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The Profile of A Classical Ottoman Scholar: “Zahid Efendi, His Career of Knowledge, and His Sufi Personality”

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The XIXth century is accepted to be the longest century of the Ottoman Empire. The reformation movements having been started in the military and technical areas in the beginning of the century, were also carried to the juridical areas in the middle of the century and in the second half to the educational field and entering the last quarter to the political area. Such concepts like Nizam-i Cedid (new order), the Reorganization (Tanzimat), the Reforms (Islahat) and the Constitution I (Meshrutiyet), summarize the longest century of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman Empire was at the parting of the ways in all the areas. The tradition of Madrasa (academia), that started with Murat II and reached to its summit with Mehmet II (The Conqueror) and Suleiman (The Magnificent), was also under debate; and for the first time in the history of the Devlet-i Aliyye, The Daru'l Funun that caused to the binary system in education was founded.¹ The first quarter of the XXth century had been a period of time that the whole corporations of the state were under debate to the utmost. In the second half of the XXth century the number of the people that breathed the atmosphere of The Ottoman literature, culture, education, arts, politics and military had decreased rapidly to a grade that they could be counted on one's fingers. Today, now it is impossible to coincide with a person who represents the Ottoman Human Type. There is the unique chance of observing and knowing it only through the books. In this work the profile of a classical scholar (alim) that is a product of the tradition of the Madrasa lasted for centuries will be talked about.² By this Mehmet

Zahit Efendi was meant. In this paper his career of knowledge and his sufi personality will be studied.

Zahid Efendi had fitted into his life, that lasted for seventy five years, the first and the second constitution, the First and the Second World War, the regression of the Ottoman Empire from the history scene, the foundation of The Young Turkish Republic, the years of totalitarianism, the humble country life of an Anatolian town and the chaos in the capital of the empire, the rush, the rebellion, invasion, the independence days, the frantic study of the classical education system in private Madrasas, the intensive lessons at the Bayezid Mosque, and the qualified lessons taken from the elite teachers. He had experienced the atmosphere of the tekkes that are the most distinctive features of Istanbul, and he had attended to the conversation of the gatherings of friends where he trained his heart. In the same way, he had also squeezed into that life his experience of education in Kastamonu, a strategic town of Anatolia, his studies in the reformation of the education in the bureaucratic formation of the capital city, his teaching service in ancient and important Madrasas and schools, and finally his very important appointment to the position of The Delegacy Of The Lessons that is bounded to the Devlet-i Aliyye's department of Meshikhat (Sheikhulislamship) that requires the whole responsibility of the madrasas in the days of prosperity.

In the beginnings of the 1920s Zahid Efendi was obliged to leave Istanbul where he had spent his 20 years; he had spent his teen ages in its libraries, madrasas and dergahs, his middle ages in its schools and offices, and had migrated to Egypt where he will be living the rest of his life's remaining thirty years. During this period except his short term Damascus days, he lived his whole life in Cairo. When he died in 1952 the skies of Cairo had witnessed to his days of misery, his being a translator in the State Archive Of Egypt, his effort of publishing the Islamic Classics, his works he had published or mediated their publishing that are approximately the number of an hundred, his similar number of articles through which he shared his opinions with the public, his lovers from the every levels of public who had considered him more precious than their lives, people not wanting him because of sharing different ideas, and his students of huge numbers.³

He was exactly a classical Ottoman scholar (Alim). He was never open to either an opinion or a philosophy that could harm the classicism, but also never adopted an appearance conflicting it, and consented his corpse to stay abroad as to be buried next to Imam Shafi.

His Career Of Knowledge (İlim)

Zahid Efendi's family (whose life lines were shortly summarized above) is originally Caucasian emigrant. They came to Anatolia with the migration waves that started in the beginning of the 1850s in the Caucasia causing millions of people

fled into the inner Ottoman country and they settled in Düzce, a town in the Western Blacksea Region⁴. His father was a scholar and a student of the students of Sheikh Shamil, and came to Anatolia with his students. He started teaching while he was in his fatherland. He established a private madrasa in the Hacıhasan village where he gave his own name and continued educating his students. Hasan Efendi also had a mystical side and guided and enlightened people during most of his life. His son Zahid was born nearly three years after the announcement of the First Constitution and his father gave him his first education. He not only learned the basic knowledges from his father but also studied such knowledges like fiqh, hadith e.t.c. firstly from him. He finished Ibtidaiyya and Rushdiya in Düzce⁵. While he was in the Rushdiya he learned Sarf, Nahiv, history, maths, Persian, geography, and some other theological courses from Sheikh Muhammad Nazim Efendi of Duzce.(1329 A.H.-1911 A.D.)⁶ Also in the same years, he took lessons of grammar e.t.c. from Hüseyin Vecih Efendi of Uskup (1312 A.H.-1894 A.D.) who was the Mufti of Uskup and his father's close friend.⁷ And besides he attended to the lessons of Shaban Fevzi, a local leading teacher.⁸

After Kewseri had graduated from Rushtiye, nearly at an age of fifteen, left his birthplace, Duzce, for the first time and came to Daru'l- hilafeti'l-aliyye, that is Istanbul, in the year (1311A.H./1893A.D.). In the same year he entered to the Daru'l -Hadith of Kadiasker (office of chief Judge) Hasan Efendi that was founded by Kadiasker Hasan Efendi (A.H.1044/1636A.D.).⁹

As how he had entered to a such kind of a knowledge center which is specialized in hadith, later on for nearly ten years he made a great effort for taking lessons from the greatest scholars of the times. Meanwhile, he attended to lessons of Kazim Efendi with Sirozis (1353A.H./1934A.D.) who was his uncle, and read from him such works as; *el-Kafiye*, *Kavaidu'l-i'rab*, *Aruzu'l-enderusi*, *Sherhu'l-ebiyati's-seb'a*. e.t.c.¹⁰

On the other hand, he followed the lessons given in the Fatih Mosque, and finished reading *en-Netaic* and *Sherhu'l -minye* from Ismail Zühdü Efendi of Çekmece.¹¹ He had heard *el-Müselsel bi'l evveliyeye* from Robalzade Yusuf Ziyaeddin Efendi (1339A.H./1920A.D.) and read *Makamatu'l - hariri*, *Muhtasaru'l-maani*, *Miratu'l -usul* and *Sherhu'd-Dawwani* from his student Allame Muhammed Halis esh-Shirvani (1331A.H./1912A.D.). Meanwhile from Muhakkik Ahmed Remzi esh-Shehri (1341A.H./1922 A.D.), one of the students of the same teacher, he read *el-Mutavvel*.¹²

Another person that Kewseri had attended to his chain of lessons was Karınabatlı Halil Efendi. He read *Sherhu'l-vaz'iyeye* from him. He read *Ramuzu'l-ahadis* from Sheikh Hasan Hilmi Efendi (A.H.1240-1329/1824-1911A.D) of Kastamonu and gained the Ijazet (graduation degree) of the book.¹³

Hasan Hilmi Efendi had a very important place in Kewseri's life. First of all, he was his father's very close and old friend. Secondly, he was his master in sufism, and his sheikh. Thirdly, he was also the teacher of Ali Zeynel Abidin of Alasonya, whom Kewseri had considered as a guide for his formation of scientific personality.

