POLITICAL THOUGHT IN MATURIDI

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Mâtürîdî'de Siyaset Düşüncesi

ÖZ

Bu makalenin amacı Ebû Mansûr el-Mâtürîdî'nin siyaset düşüncesini tespit etmektir. Bu mesele Kur'ân'da kuramsal düzeyde yer almasa da çeşitli ayetlerde yer alan şûra, ehliyet, adalet ve ulu'l-emr gibi kavramlar siyasete ilişkin ıstılahlardır. Mâtürîdî'nin Te'vîlâtü'l-Kur'ân'da söz konusu terimlerin zikredildiği ayetlere getirdiği yorumları incelemek, onun siyaset düşüncesini anlamada bizlere yardımcı olacaktır. Onun yönetim felsefesi ve yönetim ilkeleri bir yandan dini bir karakter taşırken, diğer yandan aklî temellere dayanır. Ayrıca tarihî örnekler ve sosyolojik yaklaşımlar da onun bu konudaki görüşünü belirleyen etkenlerdendir. Mâtürîdî'de develt yöneticisinin özellikleri siyasi idarenin temelleriyle ilişkilidir. Adalet, liyâkat ve danışma bunun aslî parçalarıdır. Devlet yöneticisinin Şiî imâmet düşüncesinin aksine mutlak ve masum olmadığı görüşü, Mâtürîdî'nin imâmet konusunda Şia'nın görüşünü bildiği ve ona karşı çıktığını gösterir. İmamet meselesinde rivayetleri göz ardı etmemiş olan Mâtürîdî'nin siyaset görüşü nakil ve akıl üzerine bina edilmiş görünmektedir. Bu makalede Mâtürîdî'nin Te'vîlâtü'l-Kur'ân adlı eserinde siyasi nitelikteki kavramlara dair yorumları kaynak incelemesi yöntemiyle analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mâtürîdî, Te'vîlâtü'l-Kur'ân, Politik Teoloji, Siyaset, İmamet.

Political Thought in Mâturîdî

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to determine Ebû Mansûr el-Mâtürîdî's political thinking. Although this issue is not included at the theoretical level in the Qur'an, concepts such as council, efficiency, justice and great command are various verses of political terms. Examining Mâtürîdî's interpretations of the verses mentioned in the Te'vîlâtü'l-Kur'ân will help us to understand his way of thinking. His management philosophy and principles of governance are based on mental foundations while carrying o religious character. In addition, historical examples and sociological approaches are the factors that determine his opinion on this subject. In Mâtürîdî, the characteristics of the government ruler are related to the foundations of political administration. Justice, grace and counceling are the essential parts of it. Contrary to the idea of Shia Imamate the view that the state ruler is not absolute and innocent indicates that Mâtürîdî knows and opposes Shia's opinion. Mâtürîdî's political opinion, which has not ignored the rumors on the issue of Imamate, seems to be based on transplantation and reason. In this article, Mâtürîdî's interpretations of political concepts in Te'vîlâtü'l-Kur'ân will be analyzed by source examination method.

Keywords: Mâtürîdî, Te'vîlâtü'l-Kur'ân, Political Theology, Politics, Imamate.

Introduction

The Great Seljuk vizier Nizamü'l-Mülk (d. 485/1092) tells a story about the Khalifa of Abbasi Me'mûn (d. 218/833): One day, Khalifa Me'mûn was sitting on his throne in the palace, fulfilling the "Justice of Atrocity". They submitted a petition to him. Me'mûn submitted this petition to his vizier Fazl b. Sehl (d. 202/818), and said: "Fulfill this man's wish quickly. Because this world turns too fast to give chance to show loyalty to friend. Today, when we have the power, let's offer the opportunities. We can't do that tomorrow. On that day it will be our helplessness and desperation." (Nizâmü'l-Mülk, 2016: 111) this is a remarkable memory that reflects the political line of the period. Contemporary political scientist David Easton (1917-2014) says, "Politics is the distribution of values through authority." (Taşkın, 2014: 23). This is the ideal interpretation of politics. It is not known whether political forces from the past to the present have always achieved this ideal. Nevertheless, we know that throughout history, philosophers have struggled to build political thought. The dozens of works which produces in this issue and the ideas are evidence of this.

Politics, which constitutes the continuous agenda of people from history to the present day, has been included in the classical sources of words under the name "Imamate". It is a well-known issue that the faith is included in the Shia tradition as a principle and foundation of faith. It is also known that there are differences between Shia and Sunni and Mu'tezilî thought in the context of the way management is determined, occupation, qualities of the manager and limits of authority. (Ünverdi, 2016: 99, 271).

The views of Ebû Mansur el-Mâtürîdî (333/944), one of the founders of the Sunni Ecole of words, regarding politics can be seen as a reference to the theology needed today. We consider it useful to examine the opinions of this important thinker, who has made wisdom a axis of his thought. In this study, we will examine the interpretations which he brings to concepts such as "faith, obedience, great command, shura judgement and property" that reflect his political views in his work Te'vilâtü'l-Quran. The political opinion of Mâtürîdîi which operates around knowledge, justice, foresight and taqwa in this matter, contains important data for those who work on this subject.

