

THE EVOLUTION OF OTTOMAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT: A COMPARISON OF TWO PERSPECTIVES

OSMANLI'DA İKTİSADİ DÜŞÜNCEİNİN GELİŞMESİ/EVRİMİ: İKİ BAKIŞ AÇISININ
KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

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Abstract

The science of economics is divided into fields within itself. Economic history, which has an important place in these fields, has aspects that support those approaches that include economic thought and also form economic thought. Approaches of economic thought covering the field of economic history are also important in understanding the concept of economics. In this context, the understanding of the economic thought structure in the Ottoman Empire is examined through normative and positive approaches. It can be said that Ottoman economic thought was in a dilemma between traditional and modern approaches. While some scholars see the basis of the economic structure as normative and the progress in the core of the traditional structure, other scholars see progress on the basis of the positive modern structure. In this respect, the Ottoman theory of economic thought includes approaches that include the whole of social, economic, religious, and mystical values. It is seen that the basis of understanding Ottoman economic thought is possible by understanding the society's mentality. The economic life in the Ottoman Empire, which was not modern but showed developments in itself, took care not to disrupt its traditional structure. The Ottomans, who developed a unique social approach, tried to keep themselves closed to external influences. It is understood that there are developments that show the opposite of this situation. This research, in which comparative approaches are explained, aims to convey how traditional and modern thought went through in Ottoman society. In this study, the main lines of the intellectual world in the Ottoman Empire are explained on the axis of economic thought. Economic approaches are considered as a whole of normative and positive values and examined in this way. The research was examined and concluded on these values. In the study, the approaches of Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Sabri Ülgener and Ahmet Güner Sayar are described.

Keywords: Ottoman History of Economic Thought, Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Sabri Ülgener, Ahmet Güner Sayar

Öz

İktisat bilimi kendi içinde alanlara ayrılmaktadır. Bu alanlar içinde önemli yer teşkil eden iktisat tarihi, iktisadi düşünceyi içinde barındıran ve iktisadi düşünceyi oluşturan yaklaşımları destekler mahiyette özellikler taşımaktadır. İktisat tarihi alanını kapsayan iktisadi düşünce yaklaşımları ekonomi kavramının da anlaşılması hususunda önem arz etmektedir. Bu bağlamda Osmanlı'daki iktisadi düşünce yapısının anlaşılması normatif ve pozitif yaklaşımlar üzerinden değerlendirilerek incelenmektedir. Osmanlı iktisadi düşünce yapısı geleneksel ve modern yaklaşımların arasında ikileme kalmıştır. Bir kısım iktisadi yapının temelini normatif, geleneksel yapının özünde ilerleme görürken, diğer kısım ise pozitif, modern yapının temelinde ilerleme görmüştür. Bu bakımdan Osmanlı iktisadi düşünce teorisi sosyal, ekonomik, dini, tasavvufi değerlerin bütününe içine alan yaklaşımlar göstermektedir. Osmanlı iktisadi düşüncesinin anlaşılmasının temeli toplumun zihin dünyasını anlamaktan geçtiği görülmektedir. Osmanlı'da modern olmayan fakat kendi içinde gelişmeler gösteren iktisadi hayat geleneksel yapısını bozmamaya özen göstermiştir. Kendine has, özgün bir toplumsal yaklaşım geliştiren Osmanlılar dış etkilere kendilerini kapalı tutmaya çalışmışlardır. Bu durumun aksini gösteren gelişmeler olduğu da anlaşılmaktadır. Karşılaştırmalı yaklaşımların anlatıldığı bu araştırma geleneksel ile modern düşüncenin Osmanlı toplumunda ne denli süreçler geçirdiğini aktarmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu çalışmada Osmanlı'daki zihniyet meselesinin ana hatları iktisadi düşünce ekseninde anlatılmaktadır. Çalışmada Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Sabri Ülgener ve Ahmet Güner Sayar'ın yaklaşımları anlatılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı İktisadi Düşünce Tarihi, Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Sabri Ülgener, Ahmet Güner Sayar

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Introduction

This study deals with the Ottoman economic thought structure through normative and positive values. The main basis of the study is to provide an understanding of comparative ideas and in this way, analyze economic thoughts. As a matter of fact, he shapes his work motivation on the analyzes of Barkan-Ülgener comparisons based on normative and positive approaches. The aim of the study, as understood from its content, was to understand the sociological structure and thought bases of the Ottoman Empire based on the Barkan-Ülgener comparison. At the same time, it is to provide an understanding of the unknown aspects of pre-modern Ottoman thought. The positive evaluation of the east, that is, the Ottoman society, by one side, and the transfer of the problems of the east by the other side, has been a determining factor in shaping and setting the framework of the study. Another issue that determines the motivation of the compilation study is to try to convey the progress of the west against the eastern societies comparatively. The content of the study is to evaluate the different interpretations that the two approaches brought to the Ottoman economic thought. The necessity of understanding the pre-modern Ottoman sociological and economic world of thought can be among the reasons that make the study important. The works on the Ottoman mentality help us to understand the framework, basis and stages of Ottoman economic institutions. Although there are works related to the pre-modern Ottoman economic thought, it is known that there is a lack of understanding. These concepts are among the features that aim in this study.

