SOCIAL AND ETHICAL THOUGHT OF
BEDİÜZZAMAN SAİD-İ KÜRDİ

by

ESAT ARSLAN

Submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in History

Sabancı University

June 2004

Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences

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Prof. Dr. Nakiye Boyacıgiller

Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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14.06.2004

ABSTRACT

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M.A., History

Supervisor: Selçuk Akşin Somel

June 2004, xi+105 pages

The purpose of this study is to present the formulation of ethical realm in the thought of Bediüzzaman Said-i Kürdi (1876-1960). Throughout a depiction of the idea in the Classical Age of Islam, and depicting that in this age ethical domain was determined by metaphysics, the Scripture and political concerns it is claimed that the alienation of the Islamic World from the spirit of Islam through the modernization process, new inclinations emerged to internalize the modernist social mentality on one hand and adoption of the Islamic legal understanding into modern conditions on the other. Bediüzzaman is claimed to have synthesized these two trends within the framework of 19th century Sufi approaches to ideal notions of society. Through Sufism, Bediüzzaman reevaluated the the Enlightenment ideals on the assumption of man's true existence in the world as a caliph of God, and had reached a modern social thought. Through this social thought, he developed a new interpretation of Islamic law which based itself upon reason and assumed freedom as a telos.

Key words: ethics, fiqh, civilization, sharia

ÖZET

BEDİÜZZAMAN SAİD-İ KÜRDİ'NİN TOPLUM VE ETİK DÜŞÜNCESİ

Esat Arslan

Tarih Yüksek Lisans Programı
Tez Yöneticisi: Yard. Doç. Dr. Selçuk Akşin Somel
Haziran 2004, xi+105 sayfa

Bu çalışmanın amacı Bediüzzaman Said-i Kürdi'nin (1876-1960) düşüncesinde etik alanın formülasyonunu sunmaktır. Bu fikrin İslam'ın klasik çağındaki görünümünü resmederek, ve bu çağda etik alanın metafizik, Kutsal Metin ve politik kaygılarla şekillendiğini sunarak iddia edilmiştir ki İslam Dünyası'nın modernleşme süreciyle İslam'ın ruhuna yabancılaşması, bir yandan modernist toplum zihniyetini içselleştiren ve öte yandan İslam hukuku algılamasını modern koşullara uyarlayan eğilimler ortaya çıktı. Bu iki akımın Bediüzzaman tarafından 19. yüzyıl ideal toplum kavramsallaştırılması olarak Sufi yaklaşımlarının sunduğu parametreler içerisinde sentezlendiği iddia edildi. Sufizm yoluyla Bediüzzaman, Aydınlanma ideallerini insanın dünyadaki gerçek varoluşu olan Allah'ın halifeliği konumu varsayımıyla yeniden değerlendirerek modern bir sosyal düşünceye ulaşmıştır.Bu sosyal düşünceyle o, akla dayanan ve hedefi özgürlük olan bir İslam hukuku yorumuna varmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: etik, fıkıh, medeniyet, şeriat

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS:

Muh: *Muhakemat*

DHÖ: *Divan-ı Harb-i Örfi*

HŞ: *Hutbe-i Şamiye*

Mün: *Münazarat*

İİ: *İşarat-ül İ'caz*

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

In this study, Turkish names as well as general Islamic concepts appear according to the Turkish orthography. The names that are widely being used in the international academic discourse, mainly the prominent figures of the Classical Islam, are written according to the international usage.

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INTRODUCTION

The Second Constitutional period (1908-1909) witnessed a series of significant cultural developments in the Ottoman history. New intellectual approaches concerning social issues emerged in this era, and affected profoundly the course of historical developments including those of contemporary Turkey. The Turkish intellectual has always been aware of the crucial importance of that age and those intellectual trends that prepared this period; therefore numerous studies have been done on this subject.

However, there exists a significant bias among present-day academicians in the motivation on the selected subject-matter: the era is studied depending on its effect on modern Turkey's ruling elite. The Young Ottomans and the Young Turks are considered to be significant mainly due to their significance as a preparation to Kemalism. Even though, it seems to be that this bias has been softened and other significant trends and dimensions within these intellectual generations are being explored, a peculiar intellectual trend of the epoch has not yet been fully comprehended: the 2nd Constitutional Islamists. Apart from the critical approaches of Tarık Zafer Tunaya[1] and İsmail Kara,[2] and Selçuk Akşin Somel it seems to be that this movement has been rather neglected, probably due to its failure in the intellectual-political struggle. These authors seem to regard the Islamists as a side effect of the Turkish modernization process, who were 'naturally' bound to fail. Even though the political positions of Tarık Zafer Tunaya and İsmail Kara are quite different, it seems that neither of them grasped certain crucial aspects of 2nd Constitutional Islamism.

The Islamists were the first generation to confront different aspects of modern mentality by applying a sound Islamic knowledge. The Young Ottomans cannot reach their deepness of Islamic knowledge even though the Young Ottomans were the ones who started the Islamization of modernity. In this aspect, they on one hand form the true evolution of the Young Ottoman cause, and set on the otherhand the possible horizons for Muslim encounter with modernity.

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[1] Tunaya, Tarık Zafer. *İslamcılık Akımı,* (İstanbul: Simavi Yayınları, 1991.)
[2] Kara, İsmail. *İslamcıların Siyasi Görüşleri.* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1994.)

Their failure was not essential but contingent upon their lacking of social support. The common people were not aware of the true significance of modernity, and the political elite had already been mentally secularized. What is significant is that a century later the in-origin-peripheral political formation, AKP, seems to repeat what the Islamists had said before. There may be no historical link between them, but the question is the same: how can one live Islam in the modern age? The Islamist spectrum, ranging from the proto-fundamentalist Said Halim Paşa to the complete-promoter-of-cultural-dialogue Bediüzzaman Said-i Kürdi delineates a variety of possible Muslim approaches to a desirable Islamic modernity. My thesis is a study on Bediüzzaman in that respect.

Recent decades have experienced an increasing interest in the legacy of Bediüzzaman Said-i Kürdi (1876-1960). His attempt in introducing modern life to the Muslim worldview has been mostly highlighted. Academic researches have focused on the works of his metaphysical phase; i.e. the Republican years (1923-1960). However, his contribution to the internalization of socio-theoretical aspects of modernity which was revealed after the 2nd Constitution (1908-1923) is completely neglected. My thesis tries to fill this gap. In other words, my study, which deals with his socio-theoretical phase (1908-1923) tries to complete the picture of Bediüzzaman's metaphysical project and show the socio-political extension of his metaphysics. Without an understanding of Kürdi's social project the understanding of the Nurju cause in society would inevitably collapse. The social theory behind the movement's action, their understanding of the *şeriat*, and the ideal religious society that they try to attain are all derived from the metaphysical dimension of Bediüzzaman's writings but manifested in his socio-theoretical phase. For example, the Abant Meetings of Fethullah Gülen community may be regarded as a strategic political maneuver of the community in their effort to take the consent of intellectuals from different segments of society. However, more than the considerations on strategies, social dialogue between all groups of the society is essentially embedded in Bediüzzaman's social theory: it is not an issue of power, but religious norm.

The novelty of Bediüzzaman in Islamic social thinking is that, his ethics is derived from social thought, but not from theology or the *Şeriat*. This implies that ethics is a product of social rationality, and has its own rules, prior to the understanding of the Islamic law. The *şeriat* begins to function only after the domain of social reality finishes its work. This situation brings an autonomy to the ethical realm. Compared with the dominant worldview of the classical ages of

Islam, this is a complete breakthrough. This autonomy, through creating a dialogue between different groups in society, and by this, creating an understanding of citizenship and secularism sensitive to the Transcendental, is a completely 'modern' democratic phenomenon. The scholar of the classical age, in contrast, would have suggested that ethics as something what God orders and nothing else, and say 'this can only be found in the Scripture.'

Then, my presentation should comprise certain elements. First of all, one should be aware of the situation of ethics in the classical age of Islam. This is the first chapter of my thesis. In this chapter, I present the categorical and influential alternative approaches to the question of ethics with regard to metaphysics, the *şeriat*, and political thought. Through this, I will show possible influences on Kürdi, as well as the outcome of this epoch: the triumph of Ash-Shafii, Al-Ghazzali and Al-Ashari, all of whom agree on the arbitrariness of God's orders. In an age of the lack of alienation from the spirit of the Revelation, this did not a constitute a problem. This chapter does not deal with the issue on its own, thus a selected second literature will be used.

However, entrance of modernity into the Islamic world in the 19th century necessitated a search for rationality in God's order. This is the topic of the second chapter. In this chapter, I shall try to trace the question of how Kürdi became able to base Islamic ethics on social theory. This chapter, thus, discusses 19th century modern Muslim intellectuals. Islamic world, during the 19th century, developed a new understanding of Islamic law. The Ottoman intellectual, in his attempt to save the Empire, grasped modernity as material progress, democracy or a mentality all of which shaped Kürdi's intellectual formation, but with a significant difference: Kürdi's cause was to establish the ethical foundations of a future Islamic civilization, not to save the Empire itself. In this chapter, I will also deal with how Kürdi's socialization in a Sufi environment led to his dependence on social theory.

Third chapter formulates Kürdi's social theory *vis-a-vis* to the Enlightenment thought. I did so because, even though there does not seem to be a concrete direct impact of the Enlightenment over Kürdi, he seems to have grasped the basic tenets of it. My understanding of the form of this interaction is as follows: it was a positivistic process in the sense that he took the concept and put it in his theory directly. Rather, it was an hermeneutical interaction. Bediüzzaman, like any other Muslim intellectual of the age, observes the West, chooses the tenet or concept which he sees crucial, and embeds it into his theory through reevaluating it within the parameters of Islamic culture. The second aspect of this "translation," i.e. entrance of Western

concepts into the Islamic world, is related with Orientalism. Kürdi assumes cultural superiority of the West, and through transferring Western concepts, he tries to strenghten Islam against the West. In this chapter, I claim that Bediüzzaman's social theory constitutes the idea of human being as a caliph God on Earth in the 'modern' age.

The last question is how this social theory shapes Bediüzzaman's understanding of Islamic law, hence ethics. In the last chapter, I will present my formulation, and through a commentary on his *içtihads*, I will claim that he reached an understanding of a holistic, rational and historicist Şeriat with a telos; a telos which is discovered by human reason and conscience: i.e. true freedom. In this aspect, I claim that *Nurju* groups do not have actual confrontation with the secular state as their understanding of ethics permit them to live in a secular formation of state.

However, this does not mean that Nurjuluk embraces secularism in toto. Rather, they suppose secular democracy as a stage which will be *perfected* (but not abandoned) by the application of the true *şeriat* when rational dialogue with segments of society create a consensus on this issue. As Kürdi's disciple Fethullah Gülen utters in a speech: 'democracy should serve also to the transcendental needs. Then, it becomes a true democracy.'[3]

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In this study I limited myself with the works of Bediüzzaman that were written before 1923. I made this limitation due to the fact that in the Republican era, Bediüzzaman chose a very conservative position in order to confront radical reformist project of Kemalism. His idea was that before a true revival in Islamic social thought the attack on religion should be stopped. This necessitated the conservation of Islam as it existed in the society. In numerous places he signifies that it will be the future generations that will restructure social and political life according to Islam. He also states that his socio-theoretical works of pre-Republican era will greatly serve in this later effort. Then we can say that even though there may seem inconsistencies in the statements of two subsequent phases, Republican propositions should be considered as conjunctural, and the 2nd Constitutional statements should be treated as the essence of Bediüzzaman's social theory. In other words, my limitation does not impede a comprehensive view of Bediüzzaman's social thought.

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[3] From an interview of Gülen by Nuriye Akman. http://www.zaman.com.tr/?bl=roportaj&-hn=29476

For this reason, the Republican Bediüzzaman is regarded in the academia as significant not because of his social thought but of his religious discourse that adapted the Muslim mentality into modern cosmology and mainly of the community bonds that *Nurjuluk* formed to fill the gap that secularist modernization process had created.[4] Even though Mardin highlights these significant aspects of the *Nurju* movements, one point is lacking: the source of *Nurju* political consciousness and its general framework. Through expanding Mardin's argument that Bediüzzaman was an agent of modernization within an Islamic perspective into his agency in the modernization process of the socio-political realm, I claim that the form of the existence of the *Nurcu* movements in the public realm in a modern way takes its roots from the teachings of Bediüzzaman of the 2nd Constitutional period. The most prominent example of this is the Gülen group's call for tolerance and dialogue and creating a significant public space; i.e. Abant Meetings, including intellectuals from different segments of society. My claim is that rather than by his personal incentives, the motivation of Gülen is mainly shaped by Said-i Kürdi's socio-political teachings. For this reason, my study is an effort to fill the theoretical gap that is necessary to explain the social emergence of *Nurjuluk*.

In this regard, my thesis can serve as a reevaluation of Nereid's arguments.[5] According to her, it is because Bediüzzaman was a threat to Republican nationalism that he was isolated by the state. She reaches to this argument by giving examples of certain tariqa-origin individuals being not a threat to nationalism, and so who were permitted by the state to take place in state affairs. My approach is that he was a real alternative to the secularist, may be more than nationalist, inclinations of the Republic due to his comprehensive evaluation and adoption of the Enlightenment values within an Islamic outlook, rather than within Kemalist positivism, so that a secularist state identity necessitated to suppress Bediüzzaman rather than manipulating him unlike other Islamic individuals who were unable to propose a solid Islamic reform program.

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[4] Mardin, Ş. *Türkiye'de Din ve Toplumsal Değişme: Bediüzzaman Said Nursi Olayı* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997)
[5] Nereid, C.T. *In the Light of Said Nursi: Turkish Nationalism and Religious Alternative* (Bergen: Center for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1997)

CHAPTER 1:

THE HERITAGE OF THE CLASSICAL AGE

This chapter inquires the general intellectual atmosphere of the Islam's classical age to which Bediüzzaman Said-i Kürdi is responding to in his effort to create a rational social thought. My claim is that in the fields of metaphysics, holy law (*şeriat*) and political thought, classical Islamic thought prevented development of such a rationality. Furthermore, Kürdi, even though he possessed the main premises of this age, through a shift to a different a priori emphasis (social thought), was able to realize the existence of a rational sphere of ethics. That is to say, in Bediüzzaman, ethical reason determines the understanding of revelation and not vice versa.

This chapter necessarily depends on secondary literature. Here I am to concentrate on the general atmosphere of the classical Islam, the alternative solutions to the question of ethics, in which routes they approached to ethics. My idea on the subject depends on a widely accepted proposition: for the sake of conserving the unity of Islamic community, the classical Islamic mind depended on God's absolute volition, the word of the Scripture and the unquestioned authority of the ruler as bases for ethical thought.

A. A GLO BAL OUTLOOK[6]

The first legitimacy discussions related to the Islamic thought started after the assassination of the third caliph Othman and were completely political: who should be the leader of the Islamic community (*ümmet*)? Whereas the dominant attitude was conformism in order to protect the unity of *ümmet*, there were two radical answers as well: the Kharijites claimed equality of all Muslims in right to rule and secular nature of sovereignty. For them, even an anarchic society was possible. The second answer was provided by theShia; who claimed that the ones with special gift to understand the reality of revelation (*hakikat*) were the only legitimate rulers, namely the family of the Prophet.

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[6] The statements in this section will be elaborated and in the coming sections.

As time passed, these groups became marginalized, and the *ümmet* compromised with the actual political situation: monarchy (the sultanate), even though, the religious legitimazition of the sultanate came much later. Apart from the question of polity, new problems emerged as a result of the conquests of the lands of different civilizations. New converts questioned the metaphysical nature of the revelation that conflicted with their heritages, and the schools of theology (*kelam*) were born as an answer to these questions. The main problematic areas were, the nature of God, His attributes, Divine will and human will, the role of reason in understanding truth and etc. The preliminary systematic thinking resulted in the triumph of al-Ash'ari, with a cost of losing the role of reason in understanding the Divine message. This triumph would also leave no room for the authonomy of ethics.

In the magnificent ages of the Abbasids, Greek philosophy entered into the scene, and its representatives had a lot to say in all these problems. Figures like Ibn Sina and Al-Farabi were effective mostly on the elite's thinking and very apt in metaphysical thought. Nevertheless, their cultural context enforced them also to compromise Greek philosophy with Islamic concepts. Even though they were in some way successful in this formulation, their problems with some significant dogmas of Islam created a reaction against them, whose personification was al-Ghazzali. After his influence, philosophy found a place only in Sufism although there were some exceptions.

Before philosophy entered Islamic discourse, legal thought had reached a systematic approach. The original free, prolific, anarchic and elastic legal thinking was systematized by ash-Shafii whose fundamentals of law (*usul-ü fıkıh*) completely penetrated all schools of law. This phase reflected the end of creative process of lawmaking. After ash-Shafii, law became a matter of linguistic games unable to answer social changes. As there was no intellectual relationship with philosophy and legal thought, *şeriat* became merely a literal translation of the Scripture into life, not a total reflection of ethos into life.

When a legitimacy crisis emerged due to the ad hoc political fragmentation of the *ümmet* due to the weakening of the Abbasids, practical and palliative responses did emerge. Unlike philosophers, political theologians, such as al-Ghazzali and al-Mawardi, had practical problems in mind. The main emphasis was on the preservation of the unity of *ümmet*. The cost was, again, the withdrawal of ethics from political life. The only possible legitimate action of the ruled was

obedience to authority. However, *siyasetnames* (mirrors for princes) ameliorated the situation for a while.

Here I will present the development of three dimensions of Islamic thought (metaphysics, *şeriat*, and politics). They are conceptually separate and their historical developments independent from each other. However, these dimenisons reflect the non-existence of an independent ethical realm within Islamic classical thought[7]. This realm would be of significance in understanding Bediüzzaman's innovation.

If we look at the dimension of metaphysics, represented by reason, the triumph belonged to the outlook of al-Ash'ari who believed God's will transcends any rationality. In legal thought, after the 10th century, the principles of ash-Shafii, who supported particularistic and literal interpretation of the Scripture, dominated the orthodox *ümmet*; in political thought, beside his achievements in philosophy, al-Ghazzali's political theology constitutes a symbol of orthodox understanding of political life, supported by the literature of *siyasetnames*, both of which suggests unquestioned obedience to political authority.

Before elaborating on the situation of ethics in the classical age of Islam, it is necessary to mention some important processes in the formation of Islamic intellectual life. The first process or trend is the gradual domination of Traditionalism in the understanding of religious reality. Before binding *ümmet* in details of life and serving only as a global model, the Prophetic traditions were diffused within Islamic society during the first centuries. However, the intellectual chaos and anarchy –in fact a prolific one- created a necessity to protect the unity of *ümmet*. As there was no common ground within society except religious motivation, and the Koran has little to speak about social problems, the solution emerged to be the dependence on the Traditions. In the tenth century, this process bore its perfect fruits, the *Sahihs* and *Sünens* –the collection of Traditions[8]. They were so politically motivated that the first chapters dealt with the traditions on metaphysical questions which created political cleavages, (to compare, one of the first tradition collections emerged before the metaphysical clashes Muwatta, included no theological traditions). For the Traditionalists, the solution of theological questions, as well as

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[7] In fact, I borrowed this idea of non-existence of ethical telos from Fazlur Rahman. Mainly, *Islam and Modernity* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984) and *Tarih Boyunca İslami Metodoloji Sorunu* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 1995)*,* both has a leitmotiv of this kind. Even though he insists on the legal thought, I believe this situation existed also in other realms.

[8] Juynboll, *Hadis Tarihinin Yeniden İnşası,* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2002) elaborates this process profoundly.

other social problems, did not depend on rational questioning but on strict obedience on the words of the Prophet[9].

A second process that went hand in hand with the first trend was the systematization of Islamic premises. It was realized under an influence of other civilizations. Mu'tazila was a direct answer to the questions that were posed by the new Muslims of Persian or Hellenistic cultures. Maybe their solution was problematic, but they represented the first systematization of Islamic metaphysical principles. The flexible legal thought, which adopted regional social settings into Islam, required also a unified systematic approach that would be common for all regions in order to prevent anarchy and chaos.

A third significant process is presented in the previous paragraphs. One of the most prominent features of Islamic thought was an abiding need to preserve unity of Islamic society. The triumph of the intellectuals I mentioned, in fact, represented the feeling of *ümmet* to protect itself. The name of the orthodoxy apparently reflects this: Ehl-i Sünnet ve Cemaat. *Cemaat* (community) has a right to suppress deviations. Any deviation from *ümmet* is *fitne* (dissension), which is condemned by the Koran.[10]

Even though the end of these three processes –traditionalism, systematization, and preservation of community- resulted in a dogmatic view after 12th century, the figures such as al-Ghazzali, ash-Shafii and al-Ash'ari were never dogmatic intellectuals[11]. The classical age was an era of deep rational questioning and the works of these figures obviously reflect this profound usage of reason, even though their solution rejected reason.

The rationale behind the usage of reason in the classical age has two dimensions. First, Koran insists on usage of reason to grasp reality. However, what is significant is that: the Koran and the Prophet provide the ground for the free usage of reason. Koran repeatedly states that God donated the Prophets with the Book and the *Hikmet* (wisdom)[12]. Additionally, the Prophet repeatedly stresses that there are hidden meanings of the revelation solidified as the *hakikat* (the

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[9] In fact these traditions seem to be the reflection of famous scholars' ideas to the words of Prophet. For detail, Rahman, 1995.

[10] Özek, A. (ed) *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Açıklamalı Meali, (*Medine-i Münevvere: Suudi Arabistan Krallığı, 1987): 333, verse: 2:217

[11] Works of al-Ghazzali were famous of their rationality in method. Ash-Shafii's *ar-Risale* for example is a good illustration of the usage of rational thought. And al-Ash'ari converted from Mu'tazila to some sort of Sunni outlook with a rational questioning.

[12] e.g. Özek (ed), 1987: 411, verse: 31:12

truth). Within the process mentioned above, this *hikmet* and *hakikat* created an opportunity for entire intellectual groups of the classical age to seek for deeper meanings of the revelation. Even the Muslim philosophers did not hesitate in grasping Greek philosophy as the Divine Wisdom (*hikmet-i İlahiye)*. The Sufis did not hesitate to transfer Indian, Christian and Persian Gnosticism, as they perceived it, as a part of *hikmet* or *hakikat*. However, the prolific tension between the scripture and reason, or *zahir* (appearance) and *batın* (essence) would create a social crisis; the solution was the triumph of orthodox thought in the 12th century.[13]

B. KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND EVIL

One of the most important disputes in the Islamic classical age was the reason's capability to grasp good and evil. A discussion of this theme necessitates an understanding of certain core principles of the intellectual schools. In the Islamic world, answer to this question had two components: (1) the principle attribute of God and (2) the conception of nature.

One of the first radical answers given to this question was an affirmative one. Mu'tazila's claim was that God's rule of conduct with the whole universe is justice.[14] Secondly, God created nature with its laws.[15] The conclusion was that, as justice requires equality of man in learning ethical duties, and as things have natural ethical characteristics, man by application of reason can grasp ethical quality of things.[16] According to this understanding, ethical quality is immanent to things. God comdemns something because it is evil in nature. It is not that God's condemnation makes the things evil[17]. It is obvious that such a claim would profoundly clash with a vision of a god having absolute will and power. What Mu'tazila did in order to avoid such confrontations was *te'vil* (interpretation)[18]. They used the tension between *zahir* of the Scripture and *batın* (*hakikatt* of the Scripture) in order to justify themselves.

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[13] An eloquent discussion on *hikmet* and *hakikat* and their elaboration in the Classical Islam can be found in Corbin, H. *İslam Felsefesi Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994): 9-49.

[14] Bumin (ed) *Felsefe 2002* (İstanbul: TÜSİAD, 2002): 287.

[15] Bumin (ed): 2002: 289.

[16] Bumin (ed) 2002: 283

[17] For an illustration of Mu'tazila thought, see Bumin (ed), 2002: 283-291 (compared with Ash'arism). also El-Faruki, *İslam Kültür Atlası*, (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1991): 314-318. and Corbin, 1994: 205-217.

[18] The principle that 'when reason and scripture conflicts, reason is fundamental and scripture is interpreted (te'vil) is a heritage of Mu'tazila.

A second problem of the Mu'tazila was their inevitable degradation of revelation into an auxiliary position to the Revelation.[19] What happens if reason is able to independently grasp the rule of ethics is the question. Then revelation would become only a reminder of the ethical truth for the Mu'tazila theologians. Their insistence on justice required that, due to God's justice, people without any revelation as well as Muslims should have equal chance. Not surprisingly, Orthodoxy could not absorb this thought, even though for a while Mu'tazila was able to ensure official support of the Abbasids.

A more sophisticated answer in assuming rationality of ethics was the answer of the philosophers. For them, God is understood as an Absolute Reason who contemplates himself.[20] The creation is, rather than a planned will, an eternal emanation of reason.[21] Secondly, emanation is an attempt to demonstrate existence of multiplicity within a source of unity.[22] This multiplicity can only be understandable in the eternal existence of an unformed matter on which emanation exists. As matter is eternal, it has a nature. And as God is rational, emanation is completely rational. The result is that, as with any phenomena, ethics is completely rational. And as there is no Divine Will but emanation and matter, things have independent natures.[23] So a rational man can grasp ethical quality of things.[24] Moving from different premises, philosophers converge with the Mu'tazila thought. However, there are some subtle points in philosophers' ideas that enable them to fit into a religious discourse. Even though they accept that reason can grasp ethics, they believe that man can find only universal ethical premises through reason. The particular historical-geographical setting of ethical issues is in the realm of religion.[25] Secondly, religion is also significant for its nature. Religion constitutes the contact of man with Active Reason (identified with the Angel of Revelation, Gabriel) within the process of perfect imagination. Philosophy is also a contact with Active Reason, via pure rational effort. Then religion and

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[19] Leaman, *Ortaçağ İslam Felsefesi,* (İstanbul: İz Yayınları, 2000): 233-35.
[20] Bumin, 2002: 274
[21] Harre, *One Thousand Years of Philosophy: From Ramanuja to Wittgenstein* (Maldon, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000): 129-30
[22] Harre, 2000: 131
[23] This argumentation can be followed in Harre, 2000: 123-131.
[24] Leaman, 2000: 244.
[25] Leaman, 2000: 241

reason are completely identical: one for common people who do not understand from pure deductions, and the other for the elites who are able to think in abstract forms[26].

Even though philosophers tried to compromise reason and revelation, proponents of orthodoxy were not happy with the philosophers' solution. Firstly, the Divine Will was rejected, which obviously conflicted with the Scripture. Secondly, philosophers rejected the concept of creation -from nothing-, which is a tenet of Koran. Related to this, the idea of a nature independent of God was problematic for the general mood of Islamic community.

Another answer with distinguishing features to the question of ethics was that of Sufis. In the classical age there was not a common philosophy of Sufism, but a general attitude which assumed God as pure love and unity, and considered the rediscovery of pre-existing unity between God and man as the cause of life. Then there emerged an ethical telos in Sufism to re-experience the unity. In this effort, appearance of *şeriat* becomes a door in which the requisites of *hakikat* would differ[27]. Despite its originality, Sufi philosophy would not dominate the classical age before its marriage with Ehl-i Sünnet doctrine. By this marriage, the personal ethic of Sufism was integrated into a collective morality whose zenith may be al-Ghazzali's monument, *İhya al Ulum al Din*.

Then what was the solution of the so-called Ehl-i Sünnet on the question of ethics? In both aspects, God's attribute and nature, Ash'arism completely rejected the premises of the Mu'tazila and the philosophers. (1) God's main attribute is His absolute will and power.[28] (2) So there is no nature of things but what nature is what God arbitrarily attributes to things.[29] If God is omnipotent with absolute will, then there is no ethical responsibility of God. He can do what he wants, even persecution. If he does anything he wants, he may order arbitrarily; thus things do not have ethical qualities in themselves, so that reason cannot grasp ethics. Ethical qualities are

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[26] My main figure in philosophy is al-Farabi. Even though there are some deviations, he gives the most characteristic ideas of philosophers. For more elaboration on the effort of philosophers, see: Bumin (ed), 2002: 270-279. Corbin, 1994: 279-312. For a global outlook, Harre, 2000: 123-140, 148-151. Leaman, 2000: 241-252.

[27] The main figures Corbin (1994) mentions seem to share such a vision. In al-Bestami, and Ahmed al-Ghazzali (brother of the famous al-Ghazzali) there is an understanding of such a unity. (pp. 340, 351). Cunayd al-Baghdadi also insists on experiencing unity (tevhid), not proving it. (pp. 341-343). He also claims hakikat does not degrade *şeriat*, but it is inner meaning of it. A comprehensive view of Sufism is also given in Bumin (ed), 2002: 297-302.

[28] Bumin, (ed.) 2002: 287.

[29] El-Faruki, 1991: 322

not rational per se, but they should be obeyed as God commands. These orders may have rationale but this is not the point. There is no objective ethics[30].

The rationale behind this philosophy is the Ash'ari view of cosmos. The basic principle is the following: the cosmos consists of indivisible atoms. As qualities cannot abide in this infinite division, qualities are not natural. So these atoms should take their qualities from God's will. And as time passes and the atoms, their relations, etc. are qualified continuously, this is not eternal and should be recreated at each moment. The whole universe, in this manner is recreated infinitely in each moment.[31]

The meaning of this formulation for ethics is that things take their ethical quality by only divine will. Then the source to learn ethics is only via revelation, and nothing else. This statement implies that, people unaware from revelation are irresponsible in their actions.[32]

Even though Ash'arism reflected the general mood of immense conservatism in the Islamic community and even though it became a state ideology in the 12th century, to deduce universal ethical premises or an ethical telos from this ideology is impossible. Ash'arism could be useful in a community where a consensus in religion exists. For a man like Said-i Kürdi, who should deal with non-Muslim ethics of modernity, Ash'arism would not function as a good starting point, even though he may share the cosmology of Ash'arism. In his efforts, even though having a different mentality, Kürdi would converge to the discourse of philosophers.

For several reasons, philosophers could become a basis for Kürdi. Firstly, they presented a device to legitimize ethical quality of patterns of behavior which was reason. Secondly, they had a primordial idea of a telos of *şeriat* (which will be dealt in the coming section). Thirdly, philosophers, in their efforts to converge revelation and Greek wisdom, provided a background for Kürdi to compromise religion and reason in the challenge of modern reason.

C. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN HOLY LAW

The development of Islamic legal thought was was characterized by a number of cleavages. First was the issue of the nature of the Prophet. The claim that Prophetic deeds, in all sense, inspired by a divine nature clashed with the idea that, except for his transmission of revelation, the Prophet was equal to other people. The second point of tension was on the role of

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[30] An excellent explanation of Ash'arism is Corbin, 1994: 217-234. also, Leaman, 2000: 221-241.
[31] El-Faruki, 1991: 319-22.
[32] Bumin (ed), 2002: 286

reason in understanding the will of God on social problems. The question was 'Can reason, through contemplating on the Scripture, grasp the main purpose of God which is expressed in particular phrases?' These two intellectual sources of tension constituted the basis of dynamism of early Islamic legal thought.[33] Although these categories were never explicitly formulated, they formed a legal thinking that was expanding in a set of practical needs; the needs which were also the result of new conquests. These practical needs and the cleavages mentioned above shaped the early schools of legal thought.

