

Mehmed Akif Ersoy (130664)

Mustafa Sabri Efenali (132249)

Zahid Kevseri (230024)

The Late Ottomans' Impact on Modern
Islamic Thought

26 Ekim 2023

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

SUMMARY OF AKIF, SABRI, AND KEVSERI'S WORK

This study has taken three Ottoman Turkish Muslim thinkers on the cusp of critical debates in Islamic thought in the early to mid-twentieth century and analysed them in terms of the changing functions of the 'alim and the intellectual, the transformation from shari'a state to nation-state, and the gathering of public activities – political, economic, intellectual, social, etc. – into national domains of operation. It traced their engagement with those questions from their experience of the Ottoman state's final years to their exile in Egypt during the Turkish republic's radical phase. These 'ulama'-intellectuals wrestled with both external and internal challenges of destabilisation of the Islamic tradition and re-ordering of its institutions. Mehmed Akif seized the opportunity presented by the end of Hamidian restrictions on public debate to bring the modernist thought of Muḥammad 'Abduh into the Ottoman Turkish sphere and, like Iqbāl, craft a contemporary Islamic discourse comparable to Enlightenment humanistic thought in an Ottoman Turkish language at once national and Islamic. Akif's national-linguistic focus limited his influence among Egyptian peers but helped establish him as the Late Ottoman intellectual of choice for the Islamic movement which gathered force in Turkish political and social life in the later twentieth century. Ahmed Muhiddin provided an early recognition of Akif's Turkish Islamism in his study of the Late Ottoman *Kulturbewegung*, describing his thought as 'a microcosm of the new Turkish world'¹ and noting the intersections between nationalist and religious

¹ Muhiddin, *Modern Türklükte*, 58.

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reform thinking (return to Ur-Islam, simplified shari'a, free *ijtihād*),² and biographer Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, who served as a government minister in the 1940s, was similarly prescient in noting social and educational parallels between Akif and Ziya Gökalp – their origins on the imperial periphery, losing fathers at a young age, a desire to merge Islamic and Western knowledge – that help explain the evolution of Akif as an alternative intellectual representative of modern Turkey.³ Critical here was Akif's act of resistance – his exile in Egypt and refusal to hand over a superlative Turkish Qur'an – which set him apart from most others in the Islamic reform fold, who were co-opted into working with the secular nationalist regime.⁴

The divergence in thinking between Akif and Gökalp is, however, instructive about the trajectory of the republic, even if some of its reforms would have been disconcerting to Gökalp too had he lived to see them.⁵ While Akif read Ibn 'Arabī and his theory of divine archetypes in thought of encouraging human agency, Gökalp first tried to establish Sufi thought as an equal to European philosophical idealism (what he called *mefkûrecilik*), with the archetypes re-fashioned as the elements (*ideals/mefkûreler*) of reality that human perception can never grasp,⁶ and then fashioned it as integral to Turkish nationalism in his major work *Türkçülüğün Esasları*

² *Ibid.*, 114–17.

³ There appears to have been a mutual respect – Gökalp said of Akif, 'don't compare him to this or that, he's something completely different' – but Akif apparently rejected an effort by Talat Paşa to effect a reconciliation between them, saying: 'This dispute didn't emerge from personal issues that we could quickly fix by meeting' (Erişirgil, *İslamca bir Şairin Romani*, 199–201). See Erişirgil's Gökalp biography, *Bir Fikir Adamının Romani: Ziya Gökalp* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1984), 71–82.

⁴ For example, Şemsettin Günaltay, a colleague of Akif who published *Zulmetten Nura* in 1913, worked on a commission formed in 1928 that recommended Turkicising prayer ritual; Şerif Mardin, *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey: The Case of Bediüzzaman 'Said Nursi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 144. *Zulmetten Nura*, for which Akif wrote a preface of praise, extols *ijtihād* and condemns fatalism.

