

İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ YAYINLARI
PUBLICATIONS OF THE FACULTY OF LETTERS, ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY

İSLÂM TETKİKLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ DERGİSİ

(REVIEW OF THE INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES)

Kurucusu :
Ord. Prof. Dr. Z.V. Togan

Müdür — Editor
Prof. Dr. Salih TUĞ

CİLD — VOLUME : VII
CÜZ — PARTS : 3-4
1979

Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi
İSTANBUL
1979

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and the Ulema of his time

Hulûsi YAVUZ

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa was born on 14 *Receb* 1238 / 27 March 1822 at Lofça (Lovec) in northern Bulgaria, where his father Hâcî İsmâ'il Ağa, was a member of the administrative council. During his early years he was known as Ahmed, and his second name, Cevdet, was given to him later.

Hâcî İsmâ'il Ağa's father, Hâcî 'Alî Efendi was the son of Ahmed Ağa; known as Yularkıran-oğlu. Ahmed Ağa was the son of the *Müftî* of Lofça İsmâ'il Efendi. İsmâ'il Efendi's father was Yularkıran Ahmed Ağa who was a native of Kırklareli (Kırkkilise), and had settled in Lofça after taking part in the campaign of the Pruth in 1711¹. It was Hâcî 'Alî Efendi's desire that Ahmed should be educated on the example of his own grandfather İsmâ'il Efendi.

In his native country, young Ahmed, who learnt Arabic from the *Müftî* of Lofça Hâfız 'Ömer Efendi, also began to study elementary religious subjects. Ahmed displayed at an early stage an unusual aptitude and diligence in learning, and made quick progress. Later, Ahmed advan-

1 [Ahmed] Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir: 40 - Tetimme. Tezâkir-i Cevdet*, vol. iv. ed. Cavid Baysun, (Ankara 1967), p. 3; *idem, Tezâkir: 13-20. Tezâkir-i Cevdet*, vol. ii. ed. C. Baysun, (Ankara 1960), p. 39; Fatma 'Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Zamân*, (İstanbul 1332/1914), p. 7. See also, A. Cevdet, *Târîh-i Cevdet*, ix. (İstanbul 1891), p. 233; Cemâli'd-Dîn, *'Osmanlı Târîh ve Müverrihleri*, (İstanbul 1314/1896), p. 115; İbnü'l-Emin M. Kemâl, *Evoğraf-ı Hümayûn Nezâreti'nin Târîhçe-i Teşkilâtı ve Nuzâr'ın Tera-cüm-i Ahvâli*, (İstanbul 1335/1917), p. 159, n 1.

ced to study *'Ulüm-i Şer'iyye* (The Sciences of *Şer'iat*) that is, *Tefsir*, *Hadis*, *Fıkıh* and *Usûl-i Fıkıh*. He had not reached the age of puberty when he studied *Mültekâ* and *Halebî*². Before reaching fifteen years of age he had a knowledge of logic and rhetoric, as well.

Later, in 1255/1839, when he was almost seventeen, he went to Istanbul for further study on *'Ulüm-i Âliyye*. He settled in a college where the *'Ulüm-i Âliyye* are studied, or to be precise the Medrese of Papasoğlu, in the Çarşamba, a district in Istanbul.

Before arriving in Istanbul, some of his relatives wanted him to go to the Military College, to study there, but his grand father Hacı 'Alî Efendi did not agree with them upon this matter, but insisted upon send-

2 Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 4; F. 'Aliye, *op.cit.* p. 9. İbrâhîm b. Muḥammed b. İbrâhîm el-Ḥalebî is a famous *Ḥanefî* author. Born in Aleppo, he studied first in his native town and later in Cairo; then he went to Istanbul where he lived for more than fifty years during the lifetime of Süleyman the Magnificent (1494-1566). He was deeply learned in the Arabic language, exegesis, reciting the *Kur'an*, *Hadis*, and especially in *Fıkıh*. He died in 956/1549, more than 90 years old, and was buried in İstanbul. His main work is the *Mültekâ'l-ebhur*, in short, *Mültekâ*, a handbook of the *furu'* according to the doctrine of the *Ḥanefî* School. The book contains every detail about Islamic jurisprudence as a religious and legal system, as well as the differences of the opinions between the four *Sünnî* Schools. The author, İbrâhîm Halabî was the first jurist who classified Islamic Law under appropriate titles: religious observances, criminal Law and transactions. Transactions are further subdivided into: family law, monetary transactions, securities, and disputes.

İbrâhîm Halabî named his book as *Mültekâ'l-ebhur* (The Confluence of the Seas), because it was based on the main books of the *Ḥanefî* School, including *el-Hidâye* of Burhânu'd-Dîn 'Alî el-Margînânî (d. 593/1197). The rest are: i) the *Muhtaşar* of el-Ḳudûrî (d. 428/1037), a *Ḥanefî* jurist; ii) the *Muhtâr fî furu'ül-Ḥanefiyye* of Abdullâh Musulî (d. 683/1284) iii) the *Kenzu'l-Dakâik* of Ebu'l-Berekât en-Nesefî (d. 710/1310), an important *Ḥanefî* jurist and theologian; iv) and the *Vikâyetu'r-Rivâye fî Mesâilül-Hidâye* of Burhânu'd-Dîn Mahmûde'l-Maḥbûbî (d. 750/1349).

The *Mültekâ* was compiled in 923/1517. It had an immediate success and acquired very numerous commentaries, of which the first was that of his pupil 'Aliyyu'l-Ḥalebî (d. 967/1559). Less than half a century later, under the same name another commentary appeared by M.b.M. el-Ḥalebî (d. 1014/1605). It appears that the foregoing book *Ḥalebî* is one of these. Haĵî Khalfa, *Keşfü'z-zünûn*, ed. Flüegel, vi. pp. 102-5, gives no less than fifteen authors who had written commentaries of it. The most popular of all the later ones are: i) *Mecma'a'l-Ebhur fî Şerhi Mültekâ'l-Ebhur* of 'Abdu'r-Rahmân b. es-Şeyh Muḥammed b. Süleyman, known as Dâmâd Efendi, or Şeyhî-zâde (d. 1078/1667); *Dürri'l-Müntekâ fî Şerhi'l-Mültekâ* of el-Ḥaskafî (d. 1088/1677). These two books were published in İstanbul in 1328/1910.

The *Mültekâ'l-Ebhur*, has also been translated into Turkish and commented upon in that language at different times by some thirty authors, not all of these translated

ing him to a *medrese*. His father İsmâ'il Ağa, and mother 'Ayşe Sünbül Hanım, took no side in the dispute. Then, young Ahmed wanted to come to the capital, since otherwise, he said, it would have been a waste of time to stay any longer in Lofça for schooling although he could have continued his studies with the former *Müfti* of Lofça, known as Deli Müfti. Eventually, one day he was forced to make a decision. He saw Deli Müfti teaching the *Tefsîr-i Kâdî Beydâvî* to students whose ages were more than forty. It was then that he realised that he could not carry on with them, and it was better for him to set off for Istanbul³.