When the study phases are examined, in the first part, there is information about the introduction, the grounding of the study, its purpose and scope. In the second part, the comparison of Ottoman economic thought is evaluated. Afterwards, the other phase of the study is presented under the title of Ülgener-Sayar-Weber approaches. In this section, the main theme of the study is discussed and the economic thought structure of the Ottomans is understood by comparing the east-west. The other stage focuses on the Barkan approach and tries to convey the reasons for the backwardness of eastern societies on different economic and sociological foundations. The mainstay of the study is based on the two approaches mentioned. In the last part of the study, results and evaluation and comparisons were tried to be concluded.

In order to understand the Ottoman economic thought structure, it is necessary to know the formation and development of the concept of economy. In this context, when we look at the origin of the concept of economy, it is understood that it comes from ancient Greek culture. This concept was first formed in ancient Greece under the name Oikonomia (Orman, 1992: 271-271). The concepts of 'Oikonomia' in Ancient Greece and 'İlm-i Tedbir-i Menzil' in Islam and the Ottoman Empire have the same meaning. As a matter of fact, in Islam, economics was known as 'İlm-i Tedbir-i Menzil'. It was passed on to the Ottoman Empire with the same name. (Orman, 1992: 271-271) The economic structure referred to as 'İlm-i Tedbir-i Menzil' means "household management" in the Islamic world. (Sayar, 1986: 64)

The term 'İlm-i Tedbir-i Menzil' is narrowly defined as economic structure, economic thought or economic activity. The economic structure that existed in the Ottoman Empire as 'İlm-i Tedbir-i Menzil' began to be referred to as economics during the Tanzimat period.

(Fındıkoğlu, 1946: 9) The Ottoman Empire created a cultural structure that was kneaded with Turkish and Islamic synthesis in political, social and economic fields. This structure has developed a perspective unique to the Ottoman Empire in intellectual life and institutions. The Ottoman society, which created its own unique economic approaches, was based on ideas that are important in terms of ensuring economic integrity. In addition, it is understood that there was no modern economic structure in the Ottoman Empire before the Tanzimat period. (Sayar, 1986: 61) The teaching of economics as a course in the Ottoman education system started with the Tanzimat period. Before the Tanzimat, Ottoman public institutions did not offer courses on economics. (Sayar, 1986: 55) It is known that there was no modern economic structure in the Ottoman Empire, but economic activities were intense. (Fındıkoğlu, 1946: 10-11)

Comparison of Ottoman Economic Thought

Ottoman economic thought structure is subject to studies as classical period and pre-modern period. However, the works on this subject did not contribute enough to our understanding of the world of thought of the period. There are very few studies, especially in the English resource part. (Ermiş, 2013, pp. 5-9; Özveren, 2002, pp. 129-144). In this respect, there is a need to consider the subject comparatively. The Ottoman economic structure is analyzed in two ways: the classical period and the post-Tanzimat period. When the classical period Ottoman economic thought life is examined; We see a structure that is not modern but has its own characteristics. As a matter of fact, two distinct arguments have emerged about the Ottoman world of economic thought. Sabri Ülgener, who argues that the Ottoman thought structure was corrupted by the influence of Sufism, and Ömer Lütfi Barkan, who argues that the positive aspects of Sufism predominate, are the pioneers of two different approaches. It is necessary to observe the Ülgener line, which makes its explanations on normative values, and the reasons Barkan defended against them, based on economic thought approaches.

Ulgener-Sayar-Weber Approach

Many approaches to the intellectual life of the Ottoman Empire were discussed in different methodologies. Especially Sabri Ülgener's methodology brought a different perspective to the period. This methodology was aimed at explaining the concepts that occupied the mental world of the Ottoman Empire. Ülgener's methodology of economic thought gave direction to many researchers who came after him. And they tried to explain the decline in the Ottoman Empire for the same reasons. According to him, a social problem arises from many causes and leads to many consequences. According to Ülgener's approach, the Ottomans in this period were in an effort to make their lives based on everyday life. This goal is based on short-term considerations. It is emphasized that there is no effort to build a systematic economic future in society. Ülgener's "medievalization" mentality, which he especially tried to emphasize while explaining the Ottoman thought structure in the classical period, was a criticism of the formation of a different perspective and the thought that praised the positive aspects of religious approaches in society. This criticism attempts to convey the idea that the religious values that have taken place in the Ottoman mindset in the classical period have negative consequences when viewed from a normative perspective. (Şeker, 2013: 222)