Kewseri read *Luccetu'l-esrar* from Ali Rıza el Fakri; Cami's *Sherhu'r-rubaiyyat* and some part of Hafiz Shirazi's *Divan* from Sheikh Mohammad Esad Dede el-Mevlevi; and *es-Siracciye* from Hacı Selim Efendi of Silistre.¹⁴

One of the scholars who had an important role in the formation of Kewseri's scientific, literal and moral personality was Ibrahim Hakki who was famous as Hacı Hafiz Of Eğin.(1243-1318A.H./1828-1900A.D.). He read from him; *el-Cami*, *esh-Shafiye*, *el-Alaka*, and *el-Fenari* with its footnotes; Mohammed Emin's *Risaletu'l-ciheti'l-vahde*, the first volume of *Takriru'l-kavaid*, *ed-Durru'l-muhtar* with the notes of Ibn Abidin; *el-Kutb*, with the es-Seyyid and es-Siyalkuti explanations till the end of the imaginations subject; *Mukhtasaru'l-maani*, till the end of musneud'u ileyh subject; some part of *esh-Shifa* of Ali e-Kari and a part of Kadi Beyzavi's interpretation.¹⁵

After the death of Ibrahim Efendi of Eğin, upon his advice, Kewseri attended to the lessons of Ali Zeynelabidin of Alasonya. He read *Isamu'tasdikat* and the remainig part of the el-Kutb from him; finished *Mukhtasaru'l-maani*; also read *Sherhu'l-aqaid* together with the explanations of el-Hayali and es-Siyalkuti and finished *Miratu'l-usul* together with the explanation of et-Tarsusi.¹⁶ Meanwhile, Kewseri studied *Sherh-u adabi'l-gelenbevi* with Shaban Fevzi Efendi (A.H.1319/1901A.D.) of Rize; *Sulasıyyat-ı ibn mace* with Selahaddin Efendi (1353A.H./1934A.D.) of Düzce.

Kewseri had finished his higher education that lasted about ten years in Istanbul when he was 26. At the age of 28, (A.H.1324/1906 A.D.) he entered the examination of scholarship before the jury consisting of the names below.

*Ahmed Asım Efendi of Gumulcine (1225-1329A.H./1810-1911A.D.).He had the position of The Delegacy of The Lessons at that time, and was the chairman of the jury.¹⁷

* Mohammed Esad of Ahısa (d.1334A.H./1915A.D.) Later on he was exalted to the position of Sheikhulislam.

* Mustafa Muazzam of Dagistan (d.1336A.H./1917A.D.) an ex-Grand Vizier

*Ahmed Zühtü Efendi of Tosya(d.1327A.H./1909A.D.), was an ex- Grand Vizier and the last two of them were the teachers of the Madrasa of Laleli at the same time.

After the examination Kewseri was given the icazet (graduation degree) of giving lessons in religious, literacy, and rational knowledges signed by Ahmet Asım Efendi, the delegacy of the lessons, and by the other three members.¹⁸

After Kewseri had gained his icazet for scholarship in (A.H.1324 /1906 A.D.) nearly about the beginning of the World War The First he gave lessons as a Dersiazam. Meanwhile, in Safer 10 1331A.H./ 1913 A.D.) he was seen proficient for The Istanbul Muderrisship of Ruus.¹⁹

Later on, upon the dismissal of SheikhuIslam Ahisali(of Ahisa) Mohammad Esad (d.1334/1915 AD) of his position, in the time of his substitute Hayri Efendi of Urgup, he gave eloquence, prosody, and addressing lessons in the newly formed madrasas that are called 'Maahid -i Nizamiyye. He also had a duty of being a muderris in Kastamonu lasted for nearly three years that he seldom performed. Following his return to Istanbul, after a month's time of his attendance to the lessons in Daru's- Shafaka, and also because of the influence of the examination, though his age was earlier than his friends, he was appointed as a muderris to The Suleimaniye Madrasa's Madrasatu'l-Mutehassisin. He starts his duty at the department of 'Tabakatu'l-Qurra ve'l-Mufessirin'.²⁰ Kewseri continued his service mentioned above until he was chosen as a member to the 'Meclis-u Vekaleti'd-ders' as the representative of Suleimaniye Madrasa. At the end, on August 15 1338 A.H./1919 A.D. he was promoted to the position of The Delegation of Lessons, after an announcement of Daire-i Meshihat with a salary of 75 Ottoman Liras.²¹

After he had been removed from that duty, he kept his position of being a member in the mentioned council, until he left Istanbul, and went to Egypt.(A.H.1341/1922 A.D.)²²

All those show that his life of education reflects exactly the classical education system that had been used in The Ottoman Empire. Not only the variation of his teachers, and the places he took education, but also the area and the quality of his studies show the classicism in his education in an authentic way. We distinguish carefully chosen works of the best anelets of the Arabic and Literature on one side, and on the other side, best works of Logic, Eloquence, Method of Fiqh, Kalam, Philosophy Hadith and Fiqh. The most important matter is that; all of those works were read line by line, being discussed with the teachers.

Mehmet Zahid Efendi had been initiated as an encyclopedic scholar by means of that education system, distinguished in the areas of The Arabic Language, Fiqh, Kalam and Mysticism. But his most pretentious area is the Hadith, which is one of the Classical Islamic Sciences, whereas the Ottomans were thought to be had only few scholars. When we look at the historical development of the hadith tradition in the education al corporations it can be said that it started with Fahreddin-i Acemi (d. 865 A.H./1460-1A.D.) the first Muderris appointed to the Edirne Daru'l Hadis. This person gained the icazet of Buhari from his father that he studied with; and studied Hadith with Burhaneddin Haydar Herevi (d 1417)²³ and gained his ijazet. also took lessons from Seyyid Sherif el-Curcani (d.816A.H./1413A.D.).²⁴ When the works of The Ottoman Hadith Scholars

were examined it is seen that they didn't gave works in large numbers or quantities. This case is a result of Fiqh-Kalam centralization in the Ottoman Education System, and the graduate's preparation of mainly for administration. The same muderrises are seen to be giving works in the areas of Fiqh, Kalam, Logic and etc.