The most important school was of ash-Shafii. Basically, he chose the rejection of reason and assumed the divine character of Prophetic deeds. Even though this school was a late outcome of legal thought, it penetrated all existing schools of thought at that moment. For him, even an isolated tradition was superior to the application of reason. If it was not possible to solve the problem directly in regard to the scripture, only then did he suggest to apply the *kıyas*: a manipulated reason that creates an analogy between the unclear issue and a verdict of the Scripture.

Another possibility in the matrice of reason and the Prophetic model was accepting both the divine character of the Prophet and the application of reason: this is Malikism or the Hijaz school. Imam Malik strongly depended on the customs of the city of the Prophet, Madina, in his legal decrees, as he believed that Madina reflected the spirit of the Prophet. He also used a kind of free reason; *istislah* (public interest) in legal realm. In other words, the key term in Maliki response to the new problems was *istislah*. However, because of its reliance on customs of a city, it was bound to demise. The customs of Madina were changing and losing their character to reflect the Prophet, and therefore ceased to serve as a source of law.

What was more responsive to new social problems was the Iraqi school, or Hanafism. In the matrice, its position was the rejection of divine attribute and the application of reason in several ways, most important of which was *istihsan* (juristic preference), by which the school feels itself free from the boundaries of the *kıyas* as they seek the more general purposes of *şeriat* in legal problems. Regarding the Prophet, the claimed that he possessed different attributes: i.e. his actions as a man of revelation differs from those as a state ruler in religious concerns. Other than the religious attribute the Prophet does not bind legal issues. Hanafism became the official

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[33] This categorization an formulation of the matrice below is my suggestion.

denomination of the Turkish empires in later history. Even though it lost its creativity after the influence of Shafiism in the 10th century, it still remained responsive to new problems.

Was it possible to reject both reason and the divine character of the Prophet? In the classical age there was the school of Ehl-i Kur'an, which are not known in detail. But 19th century India produced a group named Ehl-i Kur'an who, because of this dual rejection, ineluctably depended only on the Koran, and its linguistic analysis.[34] In fact, none of these schools completely rejected the Prophetic model or reason. An understanding of the Scripture *per se* required reason, but an instrumental one. Rejection of the Prophetic divine character did not restrain understanding the Prophet as a global, ideal model.

In the 14th century Spain and the 18th century India, efforts emerged to compromise these cleavages. Ash-Shatibi and Ad-Dihlewi, respectively, offered to base legal theory on the universal purposes of the *şeriat* which requires a rational effort and the incorporation of the Prophet's deeds as a reflection of these purposes on a specific historical-geographical context.[35] Bediüzzaman also shares this position.

This analytical examination should be complemented by the historical presentation. My claim is that, what the classical age through legal reasoning lacked was the explicit manifestation of an ethical telos to unify the statements of Islamic law. The Koran involved seeds of a cosmological thinking as well as a revealed sense of ethics --which was in fact rational for the early audience of the message--, and a number of specific legal statements that obstructed theorization of a systematic ethical cause.

In fact, there are several other reasons for the absence of an expressed telos. Firstly, the judicial problems within the first Islamic society preceded any alienation from the freshness of the revelation. The Prophet Muhammad's message was, in a sense, much more progressive in ethical cause than the social formulations of Arabic society. The first legal thinkers were at ease to feel the ethical spirit of the message, which did not necessitate an explicit statement of the idea. In general, revelation was sufficient for their social needs, which was supported by the common sincere profound belief in the message. In other words, there existed an ethical

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[34] Depiction of the modern Ehl-i Kur'an exists in Brown, *İslam Düşüncesinde Sünneti Yeniden Düşünmek,* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2002): Ch.3.
[35] Examination of ad-Dihlewi can be found in: Baljon, J.M.S. "Şah Veliyullah Dehlevi'nin Şeriat Anlayışı." (*İslamiyat* vol:1-4, 1998) A sound discussion on ash-Shatibi is Mesud, M.H. *İslam Hukuku Metodolojisi* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2001).

understanding, although completely revealed. Rational consideration of ethics was completely embedded in the religious understanding of ethical cause[36].

It is true that, there were some occasions even just after the Prophet's death that, the Islamic community faced uneasy situations not directly answered by the Koran. Omar's decisions in several cases --mainly the divorce act, the issue of conquered Iraqi and Syrian lands, the case of *müellefe-i kulub*, the issue of theft in scarcity, and so on-- seemed to pursue the spirit of the message rather than its apparent judgments[37]. These situations created an expansion of legal thought in the first centuries[38].

Besides the Koran, the first caliphs did not also hesitate to reinterpret the Prophetic teachings in their ruling. One of the most known examples is the diversity of the decisions of different caliphs on what to do if someone finds lost material. Recent interpretations convincingly show the conservation of the spirit of Islamic legal idea while deviating from the Prophet's apparent policies[39].

Another source of the expansion of legal ideas was a result of expansion of the first Islamic empire. Different regions and customs became Islamicised, as local traditions had to be handled by the first scholars of holy law. Within these parameters above, there emerged a number of legal schools that reached their own understanding of law and *icma* (general consensus); Hijaz, Iraq, Syria and Egypt were the most famous. They were different in methodology as well as in customs[40].

Even though this prolific chaos resulted in perfection of the schools, the application of reason –although having a basis in revelation- diminished by time. It had two main causes. Firstly, this anarchic environment of legal thought was supported by other problems –-such as politics, and theology-- created an atmosphere of strictly depending on the Prophetic traditions:

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[36]In fact, it was explicitly realized by the philosophers, after the discussions of *şeriat* had been resolved. For this reason, their endeavor would be ineffective.

[37] In fact, even during the Prophet's era, companions were able to suggest solutions to existing problems. Sometimes revelation supported their ideas. (Rahman, 1995: 33; Karaman, *İslam Hukukunda İçtihad,* (Ankara: DİB Yay: 1985): 39-43

[38] Omar seems to have believed that when the context changes judgments should also change. No one was more courage than him in this issue. (Karaman, 1985: 70-77).

[39] Juynboll, 2002: 34 claims this. Also Karaman, 1985: 59,69 have the same argument. The rationale behind this is the perception that Prophet pursued public interest in his ruling.

[40] In fact whole of these revelation, Prophetic model, decisions of strong legal thinkers and customs became the core of the first schools, and named as Sunna and icma of these schools. It is also true that there was not a hierarchy of sources yet. (Brown, 2002: 20-25).

i.e. Traditionalism[41]. Secondly, fed by this anarchy, the personal-intellectual cleavage in ash-Shafii himself, between the domination of Traditions and the application of reason, resulted in a synthesis that was based on Traditions while applying a limited and a completely manipulated reason.[42]

Before the domination of ash-Shafii in the 10th century, there were two main apparatuses that helped reason enter into legal realm. In Iraqi School, *istihsan* permitted some sort of free reason. In Hijaz School, *istislah* created an atmosphere of application of reason conceptually independent from revelation. Ash-Shafii would reject both of them and permitted reason only in the apparatus of *kıyas*.[43]

In the 11th century, his paradigm would become effective in the whole Sunni world. Supported by Traditionalism, this would result in a perfection of linguistics, as grasping resemblance would require perfect literal understanding of the Scripture. Grasping the spirit of the message or seeking some rational sense of ethics –which existed but was undeveloped- would completely disappear.

After the 11th century, due to the systematization of legal methodology of ash-Shafii and perfection of Traditions, little space remained for *içtihad*. The door for *içtihad* had gradually been closed. Within this formalism, the problems of forthcoming centuries would be resolved by the concepts of *zaruret* (social necessity), *hile-i şer'iye* (legal trick), and the application of *örfi hukuk* (state's law) which was in fact a disaster for holy law[44]. In general, the *şeriat* became unable to provide a fresh paradigm of law until the efforts of the 19th century modernism.

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[41] There are few traditions that go back to the companions. (Juynboll, 2002: 46-50). Rahman claims that whole body of traditions is a reflection of the ümmet's solution to social problems into an eternal voice: the Prophet's words. (Rahman, 1995: 60). To pursue the history of Traditions (Juynboll does this convincingly) inspires the fact that rather than having more traditions in the earlier ages, we have an increase in traditions by the passage of time (Juynboll, 2002: 62). So they cannot be relied upon.

[42] A discussion on ash-Shafii's influence is in Rahman, 1984: 22-26.

[43] In fact in his time, ash-Shafii was rejected both by Traditionalists –as he permits usage of reason- and by these schools –as he degrades rational effort: Hallaq, "Was al-Shafii the Master Architect of Islamic Jurisprudence" *Law and Legal Theory in Classical and Medieval Islam,* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 1994): 588-591, 601

[44] Rahman, 1984: 28

D. ETHICS IN MIRROR FOR PRINCES AND POLITICAL THEOLOGY

It is not very meaningful to discuss the classical age philosophers in order to understand the political outlook of the *ümmet* of the classical age. They were successful in creating an utopia actually based on reason. They were also able to compromise reason and religion in some way. However, their inability to influence people on the one hand, and their reluctance to deal with practical and emergent problems, on the other, resulted in their ineffectiveness in social thought[45].

Unlike the realms of metaphysics and legal thought, it is uneasy to speak about a dominant personality in political thought of the classical age. There were, however, two significant trends that dominated the area. First, the works of political theologians –mainly al-Mawardi, al-Ghazzali, and Ibn Taymiya- that served as a legitimization of the existing political order, and second, the *siyasetname* literature (mirror for princes)–that created an ethical basis for government- provided an intellectual political outlook of the classical age.

The main problem of the theologians was to compromise political ideals with social realities[46]. Their timing was significant. Before the legitimacy crisis of the sultanate of Abbasids, Sunni scholars were reluctant to speak about the ethical quality of the existing states. The ideal was obvious: Asr-ı Saadet of the Prophet and the Companions (the Golden Age). Furthermore, the Sunni patriarchs like Abu Hanifa and Ibn Hanbal were famous of their passive resistance to the political authority. However, when the Abbasids were threatened by Shia claims or when new rulers emerged shaking the legitimacy of the Abbasid sovereignty, Sunni scholars felt a pressing need to speak about political legitimacy. They would both express the ideals and try to integrate these ideals into the existing situation[47].

One of the most important issues was the character of the ideal ruler. The main condition to be an ideal ruler was that he should be profoundly religious and just, beside other secondary

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[45] Watt, *İslam'da Siyasal Düşüncenin Oluşumu (*İstanbul: Birey Yayıncılık, 2001):104., Kurtoğlu, *İslam Siyasal Düşüncesinin Ufku* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1999): 215.

[46] Kurtoğlu, 1999: 215. Rosenthal, *Ortaçağ'da İslam Siyaset Düşüncesi* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1996): 40. For Rosenthal, the main motivation was to preserve the divine character of the caliphate and to attack the deviants whose efforts have political dimension.

[47] Kurtoğlu, 1999: 234. For her, main concern of al-Ghazzali was to islamicise the de facto situation within the effort of defining an Islamic state in the existing conditions.

qualities[48]. The political elite –*ehl-i hall ve akd*-, should elect him. Under these conditions, he could become a legitimate ruler and named 'the shadow of God on Earth'. For the theologians, *sultan/mülk/dünya* (state/world) and religion (*din*) are twins. As religion is fundamental and the sultan is the guardian, the sultan is completely necessary for the wellbeing of religion[49]. For this reason, the sultan has a religious and sacred character, and therefore, the state becomes actually more important than the religious cause. In fact, all political theologians believed that the issue of ruling (*imamet)* had a religious base, not a rational and secular one. So a legitimate ruler has a religious character[50].

Even though they had a discourse on legitimacy, what theologians had in mind was the necessity to preserve the welfare and unity of the *ümmet.* They assumed, even a ruler who grasps sovereignty by force should be obeyed[51]. Even there was a cliché claiming that a sovereignty of 60 years characterized by oppression, is preferable to one day of anarchy[52]. These striking statements reflected the limitation of the theologians, mainly due to the pressing conditions of sociopolitical reality.

The worry of the theologians, to preserve the unity of *ümmet* in the problematic political reality of the late Abbasid period prevented the emergence of a theological discourse on legitimate disobedience. Thus, no positive legitimate political action apart from blind obedience was provided. Revolt was considered illegitimate but if the rebels became successful, then they also became legitimate rulers. Related to this, what is also significant is that, the discourse of theologians did not provide a realm of civil space for the *ümmet,* while ruler could not intervene in compulsory religious obligations. For political theology, therefore, the entire social space is absorbed by the authority, even though *şeriat* would create a protected realm for Muslims.

The gap of an effective ethical idealistic politics in the theological discourse was filled, to some extent, by an ethical rule of conduct of the ruler to the people, as exemplified in the

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[48] Rosenthal, 1996: 53-54 lists these qualities as the fundamental of wellbeing of the state and society.
[49] Kurtoğlu, 1999: 227, 231-232.
[50] Al-Mawardi and al-Ghazzali explicitly gives that idea. Rosenthal, 1996: 43, 57.
[51] Rosenthal, 1996: 48, Kurtoğlu, 1999: 232-233. (Kurtoğlu sees this situation as a cleavage between political consciousness and religious consciousness.) It is also mentioned by Lewis that, a Muslim with power would always be welcomed as a legitimate ruler in the Islamic world. (Lewis, *Political Language of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991): 99)
[52] Lewis, 1991: 100-102.

siyasetnames[53]. There are three significant concepts in this literature: The ruler is the shadow of God on Earth; he should apply justice in his conduct with people; and the people's ideal ethical behavior is obedience. The relation between ruler and the ruled is symbolized by three metaphors: father-son, tree-roots, and shepherd-sheep; all of which persuasively required the ruler to apply justice towards people for a prosperous state and society. Another convincing theme is the famous circle of justice, which tells that the enforcement of the application of justice to the people is fundamental for a powerful state.

As much as political theology legitimized political reality and based its ideas, rather pessimistically, on reality due to the fact that their problem was to preserve unity; *siyasetnames* were effective in creating an ideal rule of conduct, partly because their roots came from the wisdom of actual political rule. They have, however, some common characteristics. Firstly, neither of them distinguish ethics from politics. (In fact, before Machiavelli this attitude was universal). Secondly, even though both spoke of the characteristics of an ideal rule, they were unable to carry a discourse on people's legitimate political action apart from obedience. This included an absence of legitimate disobedience. For the political theologians, rebellion was one of the worst behaviors, named *fitne.* In the *siyasetname* literature the claim was that, injustice will naturally bring the death of the state. As its audience is the rulers, it has nothing to say more about how the state would perish under unfair rule. Thirdly, in siyasetnames, religion, beside being an ethical quality of the ruler, turns into a tool for rule. In theology, on the other hand, religion was generally sacrificed for the emergent political needs (which is true for al-Mawardi and al-Ghazzali).

E. CONCLUSION

Up to this point, I have presented the classical heritage in order to grasp Kürdi's reformation. My claim is that, one of the important accomplishments of Kürdi was the creation of a rational ethical dimension (through a social thought) that would control the interpretation of revelation, legal system and politics. In other words, this ethical reason in Kürdi would result in a radical positioning, which shapes the understanding of religion; mainly, the understanding revelation, the *şeriat* and ideal politics. This position differs profoundly from the view of taking the Scripture as the basis and limiting the understanding of ethics with revelation.

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[53] A nice introduction to the siyasetnames is Bumin (ed), 2002: 307-319.

This chapter demonstrated that the classical age had lost this dimension of a manifested totalistic ethical telos in its zenith: in the 11th, 12th centuries. In the realm of metaphysics, ethics was completely absorbed by revelation. In the legal realm, emphasis was given mainly to the words of the Scripture. In the political realm, people were completely alienated from the issues of politics. In other words, parallel to the non-existence of a rational ethics, public space was absent in the classical age.

It should be noted that, even though rationality of ethical dimension had been absorbed by urgent needs, it may not have been a problem for the classical age *ümmet*. The reason is that there has not yet emerged an alienation from the spirit of religious *weltanschauung*. The things should be done because God wants it, and there need not to be a questioning of the demand because the social reality had already been constructed by the religious discourse.

The power of political authority was also naturalized to such a degree that it was mentally impossible to think of active participation into the political realm. The hidden consensus that the ruler should apply justice, which was beneficial for the ruled to some extent, did not create a legitimate political activity on behalf of the population.

The questioning of religious cause and problematization of socio-political realm necessitated an alienation from this worldview, which happened by the emergence of hegemony of the Western civilization over the Islamic world in the 19th century. This is the problematic of second chapter.

CHAPTER 2:

FORMATION OF AN INTELLECTUAL: THE MODERN IMPACTS

Nothing is known about Bediüzzaman's intellectual formation historically. However, textual analysis of his books leads to the idea that he has been influenced considerabily by modern intellectual heritage. This may be a result of his readings on popular subjects and authors. Most probably and most intensively it is the case that he quite well absorbed freely floating ideas. He had an established madrasa education and was socialized in the Naqshbandi-Khalidi order. After this, he spent sixteen years at the court of two subsequent governors of Van: Hasan Paşa and Tahir Paşa respectively, both of whom were presented in Kürdi's biographies as knowledgable about modern intellectual developments in the Empire. This was his second socialization environment where he found means to study modern philosophy and sciences. Through his dialogueues with the mekteb-originated officers around Hasan and Tahir Paşas, his work suggests that he had sufficient understanding of modern knowledge. However, his appeal in politics is still unknown to us apart from the fact that in 1892 he met disciples of Afghani and Sheikh as-Sanusi where he embraced their political inclinations. In the same year also, he says that he read a booklet by Namık Kemal. He asserts that until 1907, when he first came to İstanbul, he assumed the government as benevolent to society, but then, just after observing the actions of state against him, he understood that the source of evil in Islamic lands was in fact İstanbul. Just in 1907 he met with Young Turk leaders, and we can assume his political character was shaped in his intensive dialogue with the Young Turks.[54]

We do not know about his early readings. However, certain impacts are clear: his *fıkıh* project reflects certain parallelisms with the *fıkıh* considerations in the Islamic world. His political concern to Islamicize modern political institutions seems to be motivated by his acquaintenance with the Young Ottoman ideas. His understanding of a scientific-based society

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[54] These important aspects of his early life can be found in *Tarihçe-i Hayat* written by his cousin, Abdurrahman Nursi. One can also look Celal Tetiker and Ramazan Balcı *Yeni Tarihçe-i Hayat* (İstanbul: Gelenek Yayınları, 2003) Written in an Islamic outlook, but more academic than any other source on his life.

owes much to Young Turk discussions. These links as a whole contributed to the socio-political project of Kürdi in their application to his former knowledge on Islam.

This chapter will deal with certain categorical impacts of these intellectual traditions on Bediüzzaman. My aim is not to consume these traditions as themselves. However, what I want to do is, first, to reflect certain aspects of these traditions which I assume Bediüzzaman was influenced. Secondly, this chapter would present some significant aspects of the 19th century intellectual climate.

Depending on the secondary literature, it seems that the understanding of the relation of Islamic intellectual's relation to the Western civilization in the 19th century can be theorized with a juxtaposition of two concepts: hermeneutics and orientalism. The relation is hermeneutical because the intellectual chooses the aspects of the Western civilization which he considers as significant; and then, he redefines these concepts, statements with the parameters of his own culture. However, this process is not neutral, because the intellectual, including Bediüzzaman, assumes the cultural superiority of the West due to its military and economic power, and what the intellectual seeks is power-related: to confront the West. I mean that, he works in the parameters of Orientalism when he assumes cultural superiority and tries to transcend it.

A. 19TH CENTURY SUFISM

Bediüzzaman's interest in the social dimension of Islam can be traced back to the environment of his socialization: i.e. the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya order, widespread in Kürdistan It was this tradition in which Kürdi grasped his most significant motivations, even though he had never identified himself with any tariqa order.

This motivation in Kürdi was also an outcome of the expansion of the reform in Magrib Sufism in general, and of the special characteristics of the Naqshbandiyya order in particular. This reform focused the attention of the Sufis to the Prophet and his Sunna through work on the Prophetic Traditions rather than the previous insistence on the unity with God through esoteric teachings. Second aspect of this revival was the rejection of asceticism in favour of practical activism.[55] Even though, this shift from esotericism to ethical Sufism in NorthWestern Africa emerged more as a response to the Wahhabi threat rather than Western domination,[56] its influence

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[55] Trimingham, J.S. *The Sufi Orders in Islam,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973): 107
[56] Trimingham, 1973: 105

in Asia prepared a background for Bediüzzaman to link a theological outlook into his study of social theory. His biography reveals the direct influence of an African tariqa doctrine on him: i.e. al-Sanusiyya. As a part of the reform mentioned above, Sanusiyya depended on three principles: (1) the duty of the tariqa is elimination of the causes of disunity among Muslims; (2) in order to do that a return to the sources (Koran and Sunna) is necessary; (3) the outcome of the endeavor is a theocratic organization of society,[57] which are in fact the leitmotivs of Kürdi's social thought.

In fact such a shift from internal life of the Muslims to the external conditions of Islamic life was provided by the teachings of Naqshbandiyya order in the 17th century by Ahmed Sirhindi who had a profound influence on Kürdi's social environment. Sirhindi insisted on two issues: (1) the elimination of corrupt innovation (*bid'at*) and obedience to the Ehl-i Sünnet doctrine;[58] (2) the revitalization of the Muslim community.[59] He offered, for this purpose, a balance between the inner dimension of life, which was provided by Sufi teachings, and the outer dimension of life of the believer, which was provided by the Sunni doctrine. The key concept for Sirhindi was *'khalwat dar anjuman'* which meant focusing on God inwardly, but outwardly taking an active part in the community.[60]

In the 19th century, it was Mawlana Khalid al-Baghdadi who, in the Naqshbandi order, responded the new challenge of Western power through a reinterpretation of the doctrinal content of the order and intensifying the external dimension of Islamic life: his concern was the restoration of the *Sunna* and the *şeriat*. In this attempt, as the rulers were regarded as the real responsible of social decadence, al-Baghdadi believed that the order should influence the Muslim rulers.[61]

To sum up, in the intensive Sufi atmosphere of his socialization process, Bediüzzaman seems to have grasped the very idea that the Islamic spiritual teaching should relate itself deeply with social formation of life. The 19th century Sufism in general, and Khalidiyya order in particular promoted such a relation. However, Bediüzzaman's project was not limited with the concerns of tariqa orders. His acceptance of the necessary return to the Koran and the *Sunna* to reach the unity of ümmet required a research on the contemporary interpretations of Islamic law.

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[57] Trimingham, 1973: 119-20
[58] Bilgin, İ.E. *Devrimci Sufi Hareketleri ve İmam-ı Rabbani. (*İstanbul: Kültür Basın Yayın Birliği, 1989): 70
[59] Yavuz, H. *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 135
[60] Yavuz, 2003: 134
[61] Yavuz, 2003: 135-6

This fact, therefore, necessitates some brushwork on the intellectual developments in the Islamic world. The motivation instigated by Sufism to discover ideal Islamic foundations for political life did relate him with the Young Ottomans. In this regard, the categorical impact of the Young Ottomans will be presented. His motivation, derived from 19th century Sufism, for the search for an ideal Islamic social order would lead him to the Young Turks. In this aspect, the Young Turks in their influence on Kürdi should be studied. What should be kept in mind is that, firstly, through his intellectual formation, the Western impact had always been the source of his problematic. And secondly, this categorization should be understood as an abstraction, meaning that Kürdi seems not to have systematically read the intellectuals of the age but understood and interpreted freely-floating-ideas.

B. 19TH CENTURY ISLAMIC INTELLIGENTSIA

Can the intellectuals of the Islamic world outside the Ottoman center in the 19th century be viewed as a cohort with common reform concerns? Though it is not the concern of this study, with regard to one certain aspect Islamic intellectuals seem to have had a common attitude, which was concerning the realm of Islamic law/*fıkıh*. Indian, Egyptian, Syrian, Tatar Muslims were challenged by different problems, the problems most of which were sourced from different confrontations of modernity, but their main concern was the assumedly source of problem: i.e. *fıkıh*. The problem of the Islamic world was a worldly one. Thus, for remedy, the *fıkıh* should have been reinterpreted.

Posing the question as such reveals some common attitudes taken by these intellectuals. First of all, the medieval *fıkıh was* obsolete. In the Afghani-Abduh reformation, historical Islam was marginalized through a claim on the legitimacy of only two sources: i.e. The Scripture and the reason.[62] The progenitors of Tatar reform, Kursavi and Mercani, insisted on the necessity to return to pure Islam and condemned the Medieval scholarship.[63] The intellectual leitmotif of the Salafi movement in Syria was more the inner degeneration of Islamic community throughout centuries, than Western challenge.[64] In India also, the movement fostered by Shah Veliyullah was

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[62] Al-Azmeh, A. *İslamlar ve Moderniteler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003): 162
[63] Rorlich, A.A. *Volga Tatarları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2000): 109-116
[64] Weismann, I. "Between Sufi Reformism and Modernist Rationalism −A Reappraisal of the Origins of the Salafiya from the Damascene Angle" *Die Welt Des Islams,* 2003, vol: 41-2: 235

radicalized by the 19th century Ehl-i Hadis to reject the medieval *fıkıh* and return to the original Islam through the Scripture (the Koran and the Sunna).[65]

Secondly, if medieval *fıkıh* is obsolete, then the door of *içtihad* should be opened. In fact, the background behind the condemnation of the Medieval Islam and an appeal to return to the Asr-ı Saadet required an alienation from the medieval heritage. It seems to be that this alienation was a result of the challenge of modernity. The 19th century Muslim intellectual had to be critical toward the medieval heritage in order to respond accurately to this challenge. The a priori condition for this response would be the promotion and the legitimization of new *içtihads*. This condition requires to condemn emulation (*taklid*). In Turkistan, Kursavi and Mercani represented the extreme position: i.e. every Muslim had the right to decide on religious affairs.[66] Their follower Bigiyef progressed this position to its ontological extreme: accordingly, none of the existing religions (including Islam) pleases God because all of them depend on oppression.[67] Abduh, in Egypt suggested that apart from the issues on worship, religious problems should be decided through the application of reason to the Scripture.[68] In order to avoid complete rejection of his reform by the Muslim common sense, Abduh applied syncretism (telfik) between the ideas of past masters in his *içtihads*.[69] What the Ehl-i Hadis in India and the Salafis in Syria represented was the democratization of religious knowledge through direct relation to the Scripture.[70]

What is presented up to now constitutes the 19th century Scripturalism which was influential in the entire Islamic world. According to Commins, two factors promoted this movement: (1) the belief that traditional Islam lost its vitality vis-à-vis the European power, and (2) the conviction that Muslims should unite, against the European threat, by transcending differences, which is possible only by depending on the Scripture.[71] Thus, the attempt of the Islamic reformer was three-fold: *içtihad* was from then on a world-centric occupation; second, *içtihad* would deal with the source of European power; and third, the reformer would become

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[65] Brown, 2002: 51
[66] Rorlich, 2000:109,113
[67] Rorlich, 2000: 133
[68] Hourani, A. *Çağdaş Arap Düşüncesi*. (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2000): 160
[69] Al-Azmeh, 2003.187
[70] Brown, 2002: 52-3
[71] Commins, D.D. *Islamic Reform: Politics and Social Change in Late Ottoman Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990): 4

involved with the Scripture to a greater extent.. These constituted the reformer's dependence on public interest (*maslahat*), reason (*akıl*) and the Koran through shaking the foundations of the *Sunna.*

Then, the third ontological step was that *içtihad* should serve not only the needs of the afterworld but also the worldly needs of Islamic society,. The crucial point is that Afghani had formulated Islam as a civilization rather than as a religion.[72] He assumed the *ümmet* as a body in decadence, and its salvation depended on the manifestation of its substance which was corrupted by its history. For Afghani, 'the return to the resources' was the only accurate response against the demise of *ümmet*.[73] Similar arguments seem to be valid for the other reformers: i.e. to return to the origins was the means for worldly salvation. Salafis insisted on the idea that the Koran's first and foremost cause was spiritual guidance. In that manner, they interpreted (*te'vil*) cosmological verses of Koran,[74] but in fact decomposed the unity of the Koranic message. What Kursavi in Tataristan had in mind in his offer of *içtihad* was less to reach the religious truth, but more to adapt Islam to new social conditions.[75] Egyptian reformer Tahtavi represented this motivation perfectly through his idea that the purpose of the society in the world was twofold: i.e. besides realizing God's order, society is for realizing welfare in the world.[76]

Depending on the concern for social needs, the fourth claim was that *içtihad* is an issue of social investigation more than a literal exegesis of the Scripture. Believing in a necessity of *şer'i* reform prior to an administrative one, Gasprinskii suggested that *müftüs* should know both religious and worldly sciences.[77] This idea was not something exceptional. In Egypt, Tahtavi claimed that in order to adapt the *şeriat* into new situations, the *ulama* should know the social world.[78] Abduh, believing that the *şeriat* is applicable to the entire world if interpreted accurately, applied the principle of *maslahat* frequently as a method of *fıkıh*. In his approach, *maslahat* superseded the literal exegesis of the *nass* (text).[79] The significance in Abduh's position is that

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[72] Hourani, 1990: 129
[73] Al-Azmeh, 2003: 152
[74] Brown, 2002: 51
[75] Rorlich, 2000: 109
[76] Hourani, 1990: 92
[77] Rorlich, 2000: 126-7
[78] Hourani, 1990: 91
[79] Al-Azmeh, 2003: 186

maslahat lost its transcendental character but emerged as a principle of worldly utility.[80] Qasimi in Syria suggested in his *içtihad* that women should learn both religious and secular sciences. What is important is that he thought so because for him it was necessary for the *innovation* of the society.[81]

Fifth, social *fıkıh*, based on *maslahat,* was necessarily rational, and as a rational law it should be systematic. The search for *maslahat* needed the application of reason. *Maslahat*-based *fıkıh*, thus, required rationalization of *fıkıh*. In this process, which existed in Egypt mainly, natural law gradually became identified with *şeriat*. This argumentation is most present at Abduh's idea: if *şeriat* cannot be compromised with the laws of nature, *şeriat* will collapse.[82] The seeds of this process can be found in Afghani: his idea of içtihad is mainly a rational and scientific interpretation of the scripture.[83] In a slight difference, Qasimi, in Damascus would suggest that it is reason to interpret the Scripture and apply it to the social world.[84] And for him, reason is the instrument to reach Unity, implying both in the Divine sense and in the *fıkıh* realm.[85] However, it should be mentioned that, even though Qasimi had a systematic view of *şeriat*, he did not accept that the reason alone can grasp the social truth.[86]

The full manifestation of this 19th century intellectual trend was the claim that the only source of religion was the Koran which was completely in accordance with reason. This phase manifested itself in India through a complete rejection of the Prophetic Traditions. According to the Ehl-i Kur'an of India, all principles of the religion can be excerpted from the Koran itself. This development mainly took its incentive from the clash between the portrait of the Prophet in the Traditions and the modern understanding of life.[87] In the Afghani-Abduh tradition reason became the basis to construct the religion. Afghani believed that the essence of Islam was purely rational.[88] He, like Qasimi, presents the idea that if the Scripture and reason contradicts, the former is interpreted (*te'vil*) basing reason ontologically prior to the Revelation.[89] In fact, this

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[80] Hourani, 1990: 157
[81] Commins, 1990: 83
[82] Al-Azmeh, 2003: 184
[83] Weismann, 2003: 232
[84] Commins, 1990: 68
[85] Commins, 1990: 66-8
[86] Commins, 1990: 68.
[87] Brown, 2002: 60-62
[88] Hourani, 1990: 137
[89] Hourani, 1990: 141; Commins, 1990: 67

statement depends on Afghani's belief that human being is capable to grasp the truth by his reason alone, and revelation is necessary only to secure man from his passions.[90] A step further, Abduh identifies Islam with Comte's rational religion.[91] This position was in harmony with Abduh's global position: i.e. *maslahat*-based systematic *fıkıh*.