Finally, he was sent to Istanbul in 1839, and settled in the above-mentioned medrese, where he was to spend six or seven years. A few months later, Sultan Maḥmūd II (1784-1839) died on 1 July 1839 and was succeeded to the throne by Sultan 'Abdü'l-Mecîd. Shortly afterwards «the great reform edict of November 3, 1839, which marked the opening of Abdulmecid's reign, was issued in his name as a formal imperial rescript, or Hatt-ı Humâyün»⁴. Thereafter, a new era started called *Tanzimât* (Reorganization). «It was not, however, promulgated on the sultan's initiative but was the work of a brilliant statesman Mustafa Reşid Paşa, minister of foreign affairs»⁵. This event, in the following years, urged a number of new reforms on the lines of the Westernization of the

but some only annotated. These are mentioned in Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *'Osmanlı Müellifleri*, i.p. 183. The best known Turkish translation is that of Mehmed Mevkûfâtî, who wrote about 1050/1640. This became the authoritative handbook of the *Hanefî* School of Law within the Ottoman Empire. Judges' references to the *Mültekâ*, particularly from the second half of the 18th century onwards in the country demonstrates the importance of this work, see, İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 115. On İbrâhîm Halebî and his work see, J. Schacht, *EI*² Art. «Al-Halabî»; Mecîdî Efendi, *Şakâik-i Nu'mâniyye Tercümesi*. (İstanbul 1269/1852), p. 492f. For the sources of the *Mültekâ*, see, İbrâhîm Halebî, *Mültekâ'l-Ebhur*, (İstanbul 1309/1891), p. 2.

3 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 4f; F. 'Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet*, p. 10. Nâsîru'd-Dîn Ebu'l-Ḥayr 'Abdu'l-lah b. 'Omer Muḥammed b. 'Alî, the author of the *Tefsîr-i Kâdî Beydâvî* was one of the distinguished scholars in the Muslim world. He had a reputation for wide learning, and wrote on a number of subjects, including Kur'anic commentary, *Uşûl-i Fıkâh*, theology and the Arabic grammar. The most famous of his works is his commentary on the *Kur'ân*, entitled *Envâr-ı Tenzîl ve Esrâr-ı Te'vîl* which is widely read in the *medreses* in Turkey, because it was regarded as the best commentary by the *Sünnî* Muslims. On him and the work see, Brockelman, *GAL*², p. 530; *idem*, *SEI* Art. «al-Baidâwî»; J. Robson, *EI*² Art. «al-Baydâwî»; Taşkopri-zâde, *Mevdû'âtü'l-'Ulûm*, 2 vols., (İstanbul, 1313/1895), i. p. 555.

4 R.H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, (Princeton 1963), p. 36.

5 *Ibid.*

country. As far as our subject is concerned, new laws were drafted, e.g. criminal, commercial, and land laws, which will be described later on.

At this time young Ahmed was studying with various outstanding scholars, and living a very comfortable life, thanks to his parents' financial support. Realising this opportunity he did not waste time, and studied hard. For instance, in their hostel, students used to take turns to cook, but when it was Ahmed's turn he used to pay for the cooking, in order to save time. A few years later, when he still had little knowledge of the rules of Istanbul examinations, he took an examination a particularly difficult one in the Medrese of Hamidiye in 1259/1843. This college had many study-bedrooms. Each room was assigned to two students, one of whom was called an internal student who had to live there; the other an external student who had to live in different college. The external student also was meant to go the tomb of Sultan Maḡmūd I (1696-1754) to recite the *Ḳur'ān* every morning, and was paid a fixed amount of money for this job. Ahmed Efendi, had twice, passed the kind of exam, which entitled him to both internal and external students' rights, but did not go to the tomb, firstly because it was too far from where he was living, and secondly because he had lessons in the Mosque of Fātih, which is far from the *Yeni Cāmi'* (New Mosque) in Eminönü, where Maḡmūd I's tomb was built. Anyhow, Ahmed was content merely with the honour of passing the exams, and gave the salary for recitation to his friend who undertook the task on his behalf.

At that time, the students of the *medreses* had not been disturbed by any political, or social discomfort, although many of them, with the exception of Ahmed, were short of money and other necessities. They confined themselves to their schools, as if isolated, and taking little notice of the outside world, were only concerned with what they were studying. During the weekends they used to gather together and discuss many philosophical, scientific, ethical and moral subjects, but never politics. After 1260/1844 this quality of the students disappeared, and the system of education was corrupted. Whenever Ahmed Efendi attended their meetings he no longer heard discussions of scholarly value, but met with unintellectual conversations and vulgar manners. It was for this reason that he stopped joining this kind of gatherings⁶.

6 These details of Ahmed's life are summed up from his own accounts in Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. pp. 5-7, and the information on his biography in the following pages will be derived from the same source unless otherwise noted; F. 'Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet.*, pp. 7-12, is based on her father's accounts above. These two are the indispen-

Hence these years were the background of his future success, during which he took advantage of every opportunity. As well as following the traditional *medrese* courses he also studied mathematics, algebra, geometry, and astronomy, which disappeared in the later years from the *medreses*. He also devoted some of his spare time to the study of Persian in the convent of Murad Molla (*Murad Molla Tekkesi*) in the Çarşamba quarter of the capital.

During the «three months», i.e., *Receb*, *Şa'ban*, and *Ramađan* the students of the *medrese* used to go various parts of the country to recite the *Kur'an*, lead the services in the mosque and to preach to the people, to earn money upon which to live. This entailed wasting time, infact almost half of the time available during a year. But, by living on his own and with his parents' help Ahmed Efendi was fortunate enough to save his time and to make use of it. While the others were travelling for their livelihood he stayed in Istanbul and studied hard. Except for twice when he visited his parents during the month of *Ramađan* in Lofça; secondly when he travelled to Salonica, Serez and Drama. Otherwise he took advantage of staying in Istanbul, learning even more during these holidays than he did during the academic months.

According to him, those days gave him the chance to learn in six years that which otherwise could have taken ten years. There were many teachers who wanted to teach during the holiday. Ahmed visited them, and received discources. But at the same time, he himself was a teacher. For instance, he taught Colonel Nuri Bey (d. 1277/1860), a teacher at the Technical Imperial College (*Hendesehâne-i Berriyye*), *Muhtaşari'l-Me'âni* of Sa'dü'd-Din Taftazânî (d. 792/1390), about rhetoric, and *Kâdimîr* of Kâdî Mir el-Maybadî', on theology, philosophy, logic and physics.

sible primary works on Cevdet Paşa's life from which all the recent works stemmed. They are as follows : M. Cevdet, «Dâru'l-Mu'allimîn'in... ilk Mudirî Cevdet Paşa...», *TM*, VII : 39 pp. 429f.; Ebu'l-Ula Mardin, *Medenî Hukuk Cephesinden Ahmed Cevdet Paşa*, (Istanbul, 1946), pp. 13ff.; M. Şakir Ülkutaşır, *Cevdet Paşa.*, (Ankara 1945), pp. 7 ff.; A. Ölmezoglu, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa: Hayatı ve Eserleri*, (unpublished BA. thesis, İstanbul University *Edebiyat Fakültesi, Türkiyat Enstitüsü*, nr. 9), pp. 1ff.; *idem.*, *IA* Art. «Cevdet Paşa»; R.L. Chambers, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa: The Formative Years of an Ottoman Transitional*, (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1968), pp. 20ff.; *idem.*, «The Education of a Nineteen-Century Ottoman Âlim, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa», *IJMS*, IV:4 (1973), pp. 441ff.

7 *Kâdimîr*, used to be regarded a philosophical work until a century ago. New developments in philosophy made it out of date. For the book, see, A. Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, (Istanbul 1970), pp. 46-47; Z. Velidi Togan, *Tarihde Usul*, (Istanbul 1950), p. 185.

As a reward for this job he learned from him algebra, mathematics, geometry and logarithms through the books entitled *Mecmu'atü'l-Mühendisîn* (Review of Engineers) by Hüseyin Rifkî Efendi (d. 1814)⁸, and *Mecmu'a-i 'Ulüm-ı Rivâziyye* (Review of Mathematical Sciences) by Hoca İshak Efendi (d. 1834)⁹.