⁵ On Gökalp as the prime influence on Kemalism: Taha Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876–1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), and on Mustafa Kemal's influences Hanioglu, *Atatürk*, 129–59. See also Alp Eren Topal, 'Against Influence: Ziya Gökalp in Context and Tradition,' *Journal of Islamic Studies* 28:3 (2017): 283–310; Markus Dressler, 'Rereading Ziya Gökalp: Secularism and Reform of the Islamic State in the Late Young Turk Period,' *IJMES*, 47/3 (2015): 511–31; and M. Sait Özervarlı, 'Reading Durkheim through Ottoman Lenses: Interpretations of Customary Law, Religion, and Society by the School of Gökalp,' *Modern Intellectual History*, 14/2 (2017): 393–419.

⁶ Tevfik Sedar (pseudonym), 'Muhyiddin-i Arabi', *Genç Kalemler*, 2/4 (1912), 61–4, in *Makaleler II*, Ziya Gökalp (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981), 14–20.

Andrew Hammond, Late Ottoman origins of modern Islamic thought: Turkish and Egyptian thinkers on the disruption of Islamic knowledge, Cambridge University Press, 2023.
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Appendix 2: Chronological List of Kevseri's Articles (by Original Publication Date)

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Cited in this study:

- 'Hawla Kalima Tu'za ilā al-Suyūfī Ghalāṭan [On Words Falsely Attributed to al-Suyūfī], *al-Islām*, 5/32, 9 October 1936 (*Maqālāt*, 307–11).
- 'Al-Hijra al-Nabawiyya [The Prophet's Hijra], *al-Islām*, 6/1, 19 March 1937 (*Maqālāt*, 383–6).
- 'Al-Lāmadhhabiyya Qanṭarat al-Lādīniyya [Anti-Madhhabism, the Bridge to Secularism], *al-Islām*, 6/40, 24 December 1937 (*Maqālāt*, 129–36).
- 'Taḥdhīr al-Umma min Du'āt al-Wathaniyya [Warning the Nation about Advocates of Paganism], *al-Islām*, 8/19, 3 June 1939 (*Maqālāt*, 277–82).
- 'Al-Azhar Qubayla 'Īdihī al-Alfī [al-Azhar on the Eve of its 1000th anniversary], *al-Islām*, 10/30, 22 August 1941 (*Maqālāt*, 478–9).
- 'Al-Risāla wa-l-Azhar [*al-Risāla* and al-Azhar], *al-Islām*, 11/18, 22 May 1942 (*Maqālāt*, 317–21).
- 'Mansha' Ilzām Ahl al-Dhimma bi-Shu'ār Khāṣṣ wa-Ḥukm Talabbus al-Muslim bihi 'Ind al-Fuqahā' [Origin of Requiring Protected Subjects to Self-Identify Through Attire and the Jurists' Ruling on Muslims Wearing the Same], *al-Islām*, 11/23, 26 June 1942 (*Maqālāt*, 219–27).
- 'Muḥādatha Qadīma Hawla al-Waqf al-Ahlī [An Old Conversation about Family Waqfs], *al-Islām*, 11/29, 7 August 1942 (*Maqālāt*, 190–6).

- 'Maḥzar Jadīd fī al-Azhar al-Ḥadīth - 2: al-'Aqīda al-Mutawāriṭha wa-l-Fiqh al-Mutawāriṭh [A New Look for the Modern al-Azhar - 2: Inherited Belief and Inherited Law], *al-Islām*, 11/41, 6 November 1942 (*Maqālāt*, 247–9).
- 'Maḥzar Jadīd fī al-Azhar al-Ḥadīth - 6: Naẓar al-Mar' ilā Shar' Allāh Mi'yāru Dīnihi [A New Look for the Modern al-Azhar - 6: One's View of God's Law is the Measure of One's Religion], *al-Islām*, 11/46, 12 November 1942 (*Maqālāt*, 233–8).
- 'Thyā' 'Ulūm al-Sunna fī al-Azhar [Reviving Sunni Sciences in al-Azhar], *al-Sharq al-'Arabī*, 1/43, 16 May 1947 (*Maqālāt*, 481–90).
- 'Kashf al-Ru'ūs wa-Libs al-Na'al fī al-Ṣalāh [Uncovering the Head and Wearing Sandals During Prayer], *al-Sharq al-'Arabī*, 1/45, 30 May 1947 (*Maqālāt*, 165–80).

