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EDİTÖRDEN

TAED'in beşinci sayısında, tasavvufun temel kaynakları ve kavramları hakkındaki çalışmalarla birlikte günümüz ilim meclislerinde tartışılan yeni söylemler yer almaktadır. Beş araştırma makalesi ve üç özgün derlemeden oluşan bu sayının ilk yazısı Tahran Üniversitesi İlahiyat ve İslam Araştırmaları Fakültesinde doktora çalışmalarını sürdüren **Taha Abdollahi-Sohi**'ye ait. Yazar makalesinde İran'daki mevcut İbn Arabî takipçileri ile muhaliflerinden oluşan grupları ve özgün tutumlarıyla dikkat çeken diğer akımları tanıtıyor. İkinci makale Kyoto'daki Otani Üniversitesinde doktora sonrası araştırmalar yürüten **Dr. Sepideh Afrashteh** tarafından kaleme alındı. Araştırmacı yazısında Kübreviyye tarikatinde uygulanan zikrin niteliği hakkında bilgi verirken, İslam tasavvufunda zikrin rolü ve önemi üzerinde de duruyor. Bir sonraki yazıda ise İbn Haldun Üniversitesi Medeniyetler İttifakı Enstitüsünde doktora öğrencisi olan **Mariya Golovacheva**, İbn 'Acîbe'nin *el-Bahrü'l-Medîd* adlı tefsirinde, Kur'an'ın kozmosu canlı ve bilen bir varlık olarak ele almasıyla ortaya çıkan özneliği inceliyor. Bu sayının dördüncü makalesi Tokyo'da Meiji Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesinden **Dr. Kie Inoue**'ye ait. Yazar, Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî ve oğlu Sultân Veled'in, tasavvuf tarihinde her zaman ilgiye mazhar olan Hallâc-ı Mansur hakkındaki düşüncelerini mukayeseli bir okumayla ele alıyor. Sayının son araştırma makalesi Erzurum Atatürk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesinden **Dr. Adem Urhan** tarafından hazırlandı. Makale, Ruzbihân-ı Baklî'nin âyet, hadis ve sahâbe sözleri ile sufilerin şatahat kabul edilen bazı sözlerine dair yapmış olduğu yorumları konu edinmektedir.

Beşinci sayının özgün derleme niteliğindeki yazılarından ilki Uludağ Üniversitesinden emekli **Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kara** tarafından yazıldı. Makalede Türk münevveri Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın özellikle yaşamının son dönemlerinde toplumun kültürel anlamda kalkınması yönünde yürüttüğü çalışmalar anlatılıyor. Bu bölümün ikinci makalesi Kastamonu Üniversitesi İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Fakültesinden **Prof. Dr. Namiq Musalı**'ya ait. Araştırmacı, yeni bulduğu ve Horasan irfanını Anadolu'ya ulaştıran kaynak eserlerden biri olarak tanımladığı *Menâkıb-ı Şeyh Zâhid-i Geylânî* hakkında bilgi veriyor. Bu sayıda-



ki son yazı ise Pekin’deki Cheung Kong İşletme Okulu Direktörü **Dr. Jian Bao Wang**’ın çağdaş Neo-Konfüçyüsçülükten doğan “mânevî hümanizm” söylemi hakkında. Yazar, makalede, insan merkezli hümanizmden ziyade ‘rûhânî’ temellere dayalı bir hümanizm söylemini çevre ve insan ilişkileri açısından ele alıyor.

Bu vesile ile, dergiye katkı sunan bütün araştırmacılara gönülden teşekkür ediyorum.

Prof. Dr. Reşat Öngören



FROM THE EDITOR

The fifth issue of the Journal of the Institute for Sufi Studies (JISS) includes studies on the fundamental sources and concepts of Sufism, as well as new discourses that are currently being discussed by scholars. This issue consists of five research articles and three original reviews, which are not subject to peer-review process. The first research article is authored by **Taha Abdollahi-Sohi**, currently pursuing his PhD studies at the Faculty of Theology and Islamic Studies at Tehran University. In his article, he presents an overview of the various groups of followers and opponents of Ibn ‘Arabī in Iran, as well as other trends that have developed distinctive positions. The second article was written by **Dr. Sepideh Afrashteh**, a postdoctoral researcher at Otani University in Kyoto. In her article, she provides information about the nature of dhikr practiced in the Kubrawiyya order, as well as the role and importance of dhikr in Islamic mysticism. The next article by **Mariya Golovacheva**, a PhD student at the Ibn Khaldun University Institute for the Alliance of Civilizations, examines the authentic approach of the Qur’ān, treating the cosmos as a living and knowing entity within Ibn ‘Ajība’s exegesis *al-Baḥr al-Madīd*. The fourth article belongs to **Dr. Kie Inoue** from the Faculty of Literature at Meiji University in Tokyo. In her work, she presents a comparative reading on the thoughts of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī and his son Sulṭān Walad on Hallāj al-Manṣūr, a figure whose historical importance has attracted considerable attention in the history of Sufism. The last research article of the issue was authored by **Dr. Adem Urhan** from Erzurum Atatürk University Faculty of Theology. The article deals with Ruzbihān al-Baqlī’s interpretations on the Quranic verses, hadīths, sayings of the Companions and some of the expressions of Sufis that are considered shaṭaḥāt.

The first of the original review articles of the fifth issue was written by **Mustafa Kara**, a retired professor from Uludağ University. The article describes the efforts of the Turkish intellectual Remzi Oğuz Arık, especially during the latter stages of his life to foster cultural growth and advancement within society. The second article in this section is by **Professor Namiq Musalı** from Kastamonu University Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. The researcher provides information about his newly discovered *Manāqib al-Sheikh Zāhid al-Gilānī*, which he describes as one of the primary sources that intro-



duced the wisdom of Khorāsān to Anatolia. The final article in this issue belongs to **Dr. Jian Bao Wang**, Director of Cheung Kong Business School in Beijing, on the discourse of “spiritual humanism” emerging from contemporary Neo-Confucianism. In the article, the author discusses a type of humanism based on ‘spiritual’ rather than anthropocentric in terms of environment and human relations.

Hereby, I would like to express my gratitude to all the researchers who have contributed to the Journal.

Professor Reşat Öngören

Arařtırma Makaleleri
Research Articles



Ibn 'Arabī in Contemporary Iran: Some Currents and Debates*

Çağdaş İnan'da İbn Arabî: Bazı Akım ve Tartışmalar

Taha ABDOLLAHI-SOHI**

Abstract

Iran's historical and complicated social situation has led to diverse attitudes toward Sufism and interpretations of Ibn 'Arabī's legacy. Many of Ibn 'Arabī's prominent followers and commentators were originally from Iran; however, many of his notable opponents were also from Iran. These two historical currents of followers and opponents of Ibn 'Arabī are still quite alive. Other currents with unique attitudes toward Ibn 'Arabī also have been established recently in Iran. In this article, different attitudes towards Ibn 'Arabī in contemporary Iran are presented and contextualized. Attitudes represent not only the scholarly tendencies of Iranian academics and Islamic scholars but also their role in forming diverse collective identities.

Keywords: Ibn 'Arabī, Akbarian tradition, Sufism, Sufism in Iran, Iranian Studies, Sufi Studies.

Öz

İnan'ın tarihsel ve karışık sosyal durumu, tasavvufa ve İbn Arabî'nin mirasının yorumlanmasına yönelik farklı tutumların ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. İbn Arabî'nin önde gelen takipçilerinin ve yorumcularının çoğu İnan kökenlidir; ancak önemli muhaliflerinin çoğu da yine İnanlıdır. İbn Arabî takipçileri ve

* I want to express my sincere gratitude to professor Hossein Kamaly, Babak Rajabi, Asli Yildirim and two anonymous reviewers who kindly provided me with useful comments.

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muhalliflerinden oluşan bu iki tarihsel akım hâlâ oldukça canlıdır. Yakın zamanda İran'da İbn Arabî'ye yönelik özgün tutumları olan başka akımlar da ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu makale, çağdaş İran'daki İbn Arabî'ye yönelik farklı tutumları sunmayı ve kavramsallaştırmayı hedeflemektedir. Sözü edilen tutumlar sadece İranlı akademisyenlerin ve İslam âlimlerinin ilmî eğilimlerini değil, aynı zamanda farklı kolektif kimliklerin oluşumundaki rollerini de temsil etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İbn Arabî, Ekberî gelenek, tasavvuf, İran'da tasavvuf, İran araştırmaları, tasavvuf araştırmaları.

Introduction

Although several academic studies have been published on Sufi Studies in the West, specifically in North America,¹ the current status of Sufi studies, particularly Ibn 'Arabî studies, in Iran, has been neglected in academic literature.

This brief study is restricted to a more specific field, that is to say Ibn 'Arabî studies, and to the short period after Iran's 1979 revolution and so far. Major currents regarding their contribution to Ibn 'Arabî studies and their role in interpreting and opposing him are considered. I have limited my scope to some more currently influential figures, which means that some other figures were excluded, who are still worth considering. In addition to studying and contextualizing some intellectual currents, a hotly debated polemic will also be discussed and contextualized, a polemic that plays an extensive role in forming the Shia mentality concerning Ibn 'Arabî.

The Legacy of Tehran University

A scholarly current emerged in the mid-twentieth century at the University of Tehran,² focusing on literary aspects of Su-

fism. Works of Badī' al-Zamān Forūzānfar (d. 1970), Jalāluddīn Homāyī (d. 1980), and their students and colleagues, such as 'Abd al-Ḥossein Zarrīnkoob (d. 1999)³ brought some already well-known Sufis such as Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Balkhī Rūmī (d. 1273) and 'Attār of Nīshāpūr (d. 1221), a famous Sufi poet, into scholarly attention.

These forefathers of the academic study of Sufism at Tehran University were mainly trained in Persian literature and their prime objective was critical editing of Persian Sufi literary works,⁴ history of Persian literature, literary criticism, and composing monographs on some Persian Sufi figures. The legacy of Tehran University's academics, their tendency toward critical text editing, their emphasis on the Persianate aspects of Sufism, and their concentration on the aesthetic elements of Sufism, passed to the next generation. Among others, these three figures are worth considering due to their undeniable influence on academic Sufi studies in contemporary Iran.

Moḥammad 'Alī Movaḥed (b. 1924) is usually known for his works on Rūmī and Shams. Besides *The Discourses of Shams*

1 Alexander Knysh, "Historiography of Sufi Studies in the West and in Russia," *Written Monuments of The Orient*, 4 (2006): 206-238; Marcia Hermansen, "The Academic Study of Sufism at American Universities," *American Journal of Islam and Society* 24, 3 (2007):24-45; Atif Khalil & Shiraz Sheikh, "Sufism in Western Historiography: A Brief Overview," *Philosophy East and West* 66, 1(2016): 194-217.

2 Hossein Kamaly, *God and Man in Tehran* (New York:

Columbia University Press, 2018), 168.

3 Zarrīnkoob is the author of an important book-length article, among many others, on Persian Sufism.

A. H. Zarrīnkoob, "Persian Sufism in Its Historical Perspective," *Journal of the Society for Iranian Studies* 3, 3-4 (1970): 139-220.

4 The modern method of critical manuscript editing was introduced to Iranian by the late Mohammad Qazvini (d. 1949).

al-Tabrīzī (*Maqālāt-e Shams-e Tabrīzī*), he made a critical edition on *Mathnavī*. In 2006, an annotated translation and commentary of the first ten chapters of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* was published by Moḥammad ‘Alī Movaḥed in collaboration with his brother, Ṣamad Movaḥed. His translation and comments on *Fuṣūṣ* have made it more accessible to a wide range of readers. Movaḥed’s translation starts with a lengthy introduction to Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, and Akbarian tradition; an introduction which well-represents his attitude towards Ibn ‘Arabī. Although he does not express sympathy for Ibn ‘Arabī and his commentators, he acknowledges his intellectual character.⁵

Movaḥed’s criticisms fall into two categories. His criticism of Ibn ‘Arabī’s hermeneutics is quite accustomed and familiar: “Ibn ‘Arabī vacates the texts and quotations which he cites from every simple and sensible meaning.”⁶

To be more straightforward, Movaḥed holds that Ibn ‘Arabī’s hermeneutics led to the misinterpretation of holy texts, and therefore, he and his followers put their own words in the mouth of God and his Prophet.⁷ Beside questioning Ibn ‘Arabī’s hermeneutics, Movaḥed expresses his antipathy towards Ibn ‘Arabī’s language and style by comparing him with one of the most well-known representatives of Persian Sufism, ‘Attār of Nīshāpūr: “‘Attār’s expression, unlike Ibn ‘Arabī, is infused with love and enthusiasm. Ibn ‘Arabī’s problematic praise in *Futūḥāt*, ‘Praise whom he manifested things and he is identical with them’ is insipid, arid, and cold to be just indeed.”⁸

5 Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, trans. Moḥammad ‘Alī Movaḥed & Ṣamad Movaḥed (Tehran: Kārnameh: 1400 sh./2021), 111.

6 Ibid., 53.

7 Ibid., 53.

8 Ibid., 69.

Neglecting Ibn ‘Arabī’s enthusiastic poems and writings,⁹ he extends his criticism of Ibn ‘Arabī’s language to his followers, whom he calls “Ibn ‘Arabīists”: “Regretfully writing in an obscure language [...] was the most convenient thing that Ibn ‘Arabī’s disciples learned from him.”¹⁰

Nearly the same unsympathetic approach towards Ibn ‘Arabī repeats itself in the writings of **Moḥammad-Rezā Shafī’i Kadkanī** (b. 1939), who is perhaps the most well-known Persian literature scholar of the time. He studied at the Mashhad seminary¹¹, the Ferdowsī and Tehran Universities. His works are mainly associated with ‘Attār and some other important Persian poets.

Kadkanī distinguishes between two types of Sufism in his writings: *Ḥurāsānī*¹² and Ibn ‘Arabī Sufism, a distinction which he considers as “the first major contrast”¹³ in the history of Sufism: “*Ḥurāsānī ‘erfān*¹⁴ is an aesthetic attitude toward religion; a religion that has both worldly and otherworldly aspects, a religion that has both inward and outward aspects. But Ibn Arabī’s *‘erfān* is an aesthetic attitude toward a religion,

9 Besides numerous poems scattered in his writings, Ibn ‘Arabī’s *The Translator of Desires* (*Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*) is notable in this respect, which is a collection of romantic poems. Ibn ‘Arabī, *The Translator of Desires*, ed. & trans. Michael Sells (Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2021).

10 Ibid., 59.

11 As it will be discussed, the Mashhad seminary is one of the most important strongholds of anti-philosophers in Iran, one could arguably express that Kadkanī’s tendency towards non-metaphysical aspects of Sufism rooted in his intellectual background.

12 *Ḥurāsān* is the name of a great region in the north east of Iran.

13 Moḥammad-Rezā Shafī’i Kadkanī, *Zabāne she’r dar nashr-e ṣufiyye* (Tehran: Soḥan, 1392 sh./2013), 362.

14 The mere transliteration of Persian pronunciation of “*irfān*” have used intentionally to emphasize that, as we are going to see, using “*taṣawwūf*” is uncommon among the majority of Iranian academics and even Ibn ‘Arabī scholars of seminary.

which merely cares about the invisible world [...] and neglects the human world thoroughly.”¹⁵

The question is not whether this dichotomy, which will be discussed more, is valid from a historical perspective, whatever we mean by “validity.” My main consideration here is the intentionality of this dichotomy and its role in the formation of Ibn 'Arabī studies in contemporary Iran.

The formal and aesthetic dimensions of Sufi texts play a significant role in Kadkanī's understanding of Sufism.¹⁶ According to him, *Hurāsānī 'erfān* or Sufism is an “artistic approach to theology or religion,”¹⁷ therefore Western/Akbarian Sufism, which, from his perspective, lacks artistic or aesthetic value is dismissed as an absurd or, at best, an irrelevant form of Sufism.

Kadkanī criticizes Ibn 'Arabī's metaphysical approach to Sufism, which, according to him, results in detachment from everyday life of human beings. This detachment from the human world and tendency toward the invisible, non-humanly world drives Ibn 'Arabī's Sufism toward an obscure and non-humanly language:

Hurāsānī 'erfān offers many values for contemporary human beings: It reduces bigotry, it praises unconditional philanthropy, and it extinguishes the fire of human egoism, to relieve its desolater flames [...] But the *'erfān* which is usually presented in Iran [...] will corrupt the Iranian race and will not leave any place

15 Ibid., 519.

16 His formalistic approach towards Sufi texts, and the way in which he considers them as literary devices is rooted in his enthusiasm for the Russian School of formalism. Moḥammad-Rezā Shafī'i Kadkanī, *Ras-tāhiz-e Kalamāt (Resurrection of Words: Lectures in the Literary Theory of Russian Formalists)*, (Tehran: Soḥan, 1391 sh./2012).

17 Kadkanī, *Zabāne she'r*, 78.

for reason, human will, and human agency. [Ibn 'Arabī's] *'erfān* is a limitless collection of wordplays; it is a *'erfān* which its followers can watch thousands of youths and olds be slaughtered and then explicate that: ‘it was the manifestation of God's one-onliness (*aḥadiyya*) as the name of avenger (*qahhār*) [...] or other nonsenses which a computer can make up a billion of them.’¹⁸

Much like his elder colleague, he acknowledges the influence of Ibn 'Arabī's language in later Sufism as “the most important and the very last gradation in the language of Sufism,”¹⁹ although he criticizes the Ibn 'Arabī's vague language.

Like the two previous members of this scholarly current, **Nasrollah Pourjavady** (b. 1943) concentrates on non-metaphysical²⁰ aspects of Sufism. His scholarly attitude is historical rather than philological and formalistic. Most of Pourjavady's deep and vast works concentrate on pre-Ibn 'Arabī Persianate Sufism, which he usually calls neo-*Hallājī* Sufism.

Although he admits the essential role of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* in Sufism, he does not hesitate to question one of the most fundamental claims of Ibn 'Arabī's in *Fuṣūṣ*:²¹

18 Ibid., 99-100.

19 Ibid., 150.

20 The distinction between metaphysical and non-metaphysical aspects of a phenomenon such as Sufism sounds problematic, since they are quite interconnected.

21 Ibn 'Arabī in his introduction to *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* asserts that he received *Fuṣūṣ* from Prophet Moḥammad:

“I saw God's Messenger in a vision during the latter part of the month of Muḥarram in the year 627 (1229) in Damascus. Seizing in his hand a book, he said to me: ‘This is kitāb *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*; take it and bring it to people so that they might benefit from it. I said: ‘I hear and obey God, His Messenger and those in authority among us as we are commanded.’ Therefore, I implemented the Messenger's wish with sin-

“Ibn ‘Arabī’s claim should not deceive us [...] his imagination made up an angel or invisible messenger, it is not the case that someone dictated him a book [...] that is a literary device which he used.”²²

Although Ibn ‘Arabī’s claim could be understood and contextualized as a way of representing and asserting a God-given spiritual and epistemic authority, it does not logically follow that the whole story is a fictional work of Ibn ‘Arabī’s creative imagination. His claim could be true, and at the same time, it could play a symbolic and epistemic role in legitimizing his *Fuṣūṣ*.

Following the same line in demystifying Ibn ‘Arabī, he argues that Ibn ‘Arabī was heavily influenced by his primary sources:

Ibn ‘Arabī, with all his glory, just as any other authors [...] repeated the mistakes of his sources, and sometimes because of relaying on unreliable copies, he added some mistakes to the mistakes of his sources [...] besides quoting these mistakes, he tried to justify those mistakes by fantasizing about them.²³

As he put forward, Ibn ‘Arabī’s works are rooted in prior Sufi texts. Therefore, they are not rooted in his mystical visions to some extent. Much like the two abovementioned scholars, he criticizes Ibn ‘Arabī’s language and terms as arid and uninspired.²⁴

cere intention and pure aim and aspiration and made this book manifest as God’s Messenger determined without increase or decrease.” (Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*, trans. Binyamin Abrahamov (Oxon: Routledge, 2015), 14.)

22 The transcription of his speech about Movaḥed’s translation of *Fuṣūṣ* is published at the end to Movaḥed’s translation. See Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-hikam*, 731.

23 Nasrollah Pourjavady, “Seyre İştelaḥāte Şufiyan az ‘Nahj al-Ḥāṣe Abumānşür İşfehānī tā Futūḥāte Ibn ‘Arabī,” *Ma’āref* 48 (1999): 51.

24 Nasrollah Pourjavady, *Qūt-e Del wa Nūše Jān* (Tehran: Nashr-e Now, 2019), 349.

In terms of their presumptions in the study of Sufism, the mentioned scholars are perfectly aligned with the early orientalists who, as Carl Ernst observes, understood Sufism “as a spiritual movement that reached its apogee during the medieval period of Islamic history, with its crowning achievement being the *brilliant* literary productions in Arabic and Persian that became the classics of the Sufi tradition.”²⁵ Considering the classical period of Sufism, in which the great literary works of Sufism were composed, as the so-called “golden age” of Sufism,²⁶ roots in reducing Sufi tradition merely to its literary heritage and neglecting its other cultural manifestations.

This tendency towards monopolizing literary texts as the source of understanding Sufism originated in the background, training, and intellectual tendencies of the aforementioned scholars. Their mastery, specifically of the first two figures, in Persian literature has led them to prioritize Persian sources over Arabic and others.²⁷ Their emphasis on the Persianate manifestations of Sufism, accompanied by so-called non-metaphysical aspects, has led them to a profoundly critical approach toward Ibn ‘Arabī. This is because he was neither a Persian speaker or writer, nor was his writing as lucid or non-metaphysical as that of others.

25 Carl Ernst, *It’s Not Just Academic! Essays on Sufism and Islamic Studies* (Tamil Nadu: Sage, 2018), 391.

26 Kadkanī expresses: “With the decline of language (i.e. literally value of texts) in Sufi works, Sufis’ spiritually declined [...] it’s quite ridiculous to assert that a Sufi had an elevated spiritual status, but his literary language is lacking creativity and passion [...] as Sufi texts indicate from 12-13th centuries and so on there is nearly nothing new in Sufism.” (Kadkanī, *Zabāne*, 245-6, 261)

27 As Ernst justly asserts: “The study of Sufism also tended to privilege the ‘classical’ sources in Arabic and Persian over the ‘folk’ manifestations of Sufism in Turkish, Urdu, and other.” (Ernst, *It’s Not Just Academic*, 392) In the case of mentioned scholars, even Arabic sources usually stands out of their scope.

Dividing Sufism into two geographical parts as Eastern/*Hurāsānī* Sufism and Western/Akbarian Sufism, ends up neglecting the aesthetic aspect of Western/Akbarian Sufism and on the other hand the metaphysical dimension of so-called Eastern/*Hurāsānī* Sufism.

It should be clear by now that my intention is not to show that these simplistic dichotomies (classical/non-classical, Eastern/Western) are invalid from a historical perspective, which I think actually are. I intended to emphasize the function and role of these dichotomies in contextualizing scholars' understanding of Sufism and Ibn 'Arabī. In contemporary Iran, Ibn 'Arabī is the subject of not only the academic attention but also non-scholarly intentions.

An Ideological Return to Ibn 'Arabī

The need to form a whole new Islamic identity and legitimize Iran's 1979 revolution brought some neglected dimensions of Islamic culture to the attention of ideologues. As Kamaly put forward: "After the 1979 revolution, *'erfān* provided a framework for legitimizing the modern nation-state [of Iran]."²⁸ A nation-state whose opposing with the "West" is an essential part of its identity.

Among many ideologues of the Islamic Republic of Iran, **Aṣḡar Ṭāher-Zādeh** (b. 1951) is considerable for his deep compassion with Ibn 'Arabī, as he is the only ideologue in favor of Iran's revolution who wrote a commentary on *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*. In challenging the "West," which, according to Ṭāher-Zādeh, represents humanism and materialism, he relies on the mystical dimension of Islam: "The *'erfān* of Ibn 'Arabī can deliver us from modernity. In encountering with West and returning to Islam, *'erfān*

28 Kamaly, *God and Man*, 172.

should be considered."²⁹

Ṭāher-Zādeh, after studying geology, fell under the influence of Ruhollah Khomeini (d. 1989), and he studied Islamic sciences, specifically theoretical mysticism (*'erfān-e naẓarī*)³⁰ and Islamic philosophy, on his own. Composing more than 70 books, nearly half of which are concerned with Iran's revolution and the West, and giving lectures on a weekly basis have made Ṭāher-Zādeh the most active and famous intellectual heir of Aḥmad Fardīd (d. 1994) in Iran. Ṭāher-Zādeh blended Fardīd's legacy, which was a fusion of Martin Heidegger's philosophy and Ibn 'Arabī's philosophical Sufism, and his discourse of Westoxication,³¹ with his deep sympathy for Iran's 1979 revolution, which he ([i.e.,] Ṭāher-Zādeh) considers "the Reality of this epoch" and "self-disclosure of the Being."³²

Using Ibn 'Arabī's *'erfān*, Ṭāher-Zādeh intends to pass from the state of Westoxication, which "is ignorance of West's essence, an ignorance which ends up in self-alienation,"³³ and return to Islam, an Islam which manifested in Khomeini, who is "the holy intellect of the contemporary epoch."³⁴ A return which is "nor possible with Salafism

29 Aṣḡar Ṭāher-Zadeh, *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Isfahan: Lobb al-Mīzān, 1399 sh./2020), 10-11.

30 Philosophical Sufism is usually called *'erfān-e naẓarī* (theoretical mysticism) in Iran.

31 For Aḥmad Fardīd and his discourse and legacy, see Ali Mirsepassi, *Iran's Troubled Modernity; Debating Ahmad Fardid's Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

32 Aṣḡar Ṭāher-Zadeh, *Gūsh Sepurdan be Nedaye Bī-ṣedaye Enqelābe Islāmī* (Isfahan: Lobb al-Mīzān, 1398 sh./2019), 23-24.

33 Aṣḡar Ṭāher-Zadeh, *Enqelābe Islāmī va Jahāne Gom-shode* (Isfahan: Lobb al-Mīzān, 1399 sh./2020), 40.

34 Aṣḡar Ṭāher-Zadeh, *Sulūk zeyl shaḥṣīyaat emam Khomeini* (Isfahan: Lobb al-Mīzān, 1390 sh./2011), 55.

and neither with following the West”³⁵ but with considering Ibn ‘Arabī’s ‘*erfān*.

Ideologizing Ibn ‘Arabī to create an Islamic and anti-Western identity contrasts with the tendency of some scholars to form an “Iranian” identity.³⁶ It’s considerable to note that both currents use Ibn ‘Arabī in making identities: Ṭāher-Zādeh by ideologizing him and using his language and terms, the latter, Moḩaḩed and Kadkanī, by underestimating and neglecting him.³⁷

Continuity of Akbarian Tradition: Ibn ‘Arabī in Iran’s Shia Seminaries

Although Shia seminaries of Iran have been anti-Sufi strongholds, specifically after the Safavid era,³⁸ the deep compassion of Iran’s 1979 revolution leader, Ruhollah Khomeini with Ibn ‘Arabī, and Seyed Muḩammad ḩusein Ṭabāṭabāī’s (d. 1981) efforts in teaching Islamic philosophy and mysticism, constructed a circle in the Shia seminary of Qom which somehow supported unofficially Iran’s government as well.³⁹ However,

35 Aṣḩar Ṭāher-Zadeh, *Sharḩ Fuṣūṣ*, p 12.

36 Ṭāher-Zadeh’s ideological return to Ibn ‘Arabī could be contextualized in the terms of the efforts of Iran’s state in constructing so-called Islamic humanities versus Western humanities, which is considered as a part and parcel of establishing a grand Islamic civilization.

37 It is notable that this phenomenon was accrued in Indian Subcontinent too, where opposing Ibn ‘Arabī, by emphasizing on Sirhindī, used to fulfil a growing sense of Muslim ideological considerations. (See William C. Chittick, “Waḩdat al-wujūd in India,” *Ishraq: Islamic Philosophy Yearbook*, 3 (2012): 29-40.)

38 As Asghari and others point out: “the post-Safavid inclination of the Shī‘ī seminaries has been officially dominated by opponents of Sufism.” (Seyyed Amir Hossein Asghari, “Replacing Sharī‘a, Ṭarīqa and ḩaqīqa with Fiqh, Akhlāq and Tawḩīd,” *Journal of Sufi Studies*, 9 (2020): 203.)

39 In efforts to legitimizing Iran’s state founded numerous institutions in the past 40 years in Iran. Take *Imam Khomeini Education and Research Institute* as way of example, which was founded by Moḩammad-Taḩī Meṣbah-Yazdī (d. 2021), an institute which

it should be emphasized that although the government somehow supports them, they are still the minority in the Shia seminary, and the currents against Sufism and philosophy, as will be discussed, have the upper hand.

In addition to some books and treatises on theoretical and practical mysticism based on Ibn ‘Arabī’s Sufism,⁴⁰ Khomeini expressed his sympathy for Ibn ‘Arabī in his lectures on *Surat al-Fāṭiḩa*,⁴¹ courses which were broadcasted by Iran’s official national television; the lectures stopped after five sessions at the request of some of Mashhad’s ‘*ulamā*. In addition to his lectures, his acknowledgment of Ibn ‘Arabī is evident in his letter to Mikhail Gorbachev.⁴²

The tradition of teaching and learning Akbarian works constructed a chain of ‘*erfān* masters in Iran, specifically in Isfahan and Tehran and then in Qom.⁴³ The characteristic of these ‘*erfān* teachers was their mastery on Islamic philosophy, particularly on the transcendental philosophy of Mūllā Ṣadrā and the writings of later followers of Ibn ‘Arabī. There is not a clear distinction between philosophy and ‘*erfān*, and sub-

financially promoted by Iran’s government.

40 Besides, he composed super-commentaries on *Fuṣūṣ al-ḩikam* and Fanārī’s *Miṣbāḩ al-Uns*.

41 For study of Khomeini and his reception of Sufism, see Alexander Knysh, “‘Irfān’ Revisited: Khomeini and the Legacy of Islamic Mystical Philosophy,” *Middle East Journal* 46, 4 (1992): 631-653.

42 “I will not tire you further by mentioning the works of mystics, in particular Muḩyi’d-Din ibn al-‘Arabi. If you wish to make yourself acquainted with the doctrines of this celebrated mystic, send a number of your brilliant scholars, who are well-versed in this field, to Qum so that, by reliance on God, they may glimpse the depth of the delicate stages of gnosis after a couple of years. It would be impossible for them to acquire this knowledge without making such a journey.” (<http://emam.com/posts/view/4129>)

43 For a study of some of key figures of this tradition, see Reza Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Qajar Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

sequently between a philosopher and 'āref (gnostic) in this tradition. It sounds surprising but the writings of Ibn 'Arabī himself has been scarcely read in Iran, he is rather known through the works of his later followers such as Dāwūd Qayṣarī's commentary on *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, which provides a highly philosophical account of Ibn 'Arabī's Sufism. Notably, this integration between philosophy and Sufism is also manifested in the later history of this tradition.

Seyed Muḥammad Ḥusein Ṭabāṭabāī's significant role in transmitting philosophy and 'erfān should not be underestimated. Besides composing several books and treatises on Mūllā Ṣadrā's philosophy⁴⁴ and 'erfān, he is the central connecting ring of Seyed 'Alī Qāzī's (d. 1947) circle with the Qom Seminary.

Ṭabāṭabāī was initiated into Sufism, or 'erfān, by Seyed 'Alī Qāzī. Qāzī's spiritual lineage goes back to Seyed 'Alī Shūshtarī (d. 1864), who was the disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn Kāshef al-Dezfūlī (d. 1842), who was a *Dahabī* Sufi master and a disciple of Muḥammad Bīdābādī (d. 1783).⁴⁵ The followers of this spiritual order usually conceal their connections with *Dahabī* and other Sufi orders to prevent accusations of anti-Sufis of the seminary.⁴⁶ In doing so, they prefer not to use the term "Sufi" in naming themselves; instead, they prefer to be called "'āref." This phenomenon is rooted in hot Safavid polemics over Sufism,⁴⁷ which are still common today, even after the revolution in Iran.

44 Two philosophical books that seminary students have to read, *Bidayat al-Ḥikma* and *Nihayat al-Ḥikma*, was composed by him.

45 Asghari, "Replacing Sharī'a, Tarīqa and Ḥaqīqa with Fiqh, Akhlāq and Tawḥīd," 207.

46 Ibid., 206.

47 For the historical roots of this transformation, see Ata Anzali, *Mysticism in Iran: The Safavid Roots of a Modern Concept* (University of South Carolina Press: Columbia, 2017).

Ṭabāṭabāī's tendency toward Ibn 'Arabī and Islamic philosophy passed through his students, specifically Ḥassan Ḥassan-Zādeh Āmolī (d. 2021) and 'Abdollah Javādī Āmolī (b. 1933), to the next generation. Nowadays, most distinguished 'erfān and philosophy teachers of Qom Seminary are their students.

Metaphysical discussions are still pretty alive and hotly debated even in 21st-century Iran's seminaries.⁴⁸ The aforementioned current should not be regarded as an academic phenomenon; rather, it should be considered as a continuation of a long-standing tradition within the field of philosophy, commonly referred to as 'philosophical Sufism, Sufism of Ibn 'Arabī followers such as Qūnawī (d. 1274), Kashānī (d. 1335), and Qayṣarī (d. 1350). The essential characteristic of this current is their philosophical attitude towards Ibn 'Arabī.

Perhaps the most well-known and distinguished master of philosophy and theoretical mysticism in Qom is Seyed Yadullāh Yazdān-Panāh (b. 1963), one of Ḥassan-Zādeh and Javādī Āmolī's disciple/students, who composed several books on Islamic philosophy and 'erfān, including a lengthy groundbreaking book on theoretical mysticism.⁴⁹ His philosophical approach to Ibn 'Arabī is evident in the introduction of his book: "In our seminary tradition, students study theoretical mysticism after philosophy [...] specifically after studying teach-

48 As Toshihiko Izutsu observed, "Eastern scholasticism has had a much longer life [...] than its Western counterpart. Metaphysical problems raised long ago in the Middle Ages were still being hotly discussed and seriously considered in the nineteenth century [and they are still being discussed]." Toshihiko Izutsu, *The Fundamental Structure of Sabzewari's Metaphysics* (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 2000), 11.

49 Seyyed Yadullāh Yazdān-Panāh, *Mabānī wa Uṣūle 'erfāne Naẓarī* (Qom: Moasseseye Imam Khomeini, 2014).

ings of Müllā Şadrā in *Asfār* [i.e., Müllā Şadrā's major philosophical book]."⁵⁰

It may not sound appropriate to put Müllā Şadrā before Ibn 'Arabī, for he not only lived hundreds of years before Müllā Şadrā, but also became an inspiration to him as he drew upon Ibn 'Arabī's teachings in developing his own transcendental philosophy. But Yazdān-Panāh's traditionalistic approach⁵¹ to Islamic intellectual history allowed him to do so. On legitimizing this seemingly undermined curriculum, Yazdān-Panāh expresses: "The depth and complexity of theoretical '*erfān*' from one hand, and the role of Müllā Şadrā's teachings in understanding theoretical mysticism from another hand [...]"⁵² are two factors that justify this curriculum. Yazdān-Panāh's account of the history of theoretical mysticism should be illustrated to explicate the role of Müllā Şadrā in understanding Ibn 'Arabī:

The history of theoretical mysticism can be divided into three eras: the first era, from the beginning [of Sufism] to Ibn 'Arabī [...] second era was the era of Muḥyeddīn mystical school, which began with Ibn 'Arabī [...] by whom theoretical mysticism was presented as a coherent and majestic system and reached to the perfection. With the emergence of Müllā Şadrā's transcendental philosophy, a third era of theoretical mysticism be-

gan. The significant characteristic of the third era is the total adaption of philosophy and theoretical mysticism.⁵³

According to Yazdān-Panāh, Müllā Şadrā philosophized Ibn 'Arabī's '*erfān*'; the transcendental philosophy of Müllā Şadrā is a synthesis of philosophy and theoretical mysticism, Yazdān-Panāh sums up the attempts of Müllā Şadrā in presenting a philosophized '*erfān*' as such:

Müllā Şadrā, with coining new terms and bringing already coined philosophical terms into perfection [...] made the way to express the mystical teachings. Secondly, the principal foundations of his philosophy, such as the primacy of Being (*işalate wujūd*), gradation of Being (*tashkīk wujūd*), and [...] the personal oneness of Being (*waḥdate şahsī wujūd*), seem quite adequate for expressing mystical teachings, and they were principally designed for this purpose.⁵⁴

To sum up, seminary scholastics can be considered as the continuity of Akbarian philosophical Sufism.⁵⁵ They concentrate on the

50 Ibid., 21.

51 By "traditionalistic approach" I do not refer to the school of Traditionalism, founded by French philosopher René Guénon (d. 1951), although methodologically speaking they seem quite similar. I merely mean a historical approach which neglects the history, context, and genealogy of ideas, and consider them as universal and ever-lasting truths which are being repeated throughout the history. Holding this position, Yazdān-Panāh can confidently assert that there is no need to study Müllā Şadrā in the light of Ibn 'Arabī, since somehow both of them are expressing relatively same things, although with distinct expressions.

52 Ibid., 21.

53 Seyyed Yadullāh Yazdān-Panāh, *Muḥtaşāte Hekmate Mut'ālīye* (Qom: Āle Aḥmad, 2020), 409-10.

54 Yazdān-Panāh, *Mabānī*, 59.

55 Yazdān-Panāh is not alone in presenting a philosophized account of Ibn 'Arabī. The continuity of philosophical Sufism can be traced to other seminaries such as Isfahan, Mashhad, and specifically Tehran. Few masters are left in the long-standing philosophical and mystical school of Tehran, among whom Gholamreza Avani (b. 1943) and Manūcheher Şadūqī Sohā (b. 1948) are worth mentioning. The essential role of Iranian Research Institute of Philosophy, founded by Seyyed Hossein Nasr (b. 1933) in 1974, in reviving philosophical Sufism in Tehran should not be underestimated. The Akbarian tradition continued in Mashhad through the well-known philosophers Seyed Jalāluddīn Ashtīyānī (d. 2005) and Seyed Muḥammad Ḥusein Tehrānī (d. 1995), who was a student/disciple of Seyed Muḥammad Ḥusein Ṭabāṭabāī and Seyed Ḥāshem Ḥaddād (d. 1984). Tehrānī's intense sympathy for Ibn 'Arabī passed to his sons and from his older son to Muḥammad Ḥasan Vakīlī (b. 1980), one of the most active *Maktab-e Tafkīk*'s op-

metaphysical aspects of Sufism rather than the aesthetic aspects. Ibn 'Arabī often considered a philosopher by them. Mysticism and philosophy are unified in this current, so we cannot easily distinguish between philosophy and mysticism. Using *'erfān* instead of Sufism, they try to differentiate between themselves and the Sufis to be preserved from *'ulamā*.

Ibn 'Arabī and *'Ulamā*

Although historically speaking we can distinguish between anti-Sufis and Ibn 'Arabī's opponents, this is not usually the case in contemporary Iran. In addition, Ibn 'Arabī's opponents in Iran often have intense antipathy towards Islamic philosophy. The Sufi-*'ulamā* controversy is quite fierce in contemporary Iran, a controversy that dates back to the Safavid era.⁵⁶ This debate can be contextualized as the Shia *'ulamā*'s tendency to monopolize their religious perspective and, therefore, their power. Even after Iran's revolution, the traditional side of the Shia seminary, either in Iraq or in Iran, has not changed its attitude toward Sufism.

Iran's government, distinguishing between Sufism and *'erfān*, and interpreting Sufism as a false *'erfān*,⁵⁷ supports Shia *'ulamā*'s antipathy to Sufism.⁵⁸ *'Ulamā*'s intense dis-

ponents in Mashhad.

56 For historical basis of this conflict, see Reza Tabandeh, *The Rise of the Ni'matullāhī Order* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2021), 47.

57 As Anzali put forward: "The regime has become increasingly obsessed with drawing clear and fast boundaries between "genuine," Khomeini-style 'irfan and "pseudo-'irfans." (Anzali, *Mysticism in Iran*, 6).

58 The Supreme leader of Iran is a source of emulation himself with seemingly not interest in Sufism. In the past decades Sufis have been repressed by Iran's regime, As Anzali addressed: "The first major clash between the regime and the orthodox Sufi networks happened in May 2006, when one of the most important Ni'matullahi centers, located in the holy city of

sent to Sufism is crystal clear from their *Fatāwā*.

Seyed 'Alī Sistānī (b. 1930), the most well-known, respected, and influential Shia source of emulation (*marja*'), is originally from Mashhad. Although he lives outside Iran, his authority over Iran's alleged orthodox Shias is undeniable. In a question and answer issued a few years ago,⁵⁹ Sistānī expressed his attitude toward Ibn 'Arabī as follows:

Question: You are sincerely demanded to give your opinion regarding the *'erfān* of *Fuṣūṣ*'s author [i.e. Ibn 'Arabī].

Answer: I believe in the way of great Twelver *'ulamā* [...], which corresponds with the Quranic verses and the *Ahl al-Bayt*'s sayings [...], and I do not admit the above-mentioned way.⁶⁰

By highlighting the identification of *'ulamā*'s way and the Qur'ān and *hadīth*, Sistānī asserts the unorthodoxy of Sufism and points out that he is not alone in opposing Ibn 'Arabī and Sufism.

'Ulamā's negative attitude towards Sufism evident in their *Fatāwā* does not conclude with Ibn 'Arabī. They regularly express their intense antipathy toward Sufism, even toward some famous and popular figures such as Rūmī, whenever they observe a slight tendency toward Sufism, specifically

Qum, was confiscated and razed to the ground in the aftermath of a bloody clash between the Ni'matullahi dervishes and the Basij militia." (Anzali, *Mysticism in Iran*, 7). Another bloody confliction between *Gonābādī* Sufis and regime took place in 2018 in Tehran.

59 One of the most accessible ways for anti-Sufis to oppose with Sufis and Ibn 'Arabī, is to use the authority of the sources of emulations, therefore they ask for the source of emulation's idea on controversial topics and then they broadcast the answer.

60 "Official Website of Seyyed 'Alī Sistānī," accessed April 6, 2024, <https://www.sistani.org/persian/qa/02273/>.

among the masses. The role of the sources of emulation should not be underestimated, for these kinds of *Fatāwā* play an extensive role in forming the typical Shia mentality.⁶¹

Makārem Shīrāzī (b. 1927) takes a step further and accuses the followers of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (oneness of Being), a Sufi doctrine associated with Ibn ‘Arabī and the Akbarian tradition, of heresy:

Question: What is the oneness of Being, and what is the judicial status of who believes in it?

Answer: The oneness of Being has many meanings; what is invalid and believing it counts as heresy [...] is asserting that there is only one Being in the world and holding that God is identical with existents. And claims that there is no [duality between] creator and nor creatures, and there is no [duality between] worshipped and worshippers.⁶²

Although it is highly questionable that Ibn ‘Arabī considered the oneness of Being as such, the oneness of Being is often depicted in a rather exaggerated form and has been ascribed to Ibn ‘Arabī and his followers by ‘*ulamā*.

Besides ‘*ulamā*’s long-standing and influential approach, the school of Detachment is considerable in terms of its opposition

to Ibn ‘Arabī. The term “*Maktab-e Tafkīk*” (the school of Detachment) was coined by Muḥammad Reḍa Hakīmī (d. 2021) to name the scholarly current of Maḥdī Isfahānī (d. 1945) and his students in Mashhad.

Isfahānī experienced a life-changing mystical experience that caused a U-turn in his intellectual life. In his vision, he saw the twelfth Imam (*mahdī*) and received a letter from him, saying: “To not seek knowledge from our (*Ahl al-Bayt*) way is identical to denying us.”⁶³ He interpreted the phrase “not demanding knowledge from our way” as demanding knowledge from philosophy and mysticism, making him suddenly to turn his back on both. After spending seven years reconsidering his previous beliefs, he went to Mashhad in 1921 and started to give lectures on Islamic law and basics of jurisprudence and then theology. Isfahānī’s antipathy toward philosophy and Sufism was transferred to his students, among whom Mojtabā Qazvīnī (d. 1967) was the most notable, from whom the legacy of *Tafkīk* passed on to Seyed Ja‘far Seyyedān (b. 1934).

With expressing the differences between revelation and ‘*erfān*, Seyyedān undermines Ibn ‘Arabī’s legitimacy:

‘*Erfān* is true in itself, but the so-called ‘*erfān* of Ibn ‘Arabī expresses that God is identical with things, and it has indicated that whatever you worship, you have worshipped God in real [...], but God in the school of *Waḥy* (revelation) does not have any resemblance. The so-called ‘*erfān* is opposed to the school of *Waḥy*.⁶⁴

61 In a considerable instance, a movie series about Mawlānā was stooped because of a source of emulation’s interference, who called Sufis misguided and misguiding and enemy of Shia Imams.

“Exploring Ibn Arabi,” accessed April 6, 2024, <https://ebnearabi.com/14640/%d8%a2%db%8c%d8%aa-%d8%a7%d9%84%d9%84%d9%87-%d9%86%d9%88%d8%b1%db%8c-%d8%b3%d8%a7%d8%ae%d8%aa-%d9%81%db%8c%d9%84%d9%85-%d8%b4%d9%85%d8%b3-%d8%ad%d8%b1%d8%a7%d9%85-%d8%a7%d8%b3%d8%aa.html>

62 “Official Website of Makārem Shīrāzī,” accessed April 6, 2024, <https://makarem.ir/main.aspx?typeinfo=21&lid=0&catid=44744&mid=272784>.

63 Maḥdī Isfahānī, *Abvāb al-Hudā* (Mu’seseye M’āref Ahl al-Bayt: Qom, 2016), 17-28.

64 “Official Website of Seyed Ja‘far Seyyed ān,” accessed April 6, 2024, <http://seyyedan.org/fa/news-details/2964/%D8%AA%D8%B9%D9%82%D9%84-%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D9%88%D8%AD-%D8%8C%D8%8C-%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B4->

In addition to underlining the dissimilarity between Ibn 'Arabī and the school of *Wahy*, which is quite enough to banish someone out of the mainstream Shia seminaries, align with the majority of Ibn 'Arabī critics, Seyyedān considers Ibn 'Arabī's method of allegorical interpretation as a misleading one. The only way of reaching the inward aspects of the Qur'ān and Islam is through the Prophet himself and Twelver Shia Imams. According to Seyyedān, "although it is evident that Quranic verses have inward dimensions [...] the inward dimensions and allegorical interpretation can only be discussed by Prophet Muhammad and Imams."⁶⁵

In addition to the two abovementioned currents, a new current has emerged, perhaps the fiercest opponent of Ibn 'Arabī and philosophy in the seminary of Qom: Hassan Mīllānī (b. 1959) and his circle, which should be considered as the continuity of some Shia anti-Sufi theologians such as Muḥammad-Bāqer Majlesī (d. 1699). Notably, Mīllānī has a strong antipathy to *Maktab-e Tafkīk* as well: "The school of detachment [...] intensely oppose philosophers and mystics apparently, but in time they express philosophers and mystics misleading beliefs."⁶⁶

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65 "Official Website of Seyyed Ja'far Seyyed ān," accessed April 6, 2024, <http://seyyedān.org/fa/news-details/1835/%D8%AA%D8%B0%DA%A9%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA%DB%8C-%D8%A7%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AF%D8%B%8C%D8%B4%D9%85%D9%86%D8%AF-%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%B5%D8%B1-%D8%A2%DB%8C%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D9%87-%D8%B3%DB%8C%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%86/>

66 Hassan Mīllānī, *Ma'rifat Allāh Ta'alā billāh* (E'teqāde Mā: Qom, 1394 sh./2015), 254.

Putting all diverse philosophical and mystical schools in the same basket and labeling them as non-Islamic schools, Mīllānī expresses:

In terms of principals and foundations, there isn't any difference between diverse philosophical and mystical groups. The "Peripatetic school," the "Illuminist school," the "Transcendental philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā," "Indian mysticism," "Buddhism," "Greek mysticism," "Ibn 'Arabī" and etc. all hold the same idea.⁶⁷

"The same idea," according to Mīllānī, is nothing but the oneness of Being or the identification of God and his creatures. Despite his lack of engagement with the academic literature on Sufi studies, he does, however, share certain presuppositions with early orientalists, such as the association of Sufism and non-Islamic currents.⁶⁸

Notwithstanding their differences, these three anti-Ibn 'Arabī groups have much in common. Considering the Qur'ān and *hadīth* as true and infallible sources of knowledge, they dismiss any other sources, including mystical experience. Besides questioning Ibn 'Arabī's hermeneutics, their harshest criticism concerns the oneness of Being, on which their interpretation seems highly questionable. Their primary consideration is to defend alleged Shia orthodoxy. As previously discussed, Ibn 'Arabī is most criticized for his religious creed, which plays an extensive role in either welcoming or dismissing him.

67 Hassan Mīllānī, *Farā-tar az 'Erfān* (Ahd: Qom, 2016), 92.

68 For a study of early orientalists' concepts of Sufism, see Ernst, *It's Not Just Academic*, 463-483.

Ibn 'Arabī; Shia or Sunni?

