
TECHNOLOGY AND NAQSHBANDI SUFISM: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF İSMAİL AĞA AND İSKENDER PAŞA BRANCHES

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Himmet HÜLÜR

ÖZET

Nakşibendi Sufizminin bugünkü konumunu anlamak için modern süreçlerden önce sahip olduğu ve bu süreçler içinde kazandığı özellikleri göz önünde bulundurmak gerekir. Bu yolla tarikatın doktrin ve pratik açıdan önceliklerinde paradigmatik bir değişme olduğu görülebilir. Bu değişimin sonucunda dinsel bilinç dünyevileşmiştir. Tarikatın kurucusu Bahaddin Nakşibend'den sonra, Müceddidi ile birlikte tarikat doktrininde ve pratiklerinde bazı yenilikler olmuş, fakat daha belirleyici reformlar Halidi Bağdadi tarafından yapılmıştır. Müceddidi, Ekber Şah'ın dinsel eklektizmi ve hurafeleriyle mücadele etmiş, ondan sonra Bağdadi modern köktencilikğin büyük bir oranda köklerini bulduğu Batı tehdidine karşı bir kitle seferberliği stratejisi geliştirmiştir. Her iki durumda da tarikat geleneği içinde değişim ve reform Müslüman toplum-ların iç dinamiklerini tehdit eden dışsal tehlike duygusu ile ortaya konmuştur. Batılılaşmaya karşı tepki bir taraftan 'rasyonel ve mistik öğelerin birleşimi' diğer taraftan ise 'güçlü köktencilikğin mistik içgörü ve pratiklerle birleşimi'ne yol açmıştır. Sonuç olarak, kitle seferberliği stratejisine sahip olan bugünkü Nakşibendi tarikatı varolan dışsal tehlikelerin sonuçlarıyla başedebilmek için Şariat ve Hakikat'ın birliğini

daha çok vurgular. Sufilerin bugünkü teknoloji ve bilim anlayışları bilgi ve değerler arasında ayırım yapmayan geleneksel bakış açılarıyla kopma göstermektedir. Sufiler, teknoloji ve bilimi nötr ve kullanıcının değerlerine bağımlı görerek, araçsal bir yaklaşımı benimserler ve bunların yolaçtığı nihilizmin yükselişini göremezler. Bir yaşam tarzı olarak teknoloji ve bilim sadece Sufi yaşam tarzı için değil benliğin gelişmesi ve herhangi bir normatif eylem türü için de meydan okuyucu bir öneme sahiptir. Dünya görüşlerinin araçsallaşması sonucunda, tarikatlar farklı araçsal eylem stratejileri geliştirme eğilimine girerler. İslamileşme tasarımı İslami bir toplum inşası ve kitle kurtuluşu için insanları potansiyel özneler olarak gören bir anlayışa yolaçar. Böyle bir anlayış, farklı tarikatlarda farklı biçimler alan dinsel inancın ideolojileştirilmesini temsil eder. İsmail Ağa kolunda; öz disiplin ve toplumun hakim kurumlarından uzaklaşma, İskender Paşa kolunda ise etkin bir katılım yoluyla sosyo-ekonomik kurumları şekillendirme aynı İslamileşme amacının araçları olarak görülür.

ABSTRACT

Understanding the present position of the Naqshbandi Sufism necessitates a consideration of its characteristics before and within the modern processes. In this way one can see that there is a paradigmatic shift in the doctrinal priorities and practices of the Order. Overall result of this shift is the secularization of religious consciousness. After the founder of the Order Bahaeddin, there were some renovations within the tariqa doctrine and practices with Mucaddidi, but Khalidi Baghdadi undertook the most decisive reforms. Mucaddidi had fought against religious eclecticism and heresy of Akbar Shah and after him Baghdadi developed a strategy of mass mobilisation against Western threat to which much of modern fundamentalism owes its origin. In both cases the changes and reform within the tariqa tradition were set by a sense of external danger threatening the internal dynamics of Muslim societies. Reaction against westernization has given way to the 'combination of rational and mystical elements' on the one hand and 'combination of strong fundamentalism with deep mystical insights and practices' on the other. Consequently, having a strategy of mass mobilization, the present Naqshbandi Order emphasises on the unity of Sharia and Haqiqa to cope with the consequences of the existing external threats. The present Sufis' conception of science and technology indicates a break with their traditional viewpoint, which did not make a separation between knowledge and values. Seeing technology and science as neutral and dependent on the values of their users, Sufis adopts an instrumentalist approach and ignore the rise of nihilism they give way to. Technology and science as a way of

life constitute a challenge not only for Sufi way of life but also for the development of self and any sort of normative action. As a consequence of instrumentalization of the worldviews, Sufi orders are inclined to develop different strategies of instrumental action. Their project of islamization results in a conception of men as potential subjects for mass salvation and for the construction of an Islamic society. Such a conception represents the ideologization of the religious belief that takes different forms in the different orders. For the İsmail Ağa branch, self discipline and desisting from the dominant institutions of society and for the İskender Paşa branch reshaping socio-economic institutions through an active participation in these realms are seen as the means for the same goal of Islamization.

THEORETICAL EVALUATION OF HISTORICAL CHANGE AND REFORM

The name of the Naqshbandiyya Order has been attributed to Baha al-Din Naqshband who was born in 1317 in a village near Bukhara, spent most of his life in that region, and died there in 1389. However, Naqshband himself did not found the order. As Hourani indicates 'in modern times its members have traced its spiritual genealogy from the Prophet along the three lines of descent: the first by way of Ali Abu Talib, then Imam Husayn, the Shi'i imams, Ma'ruf al-Karkhi and Junayd; the second from Ali through Hasan al-Basri and again to Junayd; and the third through Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, Salman al-Farisi and Abu Yazid al-Bastami' (Hourani 1994:76-77). The Order has taken different names in the different phases of history depending on the names or characteristics of its leading Sheikhs. From Abu Bakr al-Siddik to Abu Yazid Tayfur al-Bistami (d.875) the Order is named as *Siddikiye*; from Abu Yazid to Abd al-Khalik al-Ghujdawani (d.1220), the *Tayfuriyya*; from Ghujdawani to Baha al-Din Naqshband (d.1389), the *Khojaganiyya*; from Naqshband to Ahmad al-Sirhindi (d.1625), the *Naqshbandiyya*; from Ahmad al-Sirhindi to Sheikh Khalid al-Baghdadi (d.1826), the *Mujaddidiyya*; and after Sheikh Khalid to the present times the *Khalidiyya* (ibid: 77, Türer 1995:177-178). Since Sheikh Khalid no Naqshbandi Sheikh has claimed a common leadership over all the sub-branches of the order. Today Khalidiyya exists as largely isolated local branches in different countries having limited contact with one another.

Before going to analyse the developments having historical importance for the Naqshbandis, we should clarify certain principles that have constitutive significance for the conception of knowledge and practice in this order. In this Sufi tradition, there are eight important principles which can be conceived as practical guides for any of its follower and set up by Abdul Haliq Ghujdawani and have given a distinctive characteristics to it from the other traditions. These

principles as pointed out by Kadri (1994:80-87) are: Hush dar dam (awareness in breathing), Nazar bar qadam (self awareness of steps), Safar dar watan (internal mystical journey), Khalwat dar anjuman (solitude in the crowd), Yad Kard (Recollection), Baz gard (restraining thought), Nigah dasht (concentration on thought), Yad dasht (concentration on God).

Other than these practical guides, Naqshbandis accept and promotes three forms of knowledge that in essence reflects the underlying features of the epistemology of the traditional teachings. As Schneck (1990:224-225) explains they are: 1. Certain knowledge (Ilm-al-Yaqin), which comes from the intellect, which tells us that there is fruit; 2. Eye of Certainty (Ayn-al-Yaqin), which is from the 'inner eye', and operates like the senses but in relation to deeper things; the 'assessment of a fruit'; 3. Perfect Truth (Haqq-al Yaqin), which is the experience of 'unity with Truth'. In the familiar religious terms these categories are respectively conceived as: Acceptance of divinity as a statement through intellect, feeling that there is divinity through emotion, and perceiving divinity through understanding and real experience. Knowledge and practise are considered as accompanying and in this sense, an adherent should open a way to Truth on the basis of struggling with his egoistic wishes and illusions. In order to transcend his personal self an adherent passes through the following four stages and becomes a true Sufi: Desiring things for oneself, desiring things for others, desiring what should be desired, being free from desire.

In the Naqshbandi tradition, the Sheikh is considered as a perfect guide of the *murid* (disciple) to the world of Reality (*alam al-Haqiqah*). Murid should have a self-renunciation and 'full and unequivocal respect and loyalty to his Sheikh. He should have complete obedience to him, perform any service he requires him to do and should look no other Sheikh but to him' (Abu-Manneh 1990: 290-291). A murid who seeks initiation into the order should take the path of *suhba* (association and companionship with a 'perfect Sheikh') and until acquiring the affiliation of the order (*nisba*), he should pass through spiritual training for a period of time. But, since the length of time differed from one *murid* to another depending on their ability and intensity of the spiritual training and since sometimes years passed until a *murid* could have passed through his spiritual training and acquired the *nisba*, a new device known as *khalwa* (seclusion, solitude) was innovated and became an established practice in the Khalidi suborder. When the *murid* came to Sheikh Khalid seeking initiation into the order he handed him to one of his deputies for initial training. Following this the *murid* would then pass an intensive spiritual training for forty successive days *khalwa arba'in* (seclusion/forty days of retreat) by Khalid or by one of his deputies under his supervision. As early as the 12th century Sühreverdi

(d.1234) as one of the most celebrated masters of the Sufic Enlightenment attributed the origin of the practice of *khalwa* to a *hadith* that 'For the one who truly realises his duties toward God throughout forty days, a fountain of wisdom flows from his heart to his tongue' (Sühreverdi 1993: 263). But now the reemphasis on the *khalwa arba'iniyya* was due to the rapid expansion of the order. Therefore, Khalid could not have kept murids in his *zawiya* for long. It was not a dominant practice in the pre-Sirhindi Naqshbandi tradition (Abu-Manneh 1990: 292). Despite the traditions of the earlier Naqshbandi masters, such as Ghujduwani who is reported to have advised to 'close the door of *khalwa* and open the door of *suhba*', Sirhindi for whom *suhba* was Sunnah (tradition of Prophet Muhammad) and *khalwa* was not practised during the first Islamic period and Baha'al-Din Naqshband who is reported to have advised the long guidance of a perfect Sheikh, *khalwa* became a dominant practice with Khalid, his deputies and theirs followed him.

In the history of Islamic mysticism, there have prevailed two main approaches to the practice and significance of *dhikr* (*recollection*); *cehri* (open) *dhikr* and *hafi* (silent) *dhikr*. Naqshbandi tradition has not only adopted the silent *dhikr* but also made it a central element in its way of life. As Hourani indicates the public rituals, in the Naqshbandi tradition, have been less important than the realisation of the *dhikr* privately (Hourani 1994:79). However, the silent *dhikr* tradition does not indicate the isolation of the individual personality; indeed it explains the constant reactivation of the individual psyche for not being influenced or attracted by the perishable or transitional dimension of this worldly existence which results in the forgetfulness of the transcendental tie of wo/man. Khalidi Baghdadi's view of *dhikr* indicates the complete devotion of the person for the spiritual attainment. During the silent *dhikr* the name of God is spoken privately, perpetually, even when engaged in other activities, with concentration (*tavajjuh*), with the eyes closed and all senses turned towards the heart, and with the image of murshid (guide, principally sheikh), or the *awliya* (friend of God) evoked in the heart. *Rabita* is another way of spiritual development. It is the spiritual link between murid and the Sheikh and defined by Baghdadi himself as the binding of the heart with the perfect Sheikh who has a complete vision of God and keeping the image of the Sheikh's image in the imagination even in his absence. By preserving *rabita*, 'the murid gets the same benefit as from the *dhikr*' (Abu-Manneh 1990:293-295). The consequence of the state of *rabita* (connection) is conceived as the loss of awareness and consciousness of this world. For the spiritual self development or the development of the soul, the moral discipline of the order is based on respect and obedience to the murshid or Sheikh, but this is conceived as a first step in a way of spiritual ascent; from self annihilation in the murshid, through the *awliya* and

the Prophet, to the self annihilation in God. As a consequence, the murid (disciple) has a sense of being a part of the spiritual chain, since he is in the way to attain the spiritual flow (*fayd*) and influence (*barakah*) of the Sheikh as the representative of the Prophet.

One of the other distinguishing feature of the Naqshbandi tradition is its doctrinal emphasis on Shari'a, and on the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad. Al-Hani, in his book on Adab (1995:3) which is one of most important moral sources of Naqshbandiyya, indicates that 'The true Sufism is submission to God's Book and adherence to the Sunnah of His messenger; it is reliving, by inner state and outer deep, the conspicuous age of the messenger and his companions; it is the very essence of Islam'. Therefore, the order's commitment to the Shari'a was the basic reason behind the fact that it became the choice of the 'ulema' (scholars) and thoroughly penetrated Ottoman intellectual circles (Damrel 1990: 269). As such it played a great role in the religious and spiritual life of the Ottoman people. The order, for Algar, has played a role of cardinal importance in the life of the Turkish people. Although it was an order of ulema, it affiliated persons from all classes and professions 'its influence has extended beyond the major cities into provincial towns and villages as well' (Algar 1976: 140).