Other:

- 'Al-Ishfāq 'alā Aḥkām al-Ṭalāq [Concern about the Divorce Laws], *al-Islām*, 5/32, 30 October 1936 (not in *Maqālāt*).
- 'Shar' Allāh fī Naẓar al-Muslimīn [God's Law in the View of Muslims], *al-Islām*, 6/25, 3 September 1937 (*Maqālāt*, 96–101).
- 'Mūšānnafāt al-Imām Abi Ja'far al-Ṭaḥāwī [The Compilations of Imām Abū Ja'far al-Ṭaḥāwī], *al-Islām*, 6/34, 5 November 1937 (*Maqālāt*, 408–13).
- 'Al-Dīn al-Islāmī wa-l-Ta'aṣṣub al-Madhhabī [Islam and Partisanship re the Legal Schools], *al-Islām*, 6/40, 24 December 1937 (not in *Maqālāt*).
- 'Hawla al-Lāmadhhabiyya wa-Du'ātihā fī Miṣr [On Anti-Madhhabism and its Advocates in Egypt], *al-Islām*, 6/42, 7 January 1938 (not in *Maqālāt*).
- 'Al-Hijra al-Nabawiyya, Fataḥat 'Ahd Jadīd Fayyāq [The Prophet's Hijra Opened a Bounteous New Era], *al-Islām*, 7/3, 18 March 1938 (*Maqālāt*, 376–8).
- 'Tarjamat Kātib Chalabī, Mu'allif *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmī Kutub wa-l-Funūn* [Kātib Çelebi, Author of The Removal of Doubt over the Names of Books and the Arts], *al-Islām*, 7/4, 25 March 1938 (*Maqālāt*, 414–18).
- 'Mawlid Khātim Rusul Allāh, 'alayhi Azkā al-Ṣalawāt [The Birthday of the Seal of the Prophets, May the Purest of Prayers Be Upon Him], *al-Islām*, 7/11, 13 May 1938 (not in *Maqālāt*).

citing only the Turkish republican experience as an example of the tyranny of modernity unchecked by the moral edifice of shari'a. His alarm about the modern condition that arose in the West but spread globally as a universal value is expressed independently.

KEVSERI'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE ISLAMIC TRADITION

Rather than Sabri's old knowledge, Kevseri talks of a living tradition across the Islamic sciences, and this difference in focus reflects the importance he attaches to the notion of a heterogenous social order with equal room for the prescriptions of the law, explorations in *kalām*, intellection of Sufi metaphysics, popular practices, etc. Sabri is first and foremost a *mutakallim* defending largely unchanging statements of belief; there were limits to his acceptance of Sufi metaphysics, whereas Kevseri, as his early work *Irghām al-Murīd* demonstrates, was very much a product of Ottoman Sufi intellectual culture. This highlights an important point about how Kevseri understood Islamic faith as a tradition transmitted through scholars as much as it was truth preserved in foundational texts: thus, his extensive interest in the biographical genre of *ṭabaqāt* literature and the deft intertextuality in his method of constant citation of previous writers' work.¹¹⁶ In Kevseri's description of the threat at hand he continually talks of the Islamic legal and theological structure as a living tradition. This is what he appears to be expressing with his extensive use of the descriptor *mutawārith*, whether it be *al-fiqh al-mutawārith*, *al-ḥukm al-mutawārith*, *al-ahkām al-mutawāritha*, *al-'aqida al-mutawāritha*, etc.¹¹⁷ Kevseri's use of this term precedes the spread of its cognate *turāth* amongst a later generation of Muslim intellectuals such as Hasan Hanafi (1935–2021), Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Jābirī (1936–2010), Abdallah Laroui (al-'Arawī, b. 1933), Mohammed Arkoun (Arkūn, 1928–2010), and Naṣr Abū Zayd (1943–2010) who applied the 'hermeneutics of the Western

¹¹⁶ On this point see Norman Calder, 'The Limits of Islamic Orthodoxy,' in *Intellectual Traditions in Islam*, ed. Farhad Daftary (London: I. B. Tauris/Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2000), 78–9.

