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Islamophobia in European Schools: A Multinational Phenomenological Research

Ali Baltacı * Murat Kayacan **

Abstract

This study, which aims to investigate the existence of Islamophobia in European schools, an important part of the social structure, is designed as a phenomenological study. Data were collected through interviews with 36 teachers working in seven different European countries. As a result of the study, Islamophobia has been identified as an unignorable and a major problem in European schools. Moreover, it reveals that the teachers do not have enough knowledge about Islam, but the majority of participants have open or hidden Islamophobic tendencies. In addition, the teachers think that Islamic lifestyles and Muslims are not part of European cultures and that Muslim students should be subjected to intense cultural training. Again, the majority of the participants argue that the fight against Islamophobia can be achieved through prejudice and communication training for teachers. This study is important in that it is a pioneering work in the literature that investigates the entity of Islamophobia among teachers in Europe.

Keywords

Religious Education, Islamophobia, Europe, School, Teacher

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Avrupa Okullarında İslamofobi: Çok Uluslu Fenomenolojik Bir Araştırma

Öz

Avrupa okullarında, sosyal yapının önemli bir parçası olan İslamofobinin varlığını araştırmayı amaçlayan bu çalışma, fenomenolojik bir çalışma olarak tasarlanmıştır. Veriler, yedi farklı Avrupa ülkesinde çalışan 36 öğretmenle yapılan görüşmeler sonucunda toplanmıştır. Araştırma sonucunda İslamofobi, Avrupa okullarında göz ardı edilemez ve büyük bir sorun olarak tanımlanmıştır. Ayrıca, araştırma öğretmenlerin İslam hakkında yeterli bilgiye sahip olmadıklarını, ancak katılımcıların çoğunluğunun açık veya gizli İslamofobik eğilimlere sahip olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Buna ek olarak, öğretmenler İslami yaşam tarzlarının ve Müslümanların Avrupa kültürlerinin bir parçası olmadığını ve Müslüman öğrencilerin yoğun kültürel eğitime tabi tutulması gerektiğini düşünmektedir. Yine, katılımcıların çoğunluğu İslamofobiye karşı mücadelenin öğretmenler için bir önyargı ve iletişim eğitimi yoluyla sağlanabileceğini savunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, literatürde İslamofobinin varlığını Avrupa'daki öğretmenler arasında araştıran öncü bir çalışma olması bakımından önemlidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Din Eğitimi, İslamofobi, Avrupa, Okul, Öğretmen

INTRODUCTION

Europe, which historically has internalized its religious tendencies after an intense struggle, has been well adapted to the diversified cultural life after the industrial revolution. In Europe, which has recently received immense migration from Asia and Africa, the social structure has begun to change and social mobilization has increased. It is inevitable that the education system and schools will be influenced by such a change. Every debate and change in the society, due to social mobility, somehow affects the school system. For example, migrants moved to Europe in recent years have become visible primarily in social areas; because of this increase, unemployment rates escalated and employment areas narrowed. Due to the increasing number of migrants, health and education services offered to the society in Europe have been disrupted. This situation led to criticisms, which were not perceived as xenophobia at first, and then growing xenophobia has become visible in the social areas.¹ This negative attitude towards foreigners in society has spread to schools. Especially in England and in the Baltic countries, negative attitudes towards migrants have increased. In these countries, bullying, violence, and barbarism against foreign and especially Muslim children were reflected in the press.² It is important to examine schools in order to reduce such

¹ Ulrich Beck, *The reinvention of politics: Rethinking modernity in the global social order* (John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 28.

² Alina Rzepnikowska, "Racism and xenophobia experienced by Polish migrants in the UK before and after Brexit vote", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45/1 (2019): 61-77; Peter Morey, "Introduction: Muslims, Trust and Multiculturalism", *Muslims, Trust and Multiculturalism* (Springer, 2018), 1-23; Abdeslam Marfouk, "I'm neither racist nor xenophobic, but: dissecting European attitudes towards a ban on Muslims' immigration", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2018, 1-19.

negativities in society. From this point of view, it is unthinkable to separate schools and school staff from contemporary debates.

In Europe, Islam has been a known phenomenon for centuries. However, rhetoric against Islam has begun to be developed, especially the recent terror attacks and other negative developments. It was actually developed in the late 1990s and early 2000s by political activists to draw attention to harmful rhetoric and actions canalized towards Islam and Muslims in Western countries. In recent years, Islamophobia has been flourished as a chiefly political concept. Since Islamophobia is debated and widespread in society, it is seen that schools are also affected by this phenomenon. Especially in recent years, there have been studies aimed at increasing attitudes and behavior towards Muslim students such as physical and psychological violence, i.e. bullying and discrimination. For example, Zine³ addressed the problems of Muslim girls living in Canada and Poynting & Mason⁴ discussed the anti-Islamic attitude in the UK and Australia. As part of the anti-Muslim rhetoric, restrictions have been placed on the use of religious symbols in public spheres in many European countries. The necessity of examining such a controversial subject in detail is the main motivation for us. This study focuses on the phenomenon of Islamophobia observed in European schools and aims to examine the opinions of teachers especially about Islam, Islamophobia and Muslim students.

1. THE CONCEPT AND FORMATION OF ISLAMOPHOBIA

Islamophobia is the fear and alienation of, or prejudice against, the Islam or Muslims commonly, notably when it was seen as a geopolitical force or the origin of terrorism. The term was first used during the beginning of the 20th century and it developed as a neologism in the 1970s, then it shifted frequently prominent during the 1980s and 1990s, and it influenced public policy influence with the report by the Runnymede Trust's Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia (CBMI) entitled *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All* (1997). The introduction of the term was explained by the report's assessment that "anti-Muslim prejudice has grown so considerably and so quickly in recent years that a new item in the vocabulary is needed".⁵ Although the etymology of the Islamophobia, which implies fear of Islam and its followers⁶, developed as a concept in the late 1990s⁷, it is possible that the motivation that Western Christians resort to the Crusades, which Western Christians have organized against Muslims in the East and organized with economic factors in large scale, may be called "Islamophobia". The causes, conditions, and characteristics of Islamophobia are still discussed. Some scholars have asserted an increase in Islamophobia resulting from the September 11 attacks, the rise of Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, some from various terror attacks in Europe and the United States, while others have linked it with the expanded appearance of Muslims in

³ Marrie Jasmin Zine, "Unveiled sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and experiences of veiling among Muslim girls in a Canadian Islamic school", *Equity & Excellence in Education* 39/3 (2006): 239-252.

⁴ Scott Poynting - Victoria Mason, "The resistible rise of Islamophobia: Anti-Muslim racism in the UK and Australia before 11 September 2001", *Journal of sociology* 43/1 (2007): 61-86.

⁵ Robert Miles - Micheal Brown, *Racism* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 197.

⁶ Zafar Iqbal, "Islamophobia or Islamophobias: Towards developing a process model", *Islamic Studies*, (2010), 91.

⁷ Erik Bleich, "Defining and researching Islamophobia", *Review of Middle East Studies* 46/2 (2012): 180.

the United States and in the European Union. Some scholars likewise investigate the legality of the term.⁸ Sayyid and Vakil declare that Islamophobia is a reaction to the emergence of a separated Muslim public status globally; the appearance of Muslims is in itself not a notice of the level of Islamophobia in society. Besides, they advance that there are societies where practically no Muslims live but many standardized forms of Islamophobia still exist in them.⁹

According to Imhoff and Hocker, two particular criticisms are regularly raised about Islamophobia: "One claims that Islamophobia is an expendable neologism that merely describes a rather well-known phenomenon of prejudice and discrimination against immigrants (particularly from Muslim countries). The other, more intransigent objection denounces Islamophobia as a discursive weapon intended to silence well-justified critique of Islamic practices and dogmas".¹⁰ Both of these criticisms have a share of truth, although the truth degrees of them are not equal.

It is a fact that Islam does not fall from the agenda of the world media in the direction of negative or positive views. We have today a problem called Islamophobia due to some wrong behavior of some Muslims or intentional direction of anti-Islamists. This issue has been the subject of many scientific works in the Western world. Especially on September 11, 2001, many of the victims of the attack at the Twin Towers in the USA lost their lives. This attack was instrumentalized in the occupation of Afghanistan and then Iraq. It also triggered Islamophobia and, anti-Muslim and anti-Qur'anic actions. Additionally, as Allan & Nielsen puts it, Islamophobia is used as a cover for general racism and xenophobia.¹¹

Although Islam has had a central role in Europe since the eighth century - southern Spain, Sicily, and central and south-eastern Europe were all parts of Islamic empires- a part of the West is trying to create a distance between Muslims and non-Muslims by spreading the fear of Islam.¹² For that purpose, sometimes states sometimes racist groups and sometimes religious groups propagate against Islam. The rise of Islamophobia in Western countries, where democratic governments exist, seems like a contradiction, but its existence cannot be ignored. As Bunzl puts it, unlike anti-Semitism, which is the means of establishing

⁸ Richard Wike - Bruce Stokes - Katie Simmons, "Europeans fear wave of refugees will mean more terrorism, fewer jobs", *Pew Research Center* 11 (2016): 2016; Nasar Meer - Tariq Modood, "Refutations of racism in the 'Muslim question'", *Patterns of prejudice* 43/3-4 (2009): 335-354; Deepa Kumar, *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire* (Haymarket Books, 2012), 53-55.

⁹ Salman Sayyid - AbdoolKarim Vakil, *Thinking Through Islamophobia: Global Perspectives* (Columbia University Press, 2010), 53.

¹⁰ Roland Imhoff - Julia Recker, "Differentiating Islamophobia: Introducing a new scale to measure Islamoprejudice and secular Islam critique", *Political Psychology* 33/6 (2012): 812.

¹¹ Christopher Allen - Jørgen S. Nielsen, "Summary Report on Islamophobia in the EU after 11 September 2001" (EUMC Vienna, 2002): 54; Paul Weller, "Addressing religious discrimination and Islamophobia: Muslims and liberal democracies. The case of the United Kingdom", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 17/3 (2006): 318.

¹² Esra Özyürek, "The politics of cultural unification, secularism, and the place of Islam in the new Europe", *American Ethnologist* 32/4 (2005): 511.

pure nation-states in Europe, Islamophobia has been used as a tool to safeguard supranational Europe.¹³ Muslims are being demonized beyond otherization. The influence of this propaganda homogenizing Muslims negatively also increases hate crimes against them and can be seen –if the phrase is appropriate– spitting on a religion of the weak.

2. ISLAMOPHOBIA IN EUROPEAN SCHOOLS

Europe is traditionally based on values related to rights and freedoms. It is unthinkable that these rights and freedoms obtained by struggling for centuries are given only to a certain person or group. Increasing non-European migration with industrialization has reached its peak through the colonial period, and immigrants from the colonies of European countries have gradually become a part of European culture.¹⁴ In this respect, a purely European identity cannot be claimed. Similarly, throughout Europe, different religions existed and European civilization reached its present level with the influence of these religions. From this point of view, in the European states based on secular values, the phenomenon of religion in the public arena should be ignored.¹⁵ Although there is cultural diversity in Europe, religious life is not independent from Christian traditions. Europe's Christian history is at the root of anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim rhetoric that is experienced in schools openly or secretly.¹⁶

When today's students are thought to be citizens of tomorrow, schools are an important part of the social structure. In addition, schools are an important social area in which you can follow all situations and events in society. Social institutions are often affected by events such as culture and religion. From this point of view, schools are important as institutions where Islamophobia lives and spreads.¹⁷ People from different religions come together there. Especially with the increasing immigration after World War II, European schools have impersonated a multicultural structure. It is also an important part of European education policy that students from different religions learn in harmony.¹⁸ However, racist and anti-Islamic rhetoric and behavior in European schools have begun to be seen more because of increasing anti-Islamism, xenophobia and far-right tendencies in recent years.

¹³ Matti Bunzl, "Between anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Some thoughts on the new Europe", *American Ethnologist* 32/4 (2005): 499.

¹⁴ Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The rise of Christian democracy in Europe* (Cornell University Press, 1996):101.

¹⁵ Grace Davie, *Religion in modern Europe: A memory mutates* (OUP Oxford, 2000):122.

¹⁶ Gerard Delanty, "Dilemmas of secularism: Europe, religion and the problem of pluralism", *Identity, belonging and migration* 17 (2008): 78.

¹⁷ Ameena K. Jandali, "Muslim Students in Post-9/11 Classrooms.", *School Administrator* 69/9 (2012): 33.

¹⁸ Ulf Fredriksson, "Changes of education policies within the European Union in the light of globalisation", *European Educational Research Journal* 2/4 (2003): 524.

There are also some students, especially Muslim ones, who encounter stiff physical interventions as well as behavior that can lead to insults or bullies.¹⁹ In European schools where physical and psychological violence is cumulatively widespread, the biggest victims of this violence are Jewish and Muslim students.²⁰ Increased restrictions on the use of religious symbols in the public sphere in European countries have led to the enforcement of similar sanctions in schools.²¹ Countries across Europe have wrestled with the issue of the Muslim veil, which covers the face apart from the eyes. The headscarf or veil issue is part of a wider debate about multiculturalism in Europe, as many politicians argue that there needs to be a greater effort to assimilate ethnic and religious minorities. The debate takes in religious freedom, female equality, secular traditions and even fears of terrorism.²² The headscarf is particularly restricted in the public sphere as an important religious symbol. Students wearing headscarves in schools were perceived as terrorists because the headscarf was a religious symbol used by jihadist terrorist organizations.²³ In addition, students with headscarves were alienated from school and other social areas by applying "obscure pressure". Even though the reality in schools was reported to different institutions, no result could be obtained for Muslims; on the contrary, an increase in the intensity of the Islamophobia attacks was observed.²⁴ It can be said that there is an ambivalent attitude of Europe against different religions. The reason for the restriction of the use of religious symbols is secularism -an important European value. Because of inconsistencies in laicism-based practices, it can be said that especially Muslim students are influenced by these practices.²⁵ In addition, Muslim students are referred to as "potential terrorists" in schools, creating a different direction of psychological violence, stigmatization, and separation.²⁶ The isolation of Muslim students who are not interested in terrorism and who are still in childhood with such rhetoric makes discrimination in European schools visible.²⁷ It is known that some teachers and students, who are influenced by the recent anti-

¹⁹ Peter Hopkins, "Towards critical geographies of the university campus: understanding the contested experiences of Muslim students", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36/1 (2011): 161; Donn Short, "Queers, bullying and schools: Am I safe here?", *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services* 19/3-4 (2007): 39.

²⁰ Renate Ysseldyk - Kimberly Matheson - Hymie Anisman, "Religiosity as identity: Toward an understanding of religion from a social identity perspective", *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 14/1 (2010): 60-71.

²¹ Ali Baltacı, "The Legality of Religious Symbols in European Schools", *Cumhuriyet İlahiyat Dergisi* 21/2 (2017): 801.

²² Anna Vanzan, "Ever, Hilal. The Headscarf Controversy: Secularism and Freedom of Religion. xiii+ 256 pp. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.", *Anthropology of the Contemporary Middle East and Central Eurasia* 3/1 (2018).

²³ Ahmed Al-Rawi, "Video games, terrorism, and ISIS's Jihad 3.0", *Terrorism and Political Violence* 30/4 (2018): 740-760; Shridhar Sharma et al, "Symbols and Identity in Islamophobia", *Islamophobia and Psychiatry* (Springer, 2019), 95-100.

²⁴ Zine, "Unveiled sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and experiences of veiling among Muslim girls in a Canadian Islamic school", 58; Iqbal, "Islamophobia or Islamophobias: Towards developing a process model", 83; Sayyid - Vakil, *Thinking Through Islamophobia*, 63.

²⁵ Isabelle Rorive, "Religious symbols in the public space: In search of a European answer", *Cardozo L. Rev.* 30 (2008): 2670.

²⁶ Jandali, "Muslim Students in Post-9/11 Classrooms.", 11.

²⁷ Baltacı, "The Legality of Religious Symbols in European Schools", 803.

immigrant far-right currents in Europe, have called Muslim students as 'terrorists, jihadists or crime machines' even if they are innocent.²⁸ This situation in European schools is not a problem of prejudice but a tendency of violence to be considered. While prejudice is rarely evolving into violence, the tendency to violence can cause extreme emotions to be easily exhibited.²⁹

From the Middle Ages, the cultural values of the peoples of Europe emphasizing the Christian identity were in conflict with the idea of a multicultural Europe, and especially in less multicultural societies such as Eastern Europe, the Christian identity and values came to the fore. As a result of this great reference to Christianity, individuals, although not related to religion, tend not to give up their traditions and exhibit racist and Islamophobic tendencies towards Muslims and foreigners.³⁰ This cultural transformation in the social sphere has also been reflected in schools; Intense Islamophobic tendencies have also become a common cultural phenomenon in schools.³¹ Islamophobia experienced in European schools is not only among students but also teachers and staff working at school may also have Islamophobic tendencies. The Islamophobic tendencies of teachers are more alarming; because teachers give direction to students' future. Rather than the qualities of teachers assigned to European schools, their cultural and religious values are influential on their Islamophobic tendencies. Because cultural values are a very complex structure that affects a phenomenon that is open to orientation, such as Islamophobia. Despite the racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity of the European Muslim population, they continue to be cast as potentially threatening persons based on perceived racial and cultural characteristics by teachers. Islamophobic thinking, tendencies, and actions, which develop independently of the prejudices of teachers, are essentially part of a racist, sexist and xenophobic thought.³² Yet, it is known that Islamophobic tendencies mostly develop with prejudice and stereotyped behaviors.³³ In this respect, teachers' prejudiced attitudes and behaviors towards Islam are the determinants of the prevalence of Islamophobia. It is known that teachers' attitude, racist and Islamophobic discourses, and discriminative behaviors may cause stress and social isolation in Muslim

²⁸ Shirin Housee, "What's the point? Anti-racism and students' voices against Islamophobia", *Race Ethnicity and Education* 15/1 (2012): 101-120; Lorraine P. Sheridan, "Islamophobia pre- and post-September 11th, 2001", *Journal of interpersonal violence* 21/3 (2006): 317-336.

²⁹ Paul Mepschen et al, "Sexual politics, orientalism and multicultural citizenship in the Netherlands", *Sociology* 44/5 (2010): 962-979; Christine Ogan et al, "The rise of anti-Muslim prejudice: Media and Islamophobia in Europe and the United States", *International Communication Gazette* 76/1 (2014): 27. In this context, the tendency of violence in schools is mostly emphasized in physical and psychological violence. While the psychological violence against Muslim or foreign students is usually exclusion and alienation, physical violence has a spectrum ranging from simple bullying events to more advanced injuries.

³⁰ Chris Allen, *Islamophobia* (Routledge, 2016).

³¹ Farouk Farid Hafez, "Schools of Thought in Islamophobia Studies: Prejudice, Racism, and Decoloniality", *Islamophobia Studies Journal* 4/2 (2018): 210-225.

³² Mepschen et al., "Sexual politics, orientalism and multicultural citizenship in the Netherlands", 28.

³³ Erik Bleich, "What is Islamophobia and how much is there? Theorizing and measuring an emerging comparative concept", *American Behavioral Scientist* 55/12 (2011): 1599; George Morgan, *Global Islamophobia: Muslims and moral panic in the West* (Routledge, 2016): 58.

students. In addition, recent findings show that Muslim students isolated in schools and other social areas can seek retaliation, are susceptible to radicalization and become harder to integrate into society.³⁴ However, it is known that teachers give lower grades to Muslim students than Christian, Jewish or Buddhists.³⁵ Teachers give more homework to Muslim students and they are given lower scores by examining their homework in more detail than the other students.³⁶ It is also known that teachers tend to place Muslim students in parts of the class that are not preferred by other students, such as the cold and the glass edge.³⁷ In this respect, it is important to determine the Islamophobic tendencies of teachers. Thus the existence of Islamophobia in European schools will become visible.

The way to measure Islamophobia in schools means trying to find the most direct indicators of 'indiscriminate negative attitudes or emotions' directed at Islam or Muslims.³⁸ However, it seems that the majority of studies in the schools about Islamophobia are based on experiences among students. Although there are some studies on the opinions of teachers about Islam, Muslims and Muslim students in the literature, it has been determined that these studies are mostly examined in a single sample group and quantitative scales are used to determine the attitudes of teachers.³⁹ This study is important in that it is a pioneering work that focuses on teachers' Islamophobic attitudes in different countries of Europe. The main aim of this study is trying to reveal the Islamophobic attitudes, behaviors, and tendencies that exist in the schools in various European countries, in a limited context, with a limited sample of teachers through phenomenological research methodology. The secondary aim of the study is to determine the perceptions of teachers who were selected based on the discriminatory attitudes and behaviors experienced in previous years- working in European schools about Islam, Islamophobia, Muslim students and struggle against Islamophobia. In addition, this study also aims to present the available data on Islamophobia in literature.

³⁴ Short, "Queers, bullying and schools: Am I safe here?"; Morgan, *Global Islamophobia: Muslims and moral panic in the West*; Bunzl, "Between anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Some thoughts on the new Europe"; Sheridan, "Islamophobia pre- and post-September 11th, 2001"; Jandali, "Muslim Students in Post-9/11 Classrooms."; Rorive, "Religious symbols in the public space: In search of a European answer".

³⁵ Reyn Van Ewijk, "Same work, lower grade? Student ethnicity and teachers' subjective assessments", *Economics of Education Review* 30/5 (2011): 1045-1058.

³⁶ Natasa Zenic et al., "Gender-specific analyses of the prevalence and factors associated with substance use and misuse among Bosniak adolescents", *International journal of environmental research and public health* 12/6 (2015): 6626-6640.

³⁷ Karen J. Aroian, "Discrimination against Muslim American adolescents", *The Journal of School Nursing* 28/3 (2012): 206-213; Daron Acemoglu - James A. Robinson, *Economic origins of dictatorship and democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 88-89.

³⁸ Van Ewijk, "Same work, lower grade? Student ethnicity and teachers' subjective assessments", 1046.

³⁹ Hafez, "Schools of Thought in Islamophobia Studies: Prejudice, Racism, and Decoloniality"; Short, "Queers, bullying and schools: Am I safe here?"; Zine, "Unveiled sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and experiences of veiling among Muslim girls in a Canadian Islamic school"; Aroian, "Discrimination against Muslim American adolescents"; Weller, "Addressing religious discrimination and Islamophobia: Muslims and liberal democracies. The case of the United Kingdom".

3. METHOD

3.1. Pattern

This research is designed by using a qualitative research method. In this study, the phenomenological approach, which is one of the methods of flexibility that allows detailed and in-depth focus on qualitative research, is taken as a basis. Phenomenology examines phenomena that are known about any subject but cannot be determined in detail, sharpening the facts.⁴⁰ In this research, unlike Edmund Husserl's conscious-based phenomenological approach, Alfred Schutz's interpretive research is used. In order to be able to solve the disagreement, social phenomena or individual actions and behaviors, it is necessary to examine the experiences of those who practice these events. In the interpreting pattern, reasons for attitudes and behaviors exhibited by people are religious, ethical or cultural value judgments often held with personal interests and purposes.⁴¹ The interpretive design is possible by understanding the experiences of the persons, grasping the nature of the phenomena that appear under their own conditions, resolving and capturing the essence.⁴² This process requires a careful focus on research data. The concentration of this research is on the views of teachers working in European schools and on their Islamophobic or anti-Islamic actions and behaviors.

3.2. Participants

The study was conducted on non-Muslim and ethnically European teachers working in high schools in Germany, France, England, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. In the research, critical state sampling is used from the purposeful sampling approaches. Critical situations are situations that clearly reflect a significant event or have special importance under normal conditions.⁴³ Specific criteria have been determined in the selection of teachers in the sample group. First, it was stipulated that teachers should provide at least two years of education to a minimum of ten Muslim students. Another criterion is that teachers are not Muslims or have no spiritual experience related to Islam. Moreover, the other criterion in the selection of teachers is the discriminatory attitudes and behaviors experienced in previous years and the punishments of the teachers on these actions.⁴⁴ It is also necessary that teachers work in public schools and these schools should accept students from a multicultural environment. Within the scope of the study, the first teacher in any country was asked to propose different teachers who could contribute to the research. Thus, snowball sampling has been tried to be done. However, since this sampling method could

⁴⁰ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A phenomenological study* (Indiana University Press, 2009): 13.

⁴¹ Jonathan A. Smith - Mike Osborn, "Interpretative phenomenological analysis", *Doing social psychology research* (2004): 231.

⁴² Christopher R. Burton, "Living with stroke: a phenomenological study", *Journal of advanced nursing* 32/2 (2000): 301.

⁴³ Ali Baltacı, "A Conceptual Review of Sampling Methods and Sample Size Problems in Qualitative Research", *Journal of Bitlis Eren University Institute of Social Sciences* 7/1 (2018): 231-274.

⁴⁴ The penalties they received in order to protect the personal safety of the teachers and the reasons for taking these penalties are not considered within the scope of this research. In this context, a confidentiality statement has been prepared for each teacher and assurance is given that their personal information will not be decrypted within the scope of this study.

not be applied in certain countries, the practice of recommending teachers to other colleagues was abandoned. In the selection of the teachers who were reached within the scope of the research, assistance was received from Muslim associations in Europe. The Muslim associations informed the researchers about which schools could be reachable and provided easy access to teachers in different countries.

The sampling group of the study: eight working in six cities of Germany (Munich, Cologne, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Berlin, Stuttgart); six working in five different cities of France (Paris, Marseille, Lyon, Toulouse, Nice); eight working in four UK cities (London, Manchester, Southampton, Liverpool); three working in two cities of Belgium (Brussels, Ghent); four working in three different cities of Holland (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht); three working in two cities of Denmark (Copenhagen, Odense); four of which are working in three cities of Sweden (Stockholm, Malmö, Goteborg) so it consists of thirty-six (36) teachers.⁴⁵ In this study, since every teacher did not accept the interviews, the ones who accepted the interview were determined as "participant". Each participant was given detailed information on the purpose and scope of the research and a voluntary declaration form was filled with those who agreed to participate in the study. In the context of this research, we did not focus on any personal information of any participant but considering the majority of the participants' request, the nicknames were used instead.

3.3. Collection of Data

An open-ended interview form has been prepared to collect the participants' views. The draft form was presented to experts who had previously conducted phenomenological research and were familiar with qualitative research designs and made the necessary arrangements according to the feedback received. The interview form was tested by interviewing two teachers who were not in the research group. That form consists of these questions: "(1) What do you think about Islam? (2) How do you see the way of life suggested by Islam? (3) What do you think about anti-Islamism? (4) What are your views about Muslims in the region you live in? (5) What do you think about Muslim students in the schools you teach? (6) Are there any differences between your attitudes towards Muslim and non-Muslim students in the school you work in? (7) How can we fight against Islamophobia or reduce it in society and schools?" All answers were recorded by voice or camera recorder. The questions were asked in different ways when they were not understood by the participants. Negotiations were recorded at different time intervals, face-to-face or in real-time audio and video transmission programs (Skype, CamSurf, etc.). In all calls, English was used as the communication language. The participants were asked to read the dictated interview forms and to correct any mistakes. The interviews with the teachers were completed in 86 days and the video interview records lasted 58 hours 43 minutes in total. During the interview, the withdrawal of two teachers who did not want their voice or image to be recorded was excluded. In order to minimize the "researcher influence" while qualitative data were gathered, attitudes and behaviors that could negatively or indirectly influence the participants were not made as possible. Repeated calls were made on different days in order to avoid exhibiting behavior that could affect the participants' views, such as "gesture, mimicry, comment or implication".⁴⁶ With the open-

⁴⁵ Demographic information of participants can be found in Annex.

⁴⁶ Elizabeth A. Hoffmann, "Open-ended interviews, power, and emotional labor", *Journal of contemporary ethnography* 36/3 (2007): 344.

ended interview form, the collected data were dumped into the lettering by electronic dictation program, and necessary corrections were made by hand and tried not to lose data.

3.4. Analysis of Data

In this research, phenomenological analyzes began with the reading of interview texts at different times. First, all interview texts were read and tried to grasp the participants' views on Islam and Muslim students from a deductive point of view. These views were categorized. In this first group, the researcher's knowledge, opinions, attitudes and prejudices about the subject were limited by a technique known as bracketing, in order to reduce the researcher's influence to a minimum level. Therefore, the researchers repeatedly iterated all texts at different times. The other phase of the analysis is the phenomenological reduction. At this stage, the units of meaning were created by clearing the qualitative data. The next step in the phenomenological analysis is the 'imaginative differentiation', which is the identification of the relations between the meaning units and the footprints after the first coding. Imaginative differentiation is the phase in which the first categories are created. These first categories are repeatedly tested with different encodings and reduced to secondary categories. The final stage of the phenomenological analysis is the determination of meaning. The determination of meaning emphasizes the nature of interpretative research. In the analysis of these research data, Miles and Huberman model (1994) was applied.⁴⁷ This model can be defined as a classification of verbal or written data in terms of a specific problem or purpose, summarization, measurement of certain variables or concepts, and categorization by culling to extract a specific meaning. The answers to the questions in the interview form were examined in four steps: (1) coding the data, (2) specifying the categories, (3) organizing the data by code and category, and (4) ensuring reliability.⁴⁸

3.5. Organizing and Validating Data

The credibility of phenomenological research depends on the validity and trustworthiness of the research. It is important that phenomenological investigations are convincing, reproducible, transferable, and verifiable. The credibility of this study is ensured by the use of the data obtained from the teachers without being changed. The data obtained at the end of the interviews are only dictated. No grammatical correction has been done on dictated texts. For the research to be reproducible, it was noted that the sampled teachers had critical available knowledge. From then on, it is evident that the research is repeatable since similar studies can be selected in the literature to be done on this topic. To ensure the validity of the study, three different coding specialists trained at the doctoral level coding concurrently. Experts gathered at different times to compare coding; thus the coding process was deepened. The encodings made by different encoders were compared using the "reliability percentage formula" determined by Miles and Huberman (1994). In this study, the consensus between the researcher and the coders was calculated as 85%, 88%, and 86%. The reliability ratio is determined to be 'reliable' based on the view that Miles and Huberman (1994) have at least 80% of the reliability coefficient in an ideal interview form. In order to ensure external

⁴⁷ Matthew B. Miles - A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (Sage, 1994): 81-84.

⁴⁸ Ali Baltacı, "Miles-Huberman Model in Qualitative Data Analysis", *Ahi Evran University Journal of the Institute of Social Sciences* 3/1 (2017): 1-15.

validity, the method and application guidelines of the research were tried to be described in detail, and the findings were also compared with the literature.

4. FINDINGS

In this section, the answers given by participants to the interview questions are examined. These findings do not reflect all set of data. Because in phenomenological studies, it is possible to reach different points from the subject are being investigated. In this respect, very rich and various findings have been reached. This diversity will be discussed in the conclusion section.

4.1. Views on Islam

All participants expressed their views on Islam, which have been examined under social, economic and cultural themes, and findings for each theme have been set down below.

4.1.1. Findings Related to Social Theme

Participants reported that Islam affects European public sphere negatively. They think that especially Islamic terrorist incidents and incompatible experiences of Muslims without Western values restricted public spaces. States are resorting to excessive security measures to protect their citizens against Islamic threats, causing intense concern. Some of the participants' opinions on this theme are below:

... "Islam affects our social life every day in a negative way. In streets, parks, everywhere there is a headscarved woman or a Muslim refugee. Mosques are becoming increasingly common. Our public space is becoming narrower due to the spread of Islam" (Sebastian, Male, 32, Hamburg).

... "Muslims say that Islam is a social religion and that it brings people closer. They collect money on their behalf called zakat; where is this money going? Is Islamic terrorism financed by these funds? I think Islam is not a religion in the West, it is just cumulative of systematic beliefs, yet it is seen as a religion that is prejudiced against the Jews and trying to send everything to hell. From a Western standpoint, Islam is the only basis for the underdevelopment of Muslims." (Lizbeth, Female, 47, Malmö).

4.1.2. Findings Related to Economic Theme

Participants do not know the views and aspects of Islam on current economics; however, they regard the negativities of immigrants and Islamic countries as part of Islam. The majority of the participants criticize immigrants not being qualified and being a burden to the economy. There are also participants who think that Muslims are incompetent, unqualified and lazy for various reasons. Some of the participants' views on the economic theme are as follows:

... "Islam is threatening continental Europe in economic terms. The increase in the number of immigrants is fuelling unemployment. Perhaps the unemployment in Germany is decreasing, but increasing Muslim immigrants cause our resources to be consumed faster. There is no such thing as an Islamic economy, Muslims are unskilled slaves. They are on the streets when they wait to be picked up or sold." (Martha, Female, 34, Cologne).

... "I will soon be unemployed due to the religion of Islam. Unemployment is rising again because of Islam. Islam is everywhere. Newcomer Muslims and immigrants are limiting our business areas if they are qualified. Historically Europe is Catholic, but it is now becoming something called "Islam-Catholica". This

transformation has started economically. Those who came first enriched and worked in simple jobs; the followers came to replace them. First arrivals were bourgeois; Islam became bourgeois or oligarch. Traders on the stock market, buyers of football clubs, everywhere is filled with Muslims, old Christian Europe, unfortunately, fade away." (Kingsley, Male, 33, Southampton).

4.1.3. Findings Related to Cultural Theme

Participants said that Islam affects Western culture and cultural life negatively. Islam shows an intense cultural spread; corrupts aesthetic values in society. Muslims have forced non-Muslims to comply with Islam's own lifestyle and cultural values. In addition, they pointed out that traditional religious and cultural values were corrupted; People take away from traditions and religion. Participants reported that Islam transformed them into separate and lonely people; moreover, art, education, and aesthetic values were also negatively affected. The participants' views on the subject are down below:

... "I regret to say that Islam affects our culture negatively. As far as I remember even every corner in the city, there was a kebab restaurant, now we see Arab dressed Muslims or headscarved girls everywhere. They deliberately change our culture by intermingling themselves. We are different from them, our lifestyle and our culture are based on the fear of Islam and strangers. Now we cannot ignore all these values, we cannot ignore Christianity or history. We must take Muslims out of society and make our culture unique." (Edgar, Male, 30, Amsterdam).

According to this study findings, in the majority of the participants' views, Islam seems against by modern culture or modern values. There is prejudice when something is not recognized or unknown. Such negative prejudices and attitudes towards Islam make it basically not well-known and misidentified in European public opinion. It has a negative image in the West, but it is thought-provoking that the teachers who are in charge of educating members of the society are of such prejudices and unreal opinions about Islam.

4.2. Views on the Way Suggested by Islam

All participants expressed their views on Islamic practices or lifestyle. Views on the way of lifestyle by Islam have been examined under social, economic and cultural themes, and findings for each theme have been set down below.

4.2.1. Findings Related to Social Theme

Islamic principles lead the way of life of Muslims. For example, praying five times a day is an Islamic obligation. Muslims plan their lives according to these obligations. Non-Muslims see these practices as a different culture, lifestyle, or coercive pressure. Some of the answers given by participants in the context of social themes are mentioned below:

... "The public sphere, especially the shopping malls, had churches and synagogue, etc.; but now the mosques have begun to open. This increasing of places reserved for Muslims creates uneasiness in society. We are afraid that the Muslim's way of life will harm our social structure. In addition, radical Muslims are a particularly dangerous source. It is known that the younger Muslims gathered in Muslim associations in the mosques are radicalized. However, the state also offers financial assistance to Muslim associations by supporting them. When it comes to 9/11, London, Nice, and other Islamic terrorist acts, this reminds me of

the movie named 'sleeping with the enemy'. I am not saying that Muslims are our enemies, but we should isolate them from social spheres." (Sven, male, 33, Stockholm).

... "I have never understood the pilgrimage and prayers of Muslims when I first saw these strange beliefs and rumors of Muslims in Morocco. Just as we go to church, they also have a time frame called 'Friday prayer' and worship together in the mosque. But these extreme prayers and practices must not be part of Europe; when we give them religious freedoms, they can work to preach this religion to us. Christianity and perhaps being Jewish are among the historical values of Europe, but I oppose the existence of Islam. Islam is not our cultural value. I think that Islamic associations, mosques or prayers that we witnesses are bothered our social life (Kevin, male, 40, Brussels).

4.2.2. Findings Related to Cultural and Economic Theme

In this theme, participants noted that Islamic practices and lifestyle are contrary to the modern world's economic life and mode of production. It is also a problematic of the fact that the exclusion of economic means from Islam cannot be understood by the participants. Moreover, they are reported that Islam is far from meeting the conditions of the modern economy within this theme. Participants, who thought that the cultural life in Europe was limited by Islamic practices, emphasized that Islam is an invader culture. Islamic practices contradict European cultural values. Also, the deterioration of Christian cultural values has been examined within this theme. Some of the participants' opinions within this theme are below:

... "Europe, which has a tradition of the industrial revolution, is based on work discipline. While Europe is experiencing an industrial revolution in the face of reason and enlightenment, Islamic societies continue to live in tents and as primitive tribes. Over time, this primitive lifestyle changed with the intervention of the Europeans and they now have modern cities. But Islamic societies far from an important economic competence: economic reason and work discipline. The prayer that takes place in Islam is 5 times a day and the most important production hours of the day are passed by prayer. Each prayer lasts for at least 30 minutes. This time is longer in most cases; which requires a choice for many manufacturers. Employees generally use this choice for their jobs and stop praying instead of going out from work and living their religion. Yet, Islam is based on prayer and it is a big contradiction that the working Muslims prefer Islamic lifestyle to their work." (David, male, 44, London).

... "Historically, Islam is culturally an invader religion. The Islamic prayer event is contrary to the religious experience of the Europeans. Our culture and Christian values are being put under pressure by the collective practices of Islam. Islamic terrorism also compels us to stay in the restricted public spheres." (Bridgette, female, 29, Rotterdam).

According to this study finding, Islamic practices have been studied in social, cultural and economic themes. The view that Islamic practices limit social spheres and that it does not match the cultural values of Europe has been widely expressed by participants. It has also been reported that Islamic practices cause a serious labor loss.

4.3. Views on Islamophobia

Participants have expressed different opinions about Islam and Islamophobia, which they mostly mean negatively. Some of the participants' opinions about Islamophobia are below:

... "Islam is a swamp; so Islamic thought radicalizes people and directs (leads) them to the Islamic terrorism. Islam is not a religion of peace, friendship or brotherhood. I consider Muslims who follow the people with their knives and kill them or constantly thinking of violence, cutting people's throat or burning them, etc. Islamophobia is a necessity of modern the Western world; it is a kind of social reality. Because we "modern Europeans" do not want to live with reactionary/fundamentalist Muslims. I am also aware that I define myself as a Buddhist, that is, I do not care about Christian beliefs, but I am also aware that Islam is an enemy belief in all other religions. The writers of the Qur'an have used such a language of violence that we cannot ignore this racist / anti-Semitic rhetoric. Islamophobia reflects particularly fearful aspects of the invading identity of Islam. Modern Western values have a secular faith against the absurd beliefs of Islam. I know that values such as freedom and justice are not in Islam; because today there are strange Shari'a practices in many countries. How is it possible to unaware of this absurdity and still follow Islam?" (Nicolas, male, 33, Munich).

... "There are four different religious thought aspects in Islam today: (1) The "Salafists", whose numbers are extremely minor, but relatively common in the Arab world (ISIL), (2) The Hanafi-Maturidi "Sunnism" which had been implicated by Nakshī-Hâliidi Sufism. (3) The "universalists" who regard the Qur'an as "universal/absolute" and critical of other sources. (4) "Constant Religion or Dynamic Shariah" (Historicalists). Islam is the religion of conflict within itself. Today, Muslim countries are at war and most Muslims kill other Muslims. There is no peaceful Muslim for them. Muslims are ignorant and easily radicalized, and they tend to terror and militia movements. Muslims are powerful worshippers; something to be worshipped according to them. Arab countries love to live British and American values, and they also have a religiously modified capitalist/evangelist idea. Spiritual heretics such as mystics create a new deity (sheik, mentor, spiritually leader, etc.). Islam is such a heretical religion. The Arab world is in strange delusions and obsessions and the Arabs are so radical in themselves that they do not accept any other culture members as Muslims. Even in the Palestinian case, the Islamic world cannot cope with being unity. So it is a dream to expect them to be united." (Linette, female, 34, Manchester).

According to research findings, a large majority of participants view Islamophobia as an important concept. The view of Islamophobia is accepted and supported by all of the participants. The main cause of Islamophobia is cultural values, religious traditions, and the spreading of Islamic terrorism. In addition, the media and politicians have a special place in the rise of anti-Islamic thought.

4.4. Views on Regarding Attitudes and Behaviors against Muslim Students

Teachers who have internalized Christian and Western values, attitudes and behaviors towards Muslim students in schools are very important for the understanding of Islamophobia in schools. The views of the participants on the Islamophobic behaviors and attitudes towards the Muslim students are given below.

... "I usually do not discriminate among my students. However, after the Muslim terrorist attacks especially in the Western world, unfortunately, I am making such discrimination. Although I do not define

myself as anti-Islamic, it gives me worry that the foreigners and especially the Muslim students increase geometrically in the schools. I think that Muslim students cannot have the values of the Western world and they should be extracted from our schools... Plus I hate Muslim students and discriminate them to the Catholics or others. Especially in student evaluations, and I give them to lower marks than non-Muslims... I even think that Muslim students do not have the right to a good education." (Marie, female, 40, Paris).

... "A secret Muslim enmity is being made in European schools. If we openly express our Islamophobic thoughts, we can expose to the kind of Muslim react and we can even be fired. I know that the majority of European schools, Christian, and Jewish teachers, hate Muslim students. We talk secretly among ourselves and say: "How can we get revenge from Muslim students?" In fact, even though Muslim students are not directly responsible for the terrorist attacks now, they will also be a potential threat to our society in the future." (Patrick, male, 43, Utrecht).

Participants' views on Muslim students are differing. According to participant opinions, discrimination is still a privileged phenomenon in European schools. In addition, the participants do not trust Muslim students and see them as a potential threat. However, the participants assume that Muslim students can easily radicalize. There are also participants who indicate that the use of religious symbols in schools increases the likelihood of a physical and psychological attack on students.

4.5. Views on the Fight against Islamophobia in Schools

When Islamophobia is defined as an act of hatred based on prejudice against non-Muslims, it is important to reduce these prejudices and Islamophobic behaviors in schools. Participants' views on how to fight Islamophobia in schools are given below.

... "I think struggling with Islamophobia is like achieving the impossible. Prejudices can only be eliminated by spending time together and understanding each other. But Muslims do not have to care about spending time with Christians for their religious beliefs. Islam forbids friendship with other religions; for this reason, we do not know enough Muslims. Muslim students in European schools are also introverted and antisocial and communicate only with other Muslims. Thus, the possibility of preventing the Islamophobic behaviors that are living in schools today also goes away." (Charlotte, female, 29, Liverpool).

... "First, we must listen to the problems of Muslim students and understand them, which we cannot associate with them without knowing their problems. Of course, there must be mutual tolerance for the effectiveness of the communication. In addition, we must give each other time. In time, Muslims will abandon the rhetoric of violence and approach the Western values and lifestyle; we must, of course, try to change our own discriminatory thinking. To halt the Islamophobia only this can be done." (David, male, 44, London).

As seen on participants views', the participants have different ideas about the fight against Islamophobia. Most of the participants reported that Islamophobia is a prejudice attitude; they suggested that prejudice can only be removed by communication. Besides, the point reached by the consensus is that Islamophobia can be eliminated by communication and prejudice education.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study aims to define the variability range between the Islamophobic teachers and determine the status of Islamophobia in European schools. Within the scope of the study, the focus was on participant' views on the religion of Islam, Islamic lifestyle, Islamophobia, Muslim students, and fight against Islamophobia in schools. Participants' views on Islam religion have been examined under social, economic and cultural themes, and it can be said that the majority of these views are contradictory. Within the scope of the study, it was determined that the majority of the participants were biased, non-questioned and negatively approaching Islam. The participants, who stated that they were influenced by the negative news about Islam, also expressed that politicians are also exposed to the way they do in a prejudiced manner about Islam. They also agree that Islam is a religion that is called together with terrorism and war. Participants, who thought that the Islamic symbols (headscarf, etc.) restricted the public sphere, also stated that the mosques were also spreading. It is also remarkable that there are also participants who think that Muslims working in Europe are providing monetary support to radical Islamic or jihadist groups. It was also determined that migrants coming to Europe due to wars also had a negative impact on the security of the cities and that they had narrowed their business areas.

It can be said that the participants' views on Islam religion are not related to the knowledge and practices of Islam. Islam is a religion of peace and reason, but it is an important consequence of this study that terror and other negative epithets which are mentioned together with Islam in the recent period harm the image of Islam. This result of the research is similar to the various research made in the literature.⁴⁹ Islam is a religion that is open to interpretation in terms of practices like other religions and contains various denominations. In this respect, a controversial concept such as jihad, misinterpreted by the Western world and associated with terrorism, is an important prejudice reflex against Islam. The reduction of the prejudices concerning Islam can be achieved by a balanced communication of the precise knowledge and practices that constitute the essence of Islam. In this respect, it is important that the Muslims living in Europe are equipped with the correct Islamic knowledge. In addition, these people who live in accordance with Islamic philosophy and practices in an exemplary way and present Islam towards the Western world will contribute to reducing prejudices of Islam.

Some of the participants who argued that Islamophobia is a social necessity rather than a cultural orientation points out that almost every Christian has to be Islamophobic, although not directly exhibited. Emphasizing that Islamophobia is a historically evolving concept, the participants signified that this negative attitude of Christianity towards Islam is undeniable. Moreover, the Islamophobic attitudes and behaviors of the media and politicians are also influencing the public and schools. In addition, participants noted that Islamophobia is often triggered by the negative attitudes and behaviors of some Muslims in European society. At this point, it can be said that this situation in the society is exaggerated by the media and politicians and announced to the public, which in turn increases anti-Islamism or Islamophobia in the public opinion. In many types of research in the literature, it is reported that the media and politicians can

⁴⁹ Jandali, "Muslim Students in Post-9/11 Classrooms.": 34; Dhaya Ramarajan - Marcella Runell, "Confronting Islamophobia in education", *Intercultural Education* 18/2 (2007): 88; Zaal, "Islamophobia in classrooms, media, and politics": 553.

direct the attitudes and behaviors of the people.⁵⁰ It can be said that Islam and Islamophobia as a constantly discussed subject in the Western world, especially Islam, will be subject to the direction of the media and politicians. In this respect, the reaction of the social paradigm, which governs media and politics, towards anti-Islamic discourses is important.

One of the important facts revealed in this study is that teachers who have an important cultural role in the public sphere and who constitute the sample group have Islamophobic attitudes and behaviors. Of course, the education system and the teachers are not separate from the social system. Teachers serving the majority of society cannot be expected to be in a separate and sophisticated experience from society.⁵¹ However, the opinions or actions of teachers' anti-Islamism are an indication of the far-right and racist political formations that are increasing in Europe. In the West, it is noteworthy that the news and comments of the media institutions and the intensification of anti-Islam thoughts in the statements of the politicians. This concentration in anti-Islamic discourse shows its effect in social areas, a divergence occurs in society and individuals are increasingly exposed to negative opinions or misinformation about Islam. In these debates that divide the society, the recent far-right movements also play a role. Generally, the far-right currents observed in non-multicultural societies are supported by groups who do not want the society to have a multicultural structure. In addition, wars in Asia and the Middle East, the immigrant issue and the terrorist attacks such as 9/11 have been associated with radical Islamist / jihadist terrorist organizations, and the Islamophobia offense has become widespread in the Western world. Of course, every thesis contains an anti-thesis, in this context; the criticisms directed to Islam, the relative correctness is obvious. It is especially problematic to try to show Islam as a pro-violence with radical interpretations. Although Islam is not a violent religion, the emergence and spread of Islam in the historically dominant geographic areas of the war creates a sense of conceptual integration between Islam and violence. In this sense, the culture of war has been perceived as a part of Islam and identified with Islam. Eventually this misunderstanding, even in schools which have a special position in the Western world, the religion of Islam is mentioned together with terror and war. As a result of this study, teachers working in European schools were found to be anti-Islamic in a large measure, the importance of correct presentation and introduction of Islam also emerged.

Participants, who stated that Islamophobia is a reality in European schools, say that Islamic symbols draw the attention of other students to Muslim students who use those symbols and may cause discrimination against them. It is also important that teachers consider Muslim students as "slaves of the modern age" or "primitive tribe". Teachers stated that they discriminate against Muslim students, especially in student evaluations, and give them to lower marks than non-Muslims. Besides, another important finding of the study is the perception of participants that minority groups such as foreigners and immigrants cannot adapt to the Western values of Europe. According to the theories of radicalization, the social and cultural

⁵⁰ Amir Saeed, "Media, racism and Islamophobia: The representation of Islam and Muslims in the media", *Sociology Compass* 1/2 (2007): 448; Diane Frost, "Islamophobia: examining causal links between the media and 'race hate' from 'below'", *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 28/11/12 (2008): 569; Rod Gardner et al., "Islamophobia in the media: A response from multicultural education", *Intercultural education* 19/2 (2008): 123.

⁵¹ Ali Baltacı - Mehmet Kamil Coşkun, "The Development of Teacher Perception Scale towards Religious Education Teachers", *OPUS International Journal of Society Researches* 8/15 (August 2018): 1463.

discordance experienced by the person evolve into an increasingly alienated character and thus radicalization at the individual level occurs. There are also teachers who think that Muslim students will become radicalized over time, and harm Western society. Moving from the findings of the research, it can be concluded that discrimination is still a major problem for European schools. Moreover, separating students because of their existential qualities such as race, mother tongue, and religion is also contrary to European values. From this point of view, it can be understood that open or confidential discrimination is against basic human rights and that the teachers behave erroneously. However, of course, it is unthinkable that an issue such as anti-Islamism, which has been socially overturned, can be reduced to a fact like discrimination. At this point, it is important to reconsider educational policies in order to reduce prejudiced and discriminatory teacher behavior.

To reduce prejudiced behaviors among social groups, it is necessary to bring these groups closer together. Thus, prejudiced behaviors that occur between individuals or groups are reduced by mutual interaction. But this is not as easy as it seems.⁵²It is quite complicated to provide social interaction in conflicting issues, especially in the case of religion. Since Islamophobia is a fact that is based on prejudiced behaviors, a social solution requires a complex interaction. The majority of participants think that struggle with Islamophobia is a complex and difficult process. The participants who emphasize that the easiest way to reduce prejudices against Islamophobia and Muslims, are to spend time with Muslims, and underline the importance of social projects and cultural events. There are also teachers who think that the reduction of Islamophobia in the schools can be achieved by accepting Western values of Muslim students. In addition, participants point out that Islamophobia is not only a case of school life, but that anti-Islamism is spreading throughout the society, emphasizing the importance of the government to create policies that prevent prejudice. However, the majority of participants stated that an important method of reducing Islamophobia is to communicate. At this point, communication is effective in reducing prejudice-related events such as Islamophobia. It is known that societies that communicate with each other and understand each other's problems are less prejudiced. Islamophobia is a communication problem developed by people who have in essence a prejudiced attitude but who do not really try to understand each other. It may be possible to transform into a group and to understand each other by keeping communication channels open even if there is no connection between race, religion and mother tongue.

The most criticized aspect of qualitative research is the difficulty in obtaining generalizable results with limited samples. However, with the help of qualitative studies, as in this research, very important and detailed information can be reached. Small sample groups appear to be a significant limitation in studies investigating the social prevalence of, particularly difficult and contradictory concepts. Although this research was conducted on a group determined in accordance with the qualitative sampling methods, the most important limitation was the low sample size and the problems encountered in sampling access opportunities. Within the scope of the sample, care and attention have been paid to selecting teachers from different countries in order to provide maximum diversity. Nevertheless, working in a larger and wider environment is essential for such detailed research. In future studies, it may be advisable to use different

⁵² Lincoln Quillian, "New approaches to understanding racial prejudice and discrimination", *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 32 (2006): 321.

types of samples. In addition, quantitative methods are required to ensure universality, which is the greatest limitation of this research. Based on the assumption that these research results are limited to participant opinions and that changes in social events will affect the participants’ views, it may be the case that future studies will reach different findings from these research results.

ANNEX

| No | Nickname | Gender | Age | City | No | Nickname | Gender | Age | City |
|----|-----------|--------|-----|-----------|----|-----------|--------|-----|-------------|
| 1 | Sebastian | Male | 32 | Hamburg | 19 | Caren | Female | 41 | Manchester |
| 2 | Rodina | Female | 35 | Stuttgart | 20 | Elisa | Female | 29 | London |
| 3 | Martha | Female | 34 | Cologne | 21 | Kingsley | Male | 33 | Southampton |
| 4 | Nicolas | Male | 33 | Munich | 22 | Steven | Male | 37 | Liverpool |
| 5 | Henning | Male | 27 | Frankfurt | 23 | David | Male | 44 | London |
| 6 | Clara | Female | 51 | Berlin | 24 | Linette | Female | 34 | Manchester |
| 7 | Hans | Male | 32 | Hamburg | 25 | Charlotte | Female | 29 | Liverpool |
| 8 | Ursula | Female | 55 | Munich | 26 | Shaun | Male | 41 | London |
| 9 | Yannick | Male | 32 | Lyon | 27 | Ulrich | Male | 29 | Odense |
| 10 | Marie | Female | 40 | Paris | 28 | Niklas | Male | 50 | Copenhagen |
| 11 | Sophie | Female | 51 | Marseille | 29 | Henrik | Male | 47 | Copenhagen |
| 12 | Roland | Male | 37 | Nice | 30 | Edgar | Male | 30 | Amsterdam |
| 13 | Jacque | Male | 44 | Toulouse | 31 | Anette | Female | 33 | Amsterdam |
| 14 | Jasmine | Female | 28 | Paris | 32 | Bridgette | Female | 29 | Rotterdam |
| 15 | Lizbeth | Female | 47 | Malmö | 33 | Patrick | Male | 43 | Utrecht |
| 16 | Sven | Male | 33 | Stockholm | 34 | Kevin | Male | 40 | Brussels |
| 17 | Isabella | Female | 45 | Goteborg | 35 | Thomas | Male | 35 | Ghent |
| 18 | Gustav | Male | 52 | Stockholm | 36 | Joliet | Female | 29 | Brussels |

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Methods and Varieties of Guidance According to Imām Māturīdī

Harun Çağlayan *

Abstract

Māturīdī, one of the prominent Kalām scholar, is mostly considered to have played a significant role in the construction of a sustainable religious approach today. This recognition originates from his joint reference to intellect and divine inspiration with regard to issues in Kalām in addition to his contributions to the Sunni way of thinking. His balanced use of the intellect and divine inspiration in his solutions for issues of Hidāyat increased his popularity. In the Muslim world, just as in any other community, perception of reality or guidance not as a process but as outright values of their community causes such problems as religious fanaticism and advocacy for sole truth. To solve such problems, a sound understanding of guidance in Muslim communities should be constructed in the light of scientific and social realities. In this respect, determining unique and comprehensive interpretations of Māturīdī of the issue will be of great help for establishing a peaceful religious understanding for the common future of humanity. In the center of Māturīdī's interpretations of guidance lies his approach to guidance with respect to its methods and varieties. Besides presenting the definitions of these methods and varieties, the current study analyzes Māturīdī's interpretations of how these methods and varieties interact.

Keywords

Kalām, Māturīdī, Hidāyat, Bayān, Luṭf

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** The results of this study were inspired by the ideas that are presented in Harun Çağlayan, *Etik Açısından Māturīdī'nin Hidayet Anlayışı* (Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları, 2015).

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İmām Mātūrīdī'de Hidayetin Yöntem ve Çeşitleri

Öz

Müslüman kelâmının başat karakterlerinden olan Mātūrīdī'nin günümüz açısından sürdürülebilir bir din anlayışın kurgulanmasında önemli bir kişilik olduğu kabul edilen bir gerçektir. Bu kabul, onun Sünnî düşünceye katkılarının yanısıra kelâmi konularda sergilediği akıl-vahiy birlikteliğinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Onun hidayet konusunda akıl-vahiy arasında kurduğu dengeli çözüm önerileri, Mātūrīdī'ye rağbeti artırmıştır. Her toplumda olduğu gibi Müslüman dünyasında da hakikat veya hidayet bir süreç değil, kendilerinde tamamlanmış bir değer olarak görülmesi, katı bir din anlayışı ve yegâne hakikat savunuculuğu gibi sıkıntılara neden olmaktadır. Bu sıkıntıların giderilmesi için Müslüman hidayet anlayışının bilimsel ve sosyal gerçekler ışığında sağlıklı bir şekilde kurgulanması gerekir. Bu bağlamda Mātūrīdī'nin konuya ilişkin özgün ve kuşatıcı yorumlarını tespit edebilmek, insanlığın ortak geleceği açısından barışçıl bir din algısının teşekkülünde yararlı olacaktır. Mātūrīdī'nin hidayet anlayışına ilişkin değerlendirmelerin merkezinde, onun yöntem ve çeşit açısından hidayete nasıl yaklaştığı durmaktadır. Çalışmada hem bu yöntem ve çeşitlerin neler olduğuna değinilmiş, hem de bunlar arasındaki karşılıklı etkileşimin nasıl sağlandığına ilişkin Mātūrīdī'nin yaklaşımları analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kelâm, Mātūrīdī, Hidayet, Beyân, Lütuf

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, no culture has the luxury to exist in its own world. In our time when humanity progresses towards common truths and values, the way of grasping the concept of guidance (hidāyat) from religious perspective bears significant importance. Ways of reaching guidance are various. Seeing the differences in approaches for reaching guidance not as a cultural richness but as a cause of conflict would cause a disruptive and meaningless debate between the civilizations and it would give harm to the journey of humanity to realize itself.

The thoughts of Abū Manşūr Muḥammad al-Mātūrīdī (d. 333/944) on guidance bear qualities that would contribute to such common humanitarian values as peace and tolerance especially needed today. He developed a universal method which forges a general consensus by evaluating the subject of guidance within the framework of rational and ethical principles.¹

There are significant differences between guidance approach of Islamic thought and other salvation theories. In Islamic opinion the aim is not to free oneself by redeeming from sins but rather to find peace of one's own free will. In Islamic perception of guidance, living in accordance with mental and conscientious principles is accepted as the way to achieve peace of mind both in this world and in the Hereafter, which is the aim of religious teaching. In this context, guidance approach of Mātūrīdī distinguishes itself with its stable and conciliatory approach between reason and revelation.

¹ Harun Çağlayan, *Etik Açısından Mātūrīdī'nin Hidayet Anlayışı* (Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları, 2015), 7.

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAME

1.1. Reaching Guidance

The word *hidayat* (in English *guidance*), is a noun derived from the Arabic root verb of *hadā*, has such meanings as leading the way, heading,² granting guidance,³ reaching to what is desired.⁴ As a concept, guidance is mainly defined as a person’s finding guidance with a divine grace.⁵

Guidance is touched upon in the Qur’ān more than three hundred times with its conceptual meaning.⁶ The word, guidance as used in the Qur’ān verses generally has the meanings of knowledge, (reason/*aql*, intelligence/*zakā*, a priori knowledge/‘*ilm al-ḍarūra*) report (messenger/*rasūl* and book/*al-kitāb*), divine support (*tawfiq*) and paradise.⁷ In the Qur’ān, guidance is used as having a positive meaning such as leading the guidance, showing the truth, or conveying someone to the truth.⁸ Only very few of these bears the meaning of leading towards evil (*al-A’rāf* 7/23; *al-Ḥajj* 22/4). The concept of guidance as a name has mostly positive meanings such as leading, guiding, true belief and gift.⁹ ‘*Al-Hādī*’, which is one of the most frequently used names of Allah in the Qur’ān, means ‘The one who shows the path through guidance’.¹⁰

1.2. Approaches on Guidance

In *Kalām*, the subject of guidance, mainly related with the acts of servants (*af’āl al-‘ibād*), is explained with three approaches namely ‘*jabrī*’, ‘*tizālī*’ and ‘*sunnī*’.¹¹ According to *Jabriyya*, as humans have no effectiveness and they are obliged to the life appreciated to them by God, being the absolute power in their wills and acts, guidance is completely dependent on the appreciation of the God.¹² In other words, since God

² Abū al-Fadl Camāluddīn Muhammad Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-Arab*, ed. Abdullah Ali al-Kabīr, Muhammad Ahmed Hasabullah, Hashim Muhammad Shāzalī (Cairo: Dār al-Maārif, nd.), 51: 4638; Ebū al-Qāsim Husayn b. Muhammad b. al-Fadl al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fi gharīb al-Qurān*, critical ed. Muhammad Sayyid Kaylānī (Beirut: Dār al-Marafah, nd.), 538.