In addition to their strict adherence to Shari'a and Prophet's tradition, Nashibandis also acted as barrier against the diffusion of antinomian Sufism and marginal cults, such as Bakhtashism in Bosnia and Ahl-i Haqq in South Eastern Turkey and Northern Iraq (Algar 1990:15). The spread of Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya in the other parts of the Muslim world reflected the same characteristics it had in the Indian and Ottoman Society. For example, in Indonesia as argued by Kraus (1990: 706) it was a vehicle in the ongoing process of Islamization on the one hand and of Islamic reformism at the other. In the 19th century it played a role that can be looked as the forerunner of the Salafiyya. As a natural result, emphasising Qur'an and Sunnah as the primary guide of the Muslim community, Naqshbandism raised opposition to the practices such as listening music and songs (*sama*), dancing (*raqs*) ecstasy and evocation thereof (*wajd-tawajud*) as well as celebration in commemoration of the Prophet's birth day, which were not practised during the life time of the Prophet. Therefore, according to Imam Rabbani (Sirhindi), such practices should be considered as the illicit innovations (Haar 1990:85). Moreover despite Ibn Arabi's theory of Unity had been respected by the earlier Naqshbandi leaders, it was rejected and criticised by Sirhindi as a result of his synthesis of Sufism and Orthodoxy. As argued by Schimmel, 'Ahmad Sirhindi has been praised primarily as the re-

storer of classical theology of 'Wahdat ash-shud', 'unity of vision' or 'testimonial monism,' as opposed to the 'degenerate'-as the orthodox would call it-system of Wahdat al-Wujud' (Schimmel 1975: 368). In Mektubat, which is widely known all over the Muslim world, Sirhindi known as Imam Rabbani developed the idea that obedience to the Shari'a and Sunnah themselves constitutes the primary method of the spiritual development (Rabbani 1977: 712). As Algar (1990:22) explicates, 'By contrast (to other Sufi traditions understanding of Shari'a and Sufism relation) Sirhindi makes of the tariqa a more servant of Shari'a which is sometimes complete and self-sufficient, resisting division into the husk and kernel'. Therefore, in general terms strict observance of the divine law and following the prophet Muhammad as the normative example have distinguished Naqshbandi Sufis from what the other Sufis attain by means of various, rather exacting, spiritual exercises (Haar 1990: 84).

In this Sufi tradition, similar to Sirhindi, Mawlana Khalidi Baghdadi elaborated the view that inner spirituality can be attained within the context of Shari'a and the tradition of the Prophet. 'He again demonstrated the centrality of the Shari'a among the concerns of the order, not with the purpose of elucidating its inner aspect and meaning, as both Sirhindi and Shah Wali Allah had done in their life differing ways, but rather of securing its supremacy in Muslim society at a time that its hegemony was threatened from various quarters. His interest in the Shari'a bears closest comparison with that of Khavaja Ahrar among his predecessors in the silsilah' (ibid: 29-30). As a consequence during his life period he had tried to unite 'madrasas' (traditional Islamic schools) and 'tekkes' (dervish lodges). That is why most of his 'murids' had education not only in Sufism but also in religious knowledge. With his own efforts many 'madrasas' were established in all parts of South Eastern Turkey and Northern Iraq.

Baghdadi's combination and compromising between 'tekke' and 'madrasa' reflects the culmination of a very strong trend up to him in the Naqshbandi tradition. For instance Sayyid Sharif Jurjani (d.1413), Abd al-Hakim Saalkoti (d.1657), Abd al-Ghani an-Nablusi (d.1731), Ibn Abidin (d.1836), and Shihab ad-Din al-Alusi (d.1854) were the most eminent '*ulema*' of their time (ibid: 15). Therefore, there has not been a clear-cut distinction between the religious knowledge and Sufic wisdom, rather each one was conceived as a necessary realm for the other. In this sense, Erzurumlu (1981: 536), who was a notorious Naqshbandi of the late Ottoman period, points out that through learning religious exegesis (tafsir), Islamic Jurisprudence (fiqh), and tradition of

the Prophet (hadith), one must keep himself at distance from the rude and illiterate religious persons.

One of the most considerable reason of Naqshbandis' insistence on Shari'a is the view that in cases of a foreign, mainly Christian threat to Islamic community and if the Muslims were struggling for the independence of their society, they could create a popular speech and action ground through which they could invite and unite all the Muslims for the same cause. Therefore, the mobilisation of the people by Naqshbandism has been a response mainly to the external stimulus. As argued by Mardin (1989: 59) with Baghdadi 'activism which had evolved since Sirhindi's time acquired a new impetus'. Baghdadi's stance was a strategy of mobilisation of the Muslims against Westernization and Western threat. Modern fundamentalism owes its origin to a great extent to such a sense of Western threat. This sense in turn as the strong reemphasis of the already emphasized significance of the primary sources leads to the under-emphasis of the particularistic outlook of Sufism and to an abstract and universalistic conception, which subordinates the idea and practice of spiritual self-development to the divine cause. Therefore, in the process of the profound changes in society, in order as explained by Green (1976:217), Sufism has used the traditional materials and strategies to justify its new stance and to mobilise the masses against the progenitors of the change.

European colonial expansion and the outset of infidel rule presented an even greater threat and intrusion to believers within the ummah (the Muslim community). The Sufi brotherhood and other revivalist movements were more likely than the ulema to respond to the Qur'anic duty of either emigrating to Muslim territory or waging jihad (holy war) in order to return to the lost territory to dar al-Islam (the sphere of Islam).

Shah 'Abd al-Aziz (d. 1824) who was one of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Sheikhs issued a *fatwa* or an Islamic judicial opinion in 1803 to offer practical guidance to the ummah under the domination of the foreign rule. As quoted by Damrel (1990: 277) it says:

In this city (of Delhi) the Imam al-Muslimin wields no authority, while the decrees of the Christian leaders are obeyed without fear (of the consequences). Promulgation of the command of the *kufir* (unbelief) means that in the matter administration and the control of the people, in the levy of the land-tax, tribute, tolls and customs, in the punishment of the thieves and robbers, in the settlements of the disputes, in the punishment of the offences, the unbelievers act according to their discretion. There are, indeed, certain Islamic rituals... with which they do not interfere. But that is of no account. The basic principles of these rituals are of no value to them, for they demolish mosques without the least hesitation and no Muslim or *dhimmi* can enter the city or its suburbs except with their permission... From here to Calcutta the Christians are in complete control.

This *fatwa*, as K.A. Nizami interprets, was declaring all lands under British control as *Dar al-Harb*, which means religious sanction to carry on struggle against the foreign rule in India.

Instead of defending the isolation of the individual from the society Naqshbandism advocates the close contact of its adherents with the other members of the society. This is because of the attainment of the solidarity Muslims need when they are confronted with various challenges. It advises communication and conversation since it does not limit the spirituality with a specified place and time. Naqshband's formulation 'To be with the Truth (God) among the people' (Eraydin 1994:378) has been one of the most widely recognised and convicted views among the adherents of this tradition. Therefore, this *tariqa* is accepted as a *tariqa* of conversation. In the same way, its adherents are not advised to desist from participating in the worldly activities, unless the worldly benefits these activities involve become a target of attraction for them. So it became a common view among the Sufis of this tradition that inner spiritual development can be sustained in the public realm without isolating man and cutting off his societal relations. An ordinary Naqshbandi believes that he participates in the social relation keeping in mind that he should remain as the 'solitude in the society'. Naqshbandism had never brought any type of understanding which leads individuals to material and social isolation, they participate in

societal activities which in turn means that they take active role and a sense of responsibility in the issues and problems of the society. The healthiness and well-being of the individuals is thought to be the result of the healthiness and well-being of social structure which means for them the organisation of life according to the rules of Shari'a and the Sunnah of Prophet. Therefore, if the present social order is thought to be contradictory to the Shari'a, first step of Naqshbandisis the attempt at the reorganisation of society, if required through invitation of people to holy war on the common ground of belief in Islam.

Naqshbandism in its history before the establishment of the nation state had not come into conflict with the existing political rule unless that rule did not confront with the Islamic Law. When the people was subjected to a non-Islamic rule it did not remain indifferent to it. It raised its opposition even by restraining from its spiritual practices. Such was the case when Baha al-Din Naqshiband advised to his disciples that they should stop *vird* (daily prayers realised individually or commonly) and start struggle if there were a non-Islamic ruler over them. Sirhindi's conflict with Akbar Shah (d.1605) was completely the result of this view. Akbar Shah developed a new religious view for the unification of all of the different religions in India in his time. Sirhindi reacted against Akbar Shah's heresy, perceiving the danger of spiritual submergence of Islam into Hinduism (Malik 1990:233). Later, on the line with Sirhindi's attitude, his followers set out to arrest and reverse the expansion of Sikh power (Adams 1990: 229). Sikhs whose belief system involves Islamic and Buddhist elements were consolidating their power as a result of Akbar's policy that reflected a character of syncretic heresy. In the meantime, Akbar send his messengers to him in order to stop the struggle and to turn to the Sufi rituals instead of struggling with him. However, as a response to this proposal Sirhindi said that the Heaven is under the shadow of the swords and he will continue to struggle with Akbar Shah unless he abandons his aims. Revitalisation of Islam in India, as indicated by Sarkpuri (1978: 48), has been a consequence of Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani's (Renovator of the Last Millennium) efforts.

In India, Sirhindi's Naqshbandi tradition contributed to an ideology of separate Muslim nationalism against the ideology of a composite Indian nationalism. The connections between mysticism and the fundamentalism can best be illustrated in the works of Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938) as the Islamic revivalist and the poet-philosopher of Islam. 'Iqbal's attitude to the prevalent forms of Sufism was always critical. But in spite of his rejection of stagnating pantheism and his sharp criticism of hereditary *'pirism*, he was an ardent follower of

Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi' (Malik 1990: 231)¹. Iqbal regards Sirhindi as 'a great religious genius of the seventeenth century' as opposed to the life-denying, miracle-selling and time-serving Pirs (Iqbal 1990: 192-193). In his view, the development of a new Sufi technique became possible on the basis of Sirhindi's renovation and purification of the Sufi understanding. In the realm of political activity, he acted upon the Naqshbandi principle of solitude in society. For him, Sirhindi was divinely inspired in leading the Naqshbandis against Akbar's eclecticism. As cited by Malik (ibid: 232) Iqbal's attitude towards Sufism is illuminated in his following poem 'To the Punjab Pir.'

I stood by the Reformer's tomb: that dust
Whence here blow an orient splendour breaks,
Dust before whose least speck stars hung their heads
Dust shrouding that high knower of things unknown
 Who do Jehangir would not bend his neck,
 Whose ardent breath fans every free heart's ardour,
 Whom Allah sent in season to keep watch
 In India on the treasure-house of Islam.
I craved the saint's gift, other-worldliness:
For my eyes saw, yet dimly. Answer came:
Closed is the long roll of the saints: this Land
 Of the five rivers stinks in good men's nostrils.
God's people have no portion in that country
 Where worldly tassel sprouts from monkish cup:
That cup bred passionate faith, this tassel breeds
 Passion for playing panders to Government.

¹ Pir means sipiritual leader of a group of dervishes.

In Iqbal's view, with Sirhindi the long roll of the saints is closed at least in India. As argued by Fufeld (1984: 104), Muslim modernists who rethink their cultural history continue to view the world through the traditional beliefs. For Malik (1990: 234-235), 'Iqbal's response to the deepening crisis of Muslim India in his own times is rooted in the Naqshbandi Mujaddidi tradition of Sufism. Muslims were in decline throughout the world, but the situation of the Muslims in the British India was more dangerous'. The overall result of Muslim reaction is the combination of the rational and mystical elements and combination of strong fundamentalism with deep mystical insights and practices. This trend reflects the liberation of the Sheikhs 'from the traditional constraints of his position and thrust forward as a spiritual and worldly leader of the *umma*' (Damrel 1990:274-275). At the same time, as we explained above, Indian mystical reform had achieved a strong influence in the Ottoman lands through Khalidi Baghdadi. Political activities were largely the individual initiatives of the order's members until 1800. Growing influence of the European powers in the Muslim lands constituted a challenge to the native rules by increasing the unrest and tribal conflicts and to, control of the Ottoman Empire (Bruinessen 1992: 229-230). In the Eastern regions of the Empire, 'The tariqa Sheikhs were the only remaining type of leader with sufficient authority and to assume an integrative function in this conflict ridden society' (Bruinessen 1990: 338). They offered spiritual relief and political security by acting as mediators and peace-makers. In this period of the expansion of the Western powers, Naqshbandism offered a channel for energy and, and opportunity to resist internal degeneration and foreign domination (Damrel 1990: 286). After the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Russian expansion in the Central Asia and the Caucasus and British in India and Egypt constituted challenge to the individual branches of the order and gave way to the reaction of the Muslim intellectuals against the order. It is in these circumstances that Naqshbandi order turned to take an activist role.

Transformation of the traditional structures and religious institutions, especially the institutions of education in the Muslim world, have given way to the secularisation of knowledge. As a consequence of these processes, Naqshbandi order has lost most of its features that had existed as its tariqa aspect. As we saw in the case of Khalidi Baghdadi, Naqshbandism has established itself on the basis of the *madrassa* tradition whose breakdown in the process of modernisation has led to the development of approaches as a response to this process.

Since the life pattern and identity of the people have also been secularised, the *'ulema* of this tradition have sought to construct the basis of Islamic practice and conception that could be a common ground for the Muslims in the modern world. For instance, Bediüzzaman Said Nursi, who was influenced by the Naqshbandi tradition (Mardin 1989: 55) spent most of his life in the way of an intellectual struggle with the emerging secular order. For him, the main problem in his period is a problem of faith rather than living in accordance with the Shari'a. For this reason, he attempted to develop proofs for the truths of the faith against the claims of positivism, which had a strong impact over the consciousness of the educated persons of his time. He contended that it was not a period of tariqa but the period of the restoration of Muslim consciousness. On the other hand, in the other Naqshbandi circles the goal of pursuing the function of tariqa has been replaced by the goal of islamization of people. Although this transformation is the result of the Naqshbandi response to the new reality, it can easily be legitimised by an appeal to its traditional doctrine.