Sometimes he had problems to be solved, and brought them to 'Osman Şaib Efendi (d. 1834), the chief astrologer of the Sultan, and lecturer in the Medical School. Within the Medrese of Papasoğlu, it was the same as outside. There, too, he taught fellow-students *Kitâb-i Şâfiye* of İbn Hâcib (d. 640/1248), about Arabic grammar, and wrote a commentary on it, entitled *Gâyetü'l-Beyân*. At the same time he produced an original book called *Beyânu'l-Ünwân* (Explanation of the Titles), which was about the prefaces to the books students had. This is the book which gained him a good reputation among the students. Another chance occurred for Ahmed to prove his abilities. Students, who knew mathematics were very few. They had to know how to measure the altitude of the sun and the moon when they spread around the country particularly during the month of *Ramadân*, because it depends on the rising and setting of the sun¹⁰. For this they used to consult the Treatises on the Woden Astrolabe (*Rub' Risâleleri*). Ahmed Efendi wrote a pamphlet on this topic, entitled *Ta'rifü'l-Irtifâ* (Definition of the Height), in order to make it easier to check the right time. About this time he became entitled to live in the Başkurşunlu Medrese which is an annexe of the Court of the Eight Medreses attached to the great Mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror in Istanbul. The place where he lived, had been assigned, several centuries ago, to Hasan Çelebi (d. 1535), an annotator of *Mutavvel* of el-Taftazânî on rhetoric.

In this latest lodging he was more comfortable than ever, read a great number of books, and wrote many annotations on Arabic grammar books, such as *Emsile*¹¹, *Binâ*¹², and *Netâicü'l-Efkâr*¹³; later on *Mutavvel* itself.

8 For him see, İ. Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul 1947 ?), p. 180.

9 For him, his works, as well as his caree, see, A. Adivar, *op.cit.* pp. 196-197; İ.A. Gövsa, *op.cit.*, p. 191.

10 This measurement is usually carried out to corrects the time at noon. Cf. M.Z. Pâkalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, (3 vols., İstanbul 1946-1954), ii. p. 82, defines «irtifa almak»; *ibid.*, iii. p. 53, describes «Rubu' Tahtası».

11 By el-Hanâî, an Egyptian grammarian; his another book written in 307/919. See, Taşköprü-zâde, *Mevdî'atü'l-'Ulüm*, i.p. 152.

12 Anonymous.

13 By Şeyh M. b. Hamza. It was written in 1085/1674. (See, *OM*. i. p. 213). It is a commentary on the *Izhar* of Birgivi Muhammed (d. 1573):

Ahmed Cevdet classified the most distinguished scholars of the age as follows¹⁴ :

i) The greatest *ulemā* in the middle of the nineteenth century :

a) Akşehirli 'Ömer Efendi (d. 1267/1850), a retired scholar, the Private Imām of the sultans 'Abdü'l-Mecid (1823-1861), and 'Abdü'l-'Aziz (1830-1876), and lastly a *Ders Vekili*¹⁵.

b) Imām-zāde Es'ad Efendi (d. 1267/1850), who supported many government reforms carried out by Sultan Mahmūd II. His and his colleagues' cooperations in educational reform brought about the establishment of *Mekteb-i Ma'arif-i 'Adliyye* a new school to train government officials, to which Imām-zāde Es'ad was appointed as superintendent with the title of *Mekteb-i Ma'arif-i 'Adliyye Nāzırı*¹⁶. He was later promoted to the rank of *Kādi'asker* of Rumelia. He is the author of several works, like *Hilyetü'n-Nāci*, an annotation on the *Halebî* about Islamic jurisprudence; *Dür-ri Yektā* and its *şerh* (exposition) on creed; *Qadānın Taşdik ve Tefriki* on logic; and *İnfi'āl Bābının Tatbiki* which deals with Arabic grammar. When he delivered his discourses about *Şerh-i 'Akā'id* (Creed), in the Mosque of İbrāhīm Paşa, near the Conqueror's Mosque, Ahmed Efendi, too, attended.

c) Antakyalı Sa'id Efendi (d. 1271/1854), the *Kādi'asker* of Anatolia, taught *Muta'avel* in the Süleymaniye Mosque. Ahmed Efendi sometime,

14 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. pp. 8-9; F. 'Aliye, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-19.

15 *Ders Vekili* was one of the officials in the office of the *Şeyhu'l-Islām*. When the Sultan Beyazid II founded his *medrese* in 911/1505, it was a condition that the *Şeyhu'l-Islām*, or the Grand *Müfti* of Istanbul had to teach there once a week. But he could not do this, due to pressure of his work in the office. Therefore a *müderres* was appointed to teach there, and also to inspect the teaching and examinations in the *medreses*. He was always chosen from amongst the high level *müderres* and known as *Ders Vekili*. This procedure continued until the abolition of Caliphate in 1924. See, İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İmniye Teşkilatı* Ankara 1965), p. 205. On Akşehirli, see, E. Mardin, *Medeni Hukuk Cephesinden Ahmet Cevdet Paşa*, p. 16, n. 24.

16 Ahmed Lütfi, *Tarih-i Lütfi*, (8 vols., İstanbul, 1291-1328/1874-1910), v. p. 137; İhsan Sungu, «Mekteb-i Ma'arif-i 'Adliyyenin Tesisi», *TV*, I: 3 (1942), p. 212 f; Ü. Heyd, «The Ottoman 'Ulema and Westernization.» *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961), p. 68; M. Cevād, *Ma'arif-i 'Umūmiyye Nezāreti Tarihçe-i Teşkilatı ve İcra'atı*, (İstanbul 1338/1910), pp. 23, 25, 36, 40. On this school see, O. Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, 5 vols., (İstanbul 1939-1943), ii. pp. 330-341; İ. Sungu, *loc.cit.*; M. Cevād, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-26. On Es'ad Efendi, see, *OM*, i. p. 244; M. Süreyyā, *Sicilli 'Osmani*, 4 vols., (İstanbul 1308-1311/1890-1893), i. p. 341; M. Cevād, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

joined the audience, as well. Sa'îd Efendi was the master on *Hadîs* and *Tefsîr*¹⁷.

d) Denizlili Yahyâ Efendi (d. 1275/1858), a retired *müderris*, and the greatest scholar in his time, from whom Ahmed benefited immensely¹⁸. In 1243/1827 he was appointed as Private *İmâm* of the Sultan, and tutor for princes in the Imperial Court, later *Ders Vekîlî*, deputy *müderris* in the *Medrese* of Beyazîd. When a Teachers' Training College was established in 1848¹⁹, the regulations of which were drafted by Ahmed Cevdet Efendi²⁰, Yahyâ Efendi became Headmaster, as well as a member of the Academy of Learning (*Encümen-i Dâniş*) established in 1267/1850. These are Ahmed Cevdet's words which explain the relations between them :

«On 26 Muḥarrem 1275 / 5 September 1858, the *Ders Vekîlî* Hoca Yahyâ Efendi died, at the age of almost eighty... Occasionally, I used to visit him and benefit immensely from his friendly and cheerful conversations. One day I raised a number of questions about *Uşûl-i Fıkâh* which puzzled me. His reply was this : «Later in his life, the *Ayaklı Kütüphanê* [lit., library with feet, that is, a learned man. This denotes Müftî-zâde Mehmed Emîn Efendi (d. 1808)²¹] taught '*Arâ'is* [by Müfessir İmâm Şa'lebî (d. 427/1036)²², on the history of the prophets]. Our Hoca Emîn Efendi together with Muşannif Efendi attended his discourses for three or four months. Once, while the latter two were discussing their lectures Hoca Emîn said to Muşannif that they had not been able to study the *Uşûl-i*

17 On Sa'îd Efendi, see, Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 8; E. Mardin, *Cevdet Paşa* n26; Fatma 'Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Zamânı*, p. 14f.

18 On Yahya Efendi, see, Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, ii. pp. 68-69; F. 'Aliye, *op. cit.*, p. 15; E. Mardin, *op. cit.* p. 17, n27.