¹¹⁷ See al-Kawtharī, 'Ḥadīth Ramaḍān: al-Tajdīd,' *Maqālāt*, 115; 'Ḥawla Fikrat al-Taqrīb bayn al-Madhāhib,' *Maqālāt*, 124; 'Ḥawla al-Taḍḥīya 'an al-Awḷād: Islāh wa-Idāh,' *Maqālāt*, 218; 'Mansha' Ahl al-Dhimma bi-Shu'ar Khāṣṣ wa-Ḥukm Talabbus al-Muslim bihi 'Ind al-Fuqahā,' *Maqālāt*, 221, 223; 'Nazar al-Mar' ilā Shar' Allāh Mi'yāru Dīnīhi,' *Maqālāt*, 234; 'al-'Aqida al-Mutawāritha wa-l-Fiqh al-Mutawārith,' *Maqālāt*, 247–49; 'Inkār Nuzūl 'Isā wa-Iqrār 'Aqīdat al-Tajīm,' *Maqālāt*, 261; *al-Tarḥīb bi-Naqd al-Khaṭīb*, in al-Kawtharī, *Ta'nīb al-Khaṭīb*, 378.

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academe to critique the objectified tradition from the outside, such that they came to be called the *turāthiyyūn*.¹¹⁸ In Kevseri's occasional use of *turāth* he intends a corpus of what he understands to be orthodox beliefs and practices (*sunna*) under assault from an array of disruptive sects revived from the past or innovated in the present.¹¹⁹ For Kevseri the basic principles of shari'a stood as a regulating base-line for the governed and the governing.¹²⁰ He argued at length against the *maṣlaḥa* and 'urf advocated by modernist reformers and for *fuqahā*' oversight of parliamentary legislators dealing in positive law (*qawānīn waq'iyya*).¹²¹ But he was at pains to stress the fallibility of *mujtahids*¹²² and the flexibility of legal reasoning within the shari'a system. Kevseri outlined a social, moral, and political responsibility that the religious class have to the tradition they represent and that produced them, such that they should neither 'rigidly hold to the past nor renounce it to please the atheists' (*al-jumūd 'alā kull qadīm wa-lā al-juhūd musāyaratan li-l-mulḥidīn*).¹²³ For Muḥammad Rajab Al-Bayyūmī (d. 2011), the editor of *Muqaddimāt al-Kawtharī*, this made Kevseri the true 'guardian of the Islamic tradition' (*amīn al-turāth al-islāmī*).¹²⁴ Kevseri feared not only that this tradition was losing its complexity but the truth claims of those who appeared to be winning in the battle to define it.¹²⁵

It would be an exaggeration to understand Kevseri as the scholar who steps outside the tradition in the manner of al-Jābirī and Arkoun while remaining a member of its elite corps of interpreters. However, Kevseri's approach can be compared to the understanding of an Islamic discursive

¹¹⁸ See Armando Salvatore, *Islam and the Political Discourse of Modernity* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1997), 219–41, and Carool Kersten, *Cosmopolitans and Heretics: New Muslim Intellectuals and the Study of Islam* (London: Hurst, 2011).

¹¹⁹ Al-Kawtharī, 'Al-Mawlid al-Nabawī wa-l-Da'wā al-Nabawīyya,' *Maqālāt*, 368.

¹²⁰ See his example of Aleppan Seljuq ruler Nūr al-Dīn Zengī's (d. 1174) insistence on adhering to judicial process in dealing with brigandage; al-Kawtharī, 'Nazar al-Mar' ilā Shar' Allāh Mi'yāru Dīnīhi,' *Maqālāt*, 236.