NAQSHBANDIYYA WITH AND AFTER KHALIDI BAGHDADI

As we indicated above, Khalidi Baghdadi adopted a mobilizationist strategy in the tariqa activities as a way of reacting against the consolidation of the Western rules in the Muslim countries. We can restate at least three main points that can be considered as reformation within the tariqa doctrine and practice: No Sufi Sheikh before him had never had as many caliphs (successors) as Baghdadi had; it is believed that during his life at least four thousand murids of him were given caliphate by him, secondly, he made attachment into the order more easy by reforming the training method of the tariqa, thirdly, he brought the trend towards the unification of the goals of Shari'a (Law) and Haqiqah (Truth, Reality) started by Rabbani to its extremes and thereby consolidated the madrasa tradition.

In the eighteenth century Khalidi-Naqshbandi order adopted a strategy of mass mobilization to cope with the new station brought by the Western penetration into most of the Muslim lands. In fact, in the Islamic countries reactionary political consciousness had long before roots in the intrusions of the armies of Crusaders. We can argue that the modern history of the development of political consciousness has been linked with this reactionary consciousness against the Western threat. This means that political consciousness has been devoid of its own course of development in the Muslim countries. Today, this point is so significant that West giving an end to the internal dynamism of the

Ottoman State and society is almost seen as the sole source of the existing evils. Therefore reactionary ideology is also an Ottomanist one.

Now we can explore some of the important figures and trends within the *tariqa* tradition of İsmail Ağa and İskender Paşa branches after Khalidi Baghdadi.

Mevlana Abdullahi Mekki (d. ?- 19th century) is the first Sheikh of spiritual chain in the İsmail Ağa branch. He was born in Mekke and Baghdadi sent him to Erzincan when he became one of his caliphs (deputies) in order to convey Islam and to give madrasa training. He lived in Erzincan for a short span of time and subsequently he lived in Erzurum, Quds, and Mekke where he died.

Mevlana İsmet Garibullah (d.1872), was born in Yanya in Albania and tied to Sheikh Erzincani in Mekke. Then he decided to go to Taif, and during his journey he learned the death of his Sheikh with a divine inspiration. He decided to return to Mekke, and after a short time he went to Albania. As result of an esoteric sign, he gave up his preaching and religious activities in Albania and went to Edirne. There he began preaching in the Sultan Mosque. The number of his murids increased also in İstanbul and Sultan Abdulmecid was one of them. He came from Edirne to İstanbul as a result of the demands of his murids and started to preach in Kocamustafa Paşa and established a *dergah* (place where a dervish group meets) there. When he died in 1872 he was buried in his *dergah*.

Mevlana Halil Nurullah (d.1893) continued his sufic and religious activities, in the *dergah* established by Sheikh Garibullah, 21 years as the Sheikh of the *tariqa*. There are not enough documents about him.

Mevlana Ali Rıza El-Bezzaz (d.1909) was born in El-Uhyu. He was a very rich man and his name is related to his merchant activity. Despite his richness and merchant activities he was a devout Sufi and follower of the Islamic Law.

Mevlana Ali Haydari El-Ahishavi (d.1960) was born in Batum and died in İstanbul. He took primary education in Batum and then went to Erzurum to complete his religious training in a madrasa. But his migration for religious training did not end in Erzurum; he went to İstanbul and achieved religious licence (*icazet*) from Çarşamba Ahmed Hamdi Efendi. Moreover he got *Şehadetname* from the Medrese-i Kuzzat educating the qadi of Shari'a. After that he became an alim(religious) and begun to give religious education in the mosque of Fatih. In 1909, as a result of his great success in Fetevahane he was appointed to the Madrasa of Sahn as the teacher of *ilm al-fiqh* (science of Islamic jurisprudence). Until the end of Ottoman Empire he had got many im-

portant educational and religious positions. However, after the abolishment of the madrasa education, he lost all of his teaching positions and activities.

Sultan appointed Sheikh Ali Haydar Efendi to the Dervish convent of İsmet Efendi as a *post-nişt* in 1919. He undertook many official tasks in the ruling period of four Sultans. He had close relations with Abdulhamid II. He continued his teaching activities 25 years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in an illegal way. His son Halid Gürbüzler indicates that 'Many important persons were visiting my father amongst them were also Mahmud Sami Ramazanođlu, Hasbi Efendi, Mehmed Zahid Kotku who were the Sheikhs of the other Naqshbandi branches' (Temir ?: 428) Ali Haydar Efendi had never dealt with politics, but rather, he tried to convey Islam to the people. For instance although Hüseyin Cahit and Talat Paşa invited him to be a member of the Party of İttihad ve Terakki (Unity and Progress); he never accepted such invitations. He frequently advised his students not to deal with politics. However near the end of his life he was taken under surveillance, he was arrested and send to Ankara for imprisonment. When he was in the prison with İskilipli Atif Hoca under difficult conditions, in his dream he saw his Sheikh advising him to read the surah of Al-Fatihah' (the opening) 33 times to be liberated from the prison. Ali Haydar Efendi told to İskilipli Atif Hoca that if he did the same thing he would also be liberated. But Atif Hoca responded that in his dream he saw the prophet saying that 'While I am calling you here to my side, you are still interested in preparing your defence paper' (ibid: 429) and therefore he teared his defence paper.

Mevlana Mahmut Usta Osmanođlu El-U'fi is the present Sheikh of İsmail Ađa branch of Naqshbandiyya. He was born in 1931 in Of, memorized Qur'an and went to Kayseri to learn Arabic. He completed his religious studies under the teaching of his brother-in-law and took *icazet* (certificate) from him. He became competent in Qur'anic exegesis, hadith, Islamic jurisprudence, kalam (theology), and tasawwuf. While he was soldier in the military service, he met with his Sheikh Ali Haydar Efendi and was attached to him. After completing his military service he started to live as a practising Sufi. He now works as the İmam-Hatip of İsmail Ađa mosque at Fatih/Çarşamba in İstanbul beside his Sufic mission as Sheikh.

In the İskender Paşa branch Sheikh Ziyaeddin Gümüřhanevi (d.1911), who is the second Sheikh after Baghdadi, was born in Gümüřhane in 1813. After taking his first education in his town, he went to İstanbul to have higher education in the religious area. In İstanbul he was educated by notorious ulema in all fields of religious sciences and then in a short span of time he became one of the famous ulema in İstanbul. During his education, all of the ulema who

taught him had Sufic origins (Gündüz 1992:21) It could be perceived as an interesting incidence that Ahmed bin Süleyman al-Ervadi who was the first Sheikh in the spiritual chain of İskender Paşa branch was charged with the duty of giving him first Sufi education and send to Istanbul by Sheikh Khalidi Baghdadi himself; after taking his first education from the caliphs of Baghdadi, Gümüşhanevi in a very short time was appointed to the post of caliphate. In addition to his attachment to Naqshbandi-Khalidi tradition, he also at the age of 46 had the İcazet of different Sufi traditions from Sheikh al-Ervadi such as Kübreviyye, Çeştiyye, Sühreverdiyye, Şazeliyye, Desukiyye, Halvetiyye, Mucedidiye, Mazheriyye, Rifaiyye. Moreover, he tried to unite all Sufi traditions in order to abolish the enemies that existed among the Sufis. At the same time his another important peculiarity is that he gave great insistence over teaching the Hadith of Prophet (Tradition) to his disciples. During his life like Sirhindi he had never accepted any discrimination between Shari'a and Sufi way of life; but rather he defended the unity of them. Gümüşhanevi did not only teach Sufism but he also led them to acquire all other religious sciences.

Similar to Ali Haydar Efendi also Sheikh Gümüşhanevi had intimate relations with the Sultans of his time. For instance, Sultan Abdülmecid, Abdulaziz and Abdulhamid II. had attended to his preachings and conversations (*sohbet*) (Gündüz 1992: 29). It is seen that Gümüşhanevi's life reflects a dynamic and socially active personality because he dealt with and tried to solve the societal problems of his time, for example, after the establishment of the first bank in Istanbul, as an opposition to it he tried to establish a financial organization in order to create economic solidarity among the Muslims. Great amount of money was acquired through a charity organization and the money was spent in order to spread ilm among Muslims. A printing machine was bought in order to reerint classical books. Beside these, at the age of 63 as a volunteer soldier he combated together with his murids against Russian armies at the Ottoman-Russian War. With all these characteristics he mainly reflects the personality of the earlier religious scholars. He possessed all the aspects of knowledge (ilm), jihad and asceticism of the scholarly tradition.

Ömer Ziyaeddin-i Dağistani (d.1921) was from the South Caucasia. In his youth he fought against the Russian army. After the end of Sheikh Şamil's battle with the Russians he came to Istanbul where he was attached to Gümüşhanevi from whom he learned religious sciences and Khalidi tradition in a short time. Then he was appointed to the position of the mufti of troops in Edirne. After going to Egypt and Mekke in the following years, he turned to İstanbul and worked as muderris (teacher) in the Darül Hilafe (House of Successors) and Medresetü'l Mütéhassisin (School of Specialists) both of which

were the highest levels of education in that time. When İstanbul was under the foreign occupation, Sultan Vahdettin proposed him the post of Sheikh al-Islam, but he did not accept this position since he insisted that one can not be in the status of fatwa (Islamic jurisdiction) while a Muslim country was under the foreign rule (Dağıstani 1992:9-10).

Similar to the previous leaders of this branch Abdulaziz-i Kazani (d.1952) did not only possessed the knowledge of the religious sciences but also was interested in the knowledge of non-religious fields. It is notable that Nurettin Topçu who had Ph.D. degree from the Sorbonne University was deeply influenced by Kazani through conversation and discussions with him.

The former Sheikh of İskender Paşa branch, Mehmed Zahid Kotku (d.1980) was born in 1897 in Bursa. In the spiritual chain, he was the first personality who was trained in his youth in a non-religious school, he was graduated from the school of art in Bursa. In the age of 24 he was attached to Sheikh Dağıstani and get the cailphete in the age of 27. He attended to the religious courses in the Bayezit, Fatih and Ayasofya Mosques and in the meantime he completed memorizing Qur'an. Kotku followed not only the principles of Naqshbandi Sufism, but similar to his master Gümüşhanevi he also adopted Şazeli principles in his tariqa mission (Gündüz 1995: 90). One of the most considerable characteristics of the Şazeli order was its emphasis over the priority of knowledge. For this reason he continually encouraged youngs to knowledge and learning.

The present Sheikh of the İskender Paşa branch, Prof. Dr. Mahmud Esad Coşan was born in Çanakkale in 1938. Different than all the earlier Sheikhs he has acquired all of his degrees of education from the secular educational institutions; he was graduated from the Vezneciler Primary School in 1950, High School of Vefa in 1956, department of Arabic-Persian philology of the Faculty of Art at the University of İstanbul in 1960. In the following years he started to work at the Faculty of theology in Ankara University as research assistant. He attained his academic degrees in this university and retired in 1987 with his own will in order to carry out his tariqa activities in an easy way.

Until very recent times we do not see a considerable difference among the two branches of Naqshbandiyya. Present differences can be traced to the period starting with Mehmed Zahid Kotku. The Sheikhs of both groups before that time did not only have the knowledge of Tasawwuf, but at the same time acquired the knowledge of religious sciences. Each of them was attributed the features of mastership because they opened new ways for the improvement of

the evils of decaying society in their times in addition to their priority of spiritual development. They aimed to revitalize Islam and Islamic İlm beside their effort to promote spirituality among the people. These were the common characteristics between Ali Haydar Efendi in the İsmail Ağa branch and Ahmed Ziyaeddin Gümüřhanevi in the İskender Pařa branch. Both of these Sheikhs had madrasa origin and were müderris in the important madrasas of İstanbul. Both emphasized that without following Shari'a, tasawwuf could not be lived. Another common point is the fact that Sheikhs of both group had close relations with the Sultans of their periods until the establishment of the Republic, particularly these two Sheikhs had close dialogue with Abdulhamid II. The main point of difference between these two is that while Ali Haydar Efendi was only bounded with and practised only Naqshbandi principles, Gümüřhanevi had tried to unify the views and practices of the ten orders that we counted above.

With the coming of the Republican period, while İsmail Ağa convent started to enclose itself within its own tariqa circle, İskender Pařa convent begun to accommodate with the modern processes to open its doors outside. But the integration of the latter did never have the goal of changing its basic discourse. But it aimed to be effective over the existing processes and institutions of the society on the basis of its traditional perspective. After the establishment of modern Republic, the first considerable difference between the two branches appeared in terms of the relations between tariqa and politics. Ali Haydar Efendi and his murids tried to desist from the political issues, while some murids of Kotku had political contacts particularly through supporting Erbakan's National Order Party. After Kotku the tie between tariqa and politics has become a common trend in the İskender Pařa branch. The adherents of the tariqa continued to give support to the National Salvation party and Wealth Party until the spiritual guide Esad Cořan and political leader Necmettin Erbakan were opposed to each other in the issue of the tariqa and political priorities. It should be noted that although Kotku has influenced the Turkish politics, his main field of interest remained within the boundaries of order.

