

THE MADHHABIAN TENDENCY OF AHMAD YASSAWI

AHMET YESEVİ'NİN MEZHEBİ EĞİLİMİ

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Abstract

Khoja Ahmad Yassawi (1041-1166), who lived in the region of Turkistan (Central Asia) in the 11th and 12th centuries, was a highly respected and influential scholar among the Turkic peoples, who formed the cornerstones of Turkish national identity, and was also the founder of Turkish Sufism. We see that the Sufi activity caused the Turkic peoples living in the Turkistan region to create a new civilization of their own. If the jurisprudential dimension of Ahl al-Sunnah in Turkistan was formed by Hanafism and Shafi'ism, and the theological dimension was formed by Asharism and Māturīdism, the mystical dimension of Ahl al-Sunnah in the region was mainly formed by the Sufism understanding shaped around the Yassawiyya, Kubraviyya and Naqshibandiyya views. Therefore, Ahmad Yassawi's madhhabian tendency should be compatible with Hanafism and his religious views should be compatible with Maturidiism views. At the same time, Ahmad Yassawi's political perception should naturally be shaped by the Hanafi-Maturidi line of thought. There are various claims made by various researchers about Yassawi's basic religious orientation. However, in order to present the subject with an accurate opinion, the first thing we need to do is to base ourselves on the works of the person to be investigated. Because this is the complementary nature of scientific research. For this reason, in this research, his own works, which are considered the first sources regarding Yassawi's teachings, will be taken as basis. The article reaches the conclusion that the fiqh, creedal and political views of Ahmad Yassawi originate from the knowledge of Ahl al-Sunnah wal Jama'at. In our opinion, it is possible to determine Ahmad Yassawi's madhhabian tendencies based on his works that have survived to the present day. In the article, based on his own works, the fiqh, belief and political aspects of Ahmad Yassawi's madhhabian tendency will be determined using descriptive and textual analysis methods.

Key Words: Sufism, Ahmad Yassawi, Madhhab, Belief, Shia, Mubaydiyya, Hanafism, Maturidism.

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Öz

11. ve 12. yüzyıllarda Türkistan (Orta Asya) bölgesinde yaşamış olan Hoca Ahmed Yesevi (1041-1166), Türk millî kimliğinin temel taşlarını oluşturan Türk halkları arasında son derece saygın ve etkili bir âlim ve aynı zamanda Türk tasavvufunun kurucusudur. Sufî faaliyetinin Türkistan bölgesinde yaşayan Türk halklarının kendilerine ait yeni bir medeniyet yaratmalarına neden olduğunu görüyoruz. Türkistan’da Ehl-i Sünnet’in fikhî boyutunu Hanefilik ve Şâfilik, kelâmî boyutunu Eşarilik ve Mâtürîdilik oluştururken, tasavvufî boyutunu ise ağırlıklı olarak Yeseviyye, Kübreviyye ve Nakşibendiyye görüşleri etrafında şekillenen tasavvuf anlayışı oluşturmuştur. Dolayısıyla Ahmed Yesevi’nin mezhebi eğilimi Hanefilikle, dini görüşleri de Maturidilikle uyumlu olmalıdır. Aynı zamanda Ahmed Yesevi’nin siyasi algısı da doğal olarak Hanefi-Maturidi düşünce çizgisinde şekillenmiş olmalıdır. Yesevi’nin temel dini yönelimi hakkında çeşitli araştırmacılar tarafından ortaya atılan çeşitli iddialar bulunmaktadır. Ancak konuyu doğru bir kanaatle ortaya koyabilmek için ilk yapmamız gereken şey araştırılacak kişinin kendi eserlerini esas almaktır. Çünkü bu bilimsel araştırmanın tamamlayıcı niteliğidir. Bu nedenle bu araştırmada Yesevi’nin öğretilerine ilişkin ilk kaynaklar olarak kabul edilen kendi eserleri esas alınacaktır. Makale, Ahmed Yesevi’nin fikhî, itikadî ve siyasi görüşlerinin Ehl-i Sünnet vel Cemaat ilminden kaynaklandığı sonucuna ulaşmaktadır. Kanaatimizce Ahmed Yesevi’nin günümüze ulaşan eserlerinden hareketle mezhebi eğilimlerini tespit etmek mümkündür. Makalede kendi eserlerinden hareketle Ahmed Yesevi’nin mezhebi eğiliminin fikhî, itikadî ve siyasi yönleri betimsel yöntem ve metin analizi yöntemleri kullanılarak tespit edilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tasavvuf, Ahmed Yesevi, Mezhep, İman, Şia, Mübeydiyye, Hanefilik, Maturidilik.

Introduction

Ahmad bin İbrahim bin Mahmud, widely known as Hazrat Sultan Kul Khoja Ahmad Yassawi (437/1041 - 562/1166), was a highly influential Sufi master and the first Turkish Sufi poet. His teachings and spiritual influence extended across a vast region including the steppes of Kipchak, Mawarannahr, North Khorasan, the Volga region, Azerbaijan, Anatolia and all areas inhabited by Muslim Turks. Yassawi is honored with numerous titles that reflect his esteemed position in the spiritual and cultural life of the Turkic people, such as “Sultan ul-Arifin (Sultan of the Mystics),” “Sultan-i Turk (Sultan of the Turks),” “Ahmad-i Sani (Second Muhammad),” and “Pir-i Turkistan (Spiritual Leader of the Turkish People).” He is recognized as the founder of the Yassawiyya Brotherhood, a Sufi order that was crucial in spreading Islam through its branches and lineages (Saifunov, 2022, 105).

Ahmad Yassawi’s teachings greatly influenced the religious and mystical life of the people in Turkistan, making him a central figure in the cultural history of the Turkic peoples, including the Kazakhs. His legacy as a teacher and spiritual guide is revered, and he is considered a national saint among the Turkic peoples. The Yassawiyya path, which he established, became one of the prominent Sufi orders that contributed to the widespread adoption of Islam. For this reason, the Turkic people honour him with titles such as “Hazrat Sultan, Sultanul-Arifin, Burhanul-Hakikat, Kutbul-Aktab, Kutbul-Tarikat and Pir-i Turkistan” (Hazini, 2022, 106; Koprulu, 2006, 78).

Ahmad Yassawi is considered the national saint of all Turkic peoples living in the Turkistan region. He holds a special place in the ancient cultural history of the Turkic peoples, including the Kazakh people. As such, he is a common symbol and point of reference for the Turks (Hasan, 2009, 586). Ahmad Yassawi, also known as “Pir-i Turkistan” founded the Yassawi teaching, which greatly influenced the religious and mystical life of the people of Turkistan. The Yassawiyya brotherhood, also known as

the Yassawiyya tariqa or the Yassawi path, was founded by Yassawi. Initially founded in the context of pure Turkish ethnicity, the order later became a highly influential Sufi order in other Muslim countries and at times became one of the prominent Sufi brotherhoods propagating Islamic values worldwide (Saifunov, Sambetov, 2023, 279-299).

