

SUNNITIZATION THROUGH TRANSLATION:  
NUH IBN MUSTAFA'S (1590-1660) *TERCÜME-İ MİLEL VE NİHAL*

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İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

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**SUNNITIZATION THROUGH TRANSLATION: NUH IBN MUSTAFA'S  
(1590-1660) *TERCÜME-İ MİLEL VE NİHAL***

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**CANAN ÖZKILIÇ**

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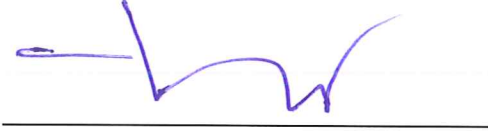
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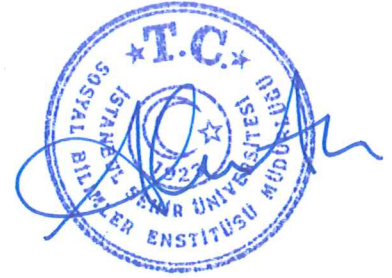


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## ABSTRACT

SUNNITIZATION THROUGH TRANSLATION: NUH IBN MUSTAFA'S (1590-1660) TERCÜME-İ MİLEL VE NİHAL

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MA, Department of History

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El-Milel ve'n-Nihal (The Book of Religions and Denominations) was written by an influential Persian historian of religions and a heresiographer Shahrastani (1086–1153 CE). It includes, in addition to those of Islamic denominations and sectarian groups, the doctrinal ideas of main religions and philosophies that existed up to Shahrastani's time. Nuh ibn Mustafa el-Konevî, who played a significant role in terms of Hanafi literature in the 17th century Ottoman world, made a constructive translation of el-Milel ve'n-Nihal. My analysis would concern the question how Nuh Efendi has adapted the knowledge presented by Shahrastani to his own time and environment. After treating the biographies of Shahrastani and Nuh Efendi, and the period Nuh Efendi lived, the thesis concentrates on the narration of Nuh Efendi and his special contributions to and disposals from Shahrastani's book. A lithographic print of Nuh Efendi's translation and his biography from Süleymaniye Library formed the main source for the thesis. In addition, secondary sources especially on 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman history and some main pieces on Islamic Sunni creed were also used. As a result, the present study reached the basic conclusion that Nuh Efendi's translation functioned as a religious manual that might play a substantive role in terms of the Ottoman Sunnitization policy in and after the period where it was written.

Keywords: El-Milel ve'n-Nihal, Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal, Ottoman Sunnitization, Nuh b. Mustafa, Nuh Efendi

## ÖZ

### TERCÜME YOLUYLA SÜNNİLEŞTİRME: NUH İBN MUSTAFA’NIN (1590-1660) MİLEL VE NİHAL TERCÜMESİ

Özkılıç, Canan

MA, Tarih Bölümü

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El-Milel ve’n-Nihal, İranlı meşhur bir dinler ve mezhepler tarihçisi olan Şehristani (1086–1153) tarafından kaleme alınmıştır. Eser, Şehristani’nin zamanına kadarki İslam kökenli mezheplere ilaveten, birçok dini ve felsefi görüşlerin tanıtımını içermektedir. 17. yy Osmanlı’sında Hanefî literatüründe önemli bir role sahip Nuh ibn Mustafa el-Konevî, Şehristani’nin bu eserini yoruma dayalı ve çeşitli değişikliklerle Osmanlı Türkçesi’ne çevirmiştir. Bu tez, Nuh Efendi’nin Şehristani’nin eserindeki bilgileri kendi dönem ve çevresi için nasıl uyarlamış olduğu sorusuyla ilgilenecektir. Şehristani ve Nuh Efendi’nin biyografileri verildikten ve Nuh Efendi’nin yaşadığı dönem ele alındıktan sonra, tez, Nuh Efendi’nin üslûbuna, Şehristani’nin eserine yapmış olduğu ilave ve çıkarımlarına odaklanacaktır. Bu çalışmanın ana kaynaklarını Nuh Efendi’nin tercümesi ve Süleymaniye kütüphanesinde bulunan biyografisi oluşturmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, 17.yy Osmanlı tarihi ve Sünnî İslam akidesi üzerine ikincil kaynaklardan istifade edilmiştir. Çalışmamızın sonucunda, Nuh Efendi’nin El-Milel ve’n-Nihal tercümesinin bir akide risalesi işlevi gördüğü tespit edilmiştir ve bunun Osmanlı Sünnileştirme sürecine anlamlı bir katkı yaptığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: el-Milel ve’n Nihal, Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal, Osmanlı’da Sünnilik, Nuh b. Mustafa, Nuh Efendi)

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful  
“And my success (in my task) can come only from Allah. In Him I trust, and unto  
Him I look.”<sup>1</sup>

*Değerli anneciğim ve babacığma*

---

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Necati Öztürk, I saw this kind of introduction and reference to the Qur'an for the good behaviour to parents in his work. Undoubtedly, I should firstly give thanks to Allah c.c., who gave me the love of reasoning, reading, and writing and gave me the understanding and the ability to bring words together. He is the best helper.

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my educational and familial background, so that acknowledgements must be made to all my teachers and professors until now, and to my extended family and all friends.

When I turned back and look at the process of my studies until now, I see such a scene: It was as if I sat and was trying to find the puzzle pieces with my head bent. While I was trying to complete a meaningful picture, there were respectful people who were helping me. I owe special thanks to them. Even the smallest detail was very valuable to be able to complete this whole picture.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Hz. : Hazreti

İA : İslam Ansiklopedisi

EP : Encyclopedia of Islam, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition

DİA : Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi

pbuh : peace and blessings of Allah be upon him

a.s. : Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him

s.a.v. : Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him

r.a. : May Allah be pleased

b. : Bin, ibn

m: Printed.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The causes of the emergence of denominations in Islamic history can be categorized in four main factors. In the first place, the Quran calls Muslims to think critically with many verses.<sup>1</sup> Thinking (*tefekkiir*), pondering over (*tedebbür*), and profound understanding (*tefakkuh*) go hand in hand with differences in people's interpretations. Another motive behind Islamic denominations is the previous beliefs and religions of the communities, which chose Islam and synthesized some parts of their former religions with it. The impact of Isra'iliyyat has also been included among the reasons behind Islamic denominations. Lastly and definitely, politics has accounted among the most influential motives behind these formations throughout Islamic history.<sup>2</sup>

Before and after the martyrdom of the third caliph Uthman and during the Ummayyad period, some conflicts occurred within Islamic society.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, different group of people came up with some different interpretations of the events that occurred.<sup>4</sup> As Bulut states, these circumstances prepared to write books from the Sunni perspectives that will clearly expose Sunni doctrines and reply to the

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<sup>1</sup> Such as Al-'Āli 'Imrān (3):65 and Al-Baqarah (2): 242.

<sup>2</sup> Ethem Ruhi Fıġlalı, *Çağımızda İtikadi İslam Mezhepleri* (İstanbul: Selçuk Yayınları, 1990), 23.

<sup>3</sup> Fıġlalı, *Çağımızda İtikadi İslam Mezhepleri*, 28.

<sup>4</sup> For the details of those conflicts and denominations see, Yusuf Ziya Yörükan, *İslam dini ve mezhepleri tarihi 3 müslümanlıkta dini tefrika: İslam tarihinde ortaya çıkmış ayrılıkçı görüşler* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2009). ; Regarding the thought and books of Abu Hanifa as well as the conflicts among Islamic society, Yusuf Ziya Yörükan, *İslam dini ve mezhepleri tarihi 2: İslam akaid sisteminde gelişmeler: İmam-ı Azam Ebu Hanife ve İmam Ebu Mansur-i Maturidi* (İstanbul, Ötüken Yayınları, 2006).

arguments of their opponents.<sup>5</sup> The history of Sunni *makâlat* literature goes back to the fourth century.<sup>6</sup> Authors of the *makalat* mostly tried to bring into view and explain existing denominations. However, by conquering new lands and meeting with new beliefs, *makalat* literature began to include non-Islamic religions in addition to Islamic denominations.<sup>7</sup> Since the mid-fourth century, the genre of *Milal-Nihal* replaced the genre of *makalat*.<sup>8</sup>

Shahrastani's (d.1153) *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* (Religions and Denominations), which was translated productively by Nuh Efendi, has been referred as the most famous book in the field of the history of Islamic sects both in the East and the West.<sup>9</sup> It is one of the best-known classical books of medieval Islamic literature. Considering especially the recent arguments on "confessionalization" and Ottoman Sunnitization of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>10</sup> Yusuf Efendi's<sup>11</sup> request to Nuh Efendi to translate *el-*

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<sup>5</sup> Halil İbrahim Bulut, "Bir Mezhepler Tarihi Klasığı Olarak Bağdâdî'nin *el-Fark*'ı ve Sünnî Geleneğe Katkıları", in *İslam ve Klasik*, ed. Sami Erdem and M. Cüneyt Kaya (Klasik Yayınları, 2008), 243.

<sup>6</sup> Bulut, "Bir Mezhepler Tarihi Klasığı", 243.

<sup>7</sup> Bulut, "Bir Mezhepler Tarihi Klasığı", 255.

<sup>8</sup> Bulut, "Bir Mezhepler Tarihi Klasığı", 243. ; Muhammed B. Tavit et-Tancî, "Şehristani'nin Kitab'ul-Milel ve'n- Nihal'i (Arapça metinlerde neşredilmeyen kısımlar)," *İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* I-IV, (1956): 1-16, 6/7/2015 <http://ktp.isam.org.tr/> .

<sup>9</sup> İlyas Üzüm, "Fırak Literatürü"ne dayalı olarak fırkalar/mezhepler anlaşılabilir mi?" in *İslam ve Klasik*, ed. Sami Erdem, M. Cüneyt Kaya (Klasik Yayınları, 2008), 225-239. Additionally, according to Dalkılıç, scholars reflect the period they lived and Shahrastani draws a history of humanity since the Prophet Adam to till his time. With these features, *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* can also be accounted among the books on history of religions and Islamic philosophy. Mehmet Dalkılıç, "Abdülkerim eş-Şehristânî'nin İslam Mezheplerini Tasnif Metodu," *Milel ve Nihal: İnanç, Kültür ve Mitoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi* 5:1, (2008): 141-155, 6/7/2015 [http://www.milelvenihal.org/dosyalarim/pdf/592e6939-317f-4b30-b93c-b0e833767fb5MilelveNihal\\_c5\\_s1.pdf](http://www.milelvenihal.org/dosyalarim/pdf/592e6939-317f-4b30-b93c-b0e833767fb5MilelveNihal_c5_s1.pdf) .

<sup>10</sup> Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State-Building and Confessionalization," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Taylor & Francis, 2012) ; Derin Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion", *Turcica* 44, (2012-2013): 309, accessed April, 2015, doi: 10.2143/TURC.44.0.298.88.54 .

<sup>11</sup> Nuh Efendi addresses Yusuf Efendi with these words "[...] kıldve-i emâcid ve efâzıl ve umde-i ekâbir ve emâsil menba'-ı mekârim-i ahlâk ve mecmâ'-i fezâil-i afâk [...] ve kâne lûtf ve 'ata muhibb-i ulemâ ve fuzalâ ve mürîd-i sulehâ [...]" Nuh Efendi refers Yusuf Efendi's honor as well as his moral virtues such as generosity, goodness, and interest in wisdom and learning. Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 4. Rieu also refers Yusuf Efendi as "one of the noble inhabitants of Mısır". Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish*

*Milel ve'n-Nihal* into Ottoman Turkish constitutes a significant point of entry into the discussion.

In this context, Nuh Efendi's specific admonitions (*tenbîh*), critiques, his special chapter on the creed (*akîde*) of Ahl-al sunnah, and his special disposals in the translated text constitute a significant point of entry into this discussion. Building on these suggestions, the central question of this thesis is to what extent Nuh Efendi's translation as a religious manual can be evaluated within the concept of Ottoman Sunnitization. This thesis aims to disclose one of the crucial translations on Sunni aqida and deviant denominations of the Ottoman world. Due to the fact that Nuh Efendi's books were analyzed only in terms of religious aspects, this thesis aims also to present a broader picture of the life of a famous scholar, the period he lived, and the role his translation played in his time.

### **1.1. Problems and Literature**

The argument that "Ottomans were always Sunni" questions the proposals on Ottoman Sunnitization. Scholars, who are following Köprülü and Ocak, divide Islam in Anatolia and Rumeli as "textually grounded Islam of the urban elites" and "oral Islam of the rural".<sup>12</sup> They accept that folk Islam contained features of the pre-Islamic beliefs of the Turks, but they presume the Seljuk and Ottoman authorities were always assenting to Sunni Islam.<sup>13</sup>

Recent discussions on the narrative above argue that the bifurcated categories of "high" and "low", overpasses "the complexity and fluidity of religious (and social and cultural) affiliations in late medieval and early modern Ottoman Anatolia and

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*manuscripts in the British Museum* (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1978). I could not find any further information on him in the primary and secondary sources, which I researched during my study.

<sup>12</sup> Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman", 302-3 ; Fuat Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet* (Ankara : Akçağ Yayınları, 2005) ; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Babailer isyanı: Aleviliğin tarihsel altyapısı yahut Anadolu* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1996).

<sup>13</sup> Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State-Building", 87.

the Balkans”.<sup>14</sup> According to this framework, no Sufi group can be restricted “to a single social, political or cultural milieu ... and adherents of any one group/movement/order could vary from region to region and from period to period”.<sup>15</sup> Cemal Kafadar proposed the concept of “metadoxy” and stated it is almost impossible to talk about orthodoxy for the Anatolian and Balkan Muslims of the period from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>16</sup> Kafadar’s definition of metadoxy means, “a state of being beyond doxies, a combination of being doxy-naive and not being doxy-minded, as well as the absence of a state that was interested in rigorously defining and strictly enforcing an orthodoxy”.<sup>17</sup>

Building on these findings, Terzioğlu has some articles on Ottoman Sunnitization and confessionalization specifically from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. First, she certainly states the “long history of Ottoman Sunnitization” (150 years of).<sup>18</sup> In her other article, she refers “the translations of various religious and ethical works from Persian and Arabic into Turkish and adaptations of pre-existing genres to their Rumi context” by the early 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> Yet, she aims to reveal special characteristics of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries besides the continuities from the previous centuries in terms of Ottoman Sunnitization, which I will cover after definitions of the concepts.

With the concept of Ottoman Sunnitization, she means “to remold the lay public according to the dictates of Sunni Islam” for the 16<sup>th</sup> century and, with a significant

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<sup>14</sup> Terzioğlu, “Sufis in the Age of State-Building”, 87 ; Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's unruly friends: Dervish groups in the Islamic later middle period: 1200-1550* (Salt Lake City : University of Utah Press, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> Terzioğlu, “Sufis in the Age of State-Building”, 87 ; Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 303.

<sup>16</sup> Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), esp. 73-76.

<sup>17</sup> Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 76.

<sup>18</sup> Terzioğlu, “Sufis in the Age of State-Building”, 97. For the “desire to define a consistent Sunni orthodoxy for the newly emerged empire” in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, see Abdurrahman Atçıl, “The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship, 1300-1600.” (doctorate’s thesis, University of Chicago, 2010), esp. 314-15.

<sup>19</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 308.

difference, for the concept of Ottoman Sunnitization of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, she proposes “the multiplication of the agents of sunnitization and the diversifications of the interpretations of Sunni Islam among these agents.” The latter term, confessionalization, is the concept she borrows from Tijana Krstić’ and defines as “the initiatives taken by Ottoman religious and political authorities during sixteenth century to refashion the attitudes and behaviors of the empire’s Muslim subjects in conformity with the principles of Sunni Islam”.<sup>20</sup> Terzioğlu’s definition also covers the 17<sup>th</sup> century and, with a new phase, continues in 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well.<sup>21</sup>

I would like to digress here, and query the concept of “confessionalization”. Krstić has adopted the term “confessionalization” from European historiography to Ottoman historiography to show “not to prove that Ottomans ‘had it too’”<sup>22</sup>, but indicate how “different parts of western and eastern Europe had vastly different experiences of the projects of confessionalization and social discipline”.<sup>23</sup> According to Krstić, “religious ‘orthodoxies’ unfolded simultaneously in both Muslim and Christian empires in the sixteenth century as a consequence of imperial competition between the Ottomans and Habsburgs on the one hand and the Ottomans and Safavids on the other”.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Terzioğlu, “Sufis in the Age of State-Building”, 87.

<sup>21</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, “Where *‘İlm-i Hāl* Meets Catechism: Islamic Manuals of Religious Instruction in the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Confessionalization”, *Past and Present* no. 220, (Aug. 2013): 108-14.

<sup>22</sup> Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 15.

<sup>23</sup> Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 15-6. She borrowed the term “confessionalization” from Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling. For details of confessionalization in Europe see; Heinz Schilling, “Confessionalization: Historical and Scholarly Perspectives of a Comparative and Interdisciplinary Paradigm,” in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700* ed. J. M. Headley, H. J. Hillerbrand and A. J. Papalas (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2004), 21-36. Also Joel F. Harrington and Helmut W. Smith, “Review: Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany, 1555-1870,” in *The Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 1 (1997): 77-101.

<sup>24</sup> Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 14. For details, see 14-5. For the studies on confessionalization and deconfessionalization; Burak Guy, “Faith, law and empire in the Ottoman ‘age of confessionalization’ (fifteenth-seventeenth centuries): the case of ‘renewal of faith’, in *Mediterranean Historical Review*, v.28, 1, 1–23, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09518967.2013.782670> . 18/8/15 ; Bekir Harun Küçük, “Early Enlightenment in Istanbul” (doctorate’s thesis, University of California, San Diego, 2012). Küçük’s thesis has been a significant work regarding the Ahmedian regime (r. 1703-1730),

First, I agree with the idea that there was a “Mediterranean-wide age of empire building and the imperial rivalry between the 1450s and 1690s”.<sup>25</sup> However, I have problem with the third word (“confessional”), which I omitted from Krstić’s sentence here. Krstić’s suggestion in terms of periodization as the “age of confessionalization and empire building” rather than the definition of “early modern”<sup>26</sup> stems from her attempt to avoid being Eurocentric. She claims “early modern” is a Eurocentric point of view and takes Europe as the “departure point (or the norm) of the study”.<sup>27</sup> I think it is valuable to suggest a concept which is not Eurocentric, but had not the word “confessionalization”<sup>28</sup> also repeated causes it to be Eurocentric? I agree about the attempts “to refashion the attitudes and behaviors of the empire’s Muslim subjects in conformity with the principles of Sunni Islam”<sup>29</sup> whether by authorities

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which he defines as the period of “deconfessionalization and revalorization of philosophy, the rise of naturalism, the Sultan’s worldly and enterprising efforts to seek public recognition and support for his mandate in a way that teetered on republicanism, new and more rational interpretations and practices of Islam, the deliberate exercise of religious tolerance and the re-alignment of court practices along more civil – as opposed to military or religious - lines, which collectively amount to cultural openness and to the erosion of the old order”. Küçük, “Early Enlightenment”, 6-7. Besides his discussion on deconfessionalization, his thesis reveals the impact of the printing press of “bringing together different strands in the Ottoman early enlightenment movement; the process of a unique mixture of reason, experience and tradition and consensus that Avicennism and theology no longer had a place in Istanbul’s intellectual life”. Küçük, “Early Enlightenment”, 201. A humble recommendation can be regarding Küçük’s thesis, to use different definitions for the various Sufi groups. As Terzioğlu did, i.e. “shariah abiding sufis”.

<sup>25</sup> Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Regarding the reappraisal of Ottoman history from 1500-1800 as the “early modern” period see; Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2010). For the controversial aspects of the definition “early modern”, see; Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 15.

<sup>27</sup> For the controversial aspects of the definition “early modern”, see; Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 15.

<sup>28</sup> The word “confessionalization” is related to Christian faith. “Easter, and especially the forty-odd days of Lent that preceded it, was a critical time for confessions, which had assumed an altogether new disciplinary function in Tridentine Catholicism. Confessors were instructed to question penitents about any knowledge of heretics prior to confession, and to report that knowledge to the Inquisition. They were also to deny confession to all those who were being investigated by the Inquisition on suspicion of heresy and to report the names of all those who failed to confess to the Inquisition, thus opening the way for legal recourse.” Terzioğlu, “Where *‘İlm-i Hāl* Meets Catechism”, 102-3.

<sup>29</sup> Terzioğlu, “Sufis in the Age of State-Building”, 87.

or by different agents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet, I did not use “confessionalization” as a word since I think it needs a revision. I preferred the term “Ottoman Sunnitization” for the analysis of Nuh Efendi’s translation.

Returning to the subject, observing and synthesizing of the ideas from Terzioğlu’s articles, the characteristics of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, in terms of Ottoman Sunnitization, come forward as such: “Persecution of the Kızılbaş; (beginning from an early date) imposing on all male Muslim subjects the regular attendance to congregational prayers<sup>30</sup> and especially the Friday prayer –in case of absence punishment by a fine-; in Ebussuud’s time instead of monetary fines, first, forcing absentees to renew their faith and marriage vows –in case of offending the rule, there were harsher punishments such as imprisonment and even capital punishment-; much energy was expended in trying to instill in the lay public a proper knowledge of Sunni Islam, so preachers assumed a **greater** significance; **many more** writers penned religious manuals for the lay public and it is seen from the numbers of surviving copies of their texts that they reached **many more** readers, **the heightened** denominational consciousness from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, multiplication of the agents of sunnitization and diversification of the interpretations of Sunni Islam among these agents”<sup>31</sup> -the role of Kadızadeli and Halwati scholars and preachers was as much crucial as the role of the state officials in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

This thesis builds upon Krstić and Terzioğlu’s ideas, but at the same time does not ignore the process of “bureaucratization of religious scholars; institutionalizing; centralized administration”, which was proposed by Atçıl for the years between 1300 and 1600.<sup>32</sup> The thesis also heeds “the role of specifically chosen subjects in the books written on theoretical and practical jurisprudence (the amount of their production also continued in the 16<sup>th</sup> century whereas the interest in former field

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<sup>30</sup> Atçıl, “The Formation of the Ottoman Learned”, 169 ; Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 311-19.

<sup>31</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 311-19 ; Terzioğlu, “Sufis in the Age of State-Building”, 94-6. The emphasizes are mine.

<sup>32</sup> Atçıl, “The Formation of the Ottoman Learned”, 8, 13.



decreased) in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in terms of development of the Sunni identity.”<sup>33</sup> That being said, the process of institutionalization between 1300 and 1600 does not clash with the ideas of Terzioğlu on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Terzioğlu refers to Atçıl for “the institution of a hierarchical learned establishment as the arbiter of that [shariah] law”<sup>34</sup> for the sixteenth century. Atçıl also refers to the sixteenth century “Ottoman attention to create, promote and enforce a Sunni identity throughout the empire” by the policies such as increasing in mosque construction.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, I benefit from the position of Terzioğlu, which is more suitable for the period, and translation of Nuh Efendi, since she emphasizes the increasing role of different agents of Sunnitization in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as well as the intense denominational consciousness.<sup>36</sup>

At the every beginning of this thesis, the question from which I set out from was very similar to what Terzioğlu asks in her article.<sup>37</sup> She states to be able to write an intellectual history of Ottoman, it is necessary to query “what; how much; how and in what context” Ottoman scholars translated the books in Arabic and Persian which were written before their period to their own times?<sup>38</sup> This point of view is far away from the presumption those kind of translations are worthless.<sup>39</sup>

In her article on the conceptualization of Ottoman Sunnitization, as I previously stated, Terzioğlu refers “the religious and ethical works from Persian and Arabic into

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<sup>33</sup> Atçıl, “The Formation of the Ottoman Learned”, 314-15.

<sup>34</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *’İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism”, 85-6.

<sup>35</sup> Atçıl, “The Formation of the Ottoman Learned”, 168.

<sup>36</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 317.

<sup>37</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, “Bir Tercüme ve Bir İntihal Vakası: Ya da İbn Teymiyye’nin Siyâsetü’ş-Şer’iyyesi’ni Osmanlıca’ya Kim(ler) Nasıl Aktardı?”, in *Journal of Turkish Studies*, v31/II, 2007, 247-75.

<sup>38</sup> Terzioğlu, “Bir Tercüme ve Bir İntihal”, 247.

<sup>39</sup> Yusuf Ziya Yörükân, *Ebü’l-Feth Şehristânî: “Milel ve Nihal” Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir İnceleme ve Mezheplerin Tetkikinde Usûl* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002). For other examples of constructive translations, especially, see Terzioğlu, “Bir Tercüme ve Bir İntihal”, esp. 253-4; 262; 269-270; For a court philosopher’s, Esad of Ioannina (d. 1731), Arabic translation of Johannes Cottunius on Aristotle’s natural philosophy, see, Küçük, “Early Enlightenment”, esp. 30; 75-6.

