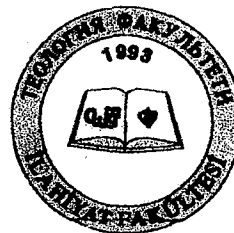


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**ТЕОЛОГИЯ
ФАКУЛЬТЕТИНИН
ИЛИМИЙ ЖУРНАЛЫ**

**İLÂNİYAT FAKÜLTESİ
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**Life and Mystical Views of Abu Bakr Muhammed Ibn Abu Ishak
Ibn Ya'qub al-Bukhari al-Kalabadhi (died 380/990)¹**

Ош Мамлекеттик
Университети
ТЕОЛОГИЯ
ФАКУЛЬТЕТИНИН ИЛИМИЙ
ЖУРНАЛЫ
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Vahit GOKTAS²

Özet

Tasavvufun klasik döneminin en önemli isimlerinden biri ve sistemin kurucularından kabul edilen Kelâbâzî, basit bir zühd hareketi olmaktan çıkıp, sistemleşme yoluna giren tasavvufun bu merhaledeki önemli şahsiyetlerindedir. O, Tasavvufun kavramlarının da ilk oluşturucularındandır. Kelâbâzî, İslam düşüncesinin farklı kanallar biçiminde gelişmeye başladığı hicri IV. asırda; ilmî hareketliliğin fazla olduğu Buhara bölgesinde yaşamış önemli bir mütefekkir, kalamcı, muhaddis ve mutasavvıftır. IV. asır sadece tasavvufun değil diğer İslâmî ilimlerin de kurulup geliştiği dönemdir. Bu döneme ait çalışmalar daha sonra ilmi disiplinlerin hangi temeller üzerine oturduğunu göstermesi açısından önemlidir. Bu çalışmada Kelâbâzî'nin hayatı, eserleri, fikrî kaynakları; eserlerinden ve hayat tarzından hareketle çeşitli tasavvufî kavramlara yaklaşımını ve bu kavramlara yüklediği anlamları ele alıp günümüz insanının anlam arayışına nasıl bir katkı sağlayabileceğini ortaya koymaya çalıştık. Hayatı hakkındaki malzemenin yetersizliği sebebiyle burada somut bilgilerden ziyade kurgulama yöntemiyle sonuca ulaşmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu çalışmada Kelâbâzî örneğinde, ilk dönemde tasavvufî hayat yani Tasavvuf'un doğuş dönemi, din ve kültür hayatı da ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Kelâbâzî eserlerinde terimleri olabildiğince dini esaslar ışığı altında incelemiş, bunun dışındaki anlamlara pek yer vermemiştir. Kelâbâzî Tasavvufu Sünni esaslara dayandırma çabası içerisinde olmuştur. Kelâbâzî fikirlerini açıklarken ayet ve hadislere dayandırmaya titizlik göstermiştir. Bunun yanında devrinden önce ve devrinde yaşamış sûfilerin rivayetlerini fazlaca kullanmış, savunmuş olduğu fikre ve açıkladığı kavrama şiirlerden istişhadda bulunmuştur. Kelâbâzî'nin tasavvufunda felsefi etkiler yok gibidir.

¹ This article is revised version of the study entitled "Kalabazi and His Mystical Views" which was published in EKEV Akademik Review, year 12, number 36, summer 2008, pp. 87-106.

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ТЕОЛОГИЯ ФАКУЛЬТЕТИНИН ИЛИМИЙ ЖУРНАЛЫ

this reason that he authored the book titled "*Al-Ta'arruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Sufi*" (Book of Enquiry as to the Religion of the Sufis) for the purpose of understanding and explaining tasawwuf and Sufis in a period when those of them who were born in early 4th century were at the target of strong criticism in an environment of controversy that started with Junayd al-Baghdadi (died 297/909) and climaxed with Mansur al-Hallaj (died 309/921).

Kalabadhi worked in the areas of fiqh, hadith, theology and tasawwuf, which is strongly reflected onto his works. The tradition of using verse for explaining religious and scholarly matters dates back to early periods of tasawwuf. Kalabadhi often resorted to verse to emphasize his point. Mostly belonging to his predecessors, these poems include his own work as well. This shows that Kalabadhi's repertoire of poetry is rich. Therefore, one would readily see that he is a man of letters as much as of other disciplines.⁶ It is not a surprise to us that Kalabadhi is such a polymath, since this was the case with most Sufis of the period. The Sufi has to strictly observe Qur'an and hadith. A person who is ascribed the title of scholar is a person who has excelled in many areas of study, and puts into practice all that he has studied. So a scholar would be a person who does not only know, but also act in line with his knowledge. Having lived in a period of advanced studies in Bukhara, which was one of the prominent center of learning, our author travelled to distant lands to seek knowledge as a result of which he became accomplished not only in religious but also scientific studies. Especially, it is known that he took interest in mathematics, and that he was very knowledgeable about numbers and made use of Muhammed b. Musa's book titled "*Kitab al-Jabr*."