Perhaps one of the most controversial debates on Ibn 'Arabī in Iran is whether he was a Sunni or Shia. Although it may sound irrelevant, the religious creed of Ibn 'Arabī plays a crucial role for both followers and opponents of Ibn 'Arabī in Iran. In the so-called orthodox Shia seminaries, following someone who is ostensibly a Sunni (e.g. Ibn 'Arabī), is a great malefaction. Ibn 'Arabī's followers in the Shia seminaries consider his teachings the most elevated form of *'er-fān*, and use his teachings in understanding and interpreting the Qur'ān and *hadīth*,⁶⁹ using an outsider's teaching in interpreting the Qur'ān, and *hadīth* exposes Ibn 'Arabī's followers in the Shia seminaries to be accused of misinterpretation of religious sources and gaining religious knowledge from a Sunni. Therefore his followers have to internalize Ibn 'Arabī to not be accused by his opponents.

The controversy over Ibn 'Arabī's religious creed should be considered a polemic rooted in a difference in understanding Sufism/*'er-fān*. In addition, religious exclusivism plays a significant role in discussing Ibn 'Arabī's religious creeds. Followers of Ibn 'Arabī in Shia seminaries are usually exclusivists; therefore, according to them, the only way to salvation and to achieve a profound spiritual state is to believe in Shiism. However, they cannot ignore Ibn 'Arabī's profound spiritual state. Hence, to defend Ibn 'Arabī's spiritual state, in other words, to protect their position in the Shia seminary, they had to put forward a Shia conceptualization of Ibn 'Arabī.

The most well-known and influential current

69 "Ibn 'Arabī's works is the key of understanding *Nahj al-Balāqah*, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, *Kitab al-Tawhīd* of Ṣadūq and etc." (Muḥammad Ḥasan Vakīlī, *Mohyeddīn; Shī'aye Ḥāleṣ [Ibn Arabi; A pure Shia]* (Mashhad: Moasseseye Moṭāle'at Rāhbordī, 2019), 12)

of Ibn 'Arabī followers in Mashhad is rooted in Muḥammad Ḥusein Tehrānī's teachings, as well as in his textual, and spiritual heritage. Vakīlī's exclusivist understanding of Ibn Arabī's religious creed can be traced back to his intellectual father, Tehrānī, who points out that: "Throughout history, it is the case that non-Shias either were not mystics (*'āref*) or they were both *'āref* and Shia, and they concealed their religious creeds since they were afraid of Sunnis."⁷⁰

Following an identical line, Vakīlī admits that Ibn 'Arabī was born in the Sunni part of the Islamic world; therefore, he was initially a Sunni. However, regarding his profound spiritual state, it was the case that he perceived the spiritual status of the first Shia Imam and admitted his superiority over others. In his youth, he met the twelfth Imam and all twelve Shia Imams at the end of his life. Such a person, who has witnessed the spiritual status of twelve Imams, is a Shia in its true sense.⁷¹

By emphasizing the "true sense" of Shiism, Vakīlī admits that Ibn 'Arabī was a Sunni based on standard and widely accepted criteria, but he was a Shia in a certain sense. Ibn 'Arabī was Shia in its esoteric meaning but Sunni in its exoteric meaning. In other words, although Ibn 'Arabī followed the Sunni school of jurisprudence, he was a Shia since he admitted twelve Imams' profound, exalted, and uncompetitive spiritual state.

That being said, Shia opponents of Ibn 'Arabī hold that he was a prejudiced Sunni. They also emphasize that one should not read Ibn 'Arabī selectively to put forward a Shia conceptualization of him: "Some Shia scholars find a few scattered texts in the

70 Seyyed Muḥammad Ḥusein Tehrānī, *Rūhe Mojarad* (Mashhad: 'Allāmeḥ Ṭabātabāī, 2004), 348-350.

71 Vakīlī, *Ibn 'Arabī*, 24.

works of Ibn 'Arabī implicating his belief in Shiism, but numerous texts imply not only his belief in Sunni Islam but also, his deep sympathy for it."⁷²

Shia opponents of 'Arabī have specifically found some highly controversial beliefs of him, beliefs that cannot be expressed by any Shia. According to Ṭayeb-Nīyā, Ibn 'Arabī, quite the opposite of mainstream Shia, held that the Prophet did not choose anyone as his successor in particular.⁷³ Besides, like any other faithful Sunni, he considered Abu Bakr as the first caliph, and he praised the first two caliphs after the Prophet⁷⁴ to the extent that he believed in the infallibility of 'Omar (the second caliph).⁷⁵ Last but not least, all groups of Shia, specifically Twelvers, are considered the friends of the Devil by Ibn 'Arabī.⁷⁶ Vakīlī and others, on the other hand, suggest that these beliefs expressed by Ibn 'Arabī in his books should not be considered his own beliefs, since he was living in a time in which one could easily get killed by expressing a slight tendency toward Shiism. Thus, he had to conceal his beliefs.⁷⁷

Ṭayeb-Nīyā, in the opposite camp, emphasizes that Ibn 'Arabī was not in the position of concealment: "*Taqīye* (concealment of belief) is to conceal a belief or to speak and write opposed to beliefs in some quite scarce and difficult situations. But if a speaker or

author expresses a belief frequently and emphasizes on, it could not be considered otherwise."⁷⁸

To sum up, the everlasting controversy over Ibn 'Arabī's religious tendencies should not be considered merely a scholarly argument. Shia followers of Ibn 'Arabī, who have been accused of following a non-Shia figure, should preserve and defend their position as a respected part of Shia Seminary, which cannot be done unless by the construction of a Shia Ibn 'Arabī.⁷⁹

Conclusion

After the Iranian Revolution, Ibn 'Arabī once more became a focus of academic interest. More than a thousand graduate theses and dissertations on Ibn 'Arabī are listed on an official website.⁸⁰ Many students of philosophy, religious studies, and even some of Persian literature tend to work on Ibn 'Arabī and Akbarian tradition. This tendency results in critical editions of Akbarian works, comparative studies of Ibn 'Arabī and other philosophers or mystics, and monographs on related topics and figures.

Sufism and Ibn 'Arabī have also entered Iran's popular culture. Distancing from fundamentalist approaches to Islam, an increasing number of people have found themselves sympathetic to Sufism rather than the official form of Shia Islam, represented

72 Sayed Ja'far Murtaḍā al-'Āmelī, *Ibn 'Arabī Sunnī Mut'eaṣib* (n.p: al-Markaz al-Islāmī Ildirāsāt, 2007), 9.

73 Seyyed Moḥsen Ṭayeb-Nīyā, *Ibn 'Arabī az Negāhī Dīgar* (Qom: Dalīl-e mā, 2015), 83.

74 Ibid., 89.

75 Ibid., 96. Asserting that Imam 'Alī was the first true caliph after the Prophet, is the very core idea of traditional Shiism.

76 Ibid., 112. Ṭayeb-Nīyā, in his lengthy book, listed sixteen beliefs expressed by Ibn 'Arabī, which are plainly opposed to Shia beliefs. Ibid., 83-123.

77 Vakīlī, *Ibn 'Arabī*, 25.

78 Ṭayeb-Nīyā, *Ibn 'Arabī*, 90.

79 Besides already mentioned book of Vakīlī, another lengthy book was composed by another follower of Ibn 'Arabī in Mashhad. See Qasim Tehrani, *al-Qawl al-Matīn fī Taṣāyy'e Šeīḫ al-Akbar Muḥyeddīn I&II* (Beirut: Dar al-Maḥajāt al-Bayḍā, 2003).

80 "IranianResearchInstituteforInformationScienceand Technology (IranDoc)", accessed April 6, 2024, https://ganj.irandoc.ac.ir/#/search?basicscope=1&keywords=%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%86%20%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%DB%8C&sortBy=1&fulltext_status=1&results_per_page=1&year_from=0&year_to=1402&page=1

by the sources of emulation and the state of Iran. This tendency can be observed in the popularity of some figures, such as Rūmī and Ibn ‘Arabī.⁸¹

Ibn ‘Arabī and Akbarian tradition still play a significant role in the intellectual trends of Iran. On one hand, those who seek to preserve Iranians from the corruption of philosophical Sufism have to criticize Ibn ‘Arabī for the sake of their sympathy for Iranian Sufism. On the other, being the greatest representation of Sunni Sufism, and therefore the sworn enemy of Shia ‘ulamā, Ibn ‘Arabī should be condemned to prevent young Shia clergies from bending toward Sufism. However, followers of the Akbarian tradition seek to create a Shia Ibn ‘Arabī to legitimize reading and teaching his works in the Shia seminaries.

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81 On the academic level, Qasem Kakayī’s “The oneness of Being According to Ibn ‘Arabī and Meister Eckhart,” a lengthy comparative study on Ibn ‘Arabī and Eckhart, is quite considerable. The complete Persian translation of *Futūḥāt*, by Muḥammad Ḥājāvī have achieved a great fortune in Iran, as well as other works and translations of Ḥājāvī. Several Persian translations of *Fuṣūṣ* and other works of Ibn ‘Arabī have been published in recent decades. Even the famous poem collection of him have been translated into Persian verse recently by Amīr Ḥossein Allāh-Yarī, who have translated several other works of Ibn ‘Arabī as well. Regarding novels on Sufis; Elif Shafak’s novel, titled “The Forty Rules of Love,” has been translated and published by over **twenty publishers** in Iran. The main publisher of the book, Qoqnoos Publishing House, has published the Persian translation of the book **122 times** till 2021. Mohammed Hasan Alwan’s “Ibn ‘Arabī’s Small Death” has been translated twice and have published more than ten times. Seyyed Yaḥyā Yaṭrebī, a specialist in Islamic philosophy and Sufism, composed three best-seller novels concerning three figures: Shahābuddīn Suhrawardī, Ḥallāj, and Rabi‘a. A novel, titled *Kahkeshāne Nistī* (The Universe of Nothingness), concerning Seyyed Ali Qādī, was published 21 times till 2021.

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***Dhikr* in Islamic Sufism**
A Case Study: The Order of Kubrawiyya
Kübreviyye Tarîkati Özelinde Tasavvufta Zikr

Sepideh AFRASHTEH*

Abstract

Among various orders of Islamic Sufism, one of the common rituals is *dhikr*. While *sharīa* places significant emphasis on the repetition of different *dhikr* formulas, it does not mandate its practice. However, within the diverse orders of Sufism, *dhikr* is viewed as a fundamental aspect of conduct and a cornerstone of practical mysticism. In Islamic Sufism, disciples deem it obligatory to purify the *nafs*. Consequently, *dhikr* is regarded as a means to this end across various schools and branches of Islamic Sufism. Each order of Islamic Sufism has developed its own unique instructions and rituals for its followers. The Kubrawiyya order, one of the oldest schools of Islamic Sufism, has also established its own rituals and instructions pertaining to *dhikr* for its disciples. The primary objective of this paper is to elucidate the essence and the quality of *dhikr* in the Kubrawiyya order. This includes its importance, principles, objectives, methods, and results. The analysis is based on the materials presented in the texts of the Kubrawiyya order, supplemented by references to other sources of Islamic Sufism. This scholarly approach ensures a comprehensive understanding of the role and significance of *dhikr* within the Kubrawiyya order specifically, and Islamic Sufism more broadly.

Keywords: *Dhikr*, Disciple, Islamic mysticism, Kubrawiyya, Sufism.

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Öz

İslam tasavvufunda, çeşitli tarikatlar arasında ortak ritüellerden biri zikirdir. Şeriat, farklı zikir formüllerinin tekrarlanmasına vurgu yapmakla birlikte, bunların uygulanmasını zorunlu kılmaz. Bununla birlikte, çeşitli tasavvufî tarikatlar içinde zikir, davranışın temel bir vechesi ve pratik mistisizmin temel taşı olarak görülür. İslam tasavvufunda müritler nefsi arındırmayı zorunlu görürler. Sonuç olarak zikir, İslam tasavvufunun çeşitli okulları ve kolları arasında bu amaca yönelik bir araç olarak kabul edilir. Her bir tarikat, takipçileri için kendine özgü metot ve ritüeller geliştirmiştir. İslam tasavvufunun en eski ekollerinden biri olan Kübreviyye tarikati de müritleri için, zikir özelinde, kendi ritüel ve talimatlarını oluşturmuştur. Bu makalenin temel amacı, Kubreviyye tarikatında zikrin özünü ve niteliğini açıklamaktır. Bu amaç, zikrin önemini, ilkelerini, hedeflerini, yöntemlerini ve sonuçlarını kapsamaktadır. Analiz çoğunlukla, Kübreviyye tarikati metinleri ve zikir ile ilgili, tasavvufun diğer kaynaklarına ait materyallere dayanmaktadır. Bu bilimsel yaklaşım, zikrin özelde Kübreviyye tarikatında, genelde ise İslam tasavvufundaki rolü ve öneminin kapsamlı bir şekilde anlaşılmasını sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zikir, mürid, İslâm mistisizmi, Kübreviyye, tasavvuf.

Introduction

Tazkiyat al-nafs (purification of the soul), is a pivotal tool in Islamic Sufism for disciples seeking enlightenment and union with the eternal beloved. Sufi philosophy posits that refinement cannot be achieved merely through contemplation or the exertion of individual will. While a disciple's will is integral to behaviour, it is *dhikr* (remembrance of God) and *madad* (seeking assistance from God or a spiritual guide) that actualize behaviour and purification. These practices are uniquely employed across various *ṭarīqas*.

In many Sufi orders, *dhikr* is practiced in tandem with seclusion. Given the human mind's tendency for recurrent confusion, *dhikr* must necessarily be paired with contemplation in its Sufi context. While *adhkār* (plural form of *dhikr*) are generally similar across various orders, each order necessitates its own special *dhikr* to examine its purpose. Through engagement with *dhikr*, human existence is progressively refined, and the manifestations of *dhikr* effect the necessary transformation within the individual. Ultimately, human existence becomes a conduit for *dhikr*, and, by the grace of God, the individual attains the status

of *wali* (friend of God), a perpetual reciter.¹

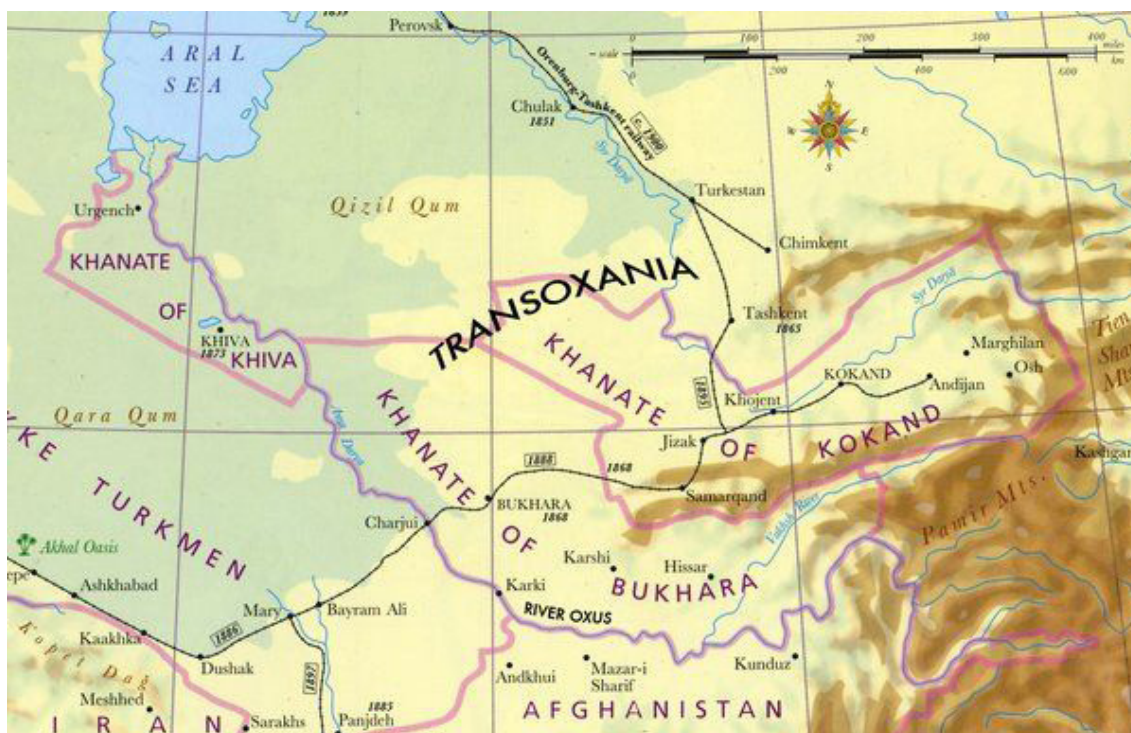
Furthermore, each Sufi order has its own *awrād* (prayer phrases, plural form of *wird*), typically a collection of Quranic sentences recited regularly in the morning and at night. The founder of the respective order usually establishes these documents. The purpose of *awrād* is to prepare the disciple for *dhikr*. In essence, the daily acts of worship for Sufis comprise *a'māl* (religious practices, especially prayer, plural form of *'amal*), *awrād*, and *adhkār*.²

The Kubrawiyya order, one of the most significant orders of Islamic Sufism, places a special emphasis on *dhikr* and seclusion. The Kubrawiyya order was founded in the 13th century by Sheikh Najm al-Dīn Kubra (d. 618/1221), a notable mystic in the annals of Sufism. He is recognized for his pioneering work in the mystical theory of light and color.

Sheikh Najm al-Dīn Kubra mentored numerous eminent Sufi personalities. Notable figures

1 Mansour Ebadi, *al-Tasfiyah Fi Ahwaal al-Motasavvafah* (Tehran: Farhang Iran Foundation Publication, 1968), 76-78; Khaaja Mohammad Parsa, *Qudsiyah* (Rawalpindi: Persian Research Center of Iran and Pakistan, 1975), 144-151.

2 Ezzeddin Mahmoud bin-Ali Kashani, *Misbah al-Hedaye and Miftah al-Kefayeh* (Tehran: Homa Publications, 1988), 317-326.



within this order include Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī (d. 659/1261), Saʿd al-Dīn Hamūya (d. 649/1251), Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (573/1177-654/1256), Alāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 737/1336), and Mīr Sayyīd Ali Hamadānī (d. 787/1385), also known as Ali Thānī.

The Kubrawiyya order experienced significant growth during the Mongol invasion, particularly in eastern Iran. This expansion was facilitated by the order's elders during the Khwarazmian and Ilkhanid dynasties, extending its influence from Khorasan and Transoxiana to Syria and Asia Minor.³ The order's substantial presence across all spheres in Central Asia is believed to have influenced the Mongol patriarchs' conversion to Islam, leading to the religion's resurgence in Iran. In the post-Mongol period, the Kubrawiyya order had a profound influence on Sufism, leading to the emergence of a prominent Sufi figures in Khwarazm and Khorāsān. The Kubrawiyya order's expansion from Khorāsān

and Transoxiana to the Levant and Asia Minor, along with existence of its branches in India and China, adds to the importance of this order.

Within the Kubrawiyya order, several branches emerged during the tenure of Mīr Sayyīd Ali Hamadānī's successor, Khwaja Ishaq Khatlanī. The Nurbakhshiyya and Dhahabiyya orders, predominantly located in the eastern and western regions of Transoxiana respectively, are continuations of the Kubrawiyya order. However, with the rise of the Naqshbandī order in the Khanate of Bukhāra, the influence of the Kubrawiyya was confined to the territory of Khoqand. By the 16th century, they had gradually migrated from Central Asia and established their presence in Iran.⁴

Due to the importance of *dhikr* in Sufism and the importance of *dhikr* in Kubrawiyya, this article examines the importance, principles, objectives, methods and results of *dhikr* in Sufism and especially in Kubrawiyya.

3 Abdul Hossain Zarinkoob, *Sequence of Search in Mysticism of Iran*, (Tehran: Amir Kabir Publications, 1997), 81.

4 Zarinkoob, *Sequence of Search in Mysticism of Iran*, 178-184.

In order to carry out this research, we have analyzed the materials presented in the texts of the Kubrawiyya order. Besides, we have also referred to some other sources of Islamic Sufism.

This research has the potential to enhance the understanding of Sufi practices, particularly the practice of *dhikr* within the Kubrawiyya order. It can help to dispel misconceptions about Sufism and inform the practice of *dhikr* in various Sufi orders. The topic intersects with multiple disciplines, including psychology, sociology, and religious studies, highlighting its interdisciplinary relevance. Furthermore, the research can contribute to documenting and preserving the practice of *dhikr* in the Kubrawiyya order, a necessity in a rapidly evolving world and could serve as a foundation for further exploration, stimulating new inquiries in the field.

Dhikr

Dhikr, the act of remembering God, is deemed a paramount duty in both *ṭarīqa* and *sharīa*. This concept is rooted in the divine command: *Remember me, I will remember you.* (al-Baqara 2/152). The disciple's true peace is found in the light of *dhikr*, as God Himself stated, *Indeed, it is in the remembrance of God that hearts find peace* (ar-Ra'd 13/28).

Dhikr, as presented in the Qur'ān, is a reciprocal process involving both God and humans. When a person remembers God, God reciprocates this remembrance. The divine remembrance that emanates from God to the disciple fortifies faith and facilitates the attainment of elevated states and stations. The act of remembering God is a form of communication with Him, and the entity that establishes this connection is God Himself.⁵

5 Kazem Mohammadi, *Najmuddin Kobra Pir Vali Tarash*, (Karaj: Najm Kobra Publications, 2007), 121-138.

The practice of *dhikr* is a distinguishing feature of Sufi Muslims, setting them apart from non-Sufis. The Sufi practice of *dhikr* can be viewed as a form of verbal devotion. At its core, it involves the repetition of God's names, often articulated in specific phrases. Only Arabic names and special phrases derived from the Qur'ān and *hadīth* are utilized for *dhikr*. The term '*dhikr*' and its close derivatives appear more than 270 times in the Qur'ān, and at times, *dhikr* is regarded as the pinnacle of worship.⁶

Dhikr in Sufism

In Sufism, *dhikr* is more closely associated with awareness than with outward acts, which fall under the purview of *sharīa*. A distinguishing characteristic of Sufis is their endeavor to discipline their *nafs* (the human soul or ego), using various tools, among which *dhikr* is of paramount importance. This involves remembering God through His names. Sufis posit that all theoretical teachings of Islam aim to stimulate remembrance within humans. In their interpretation of Quranic teachings, they argue that *dhikr* encompasses matters far beyond known acts of worship. A complete *dhikr* signifies the realization of all perfections latent in human nature.

Sufi texts present various classifications of *dhikr*. Some refer to the depth of concentration achieved by the disciple. Another prevalent classification distinguishes between loud and silent *dhikr*. A loud *dhikr* typically involves various forms of worship performed in different sequences. Sufi elders employ special names and chants to actualize disciples' spiritual abilities.⁷

6 William Chitick, *An Introduction to the Sufism of Islamic Mysticism*, (Tehran: Hekmat Publications, 2010), 117-129.

7 Ibid., 117-129.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī provides insight into this by saying: “*Dhikr* is a robust pillar in the path of Truth, and no one can reach God Almighty except through continuous *dhikr*. There are two types of *dhikr*, the *dhikr* of the tongue and the *dhikr* of the heart.”⁸

***Dhikr* in Kubrawiyya Order**

Najm al-Dīn Kubra, the leader of the Kubrawiyya order, perceives *dhikr* as a truth that eradicates one’s pleasures, as these pleasures are deemed superfluous aspects of existence that have arisen through extravagance and transgression. He regards *dhikr* as an inductive process and asserts the necessity and obligation of a mentor’s presence for its practice. According to him, the fire of *dhikr* purges the disciple of his own self, annihilates his virtual existence, and instills real existence in his heart, thereby establishing his connection with absolute existence.⁹

He views *dhikr* as a virtuous word that ascends from the crown of the head and is presented to the Almighty’s presence. God then blesses the disciple with His blessing, which signifies the import of spirituality and holy lights. The disciple is enveloped by security, desire, passion, love, faith, and mysticism, and is imbued with grace and perfection. Consequently, the disciple’s heart is liberated and shielded from any complications, and he directs his attention towards his Lord completely. At this juncture, the Almighty’s *dhikr* immerses itself in disciple’s heart. It is as if the heart is a well and *dhikr* is a bucket that is dipped into the well to draw water. Following this event, there is a surge in the limbs and unconscious movements that have never been observed before, such as

a movement that induces tremors in the body. Whenever the disciple refrains from his obligatory *dhikr*, the heart exhibits a movement in the chest akin to the movement of a fetus in the mother’s womb, resulting in the aspirant of the *dhikr*.¹⁰

According to Najm al-Dīn Kubra, *dhikr* is of three types: *dhikr* of the tongue, of the heart, and of the inmost heart (secret, *sirr*). Verbal *dhikr* does not exert much influence if it is not linked with the *dhikr* of the heart, although it can be beneficial as it is *dhikr* in itself. In *dhikr* of the heart and the secret, however, the issue is about mystical presence and absence. In the *dhikr* of the heart, the disciple, in a way, vanishes from himself, and in the *dhikr* of the secret, he transitions from absence to presence. The essence of *dhikr* is also revealed in the last two stages. The principle of *dhikr* is that the disciple initially becomes devoid of himself. Subsequently, when he is free of himself, his entire being becomes God’s presence, and he has annihilated in God. Needless to say that, attaining this state necessitates considerable self-discipline, and the disciple must engage in extensive solitude and efforts to comprehend the nature of heart and secret *dhikr*.¹¹

In Najm al-Dīn Kubra’s view, the best *dhikr* is the honorable *dhikr* of “*lā ilāha illa Allāh*,” which comprises a negation and an affirmation—the negation of us except Allah and the registration of Allah in the heart. Therefore, for this *dhikr* to be effective and to flow from the tongue to the heart, a special form and state have been designated for its performance, and its expression with a special state has been deemed effective in four beats.¹²

Mīr Sayyīd Ali Hamadānī considered the essence of *dhikr* to be connected with God

8 Abul-Qasim Abdul-Karim Ibn Hawazen al-Qushairi, *Risalah Qushairiyya*, (Tehran: Hermes Publications, 2012), 347.

9 Najm al-Din Kubra, *Fawaeh al-Jamal and Fawatheh al-Jalal*, trans. Mohammad Baqer Saedi. (Tehran, 1986), 73.

10 Najm al-Din Kubra, *Fawaeh*, 113.

11 Mohammadi, *Najmuddin Kobra Pir Vali Tarash*, 121-138

12 Ibid.

both in the hidden and in the open.¹³

‘Azīz-al-Dīn al-Nasafī categorizes disciples into two types concerning *dhikr* and meditation: an earthly type and a heavenly type. The vehicle of the earthly disciple is *dhikr*, and the vehicle of the heavenly disciple is thought. He also cites *dhikr* as one of the conditions of *mujāhadah*.¹⁴

The Importance of *dhikr* in Kubrawiyya Order

In the Kubrawiyya order, many elders have devoted years to meditation, solitude, and *dhikr* within their sheikh’s monastery.¹⁵ *Dhikr* for a disciple in this order is likened to milk for a child.¹⁶ The elders regard *dhikr*, particularly the *dhikr* of “lā ilāha illa Allāh,” as a facilitator for the disciples’ sublimity. “Lā ilāha illa Allāh” is a combination of negation and affirmation. Through negation, this *dhikr* eradicates immoral substances that stem from the disease of the heart and the problems of the soul. Furthermore, by affirming “lā ilāha illa Allāh,” the heart is treated and immorality is cured. When this occurs, the soul is illuminated by the light of its Lord, the darkness of the soul’s attributes dissipates, and the subject transforms into the object, and vice versa.¹⁷

In the act of remembering the Truth (*Ḥaqq*), the heart imbibes a type of wine that purifies it. Subsequently, the disciple advances towards the Lord, leaving his own self behind. He then perceives invisibles and hears inaudible sounds, loses himself once more, and when he

emerges from the state of remembrance, the Lord remembers him.¹⁸

In this order, forty stages are enumerated for a Sufi, with *dhikr* being the eighth stage. In this stage, the disciple knows God by heart and seeks God with his tongue, and if he becomes helpless, he knows no other path except to God’s door.¹⁹ The elders of the Kubrawiyya order consider both the external and internal aspects. The human heart is the place of inner meanings, and language is the interpretation of the external form. Its inner aspect is the realization of the meaning of *dhikr*, and its outward aspect is the utterance of “lā ilāha illa Allāh.”²⁰

Principles of *dhikr*

Given the significance of *dhikr* in Islamic Sufism, it is essential to understand its foundational principles and tenets.

• Monotheism

The foremost principle in Islam, which can also be regarded as a pivotal principle of *dhikr*, is monotheism. Consequently, the primary foundation of Sufi beliefs is monotheism. Sufis endeavor to discern the true essence of monotheism and a pathway to become really monotheistic. They seek knowledge of the singular God, who is the absolute Truth and embodies both unity and oneness. As Sheikh Maḥmūd Shabistarī succinctly encapsulated: “To see one, to say one, and to know one, this is the origin and branch of the faith.”²¹

13 Mir Seyyed Ali Hamadani, *Risalah Zikriah*, (Karaj: Najm-Kobra Publications, 2009), 18.

14 Mohammad Nasafi, *Kashf al-Haqayeq*, (Tehran: Book Translation and Publishing Company, 1980), 138-139.

15 Hamadani, *Risalah Zikriah*, 9.

16 Nasafi, *Kashf al-Haqayeq*, 135-136.

17 Najm al-Din Kubra, *Usul al-Eshrah*, trans. Abdul Ghafoor Lari, (Tehran: Mowla Publications, 2019), 57-65.

18 Ammar bin Yaser Badlisi, *Soum al-Qalb*, (Tehran: Mowla Publications, 2015), 61-62.

19 Mir Seyyed Ali Hamadani, *Forty Maqams of Sufiya*, (Manuscript, misplaced, 1501).

20 Hamadānī, *Risalah Zikriah*, 52.

21 Shamsuddin Mohammad Lahiji, *The Description of Golshan Raz*, (Tehran: Zovar Publications, 2009), 543.

• *Jalāl* and *jamāl* names

Another principle of *dhikr* in Islamic Sufism pertains to the names of God, which are divided into *jalāl* (glory, the names that demonstrate God's awe and greatness) and *jamāl* (beauty, the names that exhibit a form of God's favor) names. In Islamic belief, God possesses beautiful names and attributes, and in accordance with the requirements of *Day in and day out He has something to bring about* (al-Raḥmān 55/29), He has inherent dignities, each of which yields a name or an attribute.²² From the Sufi perspective, the divine names are essentially the same essence, and the multiplicity of names does not disrupt the unity of God. The method to truly comprehend these names is to mention them, which is consistently and particularly performed in meditation and *dhikr*.

• Divine Love

Mystics of Islam posit that the only being who merits love above all else is God. Based on this premise, love for God permeates all beings in the world and is present at all levels of existence.²³ In Sufism, divine love serves as the vehicle for spiritual journeying. All disciples strive to draw closer to God through divine love. By striving to have God-like morals and love for God's creatures, which are manifestations of God's attributes, they prepare themselves to receive God's grace. The virtue of possessing God's morals is bestowed upon the disciple by God Himself, following meditation, *dhikr*, and adherence to the authorities of conduct. In this context, the Truth, which is both unity and oneness, liberates the disciple from the realm of multiplicity and guides him

towards his connection, who is the incomparable lover.

• Belief in the *rūḥ* (spirit)

Another essential tenet that warrants discussion is the universal belief among Muslims, inclusive of Sufis, in the existence of the *rūḥ*. The *rūḥ* is the cause of life, a life that is the harbinger of consciousness and will. It is God who infuses the *rūḥ* into entities, thereby animating them according to His will. The *rūḥ* exists in various ranks and degrees: A degree of it is present in animals and non-believers, a degree of it is in believers, and at its highest degree, in prophets and messengers.²⁴ Consequently, the *rūḥ* is an integral, non-material component of human existence, serving as the source of life and distinguishing living beings from the deceased. It is a supernatural entity whose operations diverge from those of material beings, despite its perpetual connection with the material world.²⁵ In the authentic exegesis of Quranic verses, a human is not merely a body housing a *rūḥ*, but rather a *rūḥ* that temporarily inhabits a body as its vessel. The *rūḥ* only uncovers its true essence upon its departure from the body, given that the creation of the *rūḥ* enables it to sustain life independently. The *rūḥ*'s joy and sorrow reside in the spiritual realm, possessing a divine, incorruptible, and eternal essence.²⁶

Through various exercises, the non-material *rūḥ* can liberate itself from the shackles of matter. The *rūḥ* is distinct from the mind. When the mind is active, the *rūḥ* undergoes various emotions. It is only when the mind ceases activity and attains tranquility that the

22 Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Sadr al-Din Shirazi, *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Karim*, trans. Mohsen Bidarfar, (Qom: Bidar Publications, 2020), 4: 42.

23 Seyyed Mahmoud Taheri, *Collection of Letters*, (Qom: Ayat Eshraq Publications, 2009), 405-408; Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Sadr al-Din Shirazi, *al-Hikma al-Muttaaliyah fi al-Asfar al-Arbaeh*, (Tehran: Sadra Islamic Wisdom Foundation, 2001), 7^e: 148.

24 Mohammad Hossein Tabataba'i, *al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an*, (Tehran: Dar al-Kitab al-Islamiya, 1993), 2: 217-219.

25 Nasser Makarem Shirazi, *Tafsir Nemoone*, (Qom: Dar al-Kitab al-Islamiya, 2017), 12: 252.

26 Abedin Lajimi, & Reza Kohsari, "The Human Soul from the Perspective of the Qur'an," *Qur'anic Studies* 36, (2018): 123-149.

rūḥ is able to persist in its authentic form. This state can be achieved through *dhikr* during meditation, as it allows the *rūḥ* to cease its union with the mind and shed its material veils.

• Stages of the *nafs*

In the disciplines of Islamic sciences and the Qur'ān, the *nafs* is recognized as the navigator of human cognition and activities, with numerous human behaviors being shaped by adherence to one's *nafs*. Mystics have constructed comprehensive theories elucidating the nature of the *nafs* and its various stages. They have detailed the evolutionary progression of the *nafs*, identifying the lowest stage as *al-nafs al-ammārah* (Yūsuf 12/53), and subsequently discussing advanced stages such as *al-nafs al-lawwāmah* (al-Qiyāmah 75/2) and *al-nafs al-mutmainnah* (al-Fajr 89/27-28). The pinnacle of the *nafs* is perceived as a state of annihilation in divinity, followed by survival post-mortality.²⁷ The attainment of the diverse levels and stages of the *nafs* is a gradual process, facilitated by meditation and *dhikr*. This progression underscores the transformative potential of spiritual practices in elevating the state of the *nafs*.

• Divine Caliphate (Vicegerency)

The concept of divine *caliphate* holds significant importance in the realm of mystical anthropology. As per the mystics, the paramount factor that entitles an individual to ascend to the position of a *caliph* (vicegerent) of God is the attainment of the authentic source of gnosis and the intuition of the true nature.²⁸ An individual who achieves such profound insight is deemed the *caliph* of God on Earth.²⁹

27 Muhammad bin Ali Ibn-'Arabi, *al-Futuhat al-Makiyya*, (Qom: Āl-Albeyt, 2016), 2: 194-195.

28 Ahmad Ibn-Ajibah, *Al-Bahr al-Madid fi Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Majid*, (Cairo: Hassan Abbas Zaki, 1998), 1: 571.

29 Ibn-Ajibah, *al-Bahr al-Madid fi Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Majid*, 4: 210.

Najm al-Dīn Kubra posits that the divine man, upon traversing the stages of his spiritual journey towards God, arrives at a state where God adorns him with the robe of discretion, thereby establishing him as the rightful *caliph*.³⁰ It is at this juncture that he, having detached from his self, acquires authority not attributable to his *nafs*, but rather to his status as the divine vicegerent. *Dhikr* is identified as one of the most crucial instruments in realizing this objective.

Objectives of *dhikr*

• Attainment of Monotheism

All activities within Sufism, including *dhikr*, are directed towards the realization of unity, ultimately leading to the state of monotheism.

• Stabilization of the Heart

Within the Kubrawiya order, *dhikr* serves the purpose of stabilizing the tongue, which subsequently leads to the stabilization of the heart and, ultimately, the stabilization of faith. This stability implies a state where an individual is oriented towards God in all circumstances, with their entire being, and is detached from anything that is not God.³¹

• Subjugation of the Senses to the Soul

Given that all material or spiritual calamities, originate from the senses, the treatment is of paramount importance. This treatment is another objective of *dhikr*. Through continuous *dhikr*, the soul ceases to be subservient to the senses and instead, perceives the Origin of everything. Consequently, the senses become obedient to the soul, and the eight senses (five external and three internal) transform into gateways to heaven.³²

30 Ibid., 232-233.

31 Badlisi, *Soum al-Qalb*, 99.

32 Najm al-Din Kubra, *Usul al-Eshrah*, 56.

• Elimination of Foreign Elements from the Heart

Dhikr, likened to fire within this order, aims to incinerate all foreign elements within the heart, leaving nothing but God. This objective embodies one of the true interpretations of “*lā ilāha illa Allāh*.”³³

• Purification and Illumination of the Heart

Dhikr also aims to purify and illuminate the disciple’s heart. Analogous to the body’s inability to grow and attain perfection without nourishment, the heart cannot grow and reach perfection without *dhikr*. Post-*dhikr*, the impact of contemplation amplifies a hundred-fold, as “an hour of contemplation surpasses sixty years of worship.”³⁴

Within this order, individuals who recite *dhikr*, known as *dhākirs* (persons who recites *dhikr*), are categorized into four groups. A disciple does not benefit from contemplation until they reach the fourth level of *dhikr*. Upon reaching this stage, contemplation unveils its beauty, marking the disciple’s entry into Sufism. This stage is followed by the disciple’s purification from falsehood and illumination by the light of Truth. Once the disciple’s heart is cleansed and illuminated, the light of contemplation supercedes the light of *dhikr*. The disciple then ceases *dhikr* and embarks on the path of unity.³⁵

• Achieving Companionship with the Truth

In the Kubrawiyya order, any individual who recites *dhikr* for the sake of pleasure, to perceive the unseen, to acquire unusual revelations, to gain strange knowledge, or to find merits, is not considered a disciple of the path of Truth, as their intention is not aligned with the Truth.

33 Najm al-Din Kubra, *Fawaeh*, 73.

34 Muhammad Baghar bin Muhammad Taqi Majlisi, *Bi-har al-Anwar*, (Beirut: Dar Ehiya al-Torath al-Arabi, 1983), 71: 327.

35 Nasafi, *Kashf al-Haqayeq*, 164.

Genuine disciples are those who seek solitude to rectify their relationship with the Almighty, thereby eliminating their external and internal interests and attachments. Consequently, their soul perceives the knowledge of the unseen and discerns the devil’s deception.³⁶

Methods and Rituals of *dhikr*

The practice of *dhikr* necessitates adherence to the guidelines set forth by the Sheikh and is contingent upon specific conditions. The mere repetition of *dhikr*, devoid of its associated rituals and conditions, is deemed ineffective. The following conditions are integral to the practice of *dhikr*:

• Repentance and Purification of the Body

A disciple is required to repent for all transgressions. If feasible, the disciple should perform *ghusl* (a comprehensive ablution involving the washing of the entire body with ritually pure water) prior to the recitation of *dhikr*. In the absence of this possibility, a simpler ablution should be performed. The act of reciting *dhikr* is likened to engaging in combat with an adversary, a task that is challenging without the appropriate weaponry. It is often stated that “ablution is the weapon of the believer.”

• Refraining from Backbiting and Falsehoods

The disciple must abstain from backbiting and lying to earn the privilege of becoming a vessel for the Truth. A tongue tainted with lies and backbiting is incapable of truly flowing with *dhikr*, save for the negligent mention of letters. Furthermore, the disciple must shield his eyes and ears from witnessing or hearing anything that is either useless or forbidden.³⁷

36 Alaa al-Dawlah Semnani, *al-Orwa le Ahl al-Khalwa wa al-Jalwa*, (Tehran: Mowla Publications, 1983), 335.

37 Hamadani, *Risalah Zikriah*, 63-64.

• Elimination of Corrupt Substances from the Heart³⁸

A disciple engaged in the recitation of *dhikr* must purge his heart of corrupt substances and improper attributes to which his heart has become attached. Corrupt substances are those that have infiltrated the heart through the senses and have subsequently formed an attachment. Improper attributes arise in a similar manner. The removal of these corrupt substances can be achieved in several ways:

a) One method involves the soul's inherent capacity for divine attraction, a rare occurrence. Divine attraction manifests when the Almighty Truth appears to the individual in a specific form, captivating the individual and fostering an immediate interest, leading to a disconnection from other entities.

b) Another method necessitates the presence of a facilitator. Certain sheikhs regard the names of God as facilitators. They present the names of God to the individual, noting the names that resonate with him, and then engage him with those names. Others consider the blessed name "Allah" to be the facilitator, arguing that since one's breath could cease at any moment, each breath should be treated as potentially the last. Given that it is recommended to utter the blessed name of Allah with one's final breath, this form of *dhikr* is preferred. However, the majority of sheikhs opt for "lā ilāha illa Allāh" as the Prophet deemed this form of *dhikr* to be the most virtuous. An additional rationale for this choice is that this form of *dhikr* serves a dual purpose: the elimination of corrupt substances and the absorption of goodness. Other elders have suggested that in accordance with the verse, *And remember your*

38 Najm al-Din Razi, *Mersad al-Ibad Men al-Mabda ila al-Maad*, (Tehran: Sanai Publications, n.d.), 145-160.

Lord when you forgot him (al-Kahf 18/24), God commanded that when forgetfulness occurs, if something else is forgotten, one should mention Allah, and if the Truth is forgotten, then one should mention "lā ilāha illa Allāh".

• Conditions Pertaining to Clothing

According to the tradition of Prophet Mohammad, a disciple is required to wear clean clothes. The purity of clothing is subject to four conditions: it must be free from impurity, it must not be obtained through oppression, it should not be made of finery or silk, and it should not be excessively long.

• Conditions Pertaining to Location

The disciple should prepare a clean, empty, and preferably fragrant space for the practice of *dhikr*. It is recommended to sit in a cross-legged position facing the *qiblah* (the direction towards the Kaaba in the Sacred Mosque in Mecca) during the recitation of *dhikr*.

• Prohibition of Imitative *dhikr*

Dhikr should not be performed in an imitative manner. Instead, the mentor, who holds the position of *wilāyah* (a position of wide authority granted by God), should sow the seed of remembrance in the fertile ground of the disciple's heart. The *dhikr* that the mentor inculcates is the fruit of his *wilāyah*. This seed, taken from a previous holder of *wilāyah*, is nurtured in the soil of the heart with the water of *wilāyah's madad* and the radiance of the sheikh's *himmah* (intense spiritual resolve). As the seed grows and matures into a fruitful tree, the Sheikh plants it in the disciple's heart.³⁹

• Mentioning *dhikr* with the Knowledge and Indication of the Sheikh

The recitation of *dhikr* should be performed under the guidance of a perfect mentor. A disciple acting independently may not reap the

39 Razi, *Mersad al-Ibad*, 150-154.

benefits of *dhikr*, even after a thousand years. Sufis opine that *dhikr* should be inculcated in disciples, particularly new ones, by someone who holds the title of mentor and elder. They emphasize the term ‘induction’ or ‘indoctrination’, likening *dhikr* to a medicine that must be administered with care and precision.⁴⁰

• The Condition of Indoctrination

The disciple is advised by the sheikh to fast for three days. During this period, the disciple should strive to perform ablution and continuously recite *dhikr*. The disciple should maintain the recitation of *dhikr* internally, even while moving, and should limit social interactions and speech to the necessary minimum. The disciple should consume less food during *iftār* and stay awake at night with *dhikr*. After three days, the disciple should bathe as per the sheikh’s instructions. The disciple should make the intention to bathe, akin to the intention made by an individual converting to Islam. The disciple should perform a true Islamic bath according to tradition and, while pouring water, should say, “O Allah, I have cleansed with water what I could, and You also cleanse my heart, which is the sight of Your affairs, with the care of Yours.” After the night prayer, the disciple should approach the sheikh, who will make him sit facing the *qiblah*, while the sheikh sits with his back to the *qiblah*. The disciple should kneel in front of the sheikh, place his hands on each other, and prepare his heart. The sheikh will then discuss the conditions, properties of *dhikr*, and the secrets of indoctrination suitable for the disciple’s understanding. The sheikh will then say “*lā ilāha illa Allāh*” once in a loud voice, which the disciple should repeat in harmony with the sheikh’s voice. This process is repeated three times, after which the sheikh prays and the disciple says “Amen.” Following this stage, the

40 Kazem Mohammadi, *Najmuddin Kobra Pir Vali Tarash*, 121-138.

disciple should retreat to solitude, sit squarely facing the *qiblah*, and engage in the cultivation of the seed of *dhikr*.⁴¹

• Reciting *dhikr* Not Obviously

Prophet Mohammad stated that “The best *dhikr* is hidden and the best food is sufficient.”⁴² Just as overconsumption of food leads to adverse outcomes, obvious *dhikr* can result in arrogance and hypocrisy. Therefore, the disciple should mention the name of the Truth only with humility and submissiveness. The disciple should prioritize the *hadīth*, *I am the companion of the one who remembers me*⁴³ in his practice and observe politeness in the presence of God.

• The Practice of *dhikr*

During the practice of *dhikr*, the disciples are required to position their hands on their thighs, prepare their heart, close their eyes, and commence the recitation of the phrase “*lā ilāha illa Allāh*” with a profound bow. The words of *dhikr* should be uttered with utmost vigor, as if “*lā ilāha*” ascends from the navel and “*illa Allāh*” descends into the heart, thereby allowing the influence and potency of *dhikr* to permeate the organs. However, it should not be vocalized loudly. The disciple should strive to muffle their sound and refrain from raising their voice. The *dhikr* should be repeated in the heart while contemplating its meaning. The concept of negation should be considered in such a manner that every thought that enters the heart is negated in “*lā ilāha*,” signifying that the disciple desires nothing and has no intention except for God. This process should continue until the heart is gradually emptied of

41 Nasafi, *Kashf al-Haqayeq*, 135-136; Razi, *Mersad al-Ibad*, 150-154.

42 Abolqasem Payandeh, *Nahj al-Fasaha*, (Tehran: Do-niaye Danesh, 2003), 1: 466.

43 Mohammad bin Yaqoob Koleini, *Osul Kafi*, (Tehran: Qaim Al Mohammad Publications, 2006), 2: 496.

all other beloved and familiar entities.⁴⁴

• The Specific Head Movement

In the Kubrawiyya order, a unique head movement is performed while reciting the *dhikr* of “lā ilāha illa Allāh.” By uttering “lā ilāha”, they negate everything that is not God, and by saying “illa Allāh”, they affirm the love of the Divine Truth in their hearts. It is believed that if the head is not moved, the power of remembrance will not reach the heart, and as long as the warmth of remembrance does not permeate the heart, the *dhikr* remains superficial, yielding no internal expansion or benefit to the disciple.⁴⁵

• Performing *dhikr* with One’s Entire Being

Dhikr should be performed with the entirety of the disciple’s being. The disciple should be cognizant of the name and attribute they employ and understand with whom or what they are communicating.⁴⁶ In this order, there is a significant emphasis on the continuity and frequency of *dhikr*.⁴⁷

• Remembering God through Intuitional *dhikr*

In the Kubrawiyya order, the disciple is required to remember God in truth and acknowledge Him as a singular entity, so that God reciprocates this remembrance. Importantly, God should be remembered through intuitive mention, not linguistic mention. In intuitive mention, the existence of the disciple is forgotten, as there is no one in the realm of existence except the Divine. However, linguistic mention is not associated with the components and elements of human existence and is therefore merely described as a linguistic attribute, failing to reach the realm of the heart and inspi-

ration from the physical world.