Due to his profound impact, various unverified stories and myths have emerged about him over time, often created for different purposes (Zhandarbekov, 2002, 148). In this article, based on Ahmad Yassawi's works and using the descriptive and main thought analysis methods, the jurisprudential, theological and political aspects of his madhhabian tendency will be determined.

Methods

In this study, the research method used are descriptive and textual analysis. The descriptive method is a research method used to describe an event, situation or phenomenon in detail. The descriptive method is beneficial for looking at a topic in-depth and understanding the current situation on that topic. The textual analysis method analyses the texts of Yassawi's most famous work, *Divan-i Hikmet*, and other works to understand Yassawi's madhhabian thoughts and their influence on popular culture. This will highlight Yassawi's place in Turkish culture.

Results and Discussion

1. Ahmad Yassawi's Tendency Within The Contexts of Schools of Thought At His Time: An Objective Analysis

There are various claims regarding the madhhab (religious school) orientation of Khoja Ahmad Yassawi. Some contemporary research suggests that Yassawi's teachings may have been influenced by the doctrines of Mani, Mubaydiyya, and Karmati, reflecting the complex spiritual environment in which his ideas developed.

Historians R. Nelson and Ashirbek Muminov argue that the Sufi movements in Baghdad and Khorasan significantly influenced the Yassawi doctrine. They suggest that Yassawi's teachings emerged as a natural continuation of the traditions of the Mubaydiyya, which had roots in the dualistic Manichaean doctrine and local madhhabs that existed in the Turkistan region for centuries (Muminov, 1996, 22-30; Muminov, 1994, 219-231; Kenzhetay, 2011, 71-72).

The Turkish historian Zeki Velidi Togan states that the formation of Yassawi's teachings was influenced by Manichaeism and Shafi'ism. He further posited that Ahmad Yassawi might have been a descendant of the Qarakhanid dynasty, a claim that adds a layer of complexity to understanding his spiritual legacy (Togan, 1953, 523-529). However, these perspectives are not universally accepted and may be based on cultural or belief similarities rather than direct doctrinal influence. Therefore, it's crucial to closely examine the relationship between Yassawi's teachings and the doctrines of Mani, Mubaydiyya, and Karmati better to understand the origins and influences on Yassawi's teaching.

In other works of Ahmad Yassawi, we can clearly and distinctly see that he is a follower of the Hanafi madhhab of Ahl-i Sunnah in fiqh and Mathuridist thought in the theological dimension.

1.1. The Doctrine of Mani or Manichaeism

Manichaeism, founded by Mani in the 3rd century CE in ancient Persia, was a gnostic religion that spread across a vast geography, including regions as far-flung as North Africa, Southern Europe, and China. The religion was known for its dualistic worldview, dividing the universe into realms of light and darkness, and it had a strong missionary tradition that helped it gain a significant following, particularly among the Uighurs in the 8th century who adopted it as their state religion (Tekin, 2014, 3).

To understand whether Yassawi's teachings were influenced by Manichaeism, it's essential to consider the basic belief principles of the Mani doctrine. By examining the core tenets of Manichaeism, scholars can assess whether there are significant parallels or shared concepts that suggest a connection between the two.

Basic Beliefs of the Mani Doctrine

1) Belief in a Creator: Manichaeism is founded on a gnostic dualism, which posits two opposing eternal principles: light (good) and darkness (evil). The supreme god of light embodies qualities such as love, faithfulness, goodness, and wisdom, ruling over a realm composed of elements like air, light, water, and fire. In contrast, the god of darkness, often depicted as a monstrous figure, presides over the realm of darkness. According to Manichaean belief, evil forces, not the god of light, are responsible for creating humanity. This dualistic worldview is central to Manichaean theology (Şinasi, 2003, 27/576).

2) Prophetic Belief: Manicheans believe in a series of messengers of light who appeared throughout history to guide humanity toward salvation. Mani is considered the last of these messengers, with Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus being his predecessors. These figures are considered preparatory prophets who paved the way for Mani's final teachings. Manichaeism holds that no true messengers will follow Mani, although false prophets may arise (Şinasi, 2003, 27/576).

3) Belief in Heaven: Mani taught that after death, souls do not immediately ascend to the realm of light (heaven). Instead, they first pass to the moon, the first stage in their journey, where they reside until all light is liberated from the material world. From the moon, souls then move to the sun and eventually, to the higher realms of light. This belief reflects the Manichaean emphasis on the gradual purification and ascent of the soul through various stages (Şinasi, 2003, 27/576).

4) Belief in the End Times and the Savior: Manichaean eschatology includes believing in an end-times scenario where false prophets and the false Mithras (antichrist) will appear. A great war will signal the approach of the end of the world, after which only sin and chaos will remain. Jesus Christ, viewed as a messenger of light, is believed to return to judge humanity. The righteous will join him and be transformed into angels, while sinners will be cast into hell (Şinasi, 2003, 27/576).

1.2. The doctrine of Mubaydiyya

The Mubaydiyya (or Mubayyiza) was a religious movement that emerged in Turkistan in the 8th century AD. The name "Mubaydiyya" comes from their practice of wearing white clothes. They were considered part of the Gulat (extremist) Shia movements, known for equating divine attributes with human figures, particularly Hazrat Ali, whom they sometimes deified. The Gulat Shia movements had various names depending on the region: they were known as Hurramis and Kuziis in Isfahan,

Mazdais and Sunbadiis in Rey, Dakuliis in Azerbaijan, and Muqannaiyya in the Mawarannahr (Transoxania) region¹.

Qarmatians. The Qarmatians were another group associated with extremist Shiite Ismā'iliyya beliefs. They are believed to have originated during the Zanj revolt against the Abbasids around 869 AD². Their doctrine combined elements of Shiism with revolutionary zeal, and they were known for their radical social and religious ideas.

Connection to Ahmad Yassawi. Some scholars suggest that the foundations of Ahmad Yassawi's views are linked to Shiite movements and the intellectual currents of Khorasan.

The Iranian scholar M. Senai argues that Yassawi's teachings were influenced by Sufi traditions and Shiite movements along the Sirdarya River. Similarly, Ozturk Mursel notes that Yassawi was affected by both the intellectual traditions of Khorasan and the Shia movement in East Turkistan and the Seyhun region (Senai 1998, 71-72).

Ozturk Mursel, similar to Senai's view, states that "Ahmad Yassawi, on the one hand, was under the influence of Khorasan intellectual currents, and on the other hand, he was under the influence of the Shia movement that existed in East Turkistan and the Seyhun region." (Ozturk 2001, 112).

These analyses indicate that while Yassawi's teachings were deeply rooted in his time's spiritual and cultural environment, they may have also incorporated diverse influences from various religious and philosophical traditions, including those of the Mani, Mubaydiyya, and Karmati doctrines.