Turkish” by the early 15<sup>th</sup> century and states they were adapted to their Rumi context.<sup>40</sup> She gives the example of *‘ilm-i hals* among various other genres. It is worth to determine here that some religious manuals from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries which covered topics on creed, ethics and worship –even biography of the Prophet (*siyer*) – are thought to as functioned in the role of *‘ilm-i hals*.<sup>41</sup>

Nevertheless, this does not mean Nuh Efendi’s translation can be evaluated among *‘ilm-i hals* and there is no reason to claim this. His translation, which can be seen in my fourth chapter in detail, much more functioned as a creed booklet although it touched upon topics on *‘ilm-i hal*, as well. However, the significant point that Nuh Efendi’s translation and the *‘ilm-i hals* of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries share in common, are the intense denominational consciousness and emphasize of instruction in creedal matters<sup>42</sup>, which Terzioğlu proposes. It is claimed whereas there was **more concern** “to regulate the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims and to address the needs of new Muslims than to deal with the sectarian differences among the Muslims” in the early *‘ilm-i hals*, by the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards the winds have changed.<sup>43</sup>

Building on these, I propose *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal* contributes “the multiformity “politics of Sunna-minded Sufi preachers”<sup>44</sup> of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, by being a

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<sup>40</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 308.

<sup>41</sup> Hatice K. Arpağuş, “Bir Telif Türü Olarak İlmihal: Tarihi Geçmişi ve Fonksiyonu”, in Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, xxii, 1, 2002, 30-1.

<sup>42</sup> Nushî’s, an Ottoman ‘ilm-i hal writer in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, recommendation “to sort out the genuine believers from the pretenders, the Sunnis from heretics”. Terzioğlu, “Where *‘İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism”, 91-2.

<sup>43</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 308. The emphasizes are mine. Certainly, she also states that it does not mean there was no reference on the sectarian differences or Sunni creed in the previous texts. For the comparison of early and latter *‘ilm-i hals*, see Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 31. Whereas İznikî’s (d. 1418) *Mukaddime*’s target audience is new Muslims, Birgivi’s *Tarikat-ı Muhammediyye* and *Kitab-ı Üstüvanî* criticizes Sufis and focus the controversial topics among Muslims, e.g. illicit innovations (*bid’ats*).

<sup>44</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, “Sunna-Minded Sufi Preachers in the Service of the Ottoman State: The *Naşihatnâme* of Hasan addressed to Murad IV”, in *Archivum Ottomanicum* 27 (2010), 282. The forms which Terzioğlu analyzed in this article were *pendname* and *nasihatname*.

translation of a Halwati *mufti*, scholar and preacher Nuh Efendi, in the form of a translation on denominations.

Before ending, besides beginning and setting forth from Terzioğlu's ideas, I also have some questions in my mind regarding her articles. My first point is about the quotation below. She states:

Whereas the piety had been defined in earlier Ottoman texts mostly as an **otherworldly** quality that manifested itself through **extraordinary acts**, from the turn of the seventeenth century onwards it came to be defined increasingly as a virtue that manifested itself through constant adherence to the shariah in the here and now.<sup>45</sup>

Even if we just look the paragraph above, which is consisted Terzioğlu's ideas related to characteristics of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries Ottoman Sunnitization, there is nothing related with what she refers here as “**otherworldly** quality” and “**extraordinary acts**”. The piety that has been attempted to be defined in texts for 150 years was also referred shariah for both here and hereafter. In other words, the theory and the practice are linked in piety, so that the belief and the worship have been concomitantly in the texts.<sup>46</sup> Certainly, the extent of application of piety can differ from person to person or from period to period, but I think this is not same with the quotation above. Presumably, this perception stemmed from comparing the Ottoman world with the Christian world, as it can be seen from her reference in the following page “the shift from a more ‘magical’ to a more rules-and-regulations-oriented mode of religiosity”.<sup>47</sup> Second, a general look the ideas above, overtly gives the sense the claim about “the increased significance of preachers; the proliferation of *‘ilm-i hals* and other religious manuals for the lay public; the heightened denominational consciousness and more concern to regulate the relations between Muslims” are all about the issue of quantity. Therefore, a humble recommendation can be about some quantitative method or just to show increase or the differentiation of topics in the same genre throughout different centuries with tables. Terzioğlu gives significant references on these

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<sup>45</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *‘İlm-i Hāl* Meets Catechism”, 111.

<sup>46</sup> Arpaguş, “Bir Telif Türü Olarak”, 27.

<sup>47</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *‘İlm-i Hāl* Meets Catechism”, 112.

issues from recent scholarships, but quantitative methods can also support the ideas of recent scholarship. Definitely, the new studies on the intellectual history of Ottoman, on scholars and books might provide a wider scene to do this.

## 1.2. Methods and Sources

The method of analysis was qualitative research, which consisted of the analysis of texts. By a critical reading of the primary and the secondary sources, this thesis tried to picture Nuh Efendi and his translation within the historical context he lived. A 19th century lithographic print of the Nuh Efendi's translation<sup>48</sup> is the main source of the study. Besides, the biography of Nuh Efendi,<sup>49</sup> which has not been used yet in detail by the other secondary sources until now, is the particular feature of this thesis. As the biographical references, works of Kehhâle, Ziriklî, Brockelmann, and Bursalî Mehmet Tahir were used.

Shahrastani's *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* was the core of the study since the thesis aimed to find out the contributions of Nuh Efendi to it. I used the Turkish translations of it<sup>50</sup> in addition to comparing it with Arabic original.<sup>51</sup>

In terms of historiography, Derin Terzioğlu's articles make important contributions to understanding of the historiographical discussion on Ottoman Sunnitization and the Islamic manuals, which were circling in the Ottoman empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>52</sup> Terzioğlu states a new interest occurred in religious manuals for the lay

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<sup>48</sup> The translation is accessible online as full text in pdf-format.

<http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1024/bsb10249985/images/index.html?digID=bsb10249985&pimage=4&v=pdf&nav=0&l=de> , 16/7/2015.

<sup>49</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü'l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, Süleymaniye Hâlet Efendi nr. 70.

<sup>50</sup> Ebü'l-Feth Taceddin Muhammed b. Abdülkerim Şehristani, *el-Milel ve'n-nihal: dinler, mezhepler ve felsefî sistemler tarihi* trans. Mustafa Öz (İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2008). Also Ebu'l Feth Muhammed b. Abdülkerim eş-Şehristanî, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, trans. Muharrem Tan (İstanbul: Yeni Akademi Yayınları, 2006).

<sup>51</sup> Ebü'l-Feth Taceddin Muhammed b. Abdülkerim Şehristani, *Kitâbü'l-Milel ve'n-nihal* ed. William Cureton (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1923).

<sup>52</sup> I would like to specifically thank to Prof. Abdurrahman Atçıl for directing me to the discussions on confessionalization and sending to me Terzioğlu's article.

public after the 16th century<sup>53</sup> and by the early decades of the 17th century, and sunna-minded scholars guided the lay populace to the Ahl al-Sunnah in the Ottoman world.<sup>54</sup> Abdurrahman Atçıl's thesis has significant contributions for the "development and crystallization of Sunni identity" along with the institutionalization process between 1300-1600.<sup>55</sup> Tijana Krstić's book, which puts the Ottoman Sunnization in a broader Mediterranean context, was eye opening.<sup>56</sup>

Ahmet Yaşar Ocak's book<sup>57</sup> has been also helpful in terms of understanding the role of religion in the Ottoman Empire. According to Ocak, the base of the official Ottoman ideology is religion.<sup>58</sup> For picturing the period in which Nuh Efendi lived, Katip Çelebi's *Mîzânü'l-Hakk fî İhtiyâri'l-Ehakk* has a major contribution to understand the controversial topics among Kadızadeli and Halwati scholars in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and to understand the role of Nuh Efendi's works much better.<sup>59</sup> Madeline Zilfi's work<sup>60</sup> also contributed a great deal in terms of figuring out the Kadızadeli movement. Necati Öztürk's thesis on Islamic orthodoxy has helped as well to clear the blurred scene of the 17th century.<sup>61</sup> On the changeable politics between the Ottomans and Safavids, Mehmet Saray and Bekir Kütükoğlu's books

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<sup>53</sup> Terzioğlu, "Where *İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism", 79.

<sup>54</sup> Terzioğlu, "Where *İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism", 87.

<sup>55</sup> Abdurrahman Atçıl, "The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship, 1300-1600." (doctorate's thesis, University of Chicago, 2010).

<sup>56</sup> Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

<sup>57</sup> Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar ve mülhidler: 15-17. Yüzyıllar* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998).

<sup>58</sup> Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar ve mülhidler*, 73.

<sup>59</sup> Kâtip Çelebi, *Mîzânü'l-Hakk fî İhtiyâri'l-Ehakk* trans. Orhan Şaik Gökay and Süleyman Uludağ (İstanbul: Kabcacı Yayınevi, 2008).

<sup>60</sup> Madeline Zilfi, *The politics of piety: the Ottoman ulema in the postclassical age: 1600-1800* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988).

<sup>61</sup> Necati Öztürk, "Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans in the Seventeenth Century with special reference to the Qadi-Zade movement" (doctorate's thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1981).

have crucial contributions.<sup>62</sup> Ethem Ruhi Fıġlalı and Sayın Dalkıran’s articles set a pattern for the analysis of a religious manual on denominations.<sup>63</sup> Hafsa Şenses and M. Ali Aytekin’s master theses include significant information regarding the content of Nuh Efendi’s other works.<sup>64</sup> On the genre of *ilm-i hal* and creeds Hatice Arpaġuş and Ali Nar’s works have helped to see the role of Nuh Efendi’s translation better among other genres.<sup>65</sup> I did not have details about Nuh Efendi’s life until I saw his biography in Süleymaniye. And it was difficult for me to see him in the real picture of his age because he was treated only with the religious aspects of his works by secondary sources. These were the challenges that I faced during my work.

As outline of the thesis, the chapter following “Introduction” covers the biography and the period Nuh Efendi lived and attempts to understand interactions between Nuh Efendi’s life, period and his works. Chapter Three gives the general description of the translation and the narrative of Nuh Efendi. Chapter Four covers the content of Nuh Efendi’s translation by revealing Nuh Efendi’s main contributions, criticisms, highlighted chapters and special disposals.

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<sup>62</sup> Mehmet Saray, *Türk-İran ilişkileri* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999) ; Bekir Kütükoġlu, *Osmanlı-İran Siyâsi Münasebetleri: 1578-1590* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1962).

<sup>63</sup> Ethem Ruhi Fıġlalı, “İbn Sadru’ d-din Eş-Şirvânî ve İtikâdî Mezhepler Hakkındaki Türkçe Risâlesi”, in *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, XXIV, (1990), 249-276; Sayın Dalkıran, Ahmet Feyzi Çorumi’nin *el-Feyzû’r-rabbani’si ışığında Osmanlı Devleti’nde ehli sünnetin şii akidesine tenkitleri* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000).

<sup>64</sup> Hafsa Şenses, “Nuh b. Mustafa’nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife fi Tenzihi Ebi Hanife* isimli eserinin tahkik ve tahlili” (master’s thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2008); Mehmet Ali Aytekin, “Nuh b. Mustafa’nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife fi Tenzihi Ebi Hanife* adlı eserinin edisyon kritiġi” (master’s thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2008).

<sup>65</sup> Hatice K. Arpaġuş, “Bir Telif Türü Olarak İlmihal: Tarihi Geçmişi ve Fonksiyonu”, in *Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, xxii, 1, 2002; *Akâid risaleleri: eşherü’r-resail fi akideti ehli-sünne ve’l-cemaa (min ahdi’l-İmami’l-A’zam hatta asrina’l-hazır)* trans. Ali Nar (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 1998). For the other religious genres which were circling in the Ottoman realm; Şükrü Özen, “Osmanlı Dönemi Fetva Literatürü” , in *TALİD* 3, 5, 2005, 249-378; Şükrü Özen, “Osmanlı Hukuk Literatürü: Tesbitler ve Teklifler”, in *Dünden Bugüne Osmanlı Araştırmaları: Tespitler-Problemler-Teklifler*, 391, 6, 2007, esp. 97-110.

### 1.3. The Biography of Shahrastani

Tâj al-Dîn Abû al-Fath Muhammad ibn `Abd al-Karîm ash-Shahrastânî (1086–1153) was the most influential historian of religions and heresiographer of the medieval Islamic world. He was born in Shahrîstan, the province in the north border of Khurasan.<sup>66</sup>

Shahrastani completed his education in the field of Arabic language and literature, mathematics, and logic in his town. Then when he was nearly twenty, he set out the Nishapur on the purpose of *ilm*. He studied courses on hadith, aqida, fiqh, and kalam from remarkable scholars such as Ahmad al-Hafi (the colleague of Gazali), Abu Nasr al-Kusayrî, and Abu Nasîr al-Ansarî.<sup>67</sup> Although we do not know how much he stayed in Nishapur, it is obvious he reached a high degree in Islamic sciences and philosophy there. When he went to Harezm, he was being called as “al-Afdal” (the most virtuous). While a precious period of time away learning and discussing in Harezm, he went to Hejaz to make a pilgrimage.<sup>68</sup>

After completing his pilgrimage, he went to Baghdad. He had the chance to teach in Nizamiye Madrasa when he was about forty. Then, he went Khurasan where he put down *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* on paper. He entered the service of Abu'l-Kasım Muhammad bin el- Muzaffer, the vizier of the Seljuk ruler Sultan Sanjar, in Khurasan and he dedicated *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* to him. After a while, he went to Termez where presented a copy of *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* to Abu'l Kasım Ali b. Cafer el-Mûsavî, a well-read and knowledgeable *nakıb el-eşraf*<sup>69</sup>, who had a personal interest in scholars and religious knowledge.<sup>70</sup> There is no information about his family in the sources.

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<sup>66</sup> Ömer Faruk Harman, “Şehristânî”, *DİA*, 38, 467-68.

<sup>67</sup> G. Monot, “Shahrastani”, *EP*, v.VII, 214; Ramazan Karaman, “Bir İslam İlimleri Klasiği Olarak Eş-Şehristânî'nin el-Milel ve'n-Nihal'i Üzerine Düşünceler,” in *Hitit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 14 (2008/2): 64.

<sup>68</sup> Muhammed B. Tavıt et-Tancî, “Şehristânî”, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 11, 393.

<sup>69</sup> *Nakıb el-eşraf* is an official who is responsible to record the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (sayyids) and is also responsible with their matters in Islamic societies.

<sup>70</sup> et-Tancî, “Şehristânî”, 393.

Tanci indicates although Shahrastani had a scholarly reputation, he did not have so many disciples. Probably, this was because he spent much of his time with rulers and governors.<sup>71</sup>

Comparing with his contemporaries, he did not write many books. Yet, the impact of his books have lasted even until today. Beside *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal*, *Nihayetü'l-İkdâm fî 'İlmi'l-Kelâm*; *el-Musâra'a*; *Mes'ele fî İsbâti'l-cevheri'l-ferd*; *Mefâtîhu'l-Esrâr ve Mesâbihu'l-Ebrâr*; *Meclis*; *el- Menâhic ve'l-âyât*; *Kıssatu Mûsâ ve Hıdır*; *Risâle ilâ Kâdî Umer b. Sehl*; *Risâle ilâ Muhammad Sehlânî*; *Şerhu Sûreti Yûsuf* have been among his works. The books on kalam, philosophy, and history of denominations were the ones the most appreciated among them.<sup>72</sup> Shahrastani spent the last period of his lifetime in Shahrastan where he died in 1153.<sup>73</sup>

#### 1.4. Shahrastani's *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal*

As I stated earlier, *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* has been referred as the best<sup>74</sup> and the most reputable work in the field of history of sects both in the East and the West. It has been among the major works of medieval Islamic literature.<sup>75</sup>

Definitely, there have been some characteristics of *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* that deserve to be stressed. As compared to the *makalat* books, which were not generally fair towards their opponents, Shahrastani's book came forward with its objectivity.<sup>76</sup> Küçük claims "Shahrastani used the descriptive methodology of history of religions which is used today as early as in XIth century, and it raised the importance of his book".<sup>77</sup> Shahrastani did not explain his thoughts in order to deny the others. In

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<sup>71</sup> et-Tancî, "Şehristânî", 394.

<sup>72</sup> Karaman, "Bir İslam İlimleri Klasığı", 66-7.

<sup>73</sup> Ebu'l Feth Muhammed b. Abdulkerim eş-Şehristânî, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, trans. Muharrem Tan (İstanbul: Yeni Akademi Yayınları, 2006) .

<sup>74</sup> Abdurrahman Küçük, Mustafa Erdem and Adem Akın, "El-Milel ve'n-Nihal: Mukaddimeler", in *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 30 (1988) : 4.

<sup>75</sup> It is not known when Shahrastani completed it, but he penned it between 1127-1128. Ömer Faruk Harman, "el-Milel ve'n-Nihal", *DİA*, 30, 58-60.

<sup>76</sup> Harman, "Şehristânî", *DİA*, 38, 468. Fığlalı, *Çağımızda İtikadi İslam Mezhepleri*, 18.

<sup>77</sup> Küçük, Erdem and Akın, "El-Milel ve'n-Nihal", 3.



addition, as Bulut states, five chapters (*mukaddime*), which Shahrastani put in his book, did not appear in other books of history of sects. This is the uniqueness of *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* and Shahrastani clarified in those chapters the reason why he wrote the book and his method.<sup>78</sup>

Shahrastani was put into critique by some scholars because of the reason he treated all the sects and school of thoughts in an equal manner. Yet, according to Tanci, this kind of narration did not mean that Shahrastani interiorized those thoughts, rather it allowed his objectivity.<sup>79</sup>

I think Shahrastani reached his goal to be objective to a very high percentage. However, he also has expostulatory statements in *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* in several places. When, for example, he treats the Imamiya under the title of the Shia, he states that “how could it be people who professes piety can throw cold water over the companions of the Prophet and even refers them as unbelievers”.<sup>80</sup> As the second example, Shahrastani criticizes Zarvaniya under the title of Zoroastrians, because of their allegation that Ahraman (the God of evil) concluded a treaty with Allah to do bad things in the world for 9,000 years.<sup>81</sup> Shahrastani attacks anyone who believes such things. Furthermore, the one who are aware of the glory and the greatness of Allah does not heed of such kind of nonsense.<sup>82</sup>

*El-Milel ve'n-Nihal* includes in the first part the religions based on revelation and other religions, which is presumably based on revelation. The second part contains beliefs and thoughts based on reasoning other than revelation.<sup>83</sup> It performs a task of encyclopedia of history of religions and sects.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Bulut, “Bir Mezhepler Tarihi Klasığı”, 254.

<sup>79</sup> et-Tancî, “Şehristânî”, 394.

<sup>80</sup> Tan, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, 149. Nuh b. Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 50.

<sup>81</sup> For the detail of their allegations, see, Tan, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, 225.

<sup>82</sup> Tan, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, 225-26.

<sup>83</sup> Üzüm, “Fırak Literatürü”ne dayalı”, 229. For details, see et-Tancî, “Şehristânî”, 395.

<sup>84</sup> Üzüm, “Fırak Literatürü”ne dayalı”, 229.

Tanci states *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* has more than ten editions. However, since the manuscript copies from Turkey have not been used, it will be helpful to publish a new *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* by using the manuscript copies of it from Turkey to approximate its original form.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> et-Tancî, “Şehristânî”, 395.

## CHAPTER II

### THE BIOGRAPHY AND THE PERIOD OF NUH B. MUSTAFA

#### 2.1. Life and scholarly background of Nuh b. Mustafa

Nuh b. Mustafa is referred as Konevî<sup>86</sup>, Rumi<sup>87</sup>, Mîsri<sup>88</sup> because he lived in different regions and cities during his lifetime. He is also nicknamed Hanefî<sup>89</sup> due to the law school he followed. His other nickname is el-Vecdî.<sup>90</sup> According to most of the sources, he was born in Amasya.<sup>91</sup> There is not much information about his family and childhood in the sources, but it is stated he did not give credit to the job of his father who was among state bureaucracy (*umera*).<sup>92</sup>

He completed his education in Amasya, and then he worked in Konya for some time as a mufti. When his fellow-townsmen Ömer Paşa was nominated to the governor of Egypt province, he wanted Nuh Efendi to go with him.<sup>93</sup> Nuh Efendi travelled all over the country and then settled in Cairo.<sup>94</sup> He spent most of his life in this city, the

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<sup>86</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri* (İstanbul, 1933), I, 416.

<sup>87</sup> E. İhsanoğlu et al., *History of the Literature of Naturel and Applied Sciences during the Ottoman Period (OTTBLT)*, VOL. 1, (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2006), 86. ; Ömer Rıza Kehhale, *el-Mu'cemü'l-müellifîn: teracimu musannifi'l-kütübi'l-Arabiyye* (Beyrut: Mektebetü'l-Müsenna, 1957), XIII, 119.

<sup>88</sup> İhsanoğlu, OTTBLT, 1, 86.

<sup>89</sup> Kehhale, *el-Mu'cemü'l-müellifîn*, XIII, 119.

<sup>90</sup> Aytakin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 4.

<sup>91</sup> In the sources, there was no information about Nuh Efendi's birth date. In the leaflet I think belongs to Yusuf Efendi, it is indicated that when Nuh Efendi wanted to leave his will to his friends, he said that he was seventy. See, Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü'l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, Süleymaniye Hâlet Efendi nr. 70, 106/b.

<sup>92</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü'l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 106b.

<sup>93</sup> İhsanoğlu, OTTBLT, 1, 86. It is written that he went to Egypt to complete his education.

<sup>94</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri I*, 416.

second greatest city of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, personal trajectories of Nuh Efendi's life ranged among these centers of knowledge.<sup>96</sup>

He continued the hadith and fiqh lectures of Abdülkerim al-Susi, the disciple of Ali b. Ganîm al-Makdisî,<sup>97</sup> and hadith lectures of Muhammed al-Hicazi,<sup>98</sup> who was known as the muhaddith of Egypt. In the field of Sufism, he followed Ibrahim el Halveti and he had obtained authorization (*icâzet*) from him. Then he became one of the prominent figures of Halwatiyya<sup>99</sup> order.<sup>100</sup>

Before talking about his Sufi identity, it can be crucial to turn our eyes to his biography. Brockelmann states there is a biography on Nuh Efendi written by Yusuf Efendi in 1741.<sup>101</sup> Şenses claims the leaflet in Süleymaniye Halet Efendi (nr: 70),

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<sup>95</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Krizler ve Değişim (1590-1699)," in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ekonomik ve sosyal tarihi : 1600-1914* ed. Halil İncalcık and Donald Quataert (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2004), v2, 570. According to biography, when Nuh Efendi was writing his *Hâşiye ale'd-Dürer ve'l-Gurer*, he left it for a while and went to İstanbul to visit his friend. He was given a pulpit to give lecture and people benefited from his preaching. Then, he returned Egypt. See, Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü'l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 105b.

<sup>96</sup> Mustafa Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1984), 11. The significant places of the time were Konya, Karaman, Aksaray, Amasya, Tokat, Sivas and Kayseri in Anatolia. Syria, Egypt, Iran and Central Asia region were also places, which were travelled by him on the purpose of *ilm*.

<sup>97</sup> Ali b. Ganîm al-Makdisî' was born in 920/1514 in Egypt. His real name was Ali b. Muhammad b. Halil b. Muhammad b. Musa, but he was known as Ibn Gânim al-Makdisi. He was faqih, linguist and muhaddith.

<sup>98</sup> Muhammed Emin b. Fazlullah b. Muhibbillah ed-Dımaşki Muhibbi, *Hülâsâtü'l-eser fi ayâni'l-karni'l-hâdî aşer* (Beyrut: Dâru Sadır, 1699), v4, 459. ; Muhammad al-Hicazî was nicknamed Muhammad b Muhammad b. Abdullah el-Hicâzî el-Vâiz and el-Qalgashandî. He was born in 957 (in Egypt). He was hafiz and had obtained authorization on hadith. He was reputable among the scholars of his time and even after in Egypt.

<sup>99</sup> The Halwatiyya is an order founded by Umar al-Halwati (d. 1397-98) who was born in Lâhîcân, in the region of Geylân, Iran. The order was established in Azerbaijan, and then extended to Anatolia, Balkans, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Sudan, Ethiopia and South Asia. It is among the most famous Sufi orders. For details, see; Süleyman Uludağ, "Halvetiyye", *DİA*, 15, 393-95. Mustafa Kara, *Dervişin Hayatı Sûfinin Kelâmı: hal tercümelere tarikatlar ıstılahlar* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005), 67.

<sup>100</sup> Muhibbi, *Hülâsâtü'l eser*, 458.

<sup>101</sup> Carl Brockelmann, *Tarihü'l-edebi'l-Arabi* (Kahire: el-Hey'etü'l-Mısriyyetü'l-Âmme li'l-Kitâb, 1993), v8, 163.

which starts with “Hâzihi tercemetü-l-merhûmi’l-mağfûr Mevlânâ Nûh Efendi”, is the biography indicated by Brockelmann.<sup>102</sup> When I checked that biography in Süleymaniye, I also reached the same conviction that was in that leaflet. The information given about Nûh Efendi in this leaflet supports the knowledge given in the secondary sources. Clearing our doubts, the names of Nuh Efendi’s books, *Tuhfetü’z-zâkirîn*, *Şerhu’l-Câmi’i’s-sağîr* and *Hâşiye ale’d-Dürer ve’l-Gurer* also appear in this leaflet.<sup>103</sup> In addition, biographer’s statement that he gathered the information about Nuh Efendi from his students<sup>104</sup> and sympathizers strengthens the claim that this biography is certainly the biography written in 1741 by Yusuf Efendi who never saw but knew and respected Nuh Efendi.

