

**ESSAYS IN LATE OTTOMAN
TO POST-OTTOMAN
INTELLECTUAL HISTORY
VOL. I**

**SON DÖNEM OSMANLI'SINDAN
OSMANLI SONRASINA
ENTELEKTÜEL TARİH ÜZERİNE
MAKALELER
I. CİLT**

**Edited by / Derleyen
Hasan Aksakal**



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BEYOĞLU KİTABEVİ

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**SAID HALİM PAŞA:
AN INTELLECTUAL PORTRAIT OF
AN OTTOMAN ISLAMIST STATESMAN**

ALİ DEMİREL

INTRODUCTION

Over a century has elapsed since the assassination of Said Halim Pasha in Rome, a sufficient period for a comprehensive evaluation of his life and contributions. Notably, recent years have witnessed a renewed scholarly interest in Said Halim's political career and his intellectual contributions, particularly within Turkey. This resurgence has been accompanied by the emergence of a Said Halim Pasha cult, cultivated by non-governmental actors, predominantly conservative-leaning academicians, municipal, and media in-

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stitutions. The current government's efforts to foster social cohesion and unity through the promotion of 'national' and 'religious' values may have prompted a reevaluation of Said Halim Pasha's intellectual legacy as a contemporary phenomenon. Given this context, a critical examination of Said Halim's political, social, and religious perspectives, which prioritized unity and integrity at both the state and ummah levels, becomes imperative. His ideas resonate with contemporary conservative discourses, both domestically, in terms of fostering national sentiment, and internationally, in the pursuit of a broader Islamic world order.

Said Halim Pasha, who emerged as both a prominent statesman and an Islamist intellectual, holds a distinctive position in the late Ottoman period. Following the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy (1908), Said Halim was compelled to assume the role of Grand Vizier under circumstances of significant political tension, as real authority was concentrated in the hands of the triumvirate of Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha, and Cemal Pasha. Despite his notable achievements in both intellectual and administrative spheres, Said Halim found himself in a constrained position as the representative of the civilian bureaucracy during this period of military dominance. The military administration effectively curtailed any initiatives or actions that Said Halim attempted or planned to undertake. In essence, as the leader of the civilian bureaucracy during the tumultuous wartime period, Said Halim Pasha was severely limited in his capacity to influence state administration. Nevertheless, he remained steadfast in his commitment to the state and its societal values, holding the esteemed office of Grand Vizier throughout the first three years of the First World War. Despite the substantial responsibilities associated with his role, he did not join the leaders of the CUP who evacuated the country via a German submarine at the end of the war.

Said Halim Pasha's significance extends beyond his prominent ministerial roles, including his position as Grand Vizier and Minister of Foreign Affairs within the upper echelons of the Ottoman administration during World War I. In addition to his political career, Said Halim, a member of the Egyptian royal lineage, was a prominent intellectual and scholar whose writings address ongoing issues in the Middle East—a region still grappling with the legacy of Ottoman territorial divisions. Amidst the fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire due to the rising nationalistic movements among various ethnic and religious groups, both Muslim and non-Muslim, Said Halim critically examined the foundational aspects of his civilization and sought solace in the universalist tenets of Islam. Nearly a century later, the works of Said Halim Pasha remain strikingly relevant and contemporary. Consequently, an exploration of his experiences and influence within the political milieu of Istanbul provides valuable insights.

This study attempts to identify the main problems in the mind of Said Halim Pasha as an Islamist intellectual who concerned with the survival of the outdated empire and the Islamic ummah in an era when nation-states were emerging as a result of the nationalist movement. Indeed, this also helps to catch a clue as to what the fundamental problems were in the minds of other thinkers of the time.

Accordingly, it is very important to elaborate the thoughts of Said Halim Pasha by examining his works. The present study presents of Said Halim's writings both in their original French language and Ottoman Turkish. A comparative analysis reveals a consistent thematic and stylistic approach across various sources. That is, there are no significant variations in substance or tone across the different sources. The primary objective of this work is to encapsulate the essence and character of - an Ottoman Isla-

mist intellectual - Said Halim Pasha's perspective as reflected in his writings, offering a comprehensive summary of his worldview.

1

LIFE OF SAID HALIM PASHA

Said Halim Pasha (1864–1921), a prominent Islamist intellectual and Ottoman bureaucrat, was born on February 19, 1864¹, in Cairo. A scion of the Khedive dynasty, he was the son of Prince Mehmet Abdülhalim Pasha, thereby making him a grandson of Mehmet Ali Pasha of Kavala, the founder of modern Egypt. Due to a dynastic dispute with Khedive Ismail Pasha², Prince Abdülhalim Pasha was compelled to leave Egypt with his family, including the six-year-old Said Halim, and seek refuge in Istanbul. Said Halim's early education was overseen by private tutors before he was sent to Switzerland for further studies, a pivotal intellectual center of his period. Meanwhile, neither a diploma nor any other certificates proving his education in Switzerland were found in the re-

1. There are different accounts about the date of birth of Said Halim Pasha. İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal stated that Pasha was born in 1863. See İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, Vol. IV, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1982), p. 1893. Ahmet Şeyhun gave the Pasha's date of birth as January 28, 1865. See Ahmet Şeyhun, *Said Halim Pasha: Ottoman Statesman and Islamist Thinker (1865-1921)*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2003), p. 45. In addition, Said Halim Pasha's date of birth was written on his tombstone as [1]866.