In the Ottoman Daru'l-hadithes, *Sahih-i Bukhari*; *Sahih-i Muslim*; *Masabihu's-sunne of Bagavi*²⁵; *Meshariku'l-envar en-nebeviyye of Radiyuddin Hasan es-Sagani (650/1253)* were read as texts of courses.²⁶ It would be erroneous to think that the students in the Ottoman Daru'l-Hadith read only a few hadith books. Especially just by looking at the names of a few hadith books, it would be simple-mindedness to consider the ones educating in those schools behind of the ones working in the same area in the other regions of the Islamic World, in terms of the hadith formation. The hadith formation of the ones studying in these madrasas is not behind the ones who other regions of Islam at all. The fundamental Hadith sources that are routine to be read in the frame of the understanding of the hadiths in that era were read in the Daru'l-hadiths of the Ottoman. For to see that, it is enough to look at the Zahid Kewseri's (d.1371A.H./1952A.D.) background of hadith and the way of its acquisition. He had finished his whole fundamental formation of the Islamic knowledges by means of two teachers; whom were Ibrahim Hakkı of Egin (d1318A.H./1900A.D.) and Ali Zeynelabidin of Alasonya (1268-1336A.H./1851-1917A.D.) Some of the basic hadith sources that Kewseri gained their ijazat from Ali Zeynelabidin of Alasonya are below: *Sahih-i Bukhari* (Buhari-256/869); *Sahih-i Muslim* (Muslim-261/874); *Sunen-i Nasai* (Nesai (303/915); *Musned-i Shafi* (Shafi-(204/813); *Musned-i Ahmed* (Ibn. Hanbel -241/855); *Meshariku'l-envar* (sağani -650/1252); *Mishkatu'l-mashabih* (Hatib-i Tebrizi-737/1336); *Mevahib-i Ledünniye* (Kastallani-923/1517); *Shifa-i Sherif* (Kadı İyaz-544/1149); *El-Camiu'l-Kebir* (Suyuti-911/1505); *El-Camiu's Sagir* (Suyuti-911/1505).

The chain of Alasonyalı in the knowledge of the Hadith is below:

- Hafız Ahmed Shakir (d.1315/1897)
- Hafız Muhammad Galib (d.1286/1869)
- Giritli Suleiman Hasan (d.?)
- Ispirli Ibrahim b. Muhammad (d.1255/1839)
- Ahiskali Ali Fikri b. Muhammad Salih (d.1236/1820)
- Antepi Muhammad Munip (d.1238/1820)
- Konyalı İsmail b. Muhammad (d.1194/1780)
- Konyalı Abdülkerim el-Amidi (d.1150A.H./1734A.D.)
- Muhammad el-Yemani el-Ezheri (d.1135A.H./1722A.D.)

- Muhammad b. Abdulbaki ez – Zurkani (1055-1122A.H./1645-1710A.D.)²⁷
- Muhammad el –Babili (1000-1077A.H./1592-1666A.D.)²⁸
- Salim b. Muhammad es-Senhuri (945-1015A.H./1538-1606A.D.)²⁹
- Necmeddin Muhammad b.Ahmed el –Gayti (d.984A.H./1576A.D.)³⁰
- Zekeriya el-Ansari (826-926A.H./1423-1520A.D.) (Sherhu sahih-i muslim)³¹
- Hafiz Ibn Hacer (d.852A.H./1448A.D.)
- Ibrahim Et- Tenuhi (d.800A.H./1397A.D.)
- Haccar Ahmad b. Ebu Talib (d.730A.H./1329A.D.)
- Hasan bin el- Mubarek ez-Zebidi (d.631A.H./1233A.D.)
- Ebu'l Waqt Abdulevvel b. Isa el-Herevi (d.553A.H./1158A.D.)
- Ebul Hasen Abdurrahman b. el-Muzaffer ed- dawudi (d.467A.H./1074A.D.)
- Ebu Muhammad Abdullah b. Ahmed es-Serasi (d.380A.H./990A.D.)
- Ebu Abdillah Muhammad b. Yusuf el – Firebri (d.380A.H./990A.D.)
- Muhammad bin Ismail el- Buhari (d.256A.H./869A.D.)

There are some other sources of hadiths that he read from other teachers, during the time he stayed in the Kadıasker Hasan Efendi Daru'l-hadis: *Sahih-i Bukhari*; *Nukhbetu'l-fiker* (Ibn Hacer-852/1448); *Sunen-i Ebu Davud* (Ebu Davud-275/888); *Sunen-i Tirmizi* (Tirmizi-279/892); *Mesanid-i Ebu Hanife* (Ebu Hanife-150/767).

The chain of narrative that those sources reported is below;

- Kastamonulu Hasan b. Abdullah (1240-1329A.H./1824-1911A.D.)
- Nevsehirlı Ahmed Hazim (d.1281A.H./1864A.D.)
- Imamzade Muhammad Esad (d.1268A.H./1851A.D.)³²
- Hibetullah el-Ba'li (d.1224A.H./1809A.D.)
- Salih el-Cinini (1094-1170A.H./1683-1757A.D.)³³
- Hasan b. Ali el- Huceymi (1049-1113A.H./1639-1702A.D.)³⁴
- Ahmed b. Muhammad el- Icl
- Yahya b. Mukrim et-Taberi
- Muhibbuddin Muhammad b. Muhammad et-Taberi

From these chain of narrative we understand that the Ottoman Anatolia had formed the traditional transfer system of hadith starting from the seventeenth century. Zahid Efendi is also a product of this tradition.³⁵

His Sufi Personality

When looked at the works of Kewseri, it can be seen easily that he is a product

of the inheritance of the Ottoman Knowledge Environment. In the Ottoman Society, as it is known, the independent character of the knowledge attracts attention. Some very important faces of the Islamic sufism like Ghazali, Ibn Arabi, Molla Cami, Yunus Emre, Mawlana, Kashkhani, Davud-i Kaysari had continued their influences for centuries with their personality and works in the Ottoman Geography. Zahid Efendi had also taken his part of that effect, and both his humanistic and scientific character were shaped by that effect. Thus, some part of his works are related with the Sufism that reflects the proofs about his mystical personality.