As stated in al-‘Alaq 96/19, *prostrate and draw near* implies physical prostration, but a return to the Divine Truth with one’s heart, bearing witness, and drawing closer.⁴⁸

Among *dhikr*, the disciple should focus on the Divine Truth with their entire being. Paying attention to God with one’s entire being involves transcending everything that distracts the individual from God, to the point where there is nothing desirable, beloved, or intended except the Almighty Allah.⁴⁹

Levels of Reciters

a) The first group consists of those whose recitation is limited to the language, and their hearts remain oblivious. It is common for these individuals to let their minds wander, perhaps to a garden or a market, even while they are engaged in recitation. The impact of such recitation is weak, but it is not entirely without merit.

b) The second group includes those whose recitation is verbal, but their hearts are intermittently present due to duty. After being present, the heart will again become absent. The righteous often find themselves in this state during prayer and recitation. There is a risk of contemplating sin in this state.

c) The third group encompasses those whose recitation is both verbal and heartfelt. The recitation has taken hold of the heart, bringing calm and settling it. They can only divert their attention to other tasks by force. This means that they can engage the heart in other tasks only when it is necessary to do something else. Attaining this level is a significant achievement, and only a few individuals reach this level. Those

44 Razi, *Mersad al-Ibad*, 150-154.

45 Semnani, *al-Orwa*, 315-325.

46 Mohammadi, *Najmuddin Kobra Pir Vali Tarash*, 121-138.

47 Najm al-Din Kubra, *Usul al-Eshrah*, 57-65.

48 Badlisi, *Soum al-Qalb*, 61-62.

49 Najm al-Din Kubra, *Usul al-Eshrah*, 66-70.

who have achieved this level should understand how to maintain it to avoid squandering it through inappropriate speech.

d) The fourth group is consist of those whose hearts are filled with the remembrance of God, not through recitation. There is a distinction between a heart filled with the Friend or filled with the name of the Friend. The ultimate goal is to cleanse the heart of the remembrance and awareness of the Friend, leaving only the Friend himself. A disciple's heart will become the Friend, and nothing else will remain within him.⁵⁰

The Results of Continuous *dhikr*

• Turning Away from People

The initial sign in a sincere disciple, indicating the awakening of their desire and will to conduct, is their growing intimacy with meditation and *dhikr*. A certain degree of fear of people emerges within them, leading them to distance themselves from everyone and seek refuge in *dhikr*.⁵¹

• Passion

The disciple's state during *dhikr* is highly variable and indescribable, yet it is accompanied by enthusiasm and happiness. This emotional state stems from the disciple's eager anticipation of meeting the beloved, filled with great hope and confidence.⁵²

• Non-Interruption of *dhikr* in Sleep

Dhikr does not cease with the onset of sleep. The sleeper continues to recite *dhikr*, even though the act of *dhikr* is not typically performed during sleep.

50 Nasafi, *Kashf al-Haqayeq*, 167.

51 Razi, *Mersad al-Ibad*, 150-154.

52 Yahya Yathrebi, *Practical Mysticism*, (Tehran: Bostan Kitab, 2011), 283-300.

• Reaching the Position of Obedience

If the seeker engages in continuous *dhikr* with *mujāhadah* (striving in the path of Allah for purifying the *nafs*) and effort, they will eventually gain insights. At this point, the verbalization of *dhikr* ceases. As long as the seeker is engaged in *dhikr* and it dominates their consciousness, they remain in the world of forms and senses. When they cease *dhikr* and thoughts take over, they transition from the world of forms to the world of the soul. When thought subsides and inspiration takes over, they move from the world of reason to the world of love. When inspiration ceases and manifestation takes over, they transition from the world of love to the position of obedience. In this state of submission, they can be described by any attribute they choose. Thus, the disciple is first dominated by *dhikr*, then by thought, followed by inspiration, and finally by manifestation. Here, the seeker reaches the position of submission and is freed from temptation.⁵³

• Stability of the Tongue

One of the outcomes of *dhikr* is the stability of the tongue, which manifests in two forms: outward stability derived from knowledge, and inward stability resulting from gnosis. Outward stability is such that a person speaks only with the permission of their knowledge, remains silent on matters that should not be spoken of, and refrains from speaking impulsively as long as they possess knowledge. Inward stability is when the tongue becomes subservient to the heart, akin to a door that can only be opened with the heart's permission.⁵⁴

• Attaining the State of Unity

When the tree of *dhikr* takes root in the disciple's entire being and reaches perfection, initial observations gradually give way to revelations,

53 Nasafi, *Kashf al-Haqayeq*, 141.

54 Badlisi, *Soum al-Qalb*, 106.

and the tree begins to bear fruit. One of these fruits is attaining the state of unity (*tawhīd*), which, according to the mystics and Sufis of this order, is the purpose of creation. Each disciple comprehends this unity according to their *himmah* (aspiration) and strength, leading them to prosperity.⁵⁵

• Severing the *nafs* from the World and the Devil

Since the principle of *dhikr* is to prevent the senses from being captivated by the sensible, one of its outcomes is that the soul's reliance on the world and the devil is severed. This is because every temptation and calamity that has afflicted the soul and strengthened it, has originated from the senses.⁵⁶

• Mortality of the *dhākir* in the Truth of *dhikr*

As the disciple continues with *dhikr*, the deity causes the false gods to become mortal for them and elevates them to a level where they forget all familiar things to such an extent that the disciple does not even perceive themselves. At this stage, it is said: *The truth has come and falsehood has vanished* (al-Isrā' 17/81). At this time, the truth of *Everything is bound to perish except He Himself* (al-Qaṣaṣ 28/88) is revealed, and the Absolute Truth appears with the attribute of unity.

• Emergence of Intuitions

Whenever the seekers begin to perform *dhikr* and purify their heart, intuitions from the unseen emerge that are appropriate to their status. These observations sometimes occur in dreams and sometimes during wakefulness, a state referred to as *waqi'ah*. The *waqi'ah* takes place between sleep and wakefulness.⁵⁷

55 Razi, *Mersad al-Ibad*, 150-154.

56 Najm al-Din Kubra, *Usul al-Eshrah*, 53.

57 Razi, *Mersad al-Ibad*, 162.

• Mystical Conquests

Through the practices of *dhikr* and meditation, the disciple may gain insights into unseen events and currents, as well as acquire knowledge about the deeds of individuals, prophets, saints, and the concepts of heaven and hell.⁵⁸ These practices can potentially lead to mystical conquests, opening the disciple's perceptual faculties to previously unseen realms.⁵⁹

• The Influence of Divine Names and Attributes on the Seeker

The disciple's journey is influenced at all stages by divine attributes and names. As the disciple advances in meditation, he begins to recognize the specific names and attributes that have an impact on him. While this recognition may not be comprehensive, the disciple acutely senses the influence of these divine names and attributes and gains a certain level of understanding of each.

• The Annihilation of the Self and Union with the Divine

As the disciple progresses in *dhikr*, he eventually reaches a stage where he experiences signs of self-annihilation. This state of annihilation paves the way for union with the divine, leading the disciple to renounce his ego and selfish desires. The disciple's heart becomes a sanctuary for the divine, devoid of anything else. As the disciple advances in various stages and succeeds in purging his mind of extraneous thoughts and his heart of other names and memories, he realizes that his sole aim and purpose is the pursuit of the Ultimate Truth. The disciple experiences the profound realization that without this goal, he is nothing; but with it, he possesses everything and lack nothing.⁶⁰

58 Yathrebi, *Practical Mysticism*, 283-300.

59 Razi, *Mersad al-Ibad*, 150-154.

60 Yathrebi, *Practical Mysticism*, 283-300.

• Perception of Colors and Lights

One of the significant mystical theories proposed by Najm al-Dīn Kubra is the theory of colors and lights, which is based on his personal experiences. Other disciples may also have similar experiences. For instance, he posits that in the initial stage, the disciple is drawn towards infinite darkness. As a glimmer of purity and light emerges, it manifests as a dark cloud. When the disciple's existence is under the sway of negative forces, it appears in a red hue.⁶¹ It is evident that these are observations made during the practice of *dhikr* and meditation.

Conclusion

This paper explores the pivotal role of *dhikr* within the Kubrawiyya order, a distinguished tradition within Islamic Sufism. The research offers an elaborated exploration of *dhikr*, scrutinizing its significance, principles, objectives, methodologies, and outcomes. The Kubrawiyya order's distinctive approach to *dhikr*, which accentuates monotheism, divine love, faith in the spirit, stages of the *nafs*, and divine *caliphate*, is brought to the fore. The transformative potential of *dhikr* for disciples is underscored, with goals spanning from the realization of monotheism to the attainment of companionship with the Divine Truth.

The research delineates the methods and rituals of *dhikr* within the Kubrawiyya order, encompassing practices such as repentance, bodily purification, abstaining from slander and falsehoods, and stipulations pertaining to attire and location. The nature of *dhikr* in the Kubrawiyya order is further accentuated by the specific head movement and the practice of engaging in *dhikr* with one's entire being. The study also probes into the tiers of reciters and

the outcomes of continuous *dhikr*, unveiling the profound spiritual metamorphoses that can transpire through consistent practice.

In summary, the practice of *dhikr* within the Kubrawiyya order stands as a testament to the enduring potency and influence of Sufi traditions in shaping spiritual experiences. The Kubrawiyya order's emphasis on *dhikr* and seclusion, its *awrād* and *adhkār*, and its adaptability to diverse spiritual needs and contexts are underscored. This research sheds light on the central role of *dhikr* within the Kubrawiyya order and its potential to foster spiritual growth and transformation.

The interdisciplinary relevance of this subject matter, intersecting with fields such as psychology, sociology, and religious studies, also can be seen. As the world continues to evolve at a rapid pace, the importance of preserving and documenting practices like *dhikr* within the various Sufi orders is evident. This research contributes to a broader understanding of Sufi practices and serves as a springboard for further exploration in the field, underscoring the enduring relevance and richness of Sufi traditions.

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Cosmic Subjectivity in Ibn ‘Ajība’s Qur’ānic Exegesis

İbn ‘Acîbe’nin Kur’ân Tefsirinde Kozmik Öznellik

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Abstract

In his autobiography the Moroccan Sufi Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība cites an incident in which his saintly grandmother gives a command to a snake and the reptile fulfils the lady’s order. Undoubtedly, the story demonstrates the special powers granted to the saintly woman, but is the snake she interacts with also special? Or do natural entities in general understand and know more than we ordinarily think? Whereas the Qur’ān repeatedly emphasises the “animated quality of nature,” portraying the conscious, knowing and even wise cosmos, the works of exegesis often interpret such verses metaphorically (*majāz*) as eloquent expressions of God’s power and universal submission to it. How to reconcile this widespread figurative understanding with the numerous Sufi accounts of the alive, knowing, and understanding cosmos (similar to the incident mentioned by Ibn ‘Ajība)? To answer this question and more broadly, to reflect upon the understudied issue of cosmic subjectivity in the Sufi works of *tafsīr*, this article looks into Ibn ‘Ajība’s Qur’ānic commentary *al-Baḥr al-Madīd (The Immense Ocean)*, which masterfully blends exoteric and esoteric approaches to the scripture and which is aimed at general public (rather than the initiates on the Sufi path). Whereas the Sufi master himself clearly perceives everything in creation as an understanding subject, he also succeeds in seamlessly bringing together various interpretations (including purely metaphorical readings), recognising their validity and suitability for different audiences. The highest level, however, is to realise that the literal meaning of the Qur’ānic description of the cosmos accurately captures the aspects of reality hidden from

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senses: the spiritually enlightened actually “see” with the eye of *baṣīra* that the cosmos is alive, conscious, and knowledgeable, and that everything in it is ultimately a vessel manifesting Divine names.

Keywords: Sufism, Ibn ‘Ajība, *tafsīr*, subjectivity, consciousness, natural world, *majāz*.

Öz

Faslı sûfî Ahmed İbn ‘Acîbe otobiyografisinde, büyükannesinin bir yılanı emir verdiği ve sürüngenin de bu mübarek hanımın emrini yerine getirdiği bir olaydan bahseder. Kuşkusuz bu hikâyeye bu azîz kadına bahşedilen özel güçleri göstermektedir, ancak burada özel olan sadece o mudur yoksa iletişim kurduğu yılan da özel bir varlık mıdır? Ya da genel olarak doğal varlıklar normalde düşündüğümüzden daha fazlasını anlayıp bilebilir mi? Kur’ân, defaten, “doğanın canlı niteliğini” vurgulayarak onu bilinçli, bilen ve hatta bilge bir kozmos olarak tasvir ederken, tefsir eserleri, bu tür âyetleri genellikle mecâzî olarak yorumlayarak onları, Allah’ın kudretinin ve âlemin O’na zorunlu teslimiyetinin belagatli ifadeleri olarak görür. O halde bu yaygın sembolik okuma anlayışını, canlı, bilen ve anlayan bir kozmosun (İbn ‘Acîbe’nin bahsettiği olaya benzer şekilde) sufilerin hayatlarındaki sayısız tezâhürüyle nasıl uzlaştırabiliriz? Bu makale, bu soruyu cevaplamak ve daha geniş anlamda, tasavvufî tefsirlerde az çalışılmış bir konu olan kozmik öznellik meselesi üzerine düşünmek amacıyla, İbn ‘Acîbe’nin kutsal kitaba zâhirî ve bâtinî yaklaşımları ustalıklarla harmanlayan ve (tasavvuf yolundaki sâliklerden ziyade) halkın geneline yönelik telif ettiği *el-Bahrü’l-Medîd* (Uçsuz Bucaksız Okyanus) adlı Kur’ân tefsirini incelemektedir. Mürşidin kendisi yaratılıştaki her şeyi bilen birer varlık olarak algımlarken, aynı zamanda farklı yaklaşımları (tamamen metaforik okumalar da dahil olmak üzere) sorunsuz bir şekilde bir araya getirmeyi, bunların geçerli ve farklı kitleler için farklı uygunluklara sahip olduğunu kabul eder. Bununla birlikte, buradaki en yüksek seviye, Kur’ân’ın âlem tasvirinin sözlük anlamıyla, hakikatin duyulardan gizlenen yönlerini isabetli bir şekilde ele geçirdiğini fark etmektir: Ruhsal olarak aydınlanmış kişi, kozmosun canlı, idrâk sahibi ve bilgili olduğunu ve içindeki her şeyin, nihayetinde İlahî İsimler’i tezâhür ettiren birer mazhar olduğunu *basîret* gözüyle gerçekten “görür”.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tasavvuf, İbn ‘Acîbe, tefsir, öznellik, bilinçlilik, doğal dünya, mecâz.

Introduction

Another woman had concerns about a snake that came to devour all the worms she fed to her fowls. According to her own account, she asked the snake, in the name of God and sayyida Fatima, to cease its misdeeds. Fatima came to her and immediately the snake placed its head by the door. “Is it this one?” asked Fatima. “By God, it is!” replied the woman. Then Fatima grabbed a pestle and, brandishing it in the direction of the snake, told it: “By God, if you return to eat her worms, I will bury your head!” The snake never reappeared again.¹

This anecdote, told by the Moroccan Sufi Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība (d.1224/1809) in his autobiography (*fahrasa*), refers to his grandmother *sayyida* Fāṭima, who was a renowned saint from *ahl al-ighātha* (people of assistance).² Whereas the story can be examined from multiple angles, what is particularly pertinent to the present article is the fact of seamless communication between *sayyida* Fāṭima and the snake: the snake’s ability to understand and fulfil the command exceeds the range of faculties usually attributed to this animal. Undoubtedly, the incident demonstrates the

1 Jean-Louis Michon, “L’autobiographie du Soufi Marocain Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ağība (1747-1809) I”, *Arabica* 15, 3 (1968): 264.

2 Saints who function as intercessors and who manifest divine mercy through wonders, see Michon, “L’autobiographie du Soufi Marocain Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ağība”, 263; John Renard, *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 89.

special powers granted to *sayyida* Fātima, but is the snake she interacts with also special? Or do snakes in general understand more than we ordinarily think, even though the majority of human beings are incapable of perceiving this reality? As Ibn 'Ajība himself states later in his autobiography, when a person dedicates themselves to God and His contemplation, the creatures become related and bound to them.³ He narrates several incidents from his own life, in which wild animals and birds accompanied him on his journeys and in moments of solitude: once, when a jackal was following him, Ibn 'Ajība commanded the animal to stop and it did. But when he tried to give it a piece of bread, the jackal fled,⁴ indicating that what attracted the animal was the inner state of the righteous Sufi, not trivial hunger. Such incidents leave little doubt that the natural world possesses understanding and affinity with humankind, even though this reality lies hidden from the uninitiated. The idea is not new and has been articulated by Sufis throughout the ages, both in the accounts of their lives and in their theoretical writings. The wind being instructed to carry Ḥabīb al-'Ajāmī⁵ or the docile gazelle suddenly turning aggressive upon Abū Madyan's unintentional withholding of money meant for charity⁶ bring into relief both the universality of consciousness and understanding, which apply even to seemingly inanimate things, and the profound wisdom that the natural world manifests in its interaction with saints. When it comes to the theoretical expression of this reality, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*

3 Michon, "L'autobiographie du Soufi Marocain Aḥmad Ibn 'Aḡība", 266.

4 Jean-Louis Michon, "L'autobiographie du Soufi Marocain Aḥmad Ibn 'Aḡība (1747-1809) III", *Arabica* 16, 2 (1969): 138.

5 Renard, *Friends of God*, 107.

6 Vincent Cornell, *The Way of Abū Madyan: Doctrinal and Poetic Works of Abū Madyan Shu'ayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī (c.509/1115-594/1198)* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1996), 6.

(*The Revival of the Religious Sciences*) argues that "all the atoms of heaven and earth praise God,"⁷ while Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in his *Masnavī* justifiably wonders "if the fire of Nimrod has no eye, how can it be explained that it takes care to show respect to Abraham?"⁸ Indeed, the Qur'ān repeatedly emphasises the "animated quality of nature,"⁹ depicting the whole cosmos as an active participant in its narrative: *everything in creation glorifies God (tasbīh)* (Q 17/44) and *prostrates to Him (sujūd)* (Q 22/18), *God addresses the heavens, the earth, the mountains* (Q 33/72), and *the fire* (Q 21/69) on different occasions, *He inspires (wahy) the earth* (Q 99/5) and *the bee* (Q 16/68), *the natural world plays a pivotal role in the stories of the prophets David and Solomon* (Q 27/16-22), to give just a few most striking examples.

However, in spite of such a wealth of seemingly incontrovertible scriptural evidence pointing to the alive, conscious, understanding, and knowledgeable cosmos, intimately related to human beings, when it comes to the works of *tafsīr*, there is a well-established tendency to often resort to metaphorical interpretations (*majāz*) of such verses. Since the default state of human beings is their inability to perceive and comprehend cosmic *tasbīh*, *sujūd*, and communication, in order to fit human understanding these phenomena are interpreted figuratively as eloquent expressions of God's incontrovertible power and universal submission to it.¹⁰ In addition to acknowledging the linguistic merits

7 Lynda Clarke, "The Universe Alive: Nature in the *Masnavī* of Jalal al-Din Rumi," in *Islam and Ecology: A Bestowed Trust*, ed. Richard Foltz, Frederick Denny, and Azizan Baharuddin (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 60.

8 Ibid., 46.

9 Abdal Hakim Murad, *Travelling Home: Essays of Islam in Europe* (Cambridge: The Quilliam Press, 2020), 275.

10 See, for example, al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf*, al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, al-Qurtubī's *al-Jāmi' li aḥkām al-Qur'ān*.

of *majāz*,¹¹ various exegetes also advocate metaphorical readings on theological and logical grounds. For example, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his influential *tafsīr Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* argues that since in the Ash'arite *kalām* tradition the existence of life is predicated upon the attributes of knowledge (*ilm*) and power (*qudra*), consciousness and any kind of knowledge are impossible in *jamādāt* (inanimate things) (at least in their “normal” state which can be upended in exceptional circumstances through God’s intervention).¹² Interestingly, even Sufi exegetes are sometimes unwilling to take the Qur’ānic descriptions of universal prostration, glorification, and conscious celebration of the Divine at face value: for example, Abū’l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī understands cosmic *tasbīḥ* literally only when it comes to living entities, whereas in the case of *jamādāt* he sides with al-Rāzī, preferring a metaphorical reading.¹³ The propensity among many exegetes for either restricting or denying the existence of life, consciousness, understanding, and knowledge in various cosmic entities invites a natural question of how this position can be reconciled with the numerous Sufī accounts of an unmissably alive and knowing cosmos as well as their theoretical arguments supporting a literal

understanding of the Qur’ānic passages under review. How to navigate such seemingly contradictory views on the nature of the cosmos? Can different cosmic entities be simultaneously alive and inanimate, conscious and lacking awareness and understanding?

Ibn ‘Ajība, whom we have already met at the beginning of the Introduction, is a perfect candidate to answer these questions: belonging to the Darqāwī Shādhilī Sufi school, in his Qur’ānic commentary *al-Baḥr al-Madīd* (*The Immense Ocean*) he masterfully blends the exoteric and esoteric approaches to the scripture, addressing general public (rather than the initiates on the Sufī path), acknowledging the validity of non-Sufi views, and presenting Sufi doctrines in the accessible language. Whereas Sufis are generally known for their skilful integration of the esoteric and the exoteric, Ibn ‘Ajība stands out for his ability to reveal both dimensions in every single verse of the Qur’ān and to offer practical guidance to all believers regardless of their spiritual level.¹⁴ As has already been demonstrated in the stories from Ibn ‘Ajība’s autobiography, the *mufasssīr* clearly perceives the natural world as an understanding subject, yet in his exegesis he accommodates various positions (including purely metaphorical readings), recognising that even though on the surface they might appear contradictory, they are best regarded as complementary, enriching our understanding of both the Qur’ān and the world.¹⁵ In what follows we will look in detail into Ibn ‘Ajība’s perception of the cosmos and its subjectivity

11 According to one of the foremost literary theorists of the Islamic world, ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, imagery exceeds plain truth in eloquence and its ability to move the reader / listener: the subtlety of expression coupled with the depth of meaning produces the most beautiful forms “that influence the heart and the soul” (José Miguel Puerta Vilchez, *Aesthetics in Arabic Thought*, trans. Consuelo López-Morillas (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 51-2). See also Nadwa Dawud, “*Muṣṭalahāt al-taṣwīr wa-l-tamthīl wa-l-takhyīl ‘inda-l-Zamaksharī fī-l-Kashshāf*” (The terms “*taṣwīr*” (depiction), “*tamthīl*” (allegory) and “*takhyīl*” (visualisation, or imaginative representation) in al-Zamaksharī’s *al-Kashshāf*), *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 10, 2 (2008): 142-175.

12 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, also known as *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* (Vols. 1-32) (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1981), 20: 219.

13 Sarra Tlili, *Animals in the Qur’an* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 45.

14 Mohamed Fadel Elsayed, “Le Commentaire du Coran par le Soufi Marocain Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība (1160-1224/1747-1809): Méthodes et Themes” (PhD diss., University of Strasbourg, 2021), 248.

15 Which agrees with Bauer’s thesis about the acceptance of and the comfort with quite high levels of ambiguity in pre-modern Islamic worldview, see Thomas Bauer, *A Culture of Ambiguity. An Alternative History of Islam*, trans. Hinrich Biesterfeldt and Tricia Tunstall (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021).

and how he succeeds in seamlessly bringing together various interpretations, accepting them all while singling out the literal reading as the deepest and most accurate depiction of reality, that is understood, seen, and internalised by the spiritually enlightened. What is worth drawing attention to before proceeding any further is that the literal reading of “cosmic” verses in the Qur’ān should not be equated with the exoteric level of interpretation: since the Qur’ānic portrayal of the alive and knowledgeable cosmos goes against most people’s routine perception of and interaction with the natural world and challenges their conventional way of looking at it, understanding this portrayal literally without trying to make it fit the necessarily limited human experience is actually closer to the esoteric level. To perceive the cosmos as alive is to go beyond the apparent to uncover the hidden.

Subjectivity and Its Criteria

Subjectivity is an ideal tool to study Ibn ‘Ajība’s understanding of the cosmos in the Qur’ān as it can be used as an umbrella term for such crucial aspects as consciousness, aliveness, mental states, agency, and relationality. Even though there is no single universally agreed-upon definition, the traits that constitute a subject can be deduced from such attempts to define subjectivity as “self-consciousness as the basis of all possible knowledge,”¹⁶ or “the idea of some ‘thing’ that is both the owner of certain mental states and the agent of certain activities.”¹⁷ Since Descartes, the approach to subjectivity in the West has been rooted in cognition making up a uniquely human subject, distinct from surrounding objects upon which

they exercise their thought processes.¹⁸ As a backlash against this anthropocentric vision, post-modernity has witnessed the emergence of a strictly egalitarian outlook, which denies distinctiveness to human subjects, emphasising universal interconnection of all the entities in the cosmos, whose fluid relationality produces subjectivity.¹⁹ While post-humanist versions of subjectivity in their revolt against the Cartesian binary outlook usher in a flattened cosmos, the Sufi view is equally bent on overcoming the subject – object dichotomy, preserving, however, the existence of spiritual degrees and levels in creation. God, the cosmos, and the self represent three corners of a triangle with God on top, being the ultimate Principle and Source of both the cosmos and the self. Since Divine names permeate the created world and reveal themselves in its every nook and cranny at varying degrees, both the cosmos and the self are first and foremost manifestations of God’s names. The process of spiritual unveiling (*kashf*) attunes a Sufi practitioner to the underlying relatedness of everything in the cosmos: when one transcends the confines of the *nafs* (lower self) and attains *fanā’* (annihilation), they are able to presentially embrace the whole cosmos (macrocosm) in their own being and consciousness (microcosm).²⁰ What William Chittick calls the anthropocosmic vision bespeaks of the complementarity rather than polarity: in line with a truly *tawhīdic*

16 Muhammad U. Faruque, *Sculpting the Self: Islam, Selfhood, and Human Flourishing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2021), 51.

17 Alain de Libera, “When Did the Modern Subject Emerge?,” *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 82, 2 (2008): 181.

18 James Miller, *China’s Green Religion: Daoism and the Quest for a Sustainable Future* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 27.

19 See, Nathan Eric Dickman, “A Zhuangzian Tangle: Corroborating (Orientalism in?) Posthumanist Approaches to Subjectivities and Flourishings,” *Religions* 10 (2019): 3; Jordi Vivaldi, “Xenological Subjectivity: Rosi Braidotti and Object-oriented Ontology,” *Open Philosophy* 4 (2021): 314.

20 Faruque, *Sculpting the Self*, 85. See also Olga Louchakova-Schwartz, “The Self and the World: Vedanta, Sufism, and the Presocratics in a Phenomenological View,” in *Phenomenology/Ontopoiesis: Retrieving Geo-cosmic Horizons of Antiquity*, ed. A.-T. Tymieniecka (New York: Springer, 2011): 428-30.

vision, the cosmos and the self are merely two mirrors reflecting the Divine.²¹ The idea of the two mirrors is particularly stimulating in the context of contemplating cosmic subjectivity: if the cosmos reflects the same Reality as human beings²² – namely, Divine names, – should not its nature resemble that of *banī Ādam*?

The concept of subjectivity as such has become prominent in Western thought since the humanist shift during the Enlightenment and does not belong to Ibn ‘Ajība’s *Weltanschauung*, but the features of subjectivity are clearly addressed in his exegesis. Three features of subjectivity have been selected for the purpose of this study, namely, consciousness / life, knowledge / wisdom, and interrelatedness of everything in creation. Subjectivity, especially when applied to the natural world, provides a useful framework to examine an active and dynamic dimension of the cosmos in the Sufi master’s *tafsīr*: not only is it a seat of God’s silent (albeit splendid) signs (*ayāt*), but it is also an indispensable vocal participant in the events of this world, knowing and promoting the good and the true and decrying the evil.

Consciousness/Life

As has already been indicated, Ibn ‘Ajība in general is very open to enlivening the whole cosmos, while giving space to various positions expressed by scholars regarding the topic. Adopting a balanced viewpoint, Ibn ‘Ajība often recognises the validity of multiple interpretations of the verses hinting at cosmic subjectivity. This stance agrees with the general position of the Shādhilī school articulated by Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī, who explains that

the commentary on Qur’ānic verses should be regarded as *ta’wīl*: the interpretation which, without departing from the original sense, goes beyond it, revealing multiple possible ways of understanding, none of which is definitive and all of which resonate with different audiences.²³ To illustrate how Ibn ‘Ajība applies this approach in his *tafsīr*, one can have a look at his commentary on the verse about *amāna* (trust) offered to the heavens, the earth, and the mountains and their refusal to carry it out (Q 33/72): in the exoteric section the *mufasssīr* explains that *amāna* can refer to the creation of consciousness, life, and reason in those great bodies or to the trust being offered to their inhabitants (angels and jinn). The exegete also includes a metaphorical interpretation, which he attributes to al-Bayḍāwī: had the offer taken place and had those bodies possessed feeling and consciousness, they would have refused to accept the offer out of fear. And the purpose of such a metaphor is to glorify obedience, which in this case is called *amāna* since it requires implementation.²⁴ While Ibn ‘Ajība seems to incline towards the literal meaning, he does not plainly reject the figurative one. And in the *ishārī* section of the commentary (the characteristically Sufī exegesis by sign or allusion) Ibn ‘Ajība clarifies that, unlike, on the one hand, angels and jinn, overpowered by abstract and spiritual meanings and having no access to the sensible reality, and, on the other hand, animals and *jamādāt*, existing in the domain of senses and clouded from hidden lights and secrets, a human is the only creature in which the opposites come together (subtlety and coarseness, body and spirit, light and darkness, meaning and sense).²⁵ Whereas Ibn ‘Ajība’s reflections unmistakably emphasise

21 William C. Chittick, *Science of the Cosmos, Science of the Soul: The Pertinence of Islamic Cosmology in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2007), 131.

22 Even though the clarity and comprehensiveness of the reflected image might not be as sharp and precise.

23 Elsayed, “Le Commentaire du Coran par le Soufi Marocain Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība,” 27.

24 Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-majīd* (Cairo: self-published, 1999), 4: 468.

25 *Ibid.*, 4: 469.

the specialness of *banī Ādam*, they also shed further light on the exegete's perception of the cosmos. First, in the esoteric realm Ibn 'Ajība takes the literal understanding of the offer of *amāna* to the heavens, the earth, and the mountains for granted, simply stating its occurrence. Second, by grouping *jamādāt* and animals together and by attributing the sensible perception of reality to them, the exegete makes it clear that consciousness exists not only in animals but also in what is ordinarily regarded as inanimate. Overall, in both the exoteric and the esoteric parts of the commentary Ibn 'Ajība favours the non-figurative interpretation of the actual exchange between God and the mighty cosmic entities without, however, rejecting the validity of the metaphorical reading. It appears that to him different interpretations can co-exist, reflecting the richness and polyphony of the Qur'ānic text.

We can discover the same pattern of inclusivity in Ibn 'Ajība's reading of other verses. Commenting on the prostration (*sujūd*) of shadows (Q 16/48-9), he argues that it can be understood both as *haqīqa* (reality) and *majāz*. Dahhāk narrates that when the sun reaches its zenith, everything in creation (specifically plants and trees) prostrates in the direction of the *qibla*. This is the reason why the righteous prefer to pray at that specific time to align their worship with the universal choir of worshippers.²⁶ In his explanation of another verse addressing *sujūd* (Q 22/18), Ibn 'Ajība conveys al-Kawāshī's report that the stars, the sun, and the moon prostrate when they set, and do not rise again until they are permitted to do so. Likewise in a hadith narrated in al-Bukhārī's collection, it is clearly stated that the sun does not rise before it prostrates and gets permission.²⁷ This vision of the conscious spiritually-motivated worshipping cosmos is

26 Ibid., 3: 134.

27 Ibid., 3: 522. See al-Bukhārī, "Bad' al-khalq", 10.

expressed side-by-side with a metaphorical reading of prostration as submission and obedience. Al-Bayḍāwī in his *tafsīr* refers to *sujūd* as submission, either natural (*bi-l-ṭab'*) or by choice (*bi-l-ikhtiyār*). A palm tree prostrates if it bends out of the heaviness of its fruits, and a camel prostrates if it lowers its head to allow mounting.²⁸ The fact that all inanimate things are submissive to their Lord and obedient to His commands is compared to the prostration of the legally accountable (*mukallaḥīn*), which represents the highest degree of obedience.²⁹ Interpreting the instances of cosmic prostration, glorification, and other apparently conscious acts as *majāz* aimed at emphasising universal obedience to the Creator does not necessarily mean that the natural world is not conscious: *sujūd* in the sense of submissiveness might not be of the same lofty stature as literal prostration, but it feels like it still requires consciousness.

Regarding the issue of *tasbīh*, Ibn 'Ajība, following his proclivity for accepting and validating a variety of opinions, in his detailed commentary on Q 17:44 brings forward a number of possible meanings of universal glorification. He starts with clarifying that *tasbīh* denotes exaltation and that the earth and everything on it point to the exalted status of God and the impossibility of Him having a partner or a son. How exactly do various creatures convey this message? Ibn 'Ajība describes five scenarios:

1. They do it through their very existence, namely, by being possible (as opposed to necessary) and created, they bespeak of the Creator, who is Ever-Lasting and whose being is necessary. The whole creation thus glorifies God through *lisān al-ḥāl* (the language of its state), which constitutes *tasbīh al-ḥāl*, or figurative *tasbīh*. Even though Ibn 'Ajība starts with this opinion

28 Ibid., 3: 134 on Q 16/48-9.

29 Ibid., 3: 522 on Q 22/18.

advocated by al-Bayḏāwī, he makes it clear that he himself believes that *tasbīh maqālī* (literal glorification using words) is a more likely interpretation.

2. According to another figurative reading of the verse, glorification also implies that everything contains in itself a feature pointing to its Creator, and this realisation prompts whoever witnesses and contemplates the world (meaning, human beings) to engage in *tasbīh*. Ibn ‘Ajība conveys this interpretation from Ibn ‘Aṭīyya as one of opinions of *ahl al-‘ilm* (people of knowledge) without commenting on it: after all, does not the verse refer to all-encompassing glorification which inevitably takes different forms due to its sheer scale? Once started, it is bound to produce a ripple effect, bringing in more and more singers of God’s praise in a universal choir. Both the first and the second versions of *tasbīh* do not necessarily require awareness on the part of cosmic entities.
3. Another opinion (articulated by another group of *ahl al-‘ilm* in Ibn ‘Aṭīyya’s classification) ascribes glorification to everything that is alive and growing, excluding inanimate things from the choir of worshippers, since they are regarded as dead. Hence, a tree literally glorifies God, but when it is later carved into a table, not only does it lose life, but it also loses the ability to glorify its Creator. According to this interpretation, life and consciousness go hand in hand, with the latter extending to all living things.
4. Universal *tasbīh* can actually be real (*tasbīh al-haqīqa*), expressed through words (*maqālī*) by everything in creation. This position is closest to Ibn ‘Ajība’s heart and is also upheld by the third group of *ahl al-‘ilm* according to Ibn ‘Aṭīyya. The words do not have to be the same as those

used by human beings (*subḥān Allahu wa-l-hamdu li-l-Lāhi*), because everything glorifies in a way that best suits their state.³⁰ In a rare explicit reference to Ibn al-‘Arabī,³¹ the Moroccan Sufī cites the Andalusian sheikh’s statement, according to which whoever does not hear the variations of *tasbīh* in the universe, does not hear it at all, but is only conscious of their own state. According to Prophetic sayings, “neither a fish that swims in the sea nor a bird that flies in the air is caught but it results in the lessening of *tasbīh*” and “as long as there is still God’s creation, it will glorify God upon the rising of the sun, with the exception of Satan and the most arrogant of human beings.” Ibn ‘Ajība also cites his teachers’ teacher, sheikh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Ārif al-Fāsī, who believed in the generality of *tasbīh*, given such well-known incidents from the life of the Prophet as the glorification of the pebbles in his hands, the weeping of a tree trunk upon its separation from the Prophet, the love that the mountain Uḥud felt for the believers, and the *tasbīh* of the food heard by the Companions. Sheikh al-Fāsī assumed that limiting glorifica-

30 The only exception to this rule seems to be the mountains’ glorification alongside David: their *tasbīh* did not differ from human glorification and was audible to everyone, which was one of the prophet’s miracles (*mu’jiza*), see Ibn ‘Ajība *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 4: 476 on Q 43/10. What a majestic scene and a marvellous experience it must have been, looking at the solid and stately mountains and hearing them repeat *subḥān Allahu wa-l-hamdu li-l-Lāhi!*

31 Even though Ibn ‘Ajība’s *tafsīr* carries a perceptible Akbarian fragrance, he openly refers to the sheikh (calling him al-Ḥātimī) only nine times (Elsayed, “Le Commentaire du Coran par le Soufi Marocain Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība”, 111), most likely out of caution to make sure that his commentary remains accessible to and acceptable by the general public, including those who might not yet walk the Sufī path (Omneya Ayad, “Ibn ‘Ajība’s ‘Oceanic Exegesis of the Qur’an’: Methodology and Features”, *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 23, 3 (2021): 97; Elsayed, “Le Commentaire du Coran par le Soufi Marocain Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība”, 114, 337).

tion to living things is erroneous, since their *tasbīh* is one specific case of a more universal phenomenon: *jamādāt*, deriving their continued existence from God, do not need to be alive to engage in glorification. Furthermore, Ibn 'Ajība finds support for the universality of *tasbīh* in the standard position of *ahl al-sunna*, according to which there is no correlation between a natural constitution (*binya*) of any entity and its ability to accept knowledge and life, therefore, *jamādāt* are perfectly capable (even in theory) to display humility, awe, and glorification. Ibn Ḥajar, relating a Prophetic report about the weeping of the tree trunk, finds in it a confirmation that God can create awareness (*idrāk*) in inanimate things, that is similar in nature to the one possessed by the noblest of animals.

5. The last scenario, found in the *ishārī* section of Ibn 'Ajība's commentary, adds a distinctly Sufi flavour and a metaphysical dimension to the theme of universal *tasbīh*: everything that exists in the world stands between sense (*ḥiss*) and meaning (*ma'nā*), the former related to the material reality and the latter connected to the spiritual abode. Hence, from the perspective of senses, everything glorifies through their states, and from the perspective of meaning, everything glorifies with their tongues, but human preoccupation with the material blinds them to higher realities. Whoever burns the veil of illusion separating them from their Lord, will leave the circle of senses and will understand that all created entities simultaneously glorify through words (in the realm of meaning) and through state (in the realm of senses).³²

In both the exoteric and esoteric sections of Ibn 'Ajība's commentary on the universality of *tasbīh*, he gravitates towards its literal under-

32 Ibn 'Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 3: 202-4.

standing, which unveils a deeper and more accurate picture of reality, even if this picture is not immediately accessible to human senses. At the same time, the exegete also recognises the validity of metaphorical and in-between³³ readings: is not it befitting God's majesty that He is glorified in a multitude of ways? Ibn 'Ajība masterfully weaves the literal and the figurative together to portray a cosmos manifesting God through its every fibre, with universal consciousness (enabling literal *tasbīh*) being one of the paths through which the One and His attributes are revealed.

Remembering that Ibn 'Ajība, in spite of his openness to exoteric positions, is nevertheless primarily a Sufi, it is appropriate to finish the analysis of his view on the consciousness of the cosmos with the words of Rūzbihān Baqlī that the Moroccan exegete cites in his *tafsīr*: commenting on the imaginary revelation of the Qur'ān to the mountain (Q 59/21), the Persian mystic warns the seekers on the path against the deceiving and rationalising eloquence of theologians, who claim that the mountain cannot possess reason. There are spirits and minds known only to God. Had the mountain not been able to understand the discourse, it would not have been addressed.³⁴ Ibn 'Ajība is in total agreement with Baqlī, certain that inanimate things have consciousness, reason, and knowledge even if the matter is outwardly hidden.³⁵

Knowledge/Wisdom

Attributing knowledge and wisdom to the cosmos is a much more daring step than conceding that it might after all possess conscious-

33 Literal glorification in the case of living entities and figurative in the case of inanimate things, which corresponds to the third position outlined above.

34 Rūzbihān Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān fī ḥaqā'iq al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2008), 415.

35 Aḥmad Ibn 'Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-majīd* (Maktaba Shāmila, 2019), 2179.

ness. The Enlightenment thinkers would raise their eyebrows at the very idea of non-human knowledge, but even those authors who promote post-anthropocentric subjectivity do not go as far as to acknowledge that the cosmos is actually characterised by knowledge and wisdom. Their primary goal is to dethrone human beings, not to elevate the natural world. But Ibn ‘Ajība is perfectly at ease with the Qur’ānic stories portraying the sage cosmos: he even adds to the scriptural narrative to weave a tapestry of a strikingly enlightened, perspicacious, and morally upright universe, whose knowledge at times even exceeds that of the prophets. In the famous encounter between Solomon and the ant (Q 27/18-9), it is not even the ant’s timely warning of the approaching army that bespeaks of its shrewdness: in fact, the wise ant did not even fear for its companions’ physical safety. It had much loftier concerns, being worried that its fellow ants would crave what Solomon had been given and would get distracted from their *tasbīh*.³⁶ What is more, Ibn ‘Ajība recounts a conversation between Solomon and the ant that is not found in the Qur’ānic text, which indicates the ant’s knowledge of the matters concealed from the prophet: the animal informs him of the wisdom behind his own and his father’s names and the reason for the wind’s subjugation to him.³⁷

Moving on to another type of creatures, the birds, Ibn ‘Ajība’s exegesis contains striking examples of their knowledge as well. Since all that most of us as human beings hear from them is their melodious chirping, we are unable to appreciate just how sagacious they are. But Solomon was given the understanding of their language (*manṭiq al-tayr*) (Q 27/16) and he conveyed to us the content of their speech,

36 Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 4: 185.

37 For instance, Solomon was given this name because he is spiritually safe, since his heart does not rely on what he possesses (relying instead on God alone). See, Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 4:185.

which consists of constant reminders of the fleeting nature of this world and the need to do good deeds: everything that is alive will die and everything that is new will turn to rags; woe to the one whose concern is this world; as you sow so shall you reap; whoever is silent is saved; remember God; whoever does not show mercy, will not be treated with mercy, etc.³⁸ A famous story about Solomon and the hoopoe³⁹ explicitly indicates the bird’s vast knowledge, since the hoopoe comprehended what the prophet did not comprehend (Q 27/22). In the knowledge that God granted the hoopoe is a test for Solomon, but more generally for scholars, who must always remember that whatever knowledge they have is a mere gift from God, who can give more of it to any creature, even the lowest and weakest one, since knowledge comes from Him alone.⁴⁰

Not only animals display impressive intelligence in the Qur’ānic narrative about Solomon, but even plants and inanimate things teach the prophet important lessons. Astounding as it may seem, it was a tree in Solomon’s prayer chamber (*miḥrāb*) that informed the prophet of his impending death.⁴¹ And it was the wind subjugated to Solomon that instructed one of the best of *banī Ādam* on the virtue of humility: in his *ishārī* commentary, Ibn

38 Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 4:181-2.

39 Who was later selected by Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār to lead the birds on their spiritual quest in his *Conference of the Birds*.

40 Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 4: 189.

41 Solomon would isolate himself for extended periods of time in his *miḥrāb*. When the appointed time of his death approached, a new tree would appear in the *miḥrāb* every morning. Solomon would ask those trees about the reasons for their being in his prayer chamber and they would reply. One day a carob tree emerged and, upon the prophet’s question, replied: “I am planted for the destruction of this mosque.” Solomon exclaimed that God would not destroy the mosque as long as he was alive, so he deduced that his own death was imminent and asked God to make the jinn oblivious to his death so as to reveal their ignorance of the affairs of the unseen (*al-ghayb*). See Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 4:483 on Q 34/14.

'Ajība explains that once the wind was carrying Solomon, but as soon as the prophet affectionately looked at his splendid clothes, the wind brought him down, explaining that it (and other cosmic entities) obeyed him only as long as he obeyed God. Upon the slightest trace of Solomon's attachment to the world, the bond of obedience was broken and it was restored only after the prophet's repentance.⁴² This story can serve as a perfect illustration of the exegete's argument in his autobiography cited in the Introduction that whoever dedicates themselves to God finds all the creatures bound to them: when Solomon was indifferent to the world, focusing on his Lord alone, the wind did all his bidding, but once the prophet got distracted, the wind, somehow aware of this inner deviation, ceased being Solomon's obedient servant.

A clarificatory remark is in order here: since Solomon was the prophet, the spectacular interactions he had with different creatures and the natural world's knowledge and wisdom demonstrated in those encounters might be the prophet's miracle (as the vocal *tasbīh* of the mountains echoing David's praises is an example of Solomon's father's *mu'jiza*). Ibn 'Ajība does not deny the miraculous elements in Solomon's story, but what is more significant for the Sufi *mufassir* is that the openings that the prophet was given reflect his station and the state of his heart. A deeper look into this dimension of Ibn 'Ajība's reflections on cosmic subjectivity will be taken in a later section ("The art of seeing").

What is more, even though the sagacity of the natural world is particularly conspicuous in the story of Solomon, it is not limited to it. For example, according to one of the accounts about the dog in the story of the Seven Sleepers (*aṣḥāb al-kaḥf*),⁴³ the youths came across a dog

who started following them and then, being given the faculty of speech by God, spoke as follows: "Friends of God (*awliyā Allāh*), do not be afraid that I will attack you, indeed, I love the lovers of God, so sleep and I will guard you."⁴⁴ Whereas Ibn 'Ajība clearly indicates that the ability to speak was bestowed upon the dog at a particular point by God, he does not see the need to explain how the dog was able to know and discern in the young people their high spiritual status and then take a decision to be their guardian. Whereas the dog's ability to use human language is indeed extraordinary, given the accounts from Ibn 'Ajība's own life depicted in his autobiography, the animal's perspicacity in identifying the righteous and its desire to seek their company should not come as a surprise, since it agrees with the general pattern of animal behaviour experienced first-hand by Sufi saints. They bear witness to the fact that the cosmos has in-built knowledge, first, of God, and second, of what is good, using this knowledge to assist the propagation of virtue.

An insight into the ubiquitousness of the knowledge of the Divine can be gleaned from one of the *ishārī* sections of Ibn 'Ajība's exegesis. Commenting on Q 22/18, the Moroccan *mufassir* cites one of the wisdoms from Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's famous *Kitāb al-Ḥikam*, which confirms that everything knows God: "You have made Yourself known to everything and nothing is ignorant of You," which is the reason why the whole creation glorifies God and prostrates to Him. This reality is concealed from most people behind the veil of materiality and spiritual heedlessness, but those who plunge into the sea of meanings perceive the knowledge of the Creator reverberating through the whole cosmos.⁴⁵

42 Ibn 'Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 4:186 on Q 27/17-9.

43 A very similar account of the story is attributed by

al-Rāzī in his *tafsīr* to the companion Ubayy b. Ka'b (21:102).

44 Ibn 'Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 3: 256 on Q 18/18.

45 Ibid., 3: 522.

Interrelatedness

As has already been mentioned, universal interconnection and relationality are the features of subjectivity according to post-modern thought: the boundaries between different entities, solid at first glance, crumble upon closer examination, as subjects emerge only through constant fluid interaction. On the one hand, Ibn 'Ajība cannot adhere to the idea of total parity between everything in creation: as has already been discussed, he attributes the uniqueness of human beings to their ability to combine the opposites, the bodily and the spiritual, light and darkness, the subtle and the coarse, meaning and senses, the heavenly and the earthly.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the Moroccan sheikh does not deny that everything in creation serves human beings. In the words of God: *O banī Ādam, I created things for your sake, and I created you for My sake, do not let what I created for you distract you from what I created you for.*⁴⁷ On the other hand, Ibn 'Ajība acknowledges the existence of intimate connection (not only physical, but more importantly moral and spiritual) between everything in creation, the connection that affects the cosmos in a profound way, bringing forth its ability to empathise, express emotions, and appreciate righteousness. And on a more esoteric level, he upholds the Sufi belief that everything in creation is after all equal in its being a manifestation of the Divine in His manifold aspects.

To start with a more straightforward dimension of relationality, the innate interrelatedness of the world is brought into relief in the exoteric section of the commentary on the verse describing the fate of tyrannical and oppressive communities, which states that neither the heavens nor the earth weep for them (Q 44/29). First acknowledging the possibility of interpreting the weeping metaphorically (as

an expression of contempt in which the whole cosmos holds the evildoers), Ibn 'Ajība then proceeds to providing evidence to support the literal reading. He cites several Prophetic traditions to explain how the whole cosmos and different entities in creation literally mourn the passing of a righteous soul, whether they have ever come into direct contact with it or not. When a scholar dies, not only their riding animals, but also the fish in the sea, the birds in the sky, the vermin and the livestock on the earth – the creatures inhabiting different abodes – all weep over the loss of the virtuous and knowledgeable person. According to another hadith, two doors in the heavens are assigned to every servant of God: through one door their provision descends and through another door their deeds ascend; and when they die, these doors miss them and cry over them.⁴⁸ A place where a believer used to pray and worship is also affected and laments their desertion⁴⁹ – in sum, everything in the cosmos, whether animate or inanimate, having an intimate bond with the deceased or no apparent bond at all, is somehow aware of the loss and mourns it.

Another form of relationality affecting the physical aspects of cosmic entities can be observed in the story of Abraham being thrown into the fire (Q 21/69). In the *ishārī* section of his commentary Ibn 'Ajība clarifies that Abraham was filled with God's light, therefore the customary laws of nature no longer applied to him. Had the fire remained in its natural state, it would have been extinguished by the light that filled Abraham's being, therefore, God commanded the fire to change its nature, so that its outward properties were visibly the same, whereas its burning essence was replaced by coolness. In the same vein, on the Day of Judgment the hellfire will report-

46 Ibid., 4: 469.

47 Ibid., 3: 112.

48 al-Tirmidhī, 47: 307.

49 Ibn 'Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 5: 287.

edly say: "Pass, o believer, for your light has extinguished my flame,"⁵⁰ confirming that the interaction with the righteous has a direct effect on the nature of the fire, transforming its physical properties.⁵¹

When one abandons the coarse physical abode and rises into subtler realms, what they discover, according to a characteristically Sufi outlook, is that the boundaries between different creatures are ultimately ephemeral. There is underlying metaphysical unity in the cosmos, since everything is a mere vessel reflecting God who manifests through whatever object He chooses.⁵² Every creature in the heavens and earth is "a light from the lights of the Most Merciful, and a secret from the secrets of His essence" (in addition to being His slave).⁵³ Beyond the outward multiplicity of appearances lies the unity of essence: everything ultimately is both God's slave and His light and secret, and it is the possession of these characteristics that constitutes the kernel of every created thing.