¹²¹ Al-Kawtharī, 'Min Anbā' al-'Ilm wa-l-'Ulamā,' *Maqālāt*, 456.

¹²² Al-Kawtharī, *Ta'nīb al-Khaṭīb*, 12; al-Kawtharī, *al-Tarḥīb bi-Naqd al-Ta'nīb*, 392; al-Kawtharī, *Ṣafāt al-Burḥān*, 49; al-Kawtharī, 'Min Anbā' al-'Ilm wa-l-'Ulamā,' *Maqālāt*, 462.

¹²³ Al-Kawtharī, 'Min Anbā' al-'Ilm wa-l-'Ulamā,' *Maqālāt*, 455.

¹²⁴ Al-Bayyūmī, *Muqaddimāt al-Kawtharī*, 13.

¹²⁵ See Pieter Coppens' discussion of modernity and the end of polyvalence in Islamic intellectual culture; Coppens, 'Did Modernity End Polyvalence? Some Observations on Tolerance for Ambiguity in Sunni Tafsīr,' *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 23/1 (2021): 36–70; and Thomas Bauer (trans. Tricia Tunstall), *A Culture of Ambiguity: An Alternative History of Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021).

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The title is a reference to Qur'an 2:3's 'alladhīna yu'minūn bi-l-ghayb', but al-Bannā initially proposed *al-Qawl al-Faṣl bayn Imānayn: Imān Alladhīna Yu'minūn bi-l-Ghayb wa-Imān Alladhīna Lā Yu'minūn* (The Definitive Word on the Faith of Those Who Believe in the Unseen and the Faith of Those Who Don't) and agreed to pay for a large batch of copies in advance to cover printing costs. Sabri was anguished over the implication in al-Bannā's title that it was still possible to talk of the modernists as possessing faith (*īmān*), convinced that their empirical turn placed them outside traditional boundaries, so he altered it accordingly¹¹³ – an indication of a radicalism he developed in Egypt that will be examined in Chapter 5. Sabri became an admirer of Sayyid Quṭb (1906–66) even before the transformation in Quṭb's thinking in the late 1940s, and his discussion in *Mawqif al-'Aql* of the fate of the Muslim's *īmān* in the post-shari'a world is strikingly reminiscent of ideas that Quṭb was to elaborate.

ZAHID KEVSERI: A BIOGRAPHY

While Sabri's colleague Zahid Kevseri shared his concern about the infiltration of European positivist and materialist trends through the Islamic modernism movement, he was more specifically focussed on what he discerned as disruptive trends rippling within the Islamic tradition. Sabri committed himself to the political sphere from an early stage, but in Istanbul and in exile Kevseri devoted his energies to forming a counter-discourse to the movement staking a claim to the Salafi nomenclature and its assault on the predominant juridical and theological culture. Kevseri was perhaps better placed than Sabri to engage in this wider critique because of his thorough grounding in the Sufi tradition and Ḥanafī law, theology, and hadith method, since the main targets of the Salafis in their assault on what has been called late Sunni traditionalism were Sufism and Ḥanafism.¹¹⁴

Kevseri was born on 28 Shawwāl 1296 (16 September 1879) near the town of Düzce in northwest Anatolia in the village of Hacı Hasan.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Ibid., 442–3. Kurucu wrote the text out in *riqā'* script for the typesetter because Sabri's handwriting was unclear and Cenkçiler wrote out *Mawqif al-'Aql*; Düzdağ, *Hatıralar*, 1:309–10.

¹¹⁴ Jonathan Brown, *Hadith: Muḥammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2009), 262–4. See also Ahmad Khan, 'Islamic Tradition in an Age of Print: Editing, Printing and Publishing the Classical Heritage,' in *Reclaiming Islamic Tradition: Modern Interpretations of the Classical Heritage*, ed. Elisabeth Kendall and Ahmad Khan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 52–99.