Bediüzzaman's methodology of *fıkıh* seems to derive its main components from the global intellectual transformation in the Islamic world in 19th century: it is systematic, rational and *maslahat*-based. Even though as a legal form, the presentation of the development in the Islamic world is sufficient to comprehend Kürdi's legal understanding, Kürdi's systematization of *maslahat* owes much to the Young Ottomans and the Young Turks. This realm is the investigation of the appearance of Kürdi's social theory.

C. THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE: THE YOUNG OTTOMANS

Turkish modernization seems to manifest itself through its presupposition of what civilization is. The concept of civilization led to the reevaluation of the social structure and of principles and priorities.[92] What is significant is that the meaning of this constructed and constructive 'civilization' was itself vague in the eyes of the Ottoman modernist: i.e. it could represent instrumental rationality: i.e. industrialization and bureaucratization or capitalism as well as democracy.[93]

For the first modernist generation, i.e. the Tanzimat reformers, it seems that 'civilization' was considered as instrumental rationality: besides bureauctization what is significant in Tanzimat reformers is the idea of industrialization and material progress. For them, civilization was single and universal,[94] and its source was reason and science which brings progress.[95] The Tanzimat reformers' interest in political rights seems to be an outcome of the concerns for progress: superiority of law creates loyalty of the citizens to the state and they become attached to

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[90] Hourani, 1990: 140
[91] Hourani, 1990: 154
[92] Göçek, F.M. *Burjuvazinin Yükselişi İmparatorluğun Çöküşü: Osmanlı Batılılaşması ve Toplumsal Değişme* (Ankara: Ayraç Yayınları, 1999): 261-2
[93] Göçek, 1999: 264
[94] Çetinsaya, G. "Kalemiye'den Mülkiye'ye Tanzimat Zihniyeti" *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce cilt 1: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi,* ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002): 57
[95] Çetinsaya, 2002: 58

the reforms.[96] Political liberties and *meşveret* are necessary since they think that only free man is open to progress.[97]

The Young Ottoman reform project can be read as a continuity of modernization through a rejection of some of its parts,[98] especially of extreme Westernization. However, a more accurate interpretation would manifest itself through reconsideration of what civilization is. In the Young Ottomans, the main concern would be civilization as democracy, rather than material progress.

The link between Tanzimat reformation to the Young Ottomans would be Şinasi. Who was the follower of civilizing process of Reşid Paşa.[99] He was committed to the idea of 'novelty.' Absolutely aware of the fact that he lives in a new age which was ruled by reason, he based his criticism against 'ancient order' to reason.[100] The outcome of his rationalism is the necessity to reach ordinary people as an enlightened man,[101] which implied democratization.

Rationalist democratization required to reach a common understanding of the world. For this reason, Şinasi assumed the rationalist character of religion[102] and course of history[103] transcending their subjective aspects. The peak point of his project was to assume politics as a science basing upon (rational) ethical and philosophical premises, but on religion,[104] implying positive law should be based on natural law.[105]

Şinasi's influence was not absolute on the Young Ottomans, especially his extreme rationalism was filtered by them. However, there seem to be certain significant impacts. First of all, they became aware of the novelty of the age. Secondly, they became critical intellectuals tending to rationalize their arguments. Assumption of this position is crucial if compared with the encyclopedist nature of the intellectuals of the previous generation. From then on, Islam became

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[96] Çetinsaya, 2002: 60

[97] Çetinsaya, 2002: 67

[98] Koçak, C. "Yeni Osmanlılar ve Birinci Meşrutiyet" *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce cilt 1: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi,* ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002): 73

[99] Mardin Ş. *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin Doğuşu,* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1996a): 297

[100] Mardin, Ş. "Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesi" *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce cilt 1: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi,* ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002): 44

[101] Mardin, 1996a: 295

[102] Mardin, 1996a: 298

[103] Mardin, 1996a: 291

[104] Mardin, 1996a: 300

[105] Mardin, 2002: 44

an ideology as its legitimacy depended on rationality but not on the Transcendental.[106] It can also be said that influence of Şinasi on the Young Ottomans paved the way for contemplation on the political foundations of the Islamic society. They tried to grasp the beneficial aspects of the Western civilization and to found them on Islamic premises. What is of significance also is the fact that, by Young Ottomans the boundaries between the elite and the commoners became transparent with regard to reaching knowledge.[107] Following Şinasi, the Young Ottomans were writing for the commoners. This is in fact a situation that the Young Ottmans conceived of themselves as the guide of the nation.[108]

Within this framework, which categorical impacts of the Young Ottomans on Bediüzzaman can be discerned? First of all, inasmuch as civilization is considered to be a democracy, it necessitated a nation: Islam.[109] Secondly, the reason why Islam became the political identity was beside its social cohesive force, was its being the foundation of legitimizing Western political concepts. From then on, Islam was an ideology. This is most apparent in the work of Namık Kemal. His effort can be sümmetrized in replacing natural law which is the basis for modern political institutions with the *şeriat*.[110] This purpose necessitated the formulation of a social contract where the *şeriat* defined the contract's character. Another dimension of this effort was the re-conceptualization of certain Islamic concepts such as *meşveret* and *biat*, which are assumed to serve a reform in the Islamic political order. However, it should be noted that, even though these concepts are Islamic-origin, their content are modern: while *meşveret* implies the parliament ideal, *biat* connotes national sovereignty.[111] For this reason, Kemal's position, in spite of his Islamic conceptual framework, can be placed into 19th century Western thought, in fact which can be generalized to the other Young Ottomans.[112]

Ali Suavi, even though he rejected certain efforts to unite Islam's and Western political discourses,[113] his position in the issue of the nature of good and evil (*hüsn-kubh*) was completely

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[106] Türköne, M. *Siyasi İdeoloji Olarak İslamcılığın Doğuşu* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1991): 24
[107] Türköne, 1991: 26
[108] Kılıçbay, M.A. "Osmanlı Aydını" *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985): 56
[109] Türköne, 1991: 245
[110] Mardin, 1996a: 351
[111] Türköne, 1991: 92-104
[112] Türköne, 1991: 92
[113] Mardin, 1996a: 406

rationalistic: he even dared what Namık Kemal could not, and claimed that the distinction of good and evil was rational rather than based on revelation.[114] In other words, if and only if something is *rationally* evil, God forbids it. In this manner, he applied many *içtihads* with on the basis of social concerns –not literal exegesis- and decided the issues according to modern demands.[115]

The Young Ottoman endeavor in politics can be regarded as an outcome of the assumption that Islam is capable of accurately responding the universal Western-origin values,[116] which is a strong sentiment in Bediüzzaman's efforts. This sentiment necessitated absorbing the source of the Western political institutions through application and re-conceptualization of Islamic concepts. This sentiment also consisted a systematic, and so, modern form of political theory. However, what lacked in Young Ottoman thought was the systematic understanding of society independent from the state. Even though they presented some seeds of it,[117] the Young Turks would emphasize on an independent society with a special implication to science.

D. THE YOUNG TURKS: A MENTALITY

What was revolutionary in the Young Turk thought was their assumption concerning the epistemological foundations of knowledge: rather than Islam, it was the secular and rational Enlightenment principles.[118] Through this shift in foundations, the Young Turk intellectual constructed the ideal society. This shift apparent when considering the common characteristic of the outlooks of the sides in the great Young Turk schism during the 2nd Young Turk congress: both Ahmed Rıza and Prens Sabahaddin based their understanding of society on scientific principles. The former positivist resulted in a centralist and solidarist view of social formation whereas the latter, a disciple of Le Play School, claimed the necessity of a decentralist and individualistic society.[119] This schism in fact reflected the shift from an understanding of civilization as a political model to a concern of civilization as a certain social model; in other words, the Young Turk manifests itself through a belief in scientific society.

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[114] Çelik, H. *Ali Suavi ve Dönemi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994): 593-4
[115] Çelik, 1994: 686-91
[116] Türköne, 1991: 27-8
[117] Mardin, 2002: 44
[118] Göçek, 1999: 274
[119] Akşin, S. "Jön Türkler" *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985): 835

Founding the social system on science rather than on religion brought dramatic changes. Accordingly, ethics should be secularized as in Abdullah Cevdet, Ahmed Rıza, Mizancı Murad, and Beşir Fuad. For Abdullah Cevdet, ethics should be based on the principles of biological materialism.[120] Ahmed Rıza as a positivist revised the Young Ottoman belief that natural law was manifestation of Divinity and gave an independent mundane existence to the laws of nature.[121] Mizancı Murad's history lectures were based upon the belief that social life was based upon the economic reason.[122] An early protagonist of the trend, Beşir Fuad assumed the scientific knowledge having the real value and the most ethical activity as rejecting dogma and reaching this knowledge.[123]

Secularization of ethics essentially followed an implicit rejection of religion. Science should replace the position of religion in the society.[124] However, for three reasons, they were cautious in this attempt. First of all, Abdullah Cevdet believed the Ottomans were able to progress only through religious legitimization. Cevdet's project of '*içtihad*' depended on the idea that Islam's essence orders material progress.[125] Secondly, Islam was a social cohesive factor which scientism could not yet supplant. For Ahmed Rıza, this cohesive aspect should be preserved until the society absorbed positivist ethics.[126] In this aspect, the Young Turks reached the people through a religious discourse and tried to manipulate Islam as a source of opposition against the sultan. Islam as an instrument for opposition is the third concern of the Young Turk.[127] Through these concerns, Islam became an issue of social utility in the hands of the Young Turk.[128]

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[120] Hanioğlu, M.Ş. *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* (Ankara: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981): 12

[121] Mardin, Ş. *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1996)

[122] Mardin, 1996b: 49

[123] Işın, E. "Osmanlı Materyalizmi" *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985): 366

[124] Hanioğlu, "Bilim ve Osmanlı Düşüncesi" *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985): 346

[125] Hanioğlu, 1981:129-32

[126] Korlaelçi, M. "Pozitivist Düşüncenin İthali" *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985): 215, Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1986): 621

[127] Hanioğlu, 1986: 624

[128] Hanioğlu, 1986: 613

The attempt to secularize ethics necessitated a new formulation of society: a secular unit rather than *ümmet*. The key concept in this attempt is national culture (*milli kültür*.)[129] The Young Turk journal, Şura-yı Ümmet's main problematic was *milli kültür*. Abdullah Cevdet's insistence on the concepts; national language (*milli dil),* national literature (*milli edebiyat)* and as their solidification *ma'şeri vicdan* were the symptoms of it.[130] His understanding of the individual free from dogma as the basis of civilization manifests the horizon of his understanding of secularization.[131] Ahmed Rıza should also be mentioned here due to his search for complete rationalization of the social realm.[132] Another significant example, Mizancı Murad formulated the corruption of *milli kültür* through very secular terms: he mentions the significance of national spirit (*milli ruh), maneviyat* and essence rather than, for example, Young Ottoman insistence on Islam and *şeriat,* and claims milli kültür can be preserved through preservation of national language.[133] A Young Turk journal, Osmanlı Gazetesi, secularizes its discourse through a shift from ümmet notion to *ahlak-ı içtimaiye* is another manifestation of a proposed secular order.[134]

Thus, even though the Young Turk tried to manipulate Islam his view of secular ethics and social formation essentially created in himself a view of clash between scientific intellectual and religious people.[135] The clash was between religion and science. Thus the Young Turk intellectual constructed his position towards the people in the enlightener-enlightened dichotomy: it means elitism[136] which depended on obtaining knowledge.[137] This elitism would imply the understanding of the intellectual that the society was formed of two blocs: the progressivists and the reactionaries.[138] Another dimension of this elitism was the metaphor used by the Young Turk on the relation between the intellectual and the people which was the doctor-patient relationship, which implied a static understanding of the social formation.[139]

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[129] Mardin, 1996b: 303
[130] Mardin, 1996b: 242-244
[131] Işın, 1985a: p.367
[132] Işın, E. "Osmanlı Modernleşmesi ve Pozitivizm" *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* ed. Murat Belge (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985): 354
[133] Mardin, 1996b: 116
[134] Mardin, 1996b: 166
[135] Hanioğlu, 1985a: 346
[136] Mardin, 1996b: 303
[137] Hanioğlu, 1986: 618
[138] Hanioğlu, 1985a: 347
[139] Mardin, 1996b: 18

In fact, behind the dichotomy of religion and science, in the mind of Young Turk intellectual, there was a deeper parameter: the Young Turk imagination of social relations did not fit the existing Ottoman order. The Young Turks dreamed of a society loyal to abstract principles whereas the existing Ottoman society (especially Abdulhamid II's reign) was constructed through personal loyalties.[140] From this aspect, Abdullah Cevdet's,[141] Prens Sabahaddin's[142] and Şura-yı Ümmet's[143] insistence on individual enterprise and condemnation of searching for official posts, Mizancı Murad's condemnation of the Ottoman system as it suppressed individuality,[144] and Baha Tevfik's insistence on individual as the basis of the society and on liberty ultimately as a consequence of knowledge but not essentially of a relation to the state[145] gain their meaning.

To sum up, the Young Turk significance can be formulated as follows: they considered modernity not merely as industrialization or as a political system; but as a scientific mentality which should rule the society. The scientific mentality was assumed to create individuality and impersonal bonds within the society. This was an ideal which clashed with the present society in which the religion-based personal interactions constituted the social formation. This position reflected itself in the society as a clash between science and religion.

E. CONCLUSION

The impact of these traditions on Bediüzzaman is through their amalgamation in a process of freely floating ideas. This assumption depends on the fact that his political consciousness was developed in the years 1907-1908; maybe mostly through discussions with the Young Turks in Salonika and reading their newspapers and journals, including the works of other generations. However, he reached a significant synthesis; the cause of which transcends the interests and inclinations of these generations. Creating a modern mentality, Islamization of modern political institutions, intellectual legitimization of material progress, a search for a new *fıkıh* fitting modern needs; all are united in Bediüzzaman for a specific cause: to prepare the intellectual

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[140] Mardin, 1996b: 17
[141] Hanioğlu, 1981: 196
[142] Durukan, K. "Türk Liberalizminin Kökenleri" *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce cilt 1: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi,* ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002): 152
[143] Mardin, 1996b: 257
[144] Mardin, 1996b: 132
[145] Işın, 1985a: 369

background for the future Islamic civilization. This formulation will be the subject-matter of the third chapter.

Thus, what is presented in this chapter seems to constitute main problematics of Bediüzzaman. And the leitmotiv behind these developments seems to be a specific form of modernity; i.e. rationalization of Islamic presence. The task of Kürdi in his social theory was to compromise rationalization with certain Islamic principles. In this endeavor, his major basis seems to be the notion of humankind as the caliph of God on Earth. Through this assumption he formulated a social theory dealing with the problems discussed by earlier generations. At his theory's peak point, I claim that he reached a modern notion of ethics in his novel *içtihads,* which are both based on his social theory and reflect a novel and comprehensive understanding of the Islamic *şeriat.*

CHAPTER 3:

SOCIAL THOUGHT OF BEDİÜZZAMAN SAİD-İ KURDİ

The project of Bediüzzaman can be formulated in one sentence: he tried to revive the idea of mankind's position as caliph (deputy) of God in the modern era. For this reason, he seems to reconceptualize and recontextualize the Enlightenment socio-political ideals within the Islamic sensitivities. Thus, my textual analysis here tries to reveal that Kürdi permanently tried to instrumentalize Enlightenment's socio-theoretical premises in order to locate this mundane philosophy into a transcendental Islamic worldview.

Then, the question is how can one formulate the central premises of the Enlightenment thought? It seems that the most efficient starting point is 'civilization.' Enlightenment cannot be thought without the idea of the universality of civilization. The rationale behind this is the assumption that 'reason' and 'nature' are common for all humanity, which brings life to a structure of 'liberty and individualism.' This logic results in the argument that society is an 'imagined community formed by a social contract.' This means that the ideal state should be ruled with a rational 'constitution.' This system as a whole is believed to bring a continuous 'historical progress.'

The European Enlightenment as a whole structured itself upon a denial of religion even though it worked with concepts recruited from it. The question is what happens if a different belief or religious culture sees necessary to enter into a dialogue with the Enlightenment mentality and apparently develop a discourse fitting into it. Is it only a superficial interaction or can this culture develop its own Enlightenment? Bediüzzaman is a good case study for this question.

My approach is that Kürdi was very conscious of what he was doing, even though it seems to be that he learned the Enlightenment not by direct source readings. He Islamicized the Enlightenment thought regarding it as merely an instrument in bringing a new life to the Islamic *weltanschauung*. It is interesting that the title of his collection is Treatises of *Light* (*Risale-i Nur*) revealing both the Islamic tradition of Ishraqiyyun and the European Enlightenment. In fact, this metaphor is sufficient to understand the real character of Bediüzzaman: finding out Islamic counterparts and sources for the Enlightenment concepts.

Then, this chapter will comprise six sections exploring the views of Kürdi: (1) civilization, (2) reason and nature, (3) social contract and imagined communities, (4) liberty and individualism, (5) progress and (6) constitution. My claim will be that the substantial difference between the Enlightenment and Kürdi's social theory is that whereas the former instrumentalizes the transcendental for the sake of the mundane through creating a rational religion, the latter shapes the world as a function of the heaven.

Before entering into discussion, it should be noted that Bediüzzaman's involvement in the Enlightenment ideas also seem to be indirect. He may have read certain translated books; such as *Faust* by Goethe and *Social Contract* by Rousseau, he may have been aware of the Western philosophical developments through his readings on Western social history and history of philosophy when he was in the courts of governors of Van. He may have contemplated on what he read on Muslim intellectuals writing about Europe. In the end, he may have reached to an understanding of what Europe was.

Europe seems to have been the most significant constructive component in Kürdi's formulation of a social thought; because his main and urgent problem was the impact of Europe, the Enlightenment Europe and its ideas on the Islamic mind. Thus, formulation of Bediüzzaman's social theory through the parameters of the Enlightenment is not only legitimate but also comprehensive.

A: A CONCEPTION OF CIVILIZATION
1. THE PRACTICAL QUESTION: WHAT TO TAKE FROM THE WEST?

The most efficient way to introduce Kürdi's approach to civilization is to investigate his concept of the benefits of civilization (*mehasin-i medeniyet*). For Kürdi, in an opposition to the philosophical roots of civilization, *mehasin-i medeniyet* constitute the legacy of Christianity and Islam in the modern civilization (*medeniyet-i hazıra*)[146] (MN: 77). This depiction is crucial in the argument of Kürdi inasmuch as there existed a strong opposition in the Ottoman society to a dialogue with the modern civilization and appropriation of its institutions. For Kürdi, philosophy for itself is essentially naturalistic in opposition to the Islamic outlook (MN: 129); however, civilization under the influence of a transcendental religion would lose its character defined by

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[146] Amma kafirlerin medeniyetinde görülen mehasin ve yüksek terakkiyat-ı sanayi, (bunlar) tamamen medeniyet-i İslamiyeden, Kur'an'ın irşadatından, edyan-ı semaveyeden in'ikas ve iktibas edildiği…

philosophy. Thus, a Muslim can borrow concepts and institutions of the modern civilization as far as they emerge out of a transcendental religion.

In his later years, especially after World War I, Kürdi would claim that the evil side of the civilization (*mesavi-i medeniyet*) would dominate *medeniyet-i hazıra* due to the triumph of philosophy over the Western existence, a claim on which I will later elaborate. At the moment, the question is: 'What should we take from *medeniyet-i hazıra*?' According to him, Christianity and Islam gave birth in *medeniyet-i hazıra* to the arts (*sanatlar*) which are helpful to the society, and to the sciences (*fünun*) which bring justice and truth[147] (MN: 129).

It is necessary to keep in mind that both the terms *sanat* and *fünun* have wider meanings in Kürdi than their ordinary meanings. For Kürdi, *fünun* is anything that comprehends the existence in order, comprising a realm ranging from physics to politics (RNK 1: 954-5), whereas *sanat* is anything having the features of a human artcraft, ranging from technology to literature[148] (Sün: 180). These meanings could be connected to the following religious outlooks: *fünun* serves for contemplating on God's names reflecting over creation while *sanat* serves human to change the world imitating God's names; both of which define human's position in the universe as the caliph of God.

However, Kürdi's investigation on *medeniyet* is not limited to *fünun* and *sanat*. For him, these realms pave the way for an ethical premise; i.e. humanism. This aspect of *medeniyet-i hazıra* is also an outcome of religious impact (Muh: 122); however, humanism was perfected in the course of the development of civilization and its sciences[149] (Mün: 65). For Kürdi, sciences of civilization gave birth to the love of truth and humanity, and by its research on the substance of humanity, a search for true religion had started[150] (HŞ: 24), because, one who tastes his humanity is the one who feels his eternal character (Mün: 86).

Inasmuch as humanism is to be appropriated, Kürdi's position to non-Muslims is important. For him, being human is sufficient to love someone irrespective of his/her religion,

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[147] Avrupa ikidir. Birisi, İsevilik din-i hakikisinden ve İslamiyetten aldığı feyiz ile hayat-ı içtimaiye-i beşeriyeye nafi sanatları ve adalet ve hakkaniyete hizmet eden fünunları takip eden Avrupa(dır).

[148] Hayat-ı içtimaiyeyi faaliyet ve harekete götüren çok ukde-i hayatiyelerden, bizde inkişafa başlayan … fikr-i edebiyat

[149] Bahusus, medeniyet hubb-u insaniyeti tevlid eder.

[150] Hem nev-i beşer, hususan medeniyet fenlerinin ikazatıyla uyanmış, intibaha gelmiş, insaniyetin mahiyetini anlamış. Elbette ve elbette dinsiz, başıboş yaşayamazlar ve olamazlar.

which practically necessitates forming good relations, for example, with Armenians (DHÖ: 44). His position towards the Europeans is that a Muslim should seek for rational dialogue with them and not to suppress them as Westerners are assumed to be civilized[151] (DHÖ: 78) and are not in the state of bigotry and fanaticism at the moment (HŞ: 27). However, after World War I, he suggested that if the non-Muslim is an enemy and suppressor, his interests should not be considered (HŞ: 111).

Thus, Kürdi underlines that the sciences, the arts and the ethics of *medeniyet-i hazıra* should be appropriated because *medeniyet* brings out realization of the human potential (DHÖ: 64). *Medeniyet* should also be appropriated because it gives an eternity to any cultural formation[152] (DHÖ: 88). But is this appropriation simply an imitation? No. Kürdi harshly criticizes the Westernists of the Ottoman elite as unlucky nationless people (*bedbaht milliyetsizler*) (MN: 86). He also criticizes the Ottoman reformist's emphasis on mundane civilization, warning him in order not to destroy the nation's bond with the transcendental (MN: 135).

For Kürdi, imitation is essentially wrong because of the profound difference between Muslim and Western cultures (DHÖ: 86). However, he does not take a position such as: 'Let's take Western science and technology but preserve our culture,' even though he makes such statements on the surface of his text[153] (DHÖ: 87). The reason is that Kürdi does not consider even the apparently most objective side of *medeniyet-i hazıra*, i.e. the sciences, as a priori truths. For him, the sciences should be integrated into the Islamic knowledge (*maarif-i İslamiye*) in order to them to reach truth[154] (Mün: 26).

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[151] Gayr-ı müslime karşı hareketimiz iknadır. Zira onları medeni biliriz. Ve İslamiyeti mahbub ve ulvi göstermektir. Zira onları munsıf zannediyoruz.

[152] Tasallut-u medeniyetin zamanında alemin hükümranı ilim ve marifettir….Herhangi devletin hayat ve müdebbiri olmuş ise, o hükumeti kendi gibi kayd-ı ömr-ü tabiiden ve ecel-i inkırazdan tahlis ve küre-i arz kadar yaşamasına istidat vermiş. Kitab-ı Avrupa sahaifi bunu alenen gösteriyor.

[153] Ecnebiyede terakkiyat-ı medeniyeye yardım edecek noktaları (fünun ve sanayi gibi) maal-memnuniye alacağız.

[154] Bir başkasının reçetesini gösteriyor ki; kalp hastalığı olan zaaf-ı diyanet var. Ben de fünunu maarif-i İslamiye ile mezcederek bir macun yapıyorum.

2. **THE EVIL ASPECT OF THE MODERN CIVILIZATION**

Kürdi's criticism of the modern civilization depends on its philosophical roots[155] (MN: 129). In his Republican years, in his famous 30th Word, he stated that the essence of Western philosophy is nature. Nature, according to Kürdi, is not limited to the appearance of the universe. Rather, Kürdi believes that Western philosophy attributes nature and its laws to everything in the universe. For Kürdi, nature is the essence of philosophy, and in his Republican years, Kürdi's aim was to put the nature into its real place.

However, for Said in the period 1908-1923, whose main concern was politics, the application of nature into the social realm is the problematic. Due to the concept of nature, Kürdi believes that the modern civilization formulates each entity living for itself (MN: 131). Then, each existing thing seeks for its interests which leads to pleasure and in this process, confronts with other things which necessitates the application of power[156] (Sün: 166). This view is, for Kürdi, valid for both the universe (Darwinism is a good example) and the social world (the formulation of modern nationalism fits here).

For Kürdi, this system is bound to demise. In his work of Koranic exegesis, İşarat-ül İ'caz, he claims that the reason why order in the universe would collapse is due to the hegemony of two faculties of human soul: force of wrath and defense (*kuvve-i gadabiye*) and force of appeal and lust (*kuvve-i şeheviye*) (İİ: 305). The hegemony of the Western central desires for power and pleasure and their dominance on the Western reason (*kuvve-i akliye*) is the source of this tragedy. Kürdi's view of dominance of *kuvve-i şeheviye* is the creation of overload of pleasure in the civilizing process (Sün: 166). In this respect, it should also be mentioned that, Kürdi does not limit power into a limited political definition, rather he considers it as a diffusion in every aspect of society (Muh: 32).

Kürdi continuously presents his ideas on the evil aspects of Western power and sense of pleasure. Rather than being thankful to God, the West prefers to dominate the Islamic world with its *fünun* and *sanayi* (DHÖ: 76): and *medeniyet-i hazıra* has a brutal principle to destroy everything in order to reach its aims (Sün: 156), the source of Islamic poverty is Western oppression (MN: 136), and the West would collapse due to its pleasure-centrism (DHÖ: 81).

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[155] Felsefe-i tabiiyenin zulmetiyle, medeniyetin seyyiatını mehasin zannederek beşeri sefahete ve dalalete sevkeden bozulmuş ikinci Avrupa…

[156] (Şu medeniyetin) nokta-i istinadı kuvvettir…Cazibedar hizmeti, heva ve hevesi teşci' ve arzularını tatmin ve metalibini teshildir.

However, for him, its collapse could be seen only after World War I, since *mesavi-i medeniyet* and its philosophical roots has became apparent just by the war (DHÖ: 86).

Kürdi is one of the first authors to use the term global village (MN: 105). For him, *medeniyet-i hazıra* in the global village had very much intensified the curtain of blindness (*gaflet perdesi*) which prevented the perception of the reality of the existence. Inasmuch as philosophy and *medeniyet-i hazıra* severe the ties between the transcendental and the mundane and create a secular world-view, the perspective of *medeniyet-i hazıra* concerning the world will lead people to suffer spiritually due to the inescapable reality of death and the essential break of the link between human and the existence, in other words alienation. In a secular outlook, what the *medeniyet-i hazıra* is able to do is to relax this pain by pumping mundane pleasure. This necessity serves for the intensification of *gaflet perdesi* (MN: 130).

According to Kürdi, *medeniyet-i hazıra* is bound to demise due to its aspect of weakening religion[157] (MN: 86). In other words, atheism and mundanity become the destroyers of civilization ((DHÖ: 80). Therefore the *medeniyet-i hazıra*, as much as it loses its connection with religion, is essentially evil[158] (MN: 77).

3. THE TRUE CIVILATION: ISLAM

For Kürdi, there exists a true civilization, apart from the *medeniyet-i hazıra* and the link between the true civilization (*medeniyet-i hakikiye*) and *medeniyet-i hazıra* is humanism (*insaniyet*). For him, insaniyet has progressed through *medeniyet-i hazıra*, and this situation paves the way for grand humanism (*insaniyet-i kübra*), in Kürdi's terms, for Islam[159] (Muh: 32). Since Kürdi deals with the concept of humanism, one should ask the question about the essence of human being according to Kürdi. His answer is the point of divergence between modernity's conception of civilization and the Islamic one.

In harmony with Islamic understanding, Kürdi believes that human being is the most significant creature of the existence (MN: 129). Seemingly influenced by the Enlightenment

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[157] Zaaf-ı dine sebep olan Avrupa medeniyet-i sefihanesi yırtılmaya yüz tuttuğu bir zamanda…

[158] Kafirlerin medeniyeti ile mü'minlerin medeniyeti arasındaki fark:
Birincisi, medeniyet libasını giymiş korkunç bir vahşettir. Zahiri parlıyor, batını da yakıyor; dışı süs, içi pis; surety me'nus, sireti makus bir şeytandır. İkincisi,; batını nur, zahiri rahmet, içi muhabbet, dışı uhuvvet, sureti muavenet, sireti şefkat, cazibedar bir melektir.

[159] İnsaniyet bir derece tecelli etti. Beşaret veriyor ki: Asıl insaniyet-i kübra olan İslamiyet, sema-i müstakbelde ve Asya'nın cinanı üzerinde bulutsuz güneş gibi pertev-efşan olacaktır.

thought, he insists on the belief that the human's essence is good, implying that evil is only coincidental to human existence[160] (Muh: 109). However, he believes humankind's significance comes from its essence as being the complete reflection of God's names[161] (İİ: 17), which necessitates the human being's responsibility to apply God's verdict on existence as a caliph of God (İİ: 313).

For Kürdi, if the link between the Transcendental (God) and the Mundane (Human) is destroyed as it happened in the *medeniyet-i hazıra* having resulted in the World War I, the reality of human being changes completely (MN: 132). He turns into the most weakest figure in the universe due to the fact of death and the loss of a basis to depend on (*nokta-i istinad ve istimdad*). By the term 'basis,' he means God, to get support in fulfilling his desires and against his enemies (MN: 185). Inasmuch as human being has infinite number of desires requiring infinite satisfaction in an infinite life (MN: 187), the enlightened human essentially seeks a true religion, which is Islam (Mün: 86).

As far as modernity cuts the link between human being and the existence by its denial of the omnipotent God, the *medeniyet-i hazıra* creates an alienation between human being and the existence. However, for Kürdi, Islamic civilization regards the existence in its entirety as brothers due to their common link with God. This belief also implies the fact that the entire humanity is a brotherhood[162] (MN: 77). Then, for Kürdi, it is always illegitimate to create disintegrating bonds such as nationalism in the process of creation of an enemy.

We can formulate Kürdi's position towards *medeniyet-i hazıra* with one principle: *medeniyet-i hazıra* destroyed the link between the Trancendental and the Mundane, resulting in the alienation of human being from the existence. Humankind came to perceive itself as the owner of itself. Such a belief created the application of power in human relations and a telos of

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[160] Mükerrem olan insane, insaniyetin cevheri itibariyle daima hakkı satın almak istiyor ve daima hakikatı arıyor ve daima maksadı saadettir. Fakat batıl ve dalal ise, hakkı arıyorken haberi olmadan eline düşer.