Furthermore, Ibn 'Ajība repeatedly emphasizes the paramount importance of Divine attributes of power (*qudra*) and wisdom (*ḥikma*), explaining that in the Sufi vocabulary, power is regarded as the secrets of the Divine Essence, whereas wisdom depicts the lights of His attributes and their effects in this world. Every created being stands between power and wisdom, in that power makes things apparent and wisdom veils them, linking them to physical reasons (*asbāb*).⁵⁴ Another way of referring to the same duality between the hidden and the manifest, or the inward and the outward is to juxtapose *ma'ānī* (eternal meanings) and

awānī (receptacles, or created vessels): the former display the unchanging meanings of the Creator, while the latter both obscure those meanings through bodily and sensible forms and protect them, serving as their containers in this world.⁵⁵ Everything in creation contains both dimensions, but while most people stay within the realm of the sensible, a gnostic (*'arif bi-l-Lāh*) pierces the veils of the receptacles and discerns eternal meanings behind them, being thus liberated from the prison of creation and ascending to the witnessing of the Creator. The cosmos does not exist by itself, but exists only to display eternal meanings. Ibn 'Ajība compares a multitude of creatures immersed in the sea of eternal meanings with the shadows of trees reflected in the sea: as their shadows do not prevent ships from crossing the sea, so the shadows of created beings should not prevent the ships of contemplation from plunging into the seas of eternal meanings.⁵⁶ Therefore, outward vessels, although manifold and diverse, are mere illusory shadows, while reality belongs to the unchanging oneness underlying them, since creation in its innermost core is the place of Divine manifestation (*tajallī*). Whoever understands this, sees the Creator wherever they look, oblivious to the outward forms of created beings.⁵⁷ It can be said that the Qur'ānic verses portraying the natural world are interpreted in the esoteric sections of Ibn 'Ajība's commentary as allusions to spiritual illumination, *al-faḥḥ*, in which all cosmic events are constantly reoriented towards God, eternally unveiling the Divine.⁵⁸ Given that human beings are also

50 Ibid., 3: 477.

51 In addition to demonstrating its consciousness, understanding, and intelligence, whose existence is taken for granted and not even analysed by the *mufasssīr*.

52 Ibn 'Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 5: 456 on Q 50/30.

53 Ibid., 3: 366 on Q 19/88-95.

54 Ibid., 1: 303.

55 Ibid., 3: 112.

56 Ibid., 4: 106-7.

57 Ibid., 3: 542.

58 Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino, "Commentaire Coranique, Enseignement Initiatique et Renouveau Soufi dans la Darqāwiyya. *Le Baḥr al-Madīd fī Tafṣīr al-Qur'ān al-Majīd* d'Aḥmad Ibn 'Ajība (m. 1223/1809)", *Studia Islamica* 107 (2012): 230.

vessels of Divine manifestation,⁵⁹ from this perspective, there is not only interrelatedness, but also equality between everything in creation.

The Art of Seeing Cosmic Subjectivity

Having analysed how the three criteria of subjectivity – consciousness, knowledge, and interrelatedness – are applied by Ibn ‘Ajība to the natural world, we have discovered that the Moroccan Sufi *mufasssir* clearly perceives the cosmos and its entities as subjects, brimming with consciousness, understanding, wisdom, intimately related to human beings, and, at their core, containing Divine light and attributes and manifesting God. Even when Ibn ‘Ajība accepts metaphorical interpretations in his inclusive and polyphonous *tafsīr*, he clearly does not reduce non-human creation to “a setting and a decorum”⁶⁰ for human activity: the cosmos that is obedient and submissive to God, even if even it does not literally prostrate to the Creator or engage in a dialogue, still seems to possess awareness and understanding, providing an example of proper behaviour for human beings. And in his distinctively Sufi passages Ibn ‘Ajība unambiguously describes the whole of creation as a seat of abundant subjectivity. The question that naturally follows is why a lot (if not most) of human beings are unable to perceive the aliveness, wisdom, and depth of the natural world? Why do human senses, and primarily eyesight, which is their major doorway to the world, fail them?

The paramount importance of seeing in interpreting the world is well-attested, even linguistically: for example, the saying “knowing is seeing” can be found in all Indo-European

languages,⁶¹ and in the Islamic tradition, the link between having a visual experience and obtaining conviction is encapsulated in the second stage of certainty, *‘ayn al-yaqīn* (eye of certainty). Hence, it should come as no surprise that in his exegesis Ibn ‘Ajība discusses the mechanics of seeing at some length. He consistently refers to the heart as the main organ processing and interpreting our visual experiences. Whereas on the surface level it is the eyes that see, they merely constitute an entry point and must convey their experience to the heart to properly understand the perceived scenes. Hence, seeing is a two-step process which should not stop with the eyes receiving the visual input. Interestingly, commenting on Q 22/46 about the hearts rather than the eyes being blind, Ibn ‘Ajība argues that human beings have four eyes: two of them are located on the head and called *baṣr* (or physical vision), and two are situated in the heart and called *baṣīra* (denoting intuitive and intellectual insight and discernment).⁶² *Baṣr* operates on a sensory level, only seeing created things, which are necessarily temporary, whereas *baṣīra* penetrates into the level of the timeless, discerning the fundamental meanings of things beyond their shadowy forms (*al-awānī* vs. *al-ma‘ānī* discussed in the previous section)⁶³ and, ultimately, sees the Creator in and beyond His creation. The sensory serves as a container for supra-temporal and metaphysical meanings.

Having explained how vision works, Ibn ‘Ajība then elucidates why the eyes of the heart (*baṣīra*) can become impaired. The reasons are exclusively spiritual: to see better, one needs to purify their heart rather than work on fixing

59 Elsayed, “Le Commentaire du Coran par le Soufi Marocain Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība”, 333. Ibn ‘Ajība states in his *tafsīr* that “there is nothing in creation except the manifestations of the Most-High, the Great”. See Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-Madīd*, 2: 392.

60 Tlili, *Animals in the Qur’ān*, ix.

61 Iain McGilchrist, *The Master and His Emissary: The Divided Brain and the Making of the Western World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), 161.

62 Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-Madīd*, 3: 541.

63 *Ibid.*, 3: 542.

the acuity of their eyes. *Baṣīra* gets clouded because of one's failure to stick to morally upright behaviour, namely, when people disobey God, follow their blameworthy desires (*ahwā'*), exert a lot of efforts for the sake of this lowly world (*dunyā*) and very few efforts for the sake of God, and are absorbed in heedlessness (*ghafla*).⁶⁴ The accumulation of sins blinds the hearts not only to the all-pervasive traces of God's presence in the world, but also to perceiving the cosmos as alive, attuned to the Divine and engaged in constant worship. In order to be able to perceive the eternal meanings (*al-mā'ānī*) behind the created receptacles (*al-awānī*), one needs a proper understanding of *tawhīd*, or God's absolute oneness, reaching the station of *fanā'*, or complete annihilation of one's self in the witnessing of the all-embracing presence of God.⁶⁵ Undoubtedly, this station is attainable only by the few, but everyone can start walking the path of self-purification and in the process achieve a certain level of spiritual acuity.

The influence of one's inner state on their ability to read and decipher subtler meanings that the cosmos generously pours out is again brought into relief in the *ishārī* section of Ibn 'Ajība's commentary on *manṭiq al-ṭayr* (Q 27/16): the sounds of birds, predators, and the movement of celestial objects are all different means of communication that God uses to interact with the prophets and the messengers, the gnostics and the truthful, who understand the intended messages through their states and stations. Whereas Solomon was given a unique gift of comprehending the language of birds and the faculties of other prophets were expanded by *wahy*, or revelation, most frequently the understanding of *awliyā* and the righteous (as well as the prophets in non-*wahy* situations) in this subtle communication with

the natural world is determined by their states and stations (*maqāmāt*). Even though they do not know the language of other creatures, they have openings in their hearts, inspiring them (*ilhām*) with understanding.⁶⁶ The higher one's spiritual station is, the more profound their perception of the cosmos will inevitably be. Ibn 'Ajība cites one of the maxims from Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's *Kitāb al-Ḥikam* several times in the esoteric parts of his *tafsīr*, stating that "you are with the creatures as long as you do not see the Creator, and when you see the Creator, the creatures are with you."⁶⁷ Whoever turns to God completely and obeys Him in everything, the veils between them and the rest of creation are burned and the world becomes transparent and obedient to them.

Conclusion

Ibn 'Ajība, coming from a *sharīf*⁶⁸ family of renowned Sufi practitioners and devotees of God and being the foremost master of the spiritual path himself, lived a life conducive to the opening of the inner eye and the acquisition of the subtlety of perception. However, his *tafsīr*, written for the general public and not devoted solely (or even primarily) to spiritual adepts, acknowledges the difference of opinions existing in the Islamic scholarly tradition and recognises the validity of various interpretations of the Qur'ānic text, all of which contain a seed of truth and all of which address the needs of different people. Applying this approach to the scriptural depiction of the natural world and the question of its subjectivity, Ibn 'Ajība usually enumerates various, metaphorical and literal, interpretations. The inclusivity of the exegete's commentary emphasises, on the one hand, the impressive nature of the cosmos,

64 Ibid., 3: 541-2.

65 Ibid., 3: 542.

66 Ibid., 4: 183.

67 Ibid., 4: 186, 4: 477, 5: 15.

68 Claiming direct descendency from the Prophet Muḥammad through his grandson Ḥasan.

bespeaking of the Creator and characterised primarily by the unwavering obedience of all natural entities to God (according to most figurative readings) and on the other hand, the ability of the natural world to literally know God, glorify Him, prostrate to Him, experience rightful anger, sorrow, and other emotions, share wise reminders and advice, and support the virtuous. The metaphorical and the literal complement each other. The Sufi *mufasssir* himself clearly gives preference to the literal perception of everything in creation as a conscious, living, knowledgeable, and wise subject, attuned to *banī* Ādam and containing God's lights and meanings, but he realises that this way of seeing the cosmos might not be for everyone. And this is what makes Ibn 'Ajība's perspective fascinating, giving a lot of food for thought to the 21st century reader who is environmentally conscious and loves the natural world: the exegete contends that most people are unable to perceive the subjectivity of everything in creation (which would naturally increase one's appreciation of and care for nature) because of their spiritual blindness. In order to attain spiritual acuity, one needs to engage in assiduous work of purifying their heart. The idea is not new, as even the very first book of Islamic environmentalism released back in 1968 already had a telling sub-heading "the spiritual crisis of modern man."⁶⁹ But Ibn 'Ajība makes his argument not out of concern for the ever-deteriorating state of the natural world that we witness today, but through his lifelong study of and contemplation on the Qur'ānic text. And in his commentary he leaves room for people at different stages of their spiritual development to appreciate the message of the scripture and to connect to the natural world. If the human self and the cosmos are both mirrors reflecting the

Divine and if Sufi commentaries themselves are also "a play of mirrors between the inward (*bāṭin*) of the mystic and the inward (*bāṭin*) of the scripture,"⁷⁰ the accumulative result is an endless dazzling collection of reflections, all of which capture different parts of the whole with varying degrees of accuracy and precision. The reflection seen by those who are completely heedless is all blurred, as they are unable to comprehend or derive any benefits from repeated Qur'ānic descriptions of the cosmos. The reflection of those who are not totally hopeless, but are only spiritually deficient is clearly visible, but it lacks precision and needs polishing. They are the ones who can benefit from metaphorical interpretations: even though those readings reveal only part of the reality, they can be seen as the first step towards spiritual awakening, encouraging the heart to reflect on the splendour of the cosmos and its absolute submissiveness to the will of the Creator. If a person continues their spiritual journey, painstakingly and diligently, the reflection in their mirror will start shining brightly, displaying more and more details of the Reality. The eye of their *baṣīra* might eventually open, allowing them to see the alive and wise cosmos, a servant and a friend of the righteous, and a container of timeless Divine meanings.

Ibn 'Ajība's comprehensive approach to cosmic subjectivity, which is not homogenous and accepts levels, can encourage a more thoughtful and contemplative engagement with the natural world on the part of different readers. What has remained outside the scope of this paper is a broader look at different works of Sufi exegesis to identify to what extent Ibn 'Ajība's interpretation is representative of the Sufi tradition. Given that this paper emerged as a result of the author's interest in the percep-

69 Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Man and Nature. The Spiritual Crisis of Modern Man* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1968).

70 Annabel Keeler, "Sufī *tafsīr* as a Mirror: al-Qushayrī the *murshid* in his *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*", *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 8, 1 (2006): 1.

tion of the cosmos and its subjectivity in the wider *tafsīr* genre (including various non-Sufi works), it is merely an introduction to the understudied topic of the subjectivity of the natural world in Sufi exegesis as well as an invitation to those who might be interested to pursue this subject. The author also hopes to continue the project by examining a broader spectrum of Sufi works of *tafsīr*, both “moderate” and “esoteric/ecstatic” (to use Gerhard Böwering’s terminology),⁷¹ to be able to draw more definite conclusions about the way the cosmos has been understood by the masters of the spiritual path and to benefit from their reflections in the 21st century, in which we are so often disconnected from the rest of creation.

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Rûmî and Sulţān Walad’s Way of Understanding Ḥallāj

*Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî ve Sultân Veled’in Hallâc-ı Mansûr’a Dâir
Görüşleri*

Kie INOUE*

Abstract

In this article, the way of understanding of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rûmî (d. 1273) and his son Sulţān Walad (or Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad Walad d. 1312) on Ḥusayn ibn Manşūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), who was a unique figure in the history of Sufism and who continued to attract the attention of Sufis after him will be discussed.

Keywords: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rûmî, Sulţān Walad, Ḥusayn ibn Manşūr al-Ḥallāj, Sufism, intoxication.

Öz

Bu makalede, Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî (ö. 1273) ve oğlu Sultân Veled’in (Bahâeddîn Muhammed Veled ö. 1312), tasavvuf tarihinde nev’i şahsına münhasır bir isim ve haleflerinin her zaman ilgisine mazhar olan Hüseyin b. Mansûr el-Hallâc (ö. 922) hakkındaki düşünceleri ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî, Sultân Veled, Hüseyin b. Mansûr el-Hallâc, tasavvuf, sekr.

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Introduction

Rūmī, like Ḥallāj, is normally classified as a sufi of the “intoxicated” type. However, Sulṭān Walad, son of Rūmī and founder of the Mevlevī order, was clearly a different type of Sufi from Rūmī. Sulṭān Walad’s fame was not limited to his religious talents. Rather, in the case of Sulṭān Walad, we should also focus on his talents as an administrator of the order. In the forty-plus years since Rūmī’s death, he painstakingly organized and wrote the family history, preserved and spread his father’s legends, and contributed to the management, order administration, and development of the Mevlevī order’s genealogy based on the family lineage.¹ Sulṭān Walad’s reputation among his disciples was so high that the number of members of the Mevlevī Order continued to grow steadily during his time.² In response to

requests for his teachings not only in Konya, but also from distant regions, he sent representatives to various places.³ Lewis points out the differences of their roles are “If Rūmī spent his life in words, expounding a set of teachings, Sulṭān Walad spent his life in deeds, assisting his father, helping strengthen the unity of the order and spreading it far and wide.”⁴

Regarding the relationship between Sulṭān Walad and Rūmī, biographers who belong to the order tend to emphasize the likeness of the father and the son. For example, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī (d. 1360), a biographer belonging to the Mevlevī Order⁵, describes their relationship by saying that Rūmī had a son besides Sulṭān Walad, but that Sulṭān Walad in particular was “more

1 Franklin D. Lewis, *Rumi: Past and Present, East and West: The Life, Teaching and Poetry of Jalāl al-Dīn Rumi*, (Oxford: Oneworld, 2008), 23. Küçük and Gamard summarizes the following seven points in a nutshell as the legacy of Sulṭān Walad: 1) Establishing the history of Mawlawism, 2) Commenting on his father in a different style, and spreading his teaching, 3) Establishing the authority of Chalabism, 4) Helping to establish the Mawlawī sufi order and basic Mawlawī principles, 5) Teaching and spreading Mawlawism through his disciples and successors, 6) Writing verses in Turkish, 7) Sulṭān Walad’s reputation today (Hülya Küçük and Ibrahim Gamard, *Sultan Walad: In the footsteps of Rumi and Shams: A study based on the main Mawlawi sources*, (Louisville: Fons Vitae 2022), 107-124). The fact that many of the things they summarize as Sulṭān Walad’s contributions are related to the management of the order would suggest that we should also focus on Sulṭān Walad’s character as the manager of the order.

2 His disciples marveled at the excellence of Sulṭān Walad’s teachings, which were no less than those of his father Rūmī and threw in their praise that he was a great king, as his teachings turned the ignorant into the knowledgeable (Sulṭān Walad, *Ibtidā-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī Muwaḥḥid and ‘Alī Rīzā Ḥaydarī, (Tīhrān: Khwārizmī, 2010), 133). In particular, he seems to have played a role in facilitating human relations within the order, as the following words of a disciple are recorded in Walad’s *Ibtidā-nama*:

(Sulṭān Walad) Has solved a difficult problem.

No shaiikh has ever given us such a gift.

All adversaries have become his friends.

All hatred and enmity have vanished (Sulṭān Walad, *Ibtidā-nāma*, 133-134).

3 Sulṭān Walad, *Ibtidā-nāma*, 158. After Rūmī’s death in 1273, Ḥusām al-Dīn, who had the trust of Rūmī among the members of the order at that time, temporarily became the head of the order. Upon Ḥusām al-Dīn’s death, Sulṭān Walad became the head of the order from 1284 (Lewis, *Rumi: Past and Present*, 231-232).

4 Lewis, *Rumi: Past and Present*, 235.

5 These are three representative Rūmī hagiographers: 1) Sulṭān Walad, 2) Sipāhsālār (d. ca. 1319), 3) Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī. According to Lewis, each of them has characteristic points; Sulṭān Walad’s descriptions go into detail about the Mevlevi order’s life and sometimes contain very personal stories that indicate Sulṭān Walad’s intimate interaction with Mevlevi shaykhs. Since Sulṭān Walad is Rūmī’s son, all the Mevlevi shaykhs seem to pay respect to him. His writings focus on real stories that help readers understand the Mevlevi order’s history rather than miraculous stories of Rūmī. Sipāhsālār, who was an influential man in the Mevlevi order, started writing Rūmī’s hagiography half a century after Rūmī’s death. Sipāhsālār’s hagiography is distinguished by its realistic descriptions that are based on historical facts and fewer miraculous stories (Lewis 2008, 243, 249). The third hagiographer, Aflākī, belongs to the second generation of the family and had not met Rūmī directly. Naturally, his hagiography includes many miraculous stories of the Mevlevi order shaykhs. In addition to Rūmī’s stories, Aflākī reports stories about the second generation’s Mevlevi shaykhs (Lewis 2008, 250-251).

like me [Rūmī] than anyone else, both in physique (*khālq*) and character (*khulq*)” and was very adored him.⁶ And Sulṭān Walad himself has made it his lifework to follow in the footsteps of his father Rūmī, as follows:

My father took care of me more than my brothers, disciples, and acquaintances bestowing me a cloth and a crown of “You are more like me [Rūmī] than anyone else, both in physique and character.” And I, the insignificant, also tried my best to follow the instructions of that great one [Rūmī] to the best of my ability. For “Our Lord, impose not upon us that which we have not the strength to bear,” (Q 2:286) and he who is most like his father is not at all the opposite. I have tried to follow, obey and resemble him.⁷

At the same time, however, Sulṭān Walad also states, “I can never reach his mystical stations (*maqāmāt*)”.⁸ Indeed, he try to follow in his father’s footsteps being fully aware of the difference between his father and himself as a Sufi. The following poem by Sulṭān Walad may also be of interest in this awareness of the difference between himself and his father:

The son (Walad) has no intellect (‘ilm) or saintship (walāyat)
Except the intellect and saintship his father gave him⁹

In other words, Sulṭān Walad himself seems to strongly believe that his position as a

6 Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī, *Manāqib al-‘Arifīn*, (Tih-rān: Duniyā-i kitāb, 1983/1984), 785.

7 Sulṭān Walad, *Ibtidā-nāma*, 20.

8 Ibid., 21.

9 Aflākī, *Manāqib al-‘Arifīn*, 816; Aflākī, *The feats of the knowers of God: Manāqeb al-‘arefīn*, trans. John O’Kane, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 570. The English translation by O’Kane was also consulted for *Manāqib al-‘Arifīn* by Afrāqī, with some corrections made by the author.

scholar, *shaykh*, and saint was established through his father Rūmī, rather than being an endowment given directly by God, and that he would never reach the rank of his father.¹⁰

Based on the above premise, it is rather natural that Sulṭān Walad would have a high regard for Sufis of the “intoxicated” type. For Sulṭān Walad, drunkenness is an evidence that promises direct contact with God and divine intuitive knowledge.

As if to support Sulṭān Walad’s view, intoxicated Sufis often appear in his texts in addition to Rūmī. Especially, it should be noted that there are many references to Ḥallāj. Sulṭān Walad’s evaluations of Ḥallāj are often high and positive, so much so that some scholars have suggested that Sultan Walad included Ḥallāj in the Mevlevī order’s lineage.¹¹ If the name of Ḥallāj is included in

10 In fact, Sulṭān Walad’s own Sufi or saintly ranks are often read as being granted not directly by God *a priori*, but indirectly through saints of the order that Sulṭān Walad considers to be of higher rank than himself. In his own *Ibtidā-nāma*, he says that Rūmī recognized the excellence of *Ibtidā-nāma* through his visions (Sulṭān Walad, *Ibtidā-nāma* 376-377). In contrast, he uses the word “sent-down” for his father Rūmī’s work, suggesting that he considers it a divinely inspired poem (Lewis, *Rumi: Past and Present*, 239). Regarding the divine aspect that Rūmī’s work possesses, it is also noted that at the beginning of the *Rabāb-nāma*, “according to the rhyme scheme of Mawlānā’s divine *Mathnawī*” (Mathnawī-i khudāwandigār-i Mawlānā) (Sulṭān Walad, *Rabāb-nāma*, ed. Gird Farāmarzī and ‘Alī Sulṭānī, (Tih-rān: Mu’as-sasa-i Muṭāla’āt-i Islāmī-i Dānishgāh-i Makgīl 1980), 1). Therefore, it is possible that the divine verses of Rūmī was a common perception not only for Sulṭān Walad, but also for the people around Rūmī. Lewis specifically mentions about the difference in their positions that Rūmī was a hidden saint as a spiritual *axis mundi*, whereas Sulṭān Walad was a public saint as a representative of the order (Lewis, *Rumi: Past and Present*, 235). In other words, Rūmī was a God’s secret man, whereas Sulṭān Walad was placed in a more public position as a saint affiliated with the order. This difference in their positions may have influenced Sulṭān Walad’s view of saints.

11 Lewis, *Rumi: Past and Present*, 241. There will be a difference of opinion as to whether or not to include

the *silsila* of the order, it is unusual compared to the inclusion of the names of Junayd, Bastāmī, and others.¹² In any case, I could say that Sulṭān Walad’s high evaluation and many descriptions of Ḥallāj is noteworthy. Based on the above background, this paper will discuss how Sulṭān Walad describes Ḥallāj in his writings. After introducing Rūmī’s view of Ḥallāj, which Sulṭān Walād seems to follow first and foremost, I will analyze the actual view of Ḥallāj in Sulṭān Walād’s works.

I. How Rūmī Describes Ḥallāj

1) Traditional Understanding of Ḥallāj

First, let us extract the image of Ḥallāj from Rūmī’s texts. Najjārī and Aḥmad-nezhād points out that Rūmī mentions Ḥallāj many times in his own work, and his statements indicate that Rūmī is a “big fan” (*Ḥallājī-mashrab*) of Ḥallāj.¹³ Schimmel also referring to the importance¹⁴ of Ḥallāj in Rūmī’s works, points out that Rūmī uses expressions such as “intoxication” and “wine,” which were traditional expressions used by past Sufis for describing Ḥallāj.¹⁵ This tendency is particularly evident

Ḥallāj in the *silsila* of the Order. For example, the name of Ḥallāj is not included in the *silsila* of the Mevlevī order offered by Ambrosio (Alberto Fabio Ambrosio, *Vie d’un Derviche Tourneur: Doctrine et Rituels du Soufisme au XVII siècle*, (Paris: CNRS Editions 2010), 377-378).

12 J. S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1998), 12.

13 Muḥammad Najjārī and Kāmel Aḥmad-nezhād, “Ḥallāj dar āsār-i Maulānā,” in *Adabiyāt-i erfānī wa Oṣṭūre shenākhtī (Mytho-Mystic Literature)* 9, 32(2013): 2.

14 Schimmel also notes that in Rūmī’s works, Bastāmī is also often cited in conjunction with Ḥallāj (Annamarie Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jalāloddin Rumi*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 201). While Schimmel makes a point about the critical importance of Ḥallāj in Rūmī thought, she notes that Shams ultimately eclipsed Ḥallāj’s role (Ibid., 209).

15 Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun*, 204. For Schimmel’s

in *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī*, as follows

I want the wine of the grape residue
I want a drunk, fuddled friend.
A smell came to me from Ḥallāj
I want the wine of Manṣūr (*bāda-i Manṣūr*) from the cupbearer¹⁶

The smell of red wine is bringing good news
For me, the goblet is coming
With the soul of “I am the Truth (*anā al-Ḥaqq*),” you became Manṣūr
His God’s light is coming to you¹⁷

In addition to “wine” and “drunkenness,” Rūmī also speaks of the image of Ḥallāj as an “Absolute surrender” to God.¹⁸ The image of Ḥallāj as a martyr to “cruel death”¹⁹ for the sake of God is mentioned with words such as “gallows” that are clearly reminiscent of him.²⁰

I will show your liberty though you were hanged
See the dead on the gallows whose soul is lively
It is like young Manṣūr who was hung

examination on the Ḥallāj’s image in Rūmī’s works, see *ibid.*, 201-209.

16 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Kullīyāt-i Shams wā Dīwān-i kabīr*, ed. Badī al-Zamān Furūzānfar, (Tihārān: Amīr Kabīr, 1999), ghazal nr: 1545; *idem. Dīwān-i kabīr*, trans. Nevit Oguz Ergin, (Walla Walla: Current / Turkish Republic, 1995), 11: 87.

17 The numbering of *Diwan-i Shams* follows the numbering of the Furūzānfar edition, and the number of pages in the Ergin edition is also given if the English translation of the Nevit O. Ergin edition was consulted with some modifications by the author.

18 Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun*, 206.

19 *Ibid.*, 207.

20 However, the direct cause of Ḥallāj’s execution is not limited to his statement “I am the Truth (*ana al-Ḥaqq*).” It should be noted that Ḥallāj was executed due to a combination of factors, including the political situation at the time. For more information, see Louis Massignon, *La passion de Husayn ibn Manṣūr Ḥallāj*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1975) 1: 386-696.

in content²¹

However, in addition to the traditional depiction of “drunken” Ḥallāj by Sufis, it is important to note that in Rūmī’s works Ḥallāj is depicted as a symbol of “sacrifice which led him to a higher union”.²²

2) A Man of Oneness Who Has Surpassed Duality

In examining Schimmel’s point more concretely, the following may be pointed out. When Rūmī cites Ḥallāj in his *Mathnawī*, he often treats Ḥallāj as a man of “Oneness” who surpassed the world of “duality.” In *Mathnawī*, Rūmī depicts Ḥallāj as a being who breaks free from the dichotomy and dwells in the divine Oneness as follows:

Every expression (*‘ibārat*) is the sign of a state (*ḥālatī*)

That state is a hand, the expression an instrument (*ālat*)

A goldsmith’s instruments in the hand of a cobbler

Are as grains of wheat sown on sand.

The tools of a cobbler in the hand of a orderivator

Are as grass before a dog or bones before a donkey.

The words, “I am the Truth” were light (*nūr*) in Manṣūr’s mouth,

In the mouth of Pharaoh “I am Lord Supreme” was blasphemy.(...)

Hand and instrument resemble flint and steel;

You must have a pair (*juft*); a pair is needed to generate.

He who has no peer or member is the “One,”

An uneven number, One without dis-

21 Rūmī, *Kulliyāt-i Shams wa’-Dīwān-i kabīr*, ghazal nr: 2275.

22 Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun*, 209.

pute!

Whoso says “one” and “two,” and so on, Confesses thereby the existence of the “One.”

When the illusion of seeing double is swept away,

They who say “one” and “two” are even as they who say One.²³

Here, Rūmī explains that in every linguistic expression, there is a corresponding correct situation or states. This can be compared to a hand and a tool. The “tool” (word) could be useful only by the “hand” (body) that is able to use the tool correctly. For example, grass in front of a dog and a bone in front of a donkey are meaningless, but they are useful if they are used in the opposite way.

In addition to above mentioned example, Rūmī shows similar situation quoting two very similar words used by different “hands”: “I am the Truth” by Ḥallāj and “I am Lord Supreme” by Pharaoh. Both words are meant to position oneself as the supreme being, but when Ḥallāj uses this expression, he is “light,” or God, while when Pharaoh uses this expression, he is “blaspheming” against God.

What is important in this quotation, says Rūmī, is the correct “pairing” of the instrument or the word, and the one who uses it. Since the correct combination of the two things become one. This is because the correct pairing ultimately converges to the correct one, i.e., God. Ḥallāj is depicted as the convergence of the two natures, I and Thou (God), into the One (God).

As for the process of dissolution of the two natures realized by Ḥallāj and their eventual

23 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Maṣnawī-i ma’ nawī*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, (Tih-rān: Hirmis, 2011), 193; idem. *Masnawī Manawī: Teachings of Rumi: The Spiritual Couplets of Maulanajalalu-’d-din Muhammad i Rumi*, trans. E. H. Whinfield, (Ames: Omphaloskepsis, 2001), 96-97. As for the *Mathnawī*’s English translation I consulted Whinfield’s translation.

unification is explained using the analogy of the “drowned man” by Rūmī as follows:

To be immersed (*istighrāq*)²⁴ is to cease to be oneself, and to cease to strive to do something from oneself, to do [one’s] own thing, to move [oneself]. It is like drowning (*gharaq-i āb*). Everything he does [at that time] is not his doing. The water is doing it. Just dipping one’s hands and feet in the water does not mean that one has drowned in the water, and someone says, “Oh, I’ve drowned!” is also not immersion. Indeed, the end result is [Ḥallāj’s] “I am the Truth” statement. Everyone thinks this is an arrogant statement, but “I am the Truth” is a sign of deep humility. Because the person who says, “I am God’s servant” (*‘abd-i khudā*) acknowledges two existences (*hasī*): one is God, and one is himself. The person who says, “I am the Truth,” however, has completely reduced the self to nothingness (*‘adam*); the self has disappeared. “I am the Truth” means that there is no “I.” All is He (God). There is no existence other than God.²⁵

Rūmī says that Ḥallāj’s statement, “I am the Truth,” is the utterance of a person who has completely drowned. Since a person who is completely drowned is “dead,” the dead person’s act, i.e., Ḥallāj’s utterance, did not emanate from Ḥallāj. Everything is considered an act performed by water, i.e., by God. At first glance, the statement “I am God’s servant” seems to be a more pious statement than “I am the Truth,” but since the speaker of “I am God’s servant” is not yet “dead,” we can see

24 Najjārī and Aḥmad-nezhād state the word “istighrāq” is the key term in Rūmī’s understanding of Ḥallāj. They explain that Rūmī avoids using the word “ḥulūl” for Ḥallāj and uses this word instead (Najjārī and Aḥmad-nezhād, “Ḥallāj dar ās-ār-i Maulānā,” 2).

25 Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Kitāb Fīh mā fīh*, ed. Badī’ al-Zamān Furūzānfar, (Tih-rān: Intishārāt-i Zawwār, 2008), 56.

the dual nature of God and his servant. In this sense, the statement “I am the Truth” can be seen as a statement indicating that the duality of the drowned person and the water has disappeared, and there just remains the water that including drowned person.²⁶

What is important here is the process of unification of the drowned person and the water. At the very outset, there were two different existences: man and water. However, they are united through the drowning of the person in the water.

Besides, the other point of Ḥallāj’s statement that this parable illustrates is that the person who utters such a statement is already “dead.”

A drowned person is one who is at the mercy of the water and has no control over it by himself. The swimmer (*sabbāh*), like the drowned person, is also in the water, but the drowned person is exposed to the water and is moved by it, while the swimmer [moves] by his own power and will. Therefore, any movement from the drowned man, any action, any utterance from him, is [done] from the water, not from him. He is a pretense (*bahāna*) there. (...) The saints (*awliyā*) are just such people, who are already dead before [ordinary] death (*marg*).²⁷

Rūmī often points out that a special person like Ḥallāj is the embodiment of “Die before ye die” (*mūtū qabla an tamūtū*).²⁸ In other words, Ḥallāj is like a person drowned in water, who

26 Regarding Ḥallāj’s leap from two natures to one, Rūmī notes “Expressing union with the Light, not mere incarnation (ḥulūl)” (Rūmī, *Maṣnawī-i ma’navī*, 810; idem., *Masnavii Manavi: Teachings of Rumi*, 364). He notes and emphasizes that it is a union that is distinct from the heretical concept of “incarnation.”

27 Rūmī, *Kitāb Fīh mā fīh*, 82.

28 It is a hadith favored by Rūmī and other sufis (Badī’ al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Aḥādīs-i Maṣnavī*, (Tih-rān: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tih-rān 1956), 116).

has already given up his ego and is “dead,” and although he exists, indeed he is empty inside.

For the being who has thus reached Oneness through the dissolution and melting of the duality, the opposite does not become the opposite but becomes one, just as he himself is “alive and dead.” For in the world of Oneness they inhabit, everything will integrate one.

Even poison is drinkable when received from the hand of the beautiful lover (*yār-i sīmbār*).

Bitter and harsh words can be drunk as if they were sugar

What a tasteful (*bā-namak*), what a tempting (*bā-namak*) lover too!

As long as there is salt, even the bitter liver can be eaten²⁹

For God's chosen one like Ḥallāj, who transcends duality, even “poison” and “harsh words,” which are undesirable to those of us who live in the world of duality, become as sweet as sugar. For if we believe that the poison is from the hand of the “Lover,” that is, the One God after all, then poison is not poison at all. According to Rūmī, “Both unbelief and faith are devotees of God (*musabbih*).” Since both unbelief and faith are in accordance with God's intention, even unbelief follows God in reality.³⁰

3) Emphasis on the Secrecy of the World of Oneness

Thus, those who love God who live in the world of Oneness have a different world. Their world cannot be understood by ordinary people. They are only God's “hidden people,” and ordinary people cannot truly “see” them through ordinary eyes.

Rather, in the world of duality, or the world of

29 Rūmī, *Kitāb Fīh mā fīh*, 176.

30 Rūmī, *Kitāb Fīh mā fīh*, 199.

the ordinary man, the actions of such special persons are sometimes seen as unbelief, as if they were evil:

Similarly, a virtuous man of noble character chastises a certain person and inflicts wounds on the man's head, nose, and mouth. Everyone would say that he [who is hit] is the victim (*mazlūm*). But the real victim is the one who hit him, and the assailant (*zālim*) is the man who was hit. Because he does not do anything beneficial (*maṣlahat*) for the other. The man who is beaten and has his head broken is rather the aggressor. But this beaten man is intuitively considered the victim. Because this [the one who hit him] is of a noble nature and has exhausted (*mustahlak*) his ego in God. [Therefore,] what he does is God's doing. God is not considered to be the aggressor [just as this person who hit him is not the aggressor].³¹

Thus, Rūmī admonishes that the discourses and deeds of God's elect, who live and die in the world of true Oneness, should not be spoken or heard by the general public because they cannot be misunderstood by the general public.³² Rūmī also points out that these Saints are usually invisible to the public in the first place.

There are Saints in this world whose spiritual eyes have been opened and who have attained enlightenment. There are other saints who are higher than these saints. These [higher] saints are called God's hidden persons (*mastūrān-i Ḥaqq*). No one can see or approach them unless they are willing to do so.³³

Thus, Rūmī emphasizes the seclusion and invisibility of the saints who live in the world

31 Ibid., 63.

32 Ibid., 79.

33 Ibid., 97.

of Oneness. Such elect can be truly “seen” only when the thoughts and spiritual ranks of both the seer and the seen (the saint) coincide. That is, only when there is an invisible “sameness” (*jinsīyat*)³⁴ between them. In the case of Ḥallāj, his own spiritual rank was so far removed from that of those around him who hanged him that the true meaning of “I am the Truth” remained unknown to ordinary people and he could not escape execution.

As a result of the above discussion, I would like to point out several important aspects of the Ḥallāj understanding in Rūmī. First, Rūmī basically follows the traditional Sufī method of depicting Ḥallāj, which evokes images of “drunkenness” and “martyrdom.” More important, however, is to break away from the duality and reach the transcendent Oneness that Ḥallāj’s “drunkenness” and “crucial death” made possible. For the inhabitants of the world of Oneness who are “living but already dead,” since they have broken free of the duality, so then everything is centralized to God. As if they enjoy poison like sugar. The discourse and actions of such people may appear to be “evil” for ordinary people, however it leads to faith in reality. But to the inhabitants of the world of duality, they simply appear evil and are not understood. For this reason, Rūmī admonishes the inhabitants of the world of God’s Oneness to be “invisible” to the inhabitants of the world of duality and not to reveal the secrets of the world of Oneness.

II. Sulṭān Walad’s understanding of Ḥallāj

1) Reinventing the Image of Ḥallāj

To begin with the conclusion, what is most distinctive in Sulṭān Walad’s depiction of Ḥallāj is that he does not perceive Ḥallāj in terms of typical images such as “drunkenness” or

34 Rūmī, *Kitāb Fīh mā fīh*, 22.

“wine,” unlike his father Rūmī. Yet Sulṭān Walad deals with typical Ḥallāj themes such as “The Gallows”³⁵ and “I am the Truth,” he does not interpret them in an intoxicating way. The following verses are written by Sulṭān Walad as if he were expressing Ḥallāj’s opinion on his behalf, recounting the episode of Ḥallāj’s execution. Here, Sulṭān Walad is not haunted by Ḥallāj, but only expository, telling Ḥallāj’s position using the parable of the house.

Have you not heard Maṣṣūr’s (Ḥallāj) story?

The banner of the valiant and victorious.
He said to the people clearly,

“I am the Truth, in this ill-robed body.”

People said, leave these words alone for now

Don’t fly into disaster yourself. (...)

He replied: “I have told the truth. I will not change (my opinion).”

He who has faith does not disbelieve. (...)

Although these pure words are never exhausted

Let me excuse my external words (“I am the Truth”).

Consider my existence as a house.

35 Ḥallāj’s narrative on the gallows includes the following:

Finally, regarding Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, Junayd and Shiblī, the scholars and saints of that time denied him with his external parts, tried to kill him, and all agreed to hang him, and issued a fatwā and hanged such a gifted man. When they took [him] down from the gallows, they set him on fire, burned him, and poured his ashes into the river so that there would be no trace of him. It is said as follows. In all that they did, “I am the Truth” [was written] in the fire and in the water. When his ashes were picked up again from the river, they were again inscribed with the words “I am the Truth.” Seeing this miracle [karāmāt], all regretted this past (Sulṭān Walad, *Ma’ārif*, ed. Najīb Māyil Harawī, (Tihirān: Intishārāt-i Mawlā, 2020), 10-11).

Sulṭān Walad here touches on the image of Ḥallāj as a martyr, but ultimately draws attention to the “miracles” he performed, thereby creating an image of Ḥallāj as a saint.

It is always visited by a variety of guests
(*mihmān*).

Every moment the creatures of the in-
visible world,

From the eternal world, they come like
rain.

Sometimes even a king (God) comes in
secret,

As if there is a chief in his soul.

He said ("I am the Truth") by God.

Please tell me if I am at fault.³⁶

In the above quoted section, Sultān Walad explains the drunken words of "I am the Truth" as if he himself were Ḥallāj and speaking to those around him. If "I am the Truth" is an external phrase, its internal meaning is that the existence of Ḥallāj is like a house, which is constantly full of guests. Important guests, like a king, may descend from the invisible world, and that king may become the head and ruler of his soul. "I am the Truth" is exactly what "he"(God and he) says at such times.

In addition to this, another feature of Sultān Walad's method of portraying Ḥallāj is that he portrays Ḥallāj as a "saint." Sultān Walad treats Ḥallāj's ecstatic utterances as the distinctive proof of a saint, and endeavors to re-position Ḥallāj as a saint.

Therefore, my son, Manṣūr is in such a
[enlightened] state.

He sacrificed his body and soul [to God]
and said, "I am the Truth."

Bāyazīd said, "There is none other than
God within my garments."

He said that he was filled [with God].

Such are the words of the saints.

For from them flows "knowledge of the
Essence" (*ilm-i ladun*).³⁷

In the above quoted section, Sultān Walad

36 Sultān Walad, *Ma'ārif*, 163.

37 Sultān Walad, *Rabāb-nāma*, 454.

also clarifies the true meaning of Ḥallāj's "I am the Truth" statement as a "commentator" on the drunken discourse, while providing an objective commentary. According to Sultān Walad, Ḥallāj's drunken words are not his own words, but God's words. The way in which he attributes Ḥallāj's drunken words to God rather than to him is consistent with Rūmī. Sultān Walad, however, says that such drunken speech is a knowledge peculiar to the "saints" and strongly links the saints to God through the intoxicated utterances.

Furthermore, Sultān Walad attempts to classify Ḥallāj as saints in a specific domain by placing them in the hierarchy of saints.

The reason why some saints are consid-
ered "*abdāl*" is

They are so called because of their
transformed spiritual state.

Their own "I" was there, but it perished
in the *fanā*, they took on a different form
(...).

Some say on earth, "I am the Truth,"

One said, "I am the Mystery of God."

And another said, "I am the Mystery
within the Mystery, I am hidden within
the body."

For this reason Manṣūr said, "I am the
Truth."³⁸

For the same reason (the ego is extin-
guished and remains with the lover), the
saints are called *abdāl*. Because they have
changed while their essence remains the
same. Such people are saints and achiev-
ers of God. Their ladder is higher than
that of the people of heaven. The people
of heaven are more distant from God
and more ignorant of God than they are.
When they reach the end of the ladder, it
is an audience with God, an attainment
to God. This is the end of the ladder, and

38 Sultān Walad, *Ibtidā-nāma*, 284.

there is no ladder after this. For this same [reason] Manṣūr (Ḥallāj) also said, “I am the Truth.”³⁹

From the quotations, we can see that Sulṭān Walad is trying to place Ḥallāj in the rank of *abdāl* among the hierarchy of saints. Sulṭān Walad states that there are three levels⁴⁰ of the hierarchy of saints who are lovers of God, and that Ḥallāj belongs to the lowest first of these three levels.⁴¹

2) Intoxicated Saints Are “People of the Oneness”

While Rūmī preferred to interpret Ḥallāj in the traditional style, or assimilate Ḥallāj with himself and interpret it ecstatically, Sulṭān

39 Sulṭān Walad, *Intihā-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī Khazānadarlū, (Tihārān: Intishārāt-i Rawzāna, 1997), 10

40 In the hierarchy of saints with *qutb* at the top, *abdāl* is generally considered to belong to the fifth stage (see Ignaz Goldziher and Hans Joachim Kissling, “Abdāl,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 20 February 2024 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0132). Sulṭān Walad also elaborates on these three stages of sainthood in *Ma‘ārif*. According to him, the first stage of saints are those who practice asceticism and whose mental state is like that of a clear mirror. The second stage of saints are those who convey messages from the invisible world to this world. Saints belonging to the highest stage are completely in the divine world, and nothing worldly is included here (Sulṭān Walad, *Ma‘ārif*, 289-290). The view is also expressed that the highest stage is that of the “attainers of perfection” (*waṣl-i kāmīlān*) (Idem., *Ibtidā-nāma*, 285), but in the *Intihā-nāma*, those who love God, including Ḥallāj, are “the attainers of perfection” (Idem., *Intihā-nāma*, 10). So then, there is some ambiguity as to where Ḥallāj should be placed on the three rungs of the saintly ladder. However, since he then states that Shams and Rūmī are “lovers of God among the elect” (*ma‘shūqān-i khāṣṣ-i khāṣṣ*) (Idem., *Ibtidā-nāma*, 10-11), it is likely that with regard to Shams and Rūmī, Sulṭān Walad would be expected to classify them in the highest stage. In any case, it should be noted that intoxicated Sufis occupy the three rungs of the saintly ladder in Sulṭān Walad’s structure of saints.

41 Sulṭān Walad, *Ibtidā-nāma*, 285.

Walad saw “drunkenness” as a sign of Ḥallāj’s saintness and defended Ḥallāj as a saint from a third-party perspective. However, as to why he should defend Ḥallāj, he emphasized, as did his father, that he was a people of the Oneness of God, which transcends the duality, as follows:

Search for existence (*hasṭī*) in the path of non-existence (*nīstī*).

When you reach this existence [in non-existence], you will be autonomous. The first existence is extinction (*fanā*) in certainty.

The second existence (existence in non-existence) is unshakable faith.

All first existences are ignorant and blind.

All second existences are the light of the saints.

The existence after annihilation (the second existence) is the remainder

His soul is intoxicated by that cupbearer
Such existence exists because of God
Such existence exists in eternal intoxication, without any sorrow (...)

The existence becomes like an instrument of God

No one regards him as apart from God.
Do not think that everything that comes from him is from himself

For he is dead by himself, but by the work of the Living One (God)

Two is not included in Him, because He is One.

How could anyone ever understand this mystery?

He obviously said it correctly when he said, “I am the Truth.”

Because God wanted him to say it through him.

He had every reason to do so.

Everything came from God, the breath of God, the breath of life.

The seeker is never separated from what is sought himself

The saint is connected to God.⁴²

Sultān Walad exalts the being in non-existence, the being that is dead and yet alive, living and yet already dead. Such a saint is a person of Oneness, because his ego has died and lives in the oneness of God. The simple statement of this is considered to be Ḥallāj's words, "I am the Truth." Like Rūmī, Sultān Walad also believes that people of Oneness like Ḥallāj is one who has "already died in love for God while living," and his acts lead directly to God.

And like his father Rūmī, Sultān Walad also defends the actions of the saints who dwell in the Oneness of God, saying that the actions of the saints sometimes seem like "evil deeds" to ordinary people, but in fact they are righteous deeds.

Drunkenness with God, all that is right in his way
What is right to do is right, and not wrong in his ways.

Then a certain man asked. "Then is it permissible (*ravā*) whatever [God's elect, such as saints and prophets] do? Should we say and think that it is right even when [the elect] do perverse things (*kazh*)?" I answered, "A man of God (*mard-i khudā*) is righteous in whatever he does. Even if it appears unjust to the ignorant. It is the same [with the following]. A person in the Ka'ba may turn his face in any direction and worship (*namāz*), since that direction is the qibla. Whether he turns his face to the east or to the west, to the left or to the right, in front or behind, it is all qibla, and his worship will be accepted by God. In the Ka'ba, no direction is different from any other direction."⁴³

42 Sultān Walad, *Rabāb-nāma*, 95.

43 Sultān Walad, *Ma'ārif*, 35-36.

Thus, Sultān Walad agrees with Rūmī that Ḥallāj is a saint who dwells in the world of one nature, and that the acts of such a saint can sometimes seem like evil deeds to ordinary people. However, Sultān Walad is unique in that he explicitly states that it is "saints, prophets, and *shaykhs* are completely dead before death,"⁴⁴ thus extending the scope of his adaptation to *shaykhs*. In the next section, I will explain what effect Sultān Walad is aiming for by adding the role of "*shaykh*" to the saints and prophets.

3) The Guidance of the *Shaykh*

In the previous section, we have seen that both Rūmī and Sultān Walad mention the incomprehensibility of the discourses and actions of God's saint and refer to the distinction between ordinary people and the elect.

Thus Rūmī, the father, spoke of the secrecy of the divine elect, and so did Sultān Walad by claiming that

The inhabitants of the earth cannot see the moon when it has been hidden by the black clouds. But those in the heavens can find it. (...) He acknowledges the difference between the worlds inhabited by ordinary people and saints as the saint knows the saint, but the enemy never knows the friend of God.⁴⁵

Unlike Rūmī, however, Sultān Walad, while agreeing with the secrecy of God's elect, states that with the guidance of a proper leader, or *shaykh*, it is possible to finally understand the true intentions of the saints, and bridges the worlds inhabited by ordinary people and the saints through the presence of the *shaykh*.