As known, Imam Mâtürîdî's Kitâbü't-Tevhid does not have a Imamate section. However, there are sections in his other work, Te'vîlâtü'l-Quran, where we can determine his political views. In particular, we learn about the way in which he interprets concepts such as Imamate, faith, great order, obedience, judical opinion and shura, the adjectives of his state administrator, his duties, the arbitrariness of management and the nature of obedience to the ruler. In addition, in Ebü'l-Muîn en-Nesefî's (d. 508/1115) Tabsîratü'l-Edille, there is information about Mâtürîdî's views on isuues such as Imamate, religious-political relations and Qurayshliness of the caliphate.

In Mâtürîdî's political thinking, the basic principles of religious – political relationship, the Qurayshliness of the caliphate and the power of governance have previously been the subject of research. (Altıntaş, 2010; Düzgün, 2011; Özen: 2012 vd.). In this article, the concepts and principles that constitute Mâtürîdî's political opinion will be discussed as a whole in the context of contribution to the literature in question. For this purpose, the interpretations of political concepts will be examined in Te'vilâtü'l-Quran. On the other hand, the opinions of the Imamate and ıslamic theology echoles are not included in the boundaries of this study.

1.   MANAGEMENT PHILOSOPYH: PROPERTY IS ALLAH'S

At the basis of Mâtürîdî's political philosophy is that the state administration is a trust. Although the land, property of person who runs the state is considered to be the property of the political leader, in realtiy the owner of the property is Allah. This truth is the basic principle that determines the manager- people relationship. The ruler governs the people he governs and the lands, property and other elements under his rule, not with the idea of absolute sovereignty, but with the consciousness of trust. Because the real owner of the property is Allah, the management is a trust and the manager is a trustee. All principles and fundamentals are built on this. Maturidi states that being a state administrator does not mean owning the assets in the country, and bases his political philosophy on "Allah's being the real owner of property". Because the Qur'an itself attributes the whole world to Allah (Âl-i İmran, 3/26; Hadid, 57/5; Friday, 62/1; Hashr, 59/23). Politics, as a part of the realm of existence, is not independent of this truth. All managerial criteria and management principles should be built in accordance with the truth. It is only a delusion that the person who runs the state thinks that the lands, state property and treasury, especially the subjects, belong to him. On the contrary, real estate and sultanate belong to Allah. The real owner of the assets under the power of all state administrators is Allah. Therefore, obedience, gratitude, respect and praise are to Allah, the real owner of the property. The power-people relationship is not the owner-property or master-slave relationship, but the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. Worship is only for Allah (Mâturîdî, 2006, XIII: 338 and 2010, XV:148, 285).

2. MANAGEMENT PRINCIPLES

It is not possible to say that Mâturîdî points to a certain form of government in his political thought. However, we can list the principles on which the state administration should be based as follows:

a.	Justice: The divine order, which means "Be fair when you judge between people" (Nisa, 4/58), shows that the first of the basic principles in state administration is justice (Mâturîdî, 2005, III:293).

b.	Merit/efficiency: Those who act as administrators among people have entrusted this authority from them. Justice is realized only when the trust is given to its owner. Thus, merit and efficiency are two inseparable principles (Mâturîdî, 2005, III: 290-291).

c.	Affiliate/participation: Administrators should act in consultation with the notables of the people in important affairs of the state. Important issues that concern the public should be decided together with "the people who have the qualifications of ashraf (high authority) and necbâ (noble)" or the residents of the country, who can be called the "advisory committee". Thus, the decision mechanism is based not only on the manager himself, but also on more than one person through affiliate/participation (Mâturîdî, 2005, III: 296-297). The evidence for this is the verses informing that the queen of Seba addressed the elites around Solomon (as) and Pharaoh and received their opinion (Neml, 27/29, 38 and Kasas, 28/38). However, in public affairs, the prophets also consulted with the notables of their communities (Mâturîdî, 2005, I:137). This indirectly points to the principle of affiliate/participation in management. In a way, this corresponds to the parliament today.

d.	Consultation/Advisory: In dictionary "ŞURA" (council) comes from the root ş-v-r. "Şevr" in the dictionary means "milked honey, well-being and delegation". İşaret (Sign), istişâre (consultation), meşveret consultancy and müşavere (advisement) are derived from the same root. The common meaning in all of them is "to express an opinion, to get an opinion and to give an opinion". Consultation means requesting an opinion from someone, and it is like getting the opinion filtered by the common mind, just as honey is filtered from the hive. (Asım Efendi, 2013, 2:2079). Şura (Council) is a decision-making process through consultation and exchange of views. The group that runs the decision process

is called the Şura (council) committee. "Consult them in your affairs" (Âl-i Imran 3/159) in the Qur'an to consultation; The verse "their affairs are in müşavere (advisement among themselves" (Şûrâ 42/38) was accepted as evidence in the council. Both verses refer to involving people in decision-making processes. It is also significant that the 42nd Surah of the Qur'an is named Şûrâ.