1.3. The Basic Religious Doctrine of Shia Madhhab

Shi'ite scholars typically analyze the principles of faith within five main concepts:

1) Tawhid (Oneness of God): Tawhid, the belief in the absolute oneness of God, is central to Islamic theology and is emphasized by both Sunni and Shia scholars. Shia scholars align closely with the Mu'tazilites regarding God's attributes, emphasizing that God cannot be likened to any created being (tashbih) or be conceived as having a physical form (tajsim). Some extremist Shi'ite sects, however, have historically attributed divine qualities to figures such as Imam Ali, a concept rejected by mainstream Shia thought. Additionally, Shia theology firmly denies the possibility of seeing God, even in the Hereafter (Ayni, 1996, 375).

2) Adl (Divine Justice): Shia Islam places significant importance on the principle of divine justice (adl), which implies that Allah is perfectly just and does not compel individuals to commit acts against their will. This principle is crucial in Shia theology,

1 For extensive information see: Abu Mansur Abdulkahir al-Baghdadi, *Differences between Madhhab* (Ankara: TDV, 1991), 169-171; Shahrastani, *Al-Milal*, 1:173; Bartold V.V., *Turkestan*, 1:254, 255, 257, 258; Bolşakov O.G., *Hronologia Vosstaniya Mukanny, Istoriya i kultura narodov Srednei Azii (drevnost i srednie veka)* (Moskva 1976), 90-98; Sagdiev Habibullo Yodgorovich, *Sunnitskoe Verouchenie*, textbook, (Tashkent: Tashkent Islamic University, Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Department of Islamic Studies, Islamic Research Centre, 2013), 31; Hodgson, M. G.S. "Ghulat" *Encyclopedia of Islam 2 (2nd ed.)*. (Brill Academic Publishers: 1965), 1093-1095; Muhammad Abu Zahra, *History of Political and Theological Madhhab in Islam* (Istanbul: Hisar Publishers: 2011), 1:3970.

2 For detailed information see: Sabri Hizmetli, "Karmatids" *TDV Islamic Encyclopedia*, 24/510-514, Istanbul: TDV, 2001.

as it asserts that human beings have free will and are responsible for their actions. This understanding contrasts with doctrines that suggest any form of compulsion or predestination by God, as such ideas would contradict the concept of divine justice (Ayni, 1996, 375-396).

3) Nubuwwat (Prophethood): Prophethood in Shia Islam is defined as the communication of divine knowledge from God to humanity without any human intermediary. Shia theology insists that prophets must be free from error (infallibility) and sin, a belief that is more rigorously upheld than in other Islamic schools of thought. The concept of prophethood in Shia Islam is closely linked to the belief in Imamate, where after the Prophet Muhammad, his authority is believed to be continued by the Imams, who are considered divinely appointed leaders.

4) Imamate: "Imamate is the general presidency of any person in succession to the Prophet with regard to religious and worldly affairs". In this sense, it is rationally obligatory to have a head. According to the Shiites, Allah Almighty appointed the imams to succeed the Prophet and commanded His Prophet to inform his ummah about them. However, the ummah changed them and became subject to their whims and desires. Shi'ism, which asserts that the Imams must be innocent, is quite different from other madhhabs at this point. The provision that the Imamate is obligatory on Allah not only means that the Imam is innocent, but also that the Imam will be appointed by Allah; in other words, there must be evidence about him. Because ismat is such an attribute that only Allah knows its owner. When the appointment to the office of Imamate and the determination of the holder of this office belongs to Allah, Imam is innocent as a natural consequence of this. He is the person to whom Allah Ta'ala has made obedience obligatory and has the authority to command (ulû'l-amr). Therefore, all the actions and words of the Imam are authoritative and binding for the Muslims. They are the repository of Allah's knowledge, the expounder of His revelation and the pillars of His monotheism. His possession of Divine judgments, Divine wisdom, and all knowledge is through the Prophet or the Imam before him, as well as his knowledge of new things by the grace of Allah. He knows everything thoroughly. He judges accordingly. If He wants to know something, He knows it and is not mistaken. In this regard, He does not need rational proof and the knowledge of those who know. Consequently, their commands are Allah's commands and their prohibitions are His prohibitions; obedience to them is obedience to Allah and rebellion against them is rebellion against Allah. The earth will never be deprived of an Imam, whether openly, secretly or ambiguously." [el-Kummi, 1978, 109-112].

As can be seen, the function of the imam is no different from that of the prophet. The main difference between the Messenger and the Imam is that the Imam does not bring a book. It is even reported that the imam receives revelation without seeing the angel. [8, s. 386-387].

5) Mahdi: One of the issues that we should emphasize in the Imamate is the Mahdi. The Mahdi is "the savior who will fill the earth with justice where oppression and injustice were rampant before him". All Shi'ite madhhabs believe in the coming of the Mahdi. The idea that their Imam, whom they believe to be the Mahdi, is not dead, that he has disappeared or that his death is imminent, and that he will soon return and take revenge on his enemies is put forward. In addition to the fact that the Shi'ite followers declare that those who deny the Mahdi's appearance will be considered as infidels, the Shi'ites are full of the Mahdi in every stage of their 30-day life, in their prayers, speeches, writings, proverbs, in short, everywhere and on every occasion.

6) Maad (Resurrection):

The belief in the resurrection (Maad) is consistent across all Islamic schools, including Shia Islam. However, Shia theology includes unique details, particularly concerning the intercession of the Imams for their followers on the Day of Judgment. While the core belief in resurrection and the Hereafter is shared with other Islamic traditions, these specific aspects highlight the unique role of the Imams in Shia eschatology (Ayni, 1996, 389-390).

These foundational principles underscore the distinct theological framework of Shia Islam, especially in its emphasis on the Imamate and the infallibility of the Imams, which distinguishes it from other Islamic schools of thought.

Evaluation

Ideas of Nelson, Muminov, Senai and Ozturk, lead to such a claim as “Ahmad Yassawi’s doctrine is a doctrine based on Shiite beliefs that was formed under the influence of the Mani doctrine and Shiite doctrine in the process of its formation”. But, when Ahmad Yassawi’s works are carefully analyzed, it is impossible to see that the belief system of the second Mani doctrine and the Mubaydiyya doctrine are compatible with Ahmad Yassawi’s thought. This is because the nature of the beliefs in the Creator, Prophethood and Paradise in Yassawi’s works is far removed from the Mani beliefs and the Mubaydiyya doctrine, which is an extreme faction of the Gulat al-Shia. In the meantime, it is possible to emphasize that the predominant assessment that “Yassawi scholarship ... emerged as a natural continuation of the Mubaydiyya doctrine and traditions based on the dualistic Mani doctrine ...” is unfounded. Because Ahmad Yassawi never expressed the basic views of Shiism in his works, and there is not a single word about the main principles of Shiism.