³ Abū al-Husayn Ahmed b. Zakariyyā Ibn Fāris, *Mu’jam makāyīs al-lughā*, critical ed. Abdussalām Muhammad Hārūn (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1979), 6: 42.

⁴ al-Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-Ta’rīfāt* (Beirut: Maktab Lubnān, 1985), 277.

⁵ Isfahānī, *Mufradāt*, 538.

⁶ Muhammad Fu’ād ‘Abd al-Bāqī, *al-Mu’jam al-mufahras li’l alfāz al-Qur’ān al-karīm* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, 1364), 731-735.

⁷ Isfahānī, *Mufradāt*, 538.

⁸ Muhammad Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur’an Dili* (Istanbul: Eser Yayınları, 1979), 1: 119.

⁹ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-Arab*, 51: 4639; Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-Ta’rīfāt*, 277.

¹⁰ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-Arab*, 51: 4638.

¹¹ Abdulmalik al-Juvaynī, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, ed. Muhammad Yusuf Mūsa, Ali Abdulmunīm Abdulhamīd (Baghdad: al-Maktab al-Hanjī, 1950), 381.

¹² Abū al-Mu‘īn al-Nasafī, *Bahr al-kalām fi ‘ilm al-tawhīd*, critical ed. Muhammad Sālih al-Farfūr (Damascus: Maktab Dār al-Farfūr, 2000), 145.

is the one who determines all thoughts, statements and attitudes of an individual, people have no other option but to show their consent to belief and deny his faith.¹³ We can perceive jabrī approach to guidance as denying human freedom in the name of divine dominance.¹⁴

According to Mu‘tazila, as individuals are free, they are the creator of their free will and acts.¹⁵ Therefore, people either reach guidance or evil solely with their own efforts.¹⁶ What is meant with the expression in verses is that guidance comes from God, and that guidance is declared through revelation. Without making any discrimination, God has desired guidance for all humans but not all of them have reached guidance.¹⁷ Those who have reached the guidance have improved their guidance further with their good acts.¹⁸ In this case, guidance is not a value that is already present in the hearts but is an invitation or a declaration made to all in order for them to see the truth and comply with it.¹⁹ We can perceive guidance approach of Mu‘tazila as an attempt to save the free will.²⁰

In general, according to the Sunnī approach, a person is responsible from his free will and acts, but he is not the creator of his acts. According to them, the reason why people are responsible for their acts is that they intend and tend to realize an act of their earned (kasb) or particular will (juzi irāda) because right after free will of a person, the act is created by God. Accordingly, human and God act together in the formation of individual acts.²¹

In the definitions of guidance made by Muslim theologians, it is seen that meanings of granting and showing the way, which are related with the root “to indicate” were influential. Jabrī, and sunnī approaches claim that reaching guidance is a gift, since the root “heda” means to grant, whereas Mu‘tazila claims that guidance is a declaration since it has the meaning of showing the way.²²

Since Māturīdī lived in ideologically dynamic geography, he had a more tolerable policy towards different opinions. When evaluating the topics, he relied on rationalism as much as or even more than

¹³ Abū al-Ḥasan‘Alī ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Iṣḥāq al-Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, critical ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maktaba al-Nahdat al-Misriyya, 1950), 1: 312.

¹⁴ Çağlayan, *Etik Açından Māturīdī’nin Hidayet Anlayışı*, 20.

¹⁵ Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, 1: 273; Nasafī, *Bahr al-kalām*, 147.

¹⁶ Metin Özdemir, *İslam Düşüncesinde Kötülük Problemi* (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2014), 231-311.

¹⁷ Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt al-Qur’ān*, critical ed. Majdī Bāsālūm (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-İlmiyya, 2005), 1: 583; 4: 155; Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, 1: 298.

¹⁸ Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, 1: 298, 299.

¹⁹ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 1: 368; Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, 1: 298; Juvaynī, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, 211.

²⁰ Çağlayan, *Etik Açından Māturīdī’nin Hidayet Anlayışı*, 20, 21.

²¹ Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, critical ed. Bekir Topaloğlu, Muhammad Aruçi (Ankara: Turkey Diyanet Foundation, 2003), 365, 366.

²² Çağlayan, *Etik Açından Māturīdī’nin Hidayet Anlayışı*, 22.

Mu‘tazila. We can regard him as one of the pioneers of theological rationalism.²³ In that respect, we can define Māturīdī’s academic method as a blend of scientific and social accumulations of his period in terms of reason.

1.3. Māturīdī’s Understanding of Guidance

Muslim theologians generally investigate guidance under two categories being ‘Guidance in General’ and ‘Particular Guidance’. While general guidance is reason and the ability to think (*istidlāl*), which humans have as they are born, private guidance means messenger and revelation that are granted to humans as a grace.²⁴ In order to have a more sound understanding of Māturīdī’s various analyses of the issue of guidance, the concept of gained guidance was used for general guidance and the term given guidance was used for particular guidance.

Māturīdī, who linked the source of correct information to reason and report,²⁵ thinks that the God has granted general guidance to everyone but that as most people were not aware of this, they remained deprived of guidance.²⁶ He states that no one will be responsible for guidance of someone else since reaching guidance is left to the person himself.²⁷

Epistemology of Māturīdī that is based on the principles of Sensation, Reporting and Reasoning,²⁸ is the source of his guidance approach at the same time. He defines hearing, seeing and reason of existence of hearts as being granted to humans to reach guidance knowingly.²⁹

Māturīdī states that the Arabic verb ‘hada’ has two meanings, which indicate the unity of the God and ensuring obedience to Him.³⁰ According to him, concepts of reaching and heading to guidance are synonymous. However, since it expresses reaching to truth in a better way and as its usage is more widespread, concept of ‘guidance’ has become more famous. Māturīdī states the basis of his opinion relating with the topic of guidance, as he interprets (al-Fātiḥa 1/6) the verse as “Direct us to the guidance!” right at the beginning of his exegesis (in *Ta’wilāt al-The Qur’ān*). According to him, guidance can be understood in three ways which are declaration (*bayān*), divine support (*tawfiq*), and pray (*du‘ā*). There are two meanings

²³ For Māturīdī’s rationality and his place in al-Hanafī tradition, See. Şaban Ali Düzgün, “Semerkant İlim Havzası ve Mātūrīdī”, *Mātūrīdī’nin Düşünce Dünyası*, ed. Şaban Ali Düzgün (Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism - Kuban Yayınları, 2018), 18-20; Sönmez Kutlu, “Bilinen ve Bilinmeyen Yönleriyle İmam Mātūrīdī”, *İmam Mātūrīdī ve Maturidilik*, ed. Sönmez Kutlu (Ankara: Otto Yayınları, 2011), 27-29.

²⁴ Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, 1: 298; Sa‘d-al-Dīn‘Umar al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Maqāsid: Maqāsid fī ‘ilm al-kalām*, critical ed. Sālih Mūsā Sharif, (Beirut: Ālem al-Kutüb, 1988), 4: 310, 311.

²⁵ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 5, 620, 621; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 2: 109; 6: 144.

²⁶ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 184, 185.

²⁷ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 7: 10, 166; 9: 92.

²⁸ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 13-17; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 591.

²⁹ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 10: 128.

³⁰ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 2: 95.

in the praying of believers to reach guidance as specified in verse (al-Fātiḥa 1/6). First one of them is the desire not to leave from the blessing of guidance and the second one is to wish to realize the act of guidance continuously. In this way, a person who is a believer wishes to express that he is far away from acting as contradictory to his faith.³¹ Therefore, the expression of ‘guidance’, which is referred to in the verse (al-Fātiḥa 1/6) has the meaning of faith that prioritizes knowledge and reason.³² Māturīdī deems believers who wish to be directed to the path of people whom the God has blessed in their prayers (al-Fātiḥa 1/7) as an evidence for refutation of the aslah theory³³. According to him, if the God had to do the best for His people as a requirement of aslah principle, he would have created guidance for everyone. However, it is stated that guidance is only for those who are blessed.³⁴

Guidance, which is defined as showing the right way by Māturīdī, is related both with the desire and creation of the God and with the wish and power of humans. That is, guidance is the outcome of common efforts open to divine and human influences.³⁵ According to Māturīdī, guidance, which takes someone from darkness into the light takes place in four different ways³⁶. First one of these is the declaration of the truth, the second one is encouragement for the truth, the third one is invitation to the truth and the final one is reaching to the truth by means of reasoning. First three types of guidance are realized with the mediation of messengers, while the last one is realized with divine support.³⁷ Accordingly, we can define Māturīdī’s guidance understanding as Allah’s showing humans the right path as a result of divine grace, though He is not obliged to do so. He argues that guidance is granted as a reminder of blessings He granted and encouraged people to seek refuge in Allah.³⁸

2. GAINED GUIDANCE

In theology of Muslim, gained or attained guidance means a person’s reaching the truth as a result of his own investigations. While this can occur as a result of comprehensive research, it can also take place as a result of internal enlightenment happening as outcome of a short contemplation. Internal enlightenment is a divine grace, but it is not revelation.³⁹

³¹ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 1: 366.

³² Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 1: 366, 367; 6: 32, 309, 358.

³³ Aslāh is obligation of the god to do the best in the literature of Kalām. Abū al-Mu‘īn al-Nasafī, *al-Tamhīd fī usūl al-dīn*, critical ed. Abdulhay Kābīl (Cairo: Dār al-Sagāfa, 1987), 84.

³⁴ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 1: 368.

³⁵ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 358, 359; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 1: 366.

³⁶ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 10: 40.

³⁷ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 6: 359.

³⁸ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 1: 369.

³⁹ Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Maqāsid*, 4: 310, 311.

Knowledge found with attained guidance occurs as the outcome of a mental process that is gained as a result of intellectual experiences.⁴⁰ The fact that this knowledge was attained with inspiration, perceptions (*khavātır*), comprehension or heart enlightenment does not change the truth that it has come out with one’s own efforts.⁴¹

Since attained guidance is related with individual efforts, it is closely related with the information sources. Māturīdī related the fact that humans came to exist on earth with the capabilities of sight, hearing, and comprehending with guidance, while they did not know anything in the Qur’ān (al-Naḥl 16/78). Because humans can only make reasoning with these capabilities to learn, they have to be grateful to the God and reach guidance.⁴²

2.1. Sensual Perception

Māturīdī uses the terms of ‘senses’ and ‘observing’ (*iyān*) for the sense organs themselves or for sensual perception. While there are small differences of meaning among them⁴³, it can be considered that they are synonymous. According to Māturīdī, main source of our knowledge about the reality of existence is observing. The word observation defines the data and information that are perceived by healthy sense organs. As ‘eye’ is the first sensory organ that comes to the mind, the concept of observation has been derived from Arabic noun of ‘eye’ (*‘ayn*).⁴⁴ In the information theory of Māturīdī, the word observation represents the perception rather than the organ itself. With this perception or comprehension, a person can be relieved from lack of knowledge and he can find guidance.⁴⁵

According to Māturīdī⁴⁶ clear perception is the most powerful information source to deal with insufficiency of sense organs and delusions that can occur as results of such qualities of the object to be perceived as distance and being massless⁴⁷ because observing provides information about the universe that is perceived as a pure fact,⁴⁸ compared to reported information, it is more stable and less suspicious.⁴⁹

In the information theory of Māturīdī, the place and importance of what is apparent or sensual perception can vary. Such that, as being different from other living creatures, humans are not only limited with sensual information, but they make reasoning as based on this information and produce new knowledge and transfer this knowledge to the future generations by means of report. According to this

⁴⁰ Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, 1: 298.

⁴¹ Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Maqāsid*, 4: 309, 310.

⁴² Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 6: 645.

⁴³ Hanifi Özcan, *Māturīdī’de Bilgi Problemi* (Istanbul: MÜ İFAV Yayınları, 1993), 58.

⁴⁴ Özcan, *Māturīdī’de Bilgi Problemi*, 59.

⁴⁵ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 11, 12.

⁴⁶ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 15, 229.

⁴⁷ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 15; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 153.

⁴⁸ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 12.

⁴⁹ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 153.

equation, in reality, reasoning and reporting occur as observing. Therefore, it is possible to consider observing perception as the source of information.⁵⁰

Even though they follow similar mental processes, there are important differences between observing and reasoning.⁵¹ While information about universe is especially attained with observing, general information about sensual and beyond sensual universe is perceived by means of reasoning.⁵² In this way, by using sensual, rational, and report, humans get to know particulars such as beneficial-harmful, clean-dirty and sweet-bitter.⁵³

Māturīdī interprets the fact that owners of a sense do not know the content and functioning of sense organs as the evidence of existence of a power that is independent of sensual awareness and that owns knowledge and wisdom. According to him, existence of someone who creates and observes him is logically required.⁵⁴ For this reason, someone who knows himself also knows his Lord because even though he knows his deficiencies regarding particulars such as continuity and stability, he is not capable of eliminating them. Therefore, it is required for a creator to exist who can eliminate his incapability.⁵⁵ Similarly, as per its structure, a creature should exist afterwards (*ḥādith*), because his existence before his creator would be logically conflicting.⁵⁶

Since Māturīdī knew that there will be no perceptual and mental process without clear perception, he states that a person cannot be far away from sensual information. According to him, only stubborn people do not accept clear sensual perception because even the plants and animals tend towards life giving things and avoid deadly particulars by using their sense organs.⁵⁷ Hence, apart from some of the sophists, sensual perception is a clear information source, which everyone agrees to be an absolute information source.⁵⁸

Māturīdī proposes that opinionated people (sceptic) who don't accept the reality of sensual information should be physically punished and he deems their not being able to stand with the pain and to shout as evidences for rootlessness of their assertions that sensual information has no truth.⁵⁹ What Māturīdī wishes to do with this proposal is not to torture his competitors but to emphasize the inconsistency in rejecting what is apparent with a methodological opinion.

⁵⁰ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 281; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 4: 144; 6: 545.

⁵¹ Māturīdī, *Ta'wilāt*, 5: 26, 27; 10: 351.

⁵² Māturīdī, *Ta'wilāt*, 4: 382; 5: 97; 10: 128.

⁵³ Māturīdī, *Ta'wilāt*, 7: 486.

⁵⁴ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 199, 268; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 4: 455.

⁵⁵ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 159, 160.

⁵⁶ Māturīdī, *Ta'wilāt*, 5: 194, 195.

⁵⁷ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 12.

⁵⁸ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 235; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 5: 97.

⁵⁹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 12-14, 20, 234.

According to Māturīdī, direct information about the God cannot be obtained by observing perception⁶⁰ but by knowing the God in an indirect way, however, observing perception has an important contribution. This contribution enables us to find opportunity to be informed about physical universe by observing perception. With this information, a person makes preparation for reasoning process, which he will use in topics of theology. Similar with this information, the faulty of ‘Mudjassima’ that embodies God and ‘Mushabbiha’ that assimilates God with other creatures can be proven.⁶¹

Universe is made of different substances (*jawhar*)⁶² and accidents (*aʿrād*).⁶³ Substance, which constitutes the essence of a body (*jism*), needs to be together with other substances and accidents.⁶⁴ This dependency of substances show that they are not absolute and that they need other things to continue existing. However, being a pre-eternal necessitates self-existence and not needing anything to continue existing, whereas being a non-eternal means having temporary qualities that can come together and become separated. So, the universe is an important evidence in knowing God in a correct way and it is not possible for God to be created by nature that has formed in an unconscious way from the substance that existed later on.⁶⁵

2.2. Reasoning

Human is the only creature that can understand what is happening around him together with the reasons and outcomes. With this capability, he knows that a truth is needed that could keep him away from conflicting so that the universe and community in which he lives can sustain its existence.⁶⁶ For a person to acquire this information, it is possible with the ability to reason that is granted to him.⁶⁷

Māturīdī uses the concepts of reasoning (*istidlāl*) and speculation (*naẓar*), which are used by Muslim theologians, in the same meaning as the ability to think.⁶⁸ Similarly, he deems expressions such as reasoning, contemplation and deliberation to be synonymous with the concept of speculation.⁶⁹ In this respect, speculation denotes a common language used by humans to agree upon a truth.⁷⁰ In the epistemology theory

⁶⁰ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 13; Id, *Taʿwilāt*, 4: 135.

⁶¹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 47-51; Id, *Taʿwilāt*, 9: 420, 421.

⁶² Jawhar is constant and basic quality of the existence that cannot be independent of itself in the literature of Kalām. Nasafī, *al-Tamhīd*, 4.

⁶³ Aʿrād is variable attributes of the existence that can be independent of itself such as colors and motion-stop in the literature of Kalām. Nasafī, *al-Tamhīd*, 4.

⁶⁴ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 25; Id, *Taʿwilāt*, 2: 520; 3: 143.

⁶⁵ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 25, 26; Id, *Taʿwilāt*, 8: 701; 2: 104.

⁶⁶ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 5-7; Id, *Taʿwilāt*, 4: 459.

⁶⁷ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 254.

⁶⁸ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 27.

⁶⁹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 17; Id, *Taʿwilāt*, 6: 525; 9: 150, 194.

⁷⁰ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 47.

of Māturīdī, speculation, which is one of the three fundamental information sources,⁷¹ corresponds not to the mind itself as a noun but to the processing of the mind as a way of using the mind. According to Māturīdī, speculation is one of the sources enabling us to reach the information relating with the existence, unity, and nature of the God.⁷² Furthermore, according to him, a human can be seen as a contact only with respect to religious aspects by means of his mind, it cannot be mentioned about guidance where there is no reason.⁷³

Importance of speculation with respect to reaching guidance is significant.⁷⁴ Humans are granted with senses, and the reason is to enable them to know the paths that will lead them to things which are to their benefit.⁷⁵ The most important quality that differentiates humans from other living creatures is their ability to reason.⁷⁶ Even though they have senses just like all other living creatures, deniers who deny the truth that the God has revealed could not find guidance as they could not reason.⁷⁷ In this respect, according to Māturīdī deniers are at a status that is even lower than that of animals because unlike animals deniers are deprived of guidance even though they have the chance to reason and find the truth.⁷⁸

According to Māturīdī, speculation is a quality that is present in the essence of humans and the idea that information provided by it can be wrong is satanic. By means of perception, a person can find guidance in his life in the world and hereafter and he can find the opportunity to make preparations for after-life before it comes. As a matter of fact, human involuntarily begins to think when he pays attention to events. Speculation is an essential quality for the person.⁷⁹

By means of reasoning, a person can see the similarity and closeness between rational truths and revelation truths.⁸⁰ There is no order in any part of the Qur’ān that states inconveniences relating with reasoning. Since a person who wishes to prove that reasoning is not a source of information as per logical aspects, has no other option but to create ideas by means of reasoning. It is apparent that each attempt he makes will not serve anything but to confute his statements because he tries to prove that making reasoning

⁷¹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 12.

⁷² Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 3-271; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 7: 262, 333; 8: 55.

⁷³ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 9: 71; 3: 601.

⁷⁴ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 7: 482.

⁷⁵ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 10: 128.

⁷⁶ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 2: 118.

⁷⁷ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 5: 175, 176; 3: 547, 548,

⁷⁸ Māturīdī *Ta’wilāt*, 5: 97.

⁷⁹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 20.

⁸⁰ Abdülgaffar Aslan, “Kelam’da Aklın Epistemolojik Fonksiyonu”, *Dini Araştırmalar* 4 (2001): 112.

is not sufficient by reasoning.⁸¹ Therefore, as reasoning is a need in every circumstance, it is impossible to consider abandoning it.⁸²

According to Māturīdī, in order for the mind to fulfill its function, it is required to reason on information provided by sense organs⁸³ because according to him, only the universe can be an evidence to know the God.⁸⁴ Therefore, reason of existence of ground and skies, night and day, wind and clouds is for the existence and oneness of the God to be known.⁸⁵ Universe is equipped with signs in order for the God to be known by humans.⁸⁶ Just like smoke requires fire, brightness requires sun and writing requires an author, universe requires God, as being its creator.⁸⁷ Hence, a person can observe the processing of the universe and he can witness the qualities of God.⁸⁸

Māturīdī interprets such statements as “Don't you think?” (*Afalā Tatafakkarūn*) and “Don't you reason?” (*Afalā Ta'qilūn*) in Quran verses, to mean that human beings do not use their mind as required.⁸⁹ Warnings and recommendations are only for those who use their minds correctly.⁹⁰ Those who use their mind not to receive advice but for evilness cannot reach guidance.⁹¹ In this respect, the reason for attracting attention to the processing of nature in the verses (al-Baqara 2/164; al-Dhāriyāt 51/20-21) is to enable people to know that these are designed by someone.⁹² Those who don't consider the processing in nature and the warnings, can get away from guidance as they are deprived of lesson that must be derived from these.⁹³

In the world of thought of Māturīdī, reaching guidance with the mind is composed of stages of verification of the reason and the approval of heart, which are the continuation of one another. If we would define it generally, a person's reaching guidance by making reasoning is realized by analyzing the particulars to be believed by means of verification of the reason and by believing in them through approval of the heart, after being sure about their correctness.⁹⁴

⁸¹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 21; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 1: 373.

⁸² Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 207.

⁸³ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 200; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 6: 144; 8: 591.

⁸⁴ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 199.

⁸⁵ Māturīdī, *Ta'wilāt*, 1: 613.

⁸⁶ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 200, 201; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 8: 55, 56.

⁸⁷ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 281, 282.

⁸⁸ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 199; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 2: 334.

⁸⁹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 16, 17; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 1: 621, 622; 2: 464.

⁹⁰ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 13; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 2: 262.

⁹¹ Māturīdī, *Ta'wilāt*, 10: 310, 311; 8: 226.

⁹² Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 5-7; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 1: 613; 9: 381, 382.

⁹³ Māturīdī, *Ta'wilāt*, 1: 397.

⁹⁴ Çağlayan, *Etik Açısından Māturīdī'nin Hidayet Anlayışı*, 58.

2.2.1. Verification of Reason

Everyone has a belief whether it is right or wrong.⁹⁵ As Māturīdī saw that what causes war and destruction is that everyone does not agree upon a truth, he began to search for a common truth.⁹⁶ While there is only one truth, people following previous generations without questioning reveals that imitation (*taqlīd*)⁹⁷ cannot be a method for reaching the truth.⁹⁸ Path to the right way passes through prudence. Prudence is to be purified from lust, desire (*havā*) and envy and to invite to the God with knowledge and evidences.⁹⁹

According to Māturīdī, correctness of opinions is not related with majority of its supporters but with its content. By means of imitation, it is possible for an incorrect path to get widespread but it cannot continue existing unless it does away with inconsistency. Therefore, in order for a belief to be continuous, it needs to go from imitation to the level of inquiry and it is required to comply with mental principles.¹⁰⁰ In this respect, it cannot be stated that the term guidance in the Qur’ān corresponds to imitated belief.¹⁰¹

When a person thinks about the universe, he understands that it has been created for some purpose and he wonders about the aspects of this reason. The creator of the universe cannot be a human;¹⁰² despite all his superior capabilities. Besides, fundamental substances such as moving celestial bodies, oppositions, essence (*hayūlā*) and temperament (*tīynat*) cannot be the creator either, because all of these are particulars that existed together with the universe later on. In this case, it is required for the creator to be God that is outside the universe.¹⁰³ God is the creator and the organizer of everything that exists in the universe.¹⁰⁴ As attention is paid, Māturīdī takes information provided by sensual perception (observation) to the forefront while he proves that the universe has been created and he takes information provided by spiritual perception (reasoning) to the forefront while he proves that the universe has a creator.

For Māturīdī, what is more important than knowing that the universe has a creator while reaching guidance is the requirement for this creator to be only one because if this creator is not one, it is inevitable for certain problems to come out. Māturīdī evaluates these problems with respect to ‘Contradictory Argument’. If there were more than one creator, by observing the order in the universe, we would think

⁹⁵ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 4; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 9: 432.

⁹⁶ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 11.

⁹⁷ As a religious term *taqlīd* is to believe and to act as others without reasoning in the literature of Kalām. Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 4.

⁹⁸ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 4; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 9: 432; 1: 621; 8: 311.

⁹⁹ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 6: 297; 3: 547.

¹⁰⁰ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 4; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 2: 440, 562; 3: 3.

¹⁰¹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 4; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 2: 440, 441.

¹⁰² Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 34, 35.

¹⁰³ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 171-174.

¹⁰⁴ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 93, 227, 238; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 10: 548.

that they had agreed to create the universe together. There can be no God who realizes his wishes by agreement. When we think that they have not agreed but fought, the situation does not change because no matter who the winner of war is, as neither the winner nor the loser can be the absolute power; it cannot be God.¹⁰⁵ Contradictory argument is an evidence is based on the Qurān (al-Mu’minūn 23/91).¹⁰⁶

Māturīdī, who reaches to the existence and the unity of the God from the existence and continuity of the universe, does not mention much about the nature of the God. To the question of “What is it?” relating with God, Māturīdī replies with a negation (*salbī*): “He is the unique one with no similar ones.”, and he keeps away from confusing the minds.¹⁰⁷ In fact as there is no similarity between the criteria of the material world and the divineness,¹⁰⁸ the negation method used by Muslim theologians is the most solid method that eliminates all the similarities between divine and material qualities.¹⁰⁹

As much as it is understood, Māturīdī considers physical universe as an evidence for metaphysics from two respects. He accepts that the universe points out to hereafter as real/material evidence and he considers the sign of God as rational/mental evidence.¹¹⁰ According to this, a human being who witnesses the current status of universe does not have difficulty in accepting that the same or a similar one can be created. Similarly, as the universe cannot logically exist on its own, he rationally accepts that it must have a creator.¹¹¹

2.2.2. Approval of Heart

According to Māturīdī, there is not a real separation between verification of the reason and approval of the heart because functions of both of them are the same.¹¹² Probably Māturīdī has made such separation in order for the concepts to be more easily understood and to explain the stages of realization of belief that help one reach to guidance. According to him, while reason is related with reasoning through sensual perception, the heart reasons through sensual and emotional perception.¹¹³

Probably according to Māturīdī, place of sensual perception in verification of the reason is the same as the place of emotional perception in approval of heart, because according to his understanding of guidance, when the heart sees the information, correctness of which has been approved by the mind, it activates decision making ability of the person and enables him to accept them.¹¹⁴ According to this, the

¹⁰⁵ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 32-35, 115, 170, 214; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 521, 517, 518.

¹⁰⁶ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 9: 336; 8: 477.

¹⁰⁷ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 47-50, 193; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 267.

¹⁰⁸ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 384, 391, 392; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 267.

¹⁰⁹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 194, 203.

¹¹⁰ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 221.

¹¹¹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 49, 93, 142, 171, 217, 252.

¹¹² Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 608; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 1: 374.

¹¹³ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 9: 144.

¹¹⁴ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 608; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 1: 374.

heart, for Māturīdī, is both the place where reasoning is made to reach the truth and it is the place where truth is approved.¹¹⁵ In other words according to him, psychological aspects of belief are represented by the heart and its scientific aspects are represented by the reason. However, these are melted in the same pot and form the belief. In this way, conscience and logic meet in the heart.¹¹⁶

Māturīdī states the following about the unity of belief and the mind: “Being involved in belief is required with the existence of mind but information relating with the content of particulars forming the belief are gained by thinking and reasoning. This act (reasoning) is also a function of heart just like the belief.”¹¹⁷ He has the opinion that having belief can only be possible with approval of the heart based on information.¹¹⁸ Hence, when there is no information, approval has no meaning and when there is no approval, belief has no meaning. In other words, being uninformed causes ignorance, ignorance causes denial and denial causes getting away from guidance.¹¹⁹

According to Māturīdī, knowing (*ma'rifa*) is not enough on its own for believing although it has the capability of opening the way of approval,¹²⁰ because belief is not knowing but approving. If believing was related with knowing, its opposite would not be denial but ignorance.¹²¹ Meaning that knowing that something exists is not approval and not knowing it is not denial.¹²² Therefore, cognitive concepts such as delusion, suspicion, supposition and knowledge are not belief on their own, but they are the stages of development.¹²³

Māturīdī asserts that belief which is the source of guidance should be away from all kinds of suspicions. Therefore, he says that the Quranic ‘Hopefully’ for the issues that are beyond the capability of Muslims (al-Kahf 18/23, 24), he thinks that saying of ‘hopefully’ (*inshallāh*) in faith matters is meaningless because ‘hopefully’ is stated in case any doubt or suspicion exists. Furthermore, in the Qurān, believers are referred as: “Those who never doubt afterwards” (al-Ḥujurāt 49/15), and hypocrite non-believers (*munāfiq*) are referred as: “Those who are subject to suspicion and supposition” (al-Ḥadīd 57/14). In situations where there are no suppositions, predictions and suspicions, it is not possible to say ‘hopefully!’ Therefore, if a person who has reached guidance says: “Hopefully there is no god but Allah” (*Lā ilāha illā Allāh Inshallāh*), as this would cause weakness of belief and loss of blessing of guidance, it is not correct.¹²⁴

¹¹⁵ Māturīdī, *Ta'wilāt*, 6: 545; 5: 545; 8: 333.

¹¹⁶ Hülya Alper, *İmam Māturīdī'de Akıl-Vahiy İlişkisi* (Istanbul: İz Yayınları 2009), 57.

¹¹⁷ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 608.

¹¹⁸ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 532, 535, 567, 604; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 1: 374.

¹¹⁹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 567; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 5: 456.

¹²⁰ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 563, 611-613; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 9: 183.

¹²¹ Māturīdī, *Ta'wilāt*, 3: 520, 419; 5: 242.

¹²² Özcan, *Māturīdī'de Bilgi Problemi*, 144.

¹²³ Hanifi Özcan, *Epistemolojik Açıdan İman* (Istanbul: MÜ İFAV Yayınları, 1992), 35.

¹²⁴ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 624-635; Id, *Ta'wilāt*, 7: 158.

3. GIVEN GUIDANCE

In theological literature, guidance which is readily found by someone, without efforts, is named as given guidance. Given guidance is defined as one’s reaching the truth by getting help from outside. This help coming from outside is divine message or revelation brought by angels and human messengers. So, reaching to the guidance with guidance of revelation is named as given guidance.¹²⁵ Therefore, without having a guide that makes someone reach guidance and an explanatory book, it cannot be called as given guidance.¹²⁶

Importance of report information is significant both in the coming of revelation and in its being transmitted to the future generations. Māturīdī, who is aware that religious information mainly comes through notification,¹²⁷ counts the reports among necessary information sources. According to him, there is no report that is more reliable than the ones brought by messengers due to miracles which prove the truth of reported information. Therefore, it is not possible for anyone to reject the news of a messenger apart from stubborn and arrogant people.¹²⁸

Just like news, which is necessary for the order of communities, prophethood is an information source which everyone asserting to have wisdom should accept.¹²⁹ Hence, information about far places, kingdoms, wars and various other issues can only be spread by means of news. While news is so important and essential for carrying out world issues, it is not correct to consider report invalid for knowing about particulars relating with theology. Without doubt, messengers and reports they bring with themselves are clear evidences for humans to reach guidance.¹³⁰

Leaving the news aside, due to the probability that they can be false or faulty is not only useless but it is also a harmful attitude. Because after people learn about things that can provide benefit or harm to them by experimenting, they transfer these experiences to others by means of news. Therefore, it is wrong for wise people not to rely on information provided by news that are based on expertise. According to Māturīdī, who says that news doesn’t have any informative value to humans is satanic. When a human cannot deny the sensual reality of information he has heard with his ears, satan states that this information is false, and he wants the person to get away from what is beneficial for him. However, with the reason, it is possible to verify both hearing and the news being heard. According to this, both sensual information and news are methods in obtaining correct information and as long as they are not superior to one another in a clear way, they are equal with respect to being information sources.¹³¹

¹²⁵ Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, 1: 298; Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*, 4: 310, 311.

¹²⁶ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 3; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 7: 393; 8: 553.

¹²⁷ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 164, 282.

¹²⁸ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 14, 271, 308; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 2: 109.

¹²⁹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 5.

¹³⁰ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 25, 281, 282; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 9: 332.

¹³¹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 19, 20; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 9: 420.

In the transfer of divine message into future generations, since those narrating cannot be free from faults, it is always required to analyze reports with the mind. In this respect, reports which are seen as reliable reports (*mutawātir*) by Muslim theologians are even not absolute¹³² because majority of news relating with the killing of Holy Jesus are not true even though they are reliable reports.¹³³ As individual reports (*āḥād/khabar al-wāḥid*) that have not reached to reliable level can be most probably faulty, according to Māturīdī individual reports should be analyzed with respect to reference and text, and their correctness should be verified. All types of reports that do not contradict with scientific and religious facts in final evaluation have a truth that bears information value in Muslim culture.¹³⁴

3.1. The Messenger

The God has sent messengers so that humans can reach guidance and find peace. With the messages they brought, messengers have given the good news of paradise to those preferring guidance and they were assigned to warn those not accepting or denying it with torment.¹³⁵ In this context, it is a beneficial attitude for humans to tidy up within the frame of message brought by messengers and to reach guidance.¹³⁶

Messengers have no private powers to make people reach guidance, other than fulfilling their assignments related with good news and warnings. In other words, what is expressed in verses such as “It is for sure that you are heading towards the right way.” (al-Shūrā 42/52) and “Each tribe has someone who makes them reach the guidance” (al-Ra‘d 13/7) is that messengers are guides for reaching guidance and guidance is notified in a healthy way.¹³⁷ According to this, messengers are obliged to explain the message they receive from God without making addition and hiding any part of it.¹³⁸

Māturīdī considers that reason is sufficient for people to find the truth and he does not consider it to be appropriate for other opportunities to be insufficient. According to him, if it is thought even further, it is asserted that reason itself proposes other opportunities to be used for reaching guidance. Since mind operates on the principle of getting closer to the beneficial and getting away from the harmful things, it does not get into danger if there is opportunity. For example, against the probability that food about which a person does not have any information about whether it is poisonous, it is the reason that recommends him to make investigation before consuming it. Just like advises of a person, who is experienced about this food, is important for the person being in this situation, in a similar way for a person searching for guidance, the reports brought by messengers are as important. Therefore, mind itself approves that messengers make

¹³² Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 15; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 2: 18.

¹³³ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 14; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 3: 409, 410.

¹³⁴ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 15; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 9: 257, 332.

¹³⁵ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 308, 321; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 144, 145.

¹³⁶ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 7.

¹³⁷ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 1: 572.

¹³⁸ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 3: 557, 630; 6: 354, 509; 7: 186.

significant contribution to him as he reaches guidance.¹³⁹ Furthermore, as the reason remains insufficient regarding particulars establishing the basis of religion, the reports of messengers are required to decree.¹⁴⁰

Māturīdī is of the opinion that even if the mind would not need it, it would be permissible for messengers to be sent to believers as a grace by God because the God qualifies Himself with being grateful and He qualifies his believers as being in need of grace. Hence, while only one of them was enough, God has created many of human organs as double and while less would be sufficient, he has provided plenty and variety of sustenance. All of these prove that God is very gracious to humans. Therefore, in order to help them find guidance, God’s sending messengers to humans in addition to giving them the ability to reason are indicators of His grace.¹⁴¹

According to Māturīdī, God sends messengers not only because of His being gracious but also for justice. Thanks to messengers, human beings cannot make excuses for not reasoning. Hence, in the verses for humans not to say: “Our God! If a messenger was sent to us, we would have followed your orders before finding ourselves in this vile situation.” (Ṭā Hā 20/134) and “After the messengers, in order for believers not to have excuses against their creator” (al-Qaṣaṣ 28/47), the God has sent messengers.¹⁴²

In the delivery of messengers, there are various benefits with respect to practical aspects. For example, even though the reason has superior capabilities, we witness that its opportunities are limited and that it cannot decree correctly regarding every issue.¹⁴³ We witness that it can be misleading even for issues it is authorized to decree.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, while a human is surrounded with various earthy involvements and sensual desires, it would not be appropriate for him to leave the path leading to guidance, which he can reach without putting in more efforts for finding the truth.¹⁴⁵

According to Māturīdī, the need of humans for messengers in their religious and earthy affairs, turns it into a requirement beyond favor. Requirement for messengers with respect to religious aspects is related with the fact that a person knows how to be grateful to his God, logically the healthiest method is messengers because he best knows what kind of gratitude God expects from himself. Requirement for messenger regarding earthy affairs is related with the need to have an unbiased authority to make reconciliation regarding social and political disputes among humans. Apart from them as the best authority for humans is God, it is wrong to neglect news brought by messengers.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 275.

¹⁴⁰ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 282; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 3: 420, 421; 9: 36, 37.

¹⁴¹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 283; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 477.

¹⁴² Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 282; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 3: 420, 421; 9: 36, 37.

¹⁴³ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 179.

¹⁴⁴ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 290.

¹⁴⁵ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 284, 285, 277; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 5: 360; 1: 611.

¹⁴⁶ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 278, 279, 282; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 6: 144.

3.2. The Book

In reaching guidance, Māturīdī also considers believing in divine books besides messengers and reason as one of the essences of faith because the source of divine message or revelation is God. The evidence that revelation has been sent by God is its being in harmony with rational and real principles.¹⁴⁷

Concepts such as evidences (*bayyināt*) and the book of enlightenment (*al-kitāb al-munīr*) (Āl‘Imrān 3/184), which are used in The Qur’ān are synonymous for Māturīdī. According to him, the word ‘book’ in the phrase illuminating book refers to the book that is comprised of religious provisions and word of ‘illuminating’ denotes the value that enlightens the hearts of people reaching guidance. Therefore, as they differentiate between what is right and what is null and as they make people reach guidance, all divine books feature light (*munīr*) and differentiating (*furqān*) good from evil.¹⁴⁸

According to Māturīdī, the most clear evidence that the books are source of guidance is the verse: “This book is the guide for reaching the guidance, with which God leads whomever He wishes to the guidance” (al-Zumar 39/23).¹⁴⁹ Books can only be evidence and guide for guidance for those who wish to harmonize with him.¹⁵⁰ Book’s being evidence that makes someone reach guidance and that differentiates the truth from the faulty¹⁵¹ necessitates it to be clear and reasonable. Or else, revelation will have no meaning proposing and providing guidance.¹⁵²

Even though they contain the same evidences for all humans, divine books lead some people towards guidance and some towards unruliness.¹⁵³ In this respect Māturīdī returns back to the debate about whether guidance is a declaration or not and he is of the opinion that what is meant by the term “guidance” used in such verses as “This book which does not have any suspicion in itself leads those having devotion to the guidance” (al-Baqara 2/1) is not ‘clear declaration’. If it was a ‘declaration’ that the book stated in the verse was a source of guidance, there would be no difference between the person having devotion or not. However, in such verses, it is stated that the book can only be a guide for pious people.¹⁵⁴ Those who see the truth and believe in the book and who still don’t act in accordance with it and who hide the truth stated in it, cannot reach guidance.¹⁵⁵

According to Māturīdī, revelation is a source of light, spirit, healing and reaching guidance. Human beings reach information about truth with the light, the existence with the spirit, get rid of problems with

¹⁴⁷ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 3: 273.

¹⁴⁸ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 2: 550.

¹⁴⁹ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 675.

¹⁵⁰ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 4: 168, 170, 437.

¹⁵¹ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 3: 431.

¹⁵² Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 3: 578.

¹⁵³ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 7: 383.

¹⁵⁴ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 1: 373, 583.

¹⁵⁵ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 10: 8, 9.

the healing, and have awareness of goodness with the guidance, and he finds peace.¹⁵⁶ Revelation enhances guidance and belief of the believers, and sin and denial of the deniers.¹⁵⁷ While the book is the source of guidance for believers on earth that guides them in their affairs, it becomes a source of mercy in the afterlife and a reason for them to be forgiven.¹⁵⁸ Invitation of divine books for reaching guidance is a general call including everyone, but on private level, it only addresses those who obey this call.¹⁵⁹

In the thought system of Māturīdī, we can define delivery of divine message to the messenger as ‘revelation’ (*waḥy*) and we call its being transmitted from the messenger to humans as ‘the report of the messenger’ (*khabar al-rasūl*) coming from the messenger of the God.¹⁶⁰ For the last messenger, meaning of the report of messenger for generations coming after the prophet is the Holy Qur’ān.¹⁶¹ In other words, the book that is sent with Prophet Muhammad is the Qur’ān.¹⁶² According to Māturīdī, the Qur’ān will continue existing without being distorted until the doomsday because it is both being transferred from generation to generation as reliable report and it remains valid as an intellectual miracle.¹⁶³

According to our opinion, the Qur’ān is an intellectual miracle as it is different from other literature works with respect to source, meaning and method. The Qur’ān is unique with respect to its source and it is impossible for a similar one to be brought in that sense. Māturīdī argues that Qur’ān is an intellectual miracle with its richness in meaning and style. According to him, proper and effective wording art is divided in two types: poems and prophecy. The Qur’ān is different and superior to poems with respect to the order and it is different and superior to prophecy with respect to the influence. This feature of the Qur’ān shows that it is a divine book.¹⁶⁴ Most probably, due to his emphasis that the Qur’ān is a miracle with respect to its meaning and provisions, Māturīdī mentions a narrative about fatwa of Abū Hanīfe that salat can also be performed in languages other than Arabic because with respect to reaching guidance, the main particular is not the language of divine books but it is related with the message given.¹⁶⁵

According to Māturīdī, all of the words, integration and sentence sequences that are used in the Qur’ān were known by the Arabic people but none of these were offered in a unity of harmony and meaning that The Qur’ān has. The fact that such a message has come out of the mouth of someone who has not received any formal or non-formal education in his life is nothing but miracle according to Māturīdī.

¹⁵⁶ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 2: 261.

¹⁵⁷ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 4: 438.

¹⁵⁸ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 134.

¹⁵⁹ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 7: 12.

¹⁶⁰ Özcan, *Māturīdī’de Bilgi Problemi*, 64.

¹⁶¹ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 320.

¹⁶² Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 9: 168; 7: 161.

¹⁶³ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 300, 308.

¹⁶⁴ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 325, 329; *Id*, *Ta’wilāt*, 8: 235.

¹⁶⁵ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 3: 200, 201.

Therefore, the Qur’ān, the similar of which can only be brought by the God, is a unique miracle just like other miracles.¹⁶⁶

The Qur’ān is the source of reaching guidance for each generation until doomsday because the news it gave with regard to the past and the future comply with historical facts and the evidences it uses are away from deficiencies and conflicts. Furthermore, the Qur’ān states that it is not an upstart and that it approves the previous divine books and prophets. Therefore, Māturīdī has shown that the Qur’ān is a source of guidance in people of the scriptures (*ahl al-kitāb*).¹⁶⁷

CONCLUSION

With respect to quality and opportunities, it is possible to explain all types of guidance basically under two approaches: ‘declaration’ (*bayān*) and ‘grace’ (*luṭf*). According to the approach led by Mu’tazila, guidance means explanation of the right path to all humans so that they can reach the truth with their own efforts. As grace that is emphasized by Ahl-i Sunne, guidance is a private gift to which no one else other than previously determined special people can reach.

Guidance theory of Māturīdī has a structure that contains parts from declaration and grace theories. As he explains the issue of guidance, he thinks like Mu’tazila at the stage of formation and development, and like Ahl-i Sunne at the conclusion stage. From his attitude, it is possible for us to see that he does not see declaration and grace theories as substitutes of one another. Therefore, while Māturīdī states that guidance is not a declaration as he opposes Mu’tazila, he does not mean that he has no connection with him because sensual perception (*‘iyān*) and reasoning (*naẓar*), which he considers as sources of guidance are already declaration as per their structures.

In kalam, there are two basic methods for reaching guidance: given guidance, which is reached by notifying information, and gained guidance, which is reached by mental information. With that being said, guidance is defined as reaching the right way with the accompaniment of an external guide such as a messenger or a book, and gained guidance is defined as reaching guidance with the accompaniment of a guide such as mind and ethics. Māturīdī does not make preference among methods of guidance, and he shapes his guidance approach in accordance by deeming both of them as correct. For this reason, what is essential in reaching guidance is not what the method is but whether it yields a correct outcome or not.

According to Māturīdī, while revelation is necessary source of given guidance for knowing the God, it is a must for knowing religious provisions. While the reason, source of gained guidance, is a requirement for knowing the God, it is a necessity for knowing religious provisions. According to this, when revelation does not reach a person, he can find the God by considering general goodness and badness principles. But when he reaches revelation, he can reach guidance by learning religious provisions and by living in accordance with them. In this situation, revelation is a requirement not for knowing the God but related with fiqh provisions.

¹⁶⁶ Māturīdī, *Ta’wilāt*, 320; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 2: 375, 376.

¹⁶⁷ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 300-302; Id, *Ta’wilāt*, 3: 533.

In the final analysis, Mâturîdî argues that sources of guidance are the reason and the heart. Humans can know the truth by reasoning and by believing with their hearts and they can reach guidance. What is important in the issue of guidance is that it must be away from unquestioned imitation and must be unconditioned no matter which method it uses. Only in this way a person accepting guidance can make his preference with information and a person denying can again make his preference based on information.

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Attachment Theory and Child's Perception of God at 4-6 Ages

Ayşe Aydar * Behlül Tokur **

Abstract

Attachment theory has been studied in numerous researches since it was put forward by Bowlby who had that all infants were born with biological and emotional needs toward their mothers or caregivers. Since Bowlby's attachment theory has been taken part in several fields beside Psychology, such as Psychology of Religion in which especially the attachment to God is tried to be understood, Pathology which does give attachment theory wide coverage to explain some mental disorders derived from unsecure attachment. After the birth, the relationship between child and caregiver shapes perspective of child toward religion and God and gives him/her perception of God. The attachment patterns that children gain in their childhood form the attachment to God that they gain afterwards in their life, in that to understand children's attachment to God, it is substantial to understand the primary attachment patterns of children. Perception

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of God shapes not only individual's religious life, but also his/her behaviors toward his/her social environment and individual's sense of self. For this reason, it is very essential to understand the attachment and how the attachment forms child's perception of God. The problems of the study are how the attachment occurs, what it is affected by, and how the attachment pattern occurring between child and caregiver shapes child's perception of God. In this context, the study aims to understand children's perception of God on their attachment patterns they have acquired as well as providing scientific information for religious educators and religious education institutions. For the study, 5 main and 8 deeper questions aiming to find out children's perception of God have been asked a study group consisting 13 children at the ages of 4-6 in Yeşil Elma Kinder Garden in Ankara by using interview technique. Interviews have been conducted with one student and one interviewer at a time regarding children's psychological conditions. This study is a qualitative research, and the collected data have been interpreted by using descriptive analysis. According to findings of the study, it has been noted that the questions were answered with some sentence patterns which they might have heard from their families regarding that the kinder garden is mostly preferred by conservative the families, and that the children have positive-love based God perception, beside that they have a concrete God image accordingly their ages.

Keywords

Psychology of Religion, Psychology, Attachment, Perception, God, Child

Bağlanma Teorisive 4-6 Yaş Arası Çocuklarda Tanrı Algısı

Öz

Bağlanma teorisi, tüm bebeklerin annelerine ve bakım verenlerine karşı biyolojik ve duygusal olarak bazı ihtiyaçlarla doğduklarını iddia eden Bowlby tarafından ortaya atıldığından beri birçok araştırmaya konu olmuştur. Bowlby'den itibaren bağlanma teorisi Psikoloji alanının yanı sıra özellikle Tanrı'ya bağlanmanın anlaşılmasına çalışıldığı Din Psikolojisi alanında ve güvensiz bağlanma sonucu ortaya çıkan bazı ruhsal sıkıntıları açıklamada geniş bir yelpaze sunan Patoloji alanında çalışılmaktadır. Çocukların bebeklikten itibaren geliştirdikleri bağlanma tarzları sonradan edindikleri Tanrı'ya bağlanma tarzlarını şekillendirir bu da göstermektedir ki çocuğun Tanrı'ya bağlanma tarzını anlamak için çocukta ki ilk bağlanma tarzlarını anlamak önemlidir. Doğumdan itibaren çocuğun bakım veren ile geliştirdiği ilişki, sonrasında dünyaya, dine ve Tanrı'ya olan bakış açısını da şekillendirir ve ona bir Tanrı algısı kazandırır. Bireyin edineceği Tanrı algısı sadece dini yaşantısını değil, bireyin kendilik algısını ve sosyal çevresine karşı davranışlarını da şekillendirmektedir. Bu sebeple bağlanma ve bağlanmanın çocuktaki Tanrı imgesini nasıl şekillendirdiğini anlamak oldukça önemlidir. Bu araştırmanın ele aldığı problemler çocuklarda bağlanmanın nasıl ortaya çıktığı, nelerden etkilendiği ve sonrasında da bakım veren ile çocuğun arasında gelişen bağlanma modelinin Tanrı algısını nasıl şekillendirdiğidir. Bu bağlamda çalışma, çocukların edindikleri bağlanma deseni ile alakalı olarak Tanrı'ya bakış açılarını anlama, bunun yanı sıra din eğitimcilerine ve din eğitimi veren kurumlara bilimsel bilgi sağlama amacındadır. Araştırma için, Ankara'da bulunan Yeşil Elma Anaokulunda öğrenim gören 4-6 yaş arasında 13 kişilik öğrenci grubuna, çocukların Tanrı algılarını saptamayı amaçlayan

5 ana, 8 de yardımcı soru mülakat tekniği kullanılarak sorulmuştur. Çocukların psikolojik durumları esas alınarak mülakatlar bir görüşmeci ve bir katılımcı ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu araştırma yöntem bakımından nitel bir araştırma olup, elde edilen veriler klasik anlamda betimsel içerik analizi yapılarak yorumlanmaktadır. Araştırmanın bulgularına göre, kreşin muhafazakâr ailelerce tercih edildiği göz önüne alındığında sorulan soruların bir kısmının aileden duyulan kalıp cümlelerle cevaplandığı, çocuklarda olumlu ve sevgiye dayalı bir Tanrı algısının var olduğu, bunlarla birlikte yaşları dolayısıyla zihinlerinde somut bir Tanrı imgesi olduğu görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Din Psikolojisi, Psikoloji, Bağlanma, Algı, Tanrı, Çocuk

INTRODUCTION

All human beings are born in needs. These can be some basic needs such as nourishment and safeness. However, all humans are also born with needs of loving and being loved. Responding those needs exactly creates attachments. These attachments occur after birth and babies start to show some reaction toward their care givers. Attachment mostly occurring between mother and baby is not only confined with childhood period, but it also has affects during whole of life and sets a precedent for a child's all future attachments. During the whole life, people experience attachments and those attachments appearing in post period of life are mostly affected the primary attachments which occur between babies and care givers. The theory put forward by Bowlby especially is dealt by Lee Kirkpatrick and seen that attachment occurring at the beginning of the life has similarities with feelings like attachment to a religion and God, acting like wishing help from God, finding peace and relief. The effects of the primary attachment of children are seen in their perception of God from 0 age to 6 ages beside the thoughts which children have as a natural process of cognitive development such as egocentric and anthropomorphic thoughts. This study has tried to show that children perceive God by using their attachment background forming between children, their care givers in their natural childish thoughts.

The study begins with theoretical considerations, then goes on to the method of the study. While explaining attachment to God in the terms of attachment theory, some other triggers which form children's perception of God at certain ages such as imitation, animism and anthropomorphism appearing and disappearing in time according to a child's cognitive development have involved in the study in which several early researches were interpreted, dictionaries and relevant books were searched and studied and finally a qualitative study test has been applied to children in order to understand the issue's essence.

1. ATTACHMENT THEORY

All human beings are born in needs such as nourishing and harbouring. Beside these physical needs, most people need to love and to be loved to live. When people are born, they require attaching to the persons taking care of and showing intimacy toward them.

The fundamental hypothesis about attachment theory basically was put forward by John Bowlby as an alternative theory against object relation and psychoanalytic theories. Since then, it has made rapid progress and become one of the irreplaceable theories in psychology.

Attachment; developed between twosome, appearing with the seeking of affiliation of the child and becoming clear especially in stressful occasions is described as consistent and constant emotional bond between a child and a caregiver.¹ Attachment in infants includes patterns of emotions and behaviours entirely such as positive reaction to initial caregivers, orientation toward them, seeking them and relief right after the perception of existence among them This attachment mostly occurring between mother and child is not only confined with childhood period, it also has affects during whole life and sets a precedent for a child's all future attachments.

The main functions of this theory about coming up mother-child relationship in early period are like these: Infants showing too much or too little awareness to their caregivers give social signs which will affect these kinds of behaviours such as cuddling and crying. When those foreseen functions develop as expected, that state formulates secure attachment of children towards their mothers who symbolize protector and a security. According to this theory, the secure attachment relationship enables children to explore safely and comfortably all the world under normal circumstances. To the researchers of this theory, mother serves for a child as a remover child from danger to provide child's basic trust. In this attachment relationship, child's aim is not only to have physical intimacy but also to feel secure in the process of exploration of environment.²

Preservation of intimacy is a supplementary feature of attachment and the main function of attachment is security from danger. There is a relationship between attachment behaviour and exploration behaviour. The main characteristics of attachment are;

- i. Humans are born with the ability to ease attachment,
- ii. Preservation of intimacy responds the need of intimacy of the other one,
- iii. After having experience during his/her childhood, child makes of the world and himself/ herself then generalizes it and formulates internal working models.³

The period of attachment, if divided into phrases, which develops right after the birth accordingly to the nature of human beings reveals itself as seeking for breast, turning head, sucking breast and finger,

¹ A.Sermin Kesebir et al., "Bağlanma ve Psikopatoloji", *Psikiyatride Güncel Yaklaşımlar* 3/2 (2011): 321-342.

² Akif Hayta, "Anneden Allah'a: Bağlanma Teorisi ve İslam'da Allah Tasavvuru", *Değerler Eğitimi Dergisi* 4/12 (2006): 30.

³ Kesebir, "Bağlanma ve Psikopatoloji", 326.

catching, moving toward mother, and anticipation of feeding time. The first sign of attachment appears in 8th week on a child's paying much more attention to mother than anyone else. In this phase, a child distinguishes mother from others, smiles at her, sounds more to her than others and feels more comfortable when with her mother than with anyone else.⁴

With the 7th month, infants start to understand the patterns of their environment. Before that month, mother is not that much important but from this month infant pays almost all attention to mother, abstains and fears from strangers. In this time, interval attachment develops itself seeking for intimacy and in case of separation from caregivers uneasiness and tension reveal. Infant, right after birth, directs attachment behaviour to someone whom he/she can reach. But only 6 months old, most of infants direct this attention to someone they want to get closer according to their choices.⁵

While being responded the need of a child wholesomely develops attachment, not being responded of the needs unsatisfactorily brings about co-dependency. Attachment is a normal process which is expected to develop every human being but co-dependency is a pathological. This process not only hinders for a person's self-realization but also in the event of having the source, it causes deprivation in person. And these deprivation symptoms point out co-dependency. Co-dependency in the first instance might be satisfactory but then starts to turn into obsessive thought and droning behaviours. Compassionate co-dependency is a tendency to foster some feelings such as trust and compassion from different sources since those feelings have not been supplied before. In compassionate co-dependency, person put forward others instead of himself/herself. People trust others to deal with problems and avoid from pain and fear passive.

By the units of personality (id, ego, superego), Freud explains attachment of a child to the mother with this. According to the psychoanalytic theory, mother is an object and the first interaction to the world of an infant is via his/her mother breast orally. While breast feeding responds a child's need of nutrition, it also functions as a sexual stimulation in erogenous zone. So, a child attaches to the breast, he thereby attaches to the mother through urges of pleasure and famishment. The object means internal represents which are important and precious things or someone's gaining a seat in the internal world in the psychoanalytic terminology. The first important object, generally, is mother. According to urge theory, each urge has its own goal and object. The main goals of the urges are to take pleasure and urges use objects to fulfil this aim.

That World Health Organization (WHO) invited Bowlby to London to study on mental hygiene of homeless children, which was a starting point for Bowlby to introduce attachment theory. Bowlby, in his study, stated stress on effects of mother deprivation over children's later life after they drew apart from their mothers. Despite being effective and being confirmed, the report had a lot of deficiency such as why and how early mother deprivation led to such horrible effects which were not able to be explained. Bowlby's psychoanalytic background provided an advantage him to see inadequacy of psychoanalytic theory to explain this kind of situations. Psychoanalytic theory sustains the idea that children fondle their mothers so that they establish a relation between their mothers to be fed. But to Bowlby, this could not totally explain

⁴ Soysalı, "Bebeklik Dönemindeki Bağlanma Sürecine Genel Bir Bakış", 89.

⁵ Soysalı, "Bebeklik Dönemindeki Bağlanma Sürecine Genel Bir Bakış", 89.

the situation of children who were still depressed and anxious although their needs were supplied by caregivers at a home environment.⁶

According to Bowlby, all infants are born with biological and emotional needs supplied with their mothers or caregivers.⁷ These needs have a very important place in human life. After birth, infants need to be provided their requirements to survive so they take their first breath with the help of a caregiver. Between caregivers (mother, father, a relative or a babysitter) and infants, an interaction occurs, and this interaction forms a bond between twosome gaining strength in time. If infants experience caregiver close and respondent and feel themselves in secure and comfortable, they exhibit social and exploratory behaviours but if infants perceive caregiver indifferent, far away or threat for him/ her, infant feels anxiety and exhibits antisocial behaviours.

To Bowlby, provided that infants achieve healthy attachment to caregiver and to be responded of their need, they undergo accurate progress while growing up. Infants conceive themselves worthiness to be loved and reflect this sense to others. The children who have appropriate communication between their caregivers and have secured bond character, which is open to communicate with others, feel themselves precious, social and consistent. If not so, some unfavourable circumstances such as unhealthy relationship and lack of social aptitudes are observed in children. Bowlby concluded this early attachment affected other attachment behaviours forming over adulthood and the attachment developed during childhood and lasted during the whole life but then falsifiability of this idea has been asserted.

Ainsworth was a Canadian psychologist who studied with Bowlby and tried to explain Bowlby's findings with some experiments. Ainsworth observed children and their mothers more closely by visiting their houses with her students. Through *the Strange Room Test* improved by her, Ainsworth had an opportunity to study on Bowlby's theory and aimed to activate children's attachment system/ attachment behaviours during the test. In the experimental method named *The Strange Room Test*, 12-18 month- old infants are separated from their mothers for short breaks and left with a strange and then got together with their mothers again. After this test, Ainsworth concluded that with attachment patterns and then divided them into three groups: secure, anxious-ambivalent and avoidant.⁸

Children who had secure attachment pattern when left in the room by their mothers showed some uneasiness but did not get panic during the test. Without any signs of tension, they tried to seek for their mothers but even their mothers were not around, they continued exploring the room and after they came together with their mothers, they easily smoothed. Children who have secure attachment pattern/patterns do not experience any tension in their intimacy with their families. They always feel certain that their mothers are with them and ready for help when they need them. To develop this attachment pattern, it is significant that child has a consistent, coherent, sensitive caregiver.⁹

⁶ Kesebir, "Bağlanma ve Psikopatoloji", 325.

⁷ Soysal, "Bebeklik Dönemindeki Bağlanma Sürecine Genel Bir Bakış", 90.

⁸ Hayta, "Anneden Allah'a: Bağlanma Teorisi ve İslam'da Allah Tasavvuru", 36.

⁹ Kesebir, "Bağlanma ve Psikopatoloji".

Children having anxious-ambivalent attachment pattern felt intense tension. Anxiousness and anger were also observed in them, when their mother left the room. Even after their mothers were back, they did not easily smooth, and they rejected to explore environment. Although their mothers were in the room with them, they denied leaving their mothers. Children who have this attachment pattern show unfavourable behaviours and fail at relationships for the reason that they have not been sure that their caregivers would respond them when they have been in need. These mothers are not consistent with their responds and they threaten to abandon their children with the intent of controlling them. These are mostly aggressive, nervous, maladaptive children.¹⁰

During the test, children having avoidant attachment pattern remained unresponsive when their mother left the room. Similarly, when their mothers were back to the room, they kept their distance from them by remaining unresponsive and they kept searching the room instead of being interested in their mothers.¹¹ Children having avoidant attachment pattern do not rely on their mothers to respond their needs. They do not accept their mothers as a safe haven. Those children's mothers turn their children's needs down consistently or reject them. These children generally have difficulties to have relationships for later. It is observed that these children cannot control and express their anger and they also try to manage people around them.¹²

Children having de-organized attachment pattern, which was added to the attachment patterns later, do not demonstrate organized and appropriate behaviours. Frozen or slow of movements are seen and these children's mothers are ones who abuse children physically or neglect them and they generally have highly psychiatric disorders, or they have still unsolved problems with their own attached objects. It is stated that the reason of this attachment pattern is the fear derived from caregiver.¹³

The fact that attachment patterns are unchangeable, as the phrase goes from the cradle to the grave, should not be supposed; even in children who have the most secure attachment pattern, peaks and troughs might be seen.¹⁴ Unsecure attachment patterns might evolve into secure attachment patterns in a child's future life. While experiences in their future might affect these pattern changes, disposition effect is also significant too. Disposition that is believed to be an inherent feature is a formation which emerges from birth and determines behavioural patterns.¹⁵ It is important to regard characteristics of a child as much as quality of responds of caregiver.