2. In 1866, a *firman* (imperial edict) issued by the Ottoman Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876), suzerain of Egypt, divested Prince Halim, the younger son of Mehmet Ali Pasha, of his hereditary right to the Khedivate. This imperial edict established primogeniture as the law of succession, effectively disinheriting all male members of the khedive's family except the eldest son. However, the underlying impetus for this policy shift was Khedive Ismail's strategic maneuver to secure the Egyptian throne for his own son, Tawfiq. Ismail secured the Sultan's acquiescence through financial concessions. Prince Halim's exclusion from the line of succession prompted a failed coup attempt, resulting in his exile. Peter Mansfield, *A History of the Middle East*, (New York: Viking, 1991), p. 88; İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Vol. IV, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1972), pp. 206-207.

cords. Like many contemporary Ottoman gentlemen, Said Halim became highly fluent in Persian, French, English and Turkish.³

Upon his return to Istanbul from Switzerland in 1888, Said Halim Pasha embarked upon his official career by securing a position on the Council of State on May 21, 1888. His younger brother, Abbas Halim, followed a similar path by joining the same institution. In 1890, Said Halim consolidated his social standing through marriage to Emine İnci Tosun, a descendant of the influential Mehmet Ali Pasha.⁴ His ascent within the Ottoman hierarchy continued with his elevation to the prestigious title of *Rumeli Beylerbeyi* in 1900.⁵ However, Said Halim's association with the Young Turk movement drew the suspicion of Sultan Abdülhamit II, subjecting him to surveillance and police harassment. Unable to endure these pressures, he and his brother sought refuge in Egypt and Europe circa 1903. Despite maintaining contact with members of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) during their exile, the Halim brothers prudently abstained from public criticism of the Sultan, recognizing the potential negative repercussions for the CUP due to the Sultan's dual role as Caliph. However, Said Halim Pasha materially and spiritually assisted the CUP between 1905-1908. With the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in 1908, the Halim brothers returned to Istanbul.⁶ Said Halim assumed

3. Hanefi Bostan, *Bir İslamcı Düşünür, Said Halim Paşa*, (İstanbul: İrfan Yayıncılık, 1992), p. 19; Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46; İnal, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 363; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 1893.

4. Hanefi Bostan, "Sadrazam Said Halim Paşa", *TYB Akademi*, No. 3, (September 2011), p. 11; Şeyhun, *Ibid.*, p. 46.

5. *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye*, (Dersaadet: Matbaa-yı Ahmet İhsan ve Şürekası, 1320), p. 166; Ahmet Seyhun, *Islamist Thinkers in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic*, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 148-149.

6. Kudret Bülbül, *Siyasal Bir Düşünür ve Devlet Adamı Said Halim Paşa*, (İstanbul: Tezkire Yayıncılık, 2015), pp. 54-58; Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, (Ankara: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), p. 387; Vahdettin Işık, *Said Halim Paşa*, (İstanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2021), p. 32.

the position of President of the Council of State on January 22, 1912, before culminating his political trajectory by becoming the head of the Committee of Union and Progress itself.⁷

Upon Mahmut Şevket Pasha's ascension to the Grand Vizierate, Said Halim Pasha was appointed Foreign Minister on January 27, 1913. The assassination of Mahmut Şevket Pasha in June of the same year elevated Said Halim to the position of Grand Vizier, while retaining the foreign ministry. A significant achievement during his tenure was the reclamation of Edirne, the former Ottoman capital, by Turkish forces under the command of Enver Pasha in July 1913.⁸ A pivotal moment in Said Halim Pasha's administration was the abrogation of the Capitulations, a set of extraterritorial privileges granted to foreign powers, their businesses, and citizens within the Ottoman Empire. A decree issued on September 9, 1914 declared the termination of these concessions on October 1, 1914.⁹ However, this period was also marked by tumultuous events. The forced displacement of Armenians from various regions of the empire and the outbreak of the Arab Revolt led by Sharif Hussein, Emir of Mecca, cast a shadow over Said Halim Pasha's Grand Vizierate.¹⁰

7. Vahdettin Işık, "Geleneğin Muhafızı Ve Değişimin Faili Olabilmek: Şehadetinin 100. Yıldönümünde Said Halim Paşa'yı Yeniden Düşünmek", *Muhafazakar Düşünce Dergisi*, No. 62, (January 2022), p. 21; Şeyhun, *Said Halim Pasha...*, p. 77; Bostan, *Bir İslamcı Düşünür...*, pp. 27.

8. Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks, The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 132, 137; Güngör Göçer, "Sadaretinden Şehadetine Said Halim Paşa", in *Said Halim Paşa Kitabı-Osmanlı Sadrazamı ve Düşünür*, (Prep. By Asım Öz), (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2021), p. 84.

9. Tefvik Çavdar, *İttihat ve Terakki*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991), pp. 79-80; Ahmad, *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157; Göçer, *Ibid.*, p. 90.

10. For detailed information on Armenian relocation, See Zaven Der Yeghiayan, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, (Trans. from the Armenian by Ared Misirliyan), (Princeton: Mayreni Publishing, 2002), pp. 77-79; M. Serdar Palabıyık, "Ermeni Sorununa Giriş: Başlangıcından Lozan Antlaşması'na Kadar", (Comp. By Ömer Engin Lütem), *Ermeni Sorunu: Temel Bilgi ve Belgeler*, (Ankara: Terazi Yayıncılık, 2007), p. 21; For further information on Arab revolt,

As the European powers careened towards the precipice of war, the Ottoman Empire, under the leadership of Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha, sought to secure its position. Apprehensive of Russia's ambitions in the region, the Ottoman government initiated diplomatic overtures to Great Britain and France to explore potential alliances. However, these efforts were rebuffed. Faced with a strategic impasse, the Ottoman Empire concluded a secret mutual assistance pact with Germany on August 2, 1914. This critical decision was made by a small coterie of individuals, including Said Halim Pasha, Enver Pasha, Talât Bey, and Halil Bey, who convened at Pasha's residence in Yeniköy.¹¹ While Pasha sought solace in the treaty's ostensibly defensive nature, his aversion to war was at odds with Enver Pasha's more aggressive and pro-German inclinations. The Ottoman Empire's trajectory towards war accelerated dramatically within a fortnight. The arrival of the German warships Goeben and Breslau in Ottoman waters, followed by Admiral Souchon's bombardment of the Russian Black Sea ports of Odessa and Sevastopol on October 29, 1914, precipitated Russia's declaration of war on November 2. Great Britain and France subsequently joined the conflict against the Ottoman Empire on November 5, 1914.¹²

See Elie Kedourie, *In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth: The McMahon-Husayn Correspondence and Its Interpretations 1914-1939*, (Cambridge: Routledge, 2000), pp. 247-419; David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2001), pp. 218-228; Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire: 1908-1918*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 161-173.