Of course, according to the *Nasabnama*, Ahmad Yassawi’s lineage goes back to Hazrat Ali, and no one can deny his reverence, respect and love for Hazrat Ali. However, as mentioned above, we should be careful because the fundamental belief of Shiism is based on the theory of imamate. Prof. Dr Hasan Onat defines the meaning of Shiism as follows: “Shi’ism is the collective name of the communities who believe that Ali b.Abi Talib, the caliph after the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), asserts that the imamate would come from Ali b.Abi Talib’s lineage until the Day of Judgement, and claims that these imams are innocent.” (Onat 1993, 146; Onat 1986, 10).

When Ahmad Yassawi’s works are analyzed within the framework of this definition, it is impossible to link him with Shiism. As a matter of fact, when Yassawi’s own works are discussed, Shi’ism claims are never encountered. On the contrary, in his works *Divan-i Hikmat*, *Fakrname*, *Risale der Adab-i Tarikat*, *Risale der Makamat-i Erbain*, it is clearly seen that he followed Hanafism exactly as a madhhab. (Yassawi 2017, 219; Eraslan 2017, 54-71).

A detailed analysis of the sources on Ahmad Yassawi and his jurisprudential, theological and political views in his own works shows that it is impossible to link his views with Shafi’i or Shi’i thought. On the contrary, the views of Khoja Ahmad Yassawi prove that they coincide closely with the Hanafi-Māturīdī doctrine and views of the Ahl al-Sunnah and are in complete harmony with the Hanafi-Māturīdī tradition.

2. The Fiqh Views of Ahmad Yassawi

It is possible to see from Ahmad Yassawi’s narrations to what extent he was in contact with the science of fiqh, which deals with Islamic jurisprudence, and how

much he included the terms of fiqh. In Ahmad Yassawi's narrated wisdom, it is seen that Sharia is intertwined with Sufism and that Yassawi is based on Sharia. According to him, the level of faith is sharia and its basis is tariqa. Now, in Ahmad Yassawi's wisdom, the importance he attached to Sharia is expressed in the following verses:

When I reached the age of seven, wisdom came to me,

Then we ran after having realized the four sides.

When I turned fifteen, I entered the house of Sharia,

I was hidden with the judgement of the Shari'ah at the level of Erkan. (Yassawi 2017,224)

Kul Hodja Ahmed, you have entered forty, break your ego;

Weep here and be pure in the hereafter,

The fleece of faith is sharia, the original is tariqa,

Those who entered the tariqa got a share from Hakk, friends. (Yassawi 2017, 58)

Ahmad Yassawi uses the term sharia in more than 70 places in *Divan-i Hikmat*. He draws attention to the necessity of adhering to the sharia of the Prophet Muhammad.

Sharia is narration, wisdom is truth,

The madhhab is a jewel, suitable for lovers.

O my friends heed this advice,

If you are wise, keep Mustafa's sharia... (Yassawi 2017, 207)

The evil to damned, Muhammad, the politician;

The way of sharia Muhammad of grace. (Yassawi 2017, 123)

Ahmad Yassawi attaches great importance to the deeds of Sharia and considers the Qadi, Mufti, Imams who fulfill the deeds that protect the Sharia as the apprentices of religion.

Qadi, mufti, mullahs are the light of Sharia,

The ascetic lover knows the secret of the tariqa,

Scholars who do deeds are the apprentices of our religion,

He rides on a burak on the Judgement Day, he throws his cowl to the sky.

(Yassawi 2017, 169)

Ahmad Yassawi says that those who comprehend the science of jurisprudence and understand its conditions well will know the status of tariqa well, and those who pass the stations of hakiqa will reach the truth.

He is the Arif, if he fulfills the command of Hak,

If he withdraws his ego from the world.

If the Shariah is all five letters,

After that, you have to join the tariqa. (Yassawi 2017, 395)

In his 74th wisdom, Ahmad Yassawi emphasized that the first step of anyone who wants to follow the path of tariqa should be the Sharia, and even explicitly stated that one cannot speak a single word about tariqa without completing the works of the Sharia.

Whoever takes up the cause of tariqa,
The first step is to know the Sharia,
Complete the affairs of the Shariah,
Then it is necessary to make this case.

In the tariqa, they do not speak without Sharia,
In truth, they do not talk without tariqa,
The place of these ways is known in the Sharia,
All of them should be asked from the Sharia (Yassawi 2017, 133).

We learn from Ahmad Yassawi's wisdom that he was faithful in prayer and fasting, always remembering God, and that he attached great importance to these acts of worship, which led to his attainment of his reward.

Kul Hodja Ahmad always say the dhikr of Hakk,
Fear God and weep without rest,
Praying and fasting every morning and evening,
That's how I reached my goal. (Yassawi 2017, 77)

In the following wisdom, Ahmad Yassawi states that prayer should be performed in congregation and that those who abandon congregational prayer will be resurrected with the devil at the judgement. According to Yassawi, the prayer should be performed in the mosque in peace and tranquillity like the ascetics, and like the faithful, no false words should be spoken, and the example of the arifs should lead to the attainment of the Truth. (Hulusi 2016,745)

Those who do not go to the congregation and leave the prayer,
I saw him in a place with Satan, in derk-i esfel³ (Yassawi 2017, 143)
If I enter the masjid and pray like a Zahid,
Like lovers who burn with the fire of love.
Like the faithful without a false word,
Can I reach the Truth like the saints? (Yassawi 2017, 351)

Also, in "Risale der Adab-i Tarikat", in the 4th bab on the sunnah of the tariqa: "O dervish, you should know that the sunnah of tariqa are in six parts. 1. Praying in the congregation" (Eraslan 2017, 64) and emphasizes praying in the congregation as one of the sunnah of tariqa. Referring to a hadith, he states that basic worships such as prayer, fasting and zakat will be a pretext for the salvation of believers from hell.

Rasul said, "Companions, be quiet,
We have been sent to the hereafter, you know that clearly,
Fast, pray, give zakat,
To free yourself from hell." (Yassawi 2017, 129)

In the 242nd wisdom, Yassawi mentions pilgrimage. He points out the importance of pilgrimage and that pilgrimage is essentially a means of purification.

O God, if I intend to reach the Ka'bah,
May I gird my loins with Himmet and walk on and on,

3 *Derk-i esfel*, it is the name given to the lowest floors of hell. It is the lowest point of hell.

If I could see the Blessed House,
I wish I could put my head and rub my faces.

May the pilgrimage I performed at your dervish shrine be accepted,
If my sins of the past and present were wood,
May the damn devil see him and be devastated,
I wish I could pass through it and reach Medina.

Its beautiful name is Medina Munevvere,
He is superior to all guardianship in the realm,
Rasul chose him and made him our destination,
Unless he dies, I wish I were there.

Kul Hodja Ahmed sings, if I always reach the Ka'bah,
He dreams of going to Medina for many years,
If my life is over, my accident is enough, if I die,
I wish I could sleep at the feet of Rasulullah. (Yassawi 2017, 463-464)

In his 106th wisdom, Ahmad Yassawi states that one should not enter tariqa without learning the science of fiqh; otherwise, one would be in danger of losing one's faith.