A child develops internal working models about other people according to whether or not his/her emotional and physical needs are responded during on-going experiences. These models include self-

¹⁰ Kesebir, "Bağlanma ve Psikopatoloji", 94.

¹¹ Kesebir, "Bağlanma ve Psikopatoloji", 94.

¹² Soysal, "Bebeklik Dönemindeki Bağlanma Sürecine Genel Bir Bakış", 96.

¹³ Kesebir, "Bağlanma ve Psikopatoloji", 327.

¹⁴ Hayta, "Anneden Allah'a: Bağlanma Teorisi ve İslam'da Allah Tasavvuru", 367-38.

¹⁵ Kesebir, "Bağlanma ve Psikopatoloji", 334.

worthiness, relying on others and intimacy in relationships.¹⁶ When it is responded for the needs of a child wholesomely and supported by caregiver, he/she forms a secure bond, perceive herself/himself worth to be loved and additionally, he/she relies on others by developing favourable models, while not responded by the caregiver for the needs of them or is responded in an aloof and negatory way develops unfavourable models. This child believes others are not reliable, worth to love and even she/he is not worth to be loved. These internal working models formalize and lead one's way of life from beginning to end. These models form many predictive factors such as expectations from others in the future and perception of a romantic partner in adulthood. Bartholomew and Horowitz studied attachments over adulthood by basing on Bowlby's internal working models and introduced the quart attachment patterns.¹⁷

i. *Secure Attachment*: People having secure attachment pattern develop some representations such as 'I'm precious and worth to be loved' and perceive others reliable since their physical and emotional needs are responded wholesomely. They have healthy personal structures and when left or rejected, they can quickly handle with it.

ii. *Obsessive Attachment*: They do not assume themselves to be worth to be loved yet, they assume others are precious and valuable. Their most distinct feature is the lack of confidence. In their relations, they have exaggerated dependent attitudes towards others and also express their emotions turgidly. They cannot accept being rejected or left and when it happens, they cannot handle with it. They are the ones who are obsessive in their relationships.

iii. *Dismissive Attachment*: They are keen on their freedom and they avoid from attachments. However, unlike people who have fearful attachment, they do not keep their distance from others because of anxiety. Instead, they have this distance because they do not value others and do not want to experience abandonment.

iv. *Fearful Attachment*: They always experience problems of trust and avoid from being rejected or left they keep their distance in their relationships. As they do not perceive themselves to be worth to be loved, they also do not perceive others to be loved or trustworthy.

There might be disunity between a mother and a child, and it is known to have harmful effects on child. In babies who were separated from their mothers after birth for research, retardation of development and unfavourable behaviours like social withdrawal were observed. Bowlby has believed that maternal deprivation has some consequences such as dwarfism (retarded growth), aggressiveness, dependency, anxiety, social maladjustment, affectionless, psychopath (showing no feelings for others), depression and delinquency.¹⁸

One of the pathological disorders in childhood is infancy depression. Studies on babies, which were hospitalized and could not see their mothers for this reason, showed that while a child was healthy and

¹⁶ Hayta, "Annedden Allah'a: Bađlanma Teorisi ve İslam'da Allah Tasavvuru", 36.

¹⁷ K. Bartholomew - L.M. Horowitz, "Attachment Styles Among Young Adults: A Test of Four-Category Model", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 61/2 (1991): 227-228.

¹⁸ Mokhtar Malekpour, "Effects of Attachment on Early and Later Development", *The British Journal of Development Disabilities* 53/105 (2007): 86.

cheerful at the beginning, however as time passed by, loss of appetite, joy and weight were observed in the child. Another one is separation anxiety disorder which causes a great anxiety when a child is separated from attached person. Also, child is substantially afraid of getting lost or never reaching to his/her parents again, so they reject going to school or leaving home. When they have to face these situations, they might show various somatic symptoms such as stomach or headache, nauseating and dizziness. The other one is reactive attachment disorder that usually starts before the age of 5 and becomes characterized by a child's showing unexpected attachment patterns. Children might not keep their distances from strangers and may build close relations with them in any way. The reasons of this situation are mostly the neglect of a child or non-responded needs.¹⁹

As anxious-ambivalent attachment which is one of the unsecure attachment patterns is related with anxiety disorder, de-organized attachment is noted to be related with dissociative disorders.²⁰ Many disorders such as depression, agoraphobia, borderline disorders which occur in adulthood are related with the separation anxiety disorder.²¹ Also to Bowlby, the source of phobias in adulthood has a background in childhood and phobic people are ones who have been abused, neglected or witnessed loss of one of their parents.²²

2. Child's Perception of God at 4-6 Ages

The concept of God is discussed under two headings as cognitive and relational.²³ While it is difficult to distinguish the two from each other firmly, cognitive explanations hold that the image of God emerges in accordance with the mental development of the individual, while the relational explanations hold that the image of God is formed by the interaction of the individual with the environment. The theory of attachment explains the concept of God with relational explanation.²⁴ The emotional-based relationship between child and caregiver affects the individual's future relationship with God. But this image is not shaped only under the influence of the parent figure. Experiences and crises of the individual also shape the perception of God.

Childhood period is considerable importance in the terms of forming a basis of one's future life and the formation of character by developing behaviours which formulate one's whole life. In fact, some psychologists claim that %90 of formation of character occurs in the first 6 years of childhood.²⁵ It can't be

¹⁹ Esen, Eylem Özge, "Bağlanma Kuramı ve Psikopatolojiyle İlişkisi", 10.

²⁰ Kesebir, "Bağlanma ve Psikopatoloji", 321.

²¹ Özge, "Bağlanma Kuramı ve Psikopatolojiyle İlişkisi", 11.

²² Özge, "Bağlanma Kuramı ve Psikopatolojiyle İlişkisi".

²³ W.J. Ruchgy, "The Relationship of Mental Representantation of God to Levels of Mercy", (Michigan, 2004): 78-79.

²⁴ Akif Hayta, "Anneden Allah'a: Bağlanma Teorisi ve İslam'da Allah Tasavvuru".*Değerler Eğitimi Dergisi* 4/12 (2006): 31.

²⁵ Mustafa Köylü, "Çocukluk Dönemi Dini İnanç Gelişimi ve Dini Eğitimi", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 11/2 (2004): 137-154.

thought that religious life develops independently from childhood period in which a child transfers to concrete operational period from preoperational period and starts to get used to social environment out of family with regards to psycho-social and a child's intelligence level peaks.²⁶ Someone's perceptions of God, his/her attachment pattern to God, sensitivity to worship are the formations which are based on childhood. For Harms, childhood religious development has 3 stages and the ages of 3-6 are in the stage of fairy tales stage in which individual religious experience starts to root.²⁷ A child's education and habits determine the way he/she perceives religion in the future. For instance, the celebration of religious holidays with family is known as significant in the terms of forming a special bond with family and ideas/thoughts about religion in the future.

Freud, here states that religion is nothing but a reflection of the dynamic conflicts between ego, id and superego. He claims that there is no essential need than father protection in childhood, and also feelings of weakness and helplessness rooting from childhood cause occurrence of the idea of God so as to replace the image of the father in adulthood. Even if one is an adult anymore, he/she still needs help. For this reason, he/she sustains the idea of God as his/her father. Because a child wants to return to memory of the image of father; and father, in Freud's view, is the model of all humanity's God.²⁸

Following Freudian tradition, Erikson does not put notion of fear in the centre of religious thoughts unlike Freud. According to him, the main emotion creating religious thought is the feeling of 'security'. He states that security forming in childhood takes shape from the relationship between a mother and a child. A child who has secure attachment to caregiver seeks for the same attachment pattern and the same feelings in God in such a way that he/she has experienced during childhood, and so religious thoughts take shape. According to Erikson, in all universal religions, there are some attributions and behaviours which are similar with behaviours and attributions developing between a mother and a child such as a creator granting to His creatures, childish submitting, incapable behaviours, appealing, evolution of goodness into common faith.²⁹

From a child's birth, a child develops ambidextrously. Mental development is also observed in child correspondingly with his/her. While growing up, a child's social skills and learning capacity develop more when compared the former years.

Piaget's cognitive development theory deals with successive stages in which each of them has more complicated and advanced content/contents. In some researches, religious thoughts have not been considered separate from cognitive development and have studied together. Although the studies of Freud, Erikson and Kohlberg are frequently benefited, the most-cited theory undoubtedly belongs to Piaget. In

²⁶ Mustafa Doğan Karacoşkun, "Okul Öncesi Çocuklarında Dua", *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 9/1 (2005): 121.

²⁷ Ernest Harms, "The Development Of Religious Experience in Children", *American Journal Of Sociology* 50/2 (1944): 116

²⁸ Ali Ayten, *Psikoloji ve Din* (İstanbul: İz, 2017), 55-60.

²⁹ Cemil Oruç, "Okul Öncesi Dönemde Dini Duygunun Kökenleri ve Gelişimi", *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 10/3 (2010): 84.

Piaget's theory, it is seen that God and religious thoughts occur as a cognitive need.³⁰ However, in his theory, it is not understood whether the idea of God is inborn, and God is a parent that responds mental needs.

The first stage sensor motor stage includes 0-2 ages in which infants use inborn reflexes such as crying and sucking. They show and repeat behaviours which they find out by trial and error. With occurrence of separation from the nature, they perceive there is a world out, so they start to explore the world by trial and error or imitation. It is also seen of the starting of acquisition of object permanence, in children. Until the 4th month after birth, children do not reveal any awareness about object permanence but then, they are aware of a toy which has been taken away does not get lost and they should look for it around where it has been taken. Infants who cannot obtain object permanence when an object goes missing in field of view, they only assume it disappears. They do not understand anything but what their senses perceive, and they have egocentric thoughts.²⁸

The second stage in cognitive development is preoperational stage which includes duration from 2-6 ages. In this stage, children learn how to use a language properly and they still have egocentric thoughts. They think since they exist, others exist. They can categorize objects according to a dimension, and what is more, children in this stage have the idea that goings-on have magical and supernatural features. They have animism understanding so they assume that all objects possess a spirit and they are able to reason, think and live as children do. They develop symbolizes for objects they cannot see by attributing them their own symbols. And they cannot make a distinction between reality and imaginations.

Before dealing with the how the perception of God in these periods, it will be helpful to mention how to develop perception of God over time. From the 2nd month until the 6th month, infants develop self-perception and they start to be conscious of that they and their mothers (or another caregiver) are separate. 2-year-old children grow jealous that addresses consciousness developing in children.³¹ Upon the age of 3, sovereignty of a language is observed in children and they comprehend themselves as communicators to others. The age of 4 is a period in which children's imagination gains straight and some time they are not able to distinct between reality and fantasy. So mostly they say something which they made up in their minds as if they are real, and parents who are not aware of this might accuse their children of lying.³²

Whether belief of God is inborn or not has been dealt with and put forward many arguments by most philosophers. For example, whereas some thinkers such as Descartes, W. James, and Spancer upheld that the belief was inborn, others such as Berkeley, Freud, Dewey and Hume claimed vice versa.³³ Religion of Islam also declares that humans are born with the disposition of faith so they are ready to accept religion

³⁰ Cemil Oruç, "Erken Çocukluk Dönemi Dini Gelişim Teorileri Bağlamında Din Eğitimi", *Turkish Studies-International Periodical For the Languages Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 8/8 (2013): 973.

³¹ W. H. Clark, "Çocuklukta Din", Trans. Adil Çiftçi - Murat Yıldız, *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 10 (1998): 186.

³² Mustafa Öcal, "Okul Öncesi ve İlköğretim Çocuklarının Allah Tasavvurları Üzerine Bir Araştırma", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 13/2 (2014): 63.

³³ Ali Kuşat, "Bilişsel Gelişim Açısından Din-Fıtrat İlişkisi", *Erciyes Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 4/12 (2012): 36.

and God inborn. Friedrich Schleiermacher adopting the idea that humans are born with the faith of God claims that humans have holiness inborn and this is experienced as emotions.³⁴ W.H. Clark, in his article titled *Religion of Childhood*, expresses that child does not have religious feelings, and furthermore psychologists accept new born baby as an existence that is close to animals rather than a human.³⁵ He also examines how such a sophisticated issue might be inborn in children. At the present time, it is seen that a child learns how to speak religious development at the age of 3. However, since children do not have enough language skills before that age, whether children have these religious thoughts formerly is not known.

Piaget's cognitive development stages make a great contribution to understand how animism, artificialism and egocentric thoughts evolve to abstract thoughts in time. According to these stages, age of 3 is accepted as occurrence of religious thoughts and before 3 years of age, it is named 'pre-religious' period.

There are some limits in occurrence of religious thoughts. For example, a child is not able to think reasonably at the beginning of the childhood. Also, egocentric thought prevents him/her from understanding events correctly. A child having monofocal thought takes one approach to the events and this thought construction lasts until the age of 7 and 8.³⁶ The other reason is the limitation of the language. A religious language prevents children from drawing a reasonable conclusion about religious issues. Limited experiences, in the beginning, confine children from understanding life and religion.

Although children have religious thought inborn is still a matter of view, that seeking for caretaking of children is inborn is generally accepted. Seeking for protection is differential feature of childhood. After birth, a child is utterly in the need of caring, protection and uttermost defenceless. A child needs to be responded for physical needs, but the feeling that he/she is under protection creates on a child's world great pleasure.³⁷ Person on whom the child depends to satisfy the protection need is mostly parent. That need is indispensable, and it is essential as much as nutrition need for the child to survive.³⁵

Children's seeking for protection does not disappear or decrease in time. On the contrast, it continues during whole life and resembles feeling of taking refuge of God. So, inborn seeking protection provided by parents might be said to lead to believe in God in time. Whenever a child feels hopeless or wants to feel in safe, she/he havens to God on the purpose of seeking for help. When a child believes in God, he/she feels comforted and safe, so he/she tries to know God well and shows interest to worship.³⁸

Children in those ages want to feel themselves special and need appreciation. Some basic reasons for this situation are that child has grown up or new baby has joined family, so attention on child decreases,

³⁴ Kuşat, "Bilişsel Gelişim Açısından Din-Fıtrat İlişkisi", 38.

³⁵ Clark, "Çocuklukta Din", 184.

³⁶ Kuşat, "Bilişsel Gelişim Açısından Din-Fıtrat İlişkisi", 43.

³⁷ Clark, "Çocuklukta Din", 185.

³⁵ Clark, "Çocuklukta Din", 185.

³⁸ Celalettin İçemli, "Çocuklukta Dini Duygu ve Düşüncenin Gelişimi", *Konuralp Tıp Dergisi* 5/3 (2013): 65.

finally he/she tries to be the centre of attention again. In such a case, a child seeks for attention from God instead of family.³⁹

It is stated that perception of God is related with children's comprehension about their parents. While children perceive their parents omnipotent, their protectors from everything and absolute authority at young ages, later on they might start to explore that their parents are incapable of most issues. In progress of time, their parents are not absolute omnipotent anymore. Parents are not able to realize everything they wish and protect them from everything.⁴⁰

This causes a crisis in children. In this crisis, children start to discriminate their parents from God. All perceptions of around 5-6-year-old children about superiority of their parents start to tend towards God. According to Baldwin Theory, attachment of God steps in at this point. It is pointed that in the first step child completely focuses on his or her caregivers who respond child's need and the child does not sense metaphysical issues. In the second step, named intellectual stage, the child perceives his or her parents as problem solvers. In this step, attachment to God is occurred. Some other beliefs such as metaphysical or moral beliefs appear in later stages.⁴¹

There are some features occurring in children form children's perception and understanding. Despite their disappearance in time, during childhood period while they shape children's any ordinary thoughts, they also give a form children's religious thought. *Imitation* causes religious development in children so that children start to imitate what they see in their parents and their social environment. Children who observe parents praying imitate them, and although in the beginning they do not have any idea about the aim and meaning of what they imitate, they accustom to this habit in time, and when they are old enough, they understand the aim and the meaning of this worship. Also, another feature in this period is the need for approval. This feature reveals a full-court press over them to gain affection and approval. Children imitate their parents to be approved by them. The other one is *easy-credibility* which makes children encourage to believe easily anything that is spoken. Children cannot be thought that they can adopt any idea with reasonable arguments because of their limited experiences and perception skills; they do not have difficulty to accept their parents' beliefs. They do not question the religion they have adopted from their family until end of the preoperational period. *Ego-centric thought* is another qualification that leads children to evaluate everything in their point of views. They cannot predict that a person can look at the same object from a different perspective. They see themselves in the centre of the events and this belief affects their religious thoughts. For example, God is the creator of children and has given them families. God has bestowed them food and clothes. Everything around them exists to serve them. This belief of children leads them to believe a Supreme Being following and watching them. *Animism-anthropomorphism* makes children assume everything around them is alive. Stones, tables, toys are living creatures for them. Because of this belief it is hard to understand whether they play, or they really think toys are alive while they talk to their toys. This animistic view leads them to assume everything breaths, eats and feels as they do. With anthropomorphic

³⁹ Köylü, "Çocukluk Dönemi Dini İnanç Gelişimi ve Dini Eğitimi", 141.

⁴⁰ Oruç, "Erken Çocukluk Dönemi Dini Gelişim Teorileri Bağlamında Din Eğitimi", 975.

⁴¹ Faruk Karaca, *Dini Gelişim Psikolojisi* (İstanbul: Eser Ofset Matbaacılık, 2016), 58.

belief, children perceive God with concrete existence. Many studies show that children describe God with features which belong to humans and other living things. The most common ones are an old, bearded man or a king with a crown. As growing up, especially in formal operational stage, they start to understand God is abstract and cannot be defined and anthropomorphic thought decreases. But in preoperational and concrete operational periods, it is hard, almost impossible, to expect them to understand that God is not definable. The final feature is *sense of wonder*. Existing in the child inborn, this sense leads him or her to understand and give meaning of everything. They ask several questions such as 'What is it?', 'Who made this?'. With this sense, the children question about how everything around them, including themselves, exist when they are grown enough. No matter what parents' beliefs are, they face this question and have to give a clear answer regarding to their faith. Those given answers shape children's beliefs.⁴²

As it is mentioned in previous chapter, there are some children's features which are the basics that lead to perception of God such as animism, anthropomorphism, ego-centric thought etc. By taking them into consideration in this chapter, it is discussed how the perception of God appears in children according to the ages. These ages are classified in this work in the context of Piaget's cognitive development stages. Children until the age of 2 are ranked in sensor motor period and children aged 2 to 6 are classified in preoperational period.

In sensor motor period (0-2 ages), children start to control their motor functions and intellection, and also exhibit primitive behaviour patterns to deal with objects.⁴³ They start to observe and explore environment incrementally and satisfy their sense of wonder by trial and error. In this stage if children develop secure and healthy attachment with their caregivers, which Erikson associates with feeling of security, their religious developments make a progress according to the attachment developed beforehand with caregivers.

While Piaget states that object permanence occurs with the 8th month after the birth, there are studies providing that it actually occurs earlier. Acquisition of object permanence is the basic for child to develop mental representations. Beside acquisition of this ability is accepted as a precondition for learning words moreover according to Bowlby, it is a provision for self-recognition and also a step to gather for later thoughts.⁴⁴

Children, in this stage, do not have track of time. For children, there are no concepts of the past, present or future. Furthermore, these children do not have any metaphysical conception and do not accept anything other than objects received by sensory receptors. They are not ready to understand intangible concepts such as God, heaven and hell. Above all in this stage children are not able to use language efficiently and make clear sentences to express themselves. So, it cannot be understood fairly whether they have religious thought.

⁴² Köylü, "Çocukluk Dönemi Dini İnanç Gelişimi ve Dini Eğitimi", 138-140.

⁴³ Kuşat, "Bilişsel Gelişim Açısından Din-Fıtrat İlişkisi", 47.

⁴⁴ Kuşat, "Bilişsel Gelişim Açısından Din-Fıtrat İlişkisi", 48.

In preoperational period (3-6 ages), children who acquire object permanence develop a great interest in things they are not able to see. Especially, this is why children in this period rummage around their houses with hope to find something hidden. Children also start to search representations by developing their language skills with symbols for things they can or cannot see. Similarly, after accepting the existence of God, child looks for representation for God. But in these ages, since abstract reasoning is not developed yet, child cannot comprehend God's essence and attributes in detail, although they start to develop an image of God and their faith begins to take a shape. However, they do not comprehend about life, religious etc. so deeply.

Child looking for an envisagement for God uses his/her dreams or observations to symbolize God. Because of animistic and anthropomorphic thoughts, child images a superhero, an old white bearded man or a king with a crown living on the clouds as God. After the age of 7, this thoughts start to evolve into abstract conception however, while children between the ages of 7-9 are observed that they still describe God as if He is on the clouds, after the ages of 10-12 idea that God is everywhere dominates in children (İçmeli, 2013:68). After these ages, they are able to think more reasonably since their notions enrich with their experiences. In the studies led by Mustafa Öcal, that while some 8 year-old children continue to comprehend God as an concrete existing, it has been noted that some are likely to think 'God who cannot be known how He is' and in the same studies, anthropomorphic God idea in 9 year-old children has hardly ever seen.⁴⁵

Mustafa Öcal and his students also have noted that children at the age of 4 mostly describe God as 'big'.⁴⁶ These children ask their parents about how God is and receive 'big' as an answer leads them to think that God is big as much as something they have seen around before, so for some of them God is big as much as a minaret or a mountain.

Anthropomorphic thought also may cause children to image their God as their fathers. So, when divine power is mentioned, children may perceive that God is powerful as much as their fathers. Children's inborn need of security primarily is aimed at their parents who are perceived by children as 'the most powerful'. Especially, his/her father is the most powerful figure but by the time of progress, children proceed to make out their fathers are incapable, cannot afford everything either. Also, by distinguishing their parents from God, children recognize that deficient superiority in their fathers when at the ages of 5-7.⁴⁷

Since children at these ages have ego-centric thoughts, they reason about God around this thought. For example, if a 5-year-old child is asked what God is, it is expected that he/she answers it like 'He created me'. According to this thought, God is the one who creates and gives him/her a family, food and toys. Children in this period exhibit a conception of God related with games and entertainment. God is associated with simple pleasures and answers children's dreams. While how God notion is expressed and described

⁴⁵ Öcal, "Okul Öncesi ve İlköğretim Çocuklarının Allah Tasavvurları Üzerine Bir Araştırma", 73.

⁴⁶ Öcal, "Okul Öncesi ve İlköğretim Çocuklarının Allah Tasavvurları Üzerine Bir Araştırma", 64.

⁴⁷ Antoine Vergote, "Çocuklukta Din", Trans. Erdoğan Fırat, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 22/1 (1966): 318.

forms the perception of God, mostly children have an idea of favourable, friendly God perception. God is generally perceived as a playmate and relationship with God is amusing.⁴⁸

Children have also fiery, demonic God conception over these years. These children perceive God as a creator who behaves sadistically, cannot control His temper and causes disasters such as earthquake and flood, and as someone who does not have compassion and affection. The fear of God dominates children at these ages. Indeed, children do not have this fear naturally.⁴⁹ The reason why these children have this fear is that these children come from parents who are violence prone and are one sided parents.⁵⁰ It is also noted that these children are threatened and dismayed with God and as a result of this they have unfavourable God perception. When God is defined as a creator that is griever burning humans and children in hell, children are prone to run away from God and seek for a place in which God does not exist.⁵¹

3. Attachment to God

Attachment beginning with right after the birth contains some feelings and behaviours such as desire of spending time with someone who is attached, seeking for him or her when one fears or feels anxiety and relief occurring right after being felt existence of one who is attached.⁵² This theory put forward by Bowlby especially is dealt by Lee Kirkpatrick and underlines that attachment occurring at the beginning of life has similarities with some feelings like attachment to religion and God, wishing help from God, finding peace and relief.⁵³

Many researches in Psychology of Religion show that religion and especially God who is attached and interiorised relations are appropriate for secure attachment whose main functions are to provide secure base and safe haven.⁵⁴ Kirkpatrick, who indicates that in almost all religions, God is a secure attached to object, argues that religion is one of the main factors which help of stress and anxiety conditions. That pious people know God is omnipresence with themselves and protects them from any evil provides them relief and sense of security.⁵⁵

One's perception of God or religion does not form only with attachment in childhood. Beside this, his/her parents' manner of religion and God, social environment are also as much important as attachment. Two general hypotheses have been suggested and are seen as describing two distinct developmental

⁴⁸ Köylü, "Çocukluk Dönemi Dini İnanç Gelişimi ve Dini Eğitimi", 145.

⁴⁹ Öcal, "Okul Öncesi ve İlköğretim Çocuklarının Allah Tasavvurları Üzerine Bir Araştırma", 65.

⁵⁰ Köylü, "Çocukluk Dönemi Dini İnanç Gelişimi ve Dini Eğitimi", 145.

⁵¹ Öcal, "Okul Öncesi ve İlköğretim Çocuklarının Allah Tasavvurları Üzerine Bir Araştırma", 65.

⁵² Hayta, "Anneden Allah'a: Bağlanma Teorisi ve İslam'da Allah Tasavvuru", 34.

⁵³ Lee Kirkpatric, "Din Psikolojisinde Bağlanma Teorisi", Trans. Mustafa Koç, *Bilimname* 10/1 (2006): 140.

⁵⁴ Hayta, "Anneden Allah'a: Bağlanma Teorisi ve İslam'da Allah Tasavvuru", 42-43.

⁵⁵ Kirkpatric, "Din Psikolojisinde Bağlanma Teorisi", 143.

pathways in religion-the compensation hypothesis and the correspondence hypothesis. According to correspondence hypothesis, the most important reason that attachment theory has been dealt in religion is that internal working models which develop through first relations in one's life develop basis for one to set models for God image and other religious issues.⁵⁶ Studies have showed that contrary to Freudian allegations, people perceive God as mother rather than father.⁵⁷ So if attachment figures are mother and father at the beginning, God is perceived as mother-father image. To this hypothesis, what affects one's piety is the attachment pattern developed in childhood. One who attaches to his or her parents in a secure way also attaches to God in the same way. When compared to ones who have "weak bonds" with their parents, ones who have secure attachment pattern are most likely to follow their parents' piety.⁵⁸ People whose parents are piety are noted to attach to God in a secure way, while people whose parents are non-believers are expected to follow their parents' views about religion. It is concluded that parents' piety affect children's future God perception.

According to compensational hypothesis, unwholesome and deficient attachment developed in childhood lead one to complete that lack of confidence and affection. These people attach to God to compensate their feelings and the deficiency in attachment. They experience relief and security bonding to God. Beside this argument, some studies about this issue have noted that absence of faith may be related with weak parents-child attachment, in addition atheism and agnosticism are considered to be consequences of avoidant attachment.⁵⁹ People having avoidant attachment pattern have 'I do not need anyone' perception and this perception may evolve into 'I do not need a God' perception.

4. Qualitative Study Test

In this study, to investigate of children's perception of God at the ages of 4-6, two different kinds of kinder garden have been supposed to be studied with. Beside a kinder garden in which religion education is given to children, a kinder garden in which religious education is not approved has not been also included. The second kinder garden in which religious education is not given has not approved to be asked questions to children about their perceptions of God because of the fact that families would not approve it assuming that this study and questions about God might harm children's cognitive development and create confusion in children. The kinder garden in which religious education is given since families' demand it accepted to be asked questions to children about their perceptions and what they know about God, however they have rejected children to draw God on the account of the fact that complaints might be received by families.

This study has been conducted with 13 students in Yeşil Elma Kinder Garden which provides religious lessons in Ankara. Qualitative research method has been used and 5 main, 8 deeper questions have been asked students by using interviewing technique. The reason why qualitative research method and interviewing technique has been preferred is that the children's age is too young, and they either don't

⁵⁶ Hayta, "Anneden Allah'a: Bağlanma Teorisi ve İslam'da Allah Tasavvuru", 42.

⁵⁷ Kirkpatric, "Din Psikolojisinde Bağlanma Teorisi", 150.

⁵⁸ Kirkpatric, "Din Psikolojisinde Bağlanma Teorisi", 160.

⁵⁹ Kirkpatric, "Din Psikolojisinde Bağlanma Teorisi", 159.

know how to read and write or know them little. The obtained data have been subjected to descriptive analysis and interpreted. Throughout the meeting that children have felt comforted and calm has been assured and any pressure has not applied.

Since our test has been applied to limited number of children it is hard to generalize their perceptions of God for all children at these ages. Besides, this test has been applied only to children who take religious classes in their kinder garden and have religious families, so perception of God of children who do not take those classes and are not familiar with religious concepts is not involved in this study. As their perceptions of God might be totally different from the children we studied with, they also might be similar too. It is also worth to note that specifically implementation tests about child's perception of God at certain ages are limited. These kinds of implementation tests have been hoped to be continued and allowed us to understand of children world and of their perspectives.

According to the findings of the study, although the questions refer to abstract concepts the children have not had trouble understanding the questions. In former studies⁶⁰ it was noted that children can perceive the concept of the hereafter and God. Similar studies were also conducted in China, and the same results were achieved⁶¹

4-6 AGES CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF GOD: QUESTIONNAIRE

GENDER:

AGE:

1) What comes to your mind while thinking about God?

- Do you know God?
- What do you know about Him?

2) What do you think of God?

- Who or what does He look like?
- Where is God?
- Do you think everything is created by God?

⁶⁰ H. Wellman, D. Cross, J. Watson., "Meta-analysis of theory of mind development: The truth about false belief", *Child Development* 72 (2001): 655-684.

⁶¹ M.A. Sabbagh, F. Xu, S.M. Carlson, L.J. Moses, K. Lee., "The development of executive functioning and theory of mind: A comparison of Chinese and U.S. preschoolers.", *Psychological Science* 17 (2006): 74-81.

- 3) What do you feel when you think of God?
 - How close do you feel to Him?
- 4) Do you pray? What do you demand while praying?
 - What do you think about realization of prayers?
 - Is there anything special you do for realization of your prayers?
- 5) Could you draw me a picture of God?

After the test, it has been seen that most of the children have answered the question, "What does it occur in your mind while thinking about God? by counting some religious motifs such as performing salaah, saving the extra food, creation and heaven. 4 of them answered this question counting some attributes of God such as 'powerful' and 'giver of everything we wish', adding to this only one of them counted some of God's names which occurred in his mind during the test. The students counting the attributes of God have been noted they do not have a full knowledge about the words they have used and have repeated them as they already heard from their social environment. Whereas 2 of them have not answered this question, however any unfavourable God image has not been noted. And while almost all children have stated that they knew God, only one of them has not answered the question, and one has said that she did not know Him. It is expected that God image exists in every person who has knowledge of God. In this respect, it is very surprising that the student answered question so, although she both has religious lessons in the kinder garden, and she is old enough cognitively to understand the concept of God. It is possible that the student has been bored or hesitated.

They have generally answered the question about the things they knew about God by saying that "God created us", "He gives toys", "He realizes our prayers" and "He loves children". Similarly, 2 of the students have said that they only knew God's names. Distinctly, one of the children have answered it by saying God is nonesuch and there is no like Him as he might have heard Him from parents or older people around him. That the students who are considered to be in concrete operational stage and have not gained abstract thinking skill yet have answered questions counting the attributes of God might be deduced that they repeat what they have heard from social environment or what they have been told. Although children are largely known to achieve acquisitions by imitation of parents, Bandura claims that children often learn through imitation rather than direct teaching, even though families often do not aim to teach directly⁶². The children are likely to have learned their answers from their parents or classes because their parents are considered conservative and they take religious lessons in their schools.

After the main and their helper questions, it has been seen that children have given answers to the questions according to knowledge they acquired from lessons in the kinder garden, families or parents.

⁶² Albert Bandura. "The Role of Imitation In Personality Developmen", *The Journal of Nursery Education* 18/3 (1963): 2.

Beside this, even some of them have not given any answer, there has not been observed any negative God perception in children's manner.

The second question, "What do you think of God?" has been mostly answered that He is good, beautiful, big, enormous and old one. While one of the children has not answered the question, one of them has stated that she did not know anything. Three of the children have stated that God looked like Prophet Muhammad; even one of them said that God's name was Muhammad. Also, one of them has pointed that God was one who was with Prophet Muhammad. While two of them have not answered the question, one said that she is not able to image Him, and one said that He is invisible (adding that she heard this from her mother). Some of them have said He was enormous, and also one of them has added that he dreamed about Him and told that He had enormous hands and His head touched to sky. And one of them has stated that God had a beautiful face and smelled like a rose. Variously, one of them has expressed that God looks like Himself.

Anthropomorphic thought has become more distinguishable with this second question, and concrete God image has appeared. Because of the religious lessons and being told the name of the Prophet along with God's, it has formed a God image integrated with Prophet Muhammad. Children have given various answers for the question about where God is. While some of them have stated that He is in heaven, one has stated that He is in our hearts. There have been some children who have said that He is in Kabaa or in mosques. This is due to the children's anthropomorphic thought and also shows that children try to distinguish God from human beings.⁶³ 3 of them have answered it by saying they have not known. There have been also 2 children saying that He is everywhere.

Similar results were found in previous studies.⁶⁴ It can be said that the image of God of children who are still in the concrete period is generally dominated by the image of parents. Especially in the concrete period, the father figure is frequently seen in the image of God in the concrete period since father is considered to be stronger. However, no image of the parents has been noted in any of the answers during the interview. In another study⁶⁵ it was noted that children at the age of 4-5 attributed many false beliefs to God, but none of them were an image of a superhero

It has been seen that children mostly thought that everything was created by God. Almost each of child has given 'yes' as an answer when asked whether everything is created by God, although there are some who have not answered the question or who said they did not know. But one of them has told that God gave materials to humans and humans made them.

When children have been asked what they feel while thinking about God, most of them have said 'good' or 'happy'. While 2 of the students have not answered the question, rest of them have given different answers such as "I feel as if He is in Kabaa", "I assume He has given me a toy" (another has stated 'clothes'),

⁶³ Faruk Karaca. *Dini Gelişim Psikolojisi*. İstanbul: Eser Ofset Matbaacılık, 2016: 170

⁶⁴ Mustafa Öcal. "Okul Öncesi ve İlköğretim Çocuklarının Allah Tasavvurları Üzerine Bir Araştırma", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 13/2 (2014): 59-80;

⁶⁵ J.D. Lane et al. "Children's understanding of ordinary and extraordinary minds", *Child Development* 81/5 (2010): 1475-1489.

"I feel He has created everything", "I feel I love Him" or "I feel He is close to me". When children have been asked about their feelings about God, they often said positive things. Children's perception of God also shapes their emotional orientation towards God. The individual who considers God compassionate is expected to have a love-oriented perception of God. This positive or negative imagination is not only the product of the child's mind. The child develops a perception of God based on fear or love based on the parent's attitude. When the period between 7-12 years of Elkind's theory is examined, it is seen that the social life of children is important in shaping God's perception.⁶⁶

While the children mostly have stated that they have felt themselves so close to God (some added that they feel Him as if He is near them.), 3 of them stated that they have felt He is away from them. That these children feel God is away from them could be caused by either they do not favour to think that He is close to them or they understood the question as concrete closeness, so they have answered the question so. If it is because of the previous reason, that children have unfavourable God image may be considered.

Almost all children have stated that they pray when it has been asked whether they pray or not. It has been noted that children have personal demands in their prayers during the test such as a sister, book, money; protection for themselves and their families, toys, coke, gifts etc. making the general acceptance that ego-centric thought dominates children's wishes obvious. Also, it has been seen that most of the children thought that their prayers were realized. Furthermore, that some children have stated their answers for this question with examples has been noted. For instance, one of the children has said that she had lost her ring and she prayed to God to find it, and after getting in car she found her ring, so her prayer was realized. She has also said after putting her teeth under her pillow, she found candies under her pillow the next morning. Another one has stated that he asked his demands from parents at first and if they do not do it, then he asked from his brother, and then he and his brother can afford this. When they have been asked whether there is anything special they do for realization of their prayers, whereas some have answered that there was not any (2 of them have not answered the question), 9 of the students have stated that they performed salaah or ablution, prayed in holy days, recited Quran, also one of them have said that he played with his toys.

As a result of the test, it has been seen that while children answered the questions as they had been taught beforehand, they anyhow displayed anthropomorphic and ego-centric thoughts describing their images of God.

CONCLUSION

The image of God, as a psychological structure, is both a person's thoughts about how he feels about God, but also mental perceptions of how God feels about him.⁶⁷ The perception of God shapes not only the religious life of the individual, but also his absolute life, so it is an essential subject that needs to be examined. The individual's perception of God is decisive in his/her behaviours towards other people in

⁶⁶ David Elkind., "The Origins of Religion In The Child", *Review Of Religious Research* 12/1 (1970): 39.

⁶⁷ Christopher Grimes., "God Image Research: A Literature Review", *Journal of Spirituality In Mental Health* 9 (2007):12.

his/her social environment. Another important point is that the perception of God influences people's relations with the social environment as well as being influenced by them.⁶⁸ According to Attachment Theory, the relationship of baby with caregiver is the determinant element for his/her relationship with God in the future. It is important that children have positive self and secure attachment patterns for gaining positive God perceptions. Attitudes and perceptions of caregivers whom children spend the most time with shape child's mental and emotional world.

The study has been conducted in Yeşil Elma Kindergarten in Ankara in order to understand the perception of God of kindergarten students at the ages of 4-6. In the interviews with the students, the students have been asked 5 main and 8 deeper questions and tried to reach their perception of God. As a result, it has been noted that the students have the concept of God and have a positive perspective in general and that their ego-centric and anthropomorphic thoughts are dominant in their images of God.

In this study, attachment theory and development of perception of God have been revived; its related subjects and early studies have been researched by using different sources, and also comparing them with each other. Moreover, simple and short questionnaire of which results have showed that our study is supported by early research results has been applied on 4-6-year-old children. That some distinctive features in children such as easy-credibility, animism, imitation formulate children's perception of God have been revealed again. Although that it may be said that studies about both attachment theory and children's perception of God is not few, several works are available.

During the test, the children have answered questions about how they perceive God by quoting what they heard from others beforehand. However, since they still have some distinctive features which are obvious at these ages, they have also given answers according to their perceptive. These features, like anthropomorphism, have led children to perceive God as Prophet Muhammad or confused them to distinguish both figures from each other, adding to assuming He is huge and enormous. Also, it has been seen that children are tend to think God is in sky, heaven or in Kabaa. How children gave answers for God related questions has revealed that children's backgrounds, such as religious families or religious education, form their God and religious perceptions.

As a result of the children's religious backgrounds, they have been seen to tend to pray which they mostly verbalize their ego-centric wishes. While they wish money and toy, their wishes for protection for their families have also been noted.

Finally, any negative on/about God perception has been emerged during the test, even there are some children who have hesitated or have not answered some of the questions. It is noted that most of the children have favourable, friendly God perception and they have believed in a God as He was told.

⁶⁸ Leslie Francis, J.S. Craft, A. Pyke., "Religious Diversity, Empathy And God Images: Perspectives From The Psychology of Religion Shaping A Study Among Adolescents In The UK", *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 33/3 (2012): 293.

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Murtakib al-Kabīra (Cardinal Sinner) and Takfīr (Excommunication) from the Perspective of Ibn Ḥazm: a Political and Theological Review

Fikret Soyol *

Abstract

From the beginning of the first periods of Islamic theology, the concept of *kufr* is the most important amongst other terminology related to the judgement of *murtakib al-kabīra* (cardinal sinner) in this world and Hereafter. The purpose of this article is to focus on the problems in the use of *takfīr* (excommunication), which is the final judgement of *murtakib al-kabīra* representing the very extremism itself, against other views of other theological readings within *kalām* methodology. Ibn Ḥazm is another major scholar who investigates the judgement of *murtakib al-kabīra* within the scope of faith in itself. Examining the understanding of *takfīr* in different *kalam* schools, Ibn Ḥazm also evaluates the use of this judgement in intellectual disputes. The relationship of *īmān* and *amal* (faith and deed) in the debates of *kalam* schools, some concepts such as *īmān*, *kufr*, *fiṣq*, *shirk*, *nifāq* and *al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*, some mentioned in the Qurʾān and some not, are in constant use. It is observed that some of these discussions were institutionalized and transformed into a school in the process. Thus, *takfīr* was not only a matter of only cardinal sins in later periods, but was also utilized for differences of opinions due to the different readings and interpretations arising from social and political factors. Thus, *takfīr* has been the issue for both religious and political purposes, which are two separate areas. Therefore, *takfīr* has been studied relying on its political disputes in a theological paradigm and its major feature, being weaponized to silence and overpower the opponent, has been emphasized in this work.

Keywords

Kalām, Theology, al-Kabīra, Cardinal sin, Takfīr, Excommunication, Ibn Ḥazm

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İbn Hazm Perspektifinden Büyük Günah ve Tekfir: Politik ve Teolojik Açıdan Bir Değerlendirme

Öz

İlk dönemlerden itibaren mürtekib-i kebîrenin dünyevî ve uhrevî hükmü ile alakalı gündeme gelen farklı kavramlar arasından en önemlisini küfür oluşturmaktadır. Bu makalenin amacı, büyük günahın hükmü olan ve haddizatında bir aşırılığı temsil eden tekfirin kelâm metodolojisi bağlamında farklı okumaya dayanan görüşlere karşı kullanılmasının mahzurları üzerinde durmaktır. İbn Hazm imânın mahiyeti bağlamında büyük günahın hükmü konusunu incelemektedir. Mürtekib-i kebîrenin hükmü olan tekfir ile ilgili kelâm ekollerinin görüşlerini ele alan İbn Hazm bu hükmün fikrî ayrılıklarda kullanılmasını da değerlendirmektedir. Kelâm ekolleri imân-amel ilişkisine dair tartışmalarda imân başta olmak üzere küfür, fişq, şirk, nifâk ve el-menzile beyne'l-menzileteyn gibi bir kısmı Kur'an'da geçen bir kısmı Kur'anî olmayan kavramlar üzerinde durmaktadır. İlgili tartışmaların, süreç içinde kurumsallaşarak birer ekole dönüştüğü görülmektedir. Adı geçen kavramlardan tekfir, sadece büyük günahın hükmü olmakla kalmayarak sosyal ve politik faktörlerden ötürü ortaya çıkan farklı okuma ve yorumlama biçiminde de karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Böylece tekfir, iki ayrı alan olan dinî ve politik maksatlarla mevzu bahis edilmektedir. Bu yönüyle, çalışmada siyasî bağlamıyla birlikte gündeme gelen tekfirin teolojik bir boyutta değerlendirilmesiyle dinî ve siyasî alanda muhalifini susturmaya ve ona üstünlük sağlamaya yarayan bir silaha dönüştürüldüğüne dikkat çekilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kelâm, Teoloji, Büyük Günah, Tekfir, İbn Hazm

INTRODUCTION

From the beginning, it was not possible for the followers of different sects to retreat from extremism while evaluating the views of others. Although it is possible to evaluate some rigid attitudes in the course of history, the nature of the event has changed completely after it was moved to the belief channel.¹ As a matter of fact, those who have different views towards the end of the first century did not only criticize each other, but these differences were maintained within a framework of creed and reached the point of takfir, thus the situation completely differentiated. The scholars of the Ahl al-sunna criticized some of the views of their opponents, and from time to time dealt with them in the form of takfir.²

Although the principles of faith should be based on the trustable evidence,³ many concepts and issues related to religious, political and cultural problems experienced by Muslims have been brought up in kalâm since the beginning of the first periods. For example, concepts such as imân, kufr, fişq, and nifâq have been

¹ Mehmet Kalaycı, "Kutuplaşma, Konumlanma ve Ayrışma Zemini Olarak Mezheplerde Tekfir ve Tadfîl Olgusu", *Hayatin Anlamı İmân*, ed. Murat Sülün (İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2018), 184.

² İrfan Abdulhamid, *İslam'da İtikâdî Mezhepler ve Akaid Esasları*, trans. Mustafa Saim Yeprem (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2011), 140-149.

³ Nu'mân b. Sâbit Abû Hanîfa, *al-Âlim wa al-mutaâllim*, ed. Muḥammad Zâhid b. al-Ḥasan al-Kawtharî (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li'al-Turas, 2001), 11-12.

subjected to different interpretations and evaluations by kalām schools. Since each of the mentioned concepts has its own dynamics, they form provisions of different nature.⁴ The most important of the mentioned provisions was undoubtedly takfir. In this study, it will be evaluated that takfir is not only used as a provision of major sin, but also as a reference to the different forms of reading of Kalām.

Kalām schools mentioned various judgments about the name given to someone who commits a sin while they are Muslims. According to Murji'a, a person who commits a major sin is a muslim, disbeliever according to the Khārijites; but according to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Qatāda, he is a hypocrite. While Mu'tazilite is placing him in between imān and kufr, the Ash'arites and Māturīdites define such person a perverse believer (fāsiq). Takfir,⁵ one of the previous provisions, gained different dimensions with the institutionalization of Kalām⁶ debates in the process and transformed into a school.

By the end of the first century, there was no tolerance for the owners of opposite views.

Moreover, this intolerance has gone up to takfir⁷ with the aim of providing psychological superiority against his counterparts. However, if the discussions had remained at the level of mutual criticism and rejection of opinions, the historical course and development of Islamic thought would have been different. How to explain this critical situation that transcends the rule of major sin is important. For example, the evaluation of some thinkers' opinions has different importance. One of them is Ibn Ḥazm. Ibn Ḥazm, draws attention to the danger of the mentions of takfir about the differences in views in his work, *al-Faṣl*.⁸ Ibn Hazm, who expressed such an important principle, entered into a contradictory stance by not standing in the line he spoke of.

Although being a theologian and whose approaches will be evaluated, Ibn Ḥazm, is more compatible with / leaning to the line of Salaf.⁹ Because of this identity, Ibn Hazm studied the exclusion of Murji'a, Shi'a and Mu'tazila¹⁰ independently in the sections of his book, where he evaluated the Islamic sects, but in the

⁴ Abū Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Saīd ez-Zāhir Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi al-milal wa al-ahwā' wa al-nihāl*, ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Din (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiya, 1996/1416), 2: 250.

⁵ Muḥammad Fuād Abd al-Bāqī, “Kfr”, *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras li-alfāz al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*, 3th Edition (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1991/1411), 769.

⁶ The first two centuries following the death of the Messenger of Allah is an important period for the formation of theological schools. In terms of the formation of Mu'tezilite and the issues raised by it, this period has been quite active in the name of theology. Therefore, we come across many subjects, concepts and ideas put forward in the name of theology in this period. See Orhan Şener Koloğlu, “Mu'tezile'nin Temel Öğretileri”, *İslâmî İlimler Dergisi*12/2 (2017): 44.

⁷ Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, “Tekfir”, *TDV Encyclopedia of Islam* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2011), 40: 351.

⁸ Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, 2: 231.

⁹ Murat Serdar, *İbn Hazm'in Kelâmî Görüşleri* (Doctoral thesis: Erciyes University, 2005), 57-58, 105.

¹⁰ Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, 3: 111-168.

section where he criticized some Ash‘ari theologians, he used a more harsh style against the Ash‘ari theologians.¹¹

Ibn Hāzım, who did not mention the kufr about the major sin, was in a position to oppose the idea of takfir in disagreements. Although the continuity of his tolerant attitude was expected, the result did not manifest in this way.

On the other hand, if it is used based on unfounded, arbitrary and arbitrariness, it becomes a 'charging of apostasy'¹² rather than a takfir. Because the use of something in a different sense is completely separate from being oneself and by becoming different with being included in the scope of bigotry. Besides, takfir is not an issue that is left to human decision. The main importance of the issue was not only discussed in terms of its relations / dimensions with the Hereafter but also noted the existence of the worldly dimension. As a matter of fact, the killing of the person who is charged with takfir is deemed necessary for the salvation of religion.¹³

Before entering the subject of takfir as a judgment in relation to murtakib al-kabira, it is useful to give some information about the major and minor sins.

1. SEPARATION OF MAJOR AND MINOR SIN

Since takfir is related to the major sin rather than to the minor sin, it is important to determine the limit between the major sin and the minor sin. In terms of the concept of sin which is introduced with the following terms such as; zānib, fişq, ism (sin), ‘isyan / rebellion in the Qur’ān is made the distinction between major or minor sins.¹⁴ However, it is not clear which sins are the major and which are the minor. The fact that sins are major or minor by mentioning themselves is more of the information we obtain from hadiths.

In the discussions of kalām schools, it is possible to see that there is no significant disagreement about the provision of minor sin. The main argument about the provision of major sin is the various provisions of the kalām schools which are brought on the agenda within the limits of imān – kufr.

Although we cannot abstract what is major and minor sin from the Qur’ān, it can easily be said that there is a separation between sins, since Allah has informed us that a man who fears major sins, Allah will

¹¹ Çağfer Karadaş, “İbn Hazm ve Eşarilik Eleştirisi”, *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 18/1 (2009): 89-102; Murat Serdar, “İbn Hazm’ın Eş‘arî Kelâmına Yönelik Eleştirileri” *Uluslararası İmam Eş‘arî ve Eş‘arilik Sempozyumu Bildirileri 21-23 Eylül 2014*. 2: 89-120 (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 2015) 2: 89-90.

¹² Mehmet Ali Büyükkara, “Hâricîliğin Modern Bir Görüntüsü Olarak Tekfirçilik”, *İç Tehdit ve Riskler Işığında İslâm Dünyasının Geleceği* (İstanbul: İnsamer, 2016), 13.

¹³ Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazzālī, *İslam’da Müsamaha (Fayşal al-tafriqa)*, trans. Süleyman Uludağ (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2013), 51.

¹⁴ al-Nisā 4/31; al-Shūrā 42/36-37; al-Qāf 18/49.

forgive¹⁵ his minor sins. The words “kabāir al-iṣm” and “zunūb” refer to the major sin, and the words “sayia” and “lamam” refer to the minor sins.¹⁶

Mu'tezilite accepts the separation of minor and major sins. However, there are several opinions about the definition of these two types of sins. These definitions include the concept of “every sin that has threat (wa'id), every sin that has no threat (wa'id),” and “because every sin that has been committed intentionally is major, there are also those who call the person who has committed this sin as “murtakib al-kabira.”¹⁷ Minor sins are also described as those that do not have a clear punishment and do not have a threat to the fire of Hell.¹⁸

Another characteristic of minor sin is that it is said that repentance is required for the remission of major sin, whereas such a condition is not required for the removal of the responsibility of minor sin, and some other reasons are sufficient for the remission of such sins.

In the Murji'a, there are those who say that all kinds of sins that involve rebellion against Allah are major, and that the existence of those who acknowledge that there are two types of sins, such as major and minor.¹⁹

One of those who accept that the disobediences (ma'siya) are divided into two groups as minor and major is Abū al-Huzayl al-'Allāf (d. 235/849-50 [?])²⁰ According to Qadī 'Abd al Jabbār (d. 415/1025), Khāricīta ruled that, by denying minor sins, all sins were great.²¹

Another aspect of the distinction between major and minor sin is whether or not it depends on reason ('aql) or Sharia. According to al-Jabbār, Abu 'Ali and Abū Hashim have disagreed about it. According to Abū 'Ali, the knowledge of the major sins is only possible by the notification of the Sharia.²²

Māturīdītes theologian Sābūnī (d.) 580/1184) states that there is a conflict between the people on the subject of minor and major sin. According to him, every sin in which repentance and istighfar (chastisement)

¹⁵ al-Nisā 4: 31.

¹⁶ Mustafa Türkgülü, “Günah Kavramı ve İman Problemi Haline Getirilen Büyük Günah/Kebire Hakkındaki Kelâmî Tartışmalar”, *Diyanet İlmî Dergisi*, 36/ 4. (2000): 65.

¹⁷ Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Abū Bishr Alī b. İsmāil b. İshāq Ash'ārī, *Maqālāt al-islāmīyyīn wa-iḥtilāf al-muṣallīn*, ed. Hellmut Ritter. 2th Edition. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963), 270-271.

¹⁸ Türkgülü, “Günah Kavramı ve İmân Problemi”, 67.

¹⁹ Ash'ārī, *Maqālāt al-islāmīyyīn*, 150.

²⁰ Abd al-Rahman Badawī, *Mazahib al-islamiyyīn*. 2th Edition. (Beirut: Dār al-İlm li al-Malayīn, 1979), 1: 174.

²¹ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*, 632.

²² Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 633.

are concerned is a minor sin.²³ According to this, major sin can be defined as any attitude and behavior²⁴ that God has forbidden for sure and which requires a worldly or the other-worldly punishment in return.

According to the information given above, the point about major-minor sin and generally the punishments of sin is the obligation of this belief. In other words, the question of whether a religious flaw and misdemeanor will hold him in the state of *imān*; in other words, what is the judgment of such a person in the sense of belief is the most sensitive point of the matter. Therefore, although there are different evaluations about the minor and major separation of sin, it is clear that the main argument is to determine what will be the verdict of the major sin.

2. THE PROVISION OF MURTAKIB AL-KABĪRA

The religious status and position of murtakib al-kabira has been the subject of intense discussions between Kalām schools.

The judgment of the major sin rather than the minor sin is emphasized by the opinion of the advocates of takfir for the major sin. Since it is discussed as a major sin, the name (*Asmā*) and the judgment (*Ahkām*) that will be given to him in the worldly sense constitute the main issue in the life of the Hereafter. Since this is a bilateral situation, it is recorded in the sources of Kalām as *asmā* and *ahkām*. There are some conflicts between kalām schools about the preferred names depending on the belief of murtakib al-kabira. In this regard, various names such as *Mu'min*, *Kāfir*, *Munāfiq*, *Fāsiq*, *al-Manzila Bayn al-Manzilatayn*²⁵ were preferred.

Although different views have been expressed on the use of mentioned names, it is possible to talk about an agreement²⁶ on the *fāsiq*.

Ibn Hāzım indicates that in the event of major sin, there are other preferences, along with basic concepts such as *imān* and *kufir*, in the event of major sin.²⁷ Among the rulings to be given to the person who commits the major sin is that there are some concepts which are not Qur'ānic and are similar to those of earthly and other-worldly values. It should be noted that those other than *Manzila Bayn al-Manzilatayn* are also Qur'ānic concepts.

²³ Nur al-Dīn al-Sābūnī, *al-Kifāya fi al-hidāya*, ed. Muḥammad Aruçi (Beirut: Dār Ibn Hāzım; Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2014/1435), 339-340.

²⁴ We encounter different definitions and evaluations of what is the major sin. According to this, (1) Those for whom Allah has appointed a punishment and has openly threatened with his punishment; (2) Everything in which there is a rebellion against Allah; (3) Everything Allah threatens with hell; (4) It is possible to make a classification as: “every sin which the servant insists upon”. For further information, see Cihat Tunç, “Kelām İlminde Büyük Günah Meselesi”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 23 1978: 326.

²⁵ Ibn Hāzım, *al-Faşl*, 2: 341.

²⁶ Ibn Hāzım, *al-Faşl*, 2: 251; Abū al-Muīn Meymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, *Tabşirat al-adilla fi usūl al-dīn*, ed. Hüseyin Atay - Şaban Ali Düzgün (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2003), 2: 371.

²⁷ Ibn Hāzım, *al-Faşl*, 2: 341.

Other concepts, even if they are Qur'ānic ones, are used in a sense other than the context from time to time. One of the rulings given about murtakib al-kabira is a separate argument for the concept of Fisq. Relating the concept of the fisq to the infidels or believers is a controversial issue in our sources. Ibn Hazm, who argues that the fisq should be used in the sense of the believer, would surely say that it would be a disbeliever if it meant something other than imān.²⁸

In the first years of Islamic history, the relationship between faith and deeds and the kufr and takfir, which came upon the agenda in relation to the major sin, are among the first conflicts experienced by Muslims.²⁹ Among the various provisions preferred by Kalām schools, especially kufr was used persistently and radically by Khārijīte. The general view of Khārijīte is that a person who commits a major sin will be infidel, and if he dies without repentance, he will remain in hell forever.³⁰ In addition to this general attitude, some more specific views of Khāricī groups are known. According to Azārika, one who commits any major or minor sin is a disbeliever.³¹ According to Sufriya, murtakib al-kabira is a mushrik, while the Section of Najadāt defends³² that those who insist on sin are mushriks.³³ Ibāziyya claims that the major sinner is not infidel in the belief that he is only in the *kufr al-ni'ma*.³⁴ Ibāziyya is known to be the most tolerant of Khārijīte parties because of its many views, especially the Kufrān al-ni'mat approach.

In response to the Kufr leaning views of Khārijīte, Murji'a uses³⁵ the name of mu'min for murtakib al-kabira while Ḥasan al-Baṣrī prefers munafiq³⁶ for such person. However, the opinion of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī with

²⁸ Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl*, 2: 261.

²⁹ Abū al-Fath Tāj al-Dīn (Lisān al-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-niḥal*, ed. 'Abd al 'Azīz Muḥammad Wakil (Cairo: Muassasa al-Ḥalabī, 1968), 1: 25-26.

³⁰ Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn* 86; Abū Mansūr Abd al-Qāhir b. Tāhir b. Muḥammad Tamimī Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq wa bayān al-firقات al-nāciya minhum*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Dīn Abd al-Hamīd (Cairo: Dār al-Turas, nd.), 73; Shahristānī, *Milal*, 1: 114.

³¹ Baghdādī, *Farq*, 83-87; Shahristānī, *Milal*, 1: 122.

³² Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, 89-92; Shahristānī, *Milal*, 1: 124; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 86-90.

³³ Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn* 118; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 90-91; Shahristānī, *Milal*, 1: 137.

³⁴ Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn al-*, 110; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 103-104; Shahristānī, *Milal*, 1: 135; Muḥammad b. Omar b. al-Ḥusayn Fakhr al-Din al-Rādī, *Nihāyat al-ūqūl fī dirayat al-uṣūl*, ed. Saīd Abd al-Latīf Fūde (Beirut: Dār al-Zahāir, 2015/1436), 4: 305.

³⁵ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 137.

³⁶ Rādī, *Nihāyat al-ūqūl fī dirayāt al-uṣūl*, 4: 306; Sābūnī, *al-Kifāya fī al-hidāya*, 326; According to Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, who analysed Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's recognition of murtakib-i kabira as "munafiq"; fasiq, like a munafiq, is deserved to be disparaged and cursed, and it is appropriate to give him that name. See Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 715; According to Nasafī, another name evaluating Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's recognition of murtakib al-kabira as "munafiq," his aim is that a person who professes that he is a believer in his language is munafiq because he opposes what he says with his actions. See Nasafī, *Tabṣirat al-adilla*, 2: 370.

the provision of "hypocrisy" indicates that such a person is not mature enough, and his view in this regard is open to interpretation.³⁷ On the other hand, there are rumors that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī gave up this view later.³⁸

Zaydiyya has joined with other Khārijite groups saying³⁹ that they will not exit from the hell because a major sinful individual will deserve eternal punishment.

Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's student and founder of Mu'tazilezite Waṣil bin 'Atā' claims that al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn provision is for murtakib al-kabira, because whoever commits a major sin is neither a believer nor a disbeliever.⁴⁰ Ḡaylān Damashqī believes that it is permissible (jāiz) for God to forgive the major sinner. Again for him, it is not permissible for God to punish those who commit a similar sin when such a person is forgiven by Allah.⁴¹

Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1024) does not object to a person who commits a major sin, to be called "limited believer", while he opposes the name of the "full believer".

He argues that even though he (murtakib al-kabira) deserves to be reproached and condemned, it is permissible to call him a believer even though he says⁴² that he cannot be deprived of praise, ta'zim and muwālāt because of his belief in Allah and his messenger.

According to Ibn Ḥazm, some groups believe that kufr will only be for sins that are not punishable by *hadd* punishment.⁴³ According to this, committing sins that are punishable by *hadd* is not counted as kufr.

Ibn Ḥazm says that according to Caliph Omar and Ibn Abbas the eternal punishment in hell is not about the sinner, but that it will apply to the murderer.⁴⁴ According to a group that Ibn Hazm did not name it, the minor sinner remains in hell forever.⁴⁵

Ibn Hazm also refers to the stance of Mu'tazila and the stance of Khārijite in the context of punishments about *Murtad*. According to Ibn Ḥazm, they accept that the person who committed a major sin should not be killed. According to Ibn Ḥazm, referring⁴⁶ to some of the *hadds* (punishments) prescribed by the members of the two sects or the penalties imposed for the purposes of *ta'dib* indicates that there is no such situation as disbelievers or idolaters.

³⁷ Ḡazzālī, *Fayṣal al-tafriqa*, 52.

³⁸ Ahmed Saim Kılavuz, *İmân-küfür Sınırı: Tekfir Meselesi* (Istanbul: Marifet Yayınları, 1984), 155.

³⁹ Ash'ārī, *Maqālāt al-islāmīyyin*, 74.

⁴⁰ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 697.

⁴¹ Nasafī, *Tabṣirat al-adilla*, 2: 369.

⁴² Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 701-702.

⁴³ Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, 2: 276.

⁴⁴ Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, 2: 340.

⁴⁵ Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, 2: 340-341.