But know also the following. It is not that all creatures in general lack the [prophetic] substance (*jawhar*). Everyone has the

44 Ibid., 42.

45 Sultān Walad, *Ibtidā-nāma*, 206.

[prophetic] light and the [prophetic] substance.(...) By the ordinary man is meant one who is imprisoned in the ego (*hastī*) and pride, but there are some, however, for whom the light and essence of the Divine Source has increased, or for whom the powerful Divine Source has been encountered, the veil of pride and ego has been torn away and removed, and without the veil of ego they have seen the Divine Source and kneel down to worship. (...) Those who are weak, who have little [divine] light and ability, will not have the power to tear the veil as they [of the divine source] do, but will be overcome by the veil. (...) They who have received weak light by divine predestination, if the Most High is gracious to them, He will place near them a shaykh appointed by the Faithful God so that they will believe in Him. If not, they will be the ones who will be tested [by God]. By talking with the truthful [shaykh], they will gradually become sincere disciples (*murīd*) of their shaykh. From that perspective, it is possible for a sincere shaikh to develop a weak light and eventually increase [it]. And when that light increases, the veil of the ego decreases. This is the infinite revelation (*tafāṣīl*). That is, there are infinite ways and duties (*kār*) [to reach God], and what is infinite cannot be explained. For explanation and commentary are finite, and the infinite cannot be included among the finite. But the wise hear one and know ten, and the fool hears ten and understands none.⁴⁶

Thus, Sulṭān Walad, while acknowledging the absolute difference between God's elect and ordinary people, presents the Mahayana interpretation that in fact everyone potentially has a share in the prophetic light, and that even

ordinary people can ultimately understand the saint's true intentions if they are guided by a superior *shaykh*. He acknowledges the possibility that, with the right guidance of the *shaykh*, unbelief can turn into faith and ultimately merge into the One God.

Conclusion

This paper has analyzed the attitudes of Rūmī and Sulṭān Walad toward "intoxicated" Sufis and intoxicated thought by comparing their understanding of Ḥallāj. The results of the study revealed the following:

First, Rūmī portrayed Ḥallāj in the traditional Sufi image of the intoxicated martyr. Ḥallāj is a man who was so intoxicated with God that he was "dead while living" in the duality of this world, and yet he had destroyed his ego by uniting with God. The evil deeds of the inhabitants of the world of God's oneness are incomprehensible to the inhabitants of the world of duality, but they are, in fact, true believers. However, Rūmī emphasized the secrecy of God's elect, who are invisible and incomprehensible to the inhabitants of the world of duality.

How, on the other hand, did Sulṭān Walad understand Ḥallāj? Let us examine the similarities and differences between Sulṭān Walad's understanding and that of Rūmī:

First of all, Sulṭān Walad also sees Ḥallāj as a special being, a hidden or chosen one of God, who has left the world of duality (this world) and lives in the Oneness of God, a person who lived and died. Furthermore, he agrees with his father Rūmī that such a discourse of divine election is not understood and that such a person is "invisible" in the ordinary sense.

Sulṭān Walad, however, refrains from emphasizing that Ḥallāj is a "drunken" martyr. Rather, he is concerned to place Ḥallāj precisely in the lineage of saints and the hierarchy of

46 Sulṭān Walad, *Ma'ārif*, 27-28.

saints, as “drunkenness” with God is the mark of a special saint. Since Rūmī and Shams are considered to be included in this hierarchy of saints, it is clear that he considers the lineage of intoxicated saints, including Ḥallāj, as the spiritual history of his own order, the Mevlevī Order. Furthermore, while acknowledging the secrecy of the saints, Sultān Walad also points out the importance of the role of the *shaikh*, saying that it is possible to approach the hidden saints with the proper guidance of the *shaikh*, the leader of the order. Thus, Sultān Walād, while appreciating Ḥallāj, adopts a method of branding it as a “saint” by drawing away from the conventional image of the “drunken” Ḥallāj. By emphasizing the intoxicated type of Sufī as an accepted “saint.” Including his own father, Sultān Walad has solidified the foothold of intoxicated Sufis which is not easily understood by everyone in this world. Furthermore, by bridging the gap between the hidden saints and the normal people through the existence of the *shaykh* or order, Sultān Walad dissolves the distinction between the saints and the ordinary people and emphasizes the significance of the order’s existence. Sultān Walad’s portrayal of the Ḥallāj weakens the excessively “drunken” component of the intoxicated Sufi and places him in his proper position as a saint, bringing him into the spiritual history of the Order and having the effect of keeping him connected to the present members of the Order, thus successfully keeping him in this world and giving him an appealing saintly character in the hereafter. This is his exquisite balancing act of keeping the intoxicated Sufi in this world while also retaining his transcendent character as an attractive saint.

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Rûzbihân-ı Baklî'nin Sûfîlerin Şatahâtını Meşrûlaştırma Çabası: Kur'ân-ı Kerîm, Hadis ve Sahâbe Sözlerinde “Şatahât”*

*Rûzbihân al-Baqlî's Effort to Legitimize the Shaṭaḥât of the Sûfîs:
“Shaṭaḥât” in the Holy Qur'ân, Hadîth and Sayings of the Companions*

Adem URHAN**

Öz

Dinin zâhirî ahkâmına aykırıymış gibi görülme, kapalılık ve anlaşılmazlık, şatihyelerin genel özelliğidir. Bu nedenle sûfîler, şatahâtın şeriate muhalif olmadığını göstermek, kapalılığı ve anlaşılmazlığı ortadan kaldırmak için şerhler yazmışlardır. Bu sûfîlerden birisi de Rûzbihân-ı Baklî'dir (ö. 606/1209). Bu makale, Baklî'nin Kur'ân-ı Kerîm, hadis-i şerîf ve sahâbe sözlerinde şatahât olduğunu belirttiği ifadelerle dair yapmış olduğu yorumlarını konu edinmektedir. Makalemiz, *Şattâh-ı Fars* veya *Şeyh-i Şattâh* gibi isimlerle nitelendirilen Baklî'nin şathiye olarak ele aldığı âyet-i kerîme, hadis-i şerîf ve sahâbe sözlerini makul bir çerçevede şerh edip etmediğini ve yaptığı yorumlarla sûfîlerin şatahâtını meşrûlaştırma çabasında ne derece etkili olduğunu ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir. Baklî'nin eserlerinde zikrettiği âyet, hadis ve sahâbe sözlerine dair yapmış olduğu yorumlarının analiz edilerek araştırmacıların istifadesine sunulması, bilimsel açıdan önem arz etmektedir. Çalışmanın neticesinde, Baklî'nin şatahât kabilinde değerlendirdiği âyet, hadis ve sahâbe sözlerini sade ve yalın bir şekilde izah ettiği görülmüştür. Onun bu çabasının, eserinde yer verdiği sûfî sözlerinin mâzur görülme sebeplerini gösterme ve daha anlaşılır kılması açısından bir ön hazırlık mâhiyetinde olduğu ifade edilebilir.


Anahtar Kelimeler: Rûzbihân-ı Baklî, Tasavvuf, Şattâh-ı Fârisî, Şeyh-i Şattâh, Şatahât.

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Abstract

The general characteristic of *shaṭahāt* (ecstatic utterances) is that they are perceived as contrary to the apparent rules of religion, and as being obscure and incomprehensible. Thus, Sūfīs wrote commentaries to demonstrate that *shaṭ* is not in conflict with *sharīa* and to eliminate ambiguity and inexplicability. Rūzbihān al-Baqlī (d. 606/1209) is one of the Sūfīs who has made statements on this subject. This article is about Rūzbihān al-Baqlī's comments on the expressions that he named as *shaṭahāt* in the Holy Qur'ān, hadīths and sayings of the Companions. The aim of this article is to ascertain whether al-Baqlī, also known as *Shattāh al-Fars* or *Shaykh al-Shattāh*, offered commentary on verses, *hadīths*, and sayings of the Companions, which he regarded as *shaṭahāt*. Additionally, it seeks to evaluate the effectiveness of his interpretations in legitimizing *shaṭahāt* as a means of spiritual guidance. It is of scientific importance that al-Baqlī's comments on the verses, hadīths and sayings of the Companions as presented in his works are analysed and made available for researchers. The study revealed that al-Baqlī elucidated the verses, hadīths and sayings of the Companions, which he regarded as *shaṭahāt*, in a straightforward manner. It can be posited that this endeavour represents a preliminary attempt to justify the inclusion of Sūfī sayings in his work and to elucidate their meaning.

Keywords: Rūzbihān al-Baqlī, Tasawwuf, Sufism, Shattāh al-Fārisī, Sheikh al-Shattāh, Shaṭahāt.

Giriş

Hakikatte aynı olduğu halde ifade düzleminde birbirine zıtmış gibi görünen, paradoksal anlam taşıyan ve müteşâbihat şeklinde de ifade edilen şatahâtın te'vîl edilme meselesi, mutasavvıflar ile zâhir ulemâ arasında devam edegelen bir polemîği ateşleyen temel fitil olmuştur. Sûfîler, bu tür söylemleri şiddetli derûnî bir hâlin etkisi ile tamamen iradelerinin dışında, düşünmeden zikretmişlerdir. Ancak bu hal geçtikten sonra da Hakk'ı (c.c.) tenzih ederek nefsanî benlik iddiasında bulunmaktan O'na (c.c.) sığınmışlardır. Öyle ki, yaşadığı hâli istemsiz bir şekilde dışarıya aksettiren sûfîlerin tasavvufî coşkunluk hâlini tecrübe etmediği için idrak edemeyen ehl-i zâhir tarafından şeriat dairesinin dışına çıktıkları iddia edilmiş, farklı siyâsî ve içtimâî sebeplerle bazı sûfîler hapse atılmış ve idam edilmiştir. Fakat şathiyeler sûfîlerin nazarından konumlandırılacak olursa, yaşanılan hâli ifade etme noktasında şathiyelerin çok hassas ve önemli bir yere sahip olduğu rahatlıkla görülecektir. Sûfîler, yaşadıkları içsel tecrübeyi beşerî bir dille ifade etmede yetersiz kaldıklarını söylerler:

Zira beşerî iletişimin en mükemmel ve

vazgeçilmez aracı olan dil, insanın bütün tecrübelerini doğrudan kuşatacak bir yetkinlikte değildir. Bir diğer ifadeyle dilin sınırları tecrübenin sınırları anlamına gelmez. Tasavvufî tecrübe, özellikle de derin aşk ve vecd halleri söz konusu olduğunda da dilin bu kifayetsizliği kendini derinden hissettirmektedir.¹

Mutasavvıflar şathiyeleri, genel olarak hatalı görmekle birlikte bu tür ifadeleri serdeden sûfîlerin mâzur görülebileceğini ifade etmektedirler. Öyle ki onlar, bu sözlerin sûfînin dilinden coşkulu bir aşk veya çok üzgün bir hâlde dökülen istemsiz söylemler olduğunu belirtirler. Ayrıca bu hâlin Kur'ân-ı Kerim ve hadis-i şerîflerde yansımaları bulunduğunu vurgularlar.²

Nitekim bu çalışmada öncelikle Baklî'nin hayatı ve şatahâtla ilgili olan iki eseri hakkında muhtasar bir şekilde bilgi akatılmaya çalışılacaktır. Akabinde mutasavvıfların mezkûr konu hakkındaki görüşlerine yer verilecektir. Nihaî olarak Baklî'nin şathiyeye adı altında

1 Ethem Cebecioglu, "Şatahât İbarelerinin Anlaşılmasına Doğru: Metodik Bir Deneme", *Tasavvuf: İlmî ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 7, 17 (ts.): 7-27.

2 Süleyman Uludağ, "Şathiyeye", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 2010, XXXVIII: 370-371.

ele aldığı âyet-i kerîmeleri, hadis-i şerîfleri ve sahâbe sözlerini makul bir çerçevede şerh edip etmediği ve yaptığı yorumlarla sûfîlerin şatahâtını meşrûlaştırma çabasında ne derece etkili olduğu ortaya konulmaya gayret edilecektir. Ayrıca onu şatahât türü ifadeleri yorumlamaya yönelen sebeplerin ve bu hususta sergilediği tavrın ne olduğu üzerinde durulmaya çalışılacaktır.

1. Rûzbihân-ı Baklî'nin Hayatı ve *Mantku'l-Esrâr* ile *Şerh-i Şathiyyât Adh Eseri*

Milâdî XII. asrın ilk çeyreği ile XIII. asrın ortalarında İran sınırları içerisinde yer alan Fesâ'da dünya gelen Baklî, önceden Mecûsî iken sonraları ılımlı bir Şîi fırkası olan Zeydiyye'ye mensup Deylem kabilesi içerisinde doğmuştur. Fakat o, ömrünün büyük bir çoğunluğunu siyâsî, sosyo-kültürel faaliyetler açısından son derece önemli konuma sahip bir bölge olan Şiraz'da geçirmiştir. Şeyh Rûzbihân, henüz genç yaşta iken çeşitli hocalardan dersler alıp tefsir, hadis, fıkıh, kelâm, edebiyat alanlarında tebahhür etmiş, oldukça verimli bir tahsil hayatı yaşamış bir sûfîdir.³

Mutasavvıfların hayatları incelendiğinde, onlardan şer'î ilimlere başlamadan önce Kur'ân-ı Kerîm'i hıfz ettikleri görülmektedir. Nitekim Baklî de ilk tahsilini Fesâ'da yapmış, daha sonra Şiraz'a gidip mezkûr ilimlere başlamadan önce kaynaklarda zikredildiği gibi bulûğ çağında yani on beş yaşlarında Kur'ân'ı ezberlemiştir. O, tefsir ilmini elde ederek bu alanda derin bir vukûfiyet sahibi olduğuna işaret eden işârî bir tefsir kaleme almıştır. Ayrıca İskenderiye'ye gidip meşhur muhaddis ve Şafî'î fukahâsından İbrahim es-Silâfî'den *Sahîh-i Buhârî*'yi okuması⁴ ve

3 Nazif Hoca, *Rûzbihân-ı Baklî ve Kitâbu Keşfü'l-Esrâr'ı ile Farsça Bazı Şiirleri* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1971).

4 Ebû Muhammed Sadrüddin Rûzbihân Baklî, *Abherü'l-âşikîn*, thk. Henry Corbin, Muhammed

'Arâisü'l-hadîs adında bir eser te'lif etmesi, ilmî mânâda ne denli yetkin bir mutasavvıf olduğunu göstermektedir.

Onun henüz küçük yaşlarda iken tasavvufî hayata yönelerek Şeyh Cemalüddîn b. Halil el-Fesâvî'ye biât ettiği rivâyet edilmektedir. Ancak Baklî'nin bu yola asıl girişi 20-25 yaşlarında çok yoğun bir riyâzetten sonra Şeyh Sirâcuddîn Mahmud b. Halîfe b. Abdusselam b. Ahmed b. Salbih'e (ö. 562 /1166) intisâb edip ondan hırka giymesi ile olmuştur.⁵

Baklî'nin tasavvufî düşünce dünyasının oluşumundaki temel faktör, şer'î hükümlere bağlılığıyla tanınan sûfî, Ebû Abdillâh Muhammed b. Hafîf ed-Dabbî eş-Şîrâzî (ö. 371/982) ve kendisine nispet edilen Hafîfiyye tarikatidir.⁶ İbn Hafîf, Kur'ân ve sünnete bağlılığıyla tanınan bir mutasavvıftır.⁷ Nitekim onun bu düstûrunu Şeyh Rûzbihân'da da görmek mümkündür. Öyle ki o, tasavvufî kavramlara dair fikirlerini âyet-i kerîme ve hadis-i şerîflerle teyit ederek aktarmaya çalışmaktadır.

Nihaî olarak Muharrem ayının ortası hicrî 606/1209 senesinde Şiraz'da vefat eden Baklî ile ilgili yazılan eserlere bakıldığında, kendisini Şeyh-i Şattâh, Şattâh-ı Fars diye nitelendirdikleri görülmektedir. Kaynakların Baklî'yi bu şekilde vasıflandırmaları, onun tasavvufî mes'elelerden biri olan şatahâtın anlaşılmasına ciddi katkı sağlayan mühim bir mutasavvıf şahsiyet olduğuna işaret etmektedir.⁸

Rûzbihân-ı Baklî'nin şatahât konusun-

Mu'in (Paris-Tahran: Kitâhâne-i Moissonneuve, 1987), 11.

5 Muhammed Takî Dânişpejûh, *Rûzbihannâme* (Tahran: Encümen-i Âsâr-ı Millî, 1347), 16; Ebû'l-Hasan Deylemî, *Sîreti'ş-şeyhü'l-kebîr Ebû Abdillâh Muhammed b. Hafîf eş-Şîrâzî*, ed. İbrahim Desûkî Şettâ (Kahire: Meşîetü'l-'ammetü, 1977), 29.

6 Ebû'l-Hasan Alî b. Muhammed ed-Deylemî, *İbn Hafîf eş-Şîrâzî*, trc. Annemarie Schimmel Tarı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1955), 64.

7 Deylemî, *İbn Hafîf eş-Şîrâzî*, 54.

8 Dânişpejûh, *Rûzbihannâme*, 3.

da ele aldığı eserlerden birisi *Mantıku'l-esrâr bi-beyâni'l-envâr*, diğeri ise *Şerh-i Şathiyyât*'tır. Onun 570/1174 yılında Arapça olarak kaleme aldığı *Mantıku'l-esrâr bi-beyâni'l-envâr* adlı eserinde, tasavvuf ilminde anlatılması ve anlaşılması zor bir kavram olan “şatahât” ele alınmaktadır. Böylesine mühim bir konuyu yorumlayarak ona açıklık getirmeye gayret eden Baklî, Fesâ'daki ikameti sırasında, sûfilerin şatahât mâhiyetindeki sözlerini toplayıp bu lafızları Arapça şerh etmeyi istediğini, bu sebeple de önceki meşâyih-i kibâr'ın (büyük şeyhler) eserlerini okuduğunu ifade etmektedir. Ayrıca o, şatahât konusunun aydınlanması hususunda haset edenlerin iftialarından zarar gördüğünü, bütün sıkıntılara rağmen şatahât ilminin anlaşılmayan bu tür ifadelerini tek bir kitapta topladığını ve onu *Mantıku'l-esrâr bi-beyâni'l-envâr* diye isimlendirdiğini zikretmektedir.⁹

Kaynaklarda rivâyet edildiğine göre Baklî, hicrî 571'de Şiraz'a döndüğünde çevresindeki dostları kendisinden, yazmış olduğu *Mantıku'l-esrâr bi-beyâni'l-envâr* adlı eseri Farsça konuşan halkın daha rahat anlamaları için Farsça olarak tercüme etmesini istemişlerdir. O da, bu talep üzerine şahsî deneyimleri doğrultusunda söz konusu eserde geçen şathiyeleri yorumlamış ve birtakım açıklamalarda bulunmuştur. Bu noktadan hareketle de esere *Şerh-i Şathiyyât* ismini vermiştir. *Şerh-i Şathiyyât* muhteviyât olarak âyet, hadis, evliyânın sözleri, Arapça-Farsça beyitler ve tasavvufî istilâhlardan müteşekkildir. Bu eserdeki asıl amaç sûfilerin gönüllerinden dillerine dökülen paradoksal ifadelerin yorumlanması olduğu hâlde kitapta edebî bir neşvenin ve şiire yönelik husûsiyetlerin gözardı edilmediği görülmektedir. Baklî, ehil olmayan kimseler arasında fitne çıkması istenmemiş olsa gerek ki mezkûr kaynakta herhangi bir zorlanma olmaksızın alelâde bir anlaşılmayı kendine

9 Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyyât*, thk. Henry Corbin (Tahran: İntişârât-ı Tahûrî, 1396), 52.

muhatap kabul etmeyen, genelde bilinci zorlayan, yoğun tefekkür ve teemmül isteyen bir dil kullanmıştır.

2. Şatahâtın Sözlük ve İstilâhî Anlamı

Tasavvuf, derûnî bir tecrübeye dayalı bir ilim olduğu için kendisine özgü birtakım istilâhları bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan birisi de şath kelimesidir.¹⁰

Sözlükte; taşma, hareket etme gibi anlamlara gelen bu kelime zamanla “hezeliyât, latife, şaka, eğlence, maskaralık etme” gibi mânâları da içermiştir.¹¹ “Bu tür ifadeler ancak işârî bir mânâ taşımaktadır. Çünkü bu anlam san'atlı bir dil ile Latince *logos spermatikus* (dölleyici kelâm) denilen veciz, etkileyici ve esrârlı bir üslûpla kullanılmaktadır.”¹²

Sûfilerin mezkûr konu hakkındaki görüşlerine geçmeden önce genel anlamda şath hakkında yapılan şu tarifî vermenin daha faydalı olacağı mülâhaza edilmektedir:

Şerîata bağlılığı malûm bir mutasavvıf tarafından sekr, vecd ve istiğrâk hâlinin galebesiyle irade dışı söylenip, zâhiren te'vili mümkün olmayan; içinde bir benlik, iddia ve akla aykırılık bulunan; zâhir-i şerîat açısından kabulü mümkün olmayan, işin ehli tarafından ruûnet-i nefsin eseri dolayısıyla ibtidâî bir menzil olarak görülüp, ne kabul ne de reddedilen ifadelerdir.¹³

10 Detaylı bilgi için bkz. Mustafa Tatçı, “Tasavvuf Edebiyatında Şathiyyâtı Sûfiyâne Geleneği”, *Türk Kültürü* 24, 267 (1985): 481-486.

11 Şemseddin Sami, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî*, (İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1317), 778; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: MEB Yayınları, 1983), 310-311.

12 Cengiz Gündoğdu, “Mevlânâ (ö. 672 1273)'nın Şathiyye Türünde Yazdığı Bir Gazeli'nin Şerhi: Şerh-i Ebyât-ı Celâleddîn-i Rûmî”, *Tasavvuf İlmî Akademik ve Araştırma Dergisi* 3, (2002): 27-46.

13 Ebû Nasr Serrâc, *el-Lüma' li Ebî Nasr Serrâc et-Tûsî*, thk. Abdülhalim Mahmud ve Taha, Abdülbâki Surûr (Mısır: Dâru'l-kütübî'l-hadîse, 1960), 453; Abdur-

İlk bakışta şeriate aykırılık izlenimini uyandıran bu problemlili ifadeleri zâhir ulemâsı hatalı bulup reddederken, sûfîlerin çoğunluğu mezkûr söylemin kabul edilebilir olduğunu söyleyerek bunları şerh etmiş, hatta bir kısmı bu söylemi seyr u sülûkün kemâl noktası olarak nitelemişlerdir. Bu nev'î sözler, coşkulu bir hâlin tahakkümü içinde söylenmiş sözlerdir. Hâl böyle olunca da "Kendimi tenzih ederim, benim şânım ne yücedir", "Ben Hakk'ım", "Cübbemin altında Allah'tan başkası yoktur" gibi ifadelerle anlatılmaya çalışılması pek tabîi bir durumdur. Çünkü o anda "tasavvufî deneyimin son mertebesine ulaşan sûfî, kendisini tahakkümü altına alan Hakk'ın (c.c.) lisanıyla konuşmaktadır."¹⁴ Bu nedenle de Hallâc'ın "Ene'l-hak" ifadesini Erzurumlu İbrahim Hakkı (ö. 1194/1774), "Nâsır u Mansûr idi dirdi; ene'l-hakku'l-mübîn / Söyleyen Nâsır'dır andan terceman Mansûr olur."¹⁵ şeklinde izah eder.

Şatahât, vecdi artan sûfînin coşması sonucunda kalbinden taşan ve zâhiren şeriate aykırıymış gibi görünen sözler¹⁶ şeklinde de tanımlanmaktadır. Serrâc'a göre, "vecd sahibi olan sûfî, vecdin kuvvetli etkisiyle, kalbine gelen ilâhî nurları taşımaya güç yetiremez ve duyguları bu şekilde ihtiyatsız olarak diline düşer. Yaşadığı hali, dinleyenlerin zor anlaya-

rezzâk Kaşânî, *Istilahâtü's-süfiyye*, ed. Abdü'l-Âli Şâhin (Kahire: Dârü'l-İnâd, 1992), 375; İbn Haldûn, *Tasavvufun Mahiyeti (Şifâü's-sâil)*, ed. Süleyman Uludağ (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1977), 55; Abdülhakim Yüce, "İslâmî Türk Edebiyatında Şatahât", *İslâmî Türk Edebiyatı Sempozyumu*, 2012, 183-193.

14 Abdulbarî Muhammed Davud, *el-Fenâ 'inde süfiyyeti'l-müslimîn ve'l-ukâidi'l-uhra* (Kahire: Dârü'l-Misriyyeti'l-Lübnâniyye, 1997), 322.

15 Erzurumlu İbrahim Hakkı, *Ma'rifetnâme*, çev. Turгут Ulusoy (İstanbul: Hasankale İbrahim Hakkı Hazretleri Yardımlaşma Derneği, 1979), 296.

16 bkz. Ali Sircânî, *el-Beyâz ve's-Sevâd* (Tahran, 1390), 357; Suad el-Hakîm, *İbnü'l-Arabî Sözlüğü*, çev. Ekrem Demirli (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2017), 456; Süleyman Uludağ, *Tasavvuf Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Marifet Yayınları, 1995), 328; Sâdık Güherin, *Şerh-i Istilahât-ı Tasavvuf* (Tahran: İntişarat-ı Zevvar, 1382), 7.

cağı, alışılmamış ibarelerle anlatmaya başlar. Sûfînin kalbinden diline taşan, yoruma muhtaç bu sırlı sözleri, ancak bu ilimde derinleşmiş olan ehil kimseler anlayabilir."¹⁷ Bu nedenle de o, söz konusu ifadelere, düz bir mantık ile yaklaşmayı doğru bulmamakta ve bunları inkâr ederek ve kötüleyerek karşı çıkanların fitneye düşüp helâk olacaklarını belirtmektedir.¹⁸ Baklî, şatahât kavramını açıklarken Serrâc'ın eserinde zikrettiği şath tanımına küçük bir ekleme yaparak onu şöyle nakleder: "Yaşanılan şiddetli coşkunluk hâlinde dilin söylediği, iddia ile karışmış ancak sahibinin şerh etmesiyle anlaşılır hâle gelebilen sûfînin sadrından diline dökülen sözdür."¹⁹

Yatağı dar bir nehirden kenarlara taşan suya Arapçada "şataha" denildiğinden söz eden Serrâc, onu, mübtedilerin, gaye ve kemâle ermesi istenen kimselerin hâli olarak kabul eder.²⁰ Ona göre "sûfînin kalbinden taşan bu sırlı sözlerin hakikatini ise bizzat tecrübeyi yaşayanlar ve söz konusu ilimde derinleşmiş olan ehil kimseler anlayabilir."²¹ Hüccetü'l-İslâm Ebû Hâmid Muhammed b. Ahmed el-Gazzâlî'den (ö. 505/1111) önce yaşamış sûfîlerden Muhammed b. İbrâhim el-Kelâbâzî (ö. 180/990), Abdülkerim b. Hevâzin el-Kuşeyrî (465/1072) ve Ebü'l-Hasen Alî b. Osmân el-Cüllâbî Hücvîrî (ö.465/1072) gibi sûfîler, şathiye türü ifadeleri eserlerine almamışlardır. Öyle ki bunlardan Kelâbâzî, bazı konularda Hallâc-ı Mansûr'dan bir söz naklettiğinde belirli bir kesimin tepkisinden ötürü ondan "Ebü'l-Muğîs" veya "Hüseyn b. Mansûr" şek-

17 Serrâc, *el-Lüma'*, 453.

18 ay.; Serrâc, *el-Lüma'*: *İslâm Tasavvufu*, çev. Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz (İstanbul: Erkam Yayınları, 1977), 443.

19 Ebû Muhammed Sadrüddîn Rûzbihân Baklî, *Meşrebü'l-ervâh*, çev. Kasım Mir Âhorî (Tahran: İntişarat-ı Âzâdmehr, 1389), 124.

20 Serrâc, *el-Lüma' li Ebi Nasr Serrâc et-Tüsî*, 458. Serrâc, *el-Lüma'*: *İslâm Tasavvufu*, 453.

21 Serrâc, *el-Lüma'*, 453.

linde söz eder.²² Ancak şu da belirtilmelidir ki bu hususta Kuşeyrî'nin tavrı diğerlerine nazaran daha belirgindir. Zira o, eserinde şatahât nev'i sözlere yer vermemekle birlikte hikâyelerini naklettiği seksen üç sûfî arasında Hallâc'dan bahsetmez.²³ Diğer yandan *Risale-i Kuşeyrî*'de Zünnûn-ı Mısrî (ö. 245/859 [?]) ve Bayezîd-i Bistâmî (ö. 234/848 [?]) gibi şatahâtıyla meşhûr sûfîlerin biyografilerine yer verildiği hâlde onların şatahâtı zikredilmez.²⁴

Rûzbihân-ı Baklî'nin, şatahât terimi hakkında yapmış olduğu şu yorumda, sûfîlerin sadırlarından dillerine dökülen bu sözleri istemsiz olarak sarf ettiklerine, bu durumun birtakım hâllerin yaşanması ve Hak Teâlâ'nın lütfu sonucunda meydana geldiği sonucuna ulaşılır:

Âşığın üzerine ünsiyet galip olduğunda, Hak Teâlâ ona cemâl sıfatıyla görüldüğünde ve Cenâb-ı Hakk'ın âşığa kurb ve kurb-i kurb ile ünsiyet buldurması, visalinin güzelliğini lütfetmesi, hârikulâde esrârını ortaya çıkarması, imtihân makamından kurtarması, muhabbet şarabıyla sarhoş etmesi ve gözlerinden perdeleri kaldırması sonucunda onda basit nurları ve inbisat parıltıları âşikâr olur, Hak (c.c.) ile sevinç bulmak onu kendinden geçirir ve böylece tatlı vecd hâli ile iddiayla karışık meçhûl ifadelerle sırrı ifşâ eder.²⁵

Ahmed el-Gazzâlî (ö. 520/1126), *Sevânihu'l-Uşşâk* adlı eserinde sûfîlerin şatahâtını mey-

22 Muhammed b. İbrâhim Kelâbâzi, *Doğuş Devrinde Tasavvuf Ta'arruf*, çev. Süleyman Uludağ (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2016), 22, 231.

23 bkz. Abdülkerim b. Hevâzin Kuşeyrî, *er-Risâle: Tasavvuf İlmine Dair Kuşeyrî Risâlesi*, ed. Süleyman Uludağ (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1991), 63.

24 Kuşeyrî, *er-Risâle*, 13. Ayrıca bkz. Mustafa Çakmaklıoğlu, "Hallâc'ın 'Ene'l-Hakk' Sözü Bağlamında Mevlânâ'nın Şatahât Yorumu", *Tasavvuf İlmî ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 6,15 (2005): 191-223; Hasan Basri Demir, "Bâyezîd-i Bistâmî ve Tasavvuf Anlayışı" (Yüksek Lisans, İbn Haldun Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü Temel İslam Bilimleri, 2020).

25 Baklî, *Meşrebü'l-ervâh*, 124.

veye benzetmekte, *يُحِبُّهُمْ وَيُحِبُّونَهُ*, Allah onları sever, onlar da Allah'ı severler"²⁶ âyetindeki "ب" harfinin noktasının tohum olduğunu ve büyüyünce meyve ile tohumun aynı şey haline geldiğini, dolayısıyla bu sözlerin Allah'ın (c.c.) sözleri olduğunu ifade etmektedir.²⁷

Serrâc'la benzer bir yaklaşım sergileyen Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî (ö. 672/1273) şatahâtı, dilin taşıyamadığı ve bu söze sığmayan derûnî tecrübe şeklinde yorumlar.²⁸ Hatta bazı zamanlar kendisinden de bu nev'i ifadelerin sâdır olduğunu ifade eder.²⁹ Sekr (mânevî sarhoşluk) hâlinde sâdır olan sözlerin daha tatlı ve neşeli olduğunu ifade eden Mevlânâ, sekr hâlini yaşamadan serdettiği sözlerini tatsız-tuzsuz olarak vasıflandırır.³⁰

3. Kur'ân-ı Kerîm, Hadis ve Sahâbe Sözlerinde "Şatahât" Var mıdır?

Baklî'nin *Mantıku'l-Esrâr* adlı eserinin mukaddime kısmında şer'î ilimleri dört kategoride zikretmesi ve *Meşrebü'l-ervâh* isimli kitabının şath bölümünde Serrâc'dan pasajlar nakletmesi, mezkûr konuda Serrâc-vârî bir çizgiyi takip edeceğine işâret etmektedir. Baklî, şatahâtın esasının, ilk bakışta anlaşılmayan Kur'ân, hadîs ve evliyânın ilhâmları olmak üzere üç kısım olduğunu ifade etmektedir. O, sûfîlerin şatahâtını yorumlamaya geçme-

26 Mâide 5/54.

27 Ahmed Gazzâlî, *Sevânihu'l-Uşşâk (Âşıkların Hâlleri)*, çev. Turan Koç (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2016), 76.

28 Dillerin ve sözlerin tasavvufî deneyimi ifade etmede yetersiz kalması hususunda Mevlânâ'dan nakledilen sözleriçin bkz. İbrahim Emiroğlu, *Sûfî ve Dil, Mevlânâ Örneği* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2002), 123-152; Tofîgh H. Sobhânî, "Mesnevî'de Söz Söyleme Engelleri", *Uluslararası Mevlânâ Bilgi Şoleni, Bildiriler* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2000), 137-142.

29 Onlardan bir tanesi şöyledir: "Bugün olmayacak işlere giriştim, savaş arıyorum; sarhoşların sözlerine aldırış etme, saçma sapan sözler söylüyorum." bkz. Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî, *Divân-ı Kebîr I-VII*, haz. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2000), III: 247.

30 Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî, *Divân-ı Kebîr*, II: 367.

den önce, şatahâtın temelini Kur'ân ve hadîs olduğunu belirterek bu minvaldeki sözlerini meşru bir zemine oturtmaya çalışmaktadır. Nitekim o, söz konusu bağlamda müteşâbih âyetler, birtakım hadisler ve sahâbenin sözlerinden şu kısa pasajları nakletmekte ve bunları beyân etmektedir:

Kur'ân-ı Kerîm'deki müteşâbihâtın sayılan "وجبه", "رجل", "استواء", "سمع", "يد", gibi haberî sıfatlar ile hurûf-ı mukattaayı anlaşılma zorluğu açısından şathiyye çerçevesinde ele alan Baklî,³¹ Hak Teâlâ'nın şeriat dili ile avama (halka), hakikat dili ile de havassa (seçkin kullara) hitap ettiğini ifade eder. Ona göre avam, mârifet ve vuslat ehlinin işâret ettiği kâinatta meydana gelen hârikulâde olayların hakikatine yabancısıdır. Çünkü onlar, makamları ezeli müşahede olan ve rabbânî ilimde derinleşen kimselerin bilebileceği haberî sıfatlardır.³²

Hurûf-ı mukattaayı "Hakk'ın (c.c.) şatahâtı" olarak ifade etmenin mümkün olduğunu ifade eden Baklî, Allah Teâlâ'nın bu harfler ile sıfatların esrârından, Zât'ın celâlinin hakikatlerinden ve aşk, şevk, muhabbet, mârifet, tevhid, aynü'l-sermediyyet, aynü'l-ezeliyyet ve cemâl ile celâl libâsındaki mutlak sırdan haber verdiğini belirtir. Ona göre bu harfler, sadece Muhammed (s.a.s.), Âdem (a.s.), İbrahim (a.s.), Mûsa (a.s.), İsâ (a.s.), İsrâfil (a.s.) Cebrâil (a.s.) ile sahâbe, tâbiîn, evliyâ, mukarrebîn, ârif ve meşâyih'tan olan sûfîler gibi ümmetin seçkin sâdik kullarının bileceği ilimdir. Zâhir ehline mezkûr ilimde bir pay yoktur. O, böyle bir ilmi sadece zikredilen zümrenin bileceğine delalet eden birtakım âyet-i kerîmelerin olduğunu ifade etmektedir.³³

31 Hüseyin Altuntaş, "Rûzbihân el-Baklî'nin (ö. 606/1209) Arâisü'l-Beyân İsimli Tefsirinde Müteşâbihât" (Yüksek Lisans, Karabük Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü Temel İslam Bilimleri Ana Bilim Dalı, 2021).

32 Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyyât*, 86-87.

33 bkz. Âl-i İmrân 3/7.

Rûzbihân-ı Baklî de hurûf-ı mukattaayı diğer konularda olduğu gibi tabiât unsurlarından istifade ederek sembolik dil ile şatahât bağlamında izah etmeye çalışmıştır. Nitekim o, "ي" harfinin âleme ayna olan sıfatların remzî olduğunu, "ميم" harfinin ise ezeli kaynaktan fiillerin sırları üzerine akan muhabbet denizinin suyunu sembolize ettiğini ifade etmektedir.³⁴

Baklî'nin şatahât olarak ele aldığı hadîs-i şerîfler şunlardır: *Allah, Âdem'i kendi sûretinde yarattı.*,³⁵ *Rabbimi en güzel sûrette gördüm.*,³⁶ *Kürsü iki ayağın konulduğu yerdir.*,³⁷ *Parmaklarının soğukluğunu iki göğsüm arasında hissettim.*³⁸ Naklettiği hadîs-i şerîfleri "الضحك", "الصلاة", "الاستلقاء", ve "وضع القدم على جهنم" başlığı altında ele alan Baklî, bunların sıfatlar hakkında zikredilen ezeliyyeti ifşâ etmekten ibâret olan hadisler olduğunu ifade eder. O, Resûlullâh'tan (s.a.s.) ve ashâbından sâdır olan, dikkatleri cezbeden anlaşılması zor bu nev'i ifadelerin iltibâs makamında muhabbet ve aşk sarhoşluğunun galip gelmesi sonucunda meydana geldiğini söyler. Ona göre, şâhid Hakk'ı (c.c.) Hak (c.c.) ile müşahede ettiği zaman Allah Teâlâ ona sıfat ve fiillerindeki ezeliyyetini gösterir.

Baklî'nin *Allah Âdem'i kendi sûretinde yarattı*³⁹ hadîs-i şerîfini şatahât çerçevesinde nasıl

34 Baklî, *Mantıku'l-Esrâr bi-Beyâni'l-Envâr*, çev. Kâsım Mîr Âhorî (Tahran, 1340), 32-34; Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyyât*, 80-83.

35 Bu hadîs-i şerif daha önceki bölümlerde zikredilmiştir. Ayrıca mezkûr hadîs-i şerif'in Türk şiirinde nasıl işlendiği hususunda bkz. Ahmet Karakuş, *Modern Türk Şiirinde Tasavvuf* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2021), 78.

36 Tirmizî, "Tefsir", 39.

37 İbn Abbas'dan (r.a) mevkuf olarak rivayet edildiğine göre; "Kürsü iki ayağın konulduğu yerdir. Arşa gelince ne kadar olduğunu kimse bilemez." <https://ha-deethenc.com/tr/browse/hadith/6330>, Erişim tarihi: 15.02.2023.

38 Ebû 'Abdullah Ahmed b. Hanbel eş-Şeybânî, *Müsnedü'l-İmâm Ahmed b. Hanbel*, ed. Şu'ayb el-Arna'ût vd. (Beyrut: Mü'essesetü'r-Risâle, 1996), V: 243.

39 ³⁹ age. III: 323.

yorumladığı mevzusuna geçmeden önce şunu belirtmeliyiz ki Gazzâlî, sözü edilen hadis ve diğer birtakım meşhûr sözlerin herkesin anlamaya tahammül edeceği sözler olmadığını vurgulayarak tevhîd ehli kimsenin durumunu şöyle izah eder:

Muvahhidin hareketleri dünya semâsındandır; duyarları, algıları bunun üstünde olan bir semâdandır. Bu kimse akıl semâsından mahlûkatın mi'râcının sonuna, ferdâniyyet memleketinden tâ yedi tabakaya kadar yükselir. Sonra vahdâniyyet tahtında oturur ve oradan göklerin tabakalarına emri tedbir eder. Artık bakan, bu hale baktıkça dilini salıverir: 'Allah Adem'i Rahmân suretinde yarattı' der. Fakat bilinmelidir ki bu söz te'vîle muhtaçtır. Tıpkı 'Ben Hakk'ım (c.c.)', 'Kendimi tesbih ederim.' sözleri gibi. Hatta Peygamber'in (s.a.s.); 'Ben onun, kulağı, gözü, dili oldum.'⁴⁰ sözlerinin de te'vîle ihtiyacı vardır. Artık burada beyânı durdurmak istiyorum. Çünkü senin bundan fazlasına tahammül edeceğini sanmıyorum.⁴¹

Baklî, Peygamber'in (s.a.s.), *Rabbimi en güzel sûrette gördüm*.⁴² hadis-i şerifini serdetmesinin arka planında ma'sûk'un yani Hak Teâlâ'nın aşık için koymuş olduğu bir kanun olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Ona göre Cenâb-ı Hak, sıfatlarındaki zâtının iltibâs makamında Hz. Muhammed'in (s.a.s.) tevhîd kaynaklarına yönelik şevkini meydana getirmek için fiillerini ezeliyle süsledi ve hâdislik görüntüsüyle beraber fillerin aynasındaki ezeli cemâliyle onu cezbetti (kendisine çekti).⁴³ Diğer yandan o, Hakk'ın (c.c.) yeryüzüne inmesini, kâinatta

40 Hadisin tam metni için bkz. Buhârî, "Rikak", 38. Ayrıca bkz. <https://hadeethenc.c.om/tr/browse/hadith/6337>, Erişim tarihi: 15.02.2023.

41 Gazzâlî, *Mişkâtü'l-envâr*, 37.

42 Tirmizî, "Tefsir", 39.

43 Baklî, *Mantıku'l-Esrâr bi-Beyâni'l-Envâr*, 35. Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyyât*, 85.

ezelî müşahede ehli için (fiilî sıfatları yönüyle) ortaya çıkması şeklinde yorumlamaktadır. Hz. Peygamber'in, *Parmaklarının soğukluğunu iki göğsüm arasında hissettim* hadisini ise doğrudan ve yakîn olarak bekâ'nın müşahede gölgesinde parmaklarının soğukluğunu bulması olarak te'vîl etmektedir.⁴⁴

Bu noktada ele alınacak bir diğer hadis-i şerif ise hem tasavvufî yönden hem de hadis⁴⁵ ve kelâm açısından problem teşkil eden *Kürsî iki ayağın konulduğu yerdir* hadisidir. Arş ve kürsünün ceberût ve melekût âleminde ibaret olduğunu söyleyen Baklî, kürsünün Allah Teâlâ tarafından melekût ehli için ezeli bulutların üzerine yerleştirildiğini ifade etmektedir.⁴⁶

Baklî, hadisleri şatahât bağlamında te'vîl ederken sıklıkla Allah Teâlâ'nın sonradan yaratılan varlığa tecellîsinin zâtı itibariyle ile olmayıp fiil ve sıfatları yönüyle olduğunu⁴⁷ ve O'nun (c.c.) bunlar dışında bir teşbih ve tescîmden münezzehe olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Nitekim o, söz konusu yorumlarından birinde Hak Teâlâ'nın bütün yönlerden bir olduğunu, her an yeni bir tecellî (yaratma) hâlinde olduğunu, bunun Hakk'ın (c.c.) kullarına en büyük lütfu olduğunu, Cenâb-ı Hakk'ın bir eş veya çocuk edinmediğini, bütün mânâlarda hadis ehlinin yöneldiği şeylerden münezzehe olduğunu ve O'nun ehâdiyyetinin gücü ve kudretinin zuhûru karşısında seçkin kulların akıllarının

44 Baklî, *Mantıku'l-esrâr bi-beyâni'l-envâr*, 35.

45 Hadis ilmi alanında şöyle yorum yapılmaktadır: "Kürsü iki ayağın konulduğu yerdir. Yani: Allah Teâlâ'nın kendi nefesine nispet ettiği Kürsü Allah Teâlâ'nın iki ayağını koyduğu yerdir. İbn Abbas'ın (r.a) zikrettiği bu mânâ Ehl-i Sünnet arasında meşhûrdur. Ondan rivayet edilen Kürsü'nün ilim olması ise sahîh değildir. Hasan'dan rivayet edilen Kürsü'nün Arş olduğu zayıf olup, sahîh değildir" bkz. <https://hadeethenc.c.om/tr/browse/hadith/6330>, Erişim tarihi: 15.02.2023.

46 Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyyât*, 85.

47 Allah Teâlâ'nın sıfat ve fiilleri vasıtasıyla varlığa tecellî etme hususunu modern şiiirlerde de görmek için bkz. Ahmet Karakuş, "Feyzi Halcı Şiirinin Tasavvuf Bağlamında İncelenmesi", *SEFAD*, 46 (2021): 1-22.

hayrette kaldığını ifade etmektedir.⁴⁸ Baklî, bazı âyet-i kerîmeleri aktararak bu minvaldeki sözlerini kuvvetlendirmektedir.⁴⁹

O, Hz. Ebû Bekîr'e (r.a.) nisbet edilen şu sözü şatahât kâbilinde değerlendirmektedir: "O'nu (c.c.) idrâk etmekten duyulan acîzlik de bir idrâktir." Baklî'ye göre, hakikatte ezeli olan varlığın kühünü idrâk etmek mümkün değildir. Hâdis olan bir varlık, muhdes olan bir âlemde kadîm olan Hakk'ı (c.c.) tam olarak idrâk edemez. O, mezkûr sözün şath olan kısmının; 'idrâk etmekten âciz olma sebebini idrâk etmek' olduğunu ifade ederek bu durumu şöyle izah eder: Tâlib, âcizlik sıfatından fenâ bulup matlûba dönüşerek kendisini idrâk eder ve akabinde 'aynü'l-bekâya vararak orada bâkî olur. Burada kendi kendisini gören tâlib, benliğini Hakk'ın (c.c.) varlığında yok eder. Ârif, mar'ûfun (Hak Teâlâ'nın) sıfatları ile sıfatlanır ve ma'rûfu O'nun (c.c.) ile tanır. Baklî, bu tür bilmenin ve bekâda dolaşmanın gönül gözü ile olabileceğini, aksi takdirde hâdis olan bir şeyin ezeli varlık ile birlikte olmasının mümkün olamayacağını zikreder.⁵⁰

Aynı minvalde Kelâbâzî, Hz. Ömer'in (r.a.) "Kalbim Hak Teâlâ'yı gördü."⁵¹ sözünü onun sırrının sarhoş olması sebebiyle söylediğini belirtir. Ona göre sırrın sarhoşluğu, Cenâb-ı Hakk'ın (c.c.) ezeli cemâl müşahedesinin sırta tesâdüf etmesi sonucunda meydana gelir. Genel anlamda sûfiler, Allah Teâlâ'nın dünyada baş gözü ile görülemeyeceğini savunurlar. Ancak onlardan bazıları *Gözün gördüğünü kalp yalanlamadı*⁵² âyetine vurgu yaparak Hz. Peygamber'in (s.a.s.) Hakk'ı (c.c.) baş gözü ile

değil de kalp gözü ile gördüğünü zikrederler.⁵³ Örneğin Sülemî, *Hakâ'iku't-tefsîr* isimli eserinde âyet-i kerîmede işâret edilen kalbî görmeyi, müşâhede hâlinde Cenâb-ı Hakk'ı baş gözüyle görme olarak te'vîl ederken,⁵⁴ Kuşeyrî *Letâ'ifu'l-işârât* adlı eserinde Hak Teâlâ'nın kâinatta tezâhür eden tecelliyâtının görülmesi olarak yorumlamaktadır.⁵⁵

Baklî, âyette zikredilen görmenin bakmak mânâsına geldiğini, buradaki gözün bedeninde değil ruhların gözü olduğunu, aksi durumda kalbî görmeye işâret eden⁵⁶ âyet-i kerîmeyi inkâr ve Cenâb-ı Hakk'ın Mûsâ'ya (a.s.) *Sen beni göremezsin*⁵⁷ buyruğuna başkaldırı olabileceğini ifade etmektedir.⁵⁸ Ayrıca Baklî de Kuşeyrî gibi bu görmenin tecelliyâttan başka bir şey olmadığını vurgulamaktadır. Nitekim o, Hakk'ın (c.c.) dağa tecellî etmesi ve dağın paramparça olması olayına işârî açıdan yaklaşarak aslında buradaki tecellînin Hz. Mûsâ'da (a.s.) meydana geldiğini ve onun Hakk'ın tezâhürü sonucunda benliğinin yerle yeksân olduğunu ve bunun nihâyetinde, *Siz bekleyin, (şu uzakta) bir ateş bulunduğunu fark ettim.*⁵⁹ dediğini zikretmektedir.

Hülâsa Baklî, şathiyye olarak nitelendirdiği Hz. Ömer'in (r.a.) sözünü mânevî sarhoşluk bağlamında ele alarak şath kabilinden bu sözlerin arka planda tenzîh ve tahkîki barındırdığını ifade eder ve daha sonra aktaracağı sûfilerin şatahâtına meşru bir zemin hazırlar. Yani o, sûfilerin, bu sözleri Hakk'ın (c.c.) varlığının tecellisini temâşâ ettikleri esnada söylediklerini, akabinde -sahv hâlinde- tevbe ettiklerini zikrederek henüz eserin ilk bölümünde sûfilerin mâzûr görülmesi gerektiğine

48 Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyyât*, 86.