Muslim scholars were very vigilant about foreign elements that attempted to penetrate into Islam, which they voiced in their works. The battle against external influences was fought more effectively in the field of tasawwuf. Sufis fought internal *mustaswifah* and other external perils alike. The main objective of kalam is to defend Islam against internal and external attacks aimed at it. Although he was a Sufi, Kalabadhi included in his work many matters about creed. Due to his meticulous approach to the coexistence of *shariah* and tasawwuf, Kalabadhi mentioned matters of kalam in his works. It is noteworthy that the

M. Fuat, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schriftms*, Leiden 1967, v. I, p.668; Uludag, Suleyman, *Early Period of Tasawwuf*, Istanbul 1992, p.12.

⁶ Fikret Karapinar, *Verification and Licensing of the First Eighty Leaves of Maan al-Ahbar of Abu Bakr Muhammed Ibn Abu Ishak Ibrahim Ibn Ya'qub Ibn Yusuf Ibn Kasir Ibn Hatim Ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Kalabadhi (died 380/990)*, Seljuk University Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished Masters Thesis, Konya 1999, p.65.

⁷ Bilal Saklan, *Abu Bakr Muhammed al-Kalabadhi and Maan al-Ahbar*, Unpublished Work, Konya 1991, p.9.

tasawwuf that Kalabadhi presents in his works does not include *mawzu* and Israelite hadiths. In this context, the mystical understanding of the author is in line with Qur'an and the verbal tradition (hadith). It is therefore that he was at times appraised by the Salafites.⁸

Being a Hanefite faqih, Kalabadhi's mystical understanding is rational like that of Muhasibi, Abu Talib al-Makki (died 386/996), Kushayri (died 465/1073), Al-Sarradj (died 378/988), Hujviri (died 470/1077) and Ghazali, who attach an equal level of importance to reason and interest, word and meaning, and the visible and the invisible.⁹

Having been instructed by eminent scholars of his time, and excelled in all areas, Kalabadhi is a scholar who was capable of addressing and clarifying many problems of creed and kalam as he has an arsenal of knowledge that is capable of addressing the needs of his time. Writing an introduction for Mustemli's commentary of *Ta'arruf*, Muhammed Rusen quotes the following from *Fawa'id al-Bahriya*: "Muhammed b. Ishak Abu Bakr al-Bukhari al-Kalabadhi tafaqqaha 'ala al-Sheikh Muhammed b. al-Fadl wa kane imaman usuliyyan wa lahu Kitab al-Ta'arruf jama'a fihî aqwala ashabina fi al-Tawhid."¹⁰

Ismail Hakki Izmirli (1869/1946) explains Kalabadhi's attitude on *kalam* and *salaf* as follows: "In the context of creation and *takwin* in his *Ta'arruf*, Kalabadhi agrees with salaf imams, rejecting Ash'aris, and therefore the Qullabiyah. And since he presents this view as the opinion of the Sufis, self-knowing Sufis reject the Ash'ariyah, and therefore the Qullabiyah."¹¹

Yusuf al-Hamadani (died 535/1140), who played an important role in the shaping of the Naqshbandiyya order, also evaluated Kalabadhi and expressed his value.¹² The one work in which Kalabadhi's influence is most apparent is *Fasl al-Hitab* by Muhammed Parsa (died 822/1419), one of the eminent figures of the Naqshbandi chain. We believe that the fact that they lived in the same geographical area had something to do with this.¹³

⁸ First part of Al-Kalabadhi's work in which he systemized his mystical understanding; in that part of his work *Ta'arruf* which is related to creeds (*akaid*), he abstains from resorting to ratiō and logic.

⁹ Saklan, *Ma'ani*, p.14; Uludag, *Early Period of Tasawwuf*, p.14.

¹⁰ Muhammed Bukhari Mustemli, *Sharh al-Ta'arruf li-Madhab Ahl al-Sufi*, v. I-IV, edited by Muhammed Rusen (*Intisarāt al-Asatir*) Tehran 1363, v. I, p.4. This could be translated as follows: Being educated by Sheikh Muhammed b. al-Fadl in the area of fiqh, Muhammed b. Ishak Ebu Bakr al-Bukhari al-Kalabadhi was an imam and scholar of *usul*. He authored a book titled *Ta'arruf* in which he lists sayings on *tawhid*.

¹¹ Izmirli Ismail Hakki, *New Scholarly Kalam*, Ankara 1981, p.281.

¹² Ma'ani'l-ahbar, Topkapi Palace M. Ahmed Library Copy No. 538, see Saklan, *Ma'ani*, p.79.