If we consider the positions of these branches in the process of modernization in Turkey, it can be stated that as opposed to İsmail Ağa, İskender Pařa branch has a voluntary participation in the modern institutions especially in the educational institutions. Esad Cořan himself acquiring professorship in the modern institution of education, as opposed to the madrasa background of the earlier Sheikhs, indicates the common tendency in this convent. In his books and articles he advocates to his murids not only to have religious knowledge but particularly to be trained in the other fields of knowledge in the secular institutions of education. For him without İlm there is no tasawwuf, tasaw-

wuf without Ilm leads man to deviation. Satan misleads man who does not have knowledge. Ilm is the most important weapon that saves man from all of the ignorance (Coşan 1994:15-16). For Coşan the present loss of the Islamic universe stems from its being disinterested with Ilm. For this reason, Coşan indicates that the leaders of the tekkes have directed their disciples to learn science in order to improve the prevailing conditions of Muslims. Since Coşan conceives İl̄m as the most important weapon, he indicates that his murids are not only the students of theology but also the students of Law, economics and engineering. Esad Hoca sees this as the basic need of the Ummah for its liberation from the Western dominance (ibid:16). However Gümüşhanevi states that 'Do not use those of the means and medicine produced by the unbelievers' (Gündüz1993: 301). This admonition, in a sense, seems to be in conflict with the present trend of the order. We can suppose that since Esad Coşan sees present man as the man being hungry in the desert and eating the carcass which is forbidden in order not to die, he insists that today man can make concession in certain issues (Coşan 1994: 12). Such a transformation or integration with the modern institutions can be observed not only in the field of education but also in economy, mass communication and the other fields of life.

THE PRESENT NAQSHBANDI SUFISM: RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

In order to analyse Sufi conception of technology and science we have determined İsmail Ağa and İskender Paşa Branches of Naqshbandi order as our research cases. These branches were particularly chosen since, first of all, they have characteristics, which suit to our aim at reaching a comparative view. İsmail Ağa branch has a form of closed organization. *Tariqa* training in this order is intensive and requires a complete devotion of its adherents. The branch uses a method of active and continuous training. Members have a close and permanent contact with the centre of the branch in Istanbul. There is no considerable *tariqa* activity in the political and economic realms and there is not specifically formal business fields directly linked to the objectives of the *tariqa*. On the other hand İskender Paşa Dergahı is inclined to determine its organizational priorities within the formal sphere. It motivates its adherents to be successful in economic and educational realms in order to contribute to the strength of the order and Islamic cause. Secondly, the possible differences among the two are considerable, since they are the branches of the same order. It would not be so significant to observe differences among the different orders.

We have been among the Sufis both as participant observer and systematic interviewer. It is rather difficult to have a true contact with them with-

out developing an intimate tie. Even if one has a close contact he is advised by the *murids*, particularly by İsmail Ağa *murids* that it would be better for him to have a spiritual link with the order in order to truly understand their spiritual aspects. They insist that since they have an emphasis over the *batini* (inner) aspect, understanding their conceptions differ from understanding the conceptions of those whose primary emphasis is over the appearances. Keeping this reservation in mind we attempted to deal with their worldviews as much as our issue is concerned.

Beside our observation of the orders through certain close relations with the adherents of the Dergahs in İstanbul and Konya, we have conducted systematic interview with 50 Sufis from each branch in 1996. Meanwhile, we participated in the gatherings of the members, in the conversation of the Sheikhs and specifically met with Mahmud Hocaefendi and his close associates in İsmail Ağa branch. We had a conversation with the Konya representatives of both branches.

To determine an exact number of the adherents is not possible, since having the tie with the order is a private issue. But on the basis of our observation, we predicted that İskender Paşa Branch is more widespread in Turkey than the İsmail Ağa branch. In the former case the *Tariqa* tie is more flexible and for certain members of it being and not-being a true adherent sometimes disappear. In the İsmail Ağa Branch such ties are rigidly determined.

In our interviews we asked questions and took notes when the informants were giving responses. Taking record is not permitted by the İsmail Ağa Branch and by certain *murids* of the İskender Paşa branch. To get rid of the ambiguities respondents would think, we did not attempt at learning, social, economic and professional positions of them.

It can hypothetically be stated that instrumental conception of technology and science gives way to a paradox in the view of the Sufis. This paradox is more seemly in the Sufi branch, which actively use technology and science. Therefore, Sufi action and thought is face to face with a challenge given way by the autonomous character of technology.

On this ground we aim to promote the view that rather than being determined by the values of their users for reenchanting world, technology and science insert its intrinsic value on the users through substantially constituting their actions and thoughts and in this sense indicate the negation of the taking place of a spiritual dimension in the actual life patterns.

Sufic approach to technology and science reflects its general view of the present state of life. Sufic vision of the present state of life is directly connected with their interpretation of the past and expectation of the future. Sufis approaches the present techno-scientific processes and socio-political institutions either in completely negative terms so that they are seen to be improved with a total transformation of the present structure of life or in relatively moderate terms so that they can be improved with having a control over them. To get the view of the Sufis on the role of technology over the past and present life styles and to consider their idea of future we have developed twelve questions that can be seen in Appendix. Their vision of technology and science is presented and interpreted under ten sub-categories presented below.

To evaluate how the Sufis think what they think, what they think about how they act we attempt to concentrate on understanding actor's own point of view and to connect their self-reflection with our conceptualization of the issue. This is because to see as they see is rather impossible since they insist that they see through the eye of the heart, through the eye of a non-conceptual experience at least in saying. This is more or less contrasted with what now we follow, at least in principle, a more or less rational, conceptual and discursive social science tradition.

TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE IN THE HEART OF NAQSH-BANDSM: THE CASES OF İSMAİL AĞA AND İSKENDER PAŞA BRANCHES

Quality of Life: Past and Present

In our interview a significant majority of the members of **İsmail Ağa** branch express their ideas with reference to the Qur'an and the Tradition of prophet. As far as their knowledge on these sources are not adequate they employ the conversation of their Sheikhs, the experiences of the preceding Sufi masters, Sufic tales, miracles and so on.

Adherents of this suborder believe that conducting an Islamic life style is extremely difficult because of the corruption of the social norms. At present, the social life is based on personal interests not on moral virtue and God's consent. Apart from these personal interests, the blindness of ignorance and the love of this world prevent individuals from doing favour without any material interest. For that reason, living Islam in the present society is much more virtuous than the past society that was determined by Islam.

Shari'a and Sunnah were the dominant factors in shaping social life in the Ottoman period until its late decades, whereas the present social life gives rise to disorder (*fitna*) and corruption. For İsmail Ağa adherents, today majority of people despise living Shari'a. People have become the slaves of unbelief (*kufi*). The notion and practice of friendship, relations in family and neighbourhood were strong in the past society. Fraternity and solidarity were the major concepts, which existed together with the tie of the heart around the Sufi masters. In the present society, on the other hand, jealousy, inferiority complex and vanity have replaced virtuous human behaviour. Unless the Revelation shapes human life, no society can attain happiness among its whole members. This is because of the fact that man is not created without an aim; he is given the divine responsibility. Today, man's unhappiness is caused by his ignorance of this responsibility that can be learned by studying Islamic sciences. Imitation of the western lifestyle and the ignorance of ancestors' values have led to the rise of materialism as the sole measure of everything.

For a significant majority of **İskender Paşa** adherents present society is worse than the past society by virtue of quality of life. They believe that in the present society materialism has become the absolute value so that acceptance of the will of Allah has been weakened. In the past, human relations were motivated by the consent of Allah, but today personal interests motivate them. For them, there were also egoistic tendencies in the past but they were limited with a few individuals. In any society men can get the consent of Allah since the world is a world of test. But, since today sins are committed openly and easily, living Islam became more difficult than the past. The most chanceful period in history is the period of Prophet after that comes the period of *tabiin* (successors) and then the *tabe-i tabiin* (successors of the successors). As the light becomes away from its original source the chance to see that light is weakened. Therefore, in a period when the *ummah* faces disorder; following the Tradition of the Prophet is more meritorious in the sight of Allah than doing the same thing in a society shaped by Islam.

İskender Paşa disciples believe that the disappearance of self-devotion, altruism and love has given way to the absolute selfishness that is the predominance of wild *nefs* and physical behaviour. Men aim only to realize their own interest and ignore and exclude the other people. The virtuous relations of the past do not exist. The most significant indicator of the degeneration of the value of being human is related to the fact that old persons are looked down. In the past human interaction was based on the notions of brotherhood and love. The most significant reason of this change is the breakdown of Islamic values. Love, respect and tolerance are considerably weak at present. These

three are lived only among the men having the same worldview. The source of this development is the spiritual and material degeneration of the society, which is confronted with a crisis of identity. As opposed to the developments in the technological realm, the lack of spiritual development has given way to the emergence of the materialist generations.

In the view of the İskender Paşa adherents the society has lost its peculiar characteristics. Men do not even know what they are doing and where they are going. They are confronted with the danger of losing themselves. However, there are still some values remained from the past. In the past one lived with the Sufis who gave primacy to love, respect, fidelity and knowledge. Attitudes and actions of men had a measure and involved Islamic motives. Institutions such as Ahilik (Brotherhood) and *Vaqfs* were consolidating the permanence of the Islamic values. The present degeneration in the social relations is the consequence of the influence of the Western culture. With the impact of mass media and some state institutions, today, the society has been taken away from its own culture and forgot its identity, which is a cause of underdevelopment.

Technology, Religion and the West

The adherents of the **İsmail Ağa Dergahı** do not see an inevitable conflict between the modern technology and İslam. But the transfer of it until present is considered to have a profound impact over the Islamic values. Western technology has brought its culture and led to the disappearance of many religious values and morality. Allah commands Muslims to be superior than the others. This means that Muslims should work and develop technology themselves. We should develop technology so that West would take it from us. Technological development has not reached to the point where Islam reached centuries ago. For example no scientist has succeeded in achieving a development which could be equal to Mohammed's ascendance (*mira*). The Ottomans were the highest in science and technology as long as they were loyal to the Qur'an.

For most of our informants, in the Qur'an many verses indicate that believers should make weapons for the strongest preparation for their wars with the infidels. Those who do not conform this command become deviant. In the Islamic society, there will not be tools contrasting with Islam. The use of technology is very important. It should be used in accordance with the Islamic principles. There is nothing in aeroplane contrasting with Islam. There is Qur'an behind man's journey over the moon with the present technology. If Muslims knew religion and lived Islam, they would be the most advanced as in the times of the Ottomans. Westerners benefited from the Muslims sources and devel-

oped science and technology. Science were firstly promoted by the Muslims. For example in 1100s there were important developments in astronomy which West did know nothing. Uluğ Bey was one of the scientist of that time. After the Crusaders, West took science from the hands of Muslims who then forgot and West developed it. Persons going to West for learning science turn back having distorted ideas because they go with wrong ones. Jeune Turks is the most striking example in the transfer of the western ideas. These persons brought not the science and the technology but its culture namely its movies and theatres. The impact and penetration of Western culture stem from the fact that Ottoman state has become weak. Both tasawwuf and Islamic religion is not against all the technology, they see them as service to mankind. The reason for this is the creation of matter in the service of man. Technological tools differ among themselves in terms of conforming Islamic values. For example television is different than the washing machine in terms of the aim of their use. Washing machine is a mere service. But brings of Western culture if woman is interested in make-up while machine washes clothes. There is a cultural exploitation coming with the technological instruments. Rather, woman should be interested in more beneficial issues and take herself from its harms. The reason for the society's imitation of the Western culture lies on its own illness and on leaving its own way of life. The roots of technology are found in Islam but west is more advanced than it because westerners worked more. But what makes one Muslim is his belief in secret. Persons in İsmail Ağa suborder insist that present use of technology and science it brings Western culture but escaping this is possible through an Islamic use. Science and technology are given a great importance unless they are not harmful to Islamic values. As Ghazali says one who does not know astronomy is weak in the science of morality. However, today doctors can not attain salvation since they work for money not for Allah. The present scientists are in the side of the West since when they talk about sun and moon they do not say that they are created by Allah.

Similarly for Most of İsmail Ağa disciples, there is no harm in technology when it is used in a good manner. Washing machine, aeroplane, refrigerator, automobile are not naturally bad. Rather than preventing from the religious tasks, they have benefits. For example one can go to pilgrimage in a shorter time. But there are some problems especially in relation to game technology such as atari and computer games that waste one's time. The aeroplane is itself good, but the hostesses are placed within it. Muslims have faced handicaps in developing their own sciences and technologies. In Turkey alphabetical revolution is the most decisive one that has led to Muslims' break with their own past. Distortion of the madrasas in the later Ottoman period and ineligible persons'

occupation of the religious affairs have been the factors behind Muslims' backwardness in the realm of technology and science.

Common view among the İsmail Ağa adherents favours Islamic use and development of technology. Developing technology is seen as a command of Allah saying in the Qur'an that I created you and your makings. It does not make any difference whoever develops technology since it is a benefit for the whole humanity. Prophet advises that the crafts of the infidels can be taken but not their morality. This means that anything, which is beneficial for man, must certainly have a positive place in religion.

İskender Paşa disciples believe that technology and science themselves do not bring Western culture. Western culture comes if the users of technology and science have not Islamic values. Islam permits the development of them. In a *hadith* it is indicated that Muslims should be armed with the weapons of their enemies. Therefore, today they must be more advanced than and have a control over the West. The development of Islamic world can be realized through technology and science. In Iraq, Bosnia and Çeçenistan unbelievers attack Muslims and Muslims remain helpless. In this age, Muslims should have technology in order to be independent.