49 Şûrâ 42/11; İhlâs 112/4.

50 Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyyât*, 86-87.

51 Ebû Muhammed Nüreddin Sâbûnî, *Mâtürîdiyye Akaidi*, çev. Bekir Topaloğlu (İstanbul: İFAV Yayınevi, 2017), 93; Fatma Pınar, "Allah'ın Görülemeyeceği Görüşünün Temellendirilmesinde 'el-Muğni' Örneği", *Bülent Ecevit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 6, 2 (2019): 257-279.

52 Necm 53/11.

53 Kelâbâzî, *Doğuş Devrinde Tasavvuf Ta'arruf*, 84.

54 Sülemî, *Hakâ'iku't-tefsîr*, II: 285.

55 Abdülkerim b. Hevâzin Kuşeyrî, *Letâ'ifu'l-İşârât* (Beyrut: Daru'l-İlmiyye, 2000), 3: 249.

56 Necm 53/11.

57 A'râf 7/143

58 Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyyât*, 88.

59 Tâhâ 20/10.

işâret etmektedir.

Hz. Osman'ı (r.a.) temkîn ehli olarak niteleyen Şeyh-i Şattâh, onun dünyalık zenginliğine karşı sergilediği fiilî tavrını şatahât kapsamında ele almaktadır. Zira ona göre Hz. Osman (r.a.), âlemin mülk hazinelerine sahip olmasına rağmen bunlardan -vebenliğinden- tamamen soyutlanarak Hakk'ın (c.c.) istediği ahlâk kisvesine⁶⁰ bürünmüştür. O, Hz. Süleyman'a (a.s.) ithâfen buyurulan âyet-i kerîmede⁶¹ Osman'nın (r.a.) durumuna işâret edildiğini, onun böyle bir dünyalık güce tamamen yüz çevirerek çok az insanın gerçekleştirebileceği bir davranış ve ilk bakışta anlaşılması güç olan fiilî bir şatahât tutumu sergilediğini ifade etmektedir.⁶²

Hz. Ali'nin (r.a.) de dinî ilimler denizine daldığını ifade eden Baklî, muhtemelen Serrâc'dan iktibâs ettiği Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî'nin onun hakkındaki sözlerini şöyle aktarmaktadır:

Allah kendisinden razı olsun, Emirü'l-mü'minin Hz. Ali eğer harplerle meşgûl olmasaydı bizim bu (tasavvuf) ilmimize dair pek çok manayı (incelikleri) bize aktarırdı. Çünkü o, kendisine ilm-i ledün verilmiş birisiydi. İlm-i ledün ise Hızır'a (a.s.) özgü olan bir ilimdir.⁶³

Baklî, Hz. Ali'nin (r.a.) "Hak Teâlâ'yı gördüğümden beri O'nun varlığı hususunda şüphe etmedim."⁶⁴ sözünün kurb-ı kurb makamında Cenâb-ı Hakk'ın sıfatlarını sıfatlarıyla, zâtını zatıyla idrâk ederek ve şeytan ile nefsin vesveselerini ortadan kaldırarak müşâhede

edilmesinden haber verdiğini belirtmektedir. Sekr hâlinde böyle bir müşâde hâlini yaşayan kimsenin aynı zamanda sahv hâlinde de kalp penceresinden ezeli nûra bakacağını söyler.⁶⁵

Baklî, Hz. Ali'nin (r.a.) "Perde kalksa yakînim artmazdı." ifadesini şöyle yorumlamaktadır: Şayet mahlûkatın gözünden -yaratılmışlık-perdesi kalksa -yine de- yakînim üzerine bir yakîn eklenmez.⁶⁶ O, her an Hakk'ı (c.c.) Hak (c.c.) ile gözetleyen biri gibi gaybı müşâhede halinde olduğunu belirtmektedir. Ayrıca bu sözünün Hz. Ali'ye (r.a.) "Rabbini gördün mü?" şeklinde sorulduğunda verdiği, "Görmediğim bir Rabbe hiç ibadet etmedim." cevabının bir açıklaması niteliğinde olduğunu ifade etmektedir.⁶⁷

Baklî, Hz. Ali'nin (r.a.) Hak Teâlâ'nın Kur'ân-ı Kerîm'de kullarına tecellî ettiğine dair aktardığı sözünü şatahât kapsamında değerlendirmektedir. Baklî'ye göre Allah Teâlâ avâma hitabıyla, havâssa ise sıfatları ile tecellî eder. O aynı zamanda, Kur'ân-ı Kerîm'in harflerini, seçkin âriflerin kalplerine sevinç şaraplarının serildiği kadehler olarak nitelendirmektedir. Ona göre bu şarap, müşâhede ile mânevî sarhoş olmak, mükâşefe ile uçmak, tevhîd meydanında şaşkın şaşkın dolaşmak, Kur'ân bineğiyle irfân mâdenlerine, irfân bineğiyle de Kur'ân madenine doğru yürümek için içilir.⁶⁸

Hz. Mûsâ'ya (a.s.) bir ağaçtan, *Ey Mûsâ! Bil ki ben, bütün âlemlerin Rabbi olan Allah'ım: İnnî enellâh*⁶⁹ diye hitap eden Hak Teâlâ'nın emrinin aynü'l-cem'den haber verdiğini ifade eden Baklî, bütün bu ifadeleriyle sûfîlerin, Kur'ân okurken veya dinlerken Rablerinin ezeli cemâl sıfatını müşâhede ettiklerini ve kendi benliklerini yok ederek Hakk'ın (c.c.) sesini işittikleri için hayretler içerisinde ken-

60 Bu hâl, tasavvufî istilâhta, insan-ı kâmil kavramıyla açıklanmaktadır. Nitekim sûfîlere göre insanın Allah'ın (c.c.) halifesi olması demek, O'nun (c.c.) ahlâkıyla ahlâklanması ve sıfatlarıyla muttasıf olması demektir. Bu hususu gerçekleştiren insân-ı kâmindir. Geniş bilgi için bkz. Uludağ, "Kemâl", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 2022, XXV: 200.

61 Sâd 38/35-38.

62 Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyât*, 89-90.

63 Serrâc, *el-Lüma'*, 179.

64 Ayrıca bkz. Şerîf Radî, *Nehcü'l-Belâğâ*, ed. Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 2016), 90.

65 Baklî, *Mantiku'l-esrâr bi-beyâni'l-envâr*, 37.

66 ay.

67 ay.; Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyât*, 91.

68 Baklî, *Şerh-i Şathiyât*, 91.

69 Kasas 28/30.

dilerinden geçerek ilk bakışta anlaşılmayan paradoksal ifadeler kullandıklarını zikreder.⁷⁰

4. Tartışma ve Değerlendirme

Rûzbihân-ı Baklî'nin sûfîlerin şatahâtını yorumlamadan önce böyle bir metot benimsemesinin arka planında birtakım sebeplerin olabileceği söylenebilir. Bu nedenlerin, şu sorulardan hareketle açıklanması durumunda daha iyi anlaşılacağı mülâhaza edilmektedir: "Baklî'nin, üzerinde önemli bir te'siri olan Serrâc gibi tasavvufu, bir 'din ilmi' olarak vazetme amacı mı var? Yoksa bu çabası, *Mantıkü'l-esrâr* ve *Şerh-i Şathiyyat* isimli eserlerinde naklettiği sûfîlerin şathiye ifadelerine ve kendisinin *Keşfü'l-esrâr* adlı eserinde aktardığı şatahât ifadelerine meşrû bir zemin hazırlamak için midir? Ya da halkın tepkisini çekmeden ön yargıları kırarak şatahâtın anlaşılmasını sağlamak amacıyla mı bu tarz bir yaklaşım sergilemiştir?"

Değerlendirmeye geçmeden önce şunu belirlemeliyiz ki, bu üç soruya da olumlu yönde cevap verilecektir. Çünkü onun eserlerinde benimsediği metot, bu üç ihtimali de taşır niteliktedir. Konuyu fazla dağıtmadan soru ve cevap değerlendirmesine geçmek yerinde olur.

İlk soruya yanıt olarak, Rûzbihân-ı Baklî'nin, üzerinde önemli bir te'siri olan Serrâc gibi tasavvufu, bir 'din ilmi' olarak vazetme amacı taşıdığı söylenebilir. Çünkü Baklî, sûfîleri müdâfaa etmek ve onların şatahâtını mâzur gösterebilmek için Kur'ân, hadis ve sahâbe sözlerinden şathiye niteliğinde örnekler aktarmış ve onlarla ilgili makul çerçevede yorumlar yapmıştır. Onun tasavvufa ve mutasavvıflara karşı bu savunmacı yaklaşımı, takip ettiği sûfî şahsiyetlerin etkisine bağlanabilir. Bu zâtlardan birisi de Baklî'nin şatahât terimini ele alırken kendisinden çokça istifade ettiği ve

70 Baklî, *Mantıkü'l-Esrâr bi-Beyâni'l-Envar*, thk. Seyyid 'Alî Mîrbâkîrî (Tahran: İntişarâti Sohni, 1393), 37-38.

birtakım pasajlar naklettiği Serrâc'tır.

Serrâc, ilimleri Kur'ân, sünnet ve hikmet olarak üç kısma ayırmıştır. Öyle ki o, tasavvufun şer'i ilimlerden ayrı olmadığını hatta tasavvufun meşrûluğu 'zâhirî' ilimlerle ortak yönlere sahip olmasına dayansa bile, kişiye sağladığı 'fayda' bakımından onlardan daha üstün olduğu yönünde savunmacı bir yaklaşım sergilemiştir. Onun bu tavrı, şatahât konusunda da görülmektedir. Şath kelimesine ilk defa onun *el-Lümâ'* adlı eserinde rastlanmaktadır. Zira ondan önce yaşamış olan Hâris el-Muhâsibî (ö. 243/857), Sehl b. Abdillâh et-Tüsterî (ö. 283/896), Ebû Sâid el-Harrâz (ö. 277/890 [?]) ve Hakîm et-Tirmizî (ö. 320/932) gibi sûfîler bu kavramı hiç kullanmazken, onunla aynı dönemde veya ondan sonra yaşamış olan Kelâbâzî (ö. 380/990), Ebû Tâlib el-Mekkî (ö. 386/996), Abdülkerîm el-Kuşeyrî (ö. 465/1072) ve Hücvîrî (ö. 465/1072) gibi mutasavvıflar ise şath yerine "iddia" terimini seçmiş, şathiye sahibi sûfîleri "iddia sahibi sûfîler" olarak nitelendirmişlerdir. Serrâc ise Bâyezîd Bistâmî (ö. 234/848 [?]), Ebû Bekir eş-Şîblî (ö. 334/946) gibi birkaç sûfînin şatahâtını âyet ve hadislerle destekleyerek uzlaşmacı bir dille izah etmeye çalışmıştır.⁷¹ Benzer tavır Baklî'de de müşâhede edilmektedir. Ancak o, sûfîlerin şatahâtını âyet ve hadislerle desteklemek yerine bizzat Kur'ân, hadis ve sahâbe sözlerinde şatahât olduğunu ifade ederek ve bunları yorumlayarak Serrâc'ın şatahât hususundaki tutumunu daha ileri bir boyuta taşımıştır.

İslâm düşünce tarihinde yaşanan olaylara ve takınılan tavırlara bakıldığında her bir ferdin, grubun veya fikir siteminin şer'i ilimler nezdinde kendi konumunu belirleme, ortaya attıkları görüşlerine meşru bir zemin bulma ve

71 Bâyezîd-i Bistâmî'nin şatahât sözlerini açıklamak için kaleme alınan ilk şerh örneğinin Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî'ye ait *Şerh-i Şathiyyât-ı Ebî Yezîd-i Bistâmî* adlı eseri olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bilgi için bkz. Halil Baltacı, "Tasavvufî Tecrübenin Tezahürü: Tasavvuf Şathiye Meselesi", *Tasavvuf İlmî ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, 47 (2021): 219-243.

bunu karşı tarafa kabul ettirebilme açısından Kur'ân ve sünnetle olan bağlarını gösterme çabası içerisinde oldukları görülmektedir. Bu zümrelerden birisi olan sûfiler de görüşlerini doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak Kur'ân ve hadisle destekleyerek açıklamaya çalışmışlar, Kur'ân'ın hem zâhiri hem de bâtını olmak üzere iki yönünün bulunduğu vurgu yaparak onun bâtınının ancak mârifetullahı ulaşan ehl-i sûfiyyenin gönül âlemlerindeki zenginlikle elde edileceğini düşünmüşlerdir. Baklî de şathiyeleri şerh etmeden önce şatahâtın Kur'ân ve hadisle olan bağlantısına vurgu yaparak ve bunların ancak dinde derinleşenlerin anlayabileceği ifadeler olduğunu belirterek bu tür söylemleri meşru bir zemine oturtmaya çalışmış ve zâhir ulemâile halkın tepkisini azaltmayı amaçlamıştır.

İslâm tasavvuf tarihi bakımından önemli bilgiler içeren *Mantku'l-esrâr* ve *Şerh-i Şathiyat* isimli eserler, şatahât konusunun genişçe işlendiği kitaplardır. Baklî bu eserlerinde şatahâtın esasının, ilk bakışta anlaşılmayan Kur'ân, hadîs ve evlîyâ ilhâmları olduğunu belirtmektedir. Onun bu ifadeleri daha en başında sûfilerin söylemlerini ve onlar hakkında yapacağı yorumları meşrû bir zemine oturtmaya çalıştığına işâret etmektedir. Asıl olarak burada dikkatleri çeken husus, kendisinin *Keşfü'l-esrâr* adlı eserinde aktardığı şatahât sözlerine meşrû bir zemin hazırlamak için mi böyle bir tavır takındığıdır. Busoruya verilebilecek en güzel cevap, Baklî'nin üç eserinin yazılış tarihlerinin karşılaştırılmasıyla gerçekleştirilebilir. O, *Mantku'l-esrâr*'ı milâdî 1174, *Şerh-i Şathiyât*'ı 1175, *Keşfü'l-esrâr*'ı ise 1184 yılında kaleme almıştır. Görüldüğü üzere bu tarihler, kendisinin *Keşfü'l-esrâr* adlı eserinde aktardığı şatahât sözlerine meşrû bir zemin hazırlamak için de böyle bir çaba içerisine girişmiş olabileceğine işâret etmektedir.

Bu noktada, "Hz. Peygamber'in (s.a.s) şatahât türü ifadeler kullanması, ismet sıfatına ters

düşer mi?" gibi bir soru da sorulabilir. Aslında bunun cevabı metin içerisinde verilmektedir. Nitekim Baklî, hadisleri şeriate aykırı olarak görünen sözler değil de ilk bakışta anlaşılmayan muğlak ve müphem ifadeler olarak ele almıştır. Onun bu yaklaşımı, Hz. Peygamber'in (s.a.s) şatahât türü ifadeler kullanmasının ismet sıfatına ters düşmeyeceğini göstermekte ve aynı zamanda sûfilerin sözlerinin de müphemlik ve muğlaklık bakımından değerlendirilmesi gerektiğine işâret etmektedir.⁷²

Nihaî olarak metinde dikkatleri çeken ve cevaplandırılmasını gerekli gördüğümüz bir husus daha vardır ki o da, hurûf-ı mukattaa'nın şatahât olduğunu ifade eden Rûzbihân-ı Baklî'nin, hurûfilikle bir bağlantısının olup olmadığıdır.

İlm-i hurûf'un İslâm coğrafyasında büyük bir ilgiyle karşılanmasında Ma'rûf-i Kerhî (ö. 200/815-16 [?]), Zünnûn-ı Mısrî (ö. 245/859 [?]), Sehl et-Tüsterî (ö. 283/896), Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî (ö. 297/909), Ebû Bekir eş-Şiblî (ö. 334/946), Abdülkâdir-i Geylânî (ö. 561/1165-66), Şehâbeddin es-Sühreverdî el-Maktûl (ö. 587/1191), Ahmed b. Ali el-Bûnî (ö. 622/1225) ve Muhyiddin İbnü'l-Arabî (ö. 638/1240) gibi isimlerin etkisi olduğu görülmektedir. Bu sûfilerin Fazlullah-ı Hurûfî'nin (ö. 796/1394) önderliğinde Hurûfilik akımının da temelini teşkil ettiği ifade edilmektedir.

Sünnî İslâm düşüncesinde başlangıçta hurûfî bir eğilim yokken bâtını yorumlar yapmayı seven sûfilerin geniş halk kitleleri katında itibar görmesiyle hurûfî temayüller yayılmaya başlamıştır. Mutasavvıfların bu yöndeki kaynağının Şîî fikriyat olduğunda şüphe olmadığı, Ma'rûf-i Kerhî'nin bu yöntemi İmam Ali er-Rızâ'dan öğrendiğini söylediği rivâyet edilmektedir.⁷³

Sonuç itibariyle, Baklî'yi hurûfilik içinde

72 Baklî, *Mantku'l-Esrâr bi-Beyâni'l-Envâr*, 34-35.

73 Mehmet Emin Bozhüyük, "Hurûf", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 1998, XVIII: 397-401.

değerlendirmek mümkün değildir. Bu durumun sebeplerinden birisi müellifin yaşadığı zaman dilimi ile hurûfiliğin ortaya çıkıp yaygınlaştığı dönem⁷⁴ arasında zamansal açıdan fark olmasıdır. İkincisi ise Baklî, hurûfî mukattaanın müteşâbihâtta olduğunu söylerken hurûfîler “müteşâbih değil muhkem olduğunu savunurlar, sayısı on dördü bulan bu harfleri de insanın yüzündeki hatlarla ilişkilendirerek açıklarlar.”⁷⁵

Sonuç

Tasavvuf ilminin istilahlarına ve şathiye türü ifadelerin kompleks yapısına âşina olmayanlar, bu tür ifadelerin serdedilmesine karşı çıkmışlardır. Sûfîlerin de tarih boyunca şatahât konusunda ittifak ettikleri söylenemez. Sûfîlerin bir kısmı şathiyelerin anlatılmamasını, yaygınlaştırılmamasını tavsiye ederken diğer bir kısmı ise şeriatin zâhirî ahkâmına aykırıymış gibi görünen bu ifadelerin dinî hükümlere muhâlif olmadığını, Kur'ân-ı Kerîm ve hadis-i şerîflerde yansımaları bulunduğunu göstermek ve bu girift sözleri anlaşılır kılmak için sûfîle-

74 “Hurûfiliğin temeli, eski çağlardan gelen ve harflerle sayıların kutsallığını kabul edip bunlara çeşitli sembolik anlamlar yükleyen anlayışa dayanır. Çok eskiden beri tabiatla varlığı kabul edilen gizli güçler şekil ve harflerle ifade edilmeye çalışılmış, sonuçta tabiat bilimlerinden önce efsun, tılsım, sihir gibi tekniklerle “hurûf” ilmi adı altında sözde ilimler ortaya çıkmıştır. Hurûfiliğin ne zaman ve nasıl doğduğu kesin olarak bilinmemekle birlikte gerçek anlamıyla milâttan önce IV. ve III. yüzyıllardan itibaren Ortadoğu'daki Helenistik-gnostik karakterli dinlerde ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir.” (bkz., XVIII: 408-412. Rûzbihân-ı Baklî çok eskiden beri var olagelen ilm-i hurûf ile meşgul olmuş ve yukarıda isimleri zikredilen mutasavvıflardan bazılarının çizgisini bu yönde de takip etmiştir. Onu ortaya çıkış noktasında ‘hurûfîlik ile bağdaştıramayız’ derken; Baklî'nin yaşadığı dönem (1128/ 1209) ile şeriate aykırı olduğu yönünde ulemâ ve fukahânın görüş bildirdiği Fazlullah-ı Hurûfî'nin (ö. 796/1394) kurup yaygınlık kazandırdığı hurûfiliğin ortaya çıkışı arasında zamansal açıdan fark olduğunu kast etmekteyiz.

75 Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Hurûfîlik Metinleri Kataloğu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973), 19; Aksu, “Hurûfîlik”, XVIII: 408-412.

rin şatahâtını yorumladıkları eserler kaleme almışlardır. Bunlardan birisi de şatahât konusunda *Mantıkü'l-Esrâr* ile *Şerh-i Şathiyyât* adlı eserlerin müellifi Rûzbihân-ı Baklî'dir.

Baklî, mezkûr eserlerinde şatahâtın anlamından yola çıkarak âyet-i kerîme, hadis-i şerîf ve sahâbe sözlerini müteşâbihat yani ilk bakışta anlaşılması zor ifadeler olup olmama yönlerine bakarak bir tercihte bulunmuştur. O, hadis ve sahâbe sözlerini seçerken kendi içerisinde paradoksal ifadeleri barındıran ve hem sûfîler hem de zâhir ulema tarafından da tartışılacağı hususlara yer vererek şatahâta daha geniş ve farklı bir anlam boyutu kazandırmıştır.

Baklî'nin, böylesine girift ifadelerin anlaşılmasını sağlamak için *el-Lüma'* dan aktarımlar yaptığı görülmektedir. Onun mezkûr eserlerinde şatahât düşüncesini ve yaklaşımını Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî ve Serrâc gibi sûfîlere dayandırmaya çalışması sebebiyle böyle bir tavır benimsediği söylenebilir.

Nihâî olarak, onun yapmış olduğu bu şerhlerde eserlerine göre farklılık arz ettiği görülmüştür. Nitekim *Mantıkü'l-esrâr* adlı eserinde ehil olmayanların anlayacağı şekilde daha sâde cümleler kullanırken, *Şerh-i Şathiyyât* isimli eserinde ise önceki bilgileri aktarmanın yanı sıra sembolik ve metaforik ifadelerle yorumlarını genişletmiş, sadece ehil olan kimselerin anlayabileceği kelimeler ve kavramları seçmiştir.

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Vefatının 70. Yılında Remzi Oğuz Arık (1899-1954)

Remzi Oğuz Arık on the 70th Anniversary of His Passing

Mustafa KARA*

Öz

Adana'nın Kozan ilçesinde 15 Temmuz 1899 yılında doğan Remzi Oğuz Arık, 55 yıllık yaşamında arkeoloji ve sanat tarihinden kültür çalışmalarına, felsefeden siyasete uzanan geniş bir yelpazede çalışmalar yürütmüş, eserler vermiş bir Türk münevveridir. Kurucusu olduğu Türkiye Köylü Partisi'nin Genel Başkanlığı'nı yürüttüğü esnada Adana'dan Ankara'ya gelirken bindiği uçağın infilak etmesi sonucu 3 Nisan 1954 tarihinde yaşamını yitiren Arık, özellikle yaşamının son dönemlerinde toplumun kültürel anlamda kalkınması yönünde pek çok çalışma yürütmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Remzi Oğuz Arık, Nureddin Topçu, *Hareket*, *Gurbet*

Abstract


Born in Kozan, Adana on July 15, 1899, Remzi Oğuz Arık was a Turkish intellectual who worked in a wide range of fields from archaeology and art history to cultural studies, philosophy and politics in his 55 years of life. Arık, who died on April 3, 1954 as a result of the explosion of the plane in which he was traveling from Adana to Ankara while he was the chairman of the Peasants' Party of Turkey, which he founded, carried out many works for the cultural development of the society, especially in the last periods of his life.

Keywords: Remzi Oğuz Arık, Nureddin Topçu, *Hareket*, *Gurbet*.

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Onun ismiyle ilk defa ne zaman karşılaştım? Nureddin Topçu'nun rehberliğinde çıkan *Hareket* dergisinin Nisan 1969 tarihli 40. sayısında yer alan "Remzi Oğuz'u Anarken" başlıklı, dergi adına yayınlanan yazı vesilesi ile karşılaştım. 3 Nisan 1954 günü Adana'dan Ankara'ya gelirken uçağın infilak etmesiyle şehit olan Arık ile ilgili o yazıyı okuyalım. Yazıda Arık ile birlikte yakın ve uzak tarihte yaşayan bazı şahsiyetlerin isimleri de var:

Onbeş sene evvel aramızdan ayrılan Remzi Oğuz Arık, Erzurumlu Hüseyin Avni Ulaş'tan sonra, Anadolu dâvasının kahraman önderi olmuştu. Kendi hüviyetine bürünmüş yabancı çocuklarının kahrı ile ömrünü bir fedai hayatı yapan Adana'nın o muztarip dilber bakışlı arslan evlâdı büyük çilesi ile yükseldiği göklerden Anadolu'nun kara bahtına nazire olan süzülüşle sevdiği toprakların üstüne düşerken şüphe yok ki, gök mahlûkları mâtem tuttular. Ancak toprağın üstündekiler bu acıyı çabuk unuttu. Ruhunun yükseltildiği yerlerde onun, bizdeki vefasızlığı affedeceğini hiç ummuyorum. Vaktiyle Anadolu'nun haritasında milli birliği yapan ecdat gibi Osman ve Orhan Gaziler, Yıldırımlar ve Yavuzlar kadar onun bu vatanda ruh birliğini yapanlarla yaşatanların yanında büyük yeri vardır. Gaza meydanında ölen Murad'ın kanından "Kâbe-i millet"te öldürülen Ali Şükrü'nün kanına kadar onun kalbinde dâva kanını ateşleyen nice ecdat kanları yandı. Anadolu kelimesi onun ağzından her çıkışta bakışlarını mahzun bir haritanın ufuklarına çevrilmiş görüyorduk. Bu dâvanın diğer sahipleri gibi onu da kahreden düşmandan ziyade Anadolu çocuğunun şuursuzluğu ve iradesizliği oldu.

Kutsal dâvaya sonsuz ümitlerle başlamıştı. Otuz sekiz sene önce Paris'teki hazırlıklarında Anadolu'nun çocukları-

na uçsuz bucaksız ümitlerle uzanmıştı. Ancak geçen yıllar ona hayal kırıklığı getirdi. Yurdun içteki maskeli düşmanlarına karşı giriştiği çetin savaş onu derinden yaraladı ve yıprattı. Sonra bizzat bu memleket çocuklarından yediği darbeler hassas kalbini şiddetle sarsıyordu. Siyasete ümitlerle ve tazelenen gençlik heyecanlarıyla girdikten sonra, kütlelerin duygusuzluğu ve nankörlüğü de işe karışarak onu perişan etti. Bu halkın kendini kurtaracak elleri ne için kestiğini bir türlü anlamıyordu. O zaman ümitli bakışları gölgelendi ve çelikten iradesi, muztarip teslimiyete, vefakârlık tahassürlerine yerini terketti. Sonunda tarihe kazınan işte o gökyüzündeki muhteşem abide meydana geldi. "Anadolu'nun kutsal toprağına nereden gidilir?" diye soranlara o, "Gökten inilir!" diye cevap olan şehadetini bayraklaştırdı. Paris'te iken yazdığı bir mektubunda sanki kendi akıbetine ait büyük sırrı ifşa eden şu satırları acaba ona ilham eden ne idi? "Anadolu çocuğu! Başını Allah'a kaldır! Orada Anadolu'nun haritasını çizilmiş bulacaksın. Bu haritaya can vereceklerin içinde sen de bulunduğunu düşünerek sevinmelisin."

Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın açtığı kurtuluş savaşı sona ermedi. Onun omuzlarında taşıdığı bayrak şimdi çorak bir vadide dinlenmektedir. Yeni yürüyüşlere geçecek kahraman, belki henüz hareket anını bekliyor. Bugünkü düşman, Kılıç Aslan'ı karşılayan haçlılardan daha çok hoyrat, Hüdavendigâr'ı hançerleyen ellerden daha kahpedir. Yeryüzü, biri hakkın öbürü zayıfların ve mazlumların düşmanı olan iki gaddar kuvvetin pençesinde sıklıkça Anadolu'ya, kendine yeterli bir hayat yolu aramaktan başka kurtuluş yolu yoktur. Ruhçu ve sosyalist Anadolu milliyetçiliğinin müjdecilerinden Remzi Oğuz'un ruhunu selâmlarken Akdeniz

kıyılarından Erzurum yaylasına kadar buram buram onun ruhu kokan bir havayı tenefüs ediyoruz.”¹

Topçu'nun üslubunu tanıyanlar bu metnin ona ait olduğunu hemen farkedebilirler. Ama benim o gün itibarıyla bunu farketmediğimi hatırlamıyorum.

İlim, fikir, sanat ve siyaset dünyamızın önemli şahsiyetlerinden biri olan Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın, H. Emin Sezer'in satırlarıyla 1899'da başlayan hayatının bazı safhalarını takip edelim:

Adana'nın Kozan ilçesine bağlı Kabaktepe köyünde doğdu. Babası, Feka Sandık emini Mehmed Ferid Bey'dir. İlk öğrenimine Kozan'da mahalle mektebinde başladı. On yaşında iken Selânik'e ablasının yanına gitti ve eğitimini orada Yâdigâr-ı Terakkî Mektebi'nde sürdürdü; bir süre de İškodra'da bulunan ağabeyinin yanında kaldı. Balkan Savaşı'ndan sonra 1913'te İstanbul'a gelerek Mercan İddâisi'ne kaydoldu ve bu arada ailesini geçindirebilmek için bakkallık yaptı. Daha sonra parasız yatılı olarak İzmir Sultânisi'nde tahsilini sürdüren R. Oğuz, tekrar İstanbul'a dönerek İstanbul Mualim Mektebi'nden mezun oldu.

I. Dünya Savaşı'na gönüllü ihtiyat zâbiti olarak katıldı ve yaralandı. Savaştan sonra İstanbul'da Dârüleytam'da öğretmenlik, Adana'da Zafer-i Millî Numûne Mektebi'nde müdürlük, Galatasaray Lisesi'nde de Türkçe öğretmenliği yaptı. İstanbul'da bulunduğu sırada Edebiyat Fakültesi Felsefe Bölümü'nü bitirdi. 1926'da arkeoloji ve sanat tarihi konularında ihtisas yapmak üzere Fransa'ya gönderildi. 1931'de Türkiye'ye döndüğünde İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri'nde arkeoloji uzman yardımcılığı görevine getirildi ve aynı

yıl Yalova'da ilk arkeoloji kazısını yaptı. 1932'de Alişar kazısında devlet komiseri olarak bulundu. 1933'te Maarif Vekâleti arkeologu sıfatıyla Ankara'da görevlendirildi. Karalar kazısı ile Galatlar'ın antik bir şehrini ortaya çıkardı ve II. Diototuros'un kitâbesini dünyaya tanıttı. İlk yazılarını da yayımlamaya başladığı bu dönemde Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsü tarih öğretmenliğine tayin edildi. 1933 yılında Karalar ile sistemli kazı yöneticiliğine başladı. 1941 yılına kadar, Anadolu arkeolojisi ve sanat tarihinde önemli yerleri olan Göllüdağ, Alacahöyük, Çankırıkapı, Karaoğlan, Hacılar, Alâeddin tepesi ve Bitik kazılarını yaptı ve bu arada bir süre, Troia'da yürütülmekte olan Amerikan kazılarına devlet komiseri olarak katıldı. 1941'de Amik ovasında bazı kazı çalışmalarında bulundu.

Manisa Müzesi'nin de kurucusu olan Remzi Oğuz, 1939'da Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi arkeoloji profesörlüğüne, 1945'te de Ankara Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Müzesi müdürlüğüne tayin edildi. Bu arada hızlı bir yayın faaliyetine girerek *Çığır* ve *Millet* dergilerinde kültüre dayalı milliyetçilik konularında yazılar yazdı. 1949'da Ankara İlahiyat Fakültesi İslâm sanatları tarihi profesörlüğüne getirildi ise de 1950'de bu görevden ayrılarak politikaya atıldı ve Demokrat Parti'den Seyhan milletvekili seçildi. 1952'de partisinden istifa ederek Türkiye Köylü Partisi'ni kurdu. Bu partinin genel başkanlığını yaptığı sırada, Adana'dan Ankara'ya gelirken bindiği uçağın havada infilâkı sonucu vefat etti (3 Nisan 1954). Kabri Ankara'da Asrî Mezarlık'taki şehitliktedir.”²

1 Yıllar sonra öğrendim ki bu metni kaleme alan da Nureddin Topçu idi.

2 H. Emin Sezer, “Remzi Oğuz Arık”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 1976, III: 357-358.

Fakülte Hocası

Yetmiş beş yıl önce 1949 yılında açılan Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi'nin birinci sınıfında okutulan dersler arasında, İslâm Sanatı Tarihi isimli ders, Remzi Oğuz Arık tarafından yürütülüyordu. Aynı dönemde *Arapça* ve *Farsça* Necati Lugal, *Sosyoloji* Mehmet Karasan, *Mantık ve İlimler Felsefesi* Hamdi Ragıp Atademir, İslâm Dini ve Mezhepleri Yusuf Ziya Yörükân ve *Mukayeseli Dinler Tarihi* Hilmi Ömer Budda tarafından veriliyordu.

Bununla birlikte Arık'ın 1950 seçimlerinde Demokrat Parti'den Seyhan milletvekili seçilmesi, bu eğitim hizmetinden ayrılmasını gerekli kılmıştır.³

Yayınlar

1931 yılında Fransa'dan yurda dönmesiyle başlayan yazı hayatı son nefesine kadar devam etmiştir. Bazı dergilerin ilk sayılarında yer alan yazıları, o dergi ile daha yakın bir ilişkisinin olduğunu göstermektedir. İşte onlardan birkaç tanesi:

1. *Millet*⁴
2. İleri Yurt
3. *Hareket*
4. *Bizim Türkiye*
5. *Gurbet*

Bu dergilerden en hazin hatırayı saklayan ise *Gurbet*'dir. Çünkü bu derginin birinci sayısı matbaa safhasında iken o acı haber gelmişti. Derginin ilk sayısında yer alan "Gurbet" başlıklı yazı için şöyle bir not düşülmüştü:

3 Değişik vesilelerle TBMM'de yaptığı konuşmalar için bkz. Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Siyasi Yazılar Konuşmalar ve Türkiye Köylü Partisi*, haz. E. Erverdi-İhsan Kara, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2017).

4 Derginin sahibi Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Avni Göktürk, Umumi Neşriyat Müdürü Remzi Oğuz Arık, (Ankara, 1942).

Rahmetli, bu yazıyı Gurbet'in ilk sayısı için sabah ezanı vakti yazmıştı. Sevinç içinde Nisan sayımızı hazırlayıp matbaaya vermiştik. Kaderin bize onu bir kenara bıraktı ve onulmaz bir acı ile böyle bir ilk sayı hazırlatacağı aklımıza gelir miydi? Evet, onu yine ilk sayımızın başına koyuyoruz. Ama artık başmakale olarak değil, daima sadık kalacağımız bir vasiyetname olarak...

İşte o yazı:

GURBET

Gurbet, galiba bizim Orta Asya'dan gelirken edindiğimiz, henüz dindiremediğimiz bir sızıdır. Anadolu'ya gelirken arkada ne kadar çok medeniyet, devlet, yurt, hâtıra, sevinç ve eziyet bıraktık! Kâh tabiat âfetlerinin, kâh aç gözlü komşuların, kâh her ikisinin silip süpürdüğü yurtlarımızın hayali gözlerimizde asılı kaldı. "Gözü açık gitti" sözü, Anadolu'da galiba bunun için gurbet kadar acı ve yerlidir. Göçebelikten, yerleşmiş milletler haline geçtiğimiz; çadırlarımızdan saraylara; tabiatın her yerde hâzır, her yerde görünen kuvvetlerine tapmaktan büyük mabedlere geçerken de hep gurbetteydik.

Fakat şu altı yüz yıldır yerleşmiş İmparatorluğumuzu yedi iklim dört bucağa tanıttığımız son ve ebedî yurdumuzda olsun, gurbetimiz bitmeliydi. Halife Kaaim-bi-Emrillâh'ı hapisten çıkarıp din büyüğü yerine geçiren Tuğrul Bey, artık Yakındoğu'da gurbeti unutmalıydı. Malazgirt'in kıyamet gününü yaratan mübarek Alpaslan için gurbet kalmamalıydı. Nizamiye kolejini kuran Melikşah artık gurbette sayılmamalıydı. Anadolu'yu sanatın, bilginin, emniyetin bir bahçesi seviyesine yükselten geniş görüşlü Selçuk beyleriyle bir gurbet faslı kapanmalıydı.

Hele dünya nizamını altı yüz yıl tesirleri altında bırakan, her bakımdan medenî ve büyük İmparatorluğumuz için, hanları, sarayları, çeşmeleri, köprüleri ve Süleymaniyeleriyle bu topraklara Tanrı'nın sapladığı bir anıt olan yeni milletimiz için gurbet, folklorumuzda bile kalmalıydı.

Ne gezer! Hükümdarlarımız, beylerimiz, hanedanlarımız, yurtlarımızda daha derin, daha köklü yerleştikçe, bizim gurbetimiz artmışa benziyor. Neyi arıyor ve özlüyoruz böyle Yarabbi?

Dostlarım! Ne yollar, ne kervansaraylar, ne Alanya limanı ve tersânesi, ne ticaret ve refahın kesilmez dizisi gibi dört bucağa uzanan hanlar, ne saraylar, ne de kaynaşan iktisat dünyasını bir yana bırakalım, unutulmuş Türk benliğinin yerini tutamaz. Bütün bu saydıklarım, insan içindir, bizim insanımız için! Halbuki yitirdiğimiz işte o idi. Türk halkı, kendisini o eski kozmopolitlikler içinde kaybetmiştir.

Ne Bizans'a karşı kendini savunmaya çalışan geniş görüşlü Selçuklular; ne bütün bir cihana tesiri unutulamayan Osmanlılar zamanında bu Türk halkı hatırlanmıştı. Halk şairinin, saz şairinin, sipahinin, bazen Celâlî'nin, bazen Simavnalı Bedreddin'in, bazen Bektâşî babasının, bazen Mevlevî dervişinin, bazen bilinmeyen sanatkarların, bazen esnafların feryadında, isyanında, sezişinde, nefesinde, neyinde, işinde belirmeye çabalayan bizim halkımız, boğulmuş kalmıştı. Hele son üç yüz yıldır ters dönen bahıtımız, sürülüp çıkarıldığımız diyarlar, yurtlar... Oralara gömülen şehitlerde açık giden gözler, bizlerde ise sürekli gurbet acısı bıraktı.

Bu cemiyet depremlerinden, bu iç yıkılış-

larından yeni bir Türk dünyası doğmak, "yiğit, düştüğü yerden kalkmak" üzere-dir. En az dokuz yüz yıldır süren gurbet, umalım ki, bu yeni doğumla artık bitsin. Kendini bulan Türk nesilleri gurbetin acısını bir yana atsın ve şu yeni dünyanın kendisine, kendisinin karakterine, yiğitliğine, efendiliğine açılan kollarına atılsın. Artık özlemler, ahlar, vahlar, duraklamalar bir yana gitsin. Yeni nesillerimiz, denemelerin kazandırdığı güvenle, kendisi olmadan eksik kalan medeniyet cihazının içinde yerini alsın.

Ne kin, ne kıskanma, ne boş özlemler istemiyoruz, dostlarım. Büyük serbest ufuklarda inan(c)ım, güvenin, sevginin ışığı parlıyor. Bu sizin içindir. Hep birlikte oraya! Haydi!

Bu hüznü dolu "mersiye sayısı"nda kendisiyle ilgili duygu ve düşüncelerini ifade edenler arasında farklı mesleklerden otuz kadar dost isim bulunmaktadır. Bu isimlerden bazıları: Tahsin Tekeli, Cezmi Türk, Ethem Menemencioğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Hıfzı Oğuz Bekata, Atsız, Lutfullah Erdem, İsmail Hakkı Yılanlıoğlu, Şemseddin Günaltay, Hikmet Bayur, Necati Akder, Şahap Nazmi Coşkunlar, Hamdi Ragıp Atademir, Fikret Arık, Bedii Ziya Egemen, Ali Çankaya Mücellitoğlu, Abdülhadi Toplu, Naşit Kızılay, M. Zeki Sofuoğlu, Oğuz Bülent Nayman, Behçet Kemal Çağlar, Osman Attila, Ali Uygur, Sadık Çavuş, Erhan Löker, Mahmut Aydın Elbeyioğlu, Haluk Karamağralı, Necmeddin Sefercioğlu.⁵

Dergi Yazıları

Arık'ın *Türk Yurdu* dergisinin Temmuz 1929

5 Sefercioğlu, 1969 yılında *Remzi Oğuz Arık Bibliyografyası* isimli eserini 1989 yılında yayınlamıştır. bkz. Necmettin Sefercioğlu, *Remzi Oğuz Arık Bibliyografyası: Yayınları ve Hakkında Yazılanlar*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1969).

tarihli nüshasında yayınlanan ilk yazısı De Tizac'dan bir tercüme olup "Bir Turan Sanatı Var Mıdır? Medeniyetler Üzerinde Arkeoloji Tetkikleri" başlığını taşımaktadır. Arık aynı zamanda şu dergilerde de zaman içinde yazıları yayınlanmıştır: *Zafer, Toprak, Türk Sözü, Köylü Sesi, Çığır, Dönüm, Kalem, Özleyiş, Hisar, Şafak, Mefkûre, Türk Dili, Komünizmle Mücadele, Türk Tarih Arkeologya ve Etnoğrafya, Ülkü, Ar, DTCF Yıllık Çalışmalar, Türkeli, Şadırvan.*

Hareket'te yayınlanan yazıları ise şu başlıkları taşımaktadır: "Çağımız", "Tarih Görüşü", "İstanbul'un Fethinin 500. Yıldönümünde Yeni Çağlardaki Rolümüzü Belirtmeliyiz", "Bahtiyar İdealist", "Mü'min Akif", "Türk Medeniyeti ve Sanat Tarihi".

Daha sonraki yıllarda *Hareket* dergisinde onunla ilgili olarak yayınlanacak yazılar ve yazarları şöyledir: Nuri Karahöyükü, "Remzi Oğuz Arık'tan Hatıralar"; Mehmet Sılay, "Köy ve Remzi Oğuz Arık"; Tamer Şuer, "Remzi Oğuz Arık".

Söz konusu yazılar ve TBMM konuşmalarının hepsi, Ezel Erverdi ve M. İhsan Kara tarafından bir araya getirilerek üç cilt halinde yeniden basılmıştır:

1. *Coğrafyadan Vatana Fikrî Yazılar*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2017.
2. *Türk Sanatı ve Arkeolojisi Yazıları*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2017.
3. *Siyasî Yazılar Konuşmalar ve Türkiye Köylü Partisi*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2017.⁶

Vefatından sonra Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın Eserlerini Yayma ve Anıtını Yaptırma Derneği kurulmuş ve başkanlığına Şevket Raşit Hatiboğlu seçilmiştir. Dernek, Arık'ın

6 N. Ziya Bakırcıoğlu'nun *Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın Fikir Dünyası* isimli eseri de Dergâh Yayınları arasında çıkmıştır. bkz. N. Ziya Bakırcıoğlu, *Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın Fikir Dünyası*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2000).

şu iki eserini, Hatipoğlu'nun takdim yazılarıyla yayınlamıştır:

1. *Coğrafyadan Vatana*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1956.
2. *İdeal ve İdeoloji*, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1958.

Topçu ve Arık

Nureddin Topçu, yakın dostunun vefatından on gün sonra tertiplenen toplantıda uzun bir konuşma yapmıştır. "Millet Mistiği" başlığını taşıyan o konuşma dünümüzü bugünümüzü, yaşlımızı gencimizi, yakın uzak kültür tarihimizi ilgilendiren çok farklı mesajları ihtiva eden adeta bir feryattır. Şimdi birlikte bu yazının bazı bölümlerini okuyalım:

Millet Mistiği

Remzi Oğuz, bir uçak belâsında öldü.

Bu muazzam ezânı dinleyin: Remzi Oğuz öldü!

Onun vücudu gökten yere düşerken ruhu göklere yükseldi. Bunu, gören gözler gördü, mesafe kaydına esir olmayan gözler...

Ve onun ölümüyle aramızda bir büyük varlık, büyük bir kudret eksildi. Dünyamızdan bir büyük parça koptu.

Kimdi bu adam?

Remzi Oğuz büyük adamdı. "Büyük adam" denince tarih kitaplarına doldurulan veya vitrinlerle duvarlara asılan resimlerin sahiplerini ve büyük maceraperestleri, beşeriyeti ismiyle korkutmuş saldıran otoriteri düşünenler, bu sözümü kabul etmiyecekler. İçinizde, "biz onu tanımıyoruz" diyecekler belki de çoktur. Ve bu realite onu iki defa şehid yapan bir hâdisedir.

Remzi, ruh dünyamızın büyüklerinden di. Kurtaracağı zümre ile mücadelesini bitirmeden, henüz hakkiyle anlaşılama- dan öldü.

(..)

Remzi'yi en yakından tanıyanlardan biri sıfatıyla onun mürşid, veli şahsiyetini size tanıtmayı borç bildim. Onun, ruhunu kurtarmak istediği gençlik huzurunda kendimi mes'ul sayıyorum. Eğer ben ve benim gibiler bunu yapmazsa, bizi itham ediniz! Sizin de vazifeniz, ruhlarımızın selâmet yollarını, uyanış ufuklarımızı, ölümü bahane ederek tıkayanlara, ihmalin ihanet olduğu bu noktada isyan etmektir. Evet ben vazife yapacağım: Şu bedbaht şehir halkı, altı yaşında okula başlayan sabisinden tutun da, fabrikalarda çalışan bütün amelesine kadar, kafiye kafiye, hakikat temaşasına gider gibi, buz revüsüne sevk edilirken Remzi Oğuz'un gökyüzünde sessizce kurban olduğu bu meşum devirde size bir dünya risaleti anlatacağım. Maddeye ve zevke çevrilmiş tecessüsünüzü bir kahramanın, bir mukaddes şehidin ruhuna çekmeğe çalışacağım. Sen Pol, bir olan Allah'ı tanıtmak vazifesiyle görevlenip Atina'ya giderek şehrin etrafını dolaştıktan sonra, Areopaj meydanında topladığı halka şöyle demişti: "Atinalılar, mabutlarımızı gördüm. Hiçbiri gerçek değil. Yalnız şehrin dışında meçhûl ilâhın barındığı bir karanlık kuyunuz var. İşte gerçek ilâhınız yalnız odur: Ben o meçhûl ilâhı size malûm kılmaya geldim!"

Her büyük adamın ölümüyle arz üzerinde gerçek hayatı başlar, sanki beden toprağa girince, ruhlara akacak feyiz arza fişkırır. Şimdi Remzi'nin hayatı başlıyor. Ona hep birlikte uzanacağız. O muazzam hayatın, ruhlarımıza hayat getirecek olan cihâdını şimdi size anlatacağım.

O kimdi? Neyi kurtarmak istiyordu ve ne yaptı?

Remzi Oğuz'u tam otuz yedi sene evvel

Paris'te tanıdım. Bir asırdan beri Garbın medeniyetini benimsemek ihtirasıyla evvelleri çoğu Fransa'ya olmak üzere Avrupa'nın medeniyet ve aydınlık merkezlerine tahsil için gönderilen gençlerimiz, gittikleri yerlerde önce gerilik ve şaşkınlıkla bunalıyorlar, buralara alıştıktan sonra ise, sanki bu hayatın mükâfatı imiş gibi eğlence ve sefahat âlemlerinde karar kılıyorlardı. Her nesil böyle oldu. Namık Kemal ve arkadaşlarından maada bütün nesiller, bir şaşkınlıkla başlayıp sefahatin, lüksün ve zevkin benimsenmesiyle tahsil plânlarını tamamladılar ve ellerindeki pekçoğu yarım ve derecesi bakımından değersiz diplomalarını kalkan gibi kullanarak memleket sınırlarından içeri girdiler. Onunla büyük mevkiler, mansıplar, maaşlar satın aldılar. Diyebilirim ki Remzi Oğuz'a kadar Avrupa'ya pek çok Türk gençleri gönderildi, lâkin bir Türk gençliği gönderilememişti. Bölük bölük Avrupa'dan vatana dönenler azar azar burada Paris'i ve onun sefahatini tesis ettiler.

Tanzimatçılarla Meşrutiyetçiler ise Garbın değerlerini bize getirdiler, Paris'in irfanından bir parça getirdiler. Lâkin bu irfanın da bizim varlığımıza maya olmayışı, işleyen zekâları mütemadiyen düşündürüyordu: "Garbdan makine, manikür, kıyafet ne varsa getirdik; hattâ ilmî eserleri de naklettik. Yine de kurtuluş alâmetleri yok! Neydi bunun sebebi?" Otuz yedi sene evvel, Remzi Oğuz denen hârikulâde erkân-ı harbi Paris'te tanışışımı bu muamma bende çözüldü: Biz o zamana kadar Paris'i Anadolu'ya getirmişiz. İstilâ bizi sakatlamış. Remzi Oğuz Anadolu'yu Paris'e götürmüştü. Tıpkı Kudüs'ten çıkan Sen Pol'le Sen Piyer, biri ruh-u İsa'yı Atina'ya, öbürü Roma'ya nasıl götürdüyse, Remzi Oğuz da Anadolu'yu Paris'e öyle götürmüştü.

O bir havarî idi.