¹³ Hacı Muhammed Parsa, *Fasl al-Hitab: An Introduction to Tawhid*, transl. Ali Husrevoglu, Erkam Publications, Istanbul 1988, p.5, 99, 496; Parsa's (died 822/1419) following words about the author

So Kalabadhi has been given his rightful place in history as a Sufi and scholar who not only influenced the religious and mystical life of his time, but also paved the way for a genuine understanding of tasawwuf among Sufis to come, and even made important contributions in laying the foundation and ensuring the survival to day of a sound tradition of tasawwuf in terms of creeds, deeds and moral values. The founding fathers of systems are also the first makers of concepts. With Kalabadhi, Sufi concepts have settled. Vagueness of some concepts, which was common in Sufi texts that preceded him, and especially in those of Muhasibi, is not a problem one would find in Kalabadhi.

HIS WORKS

1. Ta'arruf

Kalabadhi's most famous work is "*Al-Ta'arruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Sufi*". This work is regarded as one of the most important classics of tasawwuf, which is voiced by the saying, *لولا التعرف لما عرف التصوف*, which could be translated as: "If it was not for Ta'arruf, tasawwuf would not have been known." Ta'arruf has served as a reference book for Sufis that followed. The first person to study Ta'arruf in our century and introduce it to the whole world is the British orientalist A. John Arberry. He verified the said work for the first time, and the book was published by Hanci Publications in 1934 in Egypt. After that, Arberry translated the book to English, which was published in London with the title of *The Doctrine of Sufis* with a short introduction.

Following Arberry, it was reviewed for a second time by Abd al-Halim Mahmud and Taha Abd al-Baki who are famous for their studies in tasawwuf, and was published in 1960 in Cairo. Later, a version reviewed by Ahmed Shams al-Din was published in 1993 in Beirut. Numerous publications of this work followed.

Ta'arruf is one of the most importance reference materials of tasawwuf. Dwelling on almost all matters related to tasawwuf, providing basic information about tasawwuf history and doctrine, and providing accounts of Sufis' creeds and experiences; this work was authored by Kalabadhi in the later part of his life. This book aims at correcting wrong beliefs about tasawwuf and Sufis. It is included in a group of Sufi treatises like *Qut al-qulub*, *al-Luma* and *Kashf al-Mahjub* written in this period.

are especially significant: "Being a sheikh, a sage, an imam and a leading devotee among great sheikhs, Abu Bakr Ishak al-Kalabadhi is the author of Ma'an al-ahbar, which is known among the knowledgeable as Bahr al-Fawaid, who spent most of his life in devotion (*zuhd*), striving (*mujahada*) and austerity (*riyada*), authored the book Ta'arruf, and is an eminent man among authorized sheikhs and virtuous men." Parsa, *Faslu'l-hitab*, p.5, 99, 496.

Ta'arruf also influenced Sufi successors like Kushayri (died 465/1073), Ghazali (died 505/1111) and Hacı Muhammed Parsa (died 822/1419).

This work is also important in that it presents the essence and a realistic description of the Islamic mysticism approved of by the Sunnites. *Ta'arruf* provides a concise and clear account of the Sunnite creed, showing that tasawwuf is the path of love which is the very essence of Islam. Kalabadhi also pointed out that tasawwuf was suffering from a certain extent of degeneration. He quotes in his work from eminent Sufis in order to show what true tasawwuf is. Here is what has been said of *Ta'arruf*: "*Ta'arruf* is an unprecedented work written about tasawwuf."¹⁴ "If it was not for *Ta'arruf*, we would not know what tasawwuf is."¹⁵ In the introduction he wrote for Mustemli's commentary of *Ta'arruf*, Muhammed Rusen says: "Abu Bakr Kalabadhi's *Al-Ta'arruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Sufi* became so famous from the day it was first published that some said, "*Lavla al-Ta'arruf lama arifah al-tasawwuf*"¹⁶ and others said, "*Lavla al-Ta'arruf labatal al-Tasawwuf*."¹⁷ about this book.¹⁸ As Arberry also puts, *Ta'arruf* is a primary reference for the early period tasawwuf."¹⁹ Katip Celebi (died 1067/1657) expressed the importance of this book by saying that "*Ta'arruf* is a short but prominent work which is attached a lot of importance by sheikhs."²⁰ Ragip Pasha (died 1763) says, "*Ta'arruf* is a unique and useful work which points at the nature of Sufis and the truth about initiation (*suluq*)." And Nicholson says that, "*Ta'arruf* is one of the first fundamental reference works of the history of tasawwuf."²¹ Arberry says: "This work of Kalabadhi is a primary reference for the history of early Sufism. *Ta'arruf* covers the creeds and spiritual experiences of Sufis as well as almost all matters related to tasawwuf."²² Arberry also emphasizes that the book is short but more authentic than its similar predecessors.²³ Helmut Ritter's saying that "*Ta'arruf* is the main book of orthodox Islamic tasawwuf, that is to say the tasawwuf of the

¹⁴ Aliyyu'l-Kari (died 1041/1606) refers to Al-Kalabadhi in explaining the possibility of seeing Allah. Aliyyu'l-Kari, *Fikh-i Ekber Serhi*, transl. Yunus Vehbi Yavuz, Istanbul 1981, p.319.