19 On this college (*Dârü'l-Mu'allimîn*), see, M. Cevâd, *Ma'ârif-i 'Umûmiyye*, pp. 39, 62; Osman Ergin, *Maarif Tarihi*, ii. 475-85.

20 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. pp. 38-39, 46; İbnü'l-Emîn M. Kemâl, *Evkâf-ı Hümayûn.*, p. 161, n 1.

21 For Müftî-zâde Emîn, see, Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, iv. p. 231f; *OM.* i. p. 215. His well known disciples were Tatarcık 'Abdu'l-lah Efendi, and ismâ'îl Gelenbevi (d. 1970). The first one was a distinguished statesman and scholar during the reign of Selim III (d. 1808): Cevdet, *op.cit.*, p. 232. Speaking of Gelenbevi İsmâ'îl Efendi, he is the author of *Hisâbu'l-Küsür* in mathematics, of *Burhân-ı Gelenbevi* in logic, and of *Şerh-i Cedvel* in logarithm.

22 For Şa'lebî, see, Taşköpri-zâde, *Mevdû'âtü'l-'Ulûm*, i. 515.

Fıkıh properly but fortunately they met a man who knew it, and realised what the *Uşul-i Fıkıh* was. This meant that the *Uşul-i Fıkıh* had gone with the *Ayaklı Kütüphane*. I myself have not even met one person who knew *Uşul-i Fıkıh* thoroughly. This science (*'ilim*) has not been passed to us by our predecessors. As a matter of fact we have read and taught a good deal of books on *Uşul-i Fıkıh*, but we could not become an authority on the subject»²³.

ii) Second group *'ulemā* :

a) Vidinli Muştafa Efendi (d. 1271/1854), known as Vidinli Hoca, one of the greatest scholars of his time, and trained many students. He was a Private Imām of the Sultan for *huzūr dersleri* («a lecture in the Sultan's presence in a mosque or in the Palace on certain days during the month for *Ramadān*). In his discourses about the roots of Islamic Law he followed the *Mir'at* of Molla Hüsrev (d. 1480)²⁴. He knew how to secure the attention of his audience, because being a good speaker he talked to them according to their capacity, that is on three levels: advanced, intermediate and elementary. His students, when they graduated, spread over the country. One of them, Arnavud 'Alī Efendi, was regarded as being superior to those of the third group *'ulema* in Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's list which we are dealing with presently. Therefore he started to teach, and Ahmed Efendi studied prosody and literature with him.

b) Şehrī Hāfız Efendi²⁵.

c) Giritli Süleymān Efendi, known as Giritli Hoca, was a *dersi'ām*, that is public preacher in Conqueror's Mosque, not included in the hierarchy of teaching (*tarīk-ı tadrīs*). In his discourses he taught *Muṭavvel* to a number of students, of course, including Ahmed Cevdet. He delivered sermons in mosques other than Conqueror's Mosque, such as the mosques of Şeyh-zāde, Valide, Lāleli, Sultānselīm, and Eyüb Sultān. He was one of those preachers who were called *kaṭar şeyhi*, that is, preachers who delivered sermons in the mosques built at the Sultans' command (*Selāṭin Cāmileri*). There existed amongst these preachers thirty-three degrees. The first degree was to preach in the Valide Mosque, in Ak-

23 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. pp. 68-69.

24 For Vidinli Hoca, see, Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 9; E. Mardin, *Medenî Hukuk Cephesinden Ahmed Cevdet Paşa*, p. 18, n 27 a.

25 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 8; F. 'Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet*, p. 14. We do not know much about his life.

saray, the quarter of İstanbul round this mosque. The last, the thirty-third degree, was to preach at the Mosque of Hagia Sophia. Thus, the *kağar şeyhs* were these thirty-three Friday preachers, who used to be chosen from amongst the *müderris* who failed to pass the examination of İstanbul *Ruusu*²⁶.

d) Hekim Hāmid Efendi, a physician, extremely intelligent who was able to teach without preparation. He was a charitable man who gave medicines to the students when they needed them free of charge²⁷.

iii) The third group *'ulemā* :

a) Hāfız Seyyid Efendi, who was an able scholar of Arabic grammar, and lived in the Medrese of İsmā'īl Ağa near to the Çarşamba Bazaar, and did not mix with the people much. As soon as his evening and morning classes were over he went straight away to his place of solitude, and there enjoyed reading books. Whenever students came to him he taught them eagerly. During the holidays when everyone else had gone, Ahmed took advantage of this opportunity. Hence they studied together, for three months until the last day of *Ramadān*. This is one of the men from whom Ahmed learned much²⁸.

b) Birgivi Şākir Efendi, too, was a great scholar in philosophy, particularly in logic²⁹.

iv) In the fourth group scholars there is no great savant. Many of them were public preachers (*dersi'ām*). It was commonly believed that the small number of distinguished scholars was a sign of the decline of science in the country³⁰.

When Ahmed Efendi first came to İstanbul he joined the classes of Toyranlı Mehmed Efendi in the Fatih Mosque, besides the teachings of scholars of the fourth group. But he very soon realised that the fourth group of scholars were no more use to him as they were unable to teach advanced students, a great many of whom were idle for this reason, and

26 E. Mardin, *Cevdet Paşa*, p. 19, n 29. The examination of İstanbul *Ruusu* was held to attain a certificate for teaching in the mosques: *ibid.*, p. 14, n 17. See also, İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye.*, p. 284, n 3.

27 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 8.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 15-16.

29 For him see, Cevdet, *op.cit.*, pp. 8, 10; E. Mardin, *Cevdet.*, p. 19, n 32.

30 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 8.

began to seek a new master. Fortunately, Muştafa Efendi, the Vidinli Hoca, then started to give an *icâzet* (diploma)³¹.

Therefore the students, urged him to teach them in the Mosque of Nişancı, and Birgivi Şakir Efendi, too, in the Mosque of Dülger-zâde.

31 *İcâzet vermek* meant to give a diploma to the students of *medrese*. Whoever possess it, can be a *müderris*, a lecturer in the *medrese*. It indicates the name of the student and his teacher with his predecessors and the subject that he studied. It can be taken for both religious and scientific subjects. The religious subjects which were exegesis, jurisprudence, theology, *Hadîs*, and so forth, went back to the first *Şeyhu'l-Islâm*. Hence this means for a student that whatever subject he chooses from these, will be shown on the *icâzet* with the name of *müderris* as well as his predecessors'. This chain of names links the contemporary scholar and Fahr'u'd-Dîn el-Râzî (543/1149-606/1209), the *Şeyhu'l-Islâm* in the sixth century A.H. In view of his wide knowledge he was regarded as the first *Şeyhu'l-Islâm* of his kind. The subjects which he was a master of, are classified under twelve headings: History, *Fıkâh*, *Kur'ân*, *İlm-i Kelâm*, Philosophy, Astrology Cheiromancy, Rhetoric, Encyclopaedia, Medicine, Physiognomy, Alchemy. For these, see, G. Anawati, *EI*², Art. «Fakhr al-Dîn Râzî». For Fahr'u'd-Dîn Râzî's life and works, see, Taşköprü-zâde, *Mevdu'ât.*, i. p. 565 f; Brockelmann, *SI*, pp. 920-924; J.H. Kramers, *SEI*, Art. «Al-Râzî»; P. Kraus and S. Pines, *EI*, Art. «Al-Râzî».