The shaping of the mentality in political and social spheres was also reflected in the daily life of Ottoman society. In Ülgener's words, "the stagnant - assertive understanding of life" shows the view of social thought to events. This thinking has led to loosening one's ties with the world, not accumulating capital, and having an insignificant view of money and possessions. While society has been thinking about short-term gains, it has stayed away from

long-term ideas such as future capital accumulation and profits. (Sayar, 1986: 65) In Ottoman society, if a family was making a daily living, they did not endeavor to make any savings for investment purposes. Relations could not go beyond daily neighbor relations. The moral obligations brought about by a stagnant understanding of life also prevented the development of an enterprising thinking in society. (Ülgener, 1981: 69) Instead of the norms of the 'producing hand' that Ülgener puts forward, we are talking about a society that only aims to provide for its daily life, that is, to ensure daily consumption. This society has taken Sufism as the norm. It did not care about the 'helping hand' and focused only on consumption. (Deniz, 2009: 31)

This approach emphasizes that Ottoman institutions functioned within the axis of religion and tradition, that religion and tradition became the philosophy of the state, that society became obedient and weak, far from individualism, and that worldly approaches were abandoned. This conveys that the intellectual life determines the normative values of the society. Normative values had a strong influence on property rights, the land system, taxation, fixed price application and monetary matters. (Sayar, 1986: 62) Sufism, which takes place within normative values, has shown its influence in all these practices. According to Sayar, the influence of Islamic western Sufism in Ottoman society was felt until the last period.² (Mardin, 1991: 42) In the Ottoman Empire, economics followed an Islamic course, prioritizing moral values. This situation has prevented rational solutions. And it did not allow for the formation of coherent normative policies. (Sayar, 1986: 64) The fact that the Islamic structure was at the center of both social and political grounds led to the identification of the Ottoman Empire with the concept of "Religious State". (Berkes, 1984: 50-51)

The Ottoman economic thought structure, in which the religious-theological approach was so dominant, put destiny in the center with Ülgener's approach. All political, social and economic issues were evaluated with the understanding of fatalism. And with this approach, ways of solving every issue were sought. As a matter of fact, in the classical Ottoman intellectual life, not thinking about the future, not being able to look forward to tomorrow, and destiny were ingrained in the mindset of the society.³ (Şeker, 2013: 455-456) According to Mardin, Islamic influence began with the education provided in madrasas. Young people raised in madrasas were integrated with Sufi thought, and with this they were able to move up the ranks, and their civil service was graded on the basis of their fusion with Islam. The people trained in these institutions represented the majority of the Ottoman civil servants. The mentality of civil servants in the Ottoman Empire was more than an idealistic approach; it was based on the principle of implementing religious orders and being free from worldly concerns. The influence of Sufism has had an impact on the entire bureaucratic class, extending all the way up to the administration. (Mardin, 1991: 43)

With the influence of the Sufi approach, the concern for the future has been replaced by the concern for reckoning in the hereafter, and it has been aimed to fulfill the burden of taqwa and worship. Under the influence of Sufism, the society showed a cumbersome lifestyle away from production. While Islamic ethics is based on development, Sufi ideas have led to introversion. This has not been a phenomenon that has happened only in the grassroots. As a matter of fact, the administrators of the period generally did not aim for

²According to Mardin, the Ottoman administration was based on Islam and bureaucracy. As Sayar states, the phenomenon of religion did not come first until the last period of the Ottoman Empire. In Mardin's words, the weight of Islam in the Ottoman Empire started to lose its weight administratively since the middle of the 18th century, and the bureaucratic class took its place in the first place. The bureaucratic class mentioned here defines the secular structure in the Ottoman Empire. The secular class broke the influence of religion over time.

³The understanding of destiny in Şeker did not align with Ülgener's approach. Indeed, Şeker bases fate on the phenomenon of surrender after effort.

capital accumulation and enrichment. The concepts of generosity, being able to help those in need, have occupied the world of mind, instead of issues such as love of goods and devotion to the world. (Nişancı, 2002: 107-109) The following statement by Ülgener from Sadi is very meaningful for the explanation of the mental structure of the period. *"Wealth is for the peace and tranquility of life, life is not for accumulating wealth!"* With this statement, Ülgener presented the economic thought structure of the Islamic world. In addition, he also tried to indicate how deeply rooted this thought was in the Ottoman Empire. (Ülgener, 1981: 68-71) In this context, Ülgener, through the methodological path he followed, tried to indicate that the classical Ottoman world of mind and economic thought in the classical period bore the deep traces of medieval Islamic thought. Taking into account the norms of the period in the mental world, the approach that mystical thoughts cause negative tendencies has formed the main theme of Ülgener's researches. Addressing the norms from a different perspective, Ülgener did not mention the productive part. On the contrary, he tried to state that the thought of mysticism could not go beyond being a consumer.