¹⁵ Read "*Lav la al-Ta'arruf la ma arafna al-tasawwuf*," this sentence was uttered first by Suhreverdi, the author of *Avarif*, and became common in the works that followed. Parsa, *Faslu'l-hitab*, p.99. Uludag, *Early Period of Tasawwuf*, p.43.

¹⁶ This could be translated as follows: "If it was not for *Ta'arruf*, tasawwuf would not have been known."

¹⁷ This could be translated as follows: "If it was not for *Ta'arruf*, tasawwuf would have been incomplete."

¹⁸ Mustemli, *Sharh al-Ta'arruf*, v. I, p.5; Katip Celebi, *Kashf al-Zunun*, v. I, p.419; Parsa, *Fasl al-Hitab*, p.99.

¹⁹ Arberry, A. J., "Al-Kalabadhi", IA, Istanbul 1977, v. VI, p.538.

²⁰ Katip Celebi, *Kesfu'z-zunun*, v.1, p.53.

²¹ Nicholson, Reynold A., *The Sufis of Islam*, Schocken Books, New York 1975, preface, p.5.

²² Arberry, *The Doctrine of Sufis*, Cambridge 1935, p.66; Arberry, A. J., "Al-Kalabadhi", IA, Istanbul 1977, v. VI, p.538.

²³ Same page.

Sunnites."²⁴ is also noteworthy in that it reveals the power of Kalabadhi's intellectual background.

Ta'arruf both served as a reference book for those who want to learn about the views of Sufis in matters of creed, and to some extent paved the way for authors in later periods owing to the fact that it is the first systematic work in this area. Observing that "*Ta'arruf* has played a very important role in the achievements of Sufism in the official approval of Sunnite Islam. Therefore even Ghazali (died 505/1111), who said the final word in his *Ihya* about the reconciliation between tasawwuf and Kalām, followed the path that was opened by Kalabadhi,"²⁵ Arberry points at the importance of this book in the history of Sufi thought. Jabiri also confirms this point by saying "*Ta'arruf* is a cleverly-prepared *fiqh* fatwa targeting at the inclusion of tasawwuf in the permitted (*halal*) or even the desirable (*mustahab*) circle by a most fanatic Sunnite."²⁶

Ta'arruf is one of the primary reference works of history of tasawwuf among those written by al-Sarradj (died 378/988), Abu Talib al-Makki (died 386/996), al-Sulemi (died 412/1021) and al-Kushayri (died 465/1073).²⁷ All researchers, be it old or new, have made use of this source. It continues to day to be an irreplaceable reference work for many studies at national and international level, and the views it contains are also a subject of academic studies by others. In this regard, it has, due to the information it presents, attracted and impressed readers since the period in which it was written. The first thing that *Ta'arruf* does is to show who is a Sufi, and who are the true Sufis. Subsequently, it looks deep into all subjects of Islamic creed and the rules of tasawwuf, saying the final word as if to say "These are the creeds of the Sufis, and this is what tasawwuf truly is."

Ta'arruf presents the Sufi perspective in the most important discussions of the time like tawhid, or the attributes of Allah. The book discusses such matters on the basis of Qur'anic verses, hadiths and accounts of the companions of the Prophet, providing examples of consensus of earlier Sufis.²⁸ In the first part of his work, Kalabadhi provides a good summary of the Muslim creeds. The fact that he says "We believe in Allah's words and surrender to His will in those matters whose nature or quality we do not know, and we also believe in the words and will of Allah's Rasul (pbuh)," shows that he avoids kalamitic interpretations, which indicates his closeness to Salafite creeds and

²⁴ Helmut Ritter, *Orientalia*, Istanbul 1933, v. I, p.79.

²⁵ Arberry, *mentioned work*, p.14 (Introduction).

²⁶ Cabiri, Muhammed Âbid, *The Formation of Arabic Reason*, transl. Ibrahim Akbaba, Istanbul 1997, p.396.

²⁷ Arberry, A. J., "Al-Kalabadhi", IA, Istanbul 1977, v. VI, p.538.