⁴⁶ Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, 2: 261.

Indeed, in Khārijīte, a marginal small group argues that those who commit major sins should be killed if they do not repent. Mu'tezilite, one of the systematic kalām schools, Ash'arī and Māturīdites wanted to acquire a position in the context of the relationship between mān – 'amal (deeds). The perception of the Ahl al-sunna is based on the belief that Abū Ḥanīfa defends that 'amal (deed) is not part of īmān. Mu'tezilite discussed whether it was possible to call the fāsiq a believer or not, and gave different opinions on this subject: Some Mu'tezilite, such as 'Abbād, defends that even if it can be said for a fāsiq person who is transgressed by sin "he believed," he can not be called "mu'min." Some of them have the belief that "they neither believed nor believers". Jubbāi says: "In terms of the attributes of Lugāt / Lexicon he is called "believed," but, "in terms of the names of lugāt, he is called "believer."⁴⁷

So far, the first Kalām schools had their opinions on the provision of major sin. As we can see, among the mentioned provisions, the most rigid one is the takfīr. In fact, takfīr is a problem for Muslims in all periods of history. In history, takfīr, which describes the basic characteristics of the Khārijīte and reflects their concept of faith (īmān), is currently maintained by various groups called "contemporary Khārijīte". Moreover, jihad, which includes conquest (fath), has been misinterpreted as an act of deception against Muslims and not against those who set up traps, but against Muslims.⁴⁸

Besides Khāricīta, which has been prominent in history as an understanding that flags takfīr, it is obligatory to conduct various analyses by investigating the reasons why contemporary salafism addicted to takfirism. In this sense, different preferences such as "minor Kufr" were made instead of "kufr," which is the main concept in order to prevent takfīrism perceptions. The concepts that Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn al-Qayyim Al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) adopted and used were evaluated to express that murtakib al-kabīra was in kufr, but not apostate / murtad.⁴⁹

Contrary to the harsh attitudes of the historical Khārijīte, Mu'tazila has at least shown a more moderate attitude towards the person who commits major sins in terms of worldly judgment. The principle of al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn, adopted by Mu'tazila for the first time, is not a concept in the Qur'ān. While Khārijīte uses the concept of kufr, Mu'tazila's preference of the more moderate way in this regard is based on the provision between īmān and kufr.

The fact that the Ahl al-sunna and Salafiyya adopt that a committer of major sin would be fāsiq is the reason that anyone who commits a sin should still be considered a believer. The Mu'tazila, who discriminated between the kafir who deserved the major torment (punishment), and murtakib al-kabīra who commit the major sin (The Mu'tazila) wanted to prove that murtakib al-kabīra is not a genuine disbeliever (*kafir*) by using the concepts of *Fāsiq* and *Fājir*.⁵⁰ Accordingly, it is possible to read the "al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn" provision initiated by Wāsil b. 'Atā' and then adopted by Mu'tazila theologians and made a systematic system, as an attempt to find an intermediate formula. Because this effort seems to

⁴⁷ Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmīyyīn*, 274.

⁴⁸ Bekir Topaloğlu, "Cihad" *TDV Encyclopedia of Islam* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1993), 7: 531-534.

⁴⁹ Büyükkara, *Hāricīlīğin Modern Bir Görüntüsü*, 18.

⁵⁰ Koloğlu, "Mu'tezile'nin Temel Öğretileri", 73. Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār's understanding of the "limited believer" mentioned earlier must be the same as what he meant. See, Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharh al-uşūl al-khamsa*, 701-702.

reconcile the two in exchange for the conflict between the Khārijīte and the Murji'a. Because, by not counting murtakib al-kabira" as completely *kāfir*, Mu'tazila separate themselves from Khārijīte; and by not counting him as *mu'min*, they separate themselves from Murjia.⁵¹

The great sin - takfir relationship is brought up not only in the context of the sin committed, but also in different matters of Kalām. Then, to talk about the takfir, some matters must be crystal clear. These are; considered to be knowingly accepting a situation that is contrary to Allah and his messenger's commands, to adopt the prohibitions as lawful and to ridicule Islam.

The way in which such an important issue is dealt with in the hadiths is remarkable.

The fact that the messenger of Allah (pbuh) informs⁵² us that someone who is Muslim by accepting the tawhid and praying is under the guarantee of Allah and himself is telling us that we should have a sensitivity to takfir.

The second point that is as sensitive and important as the first one regarding takfir, which is brought up as a provision of major sin, is to mention takfir about different views. According to this, takfir is used for someone who interprets a text / nass. In the next section, this aspect of the takfir will be evaluated.

3. TAKFİR IN THEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

As a concept, takfir does not pass explicitly in the Qur'an. However, there are various uses derived from kfr-root.⁵³ In particular, kufr is used for stubborn people who do not accept Islam. (al-Tavba 9/74). Kufr used for those who abandoned religion after becoming Muslim: (al-Baqara 2/217; Āl 'Imrān 3/106); in this case, it is used for those who insist on it and who have lost hope of them in this sense (Āl 'Imrān 3/90).

Besides that, kufr is used to deny the existence of Allah, His prophets, His books, some provisions of the Qur'an, the resurrection after death, and the life of the hereafter, and committing shirk, and for those who make lawful the prohibitions, and for those who make mock of Islam and for hypocrites.⁵⁴

When it comes to religious and i'tiqādī (theological) use, it is obligatory to distinguish between those who say that they are Muslims, and more importantly, those who turn to Qibla and those who perform prayer (salah)⁵⁵ having disagreements in some theological matters and deliberately denying them. For this

⁵¹ The article of Akoğlu, which provides detailed information about the historical and cultural background in the formation of Mu'tazila's attitude on the subject, and provides satisfactory information as it is a study that examines the interaction and the separation of Kharijism - Mu'tazilite can be examined. See, Muharrem Akoğlu, "Kebîre ve İman Bağlamında Hāricilik-Mu'tezile İlişkisi", *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 2/23 (2007): 331.

⁵² Bukhārī, "imān", 17.

⁵³ Abd al-Bākī, "Kfr", *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras*, 769.

⁵⁴ Abd al-Bākī, *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras*, "Kfr", 769; "Cdl", 210; "Hz'e", 905-905; "Hrm", 251.

⁵⁵ There have been various discussions among the theologians regarding the relationship between imān and kufr. When believers have faith, emphasis is placed on the concepts of prayer (salāt) and qibla in the context of the discourses of defending their disbelief. Accordingly, the ahl al-qibla ve ahl al-salā, were used as a concept that refers to all Muslims connected to different sects who believe that it is obligatory (fard) to perform salāt in the direction

reason, those who defend the denial of the adjectives for example, claiming that Allah has no knowledge, those who commit some concepts to Allah, and those who say that there is no pre-destination (meaning that Allah is eternal) are unbelievers. However, takfir can not be applied for those who derive some rulings on the basis of the commentary of the nass / text.⁵⁶ Accordingly, when evaluating different views, it is understood that the owners of these views should be in a tolerant manner without taking any takfir.

Ash'ari and Maturidi, who made up the Kalām of the Ahl al-sunna, wanted to avoid any doubt about the worldly and other-worldly rulings by specifying the limit of imān-kufr. The determination of precise boundaries between the two things will allow a person to be alert and protected against the mixing of these two with each other, the emergence of a dark and blurry situation. If takfir is something that can be used at random, it will reveal social and political chaos and disturbance as seen in the early periods of Islamic history.

Ibn Ḥazm argues that it is possible for someone who says that he belongs to Islam to be removed from it only with a naṣṣ and ijmā'.⁵⁷ Since leaving Islam is revealed by abandoning faith, Ibn Ḥazm wants to express that it is not possible to know that someone who is clearly Muslim has come out of this circle. However, it is observed that he took a very hard and rigid attitude where he evaluated the kalām schools. He has taken a radical attitude about the kalām schools in general in the section he talks about Islamic sects. Although there are some statements in hadiths about separation⁵⁸ from different parties, not blaming his brother with kufr⁵⁹, Ibn Ḥazm has openly stated that some of the kalām sects and kalām sects are related to this subject (takfir).⁶⁰

Two views are related to Aḥmat bin Ḥanbal on the subject of takfir: The first is that someone who is protected (abstained) from the shirk and prays towards qibla cannot be charged with takfir. The second; Unlike Ahl al-hadith, in some of the issues of belief, such as Sifat Allah (The Attributes), he charged kalām schools that they adopt various theological interpretations with kufr / takfir.⁶¹ It is necessary to think about

of the Ka'ba. See, Muhiddin Bağçeci, "Ehl-i salât", *TDV Encyclopedia of Islam* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), 10: 524-525.

⁵⁶ Beyazizâda Ahmet Efendi, *Ishârât al-marâm min 'ibârât al-Imâm*, ed. Yusûf 'Abd al-Razzâq (Istanbul: Dâr al-Kitab al-Islâmî, 1949/1368), 105-106. By taking advantage of the Risâlât of Abû Ḥanîfa, Beyazizade Aḥmad Efendi, without referring to the whole Mu'tazila as a sect, "some of the Mutezilîler" records, the defense of the Hudûs of the Knowledge of Allah as kufr, should not be read in the form that the understanding of Attributes of Mu'tazila is required by the kufr. Beyazizâda Ahmet Efendi, *Ishârât al-marâm min 'ibârât al-Imâm*, 149, 278, 307.

⁵⁷ See Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl*, 2: 268.

⁵⁸ Tirmizî, "Imân", 18.

⁵⁹ Bukhârî, "Edeb", 73.

⁶⁰ Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, 3: 144, 145, 159. Also see Hüseyin Güneş, *İslam'da Zahiri-Sünni Düşüncenin Çekişmesi: İbn Ḥazm ve Eş'arilik Örneği* (Konya: Kitap Dünyası, 2007), 56-57.

⁶¹ Abû al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Farrâ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Baghdâdî Ibn Abû Ya'lâ, *Ṭabaqât al-Ḥanâbila* (Beirut: Dâr al-Ma'rifa, 1952/1371), 1: 26-27; Abû Saïd Utman b. Saïd al-Dârimî, *al-Radd alâ al-Jahmiyya*, ed. Gosta Vitastam (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1960), 101-103.

the correctness of the second opinion narrated from Aḥmat bin Ḥanbal. On the other hand, it can be seen as a contradiction that a Aḥmat bin Ḥanbal, who avoids takfir for a sinful person, considers the abandonment of the prayer to be the cause of Kufr.⁶²

Although differences in the Kalāmist interpretation should never be discussed in takfir, the historical process did not conform to this ideal.⁶³ The contradictory situation that emerged in Ibn Hazm's approach was not only unique to him but also exhibited by the followers of other sects. In this sense, the takfir used by Ahl al-sunna for Mu‘tazilite was sometimes used in the opposite direction.⁶⁴ Therefore, a situation, as contrary to the principle⁶⁵ that the Ahl al-sunna defined that Ahl al-qibla cannot be charged with takfir,⁶⁶ has emerged. Differences in sectual interpretation have been made by members of the sect to evaluate the opinions of the other sect, and takfir has been shown for reasons.⁶⁷ As an example, ‘Abdulqāhir al-Baghdādī can be cited to refer to Jaḥīz as a kafir / takfir⁶⁸ for some of his views. Likewise, reaction of Abū Faḍl Ja‘far

⁶² Yaşar Kandemir, “Aḥmed b. Ḥanbel”, *TDV Encyclopedia of Islam* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1989), 2: 75-80.

⁶³ Muammer Esen, “Tekfir Söyleminin Dinî ve İdeolojik Boyutları”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 52/2 (2011): 100.

⁶⁴ Esen, “Tekfir Söyleminin Dinî ve İdeolojik Boyutları”, 101.

⁶⁵ Abu Hanifa started the issue of the fact that the Ahl al-Qibla could not be blamed with takfir, and then as a principle it was among the general principles of the Ahl al-Sunna. See Metin Yurdağür, “Ehl-i kible”, *TDV Encyclopedia of Islam* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), 10: 515-516.

⁶⁶ Ğazzālī, *al-İqtisād fī al-İ‘tiqād*, ed. İbrāhīm Agah Çubukçu - Hüseyin Atay (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi, 1962), 250-251; Rāzī, *Nihāyātu al-‘uqūl fī dirāyāt al-uşūl*, 4: 305-306; Abū Ya‘la, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, 1: 26; It was accepted in Kalam sources as a principle that the people who prayed in many places by turning to the Qibla termed as “Ahl al-Qibla” and “Ahl al-Sala”, could not be charged with kufr. (Baghdādī, Farq, 231). Especially Curcānī’ in Sharḥu al-Mavāqif, makes extensive evaluations on the subject under the title “Whether the opponents of truth (Haqq) from Ahl al-Sunna charged with kufr or not”. See Abū al-Ḥasan Alī b. Muḥammad b. Alī Sayyid Sharīf Ḥanafī al-Jurcānī, *Şerḥu al-mavāqif*, ed. Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Umayra (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1997/1417) 3: 560-574; Also see Yūsuf Qaradāwī, *Zāhirat al-guluw fī al-takfir*, 2th Edition (Cairo: Maktaba Wahba, 1985/1406), 60-63.

⁶⁷ Ğazzālī talks about four degrees of denouncing different Kalam sects. In the first degree; he states that there are Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians (Majusi), pagans, and their kufr is fixed by the Qur'an. After the second degree, which constitutes the refutation of the Brahmins and the Dehri (materialists), the third degree expresses the views of the philosophers of whom he claims kufr. Those in this group actually believe in Allah and His messenger, but some of their views contradict the Shari'a (legal codes). The fourth and extremely relevant topic is some of the parties / sects, such as Mu‘tazilite and Mushabbihā (anthropomorphists). According to Gazzālī, who states that the main issue of these people is related to ta‘wil / interpretation, their situation is similar to falling into error in ijtiḥād. What needs to be done about these things is to avoid takfir of them. Ğazzālī, *al-İqtisād fī al-İ‘tiqād*, 248-251.

⁶⁸ According to Abdulkāhir al-Baghdādī, among the Mu‘tazili scholars, takfir has been mentioned about Abū Ḥāshim. See Abd al-Qāhir Baghdādī, *Farq*, 175-176.

bin Ḥarb al-Hamādānī (d. 236/850), a kalām scholar who was attached to the Mu‘tezilite of Baghdād to Nazzām who was also belonged to Mu‘tezilite can be an example of this situation.⁶⁹

Various qualifications are encountered in order to make sense of the position of Kalām schools, themselves and their offenders. For example, it is necessary to read how the Ahl al-sunna, especially Salafiyya, describe Mu‘tezilite as “Mu’attila” and “Majūsi”;⁷⁰ how they call shiā as “Rāfiḍita”. On the one hand, Ahl al-sunna theologians describe themselves as “Ahl al-qibla”, “Ahl al-sunna”.⁷¹

Māturīdī refers Mu‘tazila as “Ahl-al-tawhīd” when he talk about “Ahl-al-tawhīd”, however, mentioning Mu‘tezilite’s similar views with other parties, and his charging them⁷² with kufr from time to time, can be considered in this context.

The subject of the Isbāt or cancellation of Divine Attributes to Takfīr is also addressed by theologians.⁷³ Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār narrates in his book, *al-Mughnī, al-Aswārī’s* views on the creation, power and knowledge of Allah.⁷⁴ It is assumed that Aswārī’s was charged with takfīr, because he has limited Allah's will and power and has put forth the power of man (kudra).⁷⁵

Another example of the emergence of takfīr in the ideological differences between the thinkers of the same sect was between Mu‘tazilite theologian Jubbāi and Abū Huzayl al-‘Allāf.⁷⁶ Jubbāi, who followed the views of al-‘Allāf, showed his opposition to him. According to Mālātī, who stated that Jubbāi opposes him on nineteen issues, the mutual takfīr was raised due to disagreements between the Kalāmists of Baghdad and Baṣra Mu‘tazilite.⁷⁷

⁶⁹ Cihat Tunç, “Ca’far b. Ḥarb”, *TDV Encyclopedia of Islam* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1992) 6: 549-551.

⁷⁰ Those who prove the Attributes, accuse those who refute them as the ones who worship to a being without Attribute. Those who ignore (nafy) the Attributes; (Ibn Hazm refers Mu‘tazila) accuse those who prove them as who worship other than Allah, and also accuse them of worshipping some eternal beings. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, 2: 266.

⁷¹ Muammer Esen, “Tekfīr Söyleminin Dinî ve İdeolojik Boyutları”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 52/2 (2011): 100.

⁷² Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī (Māturīdī) al-Samarqandī, *Kitāb al-tawhīd* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), 500-501.

⁷³ Dawwānī (d. 908/1502) who evaluates the debates about whether or not the Attributes added up (zāid) on the Essence (dhāt) in the relationship between Zāt and Sifat, states that such discussions are not the basic subjects of the belief. See Abū Abdallah Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Asad b. Muḥammad Dawwānī, *Sharḥ al-‘aqaid al-‘adūdiyya* (Istanbul: al-Ḥāc Ḥuseyin Efendi Matbaası, 1305), 4-5, 28-30, 53, 63-64.

⁷⁴ Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawhīd wa al-‘adl*, ed. Abd al-Hālim Maḥmūd, Sulayman Dunya (Cairo: al-Dār al-Misriyya, 1963), 311.

⁷⁵ Mustafa Öz, “Ali el-Esvārī”, *TDV Encyclopedia of Islam* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1989), 2: 391-392.

⁷⁶ According to Abdulkāhir al-Baghdādī, among the Mu‘tazili scholars, takfir has been mentioned about Abū Ḥāshim. See Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *Farq*, 186.

⁷⁷ Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abd al-Raḥmān Malatī, *al-Tanbih wa al-radd ‘alā ahl al-ahwā’ wa al-bid‘a* (Beirut: Maktaba al-Maārif, 1968), 40.

According to Abū Huzayl al-‘Allāf, major sins are divided into two, leading to blasphemy (kufr), and the one not leading to it. al-‘Allāf by pointing out that the takfir, which starts with a great sin, and comes upon other issues, can see the takfir possible for those who liken Allah to various beings, who describes judgments of Allah as cruelty, denies divine news, rejects the points that Muslims have agreed on (Ijma^c).⁷⁸

In his work *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, al-Ġazzālī, referring to matters that require the disbelief of philosophers, al-Ġazzālī sees it possible to direct various criticism because different terminologies related to the Attributes of Allah is on the agenda. According to him, those who approach to denial (ta’tīl) or who emphasize the tanzih (incompatibility) in order to preserve Tawhīd in this regard have not been put into direct denial of the Essence and Attribute.⁷⁹

al-Ġazzālī says that there are three different situations for takfir in order to be certain, to know the assumption with the most probability and to require hesitation. He recommends that he shows tawakkuf instead of takfir in “hesitant cases”, which he considers as the third kind.⁸⁰ In this regard, al-Ġazzālī wants to say that it is an ignorant attitude to embrace the takfir discourse immediately.

Is it possible to mention the possibility of takfir for those who performs ta’wīl on mutawātir nass. According to al-Ġazzālī, it should be evaluated whether or not to charge someone who performs ta’wīl on a mutawātir nass / script, with takfir.⁸¹ If there is no logic in terms of language rules, this type of ta’wīl means refutation (disbelief / kufr). On the other hand, the fact that al-Ġazzālī had philosophers in takfir on the basis of some reasons, left a turning point in the history of Islamic thought. He decided that some of the philosopher’s ta’wīl were directly subject to denial.⁸² However, the claim that the takfir mentioned by al-Ġazzālī is not related to philosophers, it (takfir) has been raised for those who say that the knowledge of Allah does not encompass everything.⁸³

al-Ġazzālī states in his book “Faḍāih al-Bātiniyya”,⁸⁴ where he gives extensive explanations about the Bātiniīs in the context of criticism (tankid)-takfir, it is necessary to distinguish between the situation that requires takfir because of an error or different thinking based on the ta’wīl.⁸⁵ According to al-Ġazzālī, the basic problem of Mu’tazila, Mushabbiha and other parties other than the philosophers are just some of the

⁷⁸ Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Madhāhib al-Islāmiyyīn*, 1: 174.

⁷⁹ Abū Ḥamīd Ḥujja al-Islām Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazzālī, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. Sulayman Dunya (Cairo: Dār al-Maārif, nd.), 79-80.

⁸⁰ Ġazzālī, *Fayṣal al-tafriqa*, 51.

⁸¹ Ġazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fī al-i’tiqād*, 250-251.

⁸² Ġazzālī, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, 84-90, 282-292.

⁸³ Dawwanī, *Sharḥ al-‘aqaid al-‘adudiyya*, 29-31.

⁸⁴ The eighth part (p. 146-169) of al-Ġazzālī’s work “Faḍāih al-bātiniyya”, which consists of ten parts, is completely devoted to this subject. In the relevant section, he points out that some of their views require criticism and others require takfir. (Abū Ḥamīd al-Ġazzālī, *Faḍāih al-bātiniyya*, ed. Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Cairo: al-Dār al-Qawmiyya, 1964) 146.)

⁸⁵ Ġazzālī, *Faḍāih al-bātiniyya* 148.

mistakes that occurred when they were engaged ta'wīl in an open matter which subject to ijtihad.⁸⁶ al-Ġazzālī aims to reveal what is blasphemy with its conditions. According to him, those who openly deny the idea of a single God, prophesy and the hereafter, hashr, apocalypse, who do not accept heaven-hell will be disbelievers.⁸⁷

al-Ġazzālī, who evaluates in his book *al-Iqtisād fi al-i'tiqād*, the intellectual disagreements caused by the different thinking and inference based on the interpretation of the works, al-Ġazzālī states that this cannot be the subject of kufr. The divisions between kalām schools or in the individual sense do not reflect the general opinion, even⁸⁸ though they are occasionally subject to takfīr.⁸⁹

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rādī (d. 606/1210) covered takfīr in his book *Asās al-taqdīth* in the third (last) section of his fourth chapter. al-Rādī, who argues that the kufr of groups attributing to Allah is necessary, states that Mu'tazila acted with the idea of tanzīh in the question of Attributes of God, they are separated from Mujassima and Mushabbiha. Rādī states that the takfīr is not possible because of the Mu'tazila, who opposes them in the relation of Zāt - Sifāt.⁹⁰

Ibn Ḥazm makes an inference in bringing to the agenda the verses related to the naming of beings and events:

They are not but [mere] names you have named them - you and your forefathers - for which Allah has sent down no authority. They follow not except assumption and what [their] souls desire, and there has already come to them from their Lord guidance. (al-Najm 53/23)

And He taught Adam the names - all of them. Then He showed them to the angels and said, "Inform Me of the names of these, if you are truthful." (al-Baqara 2/31)

According to Ibn Hazm, angels or people do not have the authority to nominate a noun in the context of these two verses. Ibn Ḥazm, who argues that this principle should be followed, states that seeking a name other than this means lying against Allah and slander the Qur'ān.⁹¹ According to this, it is necessary to accept a person who Allah calls the believer in that way; since the place of imān is the heart, there is no right to remove it from it.

⁸⁶ Ġazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fi al-i'tiqād*, 250; Yūsuf Karadāvī, *Zahira-al-guluw fi al-takfir*, 2th Edition (Cairo: Maktaba Wahba 1985/1406), 60-63.

⁸⁷ Ġazzālī, *Faḍāih al-bāṭniyya*, 151.

⁸⁸ Abū Ya'lā's (d. 458/1066) mentioning of the takfīr of the groups of faith except the Ahl-al-Sunna (Ibnu al-Farra Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Abū Ya'la al-Farra, *al-Mu'tamad fi usūli al-dīn*, critical ed. Vedit` Zaydān Ḥaddād (Beirut: Dāru'l-Meşrik (Dar el-Machreq, 1974), 267-278) constitutes a contradiction with the tahammul (acceptance) and tolerance mentioned above.

⁸⁹ Ġazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fi al-i'tiqād*, 246.

⁹⁰ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rādī Muḥammad b. Omar b. al-Ḥusayn, *Asās al-taqdīs fi ilm al-kalām*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Sakkā (Cairo: Maktaba al-Kulliya al-Azhariyya, 1406/1986), 257-258.

⁹¹ Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, 2: 211.

According to Ibn Hāẓm, the existence of īmān draws attention to the fact that there is no kufr, and that the existence of kufr is proof⁹² that there is no īmān he points out that where something exists, it is also where it will disappear. Ibn Hāẓm stated that there is no doubt about a person who denies Allah and his messenger is and there is a consensus of the scholars of the Muslims (ijma^c) mentioning that there is no doubt that he is an unbeliever / kāfir.⁹³ In spite of this, Ibn Hāẓm has not always remained in such a reasonable line. In spite of the measures he has determined to be consistent with taqfir (takfir), he blamed the scholars of Ash‘arī, such as Bāqillānī, Ibn Fūrak, Sulaymān bin Ḥalaf al-Bājī with kufr because of some of their commentaries.⁹⁴

In *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, where he summed up⁹⁵ different opinions on the subject, Ash‘arī argues that because they are Ahl-al qibla, they will not be considered disbelievers considering them like the people of the sinners, who are considered as adulterers and thieves.⁹⁶ Ash‘arī, who expresses that the Ahl al-qibla cannot be blamed with takfir, shows us what is the provision of both takfir and the great sin, saying that whoever accepts sin as lawful and does not believe that it is unlawful will be disbelieving.⁹⁷ As Ash‘arī, states, particularly, ‘Ījī (d. 756/1355), the author of Ash‘arī's basic sources and 756/1355) and Jurjānī (d. 816/1413), and the majority of the theologians act with this principle.⁹⁸ Qutbuddīnzāda (d. 885/1480) has written an independent work in this regard.⁹⁹

The difference between Mu‘tezilite and Ahl al-sunna, who call the sinner “fāsiq”, is that Mu‘tezilite used the term “fāsiq” in the meaning of al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn to refer to it as a new name except īmān and kufr.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, the meaning that the Ahl al-sunna, who gives the sinner the name of

⁹² Ibn Hāẓm, *Faṣl*, 2: 254.

⁹³ Ibn Hāẓm, *Faṣl*, 2: 248.

⁹⁴ Ibn Hāẓm, *Faṣl*, 3: 144,145, 159.

⁹⁵ Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt al’-islāmiyyīn* 290.

⁹⁶ Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt’l-islāmiyyīn*, 293; Also see Ġazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fi’ al-‘tiqād*, 250-251.

⁹⁷ Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Abū Bishr Alī b. Ismāil b. Iṣḥāq (Ash‘arī), *al-İbāne an usūl al-diyāna*, ed. Fawqīyya Ḥusayn Maḥmūd, 2th Edition (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb, 1987), 26.

⁹⁸ See Ġazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fi’ al-‘tiqād*, 250-251; Ibn Abū Ya’la, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, 1: 26; Sa’d al-Dīn Masūd b. Omer b. Abd al-Allah Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-maqāṣid*, ed. 3: 461-462, 560; İlyas Çelebi, *Dinî Düşüncede İtidal ve Hoşgörü* (Istanbul: Çamlıca Yayınları, 2009), 139.

⁹⁹ Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qutb al-Dīn al-Iznikī, *Risāla fi’ adami jawāzi takfiri ahl al-qibla*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Bağdatlı Vehbi Efendi, nr. 2041.

¹⁰⁰ “Uṣūl al-thalasa” composition is the most succinct expression of the belief principles that form the systematic structure of the Ahl-al Sunna's kalam / theological books. Mu‘tazila, on the other hand, by expressing the basic belief principles with the composition of “Uṣūl al-khamsa” studied the subjects of the Here-after by describing the rewards and penalties for the person who is responsible (mukallaf) with the divinity (ulūhiyya) in the principle of tawḥīd; prophethood in the principle of justice; al-Wa’d- wa’l-Wā‘id and al-Manzila bayn al-Manzilatayn. See Orhan Şener Koloğlu, “Mu‘tezile’nin Temel Öğretileri”, 45.

fāsiq, imposes on this name is that he is a believer because of the fact that he has īmān in himself and he is a fāsiq because of the sin and fisq he committed.

According to Ibn Ḥazm, Mu'tezilite, who perceives īmān as righteous deeds, says that the fisq is not īmān. Mu'tazilite, who says that the fāsiq is not a believer, takes the verse of "Thus the word of your Lord has come into effect upon those who defiantly disobeyed - that they will not believe." (Yūnus, 10/33) as evidence.¹⁰¹

Thus fisq, because it does not have an opposite, is considered as kufr, and the idea of "murtakib al-kabira cannot be charged with kufr" is accepted. In addition, because the major sin is not the action of organs, it is not necessary to cause the faith (īmān), which is the action of the heart, to be destroyed. Most importantly, it is important to stay away from takfir in this matter and in different ways of reading the Kalām, as the believer in the prayer towards Qibla is Ahl al-Ṣalāh, which is accepted as a principle.

Although it is not possible for the takfir of the Ahl al-qibla,¹⁰² the subject has been evaluated in this direction from time to time. As a result, takfir has become a weapon used against the opposition groups of the theological schools in the discussion of religious issues. Thus, the aim was to obtain a psychological superiority against the challenge.

According to all these information, the kufr and takfir problem encountered in the early periods regarding the great sin is brought to the agenda again in the context of different issues in the history of Islam. It is a fact that sometimes the criticism of the members of the sects against each other has reached an insults beyond the limit of criticism, and from time to time, takfir is a subject among the two thinkers who are members of the same sects.

CONCLUSION

One of the first problems Muslims face after the death of the Messenger of Allah is the controversy over the provision of great sin. Khārijīte was the first party to advocate takfir as a provision of great sin.

Mu'tazila found it hard to judge the great sin as kufr when they said that 'amal (deed) was a part from īmān/faith, and instead, used the principle *al-Manzila Bayn al-Manzilatayn*. In this way, Mu'tezile was more moderate in terms of worldly rule than Khārijīte. Ibn Ḥazm, who counted the murtakib al-kabira as mu'min, is one of the names that do not include murtakib al-kabira under the scope of kufr.

Takfir, not only a subject of great sin, was also used in the ideological differences between kalām schools. It is important to note that Ibn Ḥazm should be met with tolerance in different reading forms on the subjects of the Kalām, and in separations of intellectual values based on ta'wīl and the case of the ijtihād. However, it is not possible to say that he himself fully obeys the principle that he determined not to turn the intellectual disputes into i'tiqādī / theological secessionals.

This attitude of Ibn Ḥazm especially for Ash'ari and Mu'tazila, has been mentioned for the purpose of differentiating one of the kalām schools from the other. Takfir was experienced between thinkers who were members of the same denomination from time to time.

¹⁰¹ Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl*, 2: 254.

¹⁰² Jurcānī, *Ṣarḥ al-mavāqif*, 3: 560.

Takfir, which is located at the heart of the events that emerged in the early stages of the history of Islam, was not dependent on the subject matter, in addition, to ensure the legitimacy of takfir in the political sphere, arguments were tried to be found in the field. The idea and intellectual conflicts that we can call theological ta'wil (interpretation) are met in a strict and hard way nowadays, as in the history. Ultimately, the event can be taken as far as takfir.

In fact, anyone who says that he is a Muslim should accept it in this direction. It is primarily necessary to keep the believer away from the blame of *kufir*. In the context of scientific sensitivity, it is not possible to accept that an event which should remain at a totally methodological level should be brought to the level of takfir by the transfer of it to the theological plane. The abandonment of takfir discourse is important in terms of maintaining the balance of Islam until the day of judgment without losing the dynamism of universal Islam and ensuring the development of Islamic thought at all times.

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The Transformation of Ottoman Criminal Law in the 19th Century: The Example of Crime of Complicity *

Kübra Nugay ** Abdullah Kahraman ***

Abstract

In the XIX. century, Ottoman State has witnessed changes in many areas. Looking at the content of both the dated 1840 and the dated 1851 Penal Codes legislated in Tanzimat Era, it has seen that the transformation in criminal procedure, judicial system, administrative fields was attempted to be accommodated with penal codes. The aim of this study is to seek answers to the question of how the criminal law of the Ottoman State changed in the period starting with the 1858 Penal Code in the nineteenth century within scope of *ta'zir* (discretionary punishment) and more particularly, crime of murder and complicity as one of special forms of crime. The discussions of the criminal law scholars of the period about the nature of Article 45 regarding complicity in the 1858 Penal Code and their seeking solutions and how they developed new rules due to need in the process and at this point how they benefited from European penal codes, commentaries and their scholars will be attempted to demonstrate. More importantly, it will be witnessed how Ottoman judges used the classical principles in their minds when implementing the article of code. However, when looking from a broad perspective, we will see how the Classical Law School, in which Ottoman State was included through its 1858 Penal Code, and the crime policy of France and the French Penal Code have influenced Ottoman Criminal Law.

Keywords

Islamic Law, Ottoman Criminal Legal History, 1858 Ottoman Penal Code, Ta'zir, Complicity, Crime, Ulama, Qadi

* This article is extracted from my doctorate dissertation entitled “*The Transformation of Ottoman Criminal Law in the 19th Century*”, (PhD Dissertation, Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey, already ongoing).

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19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Ceza Hukukundaki Dönüşüm: Suça İştirâk Örneği

Öz

XIX. yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti birçok alanda değişimlere tanık olmuştur. Tanzimat ile başlayan süreçte vaz' edilen gerek 1840 tarihli gerekse 1851 tarihli ceza kanunlarının içeriğine bakıldığında, muhakeme, adliye teşkilatı, idârî alanlardaki değişimin ceza kanunları ile yerleştirilmeye çalışıldığı görülür. Bu çalışmanın amacı, 19. Yüzyılda özellikle 1858 Ceza Kanunu ile başlayan süreçte Osmanlı Devleti ceza hukukunun nasıl değiştiği sorusuna tazir suçu ve daha da özelde katl suçu ve suçun özel işleniş şekillerinden biri olan *suça iştirâk* konusu kapsamında cevap aramaktır. Dönemin ceza hukuku alimlerinin, suça iştirak ilgili 1858 tarihli Ceza Kanununda yer alan 45. maddenin mahiyetine dair tartışmaları ve çözüm arayışları, süreç içerisinde ihtiyaca binaen nasıl yeni kaide geliştirdikleri, bu noktada Avrupa ceza kanunlarından, şerhlerinden, hukukçularından nasıl faydalandıkları gösterilmeye çalışılacaktır. Daha da önemlisi, Osmanlı kadılarının kanun maddesini uygularken zihinlerindeki klasik öğretiyi nasıl kullandıklarına tanık olunacaktır. Ancak büyük resme bakıldığında, Osmanlı'nın 1858 ceza kanunu ile dahil olduğu *Klasik Hukuk Ekolü'nün*, Fransa'nın suç siyasetinin ve Fransa ceza kanununun, Osmanlı ceza hukukunu nasıl etkilediği anlaşılmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

İslam Hukuku, Osmanlı Ceza Hukuku Tarihi, 1858 Osmanlı Ceza Kanunu, Ta'zir, İştirak, Suç, Ulema, Kadı

INTRODUCTION

*Tanzimat Era*¹, “subsequent to defeats and failures that were persistent for 150 years” as stated in The Gulhane Imperial Edict (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayûnu*), can be defined as a period of reforms in various fields including military, economic, social, cultural, administrative and judicial.² The reforms began primarily in military, economic and administrative fields at the end of XVIII. Century and they were superficial. The main reason that these reforms had this character was regarding the process of adapting of the Ottoman State to modernity and its response to the challenge of change.³ The most salient characteristics of the Ottoman State in the nineteenth century were centralization and modernization.⁴ The reflection of these two concepts to the law has been in the form of

¹ Tanzimat is considered to cover the period until the I. Meşrutiyet (First Constitutional Era), which started in 1876, by some and until the II. Meşrutiyet (Second Constitutional Era), which stated in 1908, by others.

² Its other name is *the Edict of Tanzimat (Tanzimat Fermanı)*. Düstûr I. Tertip (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1289), 1: 4; See for more information: Reşat Kaynar, *Türkiye’de Hukuk Devleti Kurma Yolundaki Hareketler* (İstanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1960), 1; M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2008), 42-52; Halil İncalcık, “Tanzimat Nedir?”, *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. Halil İncalcık - Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Publications, 2011), 13-16; Yavuz Abadan, “Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Tahlili”, *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. Halil İncalcık - Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Publications, 2011), 37-63;

³ M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire*, 42-47.

⁴ M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire*, 3-4, 60-63; Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler: IV* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991), 128-129.

legalization.⁵ After the declaration of The Gulhane Imperial Edict, the first statute was legislated in the field of criminal law in 1840. In 1851 the second penal code was legislated⁶. Both two of them had some articles not only about crime and punishment, but also about the new penal proceedings and judicial system. Additionally, there were some articles about the new administrative system, its functions and about different subjects.⁷ Both of these two codes were abolished by another code issued in 1858.⁸ All these penal codes were considered legislative steps taken within the domain of *ta'zir* (*discretionary punishment*) in the Sharia.⁹ Though the first article of 1858 Penal Code¹⁰ stated that this code was *ta'zir* based on its content, its scope was expanded in course of time in a way that it brought up laws instead of the Sharia law- inspired laws.

Both the Penal Codes, issued in 1840 and 1851, developed the new principles about the criminal procedure:

- a) The evidence of *sharia and qanun*: The statement of "*şer'an ve kanunen*" in the penal codes was used to state the ways of evidence in this period. These two codes had two evidence system: *The Sharia evidence* and *the qanun (law) evidence*. Before these codes, it was a general rule that offender was sentenced in case a crime was evidenced by only the testifiers or confessus. These codes provided that the crimes evidenced legally were punished. Thus, the probability of punishment for an offense is increased and this was provided within the limits of the law.
- b) The principle of publicity: The case should have been heard as publicly.
- c) The principle of hearing the case repeatedly until the offense becomes definite if necessary.
- d) The principle of conducting the necessary investigations before hearing the case.

⁵ Hıfzı Veldet Velidedeoğlu, "Kanunlaştırma Hareketleri ve Tanzimat", *Tanzimat-I: Yüzüncü Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle*, (Ankara: Maarif Vekaleti, 1940), 140-145; Mehmet Gayretli, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kanunlaştırma Çalışmaları*, (İstanbul: Nizamiye Akademi, 2015), 145-160.

⁶ *The New Code (Kanun-u Cedid)*, a supplementary law was issued in 1851⁶, in order to add new articles to The Imperial Ottoman Penal Code of 1840 (*Ceza Kanunname-i Hümayunu*). Some existing articles were rearranged, some others were completely or partially removed. Certain crimes that were thought to be missed beforehand were formulized and added to the Code. The point attracting the attention about the Penal Code of 1851 contained the articles addressing the common people more than the Penal Code of 1840. In addition, the 1851 New Code of 1851 did not abolish the 1840 Penal Code and both codes were continued to be used at the same time. See for the text of penal codes: Turkish Presidency State Archives of the Republic of Turkey-Department of Ottoman, *Bâb-ı Asâfi, Nizâmât*, 44; *Ceza Kanunname-i Hümayûnu*, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, Esad Efendi, 1877, 1-5.

⁷ This means that this Penal Code issued in 1840 was a multipurposed text that served both as a criminal code and administrative penal code and informed about the judicial organization. See: Carter V. Findley, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bürokratik Reform: Babîlî, 1789-1922*, translator: Ercan Ertürk, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Publications, 2014), 220-224; Ali Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi ve Modernleşme*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), 31-45; Yavuz Abadan, "*Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Tahlili*", *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. Halil İncalcık- Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Publications, 2011), 52-61.

⁸ *Düstûr I. Tertib*, 1: 537.

⁹ It can be understood from the first article of 1858 Penal Code as follows: "*as the execution of punishment for offenses directly against the state pertains to the state and also it is the obligation of the state to prevent the disturbance of the public order by offenses against an individual, this legal code is responsible for the specification of ta'zir punishment in various degrees, of which legislation and execution belongs to the administrators by the divine law*". See: *Düstûr I. Tertib*, 1: 537.

¹⁰ This penal code, modelling itself on the French Penal Code issued in 1810, underwent a series of changes until its abolishment in 1926.

In the period after the declaration of Tanzimat Edict what those were innovated in the field of criminal justice system were establishment of Grand Councils (*Büyük Meclis*) and Small Councils (*Küçük Meclis*) in the periphery and hearing the cases of murders (*katl*) and robbery (*sirkat*) in these councils by the Sharia procedure and submitting decisions of the cases to the center (*Istanbul*) and not implement the punishments before obtaining the approval of the central institutions (e.g., the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye*; hereinafter, *the Supreme Council*), the Fatwa Office (*Fetvahane*, a branch working under the *shaykh al-Islam*) and the office of Sultan). The Ottoman State aimed to establish tight junctions between the periphery and the center through a hierarchical system providing to be informed of the center about any crime committed in the villages, sanjaks or provinces.¹¹ These councils were a mixed council composed of Muslims and non-Muslims, and their main task was to maintain administrative and financial order.¹²

In this period a transformation of the crimes and the punishments was witnessed as well as making the new principles in the criminal procedure and establishing a hierarchy in the judicial system:

- a) In the articles of the penal codes, there was the dualism in the form of crimes committed by commons and state officers: Offenses in many articles are ascribed only to state officers (military class, Ottoman ulama, vizier, etc). At this point there was a crucial parallel in the transition from a system where the sultan hold all the authority to a constitutional monarchy where the judicial and especially legislative powers were transferred to the Supreme Council were taken.¹³ Therefore, it is not surprising that the first regulations conducted at the beginning of this era were with regards to the criminal code. Issued in 1840, The Imperial Ottoman Penal Code (*Ceza Kanunname-i Humayunu*)¹⁴

¹¹ M. Şükrü Hanioglu stated that the establishment of a new balance between center and periphery was an existential imperative for the Ottoman State in the nineteenth century. See: *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire*, 40-41; Omri Paz asserted that the Ottoman State tried to accommodate a policy of "interventionist" state by utilizing this new type of criminal justice system. See: Omri Paz, "Documenting Justice: New Recording Practice and the Establishment of an Activist Criminal Court System in the Ottoman Provinces (1840-late 1860s), *Islamic Law and Society* 21, 1/2 (2014): 85; And see: Ebru Yakut Türker, *Alternative Claims on Justice and Law: Rural Arson and Poison Murder in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Boğaziçi University, 2011), 66-87; Rudolph Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-first Century* (Cambridge : Cambridge University, 2006)...; Kent F. Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire: Microcosms of Modernity*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 2014), 17-18, 22-23.

¹² Only a few studies have been published on the criminal court system between 1840 and 1864. See for example: Rudolph Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law : Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-first Century*, (Cambridge : Cambridge University, 2006), 125-133; Ekrem Buğra Ekinci, *Tanzimat Devri Osmanlı Mahkemeleri* (İstanbul: s.l., 1999); Sedat Bingöl, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlıda Yargı Reformu: Nizamiye Mahkemelerinin Kuruluşu ve İşleyişi 1840-1876* (Eskişehir : Anadolu Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi , 2004); Omri Paz, *Crime, Criminals and the Ottoman State: Anatolia between the late 1830s and the late 1860s* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Tel Aviv University, 2011); Avi Rubin, *Ottoman Nizamiya Courts: Law and Modernity*, (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

¹³ Edouard Philippe Engelhardt, *Tanzimat ve Türkiye*, translator: Ali Reşad, (İstanbul: Kaknüs Publications, 1976), 48-49; Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, 127-131; Şerif Mardin, "Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Manâsı: Yeni Bir İzah Denemesi", *Tanzimat: değişim sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. Halil İnalçık, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Publications, 2011), 91-102; Necdet Hayta – Uğur Ünal, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Yenileşme Hareketi: (XVII. yüzyıl başlarından yıkılışa kadar)*, (Ankara: Gazi Bookstore, 2003), 120.

¹⁴ See for the text of penal code: *Ceza Kanunname-i Hümayûnu*, 22a-29a.

was comprising both judicial and administrative criminal law. Because the new administrative system determined the obligations of officials as well as it set penalties in case these obligations were neglected or exploited.¹⁵

- b) The principle of the equality before law applied for each muslims- nonmuslims and commons- state officials: As being in the example of shepherd and vizier,¹⁶ this effort mainly aimed at putting an end for the inequality between the different segments of the society such as state officers (military class, Ottoman ulema) and the commonality. This period brought about a redefinition of the relationship between the ruler and ruled.
- c) Even if the offenses do not have any punishment for sharia (because the offense cannot be proved or the offender is forgiven by the heir of murdered or a peaceful agreement (*sulh*) is made between offender and the heir of murdered), there was a punishment for law. (*the principle of maslaha and huququ'llah*)
- d) The penalties of some crimes were more severe than its penalties in classic doctrine
- e) The principle of legality: the maximum and minimum limits of some penalties defined as ta'zir punishment in the doctrine were defined in these criminal laws.

Along with to mention the general characters of the change of criminal law at the first half of the nineteenth century, the aim of this article is to seek an answer to the question of how the penal law of Ottoman State changed at the second half of the century. Many studies have been published on the Ottoman Criminal Law. One of them is *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law* written by Uriel Heyd. This study is divided into two chapters and a conclusion in which mainly the development of the Ottoman Criminal Code (*qanunnames and siyasetnames*) from the time of Mehmed II through Bayezid II and Süleyman II, and a privately compiled seventeenth century code, which is the last Ottoman Criminal Code before the Tanzimat period, are studied. Additionally, the definition of the terms of "qanun and urf", the role of qadi and governors in the administration of justice, courts system, trial procedures and methods of punishment are also studied.¹⁷ Rudolph Peters with his book titled *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law*¹⁸ and Mustafa Şentop with his study titled *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Ceza Hukuku: Kanunlar-Tadiller-Layihalar-Uygulama*¹⁹ and Said Nuri Akgündüz with his book titled *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Ceza Hukuku Uygulaması*²⁰ and Ruth A. Miller with her study titled *Legislating Authority: Sin and Crime in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey*²¹ made very significant contributions to the Ottoman Criminal Legal History.

These studies based upon the change of criminal code, justice system and trial procedure, offer the general and theoretical information. This study will attempt to show how the Ottoman Criminal Law changed by focusing

¹⁵ Ruth A. Miller, *Legislating Authority: Sin and Crime in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey*, edited by Shahrough Akhavi, (New York: Routledge, 2005), 28-40.

¹⁶ *Ceza Kanunname-i Hümayûnu*, 1.

¹⁷ Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. V. L. Menage, (Oxford : Oxford University, 1973).

¹⁸ Rudolph Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law : Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-first Century*, (Cambridge : Cambridge University, 2006).

¹⁹ Mustafa Şentop, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Ceza Hukuku: Kanunlar-Tadiller-Layihalar-Uygulama* [1.yy., t.y.] (İstanbul : Yayıncılık Matbaası, 2004)

²⁰ Said Nuri Akgündüz, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Ceza Hukuku Uygulaması*, (İstanbul: Rağbet Publications, 2017).

²¹ Ruth A. Miller, *Legislating Authority: Sin and Crime in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey*, edited by Shahrough Akhavi, (New York: Routledge, 2005).

and zooming on only one subject (complicity of murder). Therefore, ta'zir punishment which the change can be better monitored and the crimes committed against the person (*katl*) among the ta'zir punishment were chosen as the study area. Especially when considered together with the functions imposed on the criminal law in the second quarter of the nineteenth century while answering the question of how the criminal law has changed in the case of complicity of crime which is one of the special ways of this crime, also substantial information about the problems encountered in the process, the attempt for the solution of the ulama and the implementation of the law by the qadis is provided.

The present study seeks to contribute to a number of studies of the Ottoman Criminal Law by drawing on the primary sources and several documents of Ottoman achieve. Some of these primary sources are;

- *Mebâdi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza* written in 1888 by Nazaret Haçeriyân, an Armenian attorney who taught criminal law at *Mekteb-i Hukuk*.

- *Mufasssal Nazariyyat-ı Ceza* written in 1898 by Mehmed Aziz, a criminal law scholar at *Mekteb-i Hukuk* and one of the head adjuncts of the commercial court at the same time.

- *Hukuk-ı Ceza* written by Servet in 1909.²²

1. The Concept of "Complicity" and Its Meaning Before 1858

Although complicity in crime is a concept used in the classical doctrine, it differs from the expression of complicity in the penal code of 1858 at three points: Firstly, the meaning of the statement of the "complicity" is that more than one person commit a crime together, in which case whole the perpetrators directly complicit in the offence, thus their guilts are at the same degree. For example, if two people intend to kill a person together, this is a complicity and both are penalized with retaliation.²³ The second is that the statement of complicity is used only for the crimes of murder and wounding. For example, the statement of complicity is not used for those who commit the crime of robbery or other crimes. The third is that in the classical doctrine, the punishment imposed on the offender who helped the primary offender is different from the punishment stated in the criminal code of 1858. In the classic doctrine, while the punishment given to the offender who helped the primary offender was stated as "severe ta'zir" and the punishment of the primary offender was retaliation for sharia, it was seen in the 1858 penal code that the primary offender and second offender were sentenced to same punishment. In 1306, Nazaret Haçeriyân attracted attention to this issue and criticized Ömer Hilmi Efendi due to confuse the statements and meanings of complicity in both classic doctrine and penal code of 1858. Ömer Hilmi Efendi, one of the ulama of the time, stated in his modern legal text entitled *Miyar-ı Adalet* the following expression in

²² These Ottoman Criminal Law books were written for the students of *Mekteb-i Hukuk* in 19th Century. *Mekteb-i Hukuk (The School of Law)* is foundation of today's the Department of Law at Istanbul University and was established in 1880 to raise judges for the Courts of Nizamiya. Dozens of Ottoman Criminal Law books were written at that time by qadis and attorneys who were also served as academics at *Mekteb-i Hukuk*. Over time, the lecture notes of these qadis and attorneys became the first written doctrines of modern criminal law in 19th Century. These books provide systematic information on the theory of 19th century criminal law, illustrate the challenges associated with putting the theory into practice. In addition, since the 1858 Ottoman Criminal Code was incorporated from French Penal Code, these textbooks often derive from western criminal literature, particularly while interpreting the articles of the 1858 Criminal Code.

²³ İbn Abidin, Muhammed Emin b. Ömer b. Abdülazîz ed-Dımaşki, 1252/1836 *Hâşiyetu Reddi'l-Muhtar ale'd-Dürri'l-Muhtar: Şerh-i Tenviri'l-Ebsar* (İstanbul: Kahraman Yayınları, 1984), X., 206-207.

retaliation and blood money: "Issue 26: if a person is not complicit in the murder of a man but helps the murderer by holding the arms and legs of the deceased, for example, and facilitate the act of killing, or gives order to the murderer to commit such a crime or encourages him, he will be punished to severe ta'zir (ta'zir-i şedid)".²⁴ He used the word of complicity (*iştirak*) for those who murder a person together and he did not use any term for those who help to someone to kill another one or encourage him or command him in this article. Haçeriyan points out that the difference between these two should be well conceived.²⁵

Another statement used in the classical doctrine to express the same meaning of the complicity of the period is *madhal* (to be get involved in crime). But, the statement of *madhal* was also used to express the acts of those who help to the primary offender. Briefly, in classic doctrine both the statement of *complicity* and the statement of "madhal" are used to state both the primary offender and who those help the primary offender to murder someone, namely there is no special definition to state the position of who those help to the primary offender to murder.

In the penal codes issued in 1840 and 1851 after the declaration of Tanzimat Edict, the same mind relevant to the scope of statement of "complicity" in the classic doctrine proceeded. There are two articles referring to the crimes and punishments related to some aspects of the complicity:

First one is Article 5 of the annex of the 1840 Penal Code that if a person intends to kill another person but not to kill in person and he have someone killed by giving money or deceiving by another way, who those kill and have someone killed will be sentenced to the same penalty, namely retaliation.²⁶ Secondly, in Article 14 of the 1851 Penal, the penalty of the same offense was changed: The person who killed the man is considered as a primary offender and he will be sentenced for sharia and law. On the other hand, the person who have someone killed will be sentenced from one year to five years in prison, thus his punishment was reduced. Unlike the 1840 Penal Code, the statement of "accomplice" (*fâil-i muin*) was also mentioned in the 1851 Penal Code and his punishment was defined as from one year to three years in prison.²⁷ Compared with the concept of complicity in the 1858 Penal Code, the mind of the complicity and the scope of the concept in the 1840 and 1851 Penal Codes are quite different.

2. The Conceptual Debates on Complicity After 1858

Complicity (iştirâk) was a statement known in the criminal law of Ottoman classical period (before XIX. Century), yet there was a distinction between the concept in the classic period and the concept expressed in the doctrine of criminal law today in terms of the comprehension and the nature. The concept of complicity used today, entered into the Turkish criminal literature with The Penal Code of 1858. Article 45 of the aforementioned statute says; "the principal offender or primary offender (*fâil-i müstakil*) who directly committed the crime and the accomplice (*fâil-i muin*) are punished in the same way in the event that the law doesn't contain further clarification".²⁸ The article didn't define the concept of complicity and only stated that the punishment given to who those complicit

²⁴ Ömer Hilmi Efendi, *Mi'yâr-ı Adâlet* (İstanbul: Hacı Muharrem Efendi Press, 1301), 9.

²⁵ Nazaret Haçeriyan, *Mebâdi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza* (İstanbul: s.l., 1306), 48.

²⁶ *Ceza Kanunname-i Hümâyûnu*, 2.

²⁷ Turkish Presidency State Archives of the Republic of Turkey-Department of Ottoman, *Bâb-ı Asâfi, Nizâmât*, 44.

²⁸ *Düstûr I. Tertip*, 1: 540.

in crime was same as the principal offender in all cases except ones in which the law establishes additional principles. This situation has led to a lack of understanding of the complicity for a long time.

Article 45 was the translation of Article 59 of the French Penal Code of 1810, the source of the Penal Code of 1858. Therefore, the problems regarding the definition of complicity were based on the French Penal Code, because it didn't have the definition of the concept. However, Articles 60, 61 and 62 of the aforementioned statute gave information about the nature of the complicity by mentioning which acts were considered as the complicity. In this respect, the French Penal Code contains more explanatory information about this kind of crime than the Ottoman Penal Code. However, the deficiency of the definition in the Penal Code of 1858 was tried to remove with Article 209 of The Code of Criminal Procedure²⁹ issued in 1879, but it also couldn't solve the ambiguity of how Article 45 should be understood.

The writer of the book titled *Mebadi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza* published in 1889 and the lecturer of criminal law in *Mekteb-i Hukuk*, Nazaret Haçeriyan defined the complicity as; "sometimes, people can commit together a crime which a person can commit alone, these are the primary offenders (fâil-i müstakil), and some people don't commit to the crime but contribute to the crime by helping, their status is called accomplice (fâil-i muîn)".³⁰ Although there is more than one act in the complicity, all these criminal acts are divided among the perpetrators/offender and thus all their trials are heard together in a single court and whole crimes committed are seen as a single crime and it is accepted that these crimes are spread among the perpetrators- the principle of becoming undivided (şuyu').³¹

Ten years later in 1316 (1899), Mehmed Aziz, one of the lecturers of *Mekteb-i Hukûk*, defined the complicity in his book titled *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza* as; "Complicity is defined as to unite for an illegal purpose and assist a person who directly commits an act that is forbidden by the law. The person who commits this act directly is called the primary offender, while the person who helps the primary offender is called the accomplice".³²

In 1326 Servet initiated the most important conceptual debate about the concept of complicity. In his book titled *Hukuk-ı Ceza (Criminal Law)*, he complained about both of the terms "contribution" and "complice" were translated to Turkish as "iştirâk". However, "contribution" refers to an absolute "iştirâk" where there is no agreement or reconciliation among the offenders. However, there was no word corresponding to the term "complice" in Turkish, and he stated that he used the word "iştirâk-ı fer'î" (secondary complicity) and this term referred to the complicity where a previous agreement took place between the offenders.³³ Servet made an important determination in terms of distinguishing these two from each other, especially because the courts have great problems about distinguishing complicity (*iştirâk*) and secondary complicity (*iştirâk-i fer'î*) from each other and they hesitate in jurisprudence.

In 1329 (1911) in course of changing Article 45 along with several other, the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) negotiated the conceptual issue Servet drew attention. They realized that the statement of "complice" translated from the French Penal Code as "iştirak/müşerek" should have been translated as "iştirak-i fer'î". After

²⁹ Article 209: That a group of people gather together upon the alliance between them in a way for one to facilitate the commitment of a crime by another or help him in this.

³⁰ Nazeret Haçeriyan, *Mebâdi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 114.

³¹ Dönmezer, Sulhi-Erman, Sahir, *Nazarî ve Tatbikî Ceza Hukuku- Umumî Kısım* (İstanbul: Beta Press, 1966), II, 488-501.

³² Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza* (Dersaadet: s.l., 1306), 60-61.

³³ Servet, *Hukuk-ı Ceza* (Dersaadet: 1326), 202-204.

the discussion of the parliament, the statement of "iştirâk" was changed as "iştirâk-i fer'î" in Article 45.³⁴ The lack of definition of the complicity which was one of the deficiencies of the article and caused many problems, continued despite the change of the article. However, the article clarified more than its previous version, as it explained who the accomplices were and what acts they performed.

3. Principal Offender and Accomplice

The most important element that differentiates the issue of complicity from other special situations of crime is that there are offenders more than one.³⁵ There are some important subjects that stand out at this point:

- a) Definitions of the principal offender and the accomplice,
- b) Terms for the realization of the state of complicity,
- c) Degree of offense handling of perpetrators (principal offenders and accomplices).

3.1. Who is Principal Offender and Who is Accomplice?

The perpetrators of complicity are defined as those who participate in the performing of an act prohibited by law either directly commit the crime or help to those who directly commit. In the first status, all of those who contribute to the crime is called as the principal offender (*fâil-i müstakil or fâil-i asl*), or those who is in the second status is called as the accomplice (*fâil-i muîn or fâil-i fer'î or zî-medhal*).³⁶

In this century, Ottoman criminal law men complaint about that there wasn't any article defining who was principal offender and accomplice and referring to the distinction between them.³⁷ Particularly in some cases, it was very difficult to distinguish the two. In Article 209 of The Code of Criminal Procedure of 1879, the acts of the accomplice were partially described, but these statements in the law began to not to be adequate. Because the number of these acts has increased over time and new events were encountered. At this point, questions on which acts should be considered as complicity and answers to these questions proliferated and became more detailed in time.³⁸ Therefore, the jurists constantly tried to define the acts of the principal offender and the accomplice. For example; Mehmed Aziz sorted their acts as:

According to this, primary offenders are;

- a) Those who conduct an act that is defined as a crime by person or those who take part in the conduct of such an act,
- b) Those who make a person to commit the crime directly through threatening, terrorization, cheating, giving money or promises,

³⁴ Court Record of The Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi*), I. Period, III. Session, III. Volume, XXXXX. Conclusion, 17 February 1326, 4.

³⁵ Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 61-62; Servet, *Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 202-204.

³⁶ Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 60; Nazaret Haçeriyân, *Mebâdi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 115.

³⁶ Nazarat Haçaryan, *Mebâdi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 118; Servet, *Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 204-207.

³⁷ Nazaret Haçeriyân, *Mebâdi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 116.

³⁸ Some of the acts of complicity requiring punishment are as follows: to keep watch during the realization of the crime to inform about the passers; aiding and abetting to the primary offender; to hide a material used in a murder or qabahat being partially or totally aware of the situation.

- c) Those who reinforce the crime through printed matter.

The accomplices are;

- a) Those who give instructions for the realization of the crime,
- b) Those who supply weapons and devices used in the commitment of crime,
- c) Those who contribute to and facilitate the realization of crime, though the crime would still be conducted without their contribution and help.³⁹

Believing that the punishment assigned to the accomplices was not just and needed to be changed, the ulama of Ottoman engaged in long and detailed discussions regarding who should be counted as the principal offender and who as the accomplice and which acts should be counted as complicity. Novel cases and situations encountered by ulama led these discussions to stay topical in the course of a long period. In consequence of the discussions advanced a principle for the distinction between the primary offender and the accomplice: "*Among those who were involved in the perpetration of a crime, those without whose acts and contributions the crime would not be possible to be perpetrated are considered to be primary offenders, whereas those without whose acts and contributions the crime would still be possible to be perpetrated are considered to be accomplices*".⁴⁰ This principle made it possible to differentiate between two terms. Mehmed Aziz seeking a solution for the same problem in 1316 by using the French sources of the time, came across a rule and recounted it in his book: "*The accomplice must know the crime and help with his own consent. If one of these two-term (knowing and intending) is missing, we can't mention the complicity and the accomplice*".⁴¹

This can raise a question: If both types of offenders would be punished in the same way, why did they try so hard to differentiate between the two terms? Servet is bringing together some of the answers given to this question as follows:⁴²

- a) There exist some cases in which the distinction results in significant consequences. For example, the killing of one's father is a special crime and therefore, its punishment would be a death sentence. However, if a man does not directly kill his father, but makes a secondary contribution to the murderer, he is not sentenced to the same penalty as "murder of father" crime. On the other hand, the higher the number of accomplices of a theft incidence, the more severe the punishment may get.
- b) Both in the murder and qabahat (less serious criminal acts), the reasons that increase the severity of the punishment are concerned with the primary offender.
- c) In all crimes, the primary offenders are necessarily punished. However, in offenses that are considered as faults, the accomplices are not punished.
- d) In certain cases, determined by the law in effect, primary offenders and accomplices are punished separately and differently.