Those who enter tariqa without shari'ah,
The devil would come and take away their faith. (Yassawi 2017, 228)

Ahmad Yassawi's *Divan-i Hikmat* is deeply rooted in the foundational texts of Islam—the Qur'an and the Sunnah—as Yassawi himself indicates throughout his writings. His commitment to these sources is crucial in demonstrating his adherence to the core teachings of Islam.

Yassawi frequently references the Qur'an in his wisdoms, underscoring its significance in guiding Islamic practice and belief. He criticizes those who read the Qur'an without understanding or applying its teachings, indicating that true scholarship lies in both knowledge and practice. For instance, in his *Divan-i Hikmat*, Yassawi emphasizes the importance of integrating the Qur'an into one's life, as seen in these verses: "The false scholar who reads the Qur'an and does not act, verse, hadith, does not understand the Qur'an" (Yassawi 2017, 357) and "My wisdom is the command of Subhan, its meaning is the Qur'an for those who read and know" (Yassawi 2017, 489).

We see that the word sunnah is described in Yassawi's wisdom as follows: "Sunnah is not to harm even if it is an infidel; Allah is not pleased with the hard-hearted and hurtful (Yassawi 2017, 46), It is sunnah for you to say the dhikr if you are an ummah (60th wisdom), It is sunnah if you fulfil the commandment of the obligatory and sunnah" (180th wisdom).

According to Ahmad Yassawi, the true scholar is the one who combines Sharia and Tariqa, the knowledge of the body and the knowledge of the soul in his own person.

Ahmad Yassawi severely criticized not only kadi's, mufti and scholars but also false Sufis. (Bilgili 2016, 861-875)

The Sheikh of the end times, he corrects his outward appearance,
He corrupts his inner world by not practising asceticism and piety,
He calls it a miracle, what he sees in his sleep of heedlessness,
He sells himself to the people with *riya*⁴, friends. (Yassawi 2017, 206)

The following 219th wisdom of Ahmad Yassawi begins with “See the sheiks of this time...” and then goes on to describe the true face of the false sheiks. In the last parts of the wisdom, he clearly declares that the false sheiks never walk with the madhhab of Abû Hanifa, that the liars are disguised with Hanafism, and that in fact the liars prefer other Ahl-i bid'at madhhabs that deviate from the path of Ahl-i Sunnah.

He will not be loyal, he will not act in accordance with the Shari'ah,
He does not know the truth of what the scholars say,
He does not attach the dervishes to the eye,
They say that mine is the only true one in the world.

Murshid makes a case, does not know the conditions,
He does not know the difference between halal and haram, sunnah and bid'ah,
It never walks in Abu Hanifa's madhhab,
They walk in the madhhab of the mubtedi⁵ (Yassawi 2017, 422).

Yassawi's *Divan-i Hikmat* repeatedly emphasizes the importance of fundamental Islamic practices such as prayer, fasting, zakat, and pilgrimage. For instance, “prayer” is mentioned 60 times, “fasting” 33 times, and “zakat” 3 times in his wisdoms, highlighting the centrality of these acts of worship in his teachings. Additionally, his focus on the “sharia,” mentioned 46 times, and the unity of “sharia” and “tariqa” 27 times, further underscores his commitment to Islamic jurisprudence and the practical application of religious knowledge.

Ahmad Yassawi's *Fakrname* is an essential work in which he emphasized Islamic jurisprudence. In this work, Yassawi said: “It is narrated from Hazrat Ali, may Allah be pleased with him, that the stations of dervishhood are forty. If (a dervish) knows and acts (accordingly), his dervishhood will be pure, and if he does not know and does not learn, the office of dervishhood will be forbidden to him and (that person) is ignorant. Of those forty stations, ten are in the station of Sharia, ten in the station of tariqa, ten in the station of marifat and ten in the station of truth. Those ten stations are in the Shari'ah, the first of which is to believe in the oneness, existence, attributes and essence of Allah (swt). The second is to pray. The third is fasting. The fourth is giving zakat. The fifth is to perform Hajj. The sixth is to speak softly. The seventh is to learn

⁴ hypocrisy

⁵ *Mübtedi*, *mübtedia* veya *ehl-i bid'at*, A person who deviates from the path of Ahl al-Sunnah is the owner of bid'at. It is a term that means groups that emerged after Asr al-Sa'adat and adopt some beliefs and behaviours that are not based on shari'ah evidence. See. Yusuf Şevki Yavuz “Mübtedia, Ehl-i bid'at”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 10:501-505, İstanbul: TDV Yay., 1994.

knowledge. The eighth is to fulfill the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him. The ninth is to fulfill emr-i maruf. The tenth is to do what is prohibited” (Yassawi 2017, 54); we see that Ahmad Yassawi emphasized the science of fiqh in his teaching.

In his work *Risale der Makamat-i Erbain*, Ahmad Yassawi presented the five pillars of Islam as follows: “The servant reaches his Lord through 40 steps (maqamat). The first 10 steps are related to Sharia, the second 10 steps are related to tariqa, the third 10 steps are related to marifat, and the fourth 10 steps are related to truth.” Then Yassawi, after explaining the first of the ten stations in Sharia, described the second station as follows: “The second station is to become a Muslim. Allah’s word is as follows: “The true religion in the sight of Allah is Islam” (Quran 2023, 3/19). There are five conditions for becoming a Muslim: The first is believing, praying, fasting, giving zakat and performing Hajj. Allah Ta’ala says: “Perform the prayer and pay the zakat” (Quran 2023, 2/43). It is also fasting. Allah Ta’ala says: “Fasting is obligatory on you as it was obligatory on those before you.” (Quran 2023, 2/183). It is also to perform Hajj. Allah Ta’ala says: “It is Allah’s right upon mankind that those who can afford to go should perform Hajj” (Quran 2023, 9/97; Yassawi 2017, 71).

Through his writings, Ahmad Yassawi demonstrates a profound dedication to the Qur’an, the Sunnah, and the principles of Islamic law, reflecting his alignment with the Hanafi-Māturīdī tradition and his rejection of deviations from orthodox Sunni beliefs.

Evaluation

As can be seen, Ahmad Yassawi emphasized the five pillars of Islam throughout his works, including *Divan-i Hikmat*. In his *Risale der Makamat-i Erbain*, he systematically discusses these pillars, reinforcing their importance with references to Quranic verses. This approach clearly demonstrates the significance he placed on the science of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence). According to Hazini, Yassawi was a revered figure in his time, known as the Pir of Turkistan and the Pole of the poles of the world, commanding respect and adherence from people in Yassi, Mawarannahr, and Yemen (Hazini, 1995, 185).