²⁸ Uludag, *Early Period of Tasawwuf*, p.10.

practices.²⁹

Ta'arruf is the oldest reference work in the history of tasawwuf, which provides information on main Sufi subjects. One has to admit that there are many Sufi works that are dated earlier than *Ta'aruf*. Some works by Haris al-Muhasibi (died 243/857), Junayd al-Baghdadi (died 297/909), Mansur al-Hallaj (died 309/921), Ibn Khafif (died 372/982), and Niffari (died 354/965) have survived, and some of them have even been translated into Turkish. But since none of the foregoing works discuss all topics of tasawwuf in one volume and in a very orderly fashion, it would not be wrong to describe *Ta'arruf* as the first systematic work in this area.³⁰

With this work, Kalabadhi put tasawwuf back on track, preventing any deviations from its original course, in which sense he laid the foundation for Kushayri (died 465/1073) and Ghazali (died 505/1111). Written as a reaction to non-shariah tasawwuf, *Ta'arruf* also provided answers to those who reject tasawwuf all together. In this regard, the book starts by appraising true Sufis and criticizing the false ones, aiming at bringing tasawwuf to the line of shariah. It is without any doubt that every age has witnessed several works that present the school of thought associated with that age. If the book is on the period of birth of a school of thought, this makes it even more important. And *Ta'arruf* is an important book in that it present the Sufi understanding of a certain period, which makes up the birth and development of the Sufi school of thought. In short, *Ta'arruf*, with the topics it addresses and the scholarly and formalistic style with which it addresses those topics, the reasonable and moderate explanations it provides, and the authentic interpretations that it makes, is an exclusive classic and an indispensable reference book among other works of tasawwuf.

Today, Kalabadhi and *Ta'arruf* are among the most fundamental sources in tasawwuf studies.

Many commentaries to and manuscript copies of *Ta'arruf* were written, which is an important evidence that this book attracted a great deal of interest in the centuries to follow. Especially in its earlier days, *Ta'arruf* was much welcomed and read, a lot of commentaries being written to it.

2. Bahr al-Fawaid

It is another work by Kalabadhi which is at least as important as *Ta'arruf*. This book is cited with various titles in different sources, which are

²⁹ Same work, p.15.

³⁰ Uludag, *Early Period of Tasawwuf*, p.19.

*Bahr al-Fawaid al-Musamma bi Ma'an al-Ahbar, Ma'an al-Asar, Ma'an al-Ahbar, Miftahu Ma'an al-Ahbar, Ma'an al-Ahadis al-Mustafawiyye, Ma'an al-Ahbar al-Mujtabawiyah.*³¹ Fuat Sezgin records that this book was written in 375 AH.³² There are numerous manuscript copies of this work at libraries in our country and in other countries.³³ The copy in Alexandria Municipal Library in Egypt (written in 1011/1602) and the copy in Dar al-Qutub al-Misriyya (1348/1929) was used for the first time by Muhammed Hasan Ismail and Ahmad Farid al-Mazidi to verify 79 out of 223 hadiths. This study was published by Dar al-Qutub al-Ilmiyya in 1999 in Beirut under the title *Bahr al-Fawaid al-Mashur bi-Ma'an al-Ahbar.*

The other study conducted about the work is more comprehensive. Involving the verification of 100 out of 223 hadiths on 17 copies, the study was conducted in 1999 by Fikret Karapinar, which was presented as a Masters Thesis at Seljuk University under the title "Verification and Licensing of the First Eighty Leaves of Ma'an al-Ahbar of Abu Bakr Muhammed Ibn Abu Ishak Ibrahim Ibn Ya'qub Ibn Yusuf Ibn Kasir Ibn Hatim Ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Kalabadhi (died 380/990)."

Another study about the work is "Abu Bakr Muhammed al-Kalabadhi and Ma'an al-Ahbar" conducted by Bilal Saklan in 1991. In this study, Saklan provides information about Kalabadhi's life and scholarly identity, as well as studying the contents of his work from the point of view of the study of hadith, and of source and reference. Being unpublished, said work was presented as a dissertation for the position of Associate Professor.

Mystical Views of Kalabadhi

One should first say that Kalabadhi's main reference in almost all matters is ayats and hadiths. The ayats he touches upon in his works are in general related to mystical and moral issues like belief, worship, the return to Allah, orientation, obedience, love, the greatness of Allah, love for and submission to the Prophet (pbuh), knowledge, putting knowledge into practice, *al-amru bi al-ma'ruf wa al-nahyu ani al-munkar*, *mujahada*, refinement of the ego, etc. His understanding of tasawwuf is not influenced by philosophy.³⁴

³¹ Fuat Sezgin, *Tarihu Turas al-Arabi*, p.175.

³² Same work, p.175.

³³ For detailed information on manuscript copies of the work, see Vahit Goktas, *Al-Kalabadhi (380/990) and His Mystical Views*, Ankara University Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Ankara 2007, p.68.

³⁴ Philosophical influences are almost absent from Early Period of Tasawwuf. By those years, the philosophical thought had not fully penetrated into the Islamic culture. Therefore one could not talk about the philosophizing of Early Period of Tasawwuf. Erginli, Zafer, *The Concept of Nafs in Early Sufis – The Example of Haris Muhasibi*, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Bursa 2001, pp. 22,43.