11. Ulrich Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire 1914-1918*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1968), pp. 23-24; Said Halim Paşa, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı*, (Prep. By Fatih Yücel), (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2019), pp. 14-15; Talat Paşa, *Talat Paşa'nın Anıları*, (Prep. By Alpay Kabacalı), (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2021), p. 27; Halil Mentеше, *Osmanlı Mebusan Meclisi Reisi Halil Mentеше'nin Anıları*, (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1986), pp 189-190; Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, (Prep. by Alpay Kabacalı), (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), p. 144.

12. Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First*

In October 1914, Said Halim Pasha tendered his resignation as Grand Vizier. Despite entreaties from his colleagues, including Enver and Talat Pasha, to reconsider, a subsequent meeting with Sultan Mehmed Reşad (1909-1918) convinced him to withdraw his resignation.¹³ As the Ottoman Empire's fortunes waned during the First World War, Pasha's influence diminished proportionately. The increasing dominance of the triumvirate of Pashas, embroiled in their own power struggles, marginalized his authority. The tumultuous conditions of a global conflict proved inimical to the political survival of a figure with Pasha's background. Consequently, he relinquished his position as Minister of Foreign Affairs in October 1915. Finally, citing ill health, Pasha resigned as Grand Vizier in February 1917, retaining only his membership in the Ottoman Senate. In the aftermath of the Arab revolt, the members of the CUP did not attach much importance to Said Halim. The Husayn revolt undoubtedly had a fatal effect on Said Halim's political career.¹⁴

The Ottoman Empire's defeat in the First World War in late 1918 and the subsequent exodus of Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) leaders from Istanbul precipitated demands for the prosecution of those deemed responsible for the national catastrophe. In an extraordinary act of contrition, Said Halim Pasha himself petitioned the Senate to convene the High Court of Justice (*Divan-i Âli*) for his trial.¹⁵ While various tribunals were estab-

World War, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 93-118; Ryan Gingeras, *Fall of the Sultanate, The Great War and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1922*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 101-249; Said Halim Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 21; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

13. Said Halim Paşa, *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39; Talat Paşa, *Ibid.*, p. 29; Aksakal, *Ibid.*, pp. 178-187.

14. Şeyhun, *Said Halim Pasha...*, p. 115; Seyhun, *Islamist Thinkers...*, p. 152; Bostan, "Sadrazam Said...", p. 19; Halil Menteşe, *Ibid.*, p. 223; Cavit Bey, *Meşrutiyet Ruznamesi*, Vol.III, (Prep. By Hasan Babacan&Servet Aşşar), (Ankara: TTK, 2015), p. 151.

15. "Divaniye Mebusu Fuat Bey'in Takriri", *Harp Kabinelerinin İsticvabı*, (İstanbul:

lished and numerous high-ranking military and civilian officials, including the Halim brothers, were apprehended, these legal proceedings remained inconclusive. The Greek invasion of the Aegean in May 1919 disrupted these efforts, and under British coercion, the detainees were exiled to Malta.¹⁶

Released from exile in Malta and transferred to Italy in April 1921, Said Halim Pasha expressed a desire to return to Istanbul. While his brother, Abbas Halim, was permitted to re-enter the country, the Istanbul government proved indecisive regarding Said Halim's case.¹⁷ Consequently, Said Halim established residence in Rome, where he was assassinated on December 6, 1921. His funeral was repatriated to Istanbul for interment. A funeral procession departed from his Yeniköy mansion on the Bosphorus and concluded at the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud II, where he was laid to rest beside his father.¹⁸

Vakit Matbaası, 1933), pp. 5-11; Erol Şadi Erdiñç, *Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Yargulamaları*, Vol.I, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018), pp. 7-59.

16. Bilal N. Şimşir, *Malta Sürgünleri*, (İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1985), pp. 99-102, 107-110; Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Mütareke ve Sürgün Hatıraları*, (Prep. By Ertan Eğribal-Ufuk Özcan), (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2013) pp. 85-87; İnal, *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, pp. 2040-2041.

17. Gotthard Jaeschke, *Kurtuluş Savaşı İle İlgili İngiliz Belgeleri*, (Trans. By Cemal Köprülü), (Ankara: TTK, 2011), pp. 189-190; Şimşir, *Ibid.*, p. 262; Ağaoğlu, *Ibid.*, pp. 141-143.

18. Arshavir Shiragian, *Bir Ermeni Teröristin İtirafı*, (Trans. by Dr. Kadri Mustafa Orağlı), (İstanbul: Kastaş Yayınevi, 2006), pp. 177-187; *Milli Nevsal*, (İstanbul: Kanaat Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi, 1338 [1922]), p. 241; Göçer, *Ibid.*, p. 93; Bostan, *Bir İslamcı Düşünür...*, pp. 103-105; Bostan, "Sadrazam Said...", p. 21. For more comprehensive insights into Said Halim Pasha's life and career, newly released thesis can offer valuable resources. It provides a detailed analysis of Said Halim's bureaucratic career and intellectual identity, and socio-political thought, See Ali Demirel, "The Portrait of A Late Ottoman Islamist Intellectual and Statesman: Said Halim Pasha (1864-1921)", (Unpublished Phd Thesis), (Middle East Technical University, 2024).

THE IDEAS OF SAID HALIM PASHA

Said Halim Pasha's essays were disseminated as eight separate publications between 1910 and 1921. A testament to his profound impact on the intellectual milieu of his period is the fact that several of his essays, originally composed in French, were subsequently translated into Turkish by the eminent figure, Mehmed Akif (Ersoy). For the purposes of this analysis, the essays will be examined in chronological sequence. Said Halim's essays in Turkish were compiled and edited, with minor simplifications, by Düzdağ, who subsequently published them in book format.¹⁹ A more recent and comprehensive compilation of Pasha's works, translated into contemporary Turkish, was undertaken by Işık.²⁰

Said Halim Pasha's oeuvre was disseminated in French between 1910 and 1921. Contemporaneously, his works were rendered into Ottoman Turkish and subsequently published in the Islamist journal, *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, later retitled *Sebilürreşad*. Said Halim's initial publication was a pamphlet titled *Le Fanatisme Musulman sa signification reelle*, anonymously authored under the nom de plume "Mohammed" and released in Paris in 1910.²¹ This work was translated from French to Ottoman Turkish by Tahir Hayreddin as "Taassub-ı İslami Ma'na-yı Hakikisi" and featured in *Sebilürreşad (Sırat-ı Müstakim)*²² in the same year. Additionally, as a pamphlet of 14 pages of this article, titled *Ta'assub*

19. Said Halim Pasha, *Buhranlarımız (Our Crises)*, (Prep. By M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ), (İstanbul: Tercüman, n.d.)

