

# ATATÜRK YOLU DERGİSİ

# **JOURNAL OF ATATÜRK YOLU**



Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi/Journal of Atatürk Yolu, 69 (2021): 310-327

Geliş/Received: 17.05.2021 Kabul/Accepted: 08.11.2021 DOI: 10.46955/ankuayd.1028398

(Araştırma Makalesi/Research Article)

## TURKISH TYPE OF LUTHERANISM AND TURKISH NATIONALISM

# TÜRK TİPİ LÜTHERCİLİK VE TÜRK MİLLİYETÇİLİĞİ

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The influence of nationalism which was spread to the whole world through the way which was paved to the Great War, makes its presence felt majorly in the steps towards modernity after the establishment of the republican regime in Turkey. Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey has made reform in religion and a return to Turkish language a top priority in his modernity programme. Suitable to this determined priority, Atatürk and Turkish intellectuals created a Turkish-Lutheranism, which follows the historical creations of Martin Luther, the leader of the reformation movement. The first step of this secular formation was the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish language. This translation made more of a political impact rather than a religious one.

In this study, all of the social and political dimensions of the religious reform and modernity movement fundamentally initiated by the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish Language are going to be reviewed in all of its stages and an attempt to understand the roots of the nationalizing religion which finds ground in the modern Turkish Republic.

**Keywords:** Lutheranism, Nationalism, Religious Reform, Turkish Qur'an, Turkish Modernity

ÖZ.

Büyük Savaş'a giden yolda tüm dünyaya yayılan milliyetçilik etkisi Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet rejimine geçilmesinden sonra kendisini en çok modernleşme adımlarında hissettirir. Modern Türkiye'nin kurucusu Atatürk, çağdaşlaşma programında Türk diline dönüşü ve dinde reformu ilk sıralara almıştır. Belirlenen bu önceliklere uygun olarak Almanya'daki Reformasyon hareketinin lideri Martin Luther'in tarihsel yaratımları takip edilerek Atatürk ve Türk aydınları tarafından Türk tipi Lüthercilik oluşturulmuştur. Bu laik oluşumun ilk adımı olarak ise Kuran Türkçeye çevrilmiştir. Kuran'ın Türkçeye çevrilmesi dini bir etkiden çok siyasi bir etki bırakmıştır.

Çalışmada Atatürk dönemi Türkiye'sinde, temelde Kuran'ın Türkçeye çevrilmesi ile başlatılan dinde reform ve çağdaşlaşma hareketinin sosyal ve siyasi boyutları tüm aşamalarıyla incelenecek ve Modern Türkiye'de kendisine bir yer edinen dinde ulusallaşmanın kökenleri anlaşılmaya çalışılacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Dinde Reform, Lüthercilik, Milliyetçilik, Türkçe Kur'an, Türk Modernleşmesi.

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#### Introduction

When the factor of nationalism and changes in regime are taken into account during the First World War (1914 - 1918) it can be seen that the Turkish War of Independence (1919 - 1922) was inevitable. This war was also the struggle to overcome the problems which paved way to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish state, thought that the necessities of life and civilization was determined with its penultimate truth and any attitudes or behaviours that contradict this truth cannot be a foundation that life can flourish on. He believed, in his own words that it was necessary to tear down aberrations. Especially when one thinks of the Modern Turkey which existed in the stage of the third world, the battle of Turkish Modernity was not only an experience in modernity but also a unique and interesting event in that it had its origins in an Islamic country which aimed integration with the West. The efforts to create a secular nation-state was the essence of this aim in question.

This specific brand of modernization movement is both a movement of humanism and Reformation for Turkish Society. It was expected that this movement would proceed with rational and humane values. Just like the Reformists, the aim of this 'New Turkey' was to emphasize individual religiosity. Just like Luther, who created the first concrete results of the Reformation movement due to his questioning of the authority and powers of the Papacy with his 95 Theses², the modern Turks did not want an institutional authority between God and Man. This, in turn had paved way to a modern understanding of secularism. According to this modern idea, everyone should lead the religious part of their lives according to their own understanding. The idea of a human which emancipated himself from a Church that abused the freedoms given by the Bible and the intentions behind the concept of Christianity³, attracted the admiration and attention of Turkish intellectuals and especially of Ataturk. Especially, the interpretation of religion according to man's own thoughts and mind, instead of the principles of the Church, has been inspiring in terms of the desire to incorporate modern thought into Turkey. With an eternal trust put on human mind, the idea of progress, that received its support chiefly from science came into being in the form of saving the Turks from the old order of things and put them towards the way of a better, rational structure. The content of judgments that were going to be made had to be determined only by critical reasoning. Therefore it was a necessity to get rid of every possible prejudice⁴.

The search for religion in the path which led to modern thought included a transformation in which everyone would live their religion based on their own perception. This was what Luther achieved. Just like Martin Luther deemed as "the father of German nation", Ataturk, very suitably to his name, was going to be deemed as "the father of Turkish Nationalism". The most natural way for this to create a combination which included individual religiosity, mind and nationalism. Luther became the motivation of the Turkish intellectuals and of Ataturk at this point as well, he, while paved the way towards the emergence<sup>5</sup> of a new consciousness in the German Nation, also helped the creation of an exemplary German language and the use of a common, high language in the country. This high language not only consisted of national motifs and characteristics but also it equated the love of God and the love for one's own country. Therefore it helped the German nation to return to its roots. Ataturk, who aimed for a similar return, took the translation of the Qur'an, a book often stated as the basis of Islamic religion into Turkish to his programme<sup>6</sup>, so that every Turk would be able to understand it and in due time, worship would be practiced in Turkish. According to him it was impossible for someone to believe fully and sincerely to a thing they did not understand and know and this was a lesson that should be drawn from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. According to Ataturk, an understanding of the Our'an which was "suitable for reason, science and knowledge"7 was necessary. While the first of these activities aimed at this was the translation of Prayer Call to Turkish, the most important would be the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish, fuelled by strong nationalistic sentiments. Even though this was not the first attempt to translate the Qur'an into Turkish, this detail was deemed unimportant to the historians and intellectuals of the era. Because they were the ones who embraced the translation of Qur'an into Turkish.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Muhammad Dafi, *Kemalizm ve Din*, Ankara: Ardıç Publishing House, 1997, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Martin Luther, *95 Tez*, Trans. Cengiz Çevik, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Culture Publishings, 2017, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Martin Luther and John Calvin, *Seküler Otorite ve Sivil Yönetim*, Trans. İsmail Hakkı Yılmaz, İstanbul: Pinhan Publishing, 2016, 78.