Because of all these reasons, making a distinction between these terms became of a great importance.

³⁹ Mehmed Aziz, *Mufassal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 67-68.

⁴⁰ Mehmed Aziz, *Mufassal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 61-62.

⁴¹ Mehmed Aziz, *Mufassal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 83-85.

⁴² Servet, *Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 225-228.

As it was said before, even if the offenders commit more than one crime, the criminal law system of the period conceived the whole crimes as only one crime and adopted to spread of these crimes among offenders. Its consequences are in practice as:

- a) the principal offender and accomplice have the same penalties
- b) their suits were heard together in the same court. Thus, Articles 209, 418 and 419 of The Code of Criminal Procedure referred to this subject.

3.2. Terms of Complicity

Ottoman Ulama debated on whether every secondary act assisting to the principal act could not be considered as the complicity, and decided that there should be some terms that must be included in these secondary acts:

- a) If the principal crime is committed, complicity can be in question.⁴³
- b) Complicity is valid for the crimes committed by "doing" illegal activities. However, Articles 461 and 462 of the Code of Criminal Procedure mentioned some exceptions to which the complicity is valid for the crimes committed by "not doing" activities need to be done.⁴⁴
- c) Intent is necessary in complicity. In other words, if a person doesn't have an intent to complicit in a crime, he can't be punished.⁴⁵
- d) The act of complicity should be conducted before or during the committing of the crime. There should be an agreement between accomplice and principal offender before or during the execution of crime. To complicit in a crime after it was committed was considered as a different crime.⁴⁶

3.3. Some Challenges Regarding the Deficiencies of Definition on the Complicity

Article 45 of the Penal Code of 1858 and the relevant articles of the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1879 were insufficient to answer many of the problems encountered over time. Therefore, the jurists sometimes strained to solve some challenging issues they faced. This is due to the fact that the French Criminal Law which was the source of the Ottoman Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, had many deficiencies on the complicity. The famous lawman Garraud said that the French Penal Code has many inadequacies about the complicity that leads to misunderstandings. Mehmed Aziz followed the latest controversies and debates in the field of criminal law in France and mentioned them in his book. Some of the questions sought in this period are as follows:⁴⁷

- Is it possible the complicity in criminal attempt?⁴⁸
- Should the principal offender be punished in case the accomplice commits another crime by exceeding the illegal act he agreed with the principal offender previously?⁴⁹

⁴³ Nazaret Haçeriyân, 117; Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 65.

⁴⁴ Nazaret Haçeriyân, *Mebâdi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 118; Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 66.

⁴⁵ Servet, *Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 213-215; Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 66.

⁴⁶ Nazaret Haçeriyân, *Mebâdi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 119; Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 60-61, 84.

⁴⁷ Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 76-77.

⁴⁸ See: Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 62, 86-89.

⁴⁹ See: Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 63, 85-86.

- Should an accomplice of the accomplice be punished?⁵⁰
- Do the aggravating circumstances and the extenuating circumstances of the principal offender affect the punishment of the accomplice?⁵¹
- Is it possible to complicit in the negligent crime?⁵²
- If the accomplice regrets for commit the crime, does his sentence fall?⁵³
- If a general amnesty is declared about the principal offender, will the accomplice be included?⁵⁴

When encountered with new situations, the Ottoman criminal jurists sought solutions from other legal systems, in particular from the legal systems to which they belonged to the same school, and tried to follow up endorsements and views in their doctrine about how the articles were interpreted. In this sense, it should be said that French Criminal Law doctrines are accepted as a source not only in the preparation of the penal code but also in the implement of penal code, thus the sources of criminal law have begun to change.

3.4. Implement of Complicity

The determination of the punishment to be given to the principal offender and the accomplice has been the scene of the most heated debates of the subject of complicity. Article 45 of criminal code stated as "*the primary offender (or principal, fail-i mustakil) who directly committed the crime and the accomplice (fail-i muin) are punished in the same way in the event that the law doesn't contain further clarification*" was a general rule and it says that the accomplices were punished as the primary offender in all cases but the ones in which the law establishes additional principles. However, the exceptional cases mentioned by the law were excluded from this general rule. The exceptional cases referred to in Article 45 were as Articles 63, 66/2, 119, 175, 206, 217, 330. The most important of these is Article 175, and it says the person who is the accomplice of murderer should be sentenced hard labour.⁵⁵

Nazaret Haçeriyân, stated that this article would result in unjust consequences if applied especially to serious murders and qabahat.⁵⁶ Therefore, he tried to interpret the article to remove this injustice and he suggested that the meaning of the expression with regards to the punishment of accomplice and the primary offender as the same is they should be punished with the same kind of penalty. For example, if the primary offender was sentenced to hard labour, the accomplice should also be sentenced to hard labour. However, he emphasized that the gravity of reasons and the lightness of reasons may change the duration of the penalty.⁵⁷

Article 45 of the penal code of 1858 was translation of Article 59 of the France Penal Code of 1810 and the sentences of the principal offender and the accomplice were same. In France at that time, there has been a variety of controversy about this article concerning the punishment to be imposed on those who have complicit in. The issue of how to understand the article has been the subject of discussion throughout the process. The reason for

⁵⁰ See: Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 63-65.

⁵¹ See: Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 70-73.

⁵² See: Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 86-87.

⁵³ See: Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 88.

⁵⁴ See: Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 95-96.

⁵⁵ Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 69-70.

⁵⁶ Nazaret Haçeriyân, *Mebâdi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 48.

⁵⁷ Nazarat Haçaryan, *Mebâdi-i Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 120.

those who argue that both the principal offender and the accomplice should be punished in the same way in all respects and interpret the article in this way is that both the principal offender and the accomplice had the same intentions.⁵⁸ But some criminal law men of the period argued that those who gather to commit a crime must have been sentenced in accordance with their influence on the crime. One of them complained the verdict of Article 59 was Garraud stated that even if the principal offender and the accomplice were sentenced in the same way in accordance of Article 59, the main purpose of the legislative was to be sentenced the principal offender and the accomplice with same kind of punishment, not with same degree of punishment.⁵⁹ However, in practice, this article would continue to be applied.⁶⁰ In countries such as Belgium, Germany, Japan, Denmark and Russia, the accomplice was sentenced less than the principal offender and the only exception in this regard was France.⁶¹

The Ottoman Empire did not follow France in practice, and did not punish both of them with same punishment, even if it was the same kind, as stated by Garraud.⁶² For example; if the principal offender is sentenced with hard labour, the accomplice is also sentenced with hard labour. However, if the jurist sentences the principal offender with ten years and the accomplice with five years transitory hard labour- According to The Penal Code of 1858 the transitory hard labour's maximum limit of sentence was fifteen years and minimum limit of sentence was three years-, this article will adapt to the purpose of the legislative and general rules. At this point what those draws attention is that the judge has the authority to determine the punishments of the principal offenders and the accomplices. However, the absence of a clause that limits this authority given to the judge in the law means that there will be no obstacle for the judge to use his authority arbitrarily.⁶³ The fact that this situation contains the possibility of causing injustice to a high rate was another deficiency of Article 45.

In the practice, it is seen that the accomplice in almost all of the complicity cases related to the murder was punished in reference to Article 175 which is one of the exceptions of Article 45. For example; examination of the cases of Şeyh bin Mustafa and Cercis bin Ahmed and Muhyuddin bin Ahmed and Ali and Semseddin who were from Arabian community in Arbil and murderers of Seyyid İzzeddin bin Seyyid Veli, was conducted on 14 February 1324, in the case of the Criminal Division of the Court of First Instance of Kirkuk Sanjak and in consequence of hearing of witnesses and the statements of murderers and the statement taken before the murdered's death and the official report and doctor's report the court ruled that Şeyh bin Mustafa killed Seyyid İzzeddin bin Seyyid Veli and others complicit in the murder and Şeyh was sentenced fifteen years hard labour in reference to Article 174 as a principal offender and others were sentenced three years hard labour in reference to Article 175 as the accomplices.⁶⁴ As it can be seen, the court sentenced with reference to Article 175 in this case related to the complicity of murder. In light of researches, based on both of *Cerîde-i Mehâkim* (Journal of Courts) and Presidential Ottoman Achieve I have seen that whole case related to the complicity of murder was referred to Article 175 in place of Article 45.

⁵⁸ Servet, *Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 231-233.

⁵⁹ Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza* 69-71.

⁶⁰ Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 89- 91.

⁶¹ Mehmed Aziz, *Mufasssal Nazariyyât-ı Ceza*, 76.

⁶² Servet, *Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 204-207.

⁶³ Servet, *Hukuk-ı Ceza*, 231-233.

⁶⁴ *Cerîde-i Mehâkim* (Journals of Courts), 11 Jumada al-ukhra 1290-23 July 1289, Number: 16, 196-198.

Was this the situation only in cases of murder because the punishment of the murder was considered severe? In cases where the punishment of the crime was lighter was Article 45 applied? A case of theft can be examined to answer this question and to prove that Article 45 was not applied again:

*"In 1895, defendants Behisnili Ahmed, Hüseyin Efendi, Arap Hasan, along with Zeyneb who aided and abetted the defendants, were charged in the Lower Court of Criminal Division due to an act of theft of the money and valuables of Public Defender Ali Rıza Efendi. Eventually Behisnili Ahmed, Hüseyin Efendi and Arap Hasan were sentenced to two years imprisonment in accordance with Article 222 of the Penal Code, and Zeyneb was sentenced to one years of imprisonment according to Article 230. It was decided by the court board that if the money and valuables are still available they will be returned; if not, they would be compensated by the offenders and the court expenses would be collected from the offenders; the case could be appealed."*⁶⁵

According to the record, Article 230 of the Penal Code that was referred for the assignment of Zeyneb's punishment is in fact not an article related to the aiding and abetting. Zeyneb was going to be punished by the same penalty as the primary offenders, but her penalty was reduced because she confessed and informed the officials about the incidence and judgment was passed according to Article 230. Taking into consideration the case studies, it is clear that Article 45 discussed at length in legal literature was not preferred in Ottoman courts, based on the prevailing belief that it would result in an unjust sentence for accomplices.

In this point, the following question arises: why an article not cited in the cases is discussed so much, or why an article discussed so much is not cited in the cases? The answer is regarding with French criminal policy in the nineteenth century and with how Ottoman law men implemented the criminal code in practice.

It was stated before that the 1858 Penal Code was prepared with inspiration from the 1810 French Penal Code. At this period, the question what the purpose and source of the punishment was, gained importance in Europe, and as an answer of this question, theories of "social benefits" and "absolute justice" appeared. Later, both of these theories were considered inadequate and a "mixed theory" was created. All these theories were referred as "classical criminal law school" and then positivist school was established against the approach of this school. The French Penal Code defended the mixed theory that was within the scope of the classical school. According to one of the ideas of this theory, the punishment to be given an offender should be in line with the severity of the crime and the harm that was caused on the society. It appeared that being in charge of a committed crime was spread to a large area for protecting and maintenance of public order. This approach to punishment is thought to be related to the change in French administration of the time. *Napoleon Bonaparte*, who abolished the republic in 1804 and brought the constitutional monarchy, gave an order for the preparation of a new criminal law. After the French Revolution, republic was proclaimed in 1792; however, the struggle between the social classes made it difficult to continue with the republican administration. After a period of terror and revolts, *Napoleon Bonaparte* came like a savior and justified the proclamation of his kingdom by showing this hard period. Considering the new penal code prepared in this background, it can be understood better why the crime and punishment were wanted to be spread to a large area.

The policy of spreading the crime and punishment to a large area can be seen in all units of the criminal law. As it is explained in this study that offender and the accomplice would be punished in the same way according to the 1858 Penal Code. This situation can be considered as a result of the policies of the state. However, this issue created long discussions among the Ottoman criminal jurists. Probably because this decision was

⁶⁵ Türkiye Diyanet Foundation Center of Islamic Studies, *Kahraman Maraş Qadi Register*, 11, 45a.

considered unjust for the accomplice, it can be seen that they avoided to use Article 45 by referring to the other articles included in the law, sometimes with related justifications and sometimes even with unrelated ones.

The Ottoman criminal law, which was included in this criminal law system after The Penal Code of 1858, had to accept the criminal policy and rules of this system and Ottoman law men noticed to accept whole criminal system by adopting the French Penal Code. For example; *Nazaret Haçeriyan* attracted attentions to that point: "in accordance with the principle that 'The branches and consequences of an action is built on the same basis that it was based on', a lawmaker or jurist should assign crimes and punishments according to the same system and principles that he accepted in criminal law philosophy. In our both criminal law and criminal procedure, French laws were accepted as a model. Therefore, it will be beneficial for the dissection of our criminal law to know which theory and system were accepted and abided by." As it can be understood from this expression, criminal jurists were concerned that the integrity of the criminal law would be spoiled because the explanations and literature of criminal laws belonging to different schools were benefitted at the same time. According to him, if the criminal law is prepared by taking the French Penal Code as a model, this also means to accept the school that the French criminal law belonged to and the criminal system that it had. When a problem arises, the solution should not be looked for in criminal literature of other schools. The same system and school that the French criminal law belonged to should be resorted.

Ottoman law men followed to the doctrines of French Criminal Law about the complicity. However, they are separated from French Criminal Law in implement of law. By utilizing the gap in the statement of Article 45 "...except that law doesn't contain further clarification" they legislated some exceptional articles not included in the French Penal Code. The article 175, one of non-covered articles in the French Penal Code, was legislated when preparing the code.

In the bill of the Penal Code, which was submitted to The Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) in 1910, a separate section consisting of four articles related to complicity was prepared by the Italian Penal Code of that time.⁶⁶ These articles would remedy the deficiencies of Article 45 of The Penal Code and of Article 209 of The Code of Criminal Procedure and the punishment of the accomplice was rearranged to less more than the principal offender's in this new bill.

However, though this bill of the penal code was submitted to the parliament, there is no evidence that it was negotiated in the parliamentary official records, so it was thought that it was cancelled after it was submitted to parliament and the old code was continued with serious amendments realized in 1911. The amendments to Articles 45, 175 and 230 concerning the complicity are crucial.

The Article 45, one of the most controversial articles of the Penal Code was amended in order to eliminate the criticisms made about it in 1329 (1911). The new Article 45 was as follows:⁶⁷

"If more than one individual commits a murder or a qabahat together, or in a murder or qabahat composed of several acts, more than one individual contributes to the crime by conducting one or more acts with the intent of committing the crime, all of these individuals are called offenders and all of them are punished same as the primary offender.

Those who are the secondary contributors of a murder or qabahat are punished as the following unless the law makes a clear statement:

⁶⁶ *Ceza Kanunu Layihası* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1325), 65.

⁶⁷ *Düstur, II. Tertip* (İstanbul: Matbaa-I Osmaniye, 1329), III, 440-441.

If the main act requires death penalty or life hard labour, the accomplice should be punished with at least ten years of temporary hard labour

If the main act requires life imprisonment, the accomplice should be punished with at least ten years of imprisonment

If the main act requires exile, the accomplice should be punished with three years of hard labour.

In other cases, the punishment is reduced to between one-third and one-sixth of the punishment specified for the primary offender.

Those who force a person to commit a murder or qabahat by giving gift or money, cheating, using his/her power or exploiting his/her position

Those who knew about a murder or qabahat before they were realized and helped its realization

Those who supply weapons, devices or other means to be used in the commitment of a murder or qabahat

And those who help with the completion of murder or qabahat or facilitate their preparation or realization on purpose

Are considered as the secondary accomplices of the murder or qabahat

Those who provide food, place to sleep, hide and gather to the offenders who commit thuggery or use force or violence against the safety of the state, public order, safety of individuals or properties on purpose being aware of their actions are called as secondary accomplices, as well.

Those who hide an object obtained through theft or robbery or used in a murder or qabahat being partially or totally aware of the situation are also called the secondary accomplices of that act."

The Penal Code of 1858 stood until the new Turkish Penal Code adopted in 1926. A separate section consisting of four articles related to complicity was prepared in this new penal code and the articles of this new penal code related to the complicity were the same as the articles of the complicity in the bill of the Criminal Code prepared in 1910.⁶⁸

Conclusion

Within the 19th century, especially in the second half, the Ottoman Empire witnessed a number of developments and changes in the area of law. But, the character of change and change in criminal law has not been in the same line. The purpose of the criminal laws of 1840 and 1851 is not the same as that of the criminal law of 1858 and the innovations it introduces. This study tried to show the difference of Concept of complicity in classic doctrine from its concept in 1858 Penal Code. the transformation is not only in the concept of "complicity" but also in its implement and crime policy and source of law. Ottoman criminal jurists encountered with many problems which France faced in that century, because the Ottoman Empire had taken France as a role model while preparing its new penal code. Additionally, it means to accept the policy of spreading the crime and punishment to a large area. In conclusion of this policy, as it is explained in this study, offender and the accomplice would be punished in the same way according to the 1858 Penal Code. However, this issue created long discussions among the Ottoman criminal jurists. Probably because this decision was considered unjust for the accomplice, they avoided to use Article 45 by referring to the other articles included in the law, sometimes with related justifications and sometimes even with unrelated ones. Considering along with the broad powers

⁶⁸ Mehmed Sami, *Şerhli ve Haşiyeli Ceza Külliyâti* (İstanbul: Türk Press, 1926), 26-28.

granted to judges and that many of the judges of that period were also judges of Sharia law, it can be interpreted that they emphasized the doctrines of sharia law behind their minds in practice by interpreting the article and implementing differently from France.

In addition, it attracts attention that the sources which the Ottoman criminal jurist applied to find solutions to the problems, were not sharia sources, but were criminal law literature of various states such as Belgium, Japan, Germany, Denmark and Russia. In this sense, it can be said that the sources of criminal law changed. Moreover, there was a discrepancy between the classic doctrine and the expressions of the 1858 Penal Code; that might be considered as one of the underlying reasons that they could not benefit from the fiqh literature. However, Nazrat Haçeriyân attracted attentions to an important issue at this point: "In accordance with the principle that 'The branches and consequences of an action is built on the same basis that it was based on', a lawmaker or jurist should assign crimes and punishments according to the same system and principles that he accepted in criminal law philosophy. In our both criminal law and criminal procedure, French laws were accepted as a model. Therefore, it will be beneficial for the dissection of our criminal law to know which theory and system were accepted and abided by." As it can be understood from this expression, criminal jurists were concerned that the integrity of the criminal law would be spoiled because the explanations and literature of criminal laws belonging to different schools were benefitted at the same time. According to him, if the criminal law is prepared by taking the French Penal Code as a model, this also means to accept the school that the French criminal law belonged to and the criminal system that it had. When a problem arises, the solution should not be looked for in criminal literature of other schools. The same system and school that the French criminal law belonged to should be resorted. These words of Haçeriyân remind the concept of looking for solutions within one madhab.

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A Sufi's Interpretation of Ḥadīth: The Case of Ibn 'Arabī and the Ḥadīths about Holding up the hands during the prayer (*Raf' al-yadain*) *

Mehmet Ayhan **

Abstract

This paper studies the understanding and interpretation of a specific *ḥadīth* by Muhy al-dīn Ibn 'Arabī. His view on the *ḥadīth* about 'holding up the hands during *ṣalāh* (*raf' al-yadain*)' is explained in the light of his well-known book, *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. Besides the general knowledge and terminology of *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, Ibn 'Arabī also utilized his unique methods and methodologies of *taṣawwuf* to interpret the *ḥadīth*. It is concluded that in interpretation of a *ḥadīth*, Ibn 'Arabī differed from other scholars as he skillfully used these three areas of knowledge (*fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, and *taṣawwuf*) as a trivet and by synthesizing these three sciences, he approached to the issue in a comprehensive way. The dreams, one of Ibn 'Arabī's special methods and one of Sufism's wisdom sources, are presented within the context of the interpretation of *ḥadīth*. While Ibn 'Arabī was inspired the *ḥadīth* by a dream, he also stated its place and status in *ḥadīth* sources. Moreover, he derived several conclusions by critically reviewing the related *ḥadīths*.

Keywords

Hadith, Fiqh, Şufism, Ibn 'Arabī, Futūḥāt, Prayer, Holding up the hands, Interpretation

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Bir Sūfî’nin Hadis Yorumu: Raf’u’l-Yedeyn Hadisi - İbn Arabî Örneği

Öz

Bu makalede İbn Arabî’nin bir hadisi anlama ve yorumlaması ele alınmıştır. İbn Arabî’nin raf’ul-yedeyn/namazda ellerin kaldırılması hadisine bakış açısı meşhur eseri *el-Fütühâtü’l-Mekkiyye* adlı eseri ekseninde izah edilmiştir. İbn Arabî, hadisi yorumlarken fıkıh ve hadisin yanında tasavvuf ilmini ve özel yöntemlerini de işin içine katmaktadır. Onun diğer bilginlerden farklı olarak bir hadisi izah ederken bu üç sacayağını birlikte kullandığı ve bu üç ilmi mezcederek külli bir bakış açısıyla meseleye yaklaştığı görülmektedir. İbn Arabî’nin özel rivâyet metotlarından ve tasavvufî bilgi kaynaklarından olan rüyanın işlevi bir hadis yorumu özelinde nazara verilmektedir. İbn Arabî, hadisi rüya yoluyla alırken aynı zamanda hadis kaynaklardaki yerini ve durumunu belirtmektedir. Bunların yanında ilgili hadisleri kritiğe tabi tutarak çeşitli sonuçlara ulaşmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Hadis, Fıkıh, Tasavvuf, İbn ‘Arabî, Futūhāt, Namaz, Ellerin Kaldırılması, Yorum

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, Abrahamic religions have given particular importance to worship. Islam has a special status among other religions with regard to valuing worship. One of the most fundamental worships that Islam puts great emphasis on is *şalāh* (daily prayers). Certainly, *şalāh* is one of the most essential worships for a believer. Thus, in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* literatures, all decrees related to *şalāh* are carefully documented and meticulously handled.

As a source of the judgments in religion, scholars refer to the Qur’ān in the first place and secondly they refer to *Sunnah* (the practices of the Prophet [peace be upon him] that he taught and practically instituted, including his specific words, habits, and silent approvals).¹ After these two fundamental referential sources, they refer to other sources.² There are both controversial and commonly agreed issues related to decrees of *şalāh*. One of the controversial issues debated among scholars is the *raf’ al-yadain* whether one could hold up hands or not during the prayer other than opening *takbīr*.

There are different practices about holding up hands during the prayer (other than opening *takbīr*) among the *madhhabs* (religious schools of law). *Ḥadīths* constitute the supporting structures of these

¹ There is a consensus among islamic scholars that the first source of Islamic Law is Qurān and the second one is the Sunnah. For more detailed information, see Zekiyyüddin Şaban, *İslam Hukuk İlminin Esasları: (Usulü’l-Fıkıh)*, translated by İbrahim Kafi Dönmez (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1990), 46.

² For more information, see Abdullah Kahraman, *Fıkıh Usûlü*, (İstanbul: Rağbet Yayınları, 2016), 65.

different practices.³ Every school holding a different view on an issue argues that its perspective is more accurate and thus ends up in a different practice by referring to *ḥadīths*.⁴

According to schools⁵ except for *Hanafism*, raising hands while bending down and rising from the bowing is considered to be in line with the Prophet’s act.⁶ However, according to the *Hanafī* scholars, raising hands during the prayer other than opening *takbīr* is neither in line with the *sunnah*, nor an approved act.⁷

1. ḤADĪTHS RELATED TO RAF‘ AL-YADAIN

In *ḥadīth* sources, there exist many narrations about raising hands during the prayer other than opening *takbīr*. Regarding the issue, there are many *ḥadīths* narrated from companions such as ‘Umar, ‘Abd

³ Khattābī’s assessment on the *ḥadīths* related to *raf‘ al-yadain* is as the following: “Most of the scholars agree on raising hands during bending down (*ruku*). Leading companions (*sahabas*) such as *Abū Bakr*, ‘*Alī*, *Ibn ‘Umar*, *Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī*, *Ibn Abbās*, ‘*Abd Allāh b. Zubair* and *Anas*, *tābiins* such as *Hasan al-Basrī*, *Ibn Sīrīn*, ‘*Atā*, *Tāvūs*, *Mujāhid*, *Qasim b. Muhammad*, *Salim*, *Qatāda*, *Maḡhūl* and in addition to these, *al-Awza‘i*, *Mālik*, *Shāfi‘ī*, *Aḡmad*, *Ishaq*, *Sufyan al-Thawrī* agree on this view.” See, 3: 23; Azīmabādī, *Ebu’t-Tayyib Şems al-hak*, *Avn al-ma’būd Sharhu Sunan-i Abū Dāwūd*, nşr. İşraf Sıdkī Muhammed Cemil al-Attār (Beirut: Dāral-Fikr, 1415/1995), ‘*Avn al-ma’būd Sherhu sunen-i Abū Dāwūd*, 2: 338; In his book titled *al-Sunan*, *Tirmidhī* cites the narration of *Ibni ‘Umar* as *hasan* and *sahih* and it is narrated from *H. ‘Umar*, ‘*Alī*, *Vāil bin Hujr*, *Mālik bin al-Huveyris*, *Anas*, *Abū Hurayra*, *Abū Khumeyd*, *Abū Useyd*, *Sehl bin Sa’d*, *Muhammed bin Maslamah*, *Abū Qatade*, *Abū Musa al-Aḡhari*, *Jābir*, *Umayr al-Leysī*. Also, he reports that *Ibni ‘Umar*, *Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh*, *Abū Hurayra*, *Anas*, *Ibni Abbas*, ‘*Abdallāh b. Zubeyr* and some *sahabas*, *Hasan al-Basrī*, ‘*Atā*, *Tavus*, *Mujahid*, *Nafi*, *Salem b. ‘Abdallāh*, *Sa‘īd b. Jubayr* from *tabiin* and *İmam Mālik*, *Shāfi‘ī*, *Aḡmad b. Ḥanbal*, *al-Awza‘i*, *Ma‘mer*, *Ibni Uyaynah*, ‘*Abdallāh b. Mubārek*, *Ishak* from subsequent *mujtahids* judge for the raising hands during *Ṣalah*. See *Tirmidhī*, “*Adhān*”, 190; *Mubārekfūrī*, *Tuhfet al-Ahwazī*, 2: 96.

⁴ Examination of the views about *raf‘ al-yadain* indicates that there are many different judgments about it, ranging from *sunnah* to *wajib* and even to judgments classifying this action as *makruh*. See *Shaybānī*, *Kitab al-āthār*, 1: 142; *Ibn Hazm*, *Muḡhallā*, 3: 88, 236; *Ibn Rushd*, *Bidāyah al-Mujtahid wa nihayat al-Muqtasid*, 191-193; *Kutb al-Dardīr*, *al-Sharh al-Kabir ala Mukhtasar Khalil*, 1: 177; *al-Qashani*, *Badai‘u al-sanai*, 1: 208; *al-Marghinānī*, *al-Hidāyā*, 1: 131; *al-Sharbini*, *Mughni al-muhtaj* 1: 236; *Nawawī*, *Majmū‘*, 3: 255

⁵ According to some well-known books of *Mālikī* school, it is not necessary to hold up hands during the prayer. For example, see *Kutb al-Dardīr*, *al-Sharh al-Kabir ala Mukhtasar Khalil*, 1: 177. However, according to *Ibn Abd al-Barr*, the narration of *Ibn al-Qasim* about *İmam Mālik*’s judgement that “One should not raise his/her hands except opening *takbīr*” is weak. *Ibn Abd al-Barr* asserts raising hands during the prayer to be correct. See *Ibn Abd al-Barr*, *Ikhtilaf aqwal Mālik wa ashabihi*, 108.

⁶ *Ibn Hazm*, *Muḡhallā*, 3: 88; *Ibn Rushd*, *Bidaya*, 1: 191-193; see *Ibn Qudamah*, *Mughni*, 2: 171; *al-Shirbini*, *Mughni al-muhtaj*, 1: 236; *al-Nawawī*, *Majmu‘*, 3: 255.

⁷ *al-Shaybānī*, *Kitab al-āthār*, 1: 142; *al-Qashani*, *Badai‘u al-sanai*, 1: 208; *al-Marghinani*, *al-Hidāyā*, 1: 131. For discussions on the arguments of *Hanafī* scholars about *raf‘ al-yadain*, see *Güler*, *Zekeriya*, *Zāhirī Muhaddislerle Hanefī Fakihleri Arasındaki Münakaşalar ve İhtilaf Sebepleri*, 89-94.

Allāh ibn 'Umar⁸, Mālik b. al-Huwayrith,⁹ Salim b. 'Abd Allāh,¹⁰ Ibn Mas'ūd,¹¹ Bara b. Azib,¹² Abū Humeyd al-Saidi, Vail b. Hujr, Mu'az and Anas.¹³

Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) being prominent among others, many *muhaddiths* recorded these narrations in their books. In addition to recording the narrations in his work called '*Sahih*', Imam al-Bukhārī also wrote a specific book on *raf' al-yadain*.¹⁴

Ibn 'Arabī's propounding these narrations in *Futūḥāt* is in line with Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nāsāī and Ibn Maja, who are the authors of *Al-Kutub al-Sittah (Six Books)*, recording these narrations in their studies.¹⁵

Given his scholarly life chronologically having been instituted to contain this sum of knowledge and basing his view about the above issue on these records, Ibn 'Arabī considered the 'Muslim *ḥadīth*' regarding the issue. However, he neither refers to the narrations recorded by al-Bukhārī, nor the narrations in other

⁸ "Allah's Apostle (be peace upon him) opening the prayer with the takbīr and raising his hands to the level of his shoulders at the time of saying the takbīr, and on saying the takbīr for bowing he did the same; and when he said, "Sami'a-llah li-man hamida", he did the same and then said, "Rabbana wa laka-l-hamd." But he did not do the same on prostrating and on lifting the head from it." For the *ḥadīth*, see al-Bukhārī, "Adhān", 85; Müslim, "Ṣalah", 22; al-Nasāī, "Iftitah", 1 (874), 2 (875), 3 (876); Ibn Māja, "Iqamah", 15 (858); Ibn Hibban, 5: 172 (1861); for other narrations from Ibn 'Umar, see al-Bukhārī, *Raf' al-yadain fi al-salāh*, 69.

⁹ "The Prophet (be peace upon him) opened the prayer with the takbīr and raised his hands. When bowing down and straightening up from bowing, he (be peace upon him) raised his hands." For the *ḥadīth*, see al-Bukhārī, "Adhān", 84; Muslim, "Ṣalah", 24; Ibn Hibban, *Sahih*, 5: 176 (1863).

¹⁰ "I saw 'Allah's Apostle (be peace upon him) raising his hands to the level of his shoulders at the time of saying opening the prayer with the takbīr, before bowing down and after bowing up. He (be peace upon him) did not raise his hands between prostrations." For the *ḥadīth*, see al-Bukhārī, "Adhān", 83; Muslim, "Ṣalah", 21; Aḥmad, 2: 47; Ibn Hibbān, *Sahih*, 5: 177 (1864); Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, 9: 416 (5564).

¹¹ Abū Dāwūd, "Ṣalah", 119; al-Tirmidhī, "Ṣalah", 76; al-Nasāī, "Iftitah", 87.

¹² Abū Dāwūd, "Ṣalah", 119; al-Tirmidhī, "Ṣalah", 76.

¹³ al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī reports that he does not know any *sunnah* other than *raf' al-yadain* which is narrated by the Prophet (be peace upon him) and about which the four khalīfs, ashara mubashshara and leading companions in a widespread region agree on. In addition, al-Bayhaqī documents the names of approximately thirty companions who narrated raising hands during the prayer. See al-Bukhārī, *Raf' al-yadain fi al-Ṣalah*, 30 (footnote). In his book, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya documents the names of approximately thirty companions who narrated raising hands during the prayer and reports that there is no act of the Prophet (be peace upon him) contrary to the statements given in these narrations. It is noted that the Prophet continued this practice till his death. See Ibn Qayyim, *Zad al-Ma'ad*, 1: 209. Similarly, the *ḥadīths* regarding the issue are narrated from a group of approximately 50 companions in which there are also companions from the group known as ashara mubashshara. See, *Raf' al-yadain fi al-Ṣalah*, 30 (footnote).

¹⁴ See al-Bukhārī, *Kitābū Raf' al-yadain fi al-Ṣalah*; Also see *Jila al-ayneyn bi-takhriji riwayat al-Bukhārī fi juz raf' al-yadain*.

¹⁵ See Muslim, "Ṣalah", 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26; Abū Dāwūd, "Ṣalah", 115, 116, 117. (Among the authors of *Al-Kutub al-Sittah*, only Abū Dāwūd reports the narration regarding "raising hands to the level of his shoulders during Ṣalah."); al-Tirmidhī, "Ṣalah", 76; al-Nasāī, "Iftitah", 1, 2, 3, 4; Ibn Maja, "Iqamah", 15.

sources. There are two possible explanations for this fact. Either Ibn ‘Arabī was not aware of these narrations, or he ignored them. The first explanation is considered to be extremely unlikely because it can be inferred from Ibn ‘Arabī’s studies on the ḥadīth on the subject of *raf’ al-yadain* that he must have been aware of the narrations mentioned above.¹⁶

His expertise on ḥadīth can easily be seen from his ordering of ḥadīths on the mystical insight, it is important to note that although he is known as a person who emphasizes spiritual side, at the same time he does not undervalue the reasoning at all.

2. IBN ‘ARABĪ’S PERSPECTIVE ON RAF’ AL-YADAIN

Muhy al-dīn Ibn ‘Arabī follows a different methodology when interpreting raising hands during the prayer. While he is studying *raf’ al-yadain* through *fiqh* methodology, he also utilizes a sufi perspective.

Ibn ‘Arabī mentions this issue in two separate sections of his book. The first one is Raising Hands during the prayer;¹⁷ and the second one is the section titled as *Knowing the Place of Naskh in Muhammadi Sharia*.¹⁸

The author of *Futūḥāt* initially summarizes the overall views on *raf’ al-yadain* three categories in his work: The decrees regarding raising hands during the prayer, the cases in which raising hands is required and finally, when raising hands has to be completed.¹⁹

Ibn ‘Arabī, who alternates between ḥadīth and *fiqh*, but gives more weight to *fiqh* while analyzing this issue, reports that according to some Islamic scholars, raising hands during *ṣalāh* is considered as *sunnah*. He also states that it is accepted as *fard* (obligatory) by some other scholars which are classified in three groups. One group of these scholars, the first group, mentioned in *Futūḥāt* as the *Zāhiri School*²⁰, argues that raising hands for opening *takbīr* is *fard*.²¹ The second group argues that raising hands while bending down and while

¹⁶ We think that Ibn ‘Arabī does not ignore narration of Buhārī, but he features narration of Muslim, as it is in line with the order presented in *Futūḥāt*. Moreover, ḥadīths of Wāil b. Hujr ve Mālik ibn al-Huwayris can be presented as examples showing that that Ibn ‘Arabī must have been aware of the narrations mentioned. While summarizing the discussions on the issue, Ibn ‘Arabī explicitly emphasizes these two ḥadīths. It is stated that the ḥadīth about ‘Raising hands on prostrating and on lifting the head from it’ (Aḥmad, 4: 317) is narrated from Wāil bin Hujr; the ḥadīth about ‘raising hands after two rakah’ (Bukhārī, “Adhān”, 84; Muslim, “Adhān”, 24) is narrated from Mālik ibn al-Huwayris. See *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

¹⁷ *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

¹⁸ *Futūḥāt*, 3: 70 (Chapter 318).

¹⁹ *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69). Ibn ‘Arabī’s citation of different views on *raf’ al-yadain* is in line with the method of Ibn Rushd. However, Ibn Rushd discusses the related views and controversies in more detail. See. Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah*, 1: 191-193.

²⁰ Ibn Hazm, *Muḥallā*, 3: 236.

²¹ *Futūḥāt* 1: 436-7 (Chapter 69).

rising from the bowing is *fard*. The last group claims that in addition to the cases mentioned above, raising hands on prostrating and on lifting the head from it is also *fard*.²²

In *ḥadīth* resources, there are many *ḥadīth* narrations regarding raising hands after two *rakahs* (two units of *ṣalāh*).²³ Moreover, some scholars argue with reference to some *ḥadīth* narrations, which are also reported by Ibn 'Arabī, that raising hands on prostrating²⁴ and after two *rakah* are *sunnah*.²⁵

On the other hand, Ibn 'Arabī lists the four cases in which raising hands are obligatory. He presents the evidence for the last two, but does not report their sources. The scholars arguing the obligation of raising hands on prostrating and on lifting the head from it base their views on the *ḥadīth* of Wāil b. Hujr. The *ḥadīth* that Ibn 'Arabī mentioned is recorded in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's book, titled as *Musnad*.²⁶ Moreover, it is noted in *Futūḥāt* that scholars arguing that raising hands after two *rakah* is obligatory to do *istidlal* (a process of inductive inference and seeking guidance from the source) according to the *ḥadīth* narrated from Mālik ibn al-Huwayrith.²⁷ This *ḥadīth* is also recorded in *sahih* (valid) resources such as al-Bukhārī and Muslim.²⁸

The author of *Futūḥāt* first reviews the narrations on *raf' al-yadain* regarding their predication. Under this criterion, 'the *ḥadīth* about raising hands to the level of shoulders' is the strongest one among all the *ḥadīth* narrations regarding raising hands.²⁹ Also, 'the narration about raising hands to the level of ears' is stronger (with respect to its *sened* (the chains of their narration)) than 'the narration about raising hands to the level of chest'.³⁰

After the review of narrators' chain, Ibn 'Arabī evaluates the contents. According to him, since there is not any prohibition on this issue, one doesn't have to neglect the *ḥadīths* regarding this issue and should act proper to the *ḥadīths*. Moreover, there are both *fards* and *sunnahs* in the acts of the Prophet. Describing a judgment as *fard* requires evidence for this.³¹

²² *Futūḥāt*, 1: 436-7 (Chapter 69). The group of scholars, whose name is not cited by Ibn 'Arabī, claiming that raising hands while bending down and rising from the bowing and on prostrating and on lifting the head from it is *fard* are Dāwūd Zāhirī and a group of his companions. See Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah*, 1: 191.

²³ For example, see al-Bukhārī, "Adhān", 86; Abū Dāwūd, "Adhān", 117; al-Nasāī, "Sehv", 2, 3; Ibn Maja, "Iqamah", 15.

²⁴ See Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah*, 1: 191.

²⁵ Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah*, 1: 191; al-Nawawī, *Majmū'*, 3: 446-48.

²⁶ Aḥmad, 4: 317.

²⁷ *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

²⁸ Al-Bukhārī, "Adhān", 84; Muslim, "Adhān", 24.

²⁹ al-Nawawī reports that according to widely shared view in *Shāfi'ī* school, raising hands to the level of shoulders is obligatory. See al-Nawawī, *Majmū'*, 3: 307.

³⁰ *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

³¹ These views expressed in *Futūḥāt* are as the following: *On this issue, my view is as the following: The narrations regarding holding up hands during Ṣalah only reflect the acts of Hz. Prophet (peace be upon him). There is not actually any such order of Hz. Prophet (peace be upon him). He (peace be upon him) said: "Perform Ṣalah as you see me perform Ṣalah."* (For the *ḥadīth*, see al-Bukhārī, "Adhān", 18, "Edeb", 27, "Āhād" 1; Dārimī, "Ṣalah", 42; Aḥmad, 5: 53; al-Dāraqutnī, 'Alī b. 'Umar, *Sunan*, ta'līq, Shams al-Hak al-Azīmābādī, 4 Cilt, (Beirut: Dār Ihyā al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1413/1993) 1: 346 (10)). "As is

As can be understood from the discussion above that Ibn ‘Arabī primarily depends on the *ḥadīths* while forming his chain of thoughts. In the same vein, by making a comparison with the issue of Ali’s *niyyah* (intention) of *hajj*³², he claims that not knowing the true judgment about holding up hands during the prayer does not prevent one from practicing it.

As it can be inferred from his assessments above that the judgment on the issue depends on only *nass* (scriptures), not on mystical insights or any other special methodology. The criteria used in the *ḥadīth* review are the rules outlined in the *ḥadīth* methodology, not any other special methodology.

Acting in line with the manners of a consummate sufi, he notes that not ‘the judgment itself’ but performing that act is the first and important concern regarding any *sunnah* of the Prophet. Thus, it does not matter whether the judgment about that act is *sunnah* or *fard*. Furthermore, if the narrations are combined as much as possible, all acts of the Prophet’s could be performed.³³ We must note the enthusiasm of Ibn ‘Arabī to perform with all *ḥadīths* narrated from the Prophet. Ibn ‘Arabī’s insistence on performing in compliance with the statements of *ḥadīths* as much as possible can be considered as a common result of his sufi side and his *ḥadīth* scholar side.

In addition to this, according to his perspective, it is not right to conclude an act of the Prophet as *fard* if there is not a direct order regarding this act. Under the rules of *ḥadīth* methodology, the abundance of *thiqa* (trustable narrator) is desirable.³⁴ Because of this, one can perform with the guidance of any acceptable *ḥadīth*. As can be inferred, Ibn ‘Arabī acts on this issue as a *ḥadīth* scholar rather than a *fiqh* scholar. More precisely, his sufi side does not prevent him from relying on *ḥadīths*.

Moreover, after reciting the reviews regarding the *ḥadīth*, the author of *Futūḥāt* also notes his choice and perception. While analyzing the issue, it is explicitly understood from his notes that he utilizes both *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* methodologies.³⁵

It is noteworthy that Ibn ‘Arabī’s view on raising hands during the prayer other than the opening *takbīr* is in line with the views of Ibn Hazm who also lived in the same region. Ibn Hazm argues that holding

known, the prayer is a worship that includes both *fards* and *sunnahs*. Thus, one could not conclude from this *ḥadīth*, by opposing *ijma*, that all decrees regarding the prayer are *fard*.” See *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

³² Ibn ‘Arabī explains his reasoning on this issue as the following: “We perform the prayer and raise our hands up with accepting and being aware of that it is a religious decree, but without specifying whether it is *fard* or *sunnah*. Similar to this, although ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib did not know Hz. Prophet’s intention of *hajj* (which kinds of *hajj*), he entered the state of *iḥram* (a sacred state that a Muslim must enter in order to perform the major pilgrimage) with Hz. Prophet’s intention of *iḥram*. The Prophet (be peace upon him) approved this act and did not react to him. Hence, we accept and hold up hands during the prayer as stated in religious decree.” *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69). For the *ḥadīth* about ‘Alī’s entering the state of *iḥram* with intending the Prophet’s intention of *hajj*, see Aḥmad, 3: 320 (1437).

³³ *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

³⁴ See *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69). Ibn ‘Arabī supports his view by reminding the rule of *ḥadīth* methodology ‘excess of *thiqa* (trustable narrator) is desirable’. For more information about the excess of *thiqa* and desirability of this excess, see *al-Bāis al-hasīs Sharh ikhtisār ulūm al-ḥadīth*, 1: 190.

³⁵ See *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

up hands during the prayer other than opening *takbīr* is not *fard*. He also argues that since there exist supporting narrations from Hz. Prophet’s (peace be upon him) life for both acts, whether or not holding up hands during the prayer, *sunnah* will be performed by doing in either way.³⁶

3. A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO RAF’ AL-YADAIN BY IBN ‘ARABĪ

When expressing his views on the issue of holding up hands during the prayer, Ibn ‘Arabī refers to a dream of his. At this point, we have an opportunity to evaluate his actual identity, meaning his sufi characteristic, and he basically develops his conclusion by referring to this dream. He writes that in the dream, The Messenger (peace be upon him) orders him to raise his hands for opening *takbīr*, while bending down and rising from the bowing.³⁷ It is important to note that while Ibn ‘Arabī is discussing the issue related with the prayer in the form of a *fiqh* book, suddenly he alters his attitude and chooses to express his views by referring to his dreams.

A main characteristic distinguishing him from other *fiqh* scholars is his usage of special methods even in analyzing the issues related to judgments (*ahkām*). While developing a view on any issue, he bases his thoughts on dreams, which is different from other scholars. When analyzing the issue, Ibn ‘Arabī clearly utilizes one of his peculiar methods beside *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* methodologies.³⁸ Another important point is that the author of *Futūḥāt* does not mention his original method in a separate section, but discusses it in the same section. This indicates that in his perspective, there is no distinction between *Fiqh/Ḥadīth*, the exoteric (*zāhiri*) sciences, and Taṣawwuf/Ethics (*akhlāq*), the esoteric sciences.

On the other hand, he acknowledges at section 318 of *Futūḥāt* that he bases many of his judgments, including holding up hands during the prayer, on Sūrat al-Nabi. However, while he mentions in *Futūḥāt* that he relies on revealings through dreams in one part of the book, in another part he notes that he receives this information from ‘Sūrat al-Nabi’.³⁹

From Ibn ‘Arabī’s expressions in *Futūḥāt*, it is explicit that ‘Sūrat al-Nabi’ is certainly a form of spiritual element.⁴⁰ However, these expressions also indicate that this concept is not related to the dreams. Thus, it

³⁶ See Ibn Hazm, *Muḥallā*, 3: 235.

³⁷ *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

³⁸ More discussions on the Ibn ‘Arabī’s unique narration methods, See, Ayhan, *İbn ‘Arabī ve Hadis*, 138-275.

³⁹ *Futūḥāt*, 3: 70 (Chapter 318).

⁴⁰ Ibn ‘Arabī explains the meaning of the expression ‘Sūrat al-Nabi’ as the following:

“The meaning of Sūrat al-Nabi is exactly the soul and the essence (*haqiqa*) of the Prophet (peace be upon him) or a resembling image of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the image of an angel which knows religious orders (*al-ahqam al-shar’iyya*) of the Prophet (peace be upon him). By this way, the given statements to that person also constitute the religious order of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Any other alternative meaning for this is not possible. Since, undoubtedly, the devil can’t imitate the image of any prophet.” *Futūḥāt*, 3: 70 (Chapter 318). For the *ḥadīths* regarding impossibility of devil’s interfering or imitating the image of the Prophet (peace be upon him), see al-Bukhārī, “İlm” 38, “Tabir” 10; Muslim, “Ru’ya”, 10, 11; Abū Dāwūd, “Adab”, 88; al-Tirmidhī, “Ru’ya”, 4, 7; Ibn Maja, “Ru’ya”, 2; al-Dārimī, “Ru’ya”, 4; Aḥmad, 1: 450, 279, 2: 232, 261, 342, 410.

is possible that Ibn 'Arabī has received the related information about *raf' al-yadain* both through dreams and from the *Sūrat al-Nabī*.⁴¹

4. SUFI INTERPRETATION OF THE ḤADĪTH OF RAF' AL-YADAIN

After reporting the *ḥadīth* and religious judgments on *raf' al-yadain*, Ibn 'Arabī points to the *implicational* side of the issue. According to him, the interpretation of the *ḥadīth* from a *taṣawwufi* perspective is as the following:

Raising hands implies that the declaration of that everything obtained, earned by these hands is nonexistent. Allah teaches it to a person who performs ṣalāh and (as if) tells: 'My slave! When you stand in my presence, be as a destitute, impoverished man. Leave behind -while raising hands- the things that I favored and gave you for it is just me who is in the direction of qibla.'

By this way, the person performing ṣalāh turns towards the direction of qibla, utters takbīr and raises his hands while his palms are open and empty in order to show he has nothing. When he brings his hands to the sides and leaves them earthwards, his palms are turned backwards facing the direction where he left his possessions behind. In return for every act performed during ṣalāh, Allah bestows a favor on him. When Allah gives him something, he does not hold onto it and leaves it behind. By raising hands, he expresses to Allah the following:

By raising hands when ordered and by not raising hands when ordered not to, he resigns himself to order of Allah..."⁴²

The author of *Futūḥāt* says a lot about the interpretation of the *ḥadīth*. These are rather related with his feelings and with sufi side of him. He interprets the exoteric meaning of the *ḥadīth* as well as its *ishari* (vectoral)/*Taṣawwufi* meaning. He tries to explain not only the exoteric side (*fiqh zāhir*) of the *ḥadīth/nass*, but also the esoteric side (*fiqh bātin*) of it. Here, an important point is to emphasize that *ṣalāh* is not only just a series of some physical/mechanical movements, but it involves a spiritual, moral aspect.

Ibn 'Arabī claims that every action performed during *ṣalāh* such as opening *takbīr*, bringing hands down and leaving them earthwards, standing up (*qiyām*) for *ṣalāh*, prostrating, giving greetings has a distinct

⁴¹ Ibn 'Arabī provided various information on *Sūrat al-Nabī*. He claimed that he didn't learn the religious orders (*al-ahkām al-shar'iyya*) that he took from a quasi-image of *Sūrat al-Nabī* from any kind of book or scholar. When this information that was derived from this special method was shared with other reliable scholars, it was observed that both information that was derived from both sources (the books and *Sūrat al-Nabī*) were exactly the same. Ibn 'Arabī reported that this exact convergence surprised the scholars, who combined both *Ḥadīth* and *Fiqh* sciences, in his region. He also stated that in every subject that he gave information from *Sūrat al-Nabī*, there was a *sahih ḥadīth* which was an exact match to the letter with the given information. According to Ibn 'Arabī, the information about holding up hands during the prayer is also in this category. Previously, he had never seen anybody who had performed this practice or had seen any scholar who had held this view in his native land. When he shared this information about *raf' al-yadain* with a *Ḥadīth* scholar Muhammad b. 'Alī b. al-Hajj, this scholar narrated a *ḥadīth* form Muslim regarding this issue. Ibn 'Arabī himself also noticed this narration while examining some *ḥadīths* in *Sahih* of Muslim. See *Futūḥāt*, 3: 70 (Chapter 318).

⁴² *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

meaning.⁴³ Therefore, he concludes that there are both exoteric/explicit side and esoteric/non-explicit side of the *ṣalāh* and these two jointly constitute *ṣalāh*. Moreover, he tries to impart from the depths of his heart that a person should confess his feebleness and should worship with considering his need for the benevolence of Allah.⁴⁴

5. CONCLUSION

Ibn ‘Arabī first analyzes the *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* literatures to ascertain the place of raising hands during the prayer. He basically reports the different views on *raf’ al-yadain* in the *fiqh* literature and provides supporting arguments for these views from *ḥadīth* sources.

The author of *Futūḥāt* not only cites the judgments of scholars on the issue, but also closely scrutinizes these views. In addition to this, he evaluates the *ḥadīths* regarding the issue as well as the reliance of them. Therefore, we can safely conclude that he acts both as a *ḥadīth* and a *fiqh* scholar.

Moreover, Ibn ‘Arabī does not interpret the issue by centering the view of any Islamic group and but rather acts as an autonomous *mujtahid* (a person who knows the religion in all details). Also, an original point here is that he chooses to combine all *ḥadīth* narrations on this issue as much as possible, rather than opting to use only some part of them.

Furthermore, he states his arguments through presenting a specific dream of his. In this way, he considers the issue beyond the traditional *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* methodologies and actually develops a unique sufi methodology to analyze this kind of a *fiqh* issue.

In addition to using his unique method to develop an understanding for this subject, he points to the implied/*taṣawwufi* meaning of the *ḥadīth* in order to explicitly explain his method. Having his interpretations not restricted to the-*fiqh* related aspect of the subject but elevating them to a spiritual level can be considered as an important contribution to the contemplation (*tafaqqur*) side of the *ṣalāh*.

Ibn ‘Arabī as a sufi *ḥadīth* scholar not only reports a debatable issue among religious schools but also re-evaluates it and states his opinions, which is an extremely important point to consider in this literature. Also, explaining a subject of *fiqh* through both exoteric and *taṣawwufi* (or sufi’) perspectives is perhaps the result of Ibn ‘Arabī’s totally inclusive thoughts on the subject. Furthermore, Ibn ‘Arabī’s usage of his own unique methods in addition to the *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* methodologies must be the result of his sufi characteristic, which causes this practice to turn out to be a special case.

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⁴³ For the rest of the *taṣawwufi* interpretation of the *ḥadīth*, see *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

⁴⁴ *Futūḥāt*, 1: 437 (Chapter 69).

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The Criticism of Materialism in Late Ottoman's New Science of Kalām *

Mehmet Bulğen **

Abstract

Materialism, which reduces the whole existence simply to matter and its interactions, and respectively ignores the intervention of a divine being concerning the universe; it is often traced back to a period in which philosophy was born. However, when we study the historical process, we find that materialism was a thought that was generally rejected by the majority. With the Enlightenment and secularism following the Renaissance, Reformation and 17th Century Scientific Revolution in Europe, materialism gained more followers. In the 20th century, in what was known as its golden era, it became a world view by manifesting itself in the religious, social, political and economic spheres of life. Materialism came to the Ottomans following the first half of the 19th century through the students who went to the West and via newly established military and medical schools. Despite materialism forming the backbone of debates on

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westernization and secularism (perpetuating worldliness) towards the end of the 19th century, this did not deter many intellectuals from endorsing much of the values that came with materialism, and it led to many repercussions within the political and social realms of the Ottoman world. On the other hand, materialism was not welcomed but rather disapproved of by many Ottoman scholars of *kalām* such as Abdullatif Harputi (1842-1916), İzmirli İsmail Hakkı (1868-1946), Mehmet Şemsettin Günaltay (1883-1961) and Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen (1882-1971). However, their criticism has caused them to break away from the ideas defended by the Islamic theologians (*mutakallimûn*) of the classical period in some respect. We attempt to outline these late Ottoman *scholars’* critique of materialism and compare their views with the classical *mutakallimûn’s* seemingly materialistic worldview.

Keywords

Kalām, Materialism, Ottomans, Atheism, New Kalām

Osmanlı Yeni İlm-i Kelâmında Materyalizm Eleştirileri

Öz

Bir bütün olarak varlığı madde ve etkileşimlerine indirgeyerek açıklayan, evreni kendisi dışındaki aşkın bir varlığın müdahalesine kapatan bir görüş olarak bilinen materyalizm, ortaya çıkış itibariyle felsefenin başlangıcına kadar gerilere götürülse de, tarihsel süreç içerisinde genelde azınlıkta kalan ve tepkiyle karşılanan bir düşünce olmuştur. Ancak bu görüş Avrupa’da XVII. Yüzyıl bilim devrimi ardından gelen aydınlanma ve sekülerleşme hadiseleri sonrasında yeniden taraftar bulmaya başlamış, XX. yüzyılın başlarına gelindiğinde altın çağını yaşayarak dinî, siyasî, ekonomik ve toplumsal tezahürleri de olan bir dünya görüşü haline gelmiştir. Materyalizmin Osmanlı’ya girişi ise XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısından itibaren askerî ve tıp alanında açılan modern okullar ile Batı’ya eğitim amaçlı gönderilen öğrenciler vasıtasıyla başlamış; XIX. Yüzyılın sonlarında dünyevileşme, Batılılaşma gibi tartışmalara arka plan oluşturduğu halde önemli sayıda Osmanlı aydınını etkisi altına alarak siyasal ve toplumsal sonuçlara neden olmuştur. Diğer taraftan materyalizm Abdullatif Harpûtî (1842-1916), İzmirli İsmail Hakkı (1868-1946), M. Şemseddin Günaltay (1883-1961) ve Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen (1882-1971) gibi kelâmcıların da dâhil olduğu birçok Osmanlı ulemâsı tarafından tepkiyle karşılanarak eleştirilmiştir. Makalede söz konusu Osmanlı kelâmcılarının materyalizmi ne şekilde eleştirdikleri ve bu eleştirilerinde materyalistik imâlar taşıdığı söylenen klasik dönem kelâmından birleşip ayrıldıkları noktalar tespit edilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kelâm, Materyalizm, Osmanlı, Yeni İlm-i Kelâm, Ateizm

INTRODUCTION

Approximately a century-long period from the Rescript of Gülhane (1839) in the Ottoman Empire until the foundation of the Turkish Republic (1923) is known as the most intense, painful and long century in the Ottoman history. In this period when there was dynamism and a search not only from military and political aspects, but also in ideational terms, Ottoman intellectuals discussed many issues with the concern of finding a solution to the negative conditions that the Empire had faced.¹ Within these discussion topics, materialism has a special place not only because it is one of the anti-religious thought movements that emerged with the influence of Western thought, but also because it is seen as a prescription of salvation for the troubles experienced by the Ottoman Empire during the collapse period. Western-oriented intellectuals including Beşîr Fuâd (1852-1887), Bahâ Tevfik (1884-1914), Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932), Celâl Nuri (1882-1936) and Kılıçzâde Hakkı (1872-1960) claimed that the level of contemporary civilizations would be attained if and only if the Muslim world adopted a materialist worldview, which is some kind of scientism.²

On the other hand, the spreading of materialism in the Ottoman Empire towards the end of the 19th century brought with it the opposition of the traditionalist and conservative groups, who acted with the intention of defending their religious and cultural values. In this context, one of the groups that criticized materialism included the late Ottoman scholars of *kalām* such as İsmail Hakkı İzmirli (1869-1946), Abdüllatîf Harpûtî (1842-1916), Şehbenderzâde Ahmad Hilmi of Filibe (1865-1914), Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen (1882-1971) and M. Şemseddin Günaltay (1883- 1961).

In this article, I will try to show that the late Ottoman *scholars*’ critique of materialism is interesting in two respects. First, linking the science of *kalām* with materialism in a positive or negative sense requires sensitivity and attention because if materialism is to be criticized on the basis of spiritualism or idealism, then we will encounter classical Islamic theologians (*mutakallimûn*). As is known, the classical period (i.e., third-fifth/ninth-eleventh centuries) *kalām* has a character expressed as “seemingly materialist”.³ This is due to the fact that the *kalām* in that period had a cosmology based on atomism, which shaped the worldview

¹ Süleyman Hayri Bolay, *Osmanlılarda Düşünce Hayatı ve Felsefe* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları 2005), 291-292.

² Aydın Topaloğlu, “Materyalizm”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2003), 28: 140; also see Ahmet İshak Demir, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Aydınlarının İslâm’a Bakışı* (İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2004), 135 ff.

³ For the phrase “**seemingly materialist**” or “**and even materialist**” (“ve hatta materialist” in Turkish) that Prof. Dr. M. Saim Yeprem uses to describe the general character of the classical period *kalām* see. Şerife Akyol, *Materyalizmin İnsan Anlayışının Modern Çağın İnanç Problemleri Açısından Değerlendirilmesi* (Master Thesis, Marmara University, 2002), 10.

of the classical materialism as well.⁴ In this context, “seemingly materialism” does not mean materialist but means close to materialism.⁵

The second aspect that made the issue of the criticism of materialism intriguing in the last period of Ottoman *Kalām* is that the struggle against materialism gave rise to the movement of “New Science of *Kalām*” (*Yeni İlm-i Kelām* in Turkish and *‘İlm Kalām Jadīd* in Arabic) in the Ottoman State.⁶ In other words, the Ottoman State believes that the struggle against modern philosophical currents such as positivism and materialism, which threaten its own existence, can only be achieved by updating the *kalām*. In this context, Islamic Board of Examination and Publication, affiliated with the Ministry of Justice officially assigned Ismail Hakkı İzmirli to write a book that brought the *kalām* up to date.⁷ Hence, his work, *The New Science of Kalām*, which he did not succeed to finish, has the distinction of being the last *kalām* book extant from the Ottoman Empire within a period of more than 600 hundred years.

1. CONCEPTUAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Forming a conceptual and historical background before discussing the critics of materialism of the late Ottoman scholars of *kalām* will contribute to a better understanding of the subject. Materialism, derived from the word ‘materia’, meaning substance in Latin, is the name of the theory which reduces all existing

⁴ Richard Frank, “Kalām and Philosophy, A Perspective from One Problem”, *Islamic Philosophical Theology*, ed. P. Morewedge (Albany: University of New York Press, 1979), 86. It is true that classical Muslim theologians (*mutakallimūn*) generally consider all created things to be material, however, this attitude of them cannot be explained through materialism in the philosophical sense. For *mutakallimūn* accept the existence of a god apart from the universe. Regarding this issue, see. Richard Frank, *The Metaphysics of Created Being According to Abū l-Hudhayl al-‘Allāf* (Istanbul 1966), 40.

