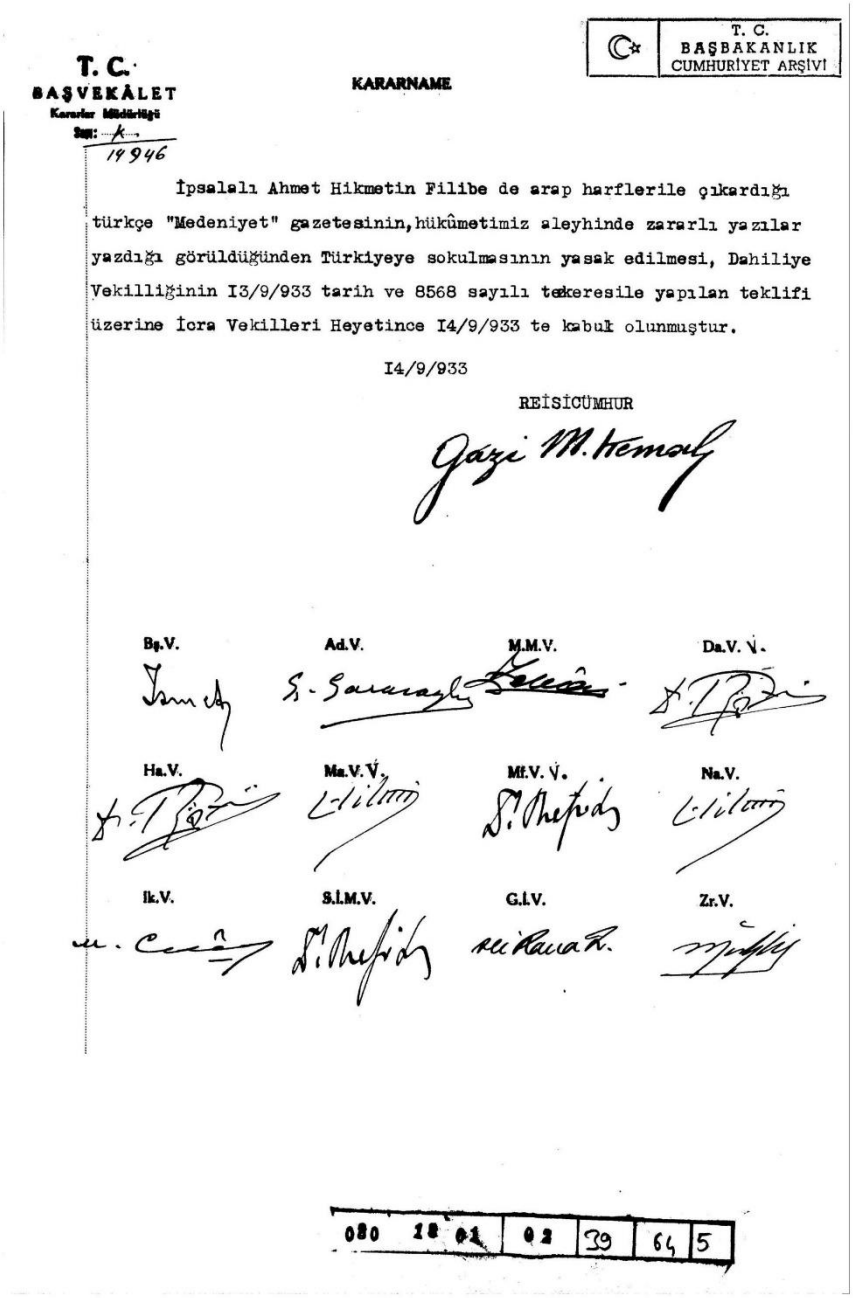
سامی قوملردن سوریه‌لیلر ، عبرانیلر ، بالخاصه فنیکه‌لیلر تجارتی مناسبتیله داها ساده بر یازی دوشوندیلر ، فنیکه‌لیلر میلاددن ٢ بیك سنه قادار اول مصرلیلردن یازی‌یی اوکرندیلر . (هیه‌روغلیفی) اصلاح ایتدیلر ؛ اوندمکی فکری و مجانی اشارتلری آتارق (صوتی آلفابه) یی ایجاد ایتدیلر . همان بوتون یازیلر آز جوق فرقلرله فنیکه یازیسندن آلنمشدر . اسکی دورلرك ایچنده باریلتیلرله سزیلن یونانلیلر بو آلفابه‌یی لزومی قادار صائتلر ایجاد ایتمك صورتیله داها ایلرله‌تدیلر . ایتالیانك جنوب اتکلرینه کوچ ایدوب یرلشن یونانلیلرك کتیردکلری یونان حرفلرندن ده لاتین آلفابه‌سی چیقدی و بوندن بر چوق یازیلر آلیندی . ایشته ١ کانون اول ١٩٢٨ ده تورکیه‌ده رسماً قبول ایدیلن ٢٩ حرفلی یکی آلفابه بو لاتینجه‌دن آلنمشدر . « عربی حرفلری ترقیمزه مانع کلدر » عنوانلی اثردن شو سطرلری‌ده دیکله‌یه‌لم : « قوللاندیغمز تورکجه یازی عربجه یازیدر . شیمدیکی عربجه‌نك اساسی اولان خط کوفی ، نبط یازیسندن چیقمشدر . نبط یازیسیله یازلمش کتابه‌لرك الك اسکیسی قبل المیلاد ٤٠ سنه‌سنه عائددر . بو کتابه‌لرده‌کی اسملرك عرب اولماسنه نظراً بوندن ، نبطیلرك عرب اولدقلری و آرامجه‌یی آنجق یازی لسانی اوله‌رق استعمال ایتدکلری استدلال اولونور . نبطیجه یکی آرامجه‌دن ، یکی آرامجه اسکی آرامجه‌دن چیقمشدر . اسکی آرامجه یازی ، اسکی عبرانیجه و اسکی فنیکه‌جه‌یه . بو صوکنجی