Remzi Oğuz'u ilk tanıştımda, onu bir havari olarak gördüm. Şarktaki facianın aşkını Garbın varoşlarına ulaştıran ilk Hıristiyan doktorları gibi, Anadolu'nun güneşi olan bu muazzam insan da Paris'te Anadolu'nun bir remzi, sembolü olmuştu. Evvelâ Garba gidişin şaşkınlığıyla yüklü olan ve Paris'in şiddetle sarsıcı hayat dalgası altında nefesi kesilen Türk gençlerinin yanına koşuyor, hepsine yardım elini uzatıyor, sevgi dolu kalbini açıyor ve daha ilk anda ona bir mücahit olacağını müjdeliyordu. Onu anlamıyanlar, kendi insanlıklarını küçük görenler ona bir hulyaperest gözüyle bakıyorlardı.

İnsan, yâni Allah'a en yakın varlık olduğumuzu, eşref-i mahlûkat olduğumuzu, ilk mürebbi ve ilk mürşit gibi hepimize müjdeleyen odur. Burada hatalı yetişmenin neticesi olarak, sadece kendimize düşen küçük vazifemizi yapabileceğimize aklımız eriyordu. Her birimiz bir cihad ordusunun fedâileri olacağımızı kabul edemiyorduk. O, hepimizi, hepimizin kalbini şiddetle sarstı. "Uyan be Anadolu çocuğu!" diyordu. "Sen kendini kurtarmazsan seni kim kurtarabilir?.."

Avrupa'nın hayatî merkezlerine kalbinde nefsine güvensizlik, ciğerlerinde yorgunluk, benzinde uçuklukla giden, zorbalıklara tahammül etmeye, kuvvetliden korkmaya alıştırmış, sinmiş ve bu yüzden kurnazlığı ideal sanmış Anadolu çocukları Remzi'ye dönüp "Biz mi memleket ve medeniyet kurtaracağız? Biz mi tarih kurtaracağız?" diyerek küçüle küçüle sordukları zaman o iman âbidesi şahlanıyordu: "Elbette sen kurtaracaksın!.. Değilse niye geldin? Avrupa'da ne arıyorsun? Diploma mı götüreceksin? Seni gönderen Anadolu'ya karşı bezirgânlık mı yapacaksın?.."

Anadolu çocuğunun tarihin acı darbeleleriyle bodurlaşmış, kanburlaşmış ızanına uyandırıcı bir şamar gibi inen ihtarları hepimizi kendimize getirdi. Hepimizin kalbinde onun vicdanından serpilmiş kıvılcımlar vardır. Eğer bu kıvılcımlar bir kısmının kalbinde körleşmiş bulunuyorsa o kabahat Remzi'nin değil, kalbinde Remzi'yi kaybeden küçüklerindir.

Onu tanıyanlar, onun temasına kavuşmuş olanlar, kimler olursa olsun, dikkat ve insaf ile kendilerine dönünce mutlaka orada Remzi'den bir cevher bulacaklardır. Vicdanımızda barınıp onu bizden gizleyen düşmanlarla pervasızca savaştığı anlarda bu ızdıraplı ameliyata dayanamıyanların bazen ona karşı, diklenip: "Yahu sen bizim çalışmamıza, disiplinimize, fikirlerimize ne karışıyorsun? Bu salahiyeti kimden aldın? Bizim burada talebe müfettişimiz var!" meâlinde çık[ış]tığı olurdu. Bu tarzda mukabeleyi, Remzi'nin tereddütleri, hayretleri gideren ve sanki her şüpheyi çözmeğe hazır duran bütün akıl cihazı bir hüviyet, bir bayrak gibi karşılıyordu: "Ne söylüyorsunuz?" derdi. "Ben bu vazifemi vicdanımdan ve onun sahibi olan Anadolu'dan aldım. Bundan büyük salâhiyet menbaı olur mu?"

Sonra gözleri sanki altı yüz yıllık acı ile gülümser, mahzun bir tatlılıkla, onun köylü tarafını ifşa eden iç çekmenin hemen takip ettiği dertli bir tebessümle muhatabına doğrulur, "Bana bak", derdi, "vazifenin kaynağı vicdandır. Sen müfettişine hesap verirsin. O başka mesele. Senin o vereceğin hesap kazma kürek işlerine ait olacaktır. (Diploma alma hususundaki gayretlere kazma kürek işi derdi.) Ben senin vicdanını ve onun iskeletini kuran hareketlerini hattâ hislerini kontrol etmeğe mecburum... Kendimize

dikkat etmezsek çökeriz. Elimizde kalan pek az şey. İçerisine düştüğün bu dünya ile kendimizi karşılaştıralım. Senin henüz nefsinde güvenin yok.. Halbuki dünya ile boy ölçüşmeye mecburuz. Anlıyor musun alâkamin sırrını? Dünya ile boy ölçüşmeye mecburuz. İster istemez bu medeniyete karışacağız. Hem de kendimizin kalarak. Kendimizi kaybettik mi müstemleke oluruz.”

Remzi Paris’te bulunduğu müddetçe, oraya giden Türk çocukları, orada şaşkınlık ve garip değıldiler, sahipsiz değıldiler. Orada Anadolu’nun dâvasını, aşkını buluyorlar ve belki gençlik demlerinin memleket toprağına gömdüğü katı aşklarını bu sayede unutuyorlardı.

Remzi onlara gerçekten müfettiş, mürşit, veli idi..

Meşrutiyetçilerin önce makarrı olan Paris, sonra onlara Selânik’ten kalkıp İstanbul’a giren bir hareket ordusu hazırlatmıştı. Remzi’nin çalışması böyle bir ordunun barutunu kazandıracak küçüklükte değıldi. O, ruhları harekete geçiriyordu. Dâvasından bahsederken sık sık kullandığı “seferberlik” tabiri, ruhlar âleminin, ilim ve hakikat dünyasının zaferi için hazırlıktı.

Garbın taklidi ile Avrupalılaşıma tezini nefret ve istikrahla reddeden, yine anavatan dışında Turan’da maceralar arama gafletinden, böyle bir uykudan ancak kabiliyetli iz’anları uyandıran bu adamın bir din gibi bağlandığı ideal, mistik bir cezbe içinde kendini teslim ettiği büyük aşk ne idi?

Onu teker teker herbirine telkin ettiği Avrupa’daki tahsil gençliğimizi, Almanya’ya ve İtalya’ya kadar uzatmak şartıyla, 1930 yılında Paris’e davet etti. Paris’te Türk talebe cemiyetini kurdu. Yorulmak,

dinlenmek bilmeyen gayretlerinin eseri olan bu cemiyetin ilk açılış toplantısına her taraftan iki yüz kadar Türk genci gelmişti.

O gün, hem de vücudu ateşler içinde olduğu halde, dâvayı izah için tam iki saat konuştu. Vücudu ve ruhu birlikte yanıyordu.

“Şimdi kurduğumuz cemiyetin gayesine geliyorum. Burada frenlerimizi elde tutarak ve Anadolu’dan bir cephe hâlinde durarak, her an birbirimize hesap veren adımlarla davâyâ doğru gitmeliyiz. Ne aldık? Ne götüreceğiz? Bilelim, başbaşa düşünelim. Kader her şeyden önce bir muayyeniyettir; onun tesadüfle pazarlığı olamaz. Bugünden itibaren, Anadolu’ya olduğu gibi, topluluğunuz, hep birbirinize söz vermiş durumdasınız. Hürriyetin kayıtsızlıkla, avarelikle alâkası yoktur. Her şeyden önce o, mes’ul olmasını bilmektir. Vatandan uzak ufuklarda mesuliyetimiz pek ağır, çok yüklüdür. Burada teker teker ismiyle anılan Türk genci yok, Anadolu’nun ismiyle anılan Türk gençliği vardır.”

Bu nutuk uzun ve ateşli idi. O gün anladık ki Garp şehirlerinde bir asırdan beri tahsil avcılığına gönderilip oralarda yapayalnız talihine terkedilen Türk gençliğinin ilk defa sahibi vardır, mürşidi vardır. Bu başsız ordunun da bir başı vardır.

Paris’in sis, ışık ve toz hâlinde çiseleyen yağmurlar yüklü hulya geceleri, hayat geceleri... Kütüphanelerden veya barlardan çıkarak şehrin kenarlarındaki evlerine dönen ve istirahatate koşan Türk çocukları, Lüksemburg Bahçesi’nin yukarısındaki sanat enstitüsünün etrafına saçtığı aydınlıkların çevresinden geçerken birisi, gözleri ateş ve asabiyet, teneffüsü şiddet ve mücadele, adımları irade

ve karar yüklü birisi yakalarından tutar, sarsar, onların uyku ile mahmurlaşmış gözlerini açar:

“Söyle”, der, “söyle!” “Bugün Anadolu için ne düşündün?” Sanki hasta, ilaç istiyor; sanki aç, yiyecek dileniyor; sanki mahkum yalvarıyor: “Anadolu için bugün ne düşündün, Türk çocuğu?”

Bu adamdan kurtulmak kabil mi? Kurtulmadık! Ona teslim olduk. Neslimin bedbaht çocukları! Siz onu yakından tanımadınız. İtiraf ediyorum: Bu adam uykularımıza nüfuz etti. Şuurumuzun altındaki mahrem mıntikalara girdi; bu adam şahsiyetlerimizi yoğurdu.

Eski imparatorluk bakiyesinin kaderine razı, rahatına minnettar, nefesine itimat-sız ve korkak çocukları, Remzi'nin nebi şahsiyetinde Alp Arslanları, Fatihleri buldular. Kim derdi ki onun alnında Yıldırımların, Ali Şükrülerin kementle takip edilen talihi yazılıdır? Yıldırım Hanın mertliği, Anadolu ovasında kementle yenilmişti. Büyük davâ şehidi Ali Şükrü de kahpe bir iradenin kemendine teslim edildi. Elbette Remzi'yi de yeryüzünde yenmek imkânsızdı.

Hiç kimse bu kadar geniş mücadelenin sahibi olmamıştır. Türk gencinin yaşayışından, tahsil projelerinden, inancından ve ahlâkından tutun da insanlığın Anadolu'ya karşı alabileceği cephenin tasarrufuna ve Anadolu'nun insanlık huzurunda açık bir insanlık cephesi hâlinde cihana hesap vereceği düşüncesine kadar bütün meseleleri onun kafası içinde yaşıyordu. Ve bütün bu davâların sahibi o, mesulü o, müdafii o, şehidi de o olacaktı. Her zaman “Çocuklar, biz yatakta değil, darağacında ölmesini bileceğiz.” derdi. Huzuru bu sahada bir sevgiye ulaşmaktı; saadeti yine bu davâda bir ümidi av-

lamaktı. Hassas zekâsının kıvılcımlarıyla bilenmiş mizacı nüktelerle yüklü idi. Alayla eğlenir gibi şakalaşır, gülüşle eğlenir gibi gülerdi. Disiplinsizlikten, kadercilikten müteneffir, laubaliliğe, kalendarliğe düşmandı. Asla anlayamadığı iki şey vardı: Küçüklük ve kibir. Küçüklük zillet demektir. Millet olduğunu bilen bir neslin insanı küçük olamaz. Bunca ızdıraptan, bunca mesuliyetlerden nasıl sıyrılabilirsiniz? Bizde onlar büyüktür, sevgi büyüktür. Aşkın küçüklüğünü söyleyen varsa ancak o varlık büyüklüğünü bilmiyor, demektir. İnsan mahlûkatın ulusudur. Sonra melekler gibi masumlaşan bakışını üzerimizden sıyrarak daha yükseklerde dolaştırır: “Ah Muhammed, ah Muhammed, neler getirmiş!” diye içinin İslâm'a hayranlık mıntikalarına daldı.

Onun bütün ömrünce nefesine ait bir meta olarak asla benimseyemediği ikinci nesne ise kibirdi. Esasen onu yıkan bazı dostlarının kibri oldu diyebilirim. O her hâlinde, her hücumunda, hattâ her haksız asabiyetinde bile sadece dosttu, sadece insandı. Allah onu insanlık kalıbından çıkarmamak üzere yaratmış. Onda meleklikle romantizm, hulya ile şiddet sınıksız birleşmişti. Ve bu müstesna terkip, Niçe'nin Apolon'la Baküs'ü birleştiren dehasının ortaya koyduğu Şarklı bir örnekti. Onun ruh yapısında medeniyet ve rönesans âşıkı bir Fatih'in kuvvet ve iradenin aşkıyla birleştiğini görüyorduk.

Zıt kutupların tezat teşkil eden tehlikelerinden kurtarıcı zekâsı, neslinde şu iki uçurumu fark ediyordu: Ya kendimizin olmayan sahte idealler neslin taşkın ruhlarını hoyratlaştırıyor, kâinat karşısında izansız, kör ve iddiacı bir hale koyuyor; veya hiçliğimize inanmış ise bazılarında aşâğılık duygusu doğuruyor, uşak ruhu-

nu benimsetiyor, müstemleke çocuğu hâline getiriyor.

Önce Remzi ruhu yiyip bitirecek olan bu aşağılık duygusundan ürküyordu. Anadolu'nun boynu bükük çocuklarına cesaret, irade vermek, en az bir Garplı kadar kendilerine güvenebileceklerini onlara anlatmak için, bu üstün hikmetin telkini uğrunda Paris'te çok çalıştı. 1931'de vatana dönerken Garpta, memleketin yakın inkılâbını hazırlamak üzere tahsile bıraktığı gençliğe şöyle diyordu: "Anadolu çocuğu, başını Allah'a kaldır! Orada Anadolu'nun haritasını çizilmiş bulacaksın. Kendini o haritaya can vereceklerin başında bilmelisin."

Lâkin vatana dönünce antitezle karşılaştı. Her çeşit kuvvet cephesinden, her şursuzluktan dâvasına karşı gelen taşkınlık, onu şiddetle sarstı. "Ne olursa olsun, tek başıma bile bu bayrağı sonuna kadar omuzlarımda taşıyacağım" diyordu. Demagojinin her gün biraz daha tükettiği millet enerjisini ideali istikametinde kullanmak için, bir nefer, bir amele gibi çalışmaya karar verdi. İlk mesleği olan arkeoloji sahasında Orta Anadolu'nun toprağıyla senelerce süren çetin bir didişme planını kabul etti. Alışar kazılarının Amerikalılara mal olan şerefine hakikî yaratıcısı oldu. Alacahöyük'te Orta Anadolu'nun bağrından tarihin gömdüğü saltanatları keşfetti. Karalar ve daha sonraki kazılardan sonra bir müddet kazma küreği köylünün kulübesine emanet bırakarak tedrisatına başladı.

Nihayet son yıllarında siyaset kılıcını kuşandı. Bu sahada karşılaştığı engeller müthişti. Asıl şimdi insanın tehlikeli tarafıyla karşı karşıya geldi. Unutmamak lazımdı ki, nasırlı vicdanlar hamlesinin karşısına çıkan Remzi, bir kalb adamıydı, her zaman kalbiyle yaşamıştı. Ve her

varlığı fethedebilen kalbinin kırılmaya tahammülü yoktu. Halbuki o çok kırıldı, lâkin azmini kırmadı. Kalbe karşı gelmesini bilen ve burnundan ötesini görmeyen taşkınlık Remzi'yi gerçekten bir ateş gibi muhasara etti. O, kelimenin asıl manâsıyla siyaset yapamazdı. Zira mizacında Niçe'ninki kadar haşin ve bükülmez bir irade ile Paskal'ın narin kalbini birleştirmişti. Bu durumda yaratılan insan için en büyük tehlike siyaset yapmaktı. Bunu bildiği için o siyaseti, vatanperverlik yolu olarak seçti. Uzunca sürmüş olan bu faaliyete hazırlık yıllarında, onun hiçbir fedakârlık ve pazarlık kabul etmeyen "ya hep, ya hiç" prensibi, zaman zaman zedelenmişti. Bu hal, Remzi'yi için için harab ediyordu. Kalbinde taşıdığı bu buhran bünyesine sık sık musallat olan ateşlerine karışıyordu.

Vaktiyle varlıklarını tebcil edercesine yükselttiği siyaset arkadaşları, senelerin alıştırdığı ikbal zaviyelerini terkedemiyecek Remzi'yi bu yolda yalnız bıraktılar. O asıl büyüklüğünü, muhitin lakaydisi arasında gösterdi. Çılgınlık göstermedi, vekarla hareket etti. Onun tek hatası; önce, yapacağı inkılâbın, diliyle, enerjisiyle, bizzat belâgat olan varlığıyla esaslarını hazırladığı Paris'teki çalışmalarının, yurda döndükten ve yaptığı pek çeşitli ve yaygın neşriyatın şuurların tâ içine sinererek bir nesli harekete geçirebilmesi için daha yirmi senelik bir zamanın geçmesini bekleyecek kadar sabra sahip olmayışı idi. Onu, ideali uzak çöllerin bir sarayı olmaktan kurtararak, yalnız altın kazmasıyla değil, hem de dimağıyla işlediği Anadolu'nun toprağına indiren müthiş realizm, sabra meskenet damgasını vurmuştu. Şarklının medeniyetler ve ruhlar öldürücü sabrı onu tiksindirmişti. Ordusunun bütün hazırlıklarını ve yine kendi tabiriyle seferberliğini tamamlamış bir

erkân-ı harp gibi öteden beri vadettiği meydana muharebesine girişti.

Savaş muhakkak ki çetin olacaktı. Kılıcının kabzasına el koyarak “yer demir, gök bakır!” diyen Serdar, bir mektubunda şöyle diyor:

“Ömrümüz tatsız, umutsuz, aydınlıksız geçiyor dostum..Hayat ilerliyor. Temmuz 15’te elli yaşıma girmektedirim. Şu yarım asrın özü ne oldu? Hep hüsrân, hep aldanmak, hep yeniden başlamak ve hep yollara yeniden dökülmek! Yani bizim neslin âkıbeti de taayyün etmiş gibi...”

Vereceği meydana muharebesine hazırlanan Serdar’ın bu hüznü muhitin ona ilhamı idi. Kendine çevrildiği zaman, binlerce defa tekrarladığı şu sözü yine bir mektubunda okuyoruz: “Son nefese kadar didinme devam edecek” diyordu. Nihayet feci âkıbet geldi, çattı.

Kalpleri hasta bir nesle tâ Garbın varoşlarından başlayarak, iman ve aydınlık getiren Hallac ruhlu bir havari...

Anadolu çocuklarının sıtmalî benizleriyle hemâhenk yüreklerine hayat ve cesaret kanı aşıl原因 bir doktor...

Hayal milliyetçiliğini dağ, taş gibi realite yapan, ikbâl sandalyelerinin üstündeki namütenahilikte barınan bir iktidar havalarda öldü, gök varlıklarına karıştı. Çok sevdiği Anadolu’nun toprağına göklerden indi. Lâkin onun ebedî olacak eseri gönüllerimizdedir.

Remzi! Ruhun ebedî olsun!.. Ruhlarınıza nurdan, imandan, ışıktan yapılmış ebedî bir saray bıraktın. Sen ebedîliği fetheden nebiler ordusuna Allah’ın en güzel emanetisin!

“Doç. Dr. Nurettin Topçu’nun Konuşması”, Remzi Oğuz Arık kitabı içinde Milliyetçiler Derneği Neşriyatı 1954; (13

Nisan 1954)⁷

Üç Dost

Yazıyı bitirirken Arık’ın Nurettin Topçu’dan başka üç farklı dostuna daha temas etmek gerekir. Bunlardan ilki, Şevket Raşit Hatiboğlu’dur. (İzmir 1898-İstanbul 1973) Bursa Ziraat Okulu, İstanbul Ziraat Yüksek Okulu mezunu olan Hatiboğlu Leibzig’de Felsefe Doktorası yapmıştır. Kırklı yıllarda Tarım Bakanı, 27 Mayıs İhtilâli’nden sonra da İnönü hükümetinde Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı görevlerini yürütmüştür. Ziraat ve tarımla ilgili eserleri vardır. Rize’de çay ziraatinin kurucularından biridir. Remzi Oğuz’un vefatından sonra kurulan derneğin başkanlığını üstlenmiş olan Hatiboğlu, onun iki eserini uzun bir takdim yazısıyla yayınlamıştır. Pek bilinmeyen bir hizmeti de 1962’de kurulan İnönü hükümetinde Millî Eğitim Bakanı iken din eğitimi sahasında yaptığı hizmetlerdir.⁸

Değineceğimiz ikinci isim Hıfzı Oğuz Bekata’dır (Ankara, 1911-Ankara 1995). Bursa Lisesi mezunu bir hukukçu olan Bekata, Henüz bir talebe iken *Çığır* dergisini çıkarmaya başlamıştır (1933-1948). Derginin Mart 1941 tarihinde çıkan 100. sayısında Remzi Oğuz Arık’ın: “Çocuklarımıza Dair” isimli baş yazısı ile ilk kez 1928’de yayınlanmış olan “Arkeolog Gözüyle Orta Avrupa” başlıklı iki yazısı bulunmaktadır.

Bekata, kırklı yıllarda milletvekili seçilmiş ve 27 Mayıs İhtilali’nden sonra Devlet Bakanlığı, İçişleri Bakanlığı, Cumhuriyet Senatosu Üyeliği (1961-1975) gibi vazifeler üstlenmiştir. Devlet Bakanı olarak görev yaptığı esnada Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı kendisine

7 Bu eserde konu ile ilgili yazısı olanlar arasında şu isimler de vardır: Mehmet Kaplan, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Rüstem Duyuran, Mümtaz Turhan.

8 Mustafa Öcal’ın konu ile ilgili makalesi *Tohum* dergisinin 2023’te çıkan sayısında yayınlanmıştır.

bağlanmıştur.⁹

Son olarak bahsedeceğimiz isim, Hüseyin Avni Göktürk'tür (Niğde 1901-İstanbul 1983). Hukuk Fakültesi mezunu olan Göktürk, doktorasını Berlin'de tamamlamıştır. Ankara Hukuk ve Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesinde öğretim üyeliği, MİT Müsteşarlığı gibi görevlerde bulunmuştur (1957-1959). Ardından Niğde Milletvekili olan Göktürk, Adalet Bakanlığı da yapmıştır (1955-1957). Hukuk ve siyaset konulu yayınlanmış eserleri mevcuttur. Mayıs 1942 tarihinde çıkarmaya başladığı *Millet* dergisinin Umumi Neşriyat Müdürü Remzi Oğuz Arık'tır.

Arık'ın vefatı sonrasında -yukarıda nakledilen *Gurbet* dergisi dışında- onunla ilgili olarak yazı yazan isimlerden bazıları şu şekildedir:

Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Yeni Sabah Gazetesi*, 12 Nisan 1954; Haluk Karamağralı, "Çalışma ve Mücadele ile Dolu Bir Ömür", *İstanbul*, Mayıs 1954; Peyami Safa, "Remzi Oğuz Arık", *Türk Düşüncesi*, Mayıs 1954; Cahit Okurer, "Remzi Oğuz Arık", *Hisar*, Mayıs 1954.;

1987 yılında Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları tarafından çıkarılan *Remzi Oğuz Arık Armağanı* isimli hatıra kitapta yazısı olan bazı akademisyenler ise şöyledir: Sedat Alp, Ekrem Akurgal, Tahsin Özgüç.

2000 yılında N. Ziya Bakırcıoğlu'nun hazırladığı ve Dergâh Yayınları'ndan çıkan *Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın Fikir Dünyası* isimli eserde onun millet, vatan, tarih, lisan, din, sanat gibi konular etrafındaki düşünceleri aktarıldıktan sonra şu konular da onun milliyetçilik anlayışının esasları olarak mercek altına alınmıştır: İnkılapçılık, devletçilik, ilimcilik, demokrasi, lâiklik, istiklâl, hürriyet, maarif, ahlâk, köycülük, turizm.

9 18 Ağustos 1962 tarihinde İstanbul'da yaptığı basın toplantısı, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı'nca *Aydın Din Adamları* adıyla broşür şeklinde basılmıştır.

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Horasan İrfanını Anadolu'ya Ulaştıran Kaynak Eserlerden Menâkıb-ı Şeyh Zâhid-i Geylânî

*Manâqib e Sheikh Zâhed Gilânî: A Treatise That Brought 'irfân Tradition
from Khorasan to Anatolia*

Namiq MUSALI*

Öz

XIII. asırda İslâmî irfanın bayraktarlığını yapmış olan gönül erlerinden birisi de Şeyh Tâceddîn İbrâhîm Zâhid Geylânî'dir. Ataları Horasan'dan (bugünkü Türkmenistan'ın Merv bölgesinden) Azerbaycan'ın Lenkeran yöresine gelip yerleşmiş olan bu zat, erken gençlik döneminde Sühreverdiyye tarikatının Ebheriyye koluna intisap etmiş, 55-60 yaşlarında irşad faaliyetlerine başlamış, bu amaçla seyahatlere çıkmış, insanları Hak yoluna çağırmış, binlerce mürid ve halife yetiştirmiş, gönüllerde taht kurmayı başarmıştır. Devrin sultanları, özellikle İlhanlı hükümdarı Gazan Han üzerinde büyük bir etki sahibi olan Geylânî, ona âdil yönetimle ilgili öğütler vermekten çekinmemiştir. Yaşadığı bölgenin içtimâî hayatında mühim rol alan Şeyh Zâhid, muazzam bir mânevî miras bırakıp gitmiştir. Türk-İslâm tarihinde büyük ehemmiyet taşıyan Safeviyye, Halvetiyye, Bayramiyye, Celvetiyye gibi tarikatlerin silsilesi bu mümtaz şahsiyete ulaşmaktadır. Türbesi, günümüzde Lenkeran'ın Şihakeran (Hilyekeran) köyünde bulunmakta ve halk tarafından ziyaret edilmektedir. Araştırmalarımız sırasında Şeyh Zâhid'in şimdiye dek bilinmeyen menâkıbına ulaşmış bulunuyoruz. Kastamonu Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi'ndeki bir mecmua içinde (37 Hk 2694, vr. 97a-133a) yer alan bu eser toplam 55 bölümden ibarettir. *Şeyh Zâhid Menâkıbı*, Anadolu'lu Mehmed b. Abdüllatif tarafından XV. yüzyılda kısmî olarak Farsçadan Türkçeye çevrilmiştir. Eserin Farsça orijinali günümüze ulaşmamıştır. Makalede *Şeyh Zâhid Menâkıbı* hakkında bilgi verilmesi amaçlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Şeyh Zâhid-i Geylânî, menâkıb, tasavvuf, Horasan, irfan.

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Abstract

One of the prominent figures of Islamic mysticism (sufism) in the 13th century was Sheikh Tajaddīn İbrāhīm Zāhed Gilānī. His ancestors migrated from Khorasan (from Merv area of the modern Turkmenistan) to Lankaran district of Azerbaijan. He was initiated into the Abhariyya branch of the Suhravardiyya sect at the beginning of his youth and began propaganda activities as a religious leader when he was in his late fifties. He traveled for this purpose, invited people to the path of truth, educated thousands of disciples and khalifas and managed to win the love of people. Gilānī had a great influence on the sultans of that era, especially on the Ilkhanid ruler Gazan Khan and gave him some valuable advice about fair government. Sheikh Zāhed, who played an important role in the social life of the region in which he lived, left a large moral legacy behind. The lineage of the most influential orders of the Turkic-Islamic world as Safaviyya, Khalvatiyya, Bayramiyya, Jalvatiyyareaches to this outstanding personality. His shrine is located in Shikhakaran (Hilyakaran) village of Lankaran district today and is frequently visited by the people of the area. During our research, we achieved the unknown hagiography (*Manāqib*) of Sheikh Zāhed. This work, which is a section of a manuscript book, is in the Kastamonu Manuscript Library (37 Hk 2694, vr. 97a-133a) and consists of 55 chapters. Hagiography of Sheikh Zāhed was partially translated from Persian to Turkish by Mehmed b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf from Anatolia in the 15th century. The Persian original of the work has not survived to this day. This paper aims to give information on the manuscript of Sheikh Zāhed’s *Manāqib*.

Keywords: Sheikh Zāhed-i Gilānī, manāqib, sufism, Khorasan, wisdom, ‘irfān.

Giriş

Horasan, günümüzde daha çok İran İslâm Cumhuriyeti’nin kuzeydoğu topraklarını içine alan bir bölge olarak bilinmesine rağmen Orta Çağ boyunca şimdiki Türkmenistan ve Afganistan cumhuriyetlerinin de büyük bir kısmını kapsayan tarihî bir vilayetti. Horasan, coğrafi konumu, tarihî geçmişi ve toplumsal yapısı nedeniyle İslâm tarihi ve onun bir parçası olan tasavvuf tarihi bakımından öncelikli ve özellikli bir yere sahiptir.¹ Buradan gelmiş olan Horasan erenleri, Anadolu’nun Türkleşmesi ve İslâmlaşmasına büyük katkı sağlamışlardır. XI. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren kısa zamanda göçebe Türkmen kabileleri Türkistan ve Horasan bölgelerinden kalkıp Anadolu’ya gelmiştir. Harezm, Horasan ve Azerbaycan üzerinden batı istikametinde Anadolu’ya kitleler hâlinde göç eden zümreler arasında çok sayıda mutasavvıf, âlim ve sanatkâr da yer almıştır.² Ayrıca Horasan’dan Azerbaycan’a gelip

yerleşmiş veya burada doğup büyümüş bazı veliler de kendi düşünceleri ve halifeleri aracılığıyla Anadolu ve Balkanlar’ın irşad edilmesi ve mânevî fetih sürecinin tamamlanmasında önemli roller üstlenmişlerdir. Bildirimizde bu velilerden biri olan Şeyh Zâhid Geylânî’den bahsedecek ve onun *Menâkıb*’ı vasıtasıyla Horasan irfanının Anadolu’ya ulaşmasına dair bazı örneklerle yer vereceğiz.

1. Şeyh Zâhid Geylânî’nin Hayatı ve Faaliyetleri

Tasavvuf tarihine damgasını vurmuş olan Şeyh Tâceddin İbrahim Zâhid Geylânî (1218-1301) aslı itibarıyla Horasan kökenli bir aileden gelmektedir. Ecdadının yedi kuşak boyunca irfan ehli, şeyh ve şeyhzâdelere ulaştığı bilinmektedir. Ataları XII. asrın ortalarında bugünkü Türkmenistan’ın Merv şehrine bağlı Sincan köyünden Azerbaycan’ın Lenkeran ilçesine göç etmişlerdir. Etnik kökeni tam olarak anlaşılamayan Şeyh Zâhid ailesinin hem

1 bkz. Himmet Konur, “Horasan’ın İslam ve Tasavvuf Tarihine Katkısı (H. I-V. asırlar)”, *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 21 (2005): 3-27.

2 bkz. Erdal Aday, “Horasan Erenleri’nin Menkıbevi Şahsiyetlerindeki Ortak Özellikler”, *Türk Dünyası*

Bilgeler Zirvesi: Gönül Sultanları Buluşması Bildirileri, ed. Ejder Okumuş, (Eskişehir: Türk Dünyası Vakfı, 2014), II: 383.

aslî vatanı olan Merv bölgesi hem de yerleşikleri Lenkeran yöresi o sıralarda Türk ve İran kültürlerinin kavuşma hattı üzerinde bulunduğundan dolayı bu aile de söz konusu kültürlere yabancı olmamıştır. Lenkeran'ın Siyaverud (bugünkü Siyavar) köyünde dünyaya gözlerini açan Şeyh Zâhid'in hayat yolunu dört aşamaya ayırabiliriz. Çocukluk ve erken gençlik dönemi diyebileceğimiz ilk aşamada (1218-1238), doğduğu Lenkeran yöresinde büyüüp yetişmiş, orada ilk eğitimini almış, ardından Şiraz'da zâhirî ilimler açısından tahsilini başarıyla tamamlamıştır. Gençlik yıllarında (1238-1253) Lenkeran'ın güneyindeki Astara yöresinde faaliyet gösteren Sühreverdiyye-Ebheriyye şeyhlerinden Seyyid Cemâleddin Tebrîzî'ye intisap ederek onun hizmetinde bulunmuş, müridinin kızı ile evlenmiştir. Olgunluk çağı diye nitelendirebileceğimiz üçüncü aşamada (1253-1272) şeyhinin vasiyeti üzerine yaklaşık yirmi yıl boyunca bireysel şekilde riyâzet ve mücâhede ile uğraşmıştır. Hayatının son safhası olan ihtiyarlık döneminde (1272-1301) ise müridlik postuna oturarak halkı irşad etmiştir. Yine bu dönemde ikinci kez evlilik yapmıştır. İlk eşi Lenkeran'ın Siyaverud, ikinci eşi ise Hilyekeran köyünde yaşıyordu. Bu yüzden şeyhin her iki köyde evi ve zâviyesi vardı. Kendisinin ilk evliliğinden Cemâleddin Ali ve Şerefeddin İsa adlı iki oğlunun ve bir kızının, ikinci evliliğinden ise Bibi Fatıma adlı bir kızı ile Hacı Şemseddin Muhammed adlı bir oğlunun doğduğu bilinmektedir. Zâhid Geylânî soyundan gelenler sonraki yüzyıllarda önemli ilim, irfan ve devlet adamları olarak tarih sahnesinde yer almışlardır.³

Aradaki bazı farklılıklara rağmen tüm müellifler, şeyhin silsilesinin Kutbeddin Ebû Bekr el-Ebherî, Ebü'n-Necib es-Sühreverdi ve Cüneyd el-Bağdâdî üzerinden Hz Ali'ye

3 Şeyh Zâhid'in hayatı hakkında bkz. Namiq Musalı, *Şeyh Zâhid Geylânî ve Menâkıbı* (Kastamonu: Hz. Pir Şeyh Şa'bân-ı Veli Kültür Vakfı Yayınları, 2019), 45-72.

kadar ulaştığı konusunda hemfikirdirler.⁴ Böylece Zâhid Geylânî'nin silsilesi, kendisinin Sühreverdiyye tarikatının Ebheriyye koluna intisap ettiğini göstermektedir. Söz konusu silsile, tasavvuf dünyasının birçok mühim isminden müteşekkil olup, burada yer alan zatların büyük bir kısmı Horasanlı, Iraklı ve Azerbaycanlı sufilerdir. J. S. Trimmingham'e göre Şeyh Zâhid, Sühreverdiyye silsilesine bağlı olsa da bu tarikin Bağdat kolunu değil, Horasan kolunu tercih ediyordu.⁵

Zâhid Geylânî'nin irşad faaliyetleri üç merhale hâlinde ele alınabilir. Bunların ilkinde (1272-1283) o, Lenkeran yöresinde yaşayarak oranın halkını irşad ile uğraşmıştır. Orta dönemde (1283-1295) şahsen Güştasfi, Suremerve, Erdebil, Serav, Hıyav, Astara, Savalan, Muğan, Deştavend, Bistam vs. yerlere geziler yapmış, civar bölgelerin ahalisini tövbe ettirip telkin vermişti. Mürid olarak faaliyetinin üçüncü aşamasında (1295-1301) ise İlhanlı Devleti'nde İslâmiyet'in resmî ideoloji hâline gelmesiyle beraber daha uzak coğrafyalara açılmış, Azerbaycan'ın çeşitli şehirlerinin yanı sıra bilhassa Anadolu, Şam, Lübnan, Yemen, Harezm gibi diyarlara halifeler göndererek yoğun bir mânevî propaganda sürecini başlatmıştı.⁶

Şeyh Zâhid, Moğol istilalarının doğurduğu ağır sonuçlara tanık olmuş ve pek çok sufi önder gibi kendi mânevî nüfuzunu kullanarak, mazlum halkı gerek yerel feodallerin baskılarından ve gerekse de Moğol yöneticilerin mezâliminden korumaya çalışmıştır. Müridi Seyyid Cemâleddin gibi o da Azerbaycan'da

4 bkz. İbn Bezzâz Erdebîlî, *Safvetü's-Safâ (der tercüme-i ahvâl ü akvâl ü kerâmât-ı Şeyh Safiyeddin İshak Erdebîlî)*, mukaddime ve tashih: Gulâm Rıza Tabâtabâi Mecc (Tebriz: İntişârât-ı Musahhîh, 1373), 180-183; Rahmi Serin, *İslam Tasavvufunda Halvetilik ve Halvetiler* (İstanbul: Petek Yayınları, 1984), 78-79; H. Kâmil Yılmaz, *Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî ve Celvetiyye Tarikatı* (İstanbul: Erkam Yayınları, 1999), 161.

5 bkz. John Spencer Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 100.

6 bkz. Musalı, *Şeyh Zâhid Geylânî*, 82-89.

bulunan Moğollar'ın İslâmiyet'e geçiş sürecinde rol almıştı. Meşhur İlhanlı hükümdarı Gazan Han (1295-1304), Şeyh Zâhid ile üç kez görüşmüş ve kendisine büyük saygı göstermiştir. Şeyh de ona bilgin, âdil, cömert ve sevgi dolu bir padişah olması gerektiği konusunda tavsiyelerde bulunmuştur.⁷

Her ne kadar bazı araştırmacılar Zâhid Geylânî'nin Şîi olduğunu iddia etmişlerse de ana kaynaklardaki bilgiler onun Ehl-i Sünnet çizgisinde bulunduğunu ve Şâfiî mezhebi usûlüne riâyet ettiğini göstermektedirler. Buna rağmen diğer sufi akımlarında olduğu gibi Şeyh Zâhid'in öğretilerinde de Ehl-i Beyt sevgisi özel bir yere sahiptir. Şeyh Zâhid, sünnet-i nebeviyye'ye ve şeriate sınıksız tutunan ve bunlardan hiçbir şekilde taviz vermeyen bir sufi lideriydi. Özellikle de nefisle mücadele, cömert olma, ilim öğrenme, tarikat sırrını faş etmeme, kendi emeği ile geçimlerini sağlama konusunda müridlerine tavsiyelerde bulunurdu. Zâhid Geylânî, ibâdeti ve riyâzeti kendisine ilke edinmişti. Ayrıca zikrin şeklinde bir yenilik meydana getirerek önceleri üç isimle sülûk çıkarıldığı hâlde ilk kez o, yedi isimden ve on iki isimden oluşan esma ile zikretme usûlünü uygulamıştır. Dergâhında semah dönülür, erbain çıkarılır ve halvete girilirdi. Buna rağmen Zahidiyye tarîkati terk-i dünya prensibine dayalı bir hayatı telkin etmiyor, tam tersi sosyal hayatta aktif bir rol alan sufilik anlayışını ön plana çıkarıyordu.⁸

Vefat edince kendi vasiyeti üzerine, doğum yeri olan Siyaverud köyünde defnedilen Geylânî'nin mezarı üzerinde bir türbe inşa edilmişse de 892/1487 tarihinde Hazar Denizi'nin taşması neticesinde kabrinin sular altında kalma tehlikesi meydana geldiğinden

7 bkz. Charles Melville, "History and Myth: the Persianisation of Ghazan Khan", *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th – 17th Centuries*, ed. Eva M. Jeremias (Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2003), 133-160.

8 bkz. Musalı, *Şeyh Zâhid Geylânî*, 120-130.

dolayı mezarının yeri değiştirilerek hayatının önemli bir bölümünü geçirdiği Hilyekeran köyüne intikal ettirilmiş ve orası şeyhin şerefine Şeyhakeran/Şihakeran (Şeyhin köyü) diye isimlendirilmiştir. Sovyet rejimi tarafından türbe yıkılmışsa da Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti kendi bağımsızlığını kazanır kazanmaz tekrar inşa edilmiştir.⁹

Şeyh Safiyeddin Erdebîlî, Şeyh Ahi Yusuf Şirvânî, Pir Hikmet Şirvânî, Ahi Muhammed Harezmî, Salâhaddin Reşid Erdebîlî, Baba Marâğî ve Şeyh Abdurrahman Erzincânî, Şeyh Zâhid'in en önemli halifeleri sırasında yer almaktadırlar. Onun müridleri arasında çeşitli sosyal grupların temsilcilerinin bulunduğunu görmekteyiz. Safeviyye, Halvetiyye, Bayramiyye, Celvetiyye gibi tarikatlerin ve bunlardan ayrılan kolların silsilelerinde Şeyh Zâhid önemli bir yere sahiptir. Özellikle de o, halvetten celvete geçişi sağlayan ilk mürşid olarak dikkat çekmektedir.¹⁰

2. Şeyh Zâhid Geylânî Menâkıbı'nda Horasan İrfanı

Uzmanlar, Horasan Tasavvuf Ekolü'nün özelliklerini; semah, hângâh âdâbı, ilm-i bâtin, şeyhin belirleyiciliği, cömertlik ve fütüvvet, şiir, Ehl-i Beyt muhabbeti, adâlet ve özgürlükçü tutum ile melâmetîlik şeklinde sıralamaktadırlar.¹¹ Bu unsurların hemen hemen hepsini Şeyh Zâhid'in düşünce sisteminde, davranışlarında ve özlü sözlerinde görmemiz mümkündür. Örneğin semah, Şeyh Zâhid'in öğretilerinde de özel bir yere sahiptir. Kaynaklarda şeyhin dergâhında kavvaller eşliğinde "Hû" çekilerek

9 bkz. Abbaskuli Gaffâriferd, "Hâstgâh-ı Niyâkân-ı Şeyh Zâhid ve Mahall-i Künûn-i Ârâmgâh-ı Ū", *Pejûheşnâme-i Târîh* 3, 12 (1387): 65-81; Musalı, *Şeyh Zâhid Geylânî*, 149-153.

10 bkz. Süleyman Gökbulut, "İbrahim Zâhid Gilânî Üzerine Bir İnceleme", *Mevlânâ Düşüncesi Araştırmaları Derneği Sufi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7, 13 (2016): 49.

11 bkz. Mustafa Altunkaya, "Horasan Tasavvuf Ekolü ve Özellikleri", *Turkish Studies* 11/2 (2016), 127-148.

semah yapıldığına ve şeyhin kendisinin de semaha iştirak ettiğine dair bilgilere rastlamaktayız.¹²

Cömertlik ve fütüvvet anlayışları Şeyh Zâhid'in fikir dünyasının ve yaşam felsefesinin temellerini oluşturmakta, onun hayat yolunun ana çizgisini teşkil etmekteydi. Onun Gazan Han'a vermiş olduğu öğütlerde Horasan irfanı için belirleyici olan özelliklerden cömertlik, fütüvvet ve adâlet vurgusuna sık sık rastlıyoruz: “Ebediyeti cömertlikte ara!”; “Ululardan beğenilecek üç tane şey kalmıştır ki bunların her üçü senin işini yükseltir: bunlar vefa, cömertlik ve dürüstlüktür. Bunlar seni eksiltmez, tam tersi yüceltir”; “Elinde olanı ye, fazlasını dağıt gitsin!”; “Gücün yettiği kadar insanların işlerini yoluna koy ki senin adâletin namazdan da, oruçtan da daha yeğdir. Biçare kalacağın günden (mahşerden) kork! Yoksullara yardımda bulun! Eğer kaderden iyilik bekliyorsan, o zaman bu tarlada iyilikten başka tohum ekme! Meyvesi sevgi olacak bir ağaç dik! Semeresi kin olacak bir kökü ekme!”¹³

Daha XIV. yüzyılda, Şeyh Zâhid'in vefatını müteakip bir şekilde hâllerini ve sözlerini ihtiva eden anlatılar onun müridleri tarafından derlenmek suretiyle hakkında bir *Menâkıb* meydana getirilmiştir. Bu *Menâkıb*'in Farsça aslı kaybolmuşsa da XV. yüzyılda Anadolu'da muhtemelen Halvetî muhitinde Mehmed b. Abdüllatif tarafından yapılmış olan Türkçe muhtasar çevirisi Kastamonu Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi'nde bulunmaktadır. İlk kez tarafımızca ele alınmış olan bu risâle, tasavvuf konulu bir mecmua içinde günümüze ulaşmıştır.¹⁴ Söz konusu çeviri, *Menâkıb*'in orijinalinin

12 bkz. İbn Bezzâz, *Safvetü's-Safâ*, 211-212.

13 XIV. yüzyılın ünlü tarihçi ve şâirlerinden Nureddin Ejderî'nin *Gazannâme* adlı eserinde yer alan bu öğütlerin Farsça metni için bkz. Melville, “History and Myth”, 147-160. İlgili metnin Türkçe çevirisi için bkz. Musalı, *Şeyh Zâhid Geylânî*, 105-114.

14 *Mecmua* (Kastamonu Yazma Eserler Ktp., 37 Hk

tamamını değil, şeyhin sadece tasavvuf ve irfan ile alâkalı bir kısım özlü sözlerini içermektedir. Bu hâliyle *Menâkıb*, Şeyh Zâhid'in tasavvuf anlayışını ve onun irfan dünyasını günümüze taşıyan en önemli kaynaktır.

Bir mukadime ile 55 fasıldan oluşan *Menâkıb*'de Şeyh Zâhid'in tasavvufa dair çeşitli konularda (halvet, celvet, fenâ, bekâ, bezm-i elest, şeyh-i kâmil, tevhid, şevk, rikkat, nefis, vâsıl, visâl, vahdet, sabır, kutup, didar, seyr-i ilallah, seyr-i fillah vs.) konuşmalarının metni toplanmıştır. Bu konuşmalar sırasında yer yer Kur'ân-ı Kerim'den, Peygamber Efendimiz'in (s.a.v.) hadislerinden, enbiyâ kıssalarından, Ehl-i Beyt ve sahabe hikâyelerinden, evliyâ hikmetlerinden, tasavvuf risâlelerinden, tekke edebiyatından numunelere yer verilmiştir. Bunların arasında özellikle de Horasan irfanının temsilcisi olan zatların özlü sözlerine ve hâllerine atıfta bulunulması dikkate şayandır. Aşağıda Şeyh Zâhid'in kendi argümanlarını kuvvetlendirmek için Bâyezid Bistâmî (ö. 848) ve Senâî Gaznevî (ö. 1131) gibi Horasanlı sufilerin fikir dünyasından aktardığı örneklerden bazılarını sunacağız.

Menâkıb'in ilk faslında Şeyh Zâhid, halvette oturarak sessiz kalmanın faydaları ve insanlarla ülfet kurup konuşmanın gerekliliği konusunu aydınlatmakta, bir nevi halvet ve celvetin tanımını yapmaktadır. Şeyh Zâhid'e göre, Allah dostu olan birisinin halvete girmesi kendisi için faydalı olduğu hâlde bu insanın topluma yönelmesi ve konuşması diğerlerinin yararınadır. Şeyh Zâhid suskunluk ve halvet konusunda Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî'nin;

Her kes ki heves-i suhan-fürüşî dâred
Men bende-i ânem ki hamüşî dâred
(Herkes söz söylemek hevesindeyse de,
ben sessiz kalanın kölesiyim.)

2694), 97a-133a. Mecmuanın istinsah tarihi 990/1582, müstensihisi ise Ahmed b. Mehmed'dir. Söz konusu eser hakkında bize ilk bilgiyi veren Prof. Dr. Ahmet Taşğın'a şükranlarımızı sunarız.

anlamına gelen bir beytini örnek olarak sunar. Sessiz kalınca binlerce mânevî sözün bir anda yüz gösterdiğini ve kendini belli ettiğini belirten Şeyh Zâhid, bu mânâyâ sadece gönül ehlinin erebileceğinin altını çizer ve akabinde celvet konusunu açıklamaya başlar.

Menâkıb'daki açıklamalara göre Allah dostları halvette iken rahatlık ve isâbet içinde olurlar ve öyle bir zevke ulaşırlar ki onun ötesinde bir zevk yoktur. Fakat buna rağmen halktan ötürü zahmet çekip söz söylerler. Zâhid Geylânî, gönül ehlinin halvette oturmasını bir âşığın kendi mâşûkasıyla baş başa kalıp zaman geçirmesine benzetir ve şöyle der:

Bir kimse çok ayrılık ve intizâr çekdikden sonra kendü ma'sûkını halvette ağyarsuz bulsa, anuñla 'ayşa meşgûl olsa, ol hâleti terk edüp halvetden taşra çıkmaz gayrı. Ammâ çün fikr kııl ki bu hâlet nice zahmetdür. Pes halk meşâlihiyçün kendü hazzların [terk] ederler, tâ kendülerden gayr halk dahi mahzûz olup fâ'ide tutalar. Pes evliyânun ve enbiyanun halka söz söyleyüp nasihat etdiklerin böyle bilmek gerek. Ammâ emr-i Hakk mücibi üzerine dahi bunların nihâyetsüz luğflarından ve şefkatlerinden dilerler ki tâ halâ'ika rahmet ola, taqrîre meşgûl olurlar" (Anlamı: Bir kimse çok ayrılık ve hasret çektikten sonra kendi sevgilisini halvette, yabancıların olmadığı bir yerde bulursa, onunla zevke dalar, vakit geçirir ve bu hâleti terk edip halvetten dışarıya çıkmak istemez. Bir düşünün ki onun için sevgiliyle birlikte bulunduğu halveti terk etmek nasıl bir zahmettir. İşte Allah dostları da bu şekilde halkın iyiliği için kendi zevklerini terk ederler, ta ki kendilerinden başka halk dahi zevk alarak faydalansın. İşte velilerin ve peygamberlerin halka söz söyleyip nasihat etmelerini böyle bilmek gerek. Onlar Allah'ın emri gereğince ve dahi kendilerinin nihayetsiz lütufların-

dan ve şefkatlerinden dolayı halkın sıkıntıya düşmemesi, rahmete ermesi için vaaz etmeye meşgul olurlar.)