In this biography we meet with a “shaykh” Nuh Efendi.<sup>105</sup> And there is a short but a unique anecdote indicating that his relation with Sufism was beyond a simple interest. He was probably a Sufi shaykh who had some followers (*mürîd*):

One day, while [Nuh Efendi] was sitting back on his cushion and was in a state of *muraqaba* (Sufi meditation) he said ‘Lâ hawla wa lâ quwwata illâ billâh’ and suddenly cried severely. One of his followers asked him the reason behind it. Then, Nuh Efendi replied: “I was in Baghdad and asked the scholars of Bagdad how the degree of ilm was so high in their time, although it is not present in our time”. And the answer of the Baghdad scholars was: “In our time, scholars refrained themselves from doubtful things, while in your time they are not.”<sup>106</sup>

The above-quoted paragraph draws a picture of Nuh Efendi’s both Sufi and intellectual identity. Additionally, in this biography it is stated his books have been regarded as “unique examples” (*kibrî-i ahmer*) of the books written in Anatolia and

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<sup>102</sup> Şenses, “Nuh b. Mustafa’nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerîfe*”, 4.

<sup>103</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 103a; 104b.

<sup>104</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 106b.

<sup>105</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 103b-104a.

<sup>106</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 103a-103b.

Egypt.<sup>107</sup> He is addressed as “Ebu Hanifa of his period”.<sup>108</sup> He comes to the forefront with his virtues among his contemporaries. He was a respectful scholar in his time, and his lectures were well known.<sup>109</sup> Particularly, his preaches (*va’z*) on interpretation of Qur’anic verses (*tefsîr*) were inimitable.<sup>110</sup> It is also indicated he used to reply many questions, which were sent from the government in his books I will list in the third part of this chapter.<sup>111</sup> He was known as a meritorious scholar of his time.<sup>112</sup> He was referred as a “faqîh”, “allâme” and “Sûfî”.<sup>113</sup>

In addition to a biography it is well known that one of the ways to identify a scholar is to look whether there have been studies about his books or not. Şirazlı Ali en-Nakî B. Muhammed Haşim (d. 1604) wrote a book entitled *Cevâbu Nûh Efendi Şeyhu bilâdi’r –Rûm fi mes’eleli’l-imâmiyye*,<sup>114</sup> which is a kind of refutation to the book of Nuh Efendi about the Shia-Imamiyya.

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<sup>107</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 104b.

<sup>108</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 105a.

<sup>109</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 103a.

<sup>110</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 104b. According to Yusuf Efendi, Nuh Efendi was occupied with teaching Muslims and giving preaches during his writing of *Hâşiye ale’-d-Dürer ve’l-Gurer*, and that was the reason why it took a long period to complete it. This was the critique of some scholars to Nuh Efendi. See, Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 105a.

<sup>111</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 102b.

<sup>112</sup> Muhibbî, *Hülâsâtü’l eser*, 458. We learn from Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) that there were innumerable scholars, *faqîh* and doctors in Egypt in 1670s. 174.000 scholars, Muslim judges (*kâdî*) and lecturers (*ders-i âm*) were recorded. There were 20.000 scholars who were authorized to give fatwas. Medicine, astronomy, chemistry, philosophy, kalam, tafsir, hadith, grammar, mathematics, and the science of the portion of inheritance (*ferâiz*) were the courses, which were mainly studied. See Hayati Develi, *Evliya Çelebi’nin İzinde* (İstanbul: Mahya Yayınları, 2013), 430. Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi seyahatnamesi: Mısır, Sudan, Habeşistan, Somali, Cibuti, Kenya, Tanzanya* ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), 10/v1. Accepting that Çelebi has an exaggerated genre, I can also say that he gives significant clues for the scholarly environment of the Egypt of the time. To come to the forefront in such a fertile environment is not easy. Çelebi is a great source to be able to dive into daily life of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but unfortunately, since he was not in Egypt exactly in the period of Nuh Efendi I could not benefit from it no further.

<sup>113</sup> Kehhale, *el-Mu’cemü’l-müellifîn*, XIII, 119.

<sup>114</sup> Kehhale, *el-Mu’cemü’l-müellifîn*, VII, 255.

Nuh Efendi's books have also been studied in modern times. Study done by Yılmaz<sup>115</sup> on *er- Risâle fi'l -fark beyne'l-hadîsi'l-kutsi ve'l- Kur'an ve'l-hadisi'n-nebevî* is one of them. Nuh Efendi's *el-Lum'a fi âhiri zuhri'l-cum'a*<sup>116</sup> and *el-Kavlü'd- dâl alâ hayâti'l-Hızır ve vücûdi'l-Abdâl* were also studied. Furthermore, there have been three master's theses on his *el-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife fi Tenzihî Ebi Hanife*.<sup>117</sup>

The information about Nuh Efendi in the first and secondary sources, the studies done on his books and the references given to him support his intellectual life. As it is seen from the sources, he spent his time both for his own personal experiences of Sufi path as well as his social responsibilities which was interpreted in Sufi literature as "halk içinde Hak'la olmak", meaning "to be with Allah within public". We learn again his situation just before his demise from Yusuf Efendi:

[...]After his return to Egypt from Istanbul, he got into many troubles. He became ill. In order to finish *Hâşiye ale'd-Dürer ve'l-Gurer*, he studied hard even in the period of his illness. However, this was not easy. He left people completely for nearly sixty days. Then, his friends came to see him. He told one of his friends to dig a grave for himself. When his grave was prepared, he went there and prayed near the tomb of el-Cühenî<sup>118</sup> and said: 'God! Let us to benefit from their blessing in this world and after-world.' By this way, his grave was dug when he was still alive.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Hayati Yılmaz, "er- Risâle fi'l-fark beyne'l-hadîsi'l-kutsî ve'l-Kur'ân ve'l-hadisi'n-nebevî," in *Hadis Tetkikleri Dergisi*, 1/1, (2003), retrieved December, 2014 <http://www.hadisevi.com/2003-1/index-t.htm> .

<sup>116</sup> Ali Kaya, *Zuhr-i Âhir namazı: Nuh b. Mustafa el-Konevi hayatı eserleri ve el-Lum'a fi Ahiri Zuhri'l-Cum'a isimli eseri*, (Bursa: Emin Yayınları, 2005).

<sup>117</sup> Mehmet Hicabi Seçkiner, "Amasyalı Nuh B. Mustafa'nın Tenzîhul'İ İmam Ebî Hanife Anî't Turrehâti's-Sahîfe eserinin tahkiki" (master's thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2007). Mehmet Ali Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife fi Tenzihî Ebî Hanife* adlı eserinin edisyon kritiği" (master's thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2008) and Hafsa Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife fi Tenzihî Ebî Hanife* isimli eserinin tahkik ve tahlili" (master's thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2008).

<sup>118</sup> Erdinç Ahatlı, "Ukbe b. Âmir", *DİA*, 42, 62-3. He was from Ashâb-al suffa and was the province governor of Egypt.

<sup>119</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü'l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 106a.

When he died in Cairo after the sunset in 12 Dhû al-Hijjah, Friday 1659<sup>120</sup>, he was buried in the Karafe cemetery.<sup>121</sup> Two thousand prominent people from Cairo participated in his funeral ceremony.<sup>122</sup> The tomb on his grave was built by an Ottoman vizier (*vezir*) afterward.<sup>123</sup> He left variety of books in the field of Islamic sciences such as fiqh, hadith, kalam, tafsir, Sufism (*tasavvuf*), and ethics (*ahlâk*) behind him.

Undoubtedly, as our knowledge of Nuh Efendi increases, his biography will certainly become enriched. Yet, it is good to see in terms of historiography that he is a respected scholar and Halwati sheikh. At the same time, he is a man who became ill, who was bored for a period, travelled to Istanbul to visit his friend, and so on. As he would sincerely accept, I believe, he is one of the “servants of God (*Allah’ın kulu*)”.<sup>124</sup>

In the third part, his books are analyzed in detail. However, since the period Nuh Efendi lived will help us to understand him better, first, I will draw the picture of his time. The other way around, his thoughts, perception, and books can be a reflection of his period, too.

## 2.2. The Period and the Environment Nuh b. Mustafa Lived

In the very beginning of his translation Nuh Efendi narrates;

... benim ümmetim yetmiş üç millet üzerine müteferrik olurlar ve ol yetmiş üç milletin cümlesi i’tikad cihetinden cehenneme girerler illâ onlardan bir millet ol cihetden cehenneme girmezler. Dediler ki “yâ Resûlullah onlar kimlerdir?” Hazreti Resûl-i Ekrem (s.a.v.) buyurdular

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<sup>120</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri I*, 416.

<sup>121</sup> OTTBLT, 1, 86; Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 106b.

<sup>122</sup> Yusuf Efendi, *Tercemetü’l Allâmeti Nûh Efendî*, 106b.

<sup>123</sup> Muhibbî, *Hülâsâtü’l eser*, 459.

<sup>124</sup> Simone Lässig, “Introduction: Biography in Modern History-Modern Historiography in Biography”, in Volker Berghahn and Simone Lässig (eds.), *Biography Between Structure and Agency: Central European Lives in International Historiography* (New York: Berghahn, 2008), 8-9.



ki “ânlar benim ve ashâbımın i’tikadları üzerine olanlardır”. Pes bundan ma’lûm oldu ki fırka-i nâciyye Hazreti fahr-i âlem (s.a.v.)’in ve ashâbının (r.a.) i’tikadları üzerine olanlardır ki onlar Eşâire’dirler. Ve fırak-i hâlike Hazreti Resûlullah (s.a.v.)’in ve ashâbının i’tikadları üzerine olmayanlardır ki onlar bâki fırkadır. ... Ve fırak-i hâlikenin eğer i’tikadları küfre müeddî olursa cehennemde sâir kefere gibi muhalled olurlar ve eger küfre müeddî olmaz ise anda sâir usât gibi muhalled olmazlar. Ve in-şâ’-Allahu teâla küfre müeddî olan i’tikad ve küfre müeddî olmayan i’tikad mahallinde zikr olunur. İmdi lâzım geldi ki ol fırka-i nâciyyenin tarîkleri beyân oluna tâ ki tâlib-i necât olanlar ol tarîke sülûk ideler ve ol fırak-ı hâlikenin dahi tarîkleri zikr oluna ki hâlikeden havf idenler ol i’tikadden i’râz eyleyeler.<sup>125</sup>

The passage above obviously calls all people who desire salvation (*necât*). With this in mind, it also induces the questions of how the atmosphere was in the Ottoman inner circle itself and how its external relations were, why Yusuf Efendi wanted Nuh Efendi to translate *el-Milel ve’n-Nihal* into Ottoman Turkish and why Nuh Efendi felt the need for some changes and contributions (*tebdîl ve tagyîre muhtac olan mevâzı ‘da ziyâde ve noksân ile tasarruf olundu*)<sup>126</sup> on *el-Milel ve’n-Nihal*.

The period which covers the time of Nuh Efendi (1590-1660), was called “hard-earned successes and serious setbacks” era by Suraiya Faroqhi.<sup>127</sup> Yet, Faroqhi also emphasizes “in the 17th century, the Ottoman capital developed an active and multifaceted intellectual life despite all its domestic and foreign crises”,<sup>128</sup> which is closely related to this thesis. First, I will have a look to foreign affairs of that period

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<sup>125</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 3. See also; Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 81. Nuh Efendi gives the well-known hadith on the saved group which is “My Ummah will split into seventy-three sects. Seventy-two will go to Hell and one will go to Paradise.” Abu Dâwûd: Kitab al-Sunna, 1. In this hadith it is also declared that the saved group is who will follow the path, which the Prophet (pbuh) and his companions followed. According to Nuh Efendi the saved group is Maturidis and Ash’aris. Then, he states that his aim is to explain the creed of the saved group for the people who would like to follow them.

<sup>126</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 4.

<sup>127</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi’s title for the period between 1600-1774. Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire: A Short History*, trans. Shelley Frisch (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2008)

<sup>128</sup> Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, 97.

and then I will focus much more on the domestic affairs and the process of Sunnitization. This chapter will draw the picture of those intermingling axes.

The Ottoman's conflict with the West in the period of Nuh Efendi was mainly with Habsburgs, Venice, and Austria. There had been a thirteen years war for control of Hungary between the Ottoman and Habsburgs and the Zitvatorok treaty was signed in 1606.<sup>129</sup> With Venice, the Ottoman campaign of conquest over Crete lasted from 1644 till 1669 when Köprülü managed to take over.<sup>130</sup> Öztürk pointed out the difficulties of domestic situation in the Ottoman Empire, which will be defined as follows, definitely contributed to failure against its external foes.<sup>131</sup>

The underlying politics of Ottoman East policy was the relation with Safavids.<sup>132</sup> There was a rivalry between these Empires since both of them wanted whole hegemony on their regions.<sup>133</sup> In the foundation period of the Safavid Empire, Shah Ismail (1501-1524) wanted to appeal to Shiite-Alevi, Kızılbaş<sup>134</sup> Turkmens in Ottoman realm and gave place to them in his army. Thereupon, the Ottoman resistance towards the groups in its realm, which were close to, the Shia began.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Necati Öztürk, "Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans in the Seventeenth Century with special reference to the Qadi-Zade movement" (doctorate's thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1981), 18

<sup>130</sup> Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, 91.

<sup>131</sup> Öztürk, "Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans", 17.

<sup>132</sup> For the beginnings of Ottoman-Iranian relations, see, Cihat Aydoğmuşoğlu, *Şah Abbas ve Zamanı (1587-1629)* (Ankara : Berikan Yayınevi, 2013), 145. Mehmet Saray, *Türk-İran ilişkileri* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999), 21. For the period before Shah Ismail and the flourishing of Shiite doctrines see, Walther Hinz, *Uzun Hasan ve Şeyh Cüneyd: XV. yüzyılda İran'ın milli bir devlet haline yükselişi*, trans. Tefik Bıyıklıoğlu (Ankara 1992), 5.

<sup>133</sup> Aydoğmuşoğlu, *Şah Abbas ve Zamanı*, 146.

<sup>134</sup> The naming was based on the color of the cloth of Turcomans who were fighting at the borderlands of the western Anatolia. They were wearing red headscarfs. Then, this term was used for the Shi'i and the Alevi groups. Halil İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı İmparatorluğu üzerine araştırmalar: tagayyür ve fesad (1603-1656): bozuluş ve kargaşa dönemi* (İstanbul : Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), v2, 484. Ottomans were against kızılbaş since they opposed to the Sunni Islam. İlyas Üzümlü, "Kızılbaş", *DİA*, 25, 547. R. M. Savory, "Kizil-bash", *EP*, 5, 243.

<sup>135</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 233.

According to İnalçık, the hostility between the Ottoman Empire and Iran has religious, political, and economic roots. It is a religious hostility because Shiite Iran had impact on the Anatolian Alevi-Kızılbaş Turkmen groups and Teke Şahkulu (1511) and Kalender (1527) rebellions in Ottoman lands were as the result of this impact.<sup>136</sup> Shah Ismail proclaimed himself as mahdi<sup>137</sup> and he was accepted by Kızılbaş as a religious and political ruler.<sup>138</sup>

On the other hand, the political aspect of this hostility was based on wars between these Empires. Although the Ottoman Empire did not prefer to battle with two fronts simultaneously, they had to fight both with Austria and Iran between 1624-1638.<sup>139</sup> To regain Baghdad, three battles were done towards Iran between those years. Eventually, Murad IV regained Baghdad in 1638.<sup>140</sup> Especially the period, which also covers the big portion of Nuh Efendi's life, 1618-1656, Safavid threat was the primary political issue for the Ottoman Empire.

The economic root of the Ottoman-Iran hostility was related to the silk, which was produced in Iran since the XIV century.<sup>141</sup> Trade between Ottoman and Europe was

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<sup>136</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 233. See also; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Babailer isyanı: Aleviliğin tarihsel altyapısı yahut Anadolu* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1996), 156-57. According to Ocak, those rebellions were closely related with Shiite messianic vision since they aimed to knock down the Ottoman reign. Beside its messianic character, the economic difficulties and governmental insufficiency that the people faced are also considered. Admittedly, I do not have a concrete evidence that Nuh Efendi had such incidents and continuous impacts of them in mind when he wrote *Risale fi'l-Mehdi*. Nevertheless, it is worth emphasizing that he had a leaflet, which contains tradition on Mahdi in which he tried to express Mahdi phenomena from Sunni perspective.

<sup>137</sup> Mahdi is the redeemer who will emerge towards the end of the worldly life. He will disseminate the true belief on the world. For details, see Ekrem Sarıkçıoğlu, "Mehdî", *DİA*, 28, 369-371. ; E. Lévi Provençal, "Al-Mahdî", *EP*, 5, 1230.

<sup>138</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 233.

<sup>139</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 233.

<sup>140</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 233. See also; Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Qizilbash Heresy and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia during the Sixteenth Century", in *Anatolia Moderna* (Fall, 1997), 1-15.

<sup>141</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 233.

dependent on silk caravans, which took off from Tebriz.<sup>142</sup> This trade was providing a large amount of income for the Ottomans. While the Ottomans were trying to secure this trade by invading Azerbaijan, Iran was struggling for the cutting of it.<sup>143</sup> Shah Abbas tried to dominate silk trade.<sup>144</sup> The greatest silk market was Halep, an Ottoman city. He attempted to change the route of the silk road.<sup>145</sup> These attempts were not successful, but anyway in some years Holland and British companies carried 10,000-12,000 kg silk in 1627-29, 1631-1632, and 1634-1635.<sup>146</sup>

The major problem of the Ottoman Empire since 1623 was invasions of Revan and Bagdad<sup>147</sup> by Shah Abbas (1588-1629).<sup>148</sup> Many Sunnis of Baghdad were killed in this period and the ones who were able to survive were forced to immigrate.<sup>149</sup> Shah Abbas tried to collaborate with Europe against the Ottoman Empire.<sup>150</sup> This provided the legitimacy to set a war on Safavids since according to fatwas “a Muslim community cannot collaborate against another Muslim community”.<sup>151</sup>

It could be said until the time of Yavuz Sultan Selim (1512-1520), there was not a whole antagonism between the Ottoman ruling elite and the Safavids. Yet, it was

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<sup>142</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 233.

<sup>143</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 233-34.

<sup>144</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 233-34.

<sup>145</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 233-34.

<sup>146</sup> Faroqhi, “Krizler ve Değişim”, 631.

<sup>147</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 222.

<sup>148</sup> For the details Aydoğmuşoğlu, *Şah Abbas ve Zamanı*, 145-174.

<sup>149</sup> Saray, *Türk-İran ilişkileri*, 52.

<sup>150</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 234.

<sup>151</sup> Kızılbaş rebellions have been treated in variety of Ottoman records. Some of them were fatwas and formal proposals (*lâyiha*), which were presented to the government by Sunni scholars. The report of İdrîs-i Bitlisî, which was including the Kızılbaş activities in Anatolia and Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî’s proposal about proselytizing Kızılbaş were among those attempts. Additionally, there were fatwas such as that of shaykh al-islam Ebussuud Efendi. Those fatwas contained arguments based on fiqh and accused the Kızılbaş sympathy towards Safavid government. Üzüm, “Kızılbaş”, *DİA*, 25, 555.

during Sultan Selim's time that a clear hatred towards Ismail (1501-1524) and those who were close to Ismail began. After that, the state not only started an anti-Kızılbaş campaign, but also an overall anti-heresy campaign, which targeted at heterodox tariqas such as closing dervish lodges.<sup>152</sup>

Especially until the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim (1512-1520), Ottoman Sultans carefully observed the Shiite attempts of Iran. However, after Sultan Selim, the backbreaking problems related to the Ottoman campaign to Europe<sup>153</sup>, decreased the Ottoman interest to the central and eastern part of the Anatolia between 1578-1590. The eastern part of the Anatolia became a focus of interest in case of a serious threat from Iran.<sup>154</sup> This lack of interest was among the reasons behind Celali rebellions in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire.

Towards the end of the 16th century, a number of rebellions, such as *Düzmece İsmail*, and *Şahgeldi*, which could be associated with the Kızılbaş cause, emerged. At that period, Kızılbaş-oriented rebellions coincided with the ongoing Celali rebellions. Celalis, who were attracted by the Safavid propaganda, utilized the weakness of the government. Thus, Safavids made benefit from those rebellions.<sup>155</sup>

The first great movements were student movements starting from the 1570's onwards. The medrese graduates were not guaranteed offices since the structure was not able to absorb more. On the other hand, the core of the most active rebel groups was consisted of "former soldiers, peasants and nomads" during Celali rebellions.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Hülya Canbakal, "Religious Orders in the Empire" (lecture, Social and Economic History of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul, Fall, 2009-2010, week 8) Additionally, Zilfi states that "Sufi shaikhs were favourite choices for the five most prestigious mosques in the city. Of the forty-eight appointments, at least nineteen were of Halveti shaikhs". Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 165.

<sup>153</sup> Saray, *Türk-İran ilişkileri*, 49.

<sup>154</sup> Saray, *Türk-İran ilişkileri*, 48.

<sup>155</sup> Saray, *Türk-İran ilişkileri*, 49.

<sup>156</sup> Canbakal, "Religious Orders in the Empire".

The Ottoman state exhibited a strict attitude towards Shiite propagandas. The treaty of Ferhat Paşa (1590) contained issues such as: to stop the curses about the caliphs and *ashâb* (*sebb-i sahâbe*) and to prevent attacks on Sunni creed. According to this treaty, the Ottomans would not attack on Kızılbaş as long as the treaty was conformed.<sup>157</sup> However, Shah Abbas disrupted the treaty. When he could not manage to reach collaboration with Europe as he intended, he signed a treaty in 1612 with the Ottomans again. This treaty also contained the articles related to respect of Sunni nobles and not to force Sunnis to Shiite doctrines.<sup>158</sup> In 1639 with the Treaty of Kasr-i Shirin, the article stopping the dispraising of the Sunnizim appeared again.<sup>159</sup>

Here, we can heed the one who was defined by Faroqhi<sup>160</sup> as “less scholarly, but most original” of the period, Evliya Çelebi (1610-1685). Robert Dankoff narrates from Evliya the religious atmosphere of the Safavid realm:

When his patron Melek Pasha sent him off on his first mission to the Safavid realm, he warned him: “My Evliya, Iran is a place where you will find many deceitful people, who have no religion, but have instead many dissembling poets who will try to test you.” He was shocked at the ritual cursing of the first three caliphs, and says that while Ottoman envoys are at liberty to kill up to four Kızılbaş whom they encounter indulging in such cursing, he resisted the temptation.<sup>161</sup>

The atmosphere of Safavid realm and its repercussions on the Ottomans were as it was indicated above. The study will continue to mention the cautions of Ottoman scholars towards these circumstances.

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<sup>157</sup> Dalkıran, *Ahmet Feyzi Çorumi*, 14.

<sup>158</sup> Dalkıran, *Ahmet Feyzi Çorumi*, 166.

<sup>159</sup> Dalkıran, *Ahmet Feyzi Çorumi*, 15.

<sup>160</sup> Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, 98.

<sup>161</sup> Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman mentality: the world of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004), 58.

Since the foundation period, the Ottoman ulema have delivered opinions upon significant governmental issues.<sup>162</sup> They gave a highly Sunni direction to the Ottoman medreses.<sup>163</sup> Bearing in mind the rebellions associated with the Kızılbaş above, the Ottoman's ideological attack, and the process of Sunnitization can be understood better. The role of Nuh Efendi's translation is subject to this thesis comes out in this way much more efficiently.

The translation of *El-Milel ve'n-Nihal* was written in the period of intense conflicts between Ottoman and Safavids (1618-1656). As Dalkıran indicates<sup>164</sup> for Ahmet Feyzi Çorûmî, a scholar of a later period (1839-1909), similarly, our translation can be regarded among the scholarly admonitions due to its religious instillations. Considering the risala of Çorûmî and the one, which has attributed to Ebussuud<sup>165</sup>, fortifies what Terzioğlu says about the continuity of the Ottoman sunnitization.<sup>166</sup>

Like the risala attributed to Ebussuud, which claims it is necessary to set war against Revafız,<sup>167</sup> Nuh Efendi narrates from two Hanafi books, namely *Hülâsâ* and *Bezzâziyye*, “when a Rafizi curses to Hz. Abu Bakr and Hz. ‘Umar he becomes an unbeliever (*sebb ve lanet eylese kâfir olur*)”<sup>168</sup> and concludes with *Cevhere*, another well known Hanafi book, that to kill them is lawful and permissible. Yet, if he repents, his pledge of repentance is accepted.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 232.

<sup>163</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 232.

<sup>164</sup> Dalkıran, *Ahmet Feyzi Çorumi*, 17.

<sup>165</sup> Dalkıran, *Ahmet Feyzi Çorumi*, 164. In that religious manual, written in 1603, Shia was defined as the deviant sect (*mezheb-i nâ-hak*) and it includes the fatwas on Revâfız.

<sup>166</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 324.