In Ülgener's approach, Sufism and religion come first in the development of the traditional Eastern mentality. He states with his words, *"Tawakkul and submission in the oriental spirit, no matter what origin they actually come from, can only be considered as complete and deepened after they have been kneaded with religion and mysticism and gained the form of expression."* (Ülgener, 1981: 14-15) While European civilization entered the pre-capitalist period in the 16th century⁴ (Wallerstein, 2004: 366-368), according to Ülgener, the Ottoman Empire came under the influence of medieval thought. The way to overcome this is seen as turning to Sufism. Ülgener calls the Ottoman backwardness "medievalization", in other words "artisanalization". Apart from artisanalization, it also emphasizes the dominance of the idea of lordship and lordship. *"The era that is called new times in the West and that really goes along with renewal in all areas of life has the character of a return to medieval values (medievalization): first of all, it is the end of a brilliant trade era. The artisanalization in the forms of enterprise; the same closure and rigidity in the understanding of value; the traditionalism of profession and art that does not tolerate the slightest innovation; and finally the consciousness of lordship and lordship that feudal life has passed down from century to century: a mentality that is accustomed to seeing itself above daily economic concerns, and that places production and value creation on the backs of others, while never shying away from the alluring influence of abundant consumption, especially appearance and ostentation! All of them are nothing but medieval values that have been lost to history in Western Europe since the 15th and 16th centuries, but which have been handed down to the new times with many aspects intact!"* (Ülgener, 1981: 14-15). When normative values are taken into account, we see that the world of economic mindsets varies from society to society. It must be recognized that each society has its own unique mental development and focus. In this context, it would be a mistake to uniformize societies, and to indicate all developments in a single line.⁵ (Gunder-Gills, 2003: 56-57) When evaluated from Ülgener's perspective, the

⁴Wallerstein states that Europe was on the rise from the 16th century onwards, and that economic development was achieved by Europeans. According to Wallerstein, without the breakthroughs of the 16th century, the modern world system would not have come into being. With the emergence of capitalism, people began to adopt the principle of rebellion, accumulating capital, and acquiring property. As a result of all this, the capitalist world system established its dominance and marked the beginning of a Europe-centered formation.

⁵The existence of a Eurocentric world system began to emerge in the 19th century. . In particular, Europe's initiation of the industrial revolution made its hegemony felt in historiography as much as in economics and politics. . In particular, it is seen that some Western thinkers initiated world historiography under the influence of mercantilism in Europe's development since the 16th century. As a matter of fact, the formation of the capitalist world system under the influence of mercantilism and the history of Europe, which pioneered it, is only taken as a basis. The emergence of capitalism and Europe's pioneering economic developments were effective in writing the world system in their favor.

depth and complexity of the Ottoman inner world becomes apparent. According to him, the Ottoman mentality tended towards uniformization and regression began at the peak of development. Sayar also supports this view and states that the West paved the way for individual initiatives, capitalism, property ownership and emancipation, whereas the same was not the case in the East (Ottoman Empire). He emphasizes that the standardization and hierarchical structure of the East, which is far from individuality, does not allow this. (Sayar, 1986: 106)

The period when the Ottoman Empire was at its brightest politically was also the beginning of the "medievalization" period. Ülgener names this period as the 'thaw period' rather than the 'period of stagnation and regression'. As a matter of fact, the Ottoman domination of trade routes led the West to search for new solutions, and this search resulted in new profits. (Tak, 2017: 306) The concept of 'medievalization' that Ülgener tried to shape did not have a beginning and end period. For him, this should be characterized as a nomenclature or a definitional period. In addition to his political characteristics, he has drawn a scheme that defines a wide spectrum. In this respect, Ülgener presents his views as follows: *"First and foremost, large land ownership and the form of dominance based on land (farm, manor or only large land regime, depending on the place); a distribution of power measured by the boundary where the land begins and ends (decentralization); a series of ranks and offices also based on land; economic-financial character: the secondary role of money and generally of securities as long as wealth remains based on land in its main forms (economics in kind); forms of enterprise: outskirts of the city and simple bazaar tradesmen and guilds (trade is rather dim except at certain road junctions and trandist centers); the understanding of life and society beneath these forms and patterns that line the surface...the spirit of lordship and gentry; the claim of origin and descent; the heavy, immobile understanding of wealth and value based on land...guild morality, traditionalist understanding of art and profession...this is the Middle Ages! "* (Ülgener, 1981: 23-24)