The source of his *Divan-i Hikmat* is deeply rooted in the Qur’an and Sunnah, as Yassawi himself repeatedly emphasized. His teachings, derived from these sacred sources, illustrate that his approach to Sufism is inseparable from Sharia. Moreover, in *Divan-i Hikmat*, Yassawi criticizes those who do not distinguish between halal and haram, sunnah and bid’ah, asserting that such individuals deviate from the Hanafi madhhab of Ahl-i Sunnah. By doing so, he explicitly identifies the Hanafi madhhab as the correct path, highlighting his adherence to Hanafi jurisprudence in intellectual matters and Māturīdī thought in theological dimensions. This clearly establishes Ahmad Yassawi as a follower of the Hanafi madhhab within the framework of Ahl-i Sunnah.

3. The Theological Views of Ahmad Yassawi

In his works, Ahmad Yassawi addresses a range of theological issues, including Tawhid (the oneness of God), God’s Word, Ruyatullah (the vision of God), angels, prophethood, the afterlife, and the relationship between faith and Islam. His discussions can be classified as follows:

1) Tawhid (Oneness of God): Ahmad Yassawi frequently uses the concepts of “One God,” “Wahdaniyet,” and “Tawhid” in his works. For instance, he refers to the oneness of God with phrases like, “In truth, it is forbidden except for one God” (87th Hikmat) and “Lovers have a desire for one God” (10th Hikmat). These references emphasize that Allah is the Supreme Being, the only deity worthy of worship. He also discusses the concept of Wahdaniyet (the unity of God) and the importance of understanding the secret of this unity as part of true faith.

2) God’s Word (Kalamullah): Yassawi expresses his belief in the Qur’an as the word of God and asserts that it is the ultimate truth. He states, “The scholar said, the Qur’an is the word of God” (183rd wisdom) and emphasizes the importance of understanding the Qur’an’s essence (189th wisdom). This highlights his deep respect for the divine word and its central role in guiding human behavior.

3) Faith (Iman): On the topic of faith, Yassawi describes it as a divine gift bestowed upon humans by Allah. He underscores the importance of the shahada (the Islamic declaration of faith) and the constant recitation of “La ilaha illallah” (There is no god but Allah) to maintain true faith. For instance, he writes, “Hakk Teala gave us the gift of faith” (38th wisdom) and “Say ‘La ilaha illallah’ and cry, take ‘La ilaha illallah’ on your tongue” (92nd wisdom). This constant emphasis on faith and its expressions through worship and remembrance underscores its significance in Yassawi’s teachings.

In his *Fakrname*, Yassawi combines the concepts of Tawhid and faith, stating that belief in the oneness, existence, attributes, and essence of Allah is the first of the ten stations of Shari’ah (Yassawi 2017, 54). Similarly, in his *Risale der Makamat-i Erbain*, he outlines the principles of faith in alignment with the traditional Islamic creed, emphasizing belief in Allah, angels, divine books, prophets, the Day of Judgment, and destiny as essential components of faith (Yassawi 2017, 71). These principles closely mirror those found in Abu Hanifa’s *Fiqh al-Akbar*, reflecting Yassawi’s adherence to orthodox Islamic theology.

Yassawi’s works demonstrate a profound commitment to the core tenets of Islam, particularly the importance of Tawhid and the central role of the Qur’an and Sunnah in shaping his spiritual teachings. His emphasis on the integration of Sharia, tariqa (spiritual path), and marifat (gnosis) reveals a holistic approach to faith, where outward religious practice and inner spiritual realization are deeply intertwined.

4) Ru’yetullah (The Vision of Allah): Ahmad Yassawi asserts that those who have faith will be granted the vision of Allah, while those who lack faith will be deprived of this blessing. He expresses this in his wisdom: “Kul Hodja Ahmad said this to the people: The servant without faith will never see the glory, by God, But we will see the glory of God, by God, Because He gave us faith to see the glory” (249th wisdom).

5) Angels: Ahmad Yassawi frequently mentions the four great angels—Gabriel, Michael, Israfil, and Azrael—and their duties. For example, he writes: “Hakk Mustafa asked Gabriel” (2nd wisdom, 47), “Gabriel came and came, O Mustafa Muhammad” (201st wisdom, 386), “Gabriel first brought him the Burak”

(215th wisdom, 407). Additionally, he describes how Gabriel could not pass through a particular station, while Michael eventually tired and stayed behind (215th wisdom, 408). Concerning Israfil, he says, “When Israfil takes the Sur and blows it” (108th wisdom). Regarding Azrael, he notes, “If the time comes, Azrael will say, ‘Give the trust!’” (18th wisdom, 89). Yassawi’s wisdom clearly articulates the roles and responsibilities of these angels, reflecting his deep understanding of Islamic teachings.

6) Prophethood (Nubuwwah): Ahmad Yassawi references various prophets mentioned in the Qur’an, including Adam, Seth, Idris, Noah, Abraham, Zechariah, and Moses. He writes: “Four hundred and forty-four prophets, Rasulullah, Nabiullah, They all passed away in this world” (101st wisdom). He also refers to the Prophet Muhammad with the names “Muhammad” and “Mustafa,” expressing his profound love for him by saying, “Know, friends, that we are the Ummah of Muhammad” (164th wisdom, 329).

In *Fakrname*, Yassawi discusses many prophets and the spiritual values they imparted to humanity. He states: “O dervish, each station is the station of a Prophet. The first one is Hazrat Adam, peace be upon him, and the last one is Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him)...” (Fakrname, 58). He then lists the eight stations of fakr (spiritual poverty): repentance, worship, love, patience, gratitude, contentment, asceticism, and gnosis. Each of these qualities is inherited from a different prophet, such as repentance from Adam, gratitude and love from Abraham, and contentment from Moses. He also describes the seven levels of fakr: valor, patriotism, strangeness, wearing a cardigan, patience, conviction, and trust in God. Each of these levels is likewise associated with a prophet, for instance, chivalry from Ali and contentment from Muhammad Mustafa (Fakrname, 59).

7) Hereafter: Ahmad Yassawi emphasized that those who follow the commandments of Allah will find joy in the hereafter, while those who disobey will face punishment. He expresses this in his wisdom: “O unaware, this world has no loyalty, Won’t you burn in the hereafter, O oppressor? You do not keep the commandment of truth and make power here, Won’t you fear Allah, O oppressor?” (250th wisdom). He continues to advise, “Put the world in love and love the hereafter” (129th wisdom, 442), and asks, “Won’t you cry here and laugh in the hereafter?” (242nd wisdom, 468). Furthermore, he encourages saying the name of Allah in preparation for the hereafter: “If he arrives in the hereafter saying Allah, I always say Allah without resting” (232nd wisdom, 446), and warns, “Be anxious about the torment of the hereafter” (232nd wisdom, 447). He praises those who focus on the hereafter, stating, “Friends who leave the world and love the hereafter, drink from the water of the pool of Kevser” (215th wisdom, 413), and concludes that “The world is necessary for the heedless, the hereafter is necessary for the wise” (35th wisdom, 113).