<sup>167</sup> Dalkıran, *Ahmet Feyzi Çorumi*, 167. Because they did not conform any treaties which were signed with the Ottomans.

<sup>168</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 73.

<sup>169</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 73.

It would be a mistake to read the *Tercüme-i Milal ve-Nihal* as merely a refutation against Revafiz. Because as we will see in detail in the fourth chapter, Nuh Efendi did not highlight only them, rather he highlighted all the problematic beliefs opposite points of other denominations emerged from deviant groups. However, the impact of Revafiz in that period cannot be ignored.

I covered above the political circumstances of the Ottomans. However, Ottoman Sunnitization has not driven “by political expediency or by religious concerns alone”<sup>170</sup>, instead it is “a complex process with significant socio-cultural, political and religious dimensions”.<sup>171</sup> It was not just a “politically-minded response to the rise of Safavids and their adoption of Shiism.”<sup>172</sup> There were multiple agents that shaped the Ottoman Sunnitization:

...spread of literacy and the acculturation of the ruling elites of the lands of Rum into the norms and values of the learned elites of the Islamic heartlands, the consolidation of the Ottoman learned establishment as an integral part of the imperial apparatus, and last but not least, state-building and bureaucratization, which both created a need for and made it possible to impose a more homogenized understanding of Sunni Islam and Hanafi law.<sup>173</sup>

Now, we can turn our eyes to the domestic situation, which was in some way intermingling with the foreign affairs above.

In a period of social, political, and economic problems as well as the religious ones, rebels, who were known as Celalis, appeared in the Ottoman realm. It seems that when Kuyucu Murad Pasha (1606-1611) came to the scene, Celalis went to underground,<sup>174</sup> where they continued their activities until the mid 17th century. On

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<sup>170</sup> Terzioğlu, “Sufis in the Age of State-Building”, 87.

<sup>171</sup> Terzioğlu, “Sufis in the Age of State-Building”, 87.

<sup>172</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 337.

<sup>173</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 337-8.

<sup>174</sup> Öztürk, “Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans”, 19.



the other hand, in the reign of Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640), Janissaries and Sipahis were threatening the capital by “creating havoc”.<sup>175</sup> Sultan addressed to leaders of the soldiers. A contract was signed in which the authority of the Sultan was declared and army was ordered to avoid from rebellions.<sup>176</sup> Kadis were also reminded “not to indulge in corruption, bribery, nepotism or other malpractices”.<sup>177</sup>

When a big fire broke out in the capital, Sultan Murad “sought an excuse to rid himself of these rebels”.<sup>178</sup> Despite the fact that tobacco was not the cause of it, all the coffeehouses, as a public place of drinking coffee and smoking, were closed down (1633).<sup>179</sup> This measure was against all smokers, but the main target was the Sipahis and Janissaries who were addicted to smoking.<sup>180</sup>

During the most of Nuh Efendi’s lifetime<sup>181</sup>, the Ottoman realm has struggling with the affairs indicated above. Yet, Mehmet Köprülü (1656-1661) “proved to be a successful officer who in 1657 reconquered two Aegean islands that had recently

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<sup>175</sup> Öztürk, “Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans”, 21.

<sup>176</sup> Öztürk, “Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans”, 21. There were also some Janissaries who did not accept the resolutions of that meeting. ; İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 211-212.

<sup>177</sup> Öztürk, “Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans”, 21. ; İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 212.

<sup>178</sup> Öztürk, “Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans”, 21.

<sup>179</sup> *Târih-i Nâimâ*, v3, 1706. Also; Ayşe Saraçgil, “Kahve’nin İstanbul’a girişi (16. ve 17.yüzyıllar)” in *Doğuda Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, trans. Meltem Atik and Esra Özdoğan (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999).

<sup>180</sup> Öztürk, “Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans”, 23.

<sup>181</sup> In his period the sultans of Ottoman were; Sultan Murad III (1574-1595), Mehmed III (1595-1603), Ahmed I (1603-1617), Mustafa I (1617-1618, 1622-1623), Osman II (1618-1622), Murad IV (1623-1640), Ibrahim I (1640-1648), Mehmed IV (1648-1687). In classical literature, the 17th century has criticized with its underage Sultans and their mothers who have the real power on the state affairs. Yet, it is indicated by Faroqhi that sultans’ mothers of the period may not really be inexperienced in state affairs as it is mostly claimed, because the harem was a sophisticated institution and who rose within that environment had respectable political skills. Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, 96.

been occupied by the Venetians and thereby eliminated the danger of a surprise attack on Istanbul”.<sup>182</sup> It was in his time that Celali rebellions were subdued too.<sup>183</sup> Due to the fact that, my study tries to understand the role of Nuh Efendi’s translation in terms of Ottoman Sunnitization process; preacher-led movements of Kadızadelis and Halwatis also have been significant to enter into this discussion.

According to Na’îmâ, Kadızadelis came out from the period of confusion that is narrated above.<sup>184</sup> Whilst Sultan Murad IV was closing down the coffeehouses, Kadızade Mehmed Efendi was declaring smoking was *haram*.<sup>185</sup> Terzioğlu states Kadızadeli movement was kind of a response to the military and political setbacks of the period and the growing worldliness of the society because of “new social institutions such as coffee-houses”.<sup>186</sup> Madeline Zilfi argues that the Kadızadeli movement emerged in the general crisis atmosphere of the 17th century and it evolved among the excessively crowded visitors of the imperial mosques.<sup>187</sup>

The simultaneity of the conservative Kadızadeli movement with the period of intense Ottoman-Safavid conflict (1618-1656) and Murad IV’s attitudes towards Kadızadelis seems like a perplexing puzzle, but it comes to light when we think that Murad IV might need the Kadızadeli in order to get support of the public against Janissaries.<sup>188</sup> This foresight of the Sultan seemed to be useful since some artisans (*esnaf*), who were affected by Kadızadeli preachers, rebelled (in 1651), against

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<sup>182</sup> Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, 87.

<sup>183</sup> Ahmet Akgündüz, and Said Öztürk. *Ottoman History: Misperceptions and Truths* (Rotterdam: IUR Press, 2011) , 240. Also; Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 89-90. Although Zilfi indicates that there has been a consensus that Köprülü Mehmed regenerated the rule. He thinks that the regeneration in Köprülü’s time was temporary and tangential.

<sup>184</sup> For the details on the conflicts between Kadızadelis and Sufis, see *Târih-i Nâimâ*, v3, 1704-1710.

<sup>185</sup> Öztürk, “Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans”, 22.

<sup>186</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where ‘*İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism”, 86.

<sup>187</sup> Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 131.

<sup>188</sup> İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 230. Also; Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 138.

Janissaries.<sup>189</sup> They were storming to the Jennissaries and those ruling class who were lapped in luxury around palace.<sup>190</sup>

As Zilfi states, “Their [Kadızedelis] true target was the unorthodox belief system and those who countenanced it”.<sup>191</sup> Although the targeted ones were primarily the Sufis, Kadızedeli movement fastened on to other layers of society. The Sufi lodges were seen as the “cutting edge” of innovation, but nevertheless Kadızedelis’ aim was to indoctrinate society as a whole.<sup>192</sup>

Kadızedelis’ target was not only “deviant” dervishes, in terms of preventing them from playing musical instruments or dancing in public, they also interfered sharia-abiding Sufis such as Halwatis.<sup>193</sup> The Halwati tekkes were suppressed and *devrans* were interfered.<sup>194</sup> The religious base of conflict was about innovations. Whereas for Halwatis, Sufism was compatible with the Sunna, Sufi practices were treated as “illicit innovations” (*bid’ats*) by Kadızedelis. It seems that Nuh Efendi’s booklet on the virtue of *zikr* and evidences of it from the life of the Prophet Muhammad were put down on paper with these circumstances.

Kadızedelis were trying to get support of the grand vizier and shaykh al-islam to stop the *devrans* and *zikr* (remembrance of Allah) circles. They could not reach their aims, but their impact lasted until the period of Köprülü Mehmed. When Köprülü sent the prominent people of the Kadızedeli movement into exile in 1656, the movement calmed down for a period.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> İncalcık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 236.

<sup>190</sup> İncalcık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 236.

<sup>191</sup> Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 168.

<sup>192</sup> Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 168.

<sup>193</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 319.

<sup>194</sup> İncalcık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 239. Devran is dhikr ceremony of Halwati circles.

<sup>195</sup> İncalcık, *Devlet-i Aliyye Osmanlı*, 242.

Before approaching the role of Nuh Efendi's translation in these circumstances, let us heed Zilfi's viewpoint of Kadızadeli movement:

The extent to which the Kadızadeli were a conscientious protest, or merely a reaction in orthodox garb to increasing economic competition, is difficult to determine. Clearly much of the Kadızadeli leadership, particularly Üstüvani Mehmed and his allies in the palace guard, actively sought to profit from their ability to mobilize popular support. In their personal lives, too, the Kadızadeli were often of dubious character. Certain of the Kadızadeli preachers were known to indulge in the very substances they forbade to their congregations. Such considerations notwithstanding, and despite a shallow theology, the movement had some of the marks of a sincere protest on behalf of shariah order.<sup>196</sup>

I agree with Zilfi's indication "within the large Kadızadeli movement there undoubtedly conscientious protesters - as well as protesters of opportunity - who viewed the dervish orders as the appropriate target of revivalist wrath".<sup>197</sup> This thesis does not ignore Katip Çelebi's critiques on both the Kadızadeli and Halwatis,<sup>198</sup> since at least some followers of these groups caused dispute among the Muslim community. Yet, it proposes there might be some sincere believers between both groups. All Kadızadeli cannot be seen as opportunist or covetous people who were seeking to reach in a higher status of ulema rather than staying a preacher.<sup>199</sup>

In the scene that Kadızadeli had a role as "puritanical" preachers in the process of Sunnitization,<sup>200</sup> there were also Sufi preachers "(especially Halveti)".<sup>201</sup> Nuh Efendi was among the Halwati preachers "who dominated the most influential

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<sup>196</sup> Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 167.

<sup>197</sup> Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 167-8.

<sup>198</sup> Çelebi, *Mizânü'l-Hakk*, 261, 221.

<sup>199</sup> Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 163; For this discussion, see, Öztürk, "Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans", esp. 45-6.

<sup>200</sup> It is worth to determine that Terzioğlu notices "‘ilm-i hāl writers both Sufi and non-Sufi was not a mere servants of the government they also had their own concerns". Terzioğlu, "Where 'İlm-i Hāl Meets Catechism", 111.

<sup>201</sup> Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State-Building", 97.

preacherships”<sup>202</sup> during the 17th century. For the second half of the 16th century, Terzioğlu states that Halwati preachers gave sermons and wrote religious manuals on Sunni faith synthesized with Sufism and “denounce others who deviated from it” as Kızılbaş or heretics.<sup>203</sup> The 17th century preacher Nuh Efendi shows similar features with his translation to what is said. It is not so hard to estimate that he did the same in his preaching.

Nuh Efendi lived in a period where “literacy was making steady inroads into urban society”.<sup>204</sup> In parallel to this, Terzioğlu indicates the efforts of indoctrination were connected with “several different parts of the Ottoman Empire, among Hanafis in Istanbul and smaller Anatolian towns as well as among scholars belonging to diverse legal schools in Cairo and beyond”.<sup>205</sup>

Bearing in mind history has not merely consisted of the story of the “great men” and the “great events” like rulers and their politics, it is worth to shed light especially to the Sufi way of life in Egypt, where Nuh Efendi had been for the most of his lifetime, after a very short entrance to the politics.

The Ottoman gained power in Egypt when Yavuz Sultan Selim conquered this country in 1517. Then, Egypt became a province of Ottoman administration. *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule*,<sup>206</sup> provides us with the details of the population of that period Egypt:

Ottoman Egypt’s ethnic diversity was reflected in Sufi society. Although the vast majority of the population was (and still is) native

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<sup>202</sup> Terzioğlu, “Sufis in the Age of State-Building”, 96.

<sup>203</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *‘İlm-i Hāl* Meets Catechism”, 110.

<sup>204</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 316.

<sup>205</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 317.

<sup>206</sup> Michael Winter, *Egyptian society under Ottoman rule: 1517-1798* (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1992) . Winter refers Evliya Çelebi many times in his book and brings the daily life into light with the help of him. On the cultural record of Egypt as well as to see the proliferation of books and increasing in literacy, see Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo’s Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Syracuse University Press, 2003).

and Arabic speaking, there were considerable communities of Turks and Maghribis, and much smaller ones of Indians, Yemenites, Muslim from central Asia, and others.

At that time we know a serious incident about an attack on Sufism,<sup>207</sup> which is closely related to our topic. A preacher had been influenced by the writings of the Birgili Mehmet Efendi (d. 1573),<sup>208</sup> who was the main source for the Kadızadelis, and he listed illicit innovations (*bid'at*) to all his Turkish audience in 1711 to denounce and remove them.<sup>209</sup> This can be seen as an example of interaction between Anatolian and Egyptian scholars as it was mentioned before. Building in these references, I have the image Nuh Efendi's translation probably had audiences both from imperial center and the Turkish speaking population of Egypt.

As the economic position of the eighteenth century ulema of Egypt, Marsot indicates they were "financially dependent on the bounty of the ruler or of other patrons".<sup>210</sup> Some other means of their income were additional positions in mosques, teaching in private houses, or copying books.<sup>211</sup> They might also be remunerated through financial endowments (*evkâf*) or donations.<sup>212</sup> It is stated "when the ulema acquired a little capital, they first bought real estate, usually a house in which to live".<sup>213</sup>

On the charitable nature of many of the Egyptian Sufi's institutions and activities Winter narrates:

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<sup>207</sup> Winter, *Egyptian society under Ottoman*, 157.

<sup>208</sup> Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 143. For Birgili (Birgivi), see Kasım Kufralı, "Birgivi", *IA*, 2, 634-35.

<sup>209</sup> Winter, *Egyptian society under Ottoman*, 157.

<sup>210</sup> Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Ulama of Cairo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in *Scholars, Saints and Sufis*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 154.

<sup>211</sup> Marsot, "The Ulama of Cairo", 155.

<sup>212</sup> Marsot, "The Ulama of Cairo", 154.

<sup>213</sup> Marsot, "The Ulama of Cairo", 156.

Many Sufis fed their disciples and sympathizers and other poor people. Sha'rani, for example, had a large *zawiya*, where he kept 200 students, 29 of them blind. Not only was there plentiful food for those who lived there, but there was always enough for non-resident followers to take home. Other Sufi-related institutions that served as agencies for charity were the *mawlid*s, where free food was often distributed to the needy; this was made possible by special *waqfs*.<sup>214</sup>

Admittedly, we have no information on: how Nuh Efendi's financial situation was exactly, whether he had a house like some of his colleagues or not, or what kind of charities he had got beside his books and disciples - because these also might be regarded charities - it is worth to have picture of his environment by these sources. To say the least, we know that the role of *ulema* in society:

Socially the *ulema* were teachers, scholars, and the intelligentsia of the day. They were scientists and mystics, humanists and artists. They comforted the bereaved, advised the high and the mighty, and on occasion protected the poor and the downtrodden. In brief, they were ubiquitous, and fulfilled functions on all social levels, and had an entree into every nook and cranny of society.<sup>215</sup>

This part of the second chapter has aimed to cover the period and the environment Nuh Efendi lived. His books on variety of topics will be included as follows.

### 2.3. Nuh b. Mustafa's Books

When I look at the works of Nuh Efendi, we see the variety of books in the field of Islamic sciences. Due to the fact that the research areas of scholars complete their intellectual biography, I tried to find Nuh Efendi's books as much as possible. Some of them has included in manuscript catalogues and in the works, which refers to Nuh Efendi. Most of them can be found in Süleymaniye and Beyazıt libraries in Istanbul.

**Books on *fiqh*:** Most of Nuh Efendi's books are on *fiqh*. Probably this is the reason of why he referred as "Abu Hanifa"<sup>216</sup> of his period" in his time. His works of *fiqh* are following:

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<sup>214</sup> Winter, *Egyptian society under Ottoman*, 155.

<sup>215</sup> Marsot, "The Ulama of Cairo", 157.

<sup>216</sup> The founder of the Hanafi school of law.

- a) *Netâ'icü'n-nazar fî havâşî'd-Dürer ve'l-Ğurer Li Mollâ Hüsrev*<sup>217</sup>: It is a super-commentary on Molla Hüsrev's<sup>218</sup> (d. 1480) *Dürerü'l-hükkâm fî şerhi Ğureri'l-ahkâm*. It is written in Arabic.<sup>219</sup>
- b) *Umdetü'r-râğûbin fî ma'rifeti ahkâmi imâdi'd-dîn*<sup>220</sup>: Nuh Efendi covers topics on *salât* in this book. It is in Arabic.
- c) *el-Kelâmü'l-mesûk li-beyâni mesâili'l-mesbûk*<sup>221</sup>: It includes the issues about *salât* of *mesbûk*.<sup>222</sup> It is in Arabic.
- d) *Fethu'l-celil alâ abdihi'z-zelîl fî beyâni mâ verede fî'l-istihlâf fî'l-cümü'ati mine'l-ekâvîl*<sup>223</sup>: It is about the discussion on whether it is permissible (*câiz*) or not if a *hâtib* assigns a deputy for the Friday prayer without the permission of authorities. It is in Arabic.

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<sup>217</sup> Hayrettin Zirîklî, *el-A'lâm: kamusu teracimi li-eşheri'r-ricâl ve'n-nisa* (Kahire: Matbaatu Kustasus, 1959), 27-8.

<sup>218</sup> Ferhat Koca, "Molla Hüsrev", *DİA*, 30, 252. Molla Hüsrev (d. 1480) was a prominent scholar who had books in the field of fiqh, tafsir, Arabic language, poetry and calligraphy. Mehmed II was addressing him as "Abu Hanifa of his period".

<sup>219</sup> Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerîfe*", 11; Süleymaniye library, Lâleli, nr. 860.

<sup>220</sup> Babanzade Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa, *Hediyyetü'l-arifin esmai'l-müellifin ve asarü'l-musannafin*, trans. Kilisli Rifat (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1955), v2, 498; Beyazıt Devlet library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, nr. 1142.

<sup>221</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyyetü'l-arifin*, II, 498; Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerîfe*", 13 ; Süleymaniye library, Hacı Beşir Ağa, nr.652.

<sup>222</sup> The one who is late for *salât* and could not catch up the imam in the first *rak'at*.

<sup>223</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyyetü'l-arifin*, II, 498. ; Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerîfe*", 9; Süleymaniye library, Hacı Beşir Ağa, nr.652.



- e) *el-Lum‘a fî âhiri zuhri‘l-cum‘a*<sup>224</sup>: It is about the four *rak‘at salât*, which is prayed after the Cum‘a prayer.
- f) *Risâle fî cevâzi‘l- iktidâi bi‘ş-Şâfi‘î ve ademi cevâzihi*<sup>225</sup>: It is on the issue of the cases when a Hanafi *musallî* follows a Shafii imam. It is in Arabic.
- g) *el-Kavlü‘l-ezhar fî beyâni‘l-hacci‘l-ekber*<sup>226</sup>: It is on Hajj al-Akbar.<sup>227</sup> It is in Arabic.
- h) *Eşrefü‘l-mesâlik fî‘l-menâsik*<sup>228</sup>: It includes topics on the rituals of pilgrimage. It is in Arabic and its form is treatise (*risale*).
- i) *el-Fevâidü‘s-seniyye fî‘l-mesâili‘d-diniyye*<sup>229</sup>: It covers the necessities of *salât*. It is in Arabic.
- j) *el-Fevâidü‘s-sitte aşera fî beyâni‘l-mes‘eleti‘l-mülakkabeti bi‘s-semaniyye*<sup>230</sup>: It is on a four *rak‘at* supererogatory (*nâfile*) prayers. It is in Arabic.

<sup>224</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyyetü‘l-arifin*, II, 498; Süleymaniye library, Hacı Beşir Ağa, nr. 652.

<sup>225</sup> Şenses, “Nuh b. Mustafa’nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerîfe*”, 18; Beyazid Devlet library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, nr. 1142.

<sup>226</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyyetü‘l-arifin*, II, 498; Süleymaniye library, Hacı Beşir Ağa, nr. 652.

<sup>227</sup> Hajj al-Akbar means the “great pilgrimage” whose first day comes across the day Cum‘a.

<sup>228</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyyetü‘l-arifin*, II, 498. ; Ömer Rıza Kehhâle, *Mu‘cemü‘l-müellifin : teracimu musanniifi‘l-kütübi‘l-Arabiyye*. (Beyrut: Mektebetü‘l-Müsenna, 1957), IV, 42. ; Şenses, “Nuh b. Mustafa’nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerîfe*,” 13; Süleymaniye library, Reşit Efendi, nr. 1012-2.

<sup>229</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyyetü‘l-arifin*, II, 498. ; Şenses, “Nuh b. Mustafa’nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerîfe*”, 18 ; Süleymaniye library, Serez, nr. 1070.

<sup>230</sup> Şenses, “Nuh b. Mustafa’nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerîfe*”, 15; Süleymaniye library, Hacı Beşir Ağa, nr. 652.

- k) *el-Makâlâtü 'l-kerime fi mâ yecibü ale 'l-müteneffili bi 't-tahrime*<sup>231</sup>: It is about necessities of supererogatory prayers. It is in Arabic.
- l) *Risâle fi salavâti 'l-hams*<sup>232</sup>: Nuh Efendi covers the hikmah of *salât* in this book. It is in Arabic.
- m) *es-Sılâtü 'r-rabbâniyye fi hukmi men edrake rek'aten mine 's-sülâsiyye ve 'r-rubâiyye*<sup>233</sup>: It is on the completing of other *rak'ats* of a four *rak'at salât* when a musalli catches the only last *rak'at*.
- n) *el-Kelimâtü 'l-edille fi isbâti 'l-ehille*<sup>234</sup>: Nuh Efendi covers the topics on the movements of moon in this book. It is in Ottoman Turkish.
- o) *Hülâsâtü 'l-keîâm fi binâi Beytillâhi 'l-haram*<sup>235</sup>: It is about the restoration of Ka'ba.

### **Books on creeds (*akâid*) and kalam**

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<sup>231</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyyetü 'l-arifin*, II, 498. ; Aytekin, “Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*”, 12 ; Süleymaniye library, Hacı Beşir Ağa, nr. 652.

<sup>232</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1333), II, 44. ; Aytekin, “Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*”, 12; Beyazıt Devlet library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, nr. 1142.

<sup>233</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, II, 44. ; Şenses, “Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*”, 17 ; Süleymaniye library, Hacı Beşir Ağa, nr. 652.

<sup>234</sup> Aytekin, “Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*”, 13; Süleymaniye library. Hacı Mahmud Efendi, nr. 1082.

<sup>235</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, II, 44; Süleymaniye library, Reisü'l-küttâp, nr. 646.

- a) *el-Makâsîdü'l-hasene*<sup>236</sup>: It begins with the creed of Ahl al-Sunnah and consists of ten chapters about *salât*. It ends with an explanation about the words and behaviors that cause disbelief (*küfr*).
- b) *el-Fevâidü'l-mühimme fî beyâni iştirâti't-teberri fî İslâmi ehli'z-zimme*<sup>237</sup>: Nuh Efendi discusses when a non-Muslim citizen (*zimmî*) can be accepted as a Muslim in this leaflet. It is in Arabic.
- c) *Risâle fî elfâzi'l-küfür*<sup>238</sup>: In this booklet Nuh Efendi covers the creed of Ahl al-Sunnah and the issue of disbelief (*küfr*). It is in Ottoman Turkish.
- d) *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*: It is the book, which I analyze in detail in this study.
- e) *Zübdetü'l-keîâm fî mâ yahtâcü ileyhi'l-hâss ve'l-âmm*<sup>239</sup>: The book covers topics on Islamic creed and deed. It is in Ottoman Turkish.
- f) *Tercüme-i Akâid*: It holds the creed of the Ahl al-sunna and criticizes the Mu'tazila. It is in Ottoman Turkish.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 8; Süleymaniye library, Esat Efendi, nr. 991.

<sup>237</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyyetü'l-arifin*, II, 498. ; Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 14 ; Süleymaniye library, Hacı Beşir Ağa, nr. 652.

<sup>238</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, II, 44; Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 15 ; Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi, nr. 1190.

<sup>239</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyyetü'l-arifin*, II, 498. ; Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 16 ; Süleymaniye library, Fatih, nr. 2911.

<sup>240</sup> Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 26; Süleymaniye library, Yazma Bağışlar, nr. 80.

g) *Fetvâ fî sebebi vucûbi mukâteleti 'r-Ravâfîz ve cevâzi katlihim*<sup>241</sup>: It is about waging war on heretics. It is in Arabic.

h) *es-Seyfü 'l-müczem fî kitâli men heteke hurmete 'l-harâmi 'l muharrem*<sup>242</sup>: It is about the rebellion occurred in Mecca in the Ramadan of (1041/1632). It is in Arabic.

### Books on tafsir

We know that his preaching (*va'z*) on tafsir (exegesis of the Qur'an) were inimitable.<sup>243</sup> It is likely he preferred mostly to address the people rather than to put down on the paper the issues in this field.

a) *Şerhu düâi 'l-kunû*<sup>244</sup>: It is the interpretation of Qunut prayers. It is in Arabic.

b) *Tenvîru besâiri üli 'l-elbâb fî dekâiki Ümmi 'l-kitâb*<sup>245</sup>: This book is on the tafsir of Besmele and the chapter of Fatiha. It is in Ottoman Turkish.