When the norms of the Ottoman classical period are analyzed, production was divided into urban and rural areas when trade conditions were shaped against them. Production within the city was controlled by artisans, while production outside the city was concentrated in agricultural areas. Merchants in the Ottoman Empire did not follow the same course as merchants in Europe. In the Ottoman Empire, the merchants could not enter into an individual formation and they could not go beyond being a minor symptom of pre-capitalism. (İnalçık, 2000: 85) In the Ottoman Empire, most of the urban trade was carried out by small-scale merchants and artisans. Merchants who made great profits could not dominate the city market. The influence of tradesmen has been observed in the city economy. The tradesmen, who form the basis of the city's economy, are united around the cluster of 'Ahilik', which both expresses a set of moral values and integrates Sufi values with religious-theological concepts. (Kala, 2012) Although Ahilik is known as an organization of artisans, the semantic integrity it acquired during the period took the form of a kind of fateful partnership. This partnership of destiny paved the way for the development of a disciplined, productive organization. Ülgener, while talking about cities in Evliya Çelebi's travel book, says 'thousands of artisans in yümn and yesar (al-kasibü habib-ulah)' and they were worried about the collection of morsels and cardigan baha. For this is how it has always been in the world', he did not only show us the economy of the city in a periodical way, but also the economic life of the cities as a whole. We understand from these words that tradesmen or those who unite around the ethics act collectively and the organization has a disciplined structure. In addition to providing us with the entire environmental and historical development of the period, Ahilik shows the economic thought structure of the period in the clearest way with concepts such as business ethics, common purpose and order. In Ülgener's words, Ahilik tells us that the economic and social

structure of the Ottoman geography, especially Anatolia, Istanbul and Rumelia, is a continuation of the old, and that the mentality structure has not changed. According to him, despite the passage of centuries, as can be understood from the structure of the organization, it is seen that the world of mind has remained the same without any change. (Ülgener, 1981: 32-35) A point that should be noted here is that the ahi organization shows a feature that triggers and organizes production instead of shallowing production.

Ahilik not only organized the tradesmen, but also united the orders, notables and all other groups under a single roof. This unity helps us analyze the economic mentality and morality of the period in general. As a matter of fact, Ahilik has been able to convey its internal organization, closedness, discipline, and unification around the same mentality to all groups. Ülgener states that this mentality reflects the 'medieval' world of thought in the most general terms. (Tak, 2017: 311) In addition to Ülgener, who deals with the Ahilik and the tradesmen, Sayar, who looks at the situation from a different perspective, has tried to explain the tradesmen by referring to the narh system where normative values find application.

Analyzing the structure of the tradesmen in the Ottoman Empire, Sayar has tried to indicate the attitude of the Ottoman tradesmen towards the narh practice and the attitude of the society. While discussing the Ottoman tradesmen, the way in which normative values were embedded in the institutions and functioning of the society through the customary basis of the narh practice was also mentioned. Narh has become customary and traditionalist. The fact that normative intellectual life has taken place in the memory of the society has been transformed from thought into reality in areas of practice such as narh. Normative values have been effective in defending narh. The following words quoted by Sayar from Ali Efendi show that normative values in Ottoman intellectual life also found a side in the field of practice and were implemented in this way: "...Each person buys and sells as he pleases, and adds to his halal money the haram, which is a deadly poison through greed." (Sayar, 1986: 76) The Ottoman Empire's attempt to control prices had the aim of protecting the weak as well as the strong. In addition, according to Sayar, the practice of narh blocked the way for individuality. And normative values found a place in institutions and practices with the power derived from religion and tradition. (Sayar, 1986: 75)

Considering the approach that sees religious influence negatively within normative values, the mindset and positive practices of the period carried backward medieval values. It has been stated that there is a phenomenon of 'medievalization' in both thought and practice with the morality shaped by Islam, that is, the norm, and the economic thought that determines the events experienced, that is, the positive economic structure. Another point made by Ülgener is that he attributed the reason for the Ottoman backwardness to the failure to realize capitalism. In this way, he showed that he was close to Weber's line. As the main source of the problem, the determinant of the economic mentality formed in the society was tried to be explained. (Turhan, 2014: 274)

There are many sources that emphasize the influence of Sufism in the Ottoman Empire as a negative and positive norm. Combining Ottoman institutions and the understanding of life around religious facts, Şeker quotes Şeyhülislam Ibn-i Kemal, who explains the Ottoman philosophy of existence in a beautiful way: "*The time of the Ottomans was spent implementing the rulings of Islam. For this reason, the future and the current situation of the Ottomans are linked to their strong beliefs, and it is stated that they found specialization in the sight of Allah because their ambitions were unique.*" According to Şeker, the only unchanging tradition in the Ottoman Empire was the influence of Islam. (Şeker, 2013: 27,17)