⁵ This character of the classical period *kalām* was used by materialists in the last century and sometimes caused exploitation. Friedrich Albert Lange (1828-1875), in his book entitled *The History of Materialism* (1865), states that the classical period Arabic philosophers made important contributions to materialism. Frederick Albert Lange, *The History of Materialism*, translation to English: Ernest Chester Thomas (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, Ltd, 1925), 177. The materialist character of the classical period *kalām* also attracted the attention of Soviet Russia, in the search for a sect complying with communism for the Muslim subjects in the years of cold war. In this context, due to its ‘materialistic impressions’, Marxist researchers such as Tayyib Tisini, Tawfik Ibrahim Kâmil and Lebanese Hussein Muruwwa had a special interest in *kalām* atomism. Josef van Ess, “60 years after Shlomo Pines’s Beitrage and Half a Century Research on Atomism and İslâmīc Theology”, *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* (Jerusalem: 2002), 21. In the same way, while some proponents of materialism such as Celal Nuri, in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, argued that the religion of Islam was a suitable religion to materialism, they referred to the classical period Islamic theologians. Süleyman Hayrı Bolay, *Türkiye’de Ruhçu ve Maddeci Görüşün Mücadelesi* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1995), 166, 81-82. Bayram Ali Çetinkaya, “Modern Türkiye’nin Felsefi Kökenleri”, *Sivas Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 6/2 (2002): 82.

⁶ M. Sait Özerverli, “Alternative Approaches to Modernization in the Late Ottoman Period: İzmirli İsmail Hakkı’s Religious Thought Against Materialist Scientism”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39 (2007): 85-88.

⁷ İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelām* (Istanbul: Evkâf-ı İslâmiyye Matbaası, 1339-1341), 1: 17, 90.

things, including spirit, thought, consciousness, to matter and its interactions,⁸ or tries to explain reality as a whole through physical processes.⁹

Materialism tries to answer two questions by definition. The first is what the basic elements of the universe are. Materialists respond to this question in a monistic way. Accordingly, the ultimate substance that is present in the basis of everything, and the essential constituent of the universe is matter.¹⁰ The substance does not have any primary quality other than shape, weight, extension and being in continuous motion. The physical and cognitive secondary qualities attributed to such objects such as temperature, coldness, taste, color, sound, consciousness, will, life etc. are not actually existent, but can be explained by reducing them to primary qualities.¹¹ From this aspect, materialism is separated from spiritualism, which considers the spirit to be the principle present in everything, and from idealism, which regards thought as primary and brings the other beings apart from it to the point of a secondary quality.¹²

The second question that materialism tries to answer is how the universe works. How does such a universe in multiplicity change in an orderly way? Materialism tries to answer this question in a naturalistic way, that is, without resorting to any transcendent being, by explaining the universe only through its own processes. According to materialists, the universe is not the work of any divine will, design, and teleological or final cause.¹³ Materialists mostly explain this by regarding the movement or force as the essential quality of matter. Accordingly, an infinite number of atoms in an infinite space collide with each other and then interlock with each other or separate from each other, thereby are in a continuous movement for all eternity. The merging of atoms represents the generation; the separation of them represents the corruption.

⁸ Morris T. Keeton, "Materialism", *The Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. Dagobert D. Runes (New York: Philosophical Library), 189.

⁹ A.R. Lacey, *A Dictionary of Philosophy*, Third edition (New York: Routledge, 1996), 194.

¹⁰ Raymond Williams, "Materialism", *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 197.

¹¹ Keith Campbell, "Materialism", *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2nd ed. Donald M. Borchert (Detroit: Macmillan Thomson & Gale), 6: 6.

¹² For example, Ahmed Hilmi of Filibe (1865-1914), one of the late period Ottoman scholars, describes the principles of materialism prevalent in his time as following: 1) There is nothing in the universe except force and matter. Matter and force cannot be destroyed; therefore, they are everlasting and eternal. 2) The nature is administered by its own laws. There is no need to think of a creator because these laws account for the nature and the changes taking place on it, and as is given in the first point because they are everlasting and eternal. 3) Human's intelligence and consciousness is merely a result of experience, and human does not have an exclusive rank bestowed upon him/her and called mind. 4) Human is a mere natural phenomenon and is not different from other phenomena. Human is also under the influence of the laws of nature having operated necessarily in the same manner that all phenomena are. Therefore, it is revealed that human freedom is no more than a saying. See. Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, "Hangi Felsefi Ekolü Kabul Etmeliyiz" (İstanbul: Hikmet Matbaası, 1349/1930), 22; also see. Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Huzur-ı Akl-ı Fende Mâddiyyûn Meslek-i Dalâleti* (İstanbul: Matbaa-ı İslâmiyye, 1332), 72.

¹³ According to materialists, any change in the nature is also a result of another material cause. See. William A Dembski, *Being as Communion: A Metaphysics of Information* (United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 56, 57.

As a result, complex entities within the order that we see originate because there is a possibility of a world that is suitable for regular life conditions as we live within the infinite possibilities of generation and corruption.

With its responses to the first and second question, materialism has inherent anti-religious discourse. The monistic aspect, which does not accept a realm of existence apart from material universe, confronts it with divine religions that define the universe as ‘everything that exists rather than God’. The naturalistic aspect, on the other hand, leads to the rejection of such associations such as the creation, mercy, design, purpose, wisdom, the world of examination, salvation and so on that the divine religions use while establishing the God-universe relation.

It is possible to take the first advocates of materialism carrying such atheistic implications back to the pre-Socratic philosophers in history. Friedrich Albert Lange (1828-1875) says that it is “as old as the history of philosophy but not older”.¹⁴ The idea of “everything is water” of Thales (6th century BC), from the Ionian philosophers, is to explain the origin and present state of the universe as a whole with a material being that is at the most fundamental level.¹⁵ However, among the philosophers of antiquity, it was accepted that Leucippus (5th century BC) and Democritus (460-370 BC) were the first proponents of materialism in the real sense by presenting a systematic nature idea based on atomism. These philosophers who want to reconcile the physical phenomena such as the multitude, change and movement observed in the visible world with the principle of the unity and immutability of the Elea School and Parmenides (5th century BC) in the pre-Socratic philosophy, have reduced the existence as a whole to atoms of a certain shape, size and void.¹⁶ According to them, nothing except atoms and void actually exists. If there were no void, movement would not have been possible. Atoms are constantly in motion in this vast gap. In other words, the movement is the natural state of atoms and does not require explanation.¹⁷ Nothing happens by luck; everything happens by a cause necessarily. This necessity is natural and mechanical. This means that any idea of teleological order and purpose is excluded. Nothing comes out of nothing, and something that exists does not go out of existence. All new things are merely a combination of atoms. Atoms are infinite in number and limitless in shape. The atoms that have been in constant motion for all eternity are in chaos with each

¹⁴ Lange, *The History of Materialism*, V.

¹⁵ In pre-Socratic philosophy, there was not a clear distinction concerning spirit, body, matter and mind. In this context, material also used to include spiritual elements. For this reason, some historians claimed that Ionian philosophers were not materialist but rather hylozoist. Accordingly, this living being was a matter just as everything was material. Max Jammer, “Materialism”, *Encyclopedia of Science and Religion*, ed. Wentzel Verde van Huyssteen (New York: MacMillan, 2003), 2: 538.

¹⁶ David Furley, *The Greek Cosmologists: The Formation of the Atomic Theory and its Earliest Critics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1: 115 ff.

¹⁷ W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy: The Presocratic Tradition from Parmenides to Democritus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 389 ff.

other. The simple mechanism behind the formation of complex objects is a vortex of atoms that collide with each other.¹⁸

According to Aristotle (384-322 BC), Democritus did not deny the existence of spirit, but did not make any distinction between the two as a material component. The reason why spirit is superior is that it is made of perfectly smooth atoms in the form of spheres from the kind of temperature and fire.¹⁹ Therefore, according to materialists, the body-spirit distinction is not a problem since there is no difference between atoms of the body and spirit in terms of being made of same matter.²⁰

The materialist cosmology of Democritus was attempted to be revived by Epicurus (342-270 BC) in the Hellenistic period. In particular, hedonism made Epicurus one of the most famous materialists in the world history. He intended to establish a system in which materialism was regarded as the only basis for a happy life, free of fictitious beliefs and fears.²¹ Later, Roman poet Lucretius (99-55 BC) tried to improve the materialist metaphysics of Epicurus in his long didactic poem *De Rerum Natura*. Lucretius, like Epicurus, used a language to relieve people of the anxiety and fear, which according to him, religions had caused.²² In this respect, he did not believe that human beings have a spirit beyond the substance to survive after their death.²³

Although materialism was supported by philosophers such as Democritus, Epicurus and Lucretius, it had always been reacted negatively in the Western thought and had remained a marginal theory. For instance, philosophers such as Plato (427-347 BC) and Aristotle (384-322 BC), who had a transcendent element which can be regarded as a god (i.e. Demiurge and Prime Mover respectively) in their philosophical systems, as well as philosophy schools such as the Stoics and Neoplatonists, criticized materialism. During the middle ages, materialism could not find support due to the increase in the effectiveness of divine religions especially like Judaism and Christianity, and its defenders were declared perverse. For example, Dante (1265-1321) sends materialist philosophers such as Democritus and Epicurus to the lowest level of Hell in his *Divine Comedy*. The reason for this is the explanation of spirit through material atoms.²⁴ As a result, materialism did not become an effective theory in Western thought until the 16th century.

¹⁸ Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, trans. English C. D. Yonge (London: H.G. Bohn Book, 1853), 394-395. According to atomist philosophers, perceived secondary properties like sweetness, bitterness, temperature, coldness, and colors are merely a sum of atoms with primary qualities such as size, shape, mass and non-penetrability. In this way, the characteristics, which are subject to perception, are formed through the influence of the collected atoms on the spirit atoms. Keith Campell, "Materialism", *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2nd edition, ed. Donald M. Borchert (USA: Thomson&Gale, 2005), 6: 7.

¹⁹ Aristotle, *De Anima*, trans. English R. D. Hicks (New York: Cosimo, 2008), 14-22 (405a 8-13, 406b).

²⁰ H. Meyer, "Materialism", *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Janet Halfmann (Detroit: Thomson/Gale, 2003), 9: 319.

²¹ Keith Campell, "Materialism", 6: 8.

²² H. Meyer, "Materialism", *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 9: 319.

²³ Keith Campell, *ibid.*

²⁴ See. Joseph Anthony Mazzeo, "Dante and Epicurus", *Comparative Literature* 10/2 (Spring, 1958): 106 ff.

The adventure of materialism in the Islamic world however was different from the West. As is known, Abū al-Hudhayl al-‘Allāf (d. 235/849)²⁵, one of the Mu‘tazilite theologians, refined atomism that had been associated with materialism until then and brought it into theism.²⁶ In contrast to Jewish and Christian theologians who regarded the theory as deviant, atomism in the hands of the classical Muslim theologians (*mutakallimūn*) became occasionalism, one of the most lusty theories on God-universe relationship.²⁷ In the Islamic world, atomism did not remain a marginal theory as in the Western thought, rather it became a dominant model of universe within the 10-12th centuries.²⁸

Undoubtedly, to bring such a materialist theory (i.e., atomism) to theism should be regarded as the success of the *mutakallimūn*. In fact, this is a success corresponding to the fact that the theory of evolution, which is used in opposition to theism by materialists nowadays, is put into the service of theism through a change process. But the *mutakallimūn* had to pay a price to make atomism fit theism. Accordingly, the universe as a whole, including the angels and the soul, is composed of material substances or indivisible particles (*al-juz’ alladhī lā yatajazza’*, i.e., atom) that occupy space. Human characteristics such as thought, knowledge, will, consciousness and life are regarded as accidents (*a’rāḍ*) carried by the material atoms that make up the brain or heart. It is impossible for such qualities to exist without attaching to a material substratum [which refer to the space occupying indivisible particles].²⁹

However, it is also a fact that such “seemingly materialist” view, which was present in the classical period, began to lose its influence in the period after al-Ghazālī (d. 505-1111) (*muta’akhhirūn* or post classical period). The main reason for this is that the concept of spiritual (*rūḥānī*) or abstract (*mujarrad*) substance (*jawhar*) is accepted by the Muslim theologians in the post classical period.³⁰ For example, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) is of the opinion that human beings are composed of space-occupying (*mutaḥayyiz*)

²⁵ For his life and works, see. Metin Yurdağur, “Ebū’l-Hūzeyl el-Allāf”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1994), 10: 330-332.

²⁶ Otto Pretzl, “Erken Dönem İslâm’ın Atom Öğretisi”, translated from German Bilal Kır, *KADER: Kelam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 13/1 (2015): 561 ff.

²⁷ Duncan B. Macdonald, “Klasik Dönem Kelâmında Atomcu Zaman Ve Sürekli Yeniden Yaratma”, translated from English Mehmet Bulğen, *Kelâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 14/1 (2016): 279 ff.

²⁸ Alnoor Dhanani, “İslâm Düşüncesinde Atomculuk”, translated from English. Mehmet Bulğen, *KADER: Kelâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 9/1 (2011), 393 ff.

²⁹ For example, Imām Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī (d. 324/935-36), who accepts that the universe is made up of indivisible substances and accidents, claims that soul is a subtle body (*jism latif*) belonging to the species of breath and air. He also counts such elements as life, will and knowledge as accident (*‘araḍ*). According to him, when air moves rapidly it becomes wind (*riḥ*), and when it enters the lungs it becomes what we know as the soul (*rūḥ*). Therefore, the soul does not mean life, because life is an accident. Ibn Fūrak, *Mujarrad Maqālāt al-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī*, ed. Daniel Gimert (Beirut: Dar al-Mashriq, 1987), 267, 271.

³⁰ Al-Ghazālī adopted the dualist human concept assuming that the abstract soul is the essence of human and the material body is the instrument of him. See. al-Ghazālī, *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa-Filozofların Tutarsızlığı*, text and trans. Mahmut Kaya and Hüseyin Sarıoğlu (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2005), 219.

substances and spiritual substance that is non-extended. In this context, he explains such characteristics of man as thought, will and consciousness in proportion to the immaterial spirit.³¹

Going back to the adventure of materialism in Western thought again, materialism was a theory that gained importance in the West as much as it fell into disfavor in the Islamic world. The change of cosmological paradigm in the 17th-century science revolution in Europe pushed Western scholars to quest philosophies of nature, alternative to Aristotle. In this context, philosophers such as Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), Francis Bacon (1561-1626), and Daniel Sennert (1572-1637) again took an interest in ancient atomist views.³² Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), a priest in Paris and also an astronomy teacher at the Royal College, tried to revive Epicureanism as an alternative to the Aristotelian universe understanding. But while doing so, he claimed that atoms were created and not eternal. Thus, he reconciled the atomistic natural philosophy of Epicure with the belief of creation of Christianity. Gassendi's materialism includes the field of psychology as well as physics, and claims that all events in the world take place with the organization of atoms.³³ However, his metaphysics -because he admits the existence of a God of creativity and ingenuity- is not materialist, but 'seemingly materialist', as it is in the Muslim theologians of the classical period. In this direction, it is possible to consider Gassendi to be Abū al-Hudhayl of the Christian world.

Although Gassendi had given faithful scientists such as Galileo (1564 -1642), Newton (1642 -1726) a ground to adopt atomism³⁴, he confronted Descartes (1596-1650), who defended the dualist human view.³⁵ Descartes on the one hand accepted the materialist character of the inanimate world, even the plants and animals, and on the other hand, he conceded that besides his material body, a human being has an immortal and immaterial spirit possessing features like consciousness, and thought. Thus, the philosophy of Descartes says that the universe is composed of two basic elements, as in the view of the *mutakallimūn* of the post classical period: material/spatial substance that forms the body and the spiritual/non-extended one representing the thought. These two come together in a mysterious way in human beings.³⁶

In the 18th century, with the effect of Newtonian mechanics, the spread of deism created a preliminary preparation for materialism. In fact, Newton himself, as a faithful Christian, argued that God

³¹ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Ma'ālim fi Uṣūl al-Dīn*, ed. Samih Dughaym (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnani, 1992), 26.

³² Robert H. Kargon, "Atomism in the Seventeenth Century", *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. Philip Wiener (USA: Charles Scribner's Sons 1973), 1: 132 ff; John Henry, "Matter", *Encyclopedia of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. Wilbur Applebaum (New York, London: 2000), 621.

³³ Lauge Olaf Nielsen, "A Seventeenth-Century Physician on God and Atoms", *Memory of Jan Pinborg*, ed. Norman Kretzman and Jan Pinborg (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1988), 297-369.

³⁴ Lynn Sumida Joy, *Gassendi the Atomist: Advocate of History in an Age of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 180.

³⁵ Margaret J. Osler, "Divine Will and The Mechanical Philosophy: Gassendi and Descartes on Contingency and Necessity", *The Created World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 180.

³⁶ Keith Campell, "Materialism", 6: 8,9.

not only created the universe, but also still preserved its order.³⁷ On the other hand, the theories of motion that he developed meant that the universe as a whole worked mechanically in a mathematical order. In this context, Newtonian mechanics created a background for the spread of deism in Europe. While deism has an understanding of God that creates the universe or saves it from chaos, but it tries to leave the universe on its own in the next/following process. However, this does not mean that all mechanists are materialist. While for Diderot (1713 - 1784), Voltaire (1694 - 1778) and Frederick the Great (1712 - 1786), the mechanical universe thought leads to materialism and atheism, for Leibniz (1646 -1716), Shaftesbury (1671 - 1713), J.G. Herder (1744 - 1803) and Goethe (1749-1832), the mechanical and mathematical explanation of the universe does not lead human to atheism.³⁸

If we take a closer look at the materialists of the era who will also influence the Ottomans, undoubtedly the most famous materialist of the century is Baron d’Holbach (1723 - 1789) who is a French nobleman, living in Paris. His book, *Systeme de la nature* (1770), which is considered to be the “gospel of materialism”, has an entirely anti-religious discourse. In his book, Holbach declares that nothing can be left out of nature. This indicated that there was no God outside of the material universe as divine religions claim. Nature is continuous and events occur in consecutive causal determinations. The matter is always there, and it is always in motion. Different worlds are made up of different distributions of matter and movement. Everything existing can be explained in a determined way within the context of the laws of matter and motion. Therefore, there is no God who gives order and purpose beyond the universe. Although perception may seem to be a different feature of matter, in reality it is a special form of movement. Man is a purely physical being. According to Baron d’Holbach, one can take their own future into their own hands by getting rid of illusions. He can establish his own happiness. Humans should put aside immortality, God, faith and future anxiety so that they should pave the way for their own natural development. For religion detaches people from nature and real life.³⁹

In the 19th century, the success of natural sciences with the technological advancements helped spread materialism throughout Europe. Positivism and utilitarianism, emerging in France and England, also the development of living conditions with the industrial revolution and discoveries in the field of physics (e.g. the law of conservation of energy), and new findings concerning the inorganic and organic transformations were effective in this. In this context, physicians and biologists, such as Karl Vogt (1817 - 95), Jakob Moleschott (1822-93) and Louis Büchner (1824 - 99), became the spokesman of the evolutionist materialist philosophy called “vulgar materialism.”⁴⁰

Charles Darwin (1809 - 1882) published the book *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, and *The Descent of Man* in 1871. Thomas Henry Huxley (1825 - 1895), in 1863, published *Man’s Place in Nature*. It is stated that these

³⁷ The discussion between Newton and Leibniz on this issue is well-known. See. Hylarie Kochiras, *Force, Matter, and Metaphysics in Newton's Natural Philosophy* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill 2008), 107.

³⁸ H. Meyer, “Materialism”, 9: 320.

³⁹ Paul Henri Thiry Holbach, *The system of nature: or, The laws of the moral and physical World*, Tr. from the French of M. Mirabaud, (University of Michigan 1795), 19, 79 ff; Keith Campell, “Materialism”, 6/11.

⁴⁰ H. Meyer, “Materialism”, 9: 320.

three studies provide an experimentally supported background for the main thesis of the vulgar materialism. This thesis is that living beings assume certain forms without the effect of a transcendental cause, rather their forms are defined by the environment they live in, and accordingly, human as a whole is a part of the natural world.⁴¹

David Friedrich Strauss (1808 - 1874) and Ernst Haeckel (1834 - 1919) as practitioners of Darwin's principles became well-known advocates of the materialist movement. Strauss Hegelian, as a radical Bible critic, also made the transition from idealism to materialism.⁴² According to him, new developments in biology require reinterpretation of nature as a whole. For Strauss, there is no fundamental difference between living and non-living beings; life is a kind of mechanism although it is only slightly complicated. According to Darwin's natural selection principles, the best survives and little mutations occur over time. In this context, one can show how it came into current state if he traces back from the present richness of species. Man arose not from the hands of God, but from the depths of nature. His initial state is not a fall from the highest status in the heaven in which he was extracted, but is climbing up from the animalism through an evolution process. There is no place for a supernatural God, a universe of souls, and a distinction between the spirit and body.⁴³

Haeckel's thoughts were similar to those of Strauss. He tried to give a philosophical position to Darwinism. Haeckel's theory of matter is, in summary, based on the view of infinite matter that does not change in a continuous movement in infinite space and time. According to him, the formation of living things in the world, including man, is part of the general evolution in the universe.⁴⁴ After carbon appears on the surface, organic life begins. Spiritual characteristics of human are also tied to the laws of matter and are shaped by chemical changes. Haeckel opposed the fact that the human soul had a structure beyond substance and thus making a fundamental distinction between animal and human. He regarded the gradual development of that human from lower backbone animals as a great victory.⁴⁵

Besides such examples of evolutionary materialism, the other field in which materialism developed in Europe in the 19th century was the "dialectical materialism" led by Karl Marx (1818 - 1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820 - 1895). This view, which saw the history as a scene where economic aspect of man is the

⁴¹ Vulgar materialism underlines human's naturalist nature that is independent of history and culture, and completely reduces human's mental and psychological characteristics to the physiological processes of brain. Vulgar materialism, which was regarded within the European science circles, in the period when it emerged, as being far from intellectual and philosophical depth, and which was described as simple, rough and common, concludes from the postulate that thought is an organic product of brain that it is an absolute organic determination of social ideas. This means that when the organisms of an individual are changed, his/her political and religious ideas may also change. Regarding this issue see. Keith Campell, "Materialism", 6: 10.

⁴² For example, see. David Friedrich Strauss, *The Life of Jesus: Critically Examined*, trans: Marian Evans (New York: C. Blanchard, 1860), 1: 27 ff.

⁴³ H. Meyer, "Materialism", 9: 320-321.

⁴⁴ Ernst Haeckel, *The History of Creation*, trans. E. Ray Lankester (EBook: Release Date: August 14, 2012), 1: 4 ff.

⁴⁵ H. Meyer, "Materialism", 9: 321.

primary determinant, was actually the result of the unification of the materialism of Feuerbach (1804 - 1872) and the dialectic of Hegel (1770 - 1831).⁴⁶ According to Marx and Engels, the material universe perceived by the senses has an objective reality independent of the spirit and the mind. Although they do not deny the existence of mental and moral processes, they argue that ideas only emerge as a reflection of material situations. For this reason, Marx and Engels's materialism is opposed to idealism and spiritualism, which claim that matter is dependent on the mind or the spirit.⁴⁷

2. INTRODUCTION AND PROLIFERATION OF MATERIALISM TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In fact, materialism, a product of Western thought, had the opportunity to spread in many countries in the 19th century and also influenced the Ottoman Empire, which had an intense relationship with Europe. The first introduction of materialism to the Ottomans and its subsequent widespread among the intellectuals covers a period that spans nearly a century. After the Rescript of Tanzimat (1838), this view, which is more or less evident in the field of literature, is argued to have begun to exert its influence towards the end of the 19th century and completed its entrance to the Ottoman state after the proclamation of the second constitutional period (1908).⁴⁸

The first confrontation of the Ottoman culture with materialism can be traced back to the end of the 18th century. The Ottoman intelligentsia who went to Europe, particularly to France, had the opportunity to meet closely the ideas of the 18th-century French materialists such as Denis Diderot (1713 - 1784), Baron d'Holbach (1723 - 1789) and Pierre Cabanis (1757 - 1808). In addition to the students who were sent abroad, the educational institutions, opened in European style played a significant role in the entry of materialism into the Ottoman Empire such as Ottoman Medical School (1839), Ottoman Military School (1834) and Galatasaray Sultani (1868).⁴⁹ Among these schools, especially Ottoman Medical School's role in the settling and spreading of materialism in the Ottoman Empire is great.⁵⁰ For example, the British historian and traveler Charles Macfarlane (1799 - 1858) states that a completely materialistic education was given at the Ottoman Medical School in his notes he compiled from his visit from 1847 to 1848 to find out about the Ottoman Empire.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Historical materialism as an extension of dialectic materialism applies the principles of dialectic materialism to the events of community life, society and the studies on society. See. J. Stalin, *Diyalektik ve Tarihsel Materyalizm* (Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları, Eylül 1979), 9.

⁴⁷ Engels describes this situation as follows: “The only truth is the sensible material world, on which we are present. Our consciousness and thoughts, however they seem supra-sensuous, are products of a material and bodily organ, that is brain. Matter is not a product of spirit; conversely, spirit itself is nothing more than the highest product of matter. Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, 1: 302, 329; J. Stalin, *Diyalektik ve Tarihsel Materyalizm*, 23, 24.

⁴⁸ On this issue see. Mehmet Akgün, *Türkiye’de Klasik Materyalizmin Eleştirileri* (Ankara: Elis Yayınları. 2007), 9.

⁴⁹ Mehmet Akgün, *Materyalizmin Türkiye’ye Girişi* (Ankara: Elis Yayınları, 2014), 11 ff.

⁵⁰ Süleyman Hayri Bolay, *Osmanlılarda Düşünce Hayatı ve Felsefe*, 290.

⁵¹ Macfarlane recounts what he saw in a meeting he was invited during his Mekteb-i Tıbbiye trip as follows: “I was invited in an excellently furnished saloon that is allocated for doctors and Turkish assistants. There was a book on the sofa. I took it and looked at it. This was the last Paris edition of Baron d’Holbach’s book of irreligiousness, *Systeme*

When we look at the general character of Ottoman materialism, it has not been a movement of thought discussed in just an intellectual course as is the case with the struggle between realism-idealism or materialism-spiritualism in the West. Moreover, it has formed a background to the contexts of such higher discussions as westernization and being contemporary on the rescue of the Empire, which was collapsed in terms of the military, politics and finance.⁵² In other words, materialism was seen as an important civilization, education and modernization project rather than a philosophical movement in the Ottoman state.⁵³

Another feature of Ottoman materialism is that rather than the dialectical materialism led by Karl Marx and Engels,⁵⁴ it developed under the influence of the positivist and evolutionist “vulgar materialism” that scholars such as Ludwing Buchner and Ernst Heackel pioneered.⁵⁵ The transfer of the theory to the social sphere was mostly through the British Herbert Spencer (1820 - 1903) and the Frenchman Gustave Le Bon (1841 - 1931).⁵⁶

Louis Büchner is worth stressing among these names. His work *Matter and Force (Kraft und Stoff)* - 1855), which was published in Germany, has 21 editions and has been translated into 17 languages, including Ottoman. The main thesis of this book, which is the focal point of the discussions of materialism in the Ottoman Empire, is the claim, without any creative god idea, that there can be no force without matter and

de La Nature. I deduced from the many marks on its pages that this book was read extensively. These marked places were the parts show the absurdity of believing in God and the impossibility of the belief of the imperishability of the spirit through mathematics. Just as I was putting the book back, one of the Turkish doctors came near me and said the followings in French: "C'est un grand ouvrage! C'est un grand Philosophe! il a toujo-urs raison!". See Murtaza Korlaelçi, *Pozitivizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2002), 198. Macfarlane could not hide his astonishment when he saw that almost all the books that had prepared the French Revolution were being read in Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye. He says about the library of this faculty: “I had not seen a collection gathering sheer materialism books for a long time. A young Turkish, seated, was reading the handbook of irreligiousness, that is, *Système de la Nature*. Another student was showing his skills as he was reading some passages from *Jacques le Fatalisme* and *Le Compère Mathieu* of Diderot. *Rapports du Physique et du Moral de L'Homme* of Cabanis was noticeably placed on the shelves.” Charles Mac Farlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, 5: 163-165; Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* (İstanbul: YKY, 2002), 232.

⁵² Meral Yıldırım, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Aydınlarının Materyalizme Dair Eleştirileri* (Master Thesis, Marmara University 2004), 3.

⁵³ Mehmet Akgün, *Materyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, 11.

⁵⁴ Şerife Akyol, *Materyalizmin İnsan Anlayışının Modern Çağın İnanç Problemleri Açısından Değerlendirilmesi* (Master Thesis, Marmara University, 2002), 32.

⁵⁵ The entrance of classical materialism to the Ottoman Empire falls on the last quarter of the 19th century, however, dialectical materialism entered after 1919 and had a very limited effect. See. Mehmet Akgün, *Materyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, 12, 50.

⁵⁶ Regarding the effect of biological materialism that emerged by the influence of Darwinizm on the Ottoman intelligentsia, see. Atilla Doğan, *Sosyal Darwinizm ve Osmanlı Aydınları Üzerindeki Etkileri (1860-1916)*, (Doctoral Thesis, Marmara University, 2003), 165-315.

vice versa. According to Büchner, who argues that his writings were entirely based on experimental science, matter and force are in fact two distinct manifestations of the same being and are not different from each other. Even between the smallest particles, there is a pulling and pushing force. Movement is the inherent quality of the material. The matter is in constant motion in its smallest parts.⁵⁷ Büchner also objected to the idea that man has an immortal spirit, which is independent of his material body. For him, there is basically no difference between living and non-living beings, except that one [of them] is more complex. Büchner, who claimed that the difference between human and other life forms was not "qualitative" but "quantitative", argued that emotions and thoughts were a kind of electrical impulses shaped by consistent examples of the human nervous system. Similarly, he argued that organic life evolved from an inorganic substance/matter.⁵⁸

Although the vulgar materialism led by Louis Büchner was labeled as “rough”, “popular”, “away from the depth” in European intellectual spaces,⁵⁹ it was accepted as the ultimate worldview whose accuracy is undisputed by the Westernist Ottoman intellectuals. This situation led to the alienation of the Ottoman intelligentsia from its own tradition of thought and caused them to disengage from other philosophical traditions of Western thought.⁶⁰ Probably the reason why vulgar materialism was accepted to this extent in the Ottoman Empire was its claim to explain the process from the formation of the universe to the emergence of the first living thing and from the emergence of the human to the development of the most civilized societies. This seemed to present the rules for progression and doing away with backwardness in that period, which was the most important problem of the Ottoman Empire.⁶¹

Among those who helped develop and expand materialism in the Ottoman Empire, the names such as Abdullah Cevdet, Beşîr Fuâd, Bahâ Tevfik and Celâl Nuri can be mentioned. These names have tried to spread materialism in Ottoman [lands] by means of secret and open associations they established, newspapers and

⁵⁷ Louis Büchner, *Madde ve Kuvvet*, trans. Baha Tevfik-Ahmed Nebil, (İstanbul: Müşterekü'l-menfa'a Osmanlı Şirketi Matba'ası, [t.y.]), 1: 12

⁵⁸ Louis Büchner, *Madde ve Kuvvet*, 3: 499 ff.

⁵⁹ On this issue see. M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, “Felsefesiz Bir Toplumun Felsefe Olmayan Felsefesinin İlmihali: Madde ve Kuvvet”, in Louis Büchner, *Mâdde ve Kuvvet*, ed. Kemal Kahramanoğlu, Ali Utku (İstanbul: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2012), 24.

⁶⁰ Atilla Doğan, “Son Dönem Osmanlı Düşüncesinde Yeni Etik Arayışları”, 2. *Siyasette ve Yönetimde Etik Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı* (Sakarya, 2005), 398.

⁶¹ According to Şükrü Hanioğlu there are three reasons why vulgar materialism became “high philosophy” within the Ottoman intellectual milieu and why *Matter and Force* regarded as the holy book of this thought system: “Disputes pertaining to the religion-science conflict in the intellectual milieux were spreading and this was considered as the main determinant of history. For this reason, in the Ottoman lands, vulgar materialism perceived as a doctrine that ensures the ultimate victory of science against religion. 2) Vulgar materialism was assumed as the motive force of the development in the West. 3) It was accepted as the common denominator of all systems criticizing religion and thinking that the era of religion has come to an end. See. M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, “Felsefesiz Bir Toplumun Felsefe olmayan Felsefesinin İlmihali”, 27.

magazines, translation and copyright works they published.⁶² Although they differ from each other in details, rather than using a method against religion in the first place, they aimed at spreading materialism under the name of clarifying the religion of Islam from the innovations and purifying it from superstitions.⁶³ In their view, the conciliation of materialist ideas with religion meant the easy adoption of materialism by society, and at least, decreasing the backlash against them in a religious society. For this reason, Ottoman materialists in the works they wrote claimed that Islam, the last and the absolute religion, is a religion in accordance with science and materialism. They also stated that aspects that are contradictory with materialism shown up in consequence of the innovations and superstitions included by exegetists (*tafsîr* and *hadith*) scholars, who misinterpreted the Qur’an, in the historical process.⁶⁴ They say on the one hand that the religion of Islam gives importance to the use of science and scientific research. On the other hand, they argue that the theory of evolution and the idea of matter and force being eternal is the definitive knowledge revealed by the latest developments in science. For this reason, there is no possibility that the religion of Islam is against the truth of materialism.⁶⁵ For example, when Bahâ Tevfik and Ahmed Nebil translated Büchner's (1824-1899) *Matter and Force*, in their presentation script, entitled “Our Words”, they stated that the religion which was targeted in this book was Christianity that lost its originality but not Islam.⁶⁶

On the one hand, the materialists emphasized that Islam fundamentally corresponds to materialism, and on the other hand, they tried to give meanings suitable to their own line to the beliefs and values adopted by the general population such as the principle of monotheism (*tawhîd*), creating out of nothing and afterlife.⁶⁷ For example, if we take a closer look at Celal Nuri's views, he is criticizing the evidence of the temporal origination (*huduth*) argument of classical *mutakallimûn* on the creation of the universe. According

⁶² Beşîr Fuâd with his books *Viktor Hügo* (İstanbul 1302), *Beşer* (İstanbul 1303), *Volter* (İstanbul 1304) ve *İntikâd* (İstanbul 1304) and with his several articles; Baha Tevfik with these various translations and his writings on *Felsefe Mecmuası*; Celâl Nuri (İleri) especially with his book *Tarih-i İstikbâl* (I-III. İstanbul 1331-1332) and with his varied translations and publications; Abdullah Cevdet with his physiology and biology themed materialist writings in the journal named *İçtihad*; Tevfik Fikret with his poem named *Tarih-i Kadim* (İstanbul 1321). See. Aydın Topaloğlu, “Materyalizm”, 28: 140.

⁶³ Ahmet İshak Demir, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Aydınlarının İslâm’a Bakışı*, 135. Also see. M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, “Abdullah Cevdet”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1988), 1: 90-93.

⁶⁴ Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Huzur-ı Akl-ı Fende Mâddiyyûn Meslek-i Dalâleti*, 10, 11, 28, 136.

⁶⁵ On the claims that Islam religion and materialism are congruous with each other, which are made by Ottoman materialist Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi says the following: “To claim that there is a significant principle in materialism that conforms with the spirit of Islam is an absurd idea. Even Büchner’s soul, if he has one, cannot restrain itself from smiling towards this courageous student’s claim. An infidelity path that belittles the Necessary Being with a so-called name like insoluble, or “unknowable”, and that is nothing more than the denial of spirit and God and whose these characteristics have been never denied by its defenders, as well as an assertion that there is an important compatibility between infidelity and religion are tawdry claims. See. Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *ibid.* 33.

⁶⁶ Louis Büchner, *Madde ve Kuvvet*, 4.

⁶⁷ Rahmi Karakuş, *Felsefe Serüvenimiz* (İstanbul: Seyran Yayınları, 1995), 194.

to him, accepting that the universe is formed suddenly is, in one sense, breaking the relationship of God, who is the essence of the force, with the universe. For the essential thing in being is continuity. Celal Nuri thinks that matter existed before this world, but that we cannot know this with our current scientific level yet.⁶⁸

He also criticizes the methods theologians use to prove that the world has been created depending on the claim that the accidents (*a'rāḍ*) are temporally generated. According to Celal Nuri, the fact that movement turns into rest, darkness turns into light; white becomes black and vice versa for all does not mean that the world has been temporally created. To him, ‘change’ or ‘transformation’ in existence does not mean “creation”. Force is the transformation of existence from one nature to another by evolution and change, and the matter is also like this.⁶⁹

Unlike *mutakallimūn* argue, Celal Nuri claims that it is not possible to observe the creation of any power out of nothing with our senses. Matter and force can transform from one form to another through evolution and change. Existents were not generated in time quite the contrary, they exist by themselves. All events are liable to eternal causes and immutable laws.⁷⁰ According to him, influenced by hadith scholars, *mutakallimūn* had a strange interpretation of “the creation out of nothing” since they did not understand the origin and creation (*takwīn*). However, *takwīn* means that matter and force by changing shape caused the formation of the present universe. Or else, it does not mean that the universe did not exist before; the matter and force were also absent, but then everything came into being out of blue.”⁷¹

3. THE FIGHT AGAINST MATERIALISM IN THE OTTOMAN STATE AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW SCIENCE OF KALĀM

Contemporary studies which approach the discussions of materialism in the Ottoman Empire in a systematic way, often try to reduce the issue to the discussion of materialism and spiritualism.⁷² However, examined closely, it will be realized that this type of classification is not appropriate. Although it is true that movements such as materialism, positivism, and Darwinism are from the West, on the other hand, the first reactions to materialism are not emerged by the influence of the spiritualist or idealist movements in the West, but rather derived from the traditional thought currents already present in the Ottoman Empire

⁶⁸ Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i İstikbal* (İstanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaası, 1936), 39-40. Also see. Hatice Çöpel, *Celal Nuri İleri'nin Din Anlayışı* (Master Thesis, Selçuk University, 2010), 13, 74

⁶⁹ Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i İstikbal*, 113.

⁷⁰ Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i İstikbal*, 40.

⁷¹ Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i İstikbal*, 111.

⁷² For example, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, in his article titled “Kitap Hakkında”, which he wrote on Süleyman Hayri Bolay’s *Türkiye’de Ruhçu ve Maddeci Görüşün Mücadelesi*, states that the first noticeable one among the vivid intellectual movements after the Second Constitutional Era [1908] is the conflict between Materialism and Spiritualism. While Ülken mentions Baha Tevfik and his friends Celal Nuri, partially Abdullah Cevdet on the Materialist side, he counts Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Efendi, İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, İsmail Fennî in the Spiritualist side.

depending on the religious motives.⁷³ In this context, the Sufism, *kalām* and other branches of Islamic thought have tried to extinguish the emerging fire in their own ways. For example, while the criticism of Mehmet Ali Ayni (1868-1945) and İsmail Fennî Ertuğrul (1855-1946) against materialism were more sufism-oriented, Abdullatif Harputî (1842-1914), Shaykh al-Islām Mûsâ Kâzım Efendi (1858-1920), İsmail Hakkı İzmirli (1869), Shaykh al-Islām Mustafa Sabri Efendi (1869-1956), Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen (1882-1971) and M. Şerafeddin Yaltkaya (1879-1947) criticized it on the axis of *kalām*. Ahmed Hilmi of Filibe (1865-1914), although he adopted the view of The Unity of Being (*Waḥdat al-Wujūd*), he fought against materialism with *mutakallimûn*'s method.⁷⁴

In addition to these names in the *sūfî* and *kalām* tradition, the materialism in the Ottoman Empire was criticized by many intellectuals including Hacı Mustafa (*Red ve Isbat*, İstanbul, 1330), İsmail Ferîd (*İbtâl-i Mezheb-i Mâddiyûn*, İzmir 1312), Ahmed Midhat (*Ben Neyim: Hikmet-i Maddiyeye Müdafaa*, İstanbul 1308), Emin Feyzi (*İlim ve İrâde*, İstanbul 1343), Halid Edip (*Mâddiyûn'a Reddiye*, İstanbul 1334), Babanzâde Ahmed Naîm (*Hikmet Dersleri*, İstanbul 1329), with their writings in the newspaper *Ulûm*, Ali Suâvi (1839-1878) and Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924). However, the rise of materialism in the Ottoman Empire could not be prevented, especially after the Second Constitutional Monarchy (1908), the problem has reached significant dimensions. This situation led the Ottoman scholars to seek ways to combat materialism more systematically. Undoubtedly, at this point, eyes have been casted over the science of *kalām*, which historically undertook the duty of defending the religion of Islam against other systems of religion and thought. However, the current state of *kalām* science at the time was not considered to be able to fight against these modern infidel movements.⁷⁵ This led the Ottoman scholars to think the science of *kalām* should be revised in accordance with the needs of the current era. In order to revise this science, it is emphasized that first of all the philosophers should know the philosophical and scientific views of the age. For example, Mûsâ Kâzım Efendi (1858s-1920), among the late period Ottoman Shaykh al-Islâm, expressed this point as follows:

“Today, our opponents, that is philosophers, do not accept the godhood and prophethood. Some people among the naturalists have accepted the godhood, but when we analyze it in depth, it appears that what they call “God” is indeed nature. In this case, the direction we need take is to compile the books of *kalām* in accordance with today's needs. How can this happen? Once, we should know the opinions of the people in opposition to us. If it is not known, we cannot speak against them.”⁷⁶

Shaykh al-Islām Mûsâ Kâzım Efendi tries to base his opinion on the example of the *mutakallimûn* of the early period who studied the sciences of philosophers of their time while refuting the criticisms against Islam and then silenced them with their own words. According to him, if Islam is advocated with sciences that do not have a standing at the moment, it will be absurd. Therefore, first of all, modern sciences should be studied and then, in the framework of the principles of sciences, Islam should be defended. “The works

⁷³ Neşet Doku, *Türkiye’de Anti-Materyalist Felsefe* (İstanbul: Umut Matbaacılık, 1996), 12.

⁷⁴ On this issue see. Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Huzur-ı Akl-ı Fende Mâddiyûn Meslek-i Dalâleti*, 146.

⁷⁵ M. Sait Özervarlı, *Kelâm'da Yenilik Arayışları* (İstanbul: ISAM Yayınları, 1998), 46.

⁷⁶ Musa Kazım Efendi, *Külliyât; Dini, İctimai Makaleler* (İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslâmiye Matbaası 1336), 292-293.

show that the theologians have done so in all centuries. All scholars wrote books in line with the needs of each century”.⁷⁷

Abdüllatif Harpûtî⁷⁸, one of the late Ottoman theologians, says that when he was assigned to teach theology in Dârü'l-funûn, he was looking for a book that opposed the contemporary non-believers who rejected the principles of Islam but he could not come across such a book that belongs to the classical period Ahl al-Sunnah *mutakallimûn*. In this direction, he explains the reason for writing his book *Tankîh al-kalâm*:

“The books of them [classical *mutakallimûn*] were limited to the rejection of the innovations (*bid'ah*) of the deviant Islamic sects that emerged in their time, and the absurdities of the ancient philosophers with Greek origin. In these books there is nothing to deny the many innovations emerging in our century and the deviances of modern sensualist philosophy, which must be precisely eliminated in order to preserve religious principles. For the science of *kalâm* must be arranged in accordance with the condition and location. These have led me to write such a booklet in the atmosphere of education and discussion.”⁷⁹

In his treatise *entitled New Creeds (Yeni Akâid)*, Ahmad Hilmi of Filibe states that people of every period have a mentality, and therefore it is not possible for today's people to be satisfied or convinced by the logic and knowledge of the previous times. According to him, the Islamic society needs a major revolution of thought and a serious renewal. This will be done by analyzing the intellectual outputs of the old, preferring the ones that are righteous and beneficial, abandoning the harmful ones to the society, changing the ones which are not suitable for morality and progress. Also, when it comes to the new jurisprudences, this will be done through taking inspiration from the science of time and the needs of the environment.⁸⁰

All these demands of the late Ottoman theologians to revise the *kalâm* have not only remained as an individual wish, but have been transformed into the official policy of the Ottoman State. In this context, Ismail Hakkı İzmirli was assigned to be the president of the councils, which were founded in 1915, in order to re-examine and shape the science of *kalâm* in accordance with the needs of the age. He was also charged with writing a book to modernize the *kalâm* by the state.⁸¹

In the foreword of new *kalâm*, written in fulfilment of this duty, İzmirli states that the modern [Turkish] theologians should abandon the principles of the philosophy of Aristotle because of the fact that

⁷⁷ Musa Kazım Efendi, *Külliyât*, 292-293.

⁷⁸ Regarding his life and works see. Metin Yurdağür, “Abdüllatif Harpûtî”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1997), 16: 237.

⁷⁹ Abdüllatif Harputî, *Tenkihu'l-keâm fî Akâid-i Ehli'l-İslâm* (İstanbul: Necmi-i İstikbâl Matbaası 1327/1909), 4-5, 20.

⁸⁰ Filibeli explains that in the science of *kalâm*, it is a necessity to have regard to the philosophical movements of the period lived in through a hypothesis. According to him, in a possible debate that can occur between a young person, who adopts materialism, and a religious official, this young person cannot be convinced by this religious official by only means of the Qur'an verses and hadiths. In this case, it is necessary to refer to *kalâm* by giving the aforementioned debate a logical and philosophical direction. See. Filibeli, *Allah'ı İnkâr Mümkün Müdür?*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-ı İslamiyesi 1327).

⁸¹ İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 1: 56.

this philosophy, adopted by the theologians of late period, lost its validity for the last three centuries. He says that they instead should examine the views of contemporary Western philosophers, and accept the views complying with Islam and reject the ones that do not. According to him, the preliminaries and means of *kalām* may change accordingly considering the needs of the age. In order to prove that the universe originated in time, the *mutakallimūn* regarded some propositions such as “bodies are composed of indivisible parts” as a preliminary (*mabda’*). The fact that universe is originated temporally was also a preliminary or a mean in proving the Creator. These preliminaries may change, and more preliminaries can be put forward. For example, accepted by a number of philosophers today, the proposition that “The laws of nature are contingent, not necessary because they are proven by experience” can be a basis for the possibility of sensual miracle.⁸² According to İzmirli, the preliminaries in the *kalām* of the previous scholars were different from the ones in the *kalām* of the following period theologians. In the new *kalām* period, the preliminaries will be also different. As a result of the necessity of grounding and defending the principles of faith, the preliminaries (*mabādi’*) and means (*wasā’il*) of *kalām* based on reason change with the change of its enemies, stubborn people and the people who are intended to be enlightened, and it is renewed in line with the requirements of the current age. However, the main topics (*masā’il*) and purposes (*maqāṣid*) are unchangeable based on revelation.⁸³

Abdüllûtîf Harpûtî defines the red lines of new *kalām*, which do not change in relation to the society and the century, as preservation of the principles of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*) and Islamic creeds (*‘aqā’id*) including the beliefs such as the followings: The creator of the universe, God exists and possesses the attributes of excellence. God is excluded from any deficiencies, the only being to be worshiped in the universe. Also, the revelation, prophecy, death and resurrection, award and punishment, and afterlife are true and established. According to Harpûtî, if any of these principles, which constitute the basis of the *kalām*,

⁸² See. İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 1: 7-8. İzmirli, in his second article on the new *kalām* project in *Sebîlürreşâd*, states that he wrote *The New Kalām (Yeni İlm-i Kelâm)* because he felt the need to enlighten the youth whose minds are full of philosophical ideas and to firmly establish the dogma in their hearts: “Yes, it is a necessary reality to enlighten the youth. Because I have been teaching for 30 years, I know how to enlighten the youth. Today, youth’s mind is filled with philosophical concepts. Is it malign, shameful, unlawful, or unreasonable to benefit from philosophical theories in an efficacious way, and from French philosophers such as Boutroux and Bergson in brief concerning the sensuous miracles, and to propound the theories of *kalām*, which provides a capacity leaving no need for logic, when it is needed İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, “Yeni İlm-i Kelâm Hakkında II”, *Sebîlürreşâd*, 22 (1342), nr. 551-552/40. On this issue also see. Adnan Bülent Baloğlu, “İzmirli İsmail Hakkı’nın “Yeni İlm-i Kelâm” Anlayışı”, *İzmirli İsmail Hakkı* (Sempozyum 24-25 Kasım 1995) ed. Mehmet Şeker, Adnan Bülent Baloğlu (Ankara. TDV Yayınları, 1996), 101.

⁸³ İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, in his article titled “Yeni İlm-i Kelâm”, in *Sebîlürreşâd*, says the following: “Contemporary science mends the conditions of the proofs used in the science of *kalām* and expands them [those proofs]. The the preliminaries (*mabādi’*) and means (*wasā’il*) of *kalām* change in relation to the needs of century. As the opponent and adversary become different, *kalām*’s form of defense also changes. However, principles of *kalām* never changes, the essential principles of faith (*akaid-i asliyye*) are secure from alteration.” See. “Yeni İlm-i Kelâm Hakkında II”, nr.528-529/59.

are not protected and preserved, then these creeds are no longer the creeds of Islam since it is regarded as blasphemy in religion to lose any of these principles.”⁸⁴

The new *kalām* scholars’ distinction between changing and unchanging principles while trying to revise the *kalām* reminds us the distinction that classical period *mutakallimūn* made between *jalīl al- kalām* and *daqīq al-kalām*. They also referred to the faith principles such as God's existence, unity, revelation, prophecy as *jalīl* (major) subjects and regarded the theory of knowledge, and physical and philosophical issues, which they used to prove and defend such principles, as *daqīq* (subtle) subjects.⁸⁵ Concerning the distinction between *jalīl al- kalām* and *daqīq al-kalām*, we have to draw attention to the fact that the relationship between these two spheres was not one-sided in the past, and theological issues and the subjects of physics and philosophy, which are used to prove and defend these issues, bring about a certain degree of adaptation and integration. For example, the *mutakallimūn* of classical period included atomism in *kalām*, while the *mutakallimūn* of post classical period added the Aristotelian logic. However, the grounding of the theological principles on the subjects of physics and philosophy in this way has led to the fact that theological issues in detail are influenced by philosophical issues. In the case of atomism, for example, this theory has influenced the formation of theories such as the rejection of natural causality and the theory of continuous recreation (i.e., occasionalism).⁸⁶

There seems to be no complete alliance between the late Ottoman theologians on how the new *kalām* should be related to modern philosophy and science. It should be noted that their relationship with modern science and philosophy is about recognition rather than integration and adaptation. However, while the new *kalām* aimed by İzmirli includes the spirituality-based new philosophy, it does not directly address the issues related to natural sciences and astronomy, but indirectly includes these issues by examining their consequences and laws.⁸⁷ On the other hand, M. Şerafeddin Yaltekaya's “social *kalām*” (*ictimai ilm-i kelâm*) project argues that the renewal of the science of *kalām* should be primarily based on sociology rather than on modern science and philosophy.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Abdullâtif Harputî, *Tekmile-i Tenkihu'l Kelâm* (İstanbul: Necm-i istikbal Matbaası, 1328), 146.

⁸⁵ Mehmet Bulğen, “Klasik Dönem Kelâmında Dakiku’l-Kelâmın Yeri ve Rolü”, *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 33 (2015): 39-72.

⁸⁶ Mehmet Bulğen, *Kelam Atomculuğu ve Modern Kozmoloji* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2015), 8.

⁸⁷ On this issue, İzmirli says the following: “Created and generated things are not the primary object of the science of *kalām*, rather because they are the effects of the power and wisdom by being instruments to reach the existence of God, who is Living, Omnipotent, Independent (Qayyum), Omniscient and Sovereign, and because the variety of created and generated things signify the omnipotence of God and His Godhead, they are going to be included in the *kalām* directly as long as the natural sciences and cosmography remains in this arena, and they will never be associated with *kalām* in any other way. İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, *Muhassalu'l-Kelâm ve'l-hikme* (İstanbul 1927), 16.

⁸⁸ Regarding this issue see. M. Sait Özervarlı, “Son Dönem Osmanlı Düşüncesinde Arayışlar: Mehmed Şerafeddin’in ‘İctimâî İlm-i Kelâm’ı”, *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3 (1999): 157 – 170; Ramazan Altıntaş, “Sosyal Kelâm’a Giriş: “M. Şerafeddin Yaltekaya Örneği”, *Kelâmın İşlevselliği ve Günümüz Kelâm Problemleri* (İzmir: İzmir İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 2000), 129-149.

4. THE NEW KALĀM SCHOLARS' CRITICISMS OF MATERIALISM IN LATE OTTOMAN THOUGHT

It is necessary to give information about the attitudes of new *kalām* scholars to the modern science and philosophy before revealing their criticism of materialism. They adopt a general approach that can be expressed as "modernization that does not contradict the traditions and values of the Ottoman society" as against those who argue in favor of embracing Western culture and civilization as it is, and advocate revolution and modernization in any field including religion, too.⁸⁹ In this context, they consider the modernization in the field of science and technology necessary to compete with Europe and to survive in the modern period, but they oppose the blind reception of the Western culture and civilization as a whole.

New *kalām* scholars who approach the scientific knowledge in a positive way think that the new vision of universe emerged by discoveries in modern sciences such as physics, astronomy, biology and so on is a gain of humanity and it must be benefited from.⁹⁰ According to them, science provides objective and accurate information about the nature through experiments and observations. For this reason, a piece of information, which is certain that it comes from the prophet, and a proven scientific fact does not contradict each other. If there is a conflict in sight, this is either because the observations and experiments are faulty or the meaning of the related verse has been misunderstood. If the scientific knowledge is certain, the news coming from the prophet must be interpreted (*ta'wīl*) accordingly.⁹¹ They also argue that the Quran is not a book of science, but it was sent to help people find the true path. However, in the case of a correspondence between a new scientific discovery and the verses of the Quran, they do not refrain from showing this as proof of the inimitability of the Qur'an (*i'jāz al-Qur'ān*) in the context of scientific exegesis.⁹²

While criticizing materialism, the new *kalām* scholars primarily felt the need to first introduce the philosophical currents of the period such as idealism, realism and spiritualism, as well as the latest scientific developments in the fields of physics and astronomy. While doing this, they often referred to the views of the classical period *mutakallimūn*, and made an analogy between them. Thus, they aim to make the preliminaries (*mabādi'*) and the means (*wasā'il*) of *kalām*, which they use in explaining and advocating religious principles, philosophically and scientifically up-to-date. In this direction, while Abdullatif Harpûti and Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen added new chapters on modern astronomy in their books⁹³, İsmail Hakkı İzmirli

⁸⁹ M. Sait Özervarlı, "Şehbenderzâde Ahmed Hilmi", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2010), 38: 425.

⁹⁰ Their positive attitude towards modern science and their eagerness to accept the scientific knowledge has been subject to criticism of contemporary researchers. For example, M. Sait Özervarlı criticizes new *kalām* scholars for adopting the scientific theories without recognizing the worldview that is behind them. See. M. Sait Özervarlı, "Son Dönem Osmanlı Düşüncesinde Arayışlar: Mehmed Şerafeddin'in 'İctimâî İlm-i Kelâm'ı", 158.

⁹¹ On this issue see. Mehmet Bulğen, "Son Dönem Osmanlı Kelâmcılarının Kevnî Âyetleri Yorumlama Yöntemleri Üzerine: Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen Örneği", *Kelam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 13/1 (2015): 85.

⁹² On this issue, for example see. Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm* (İstanbul: Evkâf-ı İslâmiye Matbaası, 1339-1342), 390.

⁹³ This section at the end of Abdüllâtif Harpûti's book named *Tenkîhu'l-Kelâm fî Akaidi Ehli'l-İslâm*, is simplified under the title "Astronomi ve Din" and published by Bekir Topaloğlu. See. *Diyanet İlmî Dergi* [Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı

and Ahmad Hilmi of Filibe, in their books, refer to the latest scientific developments about the matter and energy revealed to the light by science, physics and chemistry. The intense engagement of the new theologians with modern science and philosophy for the sake of updating the *wasā'il* and *mabādi'* allowed them to outshine their rivals in following the movements of modern science and philosophy closely and thoroughly.⁹⁴

The new *kalām* scholars have primarily aimed at the epistemology of materialism while criticizing this theory. The problem with Ottoman materialists, according to them, is that they put too much emphasis on senses -under the influence of positivism-, and do not value the means of acquiring knowledge other than experience. Shaykh al-Islām Mustafa Sabri states that such an assumption would require denial of sciences based on mental inferences, such as logic and mathematics.⁹⁵ Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen argues that something that cannot be perceived by sensation and experience cannot be ignored, or else this will require the rejection of many things, which are not seen but exist doubtfully. Besides, different causes may prevent the perception of something.⁹⁶

İsmail Hakkı İzmirli draws attention to the segmental character of the theories of knowledge adopted by philosophical movements in that era. While some philosophers consider senses only, some consider reason together with senses as the cause of knowledge. Some of them regard mind alone, and some only accept intuition (inspiration) beyond senses and mind as the actual means of obtaining knowledge. At this point, İzmirli points out to the power of the theory of knowledge based on pluralism. According to him, where experience and reasoning is not enough, revelation is also a source of valid information. The ideal way to obtain truth and true knowledge is the way of religion based on the mind, the senses, the intuition, and the revelation.⁹⁷

Dergisi] 13/6 (1974): 343-361; also see. Bekir Topaloğlu, *Kelâm İlmi: Giriş Ekler* chapter; also see. Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlmi-i Kelâm*, 384 ff.

⁹⁴ İlhan Kutluer, “Batılılaşma”, *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1992), 5: 156. Meral Yıldırım, “Son Dönem Osmanlı Aydınlarının Meteryalizme Dair Eleştirileri”, 7.

⁹⁵ Mustafa Sabri, *Mawqif al'Aql wa al'Ilm wa al'Alam min Rab al'Alamin* (Beirut: Dâr al-İhyâi al-Turâsi al-Arabî, 1921), 2:77-78, 3:63; also see. Rabiye Çetin, “Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Kelâm'ı Yenileme Çalışmaları I”, *Dinî Araştırmalar*, 16/42 (2013): 25.

⁹⁶ For example, Bilmen says the following with reference to whether “seven level skies” exist or not: People who reduces the causes of science to only sense and experience cannot say that “skies exist” because they cannot see them. However, neither can they say “skies do not exist” because this is not within their abstract sense and experience. For not being able to see and discover such a thing does not entail its non-existence; this is an apodictic proposition. It is possible that the limitless width of the space or the transparency of the skies or other atmospheric causes prevent us from seeing the skies. Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlmi-i Kelâm*, 385.

⁹⁷ İzmirli, *Yeni İlmi-i Kelâm*, I, 46-47. The criticism of the New *kalām* theologians towards materialists because they base the means of acquiring knowledge on senses, and their demand for intuition to be also accepted as a means of acquiring knowledge indicate a deviation from the classical period *kalâm* in terms of epistemology. For the classical period *mutakallimūn*, even though they adopted a multifaceted approach to the means of acquiring knowledge,

In addition, the new *kalām* scholars called attention to some epistemological inconsistencies of materialists. According to them, materialists, on the one hand, regarded observation and experimentation as the only way to obtain knowledge, while rejecting all kinds of metaphysical knowledge, including religion and high philosophy (metaphysic), on the other hand, they themselves construct a dogmatic metaphysics under the guise of being scientific.⁹⁸ From a positivist perspective, materialism contains speculative claims about matter and force that cannot be verified and falsified.⁹⁹ For example, materialists' assertions that matter and force are eternal and limitless are metaphysical claims whose accuracy cannot be tested by observation and experimentation, and that have no scientific basis. While materialists say that matter is ubiquitous, they have not reached this knowledge by encircling and experiencing the entire universe.¹⁰⁰

It seems to be admissible that the scholars of the new *kalām* criticize materialism saying that it is a philosophy under a scientific guise because Auguste Comte (1798-1857), the founder of positivism, in his *The Positive Philosophy* (1844), advocates a purely experience-based method for gaining knowledge and even excludes the indirect observation methods. According to him, for example, mankind will never know the question of, "What is the sun and other stars made of?" in the future because it is necessary to go there and experience it personally. However, Auguste Comte says, "Humanity will never know what the Sun is made of" since it is not possible to go to the Sun.¹⁰¹ On the contrary, materialists do not have any experimental evidence, but they generalize not only about the world and the solar system, but about the formation and nature of the universe as a whole.¹⁰²

In addition, the new *kalām* scholars state that the materialists are based on obsolete views concerning matter and force, and that the claim that matter is the fundamental principle, and the basis of everything contradicts the theories put forward by science lately. For example, İzmirli says that it is no longer possible

prioritized senses. Moreover, the classical period theologians did not regard intuition or inspiration as valid means of knowledge acquisition. See Mehmet Bulğen, *Kelam Atomculuğu ve Modern Kozmoloji*, 215.

⁹⁸ Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Huzur-ı Akl-ı Fende Mâddiyyûn Meslek-i Dalâleti*, 6,7.

⁹⁹ For example, Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen says the following on this issue: "Materialists believe that the claims that are not based on sense and experience and that are not attached to a proof are not worthy of attention. How are they then convinced about the existence, movement and shaking of a thing that is not possible to be seen by any means, and about the formation of the universe in this way? Is there not a contradiction between this opinion of them and their claims? See. *Muvazzah İlm-i kelâm*, 134.