1. en-Nazmu'l-atid li-tevessuli'l-murid
2. Irgamu'l-merid fi sherhi'n-nizami'l-atid³⁶
3. es-Suhufu'l-münesshera fi sherhi'l-usuli'l-ashera³⁷
4. Mahku't-tekavvul fi meseleti't-tevessul³⁸
5. el-Cevabu'l-vefi fi'r- redid ale'l-vazi'l-ofi³⁹
6. er-Ravzu'n-nazır el-verdi fi tercemeti'l-imam er-rabbani es-sirhindi.⁴⁰
7. Nibrasu'l-muhtedi fi ictila-i enbai'l-arif ed-dimirtash el-muhammedi⁴¹

These works are the evidences of his proficiency of the theoretical sufism and its history. But his interest in the sufism seems to be lessened/decreased after he had moved to Egypt. It couldn't be said that he gave a great place to this subject in his works except his two little works. And when he was asked why he had chosen Cairo rather than Damascus, he said that the sufism is predominated among the people of Damascus, while as the knowledge among the people of Egypt. And he desired very much to live among the scholars settled in Cairo. When he was in Egypt he wrote mostly in hadith, fiqh, and kalam areas. Nevertheless it can't be said that he showed a critical approach. In the prologue of the work written by Ahmed Hayri, his friend and student, named 'izaletu'sh-shubuhah an qawli'l-ustaz kunna hurufen aliyat' he told that he kept his distance about the Vahdet-i Vucud philosophy of Sheikh-i Ekber (the great sheikh) Ibn Arabi as it is very hard to understand and added that he preferred the 'tevhid-i Shuhud' idea.⁴² As we will point below, he preferred to live his rest of life as a living example of the moral education that he took in his early ages in his homeland.

His Relation With The Dergah of Gumushkhanewi

Dergahs, Zaviyes and Tekkes in the Ottoman society functioned as centers of manufacturers making clean and sound bricks for the building of the society. In this frame the Tekke of Gumushkhanewi functioned as a knowledge and moral school.⁴³ Zahid Efendi is seen to be bounded by two ways to that dergah. One of them is Sheikh Hasan b. Abdullah b. Hasan Efendi (1240-1329A.H./1824-1911A.D.)⁴⁴ The other is his father Hasan Hilmi Efendi (1245-1345A.H./1829-

1926A.D.)⁴⁵. They both are the successors of Ahmed Ziyaeddin Gumushkhanevi (1227-1311A.H./1812-1893A.D.). Besides he had met with many of his students that Muhammad Eshref el- Bergusi (d.1341A.H./1922A.D.) was also amongst.⁴⁶

Ahmed Ziyaeddin Gumushkhanewi⁴⁷

Kewseri belongs to the Khalidiye Ziyaiyye branch of the tariqha of Nakshibendi.⁴⁸ We understand it from his work written in verse as a gift for the competition of the ‘Ramuzu’l ahadith in 1318A.H./1900A.D. named ‘en-nazmu’l-atid’. Later he explained this work and named it ‘Irgamu’l-merid’. Kewseri counted more than 30 of the Nakshibendi tariqah’s sheikhs till his sheikh Hasan Hilmi starting from the prophet, shortly mentioned their birth and death dates, and their works. And meanwhile he explained some mystical concepts and theories. His verses below are a clear expression of his sufi personality:

بشري لنا معشر السلاك ان لنا
و جد بفيض و وصل غير منقسم

لسادة نصل الحب بحبهم
يا رب سهل صعابيب السلوك لنا

Oh my lord! Simplify the difficulties that we will encounter during our seyr-i suluk (path of the Sufi),

Enlighten us, and join us to your enlightenment as not to be departed

Good news to us the ones within the community of seyr –i suluk,

We have real masters with whose love we’ll reach the true lover.⁴⁹

In this writing Zahid Efendi says these about Gumushkhanevi:

و بالكمشخانوي فحل الرجال اما
م القوم عمدتنا حامي ذمارهم
شيخ الشيوخ ملاذ لبعارفين و غو
ث الاولياء ضياء الدين ذو الخدم

Gumushkhanevi is the sheikh of the sheikhs, who bore the flag of the sect in everywhere, the immense sea , the great mountain, whom the ulema is proud of, the qutb of the scholars, the delight of the saliks, the latest of the hadith scholars, Sheikh Ahmed Ziyaeddin.⁵⁰

Kewseri thinks that, he has revived the sunnah in Anatolia at the point of its extinction and the mission of reviving it is given to him. And points that the

main part of his engagement is hadith and adds that he gave his greatest works in that area, and made it one of the main features of the tariqah to engage with the hadiths. He recalls him as the Muhaddis of the Anatolia.⁵¹ In Kewseri's opinion he is one of the Muceddits mentioned in the hadith who are expected to come in each century and he is the Muceddit of this century.⁵²

It is impossible not to see that one of the scholars who directed Zahid Efendi towards the hadith knowledge is Gumushkhanewi.

Hasan Efendi of Kastamonu

Hasan Efendi acted the greatest part in Kewseri's formation of his personality of knowledge and morals. He was a muhaddith, mutassavvuf, and a high ranked alim. He was born in Daday, bounded to Kastamonu, (A.H.1240/A.D.1824).⁵³ He finished his first education in Daday and took his education of Islamic knowledges from The Little Ahmed Hazim of Nevşehir (ö.1281A.H./1864A.D.). He took the knowledge of hadith and sufism from Gumushkhanewi. He is one of the leading students of Gumushkhanewi. His sheikh and master combine on the point of taking knowledge from Ahmed Ervadi (d.1275A.H./1858A.D.). Ervadi is the sheikh of Gumushkhanewi. Besides, Hasan Efendi took lessons from Sheikh Abdullah el- Ukari who was the student of Mawlana Halid-i Bagdadi. After his sheikh's death he took his place and gave lessons of hadith for many years in his tekke.⁵⁴

Kewseri describes his exalted feelings about Hasan Efendi like this:

كذا بذ الحسن الحلمي قدوتنا
محي القلوب و كم داوي ذوى السقم
اسلك بمسلكه فاثبت بخدمته
متى ظفرت به يا طالب اغتتم

(Oh my lord!) In the same way, make the seyr-i suluk easy for us due to the respect of Hasan Hilmi Efendi, who refreshes the hearts, and recovers many ill hearts.