20. Vahdettin Işık, *Said Halim Paşa Külliyyatı*, (İstanbul: Ketebe Yayınevi, 2019).

21. Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme Musulman sa signification reelle*, (Paris: Librairie Recueil Sirey, 1910).

22. Said Halim Paşa, "Taassub-ı İslâmi Ma'na-yı Hakikisi", (Trans. By Tahir Hayreddin), *Sebilürreşad (Sırat-ı Müstakim)*, Vol.IV, No: 90, 13 Mayıs 1326[26 May 1910], pp. 208-213.

(*Fanaticism*) was published under the pseudonym “Mehmed” in Istanbul in 1917.²³

Said Halim commences his analysis by positing that humanity, in its ceaseless pursuit of an uncertain future, employs intellectual faculties in a vain endeavour to ascertain the existential purpose within a world characterized by indiscriminate exploitation and devastation. He thus stated that the immutable principles regulating the trajectory of future events confound with an enigmatic complexity. Humans are inevitably compelled to acknowledge a higher power influencing their destinies. Could history, in essence, be construed as a sequential chronicle of these eternal and enigmatic laws in action?²⁴

Then, Said Halim delved into the origins of the antagonism between the East (the Islamic world) and the West (the Christian world), analysing the historical roots of this discord. He sought to elucidate the religious, economic, and social factors underpinning the Western perception of ‘the West and the rest,’ particularly within the framework of the enduring relationship between the West and the Islamic world up to the present day. Said Halim emphasized that the Western Christian incursions into the Islamic world, dating from the Crusades and aimed at establishing colonial dominance, had impeded the economic and technological advancement of Muslim societies. Nonetheless, he observed that while the Islamic world had once illuminated the path for Europeans, it was now subjected to Western critique in the name of progress and civilization.²⁵ Additionally, Said Halim argued that

23. Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası, 1333[1917]).

24. Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme...*, p. 6; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslâmi Ma’na-yı Hakikisi”, p. 208; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, p. 3.

25. Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme...*, pp. 6-10; Said Halim Paşa, “Taassub-ı İslâmi Ma’na-yı Hakikisi”, pp. 208-209; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 3-5.

the West's religious animosity towards the East, which originated during the Crusades, was supplanted by colonialism driven by materialist ideologies. He noted that with the escalation of colonialism, Christian knights were succeeded by colonial troops, suggesting that Western hostility towards the Muslim world did not wane but rather evolved into a new form. In this context, Muslim lands were perceived as mere markets to fulfil European imperialist ambitions. Said Halim contends that Europe misconstrues the Muslim world and critiques the Islamic world for failing to represent itself more accurately to the West. More broadly, his work questions the authenticity of Western criticisms of Islamic religious intolerance.²⁶

Said Halim's essay *Mukallidliklerimiz* (*Our Imitations*), was published in 1910²⁷ as a pamphlet of 24 pages under the pseudonym "Mehmed".

Said Halim analysed the crises engendered by the Ottoman Empire's attempt to establish a new order through the emulation of Western models. He evaluated why such imitative approaches were destined to fail and how they exacerbated the pre-existing crises. In this analysis, he emphasized the cultural and, in particular, religious disparities between Western and Eastern societies and the ensuing conflict between these two civilizations. Said Halim claimed that adopting Western political and social values and institutions was both detrimental and perilous due to the fundamental incompatibility of political and social structures. He also addresses the 1909 revisions to the Ottoman Constitution (*Kanun-ı Esasi*), the role of the Ottoman Parliament (*Meclis-i Mebusan*), and the impact of Ottoman political parties on the trans-

26. Said Halim Paşa, (Mohammed), *Le Fanatisme...*, pp. 10-11, 12-13; Said Halim Paşa, "Taassub-ı İslâmi Ma'na-yı Hakikisi", pp. 209-210; Said Halim Paşa, *Taassub*, pp. 5-7.

27. Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, (Dersaadet: Araks Matbaası, 1326[1910]).

formation of Ottoman political life during the Second Constitutional Monarchy.²⁸ Said Halim argued that these amendments resulted in a constitution that was “*excessively populist and liberal*”. He noted that the rights and freedoms enshrined in the constitution were excessive for Ottoman society, which was unfamiliar with the system and its entitlements. Halim also offered a critical assessment of the Ottoman political parties, suggesting that they were artificial constructs of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. He believed that these parties contributed to the political and social fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire due to their divisive ideological objectives. According to Halim, Ottoman minorities exploited these parties to pursue their disruptive aims under the guise of legal legitimacy and legislative immunity. Furthermore, he asserted that the antagonistic debates among different Ottoman political parties in parliament undermined the political and cultural cohesion of Ottoman society.²⁹

Said Halim’s another work *Meşrutiyet (Constitutional Rule)*, written under the name of “Mehmed” was published in 1913.³⁰

This work contains Said Halim’s assessments of the incompatibility of the constitutional monarchy and the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 with the social and political structure of Ottoman society and his criticism of the socio-political reflections of the constitutional monarchy. In the book, he claimed that the constitutional system in the Ottoman Empire could not produce the expected results. He also explained that the parliamentary system in the West was the result of political struggles between social classes. In the Ottoman Empire, where there were no social classes, similar processes were unlikely to take place.

28. Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, pp. 7-8.

29. Said Halim Paşa, *Mukallidliklerimiz*, pp. 8-9, 10-17.

30. Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, (Dersaadet: Araks Matbaası, 1329[1913]).