### Books on hadith

a) *er-Risâle fî 'l-fark beyne 'l-hadisi 'l-kudsî ve 'l-Kur'ân ve 'l-hadisi'n nebevi*<sup>246</sup>: This booklet is about the differences between Hadith Qudsi and Hadith Nabavi.

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<sup>241</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 14; Beyazıt Devlet library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, nr. 1142.

<sup>242</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyetü'l-arifin*, II, 498. ; Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 11 ; Süleymaniye library, HacıBeşir Ağa koleksiyonu, nr. 652.

<sup>243</sup> Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 10.

<sup>244</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 13; Süleymaniye library, Giresun el yazmaları, nr. 102-6.

<sup>245</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 17; Süleymaniye library, Bağdatlı Vehbi, nr. 115-1.

<sup>246</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, II, 44.

b) *Risale-i Nuh Efendi*<sup>247</sup>: This book is related to the science of hadith. It is written in Ottoman Turkish.

c) *Şerhu'l-Câmi'i's-sağîr*<sup>248</sup>: It is an exposition written on Suyuti's (d. 1505) *el-Camiu's-sağîr*. It is in Arabic.

### Books on variety of topics

a) Jihad:

*Fezâilü'l-cihâd*<sup>249</sup>: Nuh Efendi covers the virtue of jihad in this book. It is in Ottoman Turkish.

b) Hızır:

*el-Kavlü'd-dâl alâ hayâti'l Hızır ve vücûdi'l-Abdâl*<sup>250</sup>: This leaflet is on the issue of whether Hızır and *abdâls* are alive or not. It is in Arabic. It was published by Hâdi er-Rakb in 2005.

c) Soul:

*Râhatü'l-eşbâh fi'l-ervâh*<sup>251</sup>: This booklet is related to the creation of the souls. It is in Ottoman Turkish.

*Kûtü'l-ervâh*<sup>252</sup>: In this leaflet types of souls are covered.

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<sup>247</sup> Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 29; Süleymaniye library, Hacı Mahmud Efendi, nr. 1292.

<sup>248</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 17; Süleymaniye library, Hamidiye, nr. 315.

<sup>249</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, II, 44; Beyazıt Devlet library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, nr. 782.

<sup>250</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediyyetü'l-arifin*, II, 498. ; Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 14 ; Süleymaniye library, Hacı Beşir Ağa, nr. 652.

<sup>251</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, II, 44; Beyazıt Devlet library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, nr. 809.

<sup>252</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 16; Beyazıt Devlet library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, nr. 809.

**d) Dreams:**

*Risâle fî beyânî hakîkati 'n-nevmi ve 'r-rü 'ya*<sup>253</sup>: This leaflet is on sleep and dream. It is in Ottoman Turkish.

**e) Mahdi:**

*Risale fî 'l-Mehdi*<sup>254</sup>: It is on the leaflet of Hâfız Ebu Nuaym's (d. 1038) work, which contains traditions about hadiths on Mahdi. It is in Arabic.

**f) Zikr:**

*Tuhfetü 'z-zâkirîn*<sup>255</sup>: This book covers the virtues of *zikr*. It is in Ottoman Turkish.

**g) Parents of the Prophet Muhammad:**

*Mürşidü 'l-hüdâ fî hakkı ebeveyni 'r-rasül*<sup>256</sup>: The book is about the religious situations of parents of the Prophet, i.e. whether they were Muslims. It is in Ottoman Turkish.

**h) Ashâb al-Suffa:**

*Risâle fî ensâbi ehl-i beyti 'n-nebiyyi*<sup>257</sup>: It is on companions who studied religious sciences next to the mosque of the prophet.

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<sup>253</sup> Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 33; Beyazıt Devlet library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, nr. 809.

<sup>254</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 16; Süleymaniye library, Reşit Efendi, nr. 1012.

<sup>255</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 18; Süleymaniye library, İbrahim Efendi, nr.410.

<sup>256</sup> Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, II, 44.; Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 15 ; Süleymaniye library, Halet Efendi, nr. 303.

<sup>257</sup> Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 23.

**i) About Prophet Muhammad and the prophethood:**

*Eşrâfû'l-mekâle fî ma'na'n-nübüvve ve'r-risâle*<sup>258</sup>: Nuh Efendi covers the meanings of being a prophet (nübüvvet) in this book. It is in Ottoman Turkish.

*Mevlidü'l-Mustafâ ve mevâlidü'l-hulefâ*<sup>259</sup>: It was published in 1878 in Bombay by Habib Muhammed İbrahim. It is about the birthdays of the Prophet Muhammad and his successors (caliphs).

**j) Abu Hanifa:**

*el-Kelimâtü's-şerife fî tenzîhi Ebi Hanife ani't-türrâhâtü's-sehîfe*<sup>260</sup>: It is a refutation (*reddiye*) of a slanderous story, which was told and spread about Abu Hanifa.

*ed-Dürrü'l-munazzam fî menâkibi'l-İmâmi'l-A'zam*<sup>261</sup>: This leaflet is about the life of Abu Hanifa and the period of Abu Hanifa. It is in Arabic.

**k) Grammar:**

*Sarf Risalesi*<sup>262</sup>: It is a book on Arabic grammar in Ottoman Turkish.

**l) History:**

*Târîhu Mısır*<sup>263</sup>: This book is about history of Egypt till its conquest by Yavuz Sultan Selim.

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<sup>258</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 16; Süleymaniye library, Bağdatlı Vehbi, nr. 789-1.

<sup>259</sup> Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 33.

<sup>260</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediye*, II, 498 ; Süleymaniye library, Reşit Efendi, nr. 1012.

<sup>261</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediye*, II, 498; Kehhâle, *Mu'cemü'l-müellifin*, IV, 42 ; Süleymaniye library, Reşit Efendi, nr. 1012-2.

<sup>262</sup> Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 30; Süleymaniye library, Serez, nr. 3506.

<sup>263</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 19.

**m) Agriculture:**

*Kitab muhtasar fi'l-filâha*<sup>264</sup>: Nuh Efendi covers some topics about agriculture in this booklet.

**n) Nasihatnâme (advice book to Sultans):**

*Kevkebü'l-mülk ve mevkibü't-Türk*<sup>265</sup>: Nuh Efendi treats the issues related government and gives advice to governors in this booklet.

**o) Holy days and nights:**

*Ikdi'l-mercân fi fadli leyleti'n-nusfi min Şa'bân*<sup>266</sup>: It is about the importance of the day of 15<sup>th</sup> of Sha'ban. It is in Arabic.

*Matla'u'l-bedr fi fedâili leyleti'l-kadr*<sup>267</sup>: It is on the controversies about the exact time of the night of Qadr in Ramadan. It is in Arabic.

#### **2.4. A General Look to His Books**

When I have a look at Nuh Efendi's works, I manifestly see the works on *fiqh* and *aqida* predominate the works on other subjects. This reminds me of the words of Terzioğlu that the tendency of the religious scholars of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was "urging the common people to comply what is commanded, to avoid what is prohibited [emr bi'l-ma'ruf ve nehy 'ani'l-münker], to perform the ordinances and obligations of the faith".<sup>268</sup>

Some of Nuh Efendi's books were based on the questions, which were asked to Nuh Efendi. As an example, his *el-Lum'a fi âhiri' zuhri'l-cum'a* was put down on the

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<sup>264</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 18.

<sup>265</sup> Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 24; Şehid Ali Paşa library, nr. 2709.

<sup>266</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediye*, II, 498 ; Beyazıt Devlet library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, nr. 1142.

<sup>267</sup> İsmâil Paşa, *Hediye*, II, 498; Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, II, 44 ; Beyazıt Devlet library, Veliyyüddin Efendi, nr. 1142.

<sup>268</sup> Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman", 316.



paper because of the questions about four *rak'at salât*, which is prayed after Cum'a prayer.<sup>269</sup> Similarly, *es-Silâtü'r-rabbâniyye fî hukmi men edrake rek'aten mine's-sülâsiyye ve'r-rubâiyye* was also based on an inquiry to how a person who catches the last *rak'at* of four *rak'at*-prayers in a congregational prays to complete his prayer.<sup>270</sup> For *el-Kavlü'l-ezhar fî beyâni'l-hacci'l-ekber*, too, Nuh Efendi determines that the question on Hajj al-akbar conduced him towards writing this booklet.<sup>271</sup>

The other motivation behind Nuh Efendi's works was his experience and his consideration of necessity to write a book on some topics. After he completed his pilgrimage he wrote *Risâle fî'l-hacc*. This booklet is related to problems he observed while undertaking his pilgrimage. It is said he worked on the reliable books about pilgrimage for a while and then he wrote a booklet on such kinds of issues since there was no proper book on pilgrimage in Turkish.<sup>272</sup>

Nuh Efendi's some works mainly covered the issues on heresy and infidelity. His *Fetvâ fî sebebi vucûbi mukâteleti'r-Ravâfîz ve cevâzi katlihim* is about to wage war against *Râfîzis*. Nuh Efendi indicated he was asked why setting a war with the *Râfîzis* is obligatory (*vâcib*) and to kill them is permissible (*câiz*). Is the real reason their infidelity or their rebellion against the Sultan? Nuh Efendi replied that because of the both, to wage war on *Râfîzis* is necessary and to kill them is permissible.<sup>273</sup> Of course, Nuh Efendi meant *Râfîzis* of the Safavid state.

He wrote *el-Fevâidü'l-mühimme fî beyâni iştirâti't-teberri fî islâmi ehli'z zimme* because of a discussion related to infidelity (*küfr*). The problem was whether it is solely acceptable for a Christian to recite shahada (*kelime-i şehadet*) or he has to determine that he is also away from other religions.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 10.

<sup>270</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 13.

<sup>271</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 10.

<sup>272</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 10.

<sup>273</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 14.

<sup>274</sup> Aytekin, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerife*", 14.

Nuh Efendi's other works such as about Ahl al-Bayt<sup>275</sup> (*Ehl-i Beyt*) and mahdi exposes his field of research and interest on the controversial topics between the Ahl al-Sunnah and the Shia. Additionally, the number of the booklets on the creed of Ahl al-Sunnah overtly backs the purposes of "to instill in the lay public a proper knowledge of Sunni Islam",<sup>276</sup> "to pin down a more precise definitions of the norms and dictates of Sunni Islam",<sup>277</sup> and to give the "definition of right belief and practice".<sup>278</sup> If we pay attention to the books above, we can see that he cared to bring Turkish works forth too, as Terzioğlu indicates for the characteristic of the period.<sup>279</sup>

The books on the virtues of *zikr* and the reality of saints (*evliyâ*)<sup>280</sup> have also exemplified Nuh Efendi's Sufi interest in the discussions especially in the Ottoman center. It was written in Arabic, probably because his target audience was Kadızadeli preachers who knew Arabic. There was a "heightened sensitivity about the illicit innovations (*bid'ats*) and above all, lingering doubts about the compatibility of diverse aspects of Sufism with the Sunna"<sup>281</sup> in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and Nuh Efendi gave proofs from the Prophet Muhammad's life about *zikr*. Nuh Efendi's books on Hızır and on parents of the Prophet Muhammad also reveal his interest on the controversial topics between Muslims as Katip Çelebi referred.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> The family of the Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>276</sup> Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman", 315.

<sup>277</sup> Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman", 319.

<sup>278</sup> Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman", 322.

<sup>279</sup> Terzioğlu, "Where *İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism", 79.

<sup>280</sup> *el-Kavlü'd-dâl alâ hayâti'l Hızır ve vücûdi'l-ebdâl*.

<sup>281</sup> Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman", 319.

<sup>282</sup> Çelebi, *Mizânü'l-Hakk*, 154, 177.

It is worth to determine Nuh Efendi's target audience was not only the lay Muslims or Kadızadelis, he also put down a *nasihatnâme*<sup>283</sup> on the paper, which addresses the authorities (the Sultans). Let me mention that *nasihatnâmes* -such as the treatise of Koçi Bey, Aziz Efendi's *Kāunnâme-i Sultânî* and Katip Çelebi's *Düstürü'l-amel li-islâhi'l-halel-* were common in the period Nuh Efendi lived. Some concerned scholars and statesmen were writing advice books to reveal the weaknesses of the status quo of the period.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> *Kevkebü'l-mülk ve mevkibü't-türk*. For details, see footnote 266.

<sup>284</sup> Öztürk, "Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans", 30.

### CHAPTER III

#### GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF NUH B. MUSTAFA'S TRANSLATION OF *EL-MİLEL VE'N-NİHAL*

In this chapter I aim to set forth some significant information about Nuh Efendi's translation.

The copies of *Tercüme-i Milal ve Nihâl* have been as the following: Hacı Mahmud Ef. 1289; Halet Ef. 417; 418; İbrahim Ef. 503; Esad Ef. 1149; Fatih 2912, 2913; Hüsrev Pş. 121/1; İzmirli İ. H. 884/2,1005; Lala İ. 257; Laleli 2164, 2165; M. Arif-M. Murad 218; Ş. Ali Pş. 1577/1; Tırnovalı 1049, 1154/2; Yazma Bağ. 80; Hüdai Ef. 933 (m); Zühdi Bey 296 (m); Celal Ö. 65/2 (m); Dügümlü Baba 182/1 (m); Kasidecizade 155 (m); Tahir Ağa 302 (m);<sup>285</sup> Ali Emiri 859/2.<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>285</sup> Mehmet Toprak, "Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi'ndeki mezhepler tarihi ile ilgili eserlerin tanıtımı," (master's thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1992), 32. I also saw some of the manuscript and printed copies of *Tercüme-i Milel ve'n-Nihal* in Süleymaniye Library such as Halet Ef. 417; 418, Hüdai Ef. 933 (m), Zühdi Bey 296 (m), Hamidiye 720. Mehmet Toprak states at the beginning of his thesis he tried to introduce the oldest copy of the books. According to this, the oldest copy of *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal* that he could find was the one in İbrahim Ef. 503, which was written in (1158/ 1746). I found out another copy, Halef Ef. 418, as the oldest one (1082/1671). If I saw Hüdai Ef. 933 (m) in Germany when I started my study, I would at least benefit from the index of it. I myself prepared an index for the copy I had, to have a grasp of the translation. I had already proceeded in my study on the copy, which was introduced to me during my course. Additionally, later on, I brought out that Halet Ef. 417; 418 which are *nesih* and readable were not complete. I could not find the copy, which was written by the author (*müellif hattı*). I am not sure about the exact date of the translation, but as it was stated in Yörükan's book it might be around 1070/1659. However because of a typographical error, presumably, it is stated as "1070/1649" in Yörükan's book. Yusuf Ziya Yörükan, *Ebü'l-Feth Şehristânî: "Milel ve Nihal" Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir İnceleme ve Mezheplerin Tetkikinde Usûl* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002), 25. In Ramazan Kahraman's article the date "1070/1649" was also repeated quoted from Yörükan. Karaman, "Bir İslam İlimleri Klasığı", 67.

<sup>286</sup> Şenses, "Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerîfe*", 25. The other copies of it have been in the National Library in Ankara: 8656; 3577/2; 2927/8.

Even though there is no a concrete evidence, judging from the number of surviving copies it can be said that Nuh Efendi's translation became a popular instrument of Ottoman Sunnitization.

In terms of the name of the translation in the sources I looked the name of the translation is referred as "Tercüme-i Milel ve'n-Nihal". In addition to this, Nuh Efendi himself begins with the name of the translation when he introduces his work in his preface<sup>287</sup> and explained the reason why he wrote it.

As the reason why it was written (*sebeb-i te'lif*) at the very beginning of his book, Nuh Efendi explains the religious motivation behind his translation. As I have mentioned in previous chapter, Nuh Efendi aimed to reveal the true belief for the one who would like to stay away from "deviant" beliefs and groups.

Nuh Efendi states Shahrastani's book was very reputable among the scholars and it was used as a very venerable reference book. Nuh Efendi thinks because of the importance of Shahrastani's book, Yusuf Efendi requested its Turkish translation from Nuh Efendi. As Nuh Efendi states, with this deed Yusuf Efendi wished for the blessing of Allah, and desired to be mentioned always with goodness. Then, Nuh Efendi prays for him to reach this aim.<sup>288</sup>

After that, Nuh Efendi requests pray from the readers for himself as the translator of this book. He also states he aims to gain the blessings of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad through this translation.<sup>289</sup>

Heeding on Öztürk's and Terzioğlu's ideas, I think Yusuf Efendi and Nuh Efendi's concurrent core religious aims might be fed by the social status quo of the period. Although recently we know that it was not a decline period as some historians described, in the 17th century the situation Ottoman faced within and outside turned

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<sup>287</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 2.

<sup>288</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 4.

<sup>289</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 4.

the eyes of some scholars and governors to the *risalas*.<sup>290</sup> They were concerned about the Ottoman society and tried to come up with some solutions in accordance with their backgrounds.<sup>291</sup> It seems to me that Yusuf Efendi was one of those governors and “one of the noble inhabitants”<sup>292</sup> of Egypt who requested Nuh Efendi to translate *El-Milel ve ’n-Nihal*. And Nuh Efendi as a Halwati preacher and a follower of Abu Hanifa wrote *Tercüme-i Milal ve Nihal* with this background.

Further, building on what Terzioğlu states on *ilm-i hâl* genre, it is possible to say the religious manuals of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries “appear much more concerned with the internal divisions among the Muslims”.<sup>293</sup> As an Ottoman translation, Nuh Efendi’s text seems to be among those manuals, which aim to prevent the new reading public from “error and heresy”.

In terms of the significance of the translation: On the proliferation of *ilm-i hâls*, it is stated the audience was a new reading group emerged in major cities of the Ottoman Empire such as Istanbul.<sup>294</sup> What is indicated for *ilm-i hâl* genre seems to be very similar to the translation of Nuh Efendi. Beside scholars and learned Sufis, the new reading group included merchants, artisans, and soldiers, too.<sup>295</sup> Due to the fact that most of these people did not know Arabic, it was crucial to appeal them in Ottoman Turkish. *Tercüme-i Milal ve Nihal* had important role for this need.

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<sup>290</sup> Öztürk, “Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans”, 30.

<sup>291</sup> Öztürk, “Islamic Orthodoxy among the Ottomans”, 30.

<sup>292</sup> Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum* (Osnabrück : Otto Zeller Verlag, 1978).

<sup>293</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *’İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism”, 84. As Terzioğlu states, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries conversion to Islam gained speed. However, *ilm-i hâl* writers did not make mention of converts “as being among their target audience”. Yet, it does not mean converts did not use such books and booklets.

<sup>294</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *’İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism”, 84.

<sup>295</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *’İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism”, 84.

Abu'l-Feth Muhammed b. Abdulkerim Shahrastani (d. 1153) was the most famous historian who studied religions. Beside he was the greatest historian of religions in the medieval Islamic world, he was also erudite in the field of *fiqh*, Islamic jurisprudence, *hadith*, and *tafsir*. His book *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* includes other religions beside Islam and refers them in an objective way. It was a unique source in the field of religions till 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>296</sup> At the present time, it is also referred as the most important book in the history of religions.<sup>297</sup> Yusuf Efendi chose and Nuh Efendi successfully translated a significant book of Medieval Arabic literature with his additions and interpretations.

The organization of the topics is in this manner: Nuh Efendi begins his book with *basmala* and *hamdala*, and continues with *salawat* (praise for the Prophet Muhammad). Then, he explains his topic and the reason behind putting down it on paper, which was treated above. He has a systematic narration that includes a preface (*mukaddime*), two themes (*bâb*), an epilogue (*hâtime*), and a *risalet-ün nihâye* (supplement). In the preface, he covers the first doubt arose in the world by Satan and claims all the errors of the deviant sects sprang from the error of the Satan. His first theme is about deviant sects (*fırka-ı dâlle*) and it contains the Mu'tazila, the Shia, the Khawarij, the Murjia, the Najjariya, the Jabriya, and the Mushabbiha. And his second theme is about the saved group (*fırka-ı nâciyye*). According to Nuh Efendi this group is certainly Ahl al-sunnah. He discusses main topics of the creed of Ahl al-sunnah (*ehl-i sünnet*). It includes ten chapters and seven positions (*maksad*). The epilogue treats the people outside the Islam as well as the philosophers. Nuh Efendi also has some subtitles such as *mes'ele* and *fasl* in his text. The copy that I studied was 176 pages.

In terms of the narration and wording characteristics of *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, I can state Nuh Efendi used a clear language and gave understandable examples in his text. We must remember that in this period a new reading group emerged and to reach and to indoctrinate them the "true belief" was significant. When he gives

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<sup>296</sup> Ömer Faruk Harman, "Şehristânî", *DİA*, 38, 468.

<sup>297</sup> Ömer Faruk Harman, "Şehristânî", *DİA*, 38, 468.

example about the importance of consent (*tasdîk*) on the issue of *imân* for instance, he states that in terms of faith (*imân*), consent (*tasdîk*) is like the head in human body, but confirmation (*ikrâr*) is like a hand. It is possible to live without hand, but not possible to live without head.<sup>298</sup>

Besides being understandable, he treats his issue in a critical and scholarly way. When, for example, he quotes the ideas of a deviant sect or a philosophical group, firstly he gives their thoughts, and then he puts them into critique with proof from Qur'an, Sunnah, or from prominent scholars of the field respectively. He sometimes has flashbacks and put brackets as he considers it necessary. Even he is treating one school of thought, he does not refrain himself from going back and forth, but he does it in a systematic language so that one does not miss the point he makes.<sup>299</sup>

He prefers a catechetical method when he considers it necessary. As if an opponent asks him and he answers, he uses statements in this manner: “*denirse ki/cevab oldur ki*”.<sup>300</sup> Further, when he thinks that a topic has been treated in a more detailed way in someone else's book or in another book of him, he points it: “*Bu mahallin [imânda istisnânın cevâzı] tafsîli Şerh-i Umde'de mestûr ve bizim Tuhfetü'z-Zâkirîn nâm kitabımızda mezkûrdur. Murâd eden müracaat eylesin.*”<sup>301</sup>

Nuh Efendi, beside simply referencing Abu Hanifa many times, he is one of the followers and sympathizer of him as we know from the book in which he advocates Abu Hanifa against oppositions to him.<sup>302</sup> All the same, he does not avoid himself to bracket what Abu Hanifa said. On the issue of the religious positions of Prophet

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<sup>298</sup> *Pes tasdîkin imâna nisbeti başın insâna nisbeti gibidir. Ve ikrârın imâna nisbeti yedin insâna nisbeti gibidir. Başsız insânın vücûdu mümkün olmadığı gibi tasdiksiz imânın dahi vücûdu mümkün değildir.* Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 104.

<sup>299</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 25. *Pes sadede rücû' edelim; intehi.*

<sup>300</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 91; 104; 105. It means; “if it is pleaded/the answer is...”.

<sup>301</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 110. He points that for the details it is possible to see the books *Şerh-i Umde* and *Tuhfetü'z-Zâkirîn*, the latter belongs to himself.

<sup>302</sup> Şenses, “Nuh b. Mustafa'nın *El-Kelimâtü-ş Şerîfe*”, 4.



Muhammad's parents, for example, Nuh Efendi quotes the views of Shafii and Ash'ari scholars in addition to that of Abu Hanifa. However, he did not support the idea of Abu Hanifa fanatically. Rather, he says: “[...] *Îmâm-ı A'zam hazretlerinin (ebeveyn-i Rasul) “küfr üzere öldüler” kavli sonra ihyâlarına mâni değildir. Câizdir ki küfr üzerine olalar ve sonra Hak Teâla hazretleri Hz. Resulullah'ı (s.a.v) teşrîf için onları ihyâ edip îmâna geleler. Vallâhu teâla ‘alem.’*”<sup>303</sup> By this sentence, Nuh Efendi tries to demonstrate that the parents did not die as unbelievers, but by doing this, he is very careful not to take Abu Hanifa on. Rather he puts the issue on Allah's decision.

Nuh Efendi's other significant reference is seen about Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240) without stating his name. Firstly, Nuh Efendi treats the Malkaniya (under the title of Christians), and states their thought that “Allah do rewards the obedient in the afterlife, He does not opposes his promise (*va'd*). Yet, he opposes his warning (*va'id*) and does not torment who commits sin”. Then, Nuh Efendi indicates: “*Ve bu ümmetden velâyet ve kerâmetle meşhûr olanlardan biri buna zâhib oldu, neüzü billâhi min şurûri enfusinâ ve seyyiât-i a'mâlina*”.<sup>304</sup> The reason was probably Nuh Efendi referred him without giving his name might be the decency or he might want to avoid the possible reactions of the society since Ibn 'Arabi was a prominent and a respected Sufi.

In terms of wording, as Krstić indicates, we see in Nuh Efendi's language that, as a Hanafi scholar, he used his authority “to declare certain actions or concepts irreligious”.<sup>305</sup> As an example, he brackets and warns on the issue of pre-existence of Allah: “(*tenbih*) *ma'lûm ola ki delâil-i kâtia ve berâhîn-i sâtia ile sâbit oldu ki*

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<sup>303</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 102. He comments that although Abu Hanifa stated that the parents of the Prophet Muhammad died as unbelievers, it is possible that Allah granted them the faith later on to honor the Prophet.