«The honorific title of *Şeyhu'l-Islâm* has always been reserved for 'ulemâ and mystics, who first appeared in the second half of the fourth century. A.H. In the sixth century Fahr'u'd-Dîn Râzî was called *Şeyhu'l-Islâm*, after him the theologian al-Taftâzânî. In Syria and in Egypt, however it had become a title of honour — but not an official one — which could only be given to jurists and more particularly to those who by their *fetvâs* had attained a certain fame or approval of a great body of jurists, especially at the beginning of the Mamlûk period. But it gained most glory after it had become applied particularly to the Muftî of Istanbul, whose office in the empire of the Ottoman Sultans in time acquired a religious and political importance without parallel in other Muslim countries»: J.H. Kramers, *EI*¹, Art. «Shaykh al-Islam». The historians Ahmed Refik and 'Ali Emiri Efendi give full account of 124 of the Ottoman *Şeyhu'l-Islams*, starting with M. Şemsu'd-Dîn Molla Fenârî (d. 834/1430) as a first official *Şeyhu'l-Islâm*, down to Hayru'l-lâh Efendi who held office until November 1916. Cf. *İlmiyye Salnâmesi*, pp. 304-640. A most recent book, A. Altunsu, *Osmanlı Şeyhü'l-İslâmları*, (Ankara 1972), gives a little more detailed biographies of all the Ottoman *Şeyhu'l-Islams*, 129 in number, including a list which shows the term of their occupations and the reign of the Sultans of the time.

Turning back to *icâzetnâme*, it shows the time which goes through Molla Fenârî, in the Ottoman period, to Fahr'u'd-Dîn Râzî in the sixth century A.H. See, İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 76. On Molla Fenârî, see, H. Hüsameddin, «Molla Fenârî», *TTEM*, XVI: (95) 18 (1 *Teşrin-i sani* 1926), pp. 368-383; *ibid.*, XVI: (96) 19, pp. 148-158, which is a comprehensive work; J.R. Walsh, *EI*², Art. «Fenârî-zâde»; *İlmiye Salnâmesi*, (İstanbul 1334/1916), pp. 322-323; İ.H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, 4 vols., (İstanbul 1947-1961), ii. pp. 432-433. Taşköprü-zâde, *Mevdu'atı'l-'Ulûm*, i. pp. 572-574.

These students, wandering from one professor (*müderris*) to another, became known as the mutineers (*ehl-i kıyām*).

Ahmed Efendi already had a good knowledge of logic. But Şakir Efendi's new courses stimulated him to take part in the discourses, because he was the only *müderris* who knew logic very well. Finally he began to go there in the morning, and in the afternoon to the Fatih Mosque to study *Muṭavvel* with Vidinli Hoca where three hundred students attended. At the beginning they did not agree with the *müderris*, upon many points, but later all kept silent, except Ahmed, and a few of his friends who continued to argue, or, to say freely what they thought³².

Vidinli Hoca was a proud but, at the same time, a humane man. One day Ahmed Efendi went so far in insisting on certain points that he made Vidinli Hoca so angry that he scolded Ahmed. Of course, this made Ahmed unhappy for some time. A few weeks later, when he was again before his pupils Vidinli Hoca uttered: «the one who comes from Lofça, was right». He meant Ahmed Efendi, referring to the last event. These words made Ahmed happy again, and he respected him more than ever. Ahmed studied his lessons diligently in Nişanca Mosque in the afternoon, and in Fatih Mosque on holidays.

But Ahmed received his *icāzet* from Birgivi Şakir Efendi, because there was a custom that it can only be given by the morning's *müderris*, and Şakir Efendi was teaching in Dülger-zâde Mosque in the morning³³.

Kara Halil Efendi (d. 1298/1880), who was one of the students of Şakir Efendi, began to teach *Vaz'iyye-i Islām*³⁴. All the mutineers came to him, and shortly, very strong and sharp words were exchanged. One of their leaders was Ahmed Efendi. But Kara Halil did not yield, and courageously stood against them in arguments receiving a good reputation, because a teacher with this ability was a great person in the sight of the people who regarded him as a first class scholar.

Kara Halil Efendi later served in the office of *Şeyḫu'l-Islām* as *Fetvā Emīni* («the head of the office dealing out fetvas under the *Şeyḫu'l-Islām*»), and was a member of the *Mecelle* Committee for seven years be-

32 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. pp. 9-10; F. 'Aliye, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-17.

33 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 11; F. 'Aliye, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

34 By İsamü'd-Dîn İsferrâinî, about the rules of *ādâb*: Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 314.

fore he became 114th *Şeyhü'l-İslâm*. He was a deeply learned man on jurisprudence³⁵.

Then, his master Şakir Efendi began to teach the *Tehzibü'l-Manṭık ve'l-Kelâm* of el Taftazānī, a manual of logic and Muslim Fatih, completed in 783/1381. The students who wanted to follow him had no adequate knowledge of logic. Therefore, it had been decided to teach them first *Burhān-ı Gelenbevi*, and the job was offered to Ahmed Efendi. At first he was not eager to undertake this responsibility, because the students he would teach were older than him. But, finally, he accepted the job as a *muşākereci* («a master who hears the students reciting their lessons, or a tutor»). Due to the difficulties of this task he had to work for almost twenty-four hours a day to read all the books in logic in order to deliver competent lessons. Following this, his friends again urged him to teach *Ḳāḍimîr*³⁶ in the Dülger-zāde Mosque³⁷. To do this he was obliged to read number of logic books. He really worked hard for this task until he made himself ill. His body grew weak, due to studying the whole night without

35 Cevdet Paşa, in his «Ma'rûzât: Beşinci Cüzdan», BK. MS. 25, folio. 21, where he is describing the deposition of Sultan 'Abdu'l-'Azîz, puts these words about Ḥalîl Efendi: «Midhat Paşa invited him to his palace and persuaded him about the deposition with unproved imputations against the Sultan, then he promised to issue a *fetvâ* for legalizing the action. In fact Ḥalîl Efendi was one of the great scholars of his time but he lacked knowledge about the politics of the time, consequently he was easily convinced by the politicians like a child, and that is why he promised to issue a *fetvâ* about the deposition». Fatma 'Aliye Hanım, the daughter of Cevdet Paşa, says: «when I was young, Kara Ḥalîl visited my father, several times. He was respected more than anyone else among the visitors.» Cf. F. 'Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Zamânî*, p. 19.

36 «Ḳāḍimîr, is a summary of the philosophy, theology and metaphysics. Its main parts are the same as modern philosophy. But examples of the events of nature are very few, and the arguments based on abstract ideas are excessive. So, it hinders the development of intelligence, so that human reason was forced to deal with the rules of abstracts without knowing the conditions and consequences of the events. This method of teaching *Ḳāḍimîr* was dangerous for the students. It seems that Ahmed Cevdet was obliged to read the books about mathematics and philosophy translated by Hoca Ishak Efendi from the Latin, in order to teach these lessons»: [Mu'allim] Cevdet, «Dârü'l-Mu'allimîn'in Yetmiş Birinci Sene-i Devriyesi Vesilesiyle Müessesenin İlk Müdürü Cevdet Paşa'nın Ḥayât-ı 'İmriyyesi Üzerine Konferans», *İM*, VII: 39 (1 *Haziran* 1333), p. 432. *Ḳāḍimîr* is regarded as a Fıkh book by Cavid Baysun, in Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv, index. This assumption is contradicted by the following words of Cevdet: «when I started to teach the *Ḳāḍimîr* I was obliged to study throughly all the logic books», *ibid.*, p. 12. Obviously there was no need to look at logic books for jurisprudence.

37 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv, pp. 11-12; F. 'Aliye, *op.cit.*, pp. 19-20.

sleep. He even once fall asleep while was studying. On hearing this, He-kim Hâmid Efendi, the physician *müderris*, forbade him to study too much, and advised him to take some rest on holiday. Acting upon this advice Ahmed procured a bed for his room, and began to sleep and work regularly³⁸.