Kalabadhi's works contain important information about the intellectual and practical fundamentals of tasawwuf. Kalabadhi also provides notable explanations in basic kalam matters like the existence and oneness of Allah, destiny, the appointed hour of death (*ajal*) and death, even organizing these under separate headings in a way to present systematical materials that would lay the ground for centuries to come.³⁵

In addition to matters of creed, Kalabadhi also discusses concepts like repentance (*tawba*), remembrance (*dhikr*), prayer (*du'a*), ego (*nafs*), soul (*ruh*), reason (*uqul*), heart (*qalb*), love (*muhabbah*), self-supervision (*muraqaba*), observation (*mushahada*), dream, miracle (*karamat*), deception (*istidraj*), annihilation (*fana*), subsistence in Allah (*baka*), poverty (*faqr*), death (*mawt*), worship (*ibadah*), moral values (*akhlaq*), gnosis (*marifah*) and knowledge (*ilm*), which are related to the states and stations in tasawwuf. In this way, he presents his views on the intellectual and practical domain of tasawwuf. Such views are also important in that they reflect the emergence period of tasawwuf. From the Sufi interpretation point of view, Kalabadhi is one of the first persons to use and advocate these concepts.

In the course of discussing mystical subjects in his works, Kalabadhi present his views under separate headings at some places and through the commentaries of ayats and hadiths at others. Reviewing the Sufi literature up to the point, Kalabadhi made observations about his time; held meetings with contemporary Sufis, and tried to show, in the light of the information, documents and findings thus acquired, that there should be and there is no separation or distinction between Sunnite tasawwuf and Sunnite creed (*aqaid*). Thus, Kalabadhi placed special emphasis on *aqaid* and *kalam* in his works, standing out among other Sufi classics in that he approached these matters in a way that unites the *mutasharri* and the *mutasawwuf*. Centuries ago, he provided a very good example in a matter that is important today as was important yesterday, paving the way for the integration and unison between Islamic disciplines.³⁶

Like other early Sufis, Kalabadhi presented the rebuilding of man as a solution for the chaotic outlook of social life, for which he emphasized the importance of self-realized and mature men. Sufi terms are milestones in the process of man's maturation. In the Sufi period starting from the 10th century, the use of early Sufi concepts about the education, knowledge and

³⁵ For ecstasy, see Ethem Cebecioglu, "An Introduction to the Understanding of Ecstatic Ejaculations: A Methodical Essay" *'Tasavvuf' Scholarly Academic Research Journal*, July-December 2006, issue 17; pp.7-27.

³⁶ Yetik, Erhan, "Klasiklerimiz/V "Ta'arruf li-Mezhebi Ehli't-Tasavvuf" (Abu Bakr Muhammed b. Ishak Al-Kalabadhi- d.385/995)", *'Tasavvuf' Scholarly Academic Research Journal*, issue 6 (May 2001), pp.255-264.

gnosis aspect of tasawwuf became common with Kalabadhi, which is when states and stations were first mentioned.

Talking about *ahwal* and *maqamat*, Kalabadhi analyzes the human soul, making an attempt at defining its states of default, and the methods to protect one's self from these. In Kalabadhi's tasawwuf, *mujahada* and *riyadah* hold an important place. While Sufi terms were explained only as words before him, Kalabadhi studied these in two groups, which are stations (*maqamat*) and states (*ahwal*). States and stations were difficult to distinguish because of the closeness and similarity between them, and therefore the terms were defined by Sufis as states at some times and as stations at others. While it was not possible to divide these terms into two generally acceptable groups of states and stations, the characteristics of station (*maqam*) and state (*hal*) were defined. Accordingly, station (*maqam*) is a meaning between one and Allah, it is earned through efforts, and therefore it is permanent. Each station has a starting and ending point. One has to master one station before he can move on to the next. According to some, passed stations are abandoned. Early Sufis stated that only a mature Sufi can hold several stations. On the other hand, state (*hal*) are meanings that reach man's heart as a blessing from Allah. They are temporary, and not permanent. No one knows when or with what qualities they will come. According to some, the meanings which are states in the beginning can evolve into a station in one. State is the starting phase of station; a state will evolve into a station in time. And according to others, states are the outcome of stations, and stations are the outcome of actions, therefore he who acts in the most genuine manner holds the highest of all stations, and he who holds the highest station is the one whose state is the greatest and highest of all.