<sup>304</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 153. He indicates that a well known saint from Ahl al-sunnah agreed with Malkaniya on the issue that “Allah does rewards the obedient in the afterlife, He does not opposes his promise (*va'd*). Yet, he opposes his warning about punishment (*va'id*) and does not torment who commits sin”. I would specifically like to thank Prof. Büyükkara, since he helped me to find whom Nuh Efendi refers in this sentence.

<sup>305</sup> Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 169.

*Hudâ'dan gayrı her ne ki vardır eger ervâhdır ve eger eşbâhdır hâdistir ve zât-ı Hakdan ma'ada kadîm yokdur ve bu hususda ehl-i sünnete muhalefet eden zındıktır.*"<sup>306</sup> On the issue of soul, he indicates: "Ve rûh ölüir ve fenâ bulur diyen kimesne mülhiddir ve tenâsüh ile dahi hükm eden mülhiddir."<sup>307</sup> Further, he applies his task to warn people throughout his text. Statements like "onun ve etbâ'ının kavli bâtil ve mezheb-i âtıllarından mümkün olduğu kadar hazer oluna"<sup>308</sup> and "Ve bu mânâdan ziyâde tahfîz olunub sakınmak gerektir"<sup>309</sup> exemplify this.

Additionally, his adjectives and definition of people overtly differs from Shahrastani. In the part of extremist Shiism for the founder of the Mughiriya (*Mugîriyye*) branch, he says: "ol mel'un-ı bî-din (Muğire b. Sa'id el-Iclî) dedi ki Hak Teâla nurdan bir racüil suretindedir".<sup>310</sup> We must remember he stated in his preface (*mukaddime*): "Teemmül olunsa fırak-ı dâlle arasında vâki' olan şübhelerin cümlesi iblîs aleyh-illa'nenin şübhelerinden nâşi ve ol mel'un-u recîmin mekr ve hilelerinden fâşîyedir".<sup>311</sup> The word "damned" (*mel'un*) appears later several times in his definitions of the founders of other deviant sects.

The sources and scholars Nuh Efendi frequently referred reveal his intellectual identity and proficiency. Additionally, the sources to which he applied after Shahrastani's time, reveals his contributions to *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal*.

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<sup>306</sup> He explains that the universe and all things whether soul or body are created. There is nothing pre-existent except Allah. The one who preludes otherwise is an unbeliever.

<sup>307</sup> He indicates that if one claims that the soul disappears, he is an unbeliever. The judgment is the same for who supports reincarnation.

<sup>308</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 17. Nuh Efendi's authority in stating certain concepts and sects as irreligious can also come in view with his warnings such as "his and his followers claim is null (*bâtil*) and people should keep away from their deviant sects."

<sup>309</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 74. "It is vital to beware from such intention."

<sup>310</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 38. Nuh Efendi uses the adjective "cursed" for Muğire b. Sa'id el-Iclî who claims that Allah (far from Him) is look like a divine lighted man.

<sup>311</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 7. Nuh Efendi states that if it is mediated it is seen that all the doubts of *fırak-ı dâlle* are stemmed from the doubts of the devil.

Beside the Qur'an and hadith, it is observed that Nuh Efendi mostly adduced from Hanafi scholars and their works. Yet, as I mentioned in previous chapter, his affiliation to Hanafi school did not prevent him to comment and declare his own view points. It is possible to see his critical reasoning throughout his text. In addition to that, he also referred the thoughts of the Shafii, Hanbali and Ash'ari scholars, such as Tajuddîn al-Subki<sup>312</sup>, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya<sup>313</sup>, and especially Fakhr ad-Din al-Râzi<sup>314</sup>, in his translation. I will give some prominent works and names that Nuh Efendi benefited in his translation in order to conceive the literature frame of his work.

In *tafsir*, he adduced from *Mefâtîhu'l-gayb* as the most famous tafsir of al-Râzi. It is also known as *et-Tefsîrû'l-kebîr*. It treats the topics related to kalam and philosophy extendedly.<sup>315</sup> *Tefsîr-i Neseft*<sup>316</sup> is another work that Nuh Efendi consulted in this field.

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<sup>312</sup> Bilal Aybakan, "Sübki, Tâceddin", *DÎA*, 38, 11. Tajuddîn Subki (d. 1370) was a Shafii jurist and a biography writer.

<sup>313</sup> H. Yunus Apaydın, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye", *DÎA*, 20, 109. Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr who referred as Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 1350) was a productive Hanbali scholar who wrote many religious manuals.

<sup>314</sup> G. C. Anawati, "Fakhr al-Din al-Razi", *EP*, 2, 751. Abu Abdallah Muhammad b. 'Umar b. al-Husayn at-Taymi al-Bakri at-Tabaristani Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1209) was one of the most prominent scholars in the field of theology.

<sup>315</sup> Bekir Topaloğlu, *Kelam ilmine giriş* (İstanbul: Damla Yayınevi, 2013), 37.

<sup>316</sup> Ayşe Hümeysra Aslantürk, "Nesefti, Necmeddin", *DÎA*, 32, 571. Najm ad-Dîn Abû Hafs 'Umar ibn Muhammad an-Nasafî (d. 1142) was a celebrated Hanafî scholar. He is known as canonist (*fakih*), muhaddith (*muhaddis*), commentator (*müfessir*) and theologian (*mutakallim*).

In the field of fiqh, beside the scholars in the paragraph above, Nuh Efendi mainly cited from *Hizânetü'l-Ekmele*,<sup>317</sup> *Tatarhâniyye*<sup>318</sup> and *Bezzâziyye*.<sup>319</sup> He also quoted from Nawawi.<sup>320</sup>

Nuh Efendi's one of the main source is *Şerh el-Mevakif*<sup>321</sup> on aqida. In kalam and theology, he also quoted from *Bahrü'l-kelemler*<sup>322</sup>, *El-Umde*<sup>323</sup>, *Şerh el-Makâsıd*<sup>324</sup>, *Usûl-ı erbain*<sup>325</sup>, *Muhassal*<sup>326</sup>, and *Akâidü'n-Neseфі*.<sup>327</sup> He also refers Shams al-Aimma al-Sarahsî<sup>328</sup> on the issue of faith.

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<sup>317</sup> Ahmet Özel, "Hizânetü'l-Ekmele", *DİA*, 18, 180. It was written by Yusuf bin 'Ali bin Muhammad al Jurjani (d. 1128) who was a Hanafi legist.

<sup>318</sup> Ferhat Koca, "Tatarhâniyye", *DİA*, 12, 446. Its full name is el-Fetavâ't-Tatarhâniyye. It was written by an Indian Hanafi scholar Âlim b. Alâ (d. 1384). It is an Arabic book on *fiqh*.

<sup>319</sup> Ahmet Özel, "Bezzâzi", *DİA*, 6, 113. Its full name is el-Fetavâ'l-Bezzâziyye.<sup>319</sup> The Hanafi scholar Bezzâzi (d. 1424) wrote it.

<sup>320</sup> Yaşar Kandemir, "Nevevî", *DİA*, 33, 45. His full name is Abu Zakaria Muhiy ad-Din Yahya Ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi (d. 1277). He was a hadith and fiqh scholar.

<sup>321</sup> Sadrettin Gümüş, "Cürccânî, Seyyid Şerîf", *DİA*, 8, 134. 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Jurjânî, also called al-Sayyid al-Sharîf (d. 1413) wrote it. He was a prominent scholar in the fields of kalam, fiqh and Arabic language.

<sup>322</sup> Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "Neseфі, Ebü'l-Muîn", *DİA*, 32, 568. Abu Muin Nasafi (d. 1115), who had role in developing the Sunni kalam, wrote this book. It is a concise book on Sunni creed.

<sup>323</sup> Murteza Bedir, "Neseфі, Ebü'l-Berekât", *DİA*, 32, 567. It was written by 'Abdallah ibn Ahmad al-Nasafi Hafız-al din 'Abu-l Barakat (d. 1310). Nasafi was a very influential Hanafi scholar after the classical era.

<sup>324</sup> Şükrü Özen, "Teftâzânî", *DİA*, 40, 299. Sa'duddin Mas'ud Al-Taftazani (d. 1390) wrote this book. It is on Islamic theology.

<sup>325</sup> Mustafa Çağrııcı, "Gazzâlî", *DİA*, 13, 493. Al-Ghazali (d. 1111) wrote it. It is also known as *Kitab'ül Erbain fi Usuli'd-Din*. ; H. Ritter, "Al-Ghazali", *EP*, 2, 1038.

<sup>326</sup> Topaloğlu, *Kelam ilmine giriş*, 37. It was written by Fakhr ad-Din al-Razi.

<sup>327</sup> It is a famous Hanafi aqida book, which was written by Najm ad-Dîn Abû Hafs 'Umar ibn Muhammad an-Nasafi (d. 1142).

<sup>328</sup> Muhammed Hamîdullah, "Serahsî, Şemsüleimme", *DİA*, 36, 544. Shams al-Aimma al-Sarahsî (d. 1090) was a Hanafi jurist. His *el-Mebsût* was well known.

Nuh Efendi adduced from some remarkable works of the field of hadith. These are *Sahîhu'l-Buhâri (el-Câmiü's-sahih)*<sup>329</sup>, *Sünenü't-Tirmizî*<sup>330</sup>, and *Elkab.*<sup>331</sup>

On the history of Islamic denominations, beside his main reference Shahrastani, he sometimes referred Ibn Hazm.<sup>332</sup> In the field of philosophy he cited from Platon (*Eflâtun İlâhi*).<sup>333</sup>

When I consider the works and the scholars Nuh Efendi referred, I see that there is continuity in terms of the books, which were benefited in Ottoman realm. As an example the 15<sup>th</sup> century shaykh al-islam and jurist Ibn Kemal also adduced and quoted from works of Ghazali, Taftazani, Jurjani, and Shahrastani in his books.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> M. Mustafa el-A'zamî, "Buhârî, Muhammed b. İsmâil", *DİA*, 6, 368. Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad ibn Ismâil ibn İbrâhîm al-Bukhârî (d. 870) was the author of it. ; J. Robson, "Al-Bukhari Muhammad b. Isma'il", 1, 1296.

<sup>330</sup> M. Yaşar Kandemir, "Tirmizî", *DİA*, 41, 202. It was written by Abu 'Îsâ Muhammad b. 'Îsâ as-Sulamî ad-Darîr al-Bûghî at-Tirmidhî (d. 892), a well-known collector of hadith.

<sup>331</sup> Mehmet Eren, "Hadis İliminde Rical Bilgisi ve İlk Kaynakları", in *Dini Araştırmalar*, (Ocak-Nisan 2000), v.2, 146. It was written by Abû Bakr Ahmad b. Abdirrahman el-Shirazî. It was among the well-known *elkâb* books. Elkâb genre gives the names of the hadith traditionalists who are known with their nicknames (*elkâb*).

<sup>332</sup> H. Yunus Apaydın, "İbn Hazm", *DİA*, 20, 39. Abu Muhammad 'Alî ibn Ahmad ibn Sa'îd ibn Hazm (d. 1064) was a well known legist and a muhaddith. He was the greatest representative of Zahiriyya denomination. ; R. Arnaldez, "İbn Hazm", *EI*<sup>2</sup>, 3, 790.

<sup>333</sup> Fahrettin Olguner, "Eflâtun", *DİA*, 10, 469. Eflâtun (d. BCE 347) was Ancient Greek philosopher, who had a significant impact on Islamic philosophy.

<sup>334</sup> Edward Badeen, *Sunnitische theologie in Osmanischer zeit* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2008), 21. This is not limited with Ibn Kemal as it can be seen Badeen's book.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CONTENT OF *TERCÜME-İ MİLEL VE NİHAL*

#### 4.1. Nuh B. Mustafa's Main Contributions and Criticisms on Deviant Sects (*Firak-ı Dâlle*) and the One Who Are Outside of Islam (*Millet-i İslâmiyye*)<sup>335</sup>

##### 4.1.1. The Deviant Sects

This chapter is an evaluation and a synthesis of the first *Bâb* and *Hâtîme* parts of Nuh Efendi's work. Since this thesis does not aim to summarize Shahrastani's or Nuh Efendi's works, the chapter will give the significant examples which help to understand Nuh Efendi's translation role in the 17th century Ottoman realm.

##### The Mu'tazila

Nuh Efendi criticizes the Mu'tazila perception of Allah in two points. He narrates they claimed it is obligatory for Allah to behave according to justice. Hence, Allah conforms what is suitable for His servants. He rewards who obeys and He punishes who commits sin. The Mu'tazila calls it "justice" (*adl*).<sup>336</sup> The Mu'tazila denies the attributions of Allah (*sıfâtullâh*) and calls it tawhid (absolute unity and oneness of God).<sup>337</sup> According to them, the vision of Allah (*ru'yetullah*) is impossible, too, because there is no resemblance between Him and His creatures.<sup>338</sup>

On the issue of createdness of the Qur'an (*halk-ul Qur'an*), The Mu'tazila believes the Qur'an is created and it is an originated work of Allah. This notion was criticized

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<sup>335</sup> The main contributions and criticism on the deviant sects and the people outside of Islam. The translations, which are given in this chapter, are not word to word translations. Yet, they provide content integrity.

<sup>336</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 15. [...] [*Mutezile*] *Hudâ'nın üzerine ibâdına aslah olanı riâyet eylemek ve onlardan mutîe sevab vermek ve âsîye ikâb etmek vâcibtir derler. Ve kendi zu'mlarınca bunu adl add ederler.* Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 35. [...] *Hudâ'nın üzerine bir nesne vâcib değildir ne şer' an ne aklen ve ne âdeten* [...].

<sup>337</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 15. *Ve Hudâ'nın sıfât-ı kadîmesini nefy ederler. Ve kendi zu'mlarınca bu tevhiddir derler.*

<sup>338</sup> For the proof of it, see Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 90.

by Nuh Efendi. By giving the hadith, which means the Qur'an is not created and the one who claims its createdness is an unbeliever, he concludes that ones who have such notions about the Qur'an are unbelievers.<sup>339</sup> Additionally, he brackets the issue from its *fiqh* aspect and quoted from Imam Muhammed al-Shaybanî<sup>340</sup> that “*Kur'ân-ı Azîm mahlûkdur diyen kimesnenin ardında namaz kılmak câiz değildir, yani kâfirdir. Zîrâ eğer kâfir olmayıb mübtedi' olaydı ânın/onun ardında namaz kılmak ma-al-kerâhe câiz olurdu*”.<sup>341</sup>

About the topics related to after-life (*ahiret*), Nuh Efendi states that most of the Mu'tazila believes heaven and hell will be created on the day of judgment.<sup>342</sup> He narrates since this notion opposes to the Qur'an and Sunna, Ahl-al sunnah denies it.<sup>343</sup> He reports Mu'tazilite rejection of *mizan* (weighing the deeds of people in after-life). Yet, Nuh Efendi states “[...] *mîzân ânınla/onunla makadîr-i âmal bilinur nesneden ibârettir ve akl ânın/onun keyfiyyetini idrâkten kâsırdır*”.<sup>344</sup>

Mu'tazila conceptualizes that good and evil (*hayır ve şer*) have been known through intellect,<sup>345</sup> the belief that sending prophets and books are obligatory (*vâcib*)<sup>346</sup> and

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<sup>339</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 30. The *Murdâriyye*.

<sup>340</sup> Aydın Taş, “Şeybânî, Muhammed b. Hasan”, *DİA*, 39, 38. Al-Shaybanî is one of the prominent disciples of Abu Hanifa. He has religious manuals on Hanafi school.

<sup>341</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 34. Muhammed al-Shaybanî states that to pray *salât* behind a person who preludes that Qur'an is created is not permissible because he is an unbeliever. If he was an innovator (*mübtedi'*), *salât* would be permissible with repugnance (*me'al-kerâhe*) behind him. Thus, he should not be an innovator, but an unbeliever.

<sup>342</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 93.

<sup>343</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 32.

<sup>344</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 93. He means that *mîzân* is an object which weights the quantity of the deeds and the mind is not able to comprehend its real quality.

<sup>345</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 117. *Mutezile dediler ki mûcib olan akıldır. Ve akl ile eşyanın hüsn ü kubhu bilinir.*

<sup>346</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 94. [...] *irsâl-i rusul ve inzâl-i kütübde hikmet-i beliğa ve âkıbet-i hamîde vardır. Mutezile dedikleri gibi vâcib değildir.*

the claim that people are the author of their own acts<sup>347</sup> have been also put into critique by Nuh Efendi.

### **The Shia**

The Shia is divided into three main groups: The Ghaliya (*Gâliyye*), the Zaidiya (*Zeydiyye*), and the Imamiya (*Îmâmiyye*) according to Nuh Efendi's translation. Yet, they have also sub-branches within these main groups.

Although Nuh Efendi does not give details for the all branches under the Shia, we see that the most of them have been criticized for the claim of divinity of Ali b. Abi Tâlib and for the advocating of *hulûl* (the notion of divine indwelling). The idea that prophecy was in fact the right of Ali, but it was given mistakenly to Muhammad is also a disbelief (*kuîfr*).<sup>348</sup> In addition, Shia's declaration that most of the companions of the Prophet (*ashâb*) and the people of Ahl-al sunnah are unbelievers is unacceptable according to Nuh Efendi.<sup>349</sup>

The Ismailiyya (*Îsmâliyye*)/Batniyya (*Bâtniyye*) is the one who was covered in detail by Nuh Efendi. Nuh Efendi defines their characteristics with the words of Shahrastani, "[...]ilm-i zâhir hicâbtır ve ilm-i bâtnın inkişâfına ânın terki lâzımdır derler"<sup>350</sup> and continues with his addings "Ve bunlar nevâmis-i dînîyye ve umûr-u şer'îyyeyi istihzâ' üzerine müstemirr oldular. Ve iskât-ı tekâlif ve ibahât-ı muharremâtı izhâr ettiler. Ve hayvanât ve cemadât gibi zâbit-ı dîniyyesiz ve mâniâ'-i şer'îyyesiz oldular. Neûzü billâh min-eş-şeytân ve etbâ'ihî"<sup>351</sup>

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<sup>347</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 90. For the proof of it, see Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 34.

<sup>348</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 38.

<sup>349</sup> For the *Cârûdiyye*, Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 48. For the *Îmâmiyye*, Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 49.

<sup>350</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 47. Shahrastani summarizes their thoughts as "apparent knowledge (*ilm-i zâhir*) is not the real knowledge and one who wants to reach the truth should give it up."

<sup>351</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 47. Nuh Efendi states that Ismailiya ridicule upon the sharia and the religion, so that they became unreligious like animals and non-living things. He then wishes to take refuge in Allah from these evil notions.



Nuh Efendi narrates that Ismailiya aimed to convince some people who have weak faith (*zaif-ul i'tikad*) to their wrong beliefs by using some methods of cheating.<sup>352</sup> Then, he expresses his indignation with these bold words: “*elhak ol mel'unlar maksûd ve matlûblarına vasıl oldular ve nice sâdedilleri i'tikaddan çıkarıb vâdî-i dalâlette vâle ve hayrân ettiler.*”<sup>353</sup>

Nuh Efendi does not give details on the beliefs of the Zaidiya, but he narrates that the Imamiya claimed there is an explicit designation (*nass-ı celî*) from the Prophet Muhammad for the succession of Ali.<sup>354</sup>

I would like to digress here for the term *Rafavız* which Nuh Efendi uses in his text. There is no a separate section in Nuh Efendi's translation for them, but he refers them in his text. We must remember that “the term *Râfizî* (pl. *Ravafız*) includes almost all the Shia groups except Zaydiya since they deny the first three caliphs. Ottomans also used that term from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onward as the synonymous with the word “*kızılbash*”.<sup>355</sup> It meant Safavid partisanship in politics as well as their extreme Shiism in terms of the Islamic religion.

The claims of *Rafavız*, which were explained above, criticized by Nuh Efendi in his summary about deviant sects (*fırak-ı dâlle*), too. He states it is obligatory duty to declare them as unbelievers due to their notions in some religious issues and their worldly position is not more than that of the position of an apostate (*murted*) in Islam.<sup>356</sup> I have already referred in previous chapters that Nuh Efendi narrates from *Hülasa* and *Bezzâziye* that if a Rafizi curse Abubakr and ‘Umar or swear them he

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<sup>352</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 44.

<sup>353</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 44. Nuh Efendi expresses that they reached their aims and confused the minds of many naif people.

<sup>354</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 49.

<sup>355</sup> Üzüm, “*Kızılbash*”, *DİA*, 25, 547.

<sup>356</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 68. For the summary, Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 68-9.

becomes an unbeliever.<sup>357</sup> Then he also quotes from *Cevhere* “bir kimesne Hz. Ebubekir ile Hz.Ömer’e ve sâir ashâb-ı güzine (r.a.) sebb ve onlara ta‘n eylese kâfir olur. Ve katli vâcib olur. Ve ba‘dehu rücu‘ edip tevbe ederse ve İslam’ı tecdîd ederse tevbesi kabûl olur mu olmaz mı ihtilâf vâki‘ oldu. Ve tevbesi kabûl olunmak üzere fetvâ verildi”.<sup>358</sup>

I notice Nuh Efendi has critiques for all the school of thoughts in case they oppose Ahl al-sunnah. Yet, he overtly uses the adjectives such as damned (*mel‘un*) and vicious irreligious (*habîs-i bâ-dîn*) especially for the Shia.<sup>359</sup> The 17th century scholar Nuh Efendi was not alone who declared *Rafavîz* as unbelievers. Ibn Kemal (d. 1536) wrote in his *Risala fî tekfir* that extremist Shia were unbelievers. And in the same booklet he declared that to wage war against Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safawid dynasty, was *farz-ı ayn*.<sup>360</sup> Ibn Kemal was synthesizing issues related to kalam, philosophy and tasawwuf in his polemical writings. He was fighting against Shi‘ite propagandas in Anatolia with them.<sup>361</sup> This reminds Terzioğlu’s assertion of continuity of the Ottoman sunnitization.<sup>362</sup>

### **The Khawarij**

Most of the Khawarij were criticized by Nuh Efendi because of their principles that who commits sin, becomes an unbeliever<sup>363</sup> and their decision that Uthman, Ali, Talha, Zubeyr, and Aisha are unbelievers.<sup>364</sup> Since he generally uses statements such

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<sup>357</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 73.

<sup>358</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 73. Nuh Efendi means that in case of the curse or the swear to Abubakr and ‘Umar, a *Râfîzî* becomes an unbeliever, but if he regrets and revitalizes his Islam, although whether his repentance is acceptable or not is a matter of dispute, a fatwa was given that his repentance was acceptable.

<sup>359</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 37; 38; 39; 44.

<sup>360</sup> Badeen, *Sunnitische theologie*, 21. *Farz-ı ayn* is a legal obligation on every Muslim.

<sup>361</sup> Badeen, *Sunnitische theologie*, 22.

<sup>362</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 324.

<sup>363</sup> For the *Yezîdiyye*, see Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 51; 54. For the *Acâride*, see Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 56.

<sup>364</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 52. Ezarika. Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 54.

as “*lâkin bu i’tikadleriyle kendileri kâfir olub cehennemde muhalled olacaklarını bilmediler. Zîrâ bir mü’mini kâfir i’tikad eden kâfir olur ve cehennemde muhalled kalır*”,<sup>365</sup> he does not repeat such words for the all branches of the Khawarij.

He, in detail, narrates that the Yezidiya (*Yezîdiyye*), a Khariji branch, claims Allah will send a Persian prophet and he will quit the sharia sent with Prophet Muhammad. Upon this Nuh Efendi states “*bu söz kitab ve sünnet ve icmâ-i ümmete muhâlif olduğu cihetten küfr-i azîm ve ilhâd-ı cesîmdir. Zîrâ Hz. Resûl-i Ekrem (a.s) hâtem-ül enbiyâdır. Ve şeri’atı bâkîyye ve ilâ-yevmiddîn müstemirredir*”.<sup>366</sup>

### **The Murjia**

Nuh Efendi narrates that there are some among Murjia who claims: “*Ve dünyâ ve âhiret O’nundur [Allah’ındır]. Nitekim dünyâda mü’minlerin bazısını mu’azzeb ve kâfirlerin bazısını mün’im etti. Kezâlik âhirette onların bazısını mün’im ve bazısını mu’azzeb eyler*”.<sup>367</sup> Then Nuh Efendi declares the Murjia who bring together the judgments of this world and the afterlife are unbelievers.<sup>368</sup>

Further, he puts some Murjia into criticism who believe that their obedience is accepted, their sins are forgiven, so worship is not an obligation (*farz*) for them. They maintained that worship is good, but there is no punishment with its abandonment. Nuh Efendi concludes that the one who claims this kind of notions is an unbeliever.<sup>369</sup>

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<sup>365</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 52. He means that who attributes disbelief (*küfr*) to a Muslim, he becomes unbeliever (*kâfir*) himself.

<sup>366</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 54. It means that claiming of a new prophet is a great disbelief since Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) is the last prophet (*hâtem-ul enbiya*).