Hey you demander! Whenever you coincide with him, consider the opportunity as a treasure, enter the way he entered and be always in his service.⁵⁵

Kewseri gained the icazet (graduation degree) of Ramazu'l-ahadith of Gumushkhanewi and his other works from Hasan Efendi.⁵⁶ Sheikh Hasan b. Abdullah el-Kastamoni died on Safer 23 1329A.D./1921A.D. and was buried in the Cemetery of Sultan Suleiman next to Gumushkhanewi.⁵⁷

Hasan b. Ali el-Kewseri

Hasan b. Ali El-Kewseri is father of Kewseri. Kewseri took his father as an example in his development of knowledge and moral personality. Upon the

Russia's invasion of Caucasia, he migrated to Anatolia with his students and settled in Duzce. Firstly he built a village in there. And meanwhile he interested in the mysticism and joined to Sheikh Devlet (d.A.H.1284/1867 A.D.) After his service and training of two years he gained icazet from him (A.H.1282/1865).

Hasan el- Kewseri built a great madrasa in the village he established and continued to educate his students. In the same year upon his sheikh's going for pilgrimage he was appointed as the assistant of Hacı Atif Efendi who was the deputy of the sheikh.⁵⁸

He went to Istanbul in 1287A.H./1870A.D. and met with Gumushkhanewi and attended his circle. He gained the ijazat of the work named "*Delailu'l-hayrat*". Later he went to pilgrimage and took lessons of sufism from Musa el-Mekki (d.1302A.H./1884A.D.) there. He stayed with him for a while and gained icazet for training and returned back to Düzce. He continued to educate in the Madrasa following his return. In the year 1303A.H./1885A.D. he again went back to Istanbul and joined him. He attended Erbainiyat with his Sheikh and gained a general icazet that he can report the whole merviiyyat of Gumushkhanewi.⁵⁹

Hasan el-Kewseri left his duty in the madrasa due to his Sheikh's order following the opening a tekke in Düzce and he only engaged in the disciplines of reciting (Quran), fiqh, and hadith and enlightenment of his disciples.⁶⁰

Mehmed Zahid took the Islamic Knowledges especially, fiqh and hadith from his father, beside his moral and spiritual training. He owes his basic formation to him in those areas.⁶¹

He also had some other masters in connection with the Tekke of Gumushkhanewi. Each had a different place in his moral, literal and scientific personality. But dominantly these two deputies of Gumushkhanewi occupy an important space in the formation of the sufi personality of Kewseri.

His Thoughts about Sufism

Mehmet Zahid Efendi had put his basic thoughts about the sufism into words in those works: "*en-Nazmu'l-atid li-tevessuli'l-murid*"; and its correction named "*Irgamu'l-merid fi sherhi'n-nazmi'l-atid*"; *Mahkut-tekavvul fi meseleti't-teves-sul*" and written, but can not be found today, "*es suhuful-muneshshera fi sherhil-usuli'l ashera*". Here we will give his opinion about the source of the Sufism and a few subjects about seyr-i suluk.

Seyr-i suluk (Sufi Path) and Sufism

Zahid Efendi puts the necessity of sufi education on the basis of human reality and psychology:

"First of all it should be known that; if a person examines or thinks about his *essence* and *the states of his soul (nefis)*, he sees that he's deficient and in need of another person for maturing it. When the human recognizes this, he feels a

desire towards the perfection and tries to find its ways. And at that time the human needs an action in the way that he wants. The people of tariqah call this movement “*seyr-i suluk*”. Perfectnesses are *scientific* or *behavioral*. *Suluk* includes both. The most precious of the knowledge and greatest in point of its aim is the one known as “*ilm-u velayet*” that reaches the person to Taqwa (piety) with devine features. This knowledge is the last border that the people except prophets can reach. This knowledge can only be obtained by *suluk* and right mucahede, not by pure thought or ability (qariha). Because the aim of the purified souls decorated with the works of perfectnesses is to beautfy the moral worthy for Allah (*tehzib-i ahlak*). That is the use of seyr i suluk. By this way, in himself an *ability* bounded to will showing beautiful behaviors occurs naturally.⁶²

“*es-Suluk السلوك*” means to walk on the *state*’s ranks among the Sufis. There are many obstacles on this way and only the people whom Allah wished their victory can pass them easily.⁶³

The knowledge about the states of the suluk is called *The Knowledge of Mysticism*. The *use* expected from the knowledge of sufism is the same of the suluk as they both take to the same way; because المترتب على المترتب على الشيء المترتب على ذلك الشيء ; if a=b=c, then, a=c.

The *contents* of the sufism is the knowledge about the states of human nefis/soul in respect of the occurrence of the behaviors with the free will.

The subject of the science is the “essential events (accidents)” of the handled matter in all knowledge; the subject of the sufism is the *Nefis (the soul)* in aspect of its “essential events”.⁶⁴

The necessity of Sheikh and Proceeding

The person who aimed at educating and training his heart in sufism can only mature it by means of a guide. Kewseri expresses where the necessity of a *sheikh* comes from and the proceeding as follows:

The essence of Allah, with the agreement of everybody who has knowledge, is absolutely beyond the natural anxieties that we are concerned of, related to the body; however we should take the theoretical and practical perfectnesses from The Most High (*istifaza استفاضة*). As there is no (*similarity المناسبة*) between us and The Most High who will be as graceful as to enlighten us, inevitably we will need the support of a go-between (*mutavassit-متوسط*). This go-between must have two sides; one side should take the enlightenment from the source of the enlightenment (mebde-i feyyaz), and the other side should transfer it to us. So, in order to demand the perfection of the souls it is inevitable to use some different means, and the master of the all enlightenments (P.B.U.H.); and his deputies for the mission of showing the right path, as the go-between. Thus, it appeared that the people of suluk and reshad must hope for the help of the high

souls, and great people, and have to use them as a go-between. Because they are the owners of the work to reach the aim. As how it is admissible to proceed with these works, it is also admissible to proceed with these people.⁶⁵

Zahid Efendi thinks that it is possible and necessary to bond with the living Murshids and besides with the dead who reached the perfectness:

“According to the acceptance of the Muhakkik scholars Keramet doesn’t end with death. I must point out that, Muhakkik el-Hakkani Allame *Taftazani* objects the views of the philosophers about the dead’s feeling of the particular in the *sherhul makasit* and says: “according to the philosophers the perception of the particular is bounded to the condition of their becoming clear through the organs of perception. When the Soul (nefis) left the body, the organs of the perception become non-functional causing the condition and the conditional disappear necessarily, leaving nothing to percept the particular. But according to us, the perception organs are not necessary for perception of the particular. Contrarily, as it can be understood clearly from the Islamic rules, also after the Spirit (Ruh) had left the body, it is possible for the soul to percept some new particulars and to become aware of their some states, especially of the people whom they met in the world...The contact of the human soul continues after it had left the body with its body and the place he was buried. If an alive visits that grave and tends towards the soul of that buried person a contact of an interview and enlightenment occurs between the two souls.”⁶⁶