Henceforth he began to learn Persian in the *Murād Molla Tekkesi* in Çarşamba during the holidays. For him the journeying to and from the *Tekke* was a relaxation³⁹.

The *Murād Molla Tekkesi*⁴⁰ was a *Naqşibendî* institution and founded in 1183/1769 by the then *Kādî'asker* of Anatolia Şeyh Mehmed Murād Naqşibendî (d. 1778)⁴¹. Later a library and a *Dāri'ül-Meşnevî* were added. The library still exists today bearing the same title as the *Tekke* - Murād Molla Library. In turn, the *Tekke* had its own *şeyhs* who conducted the institution. During Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's youth the *şeyh* was Mehmed Murād Efendi (1788-1848), a namesake of the founder. The latter had a medrese education and mastered Persian. Among other subjects he wrote a Persian grammar entitled *Kavāid-i Fārisiyye* and a commentary on the *Meşnevî* of Celālu'd-Dīn Rūmî⁴².

Persian was not taught in the *medreses* for fear of teaching *şî'a* heresies. But it could be taught by individuals and by the institutions like *Dāri'ül-Meşnevî*⁴³, or *Meşnevîhâne*. The main object of learning Persian was to understand the meaning of the *Meşnevî*. It was the same for Ahmed Efendi who, like many others learnt Persian in the *Tekke*.

38 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 12; F. 'Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet*, p. 21.

39 Cevdet, *op.cit.*, pp. 12-13; F. 'Aliye, *loc.cit.*

40 Information on the *Murād Molla Tekkesi*, and its *şeyh* can be found in Mu-zaffer Gökman, *Murad Molla: Hayatı, Kütüphanesi, Eserleri*, (İstanbul 1943); *idem.*, *Murat Molla Kütüphanesi* (İstanbul 1958). See also, Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. pp. 13, 15-17, 230; F. 'Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet*, pp. 22-24; Tahsin Öz, *İstanbul Camileri*, (Ankara 1962), pp. 107, 142; Semavi Eyice, «Kaybolan Bir Tarihi Eser: Şeyh Murad Mescidi», *TD*, XVII: 22 (March 1967), pp. 124-128.

41 For *Naqşibendî* order, see, Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasav-vıflar*, (Ankara 1966), index; D.S. Margoliouth, *SEI*, Art. «Nakshband»; M. Zeki Pâkalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, ii. pp. 650-51.

42 M. Gökman, *Murad Molla: Hayatı ve Eserleri*, p. 17.

43 O. Ergin, *Maarif Tarihi*, i. p. 133; M.Z. Pâkalın, *Deyimler*, i. p. 400. It is listed among those *Naqşibendî* institutions in İstanbul, in S. Eyice, *IA* Art. «İstanbul (Tarihi Eserler)».

By the time when Lofçalı Ahmed Efendi enrolled in the Murād Molla Tekkesi, there were two *mesnevihāns* in İstanbul⁴⁴. One of whom was Hoca Husāmu'd-Dīn Efendi (d. 1285/1868); who taught *Meşnevi*⁴⁵ in the Küçük Mustafa Paşa Mosque. He drew disciples from amongst the great civil functionaries. But every class of people could attend his sermons, in which Ahmed also participated some times.

The second *mesnevihān* was Mehmed Murād Efendi, in the *Dārü'l-Meşnevi* of the Murād Molla Tekkesi, beside the *medrese* where Ahmed lived. There he taught *Meşnevi* on certain days as well as other topics on other days. As far as its curriculum is concerned the *Tekke* was like a university (*dārü'l-fünūn*), in which many subjects, from the science and technology of the time to religious topics, were taught. To this place came many *'ulema*, statesmen, and literary figures. A number of students joined them from up and down the country. In his spare time, Ahmed Efendi, also attended to study Persian and *Meşnevi*.

In the meantime, when he was free, Ahmed went to the poet Süleymān Fehim Efendi⁴⁶. In his house in Karagümruk, not far from Ahmed's place, where they held literature meetings, and studied the *divans* of Şevket (d. 1107/1695-6) and 'Urfi (lived in second half of 10th/16th century), both of whom are Persian poets. Fehim Efendi was one of those who was taught by the Crimean born Ismā'il Ferruḥ Efendi (d. 1256/1840), the author of *Tefsīru'l-Mevākif* a Turkish commentary on the *Kur'an*. Although his Arabic was not as good as his Persian, Fehim was a very witty person, with a philosophical manner, and skilled in writing poetry. In his modest house where he lived on his own he entertained his visitors and taught Persian *divans*. Like *Murād Molla Tekkesi*, this was

44 On the following accounts see, Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 13.

45 *Meşnevi* is «poetry composed in rhymed couplets each couplet being of a different rhyme but the whole of one meter». The *Meşnevi-yi Şerif* itself was composed by Celāl'd-Dīn Rūmī, one of the great mystic poets of Islam who was born at Balkh in 604/1207, and died at Konya in 672/1273.

46 Süleymān Fehim Efendi (1788-1845), a poet and a scholar was a deeply learned man in Persian. After completing his official career as a secretary and a governor he retired to his house in Karagümruk, the quarter of Istanbul round the fortress, and taught Persian until his death. His *gazels* («lyric poems of a certain pattern comprising 4-15 couplets, with the first couplet rhyming, and all the second hemistichs rhyming with the hemistichs of the first couplet»), were compiled and published. Another work *Sefinetü's-Su'arā*, a note book of poets was also published. Cf. İ.A. Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları*, p. 133. On him further see, A. Canip Yöntem, *İA Art.* «Fehim»; İ.M.K. İnal, *Şairler*, 381.

another «university» where intellectuals gathered. Travelling around the country whilst carrying out his official work, Fehim Efendi developed a good knowledge about the internal as well as the foreign affairs of the country. Due to this background, sometimes in the meeting topics such as politics and education were discussed⁴⁷.

In addition to these meetings Ahmed Efendi also visited the poet Şaffet Efendi (d. 1867), a former pupil of Fehim Efendi, and with him improved his knowledge of poetry and composition.

In this environment, full of poets, writers and men of letters Ahmed found himself to be developing the style of the poets and writers. As a result he wrote poems in two languages - Turkish and Persian⁴⁸. His second name Cevdet is a result of those days. In Lofça, when he obtained a certificate in calligraphy for *şuhuş* and *nesih*⁴⁹, a sobriquet (*mahlās*) 'Vehbi' was added as his second name. In Ottoman history there are many poets whose names are Vehbi⁵⁰. To avoid this confusion, the Poet Fehim Efendi called him Cevdet by which he was generally known for the remainder of his life and by which he is still remembered.

In those days' scholars lived almost entirely in the quarters of Istanbul round the Conqueror's Mosque, Çarşamba and Karagümruk, which are very near to each other. Another scholar who deserves to be mentioned, is Kuşadalı İbrahim Efendi (d. 1846) a great mystic savant and a *şeyh* of the *Şa'bāniyye* branch of the *Halveti* order. He lived just opposite the Medrese of Papasoğlu in Çarşamba. He had many disciples amongst the viziers and the high officials on account of his wide knowledge of Islamic mysticism and of other Islamic sciences. It happened sometimes that they had to await their turn on the porch to be presented to this venerated scholar⁵¹. Ahmed Cevdet was his neighbour, and for the sake of neighbourliness joined the visitors. But this does not mean that he

47 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. pp. 13-14; F. 'Aliye, *Ahmed*, p. 25.

48 For examples of his poems, see, Fâtîh, *Tezkire-i Hâtimetu'l-Eş'âr*, (Istanbul 1271/1854), p. 48; Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. pp. 14, 19, 21-22, 27, 30-37, 40, 42-45, 59-60; M.K. İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, (Istanbul 1969), p. 239-240.

49 For examples of *nesih*, see, M.K. İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, (Istanbul 1955), pp. 16, 65, 155, 173, 219, 250.