It is believed that when technology is transferred, Western culture can be filtered. If there is a woman TV announcer she is seen by men and, there is a man TV announcer he is seen by women, although there is a strong view among Muslims that the voice of woman is confidential. Muslims can use technology omitting its Western values. For instance woman can direct the TV programs for woman. Telephone, television and radio are foreign inventions. But their role can be determined through the use of them. Technology contributes to a life in ease and creates leisure that can be used either for selfishness (*nefs-i emmare*) or for being the servant. The possibilities technology creates should be used for the consent of Allah. However today to ask whether technology has a place in religion is same with asking whether man should eat bread or not. Everything existing in the nature created by Allah can be used every time. Technology effects culture all the time; there is not Islamic and non-Islamic technologies. It is nobody's own property. But since the present technology is Western, it has some negative influences in its transfer to our society; at least certain foreign words have been introduced. Its negative aspects that are of necessity are not much harmful, but imitation of the West accompanying with the degeneration of Islamic culture and the mass media and state that promotes Western culture have the decisive impact over the Islamic values. Western culture penetrates even to Muslim's home without their approval. It is diffi-

cult to resist its predominance, since men are naturally inclined to realize their desires.

On the basis of a *hadith* it is asserted that knowledge (Wisdom) is the lost property of believer. Science (*İlm*) should be taken even from China. As a Society and Islamic world our development is dependent on the application of this view. The first verse of Qur'an shows how the development of technology and science are seen in Islam in a positive sense. But Islam advocates that for the improvement of all humanity, there should also be efforts and development in the spiritual realm. By emphasising the superiority of knowledge over ignorance Islam promotes learning and inquiry. In our society Western culture has become dominant as a result of the colonization policies. Today it is clearly seen that West do not accept anything which is opposed to its interests. Technology and science have a great role in Islam in spite of the claims of the Westernists seeing Islam as a backward religion. Their incorrect judgement of the imitators of the West stems from the fact that they do not know and do not want to know Holy Qur'an every verse of which includes tens of secrets and meanings. The reason for the development of science and technology by the West lies on their use of their sources and minds through working hard. But still they have a fear of Muslims. The youths of the West are in a state of sinking into a bog. The human relations have almost disappeared and families entirely fragmented.

Islamic religion gives more importance to technology and science than the other religions. Technology brings its culture inevitably. In the society it is the responsibility of the Muslims to have a trust in its own values and power rather than seeing itself powerless against the Western society. İskender Paşa adherents believe that Islamic culture will be superior to all the other cultures. The spread of Islam in the Western societies without our effort is given as a proof of this view. Islam is not closed against positive sciences that are not the present technology of the West. If Muslims develop their own technology independently from the West, they can protect themselves from the influence of the foreign culture. This means that if Muslims continue to transfer Western technology, they will never reach to the point of Western development, although Islam advocates that Muslims should be superior to its enemies.

Human Relation: Inner Enlightenment and Mass Salvation

In the view of the **İsmail Ağa Murids** a Muslim should be concerned with the ills of his society so that he could cure them. According to a *hadith*, if there is an evil, one should primarily improve it by hand, if he is not capable of doing this, he should improve it by language, even if one is not capable of doing this, he should dislike it in his heart. This last is the weakest form of faith.

Desisting from the society is not approved since every man has rights on every other. Prophet wanted Muslims both to realize their tasks and to develop their human relations according to Islam; man needs others in living Islam as he can not live in isolation. There are *Hadiths* concerned with praying with community and the rights of Muslim on Muslim. Allah commands that Muslims should migrate to the side of people who live Islam.

A Muslim, they insist, should both be with the people and live Islam and develop his inner spirituality. Rabbani said that living in isolation is another name of the empty affairs. Attaining the taste of the prayers through conforming the prohibitions and obligations, one should be together with men and beneficial for them. All of the prophets lived among the people. The prophet Davud wanted to withdraw into seclusion for *dhikr*, but Allah persuaded him that his calling anyone who desists from Him is better than living in isolation. Without being isolated from the society one should attempt at the improvement of society. If solitude is necessary, it can be realized within the society. Unlike Christians, a Muslim can not lock himself within a monastery. But he can live in isolation for learning science (*ilm*). The world is the need, but the other world is the goal. He can conduct *amr-i bil ma'ruf* (promoting the good) after learning science. He may withdraw into seclusion in cases of disorder (*fitna*). But isolation is not the solution, there is not monasticism in Islam. Allah says that we should contribute to the proliferation of the goodness and prevent the badness. In order to do this we should know the sciences of *shari'a*. As said by Garibullah who was the sheikh of Sultan Abdulaziz, one should call the unbeliever to Islam but not share anything with them. In this sense one should not be trouble in calling men to Islam as the prophet did. If the person is not equipped with the religious knowledge, he should prepare himself in the Islamic sciences as much as necessary and go outside to lead people into Islam. Allah had destroyed a community, which lived Islam but did not attempt to prevent disbelief. It is a common view that if one is an *alim* (scholar), he should convey Islam, but if he is not eligible, he should learn science and then teach it to people. Prophet advised not desisting from the social relations but conduct *emr-i bil ma'ruf*. Today the source of the evils in society is the spread of western culture. In order to have a solution, it is necessary to have a sense of deep spirituality. Cutting off from the society is not possible, since man's nature necessitates a life within community. Living within the community is to be realized together with an inner world of the self. Even if the society is wholly formed of evils, it is required to live this inner world within society and try to persuade this inner world to the other people.

For most of persons in **İskender Paşa** suborder, a Muslim should participate in the social relation rather than isolating himself from the society. He should fight against the evils of society within the society. It is an important principle of Naqshbandiyya that man should live among the people without ignoring the Truth. The principle of being solitude within the society (*halvet der enjuman*) is extended to every realm of the societal life. While the hand is interested with the work, the heart should be concerned in the beloved (Allah). This has been a famous view known among the Turkish people as *El karda gönül yarda*. But it is indicated by our informants that this is a rather difficult goal to be realized. A *hadith* says that it is better to be among the people enduring their torments than trying to improve the *nefs* going into retirement. Retiring to one's own corner may be required for certain periods. For example in the last ten days of Ramadan one should remain be interested in his *nefs*, but this is a kind of camping that one collects energy there and use it later for the better going of the society. To be indifferent to what the evils of society is opposed to human nature, since man is a social being. For this reason to make himself spiritually powerful, man should exhibit an exemplary personality with his hand, tongue and particularly with his action, and must be together with Truth among the people for the benefit of them.

Muslims should strengthen their religious culture, revive their customs and habits, and use their capacity of calling people into Islam. This is rather a difficult task to realize being lonely, similarly it is also difficult to combat for the divine cause by desisting from the social relation. On the basis of the İskender Paşa conception of tasawwuf training, one should be together with Truth among the people. Man should save his self and his spirituality from the evils of society and not make concession from his beliefs. When he is alone, he should develop his spirituality and when he is among people, he should continue on his combat through winning persons one by one. This is the only way to improve the evils of society. It seems to be a strong view that the non-Muslim people can know the Truth through seeing the attitudes and behaviours of Muslims who follow true norms of Islam. One should undertake an active task in the human interactions. This is connected with the non-existence of monasticism in Islam. Since the increase of evils in society also constitutes a threat for every Muslim, they should seek the ways of improving society and purifying it from these evils here and now. Every Muslim should carry on the tasks on his responsibility and attempt at establishing ideal society. Whatever the strength of evils in society, there is no requirement to be isolated from the people; if the good persons withdraw into seclusion, the society remains in the hands of evil doers. Here the measure should be both not to break with the social ties and to try to direct the society in the right path by not being painted with the colours

of society. Moreover, if man stay lonely he is confronted by his *nefs* and than he commits sins in ease. Therefore, it is claimed that Islam advocates living together with people.

Knowledge: Heart and/or Reason

For the followers of **İsmail Ağa Dergahı**, present science involves some elements beyond its limits. When it is moulded with religion and the existing distortions within sciences are clarified, it becomes more developed and beneficial. For instance, the doctors operate the ill and suppose that they cure them without needing Allah. If they know that their intelligence and capability are given and Allah cures the ill; there will not be anything against Islam.

Reason is seen as proof but not an adequate proof. It is completed through the message of the prophets. Man cannot know the heaven, hell, angels and Allah only through his reason. Reason can lead man but to a certain point. The heart is essential, but different from what we know as an organ like the pine capsule consisted of blood and flesh. The heart of the believer is the home of Allah i.e. Allah fits into the heart of the believer, which is non-spatial but not into the earths and skies, because they are spatial. Allah created the heart of the unbeliever also in a non-spatial form but unbelievers and defeatists (*fasiks*) lost this character by tending to this worldly things. In this sense, reason is seen in two forms: this worldly reason and otherworldly reason. Today this worldly reason is the predominant one. For example, people go to the doctor when their outer heart becomes ill, but now although the inner heart of the people is ill, they do not go to doctor in order to cure it.

İsmail ağa murids believe that present science is in the wrong way since it is not bound with the religion. For instance it says that it does not rain with the ritual prayer for rain. This view is contrasted with the religious belief. Anyone should do *dhikr* if he wants to have an access to Allah. A heart is considered as ill, if there is the love of this world even as little as mustard grains within it. If reason does not accept Qur'an, it cannot be considered as a guide. The present science is seen as similar to a ship on the sea that if the ship sinks into the sea, the sea becomes harmful to the ship. Today since science is taken far from the religion and it is connected to a body without the spirit it leads man to stresses and crises. If the heart is ill the whole body will be ill, if the heart is healthy the whole body is also healthy. The distortion of the heart leads to the mal-functioning of reason so that it cannot discriminate between good and evil. In the Qur'an; it is said by Allah that we have given to you reason which discriminates evil from good. If it is based on Qur'an, reason can find the true way. The heart divorced from the Qur'an is obliged to mislead. But all the

wrongs will inevitably be corrected; all the unbelievers will become Muslims in the Last Time. Science should be in the service of man. Its point of departure is very important. Sciences discover the already existing laws, it can not create a new thing. Today some people use science for the benefit of man while others use it for their harm. For example, amnion liquids coming after women's giving birth to child are sometimes used as the cosmetic materials, their being a trade commodity is immoral; and the chickens are squeezed into the narrow cages in order to get more meat, this is against their nature. In the present society the heart and reason not in the place where they should be as opposed to their place in the past society. Although the scientists are correct in some issues, in certain others they are wrong. For example, they insist that marriage among the close relatives result in abnormal birth, though Allah allows it. They cannot know better than Him. This fact indicates that the reason is insufficient without the help of the heart but the heart, should be purified from the evil things.

Allah created his servants and send the Book so that they could know Him. If science is practised according to this divine revelation it will be beneficial for men, otherwise it will be the source of disorder as in the present society. Our knowledge stems from the meaning of Qur'anic revelation. However, the more man follows his self (*nefs*), the more his heart becomes darkened. If the heart is healthy it directs reason and the reason obeys it without any objection. The present science is inadequate since it does not teach anything through which man could learn Allah. Any work realized by a religiously unclean (*cunub*) man is *haram*. There is not *besmele* in the beginning of the books; there is not *barakah*, the *rahmah* (grace) of Allah and angles if there is not *besmele*. The explanations of science are inadequate and wrong because they exclude Islam. Islam does not say 'do not work', but it does not also say 'work in a degree of ignoring the other world'.

Science is divided into two: religious and rational. The science taking man away from Allah is against the Islamic values. In our country for seventy years there has not been a religious education. In the textbooks of present education there are many statements leading man to disbelief. The reason can not help in the spiritual matters. In these realms man should follow Tradition. Bashfulness and belief should go together with reason. However, today science does not serve for the spirituality that is the inner world. For this, only the spiritual sciences are sufficient. In this connection Imam Rabbani Said that astrology (*ilm-i nücüm*) is unnecessary. In the schools only Qur'an, Tradition, and Islamic Law should be taught. For happiness and tranquillity of man not reason but heart should be given primary importance. As a result of the increase of heart's sensitivity, people become more respectful, lovely and intimate among

each other. Reason lonely is seen as incomplete, it should be unified with the heart. Since the people attempt to solve all of their problems on the basis of reason, they do not have a solution to their anxiety and inner troubles. It is insisted that one cannot know anything only on the basis of reason. The heart should seek the consent of Allah. The science has some conspicuous and multi-faceted un-islamic features in its present state. It makes anything remote from the religious practices and Islamic values. One should live by the guidance of revelation, as the prophet did, not with the guidance of reason. For instance, although the bottom not the upper surface of the *mes* becomes dirty, its upper surface is touched with the wet hand. This is a religious obligation and not in conformity with the reason. Nothing should be allowed to penetrate into the heart except Allah. No vengeance and enmity (*haset*) should be fed in the heart against any Muslim.

For the adherents of **İskender Paşa Dergahı** science is valid to a certain extent, since it must be dependent on revelation. Present science does not lead man to the source of Truth. It fills the gap that is a result of man's losing his value judgements. The place of reason in our life is limited. Heart and reason are complementary of each other. Pure reason can not lead man to salvation. Reason unified with the heart can be the real guide for man. The present science is insufficient, it should be much more developed. For example the computer chips are produced in the West and from an Islamic point of view, we should ourselves produce it. Technology and science are utilized without considering the values of our own society. As far as Muslims do not possess science, the present science that is in the hands of the enemies of Islam continues to be used against Muslims as a means of oppression. Scientific theories change in time but in Islam there is the acceptance of the Natural Laws conceived as the Law of Allah (*Adet-i İlahi*). This means that there can be laws in the Islamic natural sciences, but for the social issues we can not speak of scientific laws; these fields are relative, reason accepted as valid in the realms outside of the absolute beliefs that are the *nass*es (revelation). Honeycomb is given to be filled by him. There are the domains where Allah puts limits for men and the domains Allah sets no limit to men so that he can use his reason. Belief comes first then comes reason. Reason is reliable as far as belief is not concerned.