¹¹⁵ The republic renamed the village Çalıcuma.

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Andrew Hammond, *Late Ottoman origins of modern Islamic thought: Turkish and Egyptian thinkers on the disruption of Islamic knowledge*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

The village was named after his father Hasan Hilmi Efendi (1831–1926) who established a school there after arriving as a refugee from the Ottoman sancak of Şapsiğ in the Adyghe region of the northern Caucasus during the mass killings and expulsion of Russia's invasion in 1864.¹¹⁶ Kevseri's family appear to have been speakers of West Circassian Adyghe, though the autobiographical and biographical information about him has little to say of his mother. His Circassian origin seems to have formed an important if underexamined part of his self-identity in that he spoke the language and went out of his way to help Circassians in Egypt.¹¹⁷ Like Akif's father, Kevseri's was an 'ālim immersed in Sufism but he actively encouraged Kevseri in Sufi interests. Kevseri kept to traditional languages and knowledge systems (Arabic, Persian, Islamic sciences), contrary to Akif's embrace of French literature, leaving a detailed map of his educational profile through his books *Irgḥām al-Murīd* (Training the Sufi Disciple, 1910)¹¹⁸ and *al-Tahrīr al-Wajīz fīmā Yabtaghihi al-Mustajīz* (Brief Description for Those Seeking an *Ijāza*, 1941). The latter was written as a prepared index of his education that would save him from writing out detailed teaching certificates (*ijāza*) by hand for the many students coming to study with him;¹¹⁹ it would also prevent any false claims regarding those he taught or

¹¹⁶ Kevseri told a student visiting Cairo around 1949 that the name Kevseri comes from a mispronunciation of the family's clan name Guser when written in the Ottoman Arabic script; see Muzaffer Özcanoglu, 'M. Zâhid el-Kevserî ile Yaşadığım Kırık Anılarım,' in *Uluslararası Düzceli M. Zâhid Kevserî Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Düzce/Sakarya: Sakarya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi/Düzce Belediye Başkanlığı, 2007), 756. Al-Kawtharī, by which he is known in Arabic, was an Arabisation he encouraged for its link to al-Kawthar, the Qur'anic verse referring to a river in paradise. The name appears with the letter ك instead of ق in his 1910 book *Irgḥām al-Murīd* (Cairo: al-Azhariyya, 2000), 79, 87. For this reason I have preferred Kevseri over the Arabised al-Kawtharī except when referencing his Arabic works in footnotes.

¹¹⁷ His student Ali Ulvi Kurucu says Kevseri developed a relationship with Circassian royal chamberlain Ismā'il Taymūr Pāshā in order to help Circassians; Düzdağ, *Hatıralar*, 2: 181. His main biographer Ahmad Khayrī says Kevseri spoke fluent Circassian; Ahmad Khayrī, *al-Imām al-Kawtharī*, in al-Kawtharī, *Maqālāt al-Kawtharī* (Cairo: Al-Tawfikia Bookshop, 2000), 504. His knowledge was enough for him to suggest that the Mamluk dynasty in Egypt was named Burjī not in reference to Cairo's citadel towers but to their Circassian clan of origin; al-Kawtharī, *Muqaddimāt al-Imām al-Kawtharī* (Damascus: Dār al-Thurayyā, 1997), 534.

¹¹⁸ One of Kevseri's few works translated into Turkish; Vehbi Şahinalp and M. Zahir Kalfagil, *Altın Sılsile* (1983).

¹¹⁹ 'Abd al-Fattāh Abū Ghudda, preface to al-Kawtharī, *al-Tahrīr al-Wajīz* (Aleppo: al-Marbū'ar al-Islāmiyya, 1992), 1; cited in Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh Al Rashīd, 'al-Imām al-Kawtharī wa-Ishāmātuhi fi 'Ilm al-Riwāya wa-l-Isnād,' in *Uluslararası Düzceli M. Zâhid Kevserî*, 121–2.

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