Originality in the Seyr-i Suluk

Zahid Efendi underlines that everybody who entered the way of sufism will realize his training of the soul in an original way. This originality comes from the originality of the *souls* and the *spirits*. In the same way, each person’s attainment of the divine favors is also unique:

“Each person who entered the way of suluk for God’s sake (Salik), has his own way on which he will continue his suluk open to him but closed to others. *Suluk* is the purification of the soul either by means of hurdling the difficulties (*katu’l akabat*) or by clearing the soul from its dirtiness (*tasfiyetu’r ruh*). Of course each soul and spirit has its own attainment. For example the suluk of Zeyd is with his own soul and spirit, not with Amr. And so is Amr. This goes on so. Thereby the ways are equal to the numbers of the *salik* people. It is the prophet (P.B.U.H) who opens the both kinds of the ways. He pointing upon the first kind, said that “he who cleans it reaches to the salvation.” - *قد افلح من زكيتها* .⁶⁷ connecting the salvation of the soul with its clearance. The salvation of the corpse is, upon an hadith reported in *Buhari* and *Muslim*⁶⁸, is with the salvation of the Heart (*kalb*) that is the sultanate rank of the soul; that refers to the second kind.⁶⁹

The Roots Of The Sufi Training In Islam And The Inspection?

Zahid Effendi expresses this thought and opinion about the beginning of the mystical training and the consciousness of being with Allah:

“Abu Bakr migrated with the prophet (P.B.U.H.) and accompanied him in the cave. The prophet (P.B.U.H.) as written in the Quran suggested him being together (*murakabetu’l maiyye*)⁷⁰. When the prophet felt that Abu Bakr was anxious that is a necessity of being an human, he prohibited him the anxiety and said “Don’t be anxious.”⁷¹. It was hard for Abu Bakr to obey his that order, because he couldn’t understand the feature to remove the anxiety and the anxiety itself was an inevitable feeling of human, the prophet (P.B.U.H.) added “Allah is with us.” And showed him how the anxiety will be removed. Because the Sheriat (Islamic Law) holds the person responsible for only the things that he is capable of. Thus he meant: “Consider that Allah is with us and *inspect* him. He who considers the divine togetherness, and lost in that magnificent state, fear and features like it that are the necessities of being an human, can not reign him; as he is above all the humanistic features in that special state. The Verse refers to the state of *cem (unitedness)* in the literature of the Sufis”.⁷²

The Philosophy of Existence and The Metaphysics

Besides Kewseri’s sufi personality, his another feature that attracts attention, is his interest in the philosophy. He says there is not that much difference between the existence philosophy of the Sufis and the philosophers. Kewseri guided the publishing of many important works and expressed his opinions by many means. One of the works he had published, Ibrahim b. Mustafa el- Halebi’s (d.1216A.H./1801A.D.) book called “*el-Lum’a fi tahkik-i mebahisi’l-vujud*” is a very important work.⁷³ Also, a part of Musa b. Meymun’s, originally a Jewish philosopher, (d.A.H.605/1208A.D.) “*Dilaletu’l hairin*” named “*el mukaddimatu’l-hams ve’l- ishrun fi isbati vujudillah*” is one of the important texts about the subject.⁷⁴ Kewseri’s approach to the metaphysical subjects through the perspective of Kalam is seen in some of his footnotes in the classical kalam books he published, the booklets and the articles he wrote.⁷⁵ It would be said that either his opinion about the philosophy of existence or metaphysics is mainly influenced from his mystical notions.

Zahid Efendi collected his ideas about the existence of the being in “*Irgamu’l-merid*”. We content ourselves only with a passage so as to give us an idea of his approach.

“*Ibda*” means to invent or to create in the way that it has no same. This Verse of Allah also supports it: “*بديع السموات و الارض -* The one who created the skies and the heaven out of nothing”.⁷⁶ The heavens and the skies are not created as a copy. It is said in the *el- Fütuhât* of Ibn Arabi that everything created out of nothing is Mubda and its creator is Mubdi.

...Philosophers have long explanations about the overflow of the existence (body) from *mebde-i feyyaz* to the *possibilities*. The philosophers went so forward that they fixed inter categories of the existence. But while as the philosophers say that the inter-categories are inevitable, the Sufis think that it is an occurrence of The Sunnah of the Wise Creator, and they are not essential. If a person thinks on the subject in details, he sees there is no contrary between the two ideas... Then, we should know that every being existing now and will exist in the future has a *Suret (copy)* and a *Sabit aynu (constant same)* in the *knowledge* of Allah. *Hakk* has surrounded everything with his knowledge. “The *Thing*” is actually more comprehensive than the existence. Everything that the Divine Will had wanted to create in the beginning and the end of the universe is defined in his *presence*. Otherwise, it was necessary that Allah wouldn't have known about his future creations in the past, which Allah The Glorious is away from...

...Existence is *compulsory*, or *impossible* or *possible*. The first (*compulsory* one) is either compulsory from its essence, who is Allah or, from other reasons, such as the resurrection of the dead. The resurrection of the dead is not only possible in itself, but also a situation compulsory to happen because Allah declared. The second (*impossible* one) is impossible either because of its essence, such as Allah's creation of a being as ancient and great as himself or possible in itself but impossible by other reasons. Its example is the subject of sending prophet after our prophet (P.B.U.H.). Although it is possible, it is impossible as Allah declared that it won't. As for the third (one), its condition is the being of a thing not to be essentially impossible and its *same's* being in (Allah's) *eternal knowledge* namely, the eternal will must *concern* it. The *will* of Allah is an *eternal* feature and has a continuous relation with the selection of the things that will happen (taalluk la yezaili - تعلق لا يزالي). Its being eternal, as examined here is the happening of something at a definite time on condition that it exists in the eternal will. In the *compound existence* the third condition *matter* is added to the former two ones. According to the Kalamists matter is the part that can't be broken into pieces; as for the philosophers it is *Heyuli* and *Suret*. According to the opinion that Muhakkik *Dawwani*⁷⁷ preferred in *ez-Zevra*⁷⁸); the necessity of the matter in the essential hadith is like the necessity in the temporal hadith. The essential hadith is necessary for all kinds of possible. Thus, according to him, we can't say that the matter is only peculiar to the compound existence... Again, (*Dawwani*) in *Sherhu'l-heyakil*⁷⁹ says, “as mater can not be the cause of another matter, but also the event (accident) of the matter can not be its cause, while talking about the reasons of the matters. Then, there is matter and something not matter that is *The Pure Light (en-nur el-mücerred- النور المجرد)*”⁸⁰.