<sup>4</sup> Tuncay Imamoğlu, Modern Batı Düşüncesinin Felsefi Temelleri Din ve İnsan Algısı Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme, İstanbul: İz Publishing, 2003. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Kaan H. Ökten, Reformasyon Dönemi Siyasal ve Dinsel Düşünce Tarihine Giriş, İstanbul: Alfa Publishing, 2003, 245.

Hasan Rıza Soyak, *Atatürk'ten Hatıralar*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Publishing, 2019, 252.

Harika Yamak, Atatürk'ün Din Anlayışı, İstanbul: Kilim Publishing, 2010, 129.

# Intellectuals of the Ataturk Era and Nationalizing the Religion

Throughout his life, Ataturk's biggest problem was minds that were clouded by superstition, myths and delusion. These people were not keeping up with the modern times. The conservatives, who were openly defined as "ignorant" during that time were in such a state that they believed verses of the Qur'an should be put in chests that contain their laundry lest moths eat them. This mentality which tried to use the word of God as moth pesticide or as magic, could had a place in day-to-day events during the early period of Ataturk's rule. The civilizationism of the Turkish revolution is a battle with this type of bigotry. It is the continuous change of the previous structure. It is a pathway to new horizons by pushing away all falterings and indecisions. Despite possessing an image of a leader who battles with the West, Ataturk, the first national leader of Turkey, is a Westerner in every sense. Because the thesis of Western Civilization that he also was a follower of, is based on realistic principles: all people have the right to live honourably and humanely regardless of their religious belief.<sup>8</sup> According to Ataturk, modernity is the nationalization of the established state order in accordance with the universal principles represented by the West.<sup>9</sup>

Most of the revolutionary acts in the early years of the Republic were aimed at changing the value system in Turkish society. In the republican regime, only Turkish nationalism was able to come on top among the political movements that emerged in the period of constitutionalism (1908 - 1918) in the Ottoman Empire. The other political movements were; Ottomanism, Islamism and Westernism. The political thought of the Turkish Republic maintained its validity mainly within frameworks of various interpretations of Westernism. In addition to this, another political movement which can be named as "Religious Turkish Nationalism" emerged and it advocated that worship should be done in Turkish Language; this maintained the agenda of nationalism and can be defined as an open attack to the hegemonic field o Sharia. Moreover, Ataturk, who wanted the adoption of an ideology that would provide legitimacy to the nation state, often had to assert the authority of the state in order to achieve this goal in question. He wanted to create a national consciousness with the mobilization of the masses. Although this sounded strange after a recent loss of a state and carried great difficulties within itself, a new Turkish nation state was being established. As a support of the state in order to achieve the state and carried great difficulties within itself, a new Turkish nation state was being established.

As a sign of this concrete breakaway, the Republic abolished the Caliphate in 1924 and the assembly replaced the caliphate instead, which already held a controversial political power; in 1928, the second clause of the constitution, which defined Islam as the religion of the State was abolished and therefore integrated its religious reforms and publicised religion<sup>13</sup>, and in 1937, the republic constitutionalized the principle of Secularism. Beginning in 1926, it replaced the Islamic Law with the Swiss Civil Law. It shut down madrasas, shrines and dervish lodges. It abolished sects. The religious and non-religious foundations were put under the jurisdiction of the General Directorate of Foundations. It put the control of education and justice in the hands of state authority. It popularised the use of Turkish Language and translated Prayer Call into Turkish in order to nationalise religion. After that, it made the Latin Alphabet mandatory. Education in Arabic and Persian were limited with universities. Then, all the religious non-governmental organisations were banned. It abolished the Turk Association, which was established to spread an Islamic consciousness and replaced it with the secular Halkevleri (Peoples' Houses).

These activities of the Republican regime were the antithesis of the reformist imperial bureaucrats, whose inheritance was utterly rejected. Contrary to them, Ataturk, a nationalist, wanted to liberate the society from the yoke of the "congregation" based structure (Gemeinschaft) and deliver it in the hands of "socially" based structure (Gesellchaft). Despite the fact that conservatives deemed him as a "heretic" as a result of these actions 15, he was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Devrim Hareketleri İçinde Atatürk ve Atatürkçülük*, İstanbul: Turhan Publishing, 1981, 147.

<sup>9</sup> Necdet Subaşı, *Türk Aydınının Din Anlayışı*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Publishing, 1996, 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, İstanbul: Ministry of Education Publications, 2004, 176.

<sup>11</sup> Gotthard Jaschke, Yeni Türkiye'de İslamlık, Trans. Hayrullah Örs, Ankara: Bilgi Publishing, 1972, 45.

<sup>12</sup> Bernard Lewis, Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu, Ankara: Dost Publishing, 2009, 484.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Patrick Kinross, *Ataturk The Rebirth of a Nation*, İstanbul: Remzi Publishing, 2004, 441.

In the Ottoman Empire, the publicizing religion was carried out through dervish lodges and sects. The overseeing of these lodges and execution of its administrative duties were the duty of the Majlis-i Mesayih, an institution established under the Sheikh-al Islam. The republican regime not only annihilated the clergy of the Ottomans with the steps it took about this question, but it also publicised religion via the Turkish National Assembly and virtually transferred all authority of the Majlis-i Mesayih to the Turkish State. For more information, see: https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/meclis-i-mesayih

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Jean François Bayart, *Cumhuriyetçi İslam Ankara, Tahran, Dakar*, Trans. Esra Atuk, İstanbul: İletişim Publishing, 2015, 175–76.

joined by the intellectuals of the era, who shared the same label. The actions of Ataturk and his Republican intellectuals to create a modern and national state have created a conflict between them and the traditional society. But there is an actual line of continuity in the background of this desire which aims to tear apart the religious foothold of the old empire. This line of continuity, unlike French secularism which inspired the Turkish secularism, progresses not as the segregation of religion from state, but its attachment to the state. For this purpose, Turkey, the first republic of the Muslim World, established the Ministry of Religious Affairs in the year 1924. This could be considered as the production of a republican and nationalized religion. In fact, the Turkish nation state, did not arise from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, but from this sense of mutual purposefulness. Ataturk believes that a modern state can be supported with a citizenship based religiousness. In that point, although an objection towards the domination of religion in mundane affairs did arise, there were fundamentally no interference with religion itself.<sup>16</sup>

## **Turkish Lutheranism**

Religious reform was a movement that helped the birth of nations. There is even a consensus among German writers: "The religious reform movement is the beginning of the era of nationalistic revolutions." It is no coincidence that there were a lot of references to German writers at this point. Because the intellectuals of the period were also interested specifically in Martin Luther and the Reformation movement. There are even those who called Ataturk "the Turkish Luther" because of his attempts to translate the Qur'an into Turkish during the Early Republican period. 18