In his works, Kalabadhi discussed terms under the light of religious principles as much as possible, and avoided to include any meanings other than that. In his *Ta'aruf*, Kalabadhi names and explains seventeen terms as stations (*maqamat*), which are repentance (*tawba*), asceticism (*zuhd*), patience (*sabr*), poverty (*faqr*), humility (*tawadu*), fear (*khawf*), piety (*taqwa*), sincerity (*ikhlas*), thankfulness (*shukr*), reliance (*tawakkul*), contentment (*ridaa*), certainty (*yaqin*), remembrance (*dhikr*), intimacy (*uns*), nearness (*qurb*), contact (*ittisal*), and love (*muhabbah*). The terms contained in *Ta'aruf* are isolation (*tajrid*) and individuality (*tafrid*), ecstasy (*wajd*), victory (*ghalaba*), intoxication (*saqr*) and sobriety (*sahw*), witnessing (*shuhud*) and concealment (*ghaybah*), being gathered (*jam*) and separated (*farq*), epiphany (*tajalli*) and veiling (*istitar*), annihilation (*fana*) and subsistence in Allah (*baqa*), gnosis (*marifah*), unity (*tawhid*), gnostic (*arif*), willing one (*murid*) and willed one (*murad*), striving (*mujahada*) and interaction (*muamalat*), abstinence (*wara*), pleasantry (*latifah*), discernment (*firasah*), impulses (*khawatir*), dreams (*ruya*), Allah's jealousy (*gayratullah*), tolerance (*tahammul*), death (*mawt*), and hearing (*sama*).

Other than these terms, Kalabadhi also expressed views on creeds, morals and politics.

Being the act of stripping off one's visible and invisible stains and filth to reunite with the existence, repentance (*tawba*) is the first but a very important step in one's process of attaining the consciousness of spiritual maturation (*taqamul*) and self-realization. At this step, the traveler (*saliq*) has turned his face away from all other than Allah and has made his mind for travelling along the stations of reunion (*wasl*). Allah waits for His subject to reunite with Him, rejoicing in his repentance. Kalabadhi mentions three types of repentance. He says that "common people (*awam*) repent from sins, saints (*awliya*) repent from unawareness (*ghafala*), and prophets (*nabi*) repent from seeing themselves to be incapable of attaining what others have."³⁷ In other words, *nabis* repent from the inability to attain the higher stations of those sent before them.³⁸

According to Kalabadhi; the achievement of a person with is to regret none that is lost. In this station, one is not upset about what he may have lost, and he does not seek it either. Wara is the state of abstaining from not only suspicious, but also allowable things. Because the station of wara is not one of praying and asking, it is a state of contentment (*ridaa*) and surrender (*taslim*). Wara calls for asceticism (*zuhd*). Zuhd is to abstain from following the desires of the carnal self, to keep a distance from all kinds of *shahwah*; and finally to keep a distance even from permitted things (*halal*), abandoning all that causes one to drift away from Allah. It is considered a major sin to have pride in one's zuhd. Because the things that one may abstain from are already unworthy things that do not belong to him. Therefore there is nothing to be proud about zuhd. One of the stages of spiritual maturity, according to Kalabadhi, is patience (*sabr*).³⁹ Seeing patience and the state of poverty through reliance on Allah (*tawakkul*) and contentment (*ridaa*) with what He ordains (*qada*) as the ornament of prophets, sign of virtuous subjects, and jewelry of true believers,⁴⁰ Kalabadhi also interprets it as keeping one's *nafs* away from those things that are forbidden by Allah, imprisoning the carnal self in order to do Allah's bidding.⁴¹ Our Sufi talks about patience for patience, in which case the purpose of patience would be patience itself, and not something else.⁴² Sahl

³⁷ Al-Kalabadhi, *Ta'arruf*, p.92; using a very similar discourse, Al-Sarradj suggests that repentance of common men (*tawba al-awam*) is from sins, while repentance of chosen men (*tawba al-hawass*) is from unawareness (*ghafala*). *Luma'*, p.43.

³⁸ Al-Kalabadhi, *The Path of the Sufis*, transl. Tacettin Okuyucu, Konya 1981, p.151.

³⁹ While al-Makki mentions patience as the second station, Al-Sarradj places it in the fifth. See Al-Sarradj, *Luma'*, p.46; Al-Kalabadhi, *Ta'arruf*, p.94; al-Makki, v. I, p.298.

⁴⁰ Al-Kalabadhi, *Bahr al-Fawaid*, lf. 163a.

⁴¹ Al-Kalabadhi, *Bahr al-Fawaid*, lf. 165b.

⁴² Recai, *Hulasa*, p.284.

Ibn Abdullah al-Tusteri (died 273/886) said "Sabr is waiting for Allah to open an exit." Therefore Sahl sees patience as the most virtuous and highest service.⁴³ Kalabadhi interprets the saying, "Patience is to be patient about patient," as waiting for an exit to be opened while engaging in the practice of sabr.⁴⁴ Sahl Ibn Abdullah al-Tusteri interprets the verse, "Ask for help through prayer (*salat*) and patience (*sabr*)"⁴⁵ as follows: "Ask Allah for help, and have patience about Allah's order."⁴⁶ Kalabadhi sees patience as a purifying element. According to him, one who is patient about troubles will be purified from the filth of sin.⁴⁷ But patience must be shown at the first instant of facing the trouble.