[161] Cenab-ı Hak, insanı, kainata cami' bir nüsha ve onsekiz bin alemi havi su büyük alemin kitabına bir fihrist olarak yaratmıştır. Ve Esma-i Hüsnadan herbirisinin tecelligahı olan herbir alemden bir örnek, bir nümune, insanın cevherinde vedia bırakmıştır.

[162] Evet, mü'min olan kimse, iman ve Tevhid iktizasıyla, kainata bir mehd-i uhuvvet nazarıyla baktığı gibi; bütün mahlukatı, bilhassa insanları, bilhassa İslamları birbiriyle bağlayan ip de ancak uhuvvettir…

Küfür ise, öyle bir bürudettir ki, kardeşleri bile kardeşlikten çıkarır. Ve bütün eşyada bir nevi ecnebilik tohumunu ekiyor ve herşeyi herşeye düşman yapıyor.

satisfaction of personal and communitarian desires. However, Kürdi also underlines that the *medeniyet-i hazıra,* besides its philosophical character as such, carries also a primitive but significant form of humanism, and sciences and arts necessary for human spiritual development. This aspect of the *medeniyet-i hazıra*, for Kürdi, is based on the legacy of heavenly religions.

However, inasmuch as naturalist philosophy started to dominate the *medeniyet-i hazıra*, it is bound to decay due to its false premise on the relation between the Mundane and the Transcendental. The *medeniyet-i hazıra* in general served the hegemony of the Christian world over the rest of humanity (Sün: 183), but as it is bound to demise, the true civilization, Islam will dominate the world (Sün: 167).

Kürdi believes that the Koranic civilization is to emerge (MN: 86). He suggests the Ottoman reformists that social progress is possible only by religious principles[163] (MN: 86). He insists that the Islamic concept of glorifying God's name (*i'la-yı kelimetullah*) should be elaborated. For him, *i'la-yı kelimetullah* is possible only by material progress and by entering the *medeniyet-i hakikiye*[164] (HŞ: 32). He contrasts the *medeniyet-i hakikiye* with the *medeniyet-i hazıra* in the way that, while the latter depends on power and satisfaction of desires (*heva*), the former bases itself on truth (*hakk*) and seeks for spiritual desires to the Transcendental (*hüda*). For Kürdi, hüda will be the base of humanism as it satisfies and develops all aspects of humanity, i.e., the Transcendental and the Mundane[165] (Sün: 167-8).

As a consequence Kürdi believes that Islam satisfies both the necessary mundane and firstly, the transcendental needs. He seemingly suggests the rejection of the mundane desires and pleasures of world (MN: 102) because of the fact that the world and its happiness are not eternal (MN: 128). What is crucial is, he proposes to deny the existence of the mundanity in the hearts, not to abandon it in the actual life[166] (MN: 106).

The balance between hearthly denial of the world and its actual occupation is based on Kürdi's view of the World. For him, the World has three faces. Firstly, it exists for itself, and this

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[163] Enbiya'nın ekseri Şarkta ve hükemanın ağlebi Garbda gelmesi Kader-i İlahinin bir remzidir ki, Şarkı ayağa kaldıracak din ve kalbdir, akıl ve felsefe değil.

[164] Ve bu zamanda ila-i kelimetullah, maddeten terakkiye mütevakkıf ve medeniyet-i hakikiyeye girmekle ila-i kelimetullah edilebilir.

[165] (Şeriat-ı Ahmediye'nin istediği medeniyette egemen) heva yerine *hüda* dır ki; se'ni insaniyeten terakki ve ruhen tekamüldür. Hevayı tahdit eder, nefsin hevesat-ı süfliyesinin teshiline bedel, ruhun hissiyat-ı ulviyesini tatmin eder.

[166] Dört şey için dünyayı *kesben değil* kalben terk etmek lazımdır.

is its evil side. For Kürdi, anything having no connection with the transcendental is evil in itself and should be denied. The second aspect of the World is it is the ground of preparation to the Hereafter. The third face is its essence as the reflection of God's names. In these last two faces the Muslim should be active[167] (MN: 69). Inasmuch as human being is the caliph of God on the Earth, he has the right and responsibility to rule the universe in the name of God[168] (İİ: 313)

B. THE IDEA OF REASON IN SAİD-İ KÜRDİ

In Bediüzzaman, the concept that operates as the center of his understanding of civilization is reason. In this section, I will first discuss how Kürdi regards the reason as essential. Then, I will concentrate upon how Kürdi appropriated the Enlightenment's legacy of reason and establishes it as a concept of the Islamic culture. The last thing of discussion is to formulate the vision of the nature in Kürdi. This last subsection depends on the essential relation between the reason and the nature.

1. BEDİÜZZAMAN'S PRACTICAL CONCERN FOR REASON

Related with his sociopolitical purpose, to establish the intellectual foundations of the true civilization, Islam, Kürdi assumes that in the future the reason will dominate and through its domination, Islam, which depends on strong rational proof (*bürhan-ı akli*) and which bases all its judgments upon reason will dominate[169] (HŞ: 27). Kürdi believes the weapon of Islam at that moment is nothing but undeniable strong proofs (*berahin-i katıa*) (DHÖ: 47). His insistence upon *bürhan* in fact is a legacy of classical Islamic philosophers who dichotomized reason and imagination, one's product is *bürhan*, whereas the other's is metaphor. This dichotomy suggests the idea that ordinary people are convinced by the metaphors mainly provided by the revelation,

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[167] Dünyanın üç vechi vardır:
Birincisi ahirete bakar; çünkü onun mezraasıdır.
İkincisi, Esma-i Hüsnaya bakar; çünkü onların mektep ve tezgahlarıdır.
Üçüncüsü, kasten ve bizzat kendi kendine bakar. Bu vecihle insanların hevesatına, keyiflerine ve bu fani hayatın tekalifine medar olur. Nur-u imanla dünyanın evvelki iki vechine bakmak, manevi bir cennet gibi olur. Üçüncü vecih ise, dünyanın fena yüzüdür ki, zati ve ehemmiyetli bir kıymeti yoktur.
[168] Cenab-ı Hakkın arzında beşerin halifesi olması, Allah'ın hükümlerini icra ve kanunlarını tatbik etmesi içindir. Bu ise tam bir ilme mütevakkıftır.
[169] Akıl ve ilim ve fen hükmettiği istikbalde, elbette bürhan-ı akliye istinat eden ve bütün hükümlerini akla tesbit ettiren Kur'an hükmedecek.

whereas the elites require rational proof/*bürhan*, the purpose of philosophy. Through his insistence upon reason and *bürhan*, Kürdi seems to converge on the classical philosophical tradition. He reveals this idea in his speech to some ordinary Kurdish people telling them to understand from metaphor, but not from speculative *bürhan* (Mün: 24).

For Kürdi, the search for reason and *bürhan* is not novel. Kürdi relates his rationalism to the Golden Age (*Asr-ı Saadet*) of Islam. For him, what was dominant in this era was reason, truth (*hakk*), bürhan and intellectual consultation (*meşveret*) (Muh: 33). He contrasts Islam with two temporal formations with regard to the place of reason in an ideal Islamic thought. First of all, he locates 'the Islamic past' to the period between the end of the 12th century and beginning of the 19th century by naming it *mazi* (past) and he calls the period after 19th century which would be inspired by the first five centuries of Islam as '*müstakbel'* (future). He claims that mazi which was dominated by emotions (*hissiyat*) had led to the existing pitiful situation of Islam, whereas he believes *müstakbel*, dominated by the reason, will witness the progress of Islam throughout the world[170] (Muh: 31). This statement instigates the question as to why Islam will dominate in the future. This brings the second distinction. For Kürdi, Muslims should enter into the faith through reason and *bürhan*, unlike followers of other religions who are required to abandon rational thought in order to enter to the faith (HŞ: 26). This point is significant in Kürdi's theory of a possible existence of an autonomous ethical realm due to his a priori acceptance of an autonomous reason able to judge the religious dogma.

In this context, one metaphor he used can be instructive. Kürdi understands the relation between science (*fenn*) and Islam as the fatherhood of the latter to the former (Muh: 10), implying that there is no essential clash between Islam and the true sciences. In this manner, he suggests that, the new sciences (*maarif-i cedide*), which are assumed to carry some properties of the modern civilization, require a pure way of entrance into the Islamic world, i.e. through the madrasas (Mün: 131), implying that like the modern civilization, the sciences as they exist at that moment have to be reformed in their diffusion process.

However, his position in understanding of Islam's relation to reason is clear. For him, Islam *should* never base itself upon bigotry, ignorance and non-judgment (*adem-i muhakeme*) but it is appropriation of the truth (*iltizam-ı hakk*) (Mün: 131), At the moment, what is necessary for the Muslims is the courage of reason and science (*şecaat-i akliye ve fenniye*). As the age is the

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[170] The full text of this periodization can be found in Appendix IV.

age of reason, the courage which is result of reason but not of physical strength is the real power of the peoples.

What is more, in order to improve sciences, an ethics of discussion should enter (DHÖ: 68). Beside its function in finding the truth, what is significant here is Kürdi's belief that the scientific discussions between the Islamic groups, all admitting the values of searching the truth and the true sciences, would bring the unity of Islam (*ittihad-ı İslam*) (Mün: 32). For him, *ittihad* is possible only through integration of ideas (*imtizac-ı efkar*) (Mün: 113). For Kürdi, the states which depend on the science (*ilim*) have eternal lives (Mün: 33) due to two factors: first, they try to integrate the laws of wisdom (=*hikmet*, whose one of the first significant components is the philosophy) with the laws of the state (HŞ: 98); and second, the dominant features in the constitutional states are truth, knowledge (*marifet*), reason, legality and public opinion (*efkar-ı amme*) (Mün: 33). What this suggests for Kürdi's possible integration to the contemporary social thought is that Kürdi has an understanding of reason instrumental in the establishment of a unity through dialogue.

2. THE ONTOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF REASON IN BEDİÜZZAMAN

It is obvious in Kürdi that he insists upon the necessity of the free application of reason. He criticizes ordinary people as their leaders confiscated their reasons (Mün: 104). He also mentions the necessity of reason to understand the reality of Koranic verses[171] (HŞ: 26). He suggests reason and Koranic text (*nakil*) are always in accordance (Muh: 7), and if they seem to contradict each other, reason is considered as the base and nakil is to be interpreted. However, at this stage he suggests that this reason should be 'the reason'[172](Muh: 13). This extension helps us to understand Kürdi's understanding of what is true reason.

For Kürdi, human being is central in the universe due to his ability to explore the art of God by his reason and imitate it in his action[173] (HŞ: 36), emerges to be the lord of the existence

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[171] Hem ayat-ı Kur'aniye, başlarında ve ahirlerinde, beşeri aklına havale eder. "Aklına bak"der. "Fikrine, kalbine müracaat et, meşveret et, onunla görüş ki, bu hakikatı bilesin" diyor

[172] Akıl ve nakil tearuz ettikleri vakitte, akıl asıl itibar ve nakil te'vil olunur. Fakat o akıl akıl gerektir.

[173] Mahlukat içinde en mükerrem, en ehemmiyetli, beşerdir. Çünkü beşer hilkat-i kainattaki zahiri esbap ve neticelerinin mabeynindeki basamakları ve teselsül eden illetlerin ve sebeplerin münasebetlerini aklıyla keşfedip sanat-ı İlahiyeyi ve muntazam hikmetli icadat-ı Rabbaniyenin taklidini sanatçığıyla yapmak; ve ef'al-i İlahiyeyi anlamak için ve sanat-ı İlahiyeyi bilmek ve

by his reason (MN: 118), surpasses the angels by his reason alone (İİ: 308). He also believes that the Islamic sciences require knowledge on the philosophy of *şeriat* (a concept derived from the ideas of classical Muslim philosophers) and the new philosophy (*hikmet-i cedide*)[174] (Muh: 25). Despite these statements, Kürdi also believes that reason by itself and its own principles is too weak to understand the existence[175] (Rum: 229). This statement is a complete divergence from rationalism. He also criticizes the Enlightenment reason operating under the rules of empiricism when he says that the philosopher's reason works on the level of his eye so that he cannot see what the soul and the heart can see[176] (MN: 202).

This is not a complete break from the Enlightenment thought as far as, for Kürdi, *hikmet-i cedide* or *fünun-u cedide* serves to a number of things such as love of truth and humanism, but Kürdi seeks the integration of the existing reason and its sciences to the knowledge of God (*ulum-u kevniyenin ulum-u İlahiyeye istiğrakı*) (Rum: 226). For Kürdi, only through the integration of the knowledge obtained by reason and the knowledge obtained by the conscience (*vicdan*) and the heart, a person can reach truth (*hakikatt*) This is a leitmotiv of his works[177] (Mün: 127), (HŞ: 97).

From this perspective, it is easy to understand the mentality in the ideas below. While he claims he traveled in the way of gnosis (*marifet*) through his reason (MN: 10), Kürdi speaks of reason in operation with the realms of heart and conscience. In other words, he claims to reach some sort of rational sufism which would be represented in his text in the Republican years. However, when he says that reason and sciences do not serve for the afterworld (MN: 180), he speaks about the secular reason which operates through only observation of the universe. In fact,

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cüz'i ilmiyle ve sanatlarıyla anlamak için, bir mizan, bir mikyas, kendi cüz'i ihtiyariyle işlediği maddelerle Halık-ı Zülcelal'in külli, muhit ef'al ve sıfatlarını bilerek, kainatın en eşref, en ekrem mahluku beşer olduğunu ispat ediyor.

[174] Hadd-i evsatı gösterecek, ifrat ve tefriti kıracak yalnız felsefe-i şeriatle belagat ve mantık ve hikmettir.

[175] Nazar-ı akli kendi desatiriyle çok fakirdir ve dardır. Pek çok hakaika karşı kasır olur. Kavrayamadığından, "hakikat değil"der, reddeder.

[176] "Şimşek, buhar gibi fenni meseleleri keşfeden feylesoflar, Hakkın esrarını, Kur'an nurlarını da keşfedebilirler" diyemezsin. Zira, onun aklı gözündedir. Göz ise kalb ve ruhun gördüklerini göremez. Çünkü, kalblerinde can kalmamıştır; gaflet, o kalbleri tabiat bataklığında çürütmüştür.

[177] Vicdanın ziyası ulum-u diniyedir. Aklın nuru fünun-u medeniyedir. İkisinin imtizacıyla hakikat tecelli eder… İftirak ettikleri vakit birincisinde taassup, ikincisinde hile, şüphe tevellüd eder.

for Kürdi, the link between reason and observation is essential[178] (Muh: 113), and what Kürdi tries to do is to extend the definition of observation (*müşahedat*) to spiritual and heartly realms. This extension is the spiritual relation with God, in which the Enlightenment and Kürdi's Islam diverges. For him, the main difference between the philosopher and Koran is the former's vision of the universe by itself whereas the latter's vision of the universe as a sign to God's existence, His unity and names.

It seems to be that the impact of Enlightenment thought on Kürdi's notion of reason is of great importance. He considers reason as itself very significant and its application as in the Enlightenment thinkers necessary for the Islamic progress. However, he is conscious of the problem that Enlightenment reason itself is alien to the Islamic cultural parameters and so tries to transform it to the language of Islam. At that moment, reason starts to gain a meaning depending more on the Islamic conceptions of the reason than of the Enlightenment. However, what is significant is, Kürdi does not deny the Enlightenment reason but preserves it as one facet of his understanding of true reason. The same thing happens to the concept of nature, now that I will concentrate upon.

3. WHAT IS NATURE ACCORDING TO BEDİÜZZAMAN?

For Kürdi, reason merely observing the universe essentially falls into naturalism. Reason sees the order and lawfulness in the phenomena within the universe and links it to the existence of a set of principles which are assumed to be eternal. This existence, based on a set of laws is called 'the nature'. For Kürdi, the problem is that philosophy considers the universe for itself (*mana-yı ismi*) whereas the Koran looks the universe signifying its creator (*mana-yı harfi*) (MN: 196). As far as the universe is at the center, philosophy cannot comprehend the realm of God's direct voluntary impact on the universe (*melekut*) but is limited to the realm of the world of phenomena where causality operates (*mülk*)[179] (Sün: 151).

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[178] (İnsanın) hükm-ü aklisi de daima üss-ül esası, müşahedattan neş'et eder.

[179] Kainatın iki ciheti var. Ayinenin iki vechi gibi. Biri mülk biri melekutiyet. Mülk ciheti ezdadın cevelangahıdır. Hüsün kubh, hayır şer, sağir kebir gibi umurun mahall-I tevarüdüdür. Onun için vesait ve esbab vazedilmiş, ta dest-i kudret zahiren umur-u hasise ile mübaşir olmasın. Azamet, izzet öyle ister. Hakiki te'sir verilmemiş., vahdet öyle ister.
Melekutiyet ciheti ise, mutlaka şeffafedir, teşahhusat karışmaz. O cihet vasıtasız Halıka müteveccihtir. Terettüb, teselsül yoktur. İlliyet maluliyet giremez. İ'vicacatı yoktur. Avaik müdahale edemez. Zerre şemse kardeş olur.

Kürdi does not reject the concept of nature. What he tries to do is instead locate nature in a position acceptable to the Islamic discourse. The term holy law (*şeriat*) plays an axial role in this attempt. Kürdi claims that there are two types of şeriats excerpted from Koranic mentality. The first is the known şeriat whose source is the Holy Speech (*kelam*) of God and which rules voluntary acts of human beings, whereas the second is the holy law of creation (*şeriat-ı fıtriye*) which rules the operation of the universe as a whole[180] (HŞ: 110).

Kürdi considers this formulation necessary due to the need to answer the Western triumph over the universe and provide the necessary epistemological background for appropriating this naturalistic vision of the universe without shaking the foundations of Islamic creed. Then *şeriat-ı fıtriye* becomes instrumental in grasping the naturalistic outlook. Kürdi insists upon the sciences (*fenn*) as proof of the existence of universal laws implying universal order which is a proof of God (Muh: 35) and of His *şeriat-ı fıtriye* (Muh: 50).

Then, for Kürdi, what is called the nature is an art of God and His *şeriat-ı fıtriye*; the universal laws (*nevamis*) are its issues and the powers (*kuva*), its decrees (İİ: 171). What is significant here is that the imagination of nature in its relation to God is the metaphor of a state ruled by a constitution. The ruler (God) rules the state (the universe) through universal laws (natural laws) which are essentially voluntary but at the same time abiding and systematic. Through this conception, a work on Nature is an attempt to understand God's rules in the universe.

As far as nature is a constitution which exists inasmuch as the lawmaker (God) permits its existence, the real being of nature and its rules are something conditional (*itibari*) (MN: 123, İİ: 171, Muh: 107) and non-eternal (*hadis*) (HŞ: 113). The nature only exists in its relation to God, and as far as God decides to act contradictory to His universal laws, he is able to do so. However, even in the case of the miracles, Kürdi speaks of a causality transcending the material understanding of nature. For him, miracles are essential to apply the rule of general reason (*külli*

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[180] Şeriat ikidir:
Birincisi: Alem-i asgar olan insanın ef'al ve ahvalini tanzim eden ve sıfat-ı kelamdan gelen bildiğimiz şeriattır.
İkincisi: İnsan-ı ekber olan alemin harekat ve sekenatını tanzim eden, sıfat-ı iradeden gelen şeriat-ı kübra-i fıtriyedir ki, bazen yanlış olarak tabiat tesmiye edilir.

akıl) within the societies[181] (İİ: 163). In other words, even miracles do not arbitrarily destroy şeriat-ı fıtriye, rather they may be considered in a more comprehensive view of causality. The understanding of soul in Kürdi also reflects his enthusiasm about law and order in the universe. For Kürdi, the spirit is also a universal law having consciousness (*namus-u zişuur*)[182] (HŞ: 95). Then, human's voluntary action, as much as God's volition, play in a ground where universal laws operate. However, neither of them can be claimed to be *under* the control of laws because in Kürdi's view, these laws generate from God, and the soul itself is a natural law.

The understanding of nature in Kürdi provides a good example for his hermeneutical relation to modernity. He tries to grasp the concept of nature, which emerged in a different cultural climate, and reconditionalize it in a different cultural outlook. For this reason, he uses concepts of the Islamic culture (like *şeriat-ı fıtriye*) and fits the concept of the nature in a worldview in which the conception of God is still important. The question why he felt the need to transform the concept of the nature can be answered by his belief in the fact that Western material power in the world had sourced from their rule over nature. Then, Kürdi's consideration of Western power necessitated in him internalization of the conception of nature.

C. THE *ŞERİAT* AS A SOCIAL CONTRACT AND ISLAMIC COMMUNITY

As in the realms of civilization and reason, Bediüzzaman *translates* the concepts of nation and social contract into Islamic epistemology. This effort is partly influenced by Western intellectual domination, partly by an hermeneutical interaction with modernity. In addition, it is partly a product of the elaboration on the concepts and understandings provided by the classical Islamic heritage.

The inquiry should start with the Islamic understanding of man in its essential relation to the society. Kürdi presents this idea as the civilized nature of human being (*medeni-i bi't-tab*) (HŞ: 51). Then he constructs society in the fashion of a social contract theory[183] (İİ: 162-3). In

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[181] (Külli aklın temsilcisi olarak Peygamberin) Halık ile olan derece-i münasebet ve alakasını göstermek için de, bir delile ihtiyacı vardır. Böyle bir delil de ancak mu'cizelerdir.

[182] Ruh, bir kanun-u zivucud-u haricidir, bir namus-u zişuurdur. Sabit ve daim fıtri kanunlar gibi, ruh dahi alem-i emirden, sıfat-ı iradeden gelmiş; kudret ona vücud-u hissi giydirmiştir... Mevcut ruh, makul kanunun kardeşidir. İkisi, hem daimi, hem alem-i emirden gelmişlerdir.

[183] This text can be found in Appendix V.

fact, this kind of a social contract is a legacy from al-Ghazzali[184]; however, it becomes instrumentalized just after the influence of Western intellectualism.

According to Kürdi, human being is created with a constitution to seek for perfection for in an infinite number of needs of life. For this reason, human being searches for limitless arts and necessitates relation with other human beings. These searches and necessities lead to the construction of society. Up to this point, the construction of society is completely secular and comprises all human beings. However, once society is constructed and as there is no limit to the central spiritual powers of human beings (*kuvve-i şeheviye, kuvve-i gadabiye, kuvve-i akliye*) the society faces oppression. There starts a search for justice which cannot be obtained from 'particular' reasons, and the society experiences the emergence of a general reason (*akl-ı külli*) which presents itself through law (*kanun*) and, in fact, which is şeriat. What is significant is that the şeriat is only applicable through a Prophet, in this case Muhammad, who builds the society. This model is the ideal type of construction of a society.

Then, for Kürdi, there exists in reality only one Islamic society, which is the Islamic nation. By its nature, the Islamic nation has a transcendental dimension[185] (HŞ: 56) which completely diverges from the Western understanding of nation. The latter one is an end in itself, or an idol to which the Westerner worships[186] (MN: 96). The other point of divergence is that the constructive principle of the Islamic nation is "love" (*muhabbet*). For Kürdi, muhabbet is a basic character of Islam[187] (HŞ: 46). For this reason he tries to avoid hatred against Westerners as far as they do not oppress others[188] (HŞ: 45). In this aspect Kürdi contrasts the formation of societies of Muslims against of Westerners. For him, the Islamic nation is a result of inner love among members of the same religion, country and class (HŞ: 102) whereas Western nations are products of hatred towards others (Sün: 144). He calls this type of nationalism as negative nationalism (*menfi milliyet*) (HŞ: 102).

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[184] Kurtoğlu, Op.cit. pp. 223-5.
[185] Hamiyet-i İslamiye, en kuvvetli ve metin ve Arştan gelmiş bir zincir-i nuranidir, kırılmaz ve kopmaz bir urvetü'l-vüskadır, tahrib edilmez, mağlub olmaz bir kudsi kal'adır.
[186] Asabiyet-i cahiliye, birbirine tesanüd edip yardım eden, gaflet dalalet, riya ve zulmetten mürekkep bir macundur. Bunun için milliyetçiler milliyeti mabud ittihaz ediyorlar. Hamiyet-i İslamiye ise, nur-u imandan in'ikas edip dalgalanan bir ziyadır.
[187] Muhabbet, uhuvvet, sevmek İslamiyetin mizacıdır, rabıtasıdır.
[188] Öyle ise, düşmanlarımızın seyyiatı, tecavüz olmamak şartıyla, adavetinizi celp etmesin.

With its transcendental nature, Kürdi is conscious of the Islamic nation's character as an imagined community. It is not the language, blood, or history that shapes the nation but the common faith of the Muslims. Its members are the totality of Muslims throughout centuries and their leader is Prophet Muhammad[189] (DHÖ: 47). The purpose of the Islamic nation is to educate the self for the hereafter, and prayer is a crucial act for this purpose (MN: 66). Then, for Kürdi, the Islamic nation is a one single tribe (HŞ: 47). By the revival of liberty in the Islamic lands, each Muslim will understand that he is bound by this strong bond of the Islamic nation (Mün: 64).

How does Kürdi integrate the emerging Turkish, Arabic, and Kurdish nationalisms within the Islamic lands? For him, the real (*hakiki*) nation is single: Islam. In other words, it is the spirit of the existing nationalisms. Other nationalisms have only relational existences (*nisbi ve izafi*) but not absolute existences (Mün: 24). Whereas religious devotion (*hamiyet-i diniye*) comprises both the commoners and the elite, nationalist devotion (*hamiyet-i milliye*) guides only the elite (HŞ: 55). Even for this reason alone, *hamiyet-i milliye* should be only a buttress for *hamiyet-i diniye,* but not an alternative.

Kürdi is very clear when he claims that Islamic national identity can never be separated from the definitions of Turkhood and Arabhood (HŞ: 56). And as far as *hamiyet-i diniye* and *hamiyet-i milliye* are complementary, he does not object to *hamiyet-i milliye* (DHÖ: 58). Even he himself does not hesitate to reveal Kürdish nationalistic ideas in accordance with Islamic nationalism[190] (DHÖ: 93-4). But what he seeks from the centrality of Islamic nationalism is to bring a victorious future for the Islamic civilization. For him, the sole cure for the continent of Asia is the unity of Islam (*ittihad-ı İslam*) (HŞ: 92). It is the reconciliation of Arabs and Turks which will and bring the victory of the Koran (HŞ: 40). The rationale behind that is Kürdi's belief that what would instigate progress in the East is religious sentiment, rather than the rational one (HŞ: 55). For Kürdi, the Islamic religion by its rationality and transcendental nature gives a huge psychological power to its member (Mün: 100) which is the source of Islam's power in totality. For this reason, the owner of the future will be the Islamic nation (HŞ: 59).

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[189] This text will be presented in Appendix II.
[190] This interesting and unknown text is in Appendix III.

D. FREEDOM AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN BEDİÜZZAMAN

Bediüzzaman's understanding of freedom is also a case for hermeneutical relation with modernity. Freedom as a concept, which is translated from the Enlightenment thought in the modern Islamic political theory, is central to Kürdi's social theory. However, its meaning ascribed is completely an Islamic one. Throughout his formulation of freedom, he also criticizes the Western conception of freedom, a necessity for an Islamic intellectual in his effort to confront the Western hegemony.

Kürdi formulates freedom through a denial of oppression (*istibdat*) of all kind, which is alleged to destroy human's spiritual existence (Mün: 22) and the domination of oppression in the Islamic world obstructed Islam's progress (HŞ: 21). This is because of the ontological fact that freedom is a gift to human beings from God (HŞ: 53). This gift enables them to understand God's names (MN: 167) and apply God's law in the universe due to their position as God's caliphs in the world (İİ: 313).

Kürdi claims that only a faithful man can be truly free in the universe and presents a metaphor to strengthen his claim. A child who plays near a railway and sees the train coming, never loses his bravery and freedom because he knows since the train obeys law and order, and it can never destroy the railway and threaten him. But even Hercules or Rustem without knowledge of law and order would perceive the train as a giant coming to attack them. They necessarily would become frightened of the train and lose their freedom. For Kürdi, true faith gives the believer the knowledge that every thing in the world serves God's purpose and there is no power beside His. This knowledge brings security to the believer and in this case, freedom has meaning in life. Otherwise, the infidel would regard the world as a realm full of enemies, which ontologically destroys his freedom[191] (HŞ: 56-8).

It is significant that Kürdi locates freedom as the purpose of the revelation of *şeriat*[192] (Mün: 37). This freedom is necessarily a civilized one: true freedom is possible only by civilization, knowledge (*marifet*), virtue and Islam (DHÖ: 60). He defines freedom by denial of

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[191] This text is presented in Appendix VI.
[192] Sual: Şu pis istibdat ne vakitten beri başlamış geliyor?
Cevap: İnsanlar hayvanlıktan çıkıp geldiği vakit, nasılsa bunu da beraber getirmiştir.
…Sual: Sonra?
Cevap: Şeriat-ı Garra zemine nüzul etti; ta ki, zeminin yüzünü temiz ve insaniyetin yüzünü ak etsin, şu insaniyetten siyah lekesini izale etsin.

any form of oppression. This definition requires not to oppress, not to be oppressed and positive freedom (Mün: 55). By the notion "positive freedom" Kürdi means that one should not be oppressed by his ego and his desires. This type of freedom is considered as a necessary component of freedom in general because of the fact that ego is also entrusted to man by God (MN: 58) and it should serve to God (MN: 89). Therefore, freedom in Kürdi gains an instrumental meaning in its aspect to destroy all boundaries for worship to God. Inasmuch as worship includes worldly happiness also, for Kürdi, freedom is the door to Heaven for the Islamic world (DHÖ: 64).

I want to deal with components of freedom separately. First, freedom implies not to oppress. Kürdi says that a true faith does not permit the oppression on any thing. Its rationale is that everything is a creature of God, and only God has the right to rule over it. The application of this mentality to social life according to Kürdi is that the only form of legitimate power is the rule of law (Mün: 57). If the rule of law is not applied, Kürdi claims, oppression will expand (DHÖ: 77). According to Kürdi, if oppression is avoided, through interactions within the society, individuals perceive the fact that they form a nation, and their endeavor (*himmet*) will strengthen, in the end giving birth to the individual entrepreneur (DHÖ: 87). In the intellectual domain, Bediüzzaman believes, by freedom in general and by freedom of thought in particular, the Islamic world will give rise to geniuses such as Descartes and Plato (DHÖ: 88-9).

Freedom also requires not to be oppressed. Kürdi claims that attachment to God through faith necessarily denies oppression by others, because a servant of God cannot obey anyone else (DHÖ: 74). Aside from the political authorities, even the religious leaders such as sheikhs should not apply any form of power and domination[193] (Mün: 59-60). Furthermore, Kürdi implies a criticism to place of the classical Islamic works in the Islamic society through claiming that they have become shadows on Koran's message (Sün: 158).

Kürdi understands positive freedom as serving spiritual desires (*hüda*) (Sün: 167), but not bodily ones (*heva ve heves*). The former, he believes, brings unity (DHÖ: 77). Kürdi criticizes *medeniyet-i hazıra* as it serves the bodily desires of man (Sün: 166). For him this is the oppression of ego which, if dominant, destroys law and order (DHÖ: 45), and even if it may

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[193] Sual: "Bir büyük adama, bir veliye, bir şeyhe ve bir büyük alime karşı nasıl hür olacağız? Onlar, meziyetleri için bize tahakküm etmek haklarıdır. Biz onların faziletlerinin esiriyiz."
Cevap: Velayetin, şeyhliğin, büyüklüğün şe'ni, tevazu ve mahviyettir; tekebbür ve tahakküm değildir. Demek, tekebbür eden, sabiyy-i müteşeyyihtir; siz de büyük tanımayınız.

bring a denial of one's oppression, it may bring limitless, uncountable oppressions (DHÖ: 85). Then freedom should be restricted only by Şeriat. The şeriat would be both a restriction and an adornment of freedom (DHÖ: 80) due to the fact that, for Kürdi, şeriat would show the individual the purposes of free action. By this, baddies of civilization would not enter into the Islamic world (HŞ: 52).