Martin Luther, leader of the Reformation movement in Germany and founder of Protestantism, explained the essence of Religious Reformism as stated below in the 95 Theses he brought forward in the year 1517: "Man can communicate with God through the power of intuition; the church of every single person lies in their own heart, the holy scriptures can be read, understood and practiced by everyone."<sup>19</sup>

Until that time, pastors were saying in their sermons that by donating a certain amount of money to the church, the sins of the donors would be forgiven and even a place in heaven could be bought. They were referring to the Bible while suggesting this. In truth however, there was no such reference in Bible. Yet, all the Bibles that existed were written in Ancient Latin, since no one but the pastors knew that language during the ages they made this reference, people had no choice to accept what they said about Bible as truth. Luther, a pastor himself, had the belief that the Church, as an institution could not come between God and the believer. On the other hand, the Bible was not read by the church members in a historical or critical approach, it was read in order to find support for their dogma.<sup>20</sup> According to Luther, who was one of the founding fathers of the modern world, there is no religious community that can say that they were ordained by God or can define the word of God. This kind of a community, according to him, never existed and never will. No one could have expected the conscientious to obey blindly in this regard.<sup>21</sup>

Luther, who was excommunicated for his views and afterwards burned the excommunication document about him in public, translated the Bible from Greek to German for the first time in the Castle of Wartburg where he escaped and hid himself after being sentenced to death, in a way that "The mother in the house, the children on the street, the men in the market" are going to understand<sup>22</sup> in order to reveal the truth and show the people the true

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Sadi Borak, *Atatürk ve Din*, İstanbul: Özyılmaz Printing, 1997, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Hamdullah Subhi Tanrıöver, *Dağ Yolu (I)*, Ankara: Ministry of Culture Publications, 2000, 133.

While it is extremely common to name Ataturk as "the Turkish Luther", the person who is considered the Luther of Islam is someone else. Moses Carullah, one of the first to take the steps in the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish, was denominated as follows: "The Luther of Islam has now appeared in Asia." in one of the speeches made to the public. "This mujaddid, this mujaddid of religion, Musa of Kazan, is translating the Quran into Turkish. This is a glad tiding regarding the emancipation of Islamic thought and conscious from captivity. A Muslim from Russia has taken his first step towards the truth of the religion, so let us follow him." For more, see H. Nahid, Türkiye İçin Necat ve İtila Yolları, Istanbul: -, 1912, 213–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Hakan Olgun, Lüther and Reform, Ankara: Fecr Publishing, 2001, 38.

P. Smith, *Rönesans ve Reform Çağı Bir Sosyal Arkaplan Çalışması*, Trans. Serpil Çağlayan, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Culture Publishings, 2001, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Lucien Febvre, Martin Lüther Alınyazısı, Trans. Serpil Gürer, Ankara: Çözüm Publishing, 2016, 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Gürsel Aytaç, *Yeniçağ Alman Edebiyatı*, Ankara: Doğu Batı Publishing, 2012, 25–26.

Bible and Christianity.<sup>23</sup> The German Bible is Luther's noblest achievement.<sup>24</sup> It was not just a dull translation, but a meticulous and vivid rewriting of the Bible for the Germans, and for its aftermath it become the very basis of German social religious reformation history.<sup>25</sup>

The publication of the Bible in the spoken language was very helpful when it came to the spreading of the reformation movement in religion to the broader masses. When news spread that Luther was going to preach, the Church of Wittenberg was full of people, because the Bible was going to be explained to them plainly and clearly.<sup>26</sup> Luther was sensitive to the public's understanding of the teachings in the sermons he gave and he also paid great attention to the fact that priests and preachers were going to speak and teach in a very clear, simple and understandable language.<sup>27</sup>

Now, native tongues had to be salvaged from the rigidities and inadequacies of the past.<sup>28</sup> Such events also played a major role in the breakthrough of the German language and, most importantly, in the nationalization of the German people.<sup>29</sup>

Luther's manifesto and his use of a language that the public could understand led to German nationalization. In other words, translations made for a religious reason have grown to a national conclusion by revealing the importance of language.<sup>30</sup> Until the Reformation movement, the national language lost its importance when theology came into play and sanctified the main texts of religious sources. The same was true for the Turks. Thus, there could be nothing more natural than the interest of Ataturk and the Turkish intellectuals in Luther<sup>31</sup> and the Reformation movement, who made the Turkification of the religion and the Qur'an and/or placing the idea of a "national religion" in the perception of the common folk. In the circumstances of that period, everyone who turned to the West believed that the process of nationalization could only be possible by the nationalization of religion; they did not think that their imagined ideals could be realized unless the criteria for the modernization of religious thought were set in stone. The desire was not for a world without religion; on the contrary, the essential desire was for a renewed and reformed religion; capable to answer the requirements of the modern era.

# Translation of the Qur'an into Turkish and Ataturk

At the beginning of the 20th century, a very small part of the intellectuals of Ottoman Empire began to think about Islamic issues at an academic level. According to them, a form of Islam freed from superstition would not be an obstacle to modernization.<sup>32</sup>

As a result of the emergence of the formation of ideas regarding language after the Tanzimat period began in 1839, which can be considered the most important modernization breakthrough of the Ottomans, the maturation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> It was Tyndale who issued the first printed version of the New Testament in English in 1525. This was followed by a translation of the Torah in 1530 based directly on Hebrew texts. Tora is also called Torah or Penteteuk. It is the first five books of the Old Testament. It is also known as the Five Books of Moses. For more information, see: Quentin Skinner, *Reform: Modern Siyasal Düşüncenin Temelleri*, Trans. Eren Buğlalı & Barış Yıldırım, Ankara: Phoenix Publishing, *2nd Volume*, 2010, 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*, U.S.A.: Abingdon Press, 1950, 255.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Arthur Geoffrey *Dickens, Martin Luther and the Reformation*, London: The English Universities Press, 1967, 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Eino Sormunen, Martin Lüther: Kutsal İnanç Adamı, Trans. Pekka Karvaren, İstanbul: Zafer Publishing, 1984, 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Martin Lüther'in Uzun İlmihali, Trans, Nur Nirven, İstanbul: GDK Publishing, 2011, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Rudolph Elton, *Reformasyon Avrupası 1517-1559*, Trans. Aziz Yardımlı, İstanbul: İdea Publishing, 2012, 224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Dieter Forte, *Martin Luther ve Thomas Münzer ya da Muhasebenin Başlangıcı,* Trans. Sargut Sölçün, İstanbul: Kaynak Publishing, 1983, 265

According to the trail blazed by Luther, one would expect the Arab nations who read Qur'an in their language should also be among the advanced nations but since there were no states which accepted secularism among those nations and religion were state were not separated at all, the regulation and conduct of public affairs were not excluded from the influence of religious principles. Thus, Arab countries, which also use their own language in worship and prayer, were not able to modernize themselves and assume a national and modern perspective despite their richness in resources such as oil.