14- The pictures of Medresetün Nüvvab in the Medeniyet Newspaper

بولغارستان مسلمانلرنك مالك اولدقلرى حقوق دينيه‌نك جانلى بر آبده‌سى اولان مدرسة النوابده اجرا ايديلن بو سنه‌كى توزيع مكافات مراسمنك ختامندن صوكرا طلبه و اهالى اسلاميه‌دن بر قسمى داغلير كن

شمنيده كائن مدرسة النواب

15- The decree of Turkish government on the banning of distribution of Medeniyet



T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
Kararlar Müdürlüğü
Sayı: K
1946

KARARNAME

İpsalalı Ahmet Hikmetin Filibe de arap harflerile çıkardığı türkçe "Medeniyet" gazetesinin, hükûmetimiz aleyhinde zararlı yazılar yazdığı görüldüğünden Türkiyeye sokulmasının yasak edilmesi, Dahiliye Vekilliğinin I3/9/933 tarih ve 8568 sayılı tezkeresile yapılan teklifi üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetince I4/9/933 te kabul olunmuştur.

I4/9/933

REİSİCÜMHUR

Gazi M. Kemal

Bş.V. Ad.V. M.M.V. Da.V.

Ha.V. Ma.V.V. Mf.V.V. Na.V.

İk.V. S.İ.M.V. G.İ.V. Zr.V.

080 18 01 02 39 64 5

16-The list of Başmüftü*

Hocazade Mehmed Muhiddin Efendi (1910- 1915), elected

Süleyman Faik Efendi (1920- 1928), elected

Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi (1928- 1936), appointed

Abdullah Sıdkı Efendi (1936- 1945), appointed

Süleyman Ömer Efendi (1945- 1947), appointed

Akif Osman Efendi (1947- 1964), appointed

Hasan Adem Efendi (1965- 1976), appointed

Mehmed Topçiev (1976- 1988), appointed

Nedim Gencev (1988- 1991), appointed

Fikri Salih (1992- 1995), elected

Basri Hacişerif (1995-1997), appointed

Mustafa Haci (1997-2000), elected

Selim Mehmed (2000- 2003), elected

Mustafa Hacı, elected in 2005 and 2009 but the election not approved, in 2011 re-elected, still in his duty

*The source of list is the official website of Başmüftülük: https://grandmufti.bg/tr/za-nas-6/istoriya.html

CURRICULUM VITAE

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