It should also be mentioned that for Kürdi, freedom of the whole (*hürriyet-i umumi*) is the totality of individual freedoms (Mün: 55). This is some sort of individualism, however not an individualism of a selfish kind (Mün: 137). I should also remind his phrase that man is naturally civilized. However, in two aspects, Kürdi seems to be deeply individualistic: first, depending on a Koranic verse, Kürdi claims that one single individual's right cannot be disregarded even for the most general benefit (Sün: 147). Kürdi permits such neglect only if a collective spirit emerges creating a hidden consent by the individual.

The second and most important aspect of his individualism is freedom of thought, in his case, especially of religious thought. He glorifies Kürdistan for its nature permitting freedom of thought and expression[194] (DHÖ: 62). In religious thought, his tolerance for different views depends on his understanding of Koran. For Bediüzzaman, the Koranic message having multiple meanings (Rum: 226) making numerous interpretations legitimate (Rum: 227). Thus, Kürdi condemns any form of intellectual oppression as the father of imitation (taklid) (Mün: 22) condemned according to the Islamic value system. So, for him, any talented individual can judge (*içtihad*) in religious affairs (HŞ: 96). Even though his içtihad may diverge from orthodoxy, as far as his içtihad contains the seeds of truth, he has the right to continue his ideas (Tul: 187).

E. HISTORY AND PROGRESS IN BEDİÜZZAMAN

Bediüzzaman also derives the concept of progress (*terakki*) from Enlightenment thought, but contextualizes it in a distinct cultural background. By positing Islam in his understanding of historical progress, he resists Western cultural domination. Lastly, Kürdi instrumentalizes his view of progress in order to buttress his social purpose: to provide the ethical and epistemological background of the future true civilization, Islam.

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[194] (İstanbul'da) göremediğim hürriyet-i fikir ve serbestiyet-i kelam… Kürdistan dağlarında tam manasıyla hokum-fermadır.

Kürdi grounds his claim as history is a progress through three main theses. First of all, he believes the universe obeys the rule of evolution to a telos. Man in the universe has also his evolution through accumulation and sharing of knowledge (*telahuk-u efkar*)[195] (Muh: 16). Secondly, depending on an Islamic metaphysics and supporting it through his perception on the nature of sciences, he claims the order in the universe that is explored by the sciences suggests the absolute goodness of the universe (HŞ: 35). The very special place of human in the universe suggests that the human is the most beautiful creature in the universe (HŞ: 36). Then, for him, humanity will taste an ideal world through the course of history (HŞ: 38). The third source of his claim is derived from Marxism. Kürdi believes humanity has passed four social stages, exactly the same as Marxist ones[196] (RNK 1: 325), and is traveling to the phase of complete freedom and ownership (*serbestiyet ve malikiyet*) which will be the last stage of humanity (Mek: 353). The point is Kürdi completely shares the Enlightenment ideal of history of human kind as an overall progress.

Kürdi also conceptualizes time within a relationship to European history. His separation of the past (*mazi*) and the future (*istikbal*) of the entire world reveals this effect of modernity. For him, in Europe *istikbal* started in the 15th century (Muh: 31), the beginning of the Renaissance. He claims *istikbal* started in the Islamic world in the 19th century (Muh: 31), which is, not coincidentally, the phase of entrance of modernity into Islamic world. In his understanding of history, he suggests istikbal will be dominated by Islam which is the grand humanism (*insaniyet-i kübra*) which will succeed *mehasin-i medeniyet* that is sourced from Europe[197] (Muh: 34).

The distinction between *mazi* and *istikbal* is crucial, inasmuch as these ages have essentially distinct characteristics. *İstikbal* is the domination of reason, knowledge, love, and sciences, whereas mazi is defined by emotions, bigotry, hatred, and oppression (Muh: 32). In this sense, he believes, in istikbal, philosophy should be studied due to the necessities of istikbal even though the past masters (e.g. el-Ghazzali) had banned it (Muh: 25). In the same sense, Kürdi's ideal state is the utopia of the philosopher Plato (DHÖ: 58), not of, for example, Ibn Taymiya

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[195] Alemde meylü'l-istikmal vardır. O'nun ile hilkat-i alem, kanun-u tekamüle tabidir. İnsan ise; alemin semerat ve eczasından olduğundan, onda dahi meylü'l-istikmalden bir meylü't-terakki mevcuttur. Bu meyl ise telahuk-u efkardan istimdat ile neşv ü nema bulur.

[196] Beşerin başı ihtiyar; edvar-ı hamsesi var. Vahşet ve bedeviyet, memlukiyet, esaret, şimdi dahi ecirdir, başlamıştır, geçiyor.

[197] This text on periodization is in Appendix IV.

who strictly rejected the philosophers' endeavors. For Kürdi, however, as istikbal is the age of reason, Islam should be defended and presented rationally.

Kürdi believes in the underdevelopment of the Islamic world is a reality mainly with respect to material progress (HŞ: 21). Spiritually, he perceives *mehasin-i medeniyet* should dominate like the love of truth, humanism and so on, but for him, even Europe as a whole is in spiritual crisis, as mentioned in the first section. Then, the urgent problem is the material progress and absorption of the values of *mehasin-i medeniyet*. For him, the 1908 Revolution was really a revolution in this sense. 1908 is the Ottoman shift from the Middle Ages to *istikbal* (Mün: 17). Kürdi suggests the medieval states which depend on oppression would demise and the modern states depending on science and reason would dominate for eternity (Mün: 33). Kürdi believes the colonial experiences of India, Egypt, Caucasus and Turkistan will also be instrumental in the Islamic material progress due to the fact that these peoples become aware of civilized rule in their rule by the colonialists (Sün: 181-2). Another source of progress is provided from şeriat by Kürdi. For him, today, the glorification of God's name (*i'la-yı kelimetullah*) a requirement for every Muslim can be done only through material progress and entrance to true civilization . The West oppresses Muslims spiritually and the Muslim should use the weapons of sciences and arts (*fen ve sanat*) to destroy the enemies of ignorance, poverty and intellectual conflicts[198] (DHÖ: 76-7).

Kürdi regards religion as essential in development of the Islamic world. He is resolute in his idea that Islam will rule the world in the future. For him, Islam is the only religion whose creed is rational and in istikbal people search for the true religion, and they could not accept nothing but the rational Islam (HŞ: 23-30). His second purpose in insisting upon religion is, Kürdi's belief that the East, the garden of all known prophets, can only be awakened and motivated by religious sentiments (DHÖ: 75). However, Kürdi also believes as far as religion would change the society in a better way, the *şeriat* would also expand and show its adaptability to different situations[199] (DHÖ: 89). Leaving this aspect to the next chapter, it should be said that, for Kürdi, progress is the progress of Islamic nation and the truths of şeriat (DHÖ: 58).

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[198] Biz de fen ve san'at silahıyla i'la-yı Kelimetullah'ın en müthiş düşmanı olan cehil ve fakr ve ihtilaf-ı efkarla cihad edeceğiz.

[199] Şecere-i meylü'l-istikma-i alemin dalı olan insandaki meylü't-terakkinin mahsul ve semeresi olan istidadın telahuk-u efkarla hasıl olan netaicinin teşerrub ve tegaddi ile büyümesi nisbetinde Şeriat-ı Garra aynen maddi zihayat gibi tevessü ve intibak edeceğinden ezelden gelip ebede gideceğine bürhan-ı bahirdir.

Bediüzzaman's view of history in a Marxist framework is a result of socialist movements just after the First World War. He believed the real struggle becomes not the wars between nations but social classes[200] (Sün: 165). Kürdi perceived the Ottoman defeat as its fate to be on the side of socialism. He claims, had the Ottomans won the war, they would become more capitalist which was contrary to the Islamic essence. Because Islam supports the poor, Islam should absorb the socialist thought fitting it into Islam's spirit[201] (Sün: 168). Kürdi says Christianity used the weapons of *fen* and *medeniyet* against the rest of the world, but the East developed a very strong weapon (socialism) which needs a source of holiness in order to effect huge masses of people. As it cannot be Christianity, it should integrate with Islam[202] (Rum: 233).

F. CONSTITUTIONALISM

Kürdi believes justice should be inspired by the transcendental. For him, a secular effort for justice is bound to collapse due to the fact that particular reasons beside their incapability to reach the ethical truth by themselves cannot purify themselves from particular interests in their search for justice (HŞ: 64). What is more, only sacred law can diffuse in the peoples' each faculty comprising reason, heart, conscience and so on[203] (HŞ: 65). Then as a part of justice, the political system of the Islamic world should be derived from the Islamic sources. What is at the hand is constitutionalism coming from Europe, Bediüzzaman claims its essence can be rooted into Islamic thought and derived from the principles of the existing Islamic legal schools (DHÖ: 45). Bediüzzaman accepts constitutionalism only through an Islamic filter (DHÖ: 44).

Kürdi believes the future of the Islamic world depends on acceptance of constitutionalist states due to the attributes he gives to it (HŞ: 52). Depending on some Koranic verses, Kürdi even claims the spirit of constitutionalism exists in the *şeriat* (Mün: 38). However this understanding,

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[200] Devletler, milletler muharebesi, tabakat-ı beşer muharebesine terk-i mevki ediyor. *Zira beşer esir olmak istemediği gibi, ecir olmak da istemez.*

[201] Alem-i İslam şu ikinci cereyana (socialism, EA) karşı lakayd veya muarız kalmakla; hem istinadsız, hem bütün emeğini heder, hem onun istilasıyla istihaleye maruz kalmaktan ise, akılane davranıp onu İslami bir tarza çevirip, kendine hadim kılmaktır.

[202] *Cumhur-u avama müteveccih olan bir fikir bir kudsiyet almaz ise söner.* O desatire (socialism, EA) kudsiyet verecek iki muazzam rakib-i din var. Şu keskin fikir gözünü açtığı vakit hasmını ve hasmının elindeki silahını hrıstiyanlık dini bulmuştur. Öyle ise o fikir kudsiyet almak için İslamiyet'e dehalet etmeye mecburdur.

[203] This text is in Appendix VI.

for Kürdi, requires the abandonment of reading Koran based on its appearance. For him, in the post-1908 period, there are two types of people demanding the rule of şeriat: the ones wrongly insisting on the appearance of Koran (*zahirperests*) and the ones who deliberately try to settle the constitutionalist system into the *şeriat*, one of whom was Bediüzzaman himself[204] (Mün: 41).

For Kürdi, constitutionalism is mainly justice, consultation (*meşveret*), and restriction of power[205] (DHÖ: 77). These aspects, respectively, refer to (1) the rule of law (DHÖ: 77), (2) parliamentarism and sovereignty of nation (*hakimiyet-i milliye*)[206] (Mün: 42), and (3) perception of government as a servant to the people[207] (Mün: 79). The rule of law naturally brings the freedom of people (DHÖ: 94) and freedom through constitutionalism evolves the man through a real human existence (Mün: 23). Bediüzzaman glorifies the Kurds by telling them that they have the constitutionalist nature due to their preserving their individualities and freedoms in their communities (DHÖ: 94). Kürdi assumes that the rule of law means also the immutability of law, i.e. *şeriat*. Kürdi suggests the şeriat presents a huge number of alternative ways of action but the essence of it, the Islamic constitution, cannot be changed. What the ruler may do is to choose from the alternatives[208] (Mün: 41-2). But what is significant is Kürdi believes only the one thousandth of *şeriat* deals with politics and if it is necessary, neglect of this part does not mean disobedience to *şeriat*[209] (Mün: 53). What is necessary is only to preserve the constitutional principle: the official religion is Islam. This insistence depends on the acceptance of national sovereignty, the nation, which is Islam (Mün: 53).

Then, what does national sovereignty bring with itself? Kürdi's conception of national sovereignty depends on his idea of freedom. Freedom brings the rule of public opinion (*efkar-ı umumi*) (Mün: 24), and public opinion brings national sovereignty (Mün: 42). By national sovereignty, the people become the sultan and the government becomes the servant of it (Mün:

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[204] Demek şeriatı isteyenler iki kısımdır: Biri muvazene ile zarureti nazara alarak, mudakkikane meşrutiyeti şeriata tatbik etmek istiyor. Diğeri de muvazanesiz, zahirperestane, çıkılmaz bir yola sapıyor.

[205] Meşrutiyet ki, adalet ve meşveret ve kanunda inhisar-ı kuvvetten ibarettir. Onüç asır evvel şeriat-ı garra teessüs ettiğinden…

[206] *Meşrutiyet hakimiyet-i millettir. Yani efkar-ı ammenizin missal-i mücessemi olan mebusan hakimdir.*

[207] *Meşrutiyet doğru olursa, kaymakam ve vali reis değiller, belki ücretli hizmetkarlardır.*

[208] Amma ahkam ve hukuk ise, zaten tebeddül etmez; tatbikat ve tercihattır ki, meşverete ihtiyaç gösterir.

[209] Şeriat-ı Garra'nın bin kısmından bir kısmıdır ki, siyasete taalluk eder. O kısmın ihmaliyle, şeriat ihmal olunmaz.

79). The personification of the national sovereignty is the parliament. However, Kürdi suggests a system of two parliaments, members of each elected by the nation. The right to make law depends on the parliament which reflects the ideal of caliphate of the Ottoman state. This parliament is composed of religious experts from various Islamic legal schools having the ability to perform *içtihad* (Mün: 80). This is the corporate institute (*şahs-ı manevi*) which is the source of interpretation of the constitution, Koran, for state affairs. The second parliament is the place where the practical issues are discussed and the alternative decisions provided by the first parliament are handled. Whereas the first parliament reflects the caliphate, the second parliament is the reflection of sultanate. Kürdi believes, in the Ottoman case, sultanate and caliphate are inseparable (Sün: 161) and the personification of these two *şahs-ı manevis*, the padişah should only have a symbolic power, depending on the solidification of national sovereignty, the parliaments[210] (MN: 87).

National sovereignty also carries the idea of legitimate disobedience. In two categories, Bediüzzaman does not hesitate to condemn the ruler, saying if the sultan performs tyranny he should not be obeyed (DHÖ: 44). Secondly, Bediüzzaman suggests the sultan should obey the *şeriat* in order to take the title of caliph implying a legitimate disobedience if he does not[211] (DHÖ: 44). However, in the realm of high politics, Kürdi believes that ordinary people (*avam*) should not question this realm because they do not know raison d'etat (*hikmet-i hükümet*) (DHÖ: 44). Kürdi says he became happy when the 31 March incident occured because the şeriat would rule (DHÖ: 50). However, he was at the same time depressed because the obedience of soldiers was destroyed in 31 March. For Kürdi, the army is the center of the Islamic society because its duty is glorification of God's name in the world (*i'la-yı kelimetullah*) (DHÖ: 49), and obedience to commanders is a principle of the *şeriat* (DHÖ: 50). The belief in army's centrality in the

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[210] Şu inkılab-ı azimin temel taşları sağlam gerek. Şu meclis-i alinin (TBMM, EA) şahsiyet-i maneviyesi, sahip olduğu kuvvet cihetiyle, mana-i saltanatı deruhte etmiştir. Eğer şeair-i İslamiyeyi bizzat imtisal etmek ve ettirmekle, mana-i hilafeti dahi vekaleten deruhte etmezse …(millet), bilmecburiye, mana-i hilafeti tamamen kabul ettiğiniz isme ve lafza verecek. O manayı idame için kuvveti dahi verecek. Halbuki, meclis elinde bulunmayan ve meclis tarikiyle olmayan böyle bir kuvvet, inşıkak-ı asaya sebebiyet verecektir. …Zaman cemaat zamanıdır. Cemaatin ruhu olan şahs-ı manevi daha metindir… Halife-i şahsi, ancak ona istinad ile vezaifi deruhte edebilir.

[211] İstibdad, zulüm ve tahakkümdür. Meşrutiyet, adalet ve Şeriattır. Padişah, ne vakit Peygamberimizin (A.S.M.) ermine itaat etse ve yoluna gitse halifedir. Biz de ona itaat edeceğiz. Yoksa, zulüm edenler, padişah da olsa hayduttur.

Islamic society is in accordance with Kürdi's understanding of freedom. For him, freedom of the Muslim has a transcendental telos of ruling the universe through God's law, and the army seems to be the focus of it as its purpose is to enable the domination of Islam in the world.

Another issue in national sovereignty is the relation between the political center and the periphery. Kürdi believes, in the constitutional state the focus should be the periphery. Their demands should be analyzed at their locations by MPs and the state should serve the periphery through responding the ideas of the peripheral deputies (Mün: 24-6). This aspect also necessitates political participation[212] (Mün: 31). What Kürdi suggests is the ethical premises of such a participatory state are truth, love, non-discrimination (DHÖ: 55), reason and knowledge (Mün: 33).

Even though the state in Bediüzzaman's mind has an official religion, Kürdi suggests non-Muslims should have equality with Muslims before law. He supports even the idea that non-Muslims have the right to be governors as the government is the servant of people (Mün: 79), and have the right to enter the parliament as MPs as they can serve in social issues dealing with the public interest (Mün: 41).

G. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to present the social thought of Bediüzzaman which has a direct impact on his consideration of ethics. My claim is that Kürdi constructed an Islamic Enlightenment through his interaction with the modern Western thought. He did not imitate the West, nor did he completely derive these central concepts above from the Islamic texts. What happened is that modernity instigated and compelled some concepts, and Kürdi filled the content of these concepts with the tools provided by Islamic culture. He saw the classical heritage sufficient for answering the challenge of modernity. In Bediüzzaman's case, the Enlightenment tried to re-link to the Transcendental. The central distinction is the location of reason in the Christian and the Islamic worlds. Christianity denied the reason in the last instance which

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[212] Sual: "Meşrutiyeti pekçok i'zam ediyorsun. Eskide rey-i vahid idi, milletten sual yok idi; şimdi meşverettir, milletten sual edilir. Millet, 'Ne için?' der; ona 'Ne istersin?' denilir, işte bu kadar. Daha nadir, o kadar ilaveyi takıyorsun?"
Cevap: Zaten şu nokta bütün cevaplarımı tazammun etmiş. Zira meşrutiyet hükümete düştüğü vakit, fikr-i hürriyet meşrutiyeti her vecihle uyandırır. Her nevide, her taifede onun sanatına ait bir nevi meşrutiyeti tevlid eder. Hatta ulemada, mediriste, talebede bir nevi meşrutiyeti intaç eder. Evet, her taifeye ona mahsus bir meşrutiyet, bir teceddüt ilham olunuyor.

necessitated the denial of Christianity when reason dominated, but as the Scripture of Islam justifies itself through reason, Kürdi's attempt of relocating the Enlightenment in the religion in a different context, Islam seems to be meaningful.

The next thing to do is, within the framework of this social theory, to elaborate on how Kürdi formulated the *Şeriat*[213] depending on his social thought. How did he rearranged the *Şeriat* in not losing the sovereignty of the transcendental over mundane but answering the needs of the modern life which is formulated in this chapter? In this aspect, my question is: was Kürdi able to reconstruct the ethical realm both serving to secular and transcendental needs through giving a rational telos to the *Şeriat*?

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[213] As far as I signify Bediüzzaman's understanding of *şeriat,* I will use capital 'Ş': *Şeriat*.

CHAPTER 4:

METHODOLOGY OF *FIKIH*

The previous chapter is designed to reveal the pre-*fıkıh* positioning of Said-i Kürdi: it is the social thought based on the manifestation of humankind's existence as caliph of God on Earth in the age of modernity. This *social thought* is the perspective of Bediüzzaman in formulating Islamic law and ethics. Some points desire to be reminded as an introduction to Kürdi's understanding of the Şeriat.

Firstly, Bediüzzaman starts with the assumption that the Şeriat is the most virtuous civilization (*medeniyet-i fuzla*). This seems to be a conscious statement in its implication that Şeriat is the perfection of the principles of the modern civilization[214] (DHÖ: 58).Another implication is that the Şeriat is rooted in reason (*medine-i fazıla-i Eflatuniye*). This brings us to the second important dimension: Bediüzzaman assumes the ontological priority of 'the reason' over revelation[215] (Muh: 7, 13). Thirdly, Bediüzzaman conceives the Şeriat as a perfect system of law. This is implied in his identification of the Şeriat with the laws of the nature[216] (HŞ: 110). What is more, this system of law has a telos: true freedom[217] (Mün: 37). Thus, the Şeriat with a

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[214] İslamiyet, insaniyet-i kübra ve Şeriat, medeniyet-i fuzla olduğundan Alem-i İslamiyet, medine-i fazıle-i Eflatuniye olmağa sezadır.

[215] Öyle bir şeriat ki: Akıl ve nakil dest-bedest ittifak vererek ol şeriatın hakaikinin hakkaniyetini tasdik etmişlerdir.
Akıl ve nakil tearuz ettikleri vakitte, akıl asıl itibar ve nakil te'vil olunur. Fakat o akıl, akıl gerektir.

[216] Şeriat ikidir:
Birincisi: Alem-i asgar olan insanın ef'al ve ahvalini tanzim eden ve sıfat-ı kelamdan gelen bildiğimiz şeriattır.
İkincisi: İnsan-ı ekber olan alemin hareakat ve sekenatını tanzim eden, sıfat-ı iradeden gelen şeriat-ı kübra-i fıtriyedir ki, bazen yanlış olarak tabiat tesmiye edilir.

[217] Sual: Şu pis istibdat ne vakitten beri başlamış geliyor?
Cevap: İnsanlar hayvanlıktan çıkıp geldiği vakit, nasılsa bunu da beraber getirmiştir.
…Sual: Sonra?
Cevap: Şeriat-ı Garra zemine nüzul etti; ta ki, zeminin yüzünü temiz ve insaniyetin yüzünü ak etsin, şu insaniyetten siyah lekesini izale etsin.

telos is completely different from the literal investigation of the Scripture: it is dynamic[218] (DHÖ: 89).

This system of presuppositions require certain properties in Bediüzzaman's understanding of *fıkıh*. First of all, contemplation on *fıkıh* should be followed by rational determination of the social fact. This is the step where, also, rationality of an Islamic decree is searched for. Rationality of *fıkıh* necessarily supposes the conditionality, and following it, historicity of Islamic fıkıh. Conditionality and historicity are, in fact, components of the telos of the *Şeriat*. This is a telos which gives the *Şeriat* its holism. This chapter is planned to investigate this system on the examples of *içtihad* by Said-i Kürdi.

A. RATIONALITY OF THE *ŞERİAT*

Bediüzzaman suggests that in order to understand Islam accurately, what is required is knowledge of philosophy of *şeriat* and *hikmet-i cedide* (implying both the observing of the nature and the society aspect of new philosophy)[219] (Muh: 25). The crucial thing is that he seems to derive the classical age philosophers' understanding of the necessity on formulation of principles of *şeriat*, at the same time implying the necessity of absorbtion of social sciences to reach a true understanding of the Koran. The solidification of this argument can be found in his approval to the legitimacy of non-Muslims to be governors in an Islamic state. He suggests that in *meşrutiyet*-regime, they are the servants, not lords of the people. And a non-Muslim can be a servant to the Muslims[220] (Mün: 79). In this example, the social situation is determined through an absolutely pre-religious thought: governors are servants of the nation. Then, the ethical decision based on this 'social fact.'

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[218] Şeriat-ı Garra Kelam-ı Ezeliden geldiğinden ebede gidecektir. Zira şecere-i meylü'l-istikmal-i alemin dalı olan insandaki meylü't-terakkinin mahsul ve semeresi olan istidadın telahuk-u efkarla hasıl olan netaicinin teşerrüb ve tegaddi ile büyümesi nisbetinde Şeriat-ı Garra aynen maddi zihayat gibi tevessü ve intibak edeceğinden ezelden gelip ebede gideceğine bürhan-ı bahirdir.

[219] (Kur'an'ın anlaşılmasında), Hadd-i evsatı gösterecek, ifrat ve tefriti kıracak yalnız felsefe-i şeriatle belagat ve mantık ve hikmettir. Evet, hikmet derim, çünkü hayr-ı kesirdir. Şerri vardır; fakat cüz'idir.

[220] . Sual: Şimdi Ermeniler kaymakam ve vali oluyorlar; nasıl olur?
Cevap: Saatçi ve makineci ve süpürgeci oldukları gibi. Zira meşrutiyet, hakimiyet-i millettir; hükumet hizmetkardır. Meşrutiyet doğru olursa, kaymakam ve vali reis değiller, belki ücretli hizmetkarlardır.

The search for rationality is evident in three other occasions: with other implications, Bediüzzaman claims that forbidden sculpture is a solidified tyranny, a materialized lust or an embodied hypocrisy[221] (HŞ: 109). This search for rationality in fact re-determines the place of sculpture in a possible Islamic art. Without these characteristics, sculpture is legitimate. In his answer to the objections to him against his claim that Muslims should be friendly towards the non-Muslims, he seeks for the rationality of the Koranic verse forbidding such a relation and opens a free realm for his idea[222] (Mün: 70-1). Bediüzzaman insists on the necessity to forbid usury. However, his argumentation is not a religious but secular one. Interest system as a whole mainly serves to the most evil classes in the world. What is significant is, he implies that welfare of humanity peaceful with Muslims (as a *maslahat*/public interest) can be taken as a basis of thought[223] (HŞ: 111).

In fact, dependence on the rationality of the Scripture is manifested in Kürdi's assumption on the process of revelation in history. In his striking text, Kürdi suggests that the issues of Şeriat can be categorized into two areas. First some of the principles of Islam are absolutely established by Şeriat. The second realm comprises the issues that Şeriat reformed the Bedouin Arab society in the limits of their nature. Bediüzzaman claims, the first category is absolutely good, and the second category is delegated to the Muslims having the duty to improve the social conditions, as in the examples of slavery and women's status in the society. What is

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[221] Memnu heykel, ya bir zulm-ü mütehaccir, ya bir heves-i mütecessim veya bir riya-yı mütecessittir.

[222] Sual: Yahudi ve Nasara ile muhabetten Kur'an'da nehiy vardır: "La tettehizu'l-yahuda ve'n-nasara evliya" (Yahudileri ve Hrıstiyanları dost edinmeyin).
Bununla beraber nasıl 'Dost olunuz!' dersiniz?
Cevap: Evvela: ...
Saniyen: Zaman-ı Saadette bir inkılab-ı azim-i dini vücuda geldi. Bütün ezhanı nokta-i dine çevirdiğinden, bütün muhabbet ve adaveti o noktada toplayıp muhabbet ve adavet ederlerdi. Onun için, gayr-i müslimlere olan muhabbetten nifak kokusu geliyordu. Lakin, şimdi alemdeki, bir inkılab-ı acib-i medeni ve dünyevidir. Bütün ezhanı zapt ve bütün ukulu meşgul eden nokta-i medeniyet, terakki ve dünyadır...Binaenaleyh, onlarla dost olmamız, medeniyet ve terakkilerini istihsan ile iktibas etmektir ve her saadet-i dünyeviyenin esası olan asayişi muhafazadır. İşte şu dostluk, katiyen nehy-i Kur'anide dahil değildir.

[223] Ribanın kap ve kapıları olan bankaların nef'i, beşerin fenası olan gavurlara ve onların en zalimlerine ve bunların en sefihlerinedir. Alem-i İslam'a zarar-ı mutlaktır; mutlak beşerin refahı nazara alınmaz. Zira gavur harbi ve mütecaviz ise, hürmetsiz ve ismetsizdir.

crucial is even though he supported polygamy, he supported it through mentioning reason[224] (Tul: 198). As a matter of *fıkıh* methodology, this classification can play an axial role in the development of understanding of *Şeriat* due to the fact that there is no clear historical distinction between what *Şeriat* had established and what it had reformed.

B. CONDITIONALITY AND HISTORICITY OF THE DIVINE VERDICTS

The existential distinction between what the *Şeriat* did establish and what did reform brings us to the consciousness of historicity and conditionality in Bediüzzaman. This is apparent in Kürdi's argumentation on friendship with non-Muslims. In the Prophet's time, social relations were based on religion, but in the modern age it is based on material life. Kürdi's understanding of holy war (*cihad*) is in the same manner. War with weapons is legitimate in the age of primitivity to break the bigotry of the infidels, but in the age of humanism, *cihad* should be war with words, by showing rational proofs. In this effort a civilized life is essential which requires material development. Then the enemy is not the non-Muslims who are civilized but the enemy is ignorance, poverty and inner fragmentation[225] (DHÖ: 47,48, 76-77).

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[224] S- Teaddüd-ü zevcat ve abd gibi bazı mesaili, ecnebiler serrişte ederek medeniyet nokta-i nazarında, Şeriat'a bazı evham ve şübehatı irad ediyorlar.
C- İslamiyetin ahkamı iki kısımdır.
Birincisi: Şeriat ona müessesdir. Bu ise, hüsn-ü hakiki ve hayr-ı mahzdır.
Birisi dahi: Şeriat muaddildir. Yani gayet vahşi ve gaddar bir suretten çıkarıp, ehvenü'ş-şer ve muaddel ve tabiat-ı beşere tatbiki mümkün ve tamamen hüsn-ü hakikiyeye geçebilmek için zaman ve zeminden alınmış bir surete ifrağ etmiştir. Çünkü, birden tabiat-ı beşerde umumen hükümferma olan bir emri, birden ref'etmek, tabiat-ı beşeri birden kalbetmek iktiza eder.
Binaenaleyh, Şeriat vazı-ı esaret değildir. Belki en vahşi bir suretten, böyle tamamen hürriyete yol açacak ve geçebilecek bir surete indirmiştir, tadil etmiştir.
Hem de dörde (1) kadar teaddüd-ü zevcat, tabiata, akla, hikmete muvafakatıyla beraber Şeriat, bir taneden dörde çıkarmamış, belki sekizden, dokuzdan dörde indirmiştir. Bahusus taaddüde öyle şerait koymuştur ki, ona müraat etmekle hiçbir mazarrata müeddi olmaz. Bazı noktada şer olsa da, ehvenü'ş-şerdir. Ehvenü'ş-şer ise, bir adalet-i izafiyedir.
Heyhat! Alemin her halinde hayr-ı mahz olmaz .
[225] (Bu ittihad-ı Muhammedi'nin) kılınçları da, berahin-i katıadır. Zira medenilere galebe çalmak ikna iledir, icbarla değil. Taharri-i hakikat, muhabbet iledir. Husumet ise: vahşet ve taassuba karşı idi.
Ecnebiler fünun ve sanayi silahıyla bizi istibdat-ı manevileri altında eziyorlar. Biz de fen ve sanat silahıyla i'la-yı Kelimetullah'ın en müthiş düşmanı olan cehil ve fakr ve ihtilaf-ı efkarla cihad edeceğiz.
Amma cihad-ı hariciyi Şeriat-ı garranın berahin-i katıasının elmas kılınçlarına havale edeceğiz.
İ'la-yı Kelimetullahın bu zamanda en büyük sebebi, maddeten terakki etmektir.