Maturidi states that although the Prophet was a person who received revelation, consultation was ordered to him in three possible ways: First, it is not permissible to consult on matters for which there is text about him, but ijtihad can be made on other matters. Second, The fact that the Prophet was ordered to consult indicates either the virtue of the Companions or the power of reason in an absolute sense. However, in both cases, no one is in the position of a Companion (to the point of being worthy of consultation). Third, if the view of the Companions converges on one point, it expresses the truth. Because it is unthinkable that the Messenger of Allah would not act on their views after consulting them. Since they are ordered to be consulted, it is accepted that the result of the council will be in accordance with the truth (Mâturîdî, 2005, II: 458-459).

e.   Seeking the opinions of scholars. In addition to the fact that the ruler should consult people in their affairs, Mâturîdî also gave place to the assembly of scholars and stated that the person who ruled the state should consult with the ulama. The basis of this is the command in the Qur'an to take the controversial issues to Allah and His Messenger (Nisa, 4/59). Disputes in scientific matters can only occur between scholars. So, ulu'l-amr is either a "scientist" or someone who follows the views of scholars. As a matter of fact, believers follow only the fatwas of scholars in religious matters. Scholars are the people who are authorized to express their opinions in accordance with the Qur'an and Sunnah. They are the people who should be obeyed and whose opinion should be sought. If the rulers want the people to obey them – which is their most natural right – they should consult the opinions and fatwas of the ulama and consult them on controversial issues (Mâturîdî, 2005, III: 293-294)

f.   Management is not the responsibility of a single family. The ruler of the state must be pious, prudent and knowledgeable. No matter who fulfills these conditions, he is the most worthy of imamate (Mâtürîdî, 2005, III:293; Nesefî, 1993, II:437). While taqwa Allah defines the human relationship, science and foresight define the human and society relationship. In a sense, science and foresight are the basis of doing the best for the society, and unlike taqwa, they do not have a religious content (Düzgün, 2011: 354).

Nasafî quotes Mâturîdî in his work el-Makâlât, which is not available today, that he stated that the imamate should belong to a person who has two basic characteristics: to have attributes such as taqwa, knowledge, foresight, and to be authoritative. The political administrator is the one who can provide the interests of the society in the best way. For this reason, the above two aspects are the characteristics that an imam should have. The person who has these characteristics is most worthy of the imamate. Therefore, it is unacceptable for Shia to limit the imamate only to Bani Hashim (Nesefi, 1993, II: 437-438). As a matter of fact, in the past, the imamate was realized among various tribes. Thus, the essential thing is not to limit the imamate to a certain family, but to perform that duty by the person who has the qualifications of an administrator (Mâtürîdî, 2005, I: 229).

3.   FEATURES OF STATE MANAGER

In Mâturîdî's political thought, the state ruler was mostly mentioned with words such as melik, imam, caliph and sultan. He used the melik as "the person who spoke the order and the word in his country". In the expression, the political leader of the Muslims is mostly used with the word imam. In this case, the general term denoting rulers and kings is melik, and the terms denoting state rulers in Islamic

lands are imams and caliphs. However, apart from these, he also included the word sultan for state administrators in Islamic countries. (Özen, 2012: 524-527).

When we examine the passages related to politics in Mâturîdî's Tevilatül'l-Kur'an, we see that he points out the following characteristics in the people who are in the state administration:

a.	To be fair. The Prophet ordered obedience to the ruler only as long as it was fair and just. In this regard, Māturīdī It also includes a hadith of theProphet giving the good news of a just head of state (Mâturîdî, 2005, III: 291-293).

b.	To have merit and competence. Managing people is, in a sense, taking over the trust. It is obligatory to give the escrow to its owner. The essence of merit is being sure/reliable (Mâturîdî, 2005, III: 291). The order "Give the trust to its owner" (Nisa, 4/58) should be read together with the order "When you judge between people, judge with justice" (Maide, 5/8).

c.	To have knowledge and foresight (Mâturîdî, 2005, III: 293).

d.	Rejecting the requirement of innocence. As it is known, there is a view of the innocence of the imam in Shia. However, Sunni political theory rejected this (Ünverdi, 2018: 39-66). Allah, in matters of dispute, The imam is not an absolute person, as he orders to refer to the Prophet or scholars. His innocence is unthinkable (Mâturîdî, 2005, III: 295-296).

e.	To be a alfaqui. Allah commands, "If you have a disagreement about something, refer it to Allah and His Messenger" (Nisa, 3/59). The disagreement here is a scholarly debate, which undoubtedly happens between scholars. So, state officials should be people who know religious issues (Mâtürîdî, 2005, III: 294).

f.	To have taqwa. The fact that the people have entrusted their property and lives to the ruler obliges him to have taqwa (Nesefi, 1993, II: 437).

## 4.	THE WISDOM OF THE KHILAFAH QURAYSH

As it is known, the Quraysh of the Caliphate It is based on a narration attributed to the Prophet: "Imams are from Quraysh."[1] Based on this narration, Many scholars, especially Abu Hanifa (d. 150/767), Imam Shafii (d. 204/820), Ahmet b. Hanbal (d. 241/855), Ebü'l-Hasan al-Eş'ari (d. 324/935), Eb'u Bekr al-Bakillani (d. 403/1013 primarily believed that the caliphate and they have accepted that they have the right of Qureshi in terms of lineage (Hatipoğlu, 1978: 172-175; Özen, 2012: 536-539). Although the majority of Mu'tazila had a similar view on this issue, Dirar b. The views of Amr (d. 200/815) and others who think like him and his followers are against the Quraysh. However, it should be noted that this opposition is not related to tribalism, but to the authoritarian power of the ruler. As a matter of fact, the opinion of Dirar is as follows: "If there are two candidates, one from Quraysh and the other from Nabat, we will leave the Quraysh and choose the Nabataean as the caliph. Because this one's tribe is smaller and their number is small. It is easier to break his resistance if we want to dismiss him when he rebels against Allah. It happens..." (Hatipoğlu, 1978: 171) It is obvious that this approach is in the nature of a rejection to the pro-sovereign thought that attributes the authority of the state administrator to lineage and lineage.