<sup>31</sup> From another point of view, though, Islam was never the center of Luther's attention. He considered this alien to him and he criticized Qur'an. According to his own statement, Luther read a Latin Qur'an on the evening of the carnival before fasting in the 21st of February, 1542 and thought it was a poor translation. Moreover, he had an unrealized plan to translate the Qur'an into German, he said: "I have some parts of Muhammad's Qur'an, whether these can be called sermons and guidances in German... I will translate it into German when I have time so that everyone can see what a disgusting book it is." For more information, see: Ludwig Hagemann, Martin Lüther ve İslam Anlayışı, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Publishing, 2000.

A magazine called "İslam Mecmuası" which appeared in 1914 was the product of this kind of thought. The magazine included translations from the Qur'an except its 48th issue. This attempt can be considered as simple preliminary process for the Turkish intelligentsia.

of these ideas after the Second Constitutional Era<sup>33</sup> and thanks to the innovative structure of the Republican period announced in 1923, the reforms gained a public and nationalistic character, underlining the nationalistic approach of the Turkish religious reform regarding the field of language. Luther's attitude towards Christian institutions and structures has shown itself in modern Turkey. The difference between reforms is that in the West, the Reformation was carried out by a cleric, while in Turkey it is seen as the implementation of a politician; but in fact this definition is incomplete, if not erroneous. Luther is not just a clergyman. He has become more of a politician than a theologian, and even a political hero of history.<sup>34</sup>

It was very likely that the translation of the Qur'an into the mother tongue would have the same result, when we remember the fact that the Germans, thanks to Luther's translation, eventually understood that they were a nation.

Thus the Qur'an, which was not translated into any language until the 10th century was first translated into Turkish in 1922 in the Chagatai dialect, but this translation was not enough, this time, it was intended to translate Qur'an into literal Turkish, thus saving the Turkish language from the hands of the Arabic language<sup>35</sup>.

Ataturk explained the reason for translating the Qur'an into Turkish with the following words: "The Turks do not know what their religion is. For this reason, the Qur'an must be Turkish...The Turk follows the Qur'an but does not understand what it says, does not know what is in it, and does his worship ignorantly. My goal is for the Turkish to understand what happens in the book that he follows so fervently."<sup>36</sup>

In an experience of Turkey, there often are going to be criticism about that its founder Ataturk has from time to time had taken the role of a theologian and a clergyman. However, all steps taken towards the nationalization of religion are aimed at achieving a significant political goal instead of a religious one. But on the other hand, in order to interpret Ataturk's views on religion, first of all, a pre-acceptance of a sociological and psychological truth is essential; that he was born in a devout Muslim family which was well-versed in the religious culture of the era. He got his first religious knowledge from them. Şemsi Efendi School and Thessaloniki Mülkiye High School where he received his primary and secondary education were educational institutions that provided a significantly religious curriculum under the conditions of that period. Even the Thessaloniki Military High and Manastır Military High that he went afterwards were institutions of same rigorous religious culture education. In fact, in order to understand the level of Ataturk's religious education, it would be enough to draw attention to the works that he studied in this field, such as "*The Islamic History*" by Caetani or "*History of Islamic Civilization*" by Jurji Zaydan. These books can be thoroughly followed by only those who are experts in their field. It is also known that he possesses an understanding of Arabic enough to translate and interpret the Qur'an.<sup>37</sup>

Ataturk's answer to those who criticize him about his restructuring of religion is as follows: "I am not in a position to deliver orders in the field of science, especially in social sciences. My desire is to be enlightened by the scholars of these fields. If you trust your own knowledge, show me its beautiful directions and I surely will follow you."<sup>38</sup>

In 1839, two years after the announcement of the Tanzimat, the first printed translation of the Qur'an called "Terceme-i Tafsir-i Tibyan", appeared, and newer translations followed this until the Second Constitutional period. During the first months of the year 1908, a strong debate about the necessity of a Turkish translation and exegesis came into force and while this debate continued, the publication of a new translation of the Qur'an called Tafsil'ul Beyan was achieved and other translations followed this. Beginning with the World War II (1914-1918), attempts at independent translations also appeared in the printing press. Among the works published in the months following the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, were two translations of the Qur'an called: "Nur-ul Beyan" and "Kuran-1 Kerim Tercemesi". However, there were still two years to go to speak about the translation of the Qur'an in the Parliament in an official sense.

Peter F. Wiener, Hitler'in Manevi Atası Martin Lüther, Trans. Hakan Olgun, İstanbul: Kaknüs Publishing, 2002, 37.

Beginning at the 8th century, the Turks began to convert to Islam, which was spreading throughout the world. The Qur'an was first translated during the time of Samanoğulları (876-999 AD) by E. Mansur b. Nuh, who received a fatwa from the scholars in Transoxania and was aided by a scholarly delegation consisting of Turks and Persians. It is believed that the first translation of the Qur'an into Turkish was at the time of Bugra Karahan (died in 956 AD), when the Karahanoğulları were the rulers of Transoxania. The second Qur'an translation is a translation of the Qur'an, which is currently registered in the Museum of Turk-Islam Artifacts, possessing the number 73. It was written in Karahanli dialect of Turkish by Muhammed son of Hadji Devletshah of Shiraz in 1333; words from Oghuz dialect was also spotted in this artifact from time to time. For more information, see: Hamza Zulfikar, 'Çağatayca Bir Kuran Tefsiri', Journal of Turkology 6, no. 1, 1974.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Zeki M. Bozkurtoğlu, Cumhuriyet Fazilettir: Atatürk'ün İslam Görüşü ve Hayatı, Hurafeye Cevap, Ankara: Gen Agency, n.d., 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ethem Ruhi Figlali, *Atatürk, Din ve Laiklik*, Ankara: Ataturk Research Center Publications, 2016, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Tek Adam (I)*, İstanbul: Remzi Publishing, 1969, 313.

Ataturk, who gave himself the role of "practitioner", rolled up his sleeves to realize the strongly interconnected breakthrough of national language and national sentiment through religion with this abovementioned motivation. He began to take steps to create public opinion about an adequate and correct translation of the Qur'an into Turkish. These attempts were to be his experiments not as a theologian or a jurist, but as a political leader who was interested in the problem of national consciousness.