Kewseri attracts attention with his features similar to Dawwani who left a deep impact in the tradition of knowledge of Ottoman. His giving great importance to the publishing of the classical sources of Ashari thought, though he is

Maturidi; his frame of mind formed by the synthesis of Philosophy, Kalam, and Sufism form the thick lines of similarities. He also had a particular accumulation of Hadith, Fiqh, and especially of the history of the parties, and the general history of Islam. Kewseri is one of the last representatives of the scholar type of the muhakkiks that has dozens of examples in the Ottoman tradition. But he is also a very good critic. With these features, he is not only the bearer of the good news of the new dimensions in kalam, sufism, and philosophy, but a very good conceptual and a spokesman of the heritage of the knowledge came through the centuries. He gave his life to the publishing of the classics of the Islamic culture as a classical Ottoman scholar, and performed a mission as good as an independent institute.

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- 2 About the qualification and the position of the ulema in the Otoman look. Heyd Uriel , "The Otoman Ulema and Westernization in the time of Selim III and Mahmut II" *The Modern Middle East*, London 1993, p.29-59; Bagader, Ebubekir, *Modern Çağda Ulema*, (traslated by Osman Bayraktar İstanbul-1991. Cihan Ahmed, *Modernleşme Döneminde Osmanlı Uleması 1770-1870*, (İÜSBE Thesis of postgraduate of sociology) İstanbul – 1994.
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- 4 Kewseri, *İrgamu'l – Merid fi Sherh-i Nazmi'l- Atid li Tevessuli'l-Mürid* , İstanbul-1328, p.103.
- 5 Kewseri, *et-Tahriru'l-Veciz fi ma Yebtegihi'l-Müsteciz*, Cairo-1941, p.26
- 6 Kewseri, *Tahrir*, p.26
- 7 Kewseri, *Tahrir*, p.26
- 8 Kewseri, *Tahrir*, p.110
- 9 Ahmed Hayri, *Ibid*. P.5
- 10 Kewseri, *İrgam*, p.110.
- 11 Kewseri, *Ibid.*, p .110.
- 12 Kewseri, *Tahrir*, p.41-42
- 13 Kewseri, *Ibid.*, p.45
- 14 Kewseri, *İrgam*, p.110-111
- 15 Kewseri, *İrgam*, p.110
- 16 Kewseri, *İrgam*, p.112
- 17 He was the Deputy of the Lessons in Meshihat-Islamiyye about a quarter of a century. He was

- born in Terzivan bounded to Gumulcine in1252. He finished the knowledge from Karinabatli Allame Abdurrahman 1279/1862, he gave graduates for two terms. He died on Recep 6 1329/1911
- ¹⁸ Kevseri, Tahrir, p.36
- ¹⁹ Albayrak, Sadik, Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması - 1981, IV/138. Here can be seen a copy of the mentioned paper.
- ²⁰ Albayrak, Ibid, IV/138
- ²¹ Albayrak, Ibid, IV/138 Announcement was so: “Ahmed Hamdi, The Deputy Of Lesons is appointed to the place of Hasan Hulki Efendi from Meclis-i tetkikat-ı sher’yye members who is dismissed and Düzceli Zahid Efendi muderris of Medrese-i Suleimaniye Tabakatu’l-Kurra ve’l –Mufessirin is appointed to the deputy of lessons.”
- ²² Albayrak, Ibid., IV/138
- ²³ Kehhale, Mu’cemu’l –Müellifin, Beirut, IV/92
- ²⁴ Baltacı, Cahit, “Fahreddin Acemi” DİA, XII/82
- ²⁵ Zehebi, Nubela , I-XXII(by Ş.Arnaut) Beirut-1986, XIX/439-443.
- ²⁶ Davudi, H. Zaferullah, Pakistan ve Hindistan’da Hadis Çalışmaları, İstanbul – 1995, p.54-57. On the Works of Sagani ve Ibn-i Melek many otoman ulema made researches. Seyhzahde Muhyiddin Muhammad b. Mustafa (d.951 A.H./1544A.D.) was a muderris in İstanbul who gave many works. One of them is “Hashiye ala Mesariki’l-Envar en-Nebeviye” that he wrote on Sagani’s works. Bergamalı Ibrahim b. Mustafa wrote “Envaru’l Bevarik fi tertib-i sherhi’l-mesharik li’b-ni Melek”. Also, Uskudarlı Vahyizde Ebu Abdullah b. Ahmed b. Ali Bey wrote “Hashiye ala mebariki’l-ezhar li’b-ni Melek”. Isam Arar, p.51,232,331-2 ; Gül, p.184-185.
- ²⁷ Egyptian maliki muhaddis, wrote many Works about hadith.
- ²⁸ Egyptian muhaddis and fakih.He has a work named “Muntehabu’l –esnid fi vasli’l-musennefat ve’l –ecza ve’l-mesnid.Kehhale, IV/204.
- ²⁹ Egyptian maliki scholar of fiqh and Kalam
- ³⁰ He is accepted to be the most leading scholar of hadith ;called by such definitions; “seihkhulislam”, “ hafizul asr” “Muhaddisu’l-Mısr”. He was the sheikh of the Salahiye Madrasa. I-VIII/406
- ³¹ Ibn Imad, VIII/135; Kehhale, IV/182
- ³² He is originally from Konya. But born and grown in İstanbul. He has many Works and performed the duty of being The Kazasker of Rumeli. Kehhale, IX/49
- ³³ Kehhale, IV/319
- ³⁴ He is origanally from Yemen, lived in Mecca .He is Hanefi and has Works in history and mysticism.
- ³⁵ One of the examples of the accumulation and level of hadith education of the ottoman medrese graduates is the debate about the reliably of the hadiths in the Mystical sources between Izmirli Ismail Hakkı Efendi (1868-1946) and Sheikh Saffet Efendi (1866-1950) in the pages Ceride-i İlmiye and Mihrab.
- ³⁶ This is the explanation of the former work that is in verseThey are publised together by Bekir Efendi Press İstanbul-1328The book is translated in Turkish by M.Vehbi Şahinalp and M. Z. Kalfagil under in name of Altun Silsile and publised in Izmir-1983. The book was translated again by the owner of these lines and made ready to be published in the scientific format.
- ³⁷ Irgam, p.13. This book is the explanation of the book of the famous Sufi of the seventh century A.H. Necmeddin-i Kubra’s (d.624A.H./1226) “*el-Usul el-Ashara*” that expresses the ten basic principle of Sufi. They are: repentance, zuhd, tevekkul (resignation), kanaat (content), uzlet, zikir, teveccuh illallah, patience, murakabe (inspection) and rıza (consent). Zahid Efendi’s explanation