In this case, adopting the Western parliamentary system by imitation did more harm than good to Ottoman society. Moreover, according to Said Halim, the Ottoman Constitution was a big mistake because it was never compatible with the political and social structure, spirituality, beliefs, and traditions of the Ottoman Empire. He admitted that the constitution was created by the Ottoman authorities “regardless of the Ottoman political-administrative structure and socio-cultural values.”³¹ Furthermore, Said Halim claimed that Ottoman political unity was based on the principle of Islamic unity and brotherhood, not on the principle of nationality as in European Christian governments. A constitutional and parliamentary system belonging to Europe, whose political unity was made up of homogeneous elements, was harmful to the Ottoman Empire, whose political unity was based on the unity of non-homogeneous elements. He believed that imitating the political organizations of Western nations and not paying attention to the special situation of political relations in the Ottoman Empire would eventually lead to the disintegration of the Ottoman political unity. Said Halim underlined that the drafters of the Ottoman Constitution and the constitutional system made an obvious mistake by imitating Western political values and institutions.³²

Another important study of Said Halim Pasha *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz* (*Our Social Crisis*), was penned under the nom de plume “Mehmed” as a booklet of 35 pages in 1916.³³ The booklet reflects a profound undercurrent of pessimism, given its composition during the midst of the First World War. Said Halim reproaches members of Ottoman society for deviating from their historical

31. Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 8-11, 16-22.

32. Said Halim Paşa, *Meşrutiyet*, pp. 25-27.

33. Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İctimaimiz*, (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan ve Şürekası, 1332[1916]).

principles and for having transformed into distorted versions of their formerly principled selves.

Said Halim assessed the nature of the social structure and addresses the issues arising from failing to consider this nature. He delineated the distinctions between political and social structures within the contexts of concepts such as rights, freedom, duty, equality, and solidarity, and offers insightful commentary on the potential for effecting successful social transformation. He emphasized the critical importance of understanding both political and social dimensions while underscoring that moral and virtuous considerations should precede knowledge. In his analysis, he noted that the “*infiltration of materialist thought*” into social life led Muslims to pursue “*materialism as a form of salvation*”, thereby neglecting religious and spiritual-moral values.³⁴ In addition, Said Halim strongly critiques the intellectual class that believed the application of materialist principles, which they identified as the core of Western progress, would ensure the salvation and prosperity of the Ottoman state and society. He alleged that the materialist movement merely facilitated the socio-spiritual decay of the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world. Said Halim asserted that for Ottoman and broader Muslim societies to strengthen and advance, they must address their moral deficiencies and place greater emphasis on Islamic principles and spirituality.³⁵

Said Halim’s another study *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, (*Our Intellectual Crisis*) was written under the pseudonym “Mehmed” as a pamphlet of 15 pages in 1917.³⁶

Said Halim Pasha delineates the detrimental condition of Ottoman intellectuals who, captivated by Western admiration,

34. Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, pp. 13-14, 17-18.

35. Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz*, pp. 14-15.

36. Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası, 1333[1917]).

risked endangering their independence due to their detachment from their own society. Said Halim alleged that genuine societal reform cannot be achieved by dismantling existing institutions and values in favor of those derived from a different historical and social context. Instead, he advocates for addressing deficiencies and pursuing incremental improvements. He accordingly criticized the intellectual class for its excessive veneration of Western civilization, which he contends has led them to forgo reforming their socio-cultural structure “in favor of mere imitation.”³⁷ Therefore, Said Halim underlined that “*instead of serving the spread of intellectual life in the country, admiration of the West has led to an extraordinary level of confusion. So much so that it can now be said that there is no intellectual life in our country.*” So, he asserted that “Ottoman intellectuals have disparaged their own spiritual and moral values, as well as their social and political systems, resulting in a profound alienation from their own cultural heritage.” This alienation has deprived society of the intellectual leadership necessary for progress. Said Halim further posits that the core issue causing the Ottoman Empire and the broader Islamic world’s severe crisis is the uncritical acceptance of Western civilization and the concurrent abandonment of their own. By pursuing such a path, pro-Western thinkers have rendered themselves intellectually exiled and spiritually estranged within their own country. The pamphlet seeks to elucidate the underlying causes of this predicament.³⁸

İnhitat-ı İslam Hakkında Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemiyye, (*An Essay on the Regression of Islam*) was published under the nom de plume “Mehmed” as a booklet of 32 pages in 1918.³⁹

37. Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, pp. 2-7.

38. Said Halim Paşa, *Buhran-ı Fikrimiz*, pp. 7-9.

39. Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm Hakkında Bir Tecrübe-i Kalemiye*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Amire, 1334[1918]).

Said Halim Pasha focused on the causes of the decline of Muslim societies. In his study, he expressed that the backwardness of the Muslims became evident only after they fell under the foreign yoke. More importantly, the Christians were the first to notice the backwardness of the Muslim world and to inform the Muslims about it. Said Halim touched upon the significant point that Westerners misinterpreted the conditions in the Islamic world according to their own mentality and claimed that “*the backwardness of Muslim societies was due to the lack of Islamic principles and values*”. In fact, the general state of backwardness in the Islamic world led Westerners to insist on their opinions. In this regard, Said Halim argued that this kind of question was a false one: Why has Islam prevented Muslims from progressing like Westerners? Seeking answers to the wrong questions leads to the wrong solutions, he said. According to him, the question should be: why have Muslim societies been unable to benefit from the infinite blessings of their religion? In fact, Said Halim did not want to get into a metaphysical debate on this issue. He pointed out that the successes and failures of civilization, like any historical-social event, should stem from multidimensional reasons.⁴⁰

In the pamphlet, Said Halim also expounded that one of the major factors in the decline of Muslim societies was the intense religious enmity between the Islamic world and Christian societies. The endless wars stemming from religious difference between Christians and the Islamic world that resulted from this hereditary enmity visibly hindered the material and moral progress of Muslim societies. Moreover, Muslim nations have not considered the ever-changing needs of the times and have failed to interpret religious rules and values effectively to meet the new needs that come with

40. Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm Hakkında...*, pp. 3-4, 8.