8) Mind: Ahmad Yassawi places great importance on reason and advises how it should be used. For instance, he advises, “O friends, heed this advice, If you are wise, follow the Shari’ah of Mustafa” (219th wisdom, 422). He also suggests, “If you are wise, hunt the hearts of the strangers” (1st wisdom, 45), and encourages weeping and seeking the path of the righteous: “If you are wise, weep without resting in the evening and morning, Ask and understand the path of the Eren” (239th wisdom, 459). Yassawi emphasizes the importance of keeping the remembrance of Allah in mind:

“My soul, my heart, my mind, my consciousness said ‘Allah!’” (7th wisdom, 62), and advises, “Put ‘La Illaha Illallah’ on your tongue, Put it in your mind, be awake in every breath” (92nd wisdom, 201). He contrasts the importance of the hereafter for the wise versus the heedless: “The world is necessary for the heedless, the hereafter is necessary for the wise” (35th wisdom, 113), and warns, “Do not set your heart on the world - if you are wise” (106th wisdom, 228).

9) Faith and Islam: The relationship between faith (Iman) and Islam is a topic on which various Islamic schools of thought hold differing views. The concepts of faith and Islam are used in multiple ways in the Qur’an and Hadith, leading to two perspectives: that faith and Islam are synonymous, and that they are distinct (Karaagach 2012, 103-120). According to Abū Hanifa and Imam Maturidi, faith and Islam are identical in meaning (Oz 2019, 18-19; Maturidi 1981, 580-591; Karaagach 2021, 24-105). Ahmad Yassawi treats faith and Islam as inseparable in his works. For instance, he writes, “I took up faith-Islam and made an expedition” (156th wisdom). He also warns that “Those who do not know the rules of faith-Islam will not be red-faced on the great day” (123rd wisdom) and emphasizes the importance of retaining one’s faith until the end: “When Allah gives faith, he will be a man, if he takes his faith there” (251st wisdom, 487). He concludes with a warning for hypocrites: “The liar will be confused on the Day of Judgement. The flesh does not tell, the soul does not tell, faith tells” (129th wisdom) (Saifunov 2022, 133).

Evaluation

When we look at the theological colour of Ahmad Yassawi’s works, we see the understanding of Ahl-i Sunnah determined by the Hanafi-Maturidi line in the region. Abu Hanifa’s world of thought is more focused on this world and has a theological characteristic. On the other hand, Ahmad Yassawi’s thought system is more orientated towards the afterlife and has a moral structure. In other words, Khoja Ahmad Yassawi formed the Sufi-moral culture of Ahl-i Sunnah on the shari’ah of Abu Hanifa. The *aqidah* method developed by Abu Hanifa was newly shaped and reinterpreted as Sufism by Khoja Ahmad (Korkmaz 2016, 709-736). In general, the Turks took Abu Mansur al-Maturidi as their teacher and imam in matters of faith, Abu Hanifa in jurisprudence and Ahmad Yassawi in matters of ethics. Hanafism is actually a *madhhab* of theological character. Considering the dominance of Hanafism in the region in question, one side of Yassawi’s understanding of belief is the Hanafi-Maturidi belief system.

4. The political views of Ahmad Yassawi

There are many reasons for the emergence of political and theological *madhhabs* in Islam. One of the reasons for the emergence of Islamic *madhhabs* is the caliphate-imamah debates that emerged after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Each *madhhab* member defended their own views on the issue of Hulefa-yi Rashidin (632-661) and looked at the issue from a different perspective. For example, the Kharijites considered the periods of Hz. Abu Bekr and Hz. Ömer and the first six years of Hz. Osman’s rule as the most ideal periods. However, after six years under Hazrat Uthman and after the Tahkim incident, they claimed that Hazrat Ali had committed kufr. The Shia claimed that Abu Bakr became caliph under the influence of ‘Umar, and that after Muhammad, ‘Ali became the Imam by divine decree and appointment (Onat,

Kutlu 2015, 54). For example, the most prominent view that distinguishes the Shia from other madhhabs is to gather around the issue of “Imamate”. According to Shia, “Imamat” is faith-based; in order for a person to be a Muslim, he must also believe in “Imamat”. The belief in the Mahdi, which is one of the cornerstones of Shia belief, manifests itself in different manifestations in almost every Shia madhhabs. However, except for Zaidism, in other Shiite madhhabs the Mahdi is a constant characteristic of the hidden Imams. Accordingly, even though they are “hidden”, they have all the spiritual and moral characteristics of the “manifest” imams. Their secrecy will one day come to an end and they will be revealed by divine favour. Their emergence will save the world from oppression and injustice, and will make Al-Bayt, the oppressed people of the rulers, victorious. (Figlali, 2014, 241-286.) On the other hand, Ahl al-Sunnah insisted on keeping the issue of imamah outside the sphere of belief (Onat 1992, 89-110).

When the works of Ahmad Yassawi are carefully examined, it is seen that he did not put forward any political and theological views other than Ahl al-Sunnah. It is understood that all his jurisprudential, theological and political views are based on the Hanafi-Mâturidi tradition of Ahl al-Sunna. Ahmad Yassawi also touched upon the subject of politics and mentioned the necessity of the sheik to know politics.

The tariqa needs a murshid who knows the science of politics;
That murshid needs a follower with faith (106th wisdom, 228)

The concept of politics mentioned here is not in the sense of taking part in state politics, but in the sense of the ability to manage the disciples.

Mahmud Hazini in his work ‘Jawahiru’l-Ebrar’, written five centuries ago, shows the prerequisites necessary for the dervishes to reach perfection. According to Hodja Ahmad Yassawi, the following four conditions are indispensable for any dervish to reach perfection. The first of these four conditions is place (makan), the second is time (zaman), the third is brotherhood (ikhwan), and the fourth is obedience to the sultan (Rabt-i Sultan). Ahmad Yassawi explained these four conditions as follows:

“1. Makan (Place): It stipulates that a person who turns towards the truth must have his own place (home, homeland) so that his heart is at ease and he can continue his worship of Allah at all times without hesitation. He shows this condition as the first condition for reaching perfection.

2. Zaman (Time): The second condition for attaining perfection is that there should be no jihad, war or any armed conflict in the country where a person who is devoted to worship lives. It is said that someone who lived in tranquillity would have reached early to maturity. In a country where there is war, one cannot fulfil his worship comfortably.

3. Ikhwan (brotherhood): The path of the tariqa cannot be walked without companions, companions need ikhwan, they must be brothers to each other, one must be ready to give his life for the other.

4. Rabt-i Sultan (obedience to the sultan): This means that those who follow the path of tariqa must obey and submit to the head of state. After the head of state, the governor and the Ahl al-Suluk (ulema scholars) come in order”.