- (Sherh) is lost unpublished, *Usulu'l-ashara* of Necmeddin-i Kubra is published by Ismail Hakki Bursevi before, its various editions can be found. (1256 and 1291) Necmeddin-i Kubra, writer of many Works such as el-Usul el-Ashara, like the old doctrinaire, is mostly engaged in the practical side and the degrees of knowledge in Sufism. His Works formed the fundamentals of the XIII century together with the Works of Ibn Arabi. It is impossible not to consider the rules of Necmeddin in an extensively research in the historical developement of the Sufism. Look. E. Berthels "Necmeddin-i Kubra", IA, MEB publications, IX/164. The first person to talk about the ten basic principles of sufism is Ahmed el-Farisi. This is reported by Ebu Bekir Muhammad Gulabadi (d.380A.H./990) from him. Look. et-Taarruf li mezheb-i ehli't-tasavvuf, (M.Emin en-Nuri) Cairo-1980, p.108
- ³⁸ Matbatu'l –envar, Cairo-1364
- ³⁹ Kevseri, p. 36. A work lost without being published that was written to defend the people of mysticism.
- ⁴⁰ Irgam, p.38. The only work of Kevseri in Turkish written in Kastamonu. It is devoted to the biography of Imam Rabbani (1034A.H./1624), considered to be the muceddit of the second Thousand.
- ⁴¹ Matbaatu'l –envar , Cairo-1364. It contents the history of the Demirdasiye fraction of the Halveti branch. Important informations were given about that sect's development and activities.
- ⁴² Muqaddimat el- imam el-Kevseri, p.554.
- ⁴³ For extensive knowledge look: Gündüz, İrfan, "Gümüşhanevi", DIA, XIV/276.
- ⁴⁴ Irgam, p.101
- ⁴⁵ Tahrir, p.44.
- ⁴⁶ Age., p.27-28.
- ⁴⁷ For intensive knowledge look: Gündüz, İ., Gumushanevi Ahmed Ziyauddin, Seha Publications., İstanbul-1984; Gündüz, İrfan, "Gumushanevi", DIA, XIV/276; Bardakci, M. Necmeddin, Sosyo – Kültürel Hayatta Tasavvuf, İlahiyat, Ankara-2002, p.170.
- ⁴⁸ The branch of the Naksibendi that continued over Mevlana Halid-i Bagdadi (1778-1826), to Ziyaeddin Gumushanevi (1813-1893).It is the most common branch in Otoman.Especially after the removal of the Yeniceri Ocagi and Bektashi Tekkes it increased its power.Bardakçi. Ibid.p.270. For intensive knowlegde look Yücer, Hur, Mahmud, Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf 19.yy., İnsan Publications., İstanbul 2003, p.322-340.
- ⁴⁹ Irgam, p.17.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., p.91.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.p.98.
- ⁵² Ibid.p.98.Gündüz, Zahid Efendi who wrote the biography of Gumushanevi, is mentioned as the person to continue the Ziyaiyye Branch of Nakshi-Halidi branch. (Gündüz Ibid.p.5) But no such knowledge is seen in Kevseri's Works.
- ⁵³ The Azdavay is a Town in Kastamonu
- ⁵⁴ Tahrir, p.34. After his dead, he left 57 haliphs.Mustafe Fevzi Efendi took his place.Look Vassaf, Huseyin, Sefne-i Evliya, II/189.
- ⁵⁵ Irgam, p.107.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., p.101.
- ⁵⁷ Tahrir, p.34. The life of Hasan Efendi was written by his haliph Mustafa Fevzi Efendi (1345/1926) in verse in the book named Menakıb-i Haseniyye.
- ⁵⁸ Irgam, p.104
- ⁵⁹ İrgam, p.106.

- 60 Ibid., p.107
- 61 Tahrir, p.44
- 62 Irgam, p.4.
- 63 İrgam, p.16.
- 64 Kevseri reports these thoughts from Abdurrezzak Kashani's (d. 736A.H./1335 AD) the leading sufi of VIII century A.H., Tezkiyetu'l-ervah. Irgam, p.4. Look for Kashani Uludağ, Suleyman, "Kashani" DIA, XXV/5.
- 65 Irgam, p.4
- 66 Irgam, p.46.
- 67 Quran, 91 Shems, 9.
- 68 Bukhari, Sahih, Iman, had Nu:39; Muslim, Sahih, Musakat had nu:107.
- 69 Irgam, p.14.
- 70 There are different levels of murakabe in seyr-i suluk They are: Murakaba-i ahadiyyet, Murakabai maiyet, Murakaba-i aqrabiyet, and Murakaba-i muhabbet. Look. Yılmaz, H.Kamil, *İslam Tasavvufu*, Altınoluk Publications., İstanbul-1996, p.504.
- 71 Quran, Tevbe (repentance), 40.
- 72 Irgam, p.28.
- 73 Matbaatu'l-envar, Cairo-1358/1939)
- 74 Cairo-1369; Muqaddimat el- Kevseri, p.213-236.
- 75 For Works about look. Ahmed Hayri, Ibid. , p. 39-49; Özafşar, Ibid. p.58-65. Also, Maqalatu'l-Kevseri, Mektebetu'l -ezher, Cairo-1994; Muqaddimat el-Kevseri, Beirut-1997.
- 76 Quran, Bakara, 117.
- 77 Celaleddin Dawwani (d.908 A.H../1502A.D); is an important Ashari Kalamist lived in IX century A.H. A famous scholar of its age. By means of his great numbers of Works and students The way of thinking called The School of Dawwani. His Works are said to be influenced by the Ashari Kalam, vahdet-i vucud opinion of Ibn Arabi, and the philosophy of ishrak. He wanted to combine kalam, philosophy, and sufism that form the three main diciplines of the islamic thought. Look Anay, Harun, "Dawwani" DIA, IX/257-262. Dawwanis work with the topic ez-zevra ve'l-havra, is gained to Turkish by Sheikhuslam Musa Kazim Efendi (Daru'l-hilafeti'l-aliyye-1335).
- 78 Its full name is *ez-Zevra ve'l Havra*. It criticizes the thoughts of the kalamists, philosophers and sufis about mebde and mead in terms of the view of ishraki. It has different editions (İstanbul-1286; Cairo-1326).This work was translated to Turkish by Sheikhuslam Kazim Efendi (Daru'l-hilafeti'l- aliye-1335).
- 79 An explanation of Suhreverdi's work named *Heyakilu'n-nurSevakilu'l-hur fi şerhi Heyakili'n-nur DIA*.
- 80 Irgam, p. 9-11.