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[1] For evaluations on the source, soundness and meaning of the narration "Imams are from Quraysh", see. Hatiboğlu, M. Said, "The First Political Tribalism in Islam, The Quraysh of the Caliphate", Ankara University Faculty of Theology Journal, XXIII, 121-213; Balcı, İsrafil, Criticism of the Claim that "Imams/Caliphs are from Quraysh", Ondokuz Mayıs University Faculty of Theology Journal, 2016, 40, 5-31.

As narrated by Nasafi, Abu Mansur al-Maturidi's view in his work al-Makalat, which we do not have today, is as follows: but it is necessary to bring such a person to the imamate. Because, as it is said in the Qur'an, "The most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most pious" (Hujurat, 49/13), the trust of goods and chastity also depends on this. Fulfillment of trust is by taqwa. Therefore, the imam must have taqwa. However, The Prophet said: "Imams are from Quraysh," and the companions of the Prophet chose the imam from Quraysh and pledged allegiance to them." (Nesefi, 1993, II: 437). As it is seen, although Māturīdī considered the imāma suitable for the qualified person in terms of the Qur'an and intellect, he did not reject the movable narration on this issue, and hailed the narration of the Quraysh of the imamate, taking into account the practices of the Companions (Hatipoğlu, 1978: 174).

Maturidi attributed the Prophet's limiting the caliphate to the Quraysh for two reasons: First, although the imamate has a religious aspect, it is mostly an administrative and political issue. For this reason, the person who will become an imam needs to be a member of a lineage that is not humiliated and hated, as well as taqwa; this is why the rulership has always been given a strong and respected lineage. As a matter of fact, it has been known for a long time that prophecy is reserved for one lineage and politics is reserved for another lineage. People registered religious matters with the authority of prophecy, and political and administrative matters with the lineage, which had a respectable power and authority (Nesefi, 1993, II: 438).

The allocation of the Imamate to the Quraysh tribe must first be read in this political context. Because at that time, the Quraysh had a significant influence and power over the people. For example, the Quraysh did not consider any tribe to be their equal in terms of marriage. The second reason is that the Qur'an was revealed in the dialect of Quraysh. This is the religious basis of the allocation in question. In the past, Allah has entrusted especially the subjects of war to the rulers and the subjects of religion to the prophets (Maturidi, 2005, I: 137).

As it can be understood from these explanations, Maturidi did not consider Arabs and Qurayshis superior to other nations in absolute belief, and that they were the Prophet. He associated it with the Prophet's (s.a.v.) presence in his close circle (Özen, 2012: 540). In addition, the Quraysh's emphasis on his political and social authority in the Arabian Peninsula indicates that Maturidi accepted this narration as historical. Otherwise, he would point to lineage and ancestry in an absolute sense, and would not include the influence of other human elements.

5.   THE RELATIONSHIP OF RELIGION AND POLITICS

Mâturîdî emphasized that the political administration called imamate or caliphate, which is a legal and social arrangement for people to live together in peace and harmony, is a mental issue, not a creed. His views on the establishment of a political and social order and the need for it to be administered by a competent administrator indicate that he considered the imamate as a political office, not a religious one (Oral, 2018: 930).

On the other hand, Maturidi draws attention to the fact that the duties of prophecy and politics were carried out by different people and families in history, and he accepts that this indicates the separation of the duty of prophecy and politics. As a matter of fact, the religion-politics identity of Şia and similar structures in the tradition of Islamic thought does not find a response in Maturidi's political thought. We can state that Maturidi makes a distinction between religion and politics for the following reasons.

a.   State administrators are usually powerful rulers who rule the treasury and rule the territory of the country. But Allah's prophethood known as the king prophet in history, Hz. David and Hz Solomon As he appreciated the mighty people like, he was also able to give to the poorest and humblest among the people.

b.   Baccarat 2/246. The verse refers to the Prophet's consultation with the people around him about war. It is clear that there is no consultation of the prophet in religious matters. Therefore, a political issue such as war, which concerns the survival of the society, and a divine mission such as nubuwwah are different in nature.

c.   While the king should have the capacity to provide state administration, prophecy is a purely divine choice

d.   Nubuwwah although descended from Abraham, the imamate was run by families from different lineages.

e.   The distinction between good and bad may differ on the religious and political fronts. For example, while religion sees war as bad, state administration can make war inevitable in order to protect the existence of a society (Düzgün, 2011: 354-355).