Bu konuda Allah Teâlâ'nın Hz. Resûl (s.a.v.) hakkında; *Andolsun, size kendi içinizden öyle bir peygamber gelmiştir ki sizin sıkıntıya düşmeniz ona çok ağır gelir* (Tövbe 9/128) buyurduğu âyeti delil olarak aktaran Şeyh Zâhid, Hz. Resûl'ün (s.a.v.) yoluyla giden velilerin ve mü'minlerin de kendilerini Peygamber Efendimiz (s.a.v.) gibi kendi türünden olanları (insanları) irşad etmeye ve yol göstermeye adadıklarını belirtir. Çünkü "İnsanlar kendi yöneticilerinin (rehberlerinin) dinindedirler." Allah dostları diğer insanlarla sûrette müşterek oldukları için ve onlar gibi âdemoğulları oldukları için, yani sûrette aynı türe ait oldukları için diğer insanlara şefkat göstermeleri onlara vâciptir. Böylece onlar kendilerinin ulaştıkları saadete kendi türlerinden olanları (diğer insanları) dahi ulaştırmak için çaba sarf ederler. Zira "Her bir tür, kendi türünden olanlarla ülfet kurar". Böylece Zâhid Geylânî'den nakledildiği üzere Allah dostlarının celvete çıkması, söz söylemesi halk içindir, onların halvette girmeleri, sessiz kalmaları ise kendileri içindir. Halvetle ilgili Mevlânâ'dan bir beyit sunan şeyh, celvet hakkında şair Senâî'nin aşağıdaki mısralarını aktarır:

Ey men şad çü men gulâm-ı kesî
Ki zi hud sahte est hem-nefesî¹⁵

Senâî'nin bu beytine; "Ben ve benim gibi yüz kişi köle olsun o kimseye ki, kendinden [vaz geçerek bizimle] ülfet kurmuştur" şeklinde bir mânâ verebiliriz.

Menâkıb'ın 3. faslında insanın fenâ bulup bekâ hâsıl ettiğine vurgu yapılır. Şeyh Zâhid'e göre insanın Hakk'a erebilmesi için ihlas ile Allah'a ibâdet etmesi ve kâmil bir şeyhten irşad alması gerekir. Hakk'a eren insan kendinden geçerek ve her şeyde Allah'ı görür, O'ndan başkasını

15 *Mecmua* (37 Hk 2694), 98a-100a.

görmez. Bu yöndeki fikirlerini desteklemek-ten ötürü Geylânî, Bayezid Bistâmî'nin "Mâ râeytü şey'en illâ ve râeytullâhi fih" (Allah Teâlâ'dan başka hiçbir şey görmedim) diye bir şathiyesini örnek olarak sunar.¹⁶ Zira sufilere göre tevhid, Allah'tan başka bir var bilmemek, tanımamak ve bütün varlıkları O'nun varlığında yok bilip O'nun varlığıyla var olmaktır.¹⁷

6. fasılda tevhid mevzusunu ele alan Zâhid Geylânî'ye göre kendisine Allah'tan başka bir gaye edinen bir insan, bu gayesini Allah'a şerik yapmak sûretiyle şirke girmiştir. Mü'minin Allah'tan başka bir gayesi, muradı ve maksadı olmamalıdır. Şeyh, bu görüşlerini Horasanlı sufi şâir Senâî'nin;

Ey hevâyân-ı tu hevâ-engîz
Ey hüdâyân-i tu hüdâ-âzâr
(Ey havalı heveslere sahip olan kimse,
senin bu tanrıların -heveslerin- Tanrı'yı
bıktırmıştır),

anlamına gelen Farsça beytiyle desteklemektedir.¹⁸ Zikri geçen beytin, Kur'ân-ı Kerim'in Furkan Sûresi'nin 43. âyetinden (*Kendi nefsinin arzusunu kendisine ilah edineni gördün mü? Ona sen mi vekil olacaksın?*) ve *Yeryüzünde Allah'ı en çok kızdıran put, kendisine tapılan hevâ ve hevestir* şeklinde rivâyet edilen hadisten¹⁹ beslendiği de aşikârdır.

Menâkib'in 32. faslında Peygamber Efendimiz'in (s.a.v.) bir hadisine dayanan Şeyh Zâhid, mahlûkatın melek, hayvan ve insan diye üç gruba ayrıldığını belirterek, her bir grubun özelliklerini açıklar. Ona göre melek tamamen ulvî (yüksek) olduğu hâlde, hay-

van bütünüyle süflî (alçak)'tır. İnsanda hem ulvî hem de süflî özellikler bulunmaktadır. Onun maddî (bedensel) olan kısmı hayvanla özdeşleştirildiği hâlde aklî olan kısmı meleklerle özdeşleşmektedir. Her zaman kendi varlığındaki maddiyatı eksilterek mâneviyatını artıran, gerek duyulmadıkça yemeyen, zaruret olmadıkça uyumayan kişi âkil insandır. Zira insandaki hayvânî nefis ne kadar zayıf olursa, onun melekî aklı bir o kadar ziyade olur. Bu duruşu devamlı olarak sergileyen insanın en sonunda melekî kısmı hayvânî tarafına galip olur. Savaş sırasında şartları galip taraf belirlediği gibi, insanın içinde vuku bulan bu savaşta da hangi taraf galip olursa o kendi hükmünü geçirir.

Menâkib'da bu konuya ilişkin yine de Senâî'nin aşağıdaki beyti aktarılmıştır:

Der-i rahmânî vü rûhânî vü şeytânî dü-
rüst

Ez şümâr-ı her ki bâşî ez tuyî rûz-ı şümâr

Ardından da *Menâkib*'in mütercimi tarafından bu beyit manzum bir şekilde Türkçeye çevrilmiştir:

Sende vardur rahmânî vü rûhânî [vü]
şeytânî bâb
Kendüzündendür ne vechiyle ola maş-
şerde 'ıķâb²⁰

Senâî'nin söz konusu beytinde ifade edilmiş olan düşünceyi günümüz Türkçesinde; "Rahmânîlik, rûhânîlik ve şeytânîliğin hangi birinden dürüst bir şekilde tutunursan, hesap gününe (maşşere) de aynı sıfatla çıkarsın" diye anlamlandırabiliriz.

Şeyh Zâhid bu beyti şöyle yorumlar:

Dünyâda bu şıfatdan ne şıfat gâlib olursa, ol cihetle maşşerde cezâ olunur. Cehd edüp rahmânî ve rûhânî şıfatı gâlib etmek gerek. Şıfat-ı şeytânîden kaçmak gerek,

16 age. 101b-102a.

17 bkz. Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *100 Soruda Tasavvuf* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1985), 40.

18 *Mecmua* (37 Hk 2694), 104a. Senâî'nin bu beyti bazı tezkirelerde de yer almaktadır: Rızakulu Han Hidâyet, *Tezkire-i Riyâzû'l-'Arifin*, 29, <http://www.sufi.ir/books/download/farsi/hedayat/riaz-ul-arefin.pdf>, Erişim Tarihi: 05.03.2019.

19 bkz. H. Kâmil Yılmaz, *Anahatlarıyla Tasavvuf ve Tarihîyat* (İstanbul: Ensâr Neşriyat, 2004), 211.

20 bkz.. *Divân-ı Senâî*, 81, <http://www.sufi.ir/books/download/farsi/sanai/divane-sanaie-noskheh2.pdf>, Erişim Tarihi: 09.02.2018.

tā ki ahvāl-ı kıyāmetden necāt bulasın. (Yani; bu dünyada söz konusu sıfatlardan hangi birisi insana hâkim olursa, mahşerde de aynı sıfatla muamele görür. Bu yüzden insan, içindeki bu savaştan rahmânî ve rûhânî sıfatın galip çıkması için çaba sarfetmelidir. Zira kıyamet ahvalinden kurtuluş bulabilmekten ötürü şeytânî sıfattan kaçmak gerekir.)²¹

Menâkıb'ın 46. faslındaki sohbetinde Şeyh Zâhid diyor ki; hem evliyalar hem de sapkınlılar (gümrâhlar) kendi sohbetleriyle insanın hâlini değiştirebilirler. Evliyalar kötü insanı iyi insana dönüştürürken, sapkınlılar da iyi insanı kötü yapabilirler. Bu yüzden Geylânî, kötü insanlarla muhatap olmamayı tavsiye ederek, bu bağlamda Senâî'nin şu mısralarına atıfta bulunur:

Bâ bedân kem nişîn ki şöhet-i bed
Gerçi pâkî tu rā pelîd küned.
Çeşme-i âftâb-ı rûşen rā
Zerre-i ebr nâ-pedîd küned²²

Yine mütercim Mehmed b. Abdüllatif bu dizeleri şiirsel bir biçimde Türkçeye tercüme etmiştir:

Yaramazla oturma kim yaramaz
Pâk iseñ seni pelîd eyler.
Güneşüñ ger yüzünde bir zerre
Bulut olursa nâ-pedîd eyler²³

Söz konusu şiire günümüz Türkçesinde; “Kötülerle oturma, zira parlak güneşi bir zerre bulut görünmez kıldığı gibi, sen pak olsan bile kötülerin sohbeti seni murdar eder” diye mânâ verebiliriz.

Menâkıb'ın 2., 3. ve 17. fasıllarında fenâ ve bekâ, yokluk ve varlık konusu açıklanır. Özellikle 17. fasılda Zâhid Geylânî, “asıl iş yokluktadır” der. O, tâliplere her zaman himmetlerini ve nazarlarını yokluktan yana kıl-

21 *Mecmua* (37 Hk 2694), 124a-b.

22 bkz. *Dîvân-ı Senâî*, 460.

23 *Mecmua* (37 Hk 2694), 129a.

malarını tavsiye eder. Zira maksat yokluktan hâsil olur. Bu konuda *Menâkıb*'da, Peygamber Efendimiz'e (s.a.v.) atfedilen *Ölmeden önce ölünüz* hadisi zikredilir.²⁴ Eski Türk edebiyatında, özellikle de Türk tasavvuf şiirinde yaygın olarak kullanılan ve hadis olduğu söylenen Ölmeden evvel ölünüz sözü, genellikle “Her çeşit nefsânî ihtirastan arınmak, dünyalık isteklerden vazgeçmek” anlamında kullanılmaktadır. Bu ihtiraslar insan için bir nevi yük kabul edilmiş, sırtında yükü olan nasıl kolaylıkla yürüyüp engelleri geçemezse gönlü ihtiraslarla dolu kişinin de Hak yolunda kolay yol alamayacağı ve onun kapısından içeri giremeyeceği düşünülmüştür.²⁵ Şeyh Zâhid'in müridlerinden olan Şeyh Sâfi de kendi buyruklarında “ölmeden önce ölme”yi dünya sevgisini terk ederek kendini Hakk'a teslim etmek olarak yorumlar. Türkistan ve Horasan irfanı için karakteristik olan bu durum, tâlibin her yaptığı ve yapacağı hareketin hesabını öteki dünyaya kalmadan burada vereceğine ilişkin tavrı ortaya koyarak davranış geliştirmektedir.²⁶

47. bölümdeki konuşmasında aynı mevzu üzerine açıklamalarını sürdüren Şeyh Zâhid, “ölmeden önce ölmek” hadisine işâreten bu varlıktan geçip ölmenin gerektiğini, zira asıl diriliğin ölmekten vuku bulduğunu söyler. İnsanlar uykudadırlar ve öldükleri zaman uyanacaklar. hadisinden yola çıkan Geylânî, bu durumu bir bilgisizin bir bilginden bilim öğrenmesi sonucunda ondaki bilgisizlik hâlinin ölmesi ve yerine bilginlik hâlinin gelmesi ile kıyaslar. Yine başak hâlinde insan karnına girinceye kadar buğdayın seyrini ve bu seyir içinde bir hâlin ölerken yerine başka bir hâlin gelmesini örnek olarak gösteren şeyh, ölümün

24 *Mecmua* (37 Hk 2694), 117b-118a.

25 bkz. Azmi Bilgin, “Osmanlı Şiirinde Ölmeden Önce Ölme Temi”, *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 36/2 (2007), 42-53.

26 bkz. Ahmet Taşgın, “Piri Türkistan'ın Nefesinin Rum Diyarına Ulaşması: Ölmeden Önce Ölmek”, *Türk Yurdu Dergisi* 105, 352 (2016): 32-34.

dirilik için başlangıç olduğunu ve ölümden korkulup kaçılmaması gerektiğini ifade eder. Bu konuda o, yine Senâî dîvânından şu mısraları aktarır:

Bemîr ey düst pîş ez merg eger mey-i
zindegî hâhî
Ki İdrîs ez çenîn mürden bihiştî geşt pîş
ez mâ

Mehmed b. Abdüllatif bu beyti de manzum bir şekilde Türkçeye çevirmiştir:

Öl ölmezden öñ ey cân eger dirilik
dilersüñ
Ki bizden öñ ölümden bihişt ehli olur
İdrîs
(Ey dost, eğer hayat meyi istiyorsan, ölmeden önce öl; çünkü İdris bu şekilde ölmekle bizden önce cennet ehli olmuştur).²⁷

Senâî'nin bu şiirinde ölmeden önce öldüğü için cennete alındığı zikredilen İdris, Kur'ân-ı Kerîm'de adı geçen peygamberlerden biridir. Âyetlerin birinde İdris'ten söz edilirken, *Kitapta İdrîs'i de an; çünkü o çok sâdik bir peygamberdi. Biz onu yüce bir makama yükselttik* (Meryem 19/56-57), diğerinde ise *İsmail'i, İdris'i, Zülkifl'i de hatırla. Bunların hepsi sabredenlerdendi. Onları rahmetimize kabul ettik. Onlar hakikaten iyi kimselerdendi* (Enbiyâ 21/85-86) denilmektedir. Kur'ân'da İdris'le ilgili olarak “ağlayarak secde etme, doğruya ulaştırılma, seçkin kılınma” (Meryem 19/58); “şanının ve mekânının üstün ve yüce olması” (Meryem 19/57); “sabredici olma” (Enbiyâ 21/85); “sıddık ve nebî olma” (Meryem 19/56) gibi nitelikler yer almaktadır. Müslüman müellifler İdris'in, Kitâb-ı Mukaddes'teki rivâyete göre ebedî hayata ermiş olan veya Kitâb-ı Mukaddes dışı Yahudi dinî literatürüne göre ölmeden cennete giren Hanok (Honoç) olduğunu kabul ederler. İdris Nebî motifi, gerek

27 *Mecmua* (37 Hk 2694), 129a-b; krş. *Dîvân-ı Senâî*, 32.

tasavvuf ve tekke şiirinde gerekse dîvân ve halk edebiyatlarında geçmekte, Hz. İdris'in semâya urûcu, *Biz onu yüce bir mekâna yükselttik* âyetine (Meryem 19/57) dayandırılmakta ve mi'râciyyelerin çoğunda onun urûcuna temas edilmektedir.²⁸

Şeyh Zâhid, tasavvufu ilgili muhtelif meseleleri anlatırken kendi görüşlerini sufi şâirlerin şiirlerinden örneklerle desteklemeyi uygun bulmuştur. Çünkü Horasan tasavvuf ekolünün özelliklerinden biri de şiir ve edebiyatın bu gelenekte özel bir yere sahip olmasıdır.²⁹ Genel olarak *Şeyh Zâhid Menâkıbı*'nda toplam 28 beyit şiir sunulmuştur. Bunlardan 16 beyti Farsça, 11 beyti Türkçe ve 1 beyti Arapçadır. Farsça beyitlerden 6'sı Senâî'ye, 4'ü Mevlânâ'ya ait olup, biri de Ebû Mansur İsmail İsfahânî'nin yaptığı *Avârifü'l-Ma'ârif* çevirisinden alınmıştır. Farsça olan diğer 5 beytin yazarı meçhuldür. Türkçe beyitlerin hepsi mütercim Mehmed b. Abdüllatif'in kaleminden çıkmıştır. Bunlardan biri mütercimin mukaddimesinde yer almaktadır; geri kalanlar ise çeşitli Farsça beyitlerin manzum çevirilerinden ibârettirler. Arapça tek beyit ise X. yüzyıl sufilerinden Kelâbâzî'nin *Tarruf* isimli eserinden alınmıştır.

Tasavvuf tarihimizde pek çok evliyânın ve mutasavvıfın şiir söylediği ve kendi düşüncelerini bu şiirler aracılığıyla yaydığı bilinmektedir. Bilhassa XII. yüzyılda Pir-i Türkistan Hoca Ahmed Yesevî'nin *Dîvân-ı Hikmet*'i ile beraber Türkler arasında da tasavvufî şiir ün kazanmıştır. Şeyh Zâhid'in dönemine geldiğinde sufi şiirinin iyice şöhret bulunduğunu, özellikle de Türk ve Fars edebiyatını derinden etkilediğini söyleyebiliriz. *Menâkıb*'ın 45. faslındaki sohbetinde Şeyh Zâhid'in edebiyata bakışı ve tasavvuf şiiriyle dünyevî şiiri karşılaştırması yer almaktadır:

28 Ömer Faruk Harman, “İdris”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 2000, XXI: 478-480.

29 bkz. Altunkaya, “Horasan Tasavvuf Ekolü”, 141.

Şeyh kaddesallāhü sırrahü buyurur ki şi'r-i evliyâ tefsîr-i Qur'an'dur. Zîrâ Qur'an eyülerüñ medhi ve yaramazlaruñ zemmidür ve eyülere cezâ cennet ve yaramazlara cezâ cehennemdir. Min evvelihü ve âhîrahü bu ma'nānuñ beyānidur. Şi'r-i evliyâ anuñ şerhidür. Şu'arâ şi'rinüñ hilāfıyla ki medh-i dünyādur ve mübālağa yalanlar her kimse hakkında her biri bir nesne yüz biñ mübālağayla söylerler, ne kadar mübālağa ve yalan çok olsa, anlaruñ şi'ri hoşrak gelür ki "atyebü's-şi'r ekzebehü şi'r". Şi'r-i evliyānuñ hilāfıyla ki her ne ki âhîretten ve ol 'ālemüñ ahvālinden haber verürler, yüzde birin söylemezler. Pes her ne ki söyleseler eyüden ve yavuzdan, gelüp âhîrete ta'alluk tutar. Haqîkatde dedügi kadar yegdür. Şi'r-i evliyâyyla şi'r-i şu'arâ halâ'ikuñ şüretine beñzer ki küllî âdemîdür. İllâ ba'zı evliyâ ve ba'zı kâfirdür ve ba'zı bî-dîn, şüretde bir görünür. Ammâ haqîkatde bir degilerdür. Pes fark vardır, bilmek gerek.³⁰

Yukarıdaki açıklamalarına bakılırsa, Geylânî'ye göre evliyânın şiiri Kur'an'ın tefsiridir. Zira Kur'an-ı Kerim, iyilerin medhi ve kötülerin zemmi üzerine olup, burada mü'minlere cennet ve kötülere cehennem vadedilmektedir. Evliyâ şiiri ise bunun şerhidir. Oysaki dünyevî şâirlerin şiirinde dünya methedilir. Dünyevî şâirler bu dünyayı veya methettikleri kimseyi abartılı yalanlar üzerinden över, onu yüz bin kat daha büyük göstermeye çalışırlar. Bunların yalanı ne kadar fazla olursa, dünya ehlinin bir o kadar hoşuna gider. Fakat evliyâ kendi şiirinde âhîret ve öteki âlem konusunda bildiklerinin yüzde birini bile söylemez ve bunların şiirinde yalan olmaz. Evliyânın şiiri ile dünyevî şâirin şiiri insanın sûreti gibidir. Fiziksel görünüm itibariyle insanların tamamı birbirlerine benzeseler de mahiyet bakımından farklıdırlar: Birisi evliyâ olduğu hâlde

bir başkası kâfir, bir diğeri dinsizdir. Bunlar sûrette bir olsalar da hakikatte bir değildirlere. İşte evliyâ şiiri ile şuarâ şiiri arasındaki farkı da böyle bilmek gerekir.

Sonuç

Azerbaycan'ın Lenkeran bölgesinde doğmuş ve orada vefat etmiş bulunan Şeyh Zâhid Geylânî'nin ataları buraya Horasan'dan gelmiş, şeyhin kendisi de dünya görüşü itibarıyla Horasan irfan yolunun takipçilerinden olmuştur. *Şeyh Zâhid Menâkıbı*'nda Horasan tasavvuf ekolünün temsilcilerinden olan Bâyezid Bistâmî'nin bir şathiyesi ile şair Senâî'nin altı beytinin aktarılması örneğinde söz konusu eserin Horasan irfanını Anadolu'ya ulaştıran kaynak metinlerden biri olduğu sonucuna varıyoruz. Şeyh Zâhid bu şathiyeye ve beyitleri sadece aktarmakla yetinmemiş, aynı zamanda onları kendine özgü yöntemlerle yorumlamıştır. XV. yüzyılda *Şeyh Zâhid Menâkıbı*'nın Anadolu'da Türkçeye çevrilmesi neticesinde şeyhin Horasan irfanı ile ilgili sunmuş olduğu bu örnek ve yorumlar da Anadolu muhitine intikal etmiş oldu. Bâyezid Bistâmî ve şâir Senâî haricinde *Menâkıb*'da İbrahim b. Edhem, Bişr el-Hâfî ve Mevlânâ Celâleddin-i Rûmî gibi Horasan asıllı irfan ehlinin de bazı özlü sözlerine yer verilmiştir.

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EKLER

و اوله سنجی کبر بجمع لطایف لطیف ابو عبد الله ضیف و در درو علی
 و اوله دهن کاشف الانوار من مسکن الینم ابو محمد و در درو
 و اوله دهن ابو القاسم حبیب بن ادریس درو و اوله اخی سیاق
 در کوه و زرنه تا حضرت رسالت و کن صلوات علی سلامه و بار
 بر سه بر دگر اوین شایخ و حرط سنیتم و در سیزدهم اوزرنه آرشاک
 اندر و طایفه یور کتر و در تکمیل اندر رضوانه علیهم اجمعین
 او کما الذی یهدیکم الی صراط مستقیم و در شانزدهم کابریغ
 کابریغ موصوله الهنا و کما یهدیکم الی صراط مستقیم و در بیست و نه
 درو را در صا جلیت سلطان زمانه شیخ صنی الحی و در بیست و نه آه مالک
 تحت کلمه نوح و لایب و امه اعلم بالعوایر الیه المرجع و الحساب
مشاقبت شیخ زاهد کلانی مدینه سوره العزیز
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 سکر و سپاس غایت و ستایش نه نماید و ده خانه کیم شاعیر

Şeyh Zâhid Menâkıbrı'nın İlk Sayfası

صغیر سوره ازین بولوش اتم شمله که بنیر که بصیرم سن بهر و دروم
 و بن که سیم سوره سحر و دروم بونجیلر کله بنم اوصاف و غیره که نه نه ایتر
 سن از اچتی یولداش اتم مالور اوزون چوتی فیم ایدر سن یوز کوز
 بندر یگاد و ندر سن بنم امری صغیر سن بسن کوز اوز کوز
 بنم صغیر اتم بر بلوک سزی بندر ایر و بک که کون اقر بلو سیم صیل
 اوزریده آدی که بر شنه لک نظر اتمه دور دیوار کبیر که اقباس اوزون
 پر کوز اما کوز لکه نور زرن جنری یوز و مرادی که بوم سیزده جنر
 دار اوده کسنا و یلادن و صق کلا کوز مقرب لر ندرانی غیر نسبت
 اتم کوز که و صحیحی غنیمت بلک کوز که جمیع عالمه اندر فایده کوز
ولایت شیخ صافی اردبیلی مدینه سوره العزیز
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 اتم ایدر لری بخا اویسی با نوار ادرمان و تجلی اصفیای با نواع
 اللطایف و المعارف لبره و علوجت القلب تجبه و شنه و فتح انی

Şeyh Zâhid Menâkıbrı'nın Son Sayfası



Responsive and Responsible Mutuality between the Human Self and Her Ecosystem: A Perspective of Spiritual Humanism

Benlik ve Ekosistem Arasındaki Duyarlı ve Sorumlu Karşılıklılık: Mânevî Hümanist Bir Yaklaşım

Jian Bao WANG*

Abstract

This paper investigates possibilities for ‘responsive and responsible mutuality’ between the human self and her ecosystem from the perspective of ‘Spiritual Humanism’. Spiritual Humanism is a global discourse emerging out of third-epoch Confucianism (so-called ‘Contemporary Neo-Confucianism’). As a theoretical framework, Spiritual Humanism places Humanity (*ren*) in the center; all four dimensions - self, community, Earth and Heaven - are transfused with the active vital power (*qi*) of Humanity (*ren*). The implications of this discourse for ethical practice, particularly in the context of the global ecological movement, are significant: corresponding human reverence for the natural world, rooted in ‘spiritual’ or anthropocosmic rather than merely ‘secular’ or anthropocentric humanism, is a precondition for both environmental and intergenerational justice.

Keywords: Spiritual Humanism, Contemporary Neo-Confucianism, Ecology, Anthropocosmism.

Öz

Bu makale, insan benliği ile ekosistemi arasındaki ‘duyarlı ve sorumlu karşılıklılık’ olanaklarını mânevî hümanizm perspektifinden araştırmaktadır. Mânevî hümanizm, üçüncü dönem Konfüçyüsçülükten (ki Çağdaş Neo-Konfüçyüsçülük olarak adlandırılır) doğan küresel bir söylemdir. Teorik bir çerçevede olarak

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mânevî hümanizm, insanlığı (*ren*) merkeze yerleştirir; dört boyutun tamamı -benlik, toplum, yer ve gök- insanlığın (*ren*) aktif yaşamsal gücü (*qi*) ile aktarılır. Bu söylemin, özellikle küresel ekolojik hareket bağlamında, etik uygulamalar için çıkarımları önemlidir: Salt ‘seküler’ ya da insan merkezli hümanizmden ziyade ‘rûhânî’ ya da antropokozmik temellere dayanan, doğal dünyayla uyumlu insânî hürmet, hem çevresel hem de nesiller arası adalet için bir ön koşuldur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mânevî hümanizm, çağdaş Neokonfüçyüsçülük, ekoloji, antropokozmizm.

1. Three Epochs of Confucianism and Three Generations of the Third Epoch

The history of Confucianism is typically divided into three epochs: 1) from earliest times, not later than Duke Zhou of the Zhou Dynasty (1046 B.C.E. -256 B.C.E.) through the Han dynasty (202 B.C.E.-220 C.E.); Neo-Confucianism from the Song (960-1279 C.E.) through the Ming (1368-1644 C.E.) Dynasties, and Confucian thought from the Opium War (1840 C.E.) to the present as the third epoch.¹

In its first epoch, Confucius succeeded in developing a comprehensive system of morality, ethics and politics from primordial rituals and musical teachings.²

In its second epoch, owing to the fostering influence of Neo-Daoism and Buddhism from 220 CE to the 10th century, Confucianism enjoyed a renaissance, developing a system of metaphysics, expanding into Asia, and fostering a Confucian Culture Sphere.³

In its third epoch, Confucianism lost its ideological leadership, retreating to the background of daily life in Cultural China⁴ since the beginning of 20th century, or even as early as 1644 when mainland China was conquered by the

nomad Manchu who built up the last dynasty in China called Qing (1644 CE-1911 CE).

The third epoch of Confucianism is represented by three distinct generations. The first generation was represented by Xiong Shili, Ma Yifu and Liang Shuming, who built on the scholars of the second epoch by referring to the spiritual resources of Buddhism and Daoism (and with relatively few Western references). The second generation was represented by Mou Zongsan, Feng Youlan, He Lin, Tang Junyi, Fang Dongmei and Xu Fuguan etc., who conducted their research mainly based on the Hellenic philosophical traditions, such as Mou vs Kant, He and Tang vs Hegel, Feng vs John Dewey and so forth, with relatively little reference to the Abrahamic traditions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam).⁵

As a prominent member of the third generation of “New Confucians,” Professor Tu Weiming has deeply penetrated the mindset of the Western world, not only referring to Hellenic traditions but also Abrahamic traditions. In the words of Yao Xinzong, Tu Weiming “attempts to reshape the Confucian perspective on the meaning of life by tracing the humanistic understanding of life to transcendental sources, and therefore pinpointing the spiritual value of Confucianism for a twenty-first-century society.”⁶

1 Xinzong Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6-7.

2 Tu Weiming, *The Global Significance of Concrete Humanity: Essays on the Confucian Discourse in Cultural China*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2010), 219.

3 Op. cit., 229–283.

4 J. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy. Vol. III: The Problem of Historical Significance*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), v-vi.

5 Tu Weiming, *The Global Significance*, xii.

6 Xinzong Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 285.

2. Review of Spiritual Humanism and The Ecological Turn in Contemporary neo-Confucianism

Spiritual Humanism is the fruit of the continuous endeavors of the three generations, implying an ecological turn of Confucianism. In his 2018 Wang Yangming Lecture at the 24th World Congress of Philosophy, Tu defines Spiritual Humanism in the following terms:

- 1) From the perspective of Spiritual Humanism, each human being as endowed by the Heavenly decree is intrinsically free, equal, and able to realize what is great in us.
- 2) An equally crucial premise of Spiritual Humanism is sanctity of the earth. Our universe is saturated with intrinsic value and numinous beauty. This reality cannot be proven by empirical data. Nor can it be grasped by reductive logic from natural sciences such as neurobiology. Rather, it is a commitment, indeed a faith, which may or may not be theistic.
- 3) The grammar of theism strikes a sympathetic resonance in Spiritual Humanism. Sacred places (cathedrals, churches, temples, mosques, synagogues), hymns, songs, prayers, dances, festivals are beyond pretensions to scientific, philosophical, or theological control. All three great theistic religions have spiritual resources and intellectual depths to inspire us to sing songs of hope and express our gratitude to divine love. They have made profound contributions to human religiosity.
- 4) Nevertheless, Spiritual Humanism may be theistic or pantheistic, and it embraces atheism and a variety of vitalism characteristic of most indigenous traditions as well.
- 5) It is manifested in the four inseparable dimensions of Confucian humanism: self, community, nature, and Heaven. Only through dialogue can integration of the body and mind, fruitful interaction between self and society,

harmony between humankind and nature, and mutuality between the human heart-and-mind and the Way of Heaven be attained.

Professor Tu's article "The Ecological Turn in New Confucian Humanism: Implications for China and the World"⁷ was also summarized by Joseph Camilleri in terms of "spiritual humanism":

Tu Weiming calls for 'a comprehensive spiritual humanism' capable of integrating the four pillars of human flourishing: self, community, Earth and Heaven. What distinguishes the neo-Confucian holistic vision are the four indispensable relationships that are said to connect the four pillars: (1) fruitful interaction between self and community; (2) harmonization of community, which encompasses regulation of family, governance of the state and maintenance of world order; (3) a sustainable harmonious relationship between the human species and nature; and (4) mutual responsiveness between the 'human heart-and-mind' and 'the way of heaven'.⁸

On August 5, 2002, a seminar was cohosted by the Association of China Philosophy History and China Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing to discuss Tu's article by gathering the most prominent Chinese scholars.⁹ Ecology has since become a hot topic in the academic world of Cultural China.

On a practical note, in 2013, Professor Tu initiated the establishment of the International Confucian Ecological Alliance, a branch

7 Tu Weiming, "The Ecological Turn in New Confucian Humanism: Implications for China and the World," *Daedalus* 130, 4 (2001): 244.

8 J. Camilleri, "A Just and Ecologically Sustainable Peace: The Policy Imperative of Our Time," in *Towards a Just and Ecologically Sustainable Peace: Navigating the Great Transition*, ed. J. Camilleri, D. Guess, D., (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 34.

9 Tu Weiming, "Confucius and Ecology," *Chinese Philosophy History* 3, 1 (2003): 5-18.

of the International Religious Ecological Alliance created by the Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh.

In 2015, owing to the invitation of former French President François Hollande, Professor Tu delivered a speech on behalf of Confucianism at the Summit of Climate Conscience. This summit gathered more than 40 spiritual leaders from the world to steer the signature of the coming Paris Agreement. In this speech, Tu reminded his audience that

Spiritual Humanism can help to deepen the intellectual and moral depth of our environmental awareness. In order to change the ethos of international politics, we must engage in dialogue on core values across cultures. Universal values currently recognized such as liberty, rationality, legality, human rights, and the dignity of the individual can and should be fruitfully compared as substantially enriched by the universal values embodied in virtually all cultures past and present, notably brightness, justice, or fairness, civility, responsibility, and social solidarity. For spiritual humanism, the focus is on commiseration, sympathy, empathy, compassion, and of course, care.¹⁰

At the beginning of 2020, a research center on new Business Civilization was newly established at Cheung Kong Graduate School of Business (CKGSB) to explore the future of our New Era, New Business and New Civilization, especially the relationship between business and the ecosystem. Professor Tu is the chairman of the Humanity Committee of CKGSB. On October 14 2020, Professor Xiang Bing, who is also well known as the founding dean of CKGSB, delivered a speech on climate change on the webinar affiliated with the California-

¹⁰ Tu Weiming's Speech in Paris on July 21 for a World Summit of Conscience, video, 2:59:49 to 3:07:22, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MKqJAJc1dCI>.

China Climate Institute which is housed jointly at UC Berkeley's School of Law. Professor Xiang emphasized that a key element of sustainable development in our time is to redefine the relationship between man and nature which has emerged in recent centuries.

In our political and economic systems, limited incentives have been provided to truly care for the long-term interest of humanity. This collective myopia may have contributed to our environmental degradation and global climate change. Considering today's advanced technologies, we must address this issue before collective myopia pushes humanity to extinction.

Professor Xiang asserted.

3. Reflections on the Enlightenment and the Ecosystem

Born in Europe, the Enlightenment has established values which have been genuinely welcomed by individual people all over the world: freedom, equality, democracy, the rule of law and the scientific method all represent qualitative leaps for human civilisation, enabling comprehensive human development wherever they have been implemented, and allowing a global transformation from 'ancient' to 'modern' modes of economic and social life.

Despite their apparent universality, 'Enlightenment values' have spread around the world from specific origins in Europe and the United States; there have been periods in Asian intellectual history, for instance, where the word 'modernisation' has been taken as a direct synonym for 'Westernization' or even 'Americanization'. The existence of 'multiple modernities', however -or at least an inherent pluralism in various countries' efforts at modernization- has now been firmly established by empirical research. In China, the 'May 4, 1919' and 'New Culture' movements in particular, for

all their shortcomings, played important roles in establishing local ‘sapere aude’ traditions. The ‘Enlightenment mentality’, inherited from the post-industrial West, has prevailed in much of China’s growth over the past half-century. Tang Ke, head of the Chinese delegation, made a declaration at the United Nations Conference on Human Environment and Development in Stockholm in June 1972, saying that we should not stop developing our industries out of fear of environmental pollution.

The Enlightenment indeed promoted human progress and rational science, while it also brought up many problems simultaneously, such as wealth inequality, the decline of social mobility, and ecological destruction. Furthermore, we will not solve these problems if there is only liberty without justice, only rationality without compassion, or only the rule of law without comity. Chinese influence on key Enlightenment figures such as Leibniz and Voltaire - a factor long neglected by academic researchers and perhaps now overplayed by them - should also not be completely ignored: the Enlightenment itself emerged out of a rich ferment and interplay of ideas in which Western thinkers borrowed liberally from each other and also from non-Western sources. Tu Weiming has a beautiful statement regarding this on the kick-off ceremony of the 24th World Congress of Philosophy in 2018 in Beijing as follows:

I think that the Confucian Humanity, Rightness, Propriety, Wisdom and Sincerity are all universal values which can be put in equal and mutually beneficial dialogues with the universal values generated by the modern western Enlightenment, such as rationality, liberty, legality, human rights, and human dignity. Rationality without sympathy will become hard calculation, liberty without justice will result in selfishness, law without propriety will fall into ruthless

control, rights without responsibility will give excuse for plundering, and individual dignity will be left high and dry without social harmony.

Conversely, sympathy without rationality will descend to spoiling, justice without liberty will become compulsion, propriety without law will lead to corruption, responsibility without right will degenerate into oppression, and superficial social harmony without individual dignity will be experienced as a form of control.¹¹

Moreover, if there is only Pareto Improvement but no Confucian Improvement, then there will be no shared prosperity of all countries in the world.¹²

If we only talk about power, even ‘knowledge as power’ or ‘soft power’¹³, we will remain in dilemmas of hegemony, relying on power to solve our problems.

We must overcome the arrogance of Eurocentrism, as well as overcome the absolutist belief that science can solve everything. We should eliminate intellectual arrogance theoretically by recognizing that local knowledge and local beliefs are also knowledge.

In a word, we need to understand the values of Enlightenment but ultimately surpass the ‘Enlightenment mentality’. Also, Liberalism cannot be slavishly followed but reshaped as per the continuity of being. Rationality is bounded¹⁴, whereas globalization is boundless.

11 Tu Weiming, “The Confucian Universal Value,” *Chuan Shan Journal* 17, 5 (2017): 1-4.

12 Tingyang Zhao, *Redefining A Philosophy for World Governance*, trans. Liqing Tao, (Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd. & Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 59-64.

13 Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2005).

14 Herbert A. Simon, *Reason in Human Affairs*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 19-20.

4. Spiritual Humanism and the Ecosystem

Apocalyptic challenges, however -posed by environmental degradation, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, global epidemics, accelerated technological transformation and growing disparities in wealth- have led (and will continue to lead) to fundamental changes at all levels of human society in our century. As Professor Tu articulated,

Today virtually all Axial-age civilizations are going through their own distinctive forms of transformation in response to the multiple challenges of modernity. One of the most crucial questions they face is what wisdom they can offer to reorient the human developmental trajectory of the modern world in light of the growing environmental crisis.¹⁵

Among all these Axial-age traditions, Confucianism is facing the most direct existential threat. Joseph Levenson worried that Confucius would be put in a museum as a mummy.¹⁶ Levenson was sad for the miserable fate of all Axial traditions, including his own faith Judaism, yet he believed that the funeral of Confucius would be the first held. However, after more than half a century, all the Axial Age traditions including Confucianism are surviving and even flourishing. Nowadays, the Confucian Economic Sphere (CES) includes Mainland China, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong SAR, Macao SAR and Taiwan of ROC. The overall GDP of these 8 countries or regions, as a sphere, surpassed the USA in 2015 after nearly two centuries lagging behind the modernized western bloc.¹⁷

Confucian spirituality is a restless horizon with

¹⁵ Tu Weiming, *The Global Significance*, 382.

¹⁶ Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, III: 76-82. Levenson paid condolence to Confucianism as well as other Axial age civilizations.

¹⁷ Xiang Bing, *Harmony without Uniformity for Confucian Economic Sphere*, 2018, <http://www.ftchinese.com/story/001075787?archive>.

over 5000 years of continuity. By transforming Buddhism to Chinese contexts, China avoided the fate of Buddhist countries like Myanmar or Thailand; Confucianism itself was enriched and enhanced by contact. Similarly, Spiritual Humanism is the second Renaissance of Confucius by learning from Hellenic and Hebrew spiritualities.

Tu Weiming's Spiritual Humanism brings together four dimensions of the commonly shared human experience (self, community, Earth and Heaven) in order to define the highest manifestation of human flourishing. Tu's Confucian approach to modernity transcends the Enlightenment mentality without rejecting its gains, reshaping but not blindly following liberalism for the 21st century, and rebuilding the identity of Cultural China via the practice of "Dialogical Dialogue" and center-to-center unisons with other civilizations.¹⁸ Confucianism, as a local value, could realize her global significance through dialogues among civilizations for the human community.

Spiritual Humanism realizes three layers of transformation of the core value of Confucian Humanity (*ren*). First, Confucians should learn from the best of Enlightenment values, such as rationality, justice, legality, human rights, and economic growth. Second, Confucian cultural entities should establish the identity of 'cultural man' via justice, sympathy, ritual and social harmony. Third, in a new era, all humanity should seek and embrace ecological humanism, learning to be 'ecological man'. Spiritual Humanism manages some unique contributions to this new "Trinity," which implies economic man, cultural man and ecological man. If economic man's rationality prevails, then there is no compassion and justice, but only capital remains and flows across the boundaries.

¹⁸ Tu Weiming, "Spiritual Humanism: An Emerging Global Discourse," *Chuanshan Journal* 21, 1 (2021): 1-7.

If a ‘New Enlightenment’ is indeed required, it will only be reached by standing on the shoulders of the giants who made the old one possible and infusing their wisdom with external impulses. This not only means the sons of Athens and Jerusalem, however, but more broadly the ‘best that has been thought and said’ in all axial civilizations and indigenous traditions. In this context, perhaps a few ancient Chinese concepts will finally attain global significance.

a. He-er-bu-tong (‘Harmony without Uniformity’)

The principle of *heerbutong* refers not only to the free expression of individuals, but also to the self-realisation of these free individuals as social beings within the human collective. All spiritual traditions have faced the arduous challenge of unleashing individual creativity while also securing collective security and justice; if the recipes of the Axial civilisations may be more or less well known around the world, many indigenous resources continue to be neglected: a renewed cultural self-confidence among all peoples would allow positive examples to shine from everywhere, thereby keeping the proselytizing impulses of dominant cultures in check and preventing ‘universalism’ from collapsing into imported or imperialistic abstraction. A culture of global curiosity towards the new -of active welcoming of the different and unknown and potentially better- would then be allowed to triumph over nationalisms and particularistic ideologies of all stripes without succumbing to the traps of moral relativism or nihilism.

b. Tian-xia-da-tong (‘the Great Unity of All under Heaven’)

Theoretical resources for cultural identity and fiduciary community are enriched by Spiritual Humanism. Fiduciary Communities can surpass the limitation and boundaries of nation-

states initiated from modern Europe, which are characterized by slogans such as “America First” and “Vive La France”. Due to the boundaries of nation-states, international peace cannot be guaranteed as long as nationalism and national interests are the first priority.

Tianxiadatong (‘the Great Unity of All Under Heaven’), unpopular among Western and other non-Chinese intellectuals for its historical associations with Chinese imperial power, can in fact be more charitably understood as an antidote to nationalism and a balm for intercivilisational wounds. Only a genuinely post-nationalist horizon, indeed, will allow human beings to address their common problems and assume their shared responsibilities instead of sinking back into ‘My Country First!’ sloganeering and Cold War-era zero-sum espionage. The COVID-19 pandemic has reinforced the fact that our destinies are heavily intertwined; no single country, moreover, can hope to control the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the acceleration of anthropogenic climate change, or questions of global justice and structural inequality on its own. The path of peace and ‘dialogue among civilisations’ is hence not to be understood as the calculated choice of the Chinese government among a smorgasbord of available options; now and for the foreseeable future, it is the only sensible choice that any individual country and its people can possibly hope to make. This dialogical imperative, however, falls most heavily of all on those nations (none more so than China itself) who are responsible for avoiding the ‘Thucydides Trap’ of super-power conflagration which China’s meteoric economic rise presages.

c. Tian-ren-he-yi (Unity of Heaven and Man or Bringing Heaven and Humanity into Harmony [Without Uniformity])

The Confucian idea of the ‘unity of heaven and man’ is transformed into an ‘anthropocosmic’

doctrine or antropocosmicism to gain global significance. Tu Weiming regards the idea of the good life as

a continuous process of learning, which means self-realization, [an evocation of] a sense of the transcendent. In other words, it is not [fully realizable in] the secular age which Charles Taylor talks about, but lies beyond the secular age. [...] The fully human has to go beyond anthropocentricity to include both the anthropological and the cosmological. This is the antropocosmic vision.¹⁹

Among other potential boons, this concept offers 21st-century humanity a chance to reorient its relationship with the natural world. The Cartesian dualism at the heart of the Enlightenment's secular humanist desecralisation and instrumentalisation of nature may have opened up vital avenues of modern scientific inquiry, but by marginalising religious wisdom concerning the presence of the divine in everyday life, the Enlightenment unleashed a pathological and unsustainable Faustian drive to dominate nature which is as ruinous of individual human spirituality as it is of the environment. Without collapsing into premodern superstition, 'disenchanted' anthropocentric cosmologies must give way to new forms of spiritual life which reimburse the natural world with meaning. The wisdom of the African proverb 'The Earth is entrusted to us by future generations' is now being incorporated in one form or other into the Abrahamic traditions' respective 21st-century theologies.

On the traditional Confucian view, meanwhile, human beings are subjects as well as objects in the creative transformation of the universe: the phrase *tian-sheng-ren-cheng* ('Heaven engenders and humans complete') summarises this proactive attitude to human

¹⁹ Tu Weiming, et al, *Toward a Dialogical Civilization. Dialogues*, (-In prep.- Independently published, 2024), 145.

agency in the world, but also represents a call to responsibility: if we are free to 'complete' the will of Heaven, we are also free not to do so; in short, from Heaven's less than omnipotent perspective, we are capable of terrible and irreversible harm as well as important and irreplaceable good. However, on the other side, not only the Enlightenment mentality but also the "theological mentality", as Hossein Nasr has argued, has been guilty of excessive anthropocentrism:

In the whole world, Protestant evangelical Christians are the group least interested in preserving the environment. I had a debate the other day with someone. There's at least two of these people have written three books on the idea that Christ is going to soon come, and the faithful are going to be uplifted, and everyone else is going to be destroyed. They make millions of dollars all the time, these evangelicals on television, and so forth.²⁰

Corresponding human reverence for the natural world, rooted in 'spiritual' or antropocosmic rather than merely 'secular' or anthropocentric humanism, is a precondition for both environmental and intergenerational justice. Both Hellenic and Hebrew spiritualities could refer to Spiritual Humanism for their own great transformations and enrich their ecological dimensions.

Concluding Remarks: Responsive and Responsible Mutuality between the Human Self and Her Ecosystem

Spiritual Humanism promotes the global significance of Confucianism itself, yet Spiritual Humanism supplies a universal language of "learning to be human". Let's take software as an example. The Microsoft system is different from Apple system. The files with different formats cannot be opened and read by

²⁰ Tu Weiming, et. al., *Toward a Dialogical Civilization. Dialogues*, 98.

either side. But the content of the files are the same once the file is opened by either side. Nevertheless, the codes behind the software are still different. Similarly, religious languages are not universal languages, despite the attempts of Hans Küng and others to create grammars of interreligious dialogue. While many religious dogmas seek transcendence, Confucianism embraces the concrete living person here and now. 'Heaven engenders; humans complete.' Implicit in this proclamation of partnership is the idea that, through human effort, Heaven's creative vitality can be brought to fruition on Earth. As a theoretical framework, Spiritual Humanism offers a theory of ecology by placing Humanity (*ren*) in the center; all four dimensions -self, community, Earth and Heaven- are transfused with the active vital power of Humanity (*ren*). Responsive and responsible communication between humankind and nature, beyond the logic of domination, is hence made possible. An important spiritual exercise in the practice of Confucian self-cultivation is to extend our sympathetic feelings so that they encompass an ever-expanding network of human and non-human relatedness under Heaven.

In this shared future, we are all one global family. Spiritual Humanism offers a language of learning to be human to overcome the dangers of narrow specialization and abstract inclusivism. The theme of the 24th World Congress of Philosophy was 'Learning to Be Human', which is the common spiritual humanist foundation for dialogue among civilizations. Hand in hand, let's solve the problem of the 'clash of civilisations' through a dialogue which drives the Axial Civilizations towards a New Axial Civilization.

All great civilisations are in a constant state of mutual learning from each other and strengthening of each other. Despite important differences among the Axial civilisations and other

indigenous traditions, in the long run an 'overlapping consensus' can be observed: namely, a common humanistic ethos of ultimate concern for the place of human beings -and the precious essence that they contain- in a wider scheme of cosmic meaning. The Habermasian call to reinspect and reexcavate the Enlightenment tradition is a valid and necessary one, but it will not be sufficient to achieve the horizon of a 'New Enlightenment' in the 21st century: for that, the worst of the 'Enlightenment mentality' must be excised via contact with foreign cultural elements. The result will not be an 'End of History' or one-size-fits-all global ideology, but rather a house fit for free individual personalities and civilisations to inhabit. China has a vital role to play in the building of this house, to be sure, but its influence will remain far smaller than that of the rest of the world combined. If a 'New Enlightenment' project is to succeed, the spirit of dialogue characteristic of all axial civilisations and indigenous traditions at their best must be encouraged to flourish everywhere.

"The anthropocosmic idea addresses the interplay between Heaven's creativity as expressed in the cosmological process and humans' creativity as embodied in Heaven's life-generating transformation."²¹ Just as the great Jewish theologian Martin Buber pays tribute to *I and Thou*²², Mencius, the great Chinese sage, argued already in 300 B.C.E. for the idea of the "Great Body," embodying a faith that "the myriad things are already in me". This is not an imagined possibility but an achievable state. We can expand our active vital energy (*qi*) to enable it to fill the space between Heaven and Earth.

21 Tu Weiming, "An 'Anthropocosmic' Perspective on Creativity," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 2 (2010): 7305-7311.

22 Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, trans. Ronald Gregor Smith, (Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1950), 3-4.

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