For this purpose, the first step was to start a Board of Islamic Studies in the Assembly in 1923 with an aim of validating Islam as a scientific research subject. In this board, Islamic philosophy was going to be examined in terms of its relationship with the Western philosophy; research was going to be conducted on the religious, traditional worship based, social, economic and demographic conditions of Muslim nations. But this initiative, which was the first stage of Ataturk's interest in the problem of reformation in religion, remained as a project. However, even if these studies in question have not been brought to the level that was foreseen, at least religious studies have gained a certain visibility.<sup>39</sup>

The next step was to give the Grand National Assembly a directive in the year 1925 regarding the translation of the Qur'an, and for this labour, an additional allowance of 20.000 Turkish liras, which could be considered a significant amount for that time, was placed in the budget of the Directorate of Religious Affairs.<sup>40</sup> When the duty of translating the Qur'an into Turkish was going to be delivered to the hands of Mehmet Akif Ersoy, author of the national anthem became impossible<sup>41</sup>, passing the task of translation and exegesis to the hands of Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır<sup>42</sup>, who was a thinker of rare qualities in his era<sup>43</sup> and adept not only on the knowledge of traditional religious studies but also on philosophy, music and calligraphy can be again interpreted with the consideration of political developments. The other main reason why Elmalili Hamdi Yazır was the preferred person for this task was that the origins of his thought lied not in the Ashari tradition but in the Maturidi tradition which put reason first in all conditions.<sup>44</sup>

After this, in 1926, we see that Ataturk gave important messages about the "Project of Turkification of Religion" in the "Turk Ocağı" situated in Bursa. In a sense, he continued to test the waters regarding the Turkish translation of Qur'an. "Friends, there is something that has occupied my thoughts since time immemorial. Should the Qur'an be translated into Turkish? Or should not? I have asked this to various people. Some say that it should be. I ask why, then they are unable to explain their reasoning. Some say it should not be. I also ask them why and they too fail to deliver an answer that would convince me. So far, I have not received a satisfactory answer. What do you think about this?"<sup>45</sup>

The clergy at the meeting responded positively to this question of Ataturk and signaled that they would not left this project by itself. Another development that pleased him occured afterwards. Mehmet Cemaleddin Efendi, the Imam of the Goztepe Mosque who was also an instructor in the Hagia Sophia and who used Turkish for the first time in worship in the newly established Turkey, had said in a sermon that it was high time that to religious capitulations should be abolished, and as a cleric, he wanted the language of religion to be Turkified.

Rifat Börekçi was appointed as the head of Religious Affairs in 1927. This appointment was important because he was a cleric whom Ataturk liked and respected. Ataturk often negotiated with him about religion and homeland, and one day he asked Börekçi whether the sermons read in mosques were understood by the nation. He asked him to prepare a book of sermons in Turkish and stated his views about the issue, saying that if religion was not considered in the light of positive sciences then the Turkish Nation would meet a disaster. The president expressed full agreement with Ataturk and stated that he would immediately start working on his proposal.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Culture & Arts Publishing, 2008, 533.

<sup>40</sup> Mehmet Işık, Atatürk'ün Din Anlayışı: Atatürk Dinsiz miydi?, İstanbul: Yediveren Publishing, 2011, 48.

<sup>41</sup> After 1923, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, who was given the task of translating the Qur'an by the Parliament, retreated to Egypt when he realized that the Turkish National War would not lead to the creation of an Islamic State. First, he set the condition that the translation of the Qur'an that he would make would not be an official text. Second, he turned down the grant which was offered to him. Rumors that he continued to translate the Qur'an while he was in Egypt, and then burned these translated texts before his death or sold them to someone are close enough to be a detective novel. For more information: Sinan Meydan, *Öteki Mehmet Akif Vaiz*, Inkılap Books, Istanbul, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır, Hak Dini Kuran Dili 1935-1938 Vol 1, Eser Publishing, Istanbul, 1979, chap. Introduction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır, *Atatürk'ün Türkçe'ye Çevirttiği Kuran-ı Kerim Türkçe Meali*, Ankara: Gece Publishing, 2017, 1.

Maturidis adopt reason so much that they have adopted the idea that "if the book contradicts reason, do as reason says". For more information, see: İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 28, TDV, Ankara, 2003, pp. 165–75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Sinan Meydan, *Bir Ömrün Öteki Hikayesi Atatürk ile Allah Arasında*, İstanbul: İnkılap Books, 2016, 802–803.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Emine Şeyma Usta, Atatürk'ün Hazırlattığı Türkçe Hutbeler, İstanbul: Hoşgörü Publishing, 2010, 9.

A commission was established in 1928 under the chairmanship of historian and politician Fuat Köprülü, who was a professor extraordinaire at the Faculty of Theology of Istanbul University, the first university in Turkey, proposed the Turkification of the language of religion and the reading of prayers and sermons in Turkish language in a report he had written. In the following days, a four year long period of silence was established as the Turks started to make a rapid transition to the Latin Alphabet.<sup>47</sup>

Ramadan of 1932, the most important moment of the project of nationalizing of religion, is a time period in which the meaning of the period of silence after 1928 becomes clearer. Now the Turkish translation of the Qur'an was being heard from the mosques. Takbir, Prayer Call, Kamaat, Sala'a and sermons became Turkish.<sup>48</sup> Qur'an scripts and books that contain prayer sur'ats in Turkish became widespread. During this period, there can be no doubt that the relationship between the publication of Turkish Qur'an translations and the ideology of the government became fully revealed.<sup>4950</sup>

The open vocalizations demanding the Qur'an to be translated into Turkish and the rising of Turkish nationalism and neo-nationalism is actually synchronistic. This is natural because Turkish Qur'anic discourse has always carried a political content within itself rather than a religious one since its genesis. During this period, when Turkish translations of the Qur'an were the greatest element in implementing innovations, relations between religion and politics became quite tight. The sudden realization regarding how a gigantic lack it was for millions of Turks to be in a state in which they were unable to read their own holy scripture and the beginning of the attempts regarding this issue became hastened when the government supported the preachers of this discourse in question and within this timeline the government adopted a function as the architect of the national character. Now a specific, a Turkish form of Islam was being produced. This new form was so original that some of the intellectuals around Ataturk, especially Reşit Galip, were in the mood to try to prove that the Prophet Muhammad and even the Prophet Abraham were Turks with a number of theses.<sup>51</sup>

Despite all the requirements described, these initiatives did not make everyone happy. Interestingly, a group of religious people who can be labelled as "extremely ignorant"<sup>52</sup> were on a position that let alone having a positive stance towards the debates regarding Turkish Qur'an, they did not even approve of what was written in the Qur'an that was printed in the printing press, and argued that the views in hand-written books were valid as if the printed and hand-written Qur'an's were separate books.