We should read Mâturîdî's distinction between religion and politics as a rejection of the Shia political thought. If we try to relate this to the contemporary principle of secularism, we fall into a kind of anachronism.[2] Because it is not possible to say that Maturidi made an absolute distinction in the context of the separation of religion and state, or that he determined this distinction as a management principle. As a matter of fact, we could not detect an interpretation in Te'vilâtü'l-Qur'an that evokes laicism, which would mean a separation of religion and state in today's sense. On the contrary, the following information about the religious dimension of political administration draws attention in him:

a.   Maturidi accepted that imamate is a religious duty (Nesefî, 1993, II: 437).

b.   According to Mâturîdî, the executive group at the top level of the state should be composed of alfaqui. The divine command, "When you have a disagreement about something, take it to Allah and His Messenger" refers to scholars. Because scientific discussion takes place between scholars. For this reason, the duty of the people is to obey the rulers as long as they are just, and the duty of the rulers is to comply with the views and fatwas of the scholars (Mâturîdî, 2005, III: 293).

c.   The Imam's knowledge and foresight is one of his qualifications. Here, information should not only be in political, administrative and military matters, but also in a quality that can meet the spiritual needs of the people (Mâtürîdî, 2005, II: 138). Military commanders are also obliged to know religious decrees and fatwas (Mâtürîdî, 2005, III: 299).

d.   The fact that Mâturîdî accepted that prophecy is in one lineage and politics in one lineage does not mean that he foresees an absolute distinction on this issue. This distinction made by him is in the nature of proving the political power of the Quraysh and is not an absolute principle determination. As a matter of fact, his view that "if the ruler is a believer, the responsibility of the believers to obey him increases to some extent" shows that he does not ignore the result of the unity of belief between the people and the ruler (Maturidi, 2005, III: 292).

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[2] For a review on this subject, see Kutlu, Religion-Politics Separation According to Imam Maturidi, http://www.sonmezkutlu.net/?pnum=158&pt=Mâturîdî%27de+Diyanet+Politics+Ayr%C4%B1m%C4%B1

e.   Mâturîdî mentioned taqwa as the first condition for being worthy of the imamate. Government is a trust taken from the people. The assurance of security is taqwa. Taqwa is a religious term that expresses the relationship between the servant and Allah. Nasafi, after conveying the views of Mâturîdî, states that the imamate is a position for the interests of the world and the hereafter. Therefore, the fact that the ruler of the state has taqwa is among the essential conditions for ensuring the happiness of this world and the hereafter.

f.   Maturidi, he sees one of the reasons for the allocation of the caliphate to the Quraysh tribe by the Prophet in the fact that the Qur'an was revealed in the Quraysh dialect (Nesefi, 1993, II: 438). This indicates the importance of the administrator's knowledge of the Qur'an.

g.   Separation of religion and state is a political practice of modern times. However, it is impossible to talk about the management style in question in the period in which Mâturîdî lived.

In our opinion, these views that we identified in Mâturîdî imply that the state administration in Islamic lands is not completely independent of religion from his point of view. However, according to him, the relationship between religion and politics is never a sacred space as accepted in the Shia tradition. On the contrary, politics is a phenomenon that belongs to the human sphere. The adjectives, duties and powers of the administrator, the way he came to office and his views that the administration should not be left to the reign of a blessed family are references to the separation of religion and politics in him. This approach of his can be read as an objection to the habits of putting politics into the fundamentals of religion and rendering possible oppression and injustice unquestionable (Oral, 2018: 935). Likewise, Mâturîdî's grounding of religion with reason, which is devoted to the field of shari'ah, points to the rejection of the identity of religion and politics in him (Düzgün, 2011: 352)

6.   REJECTION OF THE OPINION OF THE "INNOVATIVE IMAM" IN THE CONTEXT OF "ULÛ'L-AMR":

The Qur'anic term "ulu'l-amr" has been understood in different ways in the tafsir literature and the concept is "ruler, commander, fukahâ, ulama or It was stated that he was the "companion of the Prophet" (Taberî, 2003, VII: 180-82). According to Tabersi (d. 548/1153), one of the Shia scholars, ulu'l-amr are imams who belong to the family of Muhammad (a.s.). Since he ordered obedience to ulul-amr after obedience to Allah, Himself and the Prophet, this is an absolute decree. Absolute obedience must be to innocent authority, just like Allah and his prophet. This is a privilege peculiar only to the imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (Tabersi, trs., III: 110-111)

Maturidi, Nisa 4/83. Scholars, noting that there may be companions like administrators, commanders, jurists or Hz. Abu Bakr, Hz. Omar, Mr. Osman and Hz. Ali, he first notes that this concept refers to "ulama and fukahâ who can deduce the meaning and purpose of nass" (Mâtürîdî, 2005, III: 356). The ulama class are people whom the public trusts and trusts in religious matters, and they are at a level to guide the public on related issues. The evidence for this is the following verse: "When people who have weakness in faith receive news/information that the believers who went to war were victorious or were defeated, they spread it around without investigating whether it is true or not. However, if they had shared this news with the Prophet or with the believers who had authority, they would have learned the truth of the news and revealed the inner side of the matter…" (Nisa 4/83). This verse requires that the ulu'l amr must be a scholar. Because, to manage the religious affairs of the people, to witness what is going on, to fulfill the duties of amr-i bi'l-ma'ruf and nehy-i ani'l-munkar, to act

prudently and to make decisions in accordance with the consensus in scientific debates. - reveals that the order should be at the level of a scholar (Mâturîdî, 2005, III: 299-300).