¹⁰⁰ Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Huzur-ı Akl-ı Fende Mâddiyyûn Meslek-i Dalâleti*, 50-51.

¹⁰¹ Auguste Comte, *The Positive Philosophy*, trans. to English Harriet Martineau (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1: 132.

¹⁰² It is possible to reduce this issue to the discussion regarding that to what extent cosmology, which is a science concerning the emergence, development, and operation of the universe, is a science. For example, according to David Hume, experimentation and observation is the only credible source to test the trueness of the phenomena and events. Because it is not possible to go outside of the universe and make observations on it or have an experience about its creation, we cannot say anything about the whole universe based on the phenomena and events we perceive in our world. See. David Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (Edinburg and London: William Blackwood, 1907), 40 ff.

to maintain that the source of everything is the eternal and perpetual matter since the matter has lost its importance in the new physics and it is replaced by the energy.¹⁰³ Ahmed Hilmi of Filibe and Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, referring to Wilhelm Ostwald (1853-1932), one of the famous German chemists of the time, suggested that the concept of matter was introduced when the notion of ‘energy’ was not known. However, they state that the new physics revealed the fact that the qualities used to describe and understand the matter are actually properties of energy. Since these properties belong to energy, there is nothing left to be called “matter.”¹⁰⁴

Although the claims of İzmirlı, Filibeli and Bilmen that the matter could be destroyed and transformed into energy and therefore materialism lost its validity were influential at their times, but today these are no longer relevant claims against materialism. Arising as early as the beginning of the last century, the notions like radioactivity, the transformation, entropy, forces, fields, dark matter, black energy, etc. have revealed brand-new facts that could not be explained by the traditional materialist conception of matter. In addition, Quantum Mechanics and Relativity Theory allowed alternative interpretations to the mechanistic and deterministic universe understanding in the Newtonian and Laplacian sense, on which materialism grounded.¹⁰⁵ However, all of this led to the evolution of materialism into physicalism in itself rather than the disappearance of it. Although the 20th century physics reveals concepts and theories different from the traditional understanding of matter, these are still the phenomena and processes that are put forward under the roof of physics. Therefore, the fact that matter transforms into energy does not mean the end of materialism, but on the contrary, it provides the development of physicalism, which claims that everything in the universe, including thought and consciousness, is physical.

On the other hand, the new *kalām* scholars have also made criticisms against physicalism. Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen, for example, draws attention to the drawbacks of metaphysics made with the claim of being scientific depending on the changing nature of the comprehensive cosmological models and theories. According to him, the science of cosmology (*‘ilm al-takwîn*) has not been able to encompass the physical reality and has not had the last word about the functioning of the universe. On the contrary, cosmological theories are constantly changing, [for example] once the theory of Ptolemy was accepted as truth, and then Copernicus’ theory (1473-1543) replaced it. Nowadays, astronomical science is on the eve of a great revolution with a new theory (the theory of relativity) advanced by Einstein (1879-1955). There is no guarantee that this theory will not be invalid tomorrow. Thus, according to Bilmen, there is no need to refuse a truth proven by religious dogma (*nass*), or to interpret them arbitrarily so as to conform to some scientific theories that change constantly.¹⁰⁶ İzmirlı states that materialists have established general rules based on some constantly changing theories. He tries to support this criticism by relying on the work of

¹⁰³ İzmirlı, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 1: 283.

¹⁰⁴ They try to base the fact that matter is destroyable and convertible to energy on the newly discovered fact, that is, radioactive decay at that time. See. Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *ibid.*, 52; Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm*, 138.

¹⁰⁵ H. Meyer, “Materialism”, 318.

¹⁰⁶ Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm*, 386.

Henri Poincaré (1854-1912) and Émile Boutroux (1845-1921) with the view that there is relativity, even in things that are definitely accepted.¹⁰⁷

Ahmad Hilmi of Filibe states that the science progresses through hypotheses and it takes time to verify or falsify these hypotheses. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about absolute accuracy of the hypotheses. Materialism is also based on a hypothesis that must be evaluated in this context, and today's accumulation of scientific knowledge falsifies this hypothesis. In addition, science will never be able to have the last word about the universe because scientific research will never end. It is therefore necessary to be cautious when putting forward the claim of having found the final theory. Even the theories accepted as unchanging principles (e.g. Newtonian mechanics) have been shaken today. There has not been a single scientific knowledge which has not changed and has not lost its value in the relatively-known seven or eight thousand years of history of humanity. Although they are tried to be presented as scientific truths by some, materialist theories are now seen as obsolete ideas in Europe. Therefore, according to him (Ahmed Hilmi), metaphysics made based on physics whose theories are constantly changing and doubtful contains troubles.¹⁰⁸

The new *kalām* scholars devote a great part of their efforts to refute the idea of materialists that matter, energy, and movement are eternal.¹⁰⁹ They attempted to reject the idea that the universe and movement are eternal by justifying the second law of thermodynamics (entropy) speculating that the universe is going through a "heat death" step by step. According to them, the entropy law not only shows that the movement and chemical reactions in the universe will end, but also entails that the universe was created in a finite time in the past.¹¹⁰ M. Şemseddin Günaltay, on the other hand, claims that all the theories put forward with the claim of explaining the universe cannot go beyond an assumption unless they are based on a creator or necessary being (*wâjib al-wujûd*). He tries to lay this claim on two basic theories, which were prominent at the time, about the functioning of the world. The first one is mechanism and the latter is dynamism. Mechanism explains everything through the composition and decomposition of the atoms, which are accepted to be eternal and perpetual. According to this theory, the events taking place in the universe are nothing more than the results of the mechanical movements of atoms, which are continually converging and dissociating. Dynamism tries to reduce everything to power, that is energy. The universe is the result of either the mutual or harmonious forces (energy) or just one force that creates the things by

¹⁰⁷ İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, I, 242-243.

¹⁰⁸ Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Huzur-ı Akl-ı Fende Mâddiyyûn Meslek-i Dalâleti*, 78-80 ff.; Also see. Özervarlı, "Şehbenderzâde Ahmed Hilmi", 17, 426.

¹⁰⁹ For example, see. İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 1: 284 ff. İsmail Hakkı states that materialists accept three apodictic propositions in explaining the world: 1) There are limitless atoms. 2) These atoms are eternal. 3) They are essentially in motion. According to İzmirli, the developments in the science of physics have rendered these three principles invalid. For based on physics, moving objects try to find balance and they are inclined to rest. If the world is not in rest now, this shows that its movement is not eternal. For the time that has passed since eternity would be naturally different than the time needed for balance. İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 2: 67; also see. Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm*, 126-127.

¹¹⁰ Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, *Huzur-ı Akl-ı Fende Mâddiyyûn Meslek-i Dalâleti*, 16, 76-81, 91; also see. İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 2: 67; Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm*, 138.

means of continuous motion. According to Günaltay, the explanation of the things and events with these two theories is a secondary analysis. Examining the matter itself in terms of mechanism and the force itself in terms of dynamism, the necessity of existence of a creator, with regard to the question “What is origin of these?”, cannot be denied.¹¹¹ In this context, Günaltay says that it is possible to explain the formation of the universe with Kant-Laplace theory as long as it is based on a creative god. According to this theory, a long time ago before the formation of the universe, everything was in the form of a gas cloud. The solid, liquid and gaseous materials available now consisted of a homogeneous gas mass. This matter that was extremely light, was in a very high temperature. The universe consisting of millions of stars arose from the rotating movement of this mass of gas. As a result of the condensation of the gas mass, emerged a gravity force through the center. Also, a centrifugal force occurred caused by its turning around its own axis. Since the rotation of the gas mass constantly gained speed, a number of parts broken off of it. These pieces became a luminous cloud (nebula) by the gravity of rotation. The gravity of the rotation gradually intensified these and began to become a central force. A cosmos was established with centrifugal and centripetal forces of each nebulous. Here, our solar system is one of the compositions that are formed in this way.¹¹²

According to Günaltay, the current theory explaining the formation of the universe cannot go beyond speculation. For it claims that the entire space was in the form of a gas cloud at the beginning of the formation of the universe, but remains silent about the source of the gas cloud. However, it is not possible to envisage anything without considering its source. In the same way, the aforementioned explanations will remain unfounded unless it is accepted that there is a creative god who creates the mass of gas and gives it the first movement.¹¹³ Günaltay's method for proving God by using the Kant-Laplace theory is widely used by theists in the context of the Big Bang theory (Kalām Cosmological Argument).¹¹⁴

One of the important issues in materialism discussions is the theory of evolution. As is known, this theory, developed by the British naturalist Charles Darwin, holds that all species and organisms emerged and evolved from a single species through natural selection. This rendered God's volitional intervention unnecessary in any ring of the creation chain, including the existence of man. For this reason, the theory of evolution has been perceived by materialists as a challenge to the theory of creation since its emergence and has been accepted as one of the main references in rejecting divine religions.

The noteworthy aspect of the new *kalām* scholars is that they try to reconcile the creation theory of Islam with evolution instead of directly opposing this theory. In this respect, first of all, they say that the theory of evolution is not something new, and that such views have been advocated for a long time both in ancient philosophy and in Islamic thought in various ways. However, the fact that the previous philosophers

¹¹¹ M. Şemşeddin Günaltay, *Felsefe-i Ulâ* (İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslâmiye Matbaası, 1339-1341), 66; on this issue also see. Neşet Doku, *Türkiye’de Anti-Materyalist Felsefe*, 261.

¹¹² Günaltay, *Felsefe-i Ulâ*, 535-536

¹¹³ Günaltay, *Felsefe-i Ulâ*, 535-536.

¹¹⁴ Enis Doko, “Öncesi ve Sonrasıyla Big Bang”, *Güncel Kelâm Tartışmaları*, ed. Mehmet Bulğen, Enis Doko (İstanbul: İFAV 2014), 219 ff.

and thinkers accepted evolution did not require them to deny the existence of God and the spirit besides man's material body.¹¹⁵

While the new *kalām* scholars recognize that there is a general evolution in the universe, they have firmly opposed an evolutionary approach indicating that man is derived from an ancestor identical to monkey. For instance, according to Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen, the existence of an evolutionary law in the universe can be accepted. However, the problematic issue is the misinterpretation of this law. For him, evolution is not in the manner that animal is derived from plant and human is derived from animal, but in the form of the change and transformation of the beings through their inner dynamics and among their own species throughout their lives. The process of transformation of fetus in the womb into a child and then into an adult person is an example of this. However, there is no evolution that makes it possible to switch between species in the way that the animal is derived from the plant and the human is derived from the animal.¹¹⁶

Bilmen says that advocates of the evolution theory do not have definitive scientific data on how life came into being from the inanimate matter in the past or on that they came to earth from various stars. According to him, many of the ideas of materialists about evolution are based on disputable arguments. Conversely, scientific studies conducted by Pastor (1822-1895) reject the possibility that life could emerge from inanimate beings. According to Bilmen, the real problem of materialists such as Ernst Haeckel is that they regard Darwin's theory as an indisputable scientific truth. However, they are trying to invent intermediate species, which have not been established with precise scientific data, to complete the chain of evolution:

"Ernst Haeckel talks about the animals he invented in his mind for the purpose of replenishing the means in the human ancestry chain, and tries to describe their circles flawlessly as if he saw these animals and lived with them some time! However, geology, the science of living creatures, does not record such an animal. I wonder if how Haeckel acquainted himself with this kind of truth? Does he not have to prove his definitive statement in this context? Yes, he is. But is it possible? ... Never!"¹¹⁷

As is seen, Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen claims that the cross-species claim of theory of evolution consists of speculative claims that could not be based on observation and experimentation. Hence, according to him, there is no need to revise/interpret (*ta'wîl*) the Quranic verses on this subject. On the contrary, science has strong data that there is no transition among species.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ On this issue see. Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm*, 207.

¹¹⁶ Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm*, 210.

¹¹⁷ Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm*, 216.

¹¹⁸ Mustafa Sabri Efendi (1869-1954), one of the late period Ottoman Shaykh al-Islams, also states that theory of evolution is not established based on a certain scientific evidence, therefore, it is not necessary to interpret Qur'an verses in this regard as long as this theory is not certainly proved. According to him, while even Christian clergy absolutely object to the probability of human's being driven from ape because it is opposing to Torah and declare the defenders of this theory unbelievers, it is saddening that some Muslim scholars are doubtful about denying

Finally, we should specify that one of the important debates between the new *kalām* scholars and materialists is on the nature of the spirit (*rūh*). In this context, the majority of late Ottoman theologians, including İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen, Abdüllatif Harpûtî, Ahmed Hilmi of Filibe and M. Şemseddin Günaltay, seem to have embraced the dualist human theory in the form of material body and non-extended spirit.¹¹⁹ While they criticize the materialists about the existence of a spirit separate from the material body, they benefit from the spiritualist philosophy of the period.¹²⁰ However, the new *kalām* scholars are also aware of the fact that the real nature of the spirit and whether it has an independent existence separate from the body cannot be known for sure. In this respect, they say that the nature of the spirit, whether it is material/immaterial or not is accidental, and that this problem does not concern the dogma and truth the essentials of religion (*zarurât-ı diniyye*).¹²¹ For example, İzmirli states that the existence and nature of the spirit is a complex and difficult problem to solve, so people have conflicted on this issue throughout the history. For him, however, there are essentially two opposing views on spirit: These are the materialist view which reduces the spirit to the matter and considers it to be a quality of matter, and spiritualistic view that regards spirit as an abstract or immaterial substance different from the body.¹²²

such probability. Moreover, this theory includes elements that are incompatible to Quran more than to Torah. Mustafa Sabri, *İnsan ve Kader*, trans. İsa Doğan. (İstanbul: Kültür Basın Yayın Birliği, 1989), 18 ff.

¹¹⁹ For example, Ömer Nasûhi explains this point as follows: “Human is a creature consisting of one body and one spirit (reasoning soul). However, the true meaning of human is made up of soul that is described as “I” and that always preserves its sameness, and that is a godly elegance. Body which is subject to a constant change and alteration is nothing more than a manifestation tool for the spiritual impressions just as an instrument of soul (cognizance, volition, sensibility. *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm*, 341; also see. İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 1: 292.

¹²⁰ However, we must draw attention to this point that new *kalām* scholars did not take the dualist human concept from Descartes, who says that human consists of two substances as matter and soul or from the European spiritualists, but rather they took it from the late period mutakallims such as Ghazalî and Fakhr al-Din al-Razi. For example, see. Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm*, 377.

¹²¹ Ömer Nasûhi Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelâm*, 341; There has been a conflict on the questions: Does soul has an independent existence separate from essence and matter? Is it possible to perceive the essence of soul? Is soul going to perish after death or is it going to be continuous? These are some significant questions that they have occupied intellectuals’ minds for a long time. However, the issues regarding the essence of soul and whether it is material or not are subsidiary issues to the dogma. They are not counted among the essentials of religion. *ibid.*, 370. For a similar view see. İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 1: 300.

¹²² Şemseddin Günaltay has similar views on this issue with İzmirli. He divides the views people have adopted on the issue of spirit into four groups: 1) Materialism, which does not accept separate existence of soul from body and regards it as a product of body, 2) Idealism, which considers thought to be the only truth and reduces everything to it, 3) Pantheism, which sees soul as a manifestation of absolute existence just as matter, 4) Spiritualism, which accepts soul as a substance independent of matter. Şemseddin Günaltay states that he adopts the dualist spiritualist view, which defends spirit-matter dualism. For according to him, the fact that psychological and physiological incidents cannot be converted to each other shows that their sources are different. In the opinion of him, even though science can explain material events, it has yet to show the conversion of movement to consciousness See. *Felsefe-i Ula*, 177-180, 505-507.

İzmirli states that he is closer to spiritualist view regarding that the spirit is a non-extended substance although he says the classical period *mutakallimūn* have similar views as contemporary materialists about spirit.¹²³ In this context, he criticizes the attempt of materialists to explain the spiritual states such as emotion, will, thought and belief with the functions of brain (mind). Although he accepts the relation between the states of mind and brain, for him, the real cause for the states of mind is not the brain. As a matter of fact, if a musician does not have a musical instrument or if this instrument is corrupted, it is not possible for him to produce a harmonious music. Undoubtedly, the musical instrument is a necessary condition for the emergence of a harmonious music, but not a sufficient condition. The mind is like a musical instrument, and the one who uses it is actually the spirit. The approach of materialists, which reduces everything to physiology, is not sufficient to explain the issue.¹²⁴

In addition to this, İzmirli criticizes the view, defended by the classical period *mutakallimūn* and materialists, that the human and animal, are of the same genus (homogeneous) in nature.¹²⁵ According to him, there is a difference between man and animal not only in terms of rank, but also in terms of quality. While the human is a reasonable and intelligent being, the animal is not like this. Human beings are composed of two physical and spiritual elements: body and spirit. The spiritual element is the cause of the states of mind and the material element is the cause of the physical body. There is an undeniable affinity between these two elements.¹²⁶

The new *kalām* thinkers' adoption of the dualistic human view has led them to show interest to spiritualist philosophy and to see this movement closer to themselves. In this context, while Ismail Hakkı İzmirli says that spiritualism is more suitable for Islam,¹²⁷ Filibeli also sympathizes with this movement by claiming that spiritualism has improved itself very recently.¹²⁸ Harpûtî means the spiritualist philosophy of the time when he is arguing that new *kalām* thinkers must prove the existence of a realm of meaning, an abstract realm and a realm of spirits beyond the matter and material realm by the methods and principles of its current philosophy.¹²⁹ Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, on the other hand, makes a more cautious approach to the

¹²³ İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 1: 263.

¹²⁴ İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, *Muhtasar Felsef-i Ulâ* (İstanbul: Hukuk Matbaası, 1329), 146-148.

¹²⁵ İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 1: 263.

¹²⁶ İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 1: 292; on this issue also see. Neşet Toku, *Türkiye'de Anti-Materyalist Felsefe*, 242.

¹²⁷ İzmirli, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 1: 290.

¹²⁸ However, we have to indicate that the spiritualism in Filibeli's mind is different from the spiritualism that emerged in Europe in 18th century in parallel to materialism and that attempts to develop an alternative concept of god and universe, and theory of knowledge. He counts the main principles of spiritualism as follows: 1) God has intelligence and volition. 2) God created the universe out of nothing and there is a difference between Him and creatures in terms of existence. 3) There is a capacity in human mind called "intelligence and distinction" that God and the truth of the things are known through it. 4) Human has freedom of will. See. Şehbenderzâde Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, "Hangi Felsefî Ekolü Kabul Etmeliyiz", 20-21.

¹²⁹ Harputî, *Tekmile-i Tenkihu'l Kelâm*, 113.

claim that some spiritualists can take photographs of the souls and prove their existence scientifically, although he accepts that spiritual philosophy has recently overwhelmed materialism.¹³⁰

The fact that *kalām* thinkers did not try to explain the cognitive characteristics of the human being with the neurophysiological characteristics of the brain, but grounding their clarification on the spirit, whose nature is unknown, prevented them from adapting new scientific findings in the field of neuroscience to *kalām*. Moreover, this situation forced them to defend a view, which they did not claim as one of the principles of religion, in the face of the scientific data recently revealed. One of the powerful areas of materialism from the 18th century to the present day is the scientific findings uncovering that the cognitive and spiritual characteristics of human beings can be explained by physical processes. In this context, the discovery of neuronal functions and biochemical mechanisms has revealed strong scientific evidence indicating that man's psychological and cognitive characteristics can be based on physical processes.¹³¹ Scientific data have brought to light that the characteristics of thought, feeling, knowing and will are operated by the nervous system, and they can be changed by various electrodes and drugs. Defective operation of the brain also causes mind and mental health to become defective. Nowadays, many of the work done by the mind can be performed electronically by sophisticated computers. These are not only limited to reminiscing, recalling and calculation, but also extend to the dimensions of recognition, estimation processes, problem solving, and learning new skills. This has led to the gradually spreading acceptance that mental activity, parallel with the claim of materialists, is a special type of physical processes.

In such an environment, the new *kalām* scholars could have made use of legacy of classical period atomist *mutakallimūn*, which emphasizes the matter and the bodily composition of man, rather than trying to explain the cognitive properties of humanity with an immaterial spirit and adopting the spiritualism. Such a preference would have prevented them from defending a matter that is not among the essentials of religion in the face of scientific data. Moreover, it would have made it easier for them to adapt the scientific findings in the field of neurophysiology to the new *kalām*, thus, it would have enabled them to fight against materialism more effectively. According to classical *mutakallimūn*, to claim that the universe, including man, consists entirely of matter, and to defend that everything in the universe occurs through physical processes within space-time context does not mean denying the Creator, on the contrary, it is a proof showing that the universe originated temporally.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, materialism, which is a naturalist worldview that reduces the existence as a whole to matter and its interactions, dates back to the beginning of philosophy, but in the historical process it has been a view in the minority and reacted against. However, this view started to find supporters again in

¹³⁰ “Thank God, we do not need the theory of spiritualism or etc. to establish the existence of soul and we do not feel obligated to accept that the concept of spiritualism is a truth. However, we would like to say that some people, who did not want to believe anything other than sensibles before, afterwards went this far and considered the existence of souls among sensibles and a priori knowledge based on the spiritual examination they made.” See. Bilmen, *Muvazzah İlm-i Kelām*, 372.

¹³¹ Keith Campbell, “Materialism”, 19.

Europe following the spread of the deterministic and mechanistic understanding of the universe in the wake of the 17th-century science revolution and following the enlightenment and secularization movements. The introduction of materialism into the Ottoman State started through the students, who were sent to the West, and modern schools, which were opened from the first half of the 19th. At the beginning of the 20th century, materialism had influenced a considerable amount of the Ottoman intellectuals although it formed background arguments like secularism and Westernization.

The increasing influence of materialism in the Ottoman Empire after the Second Constitutional Era led the Ottoman scholars to look for ways to combat such thought currents in a more systematic way. At this point, the attention has turned into *kalām*, which has traditionally had the task of defending the Islamic faith. However, in its present state, *kalām* was not seen as sufficient to fight against modern movements. This situation has led Ottoman scholars to the idea that the science of *kalām* should be revised according to the needs of the age. This view was later officially adopted by the Ottoman State and transformed into a project called "The New Science of Kalām". This project was based on the principle that *kalām* has subjects that both constitute the roots of religion (*masā'il/maqāsid*) which are mainly based on revelation, and represent the means and preliminaries (*mabādi' /wasā'il*) which are used to prove and defend them, based on reason. In this distinction, while the issues, which constitute the revelation dimension of the *kalām*, remain always the same, the means, forming rather scientific and philosophical dimension of it, change depending on time and conditions.

In the axis of this project, while criticizing materialism, new *kalām* scholars first tried to be acquainted with the accumulation of philosophical and scientific knowledge that emerged in Europe in the last three centuries, and to make the aspects of them, compatible with the Islamic religion, means of *kalām*. This approach enabled them to criticize materialism using the philosophy and science of the era. While criticizing the materialism, the new *kalām* scholars tried to demonstrate that it is metaphysics under the guise of being scientific, and includes speculative judgments that cannot be verified and falsified. In addition, they rejected the views of materialists about the eternity of matter and force, and the mechanistic and deterministic foundations on which it was based through new scientific discoveries and theories, revealed by the scientific development of that era, such as the entropy, the transformation of matter into energy, radioactive decay, probability, and relativity.

As for the theory of evolution, the new *kalām* scholars tried to partially Islamize the theory rather than confront it directly. Accordingly, they first acknowledged that there is a general evolution in the universe, but they argue that this evolution is not between species. Their attempts to reconcile the theory of evolution with the theory of creation can be compared to the attitudes of the classical period *mutakallimūn* who Islamized atomism.

However, the new *kalām* scholars have not been able to maintain their attitude towards the theory of evolution about the scientific discoveries, made in the field of neurophysiology, concerning the psychological and mental nature of man. By adopting the view that human beings are composed of two different substances, namely matter and spirit, they did not recognize the explanation of cognitive characteristics such as consciousness, will, thought and knowledge by reducing them to matter and neurophysiological processes in the brain. Their dualist attitudes to the nature of humanity led them to take

interest in the spiritualistic philosophies of the time and to bring the *kalām* closer to spiritualism in terms of epistemological and ontological aspect.

As a result, materialism, which defines the physical universe as “everything that exists”, is contrary to the philosophical movements such as idealism and spiritualism, and it also contradicts divine religions, which define the universe as “everything that exists except God”. On the other hand, this does not mean that idealism or spiritualism is more suitable to the epistemology and ontology of divine religions. As we mentioned at the beginning of our article, the classical period *mutakallimūn* have a cosmology and epistemology that is closer to materialism rather than idealism and spiritualism. However, their character as stated in the way “seemingly materialist”, does not mean to deny God, but rather serves an occasionalist worldview of theism in which the God-universe relation is established at the most advanced level.

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A Guide for Book Reviews *

Kadir Gömbeyaz **

Abstract

A book review is a multifaceted critical analysis of a book and an evaluation on the quality, value/meaning, significance, and contribution of the book to its own subject/field. It is not a report, summary, or advertisement, rather it is a serious scholarly work. Book reviews have certain functions such as, for *academics*, being aware of the recently published books and saving time by getting an idea about those publications through reading experts' evaluations about their significance, value, and contributions; for *publishers*, finding an opportunity for a kind of advertisement of their publications that mostly remain to a limited environment like academia; for *authors*, receiving a feedback about their books to enable them to improve them in future editions. Although there is not only one right method for book reviews, because they are *personal* and reflect the reviewer's personal ideas and remarks, this note makes suggestions on how to compose an ideal book review after providing a brief description of the nature of book reviews and includes some relevant technical notes hoping to be a helpful guide for those who want to write a book review.

Keywords

Scholarly journals, Academic writings, Book, Book reviews, Guide

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Kitap Deęerlendirmesi Yazım Kılavuzu

z

Kitap deęerlendirme yazısı, bir kitabın ilgili olduęu konudaki/sahadaki yeri, nemi, deęeri ve katkısına dair ok ynl eleştirel analizidir. Bir tanıtım, zet veya reklam olmayıp ciddi akademik bir faaliyettir. Kitap deęerlendirmeleri *akademisyenler iin* alıřtıkları veya ilgi duydukları konu(lar)/saha(lar)da yeni ıkan kitaplardan haberdar olma, bu kitapların tařıdıkları nem ve deęer ile sahaya yaptıkları katkıya dair bir uzman grř almak suretiyle bir kanaat oluřturarak zamandan tasarruf etme; *yayınevleri iin* oęu zaman akademya gibi sınırlı bir evre iinde kalan yayınlarının tanıtımının gerekleřmesi; *yazarlar iin* de yayınına dair bir dnt alma ve sonraki baskılar iin yetkinleřtirme imknı sunma gibi fonksiyonlar icra eder. *Kiřisel* olmaları ve deęerlendirenin kiřisel fikir ve yorumlarını yansıtması sebebiyle kitap deęerlendirme yazıları iin tek bir doęru usul bulunmamakla birlikte, bu yazı, kitap deęerlendirme yazısı yazmak isteyenler iin faydalı bir rehber olma midiyle kitap deęerlendirme yazılarının mahiyeti ile ilgili kısa bir tasvir sunduktan sonra ideal bir kitap deęerlendirme yazısının nasıl oluřturulabileceęine dair neriler getirmekte ve birtakım teknik notları iermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Bilimsel Dergiler, Akademik Yazılar, Kitap, Kitap Deęerlendirmesi, Rehber

A book review is a multifaceted critical analysis of a book and an evaluation on the quality, value/meaning, significance, and contribution of the book to its own subject/field. It is not a report, summary, or advertisement. Therefore, it is such a serious scholarly work that as an academic one does not want to be indifferent. Determining the features of a book, such as its contribution to the relevant academic field, value, strengths and weaknesses, etc. can only be managed by an expert who follows the literature regarding that book's subject and has adequate knowledge and experience in the field. So, it is not correct to consider this type of writings a type of practice for academic writing for Master and Ph.D. students –except for those having a special interest in and knowledge about the subject due to their thesis and specific studies.

Book reviews have certain functions such as, for *academics*, being aware of the recently published books and saving time by getting an idea about those publications through reading experts' evaluations about their significance, value, and contributions; for *publishers*, finding an opportunity for a kind of advertisement of their publications that mostly remain to a limited environment like academia; for *authors*, receiving feedbacks about their books to enable them to improve them in future editions.

Book reviews provide an opportunity to follow up new publications, so preference should be given to recently published books to review. This, actually, is a natural result of the publication of many books worth reviewing in every year. For that reason, the books to review published particularly in the last five years are of priority to review.

Book reviews are never a means to attack the author. Review is different from attack. Reviews are in fact an author-friendly activity which helps the author to improve his/her book in the sequent editions. Turning reviews into attacks brings about the loss of their seriousness and value.

There is not only one right method for book reviews, because they are *personal* and reflect the reviewer's personal ideas and remarks. Thus, some reviews highlight a particular aspect of the book while some aim to correct a mistake included and some serve for the reviewer to reveal his/her personal ideas and findings. If the personal findings and remarks of the reviewer are much more than his/her evaluations on the book, it is appropriate to publish it as a *review article*, not a book review.

It would be beneficial to put forward some suggestions to guide those who want to write a book review, even though such writings do not have any standard pattern and method. A book review can follow the steps below:

FIRST STEP: CHOOSING THE RIGHT BOOK

Choosing the book to review is the first, but the most important step. It could be done by both the researcher and/or the book review editor of a scholarly journal. In the first, the researcher offers a specific book to the editor to write a review on it. The process starts on the approval of the editor. In the second, the editor chooses a book and invites a researcher to review it. The process starts on the positive response of the researcher to the invitation. In both methods, choosing the "right book" is of

a great importance. The book must be worth reviewing in terms of academic standards, it should not be a waste of time for both the reviewer and the reader, and should be written on a subject in which the reviewer is an expert. If not so, the expectation of the book review to provide an idea about the importance and value of the book can not be met. Therefore, a book on which the reviewer “has something to say” must be chosen.

Another point that should not be neglected in choosing the right book is that there should not be any mutual interest, relationship based on love and hate between the reviewer and the author, in brief, *ethical limits should not be violated*. In other words, it is important that the reviewer should not be the advisor, student, friend, superior or inferior, opponent etc. of the author, because this means that fairness expected in the review can barely be provided. One should choose, whether it is chosen by the reviewer or the editor, a book that is subject to a fair evaluation must be chosen.

SECOND STEP: READING THE BOOK PROPERLY, IN A MULTIFACETED, AND CRITICAL WAY

The reviewer should not read the book like an ordinary reading, but seek answers to certain questions, make multifaceted queries, and take notes. For instance,

- Who is the author of the book, what are his/her other works, interests, and competence?
- What are the goals and aims the author wants to realize? Are they academic or ideological?
- What type is the book (textbook, thesis, research etc.)? If this point is neglected, it will be possible to make mistakes. To expect original arguments, profound discussions, and elaborate analysis from a textbook would be barking up the wrong tree and it would be unfair to criticize it for having such deficiencies.
- What is the audience of the book (academics, general readers, etc.) and is it written appropriately for its intended audience?
- What are the arguments the author makes? Does the reviewer agree with them or think them not adequately grounded? If the reviewer has rejections, he/she should reveal and prove them.
- What is the situation of the book in terms of consistency, clarity, originality, strongness, the accurate use of the concepts, expressing itself well, preciseness of the improvement stages, fluency, etc?
- What is the style of the book, didactic, academic etc? Does it maintain its own style throughout the whole book or is there any violation of it?
- Is the plan of the book successful and is the author successful in realizing his/her purposes?
- Is the author’s use of sources successful? Does he/she use primary or secondary sources; does he/she make a literature review; are there any important referential sources he/she neglects? In the

use of sources, it is crucial to question whether a crime of any type of plagiarism is committed and to check it out with cross examination.

- Does the book include any enriched elements such as charts, tables, editions of text, translations, indice etc? Are they useful and functional?

- Are there any typos resulted from the author's carelessness or the print? These are helpful advices for the author to improve his/her book in the possible following editions.

- Lastly, the reviewer could conclude its review by stating his/her personal impression the book left on him/her, whether the book made any change in his/her past ideas, and whether the book could be recommended or not and why.

THIRD STEP: COMPOSING THE REVIEW

While composing the review, the reviewer can follow the steps below:

Introduction: Drawing a general frame regarding the book reviewed. The reviewer notes the author's reasons, aims, and goals to write the book here. Thus, it evaluates to what extent the author manages to fulfill that in the following pages.

Body 1: A general description presenting the plan and contents of the book. Here one makes the reader ready to remarks and criticisms that could be made.

Body 2: Organizing the notes taken during the reading in accordance with the second step explained above in a successful course.

Body 3: Evaluation of the author's arguments and grounding the objections the reviewer has.

To the conclusion: Drawing attention to the contributions the book makes to its subject/field and making remarks on the importance and value, the strengths and weaknesses the book holds.

Conclusion: Concluding the review with short sentences giving an idea to the reader about what makes sense for the audience of the book, whether the expectations from the book's title, author, and arguments are met or not.

The ideal measure for book reviews is between 1.000-1.500 words. For this reason, the reviewer should not have the concern to tell everthing about the book he/she thinks or determines and should confine himself/herself to pointing out significant points to him/her, because this is not only the review that will be written on the book. Moreover, long reviews discourage the reader to read them.

It is important to maintain academic language and direct criticisms against the book, not its author, and not to provoke the author to take it personally.

Reviews submitted to the journal are generally examined by the editor. The reviewer should take suggestions and corrections by the editor seriously. Publication of reviews is done on the approval of the editorial board of the journal. Since each review is a kind of personal, hence subjective evaluation, the author of the reviewed book is always entitled to respond. The editor should be fair to assess the responses. Journals mostly welcome responses to reviews.

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Ibn Taymiyya's Contextual Biblical Hermeneutics in *Al-Jawāb al-Şaḥīḥ*/The Correct Response (PhD. Dissertation)

Zeynep Yücedođru *

Abstract

This thesis, *Ibn Taymiyya's Contextual Biblical Hermeneutics in Al-Jawāb al-Şaḥīḥ/The Correct Response* (PhD Dissertation, University of Nottingham, United Kingdom, 2019), analyses how the renowned Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) interprets quotations from the Bible in his voluminous *al-Jawāb al-Şaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ* (*The Correct Response to Those who Changed the Religion of Christ*). Ibn Taymiyya wrote *Jawāb* to refute the anonymous Christian *Letter from the people of Cyprus*. Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* and the Christian author's *Letter* are not only significant literary compositions representing fourteenth-century interreligious polemical correspondences but, most importantly, these two polemics provide important insights into how late medieval Christians and Muslims understand and read each other's scripture. The Christian author of the *Letter* cites extensively from the Qur'ān to argue that Islam is a religion for only pagan Arabs and Christianity is still a valid religion, and that the Qur'ān confirms the soundness of Christian beliefs and doctrines. Ibn Taymiyya, on the other hand, uses biblical citations both to refute these claims of the Christian author and to argue that Christians misinterpret the Bible. According to the expediency of their argumentation, both of the authors use the Bible and the Qur'ān with an intertextual approach forming a scholarship that primarily focuses on appropriating the other's scripture in the light of their own theological outlooks. Analysed in the context of this particular scriptural scholarship, the *Jawāb* and the *Letter* might reveal interesting insights into the hermeneutical character of interreligious polemics, which often remains in the shadow of

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polemical and apologetic characters of these works. By means of reflection on this interest, this study sets out to analyse the use and interpretation of biblical quotations in the *Jawāb*, with the purpose of understanding the hermeneutical character of Ibn Taymiyya’s biblical scholarship.

The thesis also investigates the use of biblical quotations in the works of five major Muslim authors of refutations of Christianity, al-Ṭabarī’s (d. 865), Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), Pseudo-Ghazālī (active around 1200), al-Qarāfi (d. 1285), and al-Dimashqī (d. 1327) as a backdrop against which to assess the extent to which Ibn Taymiyya’s biblical hermeneutics is similar to and different from mainstream Muslim biblical scholarship.

The key conclusion of this thesis is that for biblical interpretation, Ibn Taymiyya employs a contextual theory of meaning that is inspired by the hermeneutics of Islamic legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) and Qur’ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), and guided by his wider theological principles. This thesis argues that Ibn Taymiyya’s contextual biblical hermeneutics clearly distinguishes him from the other five Muslim scholars who use a theory of literal-nonliteral meaning for biblical interpretation. It will be shown that the originality of Ibn Taymiyya’s biblical hermeneutics lies in his use of the technical apparatus of Islamic Legal theory and Qur’ānic exegesis, and in the modification of this hermeneutics to make it accord with his wider theological and intellectual framework. It will become apparent that in relying on this modified version of Islamic hermeneutics, Ibn Taymiyya reads and interprets the Bible in a similar way to his reading and interpreting the Qur’ān.

Keywords

History of Religions, Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Jawāb al-Şahih*, Biblical Hermeneutics, Interreligious Polemics, Scriptural Exegesis, Christian-Muslim Refutations

İbn Teymiyye’nin *el-Cevâbü’s-sahih* İsimli Eserindeki Kitâb-ı Mukaddes Metinlerinin Yorumu (Doktora Tezi)

Özet

İbn Teymiyye’nin el-Cevâbü’s-sahih isimli eserindeki Kitâb-ı Mukaddes Metinlerinin Yorumu (Doktora Tezi, Nottingham Üniversitesi, Teoloji ve Dînî Bilimler Fakültesi, İslâmî İlimler Anabilim Dalı, İngiltere, 2019) adlı çalışmada meşhur Hanbelî âlim İbn Teymiyye’nin (ö. 1328) *el-Cevâbü’s-sahih li-men beddele dîne’l-Mesih* isimli reddiyesinde Kitâb-ı Mukaddes âyetlerini nasıl yorumladığı analiz edilmektedir. İbn Teymiyye bu reddiyeyi anonim bir Hristiyan mektubu olan ‘Kıbrıs Halkından Mektup’ isimli esere cevaben kaleme almıştır. Hristiyan yazarın *Kıbrıs Halkından Mektup*’u ve İbn Teymiyye’nin *el-Cevâbü’s-sahih*’i sadece 14. yüzyılın dinler arası polemik yazışmaların edebi örnekleri olmayıp aynı zamanda Hristiyan ve Müslümanların birbirlerinin kutsal metinlerini nasıl anlayıp okuduklarına ışık tutan eserlerdir. *Kıbrıs Halkından Mektup*’un Hristiyan yazarı İslâm’ın putperest Araçlara gönderilmiş bir din olduğunu ve bu nedenle Hristiyanlığın hâla geçerliliğini koruduğunu ve Kur’ân’ın da Hristiyan inanç ve doktrinlerini tasdik ettiği yönündeki iddialarını ispata çalışırken Kur’ân’dan birçok âyeti alıntılama ve yeniden yorumlamaktadır. Diğer taraftan, İbn Teymiyye de benzer bir şekilde Hristiyan yazarın bu iddialarını reddetmek ve Hristiyanların kendi kutsal metinlerini yan-

lıř tefsir ettiklerini ortaya koymak için Kitâb-ı Mukaddes âyetlerini Kur'ân ve hadis metinleri ışığında yeni-den yorumlamaktadır. Her iki reddiye yazarı da argümanlarının uygunluđuna göre Kitâb-ı Mukaddes ve Kur'ân'ı kendi teolojik pozisyonlarının ışığında metinlere yeni anlamlar kazandıracak ve yorumlayacak şekilde metinler arası okuma ve tefsir etme metodu geliřtirmişlerdir. Bu iki reddiyenin metin okuma metotları analiz edildiğinde *el-Cevâbü's-sahîh* ve *Kıbrıs Halkından Mektup* dinler arası polemik eserlerin hermenötik karakterlerine dair önemli hususları da ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışmada hususiyetle İbn Teymiyye'nin Kitâb-ı Mukaddes tefsirinde ne tür bir hermenötik metot izlediđini ortaya koymak için Kitâb-ı Mukaddes âyetlerini nasıl anlayıp yorumladıđı araştırılmaktadır.

Çalışmada ayrıca İbn Teymiyye'nin Kitâb-ı Mukaddes hermenötiđinin kendinden önceki dönem ve kendi zamanındaki yorumlara nispetle farklılık ve benzerliklerini ortaya koymak için farklı dönemlerden olmak üzere meşhur beş Müslüman âlimin polemik eserlerindeki Kitâb-ı Mukaddes âyetlerinin yorumlanması da incelenmektedir. Bu çerçevede ilk dönem polemik eserlerine örneklik etmesi bakımından Alî b. Sehl Rabben et-Taberî'nin (ö.247/865) *el-Red 'ale'n-Nasârâ* ve *el-Kitâb ed-Dîn ve'd-devle* isimli eserlerini ve Gazzâlî'ye (ö. 505/1111) atfedilen fakat aidiyeti tam olarak belirlenmemiş *el-Reddü'l -cemîl' li-ilâhiyyeti İsâ bi-sarihi'l-İncil*'i temel alınmıştır. Akabinde İbn Teymiyye'nin cevap yazmış olduđu aynı mektuba ilk reddiyeyi yazmak amacıyla Şehâbeddin Ahmed b. İdrîs el-Karâfî'nin (ö. 684/1285) kaleme almış olduđu *el-Ecvibetü'l-Fâhira ani'l-es'ileti'l-Fâcira*'sı ve yine aynı mektuba cevap yazan Alî b. Ebî Tâlib ed-Dımeşkî'nin (ö. 728/1327) *el-Cevâbu'r-Risâle Ehli Cezîretü'l-Kubrus* isimli eseri incelenmektedir. Son olarak da meşhur Zâhirî âlim İbn Hazm'ın (ö. 456/1064) temel eserlerinden biri olan *el-Faşl fi'l-milel ve'l-ehvâ' ve'n-nihâl*'ını esas alarak bu beş Müslüman âlimin Kitâb-ı Mukaddes âyetlerini nasıl yorumladıklarını ve reddiyelerinde karşı tarafa argüman olarak nasıl sunduklarını anlamak adına bir inceleme ortaya koymaktadır.

Tezin temel sonucu İbn Teymiyye'nin Kitâb-ı Mukaddes'i yorumlarken İslam Hukuk teorisi olarak bilinen fıkıh usûlü metodundan ve Kur'ân hermenötiđinden ilham almış bir yorumlama tekniđi geliřtirmiş olduđudur. İbn Teymiyye'nin *el-Cevâbü's-sahîh*'de ortaya koymuş olduđu Kitâb-ı Mukaddes hermenötiđi onu bariz bir şekilde diđer bahsi geçen beş Müslüman polemikçiden ayırmaktadır. İbn Teymiyye Kitâb-ı Mukaddes metinlerini yorumlamak için kontekste yani Yahudi ve Hristiyan Kutsal Kitaplarının genel bağlamına dayalı bir tefsir metodu kullanırken diđer beş Müslüman polemikçi klâsik lafzî-mecâzî lengüistik ayrımına dayalı bir yorumlama tekniđi ile metinleri tefsir etmektedir. İbn Teymiyye'nin Kitâb-ı Mukaddes hermenötiđinin en dikkate deđer özelliđi, onun İslam Hukuk Usûlü ve Tefsir geleneđinin kutsal metinleri yorumlama metodunu ve teknik terminolojisini kullanarak yeni bir yorumlama usûlü geliřtirmiş olmasıdır. İbn Teymiyye, Hristiyanların Kutsal Kitap'ını yorumlama amacıyla ortaya koymuş olduđu bu tefsir metodunu kendisinin genel teolojik ve entelektüel pozisyonuna uyarlamakta ve böylelikle bu yeni hermenötik pozisyon İbn Teymiyye'den önceki geleneđin bu metinleri nasıl anladıđı ve yorumladıđından farklılık göstermektedir. Bu yeni yorumlama metodu ile İbn Teymiyye Kitâb-ı Mukaddes'i, Kur'ân metinlerini tefsir ederken kullandıđı usûle benzer bir şekilde okuyup yorumlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Dinler Tarihi, İbn Teymiyye, *el-Cevâbü's-sahîh*, Kitâb-ı Mukaddes Hermenötiđi, Dinler Arası Polemik Eserler, Kutsal Metinlerin Tefsiri, Hristiyan-Müslüman Reddiyeleri

Hildegard as a Mystic and her Place in the Christian Thought (PhD. Dissertation)

Halil Temiztürk *

Abstract

Mysticism, visions, feminism, music, herbal medicine...Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) have been identified with these notions. Because she has influenced Christianity until today with her extraordinary visions and various works about God, man, cosmology, music, botany and anatomy. In this study it will be evaluated the life of Hildegard who is one of the remarkable mystics in Christian mysticism history and her effect to Christian mysticism. Studies on the Christian mysticism is very limited in our country. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to Christian mysticism and to provide a source for the researchers who work on this field.

This thesis, *Hildegard as a Mystic and her Place in the Christian Thought* (PhD. Dissertation, Sakarya University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Philosophy and Religious Sciences, Sakarya, Turkey, 2019), consists of three chapters. The first chapter is an introduction to mysticism and the Christian mysticism. In this chapter is discussed the basic dynamics of Christian mysticism. Christianity has undergone a mystical transformation with Paul, who intended to move away from Judaism's emphasis on law. This mystical formation began to gain strength with elements such as saint and martyrdom from the 2nd century onwards. In the later period, Christianity has become even more spiritual structure with desert and monastic life. In the first chapter, it is emphasized that Christian mysticism is influenced by Jewish mysticism and Greek tradition and Mystery religions. Therefore, we think that Christian mysticism impressed by the internal dynamics like Paul and the New Testament texts and the external dynamics mentioned above. In this chapter, it is

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emphasized that Christian mystics usually prefer the word "love" which is a mystical expression when speaking about Jesus. Also, they concentrate on contemplation and evaluate rituals like sacraments in such a manner that mystical. At the end of this chapter, it is stated that Christian mystics usually prefer the word "love" when speaking about Jesus which is a mystical expression. Also, they concentrate on contemplation and evaluation of rituals like sacraments in a mystical manner; therefore we can say that they have a different understanding of religion than from institutional Christianity.

In the second chapter, it is evaluated the relationship between the Church and mysticism and the socio-cultural background of the period influenced her thoughts. We can say that Christian Mysticism has begun to mature since the Middle Ages; even though Christianity tended to mysticism in the early period. Living in that period, she can be seen as a remarkable woman when her mystic character is taken into consideration. Even though she spent most of her life in the monasteries, it would be misleading to regard her as the one who is confined within the limits of the monastery since she established close relationships with many important people from the Pope to the Emperor. Thanks to her visions, she was accepted as a consultant or an oracle by the people around her. Also, she travelled to different cities to preach to people and priests, and in these sermons, she both criticized the clergy in some aspects and warns people against heretic movements. Even if she applied different rules in the monasteries and criticized the church authorities on some issues, she often paid attention to stay at the limits of orthodoxy and to defend the Catholic faith. Another remarkable aspect of Hildegard is that men and women are equally responsible for the first sin. The fact that she says Adam's ate the forbidden fruit due to Eve's love, that women are closer to Godly knowledge, and that she is appointed by God because of males unable to fulfil responsibility is noteworthy. Hildegard was not recognized as a heretic because of her aristocratic relatives who supported and power of visions.

During this period, Christians began to fight against groups that were considered heretical by the Church and she lived at a time of Crusades. In other words, this age was a period which the Jews and Muslims were defined as heretics and infidels. This attitude affected other mystics. For example, Clairvaux Bernard in spite of as a mystic organized the Crusades and gave sermons to support it. Similarly, she did not remain indifferent to these developments and developed a rather harsh perspective against the members of the religious groups called "other ". The aim of our study is to reveal that Hildegard, a mystic in the Middle Ages, did not follow a different policy from the Church such an in religious and sociology atmosphere.

In this chapter, we try to emphasize that the Church in the Middle Ages generally supported to mystics, though sometimes they struggled them. Because it is accepted that mystics and monasteries have empowered the Church by doing missionary and struggled against heretics. But we should also remember that there is a struggle for sovereignty among the Church and the mystics and the Church has accepted some mystics as heretics. We can state that she intuited this danger and tried to keep herself within the boundaries drawn by the Church.

Hildegard has influenced Christianity until today with her extraordinary visions and different works such as God, man, cosmology, music, botany and anatomy. In addition, she especially generated thoughts about the human-Jesus-God relationship, universe, spirit, satan and the salvation of the world. What makes Hildegard different is that to describe some of God's attributes in a feminine way like God's wisdom and mercy, to explain nature, God's attributes and virtues in a connection with each other manner.

At the end of this chapter is discussed Hildegard's contribution to Christian thought. For example, she supported her visions with paintings, thus contributed to the development of Christian illustration art. We can also say that her symphonies have contributed Church music and her cures it has been followed even today which is called herbal medicines. Besides these, it is made a film about her (Vision/y.2009), also St. Rupert and St. Disibod monasteries has nearly recognized as a pilgrimage site nowadays. On the other hand, we can see that Hildegard's views about women are accepted by feminists and that they use the phrase for her "women's rights advocate of the Middle Ages". However, we believe that this statement is a misnomer. We can see this when we approach the works of Hildegard with a holistic reading. We think that this statement is also an anachronistic approach because feminists try to find a witness themselves from the Middle Ages.

In the third and last section, we have tried to examine Hildegard's contribution to Christian mysticism and Catholic theology in terms of God, world, human, salvation. She was in close contact with the Pope and Bernard, it shows that she developed a theology on the line of the Church. Part of this theology was the perception of "others". For example, the pagan danger that Hildegard frequently expressed in her works, it aimed to reduce the impact of Christianity and paganism. Although Christianity became widespread during this period, it is possible to say that the Church and mystics such as Hildegard fought against the revival of paganism.

She has more positive thoughts about Jewish heritage because Christianity depends it on theological and historical ties. However, Hildegard harshly criticized the Jews because they did not accept Jesus and crucified him. On the other hand, she believes that Judaism and Christianity are separated about mercy. According to her, Jesus eased the hardship of religious law. Thus, she pointed out that Jesus overhauled Judaism and the Old Testament which emphasized law. According to Hildegard, one of the differences between Judaism and Christianity is that Judaism is a world-oriented religion, but Christianity gained spirit through asceticism and monastery. Another group that Hildegard mentioned in her letters and visions is heretics. Although she did not mention precisely, it is clear that the features of this heretical group are Cathars. She often mentioned about the danger of Cathars, whose activities had increased in Europe. She warned the priests and the people of the danger of Cathars in the sermons tours. Hildegard accepted the rise of the Cathars as the devil coming out of the bottomless pits and warned the Church for their destruction.

It is also possible to say that even though Hildegard did not mention Muslims in her works, she knows them. Because Muslim conquests crossed the Pyrenees and extended to the borders of France since 714 and European people heard about Muslims. On the other hand, we can say that she knew Muslims by way of the Crusades. Hildegard corresponded with Bernard of Clairvaux, who encourage to people for the Second Crusades by sermons and she congratulated him for it. Moreover, she was not a mystic who remained within the borders of the monastery. Also she met Friedrich, as well as the nobles, priests and mystics. Emperor Friedrich supported the Crusades like Bernard and he died during these expeditions. We can say that she is not completely unaware of the Muslims because of these relationships.

The thesis ends with "Conclusion" which includes the findings of the study. Additionally, the study is enriched maps, figures and pictures which including cities, monasteries and visions of Hildegard.

Keywords

History of Religion, Christian Mysticism, Medieval Age, Church, Hildegard

Bir Hıristiyan Mistik Olarak Hildegard ve Hıristiyan Düşüncesindeki Yeri (Doktora Tezi)

Özet

Mistisizm, vizyon, feminizm, müzik, bitkisel ilaç... Bingenli Hildegard (1098-1179) günümüzde bu kavramlarla tanınmaktadır. Zira kendisi; Tanrı, insan ve âlem gibi konuları ele aldığı eserleri yanında müzik, botanik, anatomi gibi farklı disiplinlere ait düşünceleriyle de günümüze kadar etki etmiştir. Bu çalışmada Hıristiyan mistisizm tarihinin önemli bir halkasını teşkil eden Hildegard'ın hayatı ve Hıristiyan mistisizmine etkisi ele alınmaktadır. Ülkemizde Hıristiyan mistisizmi ile ilgili çalışmalar oldukça kısıtlıdır. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmanın söz konusu alana katkı sağlaması ve Hıristiyan mistisizmi hakkında çalışmalar yapan araştırmacılara kaynaklık sağlaması amaçlanmaktadır.

Tezimiz üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm mistisizm kavramı ve Hıristiyan mistisizmine giriş sayılabilir. Bu bölümde Hıristiyan mistisizminin temel dinamikleri tartışılmıştır. Hıristiyanlık Pavlus ile beraber Yahudiliğin şeriata vurgu yapan yapısından sıyrılarak mistik bir dönüşüm geçirmiştir. Bu mistik oluşum özellikle 2. yüzyıldan itibaren azizlik ve şehitlik gibi unsurlarla artmaya başlamıştır. Daha sonraki dönemde çöl münzeviliği ve manastır hayatı ile Hıristiyanlık daha da ruhani bir yapı kazanmıştır. Ayrıca ilk kısımda Hıristiyan mistisizminin Yahudi mistisizmi ile Grek geleneği ve Sır dinlerindeki mistik yapılardan etkilendiği vurgulanmıştır. Dolayısıyla Hıristiyan mistisizminin Pavlus ve Yeni Ahit metinleri gibi iç dinamikler ile yukarıda sayılan dış dinamiklerden etkilendiğini düşünmekteyiz. Bu bölümün sonunda ise Hıristiyan mistiklerin İsa'dan bahsederken mistik bir ifade olan aşk kelimesini tercih ettikleri, tefekküre önem verdikleri ve sakramentler gibi ritüelleri mistik bir şekilde ele aldıkları; dolayısıyla kurumsal Hıristiyanlıktan bir ölçüde farklılaştığı vurgulanmıştır.

İkinci bölümde Bingenli Hildegard'ın hayatı, düşüncelerine tesir etmiş olan dönemin sosyo-kültürel arka planı ve Kilise kurumu ile mistisizm arasındaki ilişki ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Her ne kadar erken dönemde Hıristiyanlık mistisizme yakın dursa da, Hıristiyan mistisizminin Orta Çağ'dan itibaren olgunlaşmaya başladığını söyleyebiliriz. Bingenli Hildegard, Hıristiyan mistisizminin olgunlaşmaya başladığı bu dönemde dikkat çekici bir mistiktir. O, hayatının çoğunu manastırlarda geçirmiş olsa da manastır sınırlarında kalmış bir mistik değildir. Papa'dan İmparator'a kadar birçok önemli insanla yakın ilişkiler kurmuş, ve gördüğü vizyonların da etkisiyle çevresindeki insanlar tarafından bir danışman veya gelecekte haber veren bir kâhin olarak kabul görmüştür. Bunun yanı sıra halka ve rahiplere vaaz vermek için farklı şehirleri dolaşmış, bu vaazlarda hem rahipler zümresini bazı hususlarda eleştirmiş hem de heretik akımlara karşı insanları uyarmıştır.

Hildegard, manastırda farklı kurallar uygulamış ve bazı konularda kilise yetkililerini eleştirmiş olsa da ortodoksi sınırlarında kalmaya özen göstermiş ve Katolik inancını önemseydiğini sık sık dile getirmiştir. Onun diğer bir dikkat çeken yönü ise erkek ve kadının asli günah noktasında eşit derecede sorumlu olduğudur. Âdem'in yasak meyveyi yemesinin Havva'ya olan aşkıdan kaynaklandığını, kadınların Tanrısal bilgiye daha yakın olduklarını ve kendisinin de erkeklerin sorumluluğunu yerine getiremediğinden dolayı Tanrı tarafından görevlendirildiğini söylemesi dikkat çekmektedir. Ancak bu düşüncelerini vizyonlarla desteklemesi ve kendisini koruyan aristokratik yakınları nedeniyle bir heretik gibi kabul görmemiştir.

Hildegard’ın yaşadığı dönemde Hristiyanlar, Kilise tarafından heretik olarak kabul edilen gruplara karşı mücadeleye girişmiştir. Ayrıca bu dönemde Haçlı Seferleri de başlamıştır. Diğer bir ifadeyle bu dönem Katharlar, Yahudiler ve Müslümanların heretik ve kâfirler olarak tanımlandığı bir zaman dilimidir. Bu kabul dönemin diğer mistiklerini de etkilemiştir. Örneğin Clairvauxlu Bernard (ö. 1153) bir mistik olmasına rağmen Haçlı Seferlerini organize etmiş ve bunu destekleyecek vaazlar vermiştir. Hildegard da bu gelişmelere kayıtsız kalmamış ve “öteki” denilen inanç mensuplarına karşı oldukça sert bir bakış açısı geliştirmiştir. Çalışmamızın bir amacı da Orta Çağlı bir mistiğin böyle bir dinî ve sosyolojik ortamda Kiliseden farklı bir politika izlemediğini ortaya koymaktır.

Yine bu bölümde Orta Çağ’da Kilise’nin mistiklerle kimi zaman karşı karşıya gelse de genelde onları desteklediğini vurgulanmıştır. Çünkü mistiklerin ve manastırların misyonerlik yaparak ve heretiklerle mücadele ederek Kiliseyi güçlendirdikleri bilinmektedir. Fakat Kilise ile mistikler arasında zaman zaman egemenlik mücadelesi olduğunu ve Kilise’nin bazı mistikleri heretiklerden kabul ettiğini de hatırlanmalıdır. Bu açıdan Hildegard’ın söz konusu tehlikeyi fark ettiğini ve düşüncelerini Kilise’nin çizdiği sınırlarda tutmaya gayret ettiğini ifade etmeliyiz.

Bu bölümün sonunda ise Hildegard’ın Hristiyan düşüncesine yaptığı katkılar ele alınmıştır. Kendisi; Tanrı, insan ve âlem gibi farklı konulara değindiği eserleri yanında müzik, botanik, anatomi gibi farklı disiplinlere ait düşünceleri ile günümüze kadar etki etmiştir. Temelde insan, İsa ve Tanrı arasındaki ilişki üzerinde durmuş ayrıca âlem, ruh, şeytan ve dünyanın kurtuluşu hakkında düşünceler üretmiştir. Tanrı’nın bilgelik ve merhamet gibi bazı sıfatlarını anneliğe benzeyen feminen bir doğa ile ele alması diğer yandan doğayı, Tanrı’nın sıfatlarını ve erdemleri birbirleriyle bağlantılı açıklaması Hildegard’ı farklı kılmaktadır.

Vizyonlarını resimlerle destekleyen Hildegard, Hristiyan illüstrasyon sanatının gelişmesine etki etmiştir. Ayrıca yaptığı senfonilerin Kilise müziklerine etki ettiğini, bitkisel ilaç tedavisi konusundaki kürlerinin günümüzde de takip edildiğini söyleyebiliriz. Bunların yanında Hildegard hakkında bir yapılmış (Vizyon/2009) ve Aziz Rupert ile Aziz Disibod manastırları günümüzde birer hac mekânı gibi kabul görmüştür. Diğer yandan onun kadınlar hakkındaki görüşlerinin günümüzde feministler tarafından sahiplenildiğini ve onun için “Orta Çağ’ın kadın hakları savunucusu” isminin kullanıldıklarını görmekteyiz. Ancak bu adlandırma yanlıştır. Çünkü Hildegard’ın eserlerine bütüncül bir yaklaştığımızda bunu görebiliriz. Ayrıca bu düşüncenin anakronist bir yaklaşım olduğunu zira feministlerin kendilerine Orta Çağ’dan bir referans bulmaya çalıştıklarını düşünmekteyiz.

Üçüncü ve son bölümde ise Hildegard’ın Hristiyan mistisizmine ve Katolik teolojisine yapmış olduğu katkılar Tanrı, âlem, insan ve kurtuluş merkezinde incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Onun Papa ve Bernard ile yakın temas halinde olması da onun Kilise çizgisinde bir teoloji geliştirdiği göstermektedir. Bu teolojin bir parçası da öteki algısıdır. Örneğin onun eserlerinde sık sık dile getirdiği pagan tehlikesi, bu dönemde Hristiyanlıktan putperestliğe geri dönüşlerin etkisini azaltmaya yöneliktir. Zira bu dönemde Hristiyanlık yaygınlık kazanmış olsa da Kilise kurumunun ve Hildegard gibi mistiklerin paganizmin yeniden canlanmasına karşı mücadeleye ettiklerini söylemek mümkündür. Ona göre Yahudilik ile Hristiyanlık arasındaki farklardan birisi Yahudiliğin dünyaya dönük bir din iken Hristiyanlığın asketizm ve manastır ile ruhaniyet kazandığıdır. Onun mektuplarında ve vizyonlarında üzerinde durduğu diğer bir grup da heretiklerdir. Hildegard isim ola-

rak Katharlar’ı anmasa da bahsettiği özelliklerin bu heretik grubu işaret ettiği ortadadır. O, gittikçe faaliyetlerini artıran Kathar tehlikesine eserlerinde sık sık yer vermiştir. Çıktığı vaaz turlarında da rahipleri ve halkı Kathar tehlikesine karşı uyarmıştır.