It is difficult to speak about heart without being the man of heart. Belief starts with the love of heart that should be satisfied for the completion of man's faith. Present science is interventionist to men's life and encompassing it from every aspect. It has been continually increasing its pressure over the world-views and practices of men who are missway in order to be more and more scientific and rational. Their will to more and more prevents them from being

themselves and lead to personal and social crisis. In this age people accept the ideas they produce as a result of their mental gymnastics as their law and order. For Muslims this situation is in conformity with the nature of man. But in the Islamic view this is not the way to the meaning of life, since reason, should be on the command of heart as a complementary part of it. When men only trust in reason they come to an impasse. As a matter of their creation men can both be very good and very bad. Only those who unite their reason and heart become successful both in this and the next world. Heart gives a direction to men's extreme and harmful ideas and actions by setting a limit to them. In a sense, it undertakes a role of brake. Acting only on the basis of reason resembles to an automobile without brake.

Science can be developed as far as it is not opposed to Islamic values. Man is distinguished from the other living beings by his reason, but it should be properly used in the way of being servant to the Truth. We can use reason to the extent that Allah allowed. We do and make most of the things in our daily life with reason, which is one of the important guides in understanding events and in solving the problems but not an adequate one since there are secrets to which reason has almost no access. These are the domains where reason stops and heart starts to work in the way to Truth. In this sense, man of present age should not ignore the relevance of revelation. In principle the heart and reason should be negotiated and work in conformity. Reason should not be made an idol through accepting it as the sole measure of everything, although it is still the most distinctive feature of man from the other living beings. In the Qur'an, there are verses mentioning reason in a positive sense. It advocates using *aql* (reason), but *aql* should come after *naql* (revelation). The role of the heart in human life is very great. In a *hadith* it is uttered that if the heart is in a good state, the whole body is in a good state, and if it is in a bad state the whole body is in a bad state as well. Without the tranquillity of our emotions and spirituality, reason has no benefit for us. Tranquillity and happiness of the heart effect the whole life. Heart does not mislead us but reason does. Although the present science has provided many facilities for human life; man, in a sense, has become a servant of it. Today science attempts to legitimize certain taboos more than contributing to the happiness of man. Science and reason do not mean everything Muslims should have. It does not give absolute explanations, what it puts forth is disputable. The belief and practices of Muslim are provided by Qur'an and *Hadith*.

The spirit that obeyed Allah in the time of its first creation (*Qalu Bela*) is man's body in this world. *Nefs* should be dependent on *Aql*, *Aql* on *Qalb* (heart), *Qalb* on *Ruh*. A man attaining the highest point in belief knows his self

and knowing self means knowing the cosmos. This is the way of turning back on his essence. Muslims' belief of the birth of every child as a Muslim stems from the belief that all the spirits obeyed Allah in *Qalu Bela* and they remain as Muslim until they grow up to the eligible age. *Aql* symbolizes *İlm* (knowledge) and *Qalb* symbolizes Tasawwuf. *İlm* breeds Tasawwuf and vice versa. That is why they should have equal place in our life.

In sum, for İskender Paşa disciples, today science has an important place in human life; it provides practical easiness, saves time and facilitates life. The developments in science have contributed to the material and physical satisfaction of man. However, such developments have never touched the spiritual aspects of man and leave him hungry in these realms. Therefore, men have never become happy. This means that science is not sufficient for the tranquillity and happiness of men.

Nature and Human Will

İsmail Ağa Murids insist that whoever does not love for his brother what he loves for himself cannot be a true Muslim. A Muslim cannot cut the forest for his interest more than his own need. The same is true for fishing. However, today the forest is cut to produce paper used for publishing obscene pictures and immoral writings. Wood is utilised for bedroom. Muslim has no need of ostentation of bedroom that is a waste forbidden (*haram*) by religion. Prophet says that 'even if you are near by the river do not waste its water'. A Muslim desists from destroying environment and from anything that might be harmful for man and nature, since they are created by Allah and obey Him. Allah utters that 'take the benefits of that food I have given to you and do not seek benefit from the things I have forbidden to you'. Man should approach to the other creatures with reverence because it is *haram* to give any harm to any of the creatures. Nature is a gift to man. He should see it in the same way as he sees himself. As the man and society are degenerated the nature is also degenerated. If the forests become smaller and smaller as a consequence of the present production, two trees should be planted for the every one being cut. Man pollutes both himself (his body is also considered as nature) and the nature by using them for an aim which contradicts with the aim of their creation. Islam also determines how a man should treat his own body; it is *haram* to do any harm to it. His own body is also a trust given to him. For this reason, suicide is forbidden in Islam.

For them, today the nature is being destroyed and no one is able to stop it, since man acts not with the stimulus of *riza-i İlahi* (the acceptance of the will of God) but with the stimulus of money. Whoever internalizes the mo-

rality of Islam knows that all of the creatures have rights on man. Islam advises man to make attempts for the livelihood of nature by giving them certain values such as planting trees and not polluting the water. However, man is naturally interest oriented. Islam aims to prevent those aspects of interest through setting certain values. Whoever accepts Islamic values is less harmful to the living beings, since he behaves with the principles advocating the love of the creatures for their creators. According to Tasawwuf there is nothing empty, all the possession belong to Allah. A man, not knowing, this principle, thinks that there is nothing wrong in letting flow the pollution of his plant to the land around it because he assumes that that land is empty. A Muslim having favour (*ihlas*) do not think that it is empty because it is in the possession of Allah. It is in the same belief that even plucking a weed is to be made with a divine sensitivity. By one of our informants a Sufic tale is given as an instance explaining this divine contemplation: 'The Sheikh of Hüdai wanted from his disciples to bring him a lively rose. Hüdai went out and turned with a dead rose. Sheikh asked why did not he bring a lively one that he wanted? Hüdai responded that he had searched all the roses and saw that all of the life was in a state of recollection (*dhikr*) that is why he brought that one'.

For the persons in **İskender Paşa** circle, nature is believed to be given to men as a blessing of Allah for the benefit of all humanity. Men have no right to destroy nature, since it is divine trust. A Muslim can not pollute environment, since the soil, the water and the air are used commonly, the common values of men should be utilized with care. To do and make everything in the best way is an artistic value of Islam; one should be interested in every creature with the most possible sensitivity, protect it from the harms. Keeping the space in its natural beauty is vitally important in the spiritual life. Not only Muslims but also non-Muslims' rightful share in nature is taken by those mistreating it. Even men have no right to destroy the things in his own possession. For instance, one should not fire his money on the basis of the view that that money is in his own possession. He has also not any right to devastate the public buss and elevator. Beside this, nature should be conserved as what it is. Today, the Siberian forests are being cut for cellulite. Tomorrow, its clamity will be smeared to us. Sprays used for odour or killing the flies spreads clora flora carbon gas giving way to danger to all humanity. It is not permitted to use by a Muslim, since it is a threat to the rights of the creatures. Every action of men polluting air, soil and water is also a violation of human right and therefore should not be conducted by a believer. Muslim has a polite, refined and amicable personality. A Muslim should not pass across when the traffic light is red since it is a violation of the right of creatures.

Man's violence toward nature is dependent on the values brought by the modern age. In the Islamic societies man attempted to protect and enrich the nature. The Ottoman capital, Istanbul is given as an example of this approach, there were Kağıthane, Sadabat and Yıldız popular excursion spot places. Now, there are leather complexes and swear in Kağıthane, carcass smells in Sadabat, Yıldız has been saved since it became a public park. Today, even it seems that we compete with each other for the destruction of environment.

The present environmentalist movements do almost nothing for the improvement of environment. Their fault stems from the fact that they do not know the source and the solution of the problem. For the İskender Paşa adherents the source of the problems lies on the individualistic ethics of the modern age. And the solution lies on the acceptance of the view that if the individuals are introduced with the beauty of Allah, they desire to protect the beauties in the creatures and develop reverence for them. Man's being fond of material interests and insufficient in the spiritual dimension constitute a threat both to his environment and to the whole humanity. Enormous developments in technology and science created a new man thinking only his material interest. 'An egoist person burns his neighbour's house for cooking his egg.' Therefore there is a need for meritorious persons. Today the harms men have done are not limited with the earth; they sprung into the deep sky. Men having a complete belief in and fear of Allah can not do any harm to anything. It is believed that in the process of industrialisation West has destroyed the nature for its interest. West realizes its own interests over the Muslims on the basis of some activities in the name of saving nature. Without feeling pain modern man has been doomed to live within the masses of concrete. If this wrong is not improved in the nearest future, our world will face with a gigantic danger. Man should primarily protect himself in order to protect the eco-habitat. If the nature is used for the benefit of society but not for individualistic interests, the least harm is given to it. There should be some measures and attempts to protect the nature, otherwise there will be a great danger not only for the life of non-human but also for all human beings. Therefore, it is not only a responsibility of Muslims but also all the people over the earth to develop the ways of protecting nature. On the basis of a statement of an Indian chief, it is argued that as the technology advances, man destroys the nature and prepares his own death. It will be a good step to try to relive the nature gifted to man. If the balance of nature breaks down, man will not have a tranquil condition. Destroying thousands hectares of forest for building a university site, known and unknown distorting effects of installing nuclear power centers are conceived as infidelity toward the divine gift.

The Last Day and Mahdi

For most of the adherents of **İsmail Ağa** branch of Sufism, although the big signs of the Day of Judgement (*Yevm al-Qiyamah*) have not appeared yet, most of the small signs of it have been seen until present. On the basis of the *Hadith* literature these signs are mainly accepted as increase of open drunkenness, high buildings, ignorance, bribery, coming down of the bandits from the mountain to the city (in the past the bandits were attacking city suddenly from the mountains, today they have become official burglars: İSKİ and Civan-Gates and swindling of Horzum and other similar events in 1980's and 1990's are given as some examples of this phenomenon) the wife's directing her husband, men's being decorated in the outer aspect though their inner aspect is dark (empty), sudden deaths (heart attacks), the hegemony of non-Muslims all over the world, resemblance of women to man and men to women, doing injustice to the orphan, unification of unbelievers against Islam, hand and eye adultery, children's appraisal to their parents, the decrease of trust and respect among men as a result of injustice to the trust and the disappearance of the *barakah* of life and acceptance of the will of God. Today these signs are accepted to exist all over the world. These small signs are seen as the harbingers of the big ones. This means that the Day of Judgement is near to come.

It is generally believed that when Mahdi will come the present technology will be totally disappeared and the natural things will remain in the world. This belief is supported by the view that as the present consumption continues on, reserves of petroleum will be exhausted up in the near future and there will be a turn to the past and inevitable use of sword in the wars. Allah will give a supernatural power to Mahdi and Mahdi will fight with sword. Since Mahdi will be on the service of Islam, Mahdi will fight with making no oppression to the masses-enemies of the Muslims since Islam does not permit the use of injustice. Mahdi will fight against Dajjal and kill him by sword. The war of the Last Day will be the war of foot soldiers. Invisible armies will help to the Muslims. Allah has so powerful friends for whom atomic bomb is very weak. Since Mahdi is a friend of Allah, he will conquer the battle with Dajjal even the war will be with the present technological weapons and no matter he will fight with sword or any other tool of war. Allah's help to the Muslims is considered to be decisive throughout the history of wars between the Muslims and non-Muslims. In the Bedir war the angels supported Muslims. Even today in Çeçenistan, Çanakkale and Cyprus wars these supports have been seen. Materialism or the technological weapons cannot attain a permanent victory over the

spirituality or the Muslims. The artillery pieces and guns of the unbelievers will not be effective against Mahdi. Dajjal is believed to have a gigantic power. On the basis of a *hadith* it is indicated that a believer will be easily turned to an unbeliever in his own home and outside by a big power. A significant number of the informants said that although they are not exactly sure, the present television can be seen as Dajjal and that certain of the Sufi masters said this in their conversation with them. Allah will give an enormous power to Dajjal who will deceive many people; for example he will cheat them by cutting and killing a man who will not believe him by a saw and than reconnecting the parts of that man he will bring him to life again. Whoever will read the *surah of kehf* will be able to escape from the calamity of Dajjal who will not be able to approach them. Dajjal will enter to every home and taking everyone under his control and encompassing. He will get many people and associates through misleading them. Mahdi will not come immediately. He will appear in order to liberate the people from the tyranny of Dajjal after the people will have been deeply troubled.

A significant number of persons in **İskender Paşa** circle said that they did not know how Mahdi will fight with Dejjal. A few insisted that the issue of Mahdi is a disputable one in Islam. On the basis of the *Hadith* literature, about a half of the İskender Paşa *murids* with whom we interviewed believe that although the big signs of the Day of Judgement have not been seen yet, most of the small signs of the Day of Judgement have been appeared. These small signs are counted as: the increase of the high buildings, immorality, adultery and prostitution, injustice, killings, drunkenness, gambling, interest, the decrease of trust among men, decrease of the number of *ulema*, the spiritual collapse of society, women's being governor and the weakening of the Islamic values. A *hadith* says that in the Last Day Islam will become like a piece of ember which will burn the hand when it is kept by it and will be extinguished if it will fall down.

It is argued by the great majority of those who gave response to our question that Mahdi will fight against Dejjal with the most modern technological weapons of his age, this is because of the principle that advocates to the Muslims to be armed with the weapons of their enemies.

The Evil: TV and/or Its Use?