For the people in this group, the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish was to be considered a wide-ranging disaster. Because according to them, the Qur'an could only be read in Arabic, and it was a great sin to even think about it, let alone to translate the Holy Book and publish its meaning.<sup>53</sup> However, even in the verses of the Qur'an, there is no record that the book cannot be translated. On the contrary, there are verses that justify its translation.<sup>54</sup> According to Abu Hanifa, who is also considered one of the four "Fiqh" sects of the Islamic religion, the founder of the Hanafi sect and one of the greatest masters of Sunni Fiqh, the Qur'an is not a word, but perhaps

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> In fact, the alphabet change and the subsequent literacy mobilization were an important part of the need to translate the Qur'an into Turkish, because the literacy rate was so low that people could not understand an ordinary text written in Arabic letters; hence they thought that text was a sacred piece of the Qur'an and had the habit of placing it in a high places at their houses and showing respect to it. For more information, see: H. C. Armstrong, *Bozkurt*, İstanbul: Nokta Publishing, 2005, 196–99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> This practice belongs to the motto of "Understanding" of Ziya Gökalp, who also was thought as the "Father of Turkish Nationalism". Gökalp, who was a constitutional monarchist at the same time, perfectly expressed the subject of Turkish Qur'an and religious practice in native language in his poem called Homeland: "A country where prayer is read in Turkish / And even the peasant understands the meaning / A country where Qur'an in Turkish is being studied / And from young to old, all understands the will of God / O' Son of Turk, that place is where you belong!" For more information, see: İlber Ortaylı, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, İstanbul: Kronik Publishing, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Dücane Cündioğlu, *Türkçe Kuran ve Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi,* İstanbul: Kitabevi Publishing, 1998, 20–21.

Appendix I: "Notification of whether Hasan Gemalmaz of Karaman was informed about receiving Takbir in Turkish", 15.02.1938, Republican Archive, Ministry of Religious Affairs, 12-102-12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Dücane Cündioğlu, Kuran Çevirilerinin Dünyası, İstanbul: Kapı Publishing, 2018, 69-71.

<sup>52</sup> Abdullah Manaz, Atatürk Reformları ve İslam, İstanbul: IQ Culture & Arts Publishing, 2010, 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Cenk Koray, İslamiyet, Atatürk ve 19 Mucizesi, İstanbul: Altın Books Publishings, 1994, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Surah Ibrahim 14:4, "We have not sent a messenger except in the language of his people to clarify 'the message' for them. Then Allah leaves whoever He wills to stray and guides whoever He wills. And He is the Almighty, All-Wise", Quran.

Surah Yusuf 12:2, "Indeed, We have sent it down as an Arabic Quran so that you may understand", Quran.

Surah Fussilat 41:44, "Had We revealed it as a non-Arabic Quran, they would have certainly argued, "If only its verses were made clear 'in our language'. What! A non-Arabic revelation for an Arab audience!" Say, 'O Prophet,' "It is a guide and a healing to the believers. As for those who disbelieve, there is deafness in their ears and blindness to it 'in their hearts'. It is as if they are being called from a faraway place", Quran.

the meaning expressed by a word. In other words, it is permissible to read the Qur'an in any language. Imam Azam and Abu Bakr Razi also agree with Abu Hanifa. In other words, there is actually no conflict on this issue.<sup>55</sup>

Ataturk defends his belief in the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish with the following words: "If you say 'Oh chere maman' to tell your mother about your love towards her, what would be her response? Would not she think you mad? The mother is the embodiment of Allah on earth…so as a person addresses his mother in his mother's language, he should again address Allah in his mother's tongue."<sup>56</sup>

As Ataturk pointed out in these words, the purpose of the deliverance of faith to the believers in humanity is to bring about a change in attitude. In order for people to change their attitude, they need to get information about the direction in which the attitude is going to have a change towards, and this information could only be reached through communication. Since communication can only be provided with common language symbols, there could be no more mandatory requirement than translating the Qur'an into Turkish.<sup>57</sup>

Ataturk's efforts to secularize religion which actually meant restoring the true identity of the religion caused some reactionaries by utilizing the rhetoric, "we are losing our religion". There even were who "died because of their grief" due to the fact that "the letters of Islam was being forbidden. According to them, if a nation's language was "corrupted" so was its religion and history.

From the very beginning, strict traditionalists strongly attacked the decisions made by Turks. One of the important figures of this movement, Muhib al-Din al-Katip, claimed that the use of the Arabic alphabet had a dual meaning. The Arabic alphabet, when combined with other languages used to strengthen the ties between various Muslim peoples, especially in the Middle East. The Qur'an taught the youth the alphabet of the scripture and thus brought young people closer to Islam.

According to those who opposed the idea of Turkish worship and the Turkish translation of the Qur'an, Ataturk and his "collaborators" went on the path of Turkification and nationalization of religion in order to prevent these abovementioned two goals. According to another traditionalist Raşit Rıza, Kemalism was built upon the idea that Islam was not suitable to the life in new Turkey and this thesis, according to him is of same origin as the propaganda of Christian missionaries and European politicians. The aim was to separate Turkey from the Islamic world or the Muslim world<sup>61</sup>. In their eyes, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk was a betrayer to Islam. In Ataturk's eyes, they are people who are driven by emotion rather than logic.<sup>62</sup>

Ataturk founded the new state and saved it from being intertwined with religion; this can be seen from the adoption of the Latin alphabet to the abolition of the Caliphate.<sup>63</sup> According to him, the main aim was the enlightenment of the public and to save the faithful Turks from believing things that did not know in a blind way and to purify the nation's mind.<sup>64</sup> It was possible to meet with religion until the superstition was dethroned by science.<sup>65</sup>

There were another class in addition to strict traditionalists who opposed the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish for another reason; the linguists who believed that this task was impossible. They were not entirely wrong for the excitement of this new era and Ataturk's incentives which sometimes became quite challenging; trying to transfer the Qur'an into Turkish without any preparation would be dooming this work to failure from its very beginning. The early religious literature history of the Republican Period is full of failed examples such as this. The translations made in this way were strongly criticised by Ataturk himself and were removed from the

<sup>55</sup> Hikmet Bayur, 'Kuran Dili Üzerine Bir İnceleme, "Belleten", Turkish Historical Society 22, no. 88, 1958, 601.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Cündioğlu, Kuran Çevirilerinin Dünyası, 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Abdurrahman Kasapoğlu, *Atatürk'ün Kuran Kültürü*, İstanbul: İlgi Publishing, 2006, 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Faruk Güventürk, 29 Yıl Sonra Atatürk İnkılaplarına Bakış, İstanbul: Ak Publishing, 1968, 166.

Appendix II: "The gentle relaying of the republic to the public since there has been propaganda citing "we are losing our religion" in the eastern provinces which is put against efforts such as creating Imam Hatip Schools, theological faculties and preparing Qur'an interpretations" 09.05.1925, Archive of the Republic, Head of Religious Affairs 2-13-3.

<sup>60</sup> Osman Öztürk, *Kuran-ı Kerim'de Lisan*, İstanbul: Gonca Publishing, n.d., 213–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> İskender Gökalp and François Georgeon, *Kemalizm ve İslam Dünyası*, Trans. Cüneyt Akalin, İstanbul: Arba Publishing, 1990, 120–121.