Other groups included in the meaning of the concept of Ulu'l-amr are political administrators and military commanders. Maturidi, Nisa3/59. In the verse, they are the scholars, statesmen or commanders of the group that must be obeyed and obeyed. Whether they are political administrators or military commanders, they must be people of knowledge and foresight. As a matter of fact, Allah commands the rulers to be just and the people to obey the just ruler, with the command "Be fair when you judge between people" (Nisa 3/58) (Maturidi, 2005, III: 293).

Ulu'l-amr is a knowledgeable person.[3] It is the representative of the people and decides in accordance with the views of scholars. He is not the "innocent imam" as the Shia claim. If the ulul-amr commanded to be obeyed in Nisa 3/59 was an imam, the Almighty Allah would not order in the same verse as "If you have a disagreement about something, take it to Allah and His Messenger", He would say "take it to the imam". This verse also records that nobody's word is equal to the word of Allah and the prophet (Mâturîdî, 2005, III: 294).

7.   FRAMEWORK OF OBEDIENCE TO THE STATE MANAGER

Maturidi grounded obedience to the ruler of the state in legitimate matters and emphasized the wisdom of this, and discussed the issue in the context of "obedience to ulul-amr". The following is stated in verse 4/59 of Nisa: "O Believers! Obey Allah, the Prophet and the ulul-amr. And if you disagree about anything, take it to Allah and the Prophet, if you [really] believe in Allah and the Last Day. This is the best [for you] and ultimately the best." In the interpretation of this verse, Maturidi dealt with the subject of obedience to ulul-amr as follows: "If it is asked why the address in this verse is only for believers, first of all, they are the best among people in terms of obedience. Second, the unbelievers have not yet obeyed even Allah. For this reason, They cannot be expected to obey the Prophet and the ulul-amr voluntarily. The third is that they should know that Allah commands believers to obey their believing rulers." (Mâturidi, 2005, III: 291).

If there is a unity of belief between the ruler and the ruled, that is, if the ruler of the believers is still a believer, the responsibility of obeying and being subject to the rulers of the people increases one more degree. Unity of belief positively affects the responsibility of obedience. Since the address in the verse above is for believers, this shows that the responsibility of obedience is primarily for believers (Mâturidi, 2005, III: 297). It is obligatory for the people (public) to obey the umera (state administrators) regarding the rulings (ahkam) they give and to follow the ulama regarding the fatwa they issue (Mâturidi, 2005, III: 293). However, the state administrator must strictly observe the public interest and the interest of the society. As long as he is on this path, he is worthy of being obeyed (Özen, 2012: 531).

Since the essence of Islam is submission and obedience to Allah, it is not strange that believers should be addressed in this regard. However, faith, Hz. It is to believe in what the Prophet brought from Allah and to obey his teachings in this regard. Maturidi interpreted the word obedience as "to obey the command" and "to carry out the command". Although believer means "one who wholeheartedly

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[3] For the conceptual analysis of the word ulu'l-amr in tafsir and kalam sources and the conceptual analysis of the word, see Nisa 4/59. Öztürk, "Interpretation Manipulation in the Tradition of Islamic Tafsir: An Example of the Concept of 'Ulu'l-Emr', 79-98.

approves of Allah and His Prophet", the semantics of the concept also gives him the meaning of "one who obeys". Such obedience can take different forms:

a.   Obedience to Allah in what He has made obligatory, and   The prophet must be obeyed.

b.   Allah in the things He sent down and declared in the Qur'an must be obeyed, and must obeyed to the prophet about what he explained.

c.   Others must obey everything the prophet commands. Because it is unthinkable for him to go out of the will of Allah and to speak an oppositional word (Mâturidi, 2005, III: 303).

d.   In the verse in which obedience is commanded, the fact that the address is directed to believers may mean that obedience is limited to religious matters. Implicitly, when the state administrator makes a decision on religious matters with his own or the ulema's opinion, it should be obeyed (Mâturidi, 2005, III: 297).

According to Maturidi, the possibility of obedience to anyone other than Allah is mentioned in this verse. In fact, worship is to devote one's entire existence to Allah, while obedience is to fulfill the given order. Worshiping no one but Allah is not possible, but obedience is possible. Because obedience, for example, When it is aimed at the Prophet, it is actually obeying the order of Allah. God, Since he commands obedience to the Prophet, such obedience is indirectly and essentially to Allah. In this respect, there is a difference between obedience and worship. Worship can only be for Allah, and obedience to His messengers by His order.

The compound "ulu'l-amr" mentioned in the verse, on the other hand, refers to commanders, jurists, scholars or statesmen. Maturidi is of the opinion that among these possibilities, ulu'l-amr is a statesman/administrator who is "just or jurist". Thus, not every statesman is worthy of absolute obedience. He justified this view with a verse and two narrations: "… When you judge between people, be just…" (Nisa 4/58). This verse commands justice to the rulers and obedience to the people. From this verse, Maturidi deduces the following principle: Obedience is not directed towards the ruler himself, but towards his just judgment, that is, the application of justice. Maturidi, Nisa 4/59. He also saw the following interpretation possible in the verse: Even if the rulers of the state do not have to be jurists in religion, they can make up for their deficiencies by following the scholars. As a matter of fact, there is an order in this verse, "…if you have a disagreement about something, take it to Allah and His Messenger". Since the representatives of the Messenger of Allah were scholars in the times when he was not alive, two conclusions are necessarily drawn from this verse:

a.   To obey/obedience to the decisions made by the state administrators.

b.   State administrators' compliance with the views/fatwas of scholars.