change. Another important reason is that Muslim societies have not completely evaded their pre-Islamic lifestyles and cultural characteristics. The influences of pre-Islamic life prevent Muslim societies from living Islam in the true sense and prevent the formation of Islamic solidarity that should be established against common enemies.⁴¹ In the booklet, Said Halim affirmed that the Islamic world must first establish a unity of Islamic purpose between Muslim society and the intelligentsia, based on common feeling, history, and tradition so as to get rid of its backwardness. On this point, Said Halim drew attention that “*the intellectual class will only fulfil its duty to the full if it serves the common goals of the Islamic societies to which it belongs*”. According to Said Halim, According to Said Halim Pasha, “*there should be no doubt that the only salvation lies in Islam*”.⁴² Every member of the Islamic community should strive to be a good Muslim, even the best of Muslims. Describing the Islamic world as one big family, Said Halim strongly suggests that Muslim societies should be in full solidarity with other Muslim societies and ensure unity and integrity within themselves. He pointed out that this is how Muslim societies will be able to free themselves from foreign yoke and move forward.⁴³

41. Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm Hakkında...*, pp. 10-11. Ziya Gökalp did not agree with the views of Said Halim Pasha about the national heritage of a society. Gökalp, indeed, underlined that the national culture of a society, which he defined as *hars*, could not constitute the cause of its backwardness; on the contrary, it was the most significant force for the progress of the society. In his own words, Gökalp said, “*In fact, every society has a national culture (hars) which ensures its progress and prosperity. ...Culture (Hars) is essential, civilization is acquired.*” Ziya Gökalp also emphasized that it was only thanks to their national culture that Turks were able to establish great empires and to remain independently throughout history. It is apparent that Said Halim Pasha was in fact presenting the antithesis of Gökalp’s teachings on the importance and greatness of the old Turkish culture. See Ziya Gökalp, *Hars ve Medeniyet*, (Ankara: Diyarbakır’ı Tanıtma ve Turizm Derneği Yayınları, 1972), pp. 21, 22, 63, 65.

42. Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm Hakkında...*, pp. 13, 16-17.

43. Said Halim Paşa, *İnhitat-ı İslâm Hakkında...*, pp. 29-30.

Said Halim's other important work is *İslamlaşmak* (*Islamise*). This study was translated from French to Ottoman Turkish by Mehmet Akif and published under the pseudonym "Prens Mehmed Said Halim Pasha" as a pamphlet of 32 pages in 1921.⁴⁴

Said Halim Pasha dealt in detail with the ideology of Islamisation, which forms the basis of Said Halim Pasha's political and social thought. According to Said Halim, Islamization consists of four fundamental pillars, each of which interacts with the others. At the root of these principles is the Islamic belief system (*itikadiyat*). This belief is embodied in Islamic ethics as a holistic way of life. The embodiment of this ethic is the Muslim personality, which is the fulcrum of Islamic civilization. Said Halim underlined that a person who claims to be a Muslim must feel, think and act according to the principles of Islam. According to Said Halim, Muslim individuals who have adopted the Islamic faith and morals form the third pillar, i.e., the Muslim society. The entire order of Muslim society is shaped by these principles. The fourth principle, which meets the needs of social life and ensures the continuation of the existing order, is politics. In Said Halim's idea of Islamisation, politics is not an element that determines the dynamics of life. Contrarily, the existence of politics depends on the existence of the other three fundamental principles. In this book, Said Halim Pasha gave such a general outline that Islam has its own faith, a morality based on this faith, a social life arising from this morality and, consequently, the political principles that this life requires.⁴⁵ Moreover, Said Halim pointed out in the booklet that both Ottoman society and Muslim societies were moving away from Islam day by day. One of the most important factors in

44. Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, (Dar'ül-Hilafe: Hukuk Matbaası, 1337[1921]).

45. Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 4-14.

their departure from the religion was the harmful legacy of pre-Islamic life.⁴⁶ Said Halim also stressed that the steps towards westernization and other reforms also played a major role in the drift of Ottoman society and Muslim world away from Islam. Instead of seeking salvation in Islamic life, morality and politics, Ottoman authorities and intellectuals sought it in Western values and institutions. They believed that the only way to save society from collapse was to imitate the West, and they made society believe it. According to Said Halim Pasha, “*the Ottoman Renaissance (İntibah-ı Osmani)*”, which took place under the influence of westernisation efforts, was “*the second distancing of the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim societies.*”⁴⁷ As a solution, Said Halim underlined that Muslim societies had to undergo a complete Islamization process so as to revive the essence of Islam. This would give them an important chance to progress both materially and spiritually. Meanwhile, it is important to note that for Said Halim, Islamization meant the full implementation of Islam’s principles of faith, morality, life, and politics. In fact, Said Halim saw Islamism as a religious and cultural movement rather than a political ideology. In other words, Islamism meant the adoption of pure Islamic faith and Islamic solidarity among Muslim societies.⁴⁸

46. Said Halim Pasha’s thoughts on the effects of pre-Islamic life on Muslim societies evoked the views of Ibn Taymiyah. He also mentioned that the pre-Islamic lifestyle, cultural values, and habits corrupted the purity of Islamic beliefs and principles, and that Muslims, deliberately or unknowingly, turned away from Islam. For further information, see Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimiyya’s Struggle Against Popular Religion, With an Annotated Translation of His Kitab İqtida As-Sirat Al-Mustaqim Mukhalafat Ashab Al-Jahim*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), pp. 11-87.

47. Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 17, 20-21. Said Halim Pasha’s ideas were associated with those of Mohammad Abduh, who asserted that the reform and modernization movement implemented by Mehmet Ali Pasha and his successors divided the society different parts in Egypt. See, Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 136-137.

48. Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 27-32.