İsmail Ağa murids contends that today television is a dragon. An intelligent man should not nourish it in his bosom. Although Television is good in itself, it should not be used since its content is demonic. It is, at present, a box

of foolishness. But the box has not a fault in itself. In its present use it makes itself gigantic by gathering everybody's attention to a single point. It leads man to forget that man was created for a test and for the aim of acquiring the next world. This means that under the influence of TV a new species came into presence resembling the man who do not sow in the summer and becomes hungry in the winter. It is difficult for men to avoid the harms of the television since they are inclined to their desires by their creation. Whoever has television in his home, cannot realize his religious worships purely and it has a shaking influence over the family life. Television effects the friendly conversation, fraternity in a negative direction. For learning anything it is better to be found in the actual conversation and sitting together than watching TV. Today it is not possible to use it in a positive way. For this reason, today, a Muslim can not say that the present television can be used in a way consistent with the Islamic values. Man may think that he can control his desire, but still he will be under the pressure of television. It can be used according to *Shari'a*, *Ehl-i Sunnah* (Orthodoxy), and *İcma-i Ummah* (the consensus of the Islamic community).

Television can be used if it is completely controlled and administered by the Muslims. However, today even Muslims have Islamic channels there is the danger of shifting to the other channels. When it enters home, the other channels are also watched. The spiritual state of man resembles the pool to which flow water from the five fountains one of which including dirty water makes the pool wholly dirty, though the other four fountains include clean water. At present, though confidential woman is shown in most of the channels. Since television directs man to action and makes the heart dark by leading the self (*nefs*) astray, watching it is forbidden. Beside this, it takes time, mislead man and uses people as a means of exploitation. Advertisement, which force man to buy commodities, is another reasons for not watching television. Radio is different than TV channels but the use of the voice of woman is contradictory to the Islamic values.

For the adherents of **İskender Paşa Dergahı**, the value of the TV is determined by its users. Muslims' use of TV in accordance with the Islamic values means that there should not be programs which lead men to disbelief, unrest against Allah, and sexual desires. Every tool and equipment can be used to contribute to the constitution of positive personalities. Muslims should facilitate from the possibilities of technology in order to reach to a good world, good society and good man. As an instrument television is a marvel of technology. However, today it has more harms than benefits because of channels having programs against Islam. There may not be problem if there is only Islamic channels. But today when news is watched or when a child is watching TV, its

negative influences can not be resisted. Moreover, it is also necessary for the Muslims to have knowledge about the daily events all over the world.

Television, today, has become an inevitable means of society. It can be used as long as it has programs for the benefit of our society and nation. It can be thought that in the present condition a conscious Muslim should not use it. However, when we think the state of society, it is difficult to say that it should not be used. Although it has some benefits, it effects the personality of individuals deeply in a negative way. There are both good and bad TV programs. In the present time TV takes men as its prisoners. Particularly today's children grow up with the culture of it. It leads one to develop a passive personality, to have anti-social feelings and to be deprived of the reading ability. It is not possible to prevent the negative influences of TV when it is used. It is also difficult to say that we may leave it altogether; it is not in one's hand not to put it at home, since the children want it very much. They believe that there is not a feasible alternative to the role of the present TV. If possible, television should not be used, but if not it should be used consciously for the beneficial programs. Television should be used but with control over it, with selecting and timing the good programs and not watching the others so that one should not be controlled by but should have a control over it. Its benefits should be taken and its harms should be removed. It should be used as a means of training; but there are programs which lead wasting time, chaining man to TV, and which are against the moral values, but not watching them is in the hand of men. With its present characteristics television is full of immorality. When it is improved it can be used for training and informing the society and individual.

The Problems of the Present Economy

The murids of **İsmail Ağa** circle think that in the present conditions for a Muslim businessman it is difficult to work without mixing *haram* to his earnings particularly without being involved in interest. He should work according to Islamic Law with a fear of Allah. A Muslim businessman should avoid *haram* and take refuge behind Allah. As opposed to this, today it is required to abandon religion for the world though this world is transitory and the next world is permanent.

Islamic trade among the people has been gradually diminishing. Non-Islamic trade resembles a speedy flowing river that rolls the stones resisting it. It can make no harm only to the big and strong stones. In order to be a strong stone it is enough to have a fear of and trust in Allah. In a *hadith* it is said that 'near the Day of Judgement one will protect his religion with money'. In another *hadith* Prophet says that 'I take refuge behind Allah from poverty.'

The dominant non-Islamic life pattern constitutes a barrier to the work of Islamic businessman. Today, since large part of the foods and clothes are opposed to Islamic values, their purchase and sale become extremely difficult. The activities of a Muslim businessman should conform to the Islamic Law. The most important difficulty stems from the fact that Islamic Commercial Law is not adequately known. For example, a Muslim businessman should not employ woman secretary. Rather he should employ Muslim and male worker that is difficult today. In time Muslims should develop business fields conforming to Shari'a, such as Islamic holiday villages, production and sale of the Islamic clothes and foods. However without a Shari'a order a completely Islamic economic activity is not possible. A Muslim businessman can not sell a commodity accidentally. However most of the exchanges are luxury goods and services; TV sets, cigarettes, banks, stock exchange. Finance is another problem. A Muslim businessman may be in difficulty when he needs money; he cannot take it from the bank since Islam forbids interest and he cannot borrow it from a friend in the present conditions of the inflationist economy. The prevailing economic conditions push a Muslim businessman to small enterprise. He should work with cash in order to be consistent with the religious values. The present financial institutions, which have a claim of working without interest, are doubtful in relation to their being Islamic or not. It is really difficult to believe that they are without interest. In the traditional times there were no interest and inflation. Material being of the money determined its value. For instance the gold had a value according to its weight. The numbers did not determine the value. The value of the paper was paper no more or no less than that, and this prevented inflation.

For the follower of **İskender Paşa** Sufism, interest is forbidden by Islam. It is seen as an unjust earning and as the most important problem for a Muslim businessman in the present economic system. Beside this, there are many barriers preventing the development of the Muslim enterprise. In the view of İskender Paşa murids it is a point of emphasis that the source of the present obstacles is connected with the features of the non-Islamic rule. One has to use interest through at least bank procession.

Man can live most of the values of Islam in any society. A Muslim businessman can work with the Islamic principles if he wants to do so. Allah indicates what is forbidden and what is permitted to him. One can work with his own capital without the use of interest. Muslim businessman faces with a situation that prevents the marketing of his goods. Lobby activities of the non-

Muslims are prevalent in our country. Not having trust to the promise is another obstacle for the Muslim entrepreneurs aiming to prevent themselves from the non-Islamic rules of the present formal economic activities. There are hindrances for a Muslim businessman not only in Turkey but also in the international level. There is the pressure of having capital in the conditions of an interest economy.

The big enterprises are opposed to Islam, since not the right but benefit is sought. This prevents the development of a Muslim businessman. An unjust order is an obstacle to his growth. Even when the Muslim businessman achieves a growth, he can not escape from becoming smeared by the non-Islamic values. He is taken away from justice and conquered by his *nefs* as his capital grows. A Muslim businessman can not do work today if he does not accept the non-Islamic market values. The most difficult aspect of working in accordance with the Islamic values in the present conditions is the fact that he has to manage an enterprise with the non-Islamic (*bati*) rules of present economy. A Muslim businessman is subordinated in the present economic system because of his fear of becoming smeared by *haram*. In this issue there are important responsibilities of the *ulema*. System is particularly organized to keep the Muslims out of economic activities. The enterprise of Muslim businessman gets difficulty because of the inevitability of working by interest.

Urban Life

By the adherents of **İsmail Ağa Dergahı**, human life in the urban centers is seen as suitable for human nature rather than being opposed to it; but when we consider the phenomenon of present urbanization, we see that it gives way to the increase of immorality although for those who choose Islam conducting an Islamic life pattern becomes more easy. Urbanization itself is not the source of evil but its misuse. Beside this, cities are evaluated as superior to the villages since Islamic sciences (*ulum*) are more prevalent in the city than the village. Prophet uttered that 9 from 10 of *barakah* is found in the city and in the Qur'an it is stated that the tribes (Bedouin) in the villages are more harsh than the city dwellers by virtue of their disbelief and discord. No prophet had lived in the villages. The people in the big cities are better for the tranquillity of a believer. The big cities are also better for getting the otherworld since there are abundance of the mosques, libraries and advises.

Since Islam had been lived throughout the Ottoman history; there had occurred totally 100 retaliation and 30 burglary events (17 of them were conducted by the Armenians). In the big cities, for a Muslim, besides living in accordance to Islam, there is more possibility of calling the non-believers to Islam.

In the present time the small places are spiritually dead. Big cities have more *barakah*. Therefore İsmail Ağa branch particularly advocates living in the big cities. The city is seen as a place of freedom, one can live there as he wants; since the big cities push man to loneliness and nobody interferes the life of nobody else. Man's being uninterested to each other makes practising the values of the *tariqa* in ease. The society does not control your life. On the other hand in the villages people interfere to your life manner. In the big cities one can go to the mosque with *sarik* (turban) and *shalwar* (baggy trousers). In this sense in the village there is an interference, the manner of behaviour is controlled. The value of anything can be known by their opposites. Avoiding from the evils is more difficult in the cities but since nobody interferes nobody else, living Islam in tranquillity is more easy. For example, Muslims in Istanbul has become more conscious since they saw the danger, saw the disgracefulness of the people living in sin. For the one knowing his nature (*fitrat*) and fond of the Islamic belief, living in the big cities is more beneficial. As far as Islam is lived, the evils of the big city does not make any problem.

İskender Paşa murids believes that the life in the present cities is seen as opposed to the nature of man. They make a clear distinction between the present cities and Islamic cities of the old periods. Islam, in their view, is a city-centred religion and advocates living in the urban rather than rural areas. Prophet of Islam was not a peasant, moreover he advised being *medeni* (urbanised). For them Islam promotes living in the city as the centers of knowledge (*ilm*). Although Islam is an urban religion, present cities are opposed to living Islam properly, since they are not in consistency with human nature.

The present cities and Islamic cities are completely different in terms of their priority of values of life, but city should be preferred to live in, since it is today a task of Muslim to convey Islam and to have an access to the people. But life in a more tranquil area is more suitable for living without distorting our nature. However, today there is no place where living in accordance to nature is possible. Man lives in the urban centers in difficult conditions wearing them out. Big cities have many features making life easy. Man is naturally inclined to easiness. Metropolitan areas have some advantages, since there is the possibility that man finds everything he seeks. Man is a social being and he becomes more productive in the atmosphere of city. But artificial rules of the city life are against human nature and limit freedom of life. İskender Paşa *murids* believe that Sufi masters advise living in the cities rather than in the rural areas. They remain in the hands of the evil doers, if Muslims desist from living in these places. This is against the fact that it is very difficult for man to live in the big city without degeneration and being assimilated by it. Not only spiritual but also

materiel aspects of life such as noise and air pollution and expansiveness of life lead men to a feeling of loneliness and passivity.

Islam does not advocate life long *Khalva* (seclusion). 'A bite and a cardigan' is always true in the sense that one should not be attracted by the world. However, it does not have a meaning for not working and earning money, since it leads man to poverty both in the material and religious sense. The Islamic orders have tended to make trade since they see it as an Islamic mission. Today earning money is an Islamic task, since money is necessary for being in the service of Islam. But, on the other hand, entering into trade wears out the spiritual aspect of community, since it is difficult to earn money according to Islamic principles. Although the mission of the order is to give spiritual service to man, when the trade become a part of their concern the goal of spirituality is damaged. The trade activities today are not based on but against the Islamic norms.

Education and Morality

It is a general view among members of the **İsmail Ağa** branch that in the present schools man is produced irreligious and immoral. Primary School is seen as dark, secondary school is darker, high School is much darker and university is the darkest. University education is equated to the imitation of the West. Nobody is concerned in learning and teaching real science (*ilm*). If anyone is contempt of the sciences taught in the university, it means that he has a distorted morality and knowledge. Universities are seen as the scorpion nets or the swamps of immorality. The faith of man is weakened in these institutions. In the universities, progress and developments are seen as connected to Christianity and Judaism and the dominant mentality in universities teaches that if we want to be developed, we should resemble them.

They believe that Islam forbids education of girls and boys together. Moreover, Islam does not permit the teaching of a woman by a man and man by a woman. That's why today girls and boys are not religiously permitted to have an education in the universities. In the University man is not taught any part or section of spirituality and religion. The present institutions are the institutions paralysing Islam. The dominant idea and application are against the separation of woman and man. Even though the sciences taught in the universities may be beneficial for the material aspect of man, there are immoral and deviant issues as well; the sciences are distorted in the same way as a drop of poison spoils a saucepot of milk. If those going to universities do not learn something from their parents and neighbours, they are graduated from the university as irreligious persons. Universities and lower schools are conceived as

the representatives of Europe in Turkey. Moreover, İmam-Hatip Schools and Faculties of theology are not completely the Islamic solution, since these institutions teach Islam in a wrong way. The solution of the present problems of education and morality, for the İsmail Ağa Dergahı of the Naqshbandi Order lies in the establishment of Madrasas and Islamic society.

It is a considerable view of the İsmail Ağa branch that the universities, high and primary schools in Turkey have been established in order to destroy Islam, since all of their principles are against Islam. Children should not be send to these institutions, rather they should learn Arabic, *tariqa*, and memorizing Qur'an. Beside this, negative ideas about the culture and history of Islam are instilled. One of our informants insisted that 'When I was in the Secondary School, in the textbook, Sultan Abdulhamid was called as Red Sultan, Turgut Özal said that this insult toward Abdulhamid was wrong.' For İsmail Ağa members, today universities attempt to take the Turkish people away from Islam and promote a European life pattern and belief system. They are far away from being the centers of science and training scientist. The science is kept separated from Islam, although the belief in Islam motivates man to make inquiry and the non-Islamic motivating factors lack their validity. Science is a gift of Allah and cannot be gained only on the basis of human aim. Today universities teach the reverse of this i.e. it teaches that in achieving knowledge there is no need to Allah. They are foreign to society and its morality and therefore away from being the places of sciences. An informant having a university graduation exclaimed that 'universities are separated from the society and have a life standard of their own: agricultural engineers have no relation with agriculture, sociologist with society, psychologist with human psyche, they only imitate Western science'.