Thus, the people will have to rule with justice and fairness and obey the rulers who resort to the opinions of the scholars (Mâtürîdî, 2005, III: 293).

In fact, two different narrations reported as the reason for the revelation of the verse Nisa 4/59 determine the nature and limits of obedience to the ruler. According to the narration transmitted from Ibn Abbas (d. 68/687), this is Abdullah b. Huzâfe b. It was revealed by Kays es-Sahmi (d. 35/655-56). Huzafe, who was sent to war at the beginning of a military campaign by the Prophet, got angry with his soldiers upon an incident during the campaign, and in this anger he ordered them to collect wood for a fire, and then to enter the fire. Upon the objection of one of the young people under his command, the issue was later brought to Hz. It was transmitted to the Prophet. The Prophet said to

them, "If you had entered the fire, you would never have come out of it again. Because obedience only happens in good, well-known things." He determined the limits of legitimate obedience by commanding (Bukhari, Maghazi 59; Muslim, Imare 25; Tabari, 2003, VII: 177; Abdulfettah al-Kadi, 1996: 127-128).

According to the narration narrated by Tabari (d. 310/923), In a series sent under the command of Halid b. al-Walid (d. 21/642), There is a disagreement between Khalid b. al-Walid and Ammar b. Yasir (d. 37/657). According to the rumor, the problem in question was later revealed to, moved to the presence of the Prophet; at that time, the tense environment between the parties, It was softened by the Prophet and eventually Khalid b. al-Walid's Arnmar b. The problem was resolved by apologizing to Yasir. This narration gives information about the quality of the obedience in question. In this regard, in the narrations attributed to the Prophet, it is seen that he forbids obedience to the rulers of the state to be absolutely fair, good and beneficial, and that he also forbids obedience to the ruler in his dispositions, which are contrary to the orders of Almighty Allah (Taberi, 2003, VII: 178-87).

The purpose of obedience to Allah in Islam is to obey what is commanded and prohibited in the Qur'an, if obedience to the prophet is to obey his sunnah, and to obey the ulul'amr is to listen to the rulers who have the custody of the ummah and fulfill their orders (Maturidi, 2005). III: 292-293). The people in the managerial position come to a decision through council by consulting with people who have knowledge, expertise and taqwa on issues that are not certain. Resolving matters by consultation, both the Qur'an and the Prophet. It is a sunnah of the prophet. This form of application is valid not only in state administration, but also in every field.

8.   THE RIGHT OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY'S CASE-LAWS: LAW-MAKING

Maturidi is on the side of giving a unique authority to the human being, regarding the right of the ruler of the state to make personal comments in political affairs and to limit it only to the declaration of the Qur'an and Sunnah. According to this, what is meant by the verse "If you have a disagreement about something, take it to Allah and His Messenger" is not canceling the ijtihad and abandoning the views that are not in the Book and Sunnah. On the contrary, this verse indicates two meanings. The first is this: Muslims living in the time of the Prophet have to present the problems that arise to the Messenger of Allah. In his presence, one cannot speak of any Muslim's ijtihad. However, when a problem arises after his death and an issue is encountered, the Book and the Sunnah are applied first. If the sought-after thing is not found there, the issue is not left unresolved and the consensus of scholars is sought. If a solution cannot be found in the ijma, the administrator uses his right to comment and makes a ijtihad decision. Secondly, this verse is an evidence for the nterpreter of Islamc law's method of comparison. Thus, it comes to the conclusion that in the verse it is ordered to do research in order to reach the right decision (Mâtürîdî, 2005, III: 295).

On the other hand, at the point of judgment, he examines the legal and penal sanctions mentioned in Māturīdī's verse, "Whoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed, they are the oppressors" (Maide, 5/45), and ultimately reveals that those who do not judge by Allah's decree are unbelievers and cruel. They attribute it to their abandonment of Allah's decrees by denial or underestimation (Mâturîdî, 2005, IV: 241). It is not only the prophet and the book in their hands that people should follow; at the same time ascetics, scholars and their ijtihads. Because, when scholars act with submission to Allah, just like prophets, they are on the right and their rules are followed (Mâtürîdî, 2005, IV: 236-240). As a matter of fact, Allah orders the relatives of the spouses to be accepted as arbitrators in cases where there is a problem between the husband and wife, and to go to state

institutions when these are insufficient (Nisa, 4/35). This is a proof that man is given authority and responsibility at the point of ruling.

In fact, it is impossible to limit ruling by Allah's decree only to legal verses. On the contrary, they mean denying the intelligence that Allah has given to man, whom he has made the vicegerent of the earth. However, absolute sovereignty belongs to Allah. However, this dominance on earth will be manifested by the hands of people. Starting from the literal reading method, trying to limit the 'arbitrator' only to the Supreme Creator is an effort to fix the religion-society relationship, which will mean the loss of functionality of religion over time. As a matter of fact, the Kharijites, who took this method as their guide in the history of Islam, adopted an alienating mentality over the theory of continuous takfir. In fact, the order to rule by what Allah has revealed is not only the political administrators, but also the individual taxpayers in all areas of the society (Altıntaş, 2010: 61). Therefore, there should be practices centered around the judgment of Allah and the principle of justice.