Sayar, who states that the norms in the Ottoman Empire were influenced by Islam and follows the line of Ülgener, tried to explain the impact of normative values on property rights

and tax systems. Normative values gained application areas in institutions as Sufism gained a place in state philosophy. Sayar states that positive economics has no influence on the right to acquire property, inherit property or the formation of land ownership. Sayar explained that normative values are at an important point in the formation of economic ideas with the path followed by capitalist thought in the process of acquiring property and land. On this basis, he argues that the influence of positive economics on property rights and land issues cannot be mentioned. (Sayar, 1986: 80-81) The sultan's unlimited authority over land and the fact that land is considered the personal property of the sultan are always attributed to norms derived from customary tradition. So much so that the right of ownership of the land is not given to anyone, it is based only on its operation. The economic structure, which is guided by normative elements through customary and sherry channels, has taken decisions in this direction. (Sayar, 1986: 84) Sayar states that while rational developments were taking place in the West, Ottoman norms began to regress within the weight of Sufism, in other words, religion and custom. Sayar, who stated that while the capitalist ideas in the West emphasized property and individuality, the Ottoman society and state philosophy adopted the principle of disconnecting from the world and turning to the divine rather than producing solutions, and explained the analysis of the period by emphasizing the difference between western and Ottoman norms. According to Sayar, the Ottoman society sought the solution of the problems experienced in the economic field by returning to the ancient one, and the solutions remained around the normative values in the classical period. New ideas could not exist under the pressure of old normative elements.

Sayar has shown that the economic problems of the Ottomans in the 17th century (grievances, territorial organization, coin adulteration, problems in taxation) were opportunities to get rid of classical normative ideas, but classical normative values were the main source of the solution, which was a major factor in the failure to solve the problem. Especially in the complaints experienced during the period, solutions were sought in non-economic issues since the source of the problem was the return to the ancient. Sayar states that positive economics does not exist in institutions and laws and emphasizes that one cannot have knowledge about this subject. (Sayar, 1986: 92-93) Sayar emphasizes that the works written by the leading figures of the period on the problems in the economic field were far from stating a serious economic policy. And he states that these works were either ignored or lost before being presented to the sultan. He stated that the reason for this should be sought in the structure of the society that adopts normative values far from positive economics for the solution of problems. Sayar interprets the fact that Katip Çelebi deals with the economic issues in his work, paying attention to the problems experienced, taking precautions, and showing the return to the ancient as a solution, by repeating the classical normative values. (Sayar, 1986: 94)

Ömer Lütfi Barkan Approach

Ülgener-Sayar tried to present the intellectual basis by utilizing Weber's perspective. This perspective explains the influence of religious phenomena on society, the stagnation of individualism, the lack of property rights, and the lack of development of the capitalist spirit. Weber's approach, adapted to the Ottoman Empire, mentions the effect of concepts such as looking for the problem in the constant return to the ancient and the departure from the axis of justice. In the Ülgener-Sayar axis, the problematization of the 'mental' structure has blocked the way for development. Against Ülgener's thesis, Ömer Lütfi Barkan's emphasis on Sufism and dervishes is worth comparing in the field of economic thought.

Barkan, in analyzing the reason for the difference between eastern and western societies, states that it was not caused by a geographical and mystical mental structure.

Barkan tried to defend the backwardness of eastern societies and especially the Ottoman Empire with a conservative discourse as much as possible. In particular, he looked at issues of mentality outside the Ülgener-Weber perspective. According to Barkan, the industrialization of the West and its superiority compared to other societies was due to the favorable conditions of the period for the West. Thanks to the favorable conditions in the West, industrialization became a necessity and paved the way for development in this way. This development enabled the West to attain a more rational and superior mindset. Against Ülgener's thesis that Ülgener attributed the backwardness of the East (Ottoman Empire) to Sufism and thought, Barkan attributed the development of the West to the rational mindset brought about by industrialization. (Barkan, 1980: 107) Barkan, while explaining the reason for the socio-economic progress of the west, did not accept the thesis that western society created a more intelligent impression than eastern society. According to him, the progress of the West is due to the favorable conditions, while the regression of the East is due to the lack of the necessary conditions. Weber stated that the West made progress by overcoming the phenomenon of traditionalism that stood in the way of its development. (Weber, 1985) This progress pushed western people towards individualism and discovered new areas of production. Western people have been able to produce more rational solutions thanks to this individualism. The concept of individuality has not been formed in the Eastern people. In Eastern (Ottoman) societies, the traditionalist approach was effective. (Davutoğlu et al., 2005: 22; Tabakoğlu, 2012: 190; Genç, 2000: 62-63) Studies supporting the Barkan approach have generally found it problematic that Ülgener does not rely on sources while criticizing his approaches. (Tabakoğlu, 2005: 453-454) This criticism was also made by Faruki and İnalçık.