In the pamphlet, Said Halim also dwelled on the issues of nationalism and racism. Although he was against ethnic nationalism (racism), he affirmed nationalism as a cultural value. According to him, the nation consisted of a set of social and political elements that could be fused together. Islam is a religion that can embrace differences without emphasising ethnic identity. Therefore, Said Halim did not accept that Islamic principles deny or weaken nationality. According to him, it is a big mistake to see Islam as opposed to ethnic nationalism in its entirety. In this regard, he expressed that the most perfect organisation of Islamic communities in the world is the one divided into nations, which were far from ethnic sentiments, but accepted and implemented Islamic principles. However, Said Halim stressed that every Muslim, whether Turkish, Arab, Indian or Iranian, should attach as much importance to solidarity between Islamic nations as to national solidarity. According to him, national and inter-Islamic solidarity are complementary. From this point of view, it is clear that Said Halim Pasha defended revival and maintenance of “*an Islamic internationalism*” among the various Muslim countries.⁴⁹

49. Said Halim Paşa, *İslamlaşmak*, pp. 21-26. Babanzade Ahmed Naim, an important conservative Islamist during the Second Constitutional Monarchy, did not agree with the ideas of Said Halim about nationalism. He completely rejected national values and nationalist attitude. In this regard, he expressed that the Turks could not look at the Kaaba and Turan at the same time. In that case, the Turks would have to leave Turan behind as they did a thousand years ago and maintained their attention to the Kaaba, either returning to the Kaaba - as they had been - and leaving Turan behind, or looking to Turan and forgetting the Kaaba. He continued, “*we do not need to know the law of Genghis, or recognise the homeland of Ilkhan, or remember the Golden Horde (Altın Orda). We cannot praise of the polytheism of the past. We must know and acknowledge the Shar'-i Muhammadi, the land of Islam, the mujahidin-i Islam.*” See Ahmed Naim, *İslam'da Dava-yı Kavmiyet*, (Dar'ül-Hilafe: Tevsi-i Tıbaat Matbaası, 1332[1916], pp. 14-16, 18. Another important thinker and poet of the period, Mehmet Akif (Ersoy) also penned various poems, denying and criticising the nationalism among the Muslim societies. See Mehmet Akif Ersoy, *Safahat*, (Prep. By M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ), (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2008), pp. 161-162, 183-184.

He must have foreseen that the nationalist movement could not be prevented, so he looked favourably on the formation of Muslim national states that emphasised national feelings in the cultural sense.

Said Halim Pasha's other main work, *Notes Pour Servir a la Reforme de la Societe Musulmane* was published as a pamphlet of 39 pages under the pseudonym "Le Prince Said Halim Pacha; ancient Grand Vizier" in Paris in 1922.⁵⁰ In 1922, this booklet was translated from French into Ottoman Turkish by Mehmet Akif and in the same year, published in *Sebilürreşad* under the title "İslam'da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye" (*Political Organization in Islam*).⁵¹

Said Halim explored the fundamental principles, institutions, and structures necessary for establishing an Islamic political order in the context of nationalism. He detailed especially the roles and functions of the presidency, national sovereignty, parliament, and the scope and limitations of the legislative and judicial branches both in Western societies and in an Islamic state. According to Said Halim, in the West, the parliament had unlimited power of monitoring the executive branch. Parliament alone had the power to enact laws and to represent the national will. He confessed that parliaments in Western countries had become arenas of socio-political struggle among the political parties to seize power. As for Islamic system, the parliament, outlined Said Halim, must be formed by elected representatives of the nation whose

50. Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir á la Reforme de la Societe Musulmane*, (Paris: Extrait De La Revue Orient et Occident, 1922).

51. Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-ı Siyasiye", (Trans. By Mehmet Akif), *Sebilürreşad*, Vol.XIX, No: 493, 26 Şubat 1338[26 February 1922], pp. 264-265; Vol.XIX, No: 494, 11 Mart 1338[11 March 1922], pp. 275-277; Vol.XX, No: 495, 27 Mart 1338[27 March 1922], pp. 2-5; Vol.XX, No: 496, 08 Nisan 1338[08 April 1922], pp. 16-17; Vol.XX, No: 498, 22 Nisan 1338[22 April 1922], pp. 38-39; Vol.XX, No: 499, 27 Nisan 1338[27 April 1922], pp. 50-51; Vol.XX, No: 500, 06 Mayıs 1338[06 May 1922], pp. 62-63; Vol.XX, No: 501, 13 Mayıs 1338[13 May 1922], pp. 74-75.

composition would guarantee in its bosom the reign of concord and political peace based on the fraternity between “classes” in the Muslim society. All the deputies of the Islamic assembly, he stressed, dedicated their lives to provide the implementation of the supreme commandments of the Shari’at in the most perfect way. Thus, Islamic parliament would be a controlling authority and not a legislative power, as distinct from the Western one.⁵² While, the assembly dominated by the political parties had the legislative power in the West, the right to legislate in the Islamic regime must belong to the expert legislators; that is to say, to that class of specialists who were mainly concerned with the study of the Islamic law, i.e. the principles of the Shari’at, stated Said Halim. As for the executive power, Said Halim indicated that parliament was the absolute authority in the West, “*the executive power was merely the docile instrument of parliament.*” In the Islamic order, Said Halim stated that the basic functions of the executive branch would be almost the same everywhere. In this context, he noticed that ensuring the material and spiritual welfare and security of the society and encouraging development would be among the most fundamental duties of the Islamic executive power.⁵³

Said Halim considered the ‘president’; or ‘head of state’ as the chief executive and he advocated “*the head of state must be the elected representative of the nation*”. The fundamental task of the head of state was to act as a regulator of the entire political system of the country; to ensure that it functions smoothly and to keep up harmony between the various branches of government. The head of state, pointed out Said Halim, was personally responsible both to

52. Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, p. 38; Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 50; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 25-26, 28-29.

53. Said Halim Paşa, “İslam’da Teşkilat-ı ...”, Vol.XX, No. 498, pp. 38-39; Vol.XX, No. 499, p. 51; Vol.XX, No. 500, p. 63; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 26, 31, 34.

"the representatives and guardians of the Shari'at, regardless of the body entrusted with these functions, and to the nation", as a distinctive feature of the Muslim organization.⁵⁴ Interestingly, Said Halim supported the principle of separation of powers. In this sense, it would function as the controlling power; that is, the parliament; the legislative power and the executive power, were independently instituted by their competence and their special attributions ascribed to them.⁵⁵ In an Islamic political system, The committee of Islamic scholars, proposed by Said Halim, had the power to monitor the actions of both the executive, legislative and judicial branches. Additionally, Said Halim critiqued the notion of national sovereignty, arguing that it should not be predicated solely on power. His ideal Islamic political system, termed political administrative sovereignty, is grounded in the supremacy of Shari'at, not the national will. According to Said Halim, the head of state must adhere to Shari'at and uphold the Islamic political framework. He posited that sovereignty is a responsibility rather than a mere entitlement to rule.⁵⁶ Said Halim compared Western political structures with his proposed Islamic system, asserting that Islamic political principles and institutions diverge significantly from those developed through Western experience, owing to differences in religious beliefs and distinct social and historical contexts. Regarding the orientation of Western and Muslim societies, he remarked that "*for the Western world all roads lead to Rome, whereas for the Islamic world all roads lead to Mecca.*" Said Halim

54. Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-1 ...", Vol. XX, No. 500, p. 62; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 32-33.

55. Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-1 ...", Vol. XX, No. 501, p. 74; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, p. 36. Said Halim's adoption of the principle of separation of Powers as an ideal model for a Muslim society indicated that he was influenced by Montesquieu. For further information about the separation of Powers, See Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, (Trans. By Thomas Nugent), (Canada: Batoche Books, 2001), pp. 173-183.

56. Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-1 ...", Vol. XX, No. 495, p. 2; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 9-14.

strongly emphasizes that the remedy for the salvation of the Islamic world is to base its entire social and political life on the immutable and eternal truths of Islam.⁵⁷

CONCLUSION

Said Halim Pasha comes across as a solid Muslim thinker, defending his faith in all his writings and emphasising that happiness/peace is always possible. As the heir to a rich tradition of culture and civilisation, both Ottoman and Egyptian, he is by no means anti-Western, but having spent part of his life in an Egypt captured by the British and having witnessed the 'occupation' of Istanbul at the end of the First World War, he is aware that Europe is a monster with fierce teeth and claws. Said Halim's works do not contain wild outbursts or utopian approaches to the issues he deals with. The ideas that make up his mental world may be silent, but they are not muted or stifled. If he sometimes used a provocative tone in his works, it was only out of a desire to instil a new sense of pride and mobilise his Muslim readers.

The nineteenth century stands out as the age of both nationalism and imperialism. These two movements, which spread qualitatively and quantitatively over vast geographical areas, had an extremely negative impact on Muslim states and societies and almost destroyed all the dynamics of Islamic unity and integrity. The first quarter of the century was therefore a period in which the political power of the Muslim world reached its nadir and submitted to the aggressive domination of Western imperialism. How-

57. Said Halim Paşa, "İslam'da Teşkilat-1 ...", Vol.XIX, No: 493, p. 265; Vol.XX, No: 501, pp. 74-75; Prince Said Halim, *Notes pour servir...*, pp. 4-5, 36-39.

ever, the great splendour and all the driving force of centuries of Muslim history made the continuation of this miserable situation intolerable. Muslim intellectuals therefore sought to regain their former statehood and self-respect. Said Halim Pasha is among the rarest of the many Muslim intellectuals who contributed to the revival of Muslim political consciousness. With his detailed historical and sociological analyses, his accurate predictions and his actual experience in the political-social field, he played a very important role in the awakening and recovery of the Muslim world. From this point of view, Said Halim Pasha's contribution to contemporary Islamic thought should be highlighted.

Said Halim Pasha was a synthesis of Eastern and Western culture. Said Halim, who was oriental in dress and attire, was a truly western man in his thoughts, behaviour, attitude and style. Pasha wore immaculate Arab robes, sat on a cushion and played classical Turkish melodies on his oud. At the same time, he was busy organising his workshop, the walls of which were decorated with expensive French paintings and furniture. Said Halim's dual culture was reflected in his work. The uniqueness of Said Halim's thought and style was actually due to his successful fusion of traditionalist, reformist, and modernist ideas. He was fully committed to traditional values and defended their preservation. In his view, traditional and moral values were also products of Turkish-Islamic history, and their preservation was necessary to maintain the social structure. Said Halim was not only the agent of change but also the guardian of tradition. Said Halim was also a modernist. He had a Western style of discourse and style. In particular, he effectively used Western concepts such as 'democracy', 'parliament', 'presidency', and 'separation of powers' to explain his political ideas. Said Halim also advocated the revival of true Islam, free from pre-Islamic tradition,

and that Muslim societies should return to the essence of Islam. This reflects his reformist attitude. It is this idea that underlies his ideology of Islamization. Moreover, Said Halim attempted to overcome general political, social, and economic problems of Islamic world by resorting the common Turkish-Islamic tradition-culture and Western development experience. He did not reject the traditional experience and the development model of the West; he wanted to make use of both.

History, with its twists and turns as well as its truths, offers societies a series of lessons. Said Halim Pasha, the grandson of Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha, who rebuilt Egypt into a modern country with his European reforms, does not follow the path of his grandfather, but envisages an Islamic state and social order free from the European or pre-Islamic heritage of different societies. Unlike his grandfather, Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala, Said Halim was not a man to slaughter those around him in order to realise his ideas. He was an original thinker. He was also one of the rare examples of a politician who could solve complex problems with confidence, tact and foresight. Also, unlike his grandfather, who seized absolute power and had an autocratic approach to governance, Said Halim was - as evidenced by his works - a free thinker, a mover and endeavoured to create a free environment.

Another noteworthy point in relation to Said Halim Pasha's views in his works is the ambiguity of the economic structure of the ideal Islamic political and social system he proposed. In other words, while Said Halim presented detailed conceptions of the political, social, administrative and judicial structure of the Islamic system he wanted to implement, he did not develop a discourse on the economic conditions on which this Islamic state and social structure would be based. It would be appropriate to interpret this as the weakness of the Islamic order that Said Halim envisaged.

It is clear that Said Halim Pasha's subjects were not merely interesting, but important for the vitality of Muslim political life. He spent the most productive years of his life in Europe. This gave him a unique opportunity not only to compare the institutions of the East and the West, but also to analyse the West's attacks on Muslim countries and the resulting enmity and animosity between East and West. Undoubtedly, he experienced the well-known motto "*the West and the Rest*" in Europe. Therefore, the fact that the gap between 'Europe and Islam' or 'East and West', far from narrowing, threatens to turn into a 'clash of civilisations' should be a matter of serious concern for all parties in world politics.

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