50 These were Seyyid Vehbi and Sünbül-zade Vehbi, according to M. Cavid Bay-sun, «Cevdet Paşa: Şahsiyetine ve ilim sahasındaki faaliyetine dâir», *TME*, XI (1954), p. 215.

51 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 15, 302; F. 'Aliye, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

adhered to that order⁵². His concern was only to solve problems on *Tefsir*, *Hadis*, and *Fıkıh*, because he was really a very able man in *Tefsir*⁵³. To any question he was asked, he gave perfect answers whatever that question may have been. The questioner would be pleased with the witty remarks and excellent expressions he used⁵⁴.

Hafız Seyyid Efendi, whom we mentioned earlier, the great scholar who lived in the Medrese of İsmâ'il Ağa, never tolerated sufism although he was a devotee and ascetic person. Denying it, he challenged his colleague and neighbour, the Şeyh of Murād Molla, and uttered slander about his being a *Şî'a* and gone astray. The Şeyh did not remain silent and vituperated him as being an intolerant bigot. Ahmed Cevdet was equally close to both. This type of exchange of words urged him to learn the essence of the matter, but he did not incline to either side. Ahmed Cevdet, therefore, devoted much of his time to reading the sufi books, especially Muhyi'd-Din el-'Arabî and his works⁵⁵.

52 Fatma 'Aliye Hamm, the eldest daughter of Cevdet Paşa, emphasises that the Paşa and his family had never belonged to any *süfi* order; cf. F. 'Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Zamânı*, p. 21. She was born in 1864 in Istanbul, educated privately, wrote many books. Such as *Nisvân-ı İslâm* (Muslim Women), *Muhâdarât* (Literary Sayings), *Istilâ-yi İslâm* (Invasion of Islam), *Tetkik-i Ecsâm* (Close Examination of Material Things), *Levâiyih-i Hayat* (Memorandum of Life), *Terâcüm-i Ahvâl-i Felâsife* (Interpretation of the Circumstances of Philosophers), *İslam Kadınları* (Muslim Women), *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Zamânı*, (Istanbul 1332/1914), *Mahmûd Esat Efendi'nin Ta'addüd-i Zevcâtına Zeyl* (A Supplement to the Book of Polygomy of Mahmûd Es'ad Efendi), and 'Victory of Kosova'. One of her books was translated into French. See, BA: YEE, «Cevdet Paşa Evrakı», MS. 553/615. This must be the following title: 'ÂLIYAH, *Khânum*. Les Musulmanes contemporaines. Trois conférences, traduites de la langue turque par Nazimé-Roukié. pp. xii. 201. Paris, 1894. (See, *British Museum... Catalogue*, iii. 1965, p. 790). For the biography of Fatma 'Aliye, see. İ. Alaettin Gövsâ, *Türk Meşhurları*, pp. 132-133; Ahmed Mithat Efendi, *Fatma 'Aliye, yahud Bir Muharrirî-yi 'Osmâniyyenin Neş'etî*, (Istanbul 1895).

53 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 15.

54 *Ibid.*

55 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 16; F. 'Aliye, *op.cit.*, p. 27. Ebû 'Abdu'l-lâh M.b.A.M. Muhyi'd-Din el-'Arabî was one of the greatest *süfis* of Islam. In Turkey he is often referred to as Muhiiddin-i Arabî. He was born in 560/1165 in Murcia, in South-Eastern Spain, and died in 638/1240 in Damascus. He travelled extensively, Fez, Tunis, Cairo, Jerusalem, Mecca, Baghdad, Musul, Syria and Anatolia. From 1216 onwards he lived mainly at Malatya, in the south-east of Anatolia. He was the most prolific of all *süfi* writers. On his *süfi* works the most important are: *Futuhâtü'l-Melkiyye fi Esrârü'l-Melekiyye ve'l-Mülkiyye*, and *Fuşuşu'l-Hikem ve Huşuşu'l-Kilem*. For the biography Muhiiddin-i Arabî, see, Ahmed Ateş, *EI*², Art. «Ibn al-Arabî»; T.H. Wier, *SEI*, Art. «Ibn (al)-'Arabî».

The *Şeyh* of Murād Molla was one of the *kaṭar şeyhs*. He served as preacher at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque on Fridays, and was known on occasion to use this pulpit to criticise openly even so distinguished a person as the minister of *evkāf*⁵⁶. Whenever he was busy with personal work and had to deliver the sermon, he persuaded Ahmed Cevdet to go there on his behalf. Ahmed accepted it unwillingly, because he did not wish for any other than his academic career. He found it unpleasant to change his academic costume for another⁵⁷.

At about the same time Ahmed had received an offer from the War Academy (*Mekteb-i Harbiyye*), to teach Persian there. He did not accept it, simply because it was the rule to wear fez, frock-coat and modern style trousers there, and he did not want to take off his turban⁵⁸. So neither preachers' costume nor teachers' dress could tempt him to give up his academic form. The reason why, according to him, was that he only wanted to be a modest scholar reading and writing and distributing knowledge to others through publishing books and eventually to achieve lasting fame⁵⁹.

The *şeyh* of Murād Molla was a rich and charitable man. Besides his dervish lodge he built the *Dāri'ü'l-Meşnevî*. In its opening ceremony on 9 *Muḥarrem* 1260/30 January 1844, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Mecid, too, honoured it with his presence. While the *şeyh* was giving *icāzets* to his students, Ahmed Cevdet received an *icāzet* on the *Meşnevî*, too⁶⁰. So in those days' life for Ahmed was very enjoyable. Living with his father's support he did not face any financial difficulties at all. Meeting the greatest scholars and men of letters of the time, he indulged in reading books on different subjects, and writing poems⁶¹. However, his father's support could not be guaranteed for ever. Therefore the best thing to do was to obtain a salary which would enable him to meet his own expenses in the *medrese*.

56 F. 'Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet*, p. 23; cf. Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 16.

57 Cevdet, *loc.cit.*; F. 'Aliye, *op.cit.*, pp. 27-28.

58 Cevdet, *op.cit.*, p. 16; F. 'Aliye, *ibid.*, p. 28; M. Cevdet, «Dāru'l-Mu'allimîn'in İlk Müdiri Cevdet Paşa», *op.cit.*, p. 434.

59 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 17; F. 'Aliye, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

60 Cevdet, *loc.cit.*; F. 'Aliye, *ibid.*, p. 29; M. Cavid Baysun, «Cevdet Paşa: Şahsiyetine ve..», *TME*, p. 215; E. Mardin, *Cevdet Paşa*, p. 25, n 45.

61 Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, iv. p. 17.

Conclusion :

A brighter life was waiting Cevdet when he met the high ranking statesmen in the following years, during which he had the opportunities of becoming an Ottoman *âlim*, an Islamic jurist, an influential historian as well as a poet, translator, scholar, grammarian, educator, writer, translator, administrator and a statesman. It was not chance but the talent with which Cevdet was endowed, that brought him into close contact with the hero of the *Tanzîmât* movement, Mustafa Reşîd Paşa. Reşîd needed the sport and advice of the *ulemâ* in achieving legal reforms. Cevdet was introduced to Reşîd Paşa for that reason in 1846. Thus began the long and close association between Reşîd Paşa and Cevdet which was to last thirteen years. In Reşîd's circle he met 'Âlî and Fuad, the two disciples of the Paşa, and the two renowned *Tanzîmât* Grand Viziers. Including Şeyhu'l-Islam 'Ârif Hikmet Bey, they were the men who backed Cevdet in every occasion for his success.