<sup>367</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 69. Their claim means that as Allah gives blessings to some of unbelievers and gives pain to some Muslims in the world, He can do the same in the afterlife. It means the salvation of some unbelievers in the afterlife. It depends on Allah’s decision.

<sup>368</sup> *Pes hükmi-âhiret ile hükmi-dünyâyı beraber ederler ve bunlar kâfirlerdir.*

<sup>369</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 69.

The claim of 'Ubaidiya (*Ubeydiyye*), a branch of Murjia, that Allah is in the form of human being and Ghassan's<sup>370</sup> claim Abu Hanifa was a Murjia were also challenged by Nuh Efendi. He states “*Vallâhu kizb söyledi ve onun üzerine iftirâ eyledi. Ve bu kizb ve iftirâsıyla kendi mezheb-i bâtilına böyle bir büyük ve meşhûr kimesnenin muvafakatıyla tervîc [kıymet arttırma] kasd etti*”.<sup>371</sup>

### **The Najjariya (*Neccâriyye*)**

Nuh Efendi covers the Najjariya in a very concise way. He states they agree with ahl-al sunnah on the issue that man acquires his own deed (‘*amel*) and they agree to the Mu‘tazila in terms of denying the attributes of Allah and the vision of God (*ru‘yetullah*), and claiming the Qur’an is created.<sup>372</sup> The topics related to the Mu‘tazila have already been criticized by Nuh Efendi.

### **The Jabriya (*Cebriyye*)**

Nuh Efendi treats the Jabriya in a concise way, also. He states that the Jabriya has two branches: The Straight Jabriyya (*Cebriyye-i Hâlisâ*) and the Moderate Jabriyya (*Cebriyye-i Mutavassîta*). According to the *Cebriyye-i Hâlisâ*, man has no autonomy on his acts. Among *Cebriyye-i Mutavassîta* there are some who ascribe power to human for their acts.<sup>373</sup>

### **The Mushabbiha (*Sifâtiyye*)**

Nuh Efendi covers his last chapter of *fırak-ı dâlle*, the Mushabbiha, briefly. After he states their claim that Allah is look like to His creatures, he adds: “*Teâlallahü ‘ammâ yekûlûne uluvven kebîrâ*.”<sup>374</sup> Then, when he summarizes *fırak-ı dâlle* and gives the

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<sup>370</sup> Al-Ghassân al-Kûfî is the founder of the Ghassâniyya sub-branch of the Murji‘a.

<sup>371</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 62. Nuh Efendi comments that Ghassân lied and defamed on Abu Hanifa and he aimed to get support of such a prominent scholar for his deviant sect with this defamation.

<sup>372</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 65.

<sup>373</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 65.

<sup>374</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 66. Glory to Him! He is high above all that they say! Exalted and Great (al-Îsra [17]:43).

reason behind his excommunication (*tekfir*) of them, he says for the Mushabbiha “[...] eğer Hudâ’ya ibâd gibi câriha isbât ederlerse kâfirlerdir.”<sup>375</sup>

#### **4.1.2. On the People of the Book and the people outside of it<sup>376</sup>**

Nuh Efendi states at the very beginning of this chapter that the people outside of Islam (*millet-i islâmiyye*) are divided into two: People of the Book (*Ehl-i kitab*) and the others. He remarks that it is permissible to eat the meat that Ahl-al kitab slaughtered, and it is also permissible to get married with their women, but it is not so for the second group such as Zoroastrians, Wasaniyya<sup>377</sup>, and Sâbiyya.<sup>378</sup>

Nuh Efendi begins this chapter with the Jews’ (*Taife-i Yehud*) repudiation of the abrogation (*nesh*).<sup>379</sup> He narrates “there was no rullings (*ahkâm*) in the Bible. Rather the Bible includes parables, admonitions and sermons. *Ahkâm* specifically occurred in the Torah. Because of this reason Jews did not follow the Prophet Jesus. The Jews expected from the Prophet Jesus to accord with Torah. However, he did not do it, instead he altered it according to them.”<sup>380</sup>

Nuh Efendi continues that “Jesus acknowledged Moses’s shariah. Both of them were the precursors of the Prophet Muhammad. And they required to their communities (*ümmet*) to believe and obey to him. Thus, their communities were knowledgeable about the Prophet Muhammad, but they envied since he was Arabic, not from

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<sup>375</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 67. In the case the Mushabbiha attributes to Allah bodily things, they are unbelievers.

<sup>376</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 137.

<sup>377</sup> Ahmet Güç, “Putperestlik”, *DİA*, 34, 365.

<sup>378</sup> It was defined as idolatry. For details, see; Şinasi Gündüz, “Sâbiilik”, *DİA*, 35, 344.

<sup>379</sup> For details see; Abdurrahman Çetin, “Nesih”, *DİA*, 32, 579-581.

<sup>380</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 138. *Va’d ettikleri tagyîrâtın birisi sebti ehade tagyîrdir.*

Israelites, and therefore they became unbelievers”.<sup>381</sup> After this introduction, he gives the proofs of Hz. Muhammad’s prophethood in six articles (*vech*).<sup>382</sup>

Then Nuh Efendi concludes, with the quote below, that there is no discussion among Muslims at all on the prophethood of Hz. Muhammad. The previous holy books also heralded his prophethood.

[...]Hz. Muhammed’in (s.a.v.) isbât-ı nübüvvetinde kütüb-ı mâzide nusûs hadden bîrûn ve onun vücûd-u şerîfine beşârât ve vâsfına ve beled’ine işârât adedden efvûndur. Hafî olmaya ki bizim Peygamberimiz (s.a.v.)’in şerîati bil-icmâ‘ cem‘-i şerâyi‘i nâsihedir Ve bunda ehl-i İslâm beyninde aslâ hilâf vâki‘ olmamıştır.<sup>383</sup>

### **The Jews (*Taife-i Yehud*)**

Nuh Efendi imparts that *Yehud* repudiates the *nesh* and calls it *bedâ*.<sup>384</sup> Then, he discloses that “[...] *nesh* onların şer‘ilerinde dahi mevcûddur. Zîrâ *nesh* Tevrat’ta sâbittir ki Hak Teâla Nûh’a gemiden çıktıkda buyurdu ki ben sana ve zürriyyetine her dâbbeyi me’kel kıldım. [...] Ve sonra Tevrat’ta çok nesneyi harâm eyledi”.<sup>385</sup>

Then, Nuh Efendi quotes from Fakhr ad-Din ar-Râzi about the wisdom of the *nesh* (*hikmet-i nesh*): “First wisdom is on account of respect to Allah and obedience to Him, and second wisdom is Allah’s mercy and grace to His creatures”.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>381</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 138.

<sup>382</sup> Nuh Efendi narrates that Muslim scholars were familiar with the proofs given in previous holy books on Hz. Muhammad’s prophethood, and wrote many books on this topic. He also covers them. For details, see Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 140-143. Shahrastani also indicates that there have been proofs in Torah about prophethood of Muhammad. Yet, he does not cover the details and proof, which Nuh Efendi indicates. Tan, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, 201-202.

<sup>383</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 143.

<sup>384</sup> *Bedâ* is Allah’s changing of His wills and decisions. Since His will as an attribute of Him is eternal, this kind of change is out of question for Allah.

<sup>385</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 145. Nuh Efendi discloses that in the Torah there is also *nesh*. As an example, firstly Allah permitted to Nuh a.s and his community to eat all the created things. Yet, after that He c.c. forbided lots of things in the Torah.

<sup>386</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 145.

After this introduction, he indicates that he will give the most well-known branches of *Taife-i Yehud*<sup>387</sup>: The Inaniya, The İseviya, The Muğaribe, The Burğaniya, The Müşkaniyye, The Sâmira.

### **The Christians (*Taife-i Nasârâ*)**

Nuh Efendi indicates that Nasârâ pleads trinity (*ekanîm-i selase*) to Allah: “*Ve Hak Teâla hazretlerine hâşâ ve kellâ ekanîm-i selâse isbât eylediler*”.<sup>388</sup> Further, he gives the three main branches of it: The Malkaniya, The Nasturiya, and The Yakubiya likewise Shahrastani. His main bracket in this part is the discussions on the age of the Prophet Jesus when he became prophet. His position is that puberty is necessary for prophethood.<sup>389</sup>

When he covers the Malkaniya, he states that when this Christian sect gathered in Istanbul they indicated:

[...]i'tikad ederiz ki Hak Teâla celle celâ-lühû birdir. Ve ol herşeyin mâlikidir. Ve gördüğümüz ve görmediğimiz nesnenin sâni'idir. Ve İsâ hâşâ ve kellâ<sup>390</sup> onun oğludur. Mesnu' değildir. Babasının cevherinden nâşî ilâh-i hakdır. Bizim için ve bizim halâsımız için semâdan indi ve rûhü'l-kudüs ile mütecessid oldu. Ve Meryem-i Betûl'den doğdu. Ve Fîlâtos [Philatos] zamanında salb olunup defn olundu. Ve sonra üçüncü günde kalktı ve semâyâ suûd etti. Ve babasının sağında oturdu. Teâlallahu 'ammâ yekulü'l-câhilu uluvven kebîran.<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>387</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 146.

<sup>388</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 150. When Nuh Efendi states that Nasara said “Messiah is Allah”, he states *Teâlallahü 'ammâ yekulü'l-câhilu*, Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 154.

<sup>389</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 149.

<sup>390</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 152. Nuh Efendi's adding to Shahrastani. The Malkaniya believes that Allah is the one and He is the creator of all creations. Jesus is not created, he is the son of Allah. He came down from the heaven for our salvation and then he was materialized as the holy spirit. He was crucified at the time of Philatos. After that he ascended to heaven in the third day, and sat to next to his father.

<sup>391</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 152. The last expression is Nuh Efendi's adding.

On the issue of resurrection, Nuh Efendi states that the most of the *Nasara* proved the bodily resurrection (*haşr-ı ecsâd*), but some of them only proved the resurrection of the souls (*haşr-ı ervâh*). Then, he explains that the latter does not see possible to eat, drink, and get married in paradise. Nuh Efendi adds: “*Ve bu ümmetten bazı mellah da bu kavlı-i bâtila zâhib oldular nercû minallâhil aqve ve'l afiyet*”.<sup>392</sup>

One of the other crucial points that Nuh Efendi made is about Allah’s reward and punishment. He narrates:

[...] *Melkaniyadan biri dedi ki tahkik Hak Teâla muftlere vaad ve asilere vaîd zikr eyledi, va'dine muhâlefet etmek câiz değildir. Zîrâ ol kerîme lâyük değildir. Lâkin vaîdine muhâlefet eder. Pes usâta azab eylemez. Ve halk sürûr ve saâdete rücû' ederler dedi. Ve bu emri cümlede ta'mîm eyledi. Ve illetinde ikab-i ebedî Hudâ-yı kerîme lâyük değildir dedi.*<sup>393</sup>

### **The Zoroastrians (*Taife-i Mecûs*)**

Nuh Efendi states three branches of *Mecûs*: The Geyumersiya, The Zerwaniya, The Zerdüştiya. His main emphasis in this chapter is akin with Shahrastani’s point. With Nuh Efendi’s words:

*Derler ki nûr nûrdan eşhâs ibdâ' ve icâd eyledi. Ve ol eşhâsın cümlesi rûhâniyye ve nûrâniyye ve rabbâniyyedir. Lakin Zervan nâmında olan şahs-i a'zam eşyâdan bir nesnede şekk eyledi. Ve ol şekk-i şeytâniyyeden Ehrimen hâdis oldu. Ve bundan gayrı nice mühmelât söylediler ki fi-l-cümle akldan behre-dâr olan onlar ile tefevvüh eylemez. Ve Hak Teâla hazretlerinin celâl-i kibriyâsına marifet tahsîl eden ârifden ânın gibi türrehât sâdır olmaz. Ve derc-i kalbi leali-i iman ile memlû olan mü'min ol asl-i hurâfâta kulak tutmaz.*<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 153. He narrates that like these Christians, some Muslims also refuted the resurrection of the souls. Then he wishes for them forgiveness from Allah. We know that Ibn Sina and Muslim philosophers believed in *haşr-ı ervâh* and Ghazzalî refuted this idea in his *Tahâfüt el-Felâsife*, see Mahmut Kaya, “Tehâfütü'l-Felâsife”, *DİA*, 40, 313-314.

<sup>393</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 153. He narrates that the Malkaniya claimed Allah rewards to His obedient servants in the afterlife. Because He promises this (*va'd*), He does not recant it. However, He might recant His warning about punishment of hellfire. Hence, all the mankind can reach salvation.

<sup>394</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 156. For Shahrastani’s similar point of view, see Tan, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, 225-226. In this paragraph, Nuh Efendi summarizes the main belief of the conflict of good and evil in Zoroastrian religion. Then he describes all these as superstitions from which – he says - Muslims must keep away.



### **The Sanaviya (Seneviyye)<sup>395</sup>**

Nuh Efendi does not treat this chapter as detailed as Shahrastani and he does not have a specific criticism or topic either. This part covers The Maneviya (*Mâneviyye*), The Mazdekiya (*Mazdekiyye*), The Deysaniya (*Deysâniyye*), The Merkiyuniya (*Merkiyûniyye*), The Keyneviya (*Keyneviyye*) ve The Sıyamiya (*Sıyâmiyye*), and the People of Reincarnation (*Ashâb-ı Tenasüh*).

### **Ahl al-Ahwâ wa al-Nihal (Ehl-i ehva ven nihâl)**

This part is not covered as detailed as Shahrastani either. It covers The Sabiyya (*Sâbiîler*), the People of Spirituality (*Ashâb-ı ruhâniyâ*), and the People of Idolatry (*Ashâb-ı Heyâkil ve Eshâs*). Under the title of *Ashâb-ı ruhâniyâ*, although Shahrastani and Nuh Efendi give the same verse of the Qur'an, Nuh Efendi indicates it in a different tone:

[...](Peygamberler) nev'imizde ve şeklimizdedirler. Sûrette ve maddede bize müşâreket ederler. Yediğimizden yerler ve içtiğimizden içerler. Hâsılı bizim gibi beşerdirler ve neden itâatleri bize farz ve vâcib ve ne meziyyetle mütâbaatları bize lâzım ve lâzib ola. Ve Hak subhânehu ve teâla Kelâm-ı kadîmi'nde bu tâife-i mel'unun bu makale-i bâtilalarını hikâyet edip buyurur: (ve lein eta'tum beşeren mislüküm inneküm izen le hâsirûn).<sup>396</sup>

Additionally, for the People of Idolatry, Nuh Efendi narrates a Qur'anic verse and a hadith of the Prophet on augury and concludes this part. The hadith says whoever believes in augury is an unbeliever. Further, Allah tells that no one can know the future in the Qur'an. Thus, whoever claims the knowledge of unseen and whoever believes in him becomes an unbeliever.<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>395</sup> The Sanaviya believe the pre-eternity of good and evil. For details, see Mustafa Sinanoğlu, "Seneviyye", *DİA*, 36, 521.

<sup>396</sup> Nuh Efendi narrates that *Ashâb-ı ruhaniya* argues the reason to obey the Prophets in spite that they are just like the other people in eating, drinking etc. Then Nuh Efendi quotes a verse of the Qur'an (al-Muminun [23], 34), which describes some claims about prophetship that are similar to those of the People of Spirituality. Those people, as it is stated in the Qur'an, are regarded as disbelieved people who denied the life in afterlife. (For the context, see al-Muminun [23], 33)

<sup>397</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 163.

## The Philosophers

In this part, Nuh Efendi begins with Pythagoras (*Pitagoras*),<sup>398</sup> Socrates (*Sokrates*)<sup>399</sup>, and Platon (*Eflatun İlâhî*)<sup>400</sup> who are covered under the title of “seven great philosophers” in Shahrastani’s book.<sup>401</sup> Presumably, Nuh Efendi’s selection is based on the characteristic of their thoughts. Their main arguments have been about Allah’s c.c. unity (*tevhid*)<sup>402</sup> and His knowledge, which includes all the created things.

Beside the philosophers above, he covers Hippocrates (*Hipokrat*), Euclid (*Öklid*) and Ptolemy (*Batlamyus*) who Shahrastani states as the sources of knowledge.<sup>403</sup> Then Nuh Efendi more specifically treats only thoughts of Aristotle from late antique thought and makes criticism of philosophy in general before ending his book, which *el-Milel ve’n-Nihal* omits.

The reason behind Nuh Efendi’s emphasis on Aristotle has a background. Islamic scholars have criticized Aristotle’s ideas such as eternity of the world and his denial of resurrection, which are completely discordant to Islamic creeds.<sup>404</sup> Nuh Efendi first covers Aristotle’s thoughts briefly. This includes the topics like “existence of *vacib-ul vücud*; the unity of *vacib-ul vücud*; the occurrence of the things via His knowledge; the occurrence of meteorological events and the denial of resurrection”.<sup>405</sup> Further, he indicates the arguments of philosophers:

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<sup>398</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 164. Nuh Efendi states Pythagoras’s claim of wahdat.

<sup>399</sup> Nuh Efendi refers Socrates as the one who avoided people from polytheism. Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 165.

<sup>400</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 146. Nuh Efendi refers him as the philosopher who was known with the idea of wahdat.

<sup>401</sup> Tan, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, 304.

<sup>402</sup> Tan, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, 304.

<sup>403</sup> Tan, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, 337.

<sup>404</sup> Mahmut Kaya, “Aristo”, *DİA*, 3, 377. ; R. Walzer, “Aristutalis”, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, 1, 630.

<sup>405</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 167-69.

*Ve felâsife-i islamiyye müteahhirlerinin cümlesi Aristales'in tarikine süluk ettiler. Ve onun mezhebini ihtiyâr eylediler. İlla mesâil-i yesirede mezheb-i Eflatun'a ve mütekaddimine zâhib oldular. Şeyh ekmeleddin Fıkh-ul Kebir şerhinde buyurdu kim [ki] mâlûm ola ki kibar-ı felâsife-i yunanin hikmet-i nazariye ve ameliyeyi Kütüb-i münzeleden ve bazı enbiya-yı beni İsrailden ahz ettiler. Pes felâsife-i yunaniyunun cümlesi Hak Teâla hazretlerinin vahdâniyyetine ve Kütüb-i münzelenin ve enbiyanın salavatullahu ve selamuhu aleyhim hakkiyyetini mukırrlardır. Ve maa zalik onlardan birisi imana gelmedi. Ve Musa a.s.'in dinine girmede belki cümlesi müşrik idiler. Ve esnamı Allah ittihaz ettiler. (ma na'budühüm illa liyukarribune ilallahi zülfa) derlerdi ve bunlar indallah bize şefaate ederler i'tikad ederlerdi. Ve bizim ehl-i kiblemizden bazı mütefelsife zu'm eder ki kendi ehl-i iman ve islamdandır. Halbu ki ol ehl-i ilhad ve fesatdandır. Der ki alem kadimdir ve Hak Teâla hazretlerinin sıfatını inkâr eder ve der ki Hak Teâla cüziyyatı bilmez illa vech-i külli üzerine bilür. Der ki Hak Teâla görmez ve işitmez ve söylemez. Ve kim ki alem kadimdir der ol kimse Allaha ve kütübüne ve rusulüne kâfirdir zira Hak Teâla kütübünde beyan etti ki kenduden gayrı her mevcud hadistir yoğiken Hak Teâla onu ihdâs eylemiştir. Ve cümle enbiya salavatullahi ve selamuhu aleyhim bu beyan üzerine idiler ve cemi sahipleri ve ümmetleri bu yola gittiler.<sup>406</sup>*

After the quotation above, Nuh Efendi gives proofs on the creation of things from the Qur'an such as the Chapter al-Furqan, verse 59: "He who created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days and then established Himself above the Throne - the Most Merciful, so ask about Him one well informed." The Chapter al-Fussilet, verse 12 also indicates to the same matter: "And He completed them as seven heavens within two days and inspired in each heaven its command. And We adorned the nearest heaven with lamps and as protection. That is the determination of the Exalted in Might, the Knowing".

Additionally, Nuh Efendi criticizes philosophers with this question: "*Ve mesail-i hikmetten bir mesele taakkul eden kimesneye, vacib-ul vücud fiilinde muztarr idi,*

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<sup>406</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 170-71. Nuh Efendi states the philosophers accepted the unity and the oneness of Allah and recognized the prophets and the books. Yet none of them believed in Prophet Mose's sharia. Most of them were polytheists. Despite this, some of Ahl-al Qibla supposes that they were from Ahl-al Islam. However, the philosophers contended that the universe is eternally pre-existent and denied the attributes of Allah. Whoever claims these notions, according to Nuh Efendi, are unbelievers.

*ateş ihrakında ve kuvâ-yi nebatat efallerinde muztarr oldukları gibi der mi?”*<sup>407</sup> Nuh Efendi also determines the difference between Platon and Aristotle’s thoughts. He states, with the quote below, albeit Aristotle learnt wisdom from Platon for twenty years, he then claimed the eternal pre-existence of the universe and vitiated most of Platon’s wisdom:

*Mâlûm ola ki Eflatun felâsife-i yunaniyenin reislerinden belki hikmet-i tabi’ede onların büyükleri idi. Ol ve etbâi ve kibar-ı felâsifeden gayruları alemin hadis olduğuna zâhib oldular ve Aristales ve ona tâbi olanlar alemin kadimini ihtiyâr ettiler. Ve Aristales Eflatun’dan yirmi yıl hikmet öğrendi. Ve sonra ona muhalefet edip ekser-i mesâil-i hikmeti ifsâd eyledi.*<sup>408</sup>

When Nuh Efendi treats the creed of Ahl al-sunnah in the second theme, he refers philosophers with these words: “*Ve felâsife haşr-ı ecsâdı inkâr ettiler ve iâde-i ma’dûm muhaldır dediler. Ve bunların davaları ve delilleri bâtıldır. Ve kelâm-ı Rabb-ül-âlemîn’e muhâlif olduğu cihetten mümine onların kelâmlarına i’tibâr etmek câiz değildir*”.<sup>409</sup> Nuh Efendi ends his criticism of philosophers with these words:

*Ve mübtedia-ı mezkûra bazı sıfatı Hak Teâla hazretlerine isnâd eylediler, lakin Allah’ın ve rasulünün irade ettikleri mananın hilâfi üzere isnâd ederler. Ve küfr ve dalalet cihetinden ol kimseden eşedd kimdir ki nâsı küfr ve bidate davet ede. Ve bâtil ile müslümanlar ile mücadele eyleye, ta ki din-i hakkı bâtil ede. Ve küfr-i bâtili hak eyleye. Femen yudlilillâhu fela hâdiye lehu. Fe innemâ aleyna’l belağu’l-mübîn. Vallâhu yehdî mey yeşâu ilâ sıratın müstakîm.*<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> He means that one who meditates the topics on wisdom should not claim that *vacib-ul vücud* is obliged to in His actions such as the fire.

<sup>408</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 173.

<sup>409</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 92-3. He means that the philosophers denied the resurrection of the bodies. Their arguments are invalid. Further, since they oppose the Qur’anic principles, it is not permissible to Muslims to credit them.

<sup>410</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 174. Whoever Allah sends astray - there is no guide for him (al-A’raf: 186). And our duty is only to proclaim the clear message (al-Yâsin: 17). And Allah guides whom He wills to straight path (al-Baqara: 213).

The quote above attacks the philosophers' incorrect attributions to Allah, which oppose the Qur'an and the sharia of the Prophet. Nuh Efendi's outrage is mostly because the philosophers call the Muslims to the heresy and vitiate the truth of faith.

#### 4.2. The Highlighted Chapters in Nuh B. Mustafa's Translation

In this chapter, I aim to highlight the topics, which Nuh Efendi specifically covered in his translation, and Shahrastani did not include these chapters at all. Additionally, the topics, which he omitted from Shahrastani's book, will also be treated.

##### 4.2.1 "Her 'akile lâzım" umûru ihtivâ eder: Fırka-i Nâciyye<sup>411</sup>

Nuh Efendi's second theme (*bâb*) has covered the topic of the saved group (*fırka-i nâciyye*). He narrates that *fırka-i nâciyye* is Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaat (*ehl-i sünnet ve'l cemaat*). And they are the jamaats of İmam Maturidi and the İmam Ash'ari. Then, he quotes that the Shafii scholar Tajuddîn Subki states: "I considered the notable Hanafi scholar Cafer et Tahavi's creed and found the difference between the Maturidiyya and the Ash'ariyya merely in three points".<sup>412</sup>

Second theme consists of ten chapters (*fasl*) and seven positions (*maksad*).

In the first chapter, Nuh Efendi talks about the creed of Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaat. According to this creed, the universe is created. It is existed later (*hâdis*), not eternally pre-existent (*kâdim*). All the perfect attributes belong to Him. He has attributes, which are not separate from His essence (*zât*). Allah is the creator of the all including the human acts. All the same, human have choice in their acts. There is no obligation (*vâcib*) for Him. His reward is because of His mercy. His punishment is because of His justice (*adl*). The emergence of Antichrist (*Deccâl*), the descent of Jesus from Heaven, the sunrise from the west and *dabbat al-ard*<sup>413</sup> (*dabbetü 'l-ard*)

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<sup>411</sup> On the topic of the saved people which is necessary to know for all the wise people. We must remember that the saved group is Ash'aris and Maturidis according to Nuh Efendi.