Barkan explains the economic level between the east and the west in terms of the reasons that influenced the formation of capitalism and the ties between countries. He explains that the West developed economically with the development of capitalism and combined this development with production and consumption to achieve economic prosperity. With the transition to a capitalist economy, the West not only gained economic superiority, but also began to gain a place on the world stage militarily and politically thanks to its economic development. (Turhan, 2014: 281)

Barkan goes into the problematics of the problem and explains the developmental adventure of the West in detail. Factors such as the development of the West, the discovery of new continents, the change of trade routes in favor of the West, the beginning of colonialism, the activation of maritime trade, the preparation of the ground for capital formation and the accumulation of goods stand in a critical place in shaping world history and solving the problematic. In the formation of the difference in development (economic, political, military) between civilizations and societies, it has been tried to be examined on the basis of events, away from monistic approaches. (Turhan, 2014: 281; Turner, 1991: 40)

Barkan states that the discourse of people who work for a morsel of bread and a sweat without a purpose and without concern for the future is wrong, and that this is not a reality, but rather an ideal. (Barkan, 1951: 167) Şeker, who expresses discourses close to Barkan's systematics, states that the idea of infinite submission to fate does not exist as stated by Ülgener. According to him, fatalism in the Ottoman Empire was defined as surrendering to God after man did his best. In the process that occurs between fate and human effort, it is emphasized that submission to fate does not mean unconditional fatalism when the outcome is contrary to the effort. The individual's actions against fate, the outcome of which is fate. (Şeker, 2013: 269-471)

Barkan, while evaluating Ülgener's views that are far from positive science and closer to normative science, emphasizes that he is talking about a multifaceted study, but also

clarifies some deficiencies. (Barkan, 1951: 172) Barkan states that Ülgener's work is a seminal work. However, he rejects Weber-Ülgener's normative approaches by stating that there is no such picture as Ülgener draws. He emphasized that the normative values formed in the Ottoman Empire did not take place in institutions in the fields of application, on the contrary, positive economic science was effective in institutions, laws, complaints and other issues.

While evaluating the economic mentality of the Ottoman Empire, Ülgener described the intellectual life of the oriental societies in depth with the method he used. He took care to convey that with the feudal mentality, concepts such as lordship and lordship could not break away from the old intellectual ties of societies and the nature of class formations. In addition to this, in his moral evaluations, Ülgener explains that they believe in haram and halal, and that they are in the psychology of surrender with an understanding of fatalism. Approaches such as opposition to capital accumulation, the view of goods only as a means of satisfying needs, and the absence of large merchant families also show the economic mindset of the period. (Barkan, 1951: 167-170) Ülgener's work, which brought all these into problematic and named his analysis with the concept of 'medievalization', aimed to convey the effectiveness of normative economics in Ottoman thought.

Barkan considered Ülgener's work as a masterpiece and stated that it made a difference with the methods it brought to the Eastern (Ottoman) thought structure. Apart from this, he opposed the discourse that the society was completely in the 'medievalization' mentality in the work. As a matter of fact, according to Barkan, the east (Ottoman) showed signs of development at many points. But the main theme of the backwardness of the east is the fact that the west did not enter the capitalist phases. Large merchants and administrators who accumulated capital wanted their properties to be transferred to foundations after their deaths due to the traditionalist structure of the Ottoman state system. The state did not allow the formation of large capitalists, the influence of wealthy merchants and the acquisition of property by administrators. In such cases, the owner decided to transfer his capital to foundations or the state confiscated it by confiscation. (Barkan, 1951: 170-173) Mardin argues that the inability of Ottoman merchants and administrators to accumulate wealth was due to the absence of mercantilist thinking. (Mardin, 1986: 72)

The fact that Sufism was active in the economic thoughts of the Ottoman Empire does not indicate that it was mentally backward. Since the formation of the state was based on religious foundations, the concepts of religion and justice came first in all matters. (Yılmaz, 1994: 12-13; Dursun, 1989: 161) The Ottoman Empire was an Islamic state and religious influence in all its institutions coexisted with the concept of justice. (Şahin, 2014: 163)

Conclusion and Discussion

The issue of the mind in Ottoman society has been the subject of many studies and these studies have varied. In this study, we examine the approaches of the Ottoman society's mental world to economic thought and the causes of economic development or economic backwardness. What are the factors that enable economic development or the factors that hinder economic development? It takes its place as the methods that constitute the main theme of our research. In the research, the Ottoman mind structure is evaluated through comparative approaches. The Ülgener-Barkan theses are examined comparatively and the reasons for the backwardness of eastern societies are analyzed on their mental structures. According to Ülgener's approach, the idea of 'medievalization' in the Ottomans was effective in the society's failure to make the necessary moves in economic development. In this respect, the Ottoman mindset could not break away from traditional ideas and sought the solution in 'medieval' ideas. The research, which evaluates the Ottoman world of mind with Sabri Ülgener-Ahmet