Maturidi noted that the verse, "We have sent down to you this book containing the truth, so that you may judge between people according to what Allah has shown you" (Nisa 4/105) is evidence for ijtihad. Because, according to what Allah has shown you, his expression has the meaning of "resulting in conclusions as a result of research and thinking". If the purpose of the verse was only the Book itself, it would be said that this phrase would not be needed, and that it should rule among people. Therefore, there is evidence in this verse to contemplate and contemplate in accordance with what Allah has shown. But The ijtihad of the Prophet is like how. Scholars, on the other hand, have a margin or possibility of error. For this reason, scholars should not think that they judge the truth until the truth emerges in any matter (Maturidi, 2005, IV: 26-27).

On the other hand, there is a difference between accepting and applying God's provisions regarding the relations between people. Māturīdī argues that these must be affirmed in an absolute sense. However, not applying the provisions in question does not correspond to blasphemy, but to sin. As a matter of fact, it is known that he distinguishes between faith and action in Kitabü't-Tawhid and does not consider the murtakib-i kabir as an unbeliever. Because he accepts faith as a solid handle and states that it will not break with sins (Mâtürîdî, 2005, II: 161).

In cases where the head of state makes an agreement with a country at war, the people are obliged to abide by it. When the people join that community, they act in confidence and peace as per the agreement. Here, the fact that the enemy is from another religion does not change the situation. The agreement made under the authority of the head of state is accepted as valid, and any Muslim cannot enslave one of the other parties by himself (Maturidi, 2005, III: 377).

Of course, Allah's sovereignty is actually valid in divine law, in the orders, prohibitions and other provisions contained in the sharia. The principles of faith and the regulations regarding worship, which are revealed in strong verses, are withholding. It is not possible to add or subtract these issues. However, Almighty Allah has also pointed to variable areas in religion other than constants. It is the people's responsibility to enact religious provisions in the context of legislative activity, to make regulations regarding them and to judge in accordance with this regulation. Undoubtedly, it is inevitable to talk about interpretation and ijtihad where there are people (Altıntaş, 2010: 61-62).

Conclusion

In the tradition of Islamic thought, the imamate has been among the subjects that scholars of Kalām have been interested in since the early period. In addition to the fact that the imamate and politics

are an issue that has both individual and social consequences, the reflection of the conflicts in the election of the first caliph in the field of creed caused this problem to be included the Kalām.

Imam Mâturîdî's understanding of politics can be determined from his work called Te'vîlâtü'l-Kur'an and from Abu Muîn en-Nesefî's work called Tabsîratü'l-Edille. In our research, we see that Mâturîdî deals with the subject within the framework of concepts such as ulul-amr, obedience, justice, shura, science, war, prophecy and politics, rather than dealing with the subject in a theoretical way. Therefore, a person who researches Maturidi's view of politics can reach a conclusion by examining his interpretations of the concepts related to politics.

When Mâturîdî's comments on the concepts related to politics are examined, we see that he often gives place to justice, competence, knowledge, taqwa and consultation. He is strictly against the Shia understanding of imamate, which means the absolute sovereignty and innocence of the ruler. Mâturîdî, who argued that the ruler of the state should have the attributes of knowledge, taqwa, prudence and authority, attributed the obedience of the people to the compliance with the principles of administration, not to the person of the ruler. Therefore, the ruler, called ulu'l-amr, must act with knowledge and prudence, value the opinions of scholars, and rule the people with justice. Only an imam/caliph who rules the state and people in this way is worthy of obedience. Therefore, the obedience of the people to the government is not to the person of the ruler, but to the fundamental principles that will ensure the development and order of the state.

Since the imamate is not a position that only takes care of the worldly interests of the people, the imam must either be competent in terms of religious knowledge or act according to the views of the ulama in religious matters. This does not mean that the imam is innocent and absolute, as in the Shi'a. However, it should be underlined that the state administration is not merely a secular authority. Whoever surrenders the security of life and property to the people must have taqwa so that people can obey him. Thus, while he defended the necessity of obedience to a just ruler, on the other hand, he emphasized that the moral structure of the ruler and his way of doing politics should not deviate from the legitimate line. He accepts the fact that the Prophet was ordered to consult his companions as a basis for the legitimacy of the ijtihad behavior, and political, administrative, military, social, etc., which are not based on scriptures. He emphasized the necessity of consultation with the advisory committee on issues. In addition, while showing the value of the Companions in the sight of Allah, it mainly points to the sublimity of the mind and thought. This shows that other people are of equal value in terms of reason and thought and thus are worth consulting.

With all these views, Mâturîdî seems to have defended the principles that can be called suprahistorical in terms of political theology. He did not reject rumor-based information such as "the imam being from Quraysh" on the issue of imamate. However, by revealing their wisdom and rational basis, he tried to construct his political view on a religious and mental basis. It would be beneficial for those who do research on issues such as the relationship of the state with the individual, the principles on which the state administration is based, and the attributes of the administrator, to examine Mâturîdî's original thoughts on these issues. We believe that we need a Mâturîdî view of politics with the motives of wisdom, justice, merit, morality and faith more in the modern era where problems such as individualization, secularization, truth monopoly and marginalization are experienced.

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