İskender Paşa murids see universities as inadequate by virtue of their morality and quality of science. They are less developed than the European Universities in terms of scientific and technological training. Morally, it produces juggler scientists. It is argued that universities are interested nothing other than the translation of the European materials: They have no original invention and discovery and idea or thought of their own. They give an education that is against Islamic structure and norms. Rather than directing students to Islamic values, they are taken away from them. In this sense, they have deviated from their roles and aims that were the characteristic of Islamic *madrassa* education.

They see universities as being in conformity with the general trends in society. Western culture is more influential than the culture of our own society. It is stated that as a society we do not think but only suppose that we think. Since the paradox of social life in our society has sprung into the structure of

state and university as one of its parts, it is not possible to say that the quality of education is high. Even the zealous persons are subordinated and pacified because the dominant view promotes the imitation of the West. We have a social identity, which shakes itself; we are devoid of the capability of understanding ourselves. As a society we look each other as enemy. This duality stems from the emerging differences of ideas as a result of the spread of Western culture. The behaviours of those going to university for education are changed in negative rather positive direction. That is why they are evaluated as the front branches of imperialism. However, since the degeneration in our society started from above, from the intellectual strata, the improvement will also come from the same category. In this sense, although they are now insufficient, they must be the centers of Islamic education and revival.

Most of the persons in İskender Paşa Dergahı claim that in Turkey universities are in full of backwardness unable of preparing students for their business life. This is because of the memorizationist education in the university as continuity of the character of High school. The only indisputable feature of universities is the fact that they graduate students with a materialist point of view giving no priority to knowledge and wisdom. Education gives vague knowledge and does not motivate the students to inquiry, because incompetent persons who are not interested with the problems of society occupy the chairs in universities.

DISCUSSION: STRATEGIES OF INSTRUMENTAL CONCEPTION OF TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE

A comparison of the two branches of Naqshbandi order in question reveals that although their conceptions of science and technology do not differ at the substantial level, their views on the use of present technology and science indicate considerable differences. The most striking difference does not stem from their vision of the present, but it arises to the extent that they are compelled to compromise their thoughts on action and the consequences of technology and science in their daily life. This means that even though a specific order, which takes active part in the present socio-economic techno-scientific processes, its views on the present institutions and the processes resembles the one that does not take such an active position.

İsmail Ağa Dergahı promotes, on the one hand, the view that its disciples should cut off some of their ties with the dominant institutions and seems to advocate an inner spiritualization through taking them into its own web of relations, it provokes, on the other hand, an ideology of mass mobilization for the aim at mass salvation. This case in itself indicates the main paradox of

spirituality; a Sufi order is forced, by the techno-scientific reality as the substance of everyday life, to fight against its own *raison d'être*. This does not mean that the order has abandoned its attempts at self-salvation. Rather the reverse holds more correct; the order has increased and strengthened its role in carrying out the task of promoting the ideal of self-salvation among its members. The discipline over the disciples is more clearly defined, systematised in order to lead them in the way to Truth and to conceive the status of the worldly affairs. This explains us the fact that the traditional Sufic ideal and practise of subjective experience and self-contemplation have been superseded by the more 'objective' and 'tenable' means of persuasions. İsmail Ağa Dergahı isolates the relations of its adherents from the non-believers in order not only to keep them apart from the distortions they would come face to face with, but also to prepare them as the possible agents of a mass salvation. It defines its outer sphere as the one to be emancipated from the worldly tyranny of their *nefs*. It has an aim of spiritualization, but at a popular level. It is a closed community but has an open-salvation project in the sense that it involves both universalistic and the particularistic aspects. Its particularism is rooted in its being a school of Tasawwuf and universalism in its being a part of the already established globalized reality that is a function of the techno-scientific constitution of action. Then the pervasive contradiction in the realm of Islamic spirituality seems to manifest itself as the one between inner and outer, experience and necessity, ideology and reality, particularism and globalism, art and technology, or in completely Sufic terms between *Qalb* and *Nefs*, but never between heterodoxy and orthodoxy and moderate and radical Islam, since Islam has never meant other than the interpretations of the commonly accepted sources until the impact of the techno-scientific processes. As any other Islamic trend, İsmail Ağa Dergahı must also proceed in the way opened by the commonly criticised framework of necessity more than the one provided by its Sufic priorities.

As a result of our observations and interviews it is seen that İsmail Ağa Dergahı is not against technology and science themselves. It promotes the view that today the evils are the consequences of the misuse of them; the ills of the present processes can be cured on the basis of Islamic use of them. On the other hand, it can be stated that İsmail Ağa conception reflects a techno-scientific character, since it conceives the present conditions of life in totalitarian terms. University, TV, Urban life, economy, human relations are almost totally evaluated as the networks of evil and seen as the realms that should be given a new shape and quality within the guidance and framework of Qur'an and Sunnah. On the one hand complete rejection of the present university education, present character of TV and the structure of present economy by the adherents of İsmail Ağa, on the other hand their preference of community life

in the city, indicate that *zahir* (outer) and *batin* (inner) aspects of Islam are unified in order to pursue a mass salvation strategy. The Dergah is primarily focused on the realization of the *tariqa* tasks of the disciples and than to convey Islamic message to the larger sections of society. The disciples desist from university education and watching TV because of protecting themselves from their evils. It seems to them that for the improvement of society people should first of all be trained within the *tariqa* network.

On the İskender Paşa side, Murids are advised to take active roles within the present institutions of society. It interprets the Naqshbandi principle of *halvet der enjuman* (solitude in the crowd) as a point of personal initiative in the ongoing matters of society. On the issues concerning Morality and Education, Last Day and Mahdi and TV, the adherents seem to accommodate with the present processes; university education is not only permitted but advised especially in the technical fields, Mahdi is thought to fight against Dejjal with the modern technological weapons and watching TV at present is not considered harmful as far as the Islamic channels and the programs involving no non-Islamic values are concerned. As opposed to İsmail Ağa murids, they tend to accept present university education with some minor modifications. Their views are much grounded on political-religious terms, while the views of İsmail Ağa seem to be much grounded on ethico-religious terms as well. İsmail Ağa Dergahı waits the coming of an Islamic social order for their true engagements in the institutional sphere, whereas İskender Paşa Dergahı attempts to prepare the cornerstones of such an order within the present institutions with an aim of substantially transforming them. Both presuppose that quality of life and the institutions of 'society can be given an Islamic shape when they are controlled by the Muslims'. However, so far, we have touched on some of the remaining paradoxes of such an approach that is not only a speciality of İsmail Ağa and İskender Paşa branches but also common to all of the modern subjectivist illusions concealing the nihilistic roots of the contemporary existence from the sight.

Traditional Islamic science and art, in the Sufic sense, aimed at discovering the divine order of universe and revealing the secret ties of creation as opposed to the so-called humanism and pragmatism of the modern science and technology. This unity of theology and science, man and nature did not allow the development of a separation between sacred and profane domains so that for the one, to be a true Sufi, it was required that this world should be changed into a world of divine manifestation in his vision rather than visualising it as an independent entity. However, with the impact of Western penetration into the Muslim world on the basis of its armed forces in its earlier phases and techno-

scientific packages in the later phases, Sufic way of life, together with its conception of knowledge and practise, has been subjected to a total transformation of its traditional outlook. This means that Sufism for the centuries has been counterpositioned itself with the Western style of life rather than being concentrated in its inner spiritual experience, that the diversity of the Sufi orders in the Islamic world started to see West as a common enemy. Sufism tries to make Islamic life style dominant in the daily life that is considered in a state of corruption. In this sense the emphasis of the traditional Sufism on the esoteric/inner (*batin*) dimension has shifted to the emphasis on the exoteric/outer (*zahir*) aspect. This can be considered as the victory of political Islam over the ethical one. Not only protecting oneself from the evils of society, but also developing a framework of superiority has become the point of Sufic concern.

As a consequence of the analysis of present Sufism's worldview, it can be stated that instrumentalization of thought and action has been the pervasive fact subordinating the experiential inner development to the ideological priorities of the divine cause. Then the main problem Islamic spirituality is confronted is connected to its being a part of a framework of necessity of life; integrism, abstractionism, universalism or globalism takes priority over particularism or distinctiveness, subjective experience or localism. Traditional Sufism as the inner spiritual dimension of the Islamic way of life has given way to the emergence of diversity of paths to Truth and all of them had found a legitimacy on the basis of subjective experience of Truth, since subjective experience has not a binding character. On this ground, it came to terms with the different cultures as opposed to the unitarian trends within Islam. On the basis of the eye of the heart and Sufic contemplative attitude, Sufism has established a close affinity between all of the creatures not only between the men of different cultures and beliefs. This is one of the most important points explaining the spread of Islam into the diverse cultures and the emergence of the different paths to Truth.

Islamic ideology has a view of action that parallels the dominant social scientific conception of reality. Both of them misinterpret the techno-scientific substance of everyday life. They have a consideration of individual action in humanitarian terms either as rational and purposeful or as determined by socio-cultural context. This means that subjectivism, either culturalist or individualist, determines whatever the meaning of action is, but in reality action is a form of instrumentality required by the ongoing techno-scientific production, consumption and information links. As a matter of fact, action is a prerequisite for the maintenance of anti-humanitarian processes. Action not capable of coping with these processes is automatically dismissed from the realm

of the possibilities making reality. Even though systemic rationality destroys the power of practical Islam, it cannot dissolve the power of Islamic imagery. In the end this results in a Muslim conception of reality as having alienated and wicked character. On the one hand, for the individual Islam is still a ground of giving meaning to his/her life, eternal and eschatological. On the other, it ceases to be a source of meaning in orienting his/her action, which in turn has dramatic consequences for the individual psyche. Such is the context where Islam achieves a reactionary-ideological position. Universalistic and totalitarian religious project is at the same time a reaction to secular universalism of modernity and a result of existential tension between practice and belief. Abstract and integrist Islamic discourse is the point of contemporary peculiarity that has no equivalence with the so-called heterodox and orthodox varieties of traditional Islam.

APPENDIX: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (TURKISH AND ENGLISH)

- 1. Bugünkü toplumu, insanların hal ve hareketleri ve birbirleriyle ilişkileri açısından nasıl görüyorsunuz? Bu konuda eski ve yeni toplumun bir mukayesesini yapar mısınız?**
1. How do you see the present society by virtue of the attitudes and actions of men and relationships among themselves? In this issue can you make a comparison between the past and present society?
- 2. Teknoloji ve bilimin dindeki yerini açıklar mısınız? Bunların Batı kültürünü beraberinde getirip getirmediği hususunda ne düşünyorsunuz?**
2. Can you explain the place of technology and science in religion? What do you think about whether they bring Western culture or not?
- 3. Toplumdaki olumsuzluklardan dolayı insanın, kendi iç dünyasına dalması mı; yoksa bu olumsuzlukları gidermek ve toplumun maneviyatını sürekli yüksek tutabilmek için insanlarla birlikte olması mı gerekir? Nedenlerini açıklar mısınız?**
3. Should man desist to his corner because of the evils in society or should he be together with men in order to improve the society and make it spiritually developed? Can you explain the reasons?
- 4. Bilimin insan hayatındaki yeri sizce ne olmalıdır? Bugünkü bilimin hayatımıza etkisini bu açıdan değerlendirir misiniz?**

4. What should be the place of science in men's life in your opinion? In this sense can you evaluate the place of present science in our life?
- 5. İnsanın kendi çıkarı için tabiatı tahrip ettiği ve onun dengesini bozduğu söyleniyor; bu konuda siz ne düşünüyorsunuz?**
5. It is said that man has destroyed the nature and thrown it off its balance; what do you think about this issue?
- 6. Sizce aklın hayatımızdaki yeri ne kadar olmalıdır, kalbin yeri nedir?**
6. In your opinion what should be the place of reason in our life, what is the place of heart?
- 7. Sizce bugünkü toplumda kıyamet alametleri görülüyor mu? Görülüyorsa bunlar nelerdir?**
7. Are the signs of the day of judgement seen in the present society? If they are seen, what are they?
- 8. Siz, Mehdi geldiğinde Deccal'a karşı hangi savaş araçlarıyla, nasıl mücadele edeceğini düşünüyorsunuz?**
8. When Mahdi comes which instruments of war he will use and how will he fight against Dejjal?
- 9. Televizyonun kullanılıp kullanılmamasıyla ilgili düşüncelerinizi nedenleriyle açıklar mısınız?**
9. Can you explain your thoughts and give reasons about whether television should be used or not?
- 10. Müslüman bir işadamı günümüzde nasıl çalışmalıdır? Varsa, ne gibi problemlerle karşılaşmaktadır?**
10. How should a Muslim businessman work today? If there are, what kinds problems he faces with?
- 11. İnsanın fitratını etkilemesi açısından büyük şehirlerde yaşamayı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?**
11. How do you see living in the big cities in terms of their influence over man's nature?
- 12. Bugünkü eğitim sistemini, özellikle üniversiteleri verdikleri eğitim, ahlak ve kültür açısından değerlendirir misiniz?**
12. Can you evaluate the present system of education especially universities by virtue of their educational, ethical and cultural characteristics?

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