Güner Sayar approaches, examined the normative perspective through the perspective of Max Weber. According to Ülgener, the eastern society or the Ottomans in that period evaluated the world with an understanding of fate. He states that the Ottomans centered on fate, did not aim for economic development, and adopted economic ideas only to sustain their daily lives. Instead of worrying about the future, they worried about the hereafter. They did not adopt economic ideas and did not strive to acquire property. In this respect, Ülgener conveys the mental structure of the Ottoman society and states that their economic thoughts did not go beyond the approach of meeting their daily needs. It draws a profile of a society that is far from economic ideas such as capital accumulation and enrichment. The study, which evaluates comparative economic thoughts, also evaluated Ottoman society through the trades and mentioned that the Ahi organization prioritized the moral approach instead of profit-making in the world.

Ömer Lütfi Barkan was the person who defended the opposite opinion of the methodology stated by Ülgener over positive values. Barkan did not accept the basic foundations of the economic backwardness explained by Ülgener, and stated that the main reasons for the backwardness of the Ottoman or oriental societies were not the reasons such as Sufism or geography. Barkan attributes the reason why the eastern society lags behind the western societies due to the more favorable conditions of the western societies and their industrialization. While conservatively arguing that Eastern societies could not make progress due to unfavorable conditions, he did the same when explaining the reasons for the development of Western societies. As a matter of fact, according to Barkan's intellectual approach, the West made advances in rational thinking with industrialization and for this reason, enlightenment occurred in the West compared to eastern societies. He emphasized that the economic rise of the West began with capitalism and that the accumulation of capital was effective in strengthening society. The West, which achieved economic development through industrialization, has also become a decisive factor on the world stage militarily and politically. However, the military and political strengthening of the West, which provided economic development, caused historiography to turn in favor of the West. In this way, the West saw the development of world history in itself.

Barkan, while conveying the problematics of the subject, especially emphasizes the developmental adventure of the West and states that the East is portrayed as backward on the basis of this problematic. He explains that the adventure of the development of the West, geographical discoveries, the change of trade routes in favor of the West, the beginning of colonialism by the Westerners, the activation of maritime trade, the accumulation of capital with the capitalist ideas developed in the West are the main ingredients in the shaping of world history in favor of the West and in the solution of the problematic. According to Barkan, when evaluating the West and the East, important issues such as economic, political, military, which are the stages of development on civilizations and society, should be far from monistic approaches and should be considered holistically by taking the events experienced as a basis. Barkan argues that the characterization of Ottoman society or, more generally, of Oriental societies as aimless, future-less people working for a morsel of bread and a cardigan is not accurate. He states that this situation is not a real phenomenon, and on the contrary, it is an ideal created. According to him, the Ottoman understanding of fatalism implies surrender to what happens and what does not happen after one has done one's best. This is how the eternal surrender to fate is expressed. It is emphasized that the fact that human effort on an event but not getting results is shown as submission to fate does not mean unconditional fatalism. It is the precaution that each individual takes against destiny, and the result of this is destiny. As a result, the main premise of the study was to evaluate the developmental journeys of eastern and western societies from comparative perspectives. This study analyzes the

reasons for the Ottoman society's failure to catch up with the enlightened age compared to the West through the minds of Eastern thinkers.

The study took its final form as a compilation of Ottoman economic thought approaches. When the problematic of the study was evaluated, the main theme was to try to convey the Ottoman mentality through normative and positive values, and to interpret the analyzes of the difference between east and west. In this respect, the thought structures that are tried to be based on Barkan-Ülgener allow the definition of the economic thought structure of the Ottoman Empire. Barkan's approach relates that the backwardness of Ottoman society was not due to Sufism, and that the reason for its backwardness was that it did not catch up with the industrial revolution. Barkan does not accept that, as Ülgener mentioned, the economic vitality was shaped around the understanding of destiny in the Ottoman Empire and therefore remained behind. Barkan states that the sociological structure of society is misinterpreted through values. It is explained that the lag of the east is not due to the more rationality of the western society, but only because the conditions have become favorable for the west, progress has been made. In this respect, the study is a compilation work prepared on the elements of Ottoman economic thought. The compiled studies are explained in a comparative way with appropriate and unsuitable approaches. In this context, it can be said that the study is original in terms of comparing the important personalities who brought two different interpretations to the Ottoman economic life.

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