Ayrıca Hildegard’ın eserlerinde isim olarak anmasa da Müslümanları tanıdığını söylemek mümkündür. Zira 714 yılından itibaren Müslüman fetihleri Pireneler’i aşp Fransa sınırlarına kadar dayanması, Müslümanlar’ın İspanya dışında da tanınmasına zemin hazırlamıştır. Diğer taraftan onun Müslümanları Haçlı Seferleri dolayısıyla tanıdığını söyleyebiliriz. Zira Hildegard, İkinci Haçlı seferlerine teşvik etmek için vaazlar veren Clairvauxlu Bernard ile mektuplaşmış ve onu Haçlı Seferleri için tebrik etmiştir. Üstelik kendisi manastırın sınırlarında kalmış bir mistik de değildir. O, soylular, rahipler ve mistikler kadar dönemin imparatoru Friedrich ile görüşmüştür yani dış dünya ile irtibatlıdır. İmparator Friedrich de Bernard gibi Haçlı Seferlerine destek vermiş ve bu seferler sırasında ölmüştür. Bu ilişkilerinden dolayı onun Müslümanlardan tamamen habersiz olmadığını söyleyebiliriz.

Çalışma, tezin bulgularını içeren “Sonuç” bölümü ile sonlanmaktadır. Ayrıca konunun daha iyi kavranması adına Hildegard’ın yaşadığı şehirler, kaldığı manastırlar ve hayatını etkileyen vizyonlar “Ekler” kısmında yer alan harita, şekil ve resimlerle zenginleştirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Dinler Tarihi, Hıristiyan Mistisizmi, Orta Çağ, Kilise, Hildegard

The Perception of Human Being in al-Māturīdī (PhD. Dissertation)

Osman Nuri Demir *

Abstract

In this thesis, which bears the name of *The Perception of Human Being in al-Māturīdī* (PhD. Dissertation, Marmara University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Basic Islamic Sciences, İstanbul, Turkey, 2019), the subject of Human Conception for Imam Māturīdī, (d. 333/944) who is one of the most important figures of the Islamic thought and one of the pioneers of Ahl al-Sunnah, has been studied. In order to address this issue comprehensively, “What is human and why he is existed? What kind of being does man have? Is there a link between the creation of the human species and the creation of the world/universe in its present form? What is the position and limit of man before Allah, the realm in which he gains existence, and other creatures with whom he shares the universe? In what way and in what dimension is his relationship with Allah and the universe? What are the main principles that enable man to realize his humanity? What is the greatest blessing given to man and the most valuable talent he has? Who is a good and ideal person? Can any human be the ideal person? What is death? Why does man die? The answers to many questions that can be listed such as; “What kind of existence does one expect after death? have been investigated. While this was done, it was tried to put forward the human conception of al-Māturīdī in a holistic manner on the basis of his point of view and the aspects he put forward in human thought.

This study consists of an introduction, three sections and conclusion. The introduction provides information about the purpose, importance, scope, sources and methods of the research. In the first chapter, based on

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the question "What is human?", Māturīdī's thoughts about the nature of human being, the structure of existence before and after the birth, The Messenger of Allah Adam, creation of Eve, the stages of human creation in the world and the place of mankind in the world were subjected to a detailed examination. Māturīdī's answers to the mentioned question and the religious and philosophical foundations of these answers have been investigated, his explanations of the nature of man and short comparisons between the mutaqqaddimun period of Kalām and philosophical tradition have been made. With his views on this issue, Māturīdī's standing in the Islamic viewpoint has been tried to be determined. al-Māturīdī thinks that man is an entity with complex and ontological integrity with his life and soul that gives him consistency, his *nafs* which is the grasping principle that enables him to comprehend and reason, and likewise with his body which is the apparent dimension of his material and spiritual properties, and rejects reductionist and fragmentary approaches. Māturīdī, who states that 'aql (reason) is the most valuable thing that man possesses, accepts that in addition to human 'aql (mind), there is also a nature from a realist point of view. al-Māturīdī states that human nature is at times in conflict with reason and that this is inevitable. But he accepts that in the event of such a conflict, what is surely cherished, that is, mind must be followed. Similar to Imām Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), Māturīdī, who understood the Fitrah as "Islamic Creation", emphasizes that in this sense, every human being, like all beings, is brought into being by the function of pointing to the existence and unity of Allah with the characteristics of creation. *Mīsāq* according to Māturīdī; is the creation of human with the capacity to reply with "balā" (yes indeed) meaning; "Yes, you are our Lord" to the question; "Alastu bi-rabbikum" meaning: "Am I not your Lord", If it was reality. Therefore, according to him, metaphorical language was used in the statements regarding *mīsāq* in the Qur'ān.

The second part of the study bears the title "Human as Aimed Being". According to Māturīdī, "Why did Allah create universe?" The correct answer to his question must be; "Because he is Allah." Accordingly, the act of creating is His attribute, and Allah Almighty creates because He is the Creator. Therefore, it is not right to show man or any other being as the cause of Allah's creation. However, when the universe and beings are observed, it is understood that the establishment of the world is aimed at human beings, and that the wisdom and fate in the creation of the world is reached only through the discovery of human beings, and that everything in the universe is created for man, for his benefit and observation. All this shows that human beings are "Purposed Being" and "Small World." Among the beings in the universe, human beings have a separate position by having reason and freely performing their actions. As an entity capable of obedience or rebellion with the freedom of Will and choice, man has become available to position himself at the top of the hierarchy of being and to fall below if he fails to use these abilities correctly. According to Māturīdī, freedom is the most precious thing he has, just as reason is the most valuable ability of man. The price of human freedom is to address the proposal (*taklīf*) and to be held responsible for its choices and actions. al-Māturīdī states that every person is assigned the duty of caliphate. The "Caliph man" should carry out reconstruction and reform activities throughout the world, starting with himself. Every human being is a custodian on Earth and in his own body and has to act with safety awareness. In this sense, human beings must be just and moral towards their soul, creatures and Allah, and they must make their relations on the axis of the principle of Tawhid. The ideal person of al-Māturīdī is "Distinguished Man". The distinguished person has a realist structure, not utopian in terms of role modeling, and has examples in the outside world. The most obvious examples of this are all the Messengers of Allah, especially messenger Muhammad (pbuh).

In the third chapter called “The End or Eternity of Man”, the meanings that al-Māturīdī places on death as the characteristic of man, the new structure of being gained by man with death, and the situation of this structure in the *barzakh* and the Hereafter life are discussed. al-Māturīdī thinks that the existence of the Hereafter is a necessity of reason and wisdom and humanity within the framework of the idea of wisdom and fate. Because, according to Māturīdī, human is a being that is going to be complete with death. Death in the world is something must be prepared for, not avoided, for Man. Life, that is the top of the worldly tastes; was given to seek the life of Paradise, which is eternal life; Worldly death, the most severe of pain, was given to avoid the eternal torment, the eternal and most painful death. al-Māturīdī states that man will lead a spiritual life in the life of the *barzakh*, but with the resurrection (ba’th) –as required by al-Māturīdī’s system– soul (rūh), *nafs* and body will be reunited.

The thesis is completed with the “conclusion” section containing the findings/results reached in the research. Here, it is emphasized that there is a need to re-negotiate the idea with the human conceptions in the Islamic tradition in order to re-establish the human conception of the Muslim individual, which has changed under the influence of Western philosophy and has shifted from its own line. In order to meet this need, it is foreseen that reviving the ideas of al-Māturīdī can make important contributions. The reason for this is that al-Māturīdī has an intensity and richness that can be the cornerstone of human conception in this regard.

Keywords

Kalām, Māturīdī, Human Conception, Human Nature, Intellect, Proposition/*Taklīf*, Caliphate of Man, Death and Eternal Life

Māturīdī’de İnsan Tasavvuru (Doktora Tezi)

Özet

Māturīdī’de İnsan Tasavvuru (Doktora Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Temel İslâm Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı, 2019) ismini taşıyan bu tezde İslâm düşünce geleneğinin en önemli simalarından ve Ehl-i Sünnet’in kurucu isimlerinden İmam Māturīdī’nin (ö. 333/944) insan tasavvuru konu edilmektedir. Bu konunun kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alınabilmesi amacıyla “İnsan nedir ve niçin vardır? İnsanoğlu nasıl bir varlık yapısına sahiptir? İnsan türünün yaratılmasıyla âlemin mevcut şekliyle vücûda getirilişi arasında bir bağ var mıdır? İnsanın Tanrı’ya, içinde varlık kazandığı âleme ve evreni paylaştığı diğer canlılara karşı konumu ve sınırı nedir? Onun, Tanrı ve evrenle ilişkisi ne şekilde ve hangi boyuttadır? İnsanın varoluş amacını gerçekleştirmesini sağlayan ana esaslar nelerdir? İnsana verilen en yüce nimet ve onun sahip olduğu en değerli yetenek hangisidir? İyi ve ideal insan kimdir? Her insan, ideal insan olabilir mi? Ölüm nedir? İnsan niçin ölmektedir? İnsanı ölümden sonra nasıl bir varoluş beklemektedir?” şeklinde sıralanabilecek pek çok sorunun cevabı araştırılmıştır. Bu yapılırken Māturīdī’nin bakış açısı ve onun insan düşüncesinde öne çıkarıldığı yönler esas alınarak Māturīdī’nin insan tasavvuru bütüncül bir şekilde ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Bu çalışma giriş, üç bölüm ve sonuç kısmından oluşmaktadır. Girişte araştırmanın amacı, önemi, kapsamı, kaynak ve yöntemleri hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Birinci bölümde “İnsan nedir?” sorusu esas alınarak bu soru

bağlamında insanın mahiyeti, dünyaya gelmeden önceki ve sonraki varlık yapısı, Hz. Âdem ve Hz. Havvâ'nın yaratılışları, dünyada insanın yaratılış evreleri ve insanoğlunun âlemdeki yeri hakkında Mâtürîdî'nin düşünceleri ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelemeye tâbi tutulmuştur. Mezkûr soruya Mâtürîdî'nin verdiği cevaplar ve bu cevapların dinî ve felsefî temelleri araştırılarak, Mâtürîdî'nin insanın mahiyetine ilişkin açıklamalarıyla, müttekaddimîn dönemi kelâm ve felsefe geleneği arasında kısa mukayeseler yapılarak bu konudaki görüşleriyle Mâtürîdî'nin, İslâm düşünce geleneğinde durduğu yer tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Mâtürîdî, insanın hayat ve kıvam veren ruhuyla, idraki ve akletmeyi sağlayan kavrayıcı ilke olan nefsiyle (*nefs-i derrâke*), aynı şekilde maddî ve manevî özelliklerinin görünen boyutu olan bedeniyle kompleks ve ontolojik bütünlüğe sahip bir varlık olduğunu düşünmekte, indirgemeci ve parçacı yaklaşımları ise reddetmektedir. Aklın insanın sahip olduğu en değerli şey olduğunu belirten Mâtürîdî, realist bir bakış açısıyla insanın aklına ilâve olarak bir de doğasının var olduğunu kabul etmektedir. Mâtürîdî insanî doğanın zaman zaman akılla çatışma içine girdiğini ve bunun kaçınılmaz olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Ancak o, böyle bir çatışma durumunda mutlaka akla uyulması gerektiğini kabul etmektedir. Fıtratı İmâm-ı Âzam Ebû Hanîfe'ye (ö. 150/767) benzer şekilde, “yaratılış İslâm'ı” tarzında anlayan Mâtürîdî, bu anlamda bütün varlıklar gibi her insanın yaratılış özellikleriyle Allah'ın varlığına ve birliğine işaret etme fonksiyonuyla vücûda getirildiğini vurgulamaktadır. Mâtürîdî'ye göre mîsâk, insanoğlunun -şayet vâki olsaydı- “Elestü birabbiküm” yani “Ben sizin Rabbiniz değil miyim?” sorusuna “Evet, Sen bizim Rabbinizsin” mânâsına gelen “Belâ” cevabını verebilecek istidatta yaratılmış olmasıdır. Dolayısıyla ona göre Kur'ân'daki mîsâka ilişkin ifadelerde metaforik bir dil kullanılmıştır.

Çalışmanın ikinci bölümü, “Gaye Varlık Olarak İnsan” başlığını taşımaktadır. Mâtürîdî'ye göre “Allah mahlûkatı niçin yaratmıştır?” sorusuna verilmesi gereken doğru cevap “Çünkü O, ilâhtır” şeklinde olmalıdır. Buna göre yaratmak O'nun zâtî özelliğidir ve Allah Teâlâ bizâtîhi Yaratıcı olduğu için yaratmaktadır. Dolayısıyla Allah'ın yaratmasına sebep olarak insanın ya da başka bir varlığın gösterilmesi doğru değildir. Bununla beraber evren ve varlıklar gözlemlendiğinde âlemin kuruluşuyla insanın hedeflendiği, âlemin yaratılışındaki hikmet ve âkıbetin ancak insanın varlık bulmasıyla kemâle ulaştığı, kâinattaki her şeyin bir şekilde insan için, onun yararı ve müşahedesini için yaratıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bütün bunlar insanın “Gaye Varlık” ve “Küçük Âlem” olduğunu göstermektedir. Âlemdeki varlıklar arasında insanoğlu akla sahip olması ve eylemlerini özgürce gerçekleştirebilmesiyle ayrı bir konuma sahiptir. İrade ve seçim hürriyeti ile itaat etmeye ehil veya isyana yönelmesi muhtemel bir varlık olarak insan, bu yönüyle hem varlık hiyerarşisinin en üstünde konumlanmaya hem de bu yeteneklerini doğru kullanmayıp zâyi etmesi durumunda aşağıların aşağısına düşmeye müsait hâle gelmiştir. Zira Mâtürîdî'ye göre akıl insanın en değerli yeteneği olduğu gibi özgürlük de onun sahip olduğu en kıymetli şeydir. İnsanın özgür oluşunun bedeli ise teklife muhatap kılınmak, seçimlerinden ve yapıp etmelerinden sorumlu tutulmaktır. Mâtürîdî her insanın hilâfet vazifesi ile görevlendirildiğini ifade etmektedir. “Halife İnsan”, nefsinden başlayarak âlemin tamamında imar ve ıslah faaliyeti yürütmelidir. Her insan yeryüzünde ve kendi bedeninde emanetçi konumundadır ve emanet bilinci ile hareket etmek zorundadır. İnsanoğlu bu anlamda nefesine, varlıklara ve Tanrı'ya karşı âdil ve ahlâklı olmalı, ilişkilerini tevhid prensibi ekseninde gerçekleştirmelidir. Mâtürîdî'nin ideal insanı “Seçkin İnsan”dır. Seçkin insan, rol model alınması açısından ütöpik değil, realist bir yapıya sahiptir ve dış dünyada örnekleri mevcuttur. Bunun en belirgin örnekleri de başta Hz. Muhammed olmak üzere bütün peygamberlerdir.

“İnsanın Sonu ya da Sonsuzluğu” adındaki üçüncü bölümde ise Mâtürîdî'nin insanın zâtî özelliği olarak ölüme yüklediği anlamlar, ölümlerle birlikte insanın kazandığı yeni varlık yapısı ve bu yapının berzah ve âhîret

hayatındaki durumu konu edilmektedir. Mâtûrîdî, hikmet ve âkıbet düşüncesi çerçevesinde âhiretin varlığının akıl ve hikmetin ve insan oluşun bir gereği olduğunu düşünmektedir. Çünkü Mâtûrîdî’ye göre insan, olmakta olan ve ölümlle birlikte tamam olmaya giden bir varlıktır. Dünyadaki ölüm insan için kaçınılması değil, hazırlanılması gereken bir ölümdür. Dünyadaki lezzetlerin en üstünü olan hayat, ebedî hayat olan cennet hayatına rağbet etmek, yine acıların en şiddetlisi olan dünyevî ölüm de ebedî ve en acı ölüm olan sonsuz azaptan sakınmak için verilmiştir. Mâtûrîdî insanın berzah hayatında ruhanî bir hayat süreceğini fakat yeniden dirilişle (ba ‘s) birlikte –Mâtûrîdî’nin sistemi gereği- ruh, nefis ve beden birlikteliğine kavuşacağını belirtmektedir.

Tez, araştırmada ulaşılan bulguları içeren “Sonuç” bölümüyle tamamlanmaktadır. Burada Batı felsefesinin etkisi altında değişen ve kendi çizgisinden kayan Müslüman bireyin insan tasavvurunu yeniden doğru bir zemine oturtmak açısından İslâmî gelenekteki insan tasavvurlarıyla tekrar fikrî müzâkereye girilmesine ihtiyaç bulunduğu tespiti vurgulanmaktadır. Bu ihtiyacın giderilmesi noktasında ise Mâtûrîdî’nin düşüncelerinin canlandırılmasının önemli katkılar sağlayabileceği öngörülmektedir. Buna gerekçe olarak da Mâtûrîdî’nin insan tasavvurunun bu konuda temel taşı olabilecek bir yoğunlukta ve zenginlikte olması zikredilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kelâm, Mâtûrîdî, İnsan Tasavvuru, İnsanî Doğa, Akıl, Teklif, İnsanın Halifeliği, Ölüm ve Sonsuz Yaşam

The Relation of Ḥanafī-Māturīdī Kalām System with Sufism in the Early Period (PhD. Dissertation)**Yunus Eraslan *****Abstract**

In the historical process, the science of Kalām has become more interacted with the two disciplines. The first is philosophy and the other is Sufism. Its relationship with both disciplines has been a decisive factor in shaping the agenda and interest of the Kalām in favour of the disciplines in question. Therefore, when trying to determine the historical trajectory of Kalām science, it is necessary to consider its relationship and interaction with these disciplines. Here, taking into consideration the perspectives of Sufis and Sufis will provide a better holistic point of view on the concept of Ahl al-Sunna in order to understand the thought structures of both Ash'arī and Ḥanafī-Māturīdī kalām systems. In this context, the relationship between Ḥanafī- Māturīdī kalām system from the early periods to zuhd and Sufism has been important in terms of shedding light on modern times for the early periods.

Because in the early stages of Islamic thought, a scholar had multiple qualities in a process where disciplines were not yet divided into sections, in modern times it is necessary to look at them from a holistic perspective without longing for a certain pattern of thought. In this context, the most victimized from the reductive and discriminatory point of view of modern times are Māturīdī and the thought structure devoted to it. On the one hand, while trying to get closer to the rationalism of Mu'tazila through *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, on the one hand, al-Māturīdī and his thought structure were turned into a guarantee of the legitimacy of Sufism and Sufis. The point to be mentioned in particular is the distance between Sufism and Ḥanafī-Māturīdī theologians' views on inspiration. Therefore he and his thought system have been sacrificed from the context of his time and sacrificed to construction activity in line with the needs of modern times. In this case, starting

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from Abū Ḥanīfa, it is necessary to look at the Holistic-Sufism relationship from a holistic point of view by evaluating the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī kalām system in its own time and context. Starting from the historical background and background of the issue, the study of Kalām and Sufism in terms of topics of interest leads us to different conclusions from the building activities of modern times.

In these factors, the relationship between the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī kalām system and Sufism in the early period (h. V. Century) was tried to be evaluated in its own time and context. It should be noted that the aim of this study (*The Relation of Ḥanafī- Māturīdī Kalām System with Sufism in the Early Period*, PhD Thesis, Gaziantep University Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Basic Islamic Sciences, Gaziantep, Turkey, 2019) is not to introduce the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī theologians, especially Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Māturīdī, to a sufi-style as opposed to the rational identity assigned to them. On the contrary by positioning the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī Kalām system somewhere in the middle of rational and mystical poles, it is to reveal its distance to both poles.

In this context, our study consists of four chapters. In the first chapter, the common aspects of the theological and sufi movements which are present in the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī culture basin are tried to be put forward by referring to the historical background of the issue. However, no Sufi movement and formation have been considered as the equivalent and projection of the Ḥanafī- Māturīdī kalām system in Sufism. Anyway, evaluating both the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī kalām system and any Sufi school as branches of the same mentality in different disciplines and the equivalent of each other does not benefit from repeating the misconceptions that have fallen into the perspective of modern times.

In the second part, the issue has been cross-evaluated in terms of the subjects of interest of both disciplines in the context of theology and the most important subject of Sufism. In particular, in the subjects of Sufism, the competencies of the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī theologians, and especially their mastery of Sufism, have been emphasized. In the third chapter, the subjects of prophethood in which the relationship between theology and Sufism are put forward have been discussed in the context of sainthood, inspiration, ismah and dignity (al-Karamat). In this section, it is seen that the criticisms of Ḥanafī-Māturīdī theological system are aimed more at Shiite-Bātinī thought than Sufism and sufi. In the fourth chapter, the most important subject of early theological science of esmâ and ahkâm issues have been evaluated in terms of kalām and Sufism and the social dimension of the issue has been tried to be put forward.

In the conclusion part, it is emphasized that it is difficult to define the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī Kalām system as anti-Sufi or faraway from to Sufism, considering the mystical infrastructure and historical background of the region, although it is not engaged in a Sufi thought and lifestyle. In addition, the necessity of placing him in a conciliatory position in the middle of rational and mystical ends has been brought to the fore despite the pure rational role that was given to him in modern times.

Keywords

Kalām, The Ḥanafī-Māturīdī Kalām System, Abū Ḥanīfa, Māturīdī, Sufism, Prophethood, Faith

Erken Dönemde Hanefî-Mâtürîdî Kelâm Sisteminin Tasavvufla İlişkisi (Doktora Tezi)

Özet

Tarihi süreçte kelâm ilmi iki disiplinle daha çok etkileşim halinde olmuştur. Bunlardan birincisi felsefe diğeri ise tasavvuftur. Her iki disiplinle de ilişkisi kelâmın gündeminin ve ilgi alanının söz konusu disiplinler lehine şekillenmesinde belirleyici unsur olmuştur. Dolayısıyla kelâm ilminin tarihi süreçte yörüngesini tespit etmeye çalışırken söz konusu disiplinlerle ilişkisi ve etkileşiminin göz önünde bulundurulması gerekmektedir. Buna göre gerek Eş'arî gerekse Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâm sistemlerinin düşünce yapılarını anlamaya çalışırken tasavvuf ve sûflere bakış açılarını da göz önünde bulundurmak, Ehl-i sünnet kavramını anlama noktasında daha bütüncül bir bakış açısı sağlayacaktır. Bu bağlamda Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâm sisteminin erken dönemlerden itibaren zühd ve tasavvufla ilişkisi modern zamanlara ışık tutması bakımından önem arz etmektedir.

Zira İslam düşüncesinin erken dönemlerinde disiplinlerin henüz bölümlere ayrılmadığı bir süreçte bir âlimin birden çok nitelemelere sahip olması, modern dönemlerde onları belli bir düşünce kalıbına hasretmeden bütüncül bir perspektiften bakmayı gerektirmiştir. Bu bağlamda modern zamanların indirgemeci ve ayrıştırıcı bakış açısından en çok mağdur olan Mâtürîdî ve ona hasredilen düşünce yapısı olsa gerektir. Çünkü o ve ona nispet edilen düşünce yapısı bir yandan daha çok *Kitâbu't-Tevhîd* üzerinden Mutezile akılcılığına yaklaştırılmaya çalışılırken, diğer yandan da sûfîmeşreb bir şekle büründürülmek suretiyle tasavvuf ve sûflerin meşruiyet güvencesi haline getirilmiştir. Burada özellikle belirtilmesi gereken husus ise Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâmcılarının ilham konusundaki görüşlerinden yola çıkılarak tasavvufla arasına mesafe konulmasıdır. Dolayısıyla o ve temsil ettiği düşünce sistemi kendi zamanının bağlamından koparılmak suretiyle modern zamanların ihtiyaçları doğrultusunda bir inşa faaliyetine kurban edilmiştir. Bu durumda Ebû Hanîfe'den başlayarak Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâm sistemini kendi zamanında ve bağlamında değerlendirmek suretiyle, kelâm-tasavvuf ilişkisine bütüncül bir açıdan bakmak gerekmektedir. Meselenin tarihi arka planı ve alt yapısından başlayarak kelâm ve tasavvufun ilgi alanına giren konular açısından irdelenmesi bizi modern zamanların inşa faaliyetlerinden farklı sonuçlara götürmektedir.

Bu ve benzeri sâiklerden hareket ederek *Erken Dönemde Hanefî-Mâtürîdî Kelâm Sisteminin Tasavvufla İlişkisi* (Doktora Tezi, Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Temel İslam Bilimleri Ana Bilim Dalı, 2019) adlı bu tezde, erken dönemde (h. V. asıra kadar) Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâm sisteminin tasavvufla ilişkisi kendi zamanında ve bağlamında değerlendirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Şu hususun peşinen belirtilmesi gerekir ki, bu çalışmadaki amacımız başta Ebû Hanîfe ve Mâtürîdî olmak üzere Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâmcılarını kendilerine biçilen akılcı kimliğin aksine sûfîmeşreb bir kimliğe sokmak değildir. Bilakis Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâm sistemini akılcı ve mistik kutupların ortasında bir yerde konumlandırarak, her iki kutba da mesafesini ortaya koymaktır.

Bu bağlamda çalışmamız dört bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde meselenin tarihi arka planına değinmek suretiyle Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kültür havzasında varlık gösteren kelâmî ve tasavvufî hareketlerin ortak yanları ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Ancak burada hiçbir tasavvufî akım ve oluşum Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâm sisteminin tasavvuftaki karşılığı ve izdüşümü olarak değerlendirilmemiştir. Zaten gerek Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâm sistemini gerekse her hangi bir tasavvuf okulunu aynı zihniyetin farklı disiplinlerdeki şubeleri ve birbirlerinin karşılığı olarak değerlendirmek modern zamanlardaki bakış açısının içine düştüğü yanılgıları tekrar etmekten öte bir fayda sağlamaz. İkinci bölümde mesele kelâm ve tasavvufun en önemli konusu olan

ulûhiyyet bağlamında her iki disiplinin ilgi alanına giren konular açısından çapraz bir şekilde değerlendirilmiştir. Özellikle tasavvufun ilgi alanına giren konularda başta Mâtürîdî olmak üzere Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâm-cılarının yetkinlikleri ve tasavvufi konulara hâkimiyetlerine dikkat çekilmiştir. Üçüncü bölümde kelâm ve tasavvuf ilişkisinin en açık bir şekilde ortaya konulduğu nübüvvet konuları velayet, ilham, ismet ve keramet bağlamında ele alınmıştır. Bu bölümde Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâm sisteminin ilham konusundaki eleştirilerinin tasavvuf ve sûfîlerden daha çok Şîî-Bâtînî düşünceyi hedef aldığı görülmektedir. Dördüncü bölümde ise erken dönem kelâm ilminin en önemli konusu olan esmâ ve ahkâm konuları kelâm ve tasavvuf açısından değerlendirilerek meselenin sosyal boyutu ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Sonuç bölümünde ise erken dönem için konuşacak olursak, her ne kadar bir tasavvufî düşünce ve yaşam tarzına angaje olmasa da, bölgenin mistik alt yapısı ve tarihi art alanı göz önünde bulundurulduğunda Hanefî-Mâtürîdî kelâm sistemini tasavvuf karşıtı ya da tasavvufa karşı mesafeli olarak tanımlamanın zor olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Bunun yanında modern zamanlarda kendisine biçilen saf akılcı role karşın onu akılcı ve mistik uçların ortasında uzlaştırıcı bir konuma yerleştirmenin gerekliliği ön plana çıkarılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kelâm, Hanefî-Mâtürîdî Kelâm Sistemi, Ebû Hanîfe, Mâtürîdî, Tasavvuf, Nübüvvet, İman

The Production of Space: Everyday Life in Medina in The Period of The Prophet Muhammad (PhD. Dissertation)

İlyas Uçar *

Abstract

The theory of the production of space used in our study, which was put forward in 1974 by Henri Lefebvre in his book *The Production of Space*, brought about many space discussions in social theory. The book, which claims to put forward a general theory of space, has been the subject of controversy, but it is noteworthy that it is one of the most frequently used sources of space studies. The aim of this study is to re-read the theory mentioned in the book. Because a different perspective will be brought to the social relations and problems that are encountered every day in social life and which are tried to be understood, explained and solved by the related researches. This study, *The Production of Space: Everyday Life in Medina in The Period of The Prophet Muhammad* (PhD. Dissertation, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of History, Ankara, Turkey, 2019) aims to provide an important perspective on understanding the intellectual roots of the problem even if it does not provide a concrete and direct contribution to the solution of social problems.

The research problem of the thesis is the evaluation of the processes of production of space (in the case of Medina) in the context of the theory of the production of space, which occupies an important place in space discussions in social theory. What is space? What does the space cover? How is the space produced? How

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does space affect daily life? Based on such a research problem, two dimensions of the scope and purpose of the thesis can be mentioned.

First of all, the thesis should be evaluated in two categories as theoretical and research scope. In terms of theoretical / conceptual scope, the thesis is examined in three axes. The first axis is the philosophy of space based on what the concept of space is, and the relationship between the philosophy of space and the theory of production of space, which is written by the same name that stands out in a number of works of Lefebvre, and the theory that is adopted as a basis. Although the definitions and propositions of many philosophers and theorists are discussed here, the theory of the production of space constitutes the backbone of the theoretical context of the thesis. In this context, the theoretical / conceptual aim of our thesis is to make a detailed reading of the related theory and to evaluate the structural / conceptual frameworks that emerge in the theory. The first step of the theoretical dimension is to evaluate the conceptual, structural and factual components that come forward especially with a detailed reading of the book *The Production of Space* and to functionalize the relevant theory for space research in a concrete context. In other words, it is an indirect interpretation of the possibilities and limitations of the theory in the context of concrete time-space with functionalized frameworks.

The second axis of the theoretical / conceptual scope is the concept of daily life, which is closely related to the theory of production of space. In this title, what is the concept of daily life, how it is institutionalized and where / how it takes place in the eyes of theoreticians / theorists as a reality is examined. The historical process and basic principles of the concept, which has become increasingly important as sociology of daily life, are discussed in detail in a timely and concrete relationship with chronological discussions. The main purpose of this second stage is to create an undefined, undefined, undefined behaviors, wishes, how and in which processes the individuals who are involved, adopted, adopted, defined the social institutions, spaces that were previously used to, and who were involved in the social reality with the roles they took in the societies where the space was produced. and the complex character of this organization process. Another conceptual purpose is to help the concept, which is evaluated in a very complex and wide range, to find a place on a more reasonable and more grounded ground. Therefore in our research, we went to a limitation in the context of time-space. Before they give hints about daily life or before the emigration (hijra). We excluded the narratives, events or people that emerged after Muḥammad. In addition, we did not include some features such as fezâil, which we think did not give information about the everyday life of Medina.

The third and last axis of the conceptual / theoretical scope is the part where body theory is discussed in terms of its close interest to both space and society. In this section, where the place and importance of body concept which constitutes the backbone of the research scope are discussed, the theoretical framework has been tried to be put forward more clearly.

The second dimension of the thesis, the aim of the scope of the research in the context of the production process of space and space, especially Muḥammad during the Medina's daily life is to reveal the narrative. For this reason, firstly, the temporal and spatial dimension of the Medina was briefly discussed. In this study, which can also be seen as a background study, In the period of Muḥammad, the city of Medina was trying to be brought to the forefront as a spatial scope. The choice of such scope can be justified in several respects. The first of these is the scattered and closed-up former name of Yasrib, which has been subjected to a pagan culture, conflict, fighting and war throughout history, and remains far from a central authority and political

unity. Besides, Yesrib people are a full agricultural society in terms of the climate and geographical location of the region; It is also known as a full trade society with the control of the economic power of the Jews which is another element of the region. The Jews and Arabs, who had to lead a mutualist life, naturally used the commonplaces of daily life, such as the farmland and the bazaar, like common areas. With the introduction of a different element in the region with Islam and Muslims, some things completely disappeared, some of them caused changes in forms and also caused some developments that were put forward / extracted for the first time in the region. Here, one of the main objectives of the research scope of the thesis study is the source of a rich literature accumulation of the space, city, urbanization process and the changes that occurred in the region in the following decade with the emigration and the contribution of these changes to urbanization on existing life forms present The aim of this study is to determine whether the characteristics of Arab society overlap with the characteristics of body theory. Briefly, in this thesis study based on space theory, the processes of the production of space and space during the period of Muḥammad are handled in terms of reflection at everyday life.

Keywords

Islamic History, Medina, Everyday Life, Production of Space, Prophet Muḥammad

Mekânın Üretimi: Hz. Muhammed Dönemi Medîne'de Gündelik Hayat (Doktora Tezi)

Özet

1974 yılında ilk kez Henri Lefebvre tarafından Fransızca kaleme alınan *Mekânın Üretimi* adlı kitapta öne sürülen ve çalışmamızda kullanılan mekânın üretimi kuramı sosyal teoride pek çok mekân tartışmasını beraberinde getirmiştir. Genel bir mekân teorisi ortaya koyma iddiasında bulunan kitap, sık sık tartışmalara konu olmuş ancak buna rağmen mekân ile ilgili çalışmaların en çok başvurulan kaynaklarından birisi olması yönüyle dikkat çekmiştir. Bu çalışmayla ismi geçen kitapta bahsedilen kuramın yeniden okunması amaçlanmıştır. Çünkü sosyal hayatta her gün karşılaşılan ve ilgili araştırmalar ile anlaşılmaya, anlatılmaya ve çözümlenmeye çalışılan toplumsal ilişkilere ve sorunlara farklı bir bakış açısı getirilecektir. *Mekânın Üretimi: Hz. Muhammed Dönemi Medîne'de Gündelik Hayat (Doktora Tezi, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Tarih Anabilim Dalı, 2019)* adlı bu çalışma, toplumsal sorunların çözümüne somut ve doğrudan bir katkı sunmasa bile sorunun düşünsel köklerinin anlaşılmasına ilişkin önemli bir perspektif sağlamayı hedeflenmektedir.

Tez çalışmasının araştırma problemi, Medîne örneğinde mekânın üretimi süreçlerinin sosyal teorideki mekân tartışmalarında önemli bir yer tutan *mekânın üretimi* kuramı bağlamında değerlendirilmesidir. Mekân nedir? Mekân neyi ne kadar kapsar? Mekân nasıl üretilir? Mekân gündelik hayata ne yönüyle etki eder? Böyle bir araştırma probleminden hareketle tez çalışmasının kapsam ve amacının iki boyutundan söz edilebilir.

Öncelikle tez çalışması kuramsal/kavramsal kapsam ile araştırma kapsamı olarak iki kategoride değerlendirilmelidir. Kuramsal/kavramsal açıdan tez çalışması kendi içinde üç eksenle incelenmiştir. İlk eksen, mekân kavramının ne’liği üzerinden yapılan mekân felsefesi ve bu felsefenin tarihî süreçle beraber Lefebvre’nin aynı isimle kaleme aldığı mekânın üretimi kuramıyla ilişkisi ve kuramın temel olarak benimsendiği kısımdır. Burada pek çok filozof ve kuramcının tanımlamaları ve önermeleri ele alınmakla beraber tezin kuramsal bağlamının bel kemiğini mekânın üretimi kuramı oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda tezimizin kuramsal/kavramsal amacı, ilgili kuramın detaylı bir okunmasının yapılması ve burada öne çıkan yapısal/kavramsal çerçevelerinin değerlendirilmesidir. Kuramsal boyutun ilk merhalesi özellikle *Mekânın Üretimi* adlı kitabın detaylı bir okunmasıyla öne çıkan kavramsal, yapısal ve olgusal bileşenlerin titiz bir şekilde değerlendirilmesi ve somut bir bağlamda mekân araştırmaları için ilgili kuramın işlevselleştirilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Başka bir ifadeyle işlevselleştirilen çerçeveler ile teori somut bir zaman-mekân bağlamında imkân ve sınırlandırmalarının dolaylı olarak anlamlandırılmasıdır.

Kuramsal/kavramsal kapsamın ikinci ekseni ise mekânın üretimi kuramıyla yakından ilişkili olan gündelik hayat kavramıdır. Bu başlıkta gündelik hayat kavramının ne olduğu, nasıl kurumsallaştığı ve bir gerçeklik olarak teorisyenlerin/kuramcılarının gözünde nerede/nasıl yer aldığı incelenmiştir. Gündelik hayat sosyolojisi olarak günümüzde gitgide önemini artıran kavramın tarihsel süreci ve temel ilkeleri detaylı bir şekilde ortaya konularak, kronolojik tartışmalar eşliğinde sağlam bir zeminde ve somut bir şekilde zaman-mekân ilişkisi içerisinde ele alınmıştır. Bu ikinci merhalenin temel amacı mekânın üretildiği toplumlarda roller alan ve sürekli aldığı bu rol ile toplumsal gerçekliğe katılan fertlerin nasıl ve hangi süreçler içinde mevcut, bağlı oldukları, benimsedikleri, tanımladıkları toplumsal kurumları, mekânları daha önce alışık olmadıkları, tanımlı olmayan, belirsiz bir davranışlar, istekler dünyası ile eş güdümlü bir şekilde organize ettiklerinin ve bu organizasyon sürecinin karmaşık karakterinin ortaya konmasıdır. Diğer bir kavramsal amaç ise oldukça girift ve geniş bir yelpaze içerisinde değerlendirmeye tâbi tutulan kavramın daha mâkul ve daha ayağı yere basan bir zeminde kendisine yer bulmasına yardımcı olmaktır. Bu yüzden araştırmamızda zaman-mekân bağlamında bir sınırlamaya gittik. Gündelik hayata dair ipuçları vermeleri haricinde hicret öncesinde veya Hz. Muhammed sonrasında ortaya çıkmış olan rivayetleri, olayları veya kişileri ilgi alanımız dışında bıraktık. Ayrıca Medîne’nin gündelik hayatına dair bilgi vermediğini düşündüğümüz fezâil gibi bazı hususiyetlere yer vermedik. Kavramsal/kuramsal kapsamın üçüncü ve son ekseni ise hem mekânı hem de toplumu yakından ilgilendirmesi yönüyle beden kuramının ele alındığı kısımdır. Araştırma kapsamının bel kemiğini oluşturan teoriyle yakın bir ilişki içerisinde bulunan beden kavramının sosyolojideki yeri ve öneminin ele alındığı bu kısım ile teorik çerçeve daha net bir şekilde ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır.

Tez çalışmasının ikinci boyutu olarak planlanan araştırma kapsamının amacı ise mekân ve mekânın üretimi süreçleri bağlamında kuruluş safhasından başlamak üzere özellikle Hz. Muhammed döneminde Medîne’nin gündelik hayatına dair mâlumatı ortaya koymaktır. Bunun için öncelikle Medîne’nin zamansal ve mekânsal boyutu kısa bir şekilde ele alınmıştır. Bir arka plan çalışması olarak da görülebilecek bu bölüm ile çalışmamızda zamansal olarak Hz. Muhammed dönemi, mekânsal kapsam olarak ise Medîne şehri ön plana çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Böyle bir kapsamın seçilmesi birkaç açıdan gerekçelendirilebilir. Bunlardan ilki pagan bir kültüre, tarih boyunca çatışma, kavga ve savaşa maruz kalan, dağınık ve bir o kadar da dışarıya kapalı olan eski ismiyle Yesrib’in, merkezi otoriteden ve siyâsî birlikten uzak kalmasıdır. Bunun yanında bölgenin iklimi ve coğrafi konumu itibariyle Yesrib halkı tam bir ziraat toplumu; bölgenin diğer bir unsuru olan Yahudilerin

tarih boyunca olduğu gibi ekonomik gücü kontrol altında tutmasıyla da tam bir ticaret toplumu olarak tanınmıştır. Mutualist bir yaşam sürmek zorunda olan Yahudiler ve Araplar doğal olarak tarım arazileri ile çarşı gibi günlük hayatın temel uğrak mekânlarını ortak alan olarak kullanmışlardır. Müslümanların bölgeye farklı bir unsur olarak girmesi, bazı şeylerin tamamen kalkmasına, bazılarının ise form değiştirmesine sebebiyet vermiş ayrıca bölgede ilk defa ortaya konulan/çıkarılan bazı gelişmeler yaşanmasına neden olmuştur. İşte tez çalışmasının araştırma kapsamının ana amaçlarından birisi zengin bir literatür birikiminin kaynağı olan Medîne'nin mekân, şehir, şehirleşme sürecini ve hicretle beraber takip eden on yılda bölgede yaşanan değişiklikleri tespit etmek ve bu değişikliklerin şehirleşmeye yapmış olduğu katkıyı, gündelik hayat formları üzerinde oluşturduğu etkinin mevcut Arap toplumunun karakteristik özellikleriyle –beden kuramı özelinde- ne denli örtüşüp örtüşmediğinin tespitini yapmaktır. Kısaca, mekânın üretimi kuramı üzerinden inşa edilen bu tez çalışmasında Hz. Muhammed döneminde mekân ve mekânın üretimi süreçleri gündelik hayata yansımaları boyutuyla ele alınmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

İslam Tarihi, Medine, Gündelik Hayat, Mekânın Üretimi, Hz. Muhammed

Textual Criticism In Shī'a (PhD. Dissertation)

Peyman Ünügür^{1*}

Abstract

Beginning with *‘usūls*, that is, the ḥadith booklets which were originally formed to record the Imam’s words back in the late second hijrī century, Shī‘ī (Ithnā ‘Asharī/Twelve) ḥadith scholarship has developed a comprehensive and unique literature over the last twelve centuries. One of the unique features of Twelver Shī‘ite ḥadith approach is the fact that the systematic application of *isnād*-centered criticism in the study and evaluation of ḥadiths with regard to accuracy was begun to be practiced after the 7th hijrī century and gained wide acceptance only after that time. To put it differently, the text (*matn*) and the textual criteria, instead of the chain of transmitters (*sanad*) were central in the evaluation of ḥadith reports for a long time in the history of Shī‘ī ḥadith scholarship. This centrality of textual criteria employed in the evaluation of ḥadith reports continued throughout the Shī‘ī ḥadith history and it reached its most effective position in the last century. Despite the decisive role the text and textual criteria have played in the study of ḥadiths in Shī‘a, textual criticism has received little scholarly attention so far, which makes this topic a significant research question. Furthermore, in order to examine the exact meaning of textual criticism present in Islamic tradition as comprehensively as possible, it is a necessity to approach it not only from Sunnī perspective but also with an approach that includes all the other *madhhabs*. Correspondingly, this study, *Şī‘a’da Metin Tenkidi [Textual Criticism In Shī‘a]* (PhD. Dissertation, Ankara University, Institute of Social

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Science, Department of Main Islamic Sciences, Ankara, Turkey, 2017) has explored the different approaches and practices of textual criticism as employed over the course of Shī‘ite ḥadīth tradition.

The social and political unrest, especially during the 2nd and 3rd hijrī centuries before the Shī‘a (Ithnā ‘Ashariyah) completed its development as a systematic Islamic *madhhab*, led to the emergence of *ghulāt*, the extremist groups ascribing divine characteristics to ‘Alī and his family members. As an effective way of propagation and attracting more supporters, such groups used some reports fabricated in accordance with their views, and attributed them to the Imams of Shī‘a. The widespread practice of fabricating ḥadīths led way to the formation of a group reacting against such extremist ideas as well. The first chapter of the thesis provides a brief overview of the 3rd century Shī‘ī theologians’ critiques of the *ghulāt*-induced ḥadīths, and explores the initial attempts of early-period Akhbārīs, the scholars of so-called Qom School, to eliminate the fabricated reports as the first practices of textual criticism made by Twelver Shī‘ites.

Having lived in the 3rd hijrī century, al-Faḍl b. Shāzān (d. 260/873-4) and Ibn Qiba (d. 319/931) were among the early Shī‘ī theologians, and they developed significant approaches with regard to textual criticism in ḥadīth scholarship. They claimed that some factoids attributed to Shī‘a were actually originated from the reports of *ghulāt*, and thus criticized them.

The uncompromising attitude of Qom School towards the *ghulāt* is presented by Imāmiyyah as an argument for the elimination of fabricated ḥadīths and not including these kind of reports in *al-Kutub al-Arba‘a*. Indeed, it is obvious that the scholars of early Qom School employed a text-based criteria in eliminating the reports containing extremist ideas, such as ascribing divinity to other beings except Allah. As a matter of fact, such extremist ideas of *ghulāt* do not appear as ḥadīth reports in Shī‘ī compilations. While the absence of such reports can be seen as an argument for the existence of a critical approach based on the content (*matn*), it is rather impossible to determine the exact criteria used and the status of textual criticism due to lack of data concerning its methodology. Besides, it cannot be claimed that these efforts were successful in eliminating the fabricated reports of *ghulāt* completely and in preventing their circulation among the Shī‘ī ḥadīth sources. Additionally, when it comes to the problem of *imāmah* -the identity and the features of the leaders after Prophet Mohammad-, the critique of the fabricated reports was not practiced in the same meticulous manner, which is because of the fact that its *imāmah* paradigm is the core concept shaping Imāmiyyah as a *madhhab* and Shī‘ī scholars failed to be objective in evaluating the *ghulāt* fabricated reports on this issue. Consequently, most of such reports escaped textual criticism.

The second chapter examines the approaches and practices of Baghdad, Ḥilla and Jabal ‘Āmil Usūlī schools, which had active roles between 5th and 11th hijrī centuries respectively, towards textual criticism. The most prominent representatives of Baghdad Usūlī School are al-Shayḥ al-Mufid (d. 413/1022), al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067). Drawing on the works of these three scholars, it was aimed to be exposed the fact that text-related issues are the main determinants for evaluating, accepting or rejecting ḥadīth reports in practise of Baghdad Usūlī School. In this respect, the key concept, used by these scholars is “*qarīna*”. According to their approaches, “*khābar al-wāhid*” (a report which falls short of the predicate *mutawātir*) is acceptable only when it has one of the *qarīnas* which are being coherent with the Qur'an, Sunnah, reason or *ijmā‘*. The reports contradicting those *qarīnas* were claimed to have been rejected, at least theoretically. On the other hand, the role of *sanad* was not overlooked completely by scholars of Baghdad. It is obvious that *isnād* was an important tool in evaluating contradictory reports, as in

the practise of al-Ṭūsī in particular. As I argue, Bagdad Usūlī School had serious doubts concerning the accuracy of *sanads* of reports, which made the scholars employ textual criticism instead of *isnād*, as the main method in evaluating ḥadith reports.

Increased emphasis on the role of *isnād* with the rise of Ḥilla School in 7th hijrī century resulted in a decrease in the efficiency of *qarīnas* related to *matn*. I am of the opinion that the most influential factor for this is the fact the Shī‘a communities had to live under Sunnī rule for long years, especially with the collapse of the Buwayhids in the second half of the 5th hijrī century. It is inconceivable that Shī‘a, undergoing an unproductive era after Buwayhids, was not affected by Sunnī understanding, which was at the height of its scholarly productivity back then. Thus, with the Ḥilla School, *isnād* began to gain a substantial position in Shī‘ī ḥadith methodology in ways similar to the *isnād*-centered Sunnī ḥadith methodology. Moreover, the *isnād*-centered Usūlism, beginning with the Ḥilla School, reached its heyday especially with al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d. 965-6/1559), who was one of the prominent scholars of Jabal ‘Āmil of Lebanon. This is due to the different approach of al-Shahīd al-Thānī favoured in ḥadith evaluation process. In Ḥilla School, despite the increasing role of *isnād*, *matn* was still important. However, al-Shahīd al-Thānī, who wrote Shī‘a’s first ḥadith methodology book, rejected the role of *matn* in the consideration of ḥadith reports almost completely. As I argue, that dysfunction of textual criticism, which is one of two main methods of ḥadith criticism, accelerated the rise of Systematic Akhbārism, which gained prominence in the 11th hijrī century and objected to all forms of criticising ḥadith reports.

The third chapter investigates the contemporary practises of textual criticism. During the last century, in addition to the classical approach of Usūlism, significant improvements have taken place with regard to the understanding of textual criticism because of various historical and sociological factors. Within the scope of such recent practices, there have been scholarly attempts to identify and eliminate the ḥadith reports that were fabricated -especially- by *ghulāt* in the early period of Islam and found their ways into the main ḥadith sources. In this regard, it is crucial that the first examples of *mawḍū‘āt* books, including the fabricated reports, have been compiled. Especially in *al-Mawḍū‘āt* of Hāshim Ma‘rūf al-Ḥasanī, textual criticism seems to be the main method used in order to identify the fabricated reports. However, it is not possible to say that such attempts have found wide acceptance among the Shī‘a scholars yet.

To conclude, this study demonstrates that the textual criticism has always been used as a method in evaluating ḥadith reports throughout the history of Shī‘ī ḥadith scholarship. However, there are differences with regard to the scale of emphasis put on textual criticism and to what extent it has been employed as a methodology in each school. Even in the periods dominated by al-Shahīd al-Thānī and his successors and shortly afterwards by Akhbārīs, textual criticism was applied to the reports related to doctrinal issues while its practice area was significantly limited for the reports on Islamic Jurisprudence.

Keywords

Ḥadith, Shī‘a/Shī‘ism, Textual criticism, *Ghulāt*, Fabricated reports (*Mawḍū‘āt*), *Qarīna*

Şî‘a’da Metin Tenkidi (Doktora Tezi)

Özet

Hicrî II. asrın sonlarında imamların sözlerinin *aşl* adı verilen küçük hadis mecmualarına kaydedilmesi ile başlayan ve günümüze kadar yaklaşık on iki asır boyunca devam eden Şî‘î/İmâmî hadis faaliyetleri sonucunda oldukça geniş ve kendine has bir literatür teşekkül etmiştir. Şî‘î hadis anlayışının kendine has özelliklerinden biri, rivayetlerin kabul ya da reddinde kullanılan temel yöntemlerden biri olan isnad tenkidinin, hicrî yedinci asır gibi oldukça geç bir dönemde daha sistemli bir şekilde uygulanmaya başlanması ve ancak bu asırdan sonra rivayetlerin değerlendirilmesinde merkezî bir konum kazanmış olmasıdır. Diğer bir ifadeyle, Şî‘î hadis tarihinin uzun bir döneminde, rivayetlerin değerlendirilmesinde râvîler ve senede dair hususlardan daha ziyade metne dair kıstaslar belirleyici olmuştur. Metne dair kriterlerin belirleyici rolü Şî‘a hadis tarihi boyunca çeşitli düzeylerde devam etmiş, son bir asırlık süreçte de en etkin konumuna ulaşmıştır. Rivayetlerin metnine dair kıstasların rivayetlerin değerlendirilmesindeki belirleyiciliği ve bu alanda kapsamlı bir çalışma yapılmamış olması, “Şî‘a’da Metin Tenkidi” konusunu araştırmaya değer kılmaktadır. Ayrıca nihaî aşamada İslâmî gelenekte metin tenkidinin tam olarak ne ifade ettiğinin anlaşılabilmesi ve ortaya konabilmesinin yolu, birçok meselede olduğu gibi, konuyu sadece Ehlu’s-Sunne merkezli değil bütün mezhep/ekolleri kuşatıcı bir yaklaşımla ele almaktan geçmektedir. Bu bağlamda *Şî‘a’da Metin Tenkidi* (Doktora tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Temel İslam Bilimleri, Ankara, Türkiye, 2017) adlı tezimizde Şî‘î hadis tarihi boyunca metin tenkidi bağlamında ortaya çıkan farklı yaklaşım ve uygulamalar incelenmiştir.

İsnâaşeriyye/İmâmîyye’nin kendi içerisindeki sistematik gelişimini tamamlamasından önceki dönemde özellikle hicrî II. ve III. asırlardaki belirsizlikler, Ali taraftarlığını esas alan *ğulât* gruplarının ortaya çıkmasına zemin hazırlamıştır. Bu gruplar zamanla görüşlerini yaymak ve taraftar toplamak için, fikirleri doğrultusunda uydurdukları ve Şî‘î imamlara nispet ettikleri rivayetleri işlevsel bir araç olarak kullanmışlardır. Bu tür rivayetlerin Şî‘a içerisinde yaygınlık kazanmaya başlaması, aşırı fikirlere karşı bir refleksin oluşumunu da beraberinde getirmiştir. Tezin birinci bölümünde, III. hicrî asırda yaşayan Şî‘î kelimcilerin *ğulât* kaynaklı rivayetlere yönelik tenkitleri ve erken dönem Aḥbârîliğin temsilcisi olan Kum Ekolü alimleri tarafından *ğuluv* içerikli rivayetlerin ayıklanması bağlamında atılan adımlar, İsnâaşeriyye’nin bir ekol olarak ortaya koyduğu ilk metin tenkidi uygulamaları olarak incelenmiştir.

Hicrî III. asırda yaşayan ve ilk Şî‘î kelimciler arasında kabul edilen el-Faḍl b. Şâzân (ö. 260/873-4) ve İbn Kıbbe (ö. 319/931) gibi ulemanın metin tenkidi kapsamında değerlendirilebilecek kayda değer bir eleştirel yaklaşım sergiledikleri anlaşılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda onlar Şî‘î itikadına atfedilen birtakım yanlış kabullerin *ğâlî* içerikli rivayetlerden kaynaklandığını savunmuş ve bunları eleştirmişlerdir.

Kum Ekolünün *ğulâta* karşı tavizsiz tutumu, Şî‘a tarafından *ğuluv* içerikli rivayetlerin ayıklanmış olmasının ve *el-Kutubu’l-Erba‘a*’da bu tarz rivayetlerin yer almamasının dayanağı olarak sunulmaktadır. Gerçekten de Kum Ekolü alimlerinin aşırı fikirlerin uç noktasını temsil eden “Allah’tan başkasına ulûhiyet atfı” gibi konulardaki rivayetlere karşı muhtevayı esas alan bir ayıklama yöntemi kullanmış oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Zira *ğulâtın* bu uç görüşleri rivayet formunda Şî‘î kaynaklarda yer almamaktadır. Bu durum muhtevaya

dayalı bir yaklaşımın varlığını gösterse de metoda dair herhangi bir verinin bulunmaması sebebiyle, metin tenkidi kriterlerini ya da tenkidin keyfiyetini tespit etmek mümkün değildir. Ayrıca bu çabalar ile *ğālî* içerikli rivayetlerin tamamen ayıklanarak temel hadis kaynaklarına dahil olmasının önüne geçildiği de iddia edilemez. Zira imâmet meselesine sıra geldiğinde *ğuluv* içerikli rivayetlere yönelik muhteva tenkidi aynı titizlikle sürdürülememiştir. Bu durum imâmet anlayışının Şî‘a’yı Şî‘a yapan en temel unsur olmasıyla ilişkilidir. Bunun bir sonucu olarak Şî‘a’nın imâmet konusundaki *ğuluv* içerikli rivayetlere karşı objektif bir tutum sergilemesi güçleşmiş ve imamların üstünlükleri ile ilgili konulardaki *ğuluv* içerikli rivayetler –büyük ölçüde- muhteva tenkidinin kapsamı dışında kalmıştır.

İkinci bölümde hicrî V. asır ile XI. asır arasındaki süreçte etkin olan Bağdat, Hille ve Cebel-i Âmil (Lübnan) Uşûlî ekollerinin metin tenkidine dair yaklaşım ve uygulamaları ele alınmıştır. Bunlardan birincisi olan Bağdat Ekolü’nün en önemli temsilcileri Şeyh el-Mufid (ö. 413/1022), Şerif el-Murtaḍā (ö. 436/1044) ve Ebū Cafer eṭ-Ṭūsî’dir (ö. 460/1067). Söz konusu alimlerin eserlerinden yola çıkılarak, Bağdat Ekolü’nün etkin olduğu dönemde metne dair hususların, rivayetlerin değerlendirilmesinde, kabul ya da reddinde temel belirleyici faktör olduğu ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda söz konusu Uşûlî alimlerce kullanılan kilit kavram ‘*karîne*’dir. Buna göre haber-i vahidler, Kur’an’a, Sünnet’e, akla, icma’ya ve amelî şöhrete uygunluk *karînelerinden* biri veya birkaçına sahip oldukları ölçüde muteberdir. Mezkur kıstaslara muhalif olan rivayetlerin ise reddedileceği en azından teorik olarak ortaya konmuştur. Diğer yandan, Bağdat dönemi alimlerince senedin rolünün tamamen bir kenara bırakıldığı söylenemez. Bilhassa eṭ-Ṭūsî tarafından, ihtilaf halindeki rivayetlerin tercihinde isnadın ön plana çıkarıldığı müşahede edilmektedir. Kanaatimizce Uşûlî alimlerin metin tenkidini merkeze almalarında, rivayetlerin naklediliş keyfiyeti dolayısıyla senedleri noktasında ciddi endişelere sahip olmaları etkili olmuştur.

Hicrî VII. asırda Hille Ekolünün yükselişe geçmesi ile birlikte artan isnad vurgusu, metne dair *karînelerin* işlevini azaltmıştır. İsnada yönelik vurgunun artmasında kanaatimizce en etkili faktör, Buveyhîler’in hicrî V. asrın ikinci yarısındaki yıkılışından itibaren Şî‘a’nın Sünnîliği benimseyen iktidarların hakimiyetinde varlığını sürdürmüş olmasıdır. Buveyhîler sonrası, ilmî faaliyetlerinde bir duraklama dönemine giren Şî‘a’nın, aynı süreçte ilmî faaliyetlerinde oldukça üretken bir durumda olan Sünnî anlayıştan etkilenmemiş olması düşünülemez. Dolayısıyla erken dönemlerden itibaren isnad merkezli bir yol izleyen Sünnî hadis usulü anlayışına benzer şekilde, Hille Ekolü ile birlikte Şî‘î hadis usulünde de isnad, merkezî bir konum kazanmıştır. Hille Ekolü ile başlayan isnad merkezli Uşûlîliğin, Cebel-i Âmil Ekolü alimlerinden bilhassa eş-Şehîdu’s-Şānî (ö. 965-6/1559) ile birlikte altın çağını yaşadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu durum eş-Şehîdu’s-Şānî’nin hadislerin değerlendirilmesinde benimsediği farklı tutumdan kaynaklanmaktadır. Zira Hille Ekolü’nde isnadın rolü artsa da metin hala önemli bir kıstastır. Şî‘a’nın ilk hadis usulü eserini telif eden eş-Şehîdu’s-Şānî ise metnin, bir rivayetın değerlendirilmesi, kabul ya da reddindeki rolünü neredeyse tamamen reddetmiştir. Kanaatimizce rivayetlere yönelik temel iki tenkit yönteminden biri olan metin tenkidinin büyük ölçüde işlevsiz hale gelmesi, hicrî XI. asırda yükselme eğiliminde olan ve rivayetlerin herhangi bir şekilde tenkidine karşı çıkan Sistematik Aḥbārîliğin bu yükselişine ivme kazandırmıştır.

Üçüncü bölüm, Şî‘a içerisinde ortaya çıkan çağdaş metin tenkidi faaliyetlerine ayrılmıştır. Uşûlî anlayışın bir yandan klasik çizgisinde yoluna devam ettiği son asırda, çeşitli tarihsel ve sosyolojik faktörlerin etkisiyle metin tenkidi anlayışında kayda değer gelişmeler yaşanmıştır. Bu dönemdeki metin tenkidi faaliyetleri

kapsamında, erken dönemlerde bilhassa *ġulāt* tarafından uydurulan ve kaynaklara giren *mevḏū’* rivayetler tespit edilmeye ve ayıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda ilk *Mevḏū’āt* eserlerinin telif edilmiş olması kayda değerdir. Özellikle Hāşim Ma’rūf el-Ḥasenī’nin *el-Mevḏū’āt*’ında uydurma rivayetlerin ortaya konulmasında, metin tenkidinin temel yöntem olduğu görülmektedir. Ancak son bir asırlık süreçte bu noktada atılan adımların, Şī’a içerisinde genel bir kabule mazhar olduğunu söylemek mümkün gözükmemektedir.

Üç bölümde ulaştığımız sonuçlar, metin tenkidinin Şī’î hadis tarihinin hemen her döneminde rivayetlerin kabul ya da reddinde kendisine başvurulmuş bir değerlendirme yöntemi olduğunu göstermektedir. Ekollerin metin tenkidinin önemine yaptıkları vurgu ve onu bir metod olarak ne ölçüde kullandıkları ise farklılık arz etmektedir. İsnad merkezli Uşūlîliğin ve Sistematik Aḥbārîliğin hakim olduğu dönemlerde dahi, fikhî rivayetler bağlamında etkisini kaybetmesine rağmen itikâdî içerikli rivayetlere yönelik metin tenkidi devam etmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Hadis, Şī’a/Şī’îlik, Metin Tenkidi, *ġulāt*, Uydurma Hadis (*Mevḏū’*), *Ḳarīne*