<sup>412</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 82. Badeen too, in his book emphasizes that Sunni scholars preferred to focus the similarities rather than differences between Maturidi and Ash'ari madhabs to prevent conflicts. Subki, in his *Tabaqat*, states that all Muslims would follow Shafii, Maliki, Hanbali and Hanafi schools and they would all come together in paradise. Badeen, *Sunnitische theologie*, 78.

<sup>413</sup> It is one of the major signs of the doomsday (*kıyamet*) and refers a kind of beast that will say to people whether they are believers or unbelievers.

are real (*hak*). *Mizân*, *sırât*<sup>414</sup>, and *haşr* (resurrection) are real. The heaven and the hell will not be created later, they have already been created. People who commit sin might be forgiven. The Prophets and the Books are real. The word of Allah (the Qur'an) is eternal, not created. The first prophet is Adam and the last one is Prophet Muhammad. The angels are the servants of Allah. The miracles of the prophets and saints (*kerâmet-i evliya*) are true. The legitimate rulers after the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was Abubakr, then 'Umar, then Uthman, then Ali. The caliphate and the excellence (*efdaliyyet*) are in accordance with the order we have mentioned. No one from Ahl al-Qibla<sup>415</sup> (*Ehl-i Kible*) can be accused (*tekfîr*).<sup>416</sup>

In the second chapter, Nuh Efendi gives the proofs of what he stated in the first chapter. On the issue of *tawhid*, he narrates from the Qur'an: "If there were, in the heavens and the earth, (other) gods besides Allah, they would both certainly go to ruin. So glorified is Allah, the Lord of the 'Arsh, from what they attribute (unto Him)".<sup>417</sup> Then he gives the explanation of the verse: *Ve beyânı odur ki eğer iki ilah mümkün olaydı, aralarında temanü' mümkün olurdu. Yani onlardan biri ahiri men'e kadir olurdu. Mesela birisi zeydin hareketini irade eder ve ol birisi onu o iradeden men' edip sükununu irade eyleye.*<sup>418</sup>

On the topic hell and the heaven have already been created, he shows the evidence of Adam and Eve. Nuh Efendi reminds their parable in the Qur'an and their presence in the heaven, which is an important proof for Ahl al-sunnah.<sup>419</sup>

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<sup>414</sup> The bridge that everybody will pass on the Day of Judgment.

<sup>415</sup> Ahl al-Qibla is a special term in Sunnism, which defines some deviant non-Sunni groups who still continue to practice some Islamic rituals.

<sup>416</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 85-6. İbn-ül Hakîm Es-Semerkindî, *Sevâd-ı Âzâm*, trans. Şahver Çelikoğlu (Eskişehir: Seha Neşriyat, 1999), 75-80; Topaloğlu, *Kelam ilmine giriş*, 111; Ethem Ruhi Fırlalı, "İbn Sadru'd-din Eş-Şirvânî ve İtikâdî Mezhepler Hakkındaki Türkçe Risâlesi", in *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, XXIV, (1990): 272, 11/7/2015 [http://ktp.isam.org.tr/pdfdrgr/D00001/1981\\_C24/1981\\_c24\\_FIGLALIER.pdf](http://ktp.isam.org.tr/pdfdrgr/D00001/1981_C24/1981_c24_FIGLALIER.pdf) .

<sup>417</sup> The Chapter Al- Anbiya, 24.

<sup>418</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 86.

<sup>419</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 93.

As the third example of his second chapter, Nuh Efendi states to pray behind dead people is beneficial for them. The proof of it is the funeral prayer. If it were not beneficial, the funeral prayer would be insignificant and out of the religion.<sup>420</sup>

In the third chapter, the truth of faith (*hakika-ı imân*) is covered. Nuh Efendi begins with the definition of the *imân*. “The *imân* means absolute confirmation in dictionary.”<sup>421</sup> Then he narrates the definition of *imân* from some prominent scholars of Hanafi school like Abu Hanifa and Shams al-Aimma al-Sarahsî. As quoted from them, “the faith is the belief by the heart and the confirmation by the tongue”.<sup>422</sup> Then he concludes by stating that the belief by heart (*tasdik-i rükn*) is necessary, but the confirmation (*ikrâr-ı rükn*) is not.<sup>423</sup>

The fourth chapter is on the discussion among scholars about the increasing and decreasing of faith. Nuh Efendi quotes from Abu Hanifa and Mevlana Sadeddin that the faith neither increases nor decreases.<sup>424</sup> Then he explains that Abu Hanifa and his followers meant that the truth of faith (*hakikat-i iman*) neither increases nor decreases. Yet, according to Nuh Efendi, *eimme-i selase*<sup>425</sup> who claim that the faith can increase mean the increasing of the divine light (*nûr*) of the faith in the heart. Then, he concludes in this respect there is no doubt that faith increases with obedience and decreases with sins.<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>420</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 99. For the details and the whole chapter, see Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 86-102.

<sup>421</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 102.

<sup>422</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 103-104.

<sup>423</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 104.

<sup>424</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 107.

<sup>425</sup> The term refers Imam Shafi‘i, Imam Malik and Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbel.

<sup>426</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 108.

The fifth chapter covers the discussion among scholars about conditional declaration of faith. Nuh Efendi starts this chapter with two different points of view. Whereas Abu Hanifa states that it is not permissible (*câiz*) to say “if Allah wishes I am a believer (*mü'min*)” (*ene mümin inşâallah*), *eimme-i selâse* and their followers claim it is permissible.<sup>427</sup> He also gives the detail that some Hanafi scholars, such as ‘Umar al-Nasafî, also states that it is permissible, but not to say is better.<sup>428</sup> Because the word “if Allah wishes” (*inşâallah*) implicates a doubt on the faith of believers.

The sixth chapter is on the vitality and the way of reaching the knowledge of Allah (*ma'rifet-i Hudâ*). Nuh Efendi states that it is necessary (*vâcib*) to reach the ultimate knowledge of Allah. Yet, there is not a unity on its way. Ah al-sunnah and the Mu'tazila agreed that the true reasoning (*nazar-ı sahîh*) is the way to reach the knowledge of Allah, but they disputed on the quality of the true reasoning. The most of the Mu'tazila and some of the ahl al-sunnah believed the true reasoning is necessary for the soundness of the *Ma'rifet-i Hudâ*.<sup>429</sup> Yet, some of Ahl al-sunnah did not see it necessary for the soundness. It may be necessary for the perfection of it. Thus, abandoning of the true reasoning does not require error and sin.<sup>430</sup>

It is worthy of note here that Nuh Efendi has a bracket on Sufis (*taife-i sufiyye*). As well as there is not any topic on Sufis in Shahrastani's book, as being a Halwati sheikh, Nuh Efendi's remarkable point on the purification of the interior (*tasfiye-i batın*) is significant. He states that the purification of the interior is not enough to reach the truth of faith (*tahsîl-i akâid-i hakîka*). If seclusion (*halvet*) and ascetism (*riyâzet*) were enough, some of the Jews and Christians would also reach the true faith. Therefore, the assistance of true reasoning (*nazar-ı sahîh*) is necessary, too.<sup>431</sup>

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<sup>427</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 109. Also, Şahver Çelikoğlu, *İslâm Akâidi: İslâm İnanç Esasları* (İstanbul: Marifet Yayınları, 2012), 197.

<sup>428</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 110.

<sup>429</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 110.

<sup>430</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 111.

<sup>431</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 112.



In the seventh chapter, Nuh Efendi covers the discussion on the validity of the muqallid's<sup>432</sup> faith. He narrates that the belief of muqallid soundness (*sahih*), because otherwise all the lay people (*avam*) must be in hell (*umum-u avam ehl-i nar olmak lazım gelirdi ve Hz. Resulullah'ın ümmeti akall-i kalil olurdu. Halbuki haber-i sahihde vârid oldu ki Hz. Resulullah'ın etbâi cemii enbiyanın etbâundan ekserdir*).<sup>433</sup>

The obligatory nature of faith is covered in the eighth chapter. Nuh Efendi declares it is obligatory (*vâcib*) to believe in Allah. However, the way to believe in Him and His orders and prohibitions are various for different denominations. According to Ash'aris the religious obligations (*vâcib*) and prohibitions (*haram*) can not be known with reason. Yet, the good (*hüsn*) and the evil (*kubh*) might be known with mind. Thus the sharia is necessary. According to the Mu'tazila the reasoning is necessary. And the good and the evil of things certainly can be known through it. Hanafi/Maturidi scholars consider the reason as a means. They affirm that the good and the evil are known with reason. And the obligatory nature of faith also is known with it. Yet, the reason is not obligatory as Mu'tazila claims as well as it is not totally unnecessary as the Ash'ariyya claims.<sup>434</sup>

In the ninth chapter Nuh Efendi treats the relation between *islâm* and *îmân*. Nuh Efendi quotes from Abu Hanifa and gives firstly the definitions of *islâm* and *îmân*. *İslâm* is obedience to Allah and confirming His sharia. Albeit the meaning of *islâm* and *îmân* differs in dictionary, *îmân* without *islâm* is not possible. The one who believes in Allah obeys His sharia. Vice versa, *islâm* without *îmân* is not possible. Because *islam* requires the obedience. The obedience comes after the consent (*tasdîk*), and the confirmation (*ikrâr*). Nuh Efendi concludes with stating that most of the scholars accept this link between *islâm* and *îmân*.<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>432</sup> The muqallid is a Muslim whose faith (*îmân*) is not on reasoning completely.

<sup>433</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 115.

<sup>434</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 117.

<sup>435</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 118.

The last chapter covers the creed about Allah and His prophets some of which are obligatory (*vâcib*) to believe, some are impossible (*mümteni*) to believe and, some are possible (*câiz*) to believe. Nuh Efendi states this chapter (*fasl*) in seven positions (*maksad*).

*Maksad-ı evvel* is on the creed about Allah, which is obligatory to believe. Nuh Efendi says the attributes of Allah are as it follows: the Existence (*vücud*), the Beginningless Eternality (*kıdem*), the Endless Eternality (*bekâ*), His uniqueness from which is created (*muhalefetün lil-havadis*), His upholding Himself (*kıyam bi-nefsihi*), the Oneness (*vahdaniyet*), the Ability (*kudret*), the Will (*irade*), the Knowledge (*ilim*), the Hearing (*semi*), the Seeing (*basar*), and the Speech (*kelâm*).<sup>436</sup>

*Maksad-ı sâni* covers the creed about Allah which is impossible to believe. Nuh Efendi mentions the other attributes which Hanafi scholars covers as Alîm (that knows best), Kadîr (the most able), Mürîd (that wills), Hayy (that lives), Semi' (that hears), Basîr (that sees), and Mütellim (that talks). He states all attributes have been pre-existent (*kadîm*) and endless (*zevalden mahfuzlardır*). Further, His attributes are not created.<sup>437</sup>

Specifically, Nuh Efendi then states the creed about Allah, which is impossible to believe: “It is impossible (*mümteni*) for Allah not to know, because to know everything is necessary (*vâcib*) for Him. It is impossible to die, because His being alive is necessary for Him”.<sup>438</sup> Nuh Efendi also covers the other attributes in this method.

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<sup>436</sup> Existence: It refers the existence of Allah; Beginningless Eternality: It means that Allah is pre-existent; Endless Eternality: Allah is eternal and absolute; His upholding Himself: His existence is independent from anything; Ability: He affords everything; Will: He can do everything He wants as He wishes; Knowledge: There is nothing which He does not know; Hearing and seeing: He sees and hears everything and He does not need the air and the ears to hear as He does not need eyes and light to see; Speech: Allah speaks and He does not need tongue or letters to speak. For the help to translate, Abu ‘Abdillah Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Sanusi al-Husayni, “Al-‘Aqidah Al-Sanusiyyah”, trans. Christopher ‘Khalil’ Moore, 2005. <http://data.nur.nu/Kutub/English/Aqida-Sanusiyya-transl-eng.pdf> .

<sup>437</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 123.

<sup>438</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 124.

*Maksad-ı sâlis* treats the creed about Allah, which is possible to believe. Nuh Efendi explains we must know that it is possible for Allah to abandon all things, which are possible to occur.<sup>439</sup>

Nuh Efendi reminds the Mu‘tazila claim to reward the obedient servant and to punish sinful servant is obligatory to Allah. However, Ahl al-sunnah rejects to impose “obligation” on Him. Ahl al-sunnah challenges the Mu‘tazile by stating “[...] *O’nun (Allah’ın) üzerine bir nesne vâcib olaydı ol bir hakimin hükmüyle olurdu. Lakin Hudâ’nın üzerine bir hakimin hükmü cârî olmaz*”.<sup>440</sup>

*Maksad-ı râbi’* is on the creed about prophets some of which are obligatory to believe. Nuh Efendi declares that the truthfulness (*sıdk*), trustworthiness (*emanet*), and conveying the divine message (*tebliğ-i risalet*) are necessary for the Prophets.<sup>441</sup>

*Maksad-ı hâmis* covers the creed about prophets some of which are impossible to believe. As Nuh Efendi narrates, the lying (*kizb*), betrayal (*ihanet*)<sup>442</sup>, and concealing the divine message (*ketm-i tebliğ*)<sup>443</sup> are impossible for the Prophets, because truthfulness, trustworthiness, and conveying are obligatory to them.<sup>444</sup>

*Maksad-ı sâdis* treats the creed about prophets some of which are possible to believe. Nuh Efendi declares that human activities and behaviors (*a‘raz-ı beşeriyye*), which do not cause inadequacy in prophets’ high degree, are possible for them.<sup>445</sup> All the

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<sup>439</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 124.

<sup>440</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 125. It means “obligation” arises from a highest authority. However, there is no authority over Allah.

<sup>441</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 126. For the help to translate, al-Husayni, “Al-‘Aqidah Al-Sanusiyyah”.

<sup>442</sup> They never lie or rebel against Allah’s sharia.

<sup>443</sup> They never conceal something that Allah ordered them to narrate to the creation.

<sup>444</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 127.

<sup>445</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 127.

same, those activities and behaviors such as their sleeping, eating, and drinking do not harm their inner experiences. They sleep physically, but their hearths are awake.<sup>446</sup> There is wisdom (*hikmet*) behind their activities, which are like other humans. One of them is Allah's compassion (*rahmet*) to the people whose faith is weak (*zaif-ül i'tikad*). In the case where prophets do not have humanly activities, *zaif-ül i'tikad* could fall into error and attribute to them deity.<sup>447</sup>

*Maksad-ı sâbi'* is on the comprehensiveness of the word of Unity<sup>448</sup> (*kelime-i tevhid*). Nuh Efendi states to confirm the word "There is no god except Allah" (*Lâ ilahe illallah*) means only Allah is the worth of faith and worship. It comprises the whole faith in itself. The word "god" (*ilah*) means He is the absolute and independent existence and everything is dependent to Him. Similarly, "and the Muhammad is His messenger" (*ve Muhammedur Rasulullah*) comprises the articles about Allah and His Prophets some of which are obligatory to believe, some are impossible to believe and, some are possible to believe. The relation of the word "Prophet" (*Rasul*) to the word of "Allah" requires that Allah be singled out the prophethood of Hz. Muhammad.<sup>449</sup>

Then, Nuh Efendi gives notice to his audiences by stating "*Pes her 'akile lâzım oldur ki bu kelime-i şerifenin zikrini ve akâid-i dinden onun müştetil olduđu umûru istihzar eyleye. Vallahu alem.*"<sup>450</sup>

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<sup>446</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 128.

<sup>447</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 127.

<sup>448</sup> Lâ ilahe illallah Muhammedur Rasulullah.

<sup>449</sup> For details, see Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 128-131.

<sup>450</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 132. He means that it is necessary to know the Word of Tawhid and the things it comprises related to faith for all wise people.

#### 4.2.2. Chapters which Nuh b. Mustafa did not Cover

From Shahrastani's muqaddima, only chapter three and chapter four has been covered by Nuh Efendi. It is likely because the others have not contributed Nuh Efendi's aim to indoctrinate the true belief. In his first chapter Shahrastani addresses how the scholars categorize people and explains his own way of categorizing them according to their thoughts and sects they belong to".<sup>451</sup> Yet, Nuh Efendi did not need to explain it, possibly because his book anyway is the translation of Shahrastani's book.

Shahrastani's second chapter, which includes the criteria to categorize Islamic denominations, does not appear in Nuh Efendi's translation either. Similarly for the reason above, Nuh Efendi treated Shahrastani's book in terms of the content, which supports his aim to explain the articles of the Sunni faith. Hence, the second chapter, which covers the method of Shahrastani and ends with Shahrastani's words that he will behave all the sects from the same distant and treat them in an objective way<sup>452</sup> does not support Nuh Efendi's goals at all. In contrast to Shahrastani, Nuh Efendi's text shows biased and subjective style of writing as it is in the chapter of Zerwaniya (*Zürvâniyye*): "*Ve bundan gayrı nice muhmelat söylediler ki fil cümle **akldan behre-dâr olan onlar ile tefevüh eylemez. Ve Hak Teâla hazretlerinin celâl-i kibriyâsına marifet tahsil eden arifden onun gibi türrehât sadır olmaz. Ve derc-i kalbi ve leali-i iman ile memlu olan mümin ol asl **hurâfata kulak tutmaz** [...]***". As I referred in the features of his translation, Nuh Efendi's text contains lots of warnings and statements that prompt Muslims to avoid such innovations and heresies.

The fifth muqaddima of Shahrastani, which includes the criteria for his categorization of the sects and the definitions of the terms such as "religion and sharia", was only covered partly by Nuh Efendi. He does not include the method of calculation, but he gives the definitions of the terms.

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<sup>451</sup> Tan, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, 12.

<sup>452</sup> Tan, *Dinler ve Mezhepler Tarihi*, 16.

However, the third and fourth muqaddimas of Shahrastani's are treated by Nuh Efendi. The third one includes the emergence of the deviant sects, which, as Shahrastani stated, stemmed from the first doubt of the Satan on the issue of the prostration to Adam. This chapter is closely related to Nuh Efendi's translation of the *Book of religious and philosophical sects*. Then, the fourth muqaddima covers the doubts emerged specifically within the Islamic society and is related to Nuh Efendi's work either.

In addition to the uncovered muqaddimas of Shahrastani, as I mentioned in the chapter of philosophers, Nuh Efendi omitted many of philosophers who Shahrastani had covered. It seems to me that Nuh Efendi treated especially the philosophers who came up with the idea of wahdat or the significant ideas related to it.

Let us remember that Nuh Efendi had already stated he did some changes when it was necessary "*tebdil ve tagyîre muhtac olan mevâzî 'da ziyâde ve noksân ile tasarruf olundu*".<sup>453</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 4.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed competition between empires. Regarding this matter, “religious orthodoxies” emerged in both the Muslim and Christian realms.<sup>454</sup> The rivalry between the Ottomans and Habsburgs, as well as the Ottomans and Safavids, led empires to take some precautions. In the Ottoman case, for instance, in terms of religious precautions, these are seen in the expansion of religious manuals to indoctrinate the Sunni consciousness.<sup>455</sup> The increasing in Sunni consciousness of the 16th and 17th centuries was also related to “the empowerment of scholars and the growth of Islamic literacy” in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>456</sup>

In this scene of the seventeenth century, Kadızadelis and Sufi scholars and preachers had important roles in the process of Ottoman Sunnitization. They preached sermons and wrote manuals in accordance with their backgrounds. Nuh Efendi (1590-1660), who this thesis has studied, was one of the prominent Halwati Sufi scholars and preachers. He both gave sermons and wrote up significant books on the Islamic Sunni creed, which was combined with Sufism. His constructive translation of *el-Milel ve'n-Nihal* also served his aims to reveal the true belief for one who would like to choose it. Hence, this thesis have discovered that *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal* functioned the role of a religious manual that might had a crucial role in terms of the Ottoman Sunnitization, rather than being a mere translation.

The thesis also reached some other findings, which are worth determining. First, Nuh Efendi had a rich intellectual background besides his Hanafi and Halwati identity. His evaluations on the topics he covered reveal his erudition. Second, Nuh Efendi takes Hanafi-Maturidi’s position on the differences within Ahl al-Sunnah. However,

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<sup>454</sup> Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 14.

<sup>455</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *‘İlm-i Hāl* Meets Catechism”, 79.

<sup>456</sup> Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman”, 309.

he does not support any idea, including that of Abu Hanifa, blindfolded. As the thesis exemplifies, Nuh Efendi usually applies critical reasoning throughout his text.

Last, Nuh Efendi is very careful “not to excommunicate someone from Ahl al-Qibla”, which is one of the main principles of Ahl al-Sunnah. However, he explains the reason behind his excommunication of some of them. He states it is obligatory to excommunicate someone who rejects the necessities of the faith (*zarûriyyât-ı dîniyye*), such as to oppose the religious obligation of *salât* or *zekât*. However, one cannot be excommunicated if he opposes the topics of judicial opinion (*mesâil-i ictihâdiyye*), such as washing one third of the head during ritual ablution (*wudu*). Nuh Efendi adds some people from Ahl al-Sunnah did not accept the difference between *zarûriyyât-ı dîniyye* and *mesâil-i ictihâdiyye*, and they excommunicated people even in the topics of judicial opinion (*mesâil-i ictihâdiyye*).<sup>457</sup>

The thesis has already covered the excommunicated Islamic denominations in Chapter Four. Among many other examples, Nuh Efendi excommunicates the one who claims of divinity of Ali b. Abi Tâlib, the one who claims that prophethood was in fact the right of Ali, but it was given mistakenly to Muhammad (extremist Shia), the one who rejects the vision of Allah in after-life (*ru'yetullah*) (the Mu'tazila), and the one who excommunicates Uthman, Ali, Aise, Talha and Zubayr (the Khawarij). This position, which actually means the excommunication of Ahl al-Qibla, is not unique to Nuh Efendi. Especially the Hanafi and Shafii scholars have similar approach in despite of the well-known principles of Ahl al-Sunna about Ahl al-Qibla.

Before ending, I would specifically like to cite neither the centralization nor the Sunnitization were “state-led efforts to ensure religious orthodoxy” merely during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>458</sup> As Terzioğlu indicates:

In the early nineteenth century, similar calls would be heard once again and, in a new phase of centralization as well as Sunnitization, the Ottoman political authorities would begin to invest much more aggressively in primary education as well as religious indoctrination. Interestingly, some of the most *'ilm-i hâl* of the early modern era, among them those of Birgili and Üstüvani, also appeared in print for the

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<sup>457</sup> Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve Nihal*, 70-1.

<sup>458</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *'İlm-i Hâl* Meets Catechism”, 114.



first time during the latter period. In the future, it would be worth exploring more closely the continuities as well as discontinuities between the confessional policies of these two periods. Such a project could also be a fruitful way of rethinking the role of religion in the transformation of Ottoman state and society both before and after the “Westernizing” reforms of the nineteenth century.<sup>459</sup>

I would like to add that I strongly believe Nuh Efendi’s core religious aim might be concurrent and fed by the social status quo of the period, which this thesis covered. However, scholars are not just figures of the state. This gives a broader approach beyond seeing this picture merely as state-led efforts.

This study has contributed to Ottoman intellectual history through contextualization of Nuh Efendi’s life within the historical context he lived. Additionally, some mistakes of secondary sources concerning dates were brought out. Undoubtedly, there has also further research, which this thesis could not cover. First, because of the limited biographical information on Nuh Efendi’s, social network is blurred. Hopefully, studies on other Ottoman scholars or studies on *mecmuas* can give some clues on this issue in the future.<sup>460</sup> An alternative research can look for whether there were other translations in Ottoman, based on denominations or not and what kind of differences it contains in comparison to Nuh Efendi’s translation.<sup>461</sup> The last can be the comparison of Nuh b. Mustafa’s translation with the contemporary Iranian translation of *El-Milel ve ’n-Nihal*.<sup>462</sup>

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<sup>459</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *’İlm-i Hāl* Meets Catechism”, 114.

<sup>460</sup> In the *mecmûa* of a well-known Halwati dervish, Niyâzî-i Mısırî (1618-1693), I hoped to find Nuh Efendi’s name. However, there was no information regarding him. It may be because Niyâzî-i Mısırî was in Egypt only for three years. Derin Terzioğlu, “Mecmû’a-I Şeyh Mısırî: On Yedinci yüzyıl ortalarında Anadolu’da bir derviş sülûkunu tamamlarken neler okuyup yazdı?” in *Eski Türk Edebiyatı Çalışmaları VII- Mecmûa: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkambarı*, (Turkuaz, 2012), 291-321.

<sup>461</sup> It is not possible to claim that Nuh Efendi’s translation was the only one in the field. However, at least we know that, in the thesis which covers the books on history of denominations in Süleymaniye library Nuh Efendi’s translation was the only one. There are some booklets on Rafizis from 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, but they were consisting of few pages and were not covering other denominations. There are also some, which covers denominations in a very concise way which contain few pages. Mehmet Toprak, “Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi’ndeki mezhepler tarihi ile ilgili eserlerin tanıtımı,” (master’s thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1992)

<sup>462</sup> Terzioğlu, “Where *’İlm-i Hāl* Meets Catechism”, 109.

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