After almost having reached the peak of the learned class hierarchy, Cevdet was transferred to the administrative class in 1866; then he became a pasha. Eventually he served as an acting grand vizier for a short time in the final years of his life. Apart from that, Cevdet Paşa held important governmental posts during the reign of the sultans, 'Abdu'l-Mecîd (1839-1861), 'Abdu'l-'Azîz (1861-1876) and 'Abdu'l-Hamîd II (1876-1909). He wrote several books on different subjects from history to philosophy. His fame stands, particularly, on the following works: *Tarih-i Cevdet*, an Ottoman chronicle of twelve volumes, from 1774 to 1826; *Kıssa-i Enbiyâ*, a history of prophets; *Mecelle*, the first and the last Ottoman civil code, which, was compiled by a scholarly commission under Cevdet Paşa's supervision and *Tezâkir-i Cevdet*. The latter, being his memoirs from 1839 to his death in 1895, is the main source for the present study⁶². The information which he gives about the learned men of the time, besides their teaching methods and works, is unique one, because the traditional education in the country not be explained better than that by any other contemporary writer.

62 A detailed study on Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's life and works is to be found in Hultsi Yavuz, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and the Codification on the Şer'at*, (unpublished M.A thesis, University of Manchester, 1974).

ABBREVIATIONS

- BA** : Başbakanlık Arşivi.
- BK** : İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi.
- EI¹** : *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition, 4 vols., London-Leiden, 1913-1938.
- EI²** : *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Leiden-London, 1954-.
- GAL²** : Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd edn., Leiden, 1943-9.
- IA** : *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, 1940-.
- IJMS** : *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.
- OM** : Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, 3 vols., İstanbul 1333/1342/1915-23.
- SEI** : *Shörter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden-London 1961.
- SI** : C. Bröckelmann, *Supplement*.
- TD** : *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*.
- TM** : *Tedrisât Mecmû'ası*.
- TME** : *Türkiyat Mecmuası*.
- TTEM** : *Türk Târih Encümeni Mecmûası*.
- TV** : *Târih Vesîkaları*.
- YEE** : *Yıldız esas Evrakı*.

— Ö Z E T —

1839'da ilân edilen Gülhâne Hatt-ı Hümayînu ile başlayan ıslâhât hareketleri, Osmanlı Devletinde birçok değişikliklere sebep oldu. İdârî, hukûkî ve maârife ait müesseseler, Avrupa paralelinde yeniden düzenlendi. O vakit medrese tahsîlini henüz bitirmiş olan Ahmed Cevdet Efendi, kendini, Tanzîmâtın önde gelen ricâli arasında buldu ve ıslahâtlara bir hayli yardımını dokundu.

Onun, Tanzîmâtın kahramânı Mustafa Reşit Paşa ile sırdaş olacak kadar samîmi ve dost olmasının sebebi, bir tesadüf değil, belki hâiz olduğu kâbiliyetlerdir. Reşit Paşa (1800-1858), hukûkî reformlarda muvafak olabilmek için, bilhassa ulemânın yardım ve tavsiyelerine muhtaçtı. Bu vesîle ile 1846'da Cevdet Efendi kendisine takdîm edildi. Onüç sene devâm eden uzun bir dostluk ve mesâî arkadaşlığı işte böyle başladı.

Cevdet Paşa, Reşit Paşa'nın çevresinde, onun iki müridi ve Tanzîmâtın meşhûr iki sadrîazamı olan Âlî (1815-1871) ve Fuad Paşa (1815-1869)'larla tanıştı. Bunlardan yeni fikirler aldı ve beraberce devlet hizmetlerinde bulundu. Tarihçi, hukukçu, idâreci, devlet adamı, müellif, mütercim, âlim ve fâzil olan Cevdet Paşa, Reşit Paşa'nın çocuklarına ve Âlî Paşa'nın bizzât kendisine hocalık yaptı. Kanunlaşma hareketleri ve hukûkî ıslâhât sahasındaki faaliyetleri, 1855'de fikhın muâmelât kısmından ticârî mevzûât için tedvîn edilmeye başlanan ve yarım kalan «Metn-i Metin» komisyonunun çalışmalarına iştirâki ile başladı, ve 1857'de Meclis-i Tanzîmât'a âza olduktan sonra gelişti. Hayatının ilk yıllarında edebiyâta uğraşmasına mukâbil şimdi kesîf bir şekilde kütüb-i fikhîyyeyi tettebbu'ya koyuldu.

Cevdet Paşa şöhretini üç şâheserine borçludur: *Târîh-i Cevdet*, *Kıyas-ı Enbiyâ* ve devrinin bir kısım ulemâsıyla beraber hazırladığı *Mecelle-i Ahkâm-ı Adliyye*.

1774 Küçük Kaynarca muâhedesinden 1826'da Yeniçeriliğin ilgasına kadar geçen vakayîin yazılması Encümen-i Dâniş tarafından Cevdet Pa-

şa'ya ısmarlanmış, o da otuz sene çalışarak 12 ciltlik *Tarih-i Cevdet*'ini meydana getirmiştir. Eser hâlâ rakıbsızdır ve bilhassa, tâdilât ve ilâvelerle bastırıldığı 1309 tarihli son baskısı, Sahafklar çarşısında en çok aranan kitablur arasındadır. Hz. Âdem'dem Sultan II. Murad (1404-1451) zamanına kadar bir İslâm tarihi olan *Kıssa-ı Enbiyâ*, müracaat kitabı olmaktan çok halk için hazırlanmış, neticede, sâde ve selis ifadeleriyle arzu ettiđi rađbete nâil olmuş ve kıymetini bugün bile devam ettirmek bahtiyârlığına ermiştir. 1868 ilâ 1876 yılları arasında, başında Cevdet Paşa'nın, kısa bir süre hâriç, devamlı bulunduđu ilmî bir hey'et, Hanefî fıkından muâmelâta müteallık ahkâmı zamanın ihtiyaçlarına göre tedvîn edip *Mecelle*'yi meydana getirmiştir. Bunlardan başka Paşa'nın, birçok eserleri arasında, 1839'dan 1876 senesine kadar vukua gelen, gördüğü, duyduđu ve bildiđi hadiseleri muhtevî ve vak'anüvistliđi sırasında yazdıđı *Tezâkir-i Cevdet* adlı eseri vardır. 1953 ilâ 1967 seneleri arasında dört cilt halinde, Profesör Câvid Baysun (1899-1968) tarafından Tarih Kurumu yayınları arasında neşredilmiştir. Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*'in muhteviyatını bazen birazcık deđiştirerek, «Ma'rûzât» adı altında, pâdişâhın talebi üzerine Sultân II. Abdülhamîd (1842-1918)'e sunmuş ve «Ma'rûzât»ın beşte üçü, *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmû'*asında, 78. sayısından itibaren neşredilmiştir.

Yerli veya yabancı, kim XIX. asır Osmanlı tarihinden bahsetse kaynak, yüzde elli mutlaka Cevdet Paşa'dır. O, «ıbkâ-yı nâm etmek için» eser yazmış ve bugün nâmı, hakikaten şarkı ve garbı doldurmuştur. Osmanlı müesseselerinin iyi ve bozulmuş taraflarını, içtimâî hayattaki aksaklıkları, ilmiye sınıfını ve devlet ricâlini kendine göre takdir ve tenkid eden Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, verdiđi kıymetli bilgiler kadar yapıcı tenkidleri sebebiyle de içerde ve dışarda çok alâka görmüştür. Yukarıdaki yazı Manchester Üniversitesi'nde yapılan bir araştırmanın ilk bölümüdür. Cevdet Paşa'nın kendi kaleminden çıkan yazılara dayanılarak, tahsil yıllarını, feyz aldıđı, ve ilmî kıymetlerine göre tasnif ve takdir ettiđi vaktin ulemâsını anlatmakta ve aynı zamanda, bir devrin ilim ve irfân hayatını aydınlatmaktadır.