The understanding of conditionality necessarily follows the idea that the Muslims in the same age with different social and existential backgrounds would grasp the Islamic reality different from each other. For Kürdi, this is completely legitimate. Even though he is a sincere Ehl-i Sünnet believer, he says that different ideas as far as they are in relation to the truth (*hakikat*) are limited aspects of the same Unity, thus they deserve to exist. But in two conditions: the proponents of these doctrines should not accuse other groups as they are mistaken; and secondly, the truth in their doctrines should shape their supporters, not the desires of these individuals to degenerate the doctrines[226] (Tul: 187-8).

The extreme conception of conditionality is stated in the description of Koranic verses on benevolence (*salihat*). He says that as benevolence is extremely relativistic, Koran's universality necessitates to undetermine it[227] (Sün: 142). The extreme assertion of historicity of the *Şeriat* is the idea that Time being the greatest Commentator of the Koran. For that reason, he suggests that under the guidance of Time, experts on all intellectual disciplines, implying the experts of natural and social sciences, should write a Koranic exegesis[228] (Muh: 21)

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[226]. Sual: Alem-i İslam ulemasının ortasındaki müdhiş ihtilafata ne dersin ve rey'in nedir?
Cevap: Evvela: (1) Alem-i İslam'a gayr-ı muntazam ve intizamı bozulmuş bir meclis-i meb'usan ve encümen-i şura nazarı ile bakıyorum. Şeriat'tan işitiyoruz ki, "re'y-i cumhur budur, fetva bunun üzerinedir."
İşte şu, bu meclisteki re'y, ekseriyetin nazariyesidir. Re'y-i cumhurdan maada olan akval, eğer hakikat ve mağz'dan hali ve boş olmazsa, istidadatın re'ylerine bırakılır. Ta herbir istidat terbiyesine münasib gördüğünü intihab etsin.
Lakin burada iki nokta-i mühimme vardır:
Birincisi: Şu istidadatın meyelanı ile intihab olunan ve bir derece hakikatı tazammun eden ve ekalliyette kalan kavl, nefsü'l-emirde mukayyed ve o istidat ile mahsus olduğu halde, sahibi ihmal edip mutlak bıraktı; etbaı iltizam edip tamim etti. Mukallitleri taassub edip, o kavlin hıfzı için muhaliflerin red ve hedmine çalıştılar...
İkinci nokta: Ekalliyette kalan kavl eğer içindeki hakikat ve mağz, onu intihab eden istidatlardaki heves ve heva ve mevrus aynaya ve mizacına galebe çalmazsa, o kavl bir hatar-ı azimde kalır. Zira istidat onunla insibağ edip, onun muktezasına inkılp etmek lazım iken, o onu kendine çevirir ve telkih eder, kendi emrine musahhar eder. İşte şu noktadan hüda hevaya tahavvül ve mezhep mizaçtan teşerrüb eder. Arı su içer bal akıtır. Yılan su içer zehir döker
[227]Kur'an salihatı mutlak, mübhem bırakıyor. Çünki ahlak ve faziletler hüsn ve hayr çoğu nisbidirler. Neviden nev'e geçtikçe değişir. Sınıftan sınıfa nazil oldukça ayrılır. Mahalden mahalle, tebdil-i mekan ettikçe başkalaşır. Cihet muhtelif olsa, muhtelif olur. Ferdden cemaate, şahıstan millete çıktıkça mahiyeti değişir.
[228]Her zamanın bir hükmü var. Zaman dahi bir müfessirdir...Müfessir-i azim olan zamanın tahtı riyasetinde, her biri bir fende mütehassıs, muhakkikin-i ulemadan müntehab bir meclis-i meb'usan-ı ilmiye teşkili ile meşveret ile bir tefsiri telif etmek...

His understanding of Time as a Koranic commentator is underlined in his answer to the problem of friendship with non-Muslims. The first aspect of this answer was mentioned above. Second aspect deals with literary Koranic exegesis which shows how Time shapes the understanding of the Koran. Here he works on the words of the Scripture, shows an alternative meaning excerpted from the text itself and claims that Time (implying the modern age) shows the restriction of the meaning of the verse which is in itself unrestricted[229] (Mün: 70-1).

C. TELOS AND HOLISM IN THE RELIGIOUS VERDICTS

Rationality, historicity and conditionality are the components of the holistic view of the *Şeriat,* having a telos. This telos dimension determines the dynamism of the *Şeriat* due to the fact that social reality does always change, and to preserve the telos, appearance of the *Şeriat* should always change. From his social theory, it can be derived that the telos of the *Şeriat,* according to Bediüzzaman, is to provide the existential requirements for the humankind to reach the stage of the caliphate of God on Earth. This has two dimensions. Remembering the section on civilization, it can be said that the telos of the *Şeriat* is deeply in contact with the spiritual desires of mankind (*hüda*) by controlling bodily ones (*heva and heves*). This is the position which is meaningful in the sense that God gave a mission to humankind: to apply His rule in the universe (*hüda*) and not to obey to Satan (*heves*). However, the more important aspect of the telos of the *Şeriat* in the understanding of Kürdi is his integration of a deeply modern concept into the idea of caliphate of God: freedom. For him, only really free individuals can be true caliphs of God. Only the man free from people and free from his ego can be a true slave of God, meaning the caliph of God.

There are three implications on freedom's position as a telos of the *Şeriat*. Firstly, as I quoted, Kürdi portraits the history of humanity as such: humankind brought oppression (*istibdat*) from their existence as animals. And the *Şeriat* was revealed in order to clean this dirt.[230] In this

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[229]Sual: Yahudi ve Nasara ile muhabetten Kur'an'da nehiy vardır: "La tettehizu'l-yahuda ve'n-nasara evliya" (Yahudileri ve Hrıstiyanları dost edinmeyin).
Bununla beraber nasıl 'Dost olunuz!' dersiniz?
Cevap: Evvela: Delil katiü'l-metin olduğu gibi, katiü'delalet olmak gerektir. Halbuki tevil ve ihtimalin mecali vardır. Zira, nehy-i Kur'ani amm değildir, mutlaktır. Mutlak ise takyid olunabilir. Zaman bir büyük müfessirdir; kaydını izhar etse, itiraz olunmaz. Hem de hüküm müştak üzerine olsa, me'haz-ı iştikakı illet-i hüküm gösterir. Demek bu nehiy, Yahudi Nasara ile Yahudiyet ve Nasraniyet olan ayinleri hasebiyledir....
[230] Sual: Şu pis istibdat ne vakitten beri başlamış geliyor?
Cevap: İnsanlar hayvanlıktan çıkıp geldiği vakit, nasılsa bunu da beraber getirmiştir.

aspect, in another text that I have quoted, Kürdi says in the realm of the *Şeriat* had reformed the society, it opened a way for true freedom for the Muslims: a path which the Muslims should follow and perfect the *Şeriat*[231] (Tul: 198). These statements in fact serve to the transcendentalization of the concept of *hürriyet*. The manifestation of the transcendental nature of freedom is as follows: Şeriat has come to universe *in order to* destroy oppression[232] (DHÖ: 86).

The issue of *hüda* is implied in several places in the thesis. Especially on *fıkıh*, Bediüzzaman's idea on the condition of legitimacy of *içtihad* is crucial. He asserts that *içtihad* is legitimate and demandable if it is performed by a sincere Muslim who internalized Islamic values deeply. However, the içtihad of the one who is indifferent (*lakayt*) to Islamic values would degenerate Islam[233] (HŞ: 109). The significant distinction between the two is not what they say but in which position they speak.

Holism is a natural outcome of what has been said up to now. I want to give an example where Bediüzzaman both reveals his understanding of *hüda* and his holistic approach. There are many Koranic verses and Prophetic traditions on the problem of music. The classical age *fıkıh* with their particularistic understanding of religious sources produced *içtihads* too much complicated and detailed which can be found in any *ilmihal* book. How Kürdi approaches to the question is determining the issue with regard to the telos (*hüda*) and unify all the statements in the Scripture: if music gives mundane pleasure or desperation it should be forbidden, but if it gives a spiritual pleasure or a Koranic sadness it is legitimate. What he adds is, it depends on individual's feeling. No general restriction can be put[234] (RNK 1: 339).

…Sual: Sonra?

Cevap: Şeriat-ı Garra zemine nüzul etti; ta ki, zeminin yüzünü temiz ve insaniyetin yüzünü ak etsin, şu insaniyetten siyah lekesini izale etsin.

[231] Binaenaleyh, Şeriat vazı-ı esaret değildir. Belki en vahşi bir suretten, böyle tamamen hürriyete yol açacak ve geçebilecek bir surete indirmiştir, tadil etmiştir.

[232] Şeriat aleme gelmiş ta istibdadı ve tahakkümü mahvetsin.

[233] İslamiyetin müselematını tamamen imtisal ettiği cihetle bihakkın daire-i dahiline girmiş zatta, meyl't-tevsi, meylü't-tekemmüldür. Lakaytlıkla hariçte sayılan zatta, meylü't-tevsi, meylü't-tahribdir.

[234] Bazı alat-ı lehvi tahrim edip, bir kısmı helal diye izin verip; demek hüzn-ü Kur'ani veya şevk-i tenzili veren alet zarar vermez.

Eğer hüznü-ü yetimi veya şevk-i nefsani verse alet haramdır. Değişir eşhasa göre; herkes birbirine benzemez.

D. THE POSITION OF THE WORD OF THE SCRIPTURE IN THE *ŞERİAT*

Any reconstruction of Islamic *fıkıh* should face the problem of the restrictive role of the Koranic text. First of all, the specific issues mentioned in the Koran, generally binds the reformation process. The second imposition on the reformer is the unbreakable authority of the past masters (*selef*). Bediüzzaman solved the first problem by claiming that all of the Koran's statements are general but not specific, and responded to the second problematic by claiming that the works of the *selef* should be read only in order to understand the Koran. They have no binding authority even though they deserve great respect.

He first reinterprets the statements of the Koran. He says that there are some verses which are open to be restricted but supposed to be universal. Some are valid for a certain time but assumed to be permanent, and some are restricted but conceived as general[235] (Sün: 149). Secondly, he claims that the nature of the Koran suggests multiple meanings all of which are legitimate[236] (Rum: 227). Thirdly, he states that the nature of the Koran as God's word is essentially general in every way, thus it is possible to legitimize all meanings attributed to its verses which as essentially deliberately connoted by God[237] (İİ: 6). This implies that a choice

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[235] Bazı ayat ve ehadis vardır ki, mutlakadır. Külliye telakki edilmiş. Hem öyleler vardır ki, münteşire-i muvakkatadır. Daime zannedilmiş. Hem mukayyed var. Amm hesab edilmiş.

[236]. Eğer desen: "(Senin Kur'an tasvirinden) anlaşılır ki, teaddüd-ü mesalik ve ihtilaf-ı turuk matlubdur."
Cevap: Evet matlubdur. Hem zaruridir. Eğer hodgamlıktan neş'et eden inhisar zihniyetiyle başkaların reddine kalkışırsa (Allah için nefret)'i su-i istimal ederse, o vakit ihtilaf zarardır.Yoksa (Allah için sevmek) düsturunu esas tutsa, tekamülde teavün kanunu bilse Şeriat'ın vüs'atini, tabipliğini düşünse, ihtilaf imtizaca sebep olur.

[237]. Birincisi: Madem Kur'an, Kelamullahtır; umum asırlar üzerinde ve arkasında oturan muhtelif tabaka tabaka olarak dizilmiş bütün nev-i beşere hitap ediyor, ders veriyor, hem bu kainatın Halik-i Zülcelalinin kelamı olarak Rububiyetin en yüksek mertebesinden çıkıp bu binler muhtelif tabaka muhataplarla konuşuyor, umumunun bütün suallerine ve ihtiyaçlarına cevap veriyor; elbette manaları külli ve umumidir. Beşer kelamı gibi mahsus bir zamana, muayyen bir taifeye ve cüz'i bir manaya inhisar etmiyor. Bütün cin ve insin binler muhtelif tabakada olan efkar ve ukul ve kulub ve ervahının herbirisine layık gıdaları veriyor, dağıtıyor...
İkincisi: Kelam-ı Ezeliden gelen ve bütün asırları ve bütün tavaif-i nev-i beşeri muhatap ittihaz eden Kur'an-ı Hakimin gayet külli manalarının, cevherlerinin sadefi hükmünde olan lafz-ı Kur'ani elbette küllidir (İİ: 5)
...Bu sebepten, bütün tefsirlerde görünen ve sarahat, işaret, remiz, ima, telvih, telmih gibi tabakalarla müfessirinin beyan ettikleri manalar, kavaid-i Arabiyeye ve usul-ü nahve ve usul-ü dine muhalif olmamak şartıyla, o manalar, o kelamdan bizzat muraddır, maksuddur.

from alternative meanings of Koran is always legitimate: a situation that emancipates the Muslim.

On the second question, with his deep respect to the past masters, he shakes their authority politely by asserting that only the Koran has the religious authority. And gradually the works of the *selef* should be linked to the Koran[238] (Sün: 158-9). What is significant is that he believes that in the future new generations with their own ideas will enter into a dialogue with the works of the *selef* in their understanding of Islam. In this process, the Prophetic Sunna is also posited in its relation to the Koran. It is not a second authority but is the interpretation of Koran[239] (Sün: 157).

E. CONCLUSION

Bediüzzaman in his formulation of *fikıh* methodology reached to a reflexive understanding of the *Şeriat*. It is the humankind who has a pre-religious rationality as well as conscience which thinks on Revelation. It is the humankind with his reason and conscience who tries to find out the telos of the *Şeriat* which is not given a priori. And it is the human being who reinterprets the *Şeriat* according to the telos he had find out through contemplation on a social thought. This situation, through giving a rationality to the ethical realm signifies modernity of Bediüzzaman Said-i Kürdi in that aspect.

As far as ethics is not determined by the Scripture per se, but through the reflective reason relating social thought to *fikıh* inifinitely, and as the 'rational' meaning of the totality of the Scripture is the main determinant more than the particularist literal interpretation of it, (even though Kürdi insisted on its aspect as a literal miracle), the Muslim defined by Bediüzzaman can legitimately enter into a dialogue with non-Muslim segments on the ethical dimension of life. This seems to be a call for creation of a 'public space' with a religious motivation.

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[238] Demek Şeriat kitapları, birer şeffaf cam mahiyetinde olmak lazım gelirken, mürur-u zamanla mukallidlerin hatası yüzünden paslanıp, hicab olmuşlardır. Evet bu kitaplar, Kur'an'a tefsir olmak lazım iken başlı başına tasnifat hükmüne geçmişlerdir.
Tedrici bir terbiye-i mahsusa ile kütüb-ü Şeriatı şeffaf birer tefsir suretine çevirip, içinde Kur'an'ı göstermek (lazım)... Bir adam İbn-i Hacer'e nazar ettiği vakit, Kur'an'ı anlamak ve Kur'an'ın ne dediğini öğrenmek maksadiyle nazar etmeli. Yoksa İbn-i Hacer'in ne dediğini anlamak maksadiyle değil).
[239] Erkan ve ahkam-ı zaruriye ki, yüzde doksandır. Bizzat Kur'an'ın ve Kur'an'ın tefsiri mahiyetinde olan sünnetin malıdır. İçtihadi olan mesail-i hilafiye ise, yüzde on nisbetindedir.

CONCLUSION:

If my thesis gave an understanding of the real achievement of Bediüzzaman Said-i Kürdi, it has reached its purpose. An evaluation of this achievement is as follows:

The Muslims of the modern era had an ideological legacy that impeded any development in responding to a profoundly different vision of world: modernity which seeks continuous response to change. This legacy was efficient in a medieval society whose unity was possible only through dependence on the Scripture; but it became a problem for the era which was alienated from the strict obedience to God's volition reflected in different particular ways in the Scripture. The solution of Bediüzzaman to this problem was to formulate a holistic and dynamic view of the *Şeriat* whose telos exists in the nature of human being: freedom. In other words, as far as freedom is essentially linked with true prayer for God, Bediüzzaman transcends the dichotomy between the Mundane and the Transcendental. Neither of them is rejected for the sake of the other.

In this formulation, the urgent need that Bediüzzaman concerns is to respond the modernization process accurately. In this sense, the methodology of Islamic law he developed was a social *fıkıh*. What I mean is, it is a social thought that defines the social reality, rather than the religious concerns to construct reality. This necessitated Bediüzzaman to theorize social sciences as a necessary component in developing an Islamic legal system and ethics. The relation between ideals and realities in Kürdi can be formulated through the relation between form and content. As far as he conceives the Scripture and its verdicts as universal but not particular, the total understanding of the Scripture becomes a form which is assumed to shape the social-real content.

This understanding is especially significant in Bediüzzaman's insistence upon the 'meaning' of the Scripture more than its linguistic horizon. It is the 'meaning' that creates an historical and conditional dimension to the understanding of *fıkıh*. It is the 'meaning' that paves way for seeking rationality in Islamic law and through this, gives a chance to transcend the modern alienation from God's volition.

In this effort, Bediüzzaman is not isolated from history. In fact, my study suggests that the roots of his ideas in social theory and legal understanding can also be found in earlier responses to modernity. As I claimed, he started with 19th century Sufi reformism in his sensitivity to the social life, and he achieved an established synthesis of the Turkish modernization project and the Islamic reform movements of the 19th century. However, his purpose was radically different from these traditions. Whereas Turkish modernization project remained loyal to the incentive of securing the Empire throughout the decades, and whereas the 19th century Islamic reform movements either seeked for religious purity or for responding modernity in a theoretically defensive way, Bediüzzaman seems to have tried to work for future generations: he established an ethical basis for the coming glory Islamic civilization.

This attempt centralizes 'civilization' in his understanding of social thought and ethics. The impact of the Enlightenment on Kürdi is obvious in this conception. It is universal as an ideal. In this sense, the Western civilization is seen as a carrier of true civilization in significant aspects: sciences, arts and humanism. This dimension necessitates a friendly dialogue with the West rather than a clash of civilizations. His statements on the evil side of Western civilization does not depend on the civilization-in-itself (i.e. humanism, sciences and arts), but on the domination of anti-civilizational dimensions (the dominance of pre-human attributes in the Western civilization: i.e. lust and power not restrained by reason) and within the Western civilization: power and mundane pleasure which are constructed by materialist philosophy.

This presentation brings two approaches: firstly, for Kürdi, philosophy and reason in itself and in relation to God is beneficial to the society. What is problematic in Western materialism is, in Kürdi's view, determination of Western reason by uncontrolled power and lust; both of whom preventing reason to reach its natural conclusion as God's unity and enter the realm of conscience and heart. However, a philosophy and reason open to the Transcendental, which exists in the essence of Islam, would create a different social implication. It would be the triumph of justice and truth rather than power, and the triumph of spiritual desires not neglecting worldly pleasure but not limited to it.

Related with this, the second approach comes from human being's ontological situation as God's slave. Freedom gains its meaning with this idea. In Bediüzzaman, freedom does not mean anything to do what one desires to do; he is responsible to God. In this sense, freedom is possible only through acceptance of this responsibility. Only the unification of these two concepts brings

the true existence of human being: to be the caliph of God on Earth. The responsibility of the caliph is to cultivate the world in all sense in the name of God.

It should be obvious that this conception of civilization is essentially linked with the Sufi understandings of existence and ontology. He seems to have been internalize this dimension in his childhood and expanded its realm during his further intellectual formation. In the period that I analyzed he mainly dealt with the urgent social problems of the Empire, with this formulation in his mind. But during his remaining life in the times of the Turkish Republic (1923-1960), when he took the name of Said Nursi, he seems to have conceived that the essence of this formulation is under threat. This threat necessitated a restructuration of the ontological and existential basis of the Islamic action. He was fully aware that he would not see the worldly fruits of his struggle, but as a believer the accomplishment of his task would return to him in the afterworld.

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APPENDICES

Rü'yada Bir Hitabe

Meali ve hatırda kalan elfazı aynendir.

335 senesi eylülünde, dehrin hadisatı verdiği ye's ile şiddetle muztarib idim. Şu kesif zulmet içinde bir nur arıyordum. Mânen rü'ya olan yakazada bulamadım. Hakikaten yakaza olan rü'ya-yı sâdıkada bir ziya gördüm. Tafsilatı terk ile yalnız bana söylettirilmiş noktaları kaydedeceğim. Şöyle ki:

Bir Cum'a gecesinde nevm ile âlem-i misale girdim. Biri geldi dedi:
— *Mukadderat-ı İslâm için teşekkül eden bir meclis-i muhteşem, seni istiyor.*

Gittim gördüm ki, münevver, emsalini dünyada görmediğim, selef-i salihînden ve âsarın meb'uslarından her asrın meb'usları içinde bulunur bir meclis gördüm. Hicab edip, kapıda durdum. Onlardan bir zat dedi ki:
— *Ey felâket, helâket asrının adamı, senin de re'yin var, fikrini beyan et!*
Ayakta durup dedim:
— *Sorun cevap vereyim.*
Biri dedi:
— *Bu mağlubiyetin neticesi ne olacak, galibiyette ne olurdu?*
Dedim:
— Musibet şerr-i mahz olmadığı için, bazan saadetde felaket olduğu gibi, felaketten dahi saadet çıkar. Eskidenberi i'la-yı kelimetullah ve beka-yı istiklaliyet-i İslâm için, farz-ı kifaye-i cihadı deruhde ile kendini yekvü-

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MUZAHREF: Yaldızlı, kokuşmuş, aldatıcı. **HAVF:** Korku. **TEŞCİ ETMEK:** Cesaretlendirmek. **MEVHUM:** Hayali. **MAZARRAT:** Zarar. **MEAL:** Ma'na. **ELFAZ:** Sözler. **DEHR:** Zaman. **YE'S:** Ümitsizlik. **MUZDARİB:** Izdırablı. **KESİF:** Yoğun. **RÜ'YA-YI SADIKA:** Sadık rüya. **MUKADDERAT-I İSLÂM:** İslâm'ın kaderi, durumu, geleceği. **MÜNEVVER:** Nurlu. **SELEF-İ SALİHİN:** Önce geçen salih kişiler. **ASAR:** Asırlar. **HİCAB ETMEK:** Utanmak. **ŞERR-İ MAHZ:** Tamamiyle şer. **İ'LA-YI KELİMETULLAH:** Allah'ın Kelimesini'ni yüceltme. **BEKA-YI İSTİKLALİYET-İ İSLÂM:** İslâm'ın bağımsızlığının devamı. **FARZ-I KİFAYE-İ CİHAD:** Farz-ı kifaye olan cihad.

cud olan âlem-i İslâma fedaya vazifedar ve hilafete bayraktar görmüş olan bu devlet-i İslâmiyenin felâketi, âlem-i İslâmın saadet-i müstakbelesiyle telâfi edilecektir.

Zira şu musibet, maye-i hayatımız ve âb-ı hayatımız olan uhuvvet-i İslâmiyenin inkişaf ve ihtizazını hârikulâde ta'cil etti. Biz incinirken, âlem-i İslâm ağlıyor. Avrupa ziyade incitse, bağıracaktır. *Şayet ölsek; yirmi öleceğiz, üçyüz dirileceğiz. Hârikalar asrındayız. İki-üç sene mevtten sonra meydanda dirilenler var.* Biz bu mağlubiyetle bir saadet-i âcile-i (عاجلة) muvakkata kaybettik. Fakat bir saadeti âcile-i (آجلة) müstemirre bizi bekliyor. Pek cüz'î ve mütehavvil ve mahdut olan hâli, geniş istikbal ile mübadele eden kazanır.

Birden meclis tarafından denildi:

— İzah et!

Dedim:

— Devletler, milletler muharebesi, tabakat-ı beşer muharebesine terk-i mevki ediyor. Zira *beşer esir olmak istemediği gibi, ecîr olmak da istemez.* Galib olsa idik, hasmımız ve düşmanımız elindeki cereyan-ı müstebidaneye, belki daha şedîdane kapılacak idik. Halbuki o cereyan hem zalimane, hem tabiat-ı âlem-i İslâma münafi, hem ehl-i îmânın ekseriyet-i mutlakasının menfaatine mübayin, hem ömrü kısa, parçalanmağa namzeddir. Eğer ona yapışsa idik, âlem-i İslâmı fıtratına, tabiatına muhalif bir yola sürükleyecek idik.

Şu medeniyet-i habise ki, biz ondan yalnız zarar gördük ve nazar-ı şeriatda merdud ve seyyiatı hasenatına galebe ettiğinden; maslahat-ı beşer fetvasiyle mensuh ve intibah-ı beşerle mahkûm-u inkıraz, sefih, mütemerrid, gaddar, mânen vahşi bir medeniyetin himayesini Asya'da deruhde edecekdik.

SAADET-İ MÜSTAKBELE: Gelecekteki saadet. **MAYE-İ HAYAT:** Hayat mayası. **AB-I HAYAT:** Hayat suyu. **TA'CİL ETMEK:** Çabuklaştırmak. **SAADET-İ ACİLE-İ MUVAKKATE:** Çabuk ve geçici olan saadet. **SAADET-İ ACİLE-İ MÜSTEMİRRE:** Geç gelen, ancak devamlı olan saadet. **MÜTEHAVVİL:** Değişken. **MÜBADELE ETMEK:** Değişmek. **TABAKAT-I BEŞER:** Beşer tabakaları, sosyal-dini-toplumsal sınıflar-cemaatler. **TERK-İ MEVKİ ETMEK:** Yerini bırakmak. **ECİR:** Ücretli amele. **CEREYAN-I MÜSTEBİDANE:** İstibdad akımları. **TABİAT-I ALEM-İ İSLÂM:** İslâm aleminin durumu. **MÜNAFİ:** Aykırı. **EHL-İ İMAN:** Mü'minler. **EKSERİYET-İ MUTLAKA:** Büyük çoğunluk. **MÜBAYİN:** Ters, çelişir. **NAZAR-I ŞERİAT:** Şeriat nazarı. **MERDUD:** Reddedilmiş. **SEYYİAT:** Kötülükler. **HASENAT:** İyilikler. **GALEBE ETMEK:** Üstün gelmek. **MASLAHAT-I BEŞER:** Beşerin iyiliği. **MENSUH:** Hükmü kaldırılmış. **İNTİBAH-I BEŞER:** İnsanlığın uyanması. **İNKIRAZ:** Yıkılma. **MAHKUM-U İNKIRAZ:** Yıkılmaya mahkum. **MÜTEMERRİD:** İnatçı.

Meclisten biri dedi:

— Neden şeriat şu medeniyeti (*) reddeder?..

Dedim:

— Çünkü, beş menfi esas üzerine teessüs etmiştir. Nokta-i istinadı kuvvettir. O ise, şe'ni tecavüzdür. Hedef-i kasdı menfaattır. O ise, şe'ni tezahumdur. Hayatta düsturu, cidaldir. O ise, şe'ni tena'zudur. Kitleler mabeynindeki rabıtası, âheri yutmakla beslenen unsuriyet ve menfi milliyetdir. O ise, şe'ni böyle müdhiş tesadümdür. Cazibedar hizmeti, heva ve hevesi teşci' ve arzularını tatmin ve metalibini teshildir. O heva ise, şe'ni insaniyeti derece-i melekiyeden, dereke-i kelbiyete indirmektir. İnsanın mesh-i mânevisine sebep olmaktır. Bu medenilerden çoğu, eğer içi dışına çevrilse, kurt, ayı, yılan, hınzır, maymun postu görülecek gibi hayale gelir.

İşte onun için bu medeniyet-i hâzıra; beşerin yüzde seksenini meşakkate, şekavete atmış; onunu mümevveh saadete çıkarmış; diğer onu da, beyne-beyne bırakmış. Saadet odur ki; külle, ya eksere saadet ola. Bu ise, ekall-i kalilindir. *Nev'i beşere rahmet olan Kur'an, ancak umumun, laakal ekseriyetin saadetini tazammun eden bir medeniyeti kabul eder.*

Hem serbest hevanın tahakkümüyle, havaic-i gayr-ı zaruriye havaic-i zaruriye hükmüne geçmişlerdir. *Bedavetde bir adam dört şeye muhtaç iken, medeniyet yüz şeye muhtaç ve fakir etmiştir. Sa'y, masrafa kâfi gelmediğin-*

(*) Bizim muradımız, medeniyetin mehasini ve beşere menfaatı bulunan iyiliklerdir. Yoksa, medeniyetin günahları, seyyiatları değil ki; ahmaklar o seyyiatları, o sefahetleri mehasin zannedip taklid edip, malımızı harab ettiler. Medeniyetin günahları, iyiliklerine galebe edip, seyyiatı hasenatına racih gelmekle, beşer iki harb-i umumi ile iki dehşetli tokat yiyip, o günahkar medeniyeti zir ü zeber edip öyle bir kustu ki, yeryüzünü kanla bulaştırdı. İnşaallah istikbaldeki İslâmiyetin kuvveti ile, medeniyetin mehasini galebe edecek, zemin yüzünü pisliklerden temizleyecek, sulh-u umumiyi de temin edecek.

(Müellif-i muhteremi sonradan ilâve etmiştir)

NOKTA-İ İSTİNAD: Dayanak noktası. **ŞE'N:** Özellik, tabiat. **TEZAHUM:** Yığılma, sıkışma. **CİDAL:** Kavga. **TENAZU:** Çekişme. **AHER:** Diğer, başkaları. **UNSURİYET:** Irkçılık. **TESADÜM:** Çarpışma. **METALİB:** İstekler. **TESHİL:** Kolaylaştırma. **DERECE-İ MELEKİYE:** Meleklik derecesi. **DEREKE-İ KELBİYET:** Köpeklik basamağı, köpeklik çukuru. **MESH-İ MANEVİ:** İnsanlığını giderip hayvanlaştırma. **MÜMEVVEH:** Aldatıcı, sahte. **BEYNE BEYNE:** İkisinin arasında. **EKALL-İ KALİL:** Azın azı. **TAZAMMUN ETMEK:** İçinde taşımak. **HAVAİC-İ GAYR-I ZARURİYE:** Zaruri olmayan ihtiyaçlar. **SERBEST HEVANIN TAHAKKÜMÜ:** Boşta kalmış, kayıtlardan kurtulmuş nefsi arzuların hakimiyet ve zorlaması. **HAVAİC-İ ZARURİYE:** Zaruri ihtiyaçlar. **BEDAVET:** Bedevilik.

den; hileye, harama sevketmekle ahlâkın esasını şu noktadan ifsad etmiştir. Cemaate, nev'e verdiği servet, haşmete bedel ferdi, şahsı, fakir, ahlâksız etmiştir.

Kurun-u ûlânın mecmu' vahşetini, bu medeniyet bir defada kusdu!

Âlem-i İslâmın şu medeniyete karşı istinkâfı ve soğuk davranması ve kabûlde ıztırabı cây-ı dikkatdir. Zira *istiğna ve istiklâliyet hassasiyle mümtaz olan Şeriattaki İlâhi hidayet, Roma felsefesinin dehasiyle aşılanmaz, imtizaç etmez, bel' olunmaz, tâbi olmaz.*

Bir asıldan tev'em olarak neş'et eden eski Roma ve Yunan iki dehaları, su ve yağ gibi mürur-u âsar ve medeniyet ve hıristiyanlığın temzicine rağmen yine istiklâllerini muhafaza, âdeta tenasuhla o iki ruh şimdi de başka şekillerde yaşıyorlar. Onlar tev'em ve esbab-ı temzic varken imtizac olunmazsa, Şeriatın ruhu olan nur-u hidayet, o muzlim medeniyetin esası olan Roma dehasiyle hiç bir vakit mezcolunmaz bel' olunmaz...