For Kalabadhi, it is a characteristic quality of servitude to show that one needs Allah.⁴⁸ He says that servitude is built on two things: knowing Allah, which is *marifatullah*, and needing Allah, which is *iftiqar*. Marifatullah is considering Allah to be free of any incomplete attributes (*tanzih*), while needing Allah is to see one's own self being used by Allah, observing his words and actions with Allah.

Kalabadhi states that fear (*khawf*) and hope (*radja*) are two feelings that should always be at the foundation of worship. Khawf has steps too; a sorrowed state of fear first occurs due to a loss, and later on it evolves into vigilance (*tayaqquz*), and the final stage of khawf is fearing only for Allah without the fear of one's end. And in radja, this reaches the level of hoping only to attain Allah. At this level, Allah will keep safe from all fears those whose *khawf* and *radja* is toward and for Allah.

Piety (*taqwa*) is one's being aware of his weakness in front of Allah, and being honest with one's self. The more honest and honorable one is, the stronger his conscience is. Therefore, the most pious (*muttaqi*) of persons are those with the strongest conscience. Consequently, taqwa is to abandon suspicious things in the first place, and then to also abandon permitted things that cause one to drift away from Allah. Any pious person should regard his piety as incomplete, and ask Allah for forgiveness. And finally, one should not live in *taqwa*, but should be annihilated in *taqwa*. That is to say, the creator should be included in the work, and the work in the creator.

Kalabadhi defines sincere action (*ikhlas al-amal*) as one's abandoning everything for Allah, and turning to Him in and for all committed deeds, and seeing each action as a reason for repentance

⁴³ Al-Kalabadhi, *Ta'arruf*, p.94.

⁴⁴ Al-Kalabadhi, *Ta'arruf*, p.94.

⁴⁵ Baqara, 2/45

⁴⁶ Al-Kalabadhi, *Ta'arruf*, p.94.

⁴⁷ Al-Kalabadhi, *Ta'arruf*, p.94.

⁴⁸ Al-Kalabadhi, *Bahr al-Fawaid*, p.209.

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(*tawba*).⁴⁹ Since worship (*ibada*) is, in the real sense, a secret between one and Allah, the ego (*nafs*), the devil (*shaitan*) and even angels (*malaqut*) should not intervene. In this context, *ikhlas* is the state whereby nothing comes between one and Allah. A person who is in this state will drift away from the wants and desires of the carnal self, aiming only at Allah and His contentment. He does not see the good deed that he does, at which point *ikhlas* constitutes the heart and soul of every deed.

Kalabadhi explains the difference between "praise" (*hamd*) and "thankfulness" (*shukr*) as follows: *shukr* is to understand that the blessing (*nimat*) comes from the Blessor, and to serve Allah in everything that he orders and bans. *Hamd* means to praise (*sana*) Allah, and to see the incompleteness of one's own thankfulness. Defining the ultimate point of *shukr* as the point where one, after much endeavor, sees his incapability in duly thanking, Kalabadhi divides *shukr* into thankfulness toward Allah and toward people. He suggests that being thankful to people is easier, and that any person who loses this type of gratitude is likely to lose more in thankfulness toward Allah, which is far more difficult.⁵⁰

Reliance (*tawakkul*) is the absence of reaction against the deeds of Allah. It is a state of full surrender in the absence of regrets for the past. The essence of reliance is contentment and closeness to Allah. The hadith, "Tie your camel first, then put your trust in Allah," which is commonly misconceived, is interpreted by Kalabadhi as "being silent against the verdict of destiny."

Kalabadhi explains in his work that contentment (*ridaa*) is mutual. Technically speaking, *ridaa* belongs to the created, while *ridwan* belongs to Allah. Combined, *ridaa* and *ridwan* would yield to satisfaction (*itminan*), stillness (*sukun*) and peace (*huzur*). The following dialogue between Sufyan-i Sarwi and Rabia al-Adawiyya (died 185/801) emphasizes the mutual nature of *ridaa*: Hearing Sufyan-i Sarwi (died 161/778) pray "O Allah, I ask for your contentment," Rabia al-Adawiyya (died 185/801) replied "Are you not ashamed to ask for the contentment of a Person with whom you are not content yourself?"⁵¹

According to Kalabadhi, the purpose of creating man is servitude (*ubudiyyah*) to Allah. The purpose of *ibadah* is to attain *yaqin*, which is the truth about faith (*iman*).⁵² Allah will place His remembrance in the heart of the one who masters his false desires (*shahwah*) and liberates himself from the darkness of the carnal self, whose hearts are now satisfied

⁴⁹ Al-Kalabadhi, *Ta'arruf*, p.99.

⁵⁰ Same work, p.167-169.

⁵¹ Al-Kalabadhi, *Ta'arruf*, p.102.

⁵² Same work, p.81.