<sup>62</sup> Ahmet Bekir Palazoğlu, Atatürk İnkılapları (Milletin Çağdaşlaşması), Ankara: Türk Hava Kurumu Publishing, 1999, 193.

<sup>63</sup> Dagobert von Mikusch, *Avrupa ve Asya Arasındaki Adam Gazi Mustafa Kemal,* Trans. Esat Mermi Erendor, İstanbul: Yeni Gün News Agency Press and Publishing, 2000, 108–109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ali Kuzu, *Atatürk ve İslamiyet*, İstanbul: Yılmaz Publishing, 2015, 85–86.

<sup>65</sup> Cemal Kutay, Atatürk'ün Beraberinde Götürdüğü Hasret: Türkçe İbadet, Ana Dilimizde Kulluk Hakkı, İstanbul: Özgün Agency, 1997, 138.

market. The most serious weakness in these translations is the lack of method. Another problem of these "market translations" were their hasty and arbitrary preparation which did not consult the tradition of Islamic interpretation.

Another weakness that was quite inconvenient at the time to be spoken about was the idea that the Turkish language was insufficient for the translation of the Qur'an. The intellectuals and nationalist who did not agree with this idea believed that instead of blaming Turkish language, they should explore ways to use the language more effectively.<sup>66</sup> According to Ataturk, the basis of the subject was not religion but language.<sup>67</sup>

Elmalili Hamdi Yazır who made the first complete translation of the Qur'an into Turkish<sup>68</sup>, was meticulous about the language and layout of the text, especially paying heed to the constructive criticism of the linguists who were right to some extent in their concerns. His fear of being a sinner if he made a translation error and therefore his religious attitude must have prompted the author to work carefully, whether he wanted to or not. On the other hand the directives on how to translate the Qur'an was already delivered to Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır by Ataturk himself. According to these directives, the relationship between the verses would be highlighted, the inspiration behind the verses were to be noted, knowledge in form of prereadings were to be given about how to recite, linguistical explanations regarding words and phrases were to be provided if needed, Ehl-i Sunnah would be kept in itiqad (creed doctrine) and Hanafi sect would be kept in practising religion and provisions were explained in light of these, specific Islamic history events would be told about specific subjects and an introduction about the truth of Qur'an would be added to the Turkish Qur'an.<sup>69</sup> Turkish Qur'an books would be distributed free of charge throughout the country with the help of money allocated from Ataturk's personal assets.<sup>70</sup>

Ataturk yet again reminded the Turks of their national interests in this way, receiving the support of the intellectuals and the clergy of the era. The Turks began to practice the responsibilities of the religion they believed in by praying and worshipping in their own colloquial language in a more conscious and responsible way. Thus, according to the understanding of secularism, they also paved their way into civilization faster.

During this period, some soldiers were also involved in the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish. A senior Turkish soldier strongly expresses his nationalist views on the issue as follows: "Thinking Arabs and Arabic language is holy is to look down on Turkish Language and the Turk. If our religious authorities accept this, so be it. They may very well achieve an Arab passport! Let the Turkish nation who cemented Islam with its own blood at least pray to God in his own tongue."<sup>71</sup>

According to the political approach of the soldiers of Ataturk the Turkish army which was founded on material and spiritual force can only understand what spiritual force is through this way more correctly and eventually become much more powerful.

The Western world too, did not turn a blind eye to the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish, which was a major step in nationalization and nationalizing the religious element in politics. According to the Westerners, this movement was the destruction of the steel armour and walls which was put in front of the Qur'an translation. As written in the *Manchester Guardian*, these translation studies have eliminated the superstitions and myths which have prevailed for centuries.<sup>72</sup> As put by the American sociologist Kingsley, the Turks did not understand the Qur'an which was preached before this; they got caught up in the words that echoed in Arabic.<sup>73</sup> It would be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Cündioğlu, Kuran Çevirilerinin Dünyası, 36-37, 47-48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Atatürk'ün Manevi Dünyası ve Sözleri, İstanbul: Yılmaz Publishing, 2015, 22.

<sup>68</sup> Hamdi Yazır was a headmaster of Madrasah of Sulaymaniye. He was sentenced to death in absentia at the İstiklâl Court established by Ataturk for serving in the Istanbul government during the Turkish National War, but the decision was not implemented. He was taken from his home in Istanbul and was detained for 40 days. He was released by the court because he was found not guilty, and returned to Istanbul. He tried to stay away from politics and live in a way that put knowledge above everything but he was given the task of translating the Qur'an into Turkish.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Turan Bozkurt, *Atatürk'ün İslam'a Hizmetleri*, İstanbul: Yılmaz Publishing, 2011, 48.

Meydan, Bir Ömrün Öteki Hikayesi, 789.

Turhan Olcaytu, Dinimiz Neyi Emrediyor, Atatürk Ne Yaptı? İnkılabımız İlkelerimiz, Ankara: Technical Printing Industries Publishing, 1984, 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Mustafa Özcan, İslamın Sembolleri Ezan ve İbadet Dili Tartışmaları (Kuran ve Hermenötik), İstanbul: Yeni Asya Publishing, Istanbul, 2003, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Abdullatif Sayyid, Kuran'ın Zihni İnşası, Trans. Kurşat Atalar, İstanbul: Pınar Publishing, 1995, 129.

meaningful to talk about the views of the American Ambassador Charles H. Sherrill who personally witnessed this process since he was in Turkey during the period.

According to Sherrill, what Henry XIII done in England, Ataturk has achieved in Turkey. The ambassador who had a personal audience with Ataturk regarding this subject, embarked on some sort of personal opinion poll concerning the public in order to understand the emancipation of Turkish language. During his train journey to Ankara, he asked the conductor of the pullman about his views about the translation of the Qur'an into Turkish and the response he received is quite important in terms of reflecting the mood of the period and the reaction of the people:

"Although I am a Muslim, I cannot say that I am religious especially when I consider the recent years of my life which took place on the train; due to work, I was even unable to visit a mosque and forgot my prayers... Yet there always was a hand-written Qur'an in our house. It was the apple of our eye. We usually kept it on a table. Because none of us spoke Arabic. I was a little distressed when I heard that Qur'an was going to be translated into Turkish. I thought this was a mistake. Because we Muslims believe that Allah talked to our prophet in Arabic. When a Turkish translation of the Qur'an became public, I was curious and bought a cheap one and started to read it. I was amazed to see that there were a lot of moral, practical rules and advices in it. Since then, I keep reading some of them over and over again when I find time. You should read it too, Monsieur! You'll see that it really is worth reading."

According to Sherill, who answered the conductor that he read the Qur'an in his youth, if the Qur'an was not translated into Turkish, the Turks would never be able to understand the commandments of their religion.