After explaining these four conditions, Shaykh Yassawi refers to a hadith of the Prophet Muhammad. “Hazrat Habibullah (peace be upon him) said: “I was born in

the time of the just sultan Anushirvan⁶". Allah Ta'ala says: "O you who believe, obey Allah, obey the Messenger and obey the one in authority from among you" (Quran 2023, 4/59), and says: "Surely Allah Almighty and His honorable Messenger have spoken the truth. And we bear witness to this." (Hazini 1995, 109-112, Saifunov 2022, 135).

Evaluation

As can be seen, Ahmad Yassawi's political view exactly follows the Ahl al-Sunnah view on the issue of caliphate-imamah. The main view that forms the backbone of the political view that distinguishes Ahl al-Sunnah from other madhhabs is the caliphate ranking. Therefore, the members of Ahl al-Sunnah recognize the legitimacy of the rule of the Khulafa-yi Rashid. In Imam Azam's work *al-Wasiyye Abu Hanifa*, the ranking of caliphate-imamah is mentioned as follows: "After the Prophet Muhammad, the most virtuous of this Ummah is Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, then Umar, then Uthman, then Ali (may Allah be pleased with them all).

In *Divan-i Hikmat*, Ahmad Yassawi treats the Hulefa-yi Rashidin ranking in the same order as Imam-i Azam Abu Hanifa. This proves that Ahmad Yassawi's political views are in harmony with the Hanafi dimension of the Ahl al-Sunnah. Now it would be appropriate to give an example from the wisdom of Ahmad Yassawi:

Abu Bakr-i Siddiq believes when he sees.

Abu Bakr-i Siddiq is superior and endures.

The second is the just Umar, who is a friend.

The friend in piety is the just Umar

The third is Uthman, the friend of the humble (shy),

He is Uthman, the owner of haya, who is your partner in every breath.

The fourth is Ali, who is a friend the lion of Allah,

Ali is the lion of Allah, who is a friend in miraj.

(Yassawi 2000, 100-102; Yassawi 1998, 356-363).

Looking at the sources and Ahmad Yassawi's own works, it is possible to understand that he was a scholar with a deep understanding of politics. We also see some examples from the legends that he brought scholars and rulers to their knees with his miracles and that they even became his disciples. Naturally, Ahmad Yassawi should be portrayed as a legendary figure, since legends are the product of imagination. However, if we take into account the interest in Yassawi among the people, the personality of Khoja Ahmad Yassawi appears as an intelligent and profound scholar whose views are based on the Hanafi-Maturidi tradition of the Ahl al-Sunna.

6 Anushirvan is sometimes referred to as Noshervan, Kistrā Enūshirvān I. Khūsrev b. Kubad (d. 579), Sassanid ruler (531-579). Stories and legends about Enūshirvan, who is mentioned as a just ruler, are frequently included in Islamic sources. Enūshirvān is mentioned as Nūširevān-ı Adil in classical Arabic, Persian and Turkish literature. For detailed information, see: Ahmet Tefazzuli, Nurettin Albayrak "Enūšervān", TDV Islamic Encyclopedia, Istanbul: TDV publication. 1995, volume 11, p. 255-256.

Conclusion

Ahmad Yassawi clearly stated that he adopted the Hanafî madhhab of Ahl-i Sunnah in his own work *Divan-i Hikmat*. As we have already noted in other works of Ahmad Yassawi, it is clear that he is a follower of the Hanafi madhhab of Ahl-i Sunnah in the fiqh dimension and Mâturidi thought in the theological dimension.

R. Nelson, A. Muminov, M. Senai, and M. Ozturk, it is possible to emphasize in particular that their views on Ahmad Yassawi are unfounded. When Ahmad Yassawi's works are carefully analyzed, it is impossible to see whether the belief system of the second Mani doctrine or the Mubaydiyya doctrine is compatible with Ahmad Yassawi's thought. Because Ahmad Yassawi never expressed the basic views of Manism and Shiism in his works, in fact, there is not a single word about the main principles of Shiism. Of course, according to the *Nasabnama*, Ahmad Yassawi's lineage goes back to Hazrat Ali, and no one can deny his reverence, respect and love for Hazrat Ali. However, as mentioned above, we should be careful because the fundamental belief of Shiism is based on the theory of imamate. Prof. Dr. Hasan Onat defines the meaning of Shiism as follows: "Shia is the collective name of the communities who believe that Ali b. Abi Talib is the caliph after the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), who assert that the imamate will be in his lineage until the Day of Judgement, and who claims that these imams are innocent." (Onat 1993, 146; Onat 1986, 10). Within the framework of this definition, when Ahmad Yassawi's works are analyzed, it is impossible to associate him with Manism or Shiism. As a matter of fact, when Yassawi's own works are spoken, Shiism claims are never encountered. On the contrary, in his works *Divan-i Hikmat*, *Fakrname*, *Risale der Adab-i Tarikat*, *Risale der Makamat-i Erbain*, it is clearly seen that he followed Hanafism exactly as a madhhab (Yassawi 2017, 219; Yassawi's *Fakrname* and *Two Persian Treatises* 2017, 54, 71)

When the sources about Ahmad Yassawi and his jurisprudential, theological and political views in Yassawi's own works are analyzed in detail, it is not possible to link Ahmad Yassawi's views with Shafiism or Shi'ism. On the contrary, the views of Khoja Ahmad Yassawi prove that they coincide closely with the Hanafi-Mâturidi doctrine and views of Ahl al-Sunnah and are in complete harmony with the Hanafi-Mâturidi tradition.

Hanafism is actually a madhhab of theological character. Considering the dominance of Hanafism in the region in question, the Hanafi-Mâturidi belief system is on one side of Yassawi's understanding of belief. When we look at the theological color in all of Ahmad Yassawi's works, we see the Ahl al-Sunnah understanding determined by the Hanafi-Maturidi line in the region. Abu Hanifa's world of thought is more focused on this world and has a theological characteristic. When we look at Yassawi's works, it is seen that Sufism is intertwined with Sharia and is based on Sharia. On the other hand, Ahmad Yassawi's thought system is more orientated towards the afterlife and has a moral structure. In other words, Khoja Ahmad Yassawi formed the Sufi-ethical culture of Ahl-i Sunnah based on Abu Hanifa's Sharia. The aqidah method developed by Abu Hanifa was given a new form by Khoja Ahmad and reinterpreted as Sufism. In general, the Turks took Abu Hanifa as their teacher and imam in jurisprudence, Abu Mansur al-Maturidi in matters of faith and Ahmad Yassawi in matters of ethics.

Ahmad Yassawi's political view follows the view of Ahl al-Sunnah on the issue of caliphate-imamah. Sources show that Ahmad Yassawi was a scholar with a good grasp of politics. We can see a few examples from the legends that he brought scholars and even rulers to their knees with his miracles and that they became his disciples. It is only natural that Ahmad Yassawi should be portrayed as a legendary person, since the legends are the product of imagination. However, if we take into account the interest in Yassawi among the people, Khoja Ahmad Yassawi appears before us as an intelligent and profound scientist whose views are based on the Hanafi-Maturidi tradition of Ahl-i Sunnah.

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