Dediler:
— Şeriat-ı garradaki medeniyet nasıldır?
Dedim:
— *Şeriat-ı Ahmediye'nin (A.S.M.) tazammun ettiği ve emrettiği medeniyet ise ki; medeniyet-i hazıranın inkişaından inkişaf edecektir.* Onun menfi esasları yerine, müsbet esaslar vaz'eder.

İşte nokta-i istinad, kuvvete bedel *haktır* ki; şe'ni adalet ve tevazündür. Hedef de, menfaat yerine *fazilettir* ki, şe'ni muhabbet ve tecazüptür. Cihetü'l-vahdet de unsuriyet ve milliyet yerine, *rabıta-i dinî, vatanî, sınıfîdir* ki; şe'ni samimi uhuvvet ve müsalemet ve haricin tecavüzüne karşı yalnız tedafü'-dür. Hayatda düstur-u cidal yerine *düstur-u teavündür* ki; şe'ni ittihad ve tesanüddür. Heva yerine *hüdâ* dır ki; şe'ni insaniyeten terakki ve ruhen te-

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KURUN-U ÛLA: İlk çağlar. MECMU-U VAHŞET: Vahşetinin tamamı. İSTİNKAF: Çekimserlik. CAY-I DİKKAT: Dikkat çekici, dikkate değer. İSTİKLAL: Bağımsızlık. İSTİĞNA: Muhtaç olmama. MÜMTAZ: Seçkin, ayrı. BEL' OLUNMAK: Eritilmek, yutulmak. MÜRUR-U A'SAR: Asırların geçmesi. TEMZİC: Birleştirme, kaynaştırma. TENASÜH: Ruhun bir başka bedene geçmesi. TEV'EM: İkiz. ESBAB-I TEMZİC: Kaynaştırma sebebleri. NUR-U HİDAYET: Hidayet nuru. İNKIŞA: Açmak, dağıtmak, yok etmek. TEVAZÜN: Denge, eşitlik. TECAZÜB: Birbirini çekme, bağlılık. CİHETÜ'L-VAHDET: Birlik noktası. RABITA-İ DİNİ: Din bağı. UHUVVET: Kardeşlik. MÜSALEMET: Barış, karşılıklı emniyet. TEDAFÜ': Müdafaa. DÜSTUR-U CİDAL: Mücadele düsturu. DÜSTUR-U TEAVÜN: Yardımlaşma düsturu.

kâmüldür. Hevayı tahdit eder, nefsin hevesat-ı süfliyesinin teshiline bedel, ruhun hissiyat-ı ulviyesini tatmin eder.

Demek biz mağlubiyetle ikinci cereyana takıldık ki, mazlumların ve cumhurun cereyanıdır. Başkalarından yüzde seksen fakir ve mazlumsa; İslâmdan doksan belki doksan beştir.

Âlem-i İslâm şu ikinci cereyana karşı lâkayd veya muarız kalmakla; hem istinadsız, hem bütün emeğini heder, hem onun istilasiyle istihaleye mâruz kalmaktan ise, âkılâne davranıp onu İslâmî bir tarza çevirip, kendine hâdim kılmaktır. Zira *düşmanın düşmanı, düşman kaldıkça dosttur; nasıl ki, düşmanın dostu, dost kaldıkça düşmandır.*

Şu iki cereyan birbirine zıd, hedefleri zıd, menfaatleri zıd olduğundan; birincisi dese: "öl", diğeri diyecek "diril!.." Birinin menfaati; zarar, ihtilaf, tedenni, za'f uyumamızı istilzam ettiği gibi; ötekinin menfaati dahi kuvvetimizi, ittihadımızı bizzarure ikitiza eder.

Şark husumeti, İslâm inkişafını boğuyordu, zâil oldu ve olmalı. Garb husumeti, İslâmın ittihadına, uhuvvetin inkişafına en müessir sebeptir, bâki kalmalı.

Birden o meclisten tasdik emareleri tezahür etti.
Dediler:
— *Evet, ümidvar olunuz, şu istikbal inkılâbı içinde, en yüksek gür sada İslâmın sadası olacaktır!...*

Tekrar biri sordu:

maksatları bir gördüm. Kezalik, o ism-i mübareke intisab ettim. Lâkin tarif ettiğim ve dahil olduğum İttihad-ı Muhammedi'nin (A.S.M.) tarifi budur ki:

Garb ve şarka ve cenubdan şimale mümted bir silsile-i nurani ile merbut bir dairedir. Dahil olanlar da bu zamanda üçyüz milyondan ziyadedir. Bu ittihadın cihet ve irtibatı, tevhid-i İlâhidir. Ve peyman ve yemini, imandır. Müntesibleri, "Kâlû Belâ"dan dahil umum mü'minlerdir. Defter-i esmâları da, Levh-i Mahfuz'dur. Ve bu ittihadın nâşir-i efkarı, umum kütüb-ü İslâmiyedir. Ve yevmiye cerideleri de, i'lâ-yı Kelimetullahı hedef-i maksad eden umum cerâid-i diniye; kulüb ve encümenleri, mesâcid ve medâris ve zevâyâdır. Merkezi de, Harameyn-i Şerifeyn'dir. Böyle cemiyetin reisi, Fahr-ı Âlem'dir (A.S.M.). Ve mesleği, herkes kendi nefsiyle cihad-ı ekber yani: Ahlak-ı Ahmediye (A.S.M) ile tahalluk ve Sünnet-i Nebeviyeyi ihya ve başkalara da muhabbet ile -eğer izrârı intac etmezse- nasihat!

Bu ittihadın nizamnâmesi, Sünnet-i Nebeviye; ve kanunnâmesi, evâmir ve nevâhi-i Şer'iyye'dir. Ve kılınçları da, berahin-i katıadır. Zira medenilere galebe çalmak ikna' iledir, icbarla değil. Taharri-i hakikat, muhabbet iledir. Husumet ise: Vahşet ve taassuba karşı idi. Zaten medeniyet onları tokatlıyor. Hedef ve maksatları da i'lâ-yı Kelimetullah'dır.

Şeriat da: Yüzde doksandokuzu ahlak, ibadet ve fazilete aiddir. Yüzde bir nisbetinde siyasete mütealliktir, "Ulü'l emirlerimiz" düşünsünler. Şim-

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İNTİSAB: Bağlanmák. **GARB:** Batı. **CENUB:** Güney. **ŞİMAL:** Kuzey. **MÜMTED:** Uzayan; sürekli uzamış. **SİLSİLE-İ NURÂNİ:** Nuranî bağ. **MERBUT:** Bağlı, rabtedilmiş. **İTTİHAD:** Birleşmek. **İRTİBAT:** Bağlantı. **TEVHİD-İ İLAHİ:** Bir Allah'dan başka ilah olmadığına inanma, bilme. **PEYMAN:** Ahd, yemin, söz. **MÜNTESİBLER:** İntisab edenler, bağlananlar. **KÂLÛ BELÂ:** Cenab-ı Hak ruhları yaratıp, onlara "Rabbiniz değil miyim?" meâlinde "E lestü Bi-Rabbiküm" buyurduğunda, ruhlar: "Evet, Rabbimizsin" meâlindeki "Kâlû Belâ" diye cevap verdiklerini bildiren Kur'an'daki bir tabirdir. **DEFTER-İ ESMA:** İsimlerin yazılıp kaydedildiği defter. **LEVH-İ MAHFUZ:** Her şeyin hayatının Cenab-ı Hak katında yazılması, ilm-i İlahinin bir ünvanı. **NAŞİR-İ EFKÂR:** Fikirleri yayan. **KÜTÜB-Ü İSLÂMİYE:** İslâmi kitaplar. **YEVMİYE CERİDE:** Günlük gazete. **İ'LA-YI KELİMETULLAH:** Allah'ın kelâmının, İslâmiyet'in ve hakikatlerin kıymetini bilmek ve yaymak. **CERAİD-İ DİNİYE:** Dînî yayın yapan gazeteler. **ENCÜMEN:** Cemiyet. **MESÂCİD:** Mescidler. **MEDÂRİS:** Medreseler. **ZEVÂYÂ:** Zaviyeler, küçük tekkeler. **TAHALLÛK:** Peygamberimiz Hz. Muhammed Mustafa (a.s.m.)'ın ahlâkı ile ahlâklanmak. **İHYÂ:** Diriltme, hayat verme. Tatbik etme. **İZRÂR:** Zarar vermek, zarara uğratmak. **İNTAC:** Netice, sonuç. **EVA-MİR VE NEVÂHİ-İ ŞER'İYYE:** Şer'i emir ve yasaklar. **BERAHİN-İ KATIA:** Kat'i ve kesin deliller. **İCBÂR:** Zorlama, cebr. **TAHARRİ-İ HAKİKAT:** Hakikatın araştırılması. **MÜTE-ALLİK:** Bir şeye mensub, bir şeye bağlı, alâkalı. **ULÜ'L EMR:** Müslümanları Şeriatla Şeriat namına idare eden Halife, İslâm devlet başkanı, İslâm devleti idarecileri.

Hâtime

[Ebnâ-yı cinsime de burada bir-kaç söz söylemezsem bence bahis nâtamam kalır.]

Ey Asurîler ve Kiyanîler'in cihangirlik zamanında pişdar, kahraman askerleri olan arslan Kürtler! Beşyüz senedir yattığınız yeter. Artık uyanınız, sabahtır. Yoksa sahrâ-yı vahşette, vahşet ve gaflet sizi gâret edecektir.

'Hikmet-i İlâhi' denilen makine-i âlemin nizamı ve telgraf hattı gibi umum âle-me mümted ve müteşâib kanun-u nurânî-i İlâhinin müessisi olan hikmet-i İlâhi ufk-u ezelden enguşt-u kaderi kaldırmış, size emrediyor ki: *Tefrika ile katre katre müte-ferrik su gibi zayi olan hamiyet ve kuvvetinizi İslâmiyetin fikr-i milliyetiyle tevhid ve mezc ederek, zerrâtın cazibe-i cüz'iyeleri gibi bir cazibe-i umumi-i millî teşkili ile Kürd gibi bir kitle-i azimeyi küre gibi tedvir ederek, şems-i şevket-i İslâmiye ve Osmaniye'nin mevkebinde bir kevkeb-i münevver gibi cazibesine ittibâ ile muvaze-ne ve âheng-i umumiyeyi muhafaza ediniz.*

Hem de *'hürriyet'* denilen, Sübhan ve Ağrı dağları gibi istikbâlin cibal-i şâhi-kasının tepesinde ayağa kalkmış ve esaret-i nefs altına girmeyi yasak etmiş ve gayra tecavüzü tecviz etmeyerek Şeriat'a istinad etmiş olan sultan-ı hürriyet, yüksek sadâ

PİŞDAR: Öncü. **GARET ETMEK:** Yağmalamak. **MÜMTED:** Uzanmış. **MÜTEŞÂİB:** Şu'belenmiş, da-ğılmış. **ENGUŞT-U KADER:** Kaderin parmağı. **TEDVİR ETMEK:** Döndürmek. **MEVKEB:** Yıldızın mev-kii. **KEVKEB-İ MÜNEVVER:** Nurlu yıldız. **TECVİZ ETMEMEK:** İzin vermemek, caiz görmemek.

ile sizin gibi mâzinin en derin derelerinde gafil ve müteferrik bir kavme: *"Cehalet ve fakra hücum için fen ve san'at ve silâh başına, ileri arş!"* emrini veriyor.

Hem de *'hakikat'* denilen, tabakat altında mestur ve mahpus kalmış ve tabaka-i istibdadın mahv ve ref'iyle, omuzu üstünde olan tabaka-i cehl ve gafletin tahfifiyle ihtizaza gelmiş ve kıyama teşebbüs etmiş olan muhbir-i hakaik size her cihetle haber veriyor ki: *Mahiyetinizde dest-i kaderin ektiği istidâdâtı ve mukadderâtınızı fiile çıkaran ve mâhiyet-i kavmiyenizde saklanmış olan secâyânızı âb-ı hayat-ı maarifle iska etmek vaktidir. Yoksa kuruyacak yahud tefessüh edecektir.*

Hem de *'ihtiyaç'* denilen, medeniyetin pederi ve terakkiyatın müessisi olan üstad-ı ihtiyaç, sillesini kaldırmış, size hükmediyor ki: *Ya hayat ve hürriyetinizi bu sahrâ-yı vahşette gârete vereceksiniz veyahut meydan-ı medeniyette fen, san'at balon ve şimendiferine binerek istikbâl-i istikbâl ve o ahvâl-i müttefikayı istirdad ederek ka'be-i kemâlâta koşacaksınız.*

Hem de *'milliyet'* denilen, mâzi derelerinden ve hal sahralarından ve istikbal dağlarından hayme-nişîn olan Rustem-i Zâl ve Selâhaddîn-i Eyyubî gibi Kürd dâhî kahramanlarıyla bir çadırda oturan bir âile ki, herkesi başkasının haysiyet ve şerefi ile şereflendiren ve hayat-ı ulviyenin enmuzeci olan fikr-i milliyetiniz size emr-i kat'î ile emrediyor ki: *Tâ her biriniz umum bir milletin ma'kes-i hayatı ve hâmî-i saadeti ve umum milletin bir misal-i müşahhası olunuz.. şimdiki gibi bir şahıs değil, bir millet kadar büyüyeceksiniz. Zira maksadın büyümesi ile himmet de büyür. Ve milliyetin galeyanıyla ahlâk da tekemmül ve teâlî eder.*

Hem de *'meşrûtiyet'* denilen, sebeb-i saadet-i akvâm ve hâkimiyet-i milliyeyi temin ile makine-i hayatın buharı olan hürriyetteki irade-i cüz'iyeyi istibdad ve tahakkümün itfâsından kurtaran ve meşveret-i Şer'iyinin mayası ile mayalandıran meşrûtiyet-i meşrûa, meclis-i imtihana da'vet ediyor ki: *Sinn-i rüşde büluğunuzu ve vesâyete adem-i ihtiyacınızı görmek istiyor. İmtihana hazırlanınız. Mevcudiyetinizi ittihadla gösteriniz ve hamiyet-i millî ile fikir ve vicdan-ı şahsiyenizi milletin kalb ve akl-ı müştereki gibi gösteriniz. Yoksa sıfır çekecek, şehâdet-nâme-i hürriyeti elinize vermeyecektir.*

Evet, mazinin sahralarında keşmekeşinize sebebiyet veren her birinizdeki meylü'l-ağalık ve fikr-i hod-serâne ve enaniyet.. şimdi ise istikbâlin saadet saray-ı medeniyette fikr-i icada ve teşebbüs-ü şahsiyeye ve fikr-i hürriyete inkılâb edecektir. Hattâ diyebilirim ki: *Başkalarının sükûtî medreselerine nisbet sizin gürültülü olan medreseleriniz bir meclis-i meb'usân-ı ilmiyeyi gösteriyor. Ve imam arkasında kıraat-ı Fâtiha ile semâvî ve ruhânî vızıltılarınız, mezheben ve medreseten ve kavmiyeten*

MESTUR: Örtülü. **REF':** Ortadan kaldırma. **İHTİZAZA GELMEK:** Hareketlenmek, titreşmek. **SECAYA:** Seciyeler. **İSKA ETMEK:** Sulamak. **İSTİKBALİ İSTİKBAL ETMEK:** Geleceği karşılamak. **İSTİRDAD İSTİRDAD ETMEK:** Yeniden kazanmak. **ENMUZEC:** Öz, lübb, model. **HAMİ-İ SAADET:** Saadeti himaye eden. **İTFA:** Söndürme. **SİNN-İ RÜŞD:** Olgunluk yaşı. **ŞEHADETNAME-İ HÜRRİYET:** Hürriyet diploması.

mâhiyetinizdeki istidâd-ı meşrûtiyet sırrına kaderin bir îmâ ve nişanı vardır.

وَاَنْ لَيْسَ لِلْاِنْسَانِ اِلَّا مَا سَعٰى *'nın başka ünvanı olan teşebbüs-ü şah-*

sîye müşevvik var.

Hem de her bir kemâlin müessis ve hâmisi olan 'cesaret ve nâmûs-u millî' emrediyor ki: <u>Nasıl ki şimdiye kadar dimağdan kalbe mecra açmakla aklı kuvvete mezc ederek, maârifinizi</u> kılıncın hutut-u cevherinden öğrenmekle şecâat-ı maddîde terakkî ettiniz, şimdi ise kalbden fikre karşı menfez açınız. Kuvveti aklın imdadına ve hissiyatı efkârın arkasına gönderiniz. Tâ ki, şecâat-ı akliye-i medeniyet meydanında nâmus-u millî pâyimâl olmasın. Kılıncınız fen ve san'at cevherinden yapılmalı.

Hem de '*lisan-ı mâderzâd*' denilen, eşia-i hissiyat-ı milliyenin ma'kesi ve semerât-ı edebin şeceresi ve âb-ı hayat-ı maarifin cedâvili ve kıymet ve tekemmülünüzün mizan-ı i'tidâli ve doğrudan doğruya herkesin vicdanına karşı menfez açmakla hayt-ı şua'ı gibi, tesiratı ilgâ edici ihmâlinizle gayet müşevveş ve bazı dalları aşılanmış olan lisanınız, şecere-i tuba gibi bir şecerenin tecellisine müstaid iken, böyle kurumuş ve perişan kalmış ve medeniyet lisanı olan edebiyattan nâkıs kalmış olduğundan, lisan-ı teessüfle lisanınınız sizden hamiyet-i milliyeye arz-ı şikayet ediyor.

İnsanda kaderin sikkesi lisandır. İnsaniyetin sureti ise sahife-i lisanda nakş-ı beyan tersîm ediyor. Lisan-ı mâderzâde ise tabii olduğundan, elfazı davet etmeksizin zihne geliyor. Alış-veriş yalnız ma'nâ ile kaldığından zihin çatallaşmaz. Ve o lisana giren maârif "nakşu ale'l-hacer" gibi baki kalır. Ve o ziyy-i lisan-ı millî ile görünen her ne olur ise me'nus olur. İşte hamiyet-i millînin bir misalini size takdim ediyorum ki, o da *Mutkili Halil Hayâlî Efendi*'dir ki hamiyet-i millînin her şubesinde

olduğu gibi, bu şube-i lisan meydanından قَصَبُ السَّبْقِى

ihraz eylemiş. Ve lisânımızın esası olan elif-bâ ve sarf ve nahvini vücuda getirmiş. Ve hattâ diyebilirim ki: Asr-ı hamiyet ve gayret ve fedakârlık ve himâyet-i zaaafâ imtizac ederek vücud-u ma'nevisini teşkil etmiştir. Hakikaten Kürdistan madeninden böyle bir cevher-i hamiyete rast gelindiğinden, bizim istikbalimizi onun gibi ümîdinden bir çok cevahir ışıklandıracaktır.

İşte bu zat, şâyân-ı iktidâ bir numune-i hamiyet göstermiş ve muhtac-ı tekemmül lisan-ı millîmize dair bir temel atmış. Onun eserine gitmeyi ve temeli üzerine binâ etmeyi ehl-i hamiyete tavsiye ediyorum.

Bediüzzaman Said Nursî

HUTUT-U CEVHER: Keskin kenarın çizgileri. LİSAN-I MADERZAD: Ana dil. EŞİ'A-İ HİSSİYAT-I MİLLİYE: Millî hislerin parıltıları. HAYT-I ŞUA: Tek çizgi halinde gelen nüfuz edici ışık, parıltı. İLGA EDİCİ: Kaldırıcı. NAKŞÜ ALE'L-HACERİ: Taş üzerindeki nakış, işleme, hat. ZİYY-İ LİSAN-I MİLLİ: Milli lisanın kıyafeti. İHRAZ EYLEMEK: Kazanmak. ŞAYAN-I İKTİDA: Uyulmaya değer.

fis ve acz ve enaniyetten neş'et eden teberr-i nefs ile kendi kabahatini başkasına atıyor. Şöyle yanlışa muhtemel olan sözünü veya hatâya kabil olan fiilini, bir büyük zata veyahut muteber bir kitaba, hatta bazan dine, çok defa hadise en nihayet kadere isnad etmekle,kendini teberri etmek istiyor. Haşâ, sümme hâşâ... Nurdan zulmet gelmez. Kendi âyinesinde görülen yıldızları setretse de, semadaki yıldızları setredemez. Fakat kendi göremez.

Ey mu'teriz ağa!.. Ağlamak isteyen çocuk gibi veya intikam isteyen kinedar düşman gibi bahane mahane aramakla hilâf-ı şeriatle vücuda gelen ahvali ve su-i tefehhümden neş'et eden şübehatı sened tutmak, İslâmiyete leke getirmek pek büyük insafsızlıktır. Zira, bir Müslimin herbir sıfatı İslâmiyetten neş'et etmek lâzım gelmez.

Sekizinci Mukaddeme

(T e m h i d)

Şu gelen uzun mukaddemeden usanma. Zira nihayeti,nihayet derecede mühimdir. Hem de şu gelen mukaddeme, her kemâli mahveden ye'si öldürür. Ve herbir saâdetin mâyesi olan ümidi hayatlandırır. Ve mâzi başkalara ve istikbal bize olacağına beşaret verir. Taksime razıyız. İşte mevzuu: Ebnâ-yı mâziyle ebnâ-yı müstakbeli muvazene etmektir. Hem de mekâtib-i âliyede elif ve ba okunmuyor. Mahiyet-i ilim bir dahi olsa, suret-i tedrisi başkadır. Evet, mazi denilen mekteb-i hissiyatla, istikbal denilen medrese-i efkâr bir tarzda değildir. Evvelâ: Ebnâ-yı maziden muradım, İslâmların gayrısından onuncu asırdan evvel olan kurûn-u vusta ve ûlâdır. Amma millet-i İslâm, üç yüz seneye kadar mümtaz ve serfiraz ve beş yüz seneye kadar filcümle mazhar-ı kemaldir. Beşinci asırdan on ikinci asra kadar ben maziyle tabir ederim, ondan sonra müstakbel derim. Bundan sonra mâlumdur ki: İnsanda müdebbir-i gâlib, ya akıl veya basardır. Tâbir-i diğer ile ya efkâr veya hissiyattır. Veyahut ya haktır veya kuvvettir. Veyahut ya hikmet veya

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TEBERRİ-İ NEFİS: Kendine hiç suç bulmama. **MU'TERİZ:** Karşı çıkan. **EBNA:** Çocuklar, insanlar. **MEKÂTİB-İ ÂLİYE:** Yüksek okullar. **ELİF VE BA:** Alfabe. **TEDRİS:** Okutma. **MEKTEB-İ HİSSİYAT:** Hislerin okutulduğu okul. **MEDRESE-İ EFKÂR:** Düşünceyi esas alan üniversite. **KURUN-U VUSTA VE ULA:** Orta ve ilk çağlar. **MÜMTAZ:** Seçkin. **SERFİRAZ:** Başı yukarda, üstün. **FİLCÜMLE:** Kısmen. **MAZHAR-I KEMAL:** Her alanda mükemmelliğe mazhar. **MÜDEBBİR-İ GÂLİB:** Öncelikle yön veren. **TABİR-İ DİĞER İLE:** Bir başka deyişle. **BASAR:** Göz.

hükûmettir. Veyahut ya müyûlât-ı kalbiyedir veya temayülât-ı akliyedir. Ve-
yahut ya hevâ veya hüdâdır. Buna binaen görüyoruz ki: Ebnâ-yı mazinin
bir derece sâfi olan ahlâk ve hâlis olan hissiyatları galebe çalarak gayr-i mü-
nevver olan efkârlarını istihdam ederek şahsiyyat ve ihtilâf meydanı aldı. Fakat
ebnâ-yı müstakbelin bir derece münevver olan efkârları heves ve şehvetle muz-
lim olan hissiyatlarına galebe ederek emrine müsahhar eylediğinden hukuk-
u umumiyenin hükümferma olacağı muhakkak oldu. İnsaniyet bir derece te-
celli etti. Beşaret veriyor ki: Asıl insaniyet-i kübra olan İslâmiyet, sema-i müs-
takbelde ve Asya'nın cinanı üzerinde bulutsuz güneş gibi pertev-efşan ola-
caktır.

Vaktâ ki mazi derelerinde hükümferma olan garaz ve husumet ve meylü't-
tefevvuku tevlid eden hissiyat ve müyûlât ve kuvvet idi. O zamanın ehlini
irşad için iknaiyat-ı hitabiye kâfi idi. Zira hissiyatı okşayan ve müyûlâta te-
sir ettiren müddeayı müzeyyene ve şa'şaalandırmak veyahut hâile veya kuvve-i
belâgatle hayale me'nus kılmak, bürhanın yerini tutar idi. Fakat bizi onlara
kıyas etmek hareket-i ric'iyye ile o zamanın köşelerine sokmak demektir. Her-
bir zamanın bir hükmü var. Biz delil isteriz; tasvir-i müddeâ ile aldanmayız.

Vakta ki; hâl sahrasında istikbal dağlarına daima yağmur veren hakaik-ı
hikmetin maden-i tebahhuratı efkâr ve akıl ve hak ve hikmet olduklarından
ve yeni tevellüde başlayan meyl-i taharri-i hakikat ve aşk-ı hak ve menfaat-i
umumiyeyi menfaat-i şahsiyeye tercih ve meyl-i insaniyetkâraneyi intac ey-
leyen berahin-i katıadan başka isbat-ı müddea birşeyle olmaz... *Biz ehl-i hâ-
liz. Namzed-i istikbaliz. Tasvir ve tezyin-i müddea, zihnimizi işbâ' etmiyor.
Bürhan isteriz.*

Biraz da iki sultan hükmünde olan mazi ve istikbalin hasenat ve seyyi-
atların zikredelim. Mazi ülkesinde ekseriyetle hükümferma: Kuvvet ve heva
ve tabiat ve müyûlât ve hissiyat olduğundan seyyiatından biri; herbir emir-
de, -velev filcümle olsun- istibdad ve tahakküm var idi. Hem de meslek-i gayra

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MÜYÛLÂT-I KALBİYE: Gönlün istekleri. TEMÂYÜLÂT-I AKLİYE: Aklî yönelişler. HEVA: Arzu-
lara uyma, tutku. HÜDA: Doğruda olma, yolda doğruluk, istikamet. GAYR-I MÜNEVVER: Aydın-
lanmamış. İSTİHDAM ETMEK: Kullanmak. ŞAHSİYYAT: Kişisellik. MUZLİM: Karanlık. EMRİNE
MÜSAHHAR EYLEMEK: Kendi kullanımına almak, ram etmek. İNSANİYET-İ KÜBRA: En büyük
insanlık. CİNAN: Bağlar-bahçeler (Semerkand, Basra, Şam gibi 'dünya cennetleri' adı verilen eski önemli
merkezler de özellikle kastedilmiş olabilir). PERTEV-EFŞAN: Işık saçan. İKNAİYYAT-I HİTABİYE:
Konuşarak ikna etmek. MÜDDEA: Tez. MÜZEYYENE: Süslenmiş. HAİLE: Tiyatro, jest ve mimikler.
ME'NUS KILMAK: Sevimlileştirmek, yakınlık kazandırmak. HAREKET-İ RİC'İYYE: Geriye dönüş.
MADEN-İ TEBAHHURAT: Buharlaşma kaynağı. BERAHİN-İ KATIA: Kat'i deliller. İŞBA ETMEK:
Doyurmak. MESLEK-İ GAYR: Başka yol.

husumete, kendi mesleğine iltizam ve muhabbetten daha ziyade ihtimam olunur idi. Hem de bir şahsa husumetin, başkasının muhabbeti suretinde tezahürü idi. Hem de keşf-i hakikate mani olan iltizam ve taassub ve taraftarlığın müdahaleleri idi. Hasıl-ı kelâm: Müyûlât muhtelife olduklarından taraftarlık hissi, herşeye parmak vurmak ile ihtilâfatla ihtilâl çıkarıldığından, hakikat ise kaçıp gizlenirdi. Hem de istibdad-ı hissiyatın seyyielerindendir ki: Mesâlik ve mezâhibi ikame edecek, galiben taassub veya tadlil-i gayr veya safsata idi. Halbuki üçü de nazar-ı şeriatte mezmum ve uhuvvet-i İslamiyyeye ve nisbet-i hemcinsiyeye ve teâvün-ü fıtriye münafidir. Hatta o derece oluyor; bunlardan biri taassub ve safsatasını terk ederek nâsın icmâ' ve tevatürünü tasdik ettiği gibi, birden mezhep ve mesleğini tebdil etmeğe müztar kalıyor. Halbuki: *Taassub yerinde hak ve safsata yerinde bürhan ve tadlil-i gayr yerinde tevfik ve tatbik ve istişare ederse, dünya birleşse hak olan mezheb ve mesleğini bir parça tebdil edemez. Nasılki zaman-ı saâdette ve selef-i salihîn zamanlarında hükümferma hak ve bürhan ve akıl ve meşveret olduklarından şükûk ve şübehatın hükümleri olmaz idi.* Kezalik görüyoruz ki: Fennin himmetiyle, zaman-ı halde filcümle, inşaallah istikbalde bitamamihi hükümferma kuvvete bedel hak ve safsataya bedel bürhan ve tab'a bedel akıl ve hevâya bedel hüdâ ve taassuba bedel metanet ve garaza bedel hamiyyet ve müyûlât-ı nefsaniyyeye bedel temayülât-ı ukul ve hissiyata bedel efkâr olacaklardır; karn-ı evvel ve sâni ve sâlis'teki gibi ve beşinci karn'a kadar filcümle olduğu gibi. Beşinci asırdan şimdiye kadar kuvvet hakkı mağlub eylemiş idi.

Saltanat-ı efkârın icra-yı hasenesindendir ki: Hakaik-ı İslâmiyetin güneşi, evham ve hayalât bulutlarından kurtulmuş, her yeri tenvire başlamıştır. Hatta dinsizlik bataklığında taaffün eden adamlar dahi o ziya ile istifadeye başlamıştırlar. Hem de meşveret-i efkârın mehasinindendir ki: Makâsıd ve mesâlik, bürhan-ı katı' üzerine teessüs ve her kemale mümidd olan hakk-ı sabit ile hakaikı rabteylemesidir. Bunun neticesi; batıl, hak suretini giymekle efkârı aldatmaz.

Ey ihvan-ı Müslimin!.. Hal, lisan-ı hal ile bize beşaret veriyor ki: Sırr-ı

İHTİMAM: Önem verme. MESÂLİK: Meslekler, meşrebler. MEZÂHİB: Mezhebler. TADLİL-İ GAYR: Başkasını yoldan çıkmış görme-yoldan çıkmışlıkla suçlama. MEZMUM: Kötü görülen. NİSBET-İ HEMCİNSİYE: Aynı cinsten olmanın getirdiği yakınlık. TEAVÜN-Ü FITRÎ: Yaratılıştan gelen yardımlaşma eğilimi ve gereği. TEBDİL ETMEK: Değiştirmek. BİTAMAMİHİ: Tamamiyle. TAB': Tabiat, huylar. KARN: Asır. KARN-I EVVEL: Birinci asır. SÂNİ VE SÂLİS : İkinci ve üçüncü. MÜMİDD: Uzanan, yardım eden. TABAİ-I BEŞER: Beşeri tabiatlar, insanî huylar.

قَدْ جَاءَ الْحَقُّ وَزَهَقَ الْبَاطِلُ boynunu kaldırmış, el ile istikbale işaret edip, yüksek ses ile îlan ediyor ki: Dehre ve tabayi'-i beşere, damen-i kıyamete kadar hâkim olacak, yalnız âlem-i kevnde adalet-i ezeliyyenin tecelli ve timsali olan hakikat-ı İslâmiyettir ki, asıl insaniyet-i kübra denilen şey odur.