It is true that Ataturk abolished the caliphate and religious institutions but by translating the holy book into Turkish, he returned what he took with another hand. Due to this religious reform with a very elevated purpose, Ataturk had taken his place alongside the great religious reformists in history.

In a nutshell, no matter what happened in domestic policy and no matter how the balances shift and the seeming escalation of the debates regarding this issue, the project of Turkification and nationalizing of the religion never took a backward step. The practices were not only a result of the modern Turkish Republic and secularism but also the thousand-year spanning evolution of human thought, of course the idea of preaching people with their own language would work. Issues related to the conduction of politics through a religion based nationalization was not only a matter of enlightening the public anymore; it also was a matter of social consciousness, language, culture and history. They created a faith in a civilized consciousness in people thanks to regulations such as Qur'an in Turkish and worship in Turkish. These ideas were weakened when Ataturk died before he could find the time to implement these corrections he had in mind.<sup>75</sup>

#### Conclusion

The process of converging Ataturk's Turkey from theocracy to secularism, from monarchy to democracy has gained rapid momentum with nationalizing the religion.

The nations were born in Europe with the ideas of nationalism and democracy, so, the new Turks as well have acted according to this historical determinism. In order to achieve their goal the emphasis was shifted on religious publications during the meetings in the National Assembly which were organized right after the declaration of Republic and a conclusion was reached regarding the proposition that the translation and exegesis of Qur'an and Hadiths should be made with the provisions of the state. From this date, intensive studies were conducted on nationalization.

During this time and even as these changes were proceeding, in the year 1929, which was a time identified with the slogan of "Turkification", Ataturk struggled to raise the new Turkey to the heights of a modern state while being supported by the Turkish intellectuals. This change based on religion and culture was conducted via language which was the most vivid mean of expression of the public. The most effective tool would again be the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Charles H. Sherrill, *Bir Amerikan Büyükelçisinin Gözünden Gazi Mustafa Kemal,* Ed. Berk Kuruçay, İstanbul: Karakarga Publishing, 2018, 192

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Appendix III: "Telegram containing the request that the Qur'an should be thought in Arabic letters in the Imam Hatip Schools" 24.12.1951, Prime Ministry Archive, Private Secretariat of the Prime Minister, 90-562-5, File Annex: E17.

Turkification of the language and religious texts. For true Turkishness, Turkish-type Lutheranism which was created by Ataturk and fed by the intellectuals of the period.

In Islamic circles, Ataturk's popularity and reputation are still very strong, but the sight of his image has begun to be replaced by the type of the worldly and civilian leader. Thanks to a series of reforms, he has become a leader who transitioned his country to modern civilization in a few short years.

Finansal Destek ve Teşekkür/	Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir. / The author
Grant Support and Acknowledgement	declared that this study has received no financial support.
Çıkar Çatışması/Conflict of Interest	Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir. / The author has no conflict of interest
	to declare.

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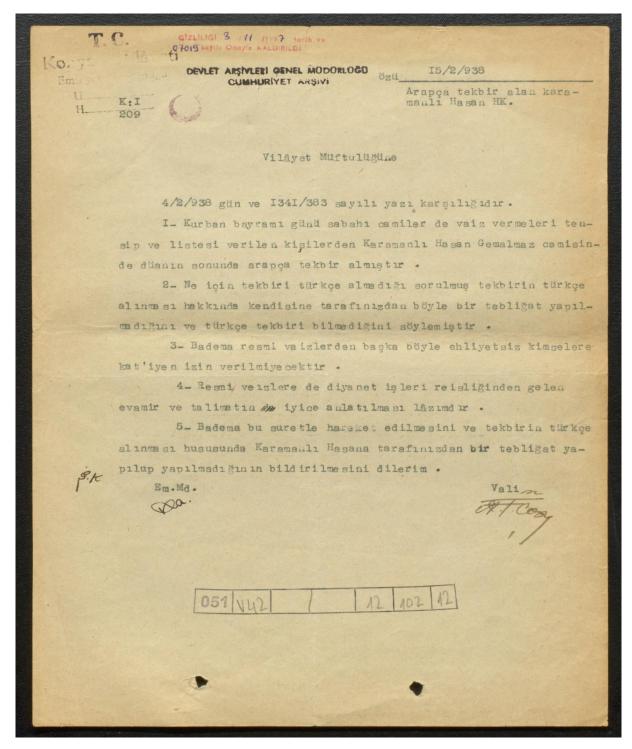
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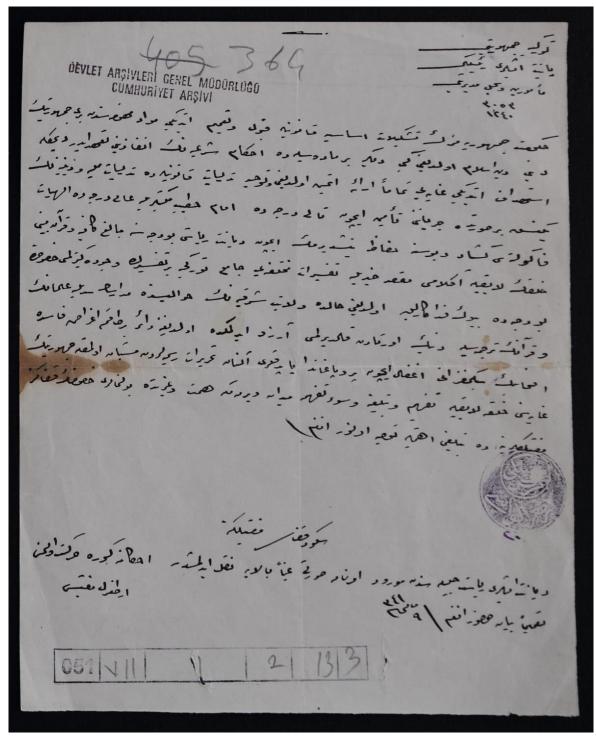
## **Resources on The Internet**

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#### **APPENDIX**



"Notification of whether Hasan Gemalmaz of Karaman was informed about receiving Takbir in Turkish", 15.02.1938, The Republic Archive, Ministry of Religious Affairs, 12-102-1



"The gentle relaying of the republic to the public since there has been propaganda citing "we are losing our religion" in the eastern provinces which is put against efforts such as creating Imam Hatip Schools, theological faculties and preparing Qur'an interpretations" 09.05.1925, The Republic Archive, Head of Religious Affairs 2-13-3.

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"Telegram containing the request that the Qur'an should be thought in Arabic letters in the Imam Hatip Schools" 24.12.1951, Prime Ministry Archive, Private Secretariat of the Prime Minister, 90-562-5, File Annex: E17.