İnsaniyet-i suğrâ denilen mehâsin-i medeniyet, onun mukaddemesidir. Görülmüyor mu ki: Telâhuktan neş'et eden tenevvür-ü efkâr ile toprağa benzeyen evham ve hayalâtı, hakaik-ı İslâmiyenin omuzu üzerinden hafifleştirmiştir. Bu hal gösteriyor ki: Nücûm-u semâ-yı hidâyet olan o hakaik tamamen inkişaf ve tele'lü ve lem'a-nisar olacaktır.

عَلَى رَغْمِ اُنُوفِ الْاَعْدَاءِ Eğer istersen istikbal içine gir, bak! Hakikatlerin meydanında hikmetin taht-ı nezaret ve murakabesinde teslis içinde tevhidi arayanlar, safsata ederek asıl tevhid-i mahz ve itikad-ı kâmil ve akl-ı selim kabul ettiği akide-i hak ile mücehhez ve seyf-i bürhan ile mütekallid olanlarla mübareze ve muharebe ederse; nasıl birden mağlub ve münhezim oluyor...

Kur'an'ın uslûb-u hakîmanesine yemin ederim ki: Nasârâyı emsaliyle havalandırarak dalâlet derelerine atan, yalnız aklı azl ve bürhanı tard ve ruhbanı taklid etmektir. Hem de İslâmiyyeti daima tecelli ve inbisat-ı efkâr nisbetinde hakaikı inkişaf ettiren yalnız İslâmiyetin hakikat üzerinde olan teessüs ve bürhan ile takallüdü ve akıl ile meşvereti ve taht-ı hakikat üstünde bulunması ve ezelden ebede müteselsil olan hikmetin desatirine mutabakat ve muhakâtıdır. Acaba görülmüyor: Ayâtın ekser fevatih ve havâtiminde nev'i beşeri vicdana havale ve aklın istişaresine hamlettiriyor. Diyor:

اَفَلَا يَنْظُرُونَ   ve   فَانْظُرُوا   ve   اَفَلَا يَتَدَبَّرُونَ

يَعْقِلُونَ   ve   مَا يَشْعُرُونَ   ve   تَتَفَكَّرُوا   ve   اَفَلَا يَتَذَكَّرُونَ

DAMEN-İ KIYAMET: Kıyametin kopma zamanı. **ALEM-İ KEVN:** Kâinat. **İNSANİYET-İ SUĞRA:** Küçük insanlık. **TELE'LÜ:** Parıldama. **LEM'A-NİSAR:** Işıldayan. **(ALA RAĞM-İ ÜNÛFİ'L-A'DÂ):** Düşmanların burunları rağmına, düşmanlar istemese de. **SEYF-İ BÜRHAN:** Delil kılıcı. **MÜTEKAL-LİD:** Kuşanmış. **MÜNHEZİM:** Hezimete uğramış. **NASÂRA:** Hristiyanlar. **İNBİSAT-I EFKÂR:** Düşüncelerin gelişmesi. **MÜTESELSİL:** Zincirlerin gelişmesi. **MUHAKÂT:** Bağlantı. **FEVÂTİH:** Başlangıç. **HAVÂTİM:** Son.

يَٓا اَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اعْبُدُوا رَبَّكُمُ الَّذٖى خَلَقَكُمْ وَالَّذٖينَ
مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَّقُونَ ۞ اَلَّذٖى جَعَلَ لَكُمُ الْاَرْضَ فِرَاشًا
وَالسَّمَٓاءَ بِنَٓاءً وَاَنْزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَٓاءِ مَٓاءً فَاَخْرَجَ بِهٖ مِنَ الثَّمَرَاتِ
رِزْقًا لَكُمْ فَلَا تَجْعَلُوا لِلّٰهِ اَنْدَادًا وَاَنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ

Yani: «Ey insanlar! Sizi ve sizden evvelkileri yaratan Rabbinize ibadet ediniz ki, takva mertebesine vâsıl olasınız. Ve yine Rabbinize ibadet ediniz ki, Arzı size döşek yaptı, semayı üstünüze bina etti; ve semadan suları indirdi ve onunla sizlere rızk olmak üzere yerden meyveleri ve sâir gıdaları çıkarttı. Öyle ise, Allah'a misil ve şerik yapmayınız. Bilirsiniz ki, Allah'tan başka ma'bud ve hâlikınız yoktur.»

Mukaddeme

Akaidî ve îmanî hükümleri kavi ve sabit kılmakla meleke haline getiren, ancak ibadettir. Evet, Allah'ın emirlerini yapmaktan ve nehiylerinden sakınmaktan ibaret olan ibadetle, vicdanî ve aklî olan îmanî hükümler terbiye ve takviye edilmezse, eserleri ve te'sirleri zayıf kalır. Bu hale, Âlem-i İslâmın hâl-i hazırdaki vaziyeti şâhittir. Ve keza, ibadet; dünya ve âhiret saadetlerine vesîle olduğu gibi, maaş ve maâde, yani dünya ve âhiret işlerini tanzime sebebdir; ve şahsî ve nev'î kemalâta vâsıtadır; ve Hâlık ile abd arasında pek yüksek bir nisbet ve şereflî bir râbıtadır. İbadetin dünya saadetine vesîle olduğunu izah eden cihetlerden:

Birisi : İnsan, bütün hayvanlardan mümtaz ve müstesna olarak, acip ve lâtif bir mizac ile yaratılmıştır. O mizac yüzünden, insanda çeşit çeşit meyiller, arzular meydana gelmiştir. Meselâ: İnsan, istediği vakit en müntehab şeyleri ister; meylettiği vakit en güzel şeylere meyleder; arzu ettiği vakit en zînetli şeyleri arzu eder; yaşamak hususunda insaniyete lâyık en güzel bir maişet ve bir şerefle yaşamak ister.

Şu meyillerin iktizası üzerine, yiyecek, giyecek ve sair hacetlerini istediği gibi güzel bir şekilde tedarikinde çok san'atlara ihtiyacı vardır. O san'atlara vukufu olmadığından, ebna-yı cinsiyle teşrik-i mesai etmeye mecbur olur ki; herbirisi, semere-i sa'yiyle arkadaşına mübadele suretiyle yardımda bulunsun; ki bu sayede ihtiyaçlarını tesviye edebilsinler.

Fakat insandaki kuvve-i şeheviyye, kuvve-i gadabiyye, kuvve-i akliyye Sâni' tarafından tahdid edilmediğinden ve insanın cüz'-i ihtiyarîsiyle terakkisini te'min etmek için bu kuvvetler başı boş bırakıldığından, muamelâtta zulüm ve tecavüzler vukua gelir. Bu tecavüzleri önlemek için, cemaat-i insaniyye, çalışmalarının semerelerini mübadele etmekte adalete muhtaçtır. Lâkin her ferdin aklı, adaleti idrakten âciz olduğundan, küllî bir akla ihtiyaç vardır ki; ferdler, o küllî akıldan istifade etsinler. Öyle küllî bir akıl da ancak kanun şeklinde olur. Öyle bir kanun, ancak şeriattır.

Sonra, o şeriatın te'sirini, icrasını, tatbikini te'min edecek bir merci, bir sahib lâzımdır. O merci ve o sahib de, ancak Peygamberdir. Peygamber olan zatın da, zâhiren ve bâtınen halka olan hâkimiyetini devam ettirmek için, maddî ve mânevî bir ulviyete ve bir imtiyaza ihtiyacı olduğu gibi, Hâlık ile olan derece-i münasebet ve alâkasını göstermek için de, bir delile ihtiyacı vardır. Böyle bir delil de ancak mu'cizelerdir.

Sonra, Cenab-ı Hakkın emirlerine ve nehiylerine itaat ve inkıyadı te'sis ve te'min etmek için, Sâniin azametini zihinlerde tesbit etmeye ihtiyaç vardır. Bu tesbit de, ancak akaid ile, yânî ahkâm-ı imaniyenin tecellîsiyle olur. İmanî hükümlerin takviye ve inkişaf ettirilmesi, ancak tekrar ile teceddüd eden ibadetle olur.

.... Hakîme çevirttirmek içindir.

istimdat ile beraber hayat-ı şahsiye-i insaniyesi dayandığı gibi, hayat-ı içtimaiyesi de yine imanın hakaikından gelen şûra-i şer'î ile yaşayabilir, o düşmanları durdurur, o hâcetlerin teminine yol açar.

Arabî Hutbe-i Şamiye'nin Zeylinin Kısa Bir Tercümesi

Hutbe-i Şamiye'nin Arabî Zeylinde, gayet lâtif bir temsil ile imandan gelen manevî ve kırılmaz bir kahramanlık gösteriyor. Bu meselemiz münasebetiyle bir hulâsasını beyan ediyoruz:

Hürriyetin başında, Sultan Reşat'ın Rumeli'ye seyahati münasebetiyle Vilâyat-ı Şarkiye namına ben de refakat ettim. Şimendiferimizde iki mektepli mütefennin arkadaşla bir mübahase oldu.

Benden sual ettiler ki: "Hamiyet-i diniye mi, yoksa hamiyet-i milliye mi daha kuvvetli, daha lâzım?"

O zaman dedim: "Biz Müslümanlar indimizde ve yanımızda, din ve milliyet, bizzat müttehittir; itibarî, zahirî, arızî bir ayrılık var. Belki, din milliyetin hayatı ve ruhudur. İkisine birbirinden ayrı ve farklı bakıldığı zaman, hamiyet-i diniye avam ve havassa şamil oluyor; hamiyet-i milliye, yüzden birisine, yani menafi-i şahsiyesini millete feda edene has kalır. Öyle ise, hukuk-u umumiye içinde hamiyet-i diniye esas olmalı. Hamiyet-i milliye, ona hadim ve kuvvet ve kal'ası olmalı. Hususan biz Şarklılar, Garblılar gibi değiliz. İçimizde kalplere hâkim, hiss-i dinîdir. Kader-i Ezelî ekser enbiyayı Şarkta göndermesi işaret ediyor ki, yalnız hiss-i dinî Şarkı uyandırır, terakkiye

sevk eder. Asr-ı Saadet ve Tâbiîn, bunun bir bürhan-ı kat'îsidir.

"Ey bu hamiyet-i diniye ve milliyeden hangisine daha ziyade ehemmiyet vermek lâzım geldiğini soran bu şimendifer denilen medrese-i seyyarede ders arkadaşlarım ve şimdi zamanın şimendiferinde istikbal tarafına bizimle beraber giden bütün mektepliler! Size de derim ki:

"'Hamiyet-i diniye ve İslâmiyet milliyeti, Türk ve Arap içinde tamamıyla mezc olmuş ve kabil-i tefrik olamaz bir hâle gelmiş. Hamiyet-i İslâmiye, en kuvvetli ve metin ve Arştan gelmiş bir zincir-i nuranîdir, kırılmaz ve kopmaz bir urvetü'l-vüskadır, tahrip edilmez, mağlûp olmaz bir kudsî kal'adır' dediğim vakit, o iki münevver mektep muallimleri bana dediler: 'Delilin nedir? Bu büyük davaya büyük bir hüccet ve gayet kuvvetli bir delil lâzım. Delil nedir?'"

Birden şimendiferimiz tünelden çıktı. Biz de başımızı çıkardık, pencereden baktık. Altı yaşına girmemiş bir çocuğu şimendiferin tam geçeceği yolun yanında durmuş gördük. O iki muallim arkadaşlarıma dedim:

"İşte bu çocuk lisan-ı hâliyle sualimize tam cevap veriyor. Benim bedelime o masum çocuk bu seyyar medresemizde üstadımız olsun. İşte lisan-ı hâli bu gelecek hakikati der:

"Bakınız, bu dabbetülarz, dehşetli hücum ve gürültüsü ve bağırmasıyla ve tünel deliğinden çıkıp hücum ettiği dakikada geçeceği yolda bir metre yakınlıkta o çocuk

duruyor. O dabbetülarz tehdidiyle ve hücumunun tahakkümü ile bağırarak tehdit ediyor. 'Bana rast gelenlerin vay hâline!' dediği hâlde; o masum, yolunda duruyor, mükemmel bir hürriyet ve harika bir cesaret ve kahramanlıkla, beş para onun tehdidine ehemmiyet vermiyor. Bu dabbetülarzın hücumunu istihfaf ediyor ve kahramancıklığıyla diyor: 'Ey şimendifer! Sen, ra'd ve gök gürültüsü gibi bağırmanla beni korkutamazsın. Sebat ve metanetinin lisan-ı hâliyle güya der: 'Ey şimendifer, sen bir nizamın esirisin. Senin *gem*'in, senin dizginin seni gezdirenin elindedir. Senin bana tecavüz etmen haddin değil. Beni istibdadın altına alamazsın. Haydi yolunda git, kumandanının izniyle yolundan geç.'"

İşte ey bu şimendiferdeki arkadaşlarım ve elli sene sonra fenlere çalışan kardeşlerim! Bu masum çocuğun yerinde, Rüstem-i İranî ve Herkül-ü Yunanî o acib kahramanlıklarıyla beraber, tayy-ı zaman ederek o çocuk yerinde burada bulunduklarını farz ediniz. Onların zamanında şimendifer olmadığı için, elbette şimendiferin bir intizam ile hareket ettiğine bir itikatları olmayacak. Birden bu tünel deliğinden, başında ateş, nefesi gök gürültüsü gibi, gözlerinde elektrik berkleri olduğu hâlde birden çıkan şimendiferin dehşetli tehdit hücumuyla Rüstem ve Herkül tarafına koşmasına karşı, o iki kahraman ne kadar korkacaklar, ne kadar kaçacaklar!.. O harika cesaretleriyle bin metreden fazla kaçacaklar. Bakınız, nasıl bir dabbetülarzın tehdidine karşı hürriyetleri, cesaretleri mahvolur. Kaçmaktan başka çare bulamıyorlar. Çünkü

onlar, onun kumandanına ve intizamına itikat etmedikleri için, mutî bir merkep zannetmiyorlar. Belki gayet müthiş, parçalayıcı, vagon cesametinde yirmi aslanı arkasına takmış bir nevi aslan tevehhüm ederler.

Ey kardeşlerim ve ey elli sene sonra bu sözleri işiten arkadaşlarım! İşte altı yaşına girmeyen bu çocuğa o iki kahramandan ziyade cesaret ve hürriyet veren ve çok mertebe onların fevkinde bir emniyet ve korkmamak hâletini veren, o masumun kalbinde hakikatin bir çekirdeği olan şimendiferin intizamına ve dizgini bir kumandanın elinde bulunduğuna ve cereyanı bir intizam altında ve birisi onu kendi hesabıyla gezdirmesine olan itikadı ve itminanı ve imanıdır. Ve o iki kahramanı gayet korkutan ve vicdanlarını vehme esir eden, onların onun kumandanını bilmemek ve intizamına inanmamak olan cahilâne itikatsızlıklarıdır.

Bu temsilde, o masum çocuğun imanından gelen kahramanlık gibi, bin senede İslâm taifelerinin birkaç aşiretinin (Türk ve Türkleşmiş milletin), kalbinde yerleşen iman ve itikat cihetiyle, rûy-i zeminde yüz mislinden ziyade devletlere, milletlere karşı imanından gelen bir kahramanlıkla, İslâmiyet ve kemalât-ı maneviyenin bayrağını Asya ve Afrika'da ve yarı Avrupa'da gezdiren; ve "Ölsem şehidim, öldürsem gaziyim" deyip ölümü gülerek karşılamakla beraber, dünyadaki müteselsil düşman hâdisatlara karşı da, hatta mikroptan kuyruklu yıldızlara kadar beşerin küllî istidadına karşı düşmanlık vaziyetini

alan o dehşetli şimendiferlerin tehditlerine karşı, imanın kahramanlığıyla mukabele edip korkmayan; kaza ve kader-i İlâhiyeye karşı imanın teslimiyetiyle korkmak, dehşet almak yerinde, hikmet ve ibret ve bir nevi saadet-i dünyeviyeyi kazanan başta Türk ve Arap taifeleri ve bütün Müslüman kabileleri, o masum çocuk gibi, fevkalâde bir manevî kahramanlık gösterdikleri gösteriyor ki, *İstikbalin hâkim-i mutlakı, âhirette olduğu gibi, dünyada da İslâmiyet milliyetidir.*

O iki temsilde, o iki acib kahramanın pek acib korku ve telâşlarına ve elemlerine sebep, onların adem-i itikatları ve cehaletleri ve dalâletleri olduğu gibi; Risâle-i Nur'un yüzer hüccetlerle ispat ettiği bir hakikati ki, bu risâlenin mukaddemesinde bir-iki misali söylenmiş. Mesele şudur ki:

Küfür ve dalâlet, bütün kâinatı ehl-i dalâlete binler müthiş düşmanlar taifeleri ve silsileleri gösteriyor. Kör kuvvet, serseri tesadüf, sağır tabiat elleriyle, Manzume-i Şemsiyeden tut, tâ kalpteki verem mikroplarına kadar binler taife düşmanlar bîçare beşere hücum ettiklerini; ve insanın cami mahiyeti ve küllî istidadatı ve hadsiz ihtiyacatı ve nihayetsiz arzularına karşı mütemadiyen korku, elem, dehşet ve telâş vermesiyle, küfür ve dalâlet, bir Cehennem zakkumu olduğunu ve bu dünyada da sahibini bir Cehennem içine koyduğunu; din ve imandan hariç binler fen ve terakkiyat-ı beşeriye, o Rüstem ve Herkül'ün kahramanlıkları gibi, beş para fayda vermediğini;

yalnız iptal-i his nev'inden muvakkaten o elîm korkuları hissetmemek için sefahat ve sarhoşlukla şırınga ediyor.

İşte, iman ve küfrün muvazenesi, âhirette Cennet ve Cehennem gibi meyveleri ve neticeleri verdiği gibi; dünyada da iman bir manevî Cenneti temin ve ölümü bir terhis tezkeresine çevirmesini; ve küfür dünyada dahi bir manevî Cehennem ve hakikî saadet-i beşeriyeyi mahvetmesi ve ölümü bir idam-ı ebedî mahiyetine getirmesini kat'î ve his ve şuhuda istinat eden Risâle-i Nur'un yüzer hüccetlerine havale edip kısa kesiyoruz.

Bu temsilin hakikatini görmek isterseniz, başınızı kaldırınız, bu kâinata bakınız. Ne kadar şimendifer misillü balon, otomobil, tayyare, berrî ve bahrî gemiler; karada, denizde, havada Kudret-i Ezeliyenin nizam ve hikmetle halk ettiği yıldızların kürelerine ve kâinat ecramına ve hâdisatın silsilelerine ve müteselsil vakıatlarına bakınız. Hem, âlem-i şahadette ve cismanî kâinatta bunların vücudu gibi, âlem-i ruhanî ve maneviyatta Kudret-i Ezeliyenin daha acib müteselsil hazireleri var olduğunu aklı bulunan tasdik eder, gözü bulunan çoğunu görebilir.

İşte kâinat içinde maddî ve manevî bütün bu silsileler, imansız ehl-i dalâlete hücum ediyor, tehdit ediyor, korku veriyor; kuvve-i maneviyesini zirüzeber ediyor. Ehl-i imana, değil tehdit ve korkutmak, belki sevinç ve saadet, ünsiyet ve ümit ve kuvvet veriyor. Çünkü, ehl-i iman iman ile görüyor ki, o hadsiz silsileleri, maddî ve manevî şimendiferleri, seyyar kâinatları mükemmel intizam ve

hikmet dairesinde birer vazifeye sevk eden bir Sâni-i Hakîm onları çalıştırıyor. Zerre miktar, vazifelerinde şaşırmıyorlar, birbirine tecavüz edemiyorlar. Ve kâinattaki kemalât-ı sanatı ve tecelliyat-ı cemaliyeye mazhar olduklarını görüp, kuvve-i maneviyeyi tamamıyla eline verip, saadet-i ebediyenin bir numunesini iman gösteriyor.

İşte, ehl-i dalâletin imansızlıktan gelen dehşetli elemlerine ve korkularına karşı hiçbir şey, hiçbir fen, hiçbir terakkiyat-ı beşeriye buna karşı bir teselli veremez, kuvve-i maneviyeyi temin edemez; cesareti zirüzeber olur. Fakat, muvakkat gaflet perde çeker, aldatır.

Ehl-i iman, iman cihetiyle, değil korkmak ve kuvve-i maneviyesi kırılmak, belki o temsildeki masum çocuk gibi, fevkalâde bir kuvvet-i maneviye ve bir metanetle ve imandaki hakikatle onlara bakıyor. Bir Sâni-i Hakîm'in hikmet dairesinde tedbir ve iradesini müşahede eder, evham ve korkulardan kurtulur. "Sâni-i Hakîm'in emri ve izni olmadan bu seyyar kâinatlar hareket edemezler, ilişemezler" deyip, anlar. Kemal-i emniyetle hayat-ı dünyeviyesinde de derecesine göre saadete mazhar olur. Kimin kalbinde imandan ve din-i haktan gelen bu hakikat çekirdeği vicdanında bulunmazsa ve nokta-i istinadı olmazsa, bilbedahe, temsildeki Rüstem ve Herkül'ün cesaretleri ve kahramanlıkları kırıldığı gibi, onun cesareti ve kuvve-i maneviyesi müzmahil olur ve vicdanı tefessüh eder ve kâinatın hâdisatına esir olur. Her şeye karşı korkak bir dilenci hükmüne düşer. İmanın bu sırr-ı hakikatini

ve dalâletin de bu dehşetli şekavet-i dünyeviyesini Risâle-i Nur yüzer kat'î hüccetlerle ispat ettiğine binaen, bu pek uzun hakikati kısa kesiyoruz.

Acaba, en ziyade kuvve-i maneviyeye ve teselliye ve metanete ihtiyacını hissetmiş bu asırdaki beşer, bu zamanda o kuvve-i maneviyeyi ve teselliyi ve saadeti temin eden ve İslâmiyet ve imandaki nokta-i istinat olan hakaik-ı imaniyeyi bırakıp Garblılaşmak ünvanı ile İslâmiyet milliyetinden istifade yerine, bütün bütün kuvve-i maneviyeyi kırıp ve teselliyi mahveden ve metanetini kıran dalâlet ve sefahate ve yalancı politika ve siyasete dayanmak ne kadar maslahat-ı beşeriyeden ve menfaat-i insaniyeden uzak bir hareket olduğunu; pek yakın bir zamanda, intibaha gelmiş—başta İslâm olarak—beşer hissedecek, dünyanın ömrü kalmışsa Kur'ân'ın hakaikına yapışacak.

* * *

İşte sabık temsil gibi, eski zamanda, Hürriyetin başında bazı dindar mebuslar, Eski Said'e dediler: "Sen her cihette siyaseti dine, şeriata âlet ediyorsun ve dine hizmetkâr yapıyorsun ve yalnız şeriat hesabına hürriyeti kabul ediyorsun. Ve meşrutiyeti de meşruiyet suretinde beğeniyorsun. Demek hürriyet ve meşrutiyet şeriatsız olamaz. Bunun için, seni de 'Şeriat isteriz!' diyenlerin içine, Otuz Bir Mart'ta dahil ettiler."

Eski Said onlara demiş ki:

Evet, millet-i İslâmiyenin sebeb-i saadeti yalnız ve yalnız hakaik-ı İslâmiye ile olabilir. Ve hayat-ı içtimaiyesi ve

saadet-i dünyeviyesi şeriat-ı İslâmiye ile olabilir. Yoksa adalet mahvolur, emniyet zirüzeber olur; ahlâksızlık, pis hasletler galebe eder, iş yalancıların, dalkavukların elinde kalır. Size bu hakikati ispat edecek binler hüccetten bir küçük numune olarak bu hikâyeyi nazar-ı dikkatinize gösteriyorum:

Bir zaman bir adam, bir sahrada, bedevîler içinde, ehl-i hakikat bir zatın evine misafir olur. Bakıyor ki, onlar mallarının muhafazasına ehemmiyet vermiyorlar. Hatta, ev sahibi, evinin köşesinde paraları oralarda açıkta bırakmış.

Misafir, hane sahibine dedi:

"Hırsızlıktan korkmuyor musunuz, böyle malınızı köşeye atmışsınız?"

Hane sahibi dedi:

"Bizde hırsızlık olmaz."

Misafir dedi:

"Biz paralarımızı kasalarımıza koyduğumuz ve kilitlediğimiz hâlde çok defalar hırsızlık oluyor."

Hane sahibi demiş:

"Biz emr-i İlâhî namına ve adalet-i şer'iye hesabına hırsızın elini kesiyoruz."

Misafir dedi:

"Öyle ise çoğunuzun bir eli olmamak lâzım gelir."

Hane sahibi dedi:

"Ben elli yaşına girdim, bütün ömrümde birtek el kesildiğini gördüm."

Misafir taaccüp etti, dedi ki:

"Memleketimizde hergün elli adamı hırsızlık ettikleri için hapse sokuyoruz. Sizin buradaki adaletinizin yüzde biri kadar tesiri olmuyor."

Hane sahibi dedi:

"Siz büyük bir hakikatten ve acib ve kuvvetli bir sırdan gaflet etmişsiniz, terk etmişsiniz. Onun için adaletin hakikatini kaybediyorsunuz. Maslahat-ı beşeriye yerine, adalet perdesi altında garazlar, zalimâne ve tarafgirâne cereyanlar müdahale eder, hükümlerin tesirini kırar. O hakikatin sırrı budur:

"Bizde, bir hırsız elini başkasının malına uzattığı dakikada, hadd-i şer'înin icrasını tahattur eder, Arş-ı İlâhîden nazil olan emir hatırına gelir. İmanın hassası ile, kalbin kulağı ile, kelâm-ı ezelîden gelen ve hırsız elinin idamına hükmeden اَلسَّارِقُ وَالسَّارِقَةُ فَاقْطَعُوا اَيْدِيَهُمَا [1] âyetini hissedip işitir gibi, iman ve itikadı heyecana ve hissiyat-ı ulviyesi harekete gelir. Ruhun etrafından, vicdanın derin yerlerinden, o sirkat meyelânına hücum gibi bir hâlet-i ruhiye hâsıl olur. Nefis ve hevesten gelen meyelân parçalanır, çekilir. Git gide o meyelân bütün bütün kesilir. Çünkü, yalnız vehim ve fikir değil, belki manevî kuvveleri, akıl, kalp ve vicdan, birden o hisse, o hevese hücum

1. Hırsız erkeğin ve hırsız kadının ellerini kesin! (Mâide Suresi: 38.)

eder. Hadd-i şer'îyi tahattur ile, ulvî zecir ve vicdanî bir yasakçı, o hissin karşısına çıkar, susturur.

"Evet, iman kalpte, kafada daimî bir manevî yasakçı bıraktığından, fena meyelânlar histen, nefisten çıktıkça, 'Yasaktır!' der, tard eder, kaçırır.

"Evet, insanın fiilleri kalbin, hissin temayülâtından çıkar. O temayülât, ruhun ihtisasatından ve ihtiyacatından gelir. Ruh ise, iman nuru ile harekete gelir. Hayır ise yapar, şer ise kendini çekmeye çalışır; daha, kör hisler onu yanlış yola sevk edip mağlûp etmez.

"Elhâsıl: Had ve ceza emr-i İlâhî ve adalet-i Rabbaniye namına icra edildiği vakit, hem ruh, hem akıl, hem vicdan, hem insaniyetin mahiyetindeki lâtifeleri müteessir ve alâkadar olurlar. İşte bu mana içindir ki, elli senede bir ceza, sizin her gün müteaddit hapsinizden ziyade bize fayda veriyor. Sizin adalet namı altındaki cezalarınız, yalnız vehminizi müteessir eder. Çünkü, biriniz hırsızlığa niyet ettiği vakit, millet, vatan maslahatı ve menfaati hesabına cezaya çarpılmak vehmi gelir. Yahut, insanlar eğer bilseler, ona fena nazarla bakarlar. Eğer aleyhinde tebeyyün etse, hükûmet de onu hapsetmek ihtimali hatırına geliyor. O vakit yalnız kuvve-i vahimesi cüz'î bir teessür hisseder. Hâlbuki, nefis ve hissinden çıkan, hususan ihtiyacı da varsa, kuvvetli bir meyelân galebe eder. Daha o fenalıktan vazgeçmek için o cezanız fayda vermiyor. Hem de, emr-i İlâhî ile olmadığından, o cezalar da adalet değil. Abdestsiz, kıblesiz namaz kılmak gibi battal

olur, bozulur. Demek, hakikî adalet ve tesirli ceza odur ki, Allah'ın emri namıyla olsun. Yoksa tesiri yüzden bire iner.

"İşte bu cüz'î sirkat meselesine sair küllî ve şümullü ahkâm-ı İlâhiye kıyas edilsin. Tâ anlaşılsın ki, saadet-i beşeriye, dünyada adalet ile olabilir. Adalet ise doğrudan doğruya Kur'ân'ın gösterdiği yol ile olabilir."

Hikâyenin hulâsası bitti.

"Eğer beşer çabuk aklını başına alıp adalet-i İlâhiye namına ve hakaik-ı İslâmiye dairesinde mahkemeler açmazsa, maddî ve manevî kıyametler başlarına kopacak, anarşilere, Ye'cüc ve Me'cüclere teslim-i silâh edecekler" diye kalbe ihtar edildi.

İşte bu hikâyeyi, o zamandaki bazı dindar mebuslara, Eski Said söylemiş ve iki defa tab edilen Arabî *Hutbe-i Şamiye*'nin Zeylinde kırk beş sene evvel yazılmış. (HÂŞİYE)

HÂŞİYE: *Hutbe-i Şamiye* namında matbu Arabî risâleyi, Arabî bilmediğimiz için, Üstadımızdan rica ettik ki: "Bize bir-iki gün ders ver." Birkaç gün zarfında söylediği dersin takririni kaleme aldık. Üstadımız dersi verdiği vakit, bazı cümlelerini zihnimizde tam yerleştirmek için tekrar ederdi. Âhirdeki temsil ve hikâyeyi izahlı bulduğumuzdan, en evvel onları üniversitelilerin ve dindar mebusların nazarlarına göstermemizin sebebi; Üstadımız derse başladığı vakit, "Eski zamanda şimendiferde mektepli o iki muallim yerine, sizleri; ve bana şeriat hakkındaki sual soran kırk beş sene evvel mebuslar yerine, şimdiki hakikî dindar mebusları kabul ve tasavvur edip öylece konuşuyorum" dediği için, biz de ehl-i maarif ve dindar mebuslara, berâ-i malûmat bu dersimizi gösteriyoruz. Sonra isterlerse *Hutbe-i Şamiye*'den bütün dersimizi göstereceğiz. Münasip görülse neşir de edeceğiz.

Şimdi bu hikâye ile evvelki temsil, o zamandan ziyade tam bu zamanın dersi olmasından, berâ-i malûmat hakikî dindar mebusların nazarına medar-ı ibret için gösteriyoruz.

Said Nursî

Âlem-i İslâmdaki siyaset-i İslâmiyeye dair Üstadımızdan bir ders almak isterdik. Hâlbuki, otuz beş seneden beri siyaseti terk ettiğinden, Eski Said'in siyaset-i İslâmiyeye temas eden bu *Hutbe-i Şamiye* tercümesi, Eski Said hesabına bir derstir.

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